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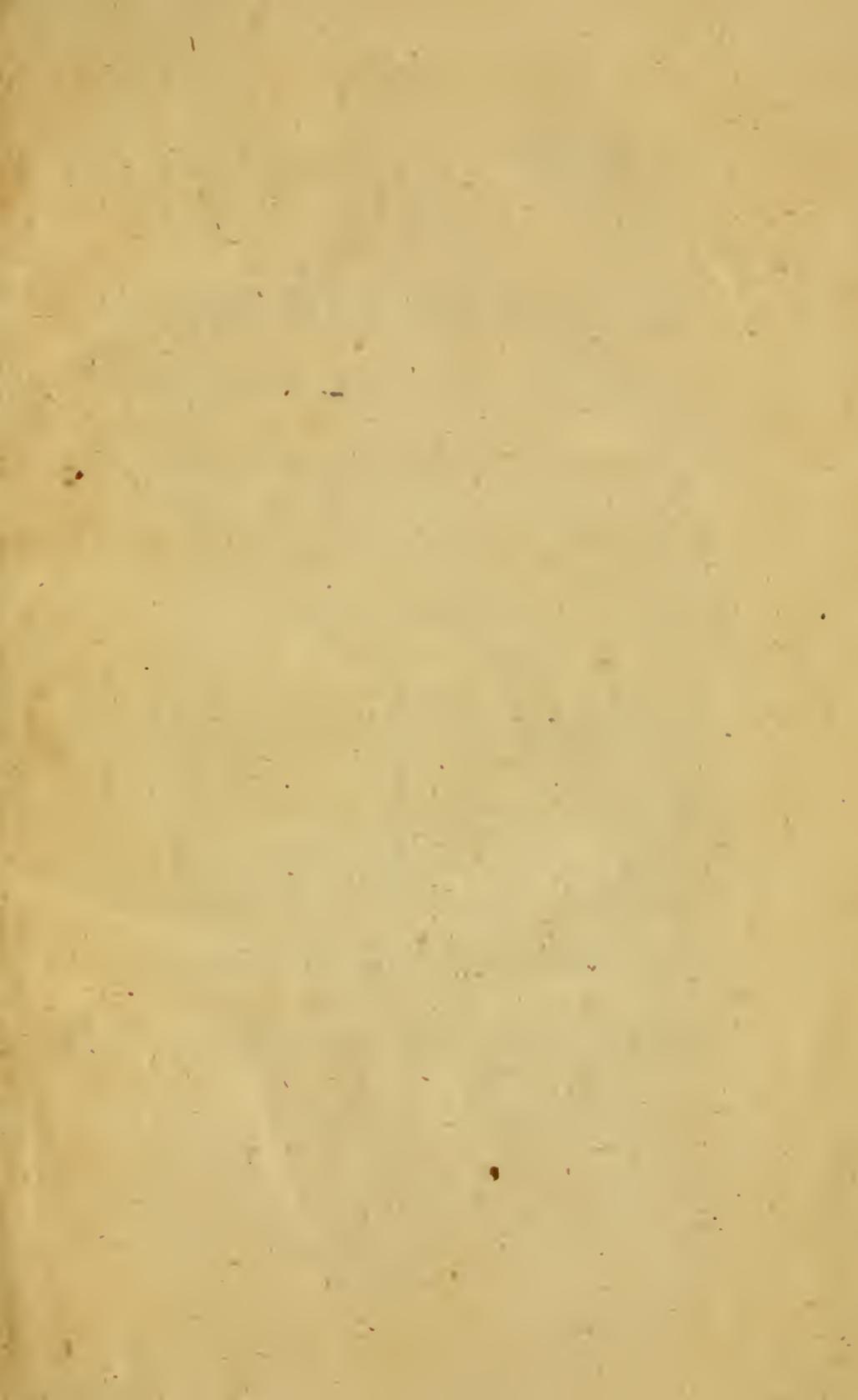
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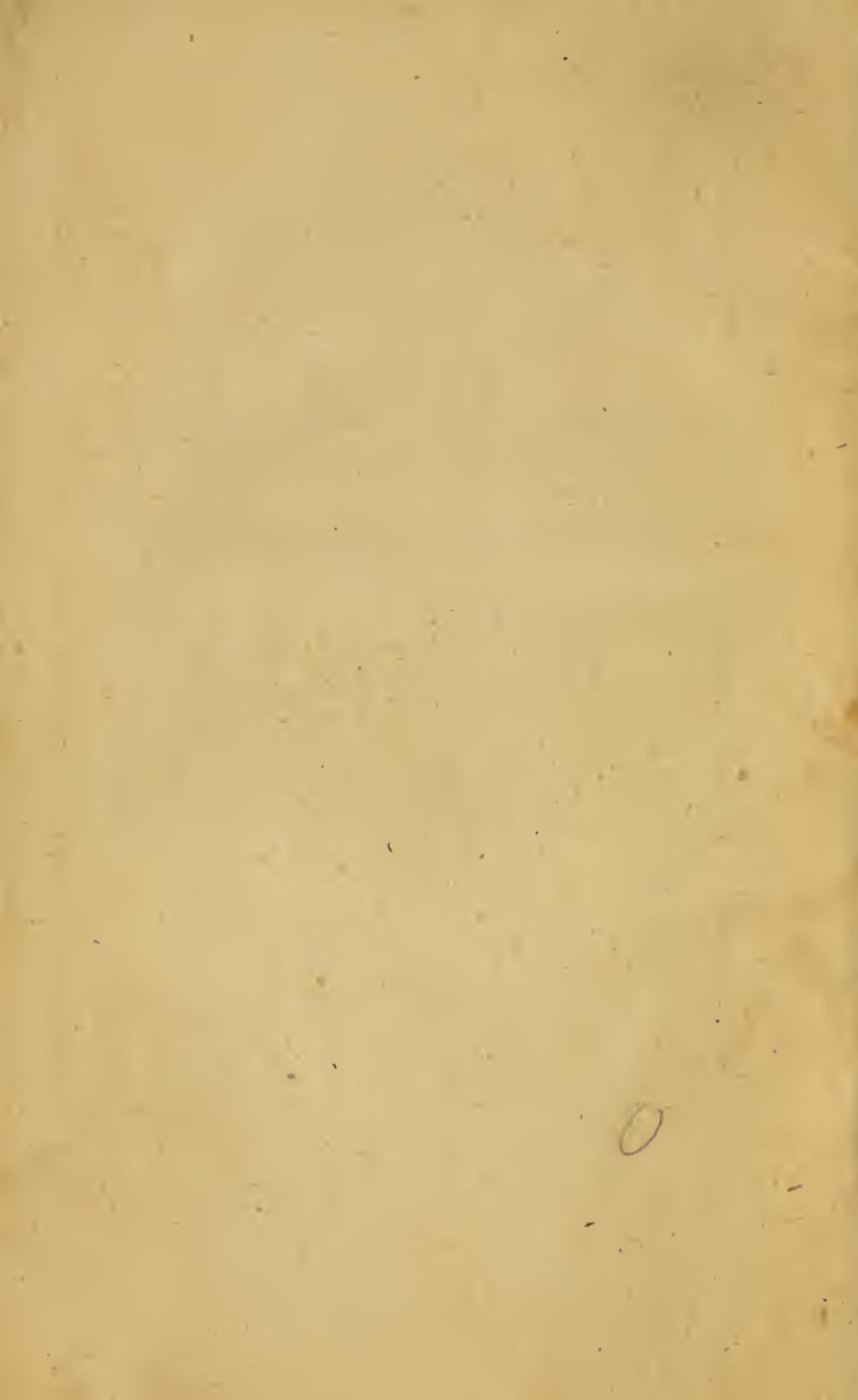
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THE  
MISCELLANEOUS WORKS  
OF  
JOHN HILDROP, D. D.

Rector of WATH, in YORKSHIRE.

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IN TWO VOLUMES.

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CONTAINING,

VOL. I.

An ESSAY for the better Regulation and Improvement of FREE-THINKING.

An ESSAY ON HONOUR.

FREE THOUGHTS upon the BRUTE-CREATION: In two Letters to a LADY.

VOL. II.

A Modest Apology for the Antient and Honourable Family of the WRONGHEADS.

A Proposal for Revifing, &c. the Ten Commandments.

Contempt of the CLERGY.

Life of *Simon Shallow*, Esq;

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VOL. I.

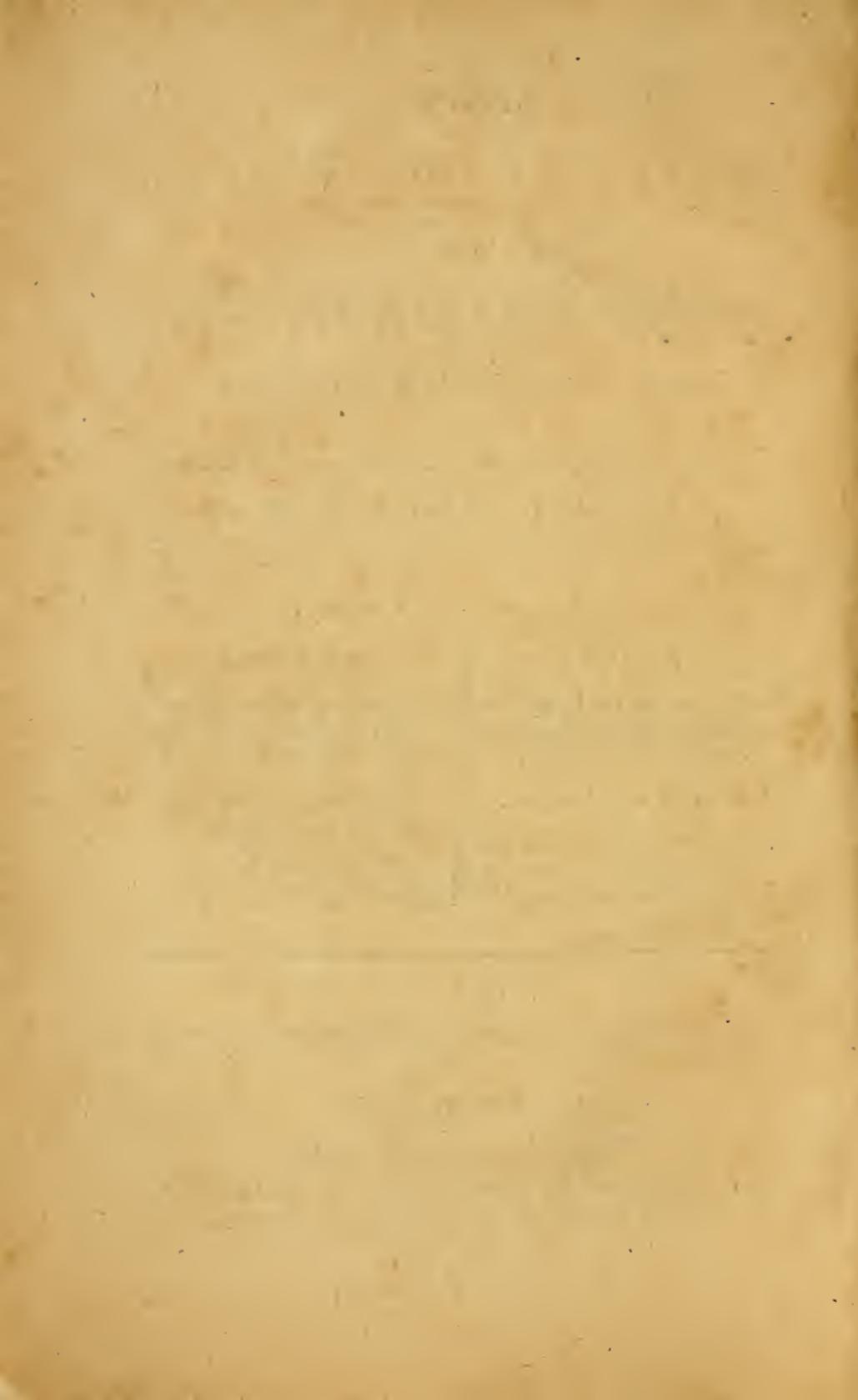
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L O N D O N :

Printed by *Charles Rivington*,

For JOHN and JAMES RIVINGTON, at the *Bible*  
and *Crown* in *St. Paul's Church-yard*.

M D C C L I V .



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T H E  
P R E F A C E.

*BY* the Importunity of my Friends, I have been prevailed upon to publish in this Form some loose Pieces, which at several Times I had offered to the Public, and generally without any Name of the Author ; by which I had often the Pleasure of hearing them ascribed to Persons, whose very Names do me greater Honour than I could ever expect to receive or deserve. Thus the Letter to a Member of Parliament was generally ascribed to Dean SWIFT ; and I was assured by a great Dignitary in the Church, that my Reflections upon Reason were writ by the

*late Bishop GASTREL; as they made their Way pretty well singly, some to a second, some to a third, and one to a sixth Edition, I hope they will not meet with a worse Reception now they appear in a Body.*

*Among my Writings were some (one particularly) of a very serious and interesting Nature, which was well received by the Learned both at home and abroad: This I had carefully revised, and improved, by great Additions, and imagined that all together would make a third Volume; but my Bookseller, who knows the Taste of the Town better than I do, tells me, it will not do at present. As they are ready for the Press, (says he) let them lie by, and I promise you, they shall be forthcoming, whenever they are called for.*

*As some of the Pieces contained in this Collection, may seem to carry the Appearance of an unbecoming Levity; my Apology*

The P R E F A C E. v

*is truly and honestly this: I was willing to try whether some useful Truths might not find Admittance in a droll Dress, which would have been rejected in a better: How I have succeeded, and how far I have acted out of Character, my Readers must judge; I can only beg their Candor, and submit to their Censures.*



A N



AN  
E S S A Y  
FOR THE  
BETTER REGULATION  
AND  
IMPROVEMENT  
OF  
FREE-THINKING.  
IN A  
LETTER to a FRIEND.





A N  
E S S A Y  
F O R T H E  
B e t t e r R E G U L A T I O N a n d I M P R O V E M E N T  
O F  
F R E E - T H I N K I N G .

D E A R S I R ,



T H E Pleasure I received from your last obliging Letter, demands a better Acknowledgment than at present I am able to make. The Success of your Labours in the glorious Cause of Truth and Liberty, which you modestly call *surprizing*, is by no means so to your Friends, who know and admire the shining Talents, the indefatigable Application, the engaging Address, and extensive Benevolence, by which you stand eminently distinguished among all true Lovers of Mankind. Who can wonder that Wit and Learning should triumph over the glaring Absurdities of Priestcraft and Superstition, when we see them daily

V O L . I .

B

b e c o m e

become the Scorn and Contempt of the silliest Part of the People? The visible Superiority of our Numbers, and Zeal for the Cause, the Indolence, or rather Diffidence, of our Adversaries, and the impartial Neutrality of some, who might, if they pleased, easily turn the Scale against us, are a comfortable Presage, that the Days of reverend Dulness and Superstition are growing to a Period, and that we (or our Posterity, however) shall live to see this happy Island, in every Sense of the Word, *a Land of Liberty, a Nation of Philosophers, and fine Gentlemen*, delivered from the Tyranny of Priests and Priest-ridden Politicians, and directed solely by *the infallible Light of Nature, the Rules of Right Reason, and the Laws of Honour*, and suffered to think, and speak, and act with that unlimited Freedom, which is the distinguishing Privilege and Honour of *rational Creatures and free Agents*; for which, I trust, neither your Endeavours nor mine shall ever be wanting.

Though we cannot boast of the same Success in our Neighbourhood, yet we may venture to say, in the main, that we are in a very hopeful Way, and improve as fast as the Nature of our Situation, and the Genius of the Country will admit. The lower Part of the People, with which, you know, we mostly abound, are of slender Talents and slow Capacities, bred up from their Infancy to Superstition and Labour, and are not easily cured of their early Prejudices; they cannot enter into abstracted Notions and fine Reasonings; and therefore, still persist in having a sort of Reverence for *the Parson* (except when he comes to talk upon the Article of Tythes); they think it very convenient to have a Holiday once  
a Week;

a Week; and that the Church is a very convenient Place to meet in, and shew their best Cloaths, especially in rainy Weather, when they cannot so conveniently walk about the Fields, or travel about the Neighbourhood; and therefore are startled at any thing that looks like an Attempt to unsettle the Religion of their Grandmothers. And though many of them, by conversing with their Betters, have made great Improvements, have attempted to break their Chains, and give into the Liberties of the polite World, yet can they not entirely conquer the inveterate Prejudices of Education and Custom; insomuch that, after they have been regaling all their Senses in the best Company and the most exquisite Enjoyments; yet, when they come to Retirement and cool Reflections (as they call them) they grow splenetic and low-spirited, are terrified with dismal Apprehensions of a future Judgment, eternal Punishments, and I know not what, and fall to snivelling, repenting, and praying, after *breaking a Commandment*, as if they had been guilty of *breaking a Hedge, or the Peace*, and were in danger of being sent to *the House of Correction*. But however, there is great Hope that frequent Practice, and the Influence and Example of their Superiors, will, by degrees, so far enlighten their Understandings, as to convince them, that it is neither Policy nor good Manners, for any Tenant to pretend to be wiser or better than his Landlord, especially than the Lord of the Manor; and that it is impossible for a poor Rascal that rents 20 or 30 *l. per annum*, to think and judge as properly of such intricate Subjects as the 'Squire, who is, perhaps, in the *Commission of the Peace, or the Mi-*

*litia*, rides in his Coach, and laughs at the Parson and his Preachments every Day of his Life.

And this has produced another lucky Consequence, which cannot fail, one time or other, of turning out greatly to our Advantage. Several of the younger and more polite Clergy, who are Candidates for Fame or Promotion, or both, and find that very little of either is to be obtained by a stiff, fullen Adherence to the old-fashioned Schemes of Orthodoxy and Morality, think it their Interest to be more complaisant to those who have it in their Power to distinguish and prefer them; they find there is more to be got by being good Companions, than good Christians, and consider it as a Point of Policy, as well as good Breeding, not to interrupt Conversation when they are in Company with their Superiors; and whatever Subject happens to be started, or Liberties of Speech taken, by those who may have it in their Power to mend or marr their Fortunes, they think it their best Way to *eat their Pudding, and hold their Tongues*, without pretending to be wiser than the rest of the Company. This has already had a good Effect, and has convinced Numbers of People, that either those Gentlemen do not really believe, or are not able to defend, the Doctrines they pretend to teach, and therefore are already, or at least, in a fair Way to be of our Side of the Question. Our Friend, the 'Squire, made a Party the other Night to meet at Parson *G*——'s, who, you know, has long had an Eye to his great Living at *B*——re. After the first Bottle, we naturally fell upon Politics, with an easy Transition to Religion; we quickly grew warm, roasted *Athanasius*, and the whole Company of Creed-makers, with all the Patrons and Defenders of Revelation,

lation, Miracles, Mysteries, &c. The well-bred Doctor gave us no Interruption, offered at no Reply, but put about the Glafs, which he never baulked when it came to his Turn. When the Company broke up, he made us a handsome Compliment, by affuring us, that his Silence was purely the Effect of his good Breeding. *Gentlemen,* (said he) *you may possibly be surprized that I have given no Interruption to this Conversation; you had not escaped so, had it happened in any other Place; but I hold it to be an essential Point of good Breeding not to contradict any Gentleman in my own House.*

But notwithstanding all this, I cannot say that our Success has hitherto been such as we might reasonably expect from the apparent Goodness of our Cause, the Number, Weight, and Zeal of its Advocates, and the feeble Opposition of our Adversaries. And it has cost me many an anxious Thought to discover, if possible, to what evil Fate or Misconduct we may charge our ill Success, that we may be better able to guard against it for the future, and lay a solid and lasting Foundation for the Peace and Liberty of the next, if not of the present, Generation.—And the first great Reason that occurs to me, is, our irregular, immethodical Way of Proceeding. Method and Order are known and confessed to be the Life and Spirit of all regular Societies and great Designs, without which they can neither prosper nor subsist; their Prosperity, nay, their very Being, depends upon certain regular Dispositions of Persons, Times, and Places, for the better Execution of their Designs, and answering the Ends of their Institution; some are to command, others to obey; some to direct, others to submit to Direction. And it is the great Duty and Business of Directors, to judge of

the Characters, Talents, and Abilities of those who are fit to be employed in the several Branches of the Administration. And when, through an over-weening Conceit of their own Abilities, and a Contempt of the Judgment and Authority of their Superiors, private Persons shall presume wantonly to break out of their proper Circle, and thrust themselves into such Offices and Services, as they have neither Call, nor Talents, nor Skill to execute, it must infallibly end in the Damage and Confusion of the Society in general, and the Shame and Contempt of the officious Intruders. Do but consider the State of your own Family, and see how necessary it is for the Peace and Prosperity of the whole, that every one of your Domestics should have his proper Post assigned him, agreeable to his Talents, Education, and Way of Life. Should *the Helper in the Stables* pretend to the Office of *Valet de Chambre*, the *Postilion* turn *Cook*, and the *Whipper-in* resolve to be nothing less than *Steward* or *Butler*, I fancy neither *your Stables*, *your Kitchen*, *your Wardrobe*, nor *your Exchequer*, would long be in tolerable Order, your Family in tolerable Peace, nor your Worship in tolerable Humour.

To this it may be answered, That this Supposition does, by no means, affect our Case; that we are not yet formed into a regular Society, and therefore have no direct Scheme to pursue; that we are all upon the Offensive; our Business is only to demolish and destroy; and that very little Method or Order is required to effect it; but that Strength and Courage seem sufficient: But this is a dangerous Mistake. There is an Art in demolishing, as well as in building, to do it safely and effectually. He that should attempt to demolish an  
old

old Building, and should begin with digging up Foundations, and destroying the Pillars and Buttresses, will have good Luck if he does not *pull an old House upon his Head.*— But our Case most nearly resembles the Siege of a fortified Town; which every one knows is to be effected by Conduct and Perseverance, rather than by personal Courage and Bravery. We are attacking a Fortrefs that has held it out many Ages against all Sorts of Enemies. The Garrison is well provided with Stores, Ammunition, and Provisions of all Sorts, and can hardly be taken or lost but by the Cowardice and Treachery of its Governors and Commanders. We are not therefore to depend upon the Number, Zeal, or Courage, of an undisciplined Rabble, without Government and Direction; we are not to run our Heads against Stone-walls without Fear or Wit. There must be some Person of a cool Head and a warm Heart to command the Siege, to appoint the Subalterns to their different Posts, according to their different Talents, and the different Circumstances of the Services. The Trenches must be opened, and the Approaches made in due Form, under the Protection of proper Works, and the Direction of skilful Engineers. Every Man is not fit to command a Siege, or a Party, who yet may manage a Spade or a Pick-ax, carry a Fascine, throw a Grenado or Stink-pot, or spring a Mine, whilst those who are to cover the Siege, are to be vigilant and active to intercept Convoys, to prevent the Surprize of any unguarded Post, or the throwing fresh Succours into the Town, and give such Relief, from time to time, as the different Circumstances of the Service may require; but if, instead of this regular Disposition, a *Battalion of Petits-*

*Maitres*, elegantly dressed in their Birth-day Suits, attended with Fiddles and *French Horns*, supported by a Brigade of Dancing-masters, or a flying Squadron of Fox-hunters, should take it in their Heads to make a general Assault, nothing less could be expected, than the cutting off the Flower of the Army, and the Loss of a whole Campaign.

This, I often think, is the nearest Resemblance of our Case that can be imagined. Very great Numbers of smart Fellows, and very pretty Gentlemen, are warmly engaged in the Cause of Liberty and Free-thinking, in opposition to Priestcraft and Superstition; but, as they have the Misfortune to be under no Direction or Restraint of cooler and wiser Heads than their own, their Zeal out-runs their Judgment; they mistake their Talents, and put themselves upon uncommanded and improper Services, to the manifest Prejudice and Disgrace of their Cause, and, like unsuccessful Rebels, give double Spirit and Credit to the Cause they have been opposing. To speak a plain Truth, which I am sure you must have observed as well as myself, since the Cause of Free-thinking has become reputable and fashionable, under the Patronage and Assistance of Men of Wit and Genius, every idle-headed Jackanapes, who has not Talents enough to shine in any other Sphere of Life, takes it in his Head to turn Free-thinker, and thinks himself qualified for the highest Posts, and most difficult Services of the Party. Hence it comes to pass, that we meet with these Gentlemen-Volunteers in almost all Shapes, Forms, Ranks, and Stations of Life. If my Lord or the 'Squire have Understanding enough to see through, and oppose, popular Prejudices and pious Frauds im-

posed

posed upon the Simple and Credulous, under the venerable Name and Mask of Religion, the same Zeal, without the same Knowledge, naturally spreads itself through the whole Family. The Valet quickly shines with the cast Wit and Philosophy, as well as the Cloaths, of his Master, to the Disgrace and Contempt of them both: For those profound Sentiments and judicious Reflections, which would have been heard with Attention and Applause from his Lordship or his Worship, are so debased by passing through vulgar Mouths, Forms of Speech, and Manner of Expression, that they appear contemptible to Men of Sense, and are exposed to the Raillery of every cunning Disputant, well knowing that the Retailer and Vender of those noble Discoveries, has not one Word to say in Defence of them. Your old Friend, the little Captain, by the constant Overflowings of his Wisdom and Zeal, has made his whole Family and Neighbourhood almost as wise and eloquent as himself. His very Footmen can joke upon Religion, can banter the Bible and Parson with as good an Air, and almost as much Wit as their Master. I was t'other Day diverted and provoked at the same time, with the grave Impertinence of his Gardener, who came with a very significant Face to borrow of me *Woollaston's Religion of Nature*. Why, Tom, said I, thou art scarce able to read it, much less to understand it. *Never fear, Sir,* said he, *if it be against Religion and Parsons, as I am told it is, I warrant you, with a little of my Master's Help, I shall be able to make it out.* I dare say you remember his old Pot-Companion *Harry Muddle*, who had for some Years earned his Drink by being obliged to laugh very heartily whenever *his Honour* attempted

to be witty upon *Religion and Parsons*, in which, by the Help of good Lungs and a round Countenance, he acquitted himself to Admiration. This dull Rogue has at last took it into his Head to assume a Character of his own, and set up for himself. He ventures now-and-then to retail some of his Master's *wise Sentences*, and put them off as his own. He was t'other Night very witty, in his Way, upon Creeds and Creed-makers; and concluded with saying, That it should ever be a Rule with him, *not to believe any thing but what he could understand*. Upon which *Will Dry*, who sat smoking beside him, very gravely lays down his Pipe, and looking archly upon him, *Why then, Friend Harry*, says he, *I will venture to affirm, thou wilt have the shortest Creed of any Man in Britain*. Now, I insist upon it, such Fellows as these disgrace our Cause, and, by their absurd Pretensions to Reason and Free-thinking, render both themselves and their Patrons contemptible.—Mistake me not, I would not be thought to discommend or discourage their Zeal for the good Cause; no, by no means; they are all heartily welcome; the more the merrier; *defendet numerus*. But still, methinks, I would have them all under proper Regulations, that every Man should know his Rank and Post, and be employed in such Offices, and such only, as are suited to his Genius and Capacity. This would prevent unspeakable Confusion, and, by steady Patience and Perseverance, could not fail, in time; of producing such Effects as you and I could wish, which can never be produced by the present undisciplined giddy Measures of our Free-thinking Brethren.

This absurd Conduct has done us unspeakable Mischief, and so prejudiced Men of cool and considerate  
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Tempers, that they are ashamed of a Cause so weakly conducted, and so ridiculously supported; insomuch that even among the Gentlemen of the Army, where our great Strength was once supposed to lie, I know several, who are universally acknowledged to be Men of Genius, Worth, and Honour, who were never known to want either Courage or Presence of Mind in an Article of Danger, yet are now become so—so, what shall I call it! so superstitious, as to be afraid of doing or saying what the Believers call a profane or irreligious Thing; they even make a Scruple of breaking one of the Ten Commandments; they are not ashamed to go to Church, to read the Bible, to say their Prayers, to give Alms, and even to converse with a Parson without affronting his Character; nay, some of them carry the Matter so far, as to appear zealous for the Interest and Honour of Religion; nay, much more so than many who are obliged by their Interest, as well as their Duty and Profession, to adorn and defend it. This is a mortifying Consideration.—If Things go on at this rate, we know not how they will end, for these Gentlemen can fight as well as talk for Religion; and if they should once take it in their Heads that Religion was a Cause worth fighting for, it might go a great Way towards hindering free Debate upon religious Subjects, and do irreparable Mischief to our Cause; of which I myself have seen two or three very fatal Instances. I was once at a Coffee-house, where a very sprightly young Fellow was entertaining the Company with a great many unlucky Jokes and Flings upon Religion in general. An Officer who sat near him, at length interrupted him: *Sir, said he, that God, whose Name you have dishonoured,*  
*whose*

*whose Worship you despise, whose Religion you treat with Irreverence and Contempt, is my Creator, my Father, and my best Friend; and though I cannot dispute for him, yet I can fight for him, and in his Name I demand Satisfaction.* This unexpected Rebuff made so violent an Impression upon the Spirits of the young Orator, that it immediately threw him into a Colliquative Diarrhoea, which carried him off in less than four and twenty Hours, and has ever since given me an incurable Aversion to these bloody-minded Crusado Christians, who are for running a Man through the Body, in order to save his Soul.

What then must be done! Why the Malady points out the Remedy, the Disease directs us to the Cure; there is no other Way of recovering our Reputation but by acting a more discreet Part for the future, and laying this undisciplined Rabble under proper Restraints and Regulations. Among the many Projects that have been started in the Course of my Lucubrations upon this Subject, I had once a Thought of trying our Interest with the Legislature, to procure a Charter of Incorporation for all Free-thinkers in general; the Governor, or Governors, of which should be invested with full Powers and Privileges to examine, admit, and restrain, by wholesome Laws of Discipline and Order, all such as should, at any time, offer themselves as Candidates to be gremial or honourary Members of our Society: But the late ill Success of *our Brethren, the Quakers and other Protestant Dissenters*, who have been Petitioners upon much the same Pretensions, has convinced me, that there is too great a Majority of Believers in both Houses to expect any Good at present from that Quarter. However we  
may

may, under the Protection of the Toleration-Act, form ourselves into a voluntary Society for promoting the same Cause, obtaining the same Ends, and answering all the real Purposes of a legal Incorporation: A short Scheme of which I shall endeavour to lay before you, which I shall submit to be examined and amended by such of our Friends as you shall think best qualified to advise in so important an Affair.—My accidental Mention of the Quakers suggests to me a lucky Hint, which your good Sense cannot fail to improve. Every body knows that they are the most politic thriving Body of Men that ever subsisted in this or any other Nation without—without, did I say!—nay, in direct Defiance to a legal and national Establishment; and therefore, as there is a very great Resemblance betwixt our Principles and theirs, particularly in the great Articles of *Priesthood, Consecrated Places, Ecclesiastical Order, Sacraments, Articles of Faith, and Payment of Tythes*; so I cannot but think it would be good Policy to copy after their Plan of Association, and build upon their Model, I mean only as to the political Interests of the Society.

The Quakers, (if I am not misinformed) besides their weekly Meetings, have their quarterly Meetings of Deputies from their several Congregations, within such particular Districts, and a general Meeting of Deputies from the whole Body, who assemble regularly at *London*, every Feast of *Pentecost*, (as they call it) by which the Intercourse and Communication betwixt the several Members and Congregations of the whole Society is maintained. This Scheme, with some proper Alterations suited to our different Circumstances, I cannot but think would be extremely convenient

venient for us.—Suppose therefore that there were in every County of *Great-Britain*, several Societies, Meetings, or Lodges in Proportion to the Extent of the County, and Numbers of Brethren, who should meet on any Day of the Week (*Sunday* only excepted) and at any Hour of the Day, or rather of the Night, if the Majority shall think it more convenient : That in each of these Societies, or Lodges, there should be appointed an annual Officer to admit and register the Names, Age, Places of Residence, Professions, &c. of all Candidates that shall appear worthy to be admitted ; and that, out of each of these, two Deputies should be sent to a quarterly Meeting at the County-Town the *Monday* following the respective Quarter-Sessions holden at each Town ; where all Matters and Causes relating to the particular Interest of each separate Lodge, or Society, and the general Interest of the whole might be examined and settled. And that a general Meeting of two Deputies from each Congregation should assemble every Year on *the first Day of April*, at a proper Place to be hereafter settled and agreed upon by a Majority of Votes. *London* I can by no means think a proper Place, though Custom has made it the very Center of Business and Correspondence ; yet forasmuch as we are in a particular Way of Thinking, and owe no Reverence to the Fashions and Opinions of others, but only consult our own Ease and Convenience, it appears more agreeable to us to pitch upon some Place near the Center of the Kingdom, for the greater Ease of the Deputies who are to assemble there. And here my good Genius directs me to make use of this Opportunity, to pay my unfeigned Reverence and Respect to a once renowned,

though

though long neglected Seminary of Wit and Learning, famous in the Annals of former Ages, whose wise Inhabitants were no less celebrated in the Songs and Proverbs of ancient Times, than the venerable Sages of ancient Greece and Rome. You will easily imagine I can mean no other than the famous Town of *Goatham* in *Nottinghamshire*, whose Ruins I have long bewailed with a more than filial Piety, and hope to see it once more restored by the united Zeal and Labour of our Friends to its pristine Fame and Splendor, so as to equal, at least, if not eclipse, all our established Seminaries of blind Zeal, Bigottry, and Superstition. Here I hope to see begun, at least, if not completed, a noble and ample Foundation, richly endowed by some of our opulent Friends, to be a Nursery for future Champions of Liberty and Free-thinking, till it become the Establishment of these Kingdoms. Nor can this be thought an improbable or unreasonable Prospect, by any that considers the unwearied Zeal, and unbounded Benevolence that distinguish our Leaders from the Friends of Slavery and Superstition, whose Heads and Hearts are cramped by narrow Notions of Orthodoxy, Discipline, and Order. But till this can be accomplished, it were a desirable Thing, that *private Seminaries or Academies* were erected in convenient Places, for the Reception and Education of proper Persons, to be sent out from time to time upon the Mission, with proper Instructions how to act agreeably to their several Talents and Capacities, as the different Exigencies of the Public may require.

I would therefore humbly propose, that no Person of what Age, Rank, or Quality soever should be permitted to act or talk in public as a Free-thinker, who  
had

had not been regularly matriculated in one of these Academies or Societies, and a due Examination had, and taken, by the proper Officers, of the Talents and Abilities of the several Pupils and Students, that every one should have his proper Post assigned him, and not presume to exceed the Commission given him by his respective Superiors and Directors. And here, to avoid Confusion, I should propose that the whole Body should be divided into three general Ranks, Classes, or Degrees, which was the ancient Establishment, even in the earliest Time, as I could clearly make appear from the History of all Ages, though by the Negligence or Presumption of late Pretenders, this necessary Subordination has been greatly neglected, to the apparent Prejudice of our Society. Of this you have a faint Resemblance in the academical Degrees, which may help to give us an Idea of the general Plan.

In our Academy.

- I.  
 1. Risors,  
 2. Derisors,  
 3. Irrisors,  
 II.  
 Querists.  
 III.  
 Paralogicians.

} answering to

In the University.

- I.  
 1. Undergraduate Students.  
 2. Junior Sophs.  
 3. Senior Sophs.  
 II.  
 Inceptors, or Bachelors.  
 III.  
 Masters, Doctors, or Professors.

The *Risors* are a very ancient, numerous, and useful Body of Men, mentioned under different Names in the Histories and Languages of all Nations. *Horace* mentions them under this very Name of *Risors*. *Risores inter Satyrosque dicaces*. And *Ridentes*; *Ridentem dicere verum Quid vetat?* As their Business is nothing but to smile, laugh, or grin upon proper Occasions, very few and slender Talents are required of them; a  
 soft

soft Forehead, and a flexible Set of Muscles are sufficient Qualifications for one of those Gentlemen to begin with. These being assisted and improved by a regular and *natural Education*, through the *Nursery*, the *Still-room*, the *Dancing-school*, the *Dog-kennel*, and the *Stable*, (I mean only a Country Education, where no better Improvements of that kind can be had) will make an able and useful *Risor*. I call this a *natural Education*, because it is following and improving the original Bias and Inclinations of unprejudiced Nature, in which the great Secret of a proper Education is known to consist. Injudicious Parents are too apt to call in the Assistance of Book-learned Pedants, under the Notion of Tutors, Masters, and Governors, who are for putting their young Pupils into such Methods as are apt to injure their Eyes and their Health, puzzle their Heads, check their Appetites, cramp their Genius, and prejudice their Understandings, by Lectures of Pedantry, Enthusiasm, and Superstition; whereas if they were left to themselves, their Inclinations to run in their proper Channel, as directed by the infallible Light of Nature, they would (generally speaking) fall naturally into this Train of Life and Action. *Horace*, who is universally allowed to be a good Judge of Nature, is intirely of this Opinion, and tells you, that this is the Tendency and Course of Nature, unrestrained by Discipline, and unprejudiced by Education. *Imberbis juvenis, tandem custode remoto.* (Ay, ay, observe those Words, *Custode remoto*, there lies the Pinch of the whole Affair; if it were not for those impertinent Pedants, Nature would have fair play,) *Gaudet equis canibusque & aprici gramine campi*: Would delight in Horses and Dogs, and the Diversions of the Coun-

try, in the most extensive Sense and Meaning of the Word. It would not indeed be amiss, if, without injuring their Health and prejudicing their Minds, they could be taught to read, and write, and spell tolerably, it might be of use to themselves, and give some Credit to their Order; but it is so far from being absolutely necessary, that I know several who make a good Figure among them, and yet can do neither. The being able to laugh properly, by the Direction of their Superiors, depends upon no great Acquirements or Improvements of Understanding; for it is beyond all question, that the first Founders of Mankind could laugh before they could write or read. Risibility, or the Faculty of Laughing, is so essential to a reasonable Creature, that it enters into a Definition of a Man, and is convertible with it; it is the first visible Symptom of Sense and Reason in Infants, and is the proper *Medium* by which Philosophers have thought fit to prove it in their ordinary Systems of Logic: *Omne risibile est rationale* is as certain and well-known a Maxim, as that *two and two make four*. To this I suppose you will object, upon the Authority of our Friend *Horace*, that something more should be expected from a *simple Risor* than mere Laughing, because he has joined *Risores Satyrosque dicaces* together; and, in another Passage, he supposes that the *Ridens* (or *Risor*, which is all one) may be able to speak truth, and consequently talk Sense when he asks the Question; *Ridentem dicere verum quid vetat?* As to the first Objection, it is obvious, at first Sight, that the Epithet *dicaces* is intirely appropriated to *Satyros*, and has nothing to do with *Risores*; and this is the concurring Judgment of the best Critics, and Commentators:

mentators : As for the latter, it answers itself. When the Poet asks the Question, What hinders a *Risor* from speaking Truth, or talking Sense ? the very Terms of the Question imply a strong Negation, *i. e.* nothing hinders him. And therefore, if he does neither, it is intirely his own Fault, no body will hinder him from doing it if he can ; and therefore, if he does not, it is purely owing to his Want of Inclination, or Ability, or both.

The Gentlemen of this Class should be forbid, under severe Penalties, to attempt any thing beyond their proper Sphere, or indeed within it, unless in Aid of their proper Superiors, who are to be considered as their commanding Officers : As for instance, if a *Querist*, or *Paralogician*, should take it in his Head to act offensively, and begin an Attack upon any Person, or Cause, which, for Want of Skill, or Ability, he should not be able to maintain, then, in such a Case, the *Risors*, some of whom are always to attend and support such Superiors, should, upon a proper Signal, burst out all at once into a loud Laugh, which seldom fails to confound and disconcert the most cunning Adversary, and, like springing a Mine, supplies, by Stratagem, the Want of proper Strength and good Conduct : For the *Risors* are to be considered as the private Men of the *Corps*, who are to obey the Word of Command, and attempt nothing without it ; or, like *Cyphers*, which, though nothing at all in themselves, yet, by a proper Assortment with People of Figure, are known to make out very well, and turn to a good Account.

If any Gentleman of this Class should, by striking out into the World, and keeping the best Company,

be so happy as to arrive at such a Competency of Front and Humour, as to be able to enliven Conversation with a Dash of Pleasantry and Banter, should be witty enough to ward off a serious Argument, or a pinching Question, with a Joke or a Pun, he shall, upon proper Testimonials of his Proficiency, be admitted into a higher Class, called the *DERISORS*, Jokers, Banterers, or merry Fellows, answering to the Degree of *Junior Sophs* in the University. These are allowed not only to laugh at Religion, but to be witty to the best of their Abilities, upon Parsons, Priestcraft, Creeds, and Creed-makers, &c. or any other Topic that may divert and encourage our Friends, or expose and confound our Enemies, and this to be always accompanied with proper Motions and Expressions of Railery and Humour, such as a contemptuous Cock of the Nose, Leer of the Eye, Contraction of the Nether-lip, and Elevation of the Chin, such as we frequently observe among the young Orators in the Coffee-houses near the Inns of Court, and the polite End of the Town.

If, after due Tryal in this Class, it appears that any of them are capable of further Improvement, and discover a good Degree of Fire and Spirit, they shall then be admitted into the highest Rank or Degree of *Risars*, called the *IRRISORS*, answering to the Degree of *Senior Sophs*; and shall be allowed not only to laugh and be witty, but to insult upon proper Occasions; especially when they have to do with modest peaceable People, who are in no Danger of returning the Compliment in their own Way. They may then safely and reasonably bully and hector, lay Wagers, call Fool, or Puppy, or Son of a Whore,  
give

give the Lye, or (if need be, and they are sure it can be done with Safety) a Challenge. Pray observe my reasonable and prudent Precaution, that it may be done with Safety; for that Man would be inexcusably rash and fool-hardy, who should put himself in danger of turning out of this World, in defence of an Argument to prove there is no other beyond it; for if he should too late find himself mistaken, (and none of us can pretend to Demonstration on our Side of the Question,) it would be a damned unlucky Experiment, without a Possibility of Recovery. I insist upon it, therefore, that no *Irrisor* should pretend to use the Language of Defiance, till he is very sure of his Man, lest he should catch a Tartar, which more than once or twice I have known to be the Case, to the great Discredit of our Cause, and Dishonour of our Champions. The Poet has given us an admirable Description of one of this Class in the Character of *Perithous*, in his Dispute with *Achelous*. <sup>a</sup> He describes him as a Man of a <sup>b</sup> fierce Temper, that neither <sup>c</sup> feared the Gods, nor regarded Men, and therefore gives his Antagonist the Lye <sup>d</sup>, and calls him a <sup>e</sup> credulous superstitious Puppy, to give any Credit to such ridiculous Absurdities as had been related in the Story of a miraculous Transformation. It was well for him that *Lelex* \*, the principal Person of the Company, was a Man of more Age and Gravity than himself; had he been a furious hot-mettled Fellow, more Mischief

<sup>a</sup> IRRIDET credentes, utque <sup>b</sup> Deorum  
Spretor erat, <sup>c</sup> mentisque ferox Ixione natus

<sup>d</sup> FICTARE FERS <sup>e</sup> nimiumq; putas Achelœe potentes  
Esse Deos, inquit, si dant adimuntque figuras. *Ovid. Met.*

\* Ante omnesque Lelex animo maturus & ævo.

might have been done in half an Hour, than might have been repaired in half an Age.

Some of the Gentlemen of this Class may probably have Ambition enough to shine in a higher Degree or Sphere of Life; if so, they must be assured, that higher Attainments will be expected from them, and therefore I would advise those who cannot read to put themselves under some diligent and industrious Tutor, that they may, without Delay, make themselves able to read at least such Books as shall be recommended to them by their Superiors. And as for those who can read already, I humbly propose that they should begin with reading the History of *Tom Thumb*, *Robin Hood*, *Curl's* modest Collection of Poems, *Tryals*, &c. *Independent Whig*, *Fable of the Bees*, *Sh—ry's Characteristics*, *Barbeyrac*, but, above all, *Bayle's Dictionary*; which Book alone is a Treasure of Learning to them who are able to read it, and indeed to those that are not, if they are so happy as to live in such a Neighbourhood, as to hear it read sometimes; or some of its shining Parts repeated in Conversation. I have known Wonders done solely by this Book. I knew a certain Gentlemen, of a very robust Constitution, and a good bodily Understanding, who never seemed to have either Talents or Ambition for any thing higher than a *simple Risor* in Matters of Religion, though a good Fox-hunter, and a very good Bowler. This Man had the good Fortune to be confined above two Months by a Fit of the Gout, in which he read some of the easiest Parts of this stupendous Book, only by way of Amusement in the Interval of his Pains; but, to the Surprize of all that knew him, it had so marvellous an Effect upon his

his Understanding, he immediately commenced an accomplished *Querist*. I have heard him flourish with the Wit and Criticism of that renowned Author for above an Hour together, without the least Sign of Fear or Diffidence, and would make no more of the Parson of the Parish than he would of a Tom-tit, or a Butterfly. If this ingenious Gentleman should have the good Fortune to have such another Fit, I would venture to foretel, that he would be as accomplished a *Paralogician* as any Man of his Talents can be supposed to be.

And as the Students in other Academies are distinguished by certain Habits, Badges, or Marks of Distinction, expressive of their Quality, Rank, and Station, so I would humbly propose, that the three above-mentioned Classes should be distinguished from the rest by wearing a Cockade of red and yellow Ribbands, curiously and artfully plaited together, but of different Sizes, in Proportion to their different Standing and Degrees; and if it should happen that any of the Military Gentlemen should be admitted among them, who are already distinguished by a smart Cockade of black Ribband, in all such Cases, that due Honour may be paid to their distinct Capacities, they shall be allowed to mix them, (or, to speak in the Language of Heraldry) to quarter the different Atchievements of the two united Families.

The Antiquity of this threefold Distinction of the RISORS is very great. King *David*, if he were the Author of the first Psalm, plainly points at them, though he spitefully and maliciously marks them out by Nick-names, and opprobrious Characters. But I find by the *Latin*, (which you know, with a little Em-

broidery of *French*, is generally the Top of our Attainments) that the very Names of DERISORS and IRRISORS are directly mentioned in the very Sense that we mean them, though not, perhaps, in the same Degrees of Subordination that we have assigned them. The *Latin* Version of the *Hebrew* calls them *Derisores*, *in confessu Derisorum non sedit*. The *Syriac* (I mean the *Latin* Version) calls them *Irrisores*, *super sede Irrisorum non sedit*. And it appears, by the Writings of the Believers themselves, that there has been a very ancient Tradition, which some pretend to carry higher than *Noah's Flood*, that in the latter Times, (not improbably our own Times, these Days of Light and Philosophy) the Gentlemen of this Class should make a shining Figure in the World, and greatly distress the Patrons and Defenders of Priestcraft and Superstition. The Author of the Book commonly called *Peter's Second Epistle*, mentions it, in the third Chapter, in a very particular and emphatical Manner, *Knowing this first, that, in the last Days, shall arise IRRISORES*, says *Beza's Latin* Version, *ILLUSORES*, says the *Vulgar Latin*; which our *English* Version has spitefully and maliciously translated *Scoffers*, a Word of a ridiculous and opprobrious Sound, though the Original certainly meant nothing more than this Rank or Class of Philosophers which we have been describing, because he immediately mentions the same Persons under the Character of *Querists*, which is the next Degree to that of the *Irrisors*.

The Students, who have acquitted themselves well in these lower Classes, and after due Examination (which shall be constantly had at every Anniversary Meeting) shall appear qualified for higher Degrees and Services,

Services, shall then be admitted to the Degree of *Que-  
rists*, answering to that of *Inceptors* or *Bachelors* in the  
Univerfity. They fhall not only be allowed to laugh  
and banter, but to puzzle and perplex Converfation,  
to interrupt every thing that looks like clofe Reasoning  
in the Way of common Logic, to which the Gentle-  
men of this Clafs are not permitted to make a direct  
Reply, but to beat them out of their Play, by pouring  
in fmart and unlucky Queftions one upon the Neck of  
another, with a very arch Face, without ftaying for  
an Anfwer. This, let me tell you, is a very ufeful  
Exercise, which I have feen played off more than once  
with very good Effect. We were fome of us not long  
ago at Lord *W—*'s Table, where my little Captain is  
allowed the Liberty of talking his own Way, without  
Check or Reftraint; upon his opening a little too deep,  
he was interrupted by a fmoky old Parfon, who fat  
befide him in a Lay Habit: As foon as he could re-  
cover himfelf from his Confufion, he cocked up his  
fhort Chin in a Pofture of Defiance, looked fierce as  
a Cock-Sparrow, and begun as follows: *Doctor, I  
knew not you were a Parfon, but as I find you are, and  
make no doubt but you are a Man of Learning, I want to  
be fatisfied in fome Doubts which I hope you will be able to  
refolve me. Pray tell me what you think of the Story of  
Adam and Eve, was it not a damned hard Cafe that they  
fhould be fo feverely punifhed only for eating an Apple?—  
And is it not ftill a greater Hardfhip upon us poor Devils,  
their Pofterity, to be punifhed for their Faults, in which  
we had no manner of Concern? Is not this very hard,  
Doctor?—* As the Doctor was beginning to reply, he  
proceeds, *Don't you think, Doctor, that Adam was in  
a fine Situation, in a delightful Garden with the fineft  
Woman*

*Woman in the World*— *What would you have given to have been in his Case? Hey Doctor!* As the Doctor was about to speak, he proceeds, *And then as to the Story of the Serpent*— Upon this, four or five *Risors*, who sat near him ready charged, upon a proper Signal, burst out all together into a loud Laughter; upon which, the Doctor softly stole his Beaver off the Pin, and brushed off, leaving us in Possession of the Field, and all the Marks of Victory, of which, securing the Laugh on our Side is not the least. I speak my own Experience; I know not a more useful Exercise than that of a *Querist*, if artfully and boldly executed, especially in Conversation; it being an undoubted Maxim, *That one Fool may ask more Questions than ten wise Men can answer.*— The Gentlemen of this Degree are permitted and advised to read the inimitable Writings of Mr. *Hobbes, Blunt, Toland, Tindal, Collins, Gordon*, and that Prince of Paralogicians, the *Moral Philosopher*; without troubling themselves with the numberless Answers that have been given them, which would end in nothing but losing Time, and puzzling the Cause. As for the ancient Patrons and Defenders of our Society, such as *Porphyry, Celsus, Julian, &c.* let them sleep in Peace. As they wrote in a Language little known, and less understood, by the polite Moderns, it would be the Work of an Age to make any considerable Advantage by their Writings, against a Party, who are apparently too vain of their Skill in antient Languages, to overlook any Slips or Mistakes of our Friends, without a severe and indecent Correction; witness the Behaviour of that four old Critic, *Philelutherus Lipsiensis*, who exposed a few innocent Mistakes of one of our best Writers, with as much Insolence

solence and Pedantry, as if he had been disciplining a School-boy, for which we shall never forget nor forgive him. The Badge of this Order shall be a Tippet of red Silk, with a yellow Border fixed upon their left Shoulder.

If any Gentleman of this Class or Degree shall have given sufficient Proofs of his Zeal and Abilities to promote the Service of the Society in a higher Order, he shall be admitted to the Degree of *Paralogicians*, which is the highest Honour we can possibly bestow upon our most deserving Members. They are to be the Philosophers and Disputers of our Body, but in quite a new Method, being furnished with a Set of Principles, Axioms, Modes, and Figures, the very reverse of the vulgar and popular Logic. To speak a plain and undeniable Truth, the Enemies of our Cause, the Friends of Priestcraft and Superstition, as they have been long in Possession of their Claim to Truth and Orthodoxy, and have found the Sweets of Power and Dominion over the Understandings and Consciences of Mankind, so they have taken care to be well paid into the Bargain, by getting all the Affairs and Interests of the Public to center at last, in what they call Religion; this has necessarily produced a great Variety of Offices, Posts, and Employments, with large Endowments, fine Salaries, and unknown Perquisites, which they have cunningly divided among their own Party; whom they affirm to be the only Persons duly qualified to execute the several Offices, and enjoy the Endowments. As for the due Execution of the Office, we have little to say; but if it can be made appear to the Public, that these Offices are not only an useless Invention, but are dangerous and burdensome to the  
Common-

Commonwealth, they ought certainly, in Equity and good Policy, to be intirely suppressed, and the Revenues and Salaries annexed to them, should be bestowed on those who have had the Sagacity to detect the Cheat, and the Courage to oppose and suppress it. And as they were always apprehensive of the certain Consequences of a free and rational Examination of their Scheme, so they have endeavoured to support and maintain it, by all the mean ungenerous Arts, that *Policy, Interest, Power, the Favour of the Magistrate, and a bad Cause*, could suggest; they have fettered and confined our Understandings by absurd Impositions of *Creeds, Systems, Canons, Articles and Confessions of Faith*, double guarded by legal Penalties and civil Incapacities; and, as if all this was not sufficient (for the Patrons of a bad Cause never think themselves secure) they have employed, from time to time, the best Heads of the Party to compose a System of Principles, Rules, and Method of Argumentation, all of their own Side of the Question; and have cunningly agreed to make it a necessary Preparative for all their Disciples, in order to come at the Knowledge of Truth, by which means, the young People are early prepossessed with the Prejudices of the Party, and an invincible Bias towards the fashionable, plausible, and gainful Side. And this I take to be as unreasonable an Imposition upon our Understandings as *Creeds* themselves, because it cramps and fetters us in the Exercise of our Faculties, though it does not forbid us the Use of them. Every body has *Reason*, but every body does not understand *Logic*. The natural unprejudiced *Reason* of Mankind is the same well-meaning honest Faculties in all Sorts of People; it sees, and judges, and talks of all man-

ner of Things and Matters by its own plain and infallible Light, and has no more occasion for Rules, Moods, and Figures, to shew when it is in the Right and when in the Wrong, than to tell me when I am hungry or thirsty, or full, at Ease or in Pain, in Sickness or in Health; be sure it was so among the Primitive Inhabitants of the World, long before these plaguy *Systems*, with their *Definitions*, *Axioms*, *Moods*, *Figures*, *Syllogisms*, and the rest of their *Tranguns* were invented. I have been often provoked beyond measure, to hear a polite Conversation interrupted by one of these *reasoning Puppies*, in a Manner that even deserved the Discipline of the Blanket.— I was the other Day in a very elegant Conversation, where one of our Society, a young Fellow of lively Parts, and flowing Eloquence, had been entertaining us upon the Subject of religious Frauds, with a Profusion of Wit and good Sense, but having, in the Warmth of his Imagination, dropped an unguarded Assertion, up starts one of those solemn Coxcombs, who (with the Appearance of a Man of Sense and good Manners) had lain for some time upon the Catch, and desires him to explain himself, to defend his Assertion, and produce his Reasons. The young Orator was a little confounded at this pedantic ungentleman-like, Behaviour; and indeed, the whole Company thought themselves bound in honour to resent such an outrageous Breach of good Manners; and, for my own part, I told him, in the Language of the renowned Sir *John Falstaff*, *That if I were in that Gentleman's Case, and Reasons were as plenty as Black-berries, I would give no Man living a Reason upon Compulsion.* Reasons, to be sure, we have in great Plenty, and such as we think very good ones; but then, we are the only

only proper Judges on what Occasions, and in what Company, to produce them; for so malicious and partial are our Adversaries, that they insist upon having our Reasons and Arguments weighed and measured by their Standard, in which they are sure to have the Advantage; and because we do not proceed and conclude, by the Way of Premises and Conclusions, drawn out in Mood and Figure, which they have maliciously contrived to be always on their Side of the Question, they wantonly insult us, and tell us, that our Reasons are sophisticated, our Arguments are all damaged Goods, and not worth Two-pence a Thousand. This is an amazing Piece of Hardship to us, and Partiality in them; they have engrossed all the Arms and Ammunition in the Country, and then insult us for not being as well provided as they; they challenge us to fight, without allowing us Weapons; and when we are forced to make use of such as we can procure, they tell us, we make use of unlawful and unstatutable Weapons, and therefore have no Title to that Candour and Indulgence, which, by all the Laws of Chivalry, are due to fair and honourable Combatants.— All therefore, that is left for us to do in this Exigency, is to employ some of the ablest and coolest Heads among us, to compile a new System of Logic, in which all the *extraordinary* Methods of Proof proper for *extraordinary* Cases, which they have agreed to explode and condemn as fallacious, may be allowed and confirmed as just and good by a proper Authority, that we may be at least upon the same Foot with the rest of his Majesty's loving Subjects.— And then, my noble Heart, we bid them Defiance.— But, in the Hurry of my Imagination, I had like to have forgot the proper Habits

bits or Badges, to be worn by the Gentlemen of this Order. A Paralogician shall wear a short Mantle of red Silk, with a Border and Fringe of yellow, and a Cap of the same Colours empannelled, of a Pyramidical Form, like our Grenadiers Caps, from the Top of which, bending backwards, shall hang behind, upon a Twist or Braid of red and yellow Silk, a small Silver Bell; and, on the Front, shall be curiously embroidered, an ingenious Hieroglyphic, commonly called, in the Towns of *Holland*, the Sign of the MISFOORSTONDT (*the Misunderstanding*) which is two Draymen turned Back to Back, with a Barrel hanging between them.

And, methinks, when I calmly consider the great and useful Ends we propose, and the natural and rational Methods we pursue to obtain them, it is no unreasonable Presumption to hope for the Protection and Encouragement of our Superiors, in Prosecution of a Cause, in which we are all equally concerned.— The End, we propose, is the most useful and benevolent that can be imagined, being nothing less than promoting and securing the Peace and Happiness of Mankind, by delivering them from the gloomy Fancies of a frightened Imagination, and all the ridiculous Terrors of Priestcraft and Superstition; if this can be effected, no matter by what means. If an effectual Cure can be provided, no Man ought to envy us the Glory, nor Mankind the Benefit, of such useful and glorious Discoveries. Now this can only be done by shewing, that all the Pretensions to Religion, grounded on a Revelation from Heaven, are nothing but a direct Cheat and Imposition upon Mankind. There is something so incomprehensible, so terrible, in the Notion of a SUPREME BEING, who made and governs the  
World,

World, who observes all our Actions, who has given us a Set of Doctrines, Precepts, and Rules of Obedience, by which he will judge and reward, or punish us hereafter, that it must strike a Damp upon the Minds of reasonable Creatures, must imbitter all their Pleasures, and abate their Attention to the civil Interests and Affairs of Mankind, in which we are necessarily engaged, and make them scrupulous and diffident in the Exercise of those Arts, by which they are most usually and successfully managed. We therefore hope and conclude there is no such BEING, and by Consequence no REVELATION. They object to this, That the visible World and Frame of Nature, are a manifest and sufficient Proof of an omnipotent and all-wise Creator. To which we reply, That this is no Proof at all. The World, for aught we know, might make itself, or it might exist from Eternity, or it might be made by Chance; each of which Opinions have been maintained by many ingenious Writers, both antient and modern. Besides, the Notion of Creation implies the making *something out of nothing*, which is a direct Contradiction to a self-evident Principle, *ex nihilo nihil fit*. The Notion of a Providence is a Contradiction to our daily Experience; for we see *all Things happen alike to all Men*. The Good (as they are called) are neither constantly rewarded, nor the Wicked constantly punished; so far from it, that the Sun shines, and the Rain falls, on both alike; Wars and Bloodshed, Fires and Earthquakes, Storms and Tempests, make no Distinction betwixt those who worship God, and those who worship him not. Nay, more than this, the apparent Advantage is on our Side of the Question. Pray, tell me, what is there to be  
got

got in this World purely by being good? but Infamy, Reproach, Contempt, and Poverty? Shew me the Man that ever was preferred (I mean, in the ordinary and natural Course of Things) purely on account of being a religious Man, and I will undertake to shew you ten, who owe their Promotion entirely to their having no Religion at all? Then as to the Story of Miracles and Prophecies, upon which they lay so great a Stress, as to build their Systems of Religion upon them, as both *Jews* and Christians are known to do, they are so far from being certain, that the whole have been suspected, by some very sagacious Enquirers, to be owing to the Cunning of Knaves, and the Credulity of Fools. Those who talk of them, and build so much upon them, do not pretend that they have ever seen the one, or have undeniable Evidence for the other; I mean such sort of Evidence as we reckon sufficient in the ordinary Occurrences of Life, so plain, as that no body in their Senses can entertain any reasonable Doubt. If they had, every body would see and believe, as assuredly and universally as they do the daily Objects of their Senses, such as the Vicissitudes of Day and Night, the Succession of Seasons, the Generation and Corruption of Bodies. These Things are obvious and plain; every body sees, and believes, and reasons, and concludes, and acts agreeably; but these other supernatural Crotchets, fetched from an invisible World, are a sort of fairy Stories, contrived by Priests, propagated by Grandmothers and Nurses, and believed by Children and Fools. Nay further, suppose such extraordinary Appearances could be proved by concurrent Histories and Traditions of all Ages, nay, that we ourselves had seen and heard them, yet could they not thence be concluded to be supernatural and

miraculous, but might only appear so to the Ignorant, the Injudicious, and Credulous, who, not knowing the Extent of natural Powers and second Causes, might impute the surprizing Operations, even of mechanical Powers, to some invisible and omnipotent Agent. It is well known, that, in the first *European* Expeditions to *America*, the ignorant *Indians* imagined the Ships to be living Creatures, and that the Discharge of their Artillery was either the Voice of those monstrous floating Animals, or something supernatural and miraculous. Every body knows that *Columbus*, by foretelling an Eclipse, frightened the mutinous Natives into Submission and Slavery; they imagined the heavenly Bodies were at his Command, and under his Direction, and that therefore it would be vain and presumptuous in them to oppose a Man, who had the Powers of Heaven and Earth at Command. And some very cunning People have had a Suspicion that it cost *Moses* a good many Barrels of Gun-powder to procure such a Quantity of Thunder and Lightning, as might be sufficient to frighten that thick-sculled Generation into a Submission to that insupportable Yoke of Laws and Ordinances that he had been preparing for them; and several Attempts had been made to prove the pretended Miracles of the Christian Law-giver to be nothing more than Slight of Hand, or *Leger-de-main*. Poor *Woolston*! he struck a bold Stroke, but the Laws and the Judges were against him; and, till we see an Alteration in both, we can expect but little Good from our united most vigorous Opposition to Priestcraft and Superstition: But Courage, my Friend, let us hope the best. *Nil desperandum* is our Motto. But to proceed. As this whole System.

System of Religion, whether *Jewish* or Christian, is apparently and confessedly mysterious and incomprehensible; we cannot fairly and consistently be supposed to have much Concern or Interest in it: For (pardon a little more *Latin*, and it is all I have left) it is a Maxim among us, and a very reasonable one too, *Quæ supra nos, nihil ad nos*. And therefore, since we are necessarily chained down to this little Spot of Earth, and a very pretty convenient Spot it is, plentifully provided with all the Necessaries and Conveniences of Life, without which we cannot subsist; *Nature*, which (we all agree) *does nothing in vain*, points out to us the proper Use we ought to make of it. All agree she has given us warm and invincible Appetites for the Support of our Persons, and Propagation of our Species, which is apparently the whole Business, Employment, and Happiness of the rest of our Brother Animals, who have nothing else to do but to live, eat, drink, propagate, and die, and to imagine that we were intended for any thing above or beyond this, is at most mere Matter of Conjecture, and nothing else. This is a short, but imperfect, View of our Scheme, which being evidently calculated for the Ease and Benefit of Mankind, may reasonably be defended and supported by such Ways and Means as we shall think proper.

It is true, the present Sense of the Legislature seems to be against us, so that we have little Reason to expect they will take any extraordinary Measures for the Support and Improvement of our Society, or the Defence of those Principles on which it is founded. But we live in an Age of Discoveries and Improvements. We have seen wonderful

Events in our Days, such as the wisest of our Fathers never dreamed of. Men of Genius and Penetration, especially in high Places, scorn to jog on in the beaten Track of their dull Forefathers, and know that all our Schemes of Politics and Religion, as well as Arts and Sciences, are capable of Improvements. New Schemes naturally produce new Measures, new Measures always produce new Difficulties, new Difficulties require new Expedients, to qualify or remove them; so that, in a little Time, the Affairs of the Nation may have quite a new Face, run in quite a new Channel, and require a new Set of Principles, to justify the marvellous Alteration: So that the wisest Man upon Earth cannot foretel what half a Century more may, or may not, produce in our Favour; especially when the Public shall be duly apprised of the Usefulness of our Society, the present Difficulties under which we labour in the Prosecution of our Scheme, and how small a Degree of public Indulgence would entirely remove those Difficulties, and put us upon the same equitable Foot with our Adversaries. How useful the Principles and Members of our Society have been in all Ages, in arduous and desperate Services, Changes, Reformations, and Revolutions in Church and State, is not consistent with our known Modesty to declare; we could not do justice to our own Characters without blushing, which is, to us, a very painful Sensation. Let the Annals of past Ages declare, and let the Historians of the present and future Times faithfully record, how useful we have been, and may hereafter be, in contriving, executing, and defending the deep Designs, and wondrous Atchievements of Statesmen, Politicians, and Conquerors. Wise Ministers, therefore,

therefore, should shew a particular Regard to the Body of *Paralogicians*, as a Set of Men that may be of singular Use to them in many Articles of Affairs, both Ecclesiastical and Civil; if, for instance, any Scheme should be concerted, or Project executed, which could not be explained or vindicated by any Rules of the vulgar and popular Logic, or what the common Herd of Mankind have agreed to call *Reason*, it would be of infinite Use to the Project and the Projector too, to have a Set of extraordinary Principles, Axioms, Rules, and Methods of Reasoning, exactly fitted and adapted to such extraordinary Cases and Occasions. This appears in the Improvements, made of late Years, in another Branch of Science: I mean *Aithmetic*. Our Forefathers were so egregiously silly, that they knew no more than the Vulgar and Decimal; they could tell you, with very grave Faces, that 2 and 2 make 4, that 5 and 5 make 10, which every Blockhead knew as well as they; in short, they saw very little in it beyond the low dirty Business of Oeconomy and Trade. The *Arcana Imperii*, the Mysteries of Government, the impenetrable Secrets of the Cabinet, on which the Fates of Empires and Kingdoms depend, which are hid from vulgar Eyes, into which none but the Sons of Wisdom, the Adepts in the occult Sciences, are or can be admitted; were not to be directed by such low, vulgar, obvious Principles as the popular mercantile Business of Life; they, therefore, by incredible Application, Intenseness, and Refinement of Thought, at last invented, and brought to Perfection, that most useful Branch of Science, which I call *Political Arithmetic*, by which alone such surprising Wonders have been effected, as our Fathers

would have thought and pronounced to be absolutely impossible. The Use and Correspondence of Numbers in these Operations is not according to the vulgar Relation, but depends upon a secret magical Power, under certain planetary Influences and Directions, at certain critical Seasons, and momentous Occasions, in which the Power and Value of any Number rises or falls, increases or diminishes, in Proportion to the Difficulties and Advantages of any given Question: So that whereas, in Vulgar Arithmetic, 5 and 5 make 10, and 10 and 10 make 20; in the Political 5 and 5 shall make 16, and 7 and 7 shall make 34: And whereas, in the Vulgar Computation, 15 is generally esteemed to be more than 10, and less than 20, here 14 are often known to be more than 24, and 30 than 50. But, what is still more surprising, to those who are not initiated into these Mysteries, is, that even mere Cyphers, which, in Vulgar Arithmetic, are nothing, and stand for nothing, but as they stand united with some valuable Figure, have here a Weight and Power equal to that of any given Figure. I myself have seen, in a most mysterious Operation, one very insignificant Cypher, of greater Force and Power than a long and regular Arrangement of powerful and significant Figures.

*Pythagoras* and his Disciples are universally known to have been great Dealers in Numbers, and boast much of their Virtues and magical Powers, even in medicinal Cases, and resolve all or most of the surprising Cures, which the Ignorance of the Moderns ascribes to Sympathy or occult Qualities, to the sole Virtue of Numbers, into which all Sympathy, Harmony, Concord, and Order are ultimately resolved. In natural and bodily Maladies, arising purely from disharmonious, disorderly

disorderly Motions of the Fluids and Animal Spirits, certain Bodies carefully collected from the Vegetable or Mineral World, under some certain and particular Configuration of the heavenly Bodies, and prepared by the Direction of some magical Words and Numbers, would affect a certain, speedy, and almost miraculous, Cure: And in spiritual Disorders, even of the most malignant Kind, such as particularly Epilepsy and Madness, which they generally imputed to the Possession of Dæmons, they were all infallibly cured by the Charms of Music, which is known to be the highest Perfection of Numbers, reduced to perfect Harmony, Proportion, and Order. These were great and useful Discoveries, considering the Age in which they were made: But, had that great Philosopher lived in these our marvelous Days of Science and Erudition, he would not have made a much better Figure than a common Mountebank; for, in both these Cases, there was the Use and Application of external Means to the very Person of the Patient, such as any old Woman that had been used to gather Simples, or any young Fellow that could play a tolerable Fiddle, might be able, with a little Instruction, to apply and explain. But how much more surprising Operations have I seen effected, purely by a lucky Combination of Numbers in Political Arithmetic! I have seen a Person both deaf and dumb, who hath been immediately cured by the Application of a small Piece of Paper, in which, among other magical Words and Characters, were the Numbers 500 or 1000, or more or less, according to the Nature of the Case, and the Necessities of the Patient, upon the immediate Perusal of the Charm, he could hear distinctly, and speak fluently

upon any Question, or Side of a Question, for a whole Hour by the Clock: And because some incredulous, ill-natured People, were for suspecting the Reality of the Cure, and imputing the whole to a politic Collusion betwixt the Doctor and the Patient, he has been prevailed upon to try the Efficacy of the Charm in a different and contrary Experiment, and has, for the Conviction of the Incredulous, by the same Charm, with some little Variation of Characters, struck a Man at once absolutely deaf, and dumb, and blind, who had been but just before in full Possession of his Health, Memory, Understanding, and Senses. Nay, more than this, I have been credibly informed, that a Patient, languishing, and almost expiring, under an universal Decay, from a Complication of Disorders, was at once restored, by *the Force of Numbers*, without any visible Application at all made to the Patient, to perfect Health and Soundness of Body. And that others, who had been over-run with an Irruption of malignant Humours breaking out, and stinking like Plague Sores, were, by *the sole Power of Numbers* made as sound as Heart of Oak, and as sweet as a Rose, with numberless other Cures too tedious to mention, which may be well attested, to the Satisfaction of any curious Enquirer. I cannot say that I saw these wonderful Operations myself, or ever examined the State or Constitution of the Patients so restored; but, which is equally satisfactory to Men of modest and ingenuous Tempers, I was assured of it upon the Honour of those who performed the several above-mentioned Cures, and gave the Patients constant Attendance till they were completed, being upon the fair and honourable Conditions of, *No Cure no Pay*, who therefore must be presumed

presumed to be the most proper Judges in the Case. It was something like this that gave a Handle to a merry old Senator in the Dyet of *Poland*, to make an unlucky Reply in a Debate upon a Question in which he was deeply interested, and had engaged a great Majority to carry it. A grave Gentleman in the Opposition, who could read in his Bible, quoted a Passage out of the Book of *Leviticus* to support an Argument he had been advancing against the Question; to which the facetious Droll replied, *There seems indeed, Sir, to be something of Weight in the Passage you have quoted from Leviticus, but it will do your Cause very little Service, for we have the whole Book of Numbers against you.*

Pardon this Digression.—But the Use I would make of it is this: If Arithmetic be capable of such prodigious Improvements, and so apparently calculated for the public Good, what should hinder us from attempting something like it, by way of Improvement, in the Exercise of our *Reason*; especially considering that our Adversaries have given us a fair Opportunity of taking an Advantage of their Negligence. They have been all along so confident of the Goodness of their Cause, and so secure of their own superior Strength and Cunning, that they have wantonly neglected to secure themselves, by using their Interest to procure a legal and parliamentary Establishment, which, like the Act of Uniformity, might oblige all his Majesty's loving Subjects to conform to their Rules and Methods of *Reasoning*, and prohibit them, under severe Penalties, from making use of any other. This would effectually have precluded any Attempts of this Kind that I am proposing; but since they have neglected

to do this, I think we ought to exert all our Interest and Cunning to turn it to our own Advantage. I am not sanguine enough to imagine we have Interest enough, at present, to procure such an Establishment for any System of our own, in Opposition to the prevailing Prepossession; such a Scheme, if at all feasible, must be a very remote Possibility, and the Object of a very distant Hope. Our Superiors, at present, are apparently prejudiced in Favour of antient and immemorial Custom, and long Prescription, and jealous of making or encouraging Innovations; but as they have been always ready to lend an indulgent Ear to the dutiful Remonstrances and Petitions of their Inferiors, and to give them such Relief and Indulgence as their Circumstances may require, it will not be improper to lay before the Public at least a just and impartial Account of the Difficulties and Hardships under which we labour, and from which we hope to be relieved. In general, they are so unreasonable, as to object against almost all our Methods of Reasoning, as uncanonical and unstatutable, and quarrel with us for taking *with us* some few little Liberties, which would apparently give us some Advantage; and, to shew us the Perverseness of their Spirit, will neither use them themselves, nor suffer us to use them. I shall only instance in two or three Cases, whereby you may judge of the rest.

1. It very often happens, in the Course of a Debate, when the Advantage is apparently on our Side, they turn short upon us, and tell us, *We beg the Question*; marry, and a good Shift too, I think, if we can carry an important Question purely by begging. Sure I am, that if this Method could be brought to any Perfection, it would be a more saving Article to the Public than  
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the Sinking Fund, and therefore we may reasonably hope, that our Superiors, who will find their Account in it as well as we, will find out proper Ways and Means to allow, confirm, and secure us in this Method of Reasoning, as it is apparently more useful in many difficult Cases, than all their Rules of Logic put together.

2. At other Times, when they find themselves forely pinched, and almost giddy by running round with us, as it were in a Ring, they grow fretful, and cry out against *Circular Proof*. This Objection is peevish and absurd. Do not these Gentlemen know that a *Circle* is the most perfect of all Figures? and by Consequence, that a *circular* Operation must be so too? Is not the Frame of Nature supported by the *Circulation* of the several Parts of the System? Is not the Life of all Animals and Vegetables preserved by the *Circulation* of their Blood and Juices? Has not the Credit and Interest of the Nation been often preserved by the *Circulation* of Bank and Exchequer Bills? Has not the Credit of the several Stocks and Funds been known to rise and fall by the *Circulation* even of a *Lye*? to the great Advantage of several eminent and well-disposed Persons, who would have started at the Sound of a trifling, insignificant, malicious *Lye*, when there was nothing to be got by it. Nay, further, is not a *Circulation* of Interest the great Support of Government? Could any Ministry subsist without it? Nay, I will venture to affirm, that, without such a *Circulation*, many a good Question in Politics would have been lost; and why it should be thought unlawful and unreasonable for us to take the Benefit of it in  
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Matters of Philosophy and Religion, is to me quite unconceivable.

3. But the merriest Imposition of all, is that of confining us to the Use of three Terms, and telling us that it is against all the Laws of Logic to add a fourth. A very pretty Contrivance truly! They know that four is a Majority to three, and therefore modestly injoin us not to take the Benefit of Numbers, by which they very well know the weightiest Questions are carried in the most august Assemblies in the World.

These are some of the many Hardships under which we labour, and from which we hope, in due Time, to be relieved, by the Wisdom and Authority of some future Parliament: But, till this can be effectually done, we have a modest Proposal to make to the Public, in which we hope for the Attention and Indulgence of proper Judges.—The present Age is justly famous, and will be so to late Posterity, for the public Spirit it has shewn in encouraging and rewarding great and useful Designs and Undertakings, worthy the Regard of a wise and powerful Nation. What a glorious Reward has been settled by the Authority of Parliament for the Discovery of the Longitude? How many Patents have been procured! How many Subscriptions set on foot for the Inventors and Improvers of any useful Branch of Science, Trade, and Manufacture! But nothing has yet been done of a public Nature for the Encouragement of new Improvements in the Way of Reasoning, Arguing, or Disputing, which are very much wanted on our Side of the Question. Now there are TWO great Articles which our Adversaries have

have wantonly rejected as useleſs and impracticable, have over and over again abſolutely diſclaimed any Pretence, Kind, or Degree of Right, Title, Property, or Uſe in them; and therefore they may, by a competent Authority, be fairly aſſigned, made over, confirmed to us and our Heirs or Aſſigns for ever, and a Patent be drawn to intitle us to all the Profits, Advantages, and Emoluments that ſhall at any time ariſe or proceed from a proper Uſe and Improvement of the ſaid TWO Articles, in the Manner of *The Mine Adventurers*, *The Wreck-Fiſhery*, or *The Discoverers of new Countries*. And theſe are,

I. The Proof of Negatives.

II. The Reconciling Contradictions.

Theſe two Points have been long conſidered not only as *Deſiderata*, but as *Deſperata*, by the generality of the Learned; and therefore every Attempt to clear, recover, and explain theſe very difficult Branches of Knowledge, and make them uſeful to the Interests of Society, ought to intitle the Adventurers to the equitable Favour and Indulgence of the Public.—As to the *fiſt* then, I would humbly propoſe, that the ſole Power of *proving Negatives* may be intirely veſted in US, *i. e.* in a ſelect Number of Gentlemen, in truſt for the whole Body, when we ſhall be hereafter formed into a regular Society, in as full and abſolute a Manner as the *Probat* of Wills is in the Eccleſiaſtical Courts. I expect to be aſked, *But how ſhall this be done?* —Done! Never fear: The ſame Authority that gives us a Right to the End, gives us alſo a Right to the Means: He that gives us an abſolute and unlimited Power, leaves us the ſole Judges of the Ways and Means by which it is to be executed. You cannot

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be so weak as to imagine we shall ever attempt it by the ordinary Rules of the vulgar and popular Logic; these, you know, we absolutely disclaim, and are therefore projecting a Scheme, and soliciting an Establishment, in direct Opposition to theirs; and if ever this can be procured in a legal and parliamentary Way, it immediately intitles us to the only legal and parliamentary Method of Proof both in Civil and Ecclesiastical Courts, which is an *Oath*. Every body knows that a Will is of no Validity or Force till it be duly proved in the proper Court upon the Oath of the *Executor*, that from thenceforth it has the Force and Power of a *Testamentary Record*, and, being deposited in the proper Office, remains an unalterable Statute, or Decree, like *the Laws of the Medes and Persians*. In the same manner, I would humbly propose, that, by virtue of the above-said Grant, or Patent, a certain Office may be erected, under the Direction of some select Members of our Society, who shall be called, *The Commissioners of the Negative Office*, and be invested with full Power and Authority to make or receive, from time to time, due and legal Proof of such Kind of Negatives, whether in Religion, Law, or Politics, as the Necessity of public or private Affairs may require, which shall from thenceforth be considered as Matters of perpetual and unalterable Record, and being deposited in proper Cells, Cabinets, Rooms, or Repositories, like those in the *Tower of London*, shall, upon proper Occasions, be produced as undeniable Evidence, in any Debate or Controversy, upon religious Subjects, or any Matter or Cause depending in Parliament, or any of his Majesty's Courts of Law or Justice, against which no Exception, Protection, or Wager at Law, shall,

shall, in any Cause, or on any Pretence, be allowed. And as this will be a Matter of great Advantage to our Society in particular, so we propose to make it as extensive and beneficial to the Public as possible: For this Purpose we intend to erect a large and commodious Building in some convenient Place within the City of *Westminster*, for the better Regulation and Management of the above-said *Negative-Office*, and Reception and Accommodation of the *Commissioners*, a certain Number of whom shall be obliged to reside and give constant Attendance during the four several Law-Terms, and the Sessions of Parliament, for the more easy and convenient Supply of such Kinds and Quantities of *Negatives*, duly proved and stamped according to Law, as shall be required, for the more speedy and effectual Dispatch of either public or private Affairs. And as the intire *Manufacture and Property of Negatives* will be vested in our Society, so we propose farther to supply the Public at a much cheaper and easier rate than has hitherto been done by the usual irregular Methods of Proceeding. We have been credibly informed, that, for Want of such Regulations as we have projected, certain evil-minded People, cunningly foreseeing that there would be a great Demand for *Negatives*, upon certain weighty and urgent Occasions, had maliciously contrived to monopolize and engross the whole Commodity into very few Hands, who, taking the Advantage of the public Necessity, combined together to raise them to a most exorbitant Price, insomuch that (if we are not misinformed) some Persons, who are under an unavoidable Necessity of purchasing at any rate, were forced to pay more than 90 *per Cent.* above the intrinsic Value.

lue. This is a Grievance of a public Nature, which calls aloud for Redress, and which, for the future, we propose intirely to prevent, by supplying any Person, from time to time, with small Quantities, or even single ones, upon urgent Occasions, at very cheap and reasonable rates, with proper Allowance to those who take a Quantity, and a large Draw-back to be made to those who shall make due Proof that they are purchased solely for the Benefit of the Public, either at Home, or in any of our foreign Plantations; for whose Relief and Benefit this Scheme is principally calculated and intended.

Nor is the Article of *Reconciling Contradictions* of less Consequence to us and the Public, than that of *proving Negatives*, being both absolutely necessary for the Support of our Society, and by Consequence for the Welfare of the Public. I mean such *Contradictions* as are generally and vulgarly so called, and esteemed as opposite as Black and White, as Light and Darknes. And these are of two Sorts, 1. Religious. 2. Political.—Of the former I have a long List now lying before me, some *direct, or in Terms*, others *indirect, or consequential*; on the clearing and reconciling of which, the Interest and Credit of our Society greatly depends. And forasmuch as this cannot easily be done by the ordinary Rules of the vulgar Logic, we are therefore compelled to have recourse to such Ways and Means as the Favour of our Superiors, and the Powers to be conveyed to us, by our future Grant, or Patent, shall allow. We humbly propose therefore, that in one Part of the Structure to be hereafter built for the Use of the *Negative-Office*, another Office shall be erected by the Name of the *Contradiction-Office*,  
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under the Direction of proper Persons who shall be called the *Commissioners* of the said *Office*. Their Business shall be to collect and digest, under proper Heads and distinct Classes, such apparent Contradictions as have at any time, within such a certain Term of Years (to be directly specified and expressed), been published and defended by any great and learned Prelate, or other eminent Divine, without a legal and judicial Animadversion, either from the Convocation, their proper Diocesan, either House of Parliament, or some one of his Majesty's Courts in *Westminster Hall*; it being a reasonable Presumption, if they were really and truly *Contradictions* to their own Sentiments (at other times written, published, and defended) to the known Sense of Mankind, and the Laws of the Land, they could not have escaped such Censure and Animadversions from their Superiors, the Omission of which ought to be a certain and indubitable Proof to all Persons of Modesty and Ingenuity, that they were not really such Contradictions as this Case supposes, nor merited any such Censure or Animadversion; and therefore, that the Silence of such Superiors may be reasonably supposed to amount to an Approbation, grounded on the Laws of the Land, the Interest of the Public, or the real Truth and Nature of Things. That each of these being fairly and severally drawn out, engrossed, and attested, under the Seal and Sign-manual of the proper Officers of the Commission, shall be produced in any Matter of religious Debate or Controversy, and pleaded with the same Force as Precedents, or adjudged Cases in Law or Equity; and that a Case so stated, signed, and attested by the proper Officers, shall be allowed as direct Proof upon any given Question,

against which no Objection shall be made, or Exception legally taken. Such a Regulation as this, we humbly presume, will be of singular Use to several eminent Persons, who will hereby be discharged from any Necessity of attempting to reconcile any apparent Contradictions betwixt *Interest* and *Conscience*, *Subscriptions* and *Doctrine*, or *Doctrine* and *Practice*, into which they may have been betrayed in the several Gradations of their Studies and Promotions; and will be, at the same time, of infinite Service to others, who shall at any time hereafter be compelled to make use of the same Means, in Pursuit of the same Ends: And for the greater Encouragement of all such Ecclesiastical Persons as shall have recourse to our Office, for such attested Copies, &c. they shall receive them *gratis*, without Fee or Reward, as an Acknowledgment of the unspeakable Service they have done to our Society, under the Mask of a direct and avowed Opposition.

As for *Political Contradictions*, they are of two Sorts: *Doctrinal* or *Practical*, both which are unavoidable in the Course of a long perplexed, unsteady Administration, such as often has, and often hereafter, may happen, in this, as well as other Kingdoms and Countries. Of these too I have a long List lying before me,—*Sed Cynthia aurem vellit*— which, as they are not to be reconciled by the popular and vulgar Forms of Logic and Argumentation, must of Necessity have recourse to other Methods; if therefore any such Contradictions have been at any time reconciled by a Majority of Votes in either House of Parliament, such Contradictions so reconciled, shall be forthwith entered in our Office, and be deemed and considered as Matters of perpetual and unalterable Record. And if  
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any Minister should be so unhappy as to be pushed by an Opposition, to reconcile any contradictory Speeches or Measures, which shall be maliciously laid to his Charge, he shall, in every such Case, apply himself to our Office, for a *Writ of Reconciliation* of the afore-said *Contradiction*; which being signed and sealed by the Majority of our Commissioners, and duly stamped in such manner as the Law shall direct, shall from that Time be deemed a legal Protection, and be effectually pleaded in Bar, to any malicious, retrospective Inquiries into any *contradictory Speeches, Affirmations, Declarations, Promises, or Practices* of the said Minister, on whose Generosity we shall depend for such a valuable Compensation, as his particular Circumstances may require and admit, and our seasonable and necessary Assistance may be reasonably thought to deserve.

You see, Dear Sir, a rough and imperfect Draught of my general Scheme, which I intirely submit to your Correction. I shall only add a Word or two, 1. To shew its Excellency and Usefulness, and how much more reasonable it is than that of our Adversaries. 2. To give a few general Hints to all our Friends, which may be useful in the Prosecution of our great Design.

The Excellency of our general Scheme appears in this, that it is reasonable, regular, and consistent: Our Foundation is laid upon good *Terra firma*, where our Settlement lies, the Interests and Enjoyments of which are the Objects of all our Senses, which *Senses* (as the Believers themselves acknowledge) are \* *infallible*: And therefore, whilst we give up ourselves to the Di-

\* Sensus non possunt falli.

rection of our Senfes, we are under the Direction of five or six *infallible Guides*. And what can any reasonable Man desire more to keep him in the right Way? The Perceptions of these infallible Guides are so vivid and strong, their Light so glaring, their Evidence so irresistible, that all Mankind are agreed to call it *Common Sense*; and the Inferences, Conclusions, and Deductions, drawn from them, is called *Reason*; for all Men agree, that *Reason* presupposes and depends upon *Common Sense*, and cannot subsist without it. So far we are safe under infallible Direction; and here our Guides advise us to sit down and enjoy ourselves, and make the most of the present; but if we be restless and uneasy, and want to be making further Discoveries, they refuse to go with us, and leave us to grope out our Way by ourselves, through Darkness and Uncertainty; which we think to be a bold and dangerous Adventure, and therefore are resolved to know when we are well, and run no Hazard in Pursuit of Uncertainties.

But the *Believing Scheme* is the direct contrary to all this: No visible Foundation; no infallible Direction; all is Fiction, Chimera, and Romance; their Structure is like a *Cone*, or a *Pyramid inverted*, the *Base* of which is at an invisible and infinite Distance above the Clouds, and its *Vertex* terminating in some little indivisible Point of brute Matter: So that, instead of the regular and natural Ascent from the Bottom to the Top, their Progression is from the Top to the Bottom, like those bold Adventurers, who fly down a Rope from the Top of a Church-Steeple; or, like wanton Girls that crawl down Stairs with their Heads foremost, to the manifest Hazard of their Noses, if not of  
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their Necks. In short, the one is infallibly safe and certain, so far as it goes : The other is full of Terror, Uncertainty, and Danger. It is therefore the Interest of Mankind to know when they are well, to keep in the safe Way, to run no Hazard in Pursuit of invisible fairy Treasures, but thankfully to enjoy the numberless Pleasures that are ready provided to their Hands ; and to convince and persuade the silly credulous Part of our Species to do the same, is the highest Act of Benevolence to our Fellow-Creatures. And as this is principally intended for the Benefit of the next Age, there being very little Hope of making more Converts in this, our first and great Concern must be to prevent the fatal Impressions of Prejudice and Superstition that may be made upon the Minds of the growing Generation. For this End, we must exert all our Interest and Power to discourage and suppress the numberless *Charity and Grammar Schools*, erected in all Parts of these Kingdoms. The Minds of Children are tender and flexible, apt to receive and retain any Impressions that may be made upon them, by the Affection or Authority of their Teachers and Governors, and when these are applied to flatter their natural Vanity, under Pretence of informing their Understanding, no Wonder they are easily admitted, and with great Difficulty, if ever erased out of their Minds. Here, forsooth, they are taught fine Lessons of the Dignity of human Nature, and the glorious Prerogatives of immortal Souls ; they are told, that the great Difference between Man and Man, does not depend upon the Distinctions of Birth or Fortune, but upon the imaginary Excellencies of superior Knowledge, Probity, Piety, and a Sense of Religion ; that therefore a

*pious Beggar* is better than an *ungodly Squire*; and that a *poor believing Labourer* is more excellent in the Sight of God than an *unbelieving Lord*; and that whatever Figure they may either of them make, whatever Fortune either of them may meet with here, in the next World all shall be set right; that the humble, faithful, persevering Christian, shall there enjoy an eternal State of unspeakable Happiness, whilst their ungodly Superiors shall be doomed to endless Misery and Despair. These fine Notions, so agreeable to the natural Vanity of Mankind, tend to destroy all that necessary Subordination, on which the Peace and Order of Society is known to depend. This spirits up the lower Part of Mankind to renounce that reasonable Dependance and Subjection, which they naturally owe to their Superiors in Birth and Fortune, and makes them forget that they were intended for nothing higher than to be Vassals and Beasts of Burden to their Betters, whose Will and Pleasure ought to be the sole Rule and Measure of their religious, moral, political, and social Conduct. No wonder, therefore, they are so tenacious of those religious Principles, which seem to raise them from their original Obscurity, and set them upon a level with the best Part of Mankind. This is a bad Story, but this is not the worst. Our Universities are the Bane and Pest of the Nation; there the fond indigested Principles of the Nurse, the Grand-mother, the School-dame, and the Parson, are formed into Systems, and so deeply riveted in the Heads and Hearts of the young People, that not one in a thousand has the Courage to contradict or oppose them. Here they are quickly taught the Art of Wrangling, by which they pretend to justify these

these ridiculous Systems, and even to act offensively against the prevailing Principles and Practices of the polite World, and especially if they get into holy Orders (as they call them) and a Cure of Souls, they grow faucy and unsupportable to People of Taste and Figure; insomuch that I have known a *mere Country Parson*, who hardly knew the Difference betwixt a Pointer and a Setting-dog, pretend to be as wise as a *Justice of the Quorum*, or even as the *Lord of the Manor*.—And further, to shew their irreconcilable Aversion to our Principles and Society, they have erected in each University a *Protestant Inquisition*, in which they pretend to judge, censure, and punish such of their Members as have Sense and Courage enough to oppose their Systems of Religion and Orthodoxy, and write or speak of our Side of the Question: Witness the outrageous Persecution of a few honest, inquisitive, penetrating Gentlemen, about seven Years ago, at *Trinity College in Oxford*, and the late barbarous Usage of some of our Friends, this very Year at *Cambridge*. When we justly charge all this upon the Ignorance, the Pride, the persecuting Spirit of Priests, who, as *John Dryden* observes, are in all Religions, the same stupid, insolent, domineering Tyrants, whenever they are trusted with Power; they immediately insult us with a long Bead-roll of illustrious Names, such as *Bacon, Boyle, Pascal, Grotius, Clarendon, Nelson, Locke, Addison, Newton, Cheyne, &c.* who, though Laymen, yet believed as heartily, and wrote as learnedly, in Defence of their Superstition, as any Priest of them all,—Ay, and a very good Reason may be given for it; they had all been bred up in the same dull Way, had sucked in the same early Preju-

dices with their Mothers Milk, had run through the Pedantry of Grammar Schools, and were thence sent to receive the finishing Stroke of orthodox Stupidity at these Universities. Had these Gentlemen had a *modern polite Education*, we should have seen them in a different Way of Thinking, Writing, and Acting, and, perhaps, as avowed Enemies to Priestcraft and Superstition, as any of our Society. So long, therefore, as these Universities subsist and flourish, we have little Reason to expect any Good: Our Interests and Principles are incompatible with theirs; either they must sink, or we must suffer; till they fall, we can have no reasonable Hope of rising to any tolerable Degree of Credit or Power, much less to an Establishment. We must therefore, upon all Occasions, bear our Testimony loudly against them; we must display and aggravate the secret, as well as known, Irregularities of those Jesuitical Societies; not forgetting especially the late Affair at *Wadham* College; and strongly insinuate something more than bare Suspicions of the same or greater Guilt in others, who are so cunning at present as to conceal it from the World; and at the same time take care, among our intimate Friends, to lash these impertinent Pedants for their unmannerly Behaviour to a worthy learned Gentleman, for doing no more than his Betters have done before him, and which, upon our Principle of *natural Religion*, we are able and ready to defend and justify\*. Thus we have them under the Lash on both Sides of the Question. *The Guilt* (if it be a Crime), *or the barbarous Severity* (if it were none), *must be charged upon the*

\* *Vide* Rights of the Church, p. 264.

*whole Society.* And what a Handle does this give us to condemn them all in the Gross, as Enemies of Liberty, and Seminaries of Slavery and Superstition, where no Person of Taste, Rank, or Figure, should venture to trust their Children for Education? No, no, let them, if it be necessary and feasible, learn to read, write, and spell at Home; let due care be taken to keep them in good Health and Spirits, by such Exercises, as are fit for their Age and Quality, that they may not grow low-spirited, sickly, and superstitious, by too much Confinement, Reading, and other ungentleman-like Employments. When they are of a proper Age, let them be brought to Town, and introduced into the best Company, at the *Playhouse*, the *Opera*, the *Masquerade*, the *Chocolate-house*, the *Bagnio*, the *Tavern*, &c. And when they are sufficiently glutted with the Wit and Gallantries of their own Country; then, if it be thought expedient, and their Constitution and Fortune will bear it, let them travel, make the Tour of *Europe* with a decent Equipage, under the Direction of a *French* or *Swiss Valet-de-Chambre*, but not be confined to the narrow pedantic Rules of Priests, who have the Vanity to be called *Governors*, and behave accordingly. Let them be sure to keep an exact Journal of all the memorable Events that shall befall them, and all the Curiosities they may meet with in their March, particularly where they met with the best Wine and the finest Women, what Countesses or Duchesses kept the most brilliant Assembly, how many *Billets-doux* they wrote and received, how many Intrigues upon their Hands with Ladies of the first Quality in all the Courts of *Europe*, how many Rencounters with Marquisses, Counts,

58 *An Essay for the better Regulation, &c.*

Counts, and Dukes, in Honour of the Fair. Let them besides keep a Catalogue of the most celebrated Courtisans, Fidlers, Singers, and Painters; let them pick up all the Stories of vicious Priests and lewd Nuns; let them learn to be very arch upon the ridiculous Pageantry and legendary Tales of the *Romish* Worship, with proper Inuendo's of Parallels at home. And when they have gleaned up a tolerable Taste of *Modern Languages*, and made a decent Collection of *Modern Antiquities*, Paintings, Busto's, Coins, and Medals; then let them return home, laden with Politencs and Experience, for the Honour and Service of their own Country, and ten thousand to one but we have them Body and Soul in the Interest of our Society.

I have insensibly drawn this Epistle into a greater Length than I intended, and fear I have tired your Patience. I have but one Word more to add, to which I am sure you will take no Exception—that I conclude,

*Dear Sir,*

*Yours,*



AN  
E S S A Y  
ON  
H O N O U R,  
IN  
SEVERAL LETTERS,

Published in the

WEEKLY MISCELLANY.

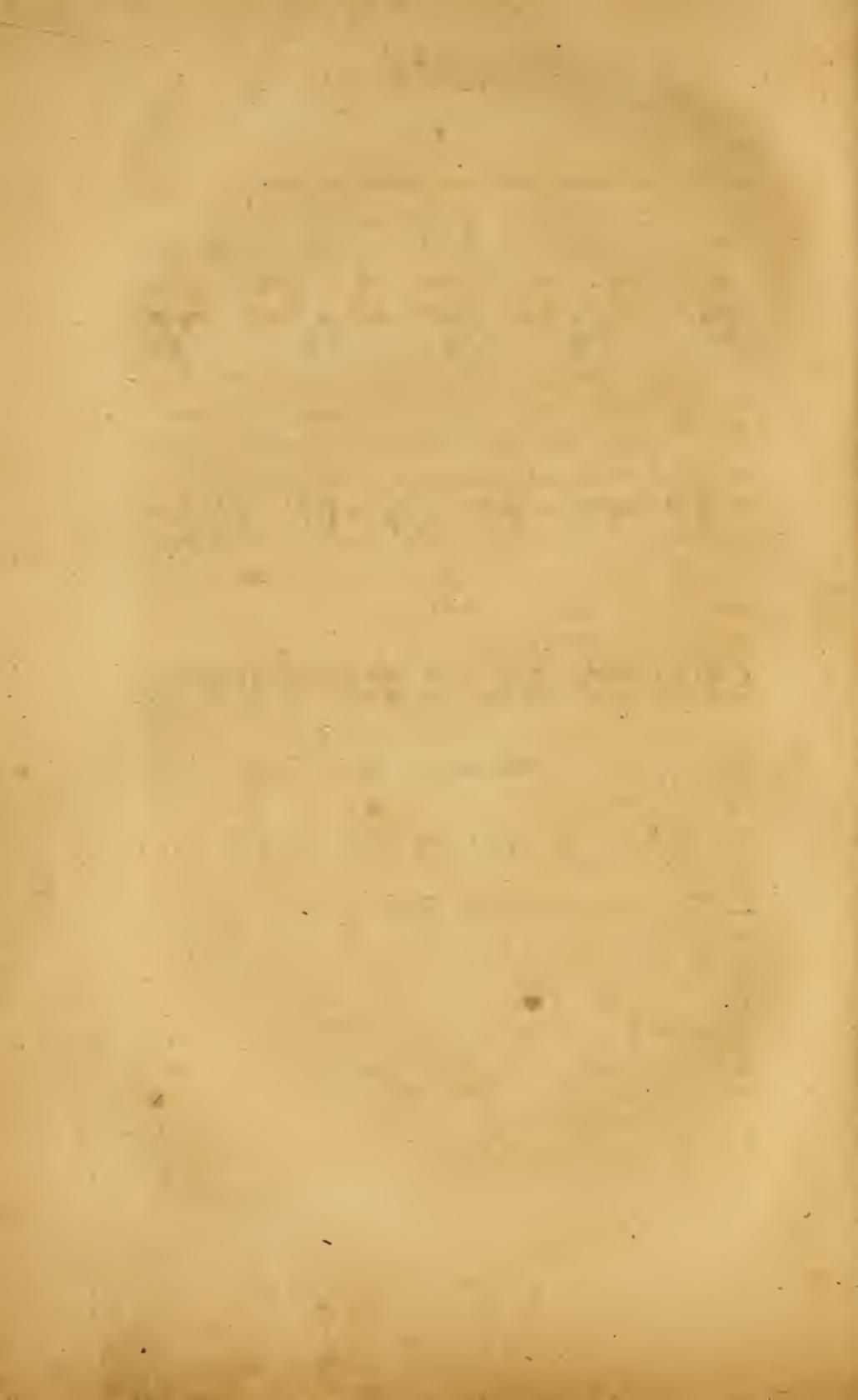
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*By* Mr. TIMOTHY HOOKER.

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With a PREFACE, by R. HOOKER, Esq;

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## P R E F A C E.

*A*S the Improvement and Gratification of my Fellow Creatures, by useful Instruction, or innocent Entertainment, is my constant Study, my greatest Pleasure, and my highest Ambition, I have reprinted the following Letters in this Form, hoping and believing, that it may be the Means of spreading the Knowledge, and Increasing the Influence, of them. An Essay on Honour cannot fail of raising the Curiosity of some of the Wealthy, the Noble, and the Ambitious, who are the forwardest to lay claim to the Character of a Man of Honour; in an Age so full of base, sordid, abject, mean Passions and Designs, no Subject could be more seasonable, nor any thing more likely, to make an Impression than this Essay, written with so much Strength, both of Sentiment and Expression, with Politeness and Elegancy, Wit and Fancy. I am not acquainted with any Author, who is more happy in the Power of fixing the Attention, captivating the Admiration, and commanding the Passions, of his Readers. A most agreeable Ingenuity runs through the Whole, and all the Way pleases; sometimes Flashes of Imagination dart out with a glaring Light, at other times a pleasant Vein of Humour,

*Humour, or a lively apt Story entertains ; whilst every Stroke of Fancy, every Point of Satire carries Argument and Conviction, and gives Light, as well as Warmth, to the Subject. He writes with such a continual Fire, one would be apt to think that he struck out every thing at a Heat ; and that his Conception was able to keep Pace with the swiftest Pen ; but, from the Solidity and Propriety of his Sense, we should judge that, with Labour and Pains, he dug deep for it as for hid Treasure. I shall say no more, though it is difficult to say too much, in Praise of this Composition, but proceed to say something of the Author, who, like a consummate Beauty, that has lived always at home, will surprize and charm wherever he appears, and occasion an Inquiry to be made after him.—Of his Name and Family the Title-Page has informed the Reader ; and, in one of his former Letters, he acquainted me that he is a younger Branch of the Hookers, though, agreeably to the old Proverb, his Performances shew him to be, by much, the better Gentleman. I inkerit only their honest Principles and honourable Intentions, while this Gentleman is in possession of their whole Genius, and has the Generosity not only to own, but to assist, his poor Relation.—The first Thing that I read of his, and which put me upon inquiring after the Author, and begging his Correspondence for the Miscellany, was intitled — Proposals for the Improvement of Free-Thinking. He had, before, published some Reasons for abolishing certain obsolete Statutes (meaning the Ten Commandments),*

mandments), of which I need say no more than that they passed in the World for Dr. Swift's. The two justly celebrated Pieces upon Reason, and the Contempt of the Clergy, were written by the same Hand. But his first and greatest Performance was written at the Age of 22, and put to the Press some Years afterwards (in the Year 1713) by the late eminent Dr. Knight, who was his Tutor, and Dr. Grabe, who honoured him, though so young, with a great Intimacy, and every Instance of friendly, nay, paternal, Tenderness. This Piece was intitled, God's Judgments upon the Gentile Apostatized Church; wherein he treats of the Times of Anti-Christ, and the Signs of their near Approach; and discovers such a Share of Knowledge in the Hebrew and Jewish Learning, of the Fathers, and other antient and modern Authors, such a masterly Understanding, such a Sedateness and Composure of Mind, such a pious and evangelical Temper, that any one would naturally have imagined the Writer to have been an old Divine, grown mature by a long Course of Reading and Reflection, and spiritual by a long and familiar Acquaintance with his Bible and his God in Prayer. It is sufficient for his Credit, that two such Scholars and Divines, as Dr. Knight and Dr. Grabe, thought his Work worthy of the Press, and of their particular Patronage; but I shall cite the Opinion of another eminent Scholar and Writer, Dr. Lee; who, in a Letter to the Author, printed in the Preface, gives this Character of the Book—That it is  
written

written “with Sobriety and Judgment— That  
 “ he had no manner of Curiosity to see what had  
 “ been written on the Subject in other Nations,  
 “ having read and considered leisurely what this  
 “ Author had written upon it in England ;  
 “ than which, says the Doctor, I can see no-  
 “ thing more primitive, nor can expect any  
 “ thing more candid and satisfactory from the  
 “ greatest Patriarch.”—And, in another Place,  
 he wishes, “ that it were published not only  
 “ in England, but in some other Languages also  
 “ that might render it more universal :” And,  
 I hear, it has been translated into High Dutch.  
 The Great and Good Archbishop Sharp ap-  
 proved of it very much ; and the late Earl of  
 Oxford, a very able Judge of those kind of Stu-  
 dies, intended to have provided for him, if he  
 had continued much longer in the Administra-  
 tion. Dr. Wells, in his Commentary on  
 the Revelations, has made great use of it, ac-  
 knowledges that he received considerable Helps  
 from it, and recommends it to all Persons stu-  
 dious in those Matters. It has been long out of  
 Print, but a Friend of the Author’s has assured  
 me, that if he were in any Place where he could  
 have recourse to Libraries, he would reprint it,  
 with Additions and Improvements : But, such  
 seems to be the Activity of this Writer’s Spirits,  
 such the Warmth of his Zeal for Religion, I  
 dare say, a better Edition of one of his former  
 Pieces is not the only, or the greatest Loss, which  
 the Public has sustained by his improper Situa-  
 tion.— It is natural for a Dwarf to look upon  
 Persons

Persons of but a common Stature as Giants in Nature; and it is nothing strange that such a one as I am, should look up at another so much above him with some Astonishment; but, surely, if we compare this Writer's first with his last Performances, he must appear, to Persons much taller than myself, to be a good deal above the ordinary Size. If you read over the former, you would think them the Product of his advanced Years, while the latter carry all the Fire and Fancy of his juvenile Age: It is hard to say which is most wonderful, the Maturity of 60 at 22, or the Vigour and Sprightliness, the Ease and Gaiety of 22 at the Age of 60. He does not seem ever to have been a Boy, and is not likely ever to become an old Man. The Uncommonness of his Genius resembles that of a Comet, which does not rise and set regularly; though, in its Influence, it is more like the Sun, which cheers and enlivens every Thing that beholds it, and shews the Defects, or Beauties, of every Object that it shines upon. I am sorry that I cannot do Justice to his Character, without throwing Disgrace upon others; but I must inform the Reader, that, though he still writes in so polite, so chearful, and engaging a Manner, his Youth and middle Age were spent in the Capacity of a Country Schoolmaster, and the Remainder in that of a Country Clergyman, in an obscure Village. Would any one think it possible that he could write so very agreeably, who, for a long Course of Years, has lived so disagreeable a Life? Or, that there should be so little Religion in a Christian, so little Genero-

sity, Honour, and Humanity, in a civilized Nation, as to permit Men, capable of doing God and the Public so much Service, to be buried in Obscurity; as not to distinguish such extraordinary Instances of personal Merit; as not to compassionate a sublime Genius, an enlarged Soul, associated with low and little Minds, while some others are advanced to more conspicuous Posts; who, to speak decently, would not be missed, if they were to change Places with my Country Cousin. I speak my Thoughts the more freely of this deserving neglected Gentleman, because I cannot be suspected to speak with Partiality or sinister Views. Though he does me the Honour to claim Kindred with me, I never had the Pleasure of being personally known to him. The Esteem and Concern which I have for him, proceed solely from a generous Regard to his great Merit, and an affecting Sense of his hard Fate. But so, this Writer has told us, it must be in the latter Days. The Worldly Spirit, which reigns so generally in the Hearts of the present Age, was to precede the Coming of the Prince of this World to make his last Effort, in the Person of Anti-Christ, and is too plain a Symptom that he will probably appear in a short Time. I have nothing farther to add, by way of Preface, but an Apology to my Relation for writing these short Memoirs of his Life (the best that I could procure from his Friends and Acquaintance); but, as he has been buried almost forty Years, he may very fairly be considered as a dead Man,

R. HOOKER.



A N  
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O N  
H O N O U R.

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L E T T E R I.

 N a late Letter I took notice of a dangerous Evil, arising from a Misapplication of Names and Confusion of Characters, and particularly with regard to those wrong-headed Gentlemen are who the great Pretenders to *Free-thinking*. I shall now consider another Species of Ambiguities, commonly called *Men of Honour*; to which all Men make Pretensions, and to which not one in a thousand has a real Title. I shall endeavour to explain the true Meaning of the Words, and rescue them from the Abuses of common Speech, from whence it will evidently appear who are really and truly *Men of Honour*, and who they are that vainly assume the Title, without any real Foundation of Claim to support it. Mr. *Addison*

has long ago observed in one of his *Tatlers*, that in modern *Estimation*, the single Point of Honour was Courage in Men and Chastity in Women. Whence it comes to pass, that every Man who dares to send, or accept a Challenge, and every pretty Female that dares to refuse one, have an indisputable Title to *Honour*: And he that has Religion and good Sense enough to refuse a Challenge, is in Danger of being kicked out of the fashionable World for a Scoundrel and a Coward; and every Woman who has once been so unhappy as to offend in Point of Chastity, cannot, by the most sincere Repentance, by all the merciful Abatements that ought to be made for human Frailty, and a thousand amiable Qualities besides, thrown into the Balance, be ever able to wipe off an indelible Mark of Infamy fixed upon her by all the ill-natured Prudes and Coquets about Town.

I have often thought that from these false Notions one might account for numberless Absurdities in common Life, of which I shall only mention two or three. There is many a Man, who, if you were to charge him with Blasphemy, Adultery, Fornication, or Drunkenness, would hear it with Patience at least, if not with Pleasure, and might perhaps have the preposterous Vanity of affecting to be thought more wicked than he really was; but if you were to give that Man the Lye, he would take fire at once, and nothing but Blood should give him Satisfaction. Now whence can this proceed, but from an Opinion that a Lye is a certain Mark of Cowardice, that none but an abject Scoundrel could be guilty of a Thing that he would be ashamed to own, and that Lying was  
the

the most infamous sneaking Vice that could infect the Heart or Tongue of Man.

Hence also proceeds the common mistaken Notions of *Posts of Honour*, by which is commonly understood no more than certain Posts or Offices to which Precedence with Titles and Badges of Honour, are usually affixed, without any Consideration of the Merit of the Persons, the Nature of the Service, the Means by which they were obtained, and the Uses that are made of them. When the Honour and Service of their Prince and Country are the only Views aimed at in erecting and filling these Posts, when they are freely bestowed as the Rewards of superior Merit, and are executed with Fidelity and Courage, they are then really and truly *Posts of Honour*; but if they be only erected upon private, personal, and corrupt Views, purchased by the best Bidder, or bestowed as the inglorious Rewards of Venality and Prostitution, and executed with all the low Cunning of a Stockjobber, or a Jockey.—In all such Cases, as Mr. *Addison* finely expresses it, *The Post of Honour is the private Station*.

But the most absurd Abuse of the Word, is, *Debts of Honour*; by which are usually understood only such Debts as are contracted by *Play*, or *Wagers*, whether at the *Quadrille Table*, or *New-market*. *Lady TOWNLY* is scrupulously punctual in discharging her *Play Debts*, but has no Patience to pay her Money to a Pack of slovenly dirty *Tradesmen*, who, for several Years, have had the *Honour* to provide Food and Raiment for her Ladyship and her Family; which, if the Rascals had either Manners, or Conscience, they would think a sufficient Reward for all the Time and

Expenſe they could poſſibly employ in ſuch an *honourable* Service.

To rectify theſe, and many other prevailing Miſtakes upon this Head, I ſhall endeavour to throw together a few occaſional Thoughts concerning the true Notion of *Honour*, in Oppoſition to the popular Prejudices and Miſtakes about it, with the true Uſes and Abuſes of both.

True *Honour* is ſeated in the *Soul*. It is a Kind of *Fons Perennis*, riſing from a generous Heart, and flowing with a natural and eaſy Deſcent into all the different Traces of Life and Channels of Duty, reſreſhing, invigorating, and adorning all the Faculties of the Soul, the Language of the Tongue, the very Air of the Face, and Motions of the Body. It diſplays itſelf in a natural unaffected Greatneſs and Firmneſs of Mind, improved by a Train of wiſe and religious Reflections, and generous Actions, in which perſonal Virtue and real Merit truly conſiſt. The *Jewiſh Cabbaliſts* had a pretty Allegory to expreſs this Truth as founded in the original Make and Frame of Nature. They tell us, That when *Mofes* deſcribes the great River of *Eden*, branching out into four Streams, and watering the whole Garden of God, *Gen. ii. 10.* we are to underſtand by *Paradiſe* the Soul of Man. The River was this *Connata Virtus*, this original Fountain of Truth and Virtue, ariſing from the very Root and Eſſence of the Soul, and branching out into the four Cardinal Virtues, and all the other lower Degrees and Kinds of Virtue, even the *inferior Morals* of Affability, Politeneſs, Good-nature, and Good-manners; that in ſhort there lies hid in the Root of every human Soul,

however

however defaced by Ignorance, and deformed by Sin, *A Fund of Good, an Oracle of Truth*; which, when assisted by a happy Concurrence of external Causes, such as particularly the Structure of the Organs, and the Texture of the Blood and Spirits, will, by due Culture and Discipline, naturally exert itself in a Train of great, generous, and beneficent Actions, suitable to the original Grandeur and Dignity of its Nature. This is what *Virgil*, in his Pythagoric Stile, calls the *Ignæus Vigor & Cælestis Origo* of the human Soul.

• This, in the present ruinous State of human Nature, lies very often buried under the Ruins of Ignorance and Vice, like valuable Coins, Medals, Statues, Pillars, and other beautiful Ornaments of Architecture; or to speak more properly, that Order, Symmetry, and Proportion, which were as the Soul of the Structure, lie buried under the Ruins of a once famous and magnificent Building. Hence it comes to pass, that many an excellent Genius is lost to the World, lies hid among the Rubbish of Mankind, who, with proper Assistance, due Culture, and in a happy Situation, might have done Honour to human Nature, and been a public Blessing to Mankind.—*A Man of Honour*, considered in this Light, performs not only all the Acts of Virtue in public and private Life, but does them with a peculiar Propriety and Dignity of Behaviour, as the *Connoisseurs* in Writing, Music, Painting, Architecture, or even Dress, execute even the justest Designs, not only with Proportion and Truth, but with such Decorations, Embellishments, and Graces, as naturally flow from a fine Taste, and an improved Understanding. This alone, in *high Life*, makes *glorious Princes*,

*illustrious Heroes, gallant Commanders, vigilant Magistrates, and honourable Counsellors*; and, in the lower Degree of social Life, indulgent Husbands, tender Fathers, affectionate Friends, merciful Landlords and Masters, faithful Tenants and Servants, and executes all the relative Duties of Life with Justice and Honour. This is the true *εὐγενεια* and real Virtue, the only proper Foundation of all the honourable Distinctions among Men in all the different Stations of Life, and it was a just and wise Observation of the Poet\*.

*Nobilitas sola est atque unica Virtus.*

This is *true Honour*, which the greatest Princes upon Earth can neither give nor take away.

Men that have approved themselves thus eminently and illustriously good, have, in all Ages and Countries, been distinguished, by wise Princes and Governors, by certain honourable Titles and Ensigns of Dignity, expressive of their particular Merit, as might at once attract and command the Reverence of Inferiors, and encourage others to excel. And this has produced a secondary and improper Sense of the Word *Honour*, which, by a fatal Abuse of Language, has almost swallowed up the other, and is too often substituted in its room, meaning no more than the honourable Rewards and Titles usually bestowed upon Persons of superior Virtue. How it has happened that these honourable Titles have, in many Cases, been made hereditary, and entailed not only on the direct Line,

\* See a most excellent Treatise upon true Greatness by Mr. Rollin, in one of his Volumes upon the Study of the Belles Letters.

but even the collateral Branches of the Family, is not easily accounted for. If it were upon a Presumption that a wise and good Man could entail his moral and intellectual Accomplishments, as well as his Estate and Titles, upon the Heirs of his Body lawfully begotten, it was a very great Compliment to the Merit of the Father, as well as to the Virtue of the Mother; and it would be quite a right Institution, that a Race of virtuous and honourable Descendants should enjoy all the Honours and Privileges conferred upon their virtuous and honourable Progenitors. Were a Man unexperienced in human Nature and the frequent Instances of Degeneracy that abound in it, were he only to consider the general Course of Nature in the Animal and Vegetable Worlds, he might be tempted to conclude, that as all Animals and Vegetables produce their like with very little Variety and Deviation, but what arises from external and accidental Causes, Man also, the most perfect Creature, the Head and Lord of the mundane System, should do the same; and that the Poet argued very philosophically, as well as politely, when he said,

*Fortes Creantur fortibus & bonis.  
Est in juvenis, est in equis Patrum  
Virtus, nec imbellem feroces  
Progenerant aquilæ columbam.*

This was, indeed, a very pretty Compliment from a well-bred Man to a potent Emperor, and a generous Patron, but has more in it of the good Courtier than the good Philosopher. For sad Experience shews us the contrary; the best and wisest Man upon Earth

Earth has no Security whether his Heir shall be a wise Man or a Fool, a good Man or a Rake, a Patriot or a Pensioner, a Hero or a Sot. Many a flourishing Tree in the Herald's Office has produced some such sorry Sticks of Wood as could be reduced to no Form or Use, or admit of any Polish. It should seem therefore to be giving too much Credit to the Virtue of the present Possessor to entail such Degrees of Wealth and Honour upon his Posterity, as to enable them, if they prove vicious, to do as much Mischief to the World in time to come, as he had done Good in time past. This is an Entail of such a Nature, that no Demerit, except High-Treason against the Sovereign, can ever cut it off from the most unworthy Descendants. Why should it not also extend with as much Justice to their Estates and Fortunes, so as to secure them from ever being wasted, or diminished by Profusion and Extravagance, in bar to all the legal Demands of the honest and industrious Creditors? It must be owned that this is sometimes the Case, as it was thought a proper Precaution to secure a competent Provision of Fortune to attend the Honours of the Family, but with how much Justice to the Public, upon a thorough and circumstantial Survey of the Case, let any Man judge. I wish it could be said with any Appearance of Truth, that this is an invidious and impossible Supposition, and that the Stream of Honour never could be debased by passing through polluted Channels; that the legitimate Descendants of noble Ancestors never could *trallineate from their Kind* (as Mr. *Dryden* expresses it): But that such Instances really have happened where neither the natural nor intellectual Abilities of the Father, nor the  
Virtue

Virtue of the Mother, have ever been called in question, will, I think, require no Proof. And whenever this happens to be the Case, it would be a wise and useful Institution to erect another *Court of Honour*, another *Bench of Judges*, who, like the *Censors* in ancient *Greece* and *Rome*, and the most celebrated *Eastern Nations*, should have Power to strip the worthless Bearer of such honourable Distinctions as are a Reproach to his Demerit, and suspend or divert the Entail till a proper Person of the same Blood could be found, who, in the Judgment of the Court, might be thought worthy to wear them.

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## L E T T E R II.

I Believe it would be hard to produce any one Order of Knighthood in Christian Countries, who are not bound by the Statutes of their respective Foundations, principally, and among other Articles, to defend God's Holy Religion, the Immunities of the Church, and the Liberties of their Country, as well as the Honour of their Sovereign; to protect Widows and Orphans, to assist the Distressed, and to rescue the Helpless from Violence and Wrong, and to exert all other Acts of heroic and military Virtue; and that a Default in either of these, to which they solemnly bound themselves by their Installation Oath, should subject them to the infamous Penalties enjoined by the Rules of their Order, such as particularly with us, to have their Arms reversed, their Swords broke, and their Spurs hack'd off by the Master-Cook of the King's Kitchen: Which

Which I believe no Man elected into those *illustrious Bodies* would, at the Time of Election, think to be an unreasonable Punishment, however he may alter his Opinion afterwards, for sundry and special Reasons him thereunto moving. Now, I say, if a Train of virtuous and meritorious Actions, which alone could intitle a Man to those Honours, could not be able to protect him from the Infamy due to his Afterdemerit, it seems to be a peculiar Kind of Indulgence to the worthless Descendants of honourable Ancestors, who subsist purely upon the original Stock of Family Merit, (which they have been so far from improving that they have done nothing to support it) should yet upon that single Consideration, be screened from the Infamy due to their own personal Demerit.

That *personal Merit* is the sole Foundation of Honour is always confessed by those that bestow them, and whatever secret Services, or peculiar Kinds of Merit, were the real Ground of their Promotion, yet Forms and Appearances must still be kept up, all the public and private Virtues that can dignify and enoble human Nature are recited in the Body of the Patent, as the only meritorious Demand upon the Royal Fountain of Honour. This, at once, purges, as the Grave buries, all the natural and moral Defects of the Bearer; and the Encomiums in the *Patient* and the *Epitaph* are generally in Truth and Substance much the same. If it should ever happen under a weak or wicked Prince, or a corrupt Minister, (for such there have been, and may be again in the World,) that the only successful Recommendation to both should be a servile shameless Compliance with the Vices and Follies of a Court, or being thoroughly  
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dipped in all the dirty Schemes of Avarice and Ambition; if a Person who had no other Kind or Degree of Merit but an absolute Submission to their Commands, or a dexterous Execution of their most infamous Designs, should be rewarded with a Patent, what a glorious Catalogue of sublime Virtues, consummate Abilities, and heroic Actions would be crowded together to fill it up, and stuff out the solemn Farce of titular Greatness, to illustrate the Reason of the Grant, the Merit of the Receiver, and Justice and Favour of the Giver? Such the Satyrift tells us was once the State of Merit and Reward in antient Rome.

*Ille crucem scelexis pretium tulit, hic Diadema.*

*The same Villany that raised one Rogue to a Gibbet, raised another to a* — It must indeed be allowed that this was in a *Heathen* Country, and can never be suspected to happen in a *Christian* Nation; but if it should be possible for Christians to turn Heathens, as Heathens have turned Christians, the same Thing might perhaps happen again; and, in such a Case, all the Titles, Coronets, and Ribbands in the Universe could no more cure the moral Defects of such a Character than they could a wry Neck, a hump Back, a leprous Skin, or a rotten Constitution, though perhaps it might answer all the popular Notions and Purposes of Honour, more than the Integrity of a Saint, or the Knowledge of an Angel. The Bulk of Mankind, *qui stupet in titulis & imaginibus*, are caught by Noise and Shew. The pompous Sound of Titles and Glitter of Ornaments strike their Senses, attract their Attention

tion, raise their Admiration, and extort from them all that Reverence and Regard, that are due only to eminent and distinguished Merit; while real Virtue and true Honour pass silently through the World, unheeded and unrewarded, but by the happy discerning Few, who are sensible of its Merit, or enjoy the blessed Communications of its Influence.

When the glorious Spirits, whom Providence has appointed to be our Guardians and Protectors in this present State of Imperfection and Probation, survey the disordered State of human Nature, agitated by blind Passions, prejudiced by false Opinions, into erroneous Conclusions and wild Pursuits, they view us with the same Light, and with the same Emotions of Compassion and Charity, as *Monroe* did his Lunatic Patients in *Bedlam*, who miscal and misapply almost every Instance in which their Duty and Happiness is concerned. To those blessed Intelligences the silent Life of a generous, compassionate, beneficent Man is more truly honourable, than the Pageantry of Princes, the Pomp of Conquerors, and all the glorious Impertinence of State. To them an obscure good Man, doing secret Acts of Charity, relieving the Distressed, comforting the Miserable, and approving himself by Habits of Piety and Devotion to the great Author of his Being, appears more truly glorious than the Conqueror at the Head of an hundred thousand Men. To them the *Man of Rofs* appears in a fairer Light in the *Book of Remembrance*, and will make a much more illustrious Figure at the last great Day than *Alexander* or *Cæsar*, or *William the Conqueror*, though a *Christian*. For my own Part, when I consider the Bulk of Military Heroes, the Conquerors of Nations who stand  
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foremost in the Lists of Fame, I esteem them no better than so many *glorious Robbers*, and *illustrious Plunders*, born to be the Scourges and Plagues of Mankind, whose Memory descends to Posterity in no better Light than the Ravage of a Pestilence, the Sweep of an Inundation, the Burst of an Earthquake, or the Fury of a Conflagration; something magnificently dreadful, something very astonishing, but very shocking, full of Terror and big with Destruction: But to do Good, to be Lovers of Mankind, to alleviate the Distresses, and promote the Peace and Happiness of our Fellow-Creatures, is the highest Honour, the noblest Ambition, that can enter into the Heart of Man. But the Bulk of Mankind judge quite otherwise. Noise and Shew, Title and Equipage, Glitter and Grandeur constitute the whole Idea of Honour; and whoever can command an Interest sufficient to procure, and an Affluence sufficient to support them, becomes thereby not only a *Man of Honour*, but even a subordinate *Fountain of Honour*, enabled to produce others after his Kind, and propagate the honourable Species from Generation to Generation.

From what has been said, there appears to be a real and necessary Distinction betwixt a *Man of Honour*, and a *Person of Honour*, which, notwithstanding the Similitude of Sounds, and the seeming Affinity of Characters, are so far from being convertible Terms, that they convey quite distinct Ideas, and are very often as different as Light from Darkness. *The Man of Honour* is an Internal, the *Person of Honour* an External, the one a real, the other a fictitious, Character. The Words *Person* and *Persona* are generally viewed in that Light. No body imagines that

the *Dramatis Personæ* are real Characters, but borrowed Representations of Princes or Peasants, Heroes or Lovers, Harlequins or Philosophers. I am therefore never surpris'd to see or hear such Things attempted, said, or done, by a *Person* of Honour, which a *Man* of Honour would blush to think of. Would you see this Opposition of Characters, set in a true beautiful Light, please to read the famous Speech of *Caius Marius* (recorded by *Sallust*) to the *Roman* People upon his being chosen Commander in Chief in the Expedition against *Jugurtha*.

A *Person* of Honour may be a prophane irreligious Libertine, a penurious, proud, revengeful Coward, may insult his Inferiors, oppress his Tenants and Servants, debauch his Neighbours Wives or Daughters, defraud his Creditors, and prostitute his public Faith for a Protection, may associate with Sots and Drunkards, Sharpers, and Gamesters, in order to increase his Fortune: I say, it is not impossible that a *Person* of Honour may be guilty of all these; but it is absolutely impossible for a *Man* of Honour to be guilty of either.

*Lucilius is a Man of Honour, though not——  
Stuck o'er with Titles, nor hung round with Strings.*

His Estate honourably raised by his virtuous Ancestors, and improved by himself, is sufficient to support a handsome Figure, which he does with a decent Frugality; and to do a great deal of Good, which he does with Chearfulness, Generosity, and Prudence. In all his Commerce with Mankind, in every Article of public or private Life, he exerts a peculiar Dignity

nity of Behaviour, such as naturally flows from a generous Heart softened by Humanity, elevated by Religion, and directed by Prudence; conscious of none but virtuous Designs, and honourable Intentions. In him you see the sincere Christian, the loyal Subject, the firm Patriot, the indulgent Husband, the tender Father, the faithful Friend, the merciful Landlord, the compassionate Master, the generous Patron, the unwearied Advocate for the Poor, the Miserable, and Helpless; and in a Word the compleat *fine Gentleman*. He passes through all the various Scenes of Life like a River flowing with Blessings, conveying Beauty, Riches, and Plenty into every Channel and Country through which it passes.

*Clodius* is a *Person* of Honour, a scrubby Branch of an antient and honourable Stock, which for many Years has borne neither Fruit nor Blossom, but projected a noxious baneful Shade around it, where the Sun Beams never enter to cheer the Earth, or produce either Food or Flower for Man or Beast. *Clodius* bears himself high upon account of his honourable Birth and Title, and never fails to exert an aukward ridiculous Superiority whenever he falls in Company with wiser or better Men than himself. But he has heard that Humility is a certain Token of good Sense and true Honour, which he is resolved to shew upon proper Occasions, and when the humble Fit comes upon him, he will crack Jokes with his Footmen, get drunk with a Hackney Coachman, and bestow his bodily Favours upon any pretty cleanly Female, without inquiring into her Quality; but he never forgets to resume his Superiority, whenever he is conversing with a Man of real Merit, who cannot reckon

so many honourable Grandfathers as himself. I had once the Honour to meet this extraordinary Person among other Company at a Gentleman's Table, who was the Delight of his Friends, a Blessing to his Neighbourhood, and an Ornament to his Country. In the Course of Conversation, honourable Mention was made of a late noble Lord, who, by a Train of meritorious Services to his Prince and Country, had raised himself from an obscure Birth and Fortune to the Dignity of Peerage. *Clodius* took fire at once, all his illustrious Blood boiled with Indignation, and he insulted his Memory with all those Expressions of Scorn and Contempt, which *Fools of Distinction* usually pour out upon their Betters. My Friend had Patience to hear his String of abusive Stories, and scurrilous Reflections, and then replied, Sir, says he, Lord \*\*\*\* was my Friend, and had he been living, you durst not have used him at this rate; and to attack his Memory with reproachful Language is mean and ungenerous, and which I cannot help resenting. The very Reflections you have made upon the Obscurity of his Birth and Fortune, are the highest Compliment you can make to his personal Merit, which, in spite of those Disadvantages, could so effectually recommend him to the Favour of his King and Country. The Advantages of Birth and Fortune, on which you set so immoderate a Value, are no Man's Merit, and are as often the Lot of a Fool as of a wise Man; and whenever that is the Case, they are so far from doing him Honour, that they only serve to make him more egregiously ridiculous, by setting his Folly in a more conspicuous Point of View. If *poor Tray* could speak (pointing to a Spaniel that stood by him) he

he might justly boast of a more numerous Train of Ancestors than the greatest Monarch in the Universe; he might add too, that none of them had ever degenerated from the Dignity of their Kind, or disgraced themselves or their Family by base and unworthy Actions, and yet *he would be but a Puppy for all that.* Pray, Sir, give me leave to ask you (what you will think) an odd Question, What do you think of *me*? Of you, Sir? quoth the Oaf! You are esteemed by all that know you to be as worthy a Gentleman as any in our Country. Sir (said he) I thank you for the Compliment, and in Return I will let you into a Secret. My Birth was as obscure, and my Fortune as mean as that noble Lord's whom you have been reproaching upon that Account. I was born to no more than the meanest of my Servants, but by God's Blessing on a religious Education, an honest Heart, and a tolerable Understanding, you see I am enabled to support a decent Figure, and do a great deal of Good, which I do with the utmost Gratitude to Almighty God, who has enabled me to do it, and the sincerest Benevolence to my Fellow-Creatures who are so unhappy as to want it: And I have Vanity enough to think myself no whit inferior to any Man, of what Rank or Quality soever, who has nothing but an Estate and a Title to recommend him.

## L E T T E R III.

FROM certain *Premises* laid down in my two last Letters upon the Subject of *Honour*, I think I may venture to draw this certain Conclusion, That *an irreligious immoral Man, destitute of all Sense of Duty and Devotion towards God; and of Justice towards Men, can never be a Man of Honour.*

That *Honour*, properly so called, arises from a certain *Greatness of Mind*, exerting itself upon all Occasions with a Propriety and Dignity of Behaviour, I presume, will hardly be denied me: And that *Irreligion* and *Immorality* proceed purely from a certain *Littleness of Mind, a Meanness of Soul, an Emptiness of Head, and a Baseness of Heart*, I shall endeavour to prove, and leave the honest Reader to judge whether two such Contrarieties can subsist in the same Subject, much less whether the one can produce the other.

This View of the Case suggests to me (by the bye) a charitable Ground of Hope for many of our modern Unbelievers, that their poor Souls will fare better at the last, than at present they seem either to desire or deserve; as their Infidelity proceeds purely from a Poverty of Genius, and Shortness of Understanding, we charitably hope, that merciful Abate-ments will be made on that Account, and that they will be treated rather with the Indulgence due to Blockheads, than the Severity due to obstinate Disobedience and Impenitence; that their irreligious Contempt of Divine Worship will be imputed to

a natural Coldness and Heaviness of Soul, which renders them as incapable of exerting exalted Acts of Piety or Devotion, as of composing an heroic Poem, or a fine Piece of Music; and therefore, like other Idiots, whilst they continue tame and inoffensive, they may be tolerated with proper Restrictions in Civil Societies; but if they grow ungovernable and mischievous, they ought to be laid under proper Restraints and Confinement, that they may neither injure the Properties of private Persons, nor disturb the Peace of the Public.— But to return.

True *Greatness of Mind* discovers itself in great and extensive Views, and generous Designs, it endeavours to enter into the true Nature of Things, to consider the true State of every momentous Question in a just Light, to procure all possible Means and Assistance to form a right Judgment upon it, and a Firmness of Mind to act agreeably to such practical Conclusions as naturally and clearly flow from them. This is *true Greatness of Mind* in the Exercise of its intellectual Faculties.— This was the glorious Character given to the *Beræan Jews*, *Acts* xvii. 11. that they were more noble (*ἐγενέσθησαν ἥσαν*) than those of *Thessalonica*, in that they searched the Scriptures daily, to know whether the Doctrines preached by *St. Paul*, concerning *Jesus Christ*, as proved from the Writings of the Old Testament, were true or no. The *Jews* of *Thessalonica*, like our modern Unbelievers, being moved with *Envy*, (v. 5.) at their believing Christian Neighbours and the Apostles, who had been the Preachers of this New Religion, would not so much as bestow

a Thought to examine whether the Apostles Doctrine was worthy of their Attention or Belief, but they raised the Mob upon them, and set the *whole City in an Uproar*, and dragged them before the Magistrates, as Disturbers of the public Peace, and Enemies to the Civil Government. *These that have turned the World upside down, are come hither also, and these all do contrary to the Decrees of Cesar, saying that there is another King, one Jesus, v. 7.* But the *Beræans* acted at a quite different rate, they heard with Patience, and examined without Prejudice, the Nature and Design of the Apostles Doctrine, and the Evidences produced out of the Law and the Prophets for their Confirmation, being determined to act agreeably to their sober and rational Conviction, and accordingly (as the Text tells us, *v. 12.*) *many of them believed.* Now, if a candid and impartial Examination of a Proposal, declared to be of the utmost Consequence to Mankind, be a certain Mark of a *great and ingenuous Mind*, and the acting agreeably to their most rational Conviction, be an indubitable Proof of *the truest Wisdom*; an opposite Behaviour, upon the same Occasion, in the same Circumstances, can only proceed from an idle, empty, trifling Head, or a corrupt disingenuous Heart.

The Foundation of all Religion is *the Belief of a God, who is a Rewarder of them that diligently seek him.* Now he that cannot, from the visible Face of Nature and the Works of Creation, collect and infer the invisible Things of God; that cannot, from a just Observation of the Immensity, the Order, and Beauty of the vast System of the Universe, infer

the Necessity of a FIRST CAUSE, All-wise, All-powerful, and in every Kind and Degree of Perfection, absolutely Perfect, must be a Creature of contracted Views, narrow Apprehensions, and a poor Understanding; whom, without Breach of Charity, or good Manners, we may venture to pronounce, as the Royal Psalmist does, A FOOL.

The Man that allows the Existence of such a PERFECT BEING, and does not consider the Relation he stands in to that Being, and the several Obligations and Duties arising from that Relation, must be a stupid inconsiderate Creature, who has not so good a Title to Honour and Gratitude as the Beasts of the Field; for, as the Prophet says, *The Ox knoweth his Owner, and the Ass his Master's Crib*; but the profane irreligious Man forgets and despises the Great Author of his Being, and of every Blessing he enjoys in this World, and all his reasonable Hopes of Happiness in that which is to come.

The Man that has Sense enough to discover all this, and to draw just and proper Conclusions from it, and yet acts disagreeably to his own Convictions, who lives in direct Defiance of all those Duties of Religion, which both Reason and Revelation dictate to every attentive Inquirer, discovers himself to be a weak, irresolute, mean-spirited Creature, who has not Courage enough to do what his Reason and Conscience assure him to be his Duty.

Now if A FOOL that has not Sense enough to apprehend the very Foundation of a Question in Debate, nor the Use of the Terms, to draw proper

Conclusions from plain Premises, nor pursue them into all their practical Consequences, in which his Interest and Duty are ultimately involved, or has not Courage or Gratitude enough to act agreeably to his own Convictions, can have any Pretensions to *Greatness of Mind*, and by Consequence to *Honour* which arises from it, and is convertible with it, *Let the silliest Reader judge.*— And this is directly the Case of every irreligious Man.

A *Great Mind* cannot help surveying, with Wonder and Devotion, the Immensity, the Order, the Beauty of the Works of God, and from thence collect the infinite Power and Wisdom of him that made them, and preserves and directs their Courses and Operations.— A *Little Mind*, on the other hand, saunters through every Scene of Life, as an indolent unconcerned Spectator, filling up the vacant Spaces with all the trifling Amusements and idle Diversions that Ignorance and Folly can invent, without ever troubling his Head, how, or which way, he was sent into this World, or what shall become of him hereafter; or if by Chance, or out of Curiosity, he should bestow a Thought that Way, it is not in a regular Method of Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of his Existence, and the Relation he stands in to his Creator and the World about him, but fixes his Attention upon one or more partial Views; which, to an ignorant Mind, that considers not the Relation it bears to the rest of the System, may appear insignificant or irregular. Mr. *Addison* has very prettily compared one of these *Minute Philosophers* to a Fly upon one of the Pillars of *St. Paul's*, whose Organs and Perceptions cannot perhaps ex-

ceed a Circumference of four or five Inches Diameter, but can have no possible Perception or Idea of the Proportion, the Beauty, the Magnificence, or Uses of the whole Fabric. Now if one of those despicable Animals should fall to reasoning with a Club of his own Species, upon the Design, the Symmetry, and Uses of that noble Structure, we might expect to hear the same ridiculous Jargon, of Aptnesses, Fitnesses, moral Congruity, and I know not what, as are usually heard among our *Free-Thinkers*, when they pretend to talk of the stupendous Works of the Creation, the Order and Methods of Providence, and the Nature and Use of religious Worship.

A *Great Mind*, which, from a thorough Survey of the Works of God, can penetrate through them to their First Cause and Omnipotent Creator, naturally falls into the Consideration of the Relation he bears, the Obligations he is under, and the Duty he owes him as his Creator and Preserver. He considers him as the Author of his Being, the bountiful Giver of all the Blessings he enjoys, that every Article of his Injoyments, whether Health of Body, Soundness of Mind, Riches, or Friends, are all the Gifts of God, which call for the most grateful Returns of Love, Honour, and Obedience.— A *Little Mind* regards nothing but itself, the present Moment, the present Injoyment, without considering the Hand that bestows it, the Fountain from whence it flows, and therefore thinks himself intirely his own Master, owing Suit and Service to no body, whose sole Business is to please himself, and gratify every Appetite and Call of Nature in what Way  
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and Manner he shall think fit. Now that there can be no *Honour* where there is neither *Gratitude* nor *Justice*, I believe will be easily granted. *Nihil est honestum quod justitiâ vacat*, is a Saying of *Tully's*, and a Maxim of common Sense. To suppose *Honour* without *Justice*, would be to suppose a House without a Foundation, Fruit without a Tree, or a Tree without a Root; there is not only an actual Connection, but a natural Relation and Dependence between them, *Honour* being really *the Lustre, the Flower, the Crown, and Perfection of Justice*. An unjust Man therefore cannot be a Man of Honour.

That *Ingratitude* is inconsistent with *Honour*, is equally plain and undeniable, as it is a Complication of every Thing that is vile, sneaking, base, treacherous, and detestable in human Nature. *Sî ingratum dixeris, omnia dixeris*. An ungrateful Man therefore can never be a Man of Honour. And that every irreligious Man is Unjust and Ungrateful, I shall endeavour to make appear, and leave the honest Reader to draw the Conclusion.

The Lawyers define *Justice* to be a constant and inviolable Resolution to give to every one his Due, Tribute to whom Tribute, Fear to whom Fear, Honour to whom Honour is due: And particularly a just and faithful Discharge of every Trust and Office committed to us. Now, that every Blessing and Comfort we enjoy in Life are committed to us as a Trust, that every Trust must be limited to certain Uses and Purposes, that the Nature of a Trust renders him that receives it accountable for the Uses or Abuses of that Trust, that the greater the Trust, the greater is the Obligation, and the greater will  
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be the Account, are such plain Truths as Ignorance itself cannot doubt of, or deny. So then every Man has some Talents committed to his Trust, for which he must be accountable. But the Great, the Noble, and the Rich, who are surrounded with Blessings, who wallow in Plenty, who want no Opportunities of knowing and discharging the Duties of their respective Trust and Station, are under the highest Obligation to make such a Use of their Wealth, their Interest, and Power, as is most agreeable to the Nature of the Trust, and the Will of the Donor; according to that certain Maxim of common Sense, *that where much is given, much will be required, and where either God or Man hath given much, of him they will ask the more.* If these therefore are so far from answering the Trust committed to them, that they deny their having received any such Trust, if they renounce their Allegiance to their Supreme Lord, and convert the several Trusts committed to them to their own Use; if, not content with this, they employ their Wealth and Interest to quite opposite Purposes than were intended by the Grant, and encourage others to do the same, they are unjust and ungrateful to the Best of Beings, the Supreme Lord of Heaven and Earth; and whether he that acts unjustly in the Exercise of the highest Trust, and ungratefully to his best Benefactor, can have any Title to *true Greatness of Mind, or true Honour*, which is the same, let the silliest Reader judge.

To set this Matter in the strongest Light, let us suppose a Number of Tenants holding Estates of different Value from the same Lord, that those who held the greatest Farm had the easiest Rent, perhaps nothing more than a small Acknowledgment, but each of them having a fair Copy of Rules to direct them how to manage their Farms, in order to secure the Favour of the chief Lord, the Continuance of their Possession, and the Justification of their Accounts, could you think it possible for any reasonable Creature to live in direct Contempt and Defiance of so bountiful a Landlord, so generous a Benefactor? Could you think it possible that any of those great Tenants should make it their Business to persuade the rest of the little ones, that though they had been told, that they were accountable to some great Landlord, who lived in a remote Country, yet there was really no such Person; that their pretended Set of Directions was all a Forgery, contrived by two or three crafty Knaves, who pretended to act under the Character and Commission of Stewards, in order to cheat the People out of their Liberty and Money; that all the while they were Freemen, owing neither Suit nor Service to any Lord, having no Account to give, nor Rent to pay, to any body, nor any body to please but themselves.—Does not such a Supposition seem quite monstrous and impossible?— Yet such, if they could be found, would be sensible, grateful, honourable Creatures, when compared with Thousands, in this wicked, adulterous, free-thinking Generation. God Almighty is the Supreme Lord of the Universe, to whom the greatest Prince upon Earth is but a Tenant at Will. Our Bibles are a Body of Rules and Directions, by which

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we are to regulate our Conduct, and be justified in our Accounts. The *Church* is his *Court*, where the Tenants are obliged to appear at stated Times; the *Clergy* are his *Stewards*, whose Duty it is to be daily putting the Tenants in mind of the Nature and Uncertainty of their Tenure, advising them to keep fair and clear Accounts, because their Lord will certainly come at an Hour when they do not expect him; that he will judge them according to their Works, and appoint them their Portion of Happiness or Misery for ever.— In direct Opposition to this plain, incontestible Truth, the Blockheads of this Generation take upon them to assure the Public, that there is *no God*; that the *Scriptures*, which few of them are able to read, are all a *Cheat and a Forgery*; that the *Clergy*, who pretend to be the *Stewards* of his Mysteries, are a *Pack of Knaves*; and this, though a Matter of the last Consequence, that deserves the most serious Examination, is treated as a Matter of Jest and Ridicule, which is as great an Argument of a little, ignorant, trifling Mind, as of an impious, disingenuous, ungrateful Heart. The Man that could think, or talk, or act at this rate, about the Health of his Body, the Interest of his Family, the Improvement of his Fortune, the Exercise of his Profession, and the ordinary Affairs of common Life, would be despised by Men of Sense and Honour, as a trifling contemptible Blockhead. Now if a poor Wretch, who trifles and plays the Fool in an Affair of the last Consequence, who disregards his own truest Interest, who violates the most sacred Obligations, is ungrateful to his best Benefactor, and impious to the best of Beings, can have  
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any Pretensions to *Greatness of Mind*, or *True Honour*, let our Enemies themselves be Judges.

Give me Leave, by way of Conclusion, to present you with a little Piece of a *Tatler*, supposed to be writ by Sir *Richard Steele* (Feb. 18, 1709). *When I was a young Man about this Town, I frequented the Ordinary of the Black Horse in Holborn, where the Person, that usually presided at the Table, was a rough, old-fashioned Gentleman, who, according to the Custom of those Times, had been the Major and Preacher of a Regiment. It happened one Day, that a noisy young Officer, bred in France, was venting some new-fangled Notions, and speaking, in the Gaiety of his Humour, against the Dispensations of Providence. The Major, at first, only desired him to talk more respectfully of one, for whom all the Company had an Honour; but finding him to run on in his Extravagance, began to reprimand him, in a more serious Manner. Young Man, said he, do not abuse your Benefactor whilst you are eating his Bread; consider whose Air you breathe, whose Presence you are in, and who it is that gave you the Power of that very Speech, which you make use of to his Dishonour. The young Fellow, who thought to turn Matters into a Jest, asked him, if he was going to preach? but desired him, at the same time, to take care what he said, when he spoke to* A MAN OF HONOUR.—A MAN OF HONOUR! *says the Major, thou art an INFIDEL and a BLASPHEMER, and I shall use thee as such. In short, the Quarrel ran so high, that the Major was desired to walk out; upon their coming into the Garden, the old Fellow advised his Antagonist to consider the Place into which one Pass might drive him; but, finding him grow upon him to a De-*  
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gree of Scurrility, as believing the Advice proceeded from Fear: *Sirrah*, says he, if a Thunderbolt does not strike thee dead before I come at thee, I shall not fail to chastise thee for thy Profaneness to thy Maker, and thy Sauciness to his Servant; upon this, he drew his Sword, and cried out with a loud Voice, The Sword of the Lord, and of Gideon; which so terrified his Antagonist, that he was immediately disarmed, and thrown upon his Knees. In this Posture he begged his Life; but the Major refused to grant it, before he had asked Pardon for his Offence in a short extemporary Prayer, which the old Gentleman dictated to him upon the Spot, and which his Profelyte repeated after him in the Presence of the whole Ordinary, that were now gathered about him in the Garden.

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#### L E T T E R IV.

**I**N my last I attempted to prove, that an *irreligious Man* could not possibly be a *Man of Honour*; that whosoever was ignorant or negligent of his Duty to God, must be either a very silly, or a very indolent or ungrateful Creature, and as such can have no possible Pretension to that *Greatness of Mind*, in which alone *true Honour* consists. I shall now endeavour to prove, that an *Immoral Man*, one that lives in the habitual, open, unrepented Violation of all, or any, of the Duties of *Morality*, or *natural Religion*, can have no better Title to Honour than the *irreligious Unbeliever*.

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The Adulterer, the Murderer, the Robber, whether in a public or private Character, (condemned by the Laws of the most savage and barbarous Nations to Infamy and Death) have cut themselves off from all Pretensions to *Honour* by a direct avowed Violation of the primary and fundamental Laws of Reason, Justice, and Order: Crimes that can admit of no Colouring or Excuse, for which nothing can be pleaded with any Shadow of Reason or common Sense, but are generally carried off with a high Hand, a hardened Forehead, a loud Laugh, and a libertine Joke. It is really too gentle a Censure upon such flagitious Offenders only to say they are not *Men of Honour*, who have, by those atrocious Crimes, degraded themselves to the lowest Rank of Malefactors. Nor can it be thought unreasonable to assert, that these flagrant Crimes degrade Men from all Pretensions to *Honour*, when it is demonstrable that the not exerting all the opposite Virtues in an open, ingenuous, amiable Manner, is a sufficient Disqualification. A Man may be free from every notorious Vice, and yet be an errant Scoundrel. He may be just out of Fear or Policy, frugal and temperate out of Covetousness, peaceable and harmless from a Milkiness of Blood; he may abstain from Acts of Violence out of Cowardice, from Lewdness for Want of Ability and Opportunity; and yet, in the State and Temper of his Heart, be so far from a *Man of Honour*, as to deserve all the Infamy due to the most scandalous Vices.

By the bye, I have often wondered that so polite and accurate a Writer as Mr. *Addison* could be guilty of such a Mistake, on so important a Subject, as he  
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puts into the Mouth of *young Juba*, in the Tragedy of *Cato*.

- “ Honour ’s the sacred Tye, the Law of Kings,  
 “ The noble Mind’s distinguishing Perfection,  
 “ That aids and strengthens Virtue, where it meets  
     her ;  
 “ And imitates her Actions, *where she is not.*”

*Where she is not !*—Is that possible? Can true Honour, even in Idea, be separate from Virtue? I think not. *The Matter* of an honourable Action is, *that it be just*; the *Form*, that it be performed in a *polite, generous, amiable Manner*. There is indeed to be found, even in the vilest Criminals, a certain Roughness and Sturdiness of Mind, that very nearly resembles it. The Behaviour of a hardened Malefactor, expiring under the Torture, refusing to confess his Guilt, or discover his Accomplices, may impose upon the injudicious Spectators, but surely has no real Title to Honour. The Bully may resemble the Hero in the Appearance of Courage, as Prudes do Vestals in the Appearance of Chastity; but he that can mistake the one for the other, must be very little acquainted with human Nature, and the Ways of the World. *True Honour* is consistent and uniform, as the immutable Laws of Truth and Reason on which it is founded, and by which it subsists. Whoever, therefore, shall establish to himself, as a Point of Honour, any thing that is contrary to his Duty to God and his Country, and the immutable Laws of Truth and Justice; who shall think any thing honourable that is displeasing to his Maker, or injurious to Society; who sacrifices any

Part of his Duty, as a reasonable Creature, to a ridiculous Fashion, a prevailing Error, or an importunate Lust; who thinks himself obliged, by this Principle, to the Practice of some Virtues, but not of others, is by no means to be counted a *Man of Honour*.

The Malignity of a base corrupt Heart discovers itself in a numberless Variety of pestilent Symptoms, foetid Eruptions, and disorderly Motions, which are neither cognizable in human Courts, nor punishable by human Laws, but are only known to the great Searcher of Hearts, who considers them as the Root and Spring from whence the most heinous and capital Offences proceed. *The Selfish, the Voluptuous, the Covetous, and the Proud*, whom no human Laws can restrain or punish, are as criminal in the Sight of the Almighty, and as odious to his boundless Love and spotless Purity, as those notorious Criminals who are daily recruiting *Newgate* and the *Plantations*.

*Selfishness*, or *Self-love*, in Opposition to public Spirit and the Love of the Community, can only proceed from a Weakness of Understanding, and a Baseness of Heart. *Nemo sibi soli nascitur*, is an obvious Maxim of Nature and common Sense; he that cannot see the Force and Obligation of it, must be a *Fool*, and he that sees it, and acts disagreeably to it, is a *Poltron*. *Public Spirit* is inseparable from great Minds, and is that alone which can qualify Men to fill the highest Stations, and execute the most important Offices with Dignity and Honour. The greatest Princes, without it, degenerate into Brokers and Stockjobbers. If they consider themselves in any other Light than the Fathers of the People, the Guardians of Religion and Liberty, the Protectors of the Oppressed, and the im-

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partial and munificent Patrons of real Merit, they know not themselves the Nature of their Office, nor the Design of their Elevation. Wealth and Power, if not acquired by virtuous and honourable Means, and employed to virtuous and honourable Purposes, are a Disgrace and Curse to the Owner, and will be a fore Article of Account at the last great Day. Avaricious Princes, rapacious Ministers, and venal Tools, who consider nothing but themselves, and how they may support one another in the Exercise of Oppression and Corruption, have so far forfeited all Pretensions to Honour, that they seem to have extinguished the common Sentiments of Humanity itself. Think how dishonourable and contemptible a Figure the Jewish Nobility made that could force the Prophet *Isaiah* to make this sad Complaint. *Isa. i. 23. Thy Princes are rebellious,* (thy great Men are rebellious and disobedient to the Laws of God) *Companions of Thieves* (advising, assisting, and sharing in the Plunder of their Country) *Every one loveth Gifts, and followeth after Rewards* (regarding nothing but their private Interest, disposing of no Favours, filling up no Offices without a valuable Consideration, seeing no Merit but in the best Bidder) *They judge not the Fatherless, neither doth the Cause of the Widow come unto them.* In short, great Men, who have large Possessions, extensive Influence, and are set in high Places, without great Souls, extensive Generosity, and elevated Views and Designs, in spite of all their illustrious Titles and Badges of Honour, will appear odious and contemptible to Men of Sense and Virtue, even in the lowest Stations of Life. And when the Influence of such Examples shall, as it naturally will, infect the lower Part of the People,

and the Herd of Mankind, when public Spirit shall become the Jest of Knaves and Fools, that Nation is not far from its Ruin.

The *Voluptuous* have no better Title to *Honour*. As their whole Business and Employment in this World is to indulge every Appetite, to gratify every Demand of Lust or Fancy, without any Regard to the Reason, the Justice, and Decency of the Action, they betray a shameful Corruption of Heart and Weakness of Understanding. The *Man of Pleasure*, whose whole Profession it is to pass merrily through the World, to murder Time, and cool Reflection; to be ever jovial, ever gay; to deny himself nothing that his Eye can see, or his Heart can wish, is not only a despicable, and *dishonourable*, but a dangerous, Creature. If he cannot discover, from the exalted Faculties and Operations of his own Soul, that he is a rational free Agent, he must be very ignorant and silly; and, if he knows it, and confesses it, and yet lives and acts in Defiance of that Conviction, he must be an irresolute unaccountable wicked Creature. To see a reasonable, immortal Being, endued with noble Faculties, capable of noble Reflections and generous Resolutions, sacrificing his whole Attention to some predominant Vanity, is a Reflection upon common Sense. Be the Object of his Passion in its own Nature ever so innocent, the Diversions of the Field, or the Assembly; if a Pack of Dogs or Cards, Equipage or Show, Wine or Women, engross the whole Man; he departs thereby from his proper Rank in the Scale of Beings, sinks below the Dignity of his Species, and sets himself upon the Level with the lowest Animal.—But if the Passion fixes upon forbidden Objects; if it tempts  
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him to break Inclosures, and invades, in any kind or degree, the Property of his Neighbours, he then becomes doubly criminal; he adds the Malefactor to the Brute, and intitles himself to all the Guilt and Infamy due to the vilest Criminal: If a Man, not content to gratify a Passion in itself natural and innocent, in such a Manner, and under such Restrictions, as Reason, Justice, Order, and Religion, have prescribed, he is so far from having any Pretensions to *Honour*, that he deserves the Contempt of the Wise, the Aversion of the Virtuous and Good, and the Censure and Correction of the Laws. A *modern fine Gentleman*, who triumphs over the Ruins of Innocence and Virtue, in the Vanity of making Prostitutes to a brutish Appetite, and the powerful Charms of his own dear irresistible Person, is an Animal destitute of Religion, Reason, Decency, and common Honesty. It is true, Custom and Fashion, and false Notions of Gallantry, have, in great measure, defaced the Boundaries of Vice and Virtue, Infamy and Honour, in the fashionable World, and have not only encouraged these Sons of Infamy and Shame to appear without blushing in the Assemblies of the Great, the Fair, the Polite, and even the Virtuous, but also to be distinguished to Advantage, and be encouraged to persevere in their Iniquities, by the Indulgence they receive from those who are obliged, by all the Rules of Equity and Decency, to detest and abhor them, and which, perhaps, would be the most likely Way to bring them to Shame and Repentance.—I cannot dismiss this Article without applying myself to these pernicious Destroyers, as an Advocate for that lovely Part of our Species, upon whose Innocence, whose

Happiness, and Love, the most agreeable worldly Injoyments of our Sex, and the Comforts of social Life, chiefly depend. Let me ask them a serious Question; Would any of them be pleased to have their Daughters, their Sisters, their Wards, or their Friends, seduced, betrayed, and debauched, by the most detestable Treachery, or compelled by Violence to Prostitution, Diseases, Beggary, Infamy, and Damnation? Were this Question to be put to the greatest Reprobate upon Earth in cold Blood, I dare say he would blush; but a Man of any Virtue, Humanity, and Goodnature, would be struck with Horror and Remorse, and would give me *Hazael's* Answer to the Prophet, *Is thy Servant a Dog, that he should do this Thing?* Yet such a *sad Dog* is every one that does the same to another Man's Daughter, Sister, or Friend; for here the Golden Rule of Justice determines the Kind and Degree of Iniquity on both Sides of the Question to be the same.—When we read of a *Cyrus*, an *Alexander*, a *Scipio*, not only exhibiting illustrious Examples of Humanity, Continnence, and Honour, in the Warmth of youthful Passions, the Possession of Beauty, the Insolence of War, and the Triumphs of Victory, but encouraging others to do the same; it ought to be an eternal Reproach upon the low Gallantries, the detestable Hypocrisy, the inhuman Treachery, and execrable Perjuries, made use of by a Set of poor Wretches, who call themselves *fine Gentlemen and Men of Honour*, when they have no other Pretensions to Humanity itself, than the Power of propagating their own Species, and that not with half that Justice and Decency as many of their Fellow-Brutes. Now, whether a Man that can sacrifice every Thing that

is virtuous, honourable, and lovely in the most beautiful Part of the Creation to a brutish Appetite, when he might have heightened and sanctified the same Injoyment by a rational and religious Use of it, can have any Pretensions to *Reason, Justice, Humanity, Decency, or Honour*, let the silliest, or the wickedest, Reader judge, and pronounce accordingly.

Nor have *the Covetous and Penurious* a better Title to *Honour*, than the *Selfish and Voluptuous*. By the *Covetous*, I mean those who are intent upon getting; by the *Penurious*, those who are intent upon saving and hoarding up whatever they can get, without any Regard to the Demands of Justice, Humanity, or Charity. *The Love of Money* (the Scripture tells us) is *the Root of all Evil*, and Covetousness has in it all the Guilt and Folly of the most stupid Idolatry. He that bows down to a Stock or a Stone, or offers Incense to an Idol, is not a more absurd ridiculous Creature, than he who sacrifices his Time, his Health, his Peace, his Soul and Body, to Heaps of Gold and Silver, which, when they exceed the ordinary Provision for the Necessaries and Conveniencies of Life, and the decent Support of a Family, are so far from adding to the Comforts of Life, that they are really an Addition to its Burdens; and, instead of securing and increasing the Happiness of their Owners, too often pierce them through with many Sorrows. This is the Voice of uncorrupt Nature and unprejudiced Reason, confirmed by the unanimous Suffrage of wise and good Men in all Ages and Nations of the World. Were I to collect the Testimonies of all the Heathen Moralists upon this Head, it would fill a Volume. In short, there is not extant a single Heathen Writer of Morali-

ty, who does not, in the strongest Terms, condemn an avaricious penurious Temper, as a Contradiction to every thing that is noble, generous, wise, and good, in human Nature. Had *Cutler* and *Hopkins* lived among Heathens and Barbarians, they would have been despised and condemned, by Men of Sense and Virtue, as a Disgrace to human Nature, and a Reproach to Reason and common Sense. Contempt of Riches has, in all Ages and Nations, been regarded, by the truly great and noble, as the infallible Mark of a great and noble Soul, and was the distinguishing Character of all the illustrious Heroes and eminent Philosophers of ancient *Greece* and *Rome*. *Seneca* is mentioned, by some, as an Exception from this general Rule; but, whatever his Practice might be, his Principles and Precepts were different; and what Wonder is it to see a Heathen contradicting his Principles in his Practice, when we daily see Christians do the same. Riches are then only a Blessing, and their Possession honourable, when they fall into generous Hands, and are employed to generous and honourable Purposes; in doing good, and making others happy, in supporting the Distressed and Miserable, and encouraging and rewarding indigent Merit. But when I see a Man, without one useful or amiable Quality, exalted above measure on account of his great Riches, without considering how they were acquired, and how they are employed, who fancies that any thing external to a Man, any thing that may be common to either good or bad, and which is too commonly the Lot of the most worthless Part of Mankind, can render a Man truly valuable or honourable, he must be a very silly Creature, without any Pretensions to *Greatness* or *Sound-*

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ness of Mind, to true Honour, or good Understanding. A rich Knave or Fool differs in nothing from a poor one, but in the Aggravation of his Guilt, or the Ostentation of his Folly. Would you see a compendious and beautiful View of all that Wit and Reason can dictate upon this Subject?—You will find it in Mr. Pope's excellent *Essay upon the true Use of Riches*.

LETTER V.

NOR have *the Proud* and *the Ambitious* a better Title to *Honour* and true *Greatness of Mind*, than *the Selfish*, *the Penurious*, and *Voluptuous*; though, as *Sallust* long ago observed, \* *Ambition* has a nearer Resemblance of *Virtue* than *Covetousness*, as it has the Appearance of a just and laudable Appetite for Power and Fame, which even wise and good Men are fond of; but *Covetousness* is a stupid Love of Money, which no Man of Sense or *Virtue* could ever be guilty of coveting. But whatever Similitude there may seem to be betwixt *Pride* and *Honour*, *Ambition* and true *Greatness of Mind*, they are as far asunder as the Swelling of a Dropsy, from a full and robust Habit of Body. That the Root of *Pride* is *Folly*, that *Ignorance* is the Mother of *Vanity*, I shall endeavour to prove, and whether *Ignorance* and *Folly* be consistent

\* Quod tamen vitium propius virtutem erat, nam gloriam, honorem, imperium, bonus & ignavus æquè sibi exoptant: Avaritia pecuniæ studium habet, quam nemo sapiens concupivit. *Sall.*

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with *true Honour* and *Greatness of Mind*, let the silliest Reader judge.

Whatever Turn the Folly may chance to take, in whatever Form or Colour it may appear, it is the same empty Bubble, diversified by some accidental Circumstance of Position, or the Medium through which it appears. Pride, in every Shape, is but Folly in a different Dress. It appears in the most ridiculous Light, when it grows out of the external and accidental Advantages of Birth and Fortune, in which, as we could have no Share, so, by Consequence, we could have no Merit. The Man that exalts himself above measure upon the Antiquity and Nobility of his Family, without those useful and amiable Qualities, which alone can make Men valuable and honourable, discovers as great a Defect of Sense, as of true *Honour*, or *Greatness of Mind*.

It is certain that the virtuous Descendants of virtuous and honourable Ancestors, who not only support, but improve and increase, the original Fund of Family Merit, by a Train of correspondent Actions, stand upon the highest Ground, are placed in the most advantageous Light, and have fairer Opportunities of exerting a just and decent Superiority, than those, though of equal Merit, who want those Distinctions, and are intitled to all that Esteem and Respect which will ever be paid, by Men of Sense and Virtue, to those, who, in *Shakespear's* Phrase, *bear their Honours meekly*. But if a worthless Wretch grows vain and insolent upon the Merit of his Ancestors, and demands Respect and Submission from wiser and better Men than himself, purely on account of an empty Title, or a superior Estate, the Demand is ridiculous and

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unreasonable,

unreasonable, being grounded on no Pretensions, or Shadow of Merit. A Man of superior Knowledge, Strength, or Fortune, which he employs upon all Occasions for the Good and Benefit of others, has a Right to the Esteem and Gratitude of those who receive Protection, Advice, Comfort, or Pleasure from the Communication of his Excellencies; but no Man has any real Merit, or Claim of Respect, from others, because his Ancestors were great and good Men, whilst he himself wears *their* honourable Distinctions to *his own* Shame. A pompous Title and glaring Equipage may attract the Attention and Reverence of the undiscerning Vulgar, whilst nothing but real Merit, an open, sincere, and generous Heart, can have any Kind of Pretension to the Esteem and Affection of the Wise and the Good. A great Soul lies very often concealed under mean Appearances, and many a sad Wretch has glittered with all the external Badges of Honour, who, in a virtuous Age and Nation, would have been thought a Disgrace to the Pillory.

To set this Matter in a clearer Light, let us examine a little into the Ground and Foundation of this *Family Merit*, and see whether it will be sufficient to support that grand Superstructure that human Vanity generally raises upon it.—If the Honour of Families consists in being able to trace back their Pedigrees to distant Ages, till they lose themselves in the Darkness and Obscurity of an unknown Antiquity, we are all equally honourable in this respect, being all descended from an Original equally antient, the same common Father of Mankind; but if it consists in having our Ancestors distinguished by honourable Offices, Titles, Posts, and Badges of Honour, and great Estates, this  
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requires other previous Considerations in order to settle their Merit upon a just and solid Foundation. Let it be seriously enquired how these Estates were acquired; how these Titles and Honours were obtained. When we see a vain Man, puffed up with an Opinion of his superior Wealth, we naturally turn our Thoughts upon the Methods by which it was raised, and the Uses that are made of it. If it were raised by virtuous and honourable Means, by God's special Blessing upon the Industry, the Frugality, the Courage, the Knowledge, the Integrity, and the Piety of their virtuous Ancestors, there is a solid Ground of inward Satisfaction, if not of Glory; and if it be employed to such, and such only, Purposes as Reason and Religion direct; to Acts of Generosity, Hospitality, and Charity, the Owner of such a Fortune has double Reason to rejoice in his Portion, and to expect the Reverence and Affection of those who receive Comfort and Assistance from the Overflowings of his Prosperity: But if, on the other hand, the boasted Fortune were founded in Sacrilege or Blood, Rapine or Fraud, Oppression or Vice, private or public Plunder, the Original is corrupt, the Title is criminal, and the Tenure dishonourable; it is (as the Physicians say) an Error in the first Concoction, which can never be rectified in the second; what is unjustly got, is as unjustly detained; whatever is, in its own Nature, wrong, can never, by any Length of Time or Prescription, be made right; and the Iniquity and Dishonour that cleave to an unjust Possession can never be done away; though, in the Opinion of the World, they may, by Length of Time, be diminished, or entirely forgotten. So as to Titles, if they were really  
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the honourable Rewards of honourable Actions, they do honour to their virtuous and honourable Descendants ; but if they were the Rewards of successful Villany, Treachery, or Treason, Venality or Corruption, or an infamous Prostitution of public Faith and Character, to the Vices and Follies of a Court, they leave a Stain and a Blot upon the Bearer, which descends, without any real Diminution of Infamy or Guilt, to the latest Posterity. But you will say, it is possible there may arise, in such a Family, a Man of superior Merit and Virtues who may retrieve its Honour, by being really worthy of all the undeserved Distinctions bestowed upon his worthless Ancestors. Doubtless this may be, and often is, the Case ; but then this still returns to the old Foundation of *personal* Merit, as the only real and natural Fountain of *Honour*. Such a Person, as this View of the Case supposes, is not honourable because of his Descent from such a Stock, but because he has a sufficient Fund of Merit within himself, which would make him truly honourable, though he had sprung from the Dregs of the People. *Personal Merit*, therefore, founded in true *Greatness of Soul*, and *real Virtue*, always was, and always will be, the sole Foundation of *Honour*. Nobles have been seen to dishonour their Titles by base and abject Vices, and Persons of mean Extraction have advanced and ennobled their Families by their great and excellent Qualities : And as *it is more blessed to give than to receive*, so it is more honourable and glorious to leave Honours to our Posterity, than to receive them from our Predecessors, to be the Authors and Founders of our own Nobility, and, to use the Expression of *Tiberius*, recorded by *Tacitus*, *Annal. Lib. II. to be born*  
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of one's Self, when he was endeavouring to palliate the Defect of Birth in *Curtius Rufus*, who was, in every other respect, a very great Man, *Curtius Rufus videtur mihi ex se natus*. The first Founders of every honourable Family must have been such; must have raised themselves from an inferior State of Obscurity and Poverty, must have been the Descendants of mean and ignoble Progenitors, unless we could suppose that the first great Man of the Family sprung out of the Earth, or dropt out of the Clouds, with all his Implements of Honour about him, laden with such a Stock of Titles, Coronets, Ribbands, and what not, as might be distributed among all his Posterity, from Generation to Generation.

Were the Genealogy of every Family, from the Flood down to this present Time, faithfully preserved, there would, probably, be no Man valued, or despised, on account of his Birth; there would not be a Beggar in the Street, or a Scoundrel in *Newgate*, but would find himself lineally descended from great Men: And it is no improbable Conjecture, that the poor Negroes, whom some of our Planters hardly consider as Part of our Species, are lineally descended from *the Father of the Faithful*, who was *the Friend of God*, (*Isa. xli. 8.*) Nor is there in the World a Family so rich, as not to have some poor; or so noble and honourable, as not to have some vicious, lewd, lazy, worthless Branches descended from it, if not the Founders of it.—I was once at a noble Lord's Table, where a fawning Parasite was offering up a good deal of this nauseous Family Incense, in return for a good Dinner, which he had just received. My Lord, who had a Soul too great, and a Taste too delicate, to relish such fulsome Flattery,

Flattery, cut him short with this rough sensible Rebuke, *Pr'ythee Ned*, said he, *let us have no more of this Stuff. That is, in my Opinion, the most honourable Family, that has the fewest R—gues and Wh—res in it.* It would, doubtless, be a very entertaining Sight, to see the Progenitors of any one Family in the World, for two or three thousand Years backward, passing in Review, with all their proper Ensigns of Dignity, or Marks of Infamy, all the proper Distinctions of Honour or Dishonour, Virtue or Vice, Riches or Poverty. How many Knaves and Fools, as well as Heroes and Philosophers, would appear in so long a Descent! How many different Scenes of Riches and Poverty, Scythes and Sceptres, Rags and Ribbands, Swords, Spades, and Pick-axes, &c. would diversify the motley Procession!

I was t'other Day to visit my honoured Friend and Kinsman *Leoline ap Rhees, ap Shenken, ap Howell, ap Tudor, ap Gurgoin*, Esq; who, like a primitive Hero and Philosopher, supports the Dignity of the most antient Family in the World upon a pretty patrimonial Estate of 15*l. per Annum*, which he boasts has never been increased by Usury or Trade, by Rapine or Fraud, or diminished by Luxury, for above seven hundred Years last past. His chief Riches and Glory consist in a large Roll of Parchment, that will almost cover one Quarter of his Estate, in which he boasts a Pedigree, rising up to near an hundred Years after the Flood, though my good Cousin verily believes it might be proved, that he descended in a direct Line from *Noah himself*, and if that could be fairly made out, it would follow that he was lineally descended from *Adam*; and though any reasonable Man would think that

that as much as, in Conscience, he could expect or desire; yet, as my Cousin never makes any boast of this great Ancestor, he plainly insinuates that his Family subsisted long before that pretended Father of Mankind was so much as thought of. As this Parchment-tree is very antient, and the Rats have made some Depredations upon the Family, which have occasioned many Breaks and Mutilations in the Pedigree, Care has been taken, from time to time, to supply the several Vacancies with such Characters as may be supposed to do most Honour to the venerable Stock, and are most fit to appear in a Genealogy of Heroes. My Cousin, to say the Truth, is a complete *Person* of Honour. He knows how to support the Dignity of his Character, and, at the same time, to shew, upon proper Occasions, all that Humility and Condescension that are inseparable from *good Sense* and *true Honour*; so that, though he scorns to foul his Fingers with the dirty Business of Trade, or puzzle his Brains with the Pedantry of Learning, nor give place to any little, up-start, *Post-diluvian* Mushroom, who may have raised an Estate by his Hands, or his Brains; yet he will sometimes humble himself so far as to honour them with a Visit, to accept of a Dinner, or sometimes Half a Crown, only to shew his Goodnature, and that he is no more above the receiving the Homage and Service of his Inferiors, than the richest Landlord from the poorest Tenant, or the greatest Prince from the meanest Subject; though perhaps he quickly forgets the Favour, and bescoundrels the Man that bestowed it. As he was one Day indulging the Vanity of his Heart among his honourable Ancestors, a Wag in the Company put him in mind  
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of his Grandfather, who had been hanged for *Sheep-stealing*. My Cousin, with a Sigh and a Shrug, acknowledged the Fact; but not without a hearty Curse upon the Memory of the then reigning Minister, who, whilst he was lavishing away Honours and Titles, Posts and Pensions, upon some that better deserved his Fate, took no Care to prevent the untimely-Fall of a truly great Man, by making him at least an Admiral, a General, a Judge, or a Privy-Counsellor.

Now, that there is no real, intrinsic, and substantial Good in all the Advantages of Birth and Fortune, even Folly itself must confess. But suppose there were; yet, considering the uncertain Duration, the precarious Tenure, that they may be forfeited, even in this Life, to the Sentence of Justice, or the Breath of the People, which alone can keep the Bubble in Play, and prevent its sinking into nothing; or if not that, yet we are sure it will die with us; it will then fail us, when we shall have most Occasion for Comfort, I mean in the Agonies of Pain and Sickness, and the Hour of Death; no wise Man can think there is any thing valuable in it but the Opportunities and Interest it may give us to do more Good in the World, and promote the Benefit and Happiness of Mankind. Now, whether a Man that doats upon an imaginary Treasure, that only seems to stuff out an imaginary Idea of human Greatness, but which can neither make him wiser, nor better; that can neither give Health to his Body, nor Peace to his Mind; that can neither prolong his Life, nor give him Comfort at the Hour of Death, can have any better Pretensions to

*true Greatness of Mind* than Children, or Lunatics, diverted with Play-things, and delighted with Baubles.—Let themselves be Judges.

I cannot dismiss this Article without a few melancholy Reflections upon the Vanity of worldly Greatness, and the Infatuation that generally attends it even beyond the Grave. I particularly mean that solemn mortifying Farce of Grandeur, that, by the Custom of many Nations, is acted over the Graves of great Men. There cannot (I think) be a severer Satire upon human Weakness and Folly, than to see a Herald, dressed in all his Habiliments, breaking the white Rod, and making solemn Proclamation, that, *Whereas it has pleased Almighty God to take out of this miserable World the Soul of the most noble, mighty, and puissant Prince, &c.* What pompous Epithets are these for a poor breathless Sinner, whose Body is condemned to be Food for Worms and creeping Things, and his Soul perhaps—! Better, methinks, it would be to proclaim aloud to the Audience all the virtuous, memorable, and righteous Actions of the Deceased, to which all the People should give their solemn Attestation, and bless the Memory, whilst they bewail the Death of the departed Saint, or Hero; to challenge them to make full and due Proof of any unjust or dishonourable Action, with a Promise, in the Name of the Successor, of full and ample Reparation. This would be putting the Character upon a right Foot of Honour, and giving public Proof that he was determined to support and maintain the Honour of his Family, by making honourable Reparation for all the Injuries which the Ignorance or Iniquity of his Predecessor might have committed.—Like that solemn

and glorious Appeal, which the *good and great Prophet Samuel* made, in his own Person, to the Multitude, when he was resigning the Sovereignty, which he had so long and so gloriously executed among them. *1 Sam. xii. 3. Behold, here I am, witness against me, before the Lord, and before his Anointed. Whose Ox have I taken, or whose Ass have I taken? Whom have I defrauded, or whom have I oppressed? or of whose Hand have I received any Bribe to blind mine Eyes therewith? and I will restore it.*—Blessed and truly honourable would the Memory of that Man be, to whom the universal Voice of the People could give the same solemn Attestation that was then given: *And they said, Thou hast not defrauded nor oppressed us; neither hast thou taken aught of any Man's Hand. And he said unto them, The Lord is Witness against you, and his Anointed is Witness against you, this Day, that ye have not found aught in my Hands. And they said, HE IS WITNESS.*

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L E T T E R VI.

I Think I have sufficiently shewn the Vanity of being proud of any of the outward Advantages of Fortune, Birth, or Station, from this single Consideration, that nothing accidental or external can add any real Excellency to our Natures; can make us wiser or better, or more truly honourable; they add nothing to the Man, they communicate nothing to the Soul, which is the only Seat of true Greatness and Honour. Let us now examine whether those Things, that are more properly our own, be able to

furnish out any better Excuses for Vanity and Pride : These are either the Excellencies of *the Body*, or *the Mind*. Of the first Sort, are *Beauty* and *Strength* : Of the second, *Knowledge* or *Learning*. That on the former of these there is no Dependence, is the melancholy Object of every Day's Experience. Sickness or Sorrow, Pain or Grief (from which the fairest and the strongest have no Exemption, no Protection) will, quickly deface the finest Beauty, wither the most blooming Face into Paleness, Wrinkles, and Deformity, and break the Strength of the stoutest and strongest Man in the World; so that these, at first Sight, appear too weak and insufficient to support that Superstructure of Vanity that the Weak and Silly are too apt to raise upon it. If there be any thing that can support or excuse this Presumption, it must be the *Talents of the Mind*; these seem to be immediately our own, and intirely peculiar to us, and give a Man a Superiority much more agreeable to a spiritual and rational Being, than all the Advantages of Beauty, Birth, Titles, Riches, and Fortune, which are all-external, and foreign to the Man; whereas the Mind is properly our own, or rather is ourselves, and constitutes our very Essence.

That the most exalted Improvements of human Understanding are no sufficient Foundation for Vanity or Boasting, might easily be made appear from numberless Considerations. Were I to consider particularly the Tedioufness and Difficulty of attaining to any tolerable Degree of Knowledge in any Art or Science, the Obscurity and Shortness of our Conjectures upon the most concerning Questions, the little Dependence we have upon the Strength or Continuance of our intellectual Abilities, the slender Partition

there is betwixt Wisdom and Madness, Learning and Folly, how small an Accident or Disorder in the animal Oeconomy, the Ferment of the Fluids, or the Heat of the Brain, would confound and destroy the finest Understanding; it would be sufficient to mortify the proudest Heart into a sober and religious Degree of Humility, Gratitude, and Devotion; it would convince every serious considerate Man, that the highest Pitch of Knowledge he can attain, cannot furnish him with a tolerable Excuse for Vanity or Self-conceit; that there is really in the Nature of Things no Foundation to support it; that all the Appearances of it are founded in the weak and partial Comparisons we make between ourselves and others; and that this comparative Superiority is only betwixt Ignorance and Imperfection, and arises purely from Self-love, and a narrow Understanding. If the most learned Man in the World would go out of himself, and survey the numberless Works of God, and Wonders of Nature, where no Certainty can be obtained by the strongest human Genius, and most comprehensive Understanding, it would dissolve the Charm, break the Bubble, and remove the Illusion, which swell the Hearts of the Silly and the Vain into an Opinion of superior Wisdom or Greatness, and shew them the Imperfection of the most exalted human Knowledge.

All our Knowledge is either of *Words* or *Things*. The Knowledge of *Words* or Languages is the Gate of Science, the Path of Knowledge, but so long and so tedious, that it takes up a good deal of the short Span of Life to be able to attain to a competent Knowledge of them, infomuch that many are so

weary as to stop there, to sit down contented with their present Attainments, and proceed no further. Numbers of these are to be found in the learned World, who consider themselves and each other as Prodigies of Learning, Men of profound Erudition, only for being able to express their Ignorance in Variety of Languages. Their Conversation and Writings are embellished with Scraps of Foreign Languages, which they think much more valuable and instructive than plain good Sense and sound Reason, expressed in their own native Language. I had once the Honour of being acquainted with one of those learned Gentlemen, who directly answered the Character that *Boileau* gives of a Pedant, *Tout herissé de Grec & bouffi d' Ignorance*. Who could never be persuaded that *Norris* and *Locke* were Men of Learning, because there was hardly a Quotation of *Greek* or *Latin* to be found in their Writings.

Our Knowledge of *Things* is at best short and imperfect, full of Obscurity and Uncertainty; the little the wisest of us knows extends no further than our own System of the Parts, of which we have only a general and superficial Knowledge; we see no further than the Surface and Outside of Things, as directed by the general Law of Motion; all beyond this is mere Guess-work, Conjecture, and Uncertainty. And the Vanity of our superior Knowledge can only proceed from superior Ignorance, the Ignorance of ourselves, our Souls, our Bodies, their Union, their mutual Affections, their several Relations to the rest of the System, and the Impressions they receive from them. Let the wisest Man but go out of himself, and survey the immense Extent of Nature, the Variety

riety of its Works, the Regularity of its Motions, and the Harmony of Providence; and let him seriously pronounce how little is his real Knowledge, how great his Ignorance. Let him take a Prospect of the vast Dimensions of those astonishing Heaps of Matter that lie within the Reach of his Senses; let him consider the stupendous Motions that agitate the vast Mass of Matter, and whirl about the numberless immense Bodies that take their Courses through the unmeasurable Space; and carry his Thoughts into that Immensity, where Imagination itself can find no Limits: Let him consider that infinite Duration which is before and after him, and, finding his own Life included in it, let him observe the little Scantling of it that falls to his Share. Let him thence carry his Thoughts into the intellectual World, that infinite Number of good and evil Spirits, with all their several Orders, Ranks, and Classes, who have their distinct Offices and Habitations in the several Centers of Light and Darkness; let him consider the vast Multitude of the Dead in their several Receptacles and Mansions, who, though dead to us, are now more alive and active than when they were united to these mortal Bodies: Let him add to these all the living Inhabitants of this earthly Globe, how few there be that know him, that think of him, or have any thing to do with him, and then return to himself, and consider what Rank he holds in the universal System, what is his Strength, his Power, his Knowledge; above all, let him contemplate the incomprehensible Attributes of him who made all those Creatures; who is always present to every one of them, supports and governs them; sees at once into the Minds of such an infinite Variety

of *free Agents*, and directs their Thoughts and Passions to carry on his Designs in the Management of the Whole, yet without offering any Violence to their *free Agency*; instead of dwelling upon his own scanty Portion of Knowledge, Wisdom, and Power, and comparing it with some of his inferior Fellow Creatures, let him draw the Comparison between himself and his Creator; and if, after this Survey, he can find any Occasion for Vanity, Boasting, or Self-conceit, he must be either an obstinately blind, or a contemptibly silly, Creature.

But supposing the most that can be supposed, that our Knowledge were as perfect as our Rank and Nature can require, there would still be as little Room for Vanity and Boasting. The Perfection of our Nature consists not in the Soundness or Extent of our Understanding; all the Knowledge and Learning in the World, if it tends not to humble the natural Pride of our Hearts, to teach us the Knowledge of ourselves, to purify our Affections, to mend the Heart, and make us better Men, if it does not tend to promote in us, Humility, Devotion, and Charity, *though we could talk with the Tongues of Men and of Angels, we should be but as sounding Brass and tinkling Cymbals.* The Devil, doubtless, knows more than the most learned, or perhaps, than all the learned Men in the World, and yet is the most miserable of all Beings. The immense Capacity, the mighty Powers, the extensive Views, and fiery Perceptions of his angelic Nature, whilst separate from the meek Light and Love of God, are to him an infinite Fund of Anguish, an Abyss of Misery and Despair. No; the Perfection of our Nature is a pure Heart enlightened

lightened by Faith, and animated by Charity; and it is really a mortifying Thought, to consider, how seldom a clear rational Head, and an honest upright Heart meet together. I have often reflected, with Grief and Pity, upon several eminent Characters, both among the Living and the Dead; Persons blessed with superior Talents, great intellectual Abilities, Men that could reason, compute, and infer, and draw rational Conclusions, who yet employed them to no better Purpose than to contrive and execute the base ungenerous Designs of a covetous, proud, ambitious Heart; who, whilst they were capable of advising and assisting the Helpless, the Ignorant, and Unknowing, in the fraudulent Ways of this crooked World, yet have not Honesty enough to advise you for your Interest, if they could mislead you, in order to improve their own, and make your Ignorance and Credulity a Step to their own Promotion, and the Advancement of their Fortunes. Hence you too often see, in almost all Societies, even of learned Men (I wish I could except the most sacred!) from the Conclave, down to the Governors of a petty Grammar-School, as much Artifice, Intrigue, Chicane, and — as in a poor little Country Corporation. In short, we may pronounce, as the *Apostle* did upon another Occasion, *All Men seek their Own*. All that Sincerity, Generosity, Charity, and public Spirit, which are inseparable from great and noble Minds, are buried under the low Views, the sordid Designs, the selfish ambitious Schemes, of corrupt ungenerous Hearts. There is nothing more frequent, nor more to be lamented, than to see the greatest Patrons, Ecclesiastical as well as Civil, betrayed by their too great Confidence in the treacherous Professions and Pretences

Pretences of selfish and designing Favourites, into such unworthy Promotions, as their own generous Hearts, if not deceived, would abhor; whilst Men of equal or superior Merit, are neglected or discouraged, for fear they should stand in the way, and obstruct the covetous or ambitious Views of the reigning Favourite.

I am led into this Way of Thinking, by the Remembrance of my own particular Sufferings, which, though I have long ago forgiven, I shall never forget. Give me leave to tell you my own Story, which I shall make as short as I can. At my first setting out from the University to try my Fortune among other Adventurers in the great Lottery of the World, I had the good Fortune to be well recommended to three eminent Persons in Town. They quickly agreed to present me to a certain great Minister and Patron, who received me in a Manner, as much exceeding my Expectations as my Desert, and dismissed me with strong Assurances of his Favour. A favourite Domestic, who was a kind of *Premier* in the Family, who really wanted nothing but an honest Heart to make him truly a Great Man, congratulated me upon the kind Reception I had met with, and promised to improve every Opportunity of promoting my Interest. I departed, well satisfied that my Fortune was made, that I had nothing more to do but to qualify myself for future Favours, by endeavouring to deserve them. Accordingly, I retired to my Studies, and was, in my own Imagination, possessed of every thing that could make my future Life happy: It was not long before a Vacancy happened, which my Friends immediately concluded would just answer my reasonable Expectations, and determined to wait upon his Lordship,  
and

and beg it for me. They were received by my worthy Friend, who had promised to be my Advocate, and were told, that his Lordship was at present engaged, but he would watch a proper Opportunity of recommending me in such a Manner, that he could scarce doubt of Success. Upon the first Information, I hastened to Town, to wait upon my Patron, and acknowledge his Favour; but, to my great Surprise, I found it had been given away, the Day before, to another, upon the sole Recommendation of my very worthy and learned Friend, upon whose Assurances I had so heartily depended. However, I rallied up all the Philosophy I was Master of, and, like the Honest Man in the *Oxford Jest*, determined, since I could not get a Place in Town, to take one in the Stage-Coach, and leave the treacherous and cunning Seekers of this World to scramble and divide its Favours among them. Accordingly I retired to my little Patrimony, where I have lain many Years buried among the Ignorant and the Merry, the Noisy and the Loud; neglected and forgotten by all, but Him that made me. I am so much a Philosopher and a Christian, as freely to forgive my very worthy Friend for falling into the Ways of the fashionable World, in which his Ambition tempted him, and his Talents enabled him, to appear to Advantage; but had I been in his Case, and he in mine, I think I could never have forgiven myself such treacherous inhuman Behaviour to an open-hearted, undesigning Person, whom I had encouraged to depend upon my Assistance, only that I might have an Opportunity to disappoint and betray him.

I had not mentioned this Story of my departed Friend, (Rest and Peace to his Soul !) but as a friendly Admonition to the Living, who may be tempted by the same corrupt Views, in like Circumstances, to fall into the same indirect Practices. *Insincerity*, even among the *Insincere*, even in Courts and High Places, is condemned as detestable by those who practise it, but as horrid and execrable by those who suffer by it.—Not to distinguish a Man of real Merit, is a Mark of Ignorance ; not to prefer such a Man, in my Judgment and Esteem, shews a Meanness of Soul ; not to endeavour to procure him the Rewards of such Merit, when I have it in my Power to do it, is an Argument of an indolent, selfish, or envious Spirit ; to refuse him my best Assistance, when he humbly craves it, is inhuman, ungenerous, and dishonourable. But if, unasked and unsought, I offer my Assistance, and pretend to serve him ; if my insincere Professions of Friendship betray him into an unhappy Dependence upon me, and a Neglect of other Applications, which might have been made with better Success ; if I improve his unhappy Security into an Occasion of betraying him, whilst I pretend to serve him : If, not content with this, I should insult the unhappy Sufferer, make a Jest of his Credulity, and expose him to the Ridicule of others—I should abhor myself, and think I deserved to be kicked out of the Creation.

LETTER

## L E T T E R VII.

AS my Hopes and Fears for this World are very moderate, I endeavour to pass through it with a philosophical Indifference, rather as a silent and impartial Spectator, than as one that has any real Interest in it, or Concern about it. I often see, with a Mixture of Indignation and Pity, the mean Shifts, the dirty Services, the abject Compliances, that are necessary to engage the Favour of the Great, and make a tolerable Appearance among the Candidates for Wealth and Power. *Selfishness, a Narrowness of Soul, and Baseness of Heart,* are the bitter Root of this pernicious Evil. Every Man of this Make is his own first Cousin, nearest Relation, and best Friend; and considers his present Portion of Interest, Wealth, and Power, in no other Light than that of an improvable Stock for the the sole Behoof and Benefit of the Proprietor, and therefore turns his whole Attention to Ways and Means of making the said Improvements. This is his single View; whatever Character he assumes, whatever Professions he makes, all terminates in himself. All his Pretensions to Generosity, Friendship, Honour, and public Spirit, are only thin Disguises to conceal the abject Views, and base Designs, of a selfish ungenerous Heart. Those, whom he pretends to honour with his Friendship and Confidence, in his Heart he regards only as so many Tools, or Instruments, necessary for the Execution and Support of this great and important Point, to blow up an immense Bubble of Vanity, and preserve it as long as possible from bursting. This is the true  
State

State and Temper of all the ambitious, the covetous, the selfish Seekers of this World. Were you to apply by yourself, or your Friends, to such a Person as a Patron, your real Character, your absolute and personal Merit, whether you were a Man of Ability, Virtue, and Honour; whether you were fit to be trusted with such a Commission, to fill such a Post, or execute such an Office, with Dignity and Courage, would be no Part of the Question; but whether he will come into Measures; whether he will obey the Word of Command; whether he be fit to answer several other Purposes, to promote the several Schemes he has in view, or perform any secret Services which the Necessity of his Affairs may require. This will be the sole Standard and Test of this spurious equivocal Merit. For, when the Head and Heart of a Patron are perverted by sinister Views, indirect Schemes, and selfish Designs, he will be sure to encourage none but such as he is assured are both able and willing to promote the same Views, and assist in the Execution of any favourite Scheme, which he may think necessary for the Increase or Security of his Fortune, his Power, or his Person. Now, when I see a Man sacrifice his Understanding and Conscience to his Ambition or his Covetousness, or be a Tool or a Slave to the selfish, partial, corrupt Schemes and Intrigues of others; in whatever Form or Figure he may appear, I consider him in no other Light than that of a *Pimp*, or *Procurer*. And I think it is hardly a Matter of Question, which is the most infamous Profession of the two, to be a *Pimp* to a Man's Lusts, or to his Vanity and Ambition. The former is, indeed, in common Estimation, reckoned the more scandalous; but the

the latter may be more truly infamous, and much more detestable, because the former may concern none but himself and his W—re; but the other may have fatal and execrable Consequences upon Posterity. This single Consideration may account for numberless whimsical Promotions that have been, and may hereafter be, made in all Ages of the World. Hence it has come to pass, that many poor Creatures, whom Nature designed for Rat-catchers or Pedlars, have been set in high Places, exalted above their Betters, have wallowed in Luxury and Plenty, whilst better Men have wanted Bread. If there were no terrible Consequences attending this pernicious Evil, it would be ridiculous enough to know and consider the many and peculiar Kinds and Degrees of Merit, to which some fortunate People have owed their Promotion, in every Scene or Profession of Life. The being useful or necessary to a Patron, the marrying a near Relation, or the being able to requite one good Turn with another, have always been esteemed good and laudable Reasons for Preference; but, that a Man should owe his Promotion purely to a wrong Turn of Head, or Corruption of Heart; to a ridiculous Cast of Face, or Set of Features, is a little whimsical and unaccountable.—I had once the Honour to be paying my Duty to a great Minister, who, in the Hunting-season, was come into the Country to enjoy the Pleasure of that healthy Diversion. At Supper he was mentioning to me, with great Marks of Approbation and Esteem, a young Clergyman, who appeared that Morning upon the Field, well mounted, smartly dressed, and one of the most alert Sportsmen he had ever seen; and concluded with saying, *He is a*  
*clever*

*clever young Fellow, I must, and will, take care of him:* And, had not this reverend Sportsman been forced, soon after, to travel into foreign Countries, in order to escape hanging in his own, which he richly deserved, he might, for aught I know, before this Time, have been—

Men that have pushed their Fortunes, and raised themselves by such odd and unworthy Arts, as none but the Worthless and Undeserving could ever practise, contract by degrees an habitual Narrowness of Soul, and a judicial Poverty of Heart, uncapable of every generous Thought, every noble and useful Design, of enjoying their Plenty and Honour, and supporting their Characters with Dignity and Ease, and employing their Interest and Fortune for the Good and Benefit of Mankind, but raging with an insatiable Thirst and Appetite for more. Such as these are to be met with in every State of Life; little, hungry, penurious Creatures, who, though never so full, are never satisfied; who, though they have much more than they deserve, or know how to enjoy, are always craving for more; And what to do? Why, only to enrich some worthless Booby, whilst they suffer Men of Learning, Probity, and Honour, to starve.— I remember, many Years ago, a humorous mad Fellow about Town, who had the *Splendida bilis* to an extravagant Degree. He was, by Profession, a *Maker and Mender of Souls*. He had a Mould for the former, and a *philosophical Tenter* (as he called it) for stretching the Narrow and Contracted, and extending them to their due Dimensions. As I was one Day trudging down the *Strand*, I chanced to see him, in close Conference with that little shriveled old Fellow,  
*Gripe,*

*Gripe, the Scrivener.* An Interview betwixt two such extraordinary Persons, I thought, must be something very particular, and I had Curiosity enough to make a Halt to see the Event. My Friend, the Operator, happening to spy me across the Street, leaves his Patient, and steps over to me. Sir, said he, *What do you think? I have been offering that old Fellow to make him a Soul; the Dog says, he has one already, but I can hardly believe him; I am sure, if he has, it was none of my making; and I offered to make him a Dozen better and larger than his for a Groat.* Why, said I, did you not offer to tenter his old one? Tenter him!—said he, —*Rot him, I would as soon try to tenter a Cobweb,—I am sure it is so thin, and so rotten, it would break under my Hands, like a Piece of wet brown Paper.* The Moral of this mad Speech is applicable to thousands. *Qui capit, ille facit.*

Mankind may be fairly divided into *Patrons* and *Clients*; some who are able to give, and others who want to receive: Some who have Favours to bestow, and others who have Favours to ask: Some who are forced to depend upon the Assistance and Protection of others, or make others depend upon them. The Necessities of Mankind, and the Inequality of their Fortunes, make this Dependance necessary; and it is the Business of Philosophy and Religion to regulate the Exercise, and direct the Management, of this Dependance, so as to make it useful to the Public, and answer the great Purposes and Designs of Providence, which is, to make one Man's Superfluity a Relief to another's Necessity; one Man's Strength a Support to another Man's Weakness; all mutually conspiring to promote the Glory of God, the Welfare of the Pub-

lic, and the Benefit and Happiness of each other. Now, when Men of Merit, who are not always the Favourites of Fortune, are distressed in their worldly Circumstances, and find there is nothing to be got but by mean and dishonourable Practices, they are too often tempted to let go their Integrity, and swim with the general Stream of Corruption, rather than starve with Honour and a good Conscience; for, as neither of these are marketable Commodities, no Wonder that Gold and Silver, with a good Proportion of Brass, carry all before them; and if, under such Discouragements, there be a visible Decay of Virtue, Honour, and public Spirit, Who can wonder?

It is a Reproach to Religion, Humanity, and a liberal Education, that there should be found, among Men of Learning, and, in other Respects, of fair and virtuous Characters, that Meanness and Littleness of Mind, as to regard none but themselves; to ingross and inclose the whole Fountain of Favour, and exclude the Modest and Sincere from the Observation of those, who, if they knew them, might be disposed to favour and reward their Modesty and Merit; or, by vile Calumny or Misrepresentation, traduce and expose the Characters of those whom they envy, hate, or fear, as Rivals and Competitors. Nothing gives me a greater Idea of those two great Men, *Horace* and *Virgil*, than that they could, without Jealousy, or Emulation, recommend and support each other in the Favour of the most polite and magnificent Patron in *Rome*. They were mutually conscious of each other's Merit in their different Places; there was no Competition for Favours, nor did either of them think himself eclipsed or injured by any Applause

plause or Advantages received by the other. *Non isto vivitur illic quo, tu rere, modo*, is the Answer that either of them would have given to the Impertinents of this Age, as well as of that. These were the natural Dictates of an open ingenuous Mind, of a large and generous Heart: But when I see Men of excellent Understanding and eminent Learning, intent upon nothing but their own Advantage, aiming at nothing but Riches and Power, undermining, supplanting, and betraying every Man whom they apprehend may stand in his Way, and obstruct their selfish, covetous, or ambitious Designs, I view them in no other Light than that of *religious Hucksters*, or *learned Stockjobbers*. Let a Man's Head be ever so full of Learning, or Cunning, of what Sort soever it be, if it be under the Direction of a little, corrupt, selfish, covetous Heart, let their State or Employment be what it will, whether it be in Stocks or Sciences, Lottery-tickets or various Readings, whether in Libraries or *Change Alley*, solving Problems or cracking Nuts, publishing new Editions or singing old Ballads, reading Lectures, making Mouse-traps, or selling Turneps, they are all equally removed from all Pretensions to *true Honour*, or *Greatness of Mind*.

*God Sense* and *true Honour* are ever attentive to true Merit, in whatever Form or Dress it appears, ever ready to bestow or procure due Encouragement and suitable Rewards, to relieve the Indigent, support the Industrious, and raise, out of Obscurity and Want into Light and Plenty, the Modest and Deserving, who have wanted Opportunities of appearing in the World to Advantage. I was much delighted with the graceful and generous Manner in which the late Archbishop

of Rheims (*Le Tillier*) introduced the celebrated Father *Mabillon* to *Lewis XIV.* Sir, said he, *I have the Honour to present to your Majesty the most learned and modest Monk in your Kingdom.* This was the Language of a great Soul, truly worthy of a Person of his eminent Worth and Station, who considered his Modesty as adding Lustre and Dignity to his Learning, and making that an Introduction and Recommendation to the Royal Favour, which, without such a Patron, might have been the most likely to exclude him from it for ever.

Patronage, whether in Church or State, is the Exercise of a great Branch of Power. Power, in all its Branches and Subordinations, whether natural or political, ecclesiastical or civil, is a Talent or Trust derived from the Supreme Fountain of Power; for the Uses or Abuses of which, a severe Account will one Day be required. The Nature and Uses of this Trust are clearly implied in the very Nature of the Grant, which is, that it be exercised upon proper Objects, and in a proper Manner. All that are employed in this Trust, from the King to the petty Constable, are considered as Ministers, Vice-gerents, and Officers, accountable to him from whom they have received it. The Prince is the immediate *Minister of God*, *Rom. xiii. 4.* Subordinate Magistrates are his Ministers, Deputies, or Vice-gerents, accountable to him for the Management of their respective Provinces. The Uses of this delegated Authority, or ministerial Power, can be no other than what are agreeable to the Nature and Will of the Supreme Lord. And these, both Reason and Revelation assure us, are to be a Terror, not to good Works, but to the Evil; Re-

vengers to execute Wrath upon them that do Evil, Rom. xiii. 4. For the Punishment of Evil-doers, and the Praise of them that do well, 1 Pet. ii. 14. Now, if Princes, and all that are put in Authority under them, would truly and indifferently minister Justice to the Punishment of Wickedness and Vice, and the Maintenance of true Religion and Virtue, Things would quickly be put upon a right Foot, and all Competitions for Favour would be brought to a peremptory and impartial Decision, by the unerring Rule of Truth and Righteousness; the Evil-doers would have nothing to hope, and the Well-doers nothing to fear; real Merit, Virtue, and Honour, would be the never-failing Steps to Preferment; Infamy and Shame would be the inseparable Companions of Vice and Iniquity. The Learned, the Pious, and the Good, would have the first and fairest Claim to the Favours of the Great; and the Enemies of Religion and of Honour would be banished not only from the Courts of Princes, but even from the Houses and Countenance of all good Men; and the truly honourable, of both Sexes, would be as much ashamed of appearing in the Company of a Libertine, or Infidel, as to be caught in a *disbaille*, or in Company with a Bawd, or a Pick-pocket; and the Rewards of Virtue would be given to none but those who had Merit enough to deserve them.—I shall conclude with a short Story.—Once upon a time, there lived, in a certain Nation, a Man of true Honour, and a considerable Patron, who, in the Disposal of his Favours, regarded nothing but the real Merit of the Receiver. He had long entertained very favourable Intentions towards a Clergyman of great Merit, who had lain so long buried in the Obscurity

of a Country Village, under the Insolence and Oppression of a wrong-headed Country 'Squire, that the poor Man looked upon himself as quite hopeless, helpless, and friendless; when, all of a sudden, this worthy Patron surpris'd him with the Presentation to a Living of very considerable Value. The poor Man, amazed at this unexpected Generosity, immediately waited upon his Patron, with all those decent and grateful Acknowledgments which so uncommon a Favour might be reasonably thought to deserve. The Patron cut him short with this rough, good-natured Reply: *Sir, pray spare your Speeches, and keep your Compliments to yourself; you are under no manner of Obligation to me. For, had I known a more deserving Man in England than yourself, you should not have had it.*

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### L E T T E R VIII.

**A** *Just Sense of Honour* proceeds from a Consciousness of some inherent Worth or Excellency in ourselves, or some honourable Relation we bear to our Maker or Fellow-Creatures; from some real Superiority we enjoy on the Stage of Life, or in the Scale of Being, which never fails to inspire a great and generous Mind with noble Sentiments, suitable and correspondent to the real Dignity of our State and Nature, so as to scorn to be guilty of an unworthy or dishonourable Thought, Word, or Action, that may disgrace our real Character, or degrade us from the Rank in which we shine, to the Level of our Inferiors,

riors. Thus, in the Scale of Beings, Men in general glory in distinguishing themselves from the Brutes, by exerting their rational and intellectual Faculties, in such a Manner, and to such noble Ends and Purposes, as the great Author of our Being intended: So they distinguish themselves from Children, and Men of Sense from Fools, by acting agreeably to their superior Sense and Knowledge, and shewing a manly and rational Contempt of those Baubles and Trifles, which are the supreme Delight and Enjoyment of Childhood and Folly. Men that are exalted to high Stations, either in Church or State, distinguish themselves from the World below them by such superior Vigilance, Attention, Integrity, and Courage, as their exalted Stations, the Greatness of their Charge, and the Extent of their Provinces, may require; and the Man of *Quality and Honour* distinguishes himself from his Inferiors, not so much by his Title and Equipage, as by the Candor of his Mind, the Benevolence of his Heart, the Politeness of his Manners, and the Generosity of his Actions; and therefore scorns to tarnish the Lustre of his Character, by saying or doing any thing that has a mean, sordid, or ungenerous Appearance: And the truly good Christian, whose Hope, and Treasure, and Conversation is in Heaven; who considers himself as a Citizen of the *new Jerusalem*, keeps his Heart and Eye immoveably fixed upon the glorious Dignity, the immortal Honour of his high Calling in Christ Jesus, which he scorns to sacrifice to Lust or Pride, Ambition or Covetousness, the Poms and Vanities of this wicked World; well knowing that this present World lieth in Darkness, and that all the Riches, and Honours,

and Pleasures it can possibly bestow on its deluded Votaries, are not worthy to be compared with one Moment's Enjoyment of that unspeakable Glory which God has prepared for them that unfeignedly love him and keep his Commandments.

The Dignity of human Nature, even in this State of Humiliation and Pennance, is so obvious to any attentive Mind, that the very Heathens discovered it by the Light of Nature; many of them talk justly and magnificently of our original Grandeur and primitive Perfection, before we fell into this State of Mortality and Sorrow, and of our glorious Restitution to our primitive Felicity. This they spoke of, not only as a traditional Truth derived from the Father of the new World through all the Branches of his Family, but as an inward Sentiment of Nature, interwoven with our very Frame, and essential to our Being, of which we find many memorable Testimonies among the Writers of the *Pythagoric* and *Platonic* Schools, all attesting this great, but melancholy, Truth, that we are a Race of sinful miserable Creatures, fallen from our original Glory into a State of Imperfection and Mortality; that we are not now what we once were, what the great Author of our Being intended us to be, and what we shall be hereafter. This View of our Condition has been, in all Ages, a Reason for thinking and serious People to consider what was that Perfection, what the original Felicity of our Nature, how we came to lose it, what was the Original of Evil, and of all the Calamities that have ever since overspread the Face of the Earth, and detained the whole human Species under the Bondage of Misery and Death, whether there were  
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any Possibility of a Restoration, and what the most probable Means to effect it. All agreed in this, that it was the Loss of some inward Treasure, some spiritual and rational Perfections, which could only be recovered by mortifying the animal Life in us, which is the Death of the inward and spiritual, by pressing through the Slavery and Darknes of corrupt Nature, into the supreme Center of Life, Light, and Glory; conscious, at the same time, that, under the present Ruins of Innocence and Happiness, under the Veil of this corruptible mortal Body, there lay concealed a glorious and excellent Nature, an immortal Spirit, sighing for Deliverance, and longing for Redemption from the Bondage of Corruption into the glorious Liberty of the Sons of God; that to this glorious and immortal Spirit there belonged a glorious and immortal Body, which they called \* *the connatural, the luciform, the immaterial Body, the subtle Vehicle or Chariot of the Soul*; Expressions frequently to be met with in *Hierocles*, and other *Pythagoric* and *Platonic* Writers, agreeable to what *St. Paul* calls the spiritual Body, † *1 Cor. xv. 44*. That this glorious Body, with its glorious Consort the Soul, which, in Scripture Language, constitute *the inward Man*, were confined in this Prison of Flesh and Blood, from which it had no possible Means of escaping but by weakening and mortifying our natural Appetites and bodily Lusts, which are the Chains by which we are detained in this Prison of Corruption and Death; that every Indulgence of the animal Life was prolonging our Captivity, strengthening our Chains, sinking

\* Τὸ σῶμα συμφυρῆς, αὐγοειδές, αἰὼλον λεπτὸν ὁχημαψυχῆς. † Σῶμα Πνευματικόν.

us deeper into the Mire, putting us into the inner Prison, and putting our Feet so fast in the Stocks, as to render our Escape difficult, if not impossible: It was taking off, or clogging at least, the Wheels of the heavenly Chariot, and clipping the Wings of its divine Inhabitant, so as to retard, if not intirely to obstruct her Return to her heavenly Country. Hence proceed the many noble and affecting Exhortations to the Exercise of all the moral Virtues, and Encouragements to all the Disciples of Wisdom, to persevere in this glorious Warfare, to subdue their Bodies by Abstinence and Mortification, to purify their Souls by a Contempt of Riches, Pleasures, and all the Vanities of Life, and *fleshly Lusts, which war against the Soul*; to abstain from every Instance of Impurity and Uncleaness, as a Disgrace to the Dignity of our Nature, and an Affront and Dishonour to him that made us.

But as the best and wisest of the Heathen Moralists found, by sad Experience, their utter Inability to perform this mighty Task, to complete this mighty Deliverance from the Captivity of Sin and Death, they all agreed in the Necessity of begging and depending on the Assistance of some superior Power, whose divine Influence and Mediation they felt and acknowledged, and called by different Names, without knowing what or whence it was. *Aristotle* calls it *Intellectus Agens*, by which he meant nothing more than a certain, created, intelligent Being, or Nature, substituted by God to illuminate the human Soul, to excite actual Attention in it, and communicate to it those common intellectual Principles which generally obtain in all Men, and that stood in the same Relation to the  
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human Soul, as the visible Sun with its Light and Influence does to vital Nature in this lower World. But the best Philosopher believed it to be the Voice and Power of God in the Soul, exciting in it good Thoughts and holy Desires, and assisting us by his special Grace, to conquer our natural Corruption, and return to our primitive Perfection ; of which I could produce numberless Instances from the *Platonic* Writers. There is a noble and remarkable Passage to this Purpose, in one of *Seneca's* Epistles \*. *There is, (says he) an holy Spirit in every one of us, the Preserver and Judge of Good and Bad, who behaves towards us, just as we do towards him.*

The Assertion of *Arates*, quoted by *St. Paul*, *Acts* xvii. 28. That *we are the Offspring of God*, (ὁ γὰρ γένετο ἡμεῖς) was the concurrent Sense of the best Poets and Philosophers in all Ages of the World, though not expressed in direct Terms, but strongly implied in equipotent Expressions, all confessing and adoring an Universal Omnipotent Spirit, the overflowing Fountain of Life, pervading, upholding, and filling all Things, in whom we live, and move, and have our Being. Him, whom the *Athenians* ignorantly worshipped under the Title of *the* (Ἄγνωστος Θεός) *unknown God*, the Apostle declares to be the Most High God, who made the World and all Things therein, who giveth to all Life and Breath and all Things, in whose Image our first Parent was created, and is therefore called *The Son of God*, *Luke* iii. 38. *The Created*

\* Sacer inest in nobis spiritus, bonorum malorumque custos & observator, & quemadmodum nos illum tractamus, ita & ille nos.

*Image of the Ever-Blessed Trinity*, endued with all Perfections necessary for his exalted Rank in the Scale of Being, which was to be *Supreme Lord and Governor of this sublunary World*.

For the better understanding our real and proper Perfection, let us try if we can strike out any Light, either from Reason or Revelation, into the *original, present, and future* State of human Nature. In the first Inquiry, Reason can give us no Assistance; and the Light we receive from Revelation, is feeble and obscure. We are assured, that we were created in the Image of God; but the precise Signification and Extent of that Image is no where directly specified. All that we can learn about it is from the Analogy of Faith, comparing several Predictions and prophetic Symbols; and what the Scriptures declare concerning our Redemption and future Glory, which must be the same which we lost by the first *Adam*, and shall recover in the second.

As to our present State, it is a State of Discord, Contention, and Opposition, betwixt Good and Evil, Light and Darkness, the Flesh and the Spirit. The Good find themselves powerfully excited and assisted in the Operations of this holy Warfare, by an Omnipotent Loving Spirit, who manifests himself by ineffable Impressions of Light and Power upon the Pure in Heart; upon which Account they are called in Scripture *the Children of God*, Rom. viii. 16. *Heirs of God and joint Heirs with Christ*, Rom. viii. 17. *Partakers of the Divine Nature*, 2 Pet. i. 4. *Guided by the Spirit of God*, Rom. viii. 14. *Having the Guardianship of Angels appointed to minister to the Heirs of Salvation*, Heb. i. 14. And their very Bodies are called

called *the Temples of the Holy Ghost*, 1 Cor. iii. 16. and *Members of Christ*, 1 Cor. vi. 15. That under this dark Veil of Flesh and Blood, there lies concealed a glorious and heavenly Body the *σώματα σώμα*, the connatural Vehicle of the Soul, St. Paul confesses, 2 Cor. v. and calls it *our House which is from Heaven*, ver. 2. which he opposes to *our earthly House of this Tabernacle* or corruptible Body, ver. 1. and expresses *his Groaning and earnest Desire* at least, if not his Hope, that he should *not be unclothed*, or put off this mortal Body by Death, but have it absorbed into his heavenly luciform Body, as *Enoch* and *Elijah* had, *that Mortality might be swallowed up of Life*, ver. 4. The State of the Wicked in this World (till they be shut up in final Impenitence) is a State of Discipline, Probation, and Hope; the good Spirit of God strives with them, encourages them by Mercies, terrifies them by Punishments, alarms them by Checks of Conscience, invites them with the Hopes of everlasting Happiness and unspeakable Glory, and threatens them with endless and unspeakable Torments. And as no Man is so absolutely wicked, as to extinguish all Sense of Good and Evil, and to renounce all Appearances of Virtue, which, to the most corrupt Minds, will ever appear amiable; hence they substitute the external Forms and Appearances of Virtue, in the room of solid and substantial Righteousness, which has given occasion to corrupt and partial Observers of human Nature, such as *Epicurus*, *Hobbes*, *Rochefoucault*, *Mandeville*, and other Writers of the same Class, to resolve all Virtue into Affectation, Vanity, and Self-love, which it must be confessed is the true Ground of that counterfeit Humility  
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and Charity, which, in the fashionable World, pass under the Name of Politeness and Good-breeding. The true Pattern of solid Virtue, and Standard of Perfection, is the Life of the Blessed Jesus, who came down from Heaven to instruct us in every Branch of our Duty, to teach us the Dignity and Worth of human Souls, one of which he declares to be of more Value than the whole World, and for which nothing less than the inestimable Price of his most precious Blood could be a sufficient Ransom. He taught us, by his Precepts and Example, that *true Greatness of Mind* consisted in a Contempt of the World, in renouncing all the Riches, Honours, and Pleasures of this mortal Life, in overcoming all the Temptations of Luxury, Vanity, and Pride, to which our several States and Conditions of Life may expose us; and that our real Happiness is not to be found in this World, but only in that which is to come.

As to our future State. St. John tells us in general, 1 John iii. 2. That *We are now the Sons of God, but it doth not yet appear what we shall be; but we know that when Christ shall appear, we shall be like him, for we shall see Him as He is;* which, without correspondent Faculties, we cannot do. So then, if we be Partakers of his Spirit here, we shall be Partakers of his Glory hereafter; if He has, by the mighty Operation of his Grace, purified our Souls from dead Works, *He shall also change our vile Body* (*σῶμα τῆς ταπεινώσεως ἡμῶν*) *that it may be like unto his glorious Body, according to the mighty Working whereby He is able to subdue all Things to himself.* The Form and Splendor of our Lord's Glorious Body are very fully and distinctly described by the Evangelist St.

John,

*John*, to whom he appeared in the Isle of *Patmos*, Rev. i. 13, 14, 15, 16. *He was clothed with a Garment down to the Foot, and girt about the Paps with a golden Girdle, his Head and his Hairs were white like Wool, as white as Snow, and his Eyes were as a Flame of Fire, and his Feet like unto fine Brass, as if they burned in a Furnace, and his Voice as the Sound of many Waters, and his Countenance was as the Sun shineth in his Strength.* In Comparison of this, how faint and feeble are all the Expressions, how contemptible are all the Forms of worldly Glory. The Magnificence of an Eastern Monarch is no more than Childrens Play, when compared with the Glory that shall be revealed in every true Member of Christ Jesus. Can any Hope, any Interest, any Glory, be equal to this? And can those Men have any Pretensions to *Honour and true Greatness of Mind*, who renounce this high and heavenly Calling? who reject the Offer of immortal Life and Glory, and endeavour to persuade themselves and others, that they have in them no Principle or Hope of Immortality, but are only dropped into the World by Chance, to live and die like the Beasts that perish. These Gentlemen ought to be regarded, by every sincere Christian and Lover of Virtue, not only as Enemies to the Cross of Christ, but as Traitors to their own Species, and Enemies of human Nature, as they endeavour to deprive us of that glorious Hope, which alone can support us under the manifold Distresses of this mortal Life. And it is worth observing, that while the good Christian patiently submits to the Anguish of Pain, the Confinement of a sick Bed, the Infirmities of old Age, and the Agonies of Death, in the Hope of a glorious Resurrection to  
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immortal Life, these Men who have renounced this high and heavenly Consolation, when they fall into the common Calamities of Life, sink under them into Dejection and Despair, and fly to an Opiate, or a Pistol, to put an End to a miserable Life. The *true Christian*, conscious of his Heavenly Original, supported by a Hope full of Immortality, presses on boldly and steadily in the Path that leads to Eternal Life, and scorns to do any Thing that may disgrace the Dignity of his heavenly Profession, and is afraid of nothing but the Displeasure of his God. He scorns to prostitute the exalted Faculties of his Heaven-born Soul to the servile Drudgery of Ambition and Covetousness; or pollute his Body, which is the Temple of God, and designed for eternal Glory, by Lust and Intemperance. He considers all Mankind as his Brethren, and Fellow-Heirs of the same Promises, whom he thinks himself obliged to assist and comfort, under all the Difficulties and Distresses of this mortal Life; and is therefore ever ready to do Good and to communicate, without Hypocrisy, or Partiality, or Respect of Persons; and he finds already the Earnest of his future Reward, the Seal of his Redemption, even the Peace of God which passeth all Understanding. This—This is *true Honour*, which the Princes of this World can neither give, nor take away. This is the *Honour* that cometh from God only; and SUCH HONOUR HAVE ALL HIS SAINTS.

LETTER

## L E T T E R IX.

ALL the Offices of Piety and Devotion towards God, as well as of Justice and Charity to our Fellow-Creatures, are bound upon us, by the sober Dictates of Nature, Reason, and common Sense. The *former*, I hope, I have sufficiently shewn, in the Course of these Letters; and it would be as easy to shew what particular Kinds of Behaviour may be reasonably expected from *Men of Honour*, and *true Greatness of Mind*, in the several different Branches and Articles of social Life; but I shall confine myself to one or two Instances only.

There is a Sort of complexional Tendernefs and Affection for our Species interwoven in our very Nature, which is finely expressed by a Word peculiar to our Language, which is *Humanity*. This is that which involuntarily melts and softens the most savage Hearts, at the Sight of a miserable Object. This makes us naturally mourn with them that mourn, and grieve for the Miseries of those whom it is not in our Power to relieve: And when we see a Man so hard-hearted, so void of all Pity, so lost to all Sense of Compassion, as not to assist the Miserable and Afflicted, and do the best he can to relieve them, we justly call him an *Inhuman Brutish Creature*. But, as this natural Tendernefs is in all Men, more or less, and in some intirely weakened and destroyed, by the Corruption of their Hearts, the Violence of their Passions, the base Treachery and insatiable Avarice of Self-love; therefore Men have been forced

to patch up and improve the Ruins of it, by certain artificial Methods of Education, which we call *Good-manners* and *Good-breeding*; by which the Language and Forms of Humanity are in some measure preserved, without any correspondent Sympathy in the inward Man. Hence proceed the affected Sigh, the aukward Smile, the lying Tear, the ceremonious Compliment, the insincere Promise, the merry Mourning, and all the various Forms and Shapes of Hypocrisy, which pass current through the polite World, under the venerable Names of *Good-nature* and *Good-manners*; from whence (as I have already observed) the partial and corrupt Observers of human Nature have taken occasion to resolve all the Appearances of Humanity and Benevolence among Mankind into Policy, Affectation, or Self-love: But let these Enemies of human Nature declaim and reason as loudly and perversely as they please, sure I am, there is such a Principle as *Generosity* and *Benevolence*, the original Growth of human Nature, implanted in us by the Great Author of our Being, which is inseparable from great and worthy Minds; which, however it may be checked and buried under the corrupt Passions and Inclinations of degenerate Nature; yet has still some Force, even in the worst of Tempers, and is an invincible Bias and Direction in the best. Let us but observe the involuntary (I had almost said, mechanical) Emotions of Compassion that arise in the Hearts of all Men, who are not quite abandoned, at the Sight of an unhappy Object in Distress; and the God-like Pleasure that arises from our successful Endeavours to relieve them, and get them removed into a happier Situation: This is an un-

answerable Proof that there is, even in these Ruins of human Nature, such a Virtue as a *disinterested Benevolence*; and that this is not an artificial, but a natural State of Soul, appears plainly from hence, that we see even Children, and People of weak Understandings, who are not capable of abstracted Reflections, who are most thoughtless of their own Condition, and incapable of entering into the Prospects of Futurity, have the most tender and affecting Sentiments of Compassion. But when we proceed further, and reflect upon the divine Satisfaction that arises in a generous Heart, from the Consciousness of having done a good-natured, compassionate Thing, to a Person in Distress, of having relieved his Sorrows, and comforted an afflicted Soul, it can proceed from nothing but a Consciousness of having acted agreeably to the Dignity of our Nature, something worthy of a great and generous Soul.

This is saying a great deal; but this is not all. It is possible that all this may be done by the mere Strength of Good-nature, but especially if joined with good Sense, and improved by wise and strong Reflection; but there is yet behind *one Point of Honour, one Instance of a great and noble Soul*, which mere Nature, unassisted by the Grace of God, can never attain to; and that is, after the Command and Example of our Blessed Master, *to forgive Injuries, to love our Enemies, to bless them that hate us, to pray for them that despitefully use us and persecute us*. This is a hard Lesson to corrupt Flesh and Blood, and appears as absurd and unreasonable to unmortified Reason, as to be in love with Sickness and Poverty, or to pray for Pestilence and Famine. . But, that even this

is a Duty, though not discoverable by corrupt Reason, nor agreeable to our corrupt Passions, not only bound upon us by the Obligations of Religion, but perfectly agreeable to the supreme Truth and Nature of Things, I shall endeavour to make appear from these two Considerations :

1. That an unforgiving revengeful Temper can only proceed from a Littleness and Weakness of Mind, and a narrow Understanding.

2. That, by plain Consequence, a Forgiveness of Injuries, and a placable and merciful Disposition towards those that commit them, is an infallible Mark of a great Mind, animated by noble Sentiments, and just Views of the real State and ultimate Issue of Things.

*Infirmi est animi exiguiq; voluptas*

*Ultio*,—was the Observation of a wise Heathen ; and whatever Opinion the military Gentlemen (who, in all Ages and Nations are much the same), might have, of the Lawfulness and Expediency of Revenge, the wiser and better Part of the heathen World, the Moralists and Philosophers were universally agreed to condemn it as ungenerous and unmanly. If we duly consider the real Ground and Foundation of most of the Enmities and Disputes which divide and disturb Mankind, (I mean private Persons) we generally find, they arise from such Trifles as a wise Man would be ashamed to own. All the great Articles of human Property are happily secured to every good Man by the Laws of our Country, and all Controversies upon these Accounts are easily reducible to a just and equitable Decision ; but the Things which break the Friendships, interrupt the Peace, and trouble the Re-

pose of Mankind, are generally of another Nature; such as little Competitions for Interest, or Emulations for Fame, Honour, and Precedency; a wry Look, a contemptuous Expression, a disrespectful Behaviour, or even the mistaken Appearance of either, which a wise Man would have despised and pitied, has too often produced bloody and tragical Consequences. Now, how is it possible that such Trifles should discompose a reasonable Mind, force it from its Situation, and precipitate the angry Soul into a State of Fury and Distraction! How comes it to pass that such Trifles, as have no real Connection with our Happiness, no Existence but in our distempered Imaginations, should have so much Power over us, as to disarm our Reason, baffle all our Philosophy, and drive us to such Degrees of Madness as may intail Sorrow upon our last Moments, and casts us into endless Misery! Why, it proceeds only from a shameful Weakness of Mind, a Defect of Reason, and a criminal Indulgence of Fancy, Imagination, and Passion. This may help to explain a common Observation: *That Cowards are most prone to Revenge.* A Man of a *little Mind*, who has been guilty of *mean and dishonourable Practices*, judges of other Men by himself, and measures every Man's Sentiments by his own, and therefore cannot expect that another should forgive him, what he knows he could not forgive in another; and is therefore under continual Apprehensions of suffering what he knows he has deserved, and can never think himself secure till he can find an Opportunity of finishing his Malice by some unsuspected Treachery in an unguarded Hour. So true is that Saying, *That Cowards have been known to*

fight, and sometimes to conquer, but were never known to forgive; which gave Occasion for the Spanish Proverb, agreeable to the Genius of that proud, cowardly, vindictive Nation, *Forgive me the Injuries you have done me.*

*Forgiveness of Injuries*, therefore, and a merciful Disposition towards those that have injured us, is an infallible Mark of a great and noble Mind, and is our indispensable Duty, 1. *As reasonable Creatures*; but more so, 2. *As Christians*.

As reasonable Creatures, we should seriously consider the real Ground of our Complaints, the Subject-matter of our Contentions, the Nature of those Articles, in which we are capable of doing, or receiving Injuries; and these appear, at first Sight, to be nothing more than the trifling Appendages of this short precarious State of Being; little Circumstances, arising from the present fantastical State of Things, in which the real and proper Happiness of our Nature is no way concerned; a State that will quickly have an End, and in the next Stage of Existence will appear as not worthy to be remembered by rational and immortal Spirits, created for everlasting Life and Glory. Of these, if we would form a right Judgment, we should judge of them as God judges. We should endeavour to view them in the same Light as they appear to glorified Saints and Angels, the glorious Host of Heaven. To these blessed Spirits, all our eager Competitions, and fierce Contentions for Interest, or Fame, Riches, Glory, Crowns and Scepters, Kingdoms and Empires, appear just as contemptible, though not so innocent, as the Squabbles of Children about Play-things and Baubles,

Baubles, or Chickens about a Worm or a Barley-corn. — We should next consider the present State and Condition of human Nature, and the Relation we stand in to our MAKER, and Fellow-Creatures. We are all the unhappy Offspring of unhappy Parents, a weak, unconstant, trifling, giddy Generation, the Children of Vanity and Corruption, though Heirs to immortal Life and Glory. The best and wisest Man amongst us has his peculiar Foible, his particular Infirmary, *The Sin that easily besets him*, his unguarded Hour, his forgetful Moment, exposed to numberless Temptations, and never secure from falling. Think, now, what Degrees of Charity, Compassion, and Christian Forbearance every Man ought to shew to his offending Brother. Should God be extreme to mark what the very best of us has done amiss, what Flesh could be saved! And should all Mankind agree in the rigorous Demands of Justice, what could be expected but universal Confusion and Desolation! Now, what Reason has any Man to expect Forgiveness either from God or Man, who will shew none to those who have injured or offended him? Can we reasonably hope to receive what we refuse to give? Can we expect for ourselves what we deny to others? No, surely: It is, therefore, our indispensable Duty, as *reasonable Creatures*, as freely to forgive, as we hope to be forgiven.

But the Obligation is still much stronger upon us, as we are (or profess to be) *Christians*. The Blessed JESUS, whose Disciples we profess to be, who is the sole Fountain of Light and Life, Truth and Honour, and who best understood its true Nature, has taught us, throughout his whole Gospel, that the only true

*Honour* of a Christian is to resemble his Father which is in Heaven. This is the only *true Greatness of Mind* which ought to distinguish a true Christian. It is on this Account that he commands and charges this Duty of *Forgiveness* upon us. And, that no Man may plead Ignorance or Inability, in bar to this great and important Duty, our blessed Master has exemplified, in his own Life, every Action and Branch of Duty in which true *Christian Honour, and Greatness of Mind*, does consist. Every thing that the deluded World calls great and honourable, all the little Advantages of Birth and Fortune, Wealth and Power, which are the Idols of wrong Heads, and corrupt Hearts, he despised and rejected. He, who was *Lord of Lords, and King of Kings, whom all the Host of Heaven worship, before whom all the Princes and Nations of the Earth are but as the Drop of a Bucket, and are counted as the small Dust of the Balance*: He, who might, if he had pleased, have made his Appearance in the World with all that Pomp and Magnificence which Heaven and Earth could furnish for our Sakes, and, for our Instruction and Example, chose to make his Entrance upon the Stage of this Life with all the Types of Humility, Abjection and Poverty; to be born of a poor Virgin, in a Stable, in Want of all the common Necessaries which even the poorest generally enjoy on such Occasions; and the whole Tenor of his Life was agreeable to this Beginning. Riches, and Honours, and Pleasures, which are the supreme Happiness of *little Minds, and unsanctified Hearts*, he absolutely renounced, and chose Contempt and Labour, Reproaches and Poverty for his Portion, whilst *he went about doing Good*, and healing all the bodily and spiritual Infirmities

ties of those who had Faith to be healed; for all which he received no other Recompence from his ungrateful Countrymen, than to be treated as a Malefactor, and to be put to the most painful and ignominious Death: In which last Scene of Life he exhibited the most illustrious Specimen of *true Greatness of Mind*, in the Forgiveness of his Murderers: *Father* (says he) *forgive them, for they know not what they do!*

Judge, now, can Ignorance and Vice, Intemperance and Lewdness, Violence and Fraud, Irreligion towards God, and Injustice towards Man, have the most remote Pretension or Relation to *true Honour*? Can any little, trifling, vain, ungrateful Creature be truly *honourable*? Can any Spark of *Honour* so much as glow in a proud, malicious, spiteful Heart? Can that Man have any tolerable Pretension to *true Greatness of Mind*, who is a Slave to Intemperance, Lust, and Folly? Can any thing *truly honourable, great, and noble*, proceed from a sordid, sneaking, niggardly, penurious Soul? We may, with as much Reason, expect the Soul of a Brute, the Spirit of a Devil, and the Perfections of an Angel, to meet in the same Person.

I know not any Instance in modern Story so applicable to this Point, as that we find in the Life of the famous *Gaston Marquis de Renty*. This illustrious Nobleman was a Soldier and a Christian, and had a peculiar Felicity in reconciling the seeming Opposition betwixt the two different Characters. He had a Command in the *French Army*, and had the Misfortune to receive a Challenge from a Person of Distinction in the same Service. The Marquis returned Answer, by the Person who brought the Challenge, that he

was

was ready to convince the Gentleman that he was in the wrong, and, if he could not satisfy him, he was ready to ask his Pardon. The other, not satisfied with this Answer, insisted upon his meeting him with his Sword; to which he sent this Answer: *That he was resolved not to do it, since God and the King had forbidden it, otherwise he would have him know, that all the Endeavours he had used to pacify him did not proceed from any Fear of him, but of Almighty God, and his Displeasure; that he should go every Day about his usual Business, and, if he did assault him, he would make him repent it.* The angry Man, not able to provoke him to a Duel, and meeting him one Day by chance, drew his Sword, and attacked him, who wounded and disarmed both him and his Second, with the Assistance of a Servant that attended him; but then did this truly Christian Nobleman shew the Difference betwixt a Brutish and Christian Courage; for he led them to his Tent, refreshed them with Wine and Cordials, caused their Wounds to be dressed, and their Swords to be restored to them, and dismissed them with Christian and friendly Advice, and was never heard to mention the Affair afterwards to his nearest Friends. It was a usual Saying of his, *That there was more true Courage and Generosity in bearing and forgiving an Injury for the Love of God, than in requiting it with another; in suffering, rather than revenging, because the Thing was much more difficult: That Bulls and Bears had Courage enough, but it was a brutish Courage; whereas ours should be such as should become reasonable Creatures and Christians.*

I beg leave to conclude with this solemn Declaration. In Obedience to the Commands, and Imitation of the Example of my blessed Master, by whose Merits

Merits and Intercession I expect to receive the full and free Remission of all my Sins, I do freely and absolutely remit and forgive all Injuries and Wrongs, Affronts and Offences, that have at any Time, by Treachery or Violence, by wrong Heads, or malicious Hearts, by false Friends, or open Enemies, been acted or intended against me; and pray God they may never be laid to their Charge; and hope, by the Grace of God, I shall ever be ready to return Good for Evil to the greatest Enemy I have in the World.



FREE

THE HISTORY OF THE  
ROYAL SOCIETY OF LONDON  
AND THE SOCIETY OF MEDICAL PHYSICIANS  
IN GREAT BRITAIN  
FROM THE YEAR 1660 TO 1800  
BY  
JAMES HALL, M.D.  
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1900



FREE THOUGHTS

UPON THE

BRUTE-CREATION:

OR, AN

EXAMINATION

OF

Father *BOUGEANT*'s

PHILOSOPHICAL AMUSEMENT, &c.

In TWO LETTERS to a LADY.





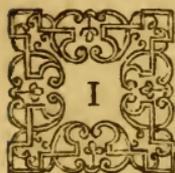
# FREE THOUGHTS

UPON THE

BRUTE-CREATION.

## LETTER I.

MADAM,



DARE say you have made many a merry Reflection upon the good Company and Conversation we lately enjoyed at *B—ton*; for my own part, I can never think of it without laughing. Methinks I hear my little Doctor pouring forth all his Rhetoric and Logic upon an abstruse Question, which I was sure he had not Capacity enough to understand. I see, and hear, and admire, his modest Assurance, incapable of Contradiction, affirming without Proof, and concluding without Premises, that *all the Animal Functions and Operations of the Brute-Creation* (which  
different

different Philosophers had ascribed to different Causes, such as Mechanism, Instinct, substantial Forms, &c.) were intirely owing to the Operation of evil Spirits, who are the moving Principle in every one of them. As this Thought was quite new to me, and perfectly oppositè to all the Sentiments I had ever entertained upon that Question, I could not for my Life imagine where he had picked up this new Philosophy, which had almost frightened some of the Company out of their Senses.—I shall never forget the puzzled afflicted Face of the honest Justice, who, though a very good Protestant, and, in all other Respects, of blameless Life and Conversation, had spent so many Years in following a *Pack of Devils*, which he had innocently mistaken for a Pack of harmless Beagles.—But the whimsical Distresses of the poor Ladies gave me no small Diversion. Sweet Miss *Jenny*, who has lavished away more Kisses upon her favourite Cat, than she would bestow upon the best Man in the Parish, felt some Compunction within herself, that she had been wantonly, and almost maliciously, throwing away those Caresses upon an evil Spirit, which many a good Christian would have been glad of. Dear Miss *Harriot* had the same Regret for her beloved Monkey, and poor *Dolly* for her Parrot; and resolved, one and all, never to hold Commerce or Correspondence with evil Spirits for the future, in whatever amiable Shape or Figure they might appear; which, I apprehend, could end in nothing less than an intire Destruction of all the favourite Domestic of the Family; whilst you, with a chearful Composure of Mind and Countenance, inseparable from Good-nature and good Sense, sat smiling at the empty Harangue of the  
Orator,

Orator, and the fantastical Sufferings of the Audience.

Well! home I went, full of this absurd, unphilosophical Scheme, wondering how my learned Friend, who, with very moderate Talents, affects to be thought a very great Scholar, and profound Philosopher, could ever fall into this uncommon Way of Thinking. But as I chanced, a few Days after, to strolc into a Bookseller's Shop, I spied a little Pamphlet lying upon the Counter, intitled, *A Philosophical Amusement, concerning the Language of Birds and Beasts. Written originally in French by Father Bougeant, a learned Jesuit, &c.* I quickly perceived where my learned Friend had picked up his new Philosophy, from what Fountain all this profound Erudition was drawn. The honest Man has a very preposterous Ambition to be famous; and as he is conscious that he has no Chance to attain any Degree of Distinction from the proper and regular Use of his intellectual Faculties, he therefore attempts a nearer Cut to Fame, by engaging the Attention of the Unlearned to something that has a new and marvellous Appearance: This has given him an Itch after Novelty, and an Affection for uncommon Notions, more than common Sense. No Wonder, therefore, he was immediately struck with this surprising Sentiment, which he resolved to put off at the next Tea-table for his own, assuring himself that neither the Ladies, nor myself (whose Obscurity he heartily despises) should ever find him out, but admire him for a most profound Philosopher. I took my Pamphlet home with me, and read it over and over, with the greatest Care and Candour; and, upon the whole, must needs say, that I never should have

suspected the Author (if he had not told us so himself) to be a *Jesuit*, much less a *famous Jesuit*. He has done no Credit to his Order; the Gentlemen of that Society owe him but little Thanks; they generally acquit themselves much better upon any Subject they undertake. He has treated a noble Subject loosely and superficially, to say no worse; for I might add idly and profanely; and, had I been his proper Superior, I should have changed his Confinement at *La Fleche*, for a more proper Habitation at *Morefields*.

But this (say you) is libelling without Proof, condemning at Random: Let us come to Particulars; make good your Charge; shew us, if you can, the Defects of his Scheme, and try if you can strike us out a better.

With all my Heart, Madam. But before I proceed to a more particular Examination of his Scheme, I must freely acknowledge, that there are a great many just and sprightly Things scattered up and down through his whole Performance; but favouring more of the Vivacity of the *Frenchman*, than the Piety and Solidity of a Christian Philosopher. He justly and smartly ridicules the unintelligible Trumpery of Mechanism, Instinct, substantial Forms, and what not, of *Aristotelian* and *Cartesian* Philosophy, which, like occult Qualities, are hard Words without a Meaning, intended only as a thin Disguise for Ignorance and Affectation: But what has he advanced in the room of them? Why something equally absurd, but not equally innocent; something shocking to a Philosopher, and offensive to a Christian, in direct Contradiction to Reason and Revelation, as I shall endeavour to make appear. Nor is he less offensive in Point of

Delicacy ; his Ideas and Sentiments are often so low, his Images so indecent, his Expressions so coarse, as could hardly be expected from a polite *Frenchman* and an Ecclesiastic to a fine Lady, whom, at the same time, he seems to consider as a Person of Discernment and Distinction. Let us now follow him his own Way. His first Chapter is,

*Of the Understanding of Brutes.*

He begins with this Question : *Have Brutes any Understanding ? I am convinced* (says he) *that you will not so much as hesitate upon this Question ;* fairly presuming she would answer in the Affirmative ; and as I dare venture to affirm that his fair Correspondent had not a better Understanding than mine, I will venture to presume the same for you. *An Understanding* they certainly have of such a Kind or Degree at least, as is sufficient for their State and Rank in the universal System, and the several Duties and Offices for which they were intended by their Creator. Less than this, I think, cannot be said, and who presumes to say more ? Though I have known many an honest Fellow that made a good Figure in his Neighbourhood, who yet has hardly discovered more Reason, a better Understanding, or half so much Virtue as the Beast he rode on. Take any Man of a plain natural good Understanding, without the Prejudices of Philosophy, and propose the same Question to him ; I dare say he would stare at you, and think you were bantering him ; or, if he thought you were in earnest, he would not so much as demur upon it. In short, however we may affect to puzzle ourselves or others

with learned Objections proceeding from downright Ignorance, we all own it, we presume upon it, as a first Principle, we reason upon it, and act agreeably, as we make it an unerring Rule to direct us in the Treatment and Management of our domestic Animals; this it is that guides us in the Education of our Dogs and Horses, to train them up by Correction and Discipline to the several Offices for which they are intended, and the Services which we expect to receive from them. This it is that directs us to caress and reward them when they do well, and to correct and punish them when they are vicious and disobedient. Did we consider them as mere Machines, as Creatures that had no Sense, Understanding, or Reflection, this Conduct would be as absurd and ridiculous, as it would be to caress and reward your Clock or your Watch for going well, or correct and punish them with a Whip or Cudgel for going wrong. On the other hand, we discover in Brutes plain and evident Marks of Sense and Understanding. They are sensible what we do to them, and what they do to us. When, for instance, I see a Dog hastening to me when I call him, caress me when I stroke him, tremble when I rate him, run away from me when I beat him: Nay, further, when I see him reflecting and reasoning upon my Conduct towards him, I must conclude, he is acted by some higher Principle than mere Mechanism. Be pleased, Madam, to try this Experiment with your beloved *Veny*, (though, upon second Thoughts, he has been too much and too long a Favourite, to apprehend any Danger from your Hands) or call any other Dog of the Family, whose Hunger may make him leap at a good Morfel,

shew him a Piece of Meat in your Left-hand, and hide your Right-hand behind you, and see how he will behave; especially if he knows he has been guilty of a Fault, or been rated or punished for some Misdemeanour. He will either not come near you at all, unless urged by the Violence of his Hunger, or approach you with the utmost Diffidence and Caution; for thus I hear him reasoning with himself: *Surely this is not the Hand that used to feed me, and why is that other Hand hid from me? That Hand, from which I have received many a sore Stripe when I have offended, has now, I fear, some secret Vengeance, some Whip, or Cudgel, in store for me, if I get within the Reach of it; I will therefore prefer the Dog's Portion of Hunger and Ease, before Lashes and Stripes, and broken Bones.* Ay! and he is much in the right, he reasons well, and discovers more Sense, and better Logic, than many a stupid Puppy with two Legs, who lives at random, who pursues every Appearance of Pleasure, gratifies every Appetite, submits to every Demand of Lust or Fancy, without Thought or Reflection, and rushes with his Eyes open into certain Diseases, Beggary, and Damnation. Now then, if the Senses and Perceptions of Brutes be so quick and lively, if, from those Perceptions, they never fail to draw just and rational Conclusions, and to make a practical Use of them for the preventing Pain, or procuring Pleasure, if, by the different Motions and Gestures of their Bodies, or Sound of their Voice, they express their different Sentiments of Joy and Sadness, of Pain or Pleasure, of Fear and Desire, of Love or Hatred; I cannot help concluding from thence, that they have in them some Principle of Knowledge and Sentiment,

be it what it will. Now, were all the Philosophers in the World to assert and maintain the *Cartesian* Opinion of their being Machines, there is some strong inward Conviction in every sensible unprejudiced Mind that gives them the Lye, though we were not able to confute their Assertion, nor defend our own; and surely nothing but the Vanity of a *Frenchman* could ever expect that so absurd a Scheme could pass upon a learned World for sound Reason and true Philosophy. For my own part, I could as soon expect to see Gallantries between a Couple of amorous Clocks or Watches, or a Battle betwixt two quarrellsome Windmills.

The Notion of *Instinct*, though not so palpably absurd, is equally obscure, unnecessary, and useles, for all the great Ends and Purposes which it is intended to serve. They who use it, do not pretend to define it, to shew us its real Nature, or wherein it consists; they seem only to speak of it as a blind Impetus, and unknown Impulse; a Kind of mechanical Necessity, by which we are in a manner compelled to perform such and such Actions, without being able to know or explain the Reasons for so doing. By this they pretend to account for many wonderful Operations and Effects in the almost infinite Variety of Species through the Brute-Creation, such as, for instance, all Sorts of Birds building their Nests in exact Uniformity of Model, and with the same Materials, all the various Methods of Cure, that both Birds and Beasts have recourse to, when they are any ways indisposed or wounded; this it is, they say, that teaches the Sparrows to purge themselves with Spiders and other Insects; this teaches Birds to swallow Gravel,

to

to facilitate their Digestion; this teaches the Dog, with a surfeited Stomach, to run to a particular Kind of Grass to procure a Vomit; to this we owe all the excellent and wonderful Operations to be found among Beasts and Birds, Reptiles and Insects; many of which seem to exceed the highest Improvements of human Reason and Invention. But why must all this be owing to Instinct? Since we cannot refuse them a knowing Faculty, why should we give them a needless Instinct? These wonderful Operations may be, for aught we know, the simple Effects of their Understanding: And, since it is solely in Consequence of a knowing Faculty, that Man performs the same Operations, why should not the same Principle also rule in the Brutes? And where would be the Heresy of believing or affirming, that those Actions, which Brutes are supposed to perform by mere Instinct, are performed in Consequence of their Understandings, with Understanding and Reason? Is such a thing impossible? Does either Reason or Revelation forbid it? Are they not equally possible to their Omnipotent Creator? And can any reasonable Doubt be made whether they were not endued with every Perfection that their Rank in the Scale of Beings required? And would it not be a great Imperfection to want the Means of knowing and procuring whatever was requisite in the common Order of Nature, for the Preservation of the Individuals, and the Propagation of the Species? And, since it cannot be denied that every Species of Beings have that Power, I see nothing absurd or unphilosophical in supposing that the All-wise and Omnipotent Author of Nature has given each of them such Faculties as are proportionable to

their Wants and Capacities, and the Part they fill in the univerfal System. Is there either Absurdity or Herefy in fupposing, that the fame infinite Power that could form the Body of the moft minute Infeft, with fuch exquisite Proportion and Beauty, could, at the fame time, with the fame Eafe, provide the proper Inhabitant to animate and govern it, and anfwer all the Purpofes of its Creation? He that can think otherwife, muft have been either a very ignorant, or a very indolent, Observer of Nature. The Scriptures directly call this Knowledge by the Name of *Wisdom*, Prov. xxx. 24. *There be four Things that are little upon Earth; but they are exceeding wife. The Ants are a People not ftrong, yet they prepare their Meat in the Summer. The Conies are but a feeble Folk, yet they make their Houfes in the Rocks. The Locufts have no King, yet go they forth all of them by Bands. The Spider taketh hold with her Hands, and is in Kings Palaces.* Holy Job fupposes the fame Thing, that the whole Brute-Creation act by *Wisdom* and *Underftanding*, of fuch a Kind and Degree, as is proper for their State and Condition in the Scale of Beings. Thus, Ch. xxxix. 14, 15, 16, 17, fpeaking of the *Oſtrich*, he obſerves, that *ſhe leaves her Eggs in the Earth, and warms them in the Duſt, and forgets that the Foot may crush them, or that the wild Beaſt may break them. She is hardened againſt her Young-ones, as though they were not hers; her Labour is in vain without Fear, becauſe God has deprived her of Wiſdom, neither hath he imparted to her Underſtanding.* The Fact is aſſerted by all Travelers that the *Oſtrich* leaves her Eggs in the Sand, to be hatched by the Sun; which unnatural Difregard for her Offspring is ſo remarkable, that, when they ſee a Mother  
 who

who has little Tendernefs for her Children, they compare her to an Ostrich ; to which the Prophet *Jeremiah* alludes, in his Book of *Lamentations*, Ch. iv. 3. *The Daughter of my People is become cruel, like the Ostriches in the Wildernefs.* In short, the Ostrich is allowed on all hands to be a very stupid foolish Bird, destitute of that Prudence and Caution which are visible in every other Family of Insects, Birds, and Beasts; for it is particularly observed in her, that, when she is pursued by the Hunters, she runs to hide her Head, and particularly her Eyes, behind a Tree, all the rest of her large Body is exposed to view ; but, as she no longer sees the Hunter, she wisely imagines he does not see her, and that therefore she has no Danger to apprehend. Now this whole absurd and ridiculous Conduct the inspired Writer ascribes to her Want of that *Wisdom, Understanding, and common Sense*, which are to be found in every other Species of Beings, for the Production and Preservation of their several Families. *Because God hath deprived her of Wisdom, neither hath he imparted to her Understanding*, v. 17. Were we now to extend our Inquiries to the Polity, Architecture, and Oeconomy, of Bees and Wasps, and all the other Tribes and Families of Insects, we should find them, in many respects, excellent Monitors to the Bulk of Mankind. “ \* The Bee-hive, for  
 “ instance, is a School to which Numbers of Peo-  
 “ ple ought to be sent. Prudence, Industry, and  
 “ Benevolence, public Spirit and Diligence, Oeco-  
 “ nomy, Neatness, and Temperance, are not only  
 “ practised by them in the most exemplary Manner,

\* Spectacle de la Nature, *Dial.* 7. p. 135.

but

“ but strongly represented to us by their Example.  
“ Look on a Swarm of Bees, and observe the Dis-  
“ position that influences every Individual; they all  
“ labour for the general Advantage; they are all sub-  
“ missive to the Laws and Regulations of the Com-  
“ munity; there is no particular Interest, and con-  
“ sequently no Emulations nor Competitions for  
“ Gain or Glory; no Distinctions, but those which  
“ Nature, and the Necessities of the Family, have  
“ introduced among them. We never see them  
“ dissatisfied with their Condition, or inclinable to  
“ abandon the Hive, in Disgust to find themselves  
“ Slaves or necessitous. On the contrary, they think  
“ themselves in perfect Freedom, and perfect Afflu-  
“ ence, as indeed they are: They are free, because  
“ they depend only upon the Laws; they are happy,  
“ because the Concourse of their several Labours  
“ inevitably produce an Abundance, that constitutes  
“ the Riches of each Individual. Let us compare hu-  
“ man Societies with this, and they will appear alto-  
“ gether monstrous. Necessity, Reason, and Philoso-  
“ phy, have established them under the commendable  
“ Pretence of mutual Aids and Benefits; but a Spirit  
“ of Selfishness destroys all; and one half of Man-  
“ kind, to load themselves with Superfluities, leave  
“ the other half destitute of the common Necessaries  
“ of Life.” In short, upon the strictest and closest  
Inquiry we can make into the several Tribes of Fa-  
milies of the Brute-Creation, it will appear, that they  
are all directed and act by some Principle analogous at  
least, and equivalent to what we call Understanding in  
ourselves; and why we should call it by any other  
Name in them, I confess I am at a Loss to determine.

If

If then the several Species of Brutes do, by the Strength of their own Understandings, think, reason, project, contrive, and perform every Office within their proper Sphere of Life and Action, in a just and due proportion to what we do in ours, they must be allowed to have some immaterial Principle within them, in which these Faculties are inherent, and by which they are directed. Now, to my poor Apprehension, Understanding without a Soul, and a Soul that is not a Spirit, appears quite as absurd as Light without Flame, or Flame without Fire; the one, I think, naturally supposes and includes the other.

The Great Mr. *Locke*, in his *Essay on Human Understanding*, lib. 2. cap. 11. allows, that Brutes have Ideas, and that they reason, though they are not capable of comparing and compounding these Ideas, and reasoning abstractedly, as we do. *Yet (says he) if they have any Ideas at all, and are not mere Machines, as some would have them, we cannot deny them to have some Reason. It seems to me as evident, that they do in some Instances reason, as that they have Sense; but it is only in particular Ideas, just as they received them from their Senses.—Just as they received them from their Senses!—Why, how should it be else? What is the Foundation of our Reason, but those particular Ideas we receive from our Senses? Ideas are Images, excited or impressed upon the Soul by external Objects, through the Mediation of the Senses; and the enlarging, comparing, and combining these Ideas, and forming practical Conclusions from them, is the whole Province of human Reason. This philosophical Limitation of the Understanding of Brutes, sounds a little awkwardly from this great Man, because he*  
has

has allowed the most exalted human Understanding no better Materials to work upon. He has very justly exploded the Notion of innate Ideas, and has by consequence left us nothing but those, which we receive by Sensation, to be the Ground-work of our most refined Speculations. Why then, will he not allow the same uniform Effect to be produced by the same uniform Cause in both? Why does he take so much Pains to persuade himself and us, that Rationality in Brutes must proceed from a quite different Cause, from what it does in ourselves? What is he afraid of? What would be the terrible Consequences of such a Concession? For my own part, I think I see none, but what your own excellent Understanding will, with a little Recollection, easily evade, without the least Violence, either to Reason or Revelation. He concedes, indeed, to the main Point, and allows the Rationality of Brutes; but, for fear of allowing them immaterial, and consequently immortal Souls, he frequently insinuates, that Thought, Rationality, or Reflection, is not the absolute Privilege of immaterial Beings, but may be communicated by the Power of God to certain Portions of Matter, differently modified; and consequently, that Matter exalted to a certain Degree of Purity, may be as capable of Reason and Reflection, as an immaterial Spirit. And in his Dispute with the Bishop of *Worcester*, who justly charged him with this unphilosophical Notion, he was reduced to a Necessity of asserting it in plain and express Terms, and of putting all his Philosophy to the utmost Stretch, to reconcile it to Reason and common Sense; which, I humbly conceive, is absolutely impossible. Yet he frequently  
and

and directly asserts the Possibility of Thinking Matter, allowing to his material animal Sense, Perception, Reason, spontaneous Motion, or Volition, which, one would imagine, that nothing but Vanity, an Itch of Singularity, or a Desire of Victory, could ever have extorted from so great and excellent a Person: And I cannot pass it by without some little Examination, for which I shall offer no Apology to a Lady of your inquisitive Genius, and superior Understanding, directed solely by Reason and the Nature of Things, without the Prejudices of vulgar Errors, or the Subtilties of Philosophy, falsely so called.

The most obvious Idea we have of Matter, is *of an extended, impenetrable, solid Substance, incapable of moving itself, or of being moved, but by the Agency and Impression of some superior, external, active Cause*; from whence it will unavoidably follow, that mere Matter, however modified, exalted, or purified, will be as incapable of Self-motion, as it was in its lowest State of Density, or Depression; and consequently cannot, by any Power, be transmuted, or sublimated into a living, self-moving Substance; from whence it follows, that all Gravity, Attraction, Elasticity, Repulsion, and whatever Tendencies to Motion are observed in Matter, and commonly called natural Powers of Matter, are not Powers implanted in Matter, or possible to be made inherent in it; but are intirely owing to some Impulse or Force, impressed upon it from external Causes. And the most that can be said, is, that Matter is indeed susceptible of Motion, or capable of being moved; but that the Motion itself must proceed from some external Cause, totally

totally distinct from, and superior to, Matter. Mr. *Locke*, therefore, had very little Reason to be so peremptory in his Dispute with the Bishop of *Worcester*, about the Possibility of Thinking Matter; where, to prove it possible, he says, Vol. II. p. 144. Edit. 1715. *For Example, God creates an extended solid Substance, without superadding any thing else to it, and so we may consider it at rest; to some Parts of it he superadds Motion, but it has still the Essence of Matter. Other Parts of it he forms into Plants, with all the Excellencies of Vegetation, Life, and Beauty, which is to be found in a Rose or a Peach-tree, above the Essence of Matter in general, but it is still but Matter: To other Parts he adds Sense, or spontaneous Motion, and those other Properties that are to be found in an Elephant. Hiiberto it is not doubted but the Power of God may go; but if we venture to go one Step further, and say, God may give to Matter Thought, Reason, and Volition, as well as Sense and spontaneous Motion; there are Men ready to limit the Power of the Omnipotent Creator, and tell us he cannot do it; because it destroys the Essence, or changes the essential Properties of Matter, &c.* Well! and a very good Reason it would certainly be; for Omnipotence itself cannot produce Impossibilities, cannot effect Contradictions, cannot make the same Thing to be, and not to be, at the same time; cannot make a Substance, which, as solidly extended, must resist all Change of State, become (while it continues unactive and dead) Life, Sense, and spontaneous Motion; for that is directly affirming, that the same Portion of Matter, which is unactive, dull, and dead, may be at the same time living, sensible, and spontaneously moving. To say the Truth, his  
Zeal

Zeal to support his Argument, and confound his Adversary, has thrown him into such Inconsistencies of Thought and Expression, as could never have proceeded from cool and sober Reason. For instance, where he says above, *To some Parts of Matter, God superadds Motion, but it has still the Essence of Matter.* What does he mean by saying, *It has still the Essence of Matter?* Does he mean, that Motion has the Essence of Matter, or is essential to it, or a-Mode of it: Neither of these could be his Meaning; he could only mean, that that Portion of Matter, to which Motion is superadded, has still the Essence of Matter. Who doubts it? And therefore is intirely distinct from the Motion superadded, which is really and truly nothing less than an Emanation or Impression from the original and eternal Fountain of Life and Power; and, consequently, intirely distinct from Matter. If Solidity, Inactivity, and Resistance, be the essential Properties of Matter, it will unavoidably follow, that all those Effects, commonly ascribed to certain natural Powers residing in Matter, are immediately produced by the Power of an immaterial Being, who first created this dead Substance Matter, originally impressed, and still continues to impress, Motion upon it. Now whatsoever begins Motion where it was not, and stops it where it was, that effects a Change from Rest to Motion, and from Motion to Rest, and that arbitrarily, can never be Matter, whose essential Property it is necessarily to resist all Change of its State, either of Rest or Motion. I therefore conclude, that whatever Principle or Being can arbitrarily effect a Change of the present State of Rest or Motion, in that Portion of Matter  
which

which composes the Body of any Animal, cannot be the Matter of the Body itself, which necessarily resists or opposes all Change of its present State, and therefore must be concluded to be an active, immaterial, and spiritual Substance, which, without any Violence to Philosophy, we may venture to call a Soul. Pardon me, Madam, for leading you into this intricate dry Speculation; my Subject led me into it, and required some little Examination in this Place. Some further Considerations upon this Subject, and the Reverend Father's devilish Contrivance to account for all animal Functions and Operations, without allowing them to have Souls, we shall defer to a more proper Place, and proceed to the next Head of Inquiry.

## II. *Of the Necessity of a Language between Brutes.*

By Language we are not only to understand a Sequel of articulate Sounds, by which Men have agreed to express their Ideas and Sentiments to each other, but any Sort or Kind of inarticulate Sounds, Gestures, or Motions, by which, in the several Tribes and Families of the Brute-Creation, the Individuals communicate their Sentiments, their Wants, their Desires, to each other; and these are, no doubt, as different as the Species themselves, and as expressive and significant to them as our most articulate Sounds can be to us. Of this there can be no Manner of Doubt, especially among those that live in Society, as particularly Pigeons, Rooks, Swallows, and Storks, among Birds; Bees and Ants among Insects; and particularly the Beavers among Beasts; and no doubt  
but

but there must be the same among Fishes, those especially which, at certain Seasons, remove in Shoals to different Parts of their Element. All, and each of these, speak, undoubtedly, a Language proper and peculiar to their Species, which are as expressive and intelligible to them, as our Language is to us; and may not improperly be called the different Dialects of the Language of Nature.

Our Author, in the midst of this Inquiry, has dropped an Expression, which I cannot understand, as having no apparent Relation to his Subject, or any Connection with what goes before, or follows after. Page 27, he says, *Angels speak to each other, yet have no Voice.* How bold, how crude, how unphilosophical is this Expression? Have Angels a Voice to speak to us, and none to speak to one another? Did he never read of the Conversation of Angels with the Patriarchs and Holy Men of the Old Testament? Of the Angel *Gabriel* delivering a Message from God to *Zacharias*, concerning the Birth of *John* the Baptist, *Luke* i. and another to the Blessed Virgin, concerning the Incarnation of our Lord *Jesus Christ*? Did he never read of *the Voice of the Archangel*, *1 Thess.* iv. 16? If he only means, that they have not a Voice like us, articulated by the Organs of the human Body, and different Modulations of the Air; Who disputes it? But is this sufficient to justify him, in saying they have no Voice? Does he allow a Voice, or something equivalent to it, to the lowest Orders of Brutes and Insects, and will he allow none to the highest Orders of intellectual Beings? How surprizing, how unaccountable is this? Surely he had as mean an Opinion of the good Sense of the fine Lady, to

whom he was writing, as he had a good one of his own. But to return :

He observes, very justly, that we have a thousand Ways of expressing our Passions, our Sentiments, our Hopes and Fears, our Desires and Wants, our Joys or Sufferings, without the Mediation of Words. *When we are pleased* (says he, pag. 23.) *every thing in us speaks : Do we not continually speak, by certain Looks, by a Motion of the Head, a Gesture, nay, the least Sign in the World? Ay!* and when we are displeas'd or angry, we can as easily make ourselves understood by Looks and Gestures, as by the plainest and most expressive Language. How often have I seen those lovely Eyes of yours, rebuking, with unutterable Eloquence, the assuming Coxcomb, and the malicious Prude, into Silence and Good-manners? How many melting Addresses have you received from the Eyes of your languishing Admirers, who had neither Courage nor Merit enough to address themselves in any other Language? In short, languishing modest Lovers resemble a Nation or Society of dumb People, who are never at a loss for a Set of significant Looks, Motions, and Gestures, to supply the Want of Words, and Defect of other Expressions; and which form a Language as expressive and intelligible to them, as the most articulate Language in the World can be to other People. Now, can any one reasonably doubt, whether the brute Animals have the Power and Means of doing the same? It is, I think, undeniable, that they have all a knowing Faculty; but to what purpose can we suppose the all-wise Author of Nature has given them this Faculty, but to enable them to provide for their Wants, their

Preservation, and whatever is fit for their Condition, and suitable to the peculiar kind of Life he has appointed for them. Let us, moreover, consider that many Species of Birds, Beasts, and Insects, are made to live in Society at large, and others to live in a kind of domestic Society, Male and Female cohabiting together, in a kind of Family, for the Education of their young ones: Now, do but consider what Use could the first Species make of their Understanding, for the Preservation and Welfare of their Society, and of course for their own peculiar Good, arising from the public Prosperity, if the Members of that Society have not among themselves a common Language perfectly known to every one of them? What Use could they make of their Knowledge and Understanding, if they had not some Method of communicating their Knowledge, Advice, and Assistance, to each other? If they could not understand, or be understood by each other, they could neither give nor receive any Comfort, Assistance, or Help, from Society, and without such a Communication it would be absolutely impossible for such a Society to subsist; in a Word, no more Communication, no more Society.

For the better understanding the Necessity of this Communication, let us take a nearer View of those particular Families among the Beasts, Birds, and Insects, that seem most to want and to use it, those I mean that live in Society. Among the Beasts, we will particularly consider the Beaver, who, for his singular Sagacity, Patience, Industry, and Skill in Architecture, seems to excel all the quadrupede Fa-

mily. “ \* The Beaver is a Creature particularly  
 “ remarkable for the use made of his Skin, but most  
 “ of all, for the Dexterity with which he builds his  
 “ Habitation. The Beaver, whether Male or Fe-  
 “ male, has four Bags under his Intestines, impreg-  
 “ nated with a resinous and liquid Substance, which,  
 “ when it is ejected, settles into a thick Consist-  
 “ ence, of which he makes a singular Use in the  
 “ building his Habitation. The Physicians call it  
 “ *Castor*, and prescribe it as an excellent Remedy  
 “ against Poisons, Vapours, and other Indispositions;  
 “ when it grows old, it blackens and degenerates  
 “ into a dangerous Poison. He is furnished with  
 “ three very useful Implements for building, his  
 “ Teeth, his Paws, and his Tail. His Teeth are  
 “ strong and deeply riveted into his Jaws, with a  
 “ long and crooked Root; with these he cuts, as  
 “ well the Wood for his Building, as that which  
 “ furnishes him with his Food. His fore Feet re-  
 “ semble those of such Animals as hold what they  
 “ eat in their Paws, as Apes for instance, Rats, and  
 “ Squirrels; with these Feet, he digs, softens, and  
 “ works the Clay, which is extremely serviceable to  
 “ him. His hind Feet are accommodated with Mem-  
 “ branes, or large Skins between his Toes, like  
 “ those of Ducks and other Water-Fowl. His Tail  
 “ is long, a little flat, intirely covered with Scales,  
 “ supplied with Muscles, and perpetually lubricated  
 “ with Oil or Fat. This Animal, who is an Ar-  
 “ chitect from his Nativity, uses his Tail instead of  
 “ a Hod, for the Conveyance of his Clay or Mortar,

\* Spectacle de la Nature, *Dial.* 12, p. 77.

“ and a Trowel to spread and form it into an In-  
“ crustation; the Scales prevent these Materials from  
“ penetrating the Tail with their Cold and Moisture;  
“ but the Scales as well as the Tail would be in-  
“ jured by the Air and Water, if it were not for  
“ the Prevention of an Oil, which he distributes all  
“ over them with his Snout; and the four Bags, I  
“ have mentioned, are undoubtedly the Magazine of  
“ this Fluid.

“ The Beavers inhabit the same Mansion in great  
“ Numbers, unless violent Heats, or Inundations,  
“ the Pursuits of Hunters, Scarcity of Provisions, or  
“ an extraordinary Increase of their Offspring, oblige  
“ them to separate. In order to fix their Settle-  
“ ment, they choose a Situation that abounds with  
“ Provisions, and is washed by a Rivulet, where they  
“ may form a convenient Reservoir of Water for  
“ their Bagnio. They begin with building a Mole  
“ or Causey, in which the Water may rise to a  
“ level with the first Story of their Habitation.  
“ This Causey at the Foundation may contain ten or  
“ a dozen Feet in Thickness: It descends in a Slope  
“ on the Side next the Water, which, in proportion  
“ to its Elevation, gravitates upon the Work, and  
“ presses it with a strong Tendency towards the  
“ Earth. The opposite Side is raised perpendicular  
“ like our Walls, and the Slope, which at its Basis  
“ is twelve Feet broad, diminishes towards the Top,  
“ whose Breadth does not exceed two Feet. The  
“ Materials of this Work are Wood and Clay.  
“ The Beavers, with admirable Facility, cut the  
“ Pieces of Wood as thick as one's Arm, others as  
“ large as one's Thigh, and from two to four, five,

“ or six Feet in length; and sometimes more, in  
 “ proportion to the Ascent of the Slope: They drive  
 “ the Extremity of these very near each other into  
 “ the Earth, and take care to interlace them with  
 “ other Stakes more slender and supple. But as the  
 “ Water, without some Prevention, would glide  
 “ through the Cavities, and leave the Reservoir  
 “ dry, they have recourse to a Clay, which they  
 “ presently know how to procure, and with it they  
 “ close up all the Interstices both within and with-  
 “ out; and this intirely prevents all Evacuation;  
 “ they continue to raise the Dyke proportionable to  
 “ the Water’s Elevation and Plenty. They are  
 “ likewise very sensible, that their Materials are not  
 “ so easily transported by Land as by Water, and  
 “ therefore take the Opportunity of its Increase, to  
 “ swim with Mortar placed on their Tails, and  
 “ Stakes of Wood between their Teeth, to every  
 “ Place where they have occasion for those Ma-  
 “ terials. If the Violence of the Water, or the  
 “ Foot-steps of Hunters, who pass over their Work,  
 “ damage it in any degree, they immediately repair  
 “ the Fracture, visit all the Edifice, and with inde-  
 “ fatigable Application, refit and adjust whatever  
 “ happens to be disconcerted; but when they are  
 “ too frequently persecuted by the Hunters, they only  
 “ work in the Night, or else discontinue their La-  
 “ bours.

“ When the Causey or Dyke is completed, they  
 “ begin to form their Cells, which are round or oval  
 “ Apartments, divided into three Partitions, raised  
 “ one above another; the first is sunk below the Level  
 “ of the Dyke, and generally full of Water; the other  
 “ two

“ two are formed above it. They raise this Structure in a very solid Manner, on the Edge of their Causey, and always in Stories, that in case the Water should ascend, they may remove to a higher Situation; if they find any little Island near the Reservoir, they fix the Dwelling there, which is then more solid, and they less incommoded with the Water, in which they are capable of continuing but a short Time; but if they are not favoured with this Advantage, they drive Stakes into the Earth with their Teeth, to fortify the Building against the Winds and Water. At the Bottom they strike out two Openings to the Stream; one conducts them to the Place where they bathe, and which they always keep very decent; the other is a Passage to that Quarter, where they carry out every thing that would soil or rot the upper Apartments. There is a third Aperture much higher, calculated to prevent their being shut up, when the Ice has closed the Openings into the lower Lodgments. They sometimes build their House intirely on the dry Land, and sink Ditches five or six Feet deep, in order to descend to the Water. They employ the same Materials and Industry in the Structure of their Dwelling, as they use for their Causey. The Walls of the Building are perpendicular, and two Feet thick. As their Teeth are more serviceable than Saws, they cut off all the Projections from the Wood, that stand out beyond the Perpendicular of the Wall, after which they work up a Mixture of Clay and dry Glass, into a kind of Mortar, with which, by the Aid of their Tails, they rough-cast the Out and Insides of the Work.

“ The Edifice is vaulted within, like the Handle  
“ of a Basket, and generally rises in an oval Figure.  
“ The Dimensions are proportioned to the Number  
“ of the intended Inhabitants. Twelve Feet in  
“ Length, and ten in Breadth, are sufficient for eight  
“ or ten Beavers; if the Number increases, they in-  
“ large the Place accordingly. It has been asserted  
“ for a Truth, that there have been found above  
“ four hundred of these Creatures, in different  
“ Lodgments, communicating with one another.  
“ But these popular Societies are very rare, because  
“ they are too unmanageable and tumultuous, and  
“ the Beavers are generally better acquainted with  
“ their own Interests. They associate to the Num-  
“ ber of ten or a dozen, and sometimes a few more:  
“ They are a Set of amicable and sagacious Inhabi-  
“ tants, in whose mutual Society they may propose  
“ to spend the Winter together in a very agreeable  
“ Manner; they are gifted with a natural Arith-  
“ metic, which enables them to proportion the Place  
“ and Provisions to the Necessities of the Company;  
“ and as it is customary for every Individual to con-  
“ tinue in the constant Possession of his own Cell,  
“ they never charge themselves with unnecessary Ex-  
“ pences for any accidental Guests.

“ There are some Beavers, called *Terours*, who  
“ make their Abode in Caverns dug in a rising  
“ Ground, either on the Shore, or at some Dis-  
“ tance from the Water, to which they scoop out  
“ subterranean Trenches from their Caverns, which  
“ descend from ten to an hundred Feet in Depth.  
“ These Trenches furnish them with Retreats, situ-  
“ ated at unequal Heights, and wherein they enjoy a  
“ Shelter

“ Shelter from the Water when it ascends. Their  
“ Beds are made of Chips, which serve them instead  
“ of a Quilt; and of Grass, which accommodates  
“ them in the Nature of a Feather-bed.

“ All these Works, especially in the cold Regions,  
“ are completed in *August* or *September*; after which  
“ Period, they furnish themselves with Provisions.  
“ During the Summer Season they regale themselves  
“ with all the Fruits and Plants the Country pro-  
“ duces. In the Winter they eat the Wood of the  
“ Ash, the Plane, and other Trees, which they steep  
“ in Water, in Quantities proportionable to their  
“ necessary Consumption; and they are supplied with  
“ a double Stomach, to facilitate the Digestion of  
“ such a solid Food, at two Operations. They cut  
“ Twigs, from three to six Feet in Length; the  
“ large ones are conveyed by several Beavers to the  
“ Magazine, and the smaller by a single Animal:  
“ But they take different Ways, each Individual has  
“ his Walk assigned him, to prevent the Labourers  
“ from being interrupted by their mutual Occasions.  
“ The Dimensions of their Pile of Timber are re-  
“ gulated in proportion to the Number of the In-  
“ habitants; and it has been observed, that the Pro-  
“ vision of Wood for ten Beavers, comprehended  
“ thirty Feet in a square Surface, and ten in Thick-  
“ ness. These Parcels of Wood are not piled up in  
“ one continued Heap, but laid cross one another,  
“ with Interstices between them, that they may the  
“ better draw out what Quantity they want, and  
“ always take the Parcel at the Bottom, which lies  
“ in the Water: They cut this Wood into small  
“ Particles, and convey it to their Cells, where the  
“ whole

“ whole Family come to receive their particular  
 “ Share. Sometimes they expatiate in the Woods,  
 “ and regale their Young with a new Collation.  
 “ The Hunters, who are sensible that these Crea-  
 “ tures love green Wood better than old, place a  
 “ Parcel of the former about their Lodge, and  
 “ then have several Devices to ensnare them. When  
 “ the Winter grows severe, they sometimes break the  
 “ Ice; and when the Beavers come to the Opening,  
 “ for the Benefit of the Air, they kill them with  
 “ Hatchets, or make a large Aperture in the Ice,  
 “ and cover it with a very strong Net, and then  
 “ overturn the Lodge; upon which, the Beavers,  
 “ who think to escape in their usual Way, by flying  
 “ to the Water, and emerging at the Hole in the  
 “ Ice, fall into the Snare, and are taken.”

Among the Birds, let us take a View of the dif-  
 ferent Tribes of those which are particularly called  
 Birds of Passage, who pass in great Bodies or Flocks  
 from one Climate to another; some seeking for a  
 cold, others a hot, others a temperate Region: Such  
 particularly, as Quails, Swallows, Wild Ducks,  
 Plovers, Woodcocks, and Cranes\*. In the Spring,  
 the Quails pass from *Africa* into *Europe*, to find a  
 more tolerable and moderate Summer than they could  
 enjoy in the Country from whence they came. To-  
 ward the Close of Autumn, they return over the *Me-*  
*diterranean*, to obtain in *Barbary* and *Egypt* a gentle  
 Heat, correspondent to the Climates they aban-  
 doned, when the Sun was on the other Side of the

\* Spectacle de la Nature, *Dial.* 11. p. 48, 49, 50.

Equator. They take their Flight in Troops that sometimes resemble Clouds; they frequently cover Ships, and the Sailors take them without Difficulty.

As for the Swallows, it was usually thought that they crossed the Seas at the different Seasons of the Year; but it is much more probable, that, in these *Northern* Countries they conceal themselves in the Caverns of the Earth, riveted to one another with their Claws and Bills. They flock to Places unfrequented by Men, or even bury themselves in the Water; the Precaution they take to lubricate their Feathers with their own Oil, and to roll themselves up like a Ball, preserves them in the Water, and even under the Ice. They are there benumbed, and pass the whole Winter without Motion. The Heart, however, has a constant Palpitation, and the Warmth revives them at the Return of the Spring; they then revisit their former Habitations, and each Individual finds out his own Country, and even his particular City, Village, and Nest.

As to Wild Ducks and Cranes, both the one and the other, at the Approach of Winter, fly in quest of more favourable Climates: They all assemble at a certain Day, like Swallows and Quails, they decamp at the same time, and it is very agreeable to observe their Flight; they generally range themselves in a long Column like an I, or in two Lines united like an V reversed. The Duck, or Crane, who forms the Point, cuts the Air, and facilitates a Passage to those that follow; but he is charged with this Commission only for a certain Time, at the Conclusion of which, he wheels about into the Rear, and another takes his Post. It is very common, but yet a very surprising, Observa-

Observation, to see how regularly the Swallows meet upon a certain Day, in order to depart all together, and every Circumstance of their Journey has something in it almost miraculous in their Progress over Seas and Kingdoms; one knows not which to admire most, the Force that sustains them in so long a Passage, or the Order in which the whole is accomplished. Who acquainted their Young, that it would soon be necessary for them to forsake the Land of their Nativity, and travel into a strange Country? Why do those who are detained in a Cage express so much Disquietude at the Season for the usual Departure, and seem to be afflicted at their Inability to join the Company? What particular Bird charges himself with the Care of assembling a Council, to fix the Day of their Removal? Who sounds the Trumpet to inform the Tribe of the Resolution taken, that each Party may be prepared? Whence have they their Almanack, to instruct them in the Season and the Day when they are to be in Motion? Are they provided with Magistrates and Officers to preserve the Discipline which is so extraordinary among them? For not one of them dislodges till the Proclamation has been published, and not a Deforter is seen on the Day that succeeds their Departure. Have they Charts to regulate their Voyage by? Are they acquainted with the Islands where they may rest, and be accommodated with Refreshments? Are they furnished with a Compass to guide them infallibly to the Coast they would steer to, without being disconcerted in their Flight by Rains or Winds, or the dismal Obscurity of many Nights? Or are they endued with a *Reason superior to that of Man*, who has not Courage to attempt such a Passage, without

a Multitude of Machines, Precautions, and Provisions? Where would be the Danger or Absurdity of ascribing all this to *Reason*? A *Reason* limited and circumscribed within the narrow Bounds of their own Sphere. A *Reason* sufficient to direct them to the Means of preserving and increasing their several Families, and answering the several Ends of their Being, and the Purposes of their Creation. A *Reason not superior to that of Man*, because the *Reason of Man* is vast or comprehensive, taking in the whole Compass of Nature, looking forwards and backwards into Eternity; whereas the Sphere of Action allotted to Brutes is contracted into a very narrow Compass, and confined to a few Articles of Life and Action; in which too, perhaps, the exquisite Structure of their Organs, and the Tenacity and Purity of their Juices and animal Spirits, not corrupted, or impaired by Luxury and Intemperance, may possibly give them a considerable Advantage over the greater Part of the human Species. But more of this in its proper Place.

Let us next descend to the various Tribes of Insects, which, though vile and contemptible in their Appearance, yet each of them, in their several Ranks and Stations, proclaim aloud the infinite Wisdom and Power of their Creator. Their Variety, their Dispositions, their Sagacity, their Policy, their Industry, the wonderful Proportion of their Organs, the Delicacy of their Structure, and a thousand other Curiosities observable in every Species, are Matter of infinite Delight and Pleasure to a curious and inquisitive Genius; but were we able to examine them in a nearer View, could we be capable of knowing the direct Purposes of infinite Wisdom in their Creation, the Relation

tion they bear, and the harmonious Proportion they stand in, to the universal System, it would afford us infinite Matter of Astonishment and Surprize, as well as of religious Reverence and Adoration to their Omnipotent Creator. Small and contemptible as they appear to us, they are really formed with the most exquisite Symmetry, the most delicate Proportion. Vulgar Prejudice may consider them as the Effect of Chance, and the Refuse of Nature; but an attentive Eye, assisted by the Help of Microscopes, discovers in them astonishing Marks of infinite Wisdom, which, far from neglecting them, has been particularly careful to clothe, arm, and accommodate them with all the Instruments and Faculties necessary to their Condition. This it is \* that has arrayed them even to a Degree of Complaisance, by laying out such a Profusion of Azure, Green, and Vermilion, Gold, Silver, and Diamonds, Fringe, and Plumage upon their Robes, their Wings, and the Ornaments of their Heads. We need only behold the Ichneumon, *Spanish* Dragon, and Butterfly, nay, a Caterpillar itself, to astonish us with this Magnificence. The same infinite Wisdom, which has been so liberal in their Ornaments, has completely armed them for making War, and assaulting their Enemies, as well as defending themselves. The Generality of them are provided with strong Treeth, a double Saw, a Sting with two Darts, or vigorous Claws, and a scaly Coat of Mail, for the Defence of their whole Body. The Safety of the greatest Part of them consists in the Agility of their Flight, by which they easily avoid the

\* Spectacle de la Nature. *Dial.* 1. p. 7, 8.

Danger that threatens them : Some by the Assistance of their Wings, others by a Thread that supports them, when, from the Leaves on which they live, they throw themselves at a Distance from their Enemy ; and others, by the Spring of their Hind-feet, whose Elasticity immediately launches them out of the Reach of Danger ; and, when they are destitute of Force, Stratagem, and Cunning, supply the Want of the common and ordinary Means of their Preservation.

This is very wonderful ; but our Wonder increases, when we attentively consider the different Organs and Implements with which each of them work in their several Professions : Some spin, and have a Couple of Distaffs and Fingers to form their Thread ; others make Nets and Lawn, and, for that Purpose, are provided with Shuttles and Clues of Thread. There are some who build in Wood, and are therefore supplied with two Bills for cutting their Timber. Others make Wax, and have their Shops furnished with Rakers, Ladles, and Trowels. Most of them have a Trunk, more wonderful for its various Uses than the Elephant's, and which, to some, serves for an Alembic for the Distillation of a Syrup Man can never imitate ; to others it performs the Office of a Tongue ; many employ it a Drill for piercing, and the Generality of them use it as a Reed for Suction. Several, whose Heads are fortified with a Trunk, a Saw, or a Couple of Pincers, carry in the other Extremity of their Bodies an Augur, which they lengthen and turn at Discretion ; and, by that means, dig commodious Habitations for their Families in the Heart of Fruits, under the Bark of Trees, in the Substance of Leaves or  
Gems,

Gems, and frequently in the hardest Wood itself. There are few who have excellent Eyes, but have likewise an additional Benefit of a Couple of Horns, or *Antennæ*, that defend them; and as the Animal moves along, especially in the dark, make a Tryal of the Way, and discover, by a quick and delicate Sensation, what would defile, drown, or endanger them; and if they find these Horns moistened by any offensive Liquor or bend by the Resistance of a solid Body, the Animal is warned of the Danger, and turns another Way. Now all these Motions, even of the minutest Animals, however accidental or capricious they may appear to us, are as really directed to a certain End, as those of the largest Beings: We shall find all the Sagacity and Cunning we admire in a Fox, for choosing himself an advantageous Kennel, providing for himself and his Family the Necessaries of Life, and avoiding the Snare of the Gin, and the Persecution of the Hunter: The same Industry with which we see a Bird build itself a convenient Nest, provide for the Subsistence of itself and Young-ones, and elude the Snares of the Fowler; you will find the same Care, the same Sagacity, actuating the smallest Insect for the Preservation of itself, and its minute Posterity. The Parent is seldom or never deceived in the natural Choice of Means for its own Preservation, or the Security and Education of its Young-ones. Dissolve a Grain of Pepper in Water, you may discover, by the Help of a Microscope, Worms of an incredible Smallness, swimming in the Fluid. The Parent, who knows this to be their proper Nourishment, never lays her Eggs in any other Place. Look through a Microscope at a Drop of  
Vinegar,

Vinegar, there you will discover a Number of little Eels, and never any other Animals, because one particular Creature knows, that Vinegar, or the Materials that compound it, is proper for her Family, and therefore deposits them either in that Matter, or the Liquor itself, and no where else. \* In those Countries where the Silk-worm feeds at large in the Fields, her Eggs are only to be found in the Mulberry-tree : It is easy to see what Interest determines her to that Choice. You will never find upon a Cabbage any Eggs of the Caterpillar that eats the Willow; nor see upon the Willow the Eggs of any Caterpillar who feeds upon Cabbage. The Moth seeks for Curtains, Woollen Stuff, dressed Skins, or even Paper, because its Materials are Fragments of Cloth, which have lost the bitter Flavour of Hemp, by the working of the Paper-mill. In short, every Species of Animals, from Man the Lord of the Creation, to the minutest Insect that the naked Eye or the Microscope can discover, act with Regularity and Uniformity, with all the Marks of Wisdom, Sagacity, and Prudence, within their several Spheres of Action, for the Preservation of their Being, the Propagation of their Species, and answering the several Ends and Purposes of Providence in their Creation, and the Rank which they hold in the System of Nature.—But what am I doing !—Pardon me, Madam ; my Pursuit of this copious and delightful Inquiry has led me off from the main Question I proposed to consider, which was, the Necessity of some Language, some Means of communicating the Sentiments, Wants, Inclinations, and

\* Spectacle de la Nature. *Dial.* 1, p. 19.

Desires of the Individuals of every Society and Family, in order to consult and provide for the Safety and Happiness of the whole. The mutual Wants of Society, the Care and Education of a Family must be, in some Sense, and to a certain Degree, the same in all Societies and Families of Birds and Beasts, Reptiles and Insects, as well as of Men; and, without some kind of Language, some Method of Communication, those Wants could never be known, nor those Necessities effectually supplied. All Creatures, therefore, that live in Society, who divide the several Duties and Offices of that Society among the Individuals, who appoint to every Member their distinct Offices, their peculiar Posts, their particular Provinces, must of necessity have some Language, be it what it will, since, without this Help, it is quite impossible for any Society to subsist. Now, though all Animals do not incorporate in large Societies; yet all have Families, domestic Engagements, Cares, and Necessities, which require mutual Help and Assistance, and by consequence a certain Language, by which their mutual Wants, Inclinations, and Necessities may be discovered and made known to each other; so that every Species of Animals seem to have the same Want of a Language, of some kind or another, as those who live in great Societies; for as all Societies are but Associations of Families or Individuals, whatever infers the Necessity of a Language in one Case, infers it equally in all.

It would be hard to assign a Reason why Nature, or rather, the All-wise Author of Nature, who always acts uniformly, should deny some of them a Privilege he has granted to the rest. It is a general Ob-

ervation that all the Productions of Nature are uniform; that as she is sparing in Superfluities, so she is rather profuse in Things necessary, and, upon the whole, does nothing in vain: But is it not necessary that a Couple of Animals, joined to form a Household and Family together, a Couple of Birds, for instance, should be able to understand, and mutually to impart their Sentiments and Thoughts to each other? Let us return to the old Supposition of two People absolutely dumb, living together in the same House, without the Assistance of any other Person, I defy the Union to subsist, if they have no Means left of agreeing about their Affairs, and expressing their mutual Wants and Necessities. Two Sparrows, two Foxes, two Whales will lie under the same Impossibility of living together; and all the Inconveniencies of the dumb Society I have mentioned, will be seen in their respective Families: In a Word, the Necessity of a Language between a Husband and his Wife, to enable them to live together, upon which human Societies subsist, is, in due degree, the same in all the Species of Beings below them, in every Tribe and Family of the Brute-Creation\*. Could it be supposed that there were any Race of Animals in the Universe capable of producing their Kind in absolute Solitude, without the Intervention of a different Sex, it must be confessed the Faculty of Speech to them would be quite a useless Talent; but wherever two Beasts, or two Birds, shall stand in an habitual Need of each other, and form among them a lasting Society, they must of Necessity speak to each other. How is it to be conceived, that, in

\* Philosoph. Amusement, p. 36, 37, &c.

the Gallantry of their first Addresses to each other, their mutual Concern and Vigilance for each other's Welfare, and the necessary Cares that attend the Education of their Families, they should not have a thousand Things to say to each other? It is impossible, in the Order of Nature, that a Sparrow, or a Turtle, that is fond of his Mate, should be at a Loss for proper Expressions to discover the Tenderness, the Jealousy, the Anger, the Fears he entertains for her, in the several Incidents of Life that must arise betwixt the most loving Couple, in the Course of a long Cohabitation. He must scold her when she plays the Coquet, he must bully the Sparks that make Attempts upon her Virtue, he must be able to understand her when she calls to him; he must, whilst she is assiduously sitting upon her Brood, be able to provide Necessaries for her, and know distinctly what it is she wants or calls for, whether it be something to eat, or Materials to repair her Nest; in all which, a Language, of some sort or other, is absolutely necessary.

Our Author reasons so pertinently and consistently upon this Head, that I shall choose to give you the two or three following Paragraphs in his own Language.

“ Many Beasts, one will say, have not a settled  
 “ and permanent Household like Birds (for, by-  
 “ the-bye, Birds are the most perfect Model of con-  
 “ jugal Constancy and Fidelity): This I very well  
 “ know, and their Number is even very great. Such  
 “ are Dogs, Horses, Deer, and almost all Quadru-  
 “ pedes, Fishes, and Reptiles. But I shall always in-  
 “ sist upon a Principle, granted and acknowledged as  
 “ certain; Nature is too much like herself in Pro-  
 “ ductions

“ ductions of one and the same Genus, as to have  
“ put between Beasts so essential a Difference, as that  
“ of speaking, or not speaking at all, would be.  
“ Upon this Principle it is, that, though we hardly  
“ know the Seeds of Coral, of Mushrooms, of  
“ Truffles, or Fern, we are, nevertheless, persuaded  
“ that these Plants proceed from Seeds, because it  
“ is the Manner in which Nature produces all  
“ the rest. Let us then conclude, that if Nature has  
“ given to Beasts (or Animals) living in Society, and  
“ in a Family, the Faculty of Speaking; she has,  
“ doubtless, bestowed the same Advantage on all the  
“ rest. For we are not now upon those accidental  
“ Differences which Nature loves to diversify in the  
“ different Species of the same Genus: There are  
“ not, perhaps, in the whole World, two Faces  
“ perfectly alike; but yet all Men have a Face.  
“ There are, among the several Species of Animals,  
“ Differences still greater: Some have Wings, others  
“ have Fins, some Feet and Legs; the Serpents have  
“ none of these: But all Animals have the Faculty  
“ of moving and transporting themselves wherever  
“ they please, according to their Wants. Among  
“ Animals, there are some that see and hear more or  
“ less perfectly; but yet they all hear and see. It is  
“ the same Thing with the Faculty of Speech: This  
“ Faculty, perhaps, is more perfect in the Beasts which  
“ live in Societies and form Families; but it being in  
“ some, we must believe it to be in all of them; but  
“ more or less perfect, according to their respective  
“ Wants.

“ It is even observable, that the Animals who  
“ live neither in Society, nor in a settled Family, yet  
“ have

“ have in each Species a Sort of Commerce or So-  
 “ ciety among themselves. Such are the Quadru-  
 “ pedes, the Fishes, the Reptiles, the Birds them-  
 “ selves independently of their Household, as Star-  
 “ lings, Partridges, Ravens, Ducks, and Hens.  
 “ Now what Advantage could these Creatures have  
 “ by endeavouring to live in Society one with another,  
 “ if they did it not for mutual Assistance, and reci-  
 “ procally to have the Benefit of their Knowledge,  
 “ Discoveries, and of all the Helps they can afford  
 “ each other; and how could they do so, if they do  
 “ not understand one another? All the Arguments I  
 “ have already used, to prove that the Creatures  
 “ which live in Society must have a Language, here  
 “ again find their Place and their whole Energy. All  
 “ the Difference must be only in the Degrees of *Plus*  
 “ and *Minus*; and if we judge of this only by Mat-  
 “ ters of Facts, perhaps there is no Difference at all.  
 “ The Wolves, for instance, hunt with great  
 “ Skill, and together contrive warlike Stratagems,  
 “ A Man, crossing a Frith, saw a Wolf, who seemed  
 “ to be watching a Flock of Sheep. He informed  
 “ the Shepherd of it, and advised him to cause the  
 “ Animal to be pursued by his Dog: I shan’t be  
 “ such a Fool, replied the Shepherd; the Wolf yon-  
 “ der is there only to divert my Attention, and another  
 “ Wolf, who is working on the other Side, only  
 “ watches the Moment when I shall set my Dogs  
 “ upon this, to snatch one of my Sheep from me,  
 “ The Man who was passing by, willing to be fa-  
 “ tisfied of the Fact, promised to pay for the Sheep;  
 “ and the Thing happened just as the Shepherd had  
 “ said it would. Does not a Stratagem so well con-  
 “ corted.

“certed evidently suppose that the two Wolves had  
“agreed together, one to shew, and the other to hide  
“himself? Now how is it possible to agree in this  
“manner without the Help of Speech.

“A Sparrow finding a Nest that a Martin had just  
“built, standing very convenient for him, possessed  
“himself of it. The Martin, seeing the Usurper in  
“her House, called for Help to expel him. A thou-  
“sand Martins came full speed and attacked the  
“Sparrow; but the latter being covered on every  
“Side, and presenting only his large Beak at the  
“Entrance of the Nest, was invulnerable, and made  
“the boldest of them, who durst approach him, to  
“repent their Temerity. After a Quarter of an  
“Hour’s Combat, all the Martins disappeared.  
“The Sparrow thought he had got the better, and  
“the Spectators judged that the Martins had aban-  
“doned their Undertaking. Not in the least. Im-  
“mediately we saw them return to the Charge; and  
“each of them having procured a little of that tem-  
“pered Earth with which they make their Nests, they  
“all at once fell upon the Sparrow, and inclosed him  
“in the Nest to perish there, though they could not  
“drive him thence. Can you imagine, Madam,  
“that the Martins could have been able to hatch and  
“concert this Desigr all of them together without  
“speaking to each other?

“Wonders are recounted, by Travelers, of the  
“Monkeys, when they go a plundering; a Troop  
“of Soldiers, when they go a foraging, cannot  
“march in greater Order, or with more Precaution.  
“I could mention, and you can easily recollect, a  
“thousand other Instances of the same Nature; but

“ this would require a Volume, and I aim only at  
 “ supporting my Argument. Men hitherto have al-  
 “ ways made use of these Instances to prove that  
 “ Beasts have a knowing Faculty; and they have  
 “ been in the right so to do, because it is really incon-  
 “ ceivable that Beasts can do such singular Actions  
 “ without Knowledge; but we have not sufficiently  
 “ examined into the Merits and Bottom of this Que-  
 “ stion: For if it be absolutely impossible for Beasts  
 “ to perform these Actions without speaking, we are  
 “ moreover obliged to conclude, that they have a  
 “ Faculty of speaking to each other. Now, Madam,  
 “ I would beg of you here to observe, that this is  
 “ not an Opinion or a System founded upon mere  
 “ Conjecture or probable Explications, but an Ar-  
 “ gument supported by sensible and palpable Facts;  
 “ I say sensible Matters of Fact, such as these I have  
 “ just been alledging, and a thousand others of every  
 “ Kind. Enter into a Wood where there are a Parcel  
 “ of Jays, the first then that sees you gives the Alarm  
 “ to the whole Troop. Magpyes, Blackbirds, and  
 “ almost all the feathered Kind, do the same. Let  
 “ a Cat but shew herself upon the Top of a House, or  
 “ in a Garden, the very first Sparrow that perceives her,  
 “ exactly does what a Centinal does among us, when  
 “ he perceives an Enemy; he, by his Cries, warns  
 “ all his Companions, and seems to imitate the Noise  
 “ of a Drum beating a March. See a Cock near  
 “ his Hen, a Dove near the Female he is courting,  
 “ a Cat following his Mate, there is no End of their  
 “ Discourses till there is an End of their Courtship.  
 “ But there is one important Reflection yet behind,  
 “ which, in my Opinion, is little less than Demon-  
 “ stration,

“stration. We every Day speak to Beasts, and they  
“understand us very well. The Shepherd makes  
“himself understood by his Sheep, but particularly  
“by his Dog that attends him. The Cows understand  
“all the Milkmaid says to them. Many a profound  
“Conversation passes between the Sportsman and his  
“Dogs, the Groom and his Horses, the Lady and  
“her Parrot, Miss and her Cat : we speak to them  
“all, and they understand us ; they, in their turn,  
“speak to us, and we understand them. How much  
“more probable is it, that they speak to and under-  
“stand each other ! for, with regard to them, we can  
“speak no other than a foreign Language ; and if  
“Nature has enabled them to speak a foreign Lan-  
“guage, how can she have refused them the Faculty  
“of speaking and understanding a natural one ?  
“This can hardly be conceived.

“But though we should allow Understanding and  
“Language to the several Species of Beasts, Birds,  
“and Insects, What shall we do with the Fishes and  
“Reptiles ? What can we say for them ? Has Na-  
“ture been as bountiful to them as to the rest ?  
“Must we allow them to have Speech and Under-  
“standing ? Can they understand and converse with  
“each other ? Can we imagine a Conversation be-  
“twixt two Fishes, two Ants, or two Worms ?  
“The Birds indeed sing, the Dogs bark, the Wolves  
“howl, Sheep bleat, Lions roar, Oxen low, Horses  
“neigh ; this every body hears and knows ; but  
“whoever heard the Language of a Fish, or the  
“Conversation of Worms and Caterpillars ! What-  
“ever Difficulty there may be in hearing or explain-  
“ing their Language, I think there can be but little

“ in

“ in apprehending they have one, upon the same  
 “ great Principles laid down before ; and since there is  
 “ a strong Presumption that all other Species have it,  
 “ as arising from the Necessity of their Nature, the  
 “ Presumption seems equally strong for them, as for  
 “ the rest. But the Difficulty lies in being able to  
 “ know and distinguish it, part of them live in an  
 “ Element forbidden to us, and many of the others  
 “ escape our Sight by their Smallness. But how do  
 “ we know that Fishes have not as many, and per-  
 “ haps more, vocal Expressions than the Birds them-  
 “ selves ? They all of them seem to be formed upon  
 “ the same Model : Some fly, others swim ; but fly-  
 “ ing and swimming are one and the same Motion,  
 “ the Difference is only in the Element. We are  
 “ told, in the Book of *Genesis*, Ch. i. v. 20. that  
 “ God created at the same time both Fishes and  
 “ Fowls from the Bosom of the Waters. Fishes  
 “ have five Senses, as well as Birds and other Ani-  
 “ mals, and why should they not have the Faculty  
 “ of speaking as well as the rest ? It is true, we can-  
 “ not hear them speak or sing ; but it is, perhaps, for  
 “ want of proper Organs to hear them. The Water  
 “ is thoroughly penetrated with Air, which the Fishes  
 “ breathe, Why may they not, with that Air, and  
 “ by means of a Spring equivalent to the Tongue  
 “ and Throat, form Vibrations and Sounds too nice  
 “ and delicate for our Ears, but which are easily  
 “ heard and understood by their own Species ? The  
 “ Ear of Man is extremely coarse, which is the Re-  
 “ sult of a necessary Providence ; for, were our Ears  
 “ sensible of the minutest Vibrations of the Air we  
 “ live in, we should be for ever stunned with a thou-  
 “ sand

“ sand confus'd Noises, which would never permit  
“ us to distinguish any one of them. There are then  
“ certainly, in the Air, many Sounds, which we do  
“ not hear; such as, for instance, the Noise of a  
“ Silk-worm gnawing a Mulberry-leaf; if he is  
“ alone, or there are but few of them together, no  
“ body can hear them; but put a certain Number of  
“ them in a Cabinet, and then all those little Noises  
“ joined in Unison, become mighty sensible to our  
“ Ears. How much more is it possible that there  
“ may be in the Water Noises insensible to us, and  
“ that Fishes may by that means speak, without be-  
“ ing audible to us; at least I delight in thinking so,  
“ not to rob any Part of the Creation of those Perfec-  
“ tions which Nature uses to bestow on all: Nor  
“ could I think, without a kind of philosophical Me-  
“ lancholy, that she had doomed to eternal Silence  
“ innumerable Nations, which inhabit the Immensity  
“ of the Seas and Rivers. Silence is the Portion of  
“ the Dead; speaking enlivens the Living them-  
“ selves. You may laugh, and be as merry as you  
“ please upon my speaking Fish, as doubtless he was  
“ laugh'd at that first mentioned a flying Fish, and  
“ yet the one may chance to prove as true as the  
“ other.

“ The Reptiles and Insects are just in the same  
“ Case. There are many Kinds of Reptiles which  
“ have very distinct vocal Expressions, such as Ser-  
“ pents, Frogs, and Toads; and consequently, ar-  
“ guing upon the Principle of the Uniformity of Na-  
“ ture, we are intitled to suppose an Equivalent in  
“ the rest; not to mention supplemental Miens,  
“ Looks, and Gestures. It is not quite so with the  
“ Insects;

“ Insects; there is no Species of them, that we know  
 “ of, that has vocal Expression, properly so called :  
 “ The Cry of the Cricket, the Singing or Chirping  
 “ of the Grasshopper, the Noise of certain Butter-  
 “ flies, and the Humming of Flies, are not properly  
 “ vocal Sounds, but Noises caused by the trembling  
 “ of a Membrane. But what of all that? It cannot  
 “ be doubted but that the Cry of the Cricket and  
 “ Grasshopper, serves them to call each other, in or-  
 “ der to meet, and, very likely, to converse. It may  
 “ be thought that the Humming of the Flies likewise  
 “ serves them to know each other in every Society,  
 “ either by the Uniformity or Unison of the Tone,  
 “ or imperceptible Differences not within our Reach,  
 “ which may be equivalent to vocal Expressions, and  
 “ is, at the same time, a Proof how Nature, always  
 “ uniform as to what is general or essential, is, at the  
 “ same time, ingenious in varying the Means and Par-  
 “ ticulars of her own Productions. Now, what Na-  
 “ ture has done for some Insects, she has certainly  
 “ done for all.

“ There is, for instance, a particular Sort of  
 “ Spiders, which have a very singular Method of  
 “ testifying to each other their Desire of being toge-  
 “ ther. The Spider that wants Company, strikes,  
 “ with I know not what Instrument, against the  
 “ Wall or Wood where she has settled, nine or ten  
 “ gentle Blows, nearly like the Vibrations of a Watch  
 “ (which therefore the Ignorant and Superstitious call  
 “ a Death-watch) but a little louder and quicker ;  
 “ after which she stays for an Answer : If she hears  
 “ none, she repeats the same, by Intervals, for about  
 “ an Hour or two, resuming this Exercise, and resting  
 “ alternately

“ alternately Night and Day. After two or three  
“ Days, if she hears nothing, she changes her Ha-  
“ bitation, till she finds one that answers her. It is  
“ another Spider that answers her exactly in the same  
“ manner, and as it were by Echo. If the latter  
“ likes the Proposal, the Conversation grows brisker,  
“ and the Beating becomes more frequent. Give  
“ Attention to it, and you will find, by the Noise,  
“ that they gradually approach each other, and that  
“ the Beatings come at last so close, that they are con-  
“ founded, after which you hear no more Noise;  
“ very likely the rest of the Conversation is whispered.  
“ I have often-times amused myself in making the  
“ Echo of a Spider, which I have heard beating, and  
“ whose Noise I imitated, and she answered me punc-  
“ tually; she sometimes even attacked me, and be-  
“ gan the Conversation: I have often given that  
“ Diversion to several People, and made them believe  
“ it was a familiar Spirit.

“ How many like Discoveries might we make upon  
“ Insects, if our Organs were delicate enough to see  
“ and perceive their Airs and Motions, to hear their  
“ Voices, or what Nature has allotted them instead  
“ of Voices, I make no doubt but we should find,  
“ in Ants, Bees, Worms, Scarabæus's, Caterpillars,  
“ Palmer-worms, Mites, and all the Insects, a  
“ Language designed for their Preservation, and the  
“ Supply of their Wants. And as there are certain  
“ Species of Insects, in which we observe greater  
“ Industry and Knowledge than in large Animals,  
“ it is not improbable that they have likewise a more  
“ perfect Language in Proportion, always confined,  
“ however, to the Necessaries of Life.”

Thus

Thus far I have transcribed almost intirely from the ingenious Author, who, upon this Head, talks more like a Philosopher, than in any other Part of his Work. But, were we now to enter into a minute Examination of the various Labours, the indefatigable Application, the public Spirit, the regular Policy, the exact Oeconomy of the several Families of Insects, Bees, Ants, and Wasps in particular, of which you find most surprizing Accounts in *Spectacle de la Nature*, and other learned Writers, it would be very hard to account for them, any otherwise than by allowing some mutual Means of Communication betwixt the Individuals of each Society, which we may venture to call a Language, or something analogous to it; and why should we be afraid of allowing this, when we consider, that even the most inarticulate Sounds are a Kind of Language to some Part of the Creation or other: Nay, I may venture to add, even to ourselves. Do not the Drum and Trumpet speak to the Soldier? Does not every musical Sound speak to some Part of our Nature? How are we excited, by some, to martial Rage and Fury; softened by others, into jovial Mirth and Pleasures, and dissolute Luxury; and melted by others into the tenderest Sentiments of Pity and Compassion, and sometimes even into Tears? Nay, the most discordant and grating Sounds have a Power over us; they make disagreeable Impressions, and excite painful Sensations in us; they discompose and dissipate the Spirits, they seem to curdle the Blood, like Acids thrown into Milk, they enfeeble the whole nervous System, they spread a Trembling through our Joints, and Paleness over our Faces, and make the stoutest Heart to tremble. Mr. Collier has  
some-

somewhere, in his Essays, carried this Thought so far, as to fancy that such a Concert of discordant Sounds, or Anti-music, might be composed, as should sink the Spirits, shake the Nerves, curdle the Blood, and inspire Despair, Cowardice, and Consternation into all that hear it. *It is probable* (says he, Part II. Page 24.) *that the Roaring of Lions, the Warbling of Cats and Screech-Owls, together with a Mixture of the Howling of Dogs,* (to which I could add some other Sounds, which I tremble to think of) *judiciously imitated and compounded, might go a great way in this Invention:* And proposes it as a very useful Improvement for the military Service, to strike a Terror and Panic into an Enemy; not considering that the Performers in this infernal Concert, and their Friends about them, would be in more Danger than the Enemy, who would be farther removed from the discordant Sounds, and consequently from the terrible Impression.—This by-the-bye.—But, in general, we may venture to affirm, with the Apostle, *That amongst that almost infinite Variety of Sounds and Voices that are to be heard through the whole Creation, there is not so much as one without its Signification.* 1 Cor. xiv. 10.

Well, Madam, thus far, I think, our Author and we are pretty well agreed, that Brutes have *Understanding* to know and express their Wants, and provide for their Necessities; and a *Language*, or something equivalent to it, to demand and give mutual Advice and Assistance. Here, I think, we must make a Stand; we can go no farther: Their Language, however known to them, is quite unknown to us; but, could we converse with them in their own Language, as our renowned and ingenious Country-

man

man Capt. *Lemuel Gulliver* did with the Nation of the *Houyhnnims*, we might then, perhaps, have Reason to agree with him, that they think and act more rationally, have more Sense, more Honour, and more Virtue, are better Philosophers, and deeper Politicians, than some of the finest Folks in *Great-Britain*.—The only Difference now between us is, how to account for these surprising Faculties, that they are not the Effects of mere Matter and Motion; that they vastly exceed all the Powers of Mechanism he readily confesses, and so I think must you and I. But spiritual Powers and Faculties, without a spiritual Subject to which they belong, and in which they reside, is a shocking Absurdity. Well, and how does he get rid of this Difficulty? You shall hear him, Madam, in his own Words, Page 10. *Reason* (says he) *naturally inclines us to believe that Beasts have a spiritual Soul; and the only thing that opposes this Sentiment, is the Consequences that might be inferred from it. If Brutes have a Soul, that Soul must be either Matter or Spirit, it must be one of the two, and yet you dare affirm neither. You dare not say it is Matter, because you must then necessarily suppose Matter to be capable of Thinking; nor will you say that it is Spirit, this Opinion bringing with it Consequences contrary to the Principles of Religion; and this, among others, that Men would differ from Beasts only by the Degrees of Plus and Minus, which would demolish the very Foundations of all Religion. Therefore, if I can elude all these Consequences, if I can assign to Beasts a spiritual Soul, without striking at the Doctrines of Religion, it is evident that my System being moreover the most agreeable to Reason, is the only warrantable Hypothesis. Now I shall, and can, do it with the greatest Ease*

*Ease imaginable. I even have Means, by the same Method, to explain many very obscure Passages in the Holy Scripture, and to resolve some very great Difficulties, which are not well confuted. This we shall unfold in a more particular Manner.*

And, in good Truth, Madam, you will find the Matter as particular as the Manner. An Hypothesis, so wild and unphilosophical, so contrary to Reason and Scripture, so shocking to common Sense, delivered with such an assuming Air, and such dogmatical Language, could surely proceed from nothing but an Excess of Vanity, or Contempt of his fine Lady's Understanding. But I shall detain you from it no longer, but give you as short and plain a View of it as I can; and, as near as possible, in his own Words.

Page 11. *Religion teaches us, that the Devils, from the very Moment they had sinned, were reprobate, and that they were doomed to burn for ever in Hell; but the Church has not as yet determined whether they do actually endure the Torments to which they are condemned: It may then be thought they do not yet suffer them, and that the Execution of the Verdict brought against them is reserved for the Day of the final Judgment.—*

Page 13. *Now what I pretend to infer from hence is, that till Doomsday comes, God, in order not to suffer so many Legions of reprobate Spirits to be of no use, has distributed them through the several Spaces of the World, to serve the Designs of his Providence, and make his Omnipotence to appear. Some, continuing in their natural State, busy themselves in tempting Men, in seducing and tormenting them, either immediately, as Job's Devil, and those that lay hold on human Bodies, or by the*

*Ministry of Sorcerers or Phantoms. These wicked Spirits are those whom the Scripture calls the Powers of Darkness, or the Powers of the Air. God, with the others, makes Millions of Beasts of all Kinds, which serve for the several Uses of Man, which fill the Universe, and cause the Wisdom and Omnipotence of the Creator to be admired: By that means, I can easily conceive how, on the one hand, the Devils can tempt us; and, on the other, how Beasts can think, know, have Sentiments, and a spiritual Soul, without any way striking at the Doctrines of Religion. I am no longer surprized to see them have Dexterity, Forecast, Memory, and Judgment. I should rather have occasion to wonder at their having no more, since their Soul, very likely, is more perfect than ours: But I discover the Reason of this; it is because in Beasts as well as in ourselves, the Operations of the Mind are dependent on the material Organs of the Machine to which it is united; and these Organs being grosser and less perfect in Beasts than in us, it follows, that the Knowledge, the Thoughts, and the other spiritual Operations of Beasts, must of course be less perfect than ours: And if these proud Spirits know their own dismal State, what an Humiliation must it be to them, thus to see themselves reduced to the Condition of Beasts! But, whether they know it or no, so shameful a Degradation is still, with regard to them, that primary Effect of the Divine Vengeance I just mentioned, it is an anticipated Hell.—*

Page 17. Having mentioned the Prejudices against this Hypothesis, such as particularly the Pleasure which People of Sense and Religion take in Beasts and Birds, especially all Sorts of domestic Animals; he proceeds: Do we love Beasts for their own Sakes? No. As they are altogether

gether Strangers to human Society, they can have no other Appointment, but that of being useful and amusing. And what care we, whether it be a Devil, or any other Creature, that serves and amuses us? The Thought of it, far from shocking, pleases me mightily. I with Gratitude admire the Goodness of the Creator, who gave me too many little Devils to serve and amuse me. If I am told, that these poor Devils are doomed to suffer eternal Tortures, I admire God's Decrees, but I have no Manner of Share in this dreadful Sentence; I leave the Execution of it to the Sovereign Judge; and, notwithstanding this, I live with my little Devils, as I do with a Multitude of People, of whom Religion informs me, that a great Number shall be damned. But the Cure of a Prejudice is not to be effected in a Moment, it is done by Time and Reflection; give me leave then lightly to touch upon this Difficulty, in order to observe a very important Thing to you.

Persuaded as we are, that Beasts have Intelligence, have we not all of us a thousand times pitied them, for the excessive Evils, which the Majority of them are exposed to, and in reality suffer? How unhappy is the Condition of Horses, we are apt to say, seeing a Horse, whom an unmerciful Carman is murdering with Blows! How miserable is a Dog, whom they are breaking for Hunting! How dismal is the Fate of Beasts living in Woods; they are perpetually exposed to the Injuries of the Weather, always seized with Apprehensions of becoming the Prey of Hunters, or of some wilder Animal, for ever obliged, after long Fatigue, to look out for some poor insipid Food, often suffering cruel Hunger, and subject moreover to Illness and Death! If Men are subject to a Multitude of Miseries that overwhelm them, Religion

acquaints us with the Reason of it, viz. their being born Sinners: But what Crimes can Beasts have committed by Birth, to be subject to Evils so very cruel? What are we then to think (p. 19.) of the horrible Excesses of Miseries undergone by Beasts? Miseries, indeed, far greater than those of Men. This is in any other System an incomprehensible Mystery; whereas nothing is more easy to be conceived from the System I propose. The rebellious Spirits deserve a Punishment still more rigorous, and happy it is for them that their Punishment is deferred; in a Word, God's Goodness is vindicated, Man himself is justified: For what Right can we have without Necessity, and often in the way of mere Diversion, to take away the Life of Millions of Beasts, if God had not authorized us so to do? And Beasts being as sensible as ourselves of Pain and Death, how could a just and merciful God have given Man that Privilege, if they were not so many guilty Victims of the Divine Vengeance?

But hear still something more convincing, and of greater Consequence: Beasts, by Nature, are extremely vicious. We know well that they never sin, because they are not free; but this is the only Condition wanting to make them Sinners. The voracious Birds and Beasts of Prey are cruel: Many Insects of one and the same Species devour each other. Cats are perfidious and ungrateful, Monkeys are mischievous, Dogs are envious. All Beasts in general are jealous and revengeful to Excess; not to mention many other Vices we observe in them; and at the same time that they are by Nature so very vicious, they have, say we, neither the Liberty, nor any Helps, to resist the Bias that hurries them into so many bad Actions. They are, according to the Schools, necessitated

to do Evil, to disconcert the general Order, to commit whatever is in Nature most contrary to the Notion we have of natural Justice, and to the Principles of Virtue. What Monsters are these, in a World originally created for Order and Justice to reign in? This is, in good part, what formerly persuaded the Manicheans, that there were of Necessity two Orders of Things, one good, and the other bad; and that Beasts were not the Work of the good Principle. A monstrous Error! But how then shall we believe that Beasts came out of the Hands of their Creator with Qualities so very strange? If Man is so very wicked and corrupt, it is because he has himself through Sin perverted the happy Nature God had given him at his Formation. Of two Things then we must say one: Either that God has taken Delight in making Beasts so vicious as they are, and of giving us in them Models of what is most shameful in the World; or that they have, like Man, original Sin, which has perverted their primitive Nature.

The first of these Propositions finds very difficult Access to the Mind, and is an express Contradiction to the Holy Scriptures; which say, that whatever came out of God's Hands, at the Time of the Creation of the World, was good, yea, very good. What Good can there be in a Monkey's being so very mischievous, a Dog so full of Envy, a Cat so malicious? But then many Authors have pretended, that Beasts, before Man's Fall, were different from what they are now; and that it was in order to punish Man, that they are rendered so wicked: But this Opinion is a mere Supposition, of which there is not the least Footstep in Holy Scripture. It is a pitiful Subterfuge to elude a real Difficulty; this at most might be said of the Beasts, with whom Man has a sort of Correspond-

ence, but not at all of the Birds, Fishes, and Insects, which have no Manner of Relation to him. We must then have recourse to the second Proposition, That the Nature of Beasts has, like that of Man, been corrupted by some original Sin: Another Hypothesis, void of Foundation, and equally inconsistent with Reason and Religion, in all the Systems which have been hitherto espoused concerning the Soul of Beasts. What Party are we to take? Why, admit of my System, and all is explained. The Souls of Beasts are refractory Spirits, which have made themselves guilty towards God. The Sin in Beasts is no original Sin, it is a personal Crime, which has corrupted and perverted their Nature in its whole Substance; hence all the Vices and Corruption we observe in them, though they can be no longer criminal, because God, by irrecoverably reprobating them, has, at the same time, divested them of their Liberty.

You have here, Madam, a full View of our Author's Hypothesis, the rest being nothing but Flourish and Trifle, idle Answers to idle Objections, upon a Supposition that his Scheme is demonstrably certain. And is it not a choice one, to answer so many Purposes, and solve so many Difficulties in Philosophy and Scripture, and reconcile so many apparent Contradictions in Reason and Religion! Does not your very Heart recoil at the monstrous Thought? Can you view it in any Light without Abhorrence and Aversion. It was a just Censure of a very great Man upon *Des Cartes's* Philosophy, that if he were at a loss for Reasons to oppose his Doctrine, that *Brutes were mere Machines*; this alone would be a sufficient Proof to himself, that it was *making a Jest of so great a Part of the Creation*: But this Author has exceeded him

him with a Vengeance! Instead of *making a Jest*, he has made them *Devils*; and in the Management of his Argument, there is such a Confusion of Sentiments, such a Jumble of Light and Darkness, Truth and Error, Reason and Imagination, that one knows not where to begin, or in what Order to proceed, how to disentangle Truth from Error, to separate the Precious from the Vile, to distinguish the cool Dictates of Reason and Philosophy, from the wild Flights of Imagination and Fancy. To follow him through all his Excursions, would be an endless and useless Undertaking. Our best and shortest Way will be to examine the Goodness of the Foundation, and see whether there be any Ground in Scripture or Reason to support so monstrous a Superstructure; if not, it must fall to the Ground, and leave Room for a just and uniform Structure upon solid and lasting Foundations; which, if you approve of this, shall be the Subject of a second Letter.

In the mean time, Madam, I assure myself, you will be in no Pain about the Event. You are too well acquainted with the Language and Genius of that lively Nation, as not to know that they have Gasconades in Philosophy, as well as in Gallantry, Romance, and Politics: You are blessed with an Understanding too good to be imposed upon by vain Pretences to Reason and Philosophy; you can easily distinguish betwixt empty Sounds, and solid Sense; betwixt the wanton Sallies of a luxuriant Fancy, and the severe Conclusions of Truth and Justice. You have a Firmness of Mind, too great to be moved by the vain Terrors of a frighted Imagination, which are too often the Curse of weak and little Minds. Con-

tinue, therefore, your wonted Care and Affection for your innocent Domestics; they look up to you for their Support; from your Hand they receive the slender Provisions of Life, without murmuring or repining, which they endeavour to repay with the sincerest Gratitude, the most faithful Services, and unfeigned Affections, that their Natures are capable of: If you are pleased, they rejoice with you: Do you care for them? they are transported with Pleasure. Do you frown? they tremble. Do you chide or punish them? they endeavour to appease you by the most humble Prostration and Submission. Do not many of them discover more Gratitude, Sincerity, nay, I had almost said Virtue, than many of their Masters, who value themselves upon the Refinements of their Reason, the Improvements of their Understandings, and nice Sense of Honour? Are they wretched as well as we? Are they exposed with us to the unavoidable Calamities of Life? They are not wretched through their own Faults; they are not the Authors of their own Misery: *They* (as well as we) *are made subject to Vanity, but they not willingly*, by a voluntary Abuse of their proper Faculties, but are, by a Necessity of Nature, involved in the Guilt and Condemnation of their rebellious, attainted, natural Lord and Sovereign. *Rom. viii. 20.*

If you are not displeas'd with the Subject, tired with the Length, or disgust'd with the Manner of this tedious Epistle, I shall quickly do myself the Honour to send you some further Considerations upon the same Subject.

*I am, with great Respect, Madam,*

*Your most humble Servant,*

FREE THOUGHTS

UPON THE

BRUTE-CREATION:

OR, AN

EXAMINATION

OF

Father *BOUGEANT*'s

PHILOSOPHICAL AMUSEMENT, &c.

LETTER II.

THE HISTORY OF THE

ROYAL SOCIETY OF LONDON

FROM ITS INSTITUTION

TO THE PRESENT TIME

BY JOHN HENRY MADDISON

ESQ. F.R.S.

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# FREE THOUGHTS

UPON THE

BRUTE-CREATION.

## LETTER II.

MADAM,



OUR favourable Acceptance of my First Letter, encourages me to hope you will not be displeas'd with a Second ; in which I propose to consider more distinctly the Question before us. I shall view it in every Light that Revelation and Reason can give us. I shall consider the Account that *Moses* gives of their first Formation, and original State, in Paradise, and compare it with their present State and Condition in the World ; from whence I shall draw some Inferences and Conclusions, and endeavour to answer some Objections ; and leave it to your own good Judgment to determine upon the Evidence that shall be given.

The

The Apostle to the *Hebrews*, xi. 3. tells us, that by *Faith we understand that the Things which are seen* (this whole visible World, with all its various Inhabitants and Productions) *were made out of Things which are not seen*, (an ideal, invisible, glorious World, eternally subsisting in the Divine Mind); that this present temporary, fading State of Things, which we call the natural World, is an Out-birth, a creaturely Manifestation of the invisible Powers and Beauties of eternal Nature, impressing and displaying themselves through all the Regions of created Nature, through all the Tribes and Families of the animal, vegetable, and mineral Kingdoms; and to which they exactly correspond, as the Shadow to the Substance, and the Impression to the Soul. From this fruitful Womb of eternal Nature, were produced in their appointed Season, by the infinite Wisdom, Goodness, and Power of the Almighty, the whole mundane System, the World with all its Inhabitants, all the Subjects of the animal and vegetable Kingdoms; all the innumerable Species, Tribes, and Families of Birds, Beasts, and Fishes, Reptiles and Insects; all that live upon the Earth, fly through the Air, or sport themselves in the great Abyss, from *Behemoth* and *Leviathan*, to the smallest Insect: The very least and meanest, as well as the greatest, are all the Work of God, formed by infinite Wisdom and Power, upon the perfect ideal Models in the Divine Mind. *Moses* describes the Creation or Formation of the Fishes and Fowls out of the Waters, as the Work of the Fourth Day. Gen. i. 20, 21, 22. *God said, Let the Waters bring forth abundantly, the moving Creature that hath Life, or* (as it is more truly rendered

rendered in the Margin) a Soul; and Fowls, that may fly above the Earth, in the open Firmament of Heaven; and God created great Whales, and every living Creature that moveth, which the Waters brought forth abundantly after their Kind, and every winged Fowl after his Kind, and God saw that it was good. The Beasts and Reptiles, as produced out of the Earth, were the Work of the Fifth Day, ver. 24. And God said, Let the Earth bring forth the living Creature after his Kind, Cattle, and creeping Thing, and Beast of the Earth after his Kind, and it was so. And God made the Beast of the Earth after his Kind, and Cattle after their Kind, and every Thing that creepeth upon the Earth after his Kind: and God saw that it was good. They were all pronounced to be good, yea, very good, being the Productions of infinite Wisdom and Goodness, formed in Member, Weight, and Measure, of the most exquisite Beauty, the most delicate Proportion, without Defect, without Superfluity, exactly fitted and enabled to answer the various Purposes of their Creation, to execute the Will of their Creator, to minister to the Delight and Service of Man, and contribute to the Beauty and Harmony of the universal System. These, therefore, were the first Inhabitants of Paradise, in which they were settled by their Maker, with a special Blessing to increase and multiply their Species, in the several Regions of Nature, appointed for their Habitation. We may consider them as the numerous Domestics of some great and mighty Prince, sent beforehand, to fill, adorn, and beautify the several Offices and Apartments of his Court, and give him a magnificent and triumphant Reception. Accordingly we find, that so

soon

soon as Man was created in the Image of God, *ver.* 26, 27. *God gave him an absolute Power and Dominion over them all. He blessed them; and said unto them, Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the Earth, and subdue it, and have Dominion over the Fish of the Sea, and over the Fowl of the Air, and over every living Thing that moveth upon the Earth.* As Man was thus created in the Image of the Ever-blessed Trinity, all the Excellencies and Perfections that were to be found in every Species of Animals in their most perfect State, were all in a super-eminent Degree in the perfect human Nature, thereby our first Parent had an intire Knowledge, and absolute Dominion over all the various Kinds, Ranks, and Orders of the animal and vegetable World. By the first he was enabled to know the very central Natures; and most intimate Properties and Powers of every Species, and to give them significant Names, expressive of their several Natures. Thus we read, *Gen. ii. 19. And out of the Ground the Lord God formed every Beast of the Field, and every Fowl of the Air, and brought them unto Adam to see what he would call them; and whatsoever Adam called every living Creature, that was the Name thereof.* The Original of all Names was to express the Nature of the Things named, upon which Account Names and Natures were very frequently in Scripture used promiscuously. And as he perfectly knew their several Properties and Powers, and had them all in a super-eminent Degree within himself, so he had an absolute Power to direct and controul them, so as to fulfil the Will of their Creator, in answering the End of their Creation, and preserving the Peace and Harmony of the whole System.

Whilst

Whilst they received through him, as God's Vicegerent, and their Governor, such Communications of Happiness, as their Nature was capable of, and their State of Being required. He was their immediate Lord, receiving from the infinite Fountain of Light and Good, a constant uninterrupted Communication of Life and Blessing, which were through him derived to all the several Parts and Inhabitants of the animal and vegetable Creation, and thereby kept them all in absolute Subjection and Dependence upon him; so that he had an intire Dominion over this whole visible World which we inhabit. To this original Charter or Commission, the holy Psalmist refers, *Psal. viii. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8.* *Lord, what is Man, that thou art mindful of him, and the Son of Man, that thou visitest him? Thou madest him lower than the Angels, to crown him with Glory and Worship: Thou madest him to have Dominion over the Works of thy Hands, thou hast put all Things in Subjection under his Feet; all Sheep and Oxen, yea, and the Beasts of the Field, the Fowls of the Air, and the Fishes of the Sea, and whatsoever walketh through the Paths of the Sea.*

Here, Madam, let us make a Stand, and review, with Astonishment and Rapture, the infinite Wisdom, Power, and Goodness of our Almighty Creator, the transcendent and inconceivable Beauties of the new World, the Harmony, the Peace, and Happiness of these its once happy Inhabitants, blessed with more exalted Faculties, Strength, and Beauty, cropping the everlasting Verdure, the unfading Flowers of Paradise, drinking the untainted Streams of Life and Immortality in a delicious Garden, into  
which

which neither Sin nor Sorrow, Corruption or Death, had yet entered, exempt from Pain and Sickness, Labour and Misery, where the Spirits of Darkness had no Power, nor the least Appearance and Shadow of Evil could find Admission; where all was Purity, Light, and Pleasure, the Joys and Beauties of eternal Spring; where each of them, in their proper Place and Order, were ministering to the Happiness of their Sovereign Lord, the Harmony and Order of the System; and proclaiming aloud, as it were with one Voice, the Glory and the Goodness of him that made them!—Such was, such must have been, (if we believe the Scriptures) the blessed Condition of these once happy Creatures.

Is there any Thing in this Account that seems either impossible or improbable? Does not the whole appear consistent, reasonable, worthy of God, and agreeable to Scripture? On the other hand, how mean, how trifling, how unworthy of God, how repugnant to Scripture, is the Philosophy of those, who suppose them to be either animated by *Evil Spirits*, or else, allowing them no spiritual Principle of Motion or Action, suppose them to be mere Machines, to have no more Sense or Perception than a Clock, or a Watch; that though they have some Motion, some Appearance of Sense, and Shadow of Reason, yet it is no more than what arises from the Structure of their Organs, and the Mechanism of their Frame; that they are therefore no more the Objects of our Compassion, than any other Piece of Machinery. That their Cries and Complaints, which we commonly fancy to be Expressions of Grief, Pain, or Suffering, are no more to be regarded than the Sound  
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of a Drum when it is beaten, or the Noise of a Clock when it strikes. Is not this offering Violence to Reason, Nature, and common Sense? Is it not making a Mock of God's Creatures? Sure I am that the Scriptures, and most antient Philosophy, treat this Subject in a very different Manner. *Moses* declares, in the most express Manner, that they have *living Souls*, Gen. i. 29, 30. *And God said, Behold, I have given you every Herb bearing Seed which is upon the Face of all the Earth; and every Tree, in which is the Fruit of a Tree, yielding Seed, to you it shall be for Meat. And to every Beast of the Earth, and to every Fowl of the Air, and to every Thing that creepeth upon the Earth, wherein there is Life, or (as it ought to be rendered, as in the Margin, a living Soul) I have given every green Herb for Meat.* On this Account it is that the Scriptures every where represent them as Objects of the Divine Care and Compassion, as depending upon him for the Support and Sustainance of that Life which he has given them. Hence holy *Job*, xxxiii. 41. asks this Question, *Who provideth for the Raven his Food? When his Young-ones cry unto God, they wander for lack of Meat.* The Psalmist has the same Expression, *Psal. cxlvii. 9. That God giveth Fodder to the Cattle, and feedeth the young Ravens when they call upon him.* So again, *Psal. civ.* speaking of the whole Brute-Creation, he says, *These wait all upon thee, that thou mayest give them their Meat in due Season; when thou givest it them, they gather it; when thou openest thy Hand, they are filled with Good.* Our blessed Lord says the same Thing, *Matt. vi. 26. Behold the Fowls of the Air, for they sow not, neither do they spin, and yet your heavenly Father feedeth them.* And, in the *Levitical Law*, God seems to assert his

peculiar Title to every Species, and their Relation to him, by claiming the First-born of each as peculiarly his own. Thus we read, *Exod. xiii. 12. The Lord spake unto Moses, saying, Sanctify to me all the First-born among the Children of Israel, both of Man and Beast, it is mine.* And *Psal. cxlviii.* where all Creatures are called upon to praise God, *Beasts and all Cattle, Worms and feathered Fowl.* It will be found to have a much more exalted Meaning, than appears, at first Sight, to an unattentive Reader.

But now I expect to be asked, if this were the original happy State of the Brute-Creation, how came they to lose it? How came they into this miserable Condition in which we see them at present? A God of infinite Wisdom and Goodness could make none of his Creatures to be miserable; much less would he, by an arbitrary Act of his Will and Pleasure, deprive them of any Kind or Degree of Happiness, which his Goodness had freely conferred upon them, without any Offence or Demerit on their Parts. They are not properly moral Agents; no Command or Prohibition had ever been given them; and, where there was no Law, there could be no Transgression; and, where there was no Transgression, one would naturally imagine there would be no Punishment. And yet there seems to be an universal Sentence of Condemnation gone out against the whole System. They suffer in every Article of their Nature in such a Manner, as one would think nothing but some universal Guilt, and intire Corruption and Degeneracy of their Nature could possibly deserve or bring upon them. how else comes it to pass, that there should be, in some of them, such a Malignity and Cruelty of Temper,

per, and in others such poisonous Qualities, or such hideous Deformity, as is quite shocking and terrible to human Nature? But the most beautiful and harmless, even those whom we consider as the Emblems of unspotted Innocence, as Lambs and Doves, are exposed to the same Calamities of Misery, Pain, Corruption, and Death, as those of the most savage and cruel Natures. Now it is as plain, from Reason and the Nature of Things, that these malignant Qualities are not essential to them, were not originally implanted in them at their first Creation, as that from an absolutely good and perfect Cause no Evil could proceed: And the Scriptures declare that God pronounced them all to be *good*, yea *very good*; endued with every Perfection that their Nature and Rank in the Scale of Beings required. Whence then this deplorable Change? this unhappy Subversion of their primitive State, their present lamentable Condition!

I have already told you that their Happiness consisted in the Communications of Divine Blessings, which were conveyed to them through the pure Canal of the unfallen human Nature. Our first Parent, in his State of Innocence and Glory, stood in the Place of God to the World below him, clothed with all the Beauties and Blessings of Paradise; the created Image of the Ever-blessed Trinity; through him were derived all the Blessings of that happy State to all the different Species, Tribes, and Families of the animal Creation. This was the happy State of the primitive Earth, and all its Inhabitants, till Man, by his Transgression, lost the Favour of his Maker, and forfeited, both for us and them, the blessed Privileges of our primitive State and Condition; the Communication

of divine Light and Life betwixt God and Man being suspended, he had no more Power to direct and govern the Creatures below him. He stood naked and destitute, poor and helpless, in the midst of his numberless unhappy Subjects and Domestics, utterly unable to assist or deliver himself or them from the Bondage of Corruption he had brought upon them; he being, by his own Act and Deed, devoted to Darkness and Death, necessarily involved the whole System in the same Calamity. The Center of Blessing was shut up from him, or rather he had shut himself out of it; his Eyes were closed to the Light of Heaven, and all the Sources and Channels of divine Communications were intirely interrupted; he had no Blessing to receive, and therefore none to bestow. He was fallen under the Influences of the astral World, confined as a Malefactor to a Prison of his own making, to be scourged and punished by the jarring discordant Properties of the divided Elements, to which he had voluntarily subjected himself; no Wonder; therefore, that the whole System of Creatures below him, who were his Subjects, Domestics, and Dependents, are deeply affected by his Fall, and share in his Punishments. So the Apostle to the *Romans* tells, *Chap. viii.* That *the Creature* (the whole Creation) *was made subject to Vanity, not willingly* (not by any Fault of their own) *but by Reason* (on the Account, by the Sin) *of him, who has subjected the same in hope*; that is, of *Adam*, who was their immediate Lord and Governor. *For we know that the whole Creation groans and travels in Pain.* The whole System of the visible Creation sympathizes and suffers with their rebellious Lord. Thus, when a great Subject is attainted of

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High-Treason against his Sovereign, the Sentence affects not only himself, but his Children and Domestics; and an intire Forfeiture of all the Privileges of his Blood and Birth, are the certain and necessary Consequences of his Condemnation: So that as Man was, by his Transgression, devoted to Darknes and Death, so were all the Brute-Creation, who were his Domestics and Dependents. Though it was not indeed so properly a judicial Sentence pronounced upon them, as a necessary Consequence of their State in Nature, and the Relation and Dependence which they stood in to our first Parent their natural Lord and Sovereign. They were, by his Transgression, made subject to Vanity, Misery, and Death; but no violent Execution was suffered to be made upon them, but in the Way of Sacrifice; none of them were to be put to death, but by God's own Appointment, to be Types and Monitors of the great propitiatory Sacrifice of the Lamb of God, who was slain from the Foundation of the World, for the Salvation and Redemption of lost Mankind. No Power was given to Man to murder or abuse them, to kill or eat them, as we have now; that was a particular Indulgence granted to Man after the Flood, which had so broken and corrupted the Face of Nature, weakened and destroyed the vegetable Powers, and seminal Principles of the Earth, that the Herbs and Fruits had, in a great measure, lost their natural Temperature, and were less capable of nourishing the Bodies of Men, upon which God gave them Liberty to eat the Flesh of Beasts, Birds, and Fishes, as well as the Fruits of the Earth, as we read, *Gen. ix. 2, 3. The Fear of you, and the Dread of you, shall be upon every Beast of*

*the Earth, and upon every Fowl of the Air, upon all that moveth upon the Earth, and upon all the Fishes of the Sea; into your Hand are they delivered, every moving Thing that liveth shall be Meat for you, even as the green Herb have I given you all Things.*

The State of the *Brute-Creation*, therefore, has, ever since the Fall of Man, been very different from what it was at the first. Some of them are fierce and untractable, preying about in desert Places, the Enemies and Destroyers of Mankind, who yet still confess their original Subjection to them, by flying from them, and not assaulting them, unless compelled by Hunger; or in their own Defence: The rest are in a State of Servitude and Subjection, ministering, in their proper Place and Order, to the Pleasure and Necessities of Mankind. Upon this View they are represented to us, both by Reason and Revelation, as the unhappy Objects of our Care and Compassion, as guiltless Sufferers for our Transgressions: They declare it to be a Breach of natural Justice, an Indication of a cruel and unnatural Temper, to abuse or oppress them, to increase the Miseries, and aggravate the Sufferings of these innocent unhappy Creatures, and to add, by our Barbarity, to the Weight of that Bondage to which they are made subject by our Disobedience, to put them to unnecessary Labours, to load them with immoderate Burdens, to punish them with immoderate Severities, or withhold from them those necessary Refreshments which their State and Condition requires. The wise Man, in the Book of *Proverbs*, Ch. xii. 10. makes it an Act of Righteousness, the Dictate of natural Equity: *The righteous Man regardeth the Life of his Beast, but the tender Mercies of the*

*the*

*the Wicked are cruel.* Where he plainly declares it to be the Mark and Duty of a righteous Man to be merciful to his Cattle; and the Property of an unjust and wicked Man to be cruel and barbarous. God himself, in the old Law, guarded against this unnatural Cruelty, by several express Commands and Prohibitions in Favour of these unhappy Creatures, particularly in the Fourth Commandment, the Rest of the *Sabbath-day* is declared to be for the Ease and Benefit of the Cattle, as well as for their Owners; as it is more expressly declared, *Exod. xxiii. 12. Six Days shalt thou do thy Work, and on the seventh Day thou shalt rest, that thine Ox and thine Ass may rest in the same.* And at the fourth and fifth Verses of the same Chapter, there is a particular Injunction to shew Mercy even to the Cattle of our Enemy, if we see them in Distress: *If thou meet thine Enemy's Ox or Ass going astray, thou shalt surely bring it back to him again. If thou see the Ass of him that hateth thee lying under his Burden, and wouldest forbear to help him, thou shalt surely help with him.* And our Blessed Lord himself mentions it as a special Act of Humanity and natural Justice, *To lead our Oxen and Asses to Watering; or if they happen to fall into a Pit, to pull them out,* though it were on the *Sabbath-day*, *Luke xiv. 5. Matt. xii. 11.* In the xxvth of *Deut. ver. 4.* God prescribes a special Law in Favour of the Oxen that trod out the Corn, as we now thresh it, that their Mouths should not be muzzled whilst they were at their Labour; but that they might eat as well as work, and enjoy some immediate Fruits of their Labour. We read, in the Book of *Jonah*, that when the Prophet had denounced the Destruction of *Nineveh*, the King proclaimed a Fast

of three Days for the Cattle as well as for the People, *Let neither Man nor Beast, Herd nor Flock, taste any thing; let them not feed, nor drink Water, but let Man and Beast be covered with Sackcloth, and cry mightily unto God.* And, at the last Verse of this Prophecy, God declares, that his Compassion for the Cattle, as well as for the People, of *Nineveh*, had diverted the Execution of the Sentence denounced against them. *Should I not* (said he) *spare Nineveh, that great City, in which are more than Sixscore thousand Persons that cannot discern betwixt their Right-hand and their Left, and also much Cattle? We read, Numbers xxii. 28. That the Mouth of Balaam's Ass was miraculously opened, to upbraid the Cruelty of his Rider, and his barbarous Usage of a faithful old Servant, that had never stumbled or fell with him before: Wherefore, says she, hast thou smitten me these three times? Am not I thine Ass, upon which thou hast ridden ever since I was thine unto this Day, was I ever wont to do so to thee? And he said, Nay.* And, when the angry Prophet justified his Severity to the poor Beast, the Angel of the Lord pleaded for the Ass, and condemned the Rider: *Wherefore* (said he) *hast thou smitten thine Ass these three Times? Unless she had turned from me, surely I should have slain thee, and saved her alive.* And though the rest have not naturally the Power of complaining in Words, yet have they all a Power of expressing their Pains, their Wants, and their Sufferings, which every body understands, and which every good-natured Person would gladly relieve or prevent.

As for the Malignity observable in many of them, as particularly the Cruelty and Revenge of some, the Envy and Treachery of others, which the *learned Fa-*  
*ther*

ther knows not how to account for, there seems to be, I think, no great Difficulty in comprehending it. The Violence offered to the whole System of Nature, by an absolute Violation of the Laws of Harmony, Justice, Truth, and Order, an intire Apostacy from the supreme Fountain of Life and Blessedness, could not fail to produce dreadful Effects in every Part of Nature; all those Qualities and Properties in every Species of Being, which, in their primitive State of Innocence and Glory, were as so many Vessels and Instruments of Blessing, were, by this unhappy Change, made so many different Sources and Instruments of Disorder and Confusion; and the more exalted and powerful they were in the original Frame and Intention of Nature, so much the more noxious, malignant, and destructive they were in their State of Depravity and Corruption; according to that well-known Maxim of Philosophy, *That the best Things, when they are corrupted, become the worst.* This will be found to be universally true from the highest to the lowest Order of Beings, both in Heaven and Earth. The most exalted Seraphims in the Host of Heaven, when they left their first Habitation, and fell from their Thrones of Glory, found their Fall proportionably deeper, and their Malignity and Misery proportionably greater than those who moved in inferior and lower Degrees of Power and Glory: The higher they were exalted in the Regions of Light and Immortality, the lower they sunk in the Abyss of Darknes and Death: The exceeding Brightness of their Flame, the Strength of their Love, and the mighty Powers of their angelic Nature, whilst united to the pure Light and Love of God, became, when separated from it, those ever-

lasting

lasting Chains of Darknefs, by which they are bound, and in which they are detained, to the Judgment of the great Day. The fame may be too juftly faid of ourfelves, of our own Species. Men of mean Condition, low Parts, narrow Minds, and weak Abilities, if they grow corrupt and wicked, they act with low Views, in a narrow Sphere, and confequently are capable of doing lefs Mifchief in the World; but Men of ftrong Parts, exalted Underftandings, extenfive Views, and great Abilities, efppecially when affifted and fupported by Intereft and Power, when they degenerate, when they turn Tyrants, Oppreffors, and Reprobates, they fpread Rapine and Terror, Deftitution and Mifery all round them. A little Villain may rob an Orchard or a Fifhpond, may ftcal a Sheep or an Horfe, for which the whole World agrees they richly deferve to be hanged, and generally meet with their Fate; but your illuftrious R—ues, your Villains of Difinction, who plunder Provinces and Kingdoms, who depopulate Countries, who devour or fell whole Nations into Slavery, and fill the Face of the Earth with Blood and Defolation; they move in a different Sphere, and defy that Juftice, which if not blind to their Crimes, yet is unable to punifh them.

And as for your Sex, whom God and Nature has decked with a Profufion of Charms and Graces, to fweeten the Cares, alleviate the Diffreffes, and heighten the Joys of focial Life, if they fhould ever be fo unhappy as to deviate from the glorious Path of Virtue and Honour, to degenerate from that amiable Simplicity of Life and Purity of Manners, which is their diftinguifhing Excellency, their trueft Beauty, it is not to be doubted but their Guilt and Corruption  
would

would be proportionable to that tender Sensibility of Heart, which is the Beauty and Glory of their uncorrupted Innocence. And however strange and incredible it may appear to those who judge of Ages past by the Virtue and Innocence of the present, which, no doubt, will be a Pattern to succeeding Generations; yet Historians, Philosophers, Poets, and Painters have agreed, in some Representations of Female Degeneracy, which an innocent well-bred Man, who should make an Estimate of the rest of your Sex from your own unexceptionable shining Character, would never expect to find but in Romance and Fable. And that the same Observation, founded in the very Nature of Things, runs through every Species of the animal Creation, is so reasonable a Supposition, as hardly to admit of a Debate. Upon which Account it can hardly be doubted, but that those Animals, which, in their present State of Degeneracy and Corruption, are most shocking, detestable, and destructive to human Nature, were, in their original State of Perfection, most eminently useful, beautiful, and good: And, by the same Way of Reasoning, one would be tempted to imagine, that those Species of Animals, who seem to be the most uncorrupt Part of the Brute-Creation, who seem to have the least Symptoms of the universal Malignity, which has more or less poisoned the whole System, whom Religion and Philosophy represent to us as the most perfect created Emblems of human Virtue and Innocence; I mean the social and domestic Animals, those which contribute to the Comforts and Necessities of Life, as Sheep and Oxen, Doves and Bees, &c. were, in their original State, little more  
exalted

exalted in the Perfection of their Natures, than we see them at present.

I have often been tempted to indulge an Imagination, that, in the original Frame of Things, every Species of Animals were in a more particular and immediate Manner related or united to some one particular Part, or Power, or Faculty of human Nature, which might be as it were their particular Element, and in which they might most eminently display and exercise their specific Virtues and Powers, as Instruments, Emblems, or Unions in the universal Harmony of Nature. This, Madam, is a mere Conjecture; we pretend not to Demonstration; but, when we quit the Land of Systems, to wander in the spacious Fields of Imagination and Probability, many a beautiful Thought, many an entertaining Conjecture, will present itself to a lively Fancy, not unworthy the Attention of a wise Man, or the Consideration of a Philosopher.—One Thing, however, is certain, that, in their present State of Degeneracy and Corruption, the very worst of them are but feeble Shadows, faint Emblems, of the same Kind of Degeneracy and Corruption in ourselves, in corrupt human Nature. Shew me any one Species of Animals more ridiculous, more contemptible, more pernicious, more detestable, than are to be found among the silly, the vicious, the wicked Part of Mankind. Can Apes and Monkeys be a more ridiculous or mischievous Kind of Creatures than some very fine Folks, who are to be found in the most polite Assemblies? Is a *poor Dog*, with four Legs, who acts agreeably to his Nature, half so despicable a Creature as a *sad Dog*, with two, who, with high Pretensions to Reason, Virtue, and Honour, is every  
Day

Day guilty of such Crimes, for which his *Brother-Brute* would deserve to be hanged? Is a Swine, that wallows in the Mire, half so contemptible an Animal, as the Drunkard and the Sot, who wallow in the Filth, and vomit their own Intemperance? What is the Rage of Tygers, the Fierceness of Lions, the Cruelty of Wolves and Bears, the Treachery of Cats and Monkeys, and the Cunning of Foxes, when compared with the Cruelty, the Treachery, the Barbarity, of Mankind? The Wolf and the Tyger, that worry a few innocent Sheep, purely to satisfy their Hunger, are harmless Animals, when compared with the Rage and Fury of Conquerors, the Barbarity and Cruelty of Tyrants and Oppressors, who, uninjured, unprovoked, lay whole Kingdoms waste, turn the most beautiful Cities into ruinous Heaps, fill every Place with the dreadful Effects of lawless Rage, and sweep the Face of the Earth before them, like a devouring Fire, or an Inundation; and all this only to gratify an insatiable Avarice and Ambition, to extend their Conquests, to raise an empty Name, a Fabric of Vanity, upon the Ruins of Humanity, Virtue, and Honour. Besides, the very fiercest and cruelest Brutes never prey upon one another; whatever Violence they may offer to those of a different Species, which they never do, unless compelled by Hunger, or in their own Defence, yet they spare one another; whilst Man, the Lord of the Creation, distinguished from every Species of Animals below him by the glorious Privilege of a rational and intelligent Nature, is worse than a Brute to his own Species: Not only every Rank and Order of Men are in a State of Enmity to each other, but even those of  
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the same Rank and Order, who are united not only by one common Nature, but by one common Interest, are as so many Beasts of Prey to each other. Every Man who is under the Dominion of an imperious Lust, a violent Passion, or interfering Interest, is a Brute to those that stand in his Way, obstruct his Views, embarrass his Schemes, or any way oppose the darling Passion and Desire of his Soul. Look into the several Ranks, Orders, Societies, and Assemblies of Mankind, (the Courts of Princes and Assemblies of Ladies only excepted, where nothing but Truth and Virtue, Politeness and Honour, can find Admittance) and you will find more Treachery and Iniquity, more Fraud and Cunning, than among the Beasts of the Field, or the most savage Inhabitants of the Desert.—I was once rallying a very pretty Lady, who was smothering a favourite Lap-dog with a Torrent of Kisses and tender Speeches: Fie, said I, Madam, how can you bestow so many Caresses upon that little Beast, which many an honest Man would be glad to purchase at any rate? Sir, said she, I love my little Dog, because he loves me; and, when I can meet with any one of your Sex that has half so much Gratitude and Sincerity as my poor *Totty*, he shall never find me insensible or ungrateful. To say the Truth, Ingratitude and Insincerity seem to be Vices of mere human Growth, seldom or never to be found among the Brute-Creation; on the other hand, many illustrious and surprising Instances of Gratitude from Brutes to Men who have been their Defenders, Physicians, or Benefactors, not only stand recorded in antient History, but are Matters of daily Observation. And

is not a poor honest Cur, that loves, and watches, and barks for the Security of his Master, a Reproach to an unfaithful Servant, a treacherous Friend, or a deceitful Companion?—Were any considerate Man to take a cool and impartial Survey of human Nature, could he trace the subtle Wanderings even of his own Heart, through the many intricate Mazes, the numberless By-paths of Fraud and Cunning, Diffimulation and Hypocrisy, by which the Interests and Counsels of this World are usually directed and supported, he would blush to find, that all those unamiable, or, to speak more properly, detestable, Qualities, which are to be found in the most malignant Parts of the Brute-Creation, are to be found in a more eminent Degree of Malignity in his own corrupt Heart.—But whither am I wandering! Let us return to our Subject.

You, Madam, who judge by Principles of common Sense, without the Prejudices of Philosophy, I make no doubt are thoroughly satisfied that Brutes have Souls endued with such Powers of *Thinking*, *Reasoning*, and *Willing*, as is necessary for their State and Condition in the Scale of Beings. But how will you be able to convince your learned Neighbour, with whom you have maintained many a warm Debate, and must expect many more, if you give into my Sentiment, and declare yourself on my Side of the Question? You must expect neither Mercy nor Manners, if you dare to contradict or differ in the least from his great Oracle Mr. *Locke*. To say the Truth, the honest Man, without Taste or Genius, sets up for a Philosopher upon the sole Credit of having read his Book, and submitting more implicitly to his Authority

than to his Bible, though he understands them both alike. He will certainly tell you, as he often has me, that neither he nor Mr. *Locke* denies their having Souls, but improperly so called; not spiritual immaterial Substances, but Matter so sublimated and refined, of such an exquisite Frame and Texture, as to be capable of Thought and spontaneous Motion, and all the other Qualities and Properties, which, in a more exalted and proper Sense, are truly attributed to incorporeal and spiritual Beings.

The Possibility of a *material Animal*, of *self-moving thinking Matter*, has, at first Sight, such a glaring Appearance of Contradiction, that it is amazing how any Man of Sense, but especially of superior Parts and distinguished Abilities, could ever seriously maintain it; and it would puzzle the wisest Man to shew what real Purposes of Philosophy or Religion can be promoted by it. The most material (pardon me, Madam, I did not intend it for a Pun) I say, the most material Argument that has been brought to support it, is the supposing and calling the accidental Affections of Matter, such as Gravitation, Attraction, Electricity, Fermentation, and Rarefaction, the essential Properties of Matter, with which it has really no natural Connection, or necessary Relation to it. *The Cohesion* of the several Parts of Matter, *i. e.* the Power by which they are united and cemented together; the *Gravitation, Attraction*, or Power by which the several Parts of the System gravitate or are attracted to each other, is intirely and essentially distinct from the Matter itself.

The Great Sir *Isaac Newton*, as quoted by Mr. *Locke*, p. 149, who adopts his Sentiment in Confirmation

firmation of his own, seems, in his younger Days, to have been in the same Way of Thinking. I shall give it you in Mr. *Locke's* own Words, in his Answer to the Bishop of *Worcester*. You ask (says he) how can my Idea of Liberty agree with the Idea, that Bodies can operate only by Motion and Impulse? Answ. By the Omnipotency of God, who can make all Things agree that involve not a Contradiction. He goes on, It is true, I say, that Bodies operate by Impulse, and nothing else, and so I thought when I writ it, and yet can conceive no other Way of their Operation; but I am since convinced, by the judicious Mr. *Newton's* incomparable Book, that it is too bold a Presumption to limit God's Power in this Point, by my narrow Conceptions. The Gravitation of Matter towards Matter by Ways inconceivable to me, is not only a Demonstration that God can, if he pleases, put into Bodies Powers and Ways of Operation, above what can be derived from our Idea of Body, or can be explained by what we know of Matter, but also an unquestionable, and every-where visible, Instance that he has done so. Now, with all due Submission to the Judgment of both these excellent Writers, I cannot help thinking this to be a very crude and uncorrect Manner of expressing a very unphilosophical Thought. That God can, if he pleases, put into Bodies Powers and Ways of Operation, above what can be derived from our Idea of Body. That God can, either immediately by his own Power, or mediately by the Operation of inferior Intelligences, communicate what Kind or Degree of Motion he pleases, to any Part or Portion of Matter; that he can exalt, refine, transmute, and model it into what Form or Shape he pleases; that he can make even

the vilest Part of Matter a proper Vehicle, Habitation, or Body, for the most glorious Angel, who can deny? But what then? What will this prove? Will this justify our confounding two distinct Ideas? Must we confound Matter with Motion, Body with Soul, because we find them existing or united together? Does not the very Expression of *putting Powers and Ways of Operation into Bodies*, imply, that those Powers are distinct from Bodies, something super-added to them by the omnipotent Power of God? Something not included in the Idea of Body, not essential to it: Why then must they be confounded together? When we read, *Gen. ii. 7. That the Lord God formed Man of the Dust of the Ground, and breathed into his Nostrils the Breath of Life, and Man became a living Soul.* Would it not be a strange Conclusion to infer from thence, that that very *Dust of the Earth*, out of which his Body was formed, was that very *Breath of Life* which was breathed into him, by which he became a living Soul? Yet would there be quite as much Reason and Truth in the one Conclusion as in the other. In the Case of Gravitation of *Matter towards Matter*, is it supposed to be an essential Quality, inherent in the very Brute-Matter, of which the several Orbs are composed? Or is it conceived to be a Power or Direction super-added to it, by an immediate Impression communicated from God? I assure you, Madam, there are Difficulties in either Supposition not easily surmounted. Would there be any Absurdity in supposing, that, as the whole System is under the Protection, Direction, and Guidance of God's universal Providence, without which not the vilest Insect, no,

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nor even a Hair of our Heads, could fall to the Ground; so every particular Orb, every Branch of the System might be under the Direction of some superior Intelligence, who might be considered as the Angel, the Spirit, or Soul of that particular Orb, whose whole Province might be the Guidance and Direction of its Motions. This, I am sure, is more agreeable to the Philosophy of Scripture; and the Sentiments of that Oracle, from whom Sir *Isaac* is supposed to have borrowed his Principles, or at least so much Light as to enable him to improve and complete his System.

That Matter cannot move itself; that Rest or Resistance are its essential Qualities; that Motion, or the Power by which any Portion of Matter is moved, is distinct from the Matter so moved; that every Kind or Degree of Motion supposes a moving Power or Principle, which must be immaterial; that the Matter moved, and the Power moving, are intirely distinct, are Principles so plain and obvious; as not to admit of a Debate or a Question. Every Degree of Motion, therefore, impressed upon Matter; necessarily supposes an immaterial Principle, by whom the Impression is made. And, notwithstanding all this, to imagine, that Creatures endued with the Powers of spontaneous Motion, Thinking, and Volition, as the Brutes are acknowledged to be, should have no spiritual or immaterial Principle in them, should be nothing but mere Matter, is to me an inconceivable Point of Philosophy. Sure I am, that Mr. *Locke's* first and coolest Thoughts before he was whetted by Opposition, and warmed by Controversy, were very different from what he afterwards advanced, in the

Course of his Dispute, with the Bishop. He seems to express himself very clearly upon this Point, pag. 159, *Edit. 8vo.* *The primary Ideas* (says he) *we have peculiar to Body, as contradistinguished to Spirit, are the Cohesion of solid, and consequently, separable Parts, and a Power of communicating Motion by Impulse; these, I think, are the original Ideas proper and peculiar to Body; for Figure is but the Consequence of finite Extension.—The Ideas we have, belonging and peculiar to Spirit, are Thinking and Will, or a Power of putting Body into Motion by Thought, and, which is consequent to it, Liberty. For, as Body cannot but communicate its Motion by Impulse to another Body, which it meets with at Rest; so the Mind can put Bodies into Motion, or forbear to do so, as it pleases.* Here, I think, the learned Author has expressed himself in very plain and intelligible Language. And yet this same excellent Person, in his Controversy with the Bishop, falls into a quite different Way of Thinking and Manner of Expression: He frequently asserts, or strongly insinuates, the Possibility of Thinking Matter, and endeavours to prove it by such Mediums, as his cooler Thoughts would never have entertained, or rejected with Contempt. Hear how he reasons in his third Letter, pag. 396, 397. *Your first Argument I take to be this; that, according to me, the Knowledge we have being by our Ideas, and our Idea of Matter in general, being a solid Substance; and our Idea of Body being a solid, extended, figured Substance; if I admit Matter to be capable of Thinking, I confound the Idea of Matter with the Idea of Spirit. To which I answer, No; no more than I confound the Idea of Matter with the Idea of a Horse, when I say that*

*Matter in general is a solid extended Substance, and that a Horse is a material Animal, or an extended solid Substance with Sense and spontaneous Motion.*

*The Idea of Matter is an extended solid Substance; wherever there is such a Substance, there is Matter and the Essence of Matter, whatever other Qualities not contained in that Essence it shall please God to superadd to it. For Example, God creates an extended solid Substance without superadding any thing else to it, and so we may consider it at rest: To some Parts he superadds Motion, but it has still the Essence of Matter; other Parts of it he frames into Plants, with all the Excellencies of Vegetation, Life, and Beauty, which is to be found in a Rose, or a Peach-tree, &c. but it is still but Matter: To other Parts he adds Sense and spontaneous Motion, and those other Properties that are to be found in an Elephant. Hitherto, it is not doubted, but the Power of God may go; and that the Properties of a Rose, a Peach, or an Elephant, superadded to Matter, change not the Properties of Matter, but Matter is in these Things Matter still. But if one go one Step further, and venture to say, God may give to Matter Thought, Reason, and Volition, as well as Sense and spontaneous Motion, there are Men ready presently to limit the Power of the Omnipotent Creator, and tell us he cannot do it; because it destroys the Essence, and changes the essential Properties of Matter. To make good which Assertion, they have no more to say, but that Thought and Reason are not included in the Essence of Matter. I grant it; but whatever Excellency, not contained in its Essence, be superadded to Matter, it does not destroy the Essence of Matter, if it leaves it an extended solid Substance: Wherever that is, there is the*

*Essence of Matter; and if every Thing of greater Perfection, superadded to such a Substance, destroys the Essence of Matter, what will become of the Essence of Matter in a Plant or an Animal, whose Properties far exceed those of a mere extended solid Substance.*

*But it is further urged, that we cannot conceive how Matter can think; I grant it: But to argue from thence, that God therefore cannot give to Matter a Faculty of Thinking, is to say, God's Omnipotency is limited to a narrow Compass, because Man's Understanding is so; and bring down God's infinite Power to the Size of our Capacities. If God can give no Power to any Part of Matter, but what Men can account for from the Essence of Matter in general; if all such Qualities and Properties must destroy the Essence, or change the essential Properties of Matter, which are to our Conceptions above it, and we cannot conceive to be the natural Consequences of that Essence; it is plain, that the Essence of Matter is destroyed, and its essential Properties changed in most of the sensible Parts of this our System: For it is visible, that all the Planets have Revolutions about certain remote Centers, which I would have any one explain, or make conceivable, by the bare Essence or natural Powers depending on the Essence of Matter in general, without something superadded to that Essence, which he cannot conceive; for the moving of Matter in a crooked Line, or the Attraction of Matter by Matter, is all that can be said in the Case; either of which, is above our reach to derive from the Essence of Matter or Body in general; though one of these two must unavoidably be allowed to be superadded, in this Instance, to the Essence of Matter in general. The Omnipotent*

omnipotent Creator advised not with us, in the making of the World, and his Ways are not the less excellent, because they are past finding out.

In the next Place, the vegetable Part of the Creation is not doubted to be wholly material; yet he that will look into it, will observe Excellencies and Operations in this Part of Matter, which he will not find contained in the Essence of Matter in general; nor be able to conceive how they are produced by it; and will he therefore say, that the Essence of Matter is destroyed in them, because they have Properties and Operations not contained in the essential Properties of Matter as Matter, not explicable by the Essence of Matter in general.

Let us advance one Step further, and we shall in the animal World meet with yet greater Perfections and Properties no way explicable by the Essence of Matter in general. If the Omnipotent Creator had not superadded to the Earth, which produced the irrational Animals, Qualities far surpassing those of the dull dead Earth, out of which they were made; Life, Sense, and spontaneous Motion, nobler Qualities than were before in it, it had still remained rude senseless Matter; and, if to the Individuals of each Species, he had not superadded a Power of Propagation, the Species had perished with those Individuals: But by these Essences or Properties of each Species, superadded to the Matter which they were made of, the Essences or Properties of Matter in general were not destroyed or changed, any more than any Thing that was in the Individuals before was destroyed or changed by the Power of Generation superadded to them by the first Benediction of the Almighty.

*In all such Cases, the Super-inducement of greater Perfections and nobler Qualities, destroys nothing of the Essence or Perfections that were there before; unless there can be shewed a manifest Repugnancy between them: But all the Proof offered for that, is only, that we cannot conceive how Matter, without such superadded Perfections, can produce such Effects; which is, in Truth, no more, than to say, Matter in general, or every Part of Matter, as Matter, has them not; but is no Reason to prove, that God, if he pleases, cannot superadd them to some Parts of Matter, unless it can be proved to be a Contradiction that God should give to some Parts of Matter, Qualities and Perfections which Matter in general has not; though we cannot conceive how Matter is invested with them, or how it operates by virtue of these new Endowments: Nor is it to be wondered, that we cannot, whilst we limit all its Operations to those Qualities it had before, and would explain them by the known Qualities of Matter in general, without any such super-induced Perfections. The loose Reasoning, the Jumble of Ideas, the Confusion of Sentiment, the evasive Distinctions, that appear in every Sentence of this tedious Quotation, are a melancholy Proof of the Weakness of human Understanding, and the mighty Power of Prejudice, Passion, and Self-love, to mislead and pervert it. Nothing surely, but a Love of Fame, an Impatience of Contradiction, and a Desire of Victory, could seduce so great and excellent a Person to depart from the plain and obvious Principles of Reason and Philosophy, which himself had, in the clearest and strongest Manner, asserted and maintained. If Inactivity or Resistance to any Change of the State it is in, either of Rest or Motion, be*

one of the primary and most obvious Qualities of Matter, which, I presume, will not be disputed; it will unavoidably follow, that every possible Kind or Degree of Motion, all the several Changes and Modifications that can possibly be made in any Part or Portion of Matter, must be derived from some immaterial and spiritual Principle, who is the Source of that moving Power, by which all the possible Changes of State, or Place, can be effected. *Either there is Inactivity or Resistance in Matter, or there is not.* If there is, it cannot possibly move itself; since two Tendencies or Properties, opposite and destructive to each other, can never subsist in the same Subject: If there be no Resistance, the Action of Matter upon Matter would be wholly inconceivable, or rather impossible, unless that other Matter could be moved by nothing at all; so that in either Case, Matter can never become a self-moving Substance, *no not by any Power*, because it implies a Contradiction. You see then, how unreasonably Mr. *Locke* resolves the Possibility of spontaneous Motion, superadded to Matter, in order to form or explain the Possibility of a material Soul or Thinking Matter, into the *Omnipotency of God, who can make all Things agree, that imply not a Contradiction*; but this implies a glaring Contradiction, and therefore must be given up for an Impossibility. What then must we say? What must be the Consequence? Why it is, it must be plainly, this; that since Matter is absolutely incapable of those Qualities and Operations which appear through the whole Brute-Creation, if it cannot produce *Thought, Volition, and spontaneous Motion*, we must assign some other Cause to which these Effects may properly

properly be ascribed, which must be an immaterial and spiritual Principle, truly and properly called a *living Soul*. I know you will be well pleased to find what I have here advanced, confirmed by no less an Authority than that of the late learned Dr. Clarke, in his *Demonstration, &c.* Part II. pag. 300, Edit. 4. and pag. 221, Edit. 6. *All Things that are done in the World* (says he) *are done either immediately by God himself, or by created intelligent Beings: Matter being evidently not at all capable of any Laws or Powers whatsoever, any more than it is capable of Intelligence; excepting only this one negative Power, that every Part of it will always and necessarily continue in that State, whether of Rest or Motion, wherein it at present is; so that all those Things which we commonly say are the Effects of the natural Powers of Matter; and Laws of Motion, as Gravitation, Attraction, or the like, are, indeed, (if we will speak strictly and properly) the Effect of God's acting upon Matter continually and every Moment, either immediately by himself, or mediately by some created intelligent Being: Which Observation, by-the-by, furnishes us, as has been before noted, with an excellent natural Demonstration of Providence: Consequently there is no such Thing as what Men call the Course of Nature, or the Power of Nature. The Course of Nature, truly and properly speaking, is nothing else but the Will of God, producing certain Effects in a continued, regular, constant, and uniform Manner; which Course or Manner of Acting, being in every Moment perfectly arbitrary, is as easy to be altered at any Time as to be preserved. In short, the Thing speaks itself; I dare say you require no other Evidence than your own Reason suggests to you; but your Reverence for Dr. Clarke as a*

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Philosopher, gives you the additional Pleasure of finding him clearly on the same Side of the Question.

To many a fine Lady, yea and many a fine Gentleman, I should think myself bound to make an Apology for attempting to lead them through so many hard Words, into such abstracted Speculations; but to offer at any to you would be an Affront to your Understanding. You, Madam, who have improved a fine Taste by an early Acquaintance with the best Writers of our Age and Nation, who can enter into their Reasonings, and point out, with a critical Delicacy, their distinguishing Beauties, which you even improve by repeating them; you, who can find a more agreeable Entertainment in the polite and rational Pleasures of the Mind, than in the fashionable Follies of Life; who can find more Delight in the Charms of Poetry, and the severe Speculations of Philosophy, than in the insipid Chit-chat of a modern polite Conversation, will, I hope, think it no bad Compliment to your Understanding, that I submit my most laboured Thoughts to your Censure and Correction, and even glory in your Approbation.

Well, Madam, thus far I think we have pretty well cleared our way through the Intricacies of Philosophy to one certain Conclusion, *That Brutes have Souls, spiritual and immaterial Beings.* Here then let us make a Stand, and take Breath; let us look forward and backward, let us survey the Ground we have passed, whether we have made no false Steps, mistaken our Direction, or deviated in the least from the direct Path of sound Reason and true Philosophy; if not, what must be done next? Must we sit down contented with our present Discoveries, or must we  
venture

venture to proceed a Step farther? Methinks I see your thoughtful penetrating Genius at a great Difficulty; retreat you cannot, as a Philosopher:—Advance you dare not, as a good Christian.—Methinks I hear you say, or I am sure you think, with a Kind of religious Horror—What then must be the Consequence!—If they are immaterial and spiritual, they must, by unavoidable Consequence, be immortal, which has been generally the Medium to prove the Immortality of human Souls, which has the terrible Appearance of philosophical Heresy.—Courage, Madam, never fear; we will pursue this Thought no farther than we have the Light of Reason and Revelation to guide us; wherever that fails to direct us, we will be content to sit down in Ignorance and Darkness, and it must be our own Fault, if we go wrong under such Direction.—It has been an invariable Rule with me, in all Cases, (Love and Politics always excepted) never to stifle a certain Truth, for fear of Consequences. Just and honest Premises are a Kind of loving Things, which never fail to beget just and honest Conclusions, which, being the legitimate Offspring of virtuous Parents and Heirs-apparent to the sound and virtuous Constitution of their Progenitors, cannot fail to subsist upon the Integrity of the Family; therefore e'en let them turn out, and shift for themselves.

Why, say you, will you dare to pronounce that the Souls of Brutes are immortal! No, truly, Madam, not I; but you shall pronounce for yourself, according to the Evidence that shall be given. Pray what think you was their original State and Condition in their first happy Settlement in Paradise, when all the Works of God were pronounced to be *very good*? Will you say

say they were mortal? Could any Creature be mortal before Death entered into the World? And was not Death the immediate, the necessary, Consequence of Sin? So the Apostle tells us, *Rom. v. 12. By one Man Sin entered into the World, and Death by Sin.* And was not Sin an accidental Transgression of the Law of God, a Violation of the Laws of Truth and Order, a Breach of the Harmony of Nature, and, by consequence, a Contradiction to the Will of the Creator? Now, if Death was the Consequence of Sin, the Effect of the Transgression, which we are assured of, both by Reason and Revelation, is it consistent either with Philosophy or Religion, to suppose that the Effect should precede the Cause, that the Execution should anticipate the Sentence of Condemnation, and the Sentence the Transgression? In this View of the Case, therefore, there seems to be a strong Presumption, that, in the Intention of their Creator in their original Frame, and their Relation to the universal System, they were to be Partakers of that Blessing and Immortality which was the Privilege of the whole Creation, till Man, by his Disobedience, forfeited it for himself, and, by consequence, for them. Can any Man presume to say, that infinite Wisdom created any thing in vain? That, in the infinite Variety of Creatures, there was so much as one that was superfluous or useless? That he who proportioned and formed the whole System in *Number, Weight, and Measure*, *Wisd. xi. 20.* did not intend even the minutest Portion of it to be a Monument of his infinite Wisdom and Goodness, by contributing to the Beauty, the Order, and Harmony of the whole? And if the Preservation of the Species was necessary to perpetuate  
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the Harmony of the whole, what probable or possible Reason can be assigned for the Destruction of the Individuals? I am apt to believe it will be difficult to assign any that will not as strongly conclude against the Individuals of our own Species, as of any other, and what Occasion can there be for indulging bold Conjectures, and striking out new Hypotheses, to depreciate the Wisdom, debase the Goodness, and limit the Power of the Almighty, and all this to solve Difficulties, and answer Objections, proceeding purely from Prejudice, and Ignorance of the Divine Wisdom and Power. *The Mercies of God are over all his Works.* He made them all to be happy, as exquisitely happy, as infinite Goodness, Wisdom, and Power could make them, and their Rank and State in Nature was capable of receiving; and it is not owing to any Mutability in the Counsels of God, to any Fault of their own, that they have lost any Degree of that Happiness they were created to enjoy; but it is the fatal and necessary Consequence of the Relation they stood in to their unhappy rebellious Lord, and the dreadful Confusion which his Disobedience has brought upon the whole visible Creation, who were thereby *made subject to Vanity*, i. e. Pain and Misery, Corruption and Death. *Rom. viii. 20.*

Do but examine your own compassionate Heart, and tell me, Do you not think it a Breach of natural Justice, wantonly, and without Necessity, to torment, much more to take away, the Life of any Creature, except for the Preservation and Happiness of our own Being; which, in our present State of Enmity and Discord, is sometimes unavoidable? I know you do: And can you think that infinite Mercy, who made

them to be happy, could, in the primary Intention of their Nature, resolve to deprive them of that Happiness (or at least a Possibility of recovering it again) by an utter Extinction of their Being? If you or I could be so happy as to be able to build a House, to lay out a Garden, to contrive a Machine, to draw a Picture, to compose a Poem, or a Piece of Music, so exquisitely perfect, that all the *Connoisseurs* in the several Arts could not be able to correct, or Envy itself to censure, I dare answer for you, as well as for myself, that we should be as ambitious to preserve, as we were to produce, them; and think it the highest Felicity to be able to perpetuate the Works of our Hands, or the Labour of our Brains, by making them immortal. To build up, only in order to pull down; to produce, or create, in order to destroy; in short, to do, and to undo, without an apparent Necessity, is a Reflection upon common Sense; and shall we, dare we, impute to infinite Wisdom, Goodness, and Power an Infirmary which a Man of common Sense would blush to be guilty of? Were we the Owners of Animals, in their several Kinds perfectly useful, beautiful, and good, should we not be solicitous for their Preservation, much less should we wantonly destroy them? But farther yet, Were we the Creators of those Animals, had we brought them into Being by the mightiest Efforts of human Benevolence, Wisdom, and Power, should we not watch over them with the most endearing Marks of Tenderness and Affection? And can we (a Race of evil, weak, and partial Creatures) have more Regard for our own Works than the Almighty has for his? Much less can we presume to say, that we *have more Compassion*  
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for any of his Creatures than he that made them, 2 Efd. v. 33. And if our own Hearts assure us, that we would not wantonly torment or destroy any of God's Creatures, it will, I think, amount almost to a Demonstration, that the Father of Mercies will not causelessly destroy the Work of his own Hands, or put an End to the Being of any Creature, whom he created capable of eternal Happiness.

But I expect you will tell me, as many grave Authors of great Learning and little Understanding have done before you, that there is not even the Appearance of Injustice or Cruelty in this Procedure; that, if the Brutes themselves had Power to speak, to complain, to appeal to a Court of Justice, and plead their own Cause, they could have no just Reason for Complaint: This you may say, but I know you too well to believe you think so; but it is an Objection thrown in your Way by some serious Writers upon this Subject; they tell you that their Existence was given them upon this very Condition, that it should be temporary and short; that after they had fluttered, or crept, or swam, or walked about their respective Elements for a little Season, they should be swept away by the Hand of Violence, or the Course of Nature, into an intire Extinction of Being, to make room for their Successors in the same Circle of Vanity and Corruption. But pray who told them so? Where did they learn this Philosophy? Does either Reason or Revelation give the least Countenance to such a bold Assertion? So far from it, that it seems a direct Contradiction to both. The wise Preacher has given us a deeper and safer Foundation for our Philosophy, *Eccles. iii. 14. I know that whatsoever God doeth, it shall*

shall be for ever, nothing can be put to it, nor any thing taken from it, and God doeth it that Men should fear before him. And the Royal Psalmist, *Psal. civ.* where he is describing the Beauty, the Magnificence, the Wisdom of the Creation, breaks out into Raptures of Gratitude and Joy: *O Lord* (says he, *ver. 24.*) *how manifold are thy Works! in Wisdom hast thou made them all, the Earth is full of thy Riches.* If then all the Works of God are the Effect of infinite Wisdom; if every, even the meanest, the smallest, and most contemptible Creature, were formed, directed, and established in their proper Rank and Order, by the unerring Counsel and Wisdom of the Almighty, is it not a bold Presumption to impute to that Wisdom unworthy and contradictory Counsels? Does it not seem to imply Inconstancy and Mutability in God, that the same infinite Wisdom that made every Creature beautiful, useful, and good, for certain Ends and Purposes, should destroy or annihilate any thing that he has made, and thereby defeat the Wisdom of his own Counsels, and the Ends of his Providence? This surely must appear as shocking to Reason, as it is contradictory to Revelation. And therefore the Psalmist, *Psal. civ.* after he has described, in most pompous and poetical Language, the Beauties and Glories of the Creation, particularly the vegetable and animal Kingdoms, seems to lament their Mortality, as a Violence and Breach upon the Harmony of Nature, *ver. 29.* *Thou hidest thy Face, they are troubled; thou takest away their Breath, they die, and return to their Dust.* But he comforts himself in the next Verse, that they are not lost; their Death is but a Change of their State and Manner of Existence:

The original Purposes of God in their Creation shall stand for ever and ever; and whatever Changes and Revolutions they may undergo, they shall, in due time, appear again in their proper Place and Order, to fill the Station, and answer the several Ends intended by infinite Wisdom in their first Creation, *ver. 30. Thou shalt send forth* (for so it should be rendered) *thy Spirit, and they shall be created,* (i. e. appear again in a new Form or Manner of Existence) *and thou shalt renew the Face of the Earth; the Glory of the Lord* (manifested in the Renovation of the visible World, and all its Inhabitants) *shall endure for ever, and the Lord shall rejoice in his Works.* As he did in their first Creation, when he pronounced them all to be very good, when all the Powers of Heaven and Earth proclaimed aloud the Wisdom, the Goodness, and Power of their Maker, *when the Morning-Stars sang together, and all the Sons of God shouted for Joy,* Job xxxviii. 7. The Evidence that appears thus strong from the Consideration of the Nature of God, the infinite Perfection of his Wisdom, and the Immutability of his Counsels, will appear yet stronger from considering the Nature and Condition, the Capacities and Powers, of the Creatures themselves: As they are all endued with Life and Motion, Sense and Perception, and many of them perhaps with equal, if not quicker and more delicate, Sensations in their Sphere of Action, than many of us in ours, and these freely bestowed upon them by the overflowing Goodness of their Maker; if they were intended not only to fill the several Ranks and Orders they stand in, in the universal Scale of Beings, and complete the Harmony of the Universe, but also to have their Share in the general Blessing, and such a Degree

Degree and Portion of Happiness as they were capable of enjoying : Will any one say, it would be no Punishment to them to be totally deprived of that Happiness, and even of a Possibility of recovering it, by an arbitrary and intire Extinction of their Being? You and I should certainly think so, if we were to do or suffer the same ; and we may, by more than a Parity of Reason, be afraid to ascribe to Almighty Goodness and Wisdom what appears a Weakness and Cruelty in ourselves. Tell me not that God may do this by an arbitrary Act of his Will, and be no more partial or unjust in striking them out of the List of Beings, than in bringing them into it ; that he may resume a Grant that he had freely given them ; and who shall presume to *stop his Hand, or limit his Power, and say, What doest thou?* This is arguing from the Principles of human Weakness and Ignorance ; the Counsels of God are not *arbitrary* in the human Sense of that Word, but founded on the immutable Principles of infinite Wisdom, Goodness, and Truth, and therefore, *without Variableness or Shadow of changing*, Jam. i. 17. His Counsels, like his Nature, are *the same To-day, Yesterday, and for ever*. Heb: xiii. 8.

It would be the highest Presumption to pretend to limit the Power of the Almighty ; yet all agree in this, that Omnipotence itself can do nothing that implies a Contradiction ; but is it not a manifest Contradiction to infinite Wisdom, to make and unmake, to create and to destroy ? The same infinite Wisdom and Power that brought them into Being, must of necessity (pardon the Expression) preserve them in it, unless we could suppose that he, who, from Eternity, saw through all the Possibilities of Being, in whom every

Part of the Creation *lives, and moves, and has its Being,* should see a Reason for creating at one Time, and destroying at another, the Works of his own Hands.— I might push this Argument yet farther, and perhaps be able to produce something more than Conjecture and Probability, that the very Notion of *Annihilation* is absurd and unphilosophical, contradictory and impossible; but, as this would be leading you into a too tedious and abstruse Speculation, I shall content myself, and hope I have, in some measure, satisfied you with what has been already said upon this Subject.

The great Mr. *Locke*, in his Controversy with the Bishop of *Worcester*, pag. 148. makes a Kind of Objection to what has been here advanced, that has more the Air of a Sneer than an Argument. *But here I take Liberty to observe, that, if your Lordship allows Brutes to have Sensation, it will follow either that God can and does give to some Portions of Matter a Power of Perception and Thinking; and that all Animals have immaterial, and consequently, according to your Lordship, immortal, Souls, as well as Men. And to say that Fleas and Mites, &c. have immortal Souls as well as Men, will possibly be looked on as going a great Way to serve an Hypothesis.* Many Writers since his Time have improved this Thought, in order to expose and ridicule the Immateriality of the Soul, by mentioning *the Eels in Vinegar*, the numberless Nations, which, to the naked Eye, appear as the *Blue of a Plumb*, but are discovered, by the Microscope, to be the proper Inhabitants of that particular Orb or Sphere; but let them try the utmost Strength of these Objections, and see what it will prove, but the Ignorance and Presumption of those that make it. Is it not a more surprizing

Instance of the Almighty Power of God, to form so wonderful, so beautiful a Piece of Mechanism in one of these minute Animals, than in that of an Ox or a Horse, a Whale or an Elephant? What less than infinite Wisdom and Power could form a little Portion of Matter, too small to be viewed by the naked Eye, into that almost infinite Variety of Parts, that are necessary to form an organical Body? Do but consider how inexpressibly fine, slender, and delicate, must the several Parts be, that are necessary to form the Organs, to proportion the Structure, to direct the Machinery, and preserve and supply the vital and animal Action in one of these imperceptible Animals; yet every Part that is necessary to animal Life, is as truly found in one of them, as in *Behemoth* and *Leviathan*. I very much doubt whether any Wisdom, but that which framed them, can fully comprehend the Structure, the Symmetry, the Beauties of this almost imperceptible Generation, and think it must needs exceed any finite Understanding to conceive, much less to explain, how such an infinite Variety of Parts, and Exercise of Powers, could be contained or exerted within so narrow a Space: First, the *Heart*, the Fountain of Life; then *the Muscles* necessary to produce Motion; *the Glands* for the Secretion of Juices; the *Ventricle* and *Intestines* for digesting their Nourishment, and numberless other Parts which are necessary to form an organical Body. This Knowledge is too wonderful and excellent for any human Understanding, and it may reasonably be doubted, whether the Angels themselves are able to explain and comprehend it. But when we further consider, that each of those Members are themselves also organical Bodies, that

they consist of Fibres, Membranes, Coats, Veins, Arteries, Nerves, and numberless Springs, Tubes, and Pullies, too fine for Imagination itself to conceive; try, in the next Place, whether you can form the least Appearance even of a Guess how infinitely subtle and fine must the Parts of those Fluids be that circulate through these Tubes, as the Blood, the Lympha, and animal Spirits, which, in the largest Animals, are so exquisitely fine, that no Imagination can explain or conceive. Can any Wisdom, any Power, less than infinite, produce or explain such wonderful Effects and Appearances as these? *Infinite Wisdom* is as truly and wonderfully displayed in the smallest, as in the greatest, Works of the Creation, and nothing less than the same Wisdom that formed the universal System, could possibly produce the smallest and most contemptible Being in Nature. I say then, *that all these Effects of infinite Wisdom were intended to answer some End, to serve some Purpose, or they were not: They contributed something to the Beauty and Harmony of the whole, or they did not: They were either useful and necessary in their several Ranks and Orders, or superfluous and useless: Take which Side of the Dilemma you please, and see what Consequences will unavoidably follow.* If you say they were made for some End, to answer some Purpose, that they contributed to the Beauty and Harmony of the whole, it will necessarily follow, that they do so still, unless you will venture to say, that the System is altered, that what was once necessary is not so now; which would be an absurd and blasphemous Imputation upon *infinite Wisdom*. It will therefore follow, that whatever Uses or Purposes were intended in their Creation, can only be supplied and answered  
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by still preserving them in being. If they were created by *infinite Wisdom*, the same *infinite Wisdom* will also preserve them: If you doubt or deny this, you must unavoidably fall into the other Side of the *Dilemma*, and say that they were not the Effects of *infinite Wisdom*; that they were not made to serve any End, or answer any Purpose; that they contributed nothing to the Beauty and Harmony of the System; that many of them are not only useless and unnecessary, but noxious and mischievous, and had better either not have been created at all, or immediately struck out of the List of Beings, to prevent their doing more Mischief: In short, that they were a Sort of By-blows, Excrescencies, or fortuitous Productions, with which *infinite Wisdom* had no manner of Concern, either in their Formation or Preservation. Does not such a Thought as this strike you with a Kind of religious Horror? Is not the Blasphemy as shocking to your Piety, as the Nonsense to your Understanding? Yet one of these must be maintained to support the other Side of the Question. - I will therefore venture to conclude, that whatsoever Creatures *infinite Wisdom* saw fit to produce in the first Creation, will be preserved by the same *infinite Wisdom* so long as the System itself shall continue, which is as certain a Conclusion, as that the Parts shall continue as long as the Whole, the Materials shall subsist as long as the Fabric; and this not only with regard to the Species, but to all the Individuals of the several Species, which, as Religion and Philosophy assure us, were actually existing in their first Cause or Parent, when the divine Benediction, to increase and multiply, was pronounced upon them, and they were declared, by God himself,

to be *very good*. Whatever Arguments have or may be produced in Vindication of the Wisdom and Goodness of God in the Works of the Creation, will (I humbly conceive) more strongly conclude for their Immortality: And if so much as the Shadow of a Reason can be alledged for their Annihilation or utter Extinction of their Being after Death, it will as strongly conclude against the Wisdom of their first Creation. And whether such a Concession might not have a fatal Influence upon weak and irreligious Minds, deserves well to be considered, whether they might not from hence be induced to believe, or to hope at least, that they might receive the same Indulgence as the rest of their Fellow-Brutes, and be no more accountable for the Sins of a long Life, the Abuse of nobler Faculties, the Defiance of the highest Authority, the Contempt of the plainest Duties, and a Violation of the most reasonable Commands, than the poor Brutes, who have no Sin to answer for, and would never have known either Pain or Sorrow, Suffering or Death, had our first Parents but continued as innocent as they: What then should hinder their Continuance in being after the Dissolution of their Bodies? Why may not the immaterial Form be disposed of in its proper State, waiting for the *Time of the Restitution of all Things*, Acts iii. 21. *When the whole suffering Creation shall be delivered from the Bondage of Corruption into the glorious Liberty of the Sons of God*, Rom. viii. 21. The wise Preacher seems to have expressed his Thoughts very plainly upon this Question, *Eccles. iii. 21.* where he mentions *the Spirit of a Man, and the Spirit of a Beast*, however different in their specific Dignity and Qualities, yet both equally im-

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material and immortal ; both returning, after the Dissolution of the Bodies, to their proper State or Center : *The Spirit of the Man going upwards, and the Spirit of the Beast going downwards* ; that is, the former ascending, the other descending, to their proper Rank or Sphere in the invisible World.—And, after all, where is the Difficulty of comprehending, or the Danger of asserting, this proper Assortment of the several Species of Beings, according to their original State in the Order of Creation ? What Need is there of so much philosophical Refinement and Caution in explaining so obvious a Question ? What possible Danger can there be in asserting a Truth too plain to be denied, or what Purposes of Religion can be served in concealing or disguising a certain Truth, in order to establish an uncertain, I had almost said an impossible, Conjecture ? Tell me ingenuously, Madam, can you hesitate a Moment how to determine upon this Question ? Some learned Men have started a Difficulty, how these separate Essences, or Brute-Souls, are to be disposed of after Death. Thus, particularly, the pious, learned, and Right Reverend Author of *The Procedure, Extent, and Limits of human Understanding*, expresses his Doubts and Fears, pag. 173, 174. *They who hold sensitive Perception in Brutes to be an Argument of the Immateriality of their Souls, find themselves under a Necessity of allowing those Souls to be naturally immortal likewise, and they are so embarrassed how to dispose of those irrational immortal Souls after the Dissolution of their Bodies, and what Sort of Immortality to conceive for them, that they imagine them all to return to the great Soul or Spirit of the World, or, by a Metempsychosis, to pass into the Bodies of succeeding Animals, and then, when they have*  
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done their Work at the End of the World, they are to be discharged out of Being, and again reduced to their primitive Nothing.—Again—If those Souls are once granted to be immaterial, it is utterly inconceivable that they should not naturully have the same Immortality with those that are human; since we cannot, with any Sense or Consistency, distinguish two different Kinds of Immortality for created Spirits, if the Souls of Brutes be immortal, that cannot, when separate, be thought to remain altogether in a State of Inactivity or Insensibility, which communicated Sense and Activity to Matter, while in Conjunction with it; and, if so, they must be sensible of Happiness or Misery, and, in some Degree, liable to Rewards and Punishments as eternal as their Souls. He concludes, *What heightens the Absurdity of this Way of Thinking is, that, in imagining the Souls of Brutes to be immaterial, Men must necessarily distinguish a great Variety of them, both in Nature and Degree, one Sort for Birds, another for Beasts and another for Fishes; and these must be all subdivided again into very different Species of immaterial Souls, according to the different Sorts there are under each of these general Heads. Nay, every Fly and Insect must, on this Supposition, have some Sort of immaterial Soul, even down to the Cheese-mites; and what is yet more absurd, is, that there must be an infinite Variety of Immaterialities imagined, to suit the Rank and Condition of every individual, living, sensible Creature. What a Rhapsody is here! Can there be a more lively Picture of a puzzled Imagination, terrified with Spectres, and combating with Difficulties of his own creating? If the Premises be just, the Conclusion must be so too; they must stand or fall together: If the Evidence be strong for the Immateriality of Brute Souls, as I believe you think it*

is, their Immortality must, in my Opinion, be the natural Consequence: And how are we concerned to inquire what shall become of them in their separate State? What is it to us to know how they shall be disposed of after the Dissolution of their Bodies? Cannot infinite Power, which formed them without our Advice and Assistance, dispose of them in the same Manner? This, I think, is certain, that if they are immaterial, and consequently immortal, if their Souls animated certain Bodies in this Life, and were the proper Principles of their Action, they cannot cease to be active after they are in a separate State, and must have a peculiar Sphere of Life and Action without their Bodies, as well as they had on them. Can you, Madam, conceive what would have become of the numerous Descendents of the several Species of Beings, (whose peculiar Blessing from God was to *increase and multiply*) if *Adam* had not sinned, nor by consequence, Sin and Death entered into the World? Can we suppose that he who made them to increase and multiply, had not made a proper Provision for their Reception? And will not (think you) the same Wisdom and Power continue the same Provision for them still? Can any Man pretend to tell me what is the State of separate Souls? Where, or what, or how many are the different Mansions and Receptacles of the Dead? These are idle Inquiries, unanswerable Questions; yet does any reasonable Man doubt whether there are such Mansions, such proper Habitations, for separate Spirits; and, if for one Rank of Beings, why not for all? And is it not a monstrous Presumption in us, *who are ignorant of the plainest Things, and can hardly judge aright of*

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*the commonest Things that are upon Earth, and find not without great Labour the Things that are before us, Wisd. ix. 16.* to be prescribing Bounds to omnipotent Wisdom, directing the Exercise of infinite Power, by our narrow Apprehensions of the Nature of Things, and the Power of God? His Objection against the *same Immortality*, allotted to different Species of Beings, is very crudely and obscurely expressed. *Immortality*, or a Perpetuity of Existence in its abstracted Nature, to whatever different Ranks or Species of Beings it is applied, must be one and *the same*, however different their State and Condition may be. As for the *Brute-Souls* being sensible of Happiness or Misery in their separate State, Why not as well as in their present natural State? If they are capable of Happiness or Misery here, if they are the Object of divine as well as human Compassion in their present State, (which both Reason and Revelation plainly evince) what should hinder their being capable of higher Degrees of Happiness in their separate State in the invisible World, as well as they were in their first Situation in Paradise, before Sin and Death entered into the World, and they sunk with us under the *Bondage of Corruption*? But to say (as our Author does) that it will thence follow, they are *liable to Rewards and Punishments*, requires both Proof and Explanation. They were not moral Agents, nor is their present Unhappiness the proper Punishment of any Abuse of their Free-will, the Violation of any Duty, the Transgression of any Command, or Disobedience to the Will of their Maker. This the Apostle expressly declares, *Rom. viii. 20.* That *they were made subject to Vanity, not willingly,*  
not

not by any Fault of their own, *but by reason of him,* upon the Account, by the Transgression of Man, *who has subjected them to it in Hope*; that is, in certain Hope of being delivered from a Misery they had not deserved, from a Bondage which they had not brought upon themselves, but were necessarily involved in it by the Relation they stood in to our first Parent, who was their natural Lord, the Sovereign and Governor of the whole mundane System. And why does he say it heightens the Absurdity of this Way of Thinking, that we shall be obliged to distinguish a great Variety of Souls, both in Nature and Degree, for the great Variety of Beings? Why is it a greater Absurdity to suppose different Species of immaterial Souls, than different Species of material Bodies? If (as the Apostle reasons, 1 Cor. xv. 39.) *All Flesh is not the same Flesh, but there is one Kind of Flesh of Men, another Flesh of Beasts, another of Fishes, and another of Birds.* Where would be the Absurdity of thinking or saying, all Souls, or Spirits, or immaterial Beings, are not specifically the same; but there is one Kind of Soul of Men, another Kind of Beasts, another of Fishes, another of Birds, and another of Insects, and perhaps another of the various Tribes and Families of each? It is at least highly probable that it is so; and the Appearance of Absurdity arises from nothing else but our Ignorance of the Ways of God, and his mysterious Operations in the Frame and Course of Nature, and a vain Presumption that we are competent Judges of both. This it is that tempts us to prescribe Limits, and direct the Exercise, of infinite Power; this tempts us to form Hypotheses, and lay Schemes for the Operations of  
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Omnipotence, and charge every Deviation from it, as absurd and unreasonable. And by the same Method of Reasoning, we might, (if Experience did not convince us) as wisely infer, that the almost infinite Variety of material Bodies were absurd and impossible. And after all this Appearance of Absurdity, it is more than probable that this great Variety of *immaterial Souls, both in Nature and Degree, for Insects, Fishes, Birds, and Beasts,* ought to be regarded as a singular Article in the Harmony and Beauty of the Creation, in the rising Scale of immaterial Beings. When we observe such a wonderful Gradation of Beauty, Form, Perfection, and Proportion, in the several Parts of Matter, through the animal, vegetable, and mineral Kingdoms, through all the Species of Fossils, Plants, and Animals, up to the human Body, it must appear to a rational and attentive Mind, to be a wide and unnatural Chasm in the Nature of Things, if there were nothing between dead Matter and the human Soul. Let us not then embarrass ourselves with Doubts and Inquiries, about the Purposes and Counsels of infinite Wisdom, in the Creation of such a wonderful and beautiful Variety of Animals, through all the several Regions of Nature; but satisfy ourselves, that, as nothing less than infinite Power could produce the least and most contemptible into Being, so nothing less than infinite Wisdom has formed and directed them to answer the several Purposes of their Creation, and fill their different Ranks and States in the Scale of Being; and that the same infinite Wisdom will not fail to dispose of them hereafter in the most proper Manner, to answer the original Purposes of their

their Creation. Thus much we may venture to pronounce with Safety, that it is by no means inconsistent with Reason, that there may be several Degrees and Orders of immaterial Beings, with different Powers and Faculties, according to their different Ends: And that such of these as are capable of actuating Bodies, may be disposed of in different Bodies, according to their different Capacities; and when the immaterial Beings are separated from these Bodies, so that the Bodies are dead, no Man can presume to say, that it is impossible or unreasonable, for omnipotent Wisdom to continue them in being, and dispose of them, in such a State or Condition, as he shall see fit. And if partial human Benevolence, if limited human Understanding, could conceive any possible Reason, or contrive any possible Means to continue their Being, and their Happiness, in a State of Separation; then it is neither an absurd Thought, nor impious Hope, that their Almighty and most merciful Creator, whose Compassions are over all his Works, may effect both, since nothing less than both could at first move him to bring them into Being, and such a State as the Harmony of Nature required, and infinite Wisdom saw fit for them.

And now, Madam, I appeal to you and to every sensible impartial Reader, to tell me what possible ill Consequences can be drawn from the Supposition of their Immortality; or what possible Advantage to the Interests of true Philosophy and Religion can arise from denying it? The Infidel will be pleased to hear you own the Possibility of a material Soul of thinking Matter, and comfort himself with the Hope  
that

that he, with the rest of his reasoning Fellow-Animals, may be exactly of the same Make, have nothing in them superior to Matter, no Principle of Immortality, nothing capable of eternal Rewards and Punishments; though he himself would easily turn the Tables upon you, and prove the contrary, from the plainest Principles of Nature and Philosophy. On the other hand, if we could prove to his Satisfaction, that every Kind and Degree of Life through the universal System must necessarily be immortal, it would prove strongly upon him the Necessity of his own Immortality, and quite destroy the feeble, the terrible Hope of Annihilation, or utter Extinction of his Being; it would show him in a strong and amazing Light, the absolute Impossibility of evading the proper and necessary Punishment of a wicked and ungodly Life, the unavoidable Consequences of brutish and vicious Habits, debasing the Soul, degrading it from its proper Rank and Dignity, corrupting all its Faculties, and rendering it incapable of those divine Communications which are the proper Life, the only real Felicity, of human Souls. But to return,

The wonderful Gradation in the Scale of Beings (so far as our Senses can discover it) is not only the Object of daily Experience and Admiration, but is also a noble Key to open to us the more remote and invisible Scenes of Nature and Providence, and to raise upon the Foundation of a just and proper Analogy, a rational Superstructure, little inferior in Evidence and Strength to a mathematical Demonstration. As we observe, in all Parts of the Creation, that there is a gradual Connection of one with  
another,

another, without any great or discernible Gaps between, that in all that great Variety of Things we see in the World, they are all so closely linked together, that it is not easy to discover the Bounds between them; we have all the Reason imaginable to believe, that by such gentle Steps and imperceptible Degrees, Beings ascend in the universal System from the lowest to the highest Point of Perfection. Where is he that can settle the Boundaries of the material and spiritual World? Who can tell where the sensible and rational begin, and where the insensible and irrational end? Who can precisely determine the lowest Species of Animals, and the first and highest Degree of inanimate Beings? The whole System of natural Beings, so far as we can observe, lessen and augment in the same Proportion, as the Quantity does in a regular Cone, where, though there be a manifest Difference betwixt the Bigness of the Diameter at remote Distances, yet the Difference betwixt the upper and under, where they touch each other, is hardly discernible: The Difference betwixt Man and Man is inconceivably great. Were we to compare a *Newton*, a *Locke*, or a *Boyle*, with that Sort of human Creatures, commonly distinguished by the Name and Title of *honest, or very honest Fellows*, who have very little besides their Shape and Risibility, (or Faculty of Laughing, which some Philosophers make to be the formal Difference betwixt rational and irrational Animals) to distinguish them from Brutes, we should be almost tempted to think them of a different Species: But were we to compare the Understandings, the Tempers, the Abilities, of some Men and some Brutes, we shall find so little

Difference, that it would be hard to say, to which we should give the Preference. The Brute in the Sty, the Stable, or the Kennel, and the Brute in the Parlour, are very often distinguished to the Advantage of the former, as the more harmless, the more useful, the more virtuous Animals of the two. Nor has the Difference, in Point of Understanding, been much less considerable. Now, as the *Rule of Analogy* makes it more than probable, that, in the ascending Part of the Scale there are numberless Ranks and Orders of intelligent Beings, excelling us in several Degrees of Perfection, ascending upwards towards the infinite Perfection of the Creator, by gentle Steps and Differences, that are hardly at a discernible Distance from each other : So in the descending Part, there are doubtless numberless Ranks and Orders of Beings, endued with lower Faculties, lower Degrees of Life and Perception, till you come down, by imperceptible Degrees, to the Vegetables and inanimate Brute-Matter ; but what are the specific Differences that distinguish these several Ranks and Degrees of Beings, is not easy to conceive. The Scale of Life, like the Continuation of all Motion, the Undulation of Waves, the Vibration of Sounds, and the Progression of Light, are performed by certain inseparable, though distinct and decreasing Communications and Impressions from one Part of Matter to another, each of them proportionably diminishing, till you come at last to a State of absolute Inaction and Rest : But what is the precise and absolute Boundary, betwixt languid Motion and absolute Rest, that created Understanding can explain or comprehend ? Who can fix the direct Point where

the last dying Sound expires in dead Silence? Who can discern where the last glimmering Ray of Light is swallowed up in total Darkness and Obscurity? Who can determine the Limits betwixt the Ebb and Flowing of the Tide; or, describe the single Point, which is the Ending of the one, and the Beginning of the other? Nor are the Boundaries betwixt the human and brute Understanding more easily distinguished. Who can determine the lowest Degree of human Ignorance, and the highest Pitch of brutal Knowledge? Who can say where the one ends, and the other begins, or whether there be any other Difference betwixt them but in Degree.

Mr. Locke, in his 27th Chapter, of *Identity and Diversity*, has, in the Course of his Argument, dropped something so much to our present Purpose, and so apparently contradictory to what he has advanced in other Parts of his Theory, that I cannot help transcribing it, pag. 284, Edit. 8vo. *I think I may be confident, that whoever should see a Creature of his own Shape, though it had no more Reason, as to its Life, than a Cat, or a Parrot, would call him still a Man; or whosoever should hear a Cat or a Parrot discourse, reason, and philosophize, would call or think it nothing but a Cat or a Parrot; and say, the one was a dull, irrational Man, and the other a very intelligent rational Parrot. A Relation we have in an Author of great Note (meaning Sir William Temple's Memoirs): I had a Mind to know, from Prince Maurice's own Mouth, the Account of a common, but much credited Story, that I had heard so often from many others, of an old Parrot he had in Brasil, during his Government there, that spoke, and asked, and answered common*

*Questions, like a reasonable Creature; so that those of his Train there, generally concluded it to be Witchery or Possession; and one of his Chaplains, who lived long afterwards in Holland, would never, from that Time, endure a Parrot, but said, they all had a Devil in them. I had heard many Particulars of this Story, and assevered by People hard to be discredited; which made me ask Prince Maurice, What there was in it? He said, with his usual Plainness and Dryness of Talk, That there was something true, but a great deal false, of what had been reported. I desired to know of him what there was of the first? He told me short and coldly, That he had heard of such an old Parrot, when he came to Brasil; and though he believed nothing of it, and it was a good Way off, he had the Curiosity to send for it; that it was a very great and a very old one; and when it came first into the Room where the Prince was, with a great many Dutchmen about him, it said presently, What a Company of white Men are here! They asked it, What he thought that Man was, pointing at the Prince? It answered, Some General or other. When they brought it close to him, he asked it, \* D'ou venez vous? It answered, De Marinnan. The Prince, A qui estes vous? The Parrot, A un Portuguesse. The Prince, Qui fais tu la? The Parrot, Je garde les Poules. The Prince laughed, and said, Vous gardes les Poules! The Parrot answered, Ouy, Moy, et je sçay bien faire; and made the Chuck four or five Times,*

*\* Whence come you? From Marinnan. Prince. To whom do you belong? The Parrot. To a Portuguesse. Prince. What do you do there? Parrot. I look after the Chickens. Prince. You look after the Chickens! Parrot. Yes, I know how to do it very well.*

that People use to make to Chickens when they call them. I set down the Words of this worthy Dialogue in French just as Prince Maurice said them to me. I asked him in what Language the Parrot spake? And he said in Brasilian. I asked him, Whether he understood Brasilian? He said, No, but he had taken care to have two Interpreters by him; the one a Dutchman who spoke Brasilian, and the other a Brasilian that spoke Dutch; that he asked them separately and privately, and both of them agreed in telling him just the same Thing that the Parrot said. I could not but tell this odd Story, because it is so much out of the Way, and from the first Hand, and what may pass for a good one; for I dare say, the Prince at least believed himself in all he told me, having ever past for a very honest and pious Man. I leave it to Naturalists to reason, and to other Men to believe, as they please upon it.

The Use Mr. Locke makes of this surprizing Story is of a very particular Nature, and I must needs say, not without Violence, applied to his Purpose. Hear his own Remark. The Prince, it is plain, who vouches this Story, and our Author who relates it from him, both of them call this Talker a Parrot; and I ask any one else, who thinks such a Story fit to be told, whether, if this Parrot, and all of its Kind, had always talked, as we have a Prince's Word for it this one did; whether, I say, they would not have passed for a Race of *rational Animals*? So far the Question is properly stated, and may be easily answered. Without doubt they would. But he proceeds to ask further, Whether, for all that, they would have been allowed to be Men, and not Parrots? Why so? unless it were thought absurd or impious to ascribe any Kind or Degree of Reason to Brutes; which is so

far from being the Case, that I humbly conceive, there is at least a strong Probability of the contrary. And this Story, so well attested, is no contemptible Evidence in our Favour. Supposing, therefore, this to be the Case, the Question I would ask should be this: Does not this Parrot discover as evident Tokens at least of Reason and Understanding as many of our own Species, who are allowed to be reasonable Creatures, and to make a tolerable Appearance in the gay World? Is there any discernible Difference between the Conversation of this Bird, and many a sad unlucky Bird, who fancies himself a very pretty Fellow, and perhaps a very fine Gentleman? Let us, if you please, Madam, enter a little farther into the Comparison. The Parrot, in so short a Conversation, could discover but few Ideas necessarily involved in the Questions he was obliged to answer; but those few seem to be clear, distinct, and regularly adjusted; and, if we may be allowed to judge by this Specimen, he might have a larger and better Stock of intellectual Materials to employ upon proper Occasions. *First of all*, It is plain he could distinguish Colours, and the Difference between his sooty Countrymen, and the white Attendants of the Prince. *Secondly*, He could distinguish Men from any other Species of Animals, by his calling the Prince's Attendants *White-men*. *Thirdly*, He had Geography enough to distinguish one Place from another, and to tell the Prince, that he came from *Marinnan*. *Fourthly*, He understood the abstracted Nature of Property, and the Relation he bore to the *Portuguese* Owner or Master to whom he belonged. *Fifthly*, He could infer that that Relation implied some Sort of Service to be performed on his part, which

which was the Care of the Chicken. *Sixtly*, He discovered that he understood the Nature of his Office, and how to execute it in a proper Manner, by making the Signals which the Mother used to make to her young Family, to warn them to fly from any imminent Danger, and put themselves under her Protection. It seems to appear from hence, that this sensible, honest, faithful Servant had as much Knowledge as was sufficient to qualify him for the Post that was assigned him, of which he gave full Proof in his Examination by the Prince. You will tell me, perhaps, this was no Proof of his Understanding; it might probably be a Lesson which he had learned by Rote: But pray, Madam, is not the Probability as strong on the other Side? especially as you find that the first Speech was the Effect of immediate Reflection, without any leading Question to introduce it, and the rest were a Sequel of proper Answers to the several Questions that were proposed by the Prince. But you may further reply, that, as he had so few Ideas to work with, it would require a very moderate Degree of Understanding to be able to adjust them properly, and apply them justly upon proper Occasions. True—but the being able to do it at all, even in the lowest Degree, is confessing the Point that I am labouring to prove, and answers every Objection that has been made against it.—Well then, supposing this poor individual Bird at the Head of his Species, compounding and comparing Ideas, forming Conclusions, reasoning, and answering Questions, we may, according to Mr. *Locke's* own Confession, allow him to be a *rational Parrot*; and may reasonably infer, that the other Individuals of the same Species are capable of similar, if not equal, Improve-

ments, and, by Consequence, have a proportionable Title to the Character of rational Creatures: On the other hand, if a slender Stock of Ideas, a Slowness of Apprehension, a Poverty of Genius, and Narrowness of Understanding be a sufficient Reason for striking them out of the Rank of rational Beings, I quite dread the Consequence, and almost tremble to think what terrible Havock it must make in the human Species. How many honest, merry, pretty Fellows must instantly resign their Pretensions to Humanity, be turned to Grass, or degraded into the lowest Rank of Vegetables! Could you steal into poor *Sylvio's* Pericranium, and there deface the Ideas of his Dogs, his Horses, his Bottle, and (I am sorry to add) his Mistress, you would leave an absolute Void, an intire Blank, as could be found in the whole Creation. *Ned Courty*, who values himself so much upon his Knowledge of the World, is not one Jot richer than he; the whole Furniture of his Memory (the only Faculty he has to find Employment for his Tongue) was stolen from the Drawing-room, the Opera, and the Assembly; and if it were possible for him to return his intellectual Trumpery to the Place from whence he stole it, he would immediately be upon the Level with the Wasps and Butterflies. I have at this Time in my Eye a Group of solemn Blockheads, who have the Vanity to call themselves *Free-thinkers*, without being able to explain the Character they insolently claim, nor the Title by which they pretend to claim it. I wish I had a proper Authority to confine them all together in one Room, with a decent Allowance of Pen, Ink, and Paper, debarring them the Use of two or three Libertine Books, two or three Cant-words,

and

and two or three Common-place Jokes, upon Parsons, Priest-craft, and Superstition, and I would defy their united Misunderstandings, in six Weeks Time, to produce six Quarto Pages upon any Question in Philosophy or Religion, written (I do not say with Argument or Grammar, for that would be an unreasonable Imposition) but even with true Spelling, and common Sense. Could you, by any means, restrain the arch, the witty, the eloquent *Clarinda* from her favourite Topics of Drefs and Scandal, you will infinitely oblige all her Acquaintance by condemning her to perpetual Silence.

Now I would venture to say, that the Partition betwixt the lowest Degree of Human, and the highest Degree of Brute, Understanding, is so very slender, that it is hardly perceptible, and could not, in any Degree, be distinguished but by a greater Fluency of Language; which, though in the main it may be considered as an Advantage to our Species in general, yet is it none to those who seldom make any other use of it, than to discover the Emptiness of their Heads, the Perverseness of their Wills, or the Iniquity of their Hearts, and shew how little the real Difference is (Shape only excepted) betwixt a sagacious, good-natured, governable, useful Animal, which we agree to call a Brute, and a wrong-headed, vicious, ungovernable, mischievous Brute, whom we agree to call a Man; and what Authority we have to strike out of the System of Immortality so great a Part of the Creation, without an absolute and evident Necessity, exceeds my Comprehension. If both Reason and Revelation assure us, that, in their first Creation, they were all *very good*: As perfect in their several Kinds,

as beautiful in their several Orders, as necessary to the universal Harmony, as infinite Power and Wisdom could make them; if, by the special Benediction of their Maker, they were to increase and multiply, and perpetuate their several Species, before Sin and Death entered into the World, how dare we pretend to reverse this Blessing, to correct infinite Wisdom, to alter the established Order of Things, and pronounce a Sentence of utter Extinction upon numberless Ranks and Orders of Beings, created by infinite Wisdom, to manifest the Power and Goodness of their Maker, by ministering to the Pleasure and Necessities of Mankind, and contributing, in their proper Order, to the Beauty and Harmony of the universal System: Is not this pronouncing a Curse where God has pronounced a Blessing? and, in Effect, declaring that infinite Wisdom and Power were idly employed in forming, supporting, feeding, and blessing numberless Species, Tribes, and Families of useless and unnecessary Beings? Is it not more reasonable, more consistent with the Nature of God, and the Scripture Account of the Creation, to suppose that the immaterial Forms, the incorruptible Essences of the whole System, notwithstanding its present ruinous and deplorable Appearance under the Bondage of Corruption and Death, are immoveably fixed in their proper Rank and Order in the invisible World, according to the eternal archetypal Model in the Divine Mind, in and by which, as their efficient and exemplary Cause, every Being in Heaven and Earth, from the most exalted Seraph to the lowest Vegetable, was made, in which they now subsist, and shall for ever subsist, in a glorious Immortality?

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The Absurdities that flow from the contrary Opinion, are a strong presumptive Proof in Favour of ours. That all Creatures were the Productions of infinite Goodness, Wisdom, and Power, and could therefore be only created in order to be as perfectly happy as their Rank and State in Nature could admit, is as certain, as that an infinitely wise, and good, and powerful Being could not possibly make any Creature only with an Intention to make them miserable; and yet we see, at present, the whole Face of Nature covered as it were with Darknes, Confusion, and Deformity, a Scene of Sin and Folly, of Misery and Sorrow, sinking, as it were, under its own Weight, and groaning under the Bondage of Corruption: And dare we say, or imagine, that this was the original primitive State of Things? Could Disorder and Confusion, Vanity and Misery, proceed from the omnipotent Fountain of Order, Truth, and Love? Must we not rather say, that we are in a preternatural State; that the Evils we suffer are accidental, the fatal Consequence of the Transgression of our first Parents, seduced by the Temptation of an evil Spirit, to a Violation of all the Laws of Justice, Truth, and Order? And can we imagine that this violent, this unnatural State, shall last for ever? Is this State of the whole Creation so deplorably miserable, as to admit of no Remedy, no Hope of Deliverance? Shall the eternal Purposes of infinite Wisdom, Love, and Power be intirely defeated by the Malice of evil Spirits, and the Infirmities of frail Creatures? Is not this imputing too much to the Creature, and derogating from the infinite Wisdom, Goodness, and Power of the Creator? Is not this saying, in Effect, that the Almighty Creator,

the

the Father of Mercies, and the God of all Compassions, whose Mercies are over all his Works, is either unwilling, or unable, to effect the eternal Purposes of his infinite Love? That the Devil is more powerful to destroy than God to save? And, after all, what Difficulty is there in comprehending, or what possible Danger in asserting, that all the inferior Creation, that fell with, and in, our first Parent, and suffer for our Transgression, shall at last be restored to their primitive Happiness, and *be delivered from their present Bondage of Corruption into the glorious Liberty of the Sons of God?* And why (as St. Paul says to King Agrippa, Acts xxvi. 8.) *should it be thought a thing incredible, that God should do this, especially as Reason and Nature pronounce such a Renovation not only possible, but probable, and Revelation declares it to be certain?* *As for the wonderful Works of the Lord* (saith the wise Son of Sirach, *Ecclus. xviii. 6.*) *there may nothing be taken from them, neither may any thing be put unto them, neither can the Ground of them be found out.* Nothing can be added to their original Perfection, nor shall any thing be able to destroy it, neither can any human Understanding comprehend their essential Ground and Root in the archetypal World, in which (notwithstanding any Violence or accidental Disorder in their present external Form) they stand immoveably fixed in their proper Rank and Order, in and through which they shall, in God's due Time, be restored to the Splendor and Dignity of their first Creation.

And this, Madam, opens to us a new Scene of Wonder and Love, worthy the most serious Attention of a rational and religious Mind, that there shall be an *universal Restitution* of all that fell by *Adam's* Transgression;

gression ; when all that was lost in the *first Adam* shall be renewed in the *Second* ; that there shall be *new Heavens* and a *new Earth*, which shall be the Habitation of Righteousness, God has plainly and abundantly *promised, by the Mouth of all his holy Prophets, since the World began, Acts iii. 19, 20, 21. Isa. lxxv. 17. lxxvi. 22. 2 Pet. iii. 13. 1 Cor. xv. 21, 22. Rev. xxi. 1.* And if the whole material World shall be restored to its primitive Perfection ; if there should be a *Renovation of the Face of the Earth*, Psal. civ. 30. there must be of Consequence a Renovation of all its seminal Powers, of all the various Productions of Fruits, Flowers, Animals, and all the different Inhabitants of the several Regions of Nature. All the Discord of Elements, all the Malignity of the Creatures, shall intirely cease, and be done away. All Nature shall put off the Corruption, Deformity, Darknes, and Confusion of their present State, and be restored to the Purity, Splendor, and Beauty of their first Creation. I suppose you will reply, and say, as many eminent Writers have done before you, that all those Passages of Scripture which speak of an intire Renovation and *Restitution of all Things, of new Heavens and a new Earth*, are not to be understood literally, that they are only metaphorical Expressions, to represent the mighty Change that was to be introduced into the moral World by the preaching of the Gospel ; that the prophetic Style and oriental Languages abounded with bold Metaphors, which could not possibly be understood in a literal Sense, as when not only Birds and Beasts, but even the vegetable and inanimate Parts of the Creation are called upon to bless and praise their Maker, and to rejoice in his Mercy,

of

of which we have many Instances in the Book of *Psalms*, and the Prophecies of the *Old Testament*. Thus particularly, *Pfal.* cxlvi, we find, *Mountains and all Hills, fruitful Trees and all Cedars, Beasts and all Cattle, Worms and feathered Fowls*, are called upon to join with the grand Chorus of Men and Angels, of all the Powers of Heaven and Earth, in the Praises of their Almighty Creator. And *Isai.* lv. 12. *The Mountains and the Hills shall break forth before you into singing, and all the Trees of the Field shall clap their Hands.* So, *Pf.* civ. 21. *The young Lions roaring after their Prey*, are represented in the Form of Supplicants, *seeking their Meat from God.* So again, *Pf.* cxlvii. 9. the Cry of young Ravens is represented as calling upon God for their daily Bread, *He feedeth the young Ravens that call upon him.* That these Expressions are properly metaphorical, is easily granted; but that they are justly and properly founded in the real Nature of Things, cannot be denied, or may be easily proved.— Let it be granted, that all those pompous Ideas, and magnificent Descriptions which the Scriptures give us of the Redemption of the World, and Renovation of Nature, have a primary and immediate Regard to the human Nature, which cannot be denied; yet, that it does not, and cannot, terminate there, so as to exclude the other Parts of the Creation, is, from the Analogy of Reason, equally certain. When we consider that the whole System of Nature were Partakers of the original Happiness, were included in the universal Benediction, that every Part of the animal and vegetable World, according to their several Capacities, received, through our first Parents, such divine Communications of Life, Light, and Glory, as were necessary

cessary to complete their Happiness, which intirely depended upon his unfinning Obedience; that, by his Transgression, he forfeited for them, as well as for himself, the Favour of his Maker, and the original Happiness of their State and Condition, from which they fell into their present lamentable State of Mortality and Corruption, it is natural to conceive, that as the whole animal Creation sympathizes and suffers with their sinful unhappy Lord and Master; so they shall, with him, in due Time, recover their lost Happiness, and return to their primitive Perfection; that the Redemption and Glorification of the one, must necessarily be the Redemption and Glorification of the other; that as they, as well as we, fell in, and by, the Transgression of the first *Adam*, so they, as well as we, shall be restored by the meritorious Obedience and powerful Intercession of the Second, which the Royal Psalmist plainly declares, *Pf. xxxvi. 6. Thou, Lord, shalt save both Man and Beast.* And by Parity of Reason we may conclude, that the vegetable as well as animal Creation, shall have their proportionable Degrees of the same Blessing, and be Partakers of the same Glory; so that all the original Blessings implanted in the vegetable World at the first Creation shall be restored again: When all the Fruits and Flowers of Paradise, which were created to administer Nourishment and Pleasure to the paradisiacal Bodies of our fallen unhappy Parents, shall recover their original Tincture, Life, and Spirit, to be the spiritual Food and Nourishment of the renewed human Nature. This our Blessed Lord plainly tells us, *Matt. xxvi. 29.* when, at the Celebration of his last Supper, he assures his Disciples. *that he would thenceforth drink no more of the*  
*Fruit*

*Fruit of the Vine, until that Day when he should drink it new with them in his Father's Kingdom.*

The Certainty of this grand Event, the Restitution of this whole visible World to its original Perfection, is plainly and fully attested by St. Paul, Rom. viii. 19, 20, 21, 22. *The earnest Expectation of the Creature waiteth for the Manifestation of the Sons of God. For the Creature was made subject to Vanity, not willingly, but by reason of him who hath subjected the same in Hope; because the Creature itself also shall be delivered from the Bondage of Corruption into the glorious Liberty of the Sons of God; for we know that the whole Creation groaneth and travaileth in Pain together until now.* The great Point on which the true Interpretation of this Passage depends, is to find out the true Meaning of the Word *Creature*, in what Sense the Apostle uses it in this Place. Most of our modern Commentators have gone violently out of the way in quest of any Meaning but the true one. The pious and learned Dr. *Hammond* understands by it *the Gentile World*, in Opposition to the *Jews*, whom he supposes to be meant by the *Sons of God*; and, by this false Key, has entangled and perplexed, instead of opening and explaining, this glorious Prophecy. The late learned Dr. *Whitby* justly censures this Interpretation, and has advanced another equally absurd and contradictory. He understands by it *the whole Race of Mankind*; but seems himself to be sensible he was in the wrong, by shuffling over several Expressions, which, if duly considered, would have shewn him his Mistake, and led him into a more consistent Scheme of Interpretation. However, after he had sufficiently puzzled himself and his Readers with aiming at something like a Meaning, he attempts to  
give

give you from Quotations out of two of the primitive Fathers, what he calls *the ancient and almost primitive Exposition of these Words*. After which, he modestly subjoins his own Judgment: *I differ only from the Fathers in this Interpretation as to this single Circumstance, that I do not extend this Desire of the Redemption of the Body from Corruption to brute Beasts, and insensate Creatures, but only to Mankind in general subject by Adam's Fall to Mortality*, p. 45. Now I must needs say, it would have been but modest and reasonable in the Doctor, after having entered his Protest, to have given us his Reasons for dissenting from *this almost primitive Exposition*. And I believe it would be very hard to produce any Reason against their future Restoration, which would not conclude as strongly against their first Creation. If infinite Wisdom and Goodness saw fit to produce such numberless Ranks and Orders of Creatures, to complete the Harmony of the universal System, and to share with Man in the Blessings and Glories of Paradise, before Sin and Death entered into the World, is it not highly reasonable to imagine, that they are preserved by the same infinite Wisdom and Goodness to be Sharers in the Happiness and Glory of the new World, when Sin and Sorrow shall cease, when Corruption and Mortality shall be no more, and *Death itself shall be swallowed up in Victory?*

There is one Expression in *ver. 22.* which seems plainly to determine what we are to understand by *the Creature*, and may be justly considered as an infallible Key to the Apostle's whole Meaning; and that is, *that the whole Creation groaneth and travaileth in Pain together till now*. Now it is plain at first Sight, that

the *whole Creation, which groaneth and travaileth in Pain, is that very Creature that waiteth for the Manifestation of the Sons of God; that very Creature that shall be delivered from the Bondage of Corruption into the glorious Liberty of the Sons of God.* Whatever Part of the Creation, therefore, suffers under any Shape or Degree of Imperfection, Misery, Corruption, and Mortality, may be justly considered as *groaning and travailing in Pain*, and by consequence, as Candidates for Redemption and Immortality. Now, as it is plain that no one Part of the Creation is exempted from *the Bondage of Corruption*; so it seems equally plain, that no one Part shall be excluded from the *universal Deliverance*; and that the Redemption from the Curse must be as universal as the Curse itself; so that whatever suffers by the Fall, shall be restored at last *into the glorious Liberty of the Sons of God.* And this may help us to an easy Explanation of an Expression, that cannot otherwise be easily reconciled to the ordinary Forms of Speech. The Passage is *Mark xvi. 15.* where the Apostles are commanded *to preach the Gospel to every Creature*; from whence some of the legendary Writers of the Church of *Rome* have justified the Preachments of their Saints to the Birds, Beasts, and Fishes, and thereby given the Precept a ridiculous Turn, and furnished Occasion of Mirth and Derision to Infidels and Fools: But in this View it appears capable of a plain and natural Meaning, *Go ye forth into all the World, and preach a joyful Message of Redemption to the whole Creation.* And I must needs say, it has often puzzled me to think, why the same Expression in the Original should be thus differently rendered in *English*, so as to be called *every Creature*

in one Place, and *the whole Creation* in another; which, tho' really and truly the same Thing, yet have a quite different Manner of Appearance in the different Manner of Expression, but on my Principles easily reconciled.—Accordingly I shall endeavour to give you a plain and natural Paraphrase of this famous Passage in the Epistle to the *Romans*, Ch. viii. v. 19, 20, 21, 22. without troubling you with critical Remarks upon the Original, or Authorities from the Antients, both which concur to establish the Truth for which I am contending.—“ The Struggles and Distresses of every  
 “ Part of the visible Creation are strong Indications  
 “ of a universal Degeneracy and Curse, from which  
 “ they seem to labour and sigh for Deliverance, and  
 “ which they shall certainly obtain at the glorious  
 “ Appearance of their great Redeemer, who shall  
 “ come in the Glory of his Father, and of his holy  
 “ Angels, and all his Saints with him, to triumph  
 “ over Sin and Death, to repair the Ruins of fallen  
 “ Nature, and establish the Kingdom of God upon  
 “ this very Earth, in which his Will shall be done  
 “ as it is in Heaven. For the Vanity and Misery  
 “ under which they now groan, was not the Effect  
 “ of any voluntary Guilt or Transgression of their  
 “ own, but was brought upon them by the Trans-  
 “ gression of our first Parents, but under a sure and  
 “ certain Hope of Redemption, by the all-sufficient  
 “ Merits and Intercession of our Lord Jesus Christ,  
 “ who is their Saviour as well as ours; when he  
 “ shall have accomplished the Number of his Elect,  
 “ and begun to establish his Kingdom: Then shall  
 “ the whole visible Creation that fell under the Curse  
 “ by the Sin of Man, be restored with the human

“ Nature, and with and through him be Partakers  
 “ of the Blessings and Glories of the Kingdom of  
 “ God. At present we see the whole Creation sub-  
 “ ject to Vanity and Death, from which, like a Wo-  
 “ man in Travail, it labours to be delivered, but has  
 “ not Strength to bring forth, nor can hope for De-  
 “ liverance till that happy Day when the great Re-  
 “ deemer shall restore whatever has been decayed,  
 “ shall create new Heavens and a new Earth, where  
 “ Sin and Death can have no Place, where Evil can-  
 “ not enter, but God shall be All in All.”

That the Brute-Creation are particularly interested  
 in this great Event, is plainly and fully attested by  
 many remarkable Prophecies of the *Old Testament*.  
 Thus, *Es.* xi. 6, 7, 8, 9. speaking of the peaceful  
 and glorious Reign of the Messiah, illustrates it in a  
 particular Manner, by the Harmony that shall be re-  
 stored through the whole animal Creation. *The Wolf  
 also shall dwell with the Lamb, and the Leopard shall lie  
 down with the Kid, and the Calf and the young Lion  
 and the Fatling together, and a little Child shall lead them.  
 And the Cow and the Bear shall feed, their Young-ones  
 shall lie down together, and the Lion shall eat Straw like  
 the Ox. And the sucking Child shall play on the Hole of  
 the Asp, and the weaned Child shall put his Hand on the  
 Cockatrice Den: They shall not hurt nor destroy in all my  
 holy Mountain; for the Earth shall be full of the Know-  
 ledge of the Lord, as the Waters cover the Sea.* So again,  
*Ch.* lxxv. 25. *The Wolf and the Lamb shall feed together,  
 and the Lion shall eat Straw like the Bullock, and Dust  
 shall be the Serpent's Meat; they shall not hurt nor de-  
 stroy in all my holy Mountain, saith the Lord.* The  
 Prophet *Hosea* foretels the same Thing, *Ch.* ii. 18. *In  
 that*

*that Day will I make a Covenant for them with the Beasts of the Field, and with the Fowls of Heaven, and with the Creeping-things of the Ground, who shall lose their Malignity, which was employed to scourge and punish their rebellious Lord ; all the Enmity of the Creatures shall cease ; the divided Properties, the discordant Motions of the Elements shall be intirely swallowed up in universal Harmony, Peace, and Love. And the Glory of the Lord shall endure for ever : The Lord shall rejoice in his Works. Ps. civ. 31.*

Pardon me, Madam ; the Nature of my Subject has insensibly drawn me into a greater Length, more serious Inquiries, and graver Conclusions than I at first intended ; for which an indifferent Reader would expect an Apology, and which, to any body but yourself, I should think myself obliged to offer : But your inquisitive Genius, your rational Head, and benevolent Heart, I trust, will easily excuse, if you cannot intirely approve a well-meant Attempt to vindicate the Wisdom of Providence in the Works of the Creation, and rescue so great a Part of God's Creatures from the rude Censures of weak and ignorant Pretenders to Philosophy. If I have, in any degree, done justice to my Subject ; if I have given you any Light and Satisfaction in this momentous Question, your Approbation will give me a Pleasure equal to the Regard I have for your Person, and the Esteem I have for your Judgment : But if the worst I fear should happen ; should you think I have undertaken a defenceless Cause, or betrayed it by an injudicious Management ; should you even tell me, I have mistaken the State of the Question, or offered any thing weak or inconclusive in Defence of it, even there

I should humbly hope for your Indulgence, that the Honesty of my Heart may atone for the Weakness of my Head; the Goodness of my Intention, for the Defects of my Understanding: For whatever Cause I may have given you to condemn my Sentiments, or despise my Judgment, I shall never give you any to suspect my Sincerity, when I profess myself, with the highest Esteem and Regard,

MADAM,

Ripon,  
Nov. 24,  
1742.

*Your faithful and obedient*

*Humble Servant.*

*The END of the FIRST VOLUME.*



