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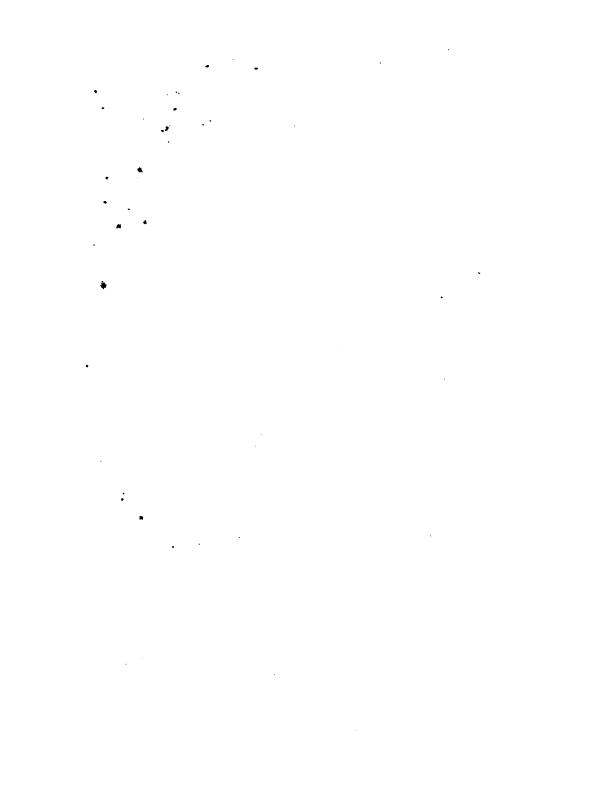












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THE LIBERTY OF MAN.

AS

A MORAL AGENT:

IN ANSWER TO

DR. PRIESTLEY'S ILLUSTRATIONS

O P

PHILOSOPHICAL NECESSITY.

By JOHN PALMER,

MINISTER OF NEW-BROAD-STREET'.

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JORTIN'S DISCOURSES, 2d Ed. P. 237, 238, Note.

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PREFACE.

S the following publication is confined to the confideration of Dr. Priestley's Illustrations of Philosophical Necessity; all I shall, therefore, here fay concerning his preceding Disquisitions, relating to matter and spirit, is, that they appear to me chiefly to concern mankind, as they affect human liberty or agency. The Dr. observes, in the Preface to his Illustrations, that " if man, as " is maintained in the Disquisitions, " be wholly a material, it will not so be denied but that he must " be a mechanical being." I beg leave to remark, and the reasoning feems equally conclusive, on the other hand, that if, as is maintained in the following Observations, man be possessed of the power of moral agency, it will be as readily admitted, that there is something in the constitution of the being, to whom this power belongs, entirely distinct from matter, or that the spirit in man is properly immaterial. The peculiar importance of the subject treated of in the Illustrations, has led me to the separate discussion of that argument. I am not insensible, that there are difficulties attending the scheme of liberty, arifing from the unfavourable fituation in which great numbers of the human race are placed, which it is not easy, perhaps not possible, for men of the most enlarged and best improved understandings to clear up to their own satisfaction, and much less to the general satisfaction of the thoughtful and inquisitive. it is one thing, to be able to answer every objection, which may lie against

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any particular doctrine, and another, to discern such evidence in favour of it, as shall appear greatly to overbalance the feeming difficulties which attend it, and be sufficient to détermine the judgment about it. In the controversy before us, unable as we may be fully to account for the present circumstances of danger attending man, as a moral agent; the existence of a proper principle of agency, or a felf-determining power, in man, seems, notwithstanding, to be among those plain and important truths, which are inseparably connected with the just idea of a divine moral government, and without which we cannot be at all accountable for any thing we do.

Punishment, on the supposition that the whole conduct of men through

iv PREFACE,

through life is determined by their Creator, and is, on their part, unavoidable, (as the doctrine of necessity teaches) appears as flatly repugnant to the justice, not to say, the goodness, of the supreme governor, when connected with characters usually denominated morally evil or wicked, as if it had been denounced against men, for not stilling the raging of the winds, or making their way over a mountain, which was absolutely impassable.

Nor can I help expressing very strong apprehensions of the dangerous tendency of the Necessarian tenet, as a practical principle: for, though Dr. Priestley has, with great ingenuity, endeavoured to support the utility and importance of future retributions, on his scheme; I cannot yet but be of opinion, that the generality of mankind

mankind would be affected by the persuasion of it, in a very different manner from what he supposes; and that, if they could once be brought to believe that they were not moral agents, or could do nothing that implied in it real, personal demerit, they would very soon think themselves fully warranted in concluding, that they could not, on any account, deserve punishment, and had therefore nothing to fear.

But, referving the confideration of that argument for its proper place, I take this opportunity of paying the just tribute of respect, which I think so highly due to the character of Dr. Priestley; who is, I doubt not, animated by the warmest love for truth, and the most affectionate concern to promote the best interests of man-kind.

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kind, in all his moral and theological writings, widely as he may differ, in fome parts of them, from other judicious and esteemed authors.

The following observations were nearly finished before the publication of the correspondence between Dr. Price and Dr. Priestley; though I have fince given that performance a very careful perusal, and cannot but recommend it to the attention of those, who have leifure and inclination for fuch studies, both in the view of it as a work, which manifests distinguished ability in the defence of each fide of the question, respecting the two important subjects of Materialism and Necessity, and as exhibiting a specimen of controversial writing, the direct reverse to what we commonly see, but much to be admired,

mired, and most worthy of imitation, for the liberality with which it is conducted.

If I have succeeded in my endeavours to set the best arguments for the liberty of man, as a moral agent, and the proper replies to those insisted on by Dr. Priestley on the side of philosophical necessity, in such a point of view, as shall contribute to the facility of their being understood, my main end is answered.

The observations on Sections V. and VI. are chiefly in support of what Dr. Price has advanced in proof of the doctrine of liberty in his review of the principal questions, and difficulties in morals. I should not have touched on that part of the argument, had Dr. Price seen sit himself to engage in it; but at the same

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time, I am happy to find, that what I have said on it, having been communicated to him, is deemed so fully satisfactory by that great master of the subject.

I have only to add, as an apology for the too frequent repetitions of the same sentiment, in some instances, that I have been unavoidably led into it, by sollowing Dr. Priestley through the several parts of his reasonings; the nature of which seems to have required the application of some leading thoughts to different branches of the argument, for the suller illustration and support of the doctrine of liberty.

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REMARKS

REMARKS

ON SECTION I.

"OF THE TRUE STATE OF THE
"QUESTION RESPECTING LIBERTY
"AND NECESSITY."

R. PRIESTLEY begins with observing that, " One of the chief fources of " the difference of opinion respecting the " fubject of Liberty and Necessity, and like-" wife much of the difficulty that has at-" tended the discussion of it, seems to have " been a want of attention to the proper " stating of the question. Hence it has " come to pass, that the generality of those, " who have stood forth in defence of what "they have called liberty, do in fact, ad-" mit every thing that is requisite to estab-" lish the doctrine of necessity; but they " have misled themselves and others by the " use of words; and also, wanting sufficient " strength of mind, they have been stag-" gered В

"gered at the consequences of their own principles." Whether the Dr. is right in the ideas here suggested of the inattention, mistakes, and want of sufficient strength of mind, in the advocates for liberty, the impartial reader will best determine on a comparative view of what they and the Dr. have respectively advanced on the subject.

For the Doctrine of Necessity, as held by the Dr. I shall pass on to the concluding paragraph of this section, p. 7. 8.—where we have the following account of it; "I " maintain that there is some fixed law of " nature respecting the will, as well as the "other powers of the mind, and every "thing else in the constitution of nature; " and consequently that it is never deter-" mined without some real, or apparent « cause, foreign to itself, that is, without " fome motive of choice, or that motives " influence us in some definite and invari-" able manner; fo that every volition, or "choice, is constantly regulated and deter-" mined, by what precedes it. And this " constant determination of mind, accord-" ing to the motives presented to it, is all " that " that I mean by its necessary determina" tion."

In the above short passage, the Dr. has, I think, given a very clear and full view of his principles, as a Necessarian.

The Dr. here afferts "a fixed law of "nature respecting the will, and that it is "never determined without some real or apparent cause, foreign to itself, and that "motives influence in some invariable manner." So that, as the Dr. afterwards, in the same paragraph, expresses himself, "No event could have been otherwise than "it has been, is, or is to be."

With this idea of necessity in his mind, what end could it answer, for the Dr. previously to remark, that he allowed to mankind the "power of doing whatever they "will or please, both with respect to the operations of their minds, and the momentum of their bodies, uncontroused by any foreign principle, or cause," which, he says, is "all the liberty or power, that is possible in itself." P. 2.

The Dr. does, indeed, here make use of the terms—" Liberty, will and please,"—

he also speaks of mens doing whatever they please, "uncontrouled by any foreign prin-" ciple or cause." And, at first fight, he might be naturally understood to make some concession in favour of liberty; but upon impartial examination, it will appear that he means nothing in all he fays, but what is the effect of that unalterable necessity. which he afterwards more openly maintains. Though he allows to mankind the "power " of doing whatever they will or please," he yet makes that will or pleasure subject to fome fixed law of nature, fomething foreign to itself, that is, the influence of motives, by which it is, in every instance, determined in an invariable manner. So that after all this feeming allowance of liberty to man, he really possesses no other power than that of doing what he is unalterably determined, or in other words, irrefiftibly impelled, to It may be proper further to remark here, that when, in his first observation, the Dr. speaks of mankind, as "uncontrouled " by any foreign principle or cause," he only means, that they are "uncontrouled" in what they will. Now the will, he afterwards · afterwards fays, is always determined by fome cause foreign to itself; so that they are, according to the Dr. only uncontroused in what they are unalterably impelled to do, which seems to be saying no more than that they are not necessarily impelled in two contrary directions, or to do, and yet forbear something at the same time.

I cannot but remark here, and it feems, too obvious to escape the notice of any one who attentively considers this subject, that the language made use of by Necessarians respecting the will of man, is manifestly very unfuitable to the ideas, which are really couched under it. To will and to please denoting nothing but the effect of a physical necessity; they would certainly express themselves much more clearly and intelligibly, if they used such terms, as are expressive not of doing, but suffering; not of acting but being acted upon. Men have, in truth, no more power or liberty of doing any thing, than a piece of iron, which is bent, had of bending itself. They are both necessarily acted upon, and bent by some external causes; and the only difference be-

THE STATE OF THE QUESTION.

determining power over our own actions, which is not at all applicable to that body, which is the object of comparison in Mr. Hobbes's simile. He might, with equal propriety, have taken his illustration from the motion of light, or that of the planets, or any other object in nature; all which are merely passive, governed by certain, necessary laws, between which and the human mind, there does not appear to be the least affinity or resemblance. The same remark will apply to what Mr. Hobbes surther says, at the close of the illustration, p. 3.

"So also, we say, he that is tied wants the liberty to go, because the impedi"ment is not in him, but in his bands;
whereas we say not so of him that is sick
or lame, because the impediment is in
himself." Now whether the man be tied, or be sick or lame; that is, whether the impediment to his moving be in his bands or in himself; it is still in both cases an impediment arising from the state of his body, which, by a physical necessity equally incapacitates him for motion; and the instance here produced has therefore nothing

to do with the question concerning liberty or necessity respecting the mind.

We have already stated the natural and obvious meaning of the Dr's. position, when he says, that he acknowledges "in man a "liberty to do whatever he pleases," and it, in effect, amounts to a total denial of that liberty, which in the present argument stands opposed to necessity. It seems therefore not a little extraordinary that the Dr. should add, p. 3. "I grant not only all "the liberty that the generality of man"kind have any idea of, or can be made to understand, but also all that many of the professed advocates for liberty, against the doctrine of necessity, have claimed."

No man can indeed have a larger idea of liberty, than as confisting in a power of doing what he really pleases; but when it is considered, that by the pleasure or will of man, in any given circumstances, the Dr. means nothing more than a certain determination in the mind, which, in those circumstances, could not have been any other than it is; the difference between the idea which the Dr, entertains of the power of

• THE STATE OF THE QUESTION:

man, and the opinion of his opponents, is as great as between any two, the most contradictory, notions that can be named. Does the Dr. really think that mankind have no further idea of power or liberty, than that which he supposes, when they reslect on trimes which they have committed?

Has not every man, who feels remorfe for any evil he hath done, an idea that he had it in his power not to have done it? If so, which cannot furely be called in question even by the Dr. himself, will not this undeniably prove that the generality of mankind have a very different opinion of the power or liberty which belongs to them from that which the Dr. allows? They not only believe that they possess the power or liberty of doing what they please; but also that the will or pleasure, which is the spring of action, is itself under their direction, or subject to their own voluntary determination, and not to that physical necessity, arising from the unalterable influence of particular motives, which the Dr. contends for.

This feems evidently to have been the fentiment of Mr. Wollaston, and is clearly expressed in the passage quoted by the Dr.-In the fixth edition in quarto, the passages referred to are in pages 64 and 184. In the former he says—" Sure it is in a man's " power to keep his hand from his mouth; " if it is, it is also in his power to forbear excess in eating and drinking. If he has the command of his own feet, so as to go either " this way or that, or no whither, as fure " he has, it is in his power to abstain from " ill company and vicious places." And in p. 184.—" I can move my hand upwards " or downward or horizontally, faster or " flower, or not at all, or stop it when it " is in motion, just as I will, &c. If then "I have (as I am sensible I have) a power " of moving my hand in a manner, which " it would not move in by those laws, that " mere bodies already in motion, or under " the force of gravitation, would observe, " this motion depends folely upon my will, " and begins there."

No words can, I think, more clearly convey the idea of liberty as opposed to the doctrine

THE STATE OF THE QUESTION.

doctrine of philosophical necessity than the above. Mr. Wollaston's whole argument, in the first of these passages, is designed to shew, that man has the power of forbearing excess and refraining from bad company, and of consequence, of refraining from all other vicious indulgences and evil practices; and in the latter, he expressly afferts that motion "depends folely on the will and begins there." Whether Mr. Wollaston's, or the Dr.'s opinion, concerning human liberty be just, is not the point here to be determined; but it will not furely admit of a doubt, that Mr. Wollaston meant to maintain not merely a freedom of action but also of will in man, including the entire power of abstaining from vice. Whether this be not claiming more liberty or power than is granted by the Dr. is submitted to the judgment of those, who will carefully compare their sentiments.

Mr. Locke, the other advocate for liberty referred to by the Dr. in some parts of his chapter on power, has indeed expressed himself in such a manner, as, in the opinion of some of his most judicious readers,

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is less easy to be understood. It however seems clear, upon a careful attention to the whole of what he fays, (so differently do we judge of authors) that the liberty he contends for is fo far from being " perfectly " confistent with the doctrine of philoso-" phical necessity," that it cannot be reconciled with it. The Dr. says, (p. 5.) "The will, he (Mr. Locke) acknowledges, " is always determined by the most pressing " uneafiness, or desire;" for which the Dr. refers to p. 204. The edition of Mr. Locke's Works before me is the eighth and last, in quarto, printed anno 1777. Upon examination, I cannot find fuch an acknowledgement, in the extent in which the Dr. understood him. But in the chapter on power, fect. 47. he fays, "There being in us a " great many uneafineffes always foliciting, " and ready to determine the will, it is " natural, as I have faid, that the greatest " and most pressing should determine the " will to the next action; and so it does " for the most part, but not always. For " the mind having in most cases, as is " evident in experience, a power to suspend

"the execution and fatisfaction of any of its defires, and so all, one after another, " is at liberty to confider the objects of them, examine them on all fides and weigh them "with others." Here Mr. Locke expressly afferts that the will is not always, but only for the most part, determined by the most pressing uneafiness or desire. And the exception he makes is, in those instances where the mind has the power of suspending the execution and satisfaction of its desires. which, he says, it has in most cases. That the mind can be for the most part determined by the most pressing uneafiness or desire; and vet possess in most cases the power of suspending the execution of its defires; (both which propositions Mr. Locke here lays down) I do not comprehend. But thus much feems certain, that he does not maintain the invariable determination of the will by the most preffing uneafiness, which the Dr. imputes to him. Now this suspending power in the mind implies in it, as far as it extends, that very power of self-determination on which the whole controversy turns. For if the mind has fuch a power, so that it can examine

amine the objects of its present defires and compare them with others, it may then, in consequence of such examination, suppress the present desire, and excite a contrary one: which is totally repugnant to the doctrine of Philosophical Necessity. And this effect of the suspending power Mr. Locke clearly maintains in the following passage; (section 46.) "Thus by a due confideration, and " examining any good proposed, it is in our " power to raise our desires in a due pro-" portion to the value of that good, whereby in its turn and place it may come to work " upon the will, and be pursued." Agreeably to which he further observes, (section "In this we should take pains to " fuit the relish of our minds to the true " intrinsic good or ill that is in things, and " not permit an allowed or supposed pos-" fible great and weighty good to flip out " of our thoughts, without leaving any " relish, any desire of itself there, till by " a due confideration of its true worth, " we have formed appetites in our minds " fuitable to it, and made ourselves uneasy " in the want of it, or in the fear of losing it. "it. And how much this is in every one's power, by making resolutions to himself, fuch as he may keep, is easy for every one to try. Nor let any one say, he cannot govern his passions, nor hinder them from breaking out, and carrying him into action; for what he can do before a prince, or a great man, he can do alone, or in the presence of God, if he will."

Mr. Locke's idea of the suspending power in the mind, then, appears to be altogether incompatible with the doctrine of necessity. This power, he fays, is the fource of all liberty; and though he will not allow the propriety of the term free-will, as applicable to it, because, as he says, the will is determined by the last judgment of the mind concerning the good or evil, that is thought to attend its choice; (see sections 46, 47, and 48) he yet maintains that the previous acts of confideration, which lead to a determination of the judgment, are within our power, and that these acts may be exercised, notwithstanding the present urgency of any uneafiness or defire: so that the mind, in his opinion, is to all intents

and purposes, free to direct and influence the conduct.

As the refult of the foregoing remarks, the Dr. and the advocates for liberty, seem • most essentially to differ in their ideas on the subject; and in brief the true state of the controversy appears to be this—The Dr. on one fide maintains, that motives influence the mind in some definite and invariable manner, so that the determination of the will, in any given circumstances, could be no other than it eventually is. The advocates for liberty, on the other fide, hold, that the mind has the power of suspending. and altering its determinations, so that in the very fame circumstances, in which its choice or determination was directed to one object of pursuit, it might have brought itself to will, or determine on, the pursuit of a different and contrary one. In other words, that the mind is free to deliberate upon, and in consequence of this to choose and determine the motives of its conduct. Whether the one or other of these doctrines is justly grounded, is the point in dispute.

ON SECTION II.

- " OF THE ARGUMENT IN FAVOUR OF
 - " THE DOCTRINE OF NECESSITY FROM
 - " THE CONSIDERATION OF CAUSE AND *
 - " EFFECT."

THE argument treated of by the Dr. in this fection, is the same with that on which Mr. Hobbes's illustration of the fubject, quoted in the preface, p. 27, 28, is grounded, but is here more fully stated and largely pursued. It proceeds on this general supposition as its basis, that "throughout " all nature the same consequences should " invariably result from the same circum-" stances" see p. 9. By "invariably," the Dr. p. 10, explains his meaning to be neceffarily; for that connection between the cause and the effect, which is concluded to be invariable, is, he fays, "therefore ne-" cessarily." The Dr. further adds, p. 11. "These maxims" (that is, concerning the invariable, or necessary connection between cause and effect) " are universal, being • equally applicable to all things that be-" long

or long to the constitution of nature, corporeal or mental." Again, p. 13. "To
distinguish the manner in which events
depending upon will and choice are produced, from those in which no volition is
concerned, the former are said to be produced voluntarily and the latter mechainically, but the same general maxims
apply to them both. A particular determination of mind could not have been
otherwise than it was, if the laws of nature respecting the mind be such, as that
the same determination shall constantly
follow the same state of mind and the

From the above quotations, we are, I think, enabled to form a clear idea of the scope and design of the Dr's reasonings in this section. He plainly considers every thing in the moral, as well as the natural world, as produced by the necessary influence of certain laws, ordained by the Creator and Governor of all; and which could not possibly operate to the production of any other effects, than those which we see are actually produced. Every motion or determination in the mind

of man, therefore, as necessarily results from the circumstances in which he is placed; as the precise spot where a billiard ball rests is necessarily determined by the impulse given to it; or the depression of a scale by the force of the weight which is thrown into it. So that as the Dr. observes, p. 11. In all cases, if the result be different, either the circumstances must have been different, or there were no circumstances whatever corresponding to the difference in the result; and consequently the effect was without any cause at all."

On this view of the argument of this section, it seems obvious that the whole of it supposes a similarity in the constituent principles of matter and spirit; for by those only, who confess that similarity, will it be acknowledged that the same general maxims will apply both to effects mechanically produced, and those which depend upon will and choice; as the Dr. asserts in a passage before cited. The Dr. in other places, reasons on the same supposition, taking that for granted, which his opponents do not admit.

Effects

Effects mechanically produced are such as refult from one body's acting upon another, according to the laws of matter and motion. Now these laws are fixed and operate necesfarily, so that in any given circumstances, the effects which take place could be no other than what they are. And they who are agreed with the Dr. in the opinion of the materiality of the thinking principle in man, as they, of consequence, suppose it to be subject to the influence of mechanical laws, as all matter undoubtedly is, may therefore very confistently with their own ideas draw the inference, that to suppose the possibility of a different volition or determination in the mind, from what is actually formed, when the circumstances are precisely the same, is to suppose an effect to exist without a cause. But glaring as the absurdity of such a supposition would . be on the principles of the materialist; they who hold the doctrine of philosophical freedom, proceeding in their reasonings on different views of the nature of the thinking principle, are by no means chargeable with it. They cannot but agree with the Dr.

that every effect must have a cause, and that the cause must be adequate to the effect produced. But differing widely from him in their notions of the nature of the cause of volitions or determinations in the mind, it is no wonder that they should equally differ in their views of the effects which it is capable of producing, and that those which to him appear causeless, and not to be accounted for at all, should by them be thought most natural and reasonable.

To a principle of thought, conceived to be material, a change of circumstances may be effential to a difference of volition; but when the mind is confidered as being in its own nature immaterial, and therefore not subject to the laws of matter, but as endued with a felf-determining power, a variety of volitition or determination in the same situation or circumstances may furely be admitted, as possible, without any contradiction, or feeming difficulty at all. It is indeed effential to the idea of a self-determining power, that it be capable of acting or not acting, of doing or forbearing, and this in all fituations and circumstances which can be stated:

stated: otherwise this power does not determine itself, but is determined by something else foreign to it; that is, the being, in whom it is supposed to reside, is, properly speaking, no agent at all, but a mere passive instrument, subject to the power of some foreign cause, equally as a piece of lifeless or fenseless matter. It is not to be inferred from what has been now advanced, that the weight or influence of motives or external causes is wholly excluded. It is not their influence, but their necessitating influence, which is denied; and which is directly incompatible with the idea of human liberty or agency. Whatever power, arguments, or motives, or any external causes, may obtain over the mind, in directing or forming its likings or aversions; it must still, (if man be free, or an agent) the mind must, I say, still, in the choice of its objects, act for itself, that is, without compulsion, or a necessitating influence, from any thing that is without or foreign to it. This the notion of liberty or agency seems immediately to include in it. Arguments or motives therefore, (as many writers on this subject have

observed) may be the occasion of a man's acting, or putting himself into action, though they do not, and cannot, compel, or in the way of physical efficiency, necessitate him to act: between which two things (though the Dr. considers the distinction as idle and evasive) the difference is no less than between an action and a passion, acting and being acted upon, a self-determiner, and a mere passive instrument.

It deserves particular notice, that according to the notion of human agency which has been now suggested, it is only a mechanical impulse on the mind, as the cause of its volitions or determinations, which is denied, and which appears to be directly incompatible with the idea of liberty or agency; while there yet remains a proper cause, a sufficient and adequate cause, for every volition or determination which is formed. This cause is that self-determining power, which is effential to agency, and in the exercise of which motion begins. Now that motion must have a beginning somewhere is felf-evident. For, otherwise we cannot avoid falling into that most flagrant of all absurdities,

dities, that there has been an eternal fuccession of essects, without any cause. And
the being, who began motion, must be a
self-mover, that is, must be possessed of that
self-determining power, which is included
in the idea of liberty or agency. Liberty
therefore is certainly possible, and must indeed, necessarily be supposed to exist somewhere; and as it cannot be denied to exist
in the first supreme cause of all things, may
also be communicated to created beings, as
all other Powers may, which do not imply
self-existence, or independency.

I have only further to remark on this argument, that so far is the notion of philosophical liberty from having that atheistical tendency, which the Dr. imputes to it, that the admission of it as belonging to the supreme mind, seems to be intimately and inseparably connected with the proof of his existence, as the first cause of all things: while, on the contrary, the total exclusion of it, as an impossibility, will directly draw after it that dire consequence, which the Dr. so forcibly urges on the consideration of his opponents.

work contradictions, or what is really no object of power at all. Equally must it consist with the omniscience of the divine being to say, he cannot know that, which is impossible to be known, as it does with his omnipotence to affert that he cannot do that, which is impossible to be done.

Taking, then, into confideration the confequences arising on both sides of this exquisite dilemma, to which the Dr. supposes he has reduced the abettors of philosophical liberty; it will not, I think, require a moment's hesitation to determine which of them may be espoused most consistently with the perfection of the supreme being; or on which fide these consequences are chargeable, which are really dishonourable to God. The doctrine of prescience, built on the ruins of liberty, can, at most, only serve to support such an idea of the divine government, as supposes all human actions, and all the effects refulting from them to be ordained by God, and to be equally necessary, as the revolution of the planets, or any other effects which take place in the material world; which appears to be directly

subversive of all rational grounds for praying to God, and indeed of all morality of conduct: whereas the doctrine of human liberty, while it only excludes fuch a prescience in the divine mind, as if it be impossible, because inconsistent with liberty, can be no perfection at all, does at the same time admit those views of a divine government, which are of all others the most honourable and glorious; the government of free, and consequently accountable, beings; and which is as far superior to that all-controuling influence, which the scheme of necessity would establish, as a rational agent is to a mere passive instrument, or to an atom of fenseless matter.

Such a government as has been just hinted at, a government which has for its object beings endued with liberty, or a power of self-determination, and which seems to be the only just idea of a moral government, which we can entertain, is surely possible, notwithstanding what the Dr. has advanced to the contrary. Even if prescience, considered as an impossibility, be not admitted, still the natural order and connection of things,

things, established by the Deity, by which virtue is rendered productive of good, and vice of evil to mankind, will remain the same. And this, both upon the scheme of liberty and necessity, must be allowed to form a confiderable part of the divine government over his creature man in this world. There will, moreover, still be room for such a direction in the adjustment of the circumstances attending mankind, when the ends of infinite wisdom require imas shall be favourable to the cause of tue and goodness. It cannot be impossible to almighty power, when the characters of menare known, because really existing, to bring about by means, which previous to their operation we cannot foresee, those events which he judges fit and proper for the maintenance and promotion of the wellbeing of his rational creation. And after all, whatever present irregularities may be permitted to take place in the allotments of Providence to the fons of men; the grand and ultimate part of the plan of God's moral government, in the exact and equal distribution of rewards and punishments in a future

a future scene of existence, and to which the advocates for every scheme of religion must have recourse, as the final issue and completion of all that we now behold and experience of the ways of Providence; this ultimate and crowning part of the plan of God's moral government will, I fay, yet stand on the same firm and immoveable grounds, whether the contingent actions of men be foreseen or not. The affertion of the Dr. therefore, p. 24, taken from his examination of the writings of Dr. Beattie. when speaking on the subject of prescience, he fays, "than which nothing can be more " effential to the government of the uni-" verse," seems to have been too hastily made; though I will not use his own language to Dr. Beattie, and fay, it was uttered, " in the blind rage of disputation."

Prescience is indeed essential to such a government of the universe, as the Dr. contends for, which supposes every particular event to be fixed and necessary: but it is by no means essential to the government of free beings, which, if it be a moral government, seems to require liberty in the object.

object of it, as really most essential to conflitute it moral. And a government of this nature, though Prescience should be deemed inadmissible, as a contrariety to contingency in the event, may notwithstanding be as compleat in its designs and operations, as the utmost possible extent of knowledge, that is, the most perfect knowledge, united with Almighty power, can make it.

The design of all that has been now advanced, on the subject of Prescience, has been only to shew the invalidity of the argument drawn from it against the notion of philosophical liberty; and that if it carries any weight in it, it will conclude, not against human liberty, but against the reality of that supposed foresight with which the Dr. looks upon it to be altogether incompatible.

The doctrine of the divine foreknowledge, in itself considered, opens a wide sield for abstructe and difficult discussion, into which I shall not enter. It has been the subject of much controversy, and has employed many able pens. That the prophecies of scripture do imply it in certain instances, must be allowed. And many authors of the first character

character for judgment, learning, and integrity, have appeared in the defence of it in its utmost latitude, and as extending to all human actions, though free, and therefore in their own nature contingent. "Fore-"knowledge or Prescience," it has been obferved, "if it does imply certainty, does "yet by no means imply necessity; and that "no other certainty is implied in it than, "fuch a certainty as would be equally in things, though there was no foreknow-"ledge of them."

But waving all speculations on this difficult point; they, who choose to consider it, may see the argument fairly stated and illustrated with his usual clearness and penetration, in Dr. Samuel Clarke's Demonstration of the Being and Attributes of God: 8th edit. p. 103, and following.

I would here only submit it to the Dr's. consideration, how far it would have been agreeable to his ideas of candour and civility, had any writer on the side of liberty, under the warm impressions of an honest zeal against the manifest tendency of his illustrations of Philosophical Necessity, adopt-

ON SECTION IV.

" OF THE CAUSE OF VOLITIONS, AND
"THE NATURE OF THE WILL."

THE Dr. begins this section with reminding us of a maxim, by which, he says, a philosopher will conduct all his investigations relating to human nature; and that is, "not to have recourse to more causes than are necessary to account for appearances.

He will then not think it improper in an advocate for liberty just to remind him, that the admission of that one principle of freedom in the human mind, of which mankind are universally conscious, will sufficiently account for all their actions, and that to seek after other causes, must, therefore, in his own way of reasoning, be wholly unnecessary,

The Dr. however, not admitting the reality of that one great principle just mentioned, proceeds in this section, to point out what.

what, in his opinion, are the true causes of human actions.

"Whenever (fays the Dr. p. 26.) any " person makes a choice, or comes to any " resolution, there are two circumstances. " which are evidently concerned in it, name-" ly, what we call the previous disposition of " the mind, with respect to love and hatred; " for example, approbation or disapproba-"tion of certain objects, &c. and the ideas " of external objects then present to the " mind, that is the view of the objects which the choice or resolution respects." He then instances in two kinds of fruit, "apples and peaches," supposing a person to be fond of the former, and to have an aversion to the latter, and that he is also disposed to eat fruit. In these circumstances, he says, the moment these different fruits are presented to a person, he will take the apples and leave the peaches. And this (the Dr. fays) he would always infallibly do in the like circumstances; from which he infers, that the cause of the choice was the predilection for apples. Now, granting that the liking to apples is the reason of this

choice, or the motive to it, it yet does by no means follow that it is the cause of it, that is, the physical efficient of the choice. The reason to which I have respect in any choice that I make, or the motive exciting me to make it. and the efficient cause of that choice, are furely very different things. To confider reasons and motives as proper phyfical causes, is, as Dr. Price and other authors on this subject have justly observed, to make them agents. They may be the occasions of my choice, but still the act of choosing is my own, that is, the self-determining power, which inheres in the mind, and that only, is the cause of the choice.

"Affection (Dr. Priestley says, on the instance of the fruit, p. 27) determines "my choice of the apples, and gravity de-"termines the sall of a stone."—"Our ideas of both are exactly similar; the conmection between the two things as cause and effect being equally strict and ne-"cessay." Here the Dr. supposes affection to operate in the same necessary manner, as the law of gravity impressed on bodies, in consequence

consequence of which they fall to the ground. But is gravity itself agency? Or rather is it not an effect, produced by an invisible agent, giving the stone a motion towards the earth. The fall of the stone is nothing more than the necessary effect of a certain law impressed upon it, and which is in itself only an effect: or, in other words, the stone in its fall is merely passive, nor does the operation of gravity suggest the least idea of agency in the body which is thus determined in its motion.

To make the influence of affection on the volitions of the mind similar to that of gravity on a stone, is, then, to resolve the whole process of our volitions or determinations into a mere physical effect, entirely excluding the notion of any proper agency in man. And in order to establish this doctrine, it must be first proved that there is the same physical connection between the determinations of the mind and its affections, as there is between the fall of the stone, and the power of gravity which determines it to fall.

ρ Of the cause of volitions,

The best reason which I can collect from all the Dr. has advanced on this subject, in favour of such a physical connection respecting the operations of the mind, is the universality or certainty of the effect, that is, of the determination which takes place in any given circumstances. But though it be allowed that any particular effect would ever so certainly follow, on a state of mind, and a fituation of external objects, corresponding with it, this will not prove the effect to be necessary. Certainty, that is, a moral certainty, which is all the certainty that volitions, or actions, properly so called, will admit of; such a kind of certainty, and necessity, that is, physical necessity, or a necessity arising out of the nature of things, do, and cannot but imply in them, very different ideas; nor is the latter by any means the consequence of the former.

I can find no difficulty in conceiving that an event of which there was the greatest moral certainty, might yet not have been, or might have been otherwise than it is; which is only saying, that an event which is morally certain, may not be phyfically necessary.

This must surely be allowed with regard to the moral conduct of the Deity. That he will always do what is fit and right to be done, is morally certain, in the strictest fense, and in the highest possible degree: but this cannot be understood to imply in it, that he has not a physical power of doing otherwise; for this supposition, besides that it entirely destroys the moral rectitude of the divine conduct, to which a physical power or liberty of acting otherwise, or doing what is morally wrong, is effential; befides this, I say, such a supposition must further involve in it the idea of fomething extrinsic to the Deity, by which he is acted upon, and so, as was before observed, will directly lead us on to the greatest of all abfurdities, that of an eternal feries of neceffary effects, without any proper cause at all.

And the same distinction, must be equally applicable to all moral conduct, whether in God or man. For if the distinction be just, it must hold universally; it must

be true in every instance, or it can hold in none. The foundation on which it rests, is exactly the same in all cases whatever. Moral certainty, and physical necessity, are in their own nature very different and distinct things. The latter stands directly opposed to liberty or agency, which is yet perfectly consistent with the greatest moral certainty.

The distinction, for which we have now been arguing, deserves the utmost possible attention; as the want of paying a proper regard to it, seems chiefly to have occasioned that misunderstanding, and difference of opinion, which have arisen on this great and interesting subject. It may, therefore, be of use a little more particularly to state and illustrate the meaning of the terms certainty and necessity. We shall begin with the latter, because our ideas of the former will be found to arise out of it, and to be regulated by it.

Necessity, then, has been usually resolved into these two kinds, physical and moral; and that there is a real and important difference between these two kinds of necessity,

will, I think, be too plain to be justly difputed, upon a little attention to them. Physical necessity is a necessity arising out of the nature of things, and immediately depending upon it; fo that while things remain to be what they are, it would be a contradiction to suppose that the consequences flowing from this kind of necessity. can be different from those which do actually refult from it. To fay that any thing is necessary in this sense, is the same as saying, that it is a natural impossibility for it not to be, or to be different from what it is. Thus, the existence of the Deity is nocessary, it being a contradiction to the idea of felf-existence, to admit the possibility that he should not exist. In the same sense also, those perfections of the Deity, which we term, natural, such as omnipotence, omniscience, and the like, are necessary; as they are attributes effentially connected with the nature of a felf-existent being, or which it would be contradictory to his nature to suppose him not to possess.

In like manner, with regard to all those effects, which are produced by physical causes.

causes, they also are subject to the same kind of necessity. Thus the fall of a stone is the necessary effect of that law of gravity which is impressed upon it. So when a body of less force is made to give place to another of greater force, in consequence of the greater acting upon the less, this effect is produced by a physical necessity. In both these cases, as long as the nature of things continues to be what it is, the effects would be no other than fuch as we fee actually take place. While the power of gravity remains the same, it is not naturally possible but that the stone must fall, and the motion of the leffer body be effected by the superior power of the greater. And the same holds true as to all physical effects whatever. The fame physical causes must invariably produce the same effects. For if in any instance, these causes do not operate to the production of their usual effects, it must be owing to the intervention of some other physical cause, which has power sufficient to controul the former, in confequence of which the effect, which would otherwise take place, ceases, or is varied. Still the fame

fame necessary connection between the phyfical cause and its effect remains; and the
reason of the alteration or variation of the
effect, in any supposable case, is a real difference in the physical cause, by which this
variation is produced. The maxim, therefore, that the same physical causes will necessarily produce the same effects, is universally true: and to suppose otherwise is to
admit what is naturally impossible, because
a contradiction to the nature of things.

Now this physical necessity is surely very different from that which we denominate moral, apply that or any other epithet to it which we please. This latter kind of necessity arises from the influence of reasons and motives, which, as they are not physical beings, or substances, cannot possibly act as one physical being or substance does upon another. Can arguments or motives, that is, mere abstract notions, or considerations, operate in the same manner as bodies or substances, which are real physical beings, and which have certain mechanical powers belonging to them. If they are not similar to gravity, or

have not the power of gravity belonging to them, so neither can they have the same compulsory or necessitating influence. the strict, philosophical sense, nothing can be necessary which is not physically so; or which it would not be a contradiction to the nature of things to suppose not to be, or to he otherwise than it is. Now this kind of necessity we clearly perceive in the case of one body acting upon another, and giving motion to it. In this case there is a close and necessary connection between the operation of the body that is the mover, and the motion of the body that is acted upon, as between cause and effect. But do arguments and motives bear the same physical relation to the determinations of the mind? If they do not, and this they cannot, unless we make them to be physical substances; it seems then directly to follow, that the actions which are consequent upon them, cannot be physically necessary: but that, for any thing that is contained in the nature of those arguments or motives, by which the mind is supposed to be influenced, there was a possibility of the actions not taking place,

produced

or that a different action might have followed.

Upon the whole, then, the necessity which we call moral, or that which arises from the influence of reasons and motives. must be resolved into a certainty attending the volition or action, which is consequent upon them, to which volition or action, though we may be ever so strongly urged or excited, we are not yet compelled. This certainty admits of an infinite variety of degrees, according to the character and circumstances of the agent: but in every case, even where there is the highest conceivable degree of certainty, that the event will follow, there will always be a physical or natural possibility of its not following, or that the event might have been different from what it is.

Physical certainty, on the other hand, stands to express something absolute, without variation or degree, and is, uniformly and in every instance, exactly the same. This kind of certainty, as well as the necessity out of which it arises, can have no relation at all to any effects, but such as are

produced by physical causes, between which there is such a close and inseparable connection, that to suppose what does take place, not to have taken place, is to suppose a real, natural, impossibility. This idea of certainty is, in its own nature, a contradiction to the notion of proper agency, which, as has been observed, cannot but imply a power of beginning motion in the agent, independent of the physical, or compulsive influence of any foreign causes; exclusive of which power, the being whom we call an agent is converted into a mere passive instrument.

In the different views of man, as subject either to that physical or moral necessity, of which we have been speaking, and of his actions, as being accordingly certain in a physical or moral sense; are implied ideas of his nature and character the most opposite. On the supposition that all he does is by a mere physical necessity, we make him to be no agent at all. By considering his actions as necessary only in a moral sense, that is, strictly speaking, as not necessary at all, but only attended with a degree of certainty

tainty, which is a just ground of dependance for the performance of them; on this view of human conduct, we allow to man a power of agency, that he is the master of bis actions, or is the doer of them. And while we thus conceive of man, we shall open a wide field for that attention to motives, (properly an act of the mind) which will enable him to make a just distinction between them, and give due weight to those that are reasonable and best, as the grounds of action. But on the scheme of an unavoidable, that is, a physical, necessity, all is fixed. The motives upon which he acts, and the degree of attention which he employs in confidering them, as well as the actions consequent upon them, are alike invariable, that is, it is equally impossible for him, by any act of his own, to lessen the influence of the worst, or to add the least degree of weight to such as are best.

In the distinctions, we have now been illustrating, between physical and moral necessity, and the different kinds of certainty arising from them; we are, I think, furnished with a short and easy answer, to all that the Dr. has advanced, in this fection, on the cause of volition.

Whether the choice be more deliberate or instantaneous; whatever be the process of the mind, in the views it takes of arguments or motives; whatever impressions it may receive from its affections or inclinations, its defires or aversions; still, after all. it must be the self-determining power, and nothing foreign to that, which is the cause of volition, or of the choice that is made, otherwise it is, properly speaking, no choice at all. If we multiply ever fo many other causes, or circumstances, concurring with, and leading to the choice that is made; it is plain that they can only operate as moral, not as physical, causes. They will be occasions or grounds of determination, but they do not form or necessitate the determination. If man be an agent, the determination must rest with himself, the choice must be his own; and confequently, cannot be physically necessary, that is, in a strict and proper sense, it is subject to no necessity at all.

The nature of the will is very different from that of the passions, and the judge-

ment; and I cannot therefore (with the Dr.) consider it as at all wonderful, that it should operate in a different manner. Not that it is that vague, uncertain, and inconsistent principle, which the Dr. represents it,p. 32.—" Of fuch a nature as both to be " properly influenced, or acted upon by "motives, and likewise by something that bears no fort of relation to motive, and " consequently has a mode of action entirely different from that of motive." The advocates for liberty allow that motives influence; but they do not allow that the will is acted upon by motives, or by any thing foreign to it, so as to effect its determinations. The will implies, in its very nature, a freedom from all controuling, necessitating, influence. It is a power of felf-determination belonging to an agent, the physical independency of which on any thing foreign to itself makes it to be what it is, or constitutes its very essence. Motives, or if you please, "defire or aversion," may incline " us to decide on what is proposed to us;" but still we are the deciders, we decide for ourselves. It is, in all cases, not the motive, the desire or aversion, but the self-determining power, or the agent, that is, the proper efficient cause of every decision, volition, or action.

The different mode of operation, then, belonging to the will, as distinct from the other faculties of the mind, arises out of its different nature. The will is an independent, active, principle or faculty; the other faculties are dependent and merely passive. The passions are liable to be excited by objects that are without, and to be controuled by a principle that is within. In like manner, the faculty of judging concerning the truth or falshood of propofitions, the agreement or disagreement of ideas, does not act, but is acted upon, by the ` evidence which is presented to it; and according to the appearance of the evidence, the judgment, in its last operation, is determined on one fide or the other. tion is indeed (as was before hinted) matter of choice, and is therefore a proper act of the mind; but the judgment is finally determined; by the view it then takes of the proposition, or subject, which is before it, whatever

whatever acts of confideration have preceded the determination, or to which ever fide of the point in dispute, they have been chiefly The judgment, therefore, is in its very nature passive. In its exercise, it may not improperly be called, intellectual vision, seeing things as they are, or as they are presented to us. And where then can be the propriety of faying " it would be " very extraordinary," that if there be a felf-determining will, there " should not " be a felf-determining judgment also." (p. 34.) It really feems to me no more extraordinary than that what is in itself passive should not immediately change its nature and become active.

P. 41. The Dr. gives the case of "the "first motions of the singers, or legs of a "child:" to which "motions," he says, "the term volition, or will, is certainly not at all applicable." On this I would observe, that it does not seem at all unreasonable to suppose, that a previous volition may be formed as the cause of such motions; or, in other words, that these motions are the effects of the exertion of the same self-de-

termining power, which is contended for, as belonging to man. The motion of the fingers or legs is very different from the circulation of the blood: the latter is a purely mechanical, physical, effect, produced by a physical cause. But, in the former, where no fuch cause can be discovered, nor any external, compulsory, force is used, we feem incapable of giving any other proper account of this motion, than by ascribing it to a felf-moving principle, effentially free in itself, inherent in children, as well as grown persons. In short, the power of felf-motion feems to be inseparable from animal life; is what the brutes, in common with the human species, partake of, and co-eval with life itself. This does. however, by no means infer moral agency, for to that intelligence as well as liberty is essential. The felf-moving power in the animal creation is usually expressed by the term spontaneity.*

^{*} See Dr. Samuel Clarke's Remarks on a book entitled, A Philosophical Enquiry concerning Human Liberty, p. 27, 28; at the end of a Collection of Papers which passed between Mr. Leibnitz, and Dr. Clarke, in the years 1715, and 1716.

ON SECTION V.

" OF THE SUPPOSED CONSCIOUSNESS OF "LIBERTY, AND THE USE OF THE "TERM AGENT."

I T may be true, "that the greatest dis"ficulties in the consideration of the
"subject of liberty have arisen from am"biguities in the use of terms." Can it,
then, be proper, to use the term voluntary
to express what is physically necessary? &c.
&c. &c. Every attentive reader must surely
be of opinion, that the Dr. has himself
(though undesignedly) fallen into many ambiguities in this controversy. See particularly section 1. on the state of the question,
with the Remarks upon it.

The Dr. in the section we are considering, takes occasion to reply to what Dr. Price has advanced on this subject, in his Review of the Principles of Morals, in which he supposes the Dr. to have been "misled by "the use of such (that is ambiguous) "words:" nay the Dr. is "consident that E. A. "when

"when the ideas are attended to, it will appear that the writer is, in fact, a Neceffarian; and, though unperceived by himself, is in words only, an advocate for the doctrine of metaphysical liberty.'
See p. 44, and 46.

The quotation from Dr. Price is as follows, p. 302, of his Review, second edit. "We have, in truth, the same constant and necessary consciousness of liberty, that we have, that we think, choose, will, or even exist; and whatever to the contrary men may say, it is impossible for them, in earnest, to think that they have no active, self-moving powers, and are not the causes of their own volitions, or not to ascribe to themselves, what they must be conscious they think and do.

And p. 304, in a note, "A man's choos-

And p. 304, in a note, "A man's choofing to follow his judgment and defires,
or, his actually doing what he is inclined
to do, is what we mean, when we fay,
motives determine him. At the fame
time, it is very plain that motives can
have no concern in effecting his determination, or that there is no physical con"nection

"nection between his judgment and views, and the actions consequent upon them, "What would be more absurd than to say, that our inclinations act upon us, or compel us; that our desires and sears put us into motion, or produce our volitions, that is, are agents? And yet what is more conceivable, than that they may be the occions of our putting ourselves into mocion? What sense would there be in saying, that the situation of a body, which may properly be the occasion, or account of its being struck by another body, is the efficient of its motion, or its impeller?"

Now, though Dr. Priestley thinks that Dr. Price, in what he has said above, has really given up the cause of liberty, he yet allows that this objection to the doctrine of necessity cannot be "expressed in a "stronger or better manner;" and says, that he has "purposely made this quotation, in order to meet the difficulty in its "greatest force."

The Dr. then candidly acknowledges himfelf to be somewhat aware of a difficulty arising arising from the reasonings of Dr. Price; and the weight of that difficulty will be best understood, by considering how far Dr. Priestley has succeeded in his endeavours to remove it,

Dr. Price maintains, "that we have the fame constant and necessary consciousness of liberty that we have that we think, choose, will, or even exist."

Dr. Priestley replies, generally, " that " there is always some reason for any ob-" ject, or any conduct, appearing defirable, " or preferable." (p. 48.) And applying this remark to the particular inftance of two kinds of fruit being proposed, he fays, (p. 47, and 48.) " All that a man can pof-" fibly be conscious of is, that nothing " hinders his choosing, or taking, which-" foever of the fruits appears to him more " defirable, or his not making any choice " at all, according as the one or the other " shall appear to him preferable upon the " whole." Now, granting that " there is " always fome reason for any object, or any 45 conduct, appearing defirable or prefer-" able;" still the view that the mind has

of the object or conduct, as preferable, and the choice that is made upon this view; the reason or ground of the choice, and the act of choosing; are very different and distinct In the last view, or judgment of things. the mind concerning any object, about which it is conversant; though the view or judgment will depend on the attention (which is an act) bestowed on the different circumstances relating to the object; yet, I fay, in the last view, or judgment of the mind, as to any object, the mind is entirely passive: but this view, or judgment, is not the choice, nor can it have any phyfical connection with Choice implies action, and all action (properly so called) implies liberty, otherwife it is not action, but passion. I may make a choice consequent upon the view of an object; but if I make the choice, I am then an agent; I act, but am not acted upon, or necessarily determined in the choice I make. Dr. Price, therefore, very properly expresses this act of the mind by "a man's choosing to " follow his judgment and defires, or his " actually doing what he is inclined to do." If, indeed, he be allowed to be really conscious.

scious, " that nothing hinders his choosing " or taking which soever of two fruits ap-" pear to him more desirable, or his not " making any choice at all, according as " the one or the other shall appear to him " preferable upon the whole;" this is all that is contended for by the advocates for liberty. But here I am afraid we shall meet with an instance of the ambiguity which Dr. Priestley complains of. For, if the view of the fruit, which is the object of the choice, has the necessitating influence which the Dr. ascribes to it; the choosing it can stand to denote nothing but a mere passive effect. And where then, may it not be justly asked, is the precision of language, in using the term "choosing," which immediately conveys the idea of something active, to denote that which is entirely passive? If the view of the fruit renders the choice physically necessary; it then most effectually hinders the choice, or, is subversive of it: fo that on this supposition, the mind, not being conscious of liberty, is conscious of no choice at all.

Dr. Priestley observes further, p. 48.—
"Whenever we either reslect upon our own
conduct, or speculate concerning that of
others, we never fail to consider, or ask,
what could be the motive of such or
fuch a choice: always taking it for granted that there must have been some motive
or other for it; and we never suppose, in
fuch cases, that any choice could be made
without some motive, some apparent reafon, or other."

Allowing all that the Dr. here advances, what does it prove more, than that motives have some real influence, as reasons of conduct. May not a man always act upon some motives, either good or bad, without being necessarily determined in his conduct by them? In actions of a moral nature, whatever the motives are, upon which we act, could there be any possible ground for approbation or censure, in reflecting on our own conduct, or that of others; if we were not conscious, or had not an idea of a freedom of choice, or action, attending it? But not to pursue this argument further at present, as we may have occasion to say

more on it hereafter; there does not feem to be any ambiguity in the expression, "The " consciousness of freedom," but what is introduced, by making it to stand for that passive effect of motives, which the scheme of necessity contends for. As used by the advocates for liberty, it invariably expresses what it literally means, a real liberty of will, or action, in opposition to an unavoidble, physical, necessity, which implies no freedom or power of acting at all. consequence of the remarks now made; at seems clear, that the fact, of the consciousness of freedom, is far from being as Dr. Priestley has stated it: and for the truth of the negative, I think I may safely venture to appeal, with him, to every man's experience. I cannot therefore but strongly object to the inference which the Dr. deduces, namely, (p. 50) "that it must be quite " arbitrary, and can have no fort of con-" fequence, except what is merely verbal, " whether I say, that the cause of the choice " was the motive for it (which Dr. Price " very properly defines to be the judgment, " or the defire) or the mind in which that choice

" choice takes place, that is myself; and to this cause it is that we ascribe the agency, or determining power, &c."

Dr. Price, and all the confistent advocates for liberty, constantly distinguish between the cause of the choice, and the occasion of it, or the motive to which the mind has respect in the choice it makes. And there cannot possibly be a greater difference between any two cases, than whether we ascribe the choice to the mind, that is, the determining power, or to the force of the motive. If we refer it to the mind, or the determining power, then the mind, or that power inherent in it, is the cause of the choice. Nor do we at all consider the motive as the cause of the agency, but the agency as resting in the mind; as being a distinct power in itself, and exerting itself independent of any physical, or compulsory, power of the motive; though it be allowed that it has respect to the motive, in the exertion of its agency, or, in the choice which it voluntarily makes. If, on the other hand, we ascribe the choice to the power or force of the motive, the judgment

or defire, as the cause of it; we then make the motive to be the efficient of the choice. and entirely exclude that power of agency in the mind, which the advocates for liberty suppose to belong to it. Can it then be justly said, that the distinction contended for is " arbitrary," and that " it can have on fort of consequence but what is merely " verbal"? Is there not a real and most important difference in the ideas suggested by this distinction? Can any thing be more opposite or contradictory, than the notions of a determining power in the mind, and a determining, controlling power, in the motive? The doctrines of a proper agency in man, giving him the command over his own determinations and conduct; and a compulsory force in motives, rendering all his determinations, and his conduct in every instance, necessary and unavoidable? He who cannot see a difference in these views of the causes of action, must surely be of opinion, that liberty and necessity mean precisely one and the same thing, and that there is really no ground at all of dispute

dispute between the abettors of the one and the other.

Dr. Priestley, however, desirous to give the fullest refutation to all that Dr. Price has advanced by way of objection to the doctrine of necessity, goes on "to meet " him (as he fays, p. 51.) upon his own " ground in this instance, namely, appeal-" ing to the established use of words, with " respect to the proper cause of volitions " and actions."—" He (Dr. Price) fays, "What would be more abfurd than to fay, " that our inclinations act upon us, and " compel us, that our desires and fears put " us into motion, or produce our voli-"tions." Dr. Priestley then remarks, "Abfurd as this language appears to Dr. " Price, it is, in fact, the common style in " which the conduct of men is described, and certainly proves, that if men have " any ideas really corresponding to their " words, they do consider the motives of " mens' actions to be, in a proper sense, the " causes of them, more properly than the " mind which is determined by the mo-"tives. This also is common, popular F " language, " language, and therefore must have a "foundation in the common apprehension of mankind."

It is allowed, that, in common language, men do sometimes speak of their own actions and those of others, as if they were forced or impelled to do them by the motive of them, that is, the judgment or inclination. But all they can possibly mean, by this language, is, to describe, in a summary way, the weight or influence of the motive, as a ground or reason for the action, which they thus connect with it. That they have no idea of the motive, as the cause or efficient of the action, nor yet as " the cause " of the immediate cause," (see Dr. Priestley, p. 55) that is, the efficient of the determination of the mind, or will; or, when they fay, they have been compelled to do any thing, that they have no idea of the action, which they thus represent, as unavoidable; is, I think, undeniably certain from a confideration already hinted at, namely, the fentence which the mind passes upon actions, in reflecting upon them, according as they appear to have been morally good or evil.

Praise and blame must suppose liberty, without which, there can be nothing deserving either of the one or the other.

Dr. Priestley, proceeding with his author, Dr. Price, observes; (p. 52) "Dr. Price says, " If our inclinations compel us to act, if " our defires and fears put us into motion, "they are the agents; whereas they are " properly only the occasion of our putting " ourselves into motion." "But what (Dr. " Priestley replies) can this be besides a " mere verbal distinction. If it be univer-" fally true, that the action certainly follows " the motive, that is, the inclination of " the mind, and the views of things pre-" fented to it, it is all that a Necessarian " can wish for; all his conclusions follow, " and he leaves it to others to ring changes " upon words, and vary their expressions at " pleasure."

The argument of Dr. Priestley, in favour of the doctrine of necessity, taken from the universality of the essect, or the certainty of the action, as consequent upon the motive, has been already noticed in section 4th. Nor have I any thing more to add to what was there said. If certainty and necessity, as I endeavoured to shew, mean very different things; one, what is perfectly consistent with liberty; the other, something directly subversive of it; universality, or certainty, will then by no means infer necessity; and by the help of this distinction, not "a mere "verbal" one, but a real distinction in our ideas; we shall be enabled to discern the propriety, and feel the force of what Dr. Price, in the passage now referred to, has advanced on this head.

Dr. Price, however, that "very able "Metaphysician," the author, who has so well stated the objection to the doctrine of necessity, before referred to, that Dr. Priestley does not think, it "can be ex-" pressed in a stronger or better manner:" even Dr. Price, notwithstanding all, in the opinion of Dr. Priestley, (p. 52) "is "particularly unhappy in" what he advances in support of, what Dr. Priestley calls, an "arbitrary and verbal distinction." Dr. Price's words are, "what "sense can there be in saying that the situ-" ation."

" ation of a body, which may properly be " the occasion, or the account, of its being " struck by another body, is the efficient of " its motion, or its impeller?" " whereas " (fays Dr. Priestley) according to his own " definition of motive, it includes both the " inclination, or disposition of the mind, " and the views of things presented to it, and this manifestly takes in both the im-" pelling body, and the fituation in which " the body impelled by it is found; which, " according to his own description, includes " the whole cause of the impulse, or every " thing that contributes to its being impel-And of these two circumstances, " namely,' the inclination of the mind, and " the view in which an object is presented to it, it is the latter, that is generally, and in a more especial sense, called the motive, and compared to the impeller, " (to use Dr. Price's language) while the " inclination, or disposition, of the mind, " is only confidered as a circumstance which " gives the motive an opportunity of acting won it, or impelling it, and producing " its proper effect. In this I appeal, as " before, F 3

" before, to the common fense of man" kind."

Dr. Priestley, in this passage, appears to have misrepresented, (though I am perfuaded without design) Dr. Price's reasoning, and to have blended his own views of the point in dispute, with those which Dr. Price gives of it. According to Dr. Priestley, indeed, " the inclination or disposition " of the mind, and the views of things pre-" fented to it," include both " the impel-" ling body, and the fituation in which the " body impelled by it is found." But Dr. Price, on the other hand, though he defines the motive to be "the judgment or defire," including both " the disposition of the " mind, and the views of things presented " to it," does yet by no means allow either of these to be the impeller, or the efficient of the motion or action. With him, the fole efficient is the agent, or the felf-determining power in the mind. "A man, " (fays he) choosing to follow his judgment, " and defires; or his actually doing what he " is inclined to do, is what we mean when " we say motives determine him. At the " same " fame time, it is very plain that motives " can have no concern in effecting his deet termination, or that there is no physical " connection between his judgment, and "views, and the actions confequent upon "them." Here Dr. Price clearly distinguishes between the choice, and the motive; the former of which he confiders as being alone the cause, or the efficient of action; while he denies that there is any physical connection between the motive and the action; or, that the motive is at all concerned, as an efficient of the action. as he afterwards fays, nothing more than " the occasion of our putting ourselves into "motion." In this view of the Dr's. argument, he is so far from being unhappy in what he advances, in support of his distinction between the efficient of the motion, and the occasion of it; that it seems to be the most apposite illustration which he could possibly give of the case. " The situation of a " body, which is the occasion, or the account " of its being struck by another," corresponds with the judgment, or defire, preceding the action, or determination. But, as the lituation of the body, which is struck, is not the impeller, or efficient of its motion; so neither is the judgment, or desire, the impeller, or efficient of the motion, or determination in the mind. I cannot, therefore, conceive of any simile, which Dr. Price could have more properly or happily introduced, to give us a precise and clear idea of what he intended, or which could carry greater weight in support of it. And, for this, I will again, with Dr. Priestley, venture "to appeal to the common sense of mankind."

Dr. Priestley "would still further con"fider this matter with Dr. Price, as a
"Mathematician and a Philosopher, thinking
"he can shew the Dr. that, according to
"the mode of reasoning universally received
by the most speculative, as well as the
"vulgar, we ought to consider motives as
"the proper causes of human actions,
"though it is the man that is called the
"agent." (p. 54.)

He then subjoins the following illustration, "Suppose a philosopher to be entirely ignorant of the constitution of the "human

"human mind, but to see, as Dr. Price " acknowledges, that men do, in fact, ach " according to their affections and defires, "that is, in one word, according to mo-" tives, would he not, as in a case of the "doctrine of chances, immediately infer "that there must be a fixed cause for this " coincidence of motives, and actions? "Would he not fay, that, though he could " not see into the man, the connection was " natural and necessary, because constant? "And fince the motives; in all cases, pre-"cede the actions, would be not naturally." "that is, according to the cultom of phi-" losophers in similar cases, say, that the " motive was the cause of the action? And " would he not be led by the obvious ana-" logy to compare the mind to a balance, " which was inclined this way or that, ac-" cording to the motives presented to it?"

In the passage new cited, the argument, which I cannot but look upon to be the best in favour of philosophical necessity, is stated and illustrated in such a manner, as to render it extremely plain and intelligible.

The argument itself, may, however, be resolved into this short question, Whether certainty implies necessity? Or, whether that which is morally certain, is therefore physically necessary? Of this much has been already faid, nor have I any thing to fubjoin, except it be to take some little notice of a case of the doctrine of chances. to which the Dr. confiders that of the coincidence of motives and actions as fimilar. Now, in a case of chance, where there is the utmost certainty of the event, there is yet a physical possibility of its happening otherwise. To borrow Dr. Price's illustration, which is very clear and apposite: (see his Review, p. 412, and following.) "Suppose a die, or solid, having a million of " faces: it may be faid to be certain, that " an agent, void of skill, will not, the first "trial, throw an affigned face of fuch a " die; for the word certain is often used " in a fense much lower. But that such " an agent should throw an affigned face " of such a die, a million of times to-" gether without once failing, few would " fcruple

" scruple to pronounce impossible. The " impossibility, however, meant in this " case, would plainly be very different from " an absolute physical impossibility; for if " it is possible to succeed the first trial, " (as it undoubtedly is) it is equally pos-" fible to succeed the second, the third. " and all the subsequent trials; and con-" fequently, in this fense of possibility, 'tis " as possible to throw the given face a " million of times together, as the first "time, &c."-" If any one thinks what " is now faid of no weight, and continues yet at a loss about the difference between " these two sorts of impossibility, let him " compare the impossibility that the last " mentioned event should happen, with the " impossibility of throwing any faces which " there are not upon a die."

Dr. Price pursues the illustration much further, in a most ingenious and masterly manner; so as to render the whole eminently deserving the attentive perusal of the moral student: and then concludes with the following remark. (p. 414.) "Now he that

OF THE CONSCIOUSNESS OF LIBERTY.

" that should, in such cases, confound these

" different kinds of impossibility, or ne-

" ceffity, would be much more excufable,

" than he that confounds them; when con-

" fidering the events depending on the de-

" terminations of free beings, and com-

" paring them with those arising from

" the operation of blind and unintelligent

"causes. The one admits of endlessly

" various degrees; the other of none.

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ON SECTION VI.

"WHETHER LIBERTY BE ESSENTIAL TO
"PRACTICAL VIRTUE; AND OF MORAL
"AND PHYSICAL NECESSITY."

R. Priestley employs the chief part of this section in replying to what Dr. Price has further observed in support of liberty; rightly judging, that it must add considerable strength to the Necessarian cause, if he could overthrow the defence, which so able an advocate, as Dr. Price, has set up on the contrary side.

Or. Price says, (p. 301, 302.) "that "practical virtue supposes liberty." For, that "a being who cannot act at all, most "certainly cannot act virtuously, or vi- ciously." That, "as far as it is true of a being that he acts, so far he must him- felf be the cause of the action, and there- fore not necessarily determined to act;" neither by motives, nor by any thing else foreign to the agent himself, whom he considers as the efficient cause of the action. This, in brief, is Dr. Price's argument;

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and his reasoning appears clear and decisive. Notwithstanding which, Dr. Priestley says, (p. 56.) " It is on a mere verbal distinction, also, on which every thing that Dr. 44 Price has advanced, in proof of liberty " being effential to practical virtue, turns." (And p. 57.) "Here we have the same " arbitrary account of agency that has been " considered before." As Dr. Priestley had given Dr. Price the character of " a very " able Metaphysician;" methinks he should have been rather more cautious of charging him so often with " mere verbal distinc-"tions," and "arbitrary accounts" of things: though he might not agree with him in his views of the subject. But let us now attend to what Dr. Priestley has offered to invalidate Dr. Price's reasoning.

"In fact, if a virtuous resolution be formed, (says Dr. Priestley, p. 57.) the person, by whom it is formed, is the obight of my complacence and reward, and if a vicious choice be made, the person is the object of my abhorrence; and there is the greatest propriety and use in punishing him."

These positions are surely incontrovertible; that is, supposing there be "a virtu-" ous resolution formed," and " a vicious " choice made," that the one is the object of complacence and reward, the other of abhorrence and punishment. But what virtue can there be in a resolution, or vice in a choice, if in the ideas of resolution and choice, you include nothing, but the mere passive effect of motives; and consequently deny the being himself to be the efficient cause of the resolution and choice. nature of the resolution, or the thing determined upon, may be such as a being, in the given circumstances, ought to have made; and the nature of the choice, or the thing chosen, may be such as a rational being ought not to have made, or ought to have rejected; or, in other words, there may be absolute virtue in the matter of the resolution, and vice in that of the choice: but there will still be wanting that power or liberty in the beings or persons, to whom they are ascribed, which is effential to all personal merit or demerit, or to the virtue or vice of the agent, and which can alone render the

one an object of complacence and reward, and the other of abhorrence and punishment. So that as far as respects the perfons supposed to be concerned, take away liberty or agency, and there can be no virtuous resolution formed, nor any vicious choice made; that is, neither does the resolution imply any virtue, nor the choice any vice, in the persons to whom they are respectively imputed.

Dr. Price has faid, (p. 302) "Who must " not feel the absurdity of saying my vo-" litions are produced by a foreign cause?" meaning a motive. Dr. Priestley remarks, that it will by no means follow, "that 45 then the volition is not my own. It is " my volition, whatever was the motive " that produced it, if it was a volition that "took place in my mind." But can that be truly said to be my volition, my act, which was produced by fomething, over which I had no power? On that ground, every thing that takes place in my body, as well as my mind, may, with equal propriety, be called my act, or volition. volition means nothing but the paffive and necessary

necessary effect of motives, it then stands upon the same footing with all other physical effects; and so, the circulation of the blood and the pulsation of the heart, which take place in my body, may, with as much reason, be called my volitions, as any determinations which take place in my mind.

Dr. Price, with Dr. Clark and other eminent writers, distinguishes between a moral and a physical necessity; this Dr. Priestley (p. 59) calls a distinction, "equality useless as that concerning the proper feat of agency, or causation." Physical and moral, are, in the Dr's. opinion, "but words." For, says he, "if the choice be certain, and truly necessary, it is a proof that with that disposition of mind no other choice could be made; and whatever consequences are drawn from the consideration of the impossibility of any other choice being made, applies to "this case, if to any."

It was by Dr. Priestley's ambiguous use of the term necessary, that we were before led to endeavour to state and illustrate the distinction between moral and physical ne-

cessity. And in his remark now quoted we have a fresh proof of a real difference of ideas, couched under this distinction, and of the importance of attending to it. In the supposition which the Dr. makes, " If " the choice be certain, and truly neces-" fary," by certain, and necessary, the Dr. must mean physically certain, and neceffary, (and indeed that only can be truly necessary, which is physically so) otherwise it will not warrant the inference he draws from it, namely, "that with that dispo-" fition of mind no other choice could be "made." Now the advocates for liberty, do not allow any choice to be necessary in a physical, but only in a moral sense: and where there is the greatest certainty, or necessity, of the latter kind, there is always a possibility of a different choice. Here, then, Dr. Priestley is reasoning on the supposition of what his opponents do not admit; and of consequence, the inference, which he deduces, must fail.

To this mistaken conception, of moral for physical necessity, it is evidently owing, that Dr. Price is considered by Dr. Priestley, in a large extract made from the work before referred to, as "expressing himself "in a manner by no means suited to his fystem, but as if the proper cause of the actions was the motives that led to them."

(p. 69.)

Dr. Price, to prevent any such misconstruction of the language he uses, sets out
in this extract with observing, (see p. 350,
and following) "by the necessity which is
"faid to diminish the merit of good ac"tions, must be meant, not a natural,
"(which would take away the whole idea
"of action, and will) but a moral necessity, or such as arises from the influence
"of motives and affections on the mind,
"or that certainty of determining one way,
"which may take place upon supposition
"of certain views, circumstances, and prin"ciples of an agent."

When Dr. Price had given this key to open his meaning in what follows, it seems really not a little extraordinary, how a man of Dr. Priestley's discernment, should so much misunderstand him. Dr. Price says, "Now it is undeniable, that the very

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greatest necessity of this sort, (moral necessity) is consistent with, nay, is implied
in the idea of the most perfect and meritorious virtue; and consequently can by
no means, be what, of itself, ever lessens
it. The more considently we may depend upon a being's doing an action,
when convinced of its propriety, whatever obstacles may lie in his way, or, morally speaking, the more efficacious and
unconquerable the influence of conficience is within him, the more amiable
we must think him."

—" In like manner, the most abandoned and detestable state of wickedness, implies the greatest necessity of sinning, and the greatest degree of moral impotence. He is the most vicious man, who is most enslaved by vicious habits, or in whom appetite has so far gained the ascendant, and a regard to virtue and duty is so far weakened, that we can, at any time, with certainty foretel, that he will do evil when tempted to it. Let me, therefore, by the way, remark, that every idea of liberty must be very erroneous,

roneous, which makes it inconsistent " with the most absolute and complete " certainty, or necessity, of the kind I have " now taken notice of, or which supposes " it to overthrow all steadiness of charac-" ter, or conduct. The greatest influence " of motives that can rationally be con-" ceived, or which it is possible for any " one to maintain, without running into "the palpable, and intolerable absurdity " of making them, physical efficients, or " agents, can no way affect liberty. And " it is, furely, very furprizing, that our most " willing determinations should be imagined " to have most of the appearance of not " proceeding from ourselves; or, that what " a man does with the fullest consent of " his will, with the least reluctance, and " the greatest desire and resolution, he " should, for this very reason, be suspected " not to do freely, that is, not to do at " all."

This is the whole of the extract given by Dr. Priestley, and what there is in it, that is at all favourable to his doctrine of necessity, I am not able, on the most careful

examination, to find out. I cannot, therefore, but express my surprize at the remark he makes upon it. "As a professed Neces-" farian, I would not wish to use any other " language than this." (Illustrations, p. 62.) Dr. Price does, indeed, speak of "a moral " necessity, (but not of virtue) or, a necessity " arising from the influence of motives, and " affections of the mind," and of the effica-" cious and unconquerable influence of conscience." But does he not clearly distinguish between this kind of necessity, and that which is natural or physical? These, with Dr. Priestley, are precisely, in idea, one and the same thing; and on that ground the main argument for necessity stands. Does not Dr. Price directly affert, that the latter kind of necessity "would take away the whole idea " of action and will?" Does he not maintain, that it is a "palpable and intolerable " abfurdity," to make motives " physical " efficients, or agents?" All the necessity, therefore, that Dr. Price can be supposed to allow, as arising from the influence of motives and affections, is such as admits the natural, or physical possibility of a different choice

choice from that which actually takes place, which Dr. Priestley holds to be impossible. In short, Dr. Price allows only a necessity which is figurative, and which, strictly fpeaking, is no necessity at all: whereas Dr. Priestley, on the other hand, maintains the idea of an "absolute necessity," and which must be that which is natural, or physical. In like manner, when Dr. Price speaks of "the efficacious and unconquer-" able influence of conscience," he introduces it with the clause, " morally speak-"ing," purposely to restrict his idea, and confine it to that of a moral influence; which, though it may be attended with the greatest degree of moral certainty, is yet carefully distinguished from such an influence, as implies in it physical efficiency, or necessity, which is the influence that Dr. Priestley every where maintains. Still. Dr. Price leaves amply sufficient for the existence and operation of a selfdetermining power, acting independently. of all motives, of all judgment or defire, considered as efficients of choice, or determination, though so far acting under

their influence, as to have a certain respect to them, as grounds, or reasons of the choice which itself makes. Dr. Price does not fay, that the most perfect, or any virtue does, or can arise from absolute, that is, physical necessity, or from an influence of conscience that is naturally, or physically unconquerable. From the whole scope of his argument it is plain, that the most efficacious and unconquerable influence of conscience, which it is possible to conceive of, does, in his opinion, admit the possibility of a man's acting otherwise than he does, or of his counteracting the influence of conscience, and doing that which is base or wicked. By the efficacious and unconquerable influence of conscience, he evidently means no more than what we otherwise call an inflexible integrity: by which we commonly express, an integrity which the strongest temptations cannot, morally speaking, corrupt; but cannot furely be supposed to intend, that a man, whom we believe to have attained to such an eminent degree of integrity, has not a natural power of forfeiting it.

So, when Dr. Price fays, "the most abandoned and detestable state of wickedness
implies the greatest necessity of sinning,
and the greatest degree of moral impotence; he evidently does not intend a
physical, or natural, but merely, a moral, necessity. Though we can, according to the
Dr's. views, "foretel with certainty, that
a man, if sunk into such a state, will do
evil, when tempted to it; yet it will
not follow from hence, that he has not a
natural power of withstanding the temptation, and refraining from the evil. The
contrary is manifestly implied in the Dr's.
reasonings already noticed.

Upon the whole of the view now taken of this extract, it appears throughout, inflead of giving the least countenance, either in itself, or by any just consequence, to the Necessarian doctrine, to make directly, and forcibly, against it. Dr. Price seems to be so far from being "off his guard," and expressing himself "in a manner by no means "suited to his system;" (as Dr. Priestley supposes him, p. 60) that he, on the contrary, well aware of every point on which

the question in dispute turns, has fairly met, and fully obviated, the most material difficulties attending it; and will, I think, upon recollection, be acknowledged, even by Dr. Priestley, to be a most judicious and masterly, if not a convincing defender of the doctrine of liberty.

Dr. Price, in another part of the same work, (p. 318) fays, "Instinctive bene-" volence is no principle of virtue, nor are " any actions flowing merely from it vir-"tuous." And again, " (p. 324) " the conclusion I would establish, is, that the " virtue of an agent, is always less in pro-" portion to the degree in which natural " temper, and propensities fall in with his " actions, instinctive principles operate, and " rational reflection on what is right to be done is wanting." Dr. Priestley considers this, as inconfistent with what Dr. Price himself had before acknowledged; for, fays Dr. Priestley, (p. 66) "what is the differ-" ence between affections of mind, from "which, he (Dr. Price) fays, arifes the " most perfect and meritorious virtue, and " instinctive

sinstinctive benevolence, natural temper, and propensity."

Dr. Priestley here reasons on the suppofition of a concession which Dr. Price, as I understand him, has not made. Dr. Price as was before observed, does not say, that any virtue arises from the influence of affections of the mind. He only fays, that " moral " necessity arises from the influence of mo-"tives, and affections," and "that the " very greatest necessity of this fort is con-" fistent with, nay, is implied in the idea f' of the most perfect and meritorious vir-"tue." But this is furely very different from faying, that virtue arises from this necessity. It may be implied in it, though it does not arise from it, or though the virtue is not constituted by it, as a proper cause or efficient. Dr. Price makes both intelligence and liberty to be effential to practical virtue. It is immediately constituted by the exercise of the felf-determining power, on a view or conviction of what is right to be done. He, therefore, very properly excludes, from the idea of virtue, instinctive benevolence,

which flow merely from them. And how can the reasonableness of what he advances, on this head, be justly controverted? If this he not admitted, we must, by necessary confequence, suppose, that a very good natured ideot is a very virtuous man.

But folid as the ground is on which Dr. Price proceeds, in denying any virtue to arise from mere instinctive principles, and allowing moral worth to those actions only which are the effect of choice, founded on the confideration of what is right to be done; this distinction is, by Dr. Priestley, imputed to nothing but a more than common refine-" Mankind (fays Dr. Priestley, ment. " p. 67) in general, do not refine so much " as Dr. Price. Whatever it is within a " man that leads him to virtue, and that "will certainly and necessarily incline him " to act right, or to do what they approve, " they deem to be a virtuous principle, to " be the foundation of merit, and to in-" title to reward."

If to think and write clearly can justly be called refining, Dr. Price may, then, with

with the greatest propriety, be said to refine, but this is all the refinement, which is. I think, discernible in what he has advanced on this subject. He has separated that from the idea of virtue, which appears, at least to the judgment of a friend of liberty, not to belong to it. By an advocate for that fide of the question, which he has espoused, it cannot be thought in the least proper, to speak of any thing within a man, " that will necessarily (in Dr. " Priestley's sense) incline him to act right." To act, and to be necessarily inclined, seem to be ideas directly contradictory. which necessarily inclines, excludes the power of agency. It leaves no room for any action at all, properly so called. All, that can follow, must be merely passive, something which it is not in a man's power to prevent, in which there cannot furely be any virtue, or moral defert at all; any more, in what is thus done by man, as a mere instrument, than in any other natural and necessary effect which falls under our notice. For the same reason, those principles, also, which are merely instinctive, cannot have the least

fition to what is right or good, as acquired; not as born with a man, or as necessary and unavoidable, in which they place the virtue. and which they consider as the foundation. of merit, whether the degree of virtue manifested, in consequence of the facility or difficulty of the acquisition, be greater or Men may be charmed with what carries the appearance of a virtuous conduct ; but they can approve, or applaud it, as meritorious, or worthy of reward, only on supposition that the principle, or disposition, from which it flows, is virtuous; that is, that it is practifed on the view of it as right, and does not proceed from the impulse of a mere involuntary instinct. In this view, they approve both the action, and the principle or disposition which accompanies it, or from which it flows. But though feveral principles may concur in their operation, as motives to the action, there is yet only one cause of it, and that is, the voluntary determination of the agent.

Dr. Priestley further observes, "The only reason why we are less struck with a virtuous action, proceeding from what is called

« called natural temper, is because we con-" fider it as a fickle principle, on which " we can have no fufficient dependance for " the future. But let that principle be sup-" posed to be really fixed and stable, and "wherein does it differ from that disposist tion of mind, which is the result of the greatest labour and attention?" It is unworthy of any enquirer after truth to ring changes upon words; but where there is a real difference in the ideas which they fuggest, it is necessary that the difference be pointed out. I cannot therefore but remark that the expression, "a virtuous action " proceeding from what is called natural " temper", confidered as the cause of the action, appears to me to involve in it another contradiction. No effect which proceeds merely from natural temper, as its cause, can properly be called a virtuous action. We may be struck or pleased? with an effect, which we by no means approve or applaud, as having any degree of virtue in it. And though the principle from which the effect, or, as Dr. Priestley terms it, the action, proceeds, be ever fo " fixed Н

" fixed and stable," this will not, of itself, prove the effect or action to be virtuous. Stability in the proper virtuous principle will, indeed, clearly manifest strength in the principle, and consequently increase the virtue or merit of it; and a course of virtuous action will certainly have more virtue in it than a fingle action. But then, the principle and action must be virtuous in themselves, or they can never become so, though the utmost degree of stability should Hence arises a most imporattend them. tant difference between what is called natural temper, and that virtuous disposition, which is the result of choice, or culture. Though the one be, indeed, " a fickle prin-" ciple", and the other in its nature more "fixed and stable"; yet neither does the fickleness of the former make it not to be virtuous, nor the stability of the latter render it so; but the true distinction between them is, that the mere instinctive principle, or natural temper, wants that effential constituent of virtue-choice-which is the fpring, or cause, of the acquired principle. The latter is formed by ourselves, on the

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view of it as right and good: whereas in the former, we are entirely passive; it is imparted, not acquired; in the production of it, as agents, we have no concern at all.

In the remarks now made, we are furnished with matter for reply to Dr. Priestley's additional illustration of his argument. "If (fays the Dr. p. 68.) two men be in all respects the same inwardly, if they feel and act precisely in the same manner, upon all occasions; how in the fight of "God or man, can there be more virtue " in the conduct of one, than in that of the " other, whatever difference there may have been in the acquisition of that temper?" Most certainly, there can be no difference at all in their virtue or moral defert, if their inward principles and outward conduct be in all respects precisely the same. But between the two cases, in which the Dr. looks upon both the principles and conduct to be precisely the same, there appears to be the greatest difference conceivable in both these respects; and this difference immediately arises from the different origins of the dispofition, which is confidered as the principle

of virtue. Where natural temper is the principle, it is, as was before observed, not an acquisition but an endowment. Now where this is the operating principle, for instance, of what we call benevolence: though men may, for want of sufficiently attending to what passes within them, mistake this for the proper principle of virtuous benevolence; it cannot yet I think admit a doubt, fince, as has been already shewn, the principles themselves so widely differ, that the feelings, arising from the operation of them, must be no less different too. In the instances, in which natural temper alone operates, there can be no feeling but that of a certain ease or pleasure, fimilar to what we feel from a happy temperament of body, and in which there can be nothing more meritorious (though very agreeable) than there is in the latter. the other hand, in the case of that virtuous benevolence, which is our own acquisition, or where we act from a defire to promote the happiness of others, as what is in itself fit and reasonable; there we feel not only case or pleasure, or the absence of uneasiness

or pain, but we have, moreover, the peculiar and inexpressible self-satisfaction arising from the consciousness of a rectitude of disposition, which we have been at the pains to cherish, and which makes the exercise of it to be, not a necessary and unavoidable effect of a physical cause, but a voluntary discharge of a moral and religious duty. So widely different are the feelings of that benevolence which proceeds from mere natural temper, and that which is founded on a regard to virtue.

Neither do two men, who are actuated by these different kinds of benevolence, any more act, than they seel, in the same manner. Though their conduct may be formally the same, it must, in a moral estimation, widely differ. He who is governed only by instinctive benevolence, and whose conduct, according to the Dr. unavoidably slows from it, does not act at all, but is acted upon: while the man, who promotes the happiness of others, from a regard to morality, and the will of God, acts as becomes a rational being, and possesses when

passive, can be justly called virtue. This hath been repeatedly observed; and I look upon it to be a truth, which stands on a foundation that can never be moved. And for this plain, and, as it appears to me. most substantial reason, it may be allowed to be very absurd to pray for virtue, as a mere communication, in which the agency of man is not concerned. But does it therefore follow that nothing is communicated, in aid of our own endeavours after virtuous improvements, and which is, a proper ground for prayer to God on this account. Dr. Price, and every friend of rational religion, may readily admit that much affistance is communicated, both external and internal, for the purpose of forming the temper, to direct the will in its voluntary exercises, and for the just regulation of the conduct; and may yet, at the fame time, very confistently maintain that s virtue is our own, and must arise from "within ourselves." In short, in a very proper sense, every thing belonging to us, even temper, will, and conduct, may be considered as the gift of God; though not in **fuch**

fuch a fense as will make man nothing more than a passive instrument, which is supposing him as incapable of virtue, as even a stock or stone. The advocates for liberty may, therefore, still continue to pray to God for virtue, that is, for his gracious, cooperating influences and aids, in the purfuits of virtue; as well as for external things; and the practice will be, not an absurd, but a most reasonable and useful. as well as a pious one. I cannot but add, that there does, indeed, appear to be a real and great absurdity in prayer, on Dr. Priestley's scheme of necessity, while the principle itself also directly tends to indispose men for the performance of it. What room can there be to pray to God for any thing, when every thing, the whole plan of events respecting man, no less than all other creatures, is irrevocably fixed and certain, and all power of agency in man is excluded. In this view of the divine government, it appears to be utterly useless to ask any thing of God. There is, however, not the least just ground for any individual to be at all concerned, whether he live in the performance or neglect of it. For, if it be a part of the divine plan, that I am to pray, I shall find myself necessarily inclined to it, at the time, when it is ordained that I should. If I am not inclined to it, or can fatisfy myself in the neglect of it; it is a fure and infallible proof, that prayer was never defigned for me, during the time that this indisposition to it continues, though that should be ever so long, for a great part; or even the whole, of my life. I confess myself alarmed at the moral influence of such an opinion, not on such a philosophic and enlarged mind as Dr. Priestley's, but on the generality of mankind, who cannot reafon nor refine so much as Dr. Priestley: and who had they been left under (what Dr. Priestley, must think) the delusion of that imaginary idea of liberty, for which Dr. Price is so strenuous an advocate, would have had their minds open to the influence of a very confiderable motive to the difcharge of their moral and religious duty, which the doctrine of necessity does not merely enervate, but entirely destroy.

All that follows in this section, is but a recital and fummary view of the main points in Dr. Priestley's argument against Dr. Price, before stated, which he wishes Dr. Price to reconsider. I have only just to remark on the few pages employed for this purpose, that there are evidently some mistakes in the representation given of Dr. Price's reasonings, or, in the consequences which are annexed to them. Thus, (p. 70) because the self-determining power, according to Dr. Price's own confession, is notjudgment, conscience, desire, hope, or " fear, or any of the passions: it must, " therefore, (fays Dr. Priestley) be mere " will, under no direction or guidance, be-" cause under no influence whatever." Dr. Price gives us a very different idea of the felf-determining power. He is so far from faying that the will is under no influence, that he, on the contrary, maintains, (p. 62 of Illustrations, before quoted) "the greatest " influence of motives that can rationally be conceived, or which it is possible for so any one to maintain, without making them physical efficients, or agents, can

" no way affect liberty." So, (p. 72) when Dr. Priestley calls, " a power of determin-" ing without motives, or a proper self-de-" termining power, without any regard to "judgment, conscience, or affection," an absolutely chimerical thing, and what is abfolutely impossible—Granted—but it is a chimera which Dr. Price never thought of as a reality, an impossibility in what he never looked upon to be possible. again, Dr. Priestley has forgot Dr. Price's very important distinction between his ideas of moral influence, and physical necessity; between having a regard to judgment, conscience, or affection, and being physically or necessarily determined by them; and because Dr. Price distinguishes an agent from a passive instrument, Dr. Priestley represents Dr. Price as maintaining the idea of a power of action, or felf-determination, without any regard to judgment, or conscience: as if to determine for ourselves, and to act the part of an ideot, were, with Dr. Price, precifely, one and the same thing.

On SECTION VII.

- " OF THE PROPRIETY OF REWARDS AND
 - "Punishments, and the Founda-
 - " TION OF PRAISE AND BLAME, ON
 - " THE SCHEME OF NECESSITY."

NHE objection to the doctrine of neceffity, which Dr. Priestley here confiders; namely, that on this scheme "the " idea of responsibility, or accountableness " vanishes, and there can be no propriety, or " use of rewards or punishments," has, indeed very confiderable weight with those who have confidered the fubject. And the force of this objection may be comprised in a few words. To be accountable for any thing, supposes that I have it in my power to do, or forbear that thing, whatever it That which I am under an absolute necessity of doing, or which I cannot avoid, can neither be deserving praise or blame in the smallest degree, and can therefore be no foundation for reward or punishment. In this brief illustration lies the whole weight

of the objection; and it is founded on principles which apppear to be so self-evident. that I am persuaded the common sense of mankind, if unbiassed, would immediately lead to an universal acknowledgement of their truth. But certain and plain as these positions are; Dr. Priestley hopes "to make " it appear, that when the case is rightly " understood, there can be no use or proor priety of rewards, or punishments, on any " other scheme, (but that of necessity) and "the greatest possible upon this." (p. 74.) In order to make this clearly apprehended. the Dr. supposes "two minds constructed " upon the two opposite schemes of necessity " and liberty." To avoid circumlocution. he calls, the former A. and the latter B. supposing himself to be a father, and these two his children. "Knowing, fays he, " their inward make and constitution, let " us confider, how I should treat them." As the illustration of these two examples is carried on for feveral pages, to avoid so large a quotation, I shall refer the reader to Dr. Priestley's work itself, for a full view of it; and shall content myself with point-

ing out such parts of it, as seem materially to affect the argument. Dr. Priestley represents " all the determinations of the one " being A as invariably directed by its pre-" vious dispositions, and the motives present-" ed to it;" while the other B is described as having "a power of determining, in all cases, " in a manner independent of any fuch pre-" vious disposition;" which, says the Dr. " is precifely the difference between the " fystems of necessity and liberty, philoso-" phically, and strictly defined." Note here, that by the determinations of A being " invariably," the Dr. through the whole of his illustrations means necessarily, directed. And whereas he says, that B has " a power of determining, in all cases, in "a manner independent of motives;" the advocates for liberty, only maintain a power of determining, independent of motives, as efficients of the determination by a compulsory influence, while they admit the greatest possible influence, that is consistent with agency in the being who determines. So that the difference between the construction of the two minds, A and B on the

fystems of necessity and liberty, expressed in other words, is precifely this; A has not the power of making any determination at all; all his determinations are made by the compulsory, necessitating influence of previous dispositions and motives. B, on the other hand, has the power over his determinations, or of determining for himself, independent of any fuch compulsory influence, as A is supposed to be governed by. In short, B is an agent, while A is a mere passive instrument. Into this the difference between the two minds, as stated by Dr. Priestley, when fairly considered, must at last be resolved. Now, on this view of the construction of the mind A, the whole scheme of discipline, which the Dr. lays down, appears to be altogether futile and infignificant. His object, indeed, is to make A virtuous and happy: but as to all the happiness arising from conscious virtue, he must surely miss his. If virtue confists (as certainly it aim. must) in the choice of what is right, on the view of its rectitude; A is by the construction of his mind, rendered incapable of it. He is necessarily determined, or set d acted upon in all that he does. He can therefore determine nothing, or make no choice at all. How excellent soever, then, in themselves, the precepts may be which are recommended to him, as rules of conduct; whatever addresses may be made to his hopes or fears; and whatever may be the effect of all the care and discipline that can be used; still not the least degree of personal virtue can be produced. Call the effects by what name you will, they can suggest no idea of virtue, or of virtuous satisfaction or happiness. All is necessary and unavoidable. There is no choice, no power in the mind to form its own determinations, and consequently nothing that, in a moral estimation, can in the least deferve praise or reward.

But from the child A, let us now turn our attention to B, whose mind is formed upon the principle of liberty, and confider what may be expected, as the effect of proper instruction and just discipline, with respect to him. Now, though motives can have no fuch influence upon his determinations, as the Dr. intends by the term ne-

tellary; that is, though he will always have the power of determining for himself, independent of the physical or necessitating influence of motives; it yet does by no means follow from hence, that motives can have no influence at all upon his mind, or no fuch influence as may not, in a moral fense, be said to be certain. Though he is not the same passive instrument as A, he is still a rational being, who is endued with a faculty of intelligence, which, if it be properly cultivated, it is supposed will, as he grows up, enable him more and more to distinguish between the weight of different motives, as reasons or grounds of determination or action. By the power of choice or determination, with which he is formed. he is not only rendered capable of virtue, of good or ill desert; but has also the ability of exercifing that act of the mind, which we call attention. In consequence of this. as the faculty of thought and reason gains strength, he becomes proportionably more capable, by the act of attention, of feeling the influence of just motives of conduct. And, in this way, it is easy to conceive of the

reasonableness of such motives, if properly presented to kis mind, being discerned in a still clearer manner, and consequently the weight of them being more strongly felt; as reasons of conduct; till their influence rifes; to a confiderable degree of what the advocates for liberty express by moral certainty: which certainty will always increased in proportion to the degree in which the reasonableness of the motive is discerned. and to the strength of the impression; which, by attention, it makes upon the mind. Such then being the construction of B's mind, and fuch the allowed influence of motives; can it be justly said, if due care be taken of his education, that " no fort " of calculation can be made." or no reafonable expectation formed, as to his future character and conduct? Though the influence of mutives be not mechanical. or physically necessary, does this prove that they have no influence, or that there is no kind or degree of certainty attending their operation? Dr. Priestley, in his illustrations, constantly deduces this consequence from the denial of physical or absolute nenot admit. To be not physically determined by motives, is, with him, the same thing, as to have no regard to them at all, as reasons of conduct. But not to enlarge a point, on which so much has been already said; let us return to the case of the child B.

He is by nature intelligent and free. He is capable of understanding, at least in some degree, the nature of motives. As reasons of conduct, they cannot but, morally speaking, influence him, according to the view he takes, or the judgment he forms, of them. The clearer, then, his discernment is of the propriety of those motives, upon which he ought to act, so much the stronger will be their influence over him. And he has, at all times, the power of determination and action in himself. Considering the constitution of B's mind in this point of view, which is no other than a representation of what a mind, formed according to the scheme of liberty, really is; and I cannot conceive of a more proper subject of tuition or discipline, than B appears to be. He

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has a power of choice or determination, and he has reason to direct him in the exercise of it. And can " no provision" be made against a wrong use of the determining power, or against wrong conduct, in a being of B's make? Though this is not to be prevented in a physical way, or no such provision can be made, as will necessarily determine his conduct; and though a counteracting influence may defeat all that can be done for him; there are, however, means to be used, and those too very probable in their effect, for leading him to act right; that is, to make a right determination for himself. As he is a rational being, may it not well be supposed, that rational considerations will have some influence on him? May it not also be supposed, that their influence will gradually increase with their evidence? And can promises or threatnings, the confiderations of rewards and punishments, be useless to such a mind as this? Or rather, is it not naturally capable of feeling their influence in the greatest degree, as far as it can uniderstand their nature, and discern their devidence i Upoh athe whole,

while the best instruction, and the most wholesome and regular discipline, must be altogether ineffectual to the proposed end, on a mind formed, as the doctrine of necessity supposes; on one constructed according to the principle of liberty, they must be likely and efficacious means of accomplishing it. Out of the latter mind alone can virtue be produced; in that only can the fatisfactions and joys of conscious goodness find any place: and unless responsibility can consist with the impossibility of acting at all, A. must of consequence be utterly incapable of it, on any principle of reason or justice; whereas B is, in the commonly received sense, properly accountable for his conduct.

But Dr. Priestley, p. 78, has given us a very different idea of responsibility from that which is usually annexed to it. For according to him, "to make us proper sub-"jects of discipline, and thereby secure our greatest happiness, is all that, phi-"losophically speaking, is really meant by making us accountable creatures." So that, according to the definition of responsibility here laid down, to be formed the

passive subjects of an uncontroulable influence, which is the Dr.'s own idea of discipline, and to have our greatest happiness secured to us by the agency of the Divine Being, without any power of choice or agency on our part, is to be an accountable creature. What there is then left to give an account of, I am utterly at a loss to conjecture. Any further comment on this notion of responsibility seems unnecessary.

The remarks, already made, will apply to all that the Dr. has further advanced, in his other view of the subject, which begins with p. 80. The whole is founded upon these two principles, first, That motives determine, or are efficients of the choice; and secondly, That if this power of determination be not allowed to them, they can then have no influence at all, but whatever is done is the effect of mere arbitrary pleasure.

I have already endeavoured to shew, that the first of these tenets is incompatible with any idea of virtue, or of good or ill desert; and that the other proceeds on a supposition of that, as maintained by the advocates for liberty, which they constantly deny. I shall therefore only subjoin a few remarks on some passages in this part of the Dr.'s illustrations, which proceed on these principles.

To prove A deserving of praise for his conduct, he observes, that it "proceeds " from his own virtuous dispositions, and "that his good habits are fo confirmed, " that neither promises nor threatnings are " able to draw him afide from his duty." I answer, as before, that whatever A's dispositions or habits may be, they cannot, with any propriety, be called virtuous or good, as implying any personal worth, or good desert, in them; because he had not. nor could he have, on the supposed construction of his mind, any active concern in forming them; no more than in adjusting the stature of his body, or the features of his countenance. And where then is the proper foundation for praise?

Concerning B the Dr. remarks, on the other hand, that he is no proper subject or object of praise. And why? Because, let him do the same thing that A did, if the cause of his right determination was not

any bias or disposition of mind in favour of virtue, or because a good motive in-"fluenced him to do it; but that his de-" termination was produced by fomething " within him of a quite different nature, " a mere arbitrary pleasure, without any " reason whatever," &c. p. 81. Such is the manner in which Dr. Priestley accounts for B's conduct: but it is founded on principles very different from those which are held by the advocates for liberty. On that scheme, all virtue is right determination on the view of the rectitude, or moral excellence, of what the mind determines upon: and though the approbation or liking of the action (which is the last judgment of it, and in which the mind is passive) is not the cause or efficient of the determination, the mind or felf-determining power is yet always supposed to have respect to that, in the determination it makes. Approbation precedes, and, as a reason or motive, has a real and confiderable influence in exciting the mind to, though it does not controul or necessitate, the determination. Can the mind, then, in this case, be said to all by not, on the contrary, in the exercise of its natural power, act with the greatest reason, and on the best grounds? And what, if this does not, can merit commendation or praise? It is not, as Dr. Priestley represents it, p. 84, like "a fortunate throw" of the dice, which is a mere effect, over which the hand, that casts it, has no power of direction at all; but is a real act, of which the mind itself is the cause, an act with design, and which proceeds on the most solid foundation, as to the nature of the choice or destermination which it makes.

Dr. Priestley further observes, p. 82, concerning the conduct of a being, whose mind is formed on the principle of liberty; "There is nothing on which I can depend for the future. Even a series of good actions, produced in this manner, gives no security for a proper conduct in surfaces; because such actions can form no habit, that is, no necessary tendency to a particular conduct; but every thing is liable to be reversed by this selfdetermining principle, which can turn 2

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" deaf ear to all motives and all reasons." There is not, indeed, the same ground of dependance in the conduct of B as of A, that is, a physical or absolute necessity; but does it therefore follow, that "there is " nothing, in the character of B, on which " I gan depend for the future?" Is moral certainty no ground of dependance? This, as was observed in another place, is the ground on which we depend for the rectitude of the divine conduct. In this instance, the moral certainty rises to the most perfect security. It amounts to a real, though but a moral, impossibility, that God can ever do any thing but what is right; excluding only that physical impossibility, which by not admitting the idea of agency, must be subversive of all moral perfection in the smallest degree. As Dr. Price, in his clear and forcible manner, remarks, p. 430, and following, of his Review, " It may be " infinitely more depended upon, that God will never do wrong, than that the wifest " created being will not do what is most " destructive to him, without having the re least temptation to it. There is, in " truth.

" truth, equal impossibility, though not the same kind of impossibility, that he, "who is the abstract of all perfection, " should deviate into imperfection in his " conduct, infinite reason act unreasonably, " or eternal righteousness, unrighteously; " as that infinite knowledge should mistake, " infinite power be conquered, or necessary " existence cease to exist." Here, then, is an instance, in which moral certainty affords a ground of dependance the most secure, and which, it may with the strictest propriety be faid, cannot fail us. Now, there is the same kind of security, though, comparatively, in as much lower a degree, as the difference is great between a created and an uncreated mind; a being furrounded with temptation, and one who is above the possibility of any temptation; I say, there is, though in this diminished degree, the fame kind of fecurity attending our dependance on a human character, which has proved itself good by a series of right actions,

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. Habits, as they are commonly understood, confist in a facility of doing any thing, acquired by repeated acts. And this facility arises, from the influence which dispositions towards fuch acts, or the motives which were the grounds or reasons of them, will obtain, by having been attended to, or made the grounds of determination or action before. The disposition or tendency, therefore, towards any kind of conduct cannot but grow stronger, together with the habit or facility of doing the action: and though it can, in no case, be the physical cause of acting; will, however, in proportion to the degree of its strength, increase the moral certainty of the repetition of the action, or of a continued pursuit of the same course of conduct. Can it, then, be justly faid, that " a feries of good actions gives no fecurity " for a proper conduct in future instances?" A feries of good actions will certainly, in the common acceptation, form a habit of doing them. Strength of habit, also, implies proportional strength in the disposition to that which is good; and according to this, must be the security, or ground of depend-

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ance, that a virtuous agent will continue to act virtuously: unless we suppose, because he has the physical power of altering his conduct, that his having acted virtuously, when his disposition so to do was weaker; renders it in no degree probable, or murally certain, that he will not cease to act the same becoming part, when his dispofition to it is become stronger. The idea of a "felf-determining principle which can " turn a deaf ear to all motives and all " reasons," if by can be meant, that there is no kind of certainty that it will not, may be Dr. Priestley's opinion of the self-determining power, but is not the idea which the advocates for liberty have of it.

Dr. Priestley observes, (p. 83) that "by self-determination the world in general always understands, a power of determination not subject to the controus of others, but produced by causes operating within a man's self only." If these causes, whatever they be, within a man's self, stand to express something over which the man himself has no power at all, something which operates by an unavoidable necessity.

ceffity, which the man cannot possibly prevent; for ought I can see, the term selfdetermination, may, with equal propriety, be applied to a determination subject to " the controul of others," as to one " pro-" duced by causes operating within a man's " felf." The man himfelf is no agent, no determiner, in one case more than the other. The determination is produced by something, over which he has no more power, than he has over the changes of the feafons: Both are alike necessary; they are the effects of what he did not fix, and cannot alter. If this be "felf-determination, as the world " in general always understands it;" to talk in the manner I have now done about it, must, in the Dr's. phrase, be getting out of the road of common sense; and whether it be so or not, let every man of common sense determine.

P. 84, Dr. Priestley says, "It has been feen, that punishment would have no propriety, or use upon the doctrine of philofophical liberty; blame also, upon the same scheme, would be equally absurd,
and ill-founded." That what cannot

be avoided, cannot be the subject of blame, and that where there, is nothing deterving blame, there can be no foundation for punishment—these positions are amongst those self-evident maxims which no words can make plainer. To determine, then, whether punishment, can belong to A or B, the Dr's, two fons of necessity and liberty, for any supposed wrong that either of them has done, the fingle question is, whether they had it in their power to avoid; or forbear, what they have done? If it be faid that either of them could not, it would, I believe, be univerfally acknowledged, by every unprejudiced person, that he was no object of punishment, and that it could, in no degree, without manifest injustice; be inflicted on him; but that it belonged folely to him, by whom the supposed wrong action might have been avoided. Upon these principles, in the case of the child of necessity, A, punishment can have no foundation, or propriety. With him every thing is fixed and unalterable, and entirely independent of any proper agency of his own, as the cause of it. Whatever is done by him, it was absolutely

absolutely out of his power to avoid; he may then deserve pity, but not blame; assistance, but not punishment. Nor, in his case, can there be any more use or occasion for punishment, as a moral discipline, than there can be justice or propriety in the infliction of it, as due to demerit. For whatever the indulgences may be, to which he has a propenfity, and how strong soever that propenfity may be; neither the indulgences, nor the propenfity, can, in a proper or moral fense, be called vicious. Of vice, or any thing morally evil, he is utterly incapable, having no power of choice, or agency. A, therefore, though he may be very unhappy, has nothing in him that is vicious to be cured; and on ... which there is any ground or occasion for punishment to operate, in the way of moral discipline. All there can possibly be in A, which needs alteration, can only come under the denomination of certain constitutional disorders, or the necessary confeduences of them; on which sufferings, like a bitter potion, may have a

very falutary effect, so as to render A a mere comfortable, but can never make him a virtuous, being.

On the other hand, the child of liberty, B, if he has really done the wrong action which is laid to his account, he has done that which he had it in his power to have avoided, and is therefore deserving of blame and, consequently, punishment, according to the evil which he hath committed. Dr. Priestley, indeed, says of B, that though he has done what is wrong, " it was not from any bad disposition of " mind, that made him subject to be in-"fluenced by bad impressions. No, his determination had a cause of quite another " nature. It was a choice directed by no " bad motive whatever, but a mere will, " acting independently of any motive." (p. The direct contrary to the spirit and defign, if not to the letter, of this representation of B's conduct, appears to be unquestionably true of him. As he is by nature endued with a power of choice, or determination, whatever he does that is

wrong, cannot but involve demerit in it, provided he had it in his power to have known that it was wrong. In a being of his frame, to do a wrong thing is to make a wrong choice or determination. right or wrong choice supposes some rule or standard, by which the choice is to be made. Whatever that standard be, if I am, or might make myself, acquainted with it, and yet do not bring my choice to this test, before I make it; whatever is wrong in my choice, as the consequence of my neglect, I am certainly chargeable with it. As B, then, is allowed this power of choice, or determination, and is also supposed capable of knowing what he does, or of distinguishing between right and wrong; if he acts wrong, or makes a wrong choice, he must be so far criminal. Circumstances will, indeed, increase or lessen the criminality. If the action, or determination proceeded "from " any bad disposition of mind, that made " him subject to be influenced by bad im-" pressions," that is, according to the ideas of necessity, if he was determined by a difposition K 2

position which was by him unavoidable, of necessarily subject to the controlling power of bad impressions; this must, surely, in the eye of impartial reason and common sense, not render B's conduct criminal and deserving blame, but, on the contrary, take away all criminality from it. B is then changed into the child of necessity, who can be no proper object either of praise or blame. Make the reverse of this supposition, that is, fuppose B to have acted under the influence of a bad disposition, which he had contracted; and that this disposition, strong as its influence might be, did not necessitate him to act, or had no absolutely controuling influence over him, or in other words, that he had it in his power to forbear what he yet did under its influence: and he will then be accountable and deserving blame, both for the wrong act or determination, and also for the bad disposition which was the ground or occasion of the act, or the motive exciting him to it. "A mere will acting inde-"dependently of any motive," that is, without any bad previous disposition, or any temptation

temptation to the act, is, again, a cause of action which the doctrine of liberty does not suppose. Further, if we view punishment, as inflicted upon B for his wrong conduct, in the light of discipline, for the purpose of reforming him; and in his character there is the proper and only soundation for it to work upon; B, conscious that he might have avoided the act for which he suffers, and that what he suffers is upon account of his own wrong choice, may see his crime in his punishment; in consequence of which, he may be so sensible of the evil of what he has done, as to guard against the repetition of it for the suture.

Dr. Priestley remarks, (p. 86) "It is said "that the nature of remorse implies a self-"determining power." I answer, (continues the Dr.) "that this is no other than the same deception that I have explained before. For blaming ourselves, or blaming another, are things of the very same nature, and depend upon the same principles. The sense of self-reproach and shame is excited, by our finding that we have a disposition of mind leading to K 3

"vice, and on which motives to virtue, in particular cases, have had no influer ence.

Here I am led, in reply, again to repeat. that Dr. Priestley, and the advocates for liberty, differ most essentially in their ideas of personal virtue and vice, or what it is that constitutes that good or ill desert, which is the proper foundation of praise or blame, in relation to ourselves or others. Priestley makes them to consist in the controuling influence of good or bad dispofitions in the mind, introduced there by necessary causes, over which man has no power, which he can neither prevent nor alter. The advocates for liberty, on the other hand, suppose agency to be essential to all personal virtue or vice, merit or demerit, and that whatever the dispositions are, which take place in the mind, no man can in the least deserve praise or blame upon account of them, any further than he has been concerned in the production of them, or in giving them the influence which they have obtained; in short, no further than he had the power over them. With such different views of the essential constituents of moral character in general, it is no wonder that we judge so very differently of the merit or demerit belonging to any particular one; and that we account in so very different a manner for the feelings of mind, which are excited by resection on any particular course of conduct. A mistake there must certainly be on one side or the other. Let it be impartially considered, whether the Dr. has the reason, which he supposes, to think that the deception lies on the side of liberty.

To take the instance which the Dr. is here considering, that of remorse or self-reproach. The advocates for liberty suppose, when a man feels remorse, or reproaches himself, for any thing that he has done, that he considers himself as having had the power of not doing it. And is there any thing that looks like deception in this? Is it not most natural and reasonable, to view the man, who reproaches himself, as the real agent of the crime for which he reproaches himself? Or, has a man the least reason to blame himself for an action, which

it was impossible for him to avoid? But, clear as it feems, that "a man, when he reproaches himself for any particular " action," fupposes he might have avoided it, and "that, if he was in the same " fituation again, he would have acted dif-" ferently;" this, Dr. Priestley says, (p. 88) " is a mere deception." Let us, then, attend to what, in the Dr's. opinion, is the cause of self-reproach. The sense of felf-reproach and shame, he says, is excited by our "finding that we have a disposition " of mind leading to vice, and on which " motives to virtue, in particular cases, " have had no influence." But is not the disposition of mind leading to vice, as well as every other, according to the Dr. necesceffary and unavoidable? If I have a difposition, on which motives to virtue, in particular cases, at any time, or at all times, have had no influence; this disposition is not of my own creating, but is the effect of the same unavoidable necessity. then should I be ashamed, or reproach myfelf upon account of any dispositions, how bad or perverse and obstinate soever? They

are my misfortunes, but are neither my crime nor shame. On the scheme of necessity, both the actions which we call bad, and the dispositions which lead to them, are alike necessary, and not to be avoided. And in this view of them, it does not feem posfible that any fense of grief or shame, in the lowest degree, can be excited. On the supposition that we are really constructed and acted upon, as the doctrine of necessity teaches, if a man ever does reproach himfelf, it must be by forgetting, at the time. what fort of a creature he really is, and imagining himself to be what he is not: that is, instead of considering himself as the child of necessity, he must believe that he is a fon of liberty; in consequence of which he will fancy, that he could have avoided that which he could not avoid; that he acted when he was only acted upon; that he really did those vicious acts, of which he was the mere passive instrument. In this way alone, does it feem possible, on the scheme of necessity, that a man can ever blame himself. And, in this view of the case, may I not venture to affirm that the groffest deception

deception, which reflects the greatest dishonour on the divine constitution and government. For what can be more dishonourable to God, than to suppose, that he has so constituted his creature man, as that he shall feel that most painful and distressing of all sensations,—self-reproach—for what it was absolutely out of his power to avoid—that he may even experience all the pungent remorse of the worst of transgressors, when he has only been subject to the law of his nature, and, for the time, filled the part as-signed him by his Omnipotent Creator.

The sufferings, derived from this source, are very different from those medicinal ones, which take their rise from other causes: not only as they are more intense in degree, but as they are founded on an unavoidable deception, to which I am made subject, as to my character as well as frame; leading me to suppose that I am chargeable with that of which I was the mere passive instrument, and, in consequence of this, causing me to feel as a criminal, when I am really innocent. It will, I believe, be found

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found extremely difficult, to reconcile such a plan of human nature with any ideas either of mercy or justice.

Dr. Priestley concludes this section with observations from some distinguished writers, in favour of philosophical necessity. There does not appear to be much in them different from what Dr. Priestley himself had before advanced. The principles and reasonings are very much the same, only expressed in different words, or a little differently illustrated. To consider particularly what they have said, would therefore only be to go over the same arguments again. There are, however, a few things, which may deserve some notice.

In the quotation given by Dr. Priestley from Mr. Hume's Philosophical Essays, p. 155, Mr. Hume says, that "Actions" are by their very nature, temporary and perishing; and where they proceed not from some cause in the character and disposition of the person who performed them, though the actions themselves may be contrary to the rules of morality and

" religion, the person is not responsible for "them. And again, according to the or principle, which denies necessity, and " consequently causes, a man is as pure and " untainted after having committed the " most horrid crime, as at the first moment of his birth; nor is his character any way concerned in his actions, fince they are " not derived from it." To reply very briefly. All, that Mr. Hume here fays, proceeds upon the principle, that the difpositions of the mind constitute the character, and are the only causes of action. this much has been already faid. Dispositions are, no doubt, very much concerned in the idea of character; but this must go on the supposition that we are agents, and that the existence, or establishment, of our dispofitions, is owing to the culture we have given them on the one hand, or to the want of it on the other: while if, as Mr. Hume's doctrine teaches, these dispositions are neceffary, of whatever kind they are, they can form no character at all, as implying good or ill defert; nor do they at all belong to the idea of it. Mr. Hume makes the difpolition

position to be the cause of the action: the doctrine of liberty makes the self-determining power to be the cause. There is, therefore, a cause upon the latter principle, though it be a different one from that assigned by Mr. Hume; and, according to this principle, a man is responsible for his actions, though, in their "nature, temporary" and perishing," because he has the power over them; whereas, on Mr. Hume's principles, I cannot see, how, in any case, he can possibly be responsible either for his actions or his dispositions.

Dr. Priestley makes two extracts from Lord Kaims. One from his Sketches on Man, vol. II. p. 300; the other from his Essays on the Principles of Morality and Natural Religion, p. 177. The design of the whole is to vindicate the constitution of human nature on the plan of necessity, as being admirably well fitted to answer the purposes of human life and society. In order to this, he contrasts it to what he supposes would be the case, if man was formed on the principle of liberty. And was the view, which he gives of man, just,

he might well call such a creature, a "most " unaccountable being, a mere absurdity in " nature, whose existence could serve no " end." But the being, he describes, is not the agent intended by the doctrine of liberty: he is the mere creature of his lordship's own imagination. Lord Kaims represents the operations of the human mind, on the principle of liberty, to be what they are not, nor were ever supposed to be. Thus he calls the felf-determining principle an " arbitrary power," the will "capricious," and speaks of it as "doing good or ill by " accident;" as if the power of choice implied the absence of reason; and because these powers are distinct, that the former could not therefore act under the direction of the other; or as if that, which is not physically necessary, must be done without defign or direction, or by accident. on this mistaken notion of the self-determining power, and its manner of acting; that he further observes concerning it. "At this rate no man could be depended " upon. Promise, with nows, would •• be in vain; and relieve to the bind or

fix a man, who is influenced by no mo-"tive." Here is the same mistake which has been before noticed in the reasonings of Dr. Priestley. Lord Kaims will not allow any influence to motives, unless they render the act physically necessary: whereas the advocates for liberty allow them the greatest possible influence, which is consistent with freedom or agency; constituting that moral certainty of the action or event, which is a just ground of dependance, and in less or greater, according to the power of the motives presented to the mind, or the degree of influence which they are fitted to have over it. Men, therefore, may be depended on for the performance of their promises, oaths and vows, in proportion to the strength of those ties, by which we suppose them to be held. The fear of disgrace, or of civil punishment, will have considerable weight with some; a sense of honour. and a love of virtue, will be the prevailing motive with others; while in minds religiously disposed, a sense of God, and a regard to his authority, will obtain the strongest ascendancy. Now the influence

of these considerations, cannot but afford fome security or ground of dependance. And, in general, the better cultivated any mind is, the greater will be the security of its acting right; though, in every case, even where motives of any particular kind have the strongest influence, there must be a physical power of relifting, or acting in opposition to them. This the idea of agency requires. Without this, well might we take up, in fober fadness, the plaintive reflections which Lord Kaims puts into the mouth of the advocates for liberty: " How hard is the " lot of the human species to be thus tied " down and fixed to motives, subjected by " a necessary law to the choice of evil, if " evil happen to be the prevailing motive, " or if it misleads under the form of our " greatest interest or good! How happy to " have had a free independent power of " acting contrary to motives, when the " prevailing motive has a bad tendency! " By this power we might have pushed our " way to virtue and happiness, whatever " motives were fuggested by vice and folly " to draw us back," &c. These reflections appear appear to me extremely just and forcible, and notwithstanding all that Lord Kaims afterwards fays, to obviate the difficulty which they point out, it seems still to remain in its full strength. Far happier, surely, must be that constitution of the human mind, which gives to man the power of pushing his way to virtue and happiness, in opposition to the suggestions of vice and folly, than that which would cause him, in any case, to be unavoidably held back, and subjected by a necessary law to the choice of evil. For, whatever remedies may be provided for the cure of evil habits derived from the latter cause, out of the mind that is only acted upon, can arise nothing that deserves the name of virtue, nor can it posfibly enjoy any of that happiness, which refults from the consciousness of it.

ON SECTION VIII.

"How far Mens general Conduct

"will be influenced by the Be
" lief of the Doctrine of Neces" sity."

" T is imagined, says Dr. Priestley, by "I fome, that the apprehension of all " the actions of men depending upon mo-"tives, which necessarily influence their determinations, fo that no action or event " could possibly be otherwise than it has been, is, or is to be, would make men " indifferent with respect to their conduct, " or to what befals them in life." p. 96, 07. This objection to the doctrine of necessity, and which is here fairly stated by the Dr. does, indeed, as well as the foregoing, appear to carry very confiderable weight in it; as the idea of man's being under fuch a government, directly draws after it the consequence which is ascribed to it, that of rendering " men indifferent with respect " to their conduct." What can possibly have a stronger tendency to produce this effect?

effect? Is there any thing that can so directly tend to prevent all human endeayours, as for a man to believe that he has no power over his actions; " so that no " action or event could possibly be other-" wise than it has been, is, or is to be." To obviate the difficulty arising from this effect, which the scheme of necessity has been supposed to have, the Dr. answers. " So it would, if their own actions and de-" terminations were not necessary links in " this chain of causes and events, and if " their good or bad fuccess did not, in the " strictest sense of the word, depend upon "themselves." Now the consideration of " the actions and determinations of men " being necessary links in this chain of " causes and events," is the very thing that instead of removing, constitutes the difficulty, which is supposed to attend the necessarian doctrine; since it will naturally operate as a means of producing the bad effect which the objection imputes to it. If all human actions and determinations are necessary, what is there, that, in any proper sense, can be said to depend upon a L 2 man's

man's felf? What, on this plan of human nature, are all endeavours or efforts which a man can exert, but impressions, or the confequences of impressions, made upon him, in which he has not the least concern as an efficient or agent. A philosopher, who possesses Dr. Priestley's enlarged understanding, and noble firmness of mind, may, indeed, in defiance of his principles, continue to act and exert himself in the same wife and rational manner, as if no fuch unavoidable necessity subsisted. But, if we judge of mankind at large by what we see of them, the disposition which they too commonly discover, to find apologies for neglecting the business and duties of life, and exceeding in their indulgencies and pleasures, cannot but lead us to suppose, that they would avail themselves of such a sentiment, as the doctrine of necessity proposes to their belief; to be still more negligent as to every important concern, and to allow themselves much greater freedom in ev ry gratification to which sense and appetite prompt them. To look upon every action and event as necesfary, and that nothing could be otherwise than than it is, is a much better salvo for all their follies and errors, than any other which they have yet been able to find out. then resolved into a divine constitution. which is unalterably fixed. 'If any, therefore, are to succeed better, or be happier, in any part of their existence, than others, their superior prosperity and happiness will be infallibly secured to them; and though there is a certain disposition of mind and course of action, which are inseparably connected with their fuccess and happiness, as means to bring about those events, yet the means as well as the end, are alike necesfary; and having no power to make either the one or the other at all different from what they are, or are to be, their lot through the whole of their being is by them absolutely unalterable. What, again I fay, can have a stronger tendency to relax the mind. and fink it into a state of indolence and inactivity? In the case of the farmer's tilling and sowing his fields, which the Dr. adduces, he seems to take the principle of necessity for granted, and then rea-Yons upon it, as if it was really true.

make this example at all a case in point, it must be supposed, not only that " vegeta-"tion is subject to the established laws of " nature," or, that there is a physical connection between fowing and reaping, so that no produce can be expected where there is no feed fown; but it must also be supposed that the farmer believes, that he himfelf is in the whole of his conduct subject to the like physical necessity, and that if he is to reap, he shall also find himself under a necessary, compulsive, influence to Whether this is a common opinion among that plain fort of men, who are occupied in this business, let the Dr. himself, on impartial reflection, determine. But till that is first proved, no inference favourable to the doctrine of necessity, can be drawn from the pains they take, in making use of the means appointed for rendering the earth fruitful. The fact, I doubt not, is, that they do confider themselves as having it in their power to neglect or use the means; and did they believe the contrary, I have no less doubt, that their belief would be too commonly attended with the same unhappy effects, as were before pointed out.

Some of the most ingenious and able advocates for necessity have been so sensible of the weight of this objection against it, that they could not avoid acknowledging, a seeling of liberty to be requisite, in order to carry on that necessary plan of government for which they contend. So directly subversive is the scheme of necessity even of its own ends, in promoting the welfare and happiness of mankind, both in their personal and social capacity.

Dr. Priestley, in the latter part of this section, arguing against the influence which a persuasion of the doctrine of necessity may be supposed to have on our behaviour with respect to God, says, "That it is impossi-" ble there can be any difficulty attending "the subject of prayer, or any branch of it, upon the supposition of the doctrine of necessity, that does not equally affect it on the general supposition of God's knowing all our wants, and being distinguished to supply them." Something has

already been said on the subject of prayer, in the remarks made on Section VI. As was there observed, the belief of a necessity attending all actions and events must naturally indispose men for the performance of this duty: for whatever connection there may be between asking and receiving bleffings, yet as the asking them is no less a part of the plan of necessity, than receiving; if, therefore, any are to be the recipients of any particular bleffings, they will also find themselves necessarily inclined to petition for them. Nothing then remains, but for every man to follow the prefent bent of his mind, whether it be, to pray, or not to pray. If he has no inclination to this exercise, it not being in his power to produce the disposition to it, he may be fure that it is no less fixed and neceffary that he should not pray, than that he should not be a partaker of the bleffings connected with prayer. The persuasion of this doctrine cannot, therefore, but have the strongest tendency to make men of an irreligious turn of mind easy in the neglect of this duty; and to produce indifference in all with respect to the performance of it.

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But let us now further attend to the influence of this doctrine on prayer, confidered as a qualification for the divine favours, or the means of obtaining them. Dr. Priestley allows the propriety and importance of prayer in this view. Accordingly, in illustration of it, he observes, (p. 101) "Wise " parents often justly refuse to supply the wants of their children, till they folicit " for it, with a proper temper of mind." Now, what is there in prayer, as a religious or moral qualification for receiving favours from God, on the scheme of necessity? Is prayer, on that scheme, any thing more than the unavoidable effect of an irrefishble influence on the mind of the petitioner, in which he had no power of choice, or agency, but was a mere passive instrument? Can prayer, in this view, manifest the proper temper of religious dependance? Is there any religion where there is no proper choice; in impressions which were wrought in me, without any agency of my own? This feems entirely to destroy the wisdom of that constitution, which has connected praying to

God for the bleffings we want, (confidered as a qualification) with the receipt of them: fince there is then no more of truly religious, or moral, goodness of heart in praying, than in neglecting to pray. When I have prayed, I have, in reality, done nothing but what it was impossible for me to have avoided; and if I have neglected prayer, I have omitted nothing which it was possible for me to do. To pray, and to omit to pray, are alike necessary, and take their rise from a constitution, established by the God who made me, which is absolutely unalterable. But can the same be said of this duty, on " the supposition of God's knowing all our " wants, and being disposed to supply them, " as far as it is proper that he should do it?" Prayer to God, if we suppose man to possess a power of choice, or agency, and that, in consequence of this, the sense of dependance, by which he is animated in the performance of it, is a disposition which he has cultivated; I say, prayer, in this view of man, will be a truly religious fervice, a fervice which argues a most important difference of character between the man, who employs employs himself in this devout exercise, and him who allows himself to neglect it: and thus it affords a just reason, sounded in wisdom and goodness, for conferring blessings on the truly religious petitioner, which are withheld from him who neglects this most becoming expression of his indigent and dependant condition.

As to all that Mr. Hobbes has faid on this subject, in the passage from his works, quoted by the Dr. p. 101, &c. he is so far confistent with himself, as to exclude the idea of prayer, as "a cause or means" of our obtaining any thing we ask. But as the view of prayer, as a means of obtaining, or a qualification for receiving, bleffings from God, is, I think, the only rational ground on which that part of prayer, which comes under the denomination of petition, can be · defended as a reasonable service; and as this is the light in which Revelation places it; I shall not, therefore, enter into the further confideration of what he has advanced on this head.

ON SECTION IX.

"OF THE MORAL INFLUENCE OF THE
"Doctrine of Necessity."

R. Priestley introduces this section with remarking, " It has been feen " that the principles on which the doctrine " of necessity is founded are equally those " of the vulgar, and of true philosophy." It feems, however, to deferve notice, that though the Dr. thinks, the principles, which mankind in general hold, are so clearly in favour of the doctrine of necessity; he yet grants, that "they have no apprehension of " the real and unavoidable confequences of "the principles they every day act upon." That, "they would even be alarmed, " and staggered, if those consequences were " pointed out to them; and, perhaps, " from their unwillingness to admit the " consequences, would be tempted to " disguise their daily feelings and expe-" rience, . " rience, imagining them to be different "from what they really are." (p. 164.) Does not all this look, as if the confequences of the doctrine of necessity were so repugnant to the common sense and feelings of mankind, that, if they were really apprized of the consequences, they would deny the doctrine which leads to them? But why should they be afraid of the consequences, if they every day act upon the principles? This feems to be no favourable omen on the fide of philosophical necessity. It looks, on the contrary, as if they had really no opinion that their determinations and actions were necessary, in the sense in which the Dr. represents them; but they thought themselves to be as truly free, as the scheme of liberty supposes them to be. therefore cannot but see with the Dr. that " From this place the philosopher, on his " fide of the argument, must be content to " proceed by himself. Let us then examine, " whether his more comprehensive views of " the system of nature are not less, but " much more favourable, to his improve-" ment in virtue and happiness, than the " more

" more limited views of the bulk of mankind," But here also the Dr. is not without his apprehensions, that even the necesfarian philosopher, as well as the vulgar, may be misled. Thus he says, p. 106. "But " previous to this I would observe, that the " practical use of these philosophical views is confined to a man's cooler moments, " when the mind is not under the influence " of any violent emotion or passion: for " fince the mind of a philosopher is formed, " and the affociations by which it is influ-" enced, are fixed exactly like those of other " men, he will not be able, in the general " tumult and hurry of life, to feel, think, " or act, in a manner different from other " men." In the same paragraph he further observes, that "his own actions also will' " be confidered with the same mechanical " feelings of felf-applause, or remorse, as if " he had not been a philosopher." I cannot help just remarking here, that this again does not look at all favourable to the doctrine of necessity. Even a philosopher, who must therefore be supposed to have just views of this scheme, and really to believe it, may

yet, according to Dr. Priestley, not be able to feel, think, or act differently from other men. Where then is the efficacy of his philosophy? Is it not to be expected of him, that the belief of so admirable a system should have an all-controuling influence on his temper and conduct, so as to conquer every bad passion, and make him always calm and ferene? The Dr. does indeed declare it may not; but does not this allowance carry fomewhat of the appearance of an inconfistency with the sentiments and views of a necessarian philosopher? So when the Dr. confiders him as capable of the feelings of felf-applause, or remorse, does this seem to confift with the character of a philosopher of his sentiments? To instance only in remorse; ought a man, who possesses such a belief, to feel in any such manner? or have not his principles a direct tendency to prevent or suppress all such feelings? If it be faid that he is so formed, that on the review of certain instances of conduct, he cannot but experience remorfe; is it not then more reasonable to believe, that the misconduct, which gave rife to it, was something that he might have avoided, rather than to suppose, that he was formed neces-farily subject to such a feeling, when he had really done nothing to deserve it. But these are only occasional reslections, on which I shall not further insist.

Let us now attend to the argument of this fection, and confider, whether the views of philosophical necessity have, or have not, the good tendency which the Dr. ascribes to them? or whether the belief of this doctrine will make the philosopher " a better " or the worse man, the better or the worse " citizen."

The Dr. in his illustration of this argument, very properly begins with laying the foundation in piety, to which he says, p. 107. "In my opinion, his philosophical views will give an elevation and force, that could not have been acquired in any other way." "This," the Dr. thinks, may be perceived in those persons whose general view of things have approached the nearest to those that are truly philosometrical; by which I mean those, who, from a principle of religion, have ascrib-

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ed more to God, and less to man, than other persons; which appears to me to have been the case very remarkably with the sacred writers, and with other persons who have imbibed their devotional sirright from an intimate acquaintance with the scriptures."

To ascribe unto God that which is worthy of his all-glorious nature, and for which we are indebted to him, as our creator or governor, is certainly reasonable, and a part of our religious duty: and the fuller and more constant the sense is which we have of our dependance upon God, as we are fo much the more pious, fo it is likely that we shall become proportionably better in all respects. But, in this religious acknowledgement of God, it must always be supposed, as was just now hinted, that what we ascribe to God must be worthy of his perfections, otherwise we may really dishonour, while we mean to glorify him. In this view. I am persuaded the sacred writers will be found, on impartial enquiry, to have advanced nothing that can afford the least just cause of offence: and, in like manner, all,

who have imbibed that spirit of devotion, which the scriptures recommend, and which its genuine truths serve to inspire, will be no less careful, that they always think and speak of the great object of their homage in this most rational and becoming manner. For, as it is too common with men to ascribe more to the creature, and less to the Creator, than they ought; so I cannot but conceive it very possible to ascribe more to God, and less to man, than will consist with divine persection, or the apparent constitution of human nature. Of the latter, the doctrine of necessity seems to be a striking instance.

Dr. Priestley says, p. 108. "It needs "no arguing, that the spirit of devotion "in general must be greatly promoted by the persuasion that God is the proper and sole cause of all things." In the sense, that God is the proper and sole cause of all being, of all things, animate and inanimate; that he is likewise the original, or cause of all good, however derived to us, whether by means of our own agency, or

OF THE DOCTRINE OF NECESSITY. that of any of our fellow-beings-that God is, in this fense, the proper and sole cause of all things, is indeed a very plain and a no less important truth; and that the spirit " of devotion must be greatly promoted " by the persuasion of it," cannot need any proof. But under this very general expression, "the proper and sole cause " of all things," much more is included in the Dr.'s idea, than in the sense before given of it. "Upon this scheme, the " Dr. adds, we see God in every thing, and " may be faid to fee every thing in God; " because we continually view every thing " as in connection with him, the author of " it." I need not be scrupulous of saying, that moral evil, or fin, according to the doctrine of necessity, is admitted to be one thing of which God is the cause or author. This the Dr. feems afterwards openly to avow, p. 117. This, as well as every other things makes a necessary part of the plan of

the divine government. But how this can at all promote the spirit of devotion, I am utterly

at a loss to account for. It has been generally

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confidered as effential to divine perfection, and forming a most glorious view of the character of the supreme governor, both upon the principles of reason and revelation, that "God can not be tempted with evil, " neither tempteth he any man." The direct contrary to this is manifestly the doctrine of nessicety. On that principle, sin, as well as every thing else, is a necessary part of the divine constitution. To fay that good will be produced out of it in the issue, does not appear in the least to relieve the difficulty attending the first appointment of it, as a part of the divine plan. The question is, how it can ever be reconcileable with the idea of perfect rectitude, to make that a necessary effect of his own operations, which is so essentially opposite to his own nature and character? The permission of moral evil, though foreseen, is a very different idea, and does not appear to involve any fuch difficulty in it. For, according to the doctrine of liberty, though God does indeed permit fin, or moral evil, to take place, he is yet in no sense the author or cause of it. It is an abuse of liberty made by the being to whom

it is imparted, and with which the creature, not the Creator, is alone chargeable. The physical possibility of moral evil, or sin, is inseparable from the idea of freedom, or moral agency. He that is naturally capable of acting right, or virtuously, must also be capable of acting wrong or vitiously: otherwise he is not active, but merely passive in what he does. To be formed with a power of choice or agency, and yet made incapable of doing what is wrong, is a contradiction, a real impossibility. But, on the scheme of necessity, when man fins, he does not properly commit fin himself, but is the mere instrument of the agency of his Creator. God is the cause of all the evil, as well as of all the good, that is done by any of his creatures. And how this confideration can ferve to inspire, or be the means of cherishing, fentiments of piety and devotion, the believer of the doctrine must alone be capable of discerning. More, indeed, much more is ascribed to God, on this plan, than on that to which it stands opposed; but it is ascribing that to him, which seems to be flatly repugnant to every just idea of his mo-

ral character. It is transferring, together with the choice and act, which, upon this plan, are necessary and unavoidable, the charge of all the fin, or moral evil, which ever did, or can take place. And will this improve or exalt; or rather will it not manifestly sully and debase, in our conceptions, the object of our devotion? What is the humility which fuch views of our Creator tend to produce? Certainly, not that which springs from, or is connected with, unworthiness, or demerit of character on the part of man. Of this he can do nothing that is in the least deserving the name; since all was fixed and ordained by the God who made him. He may, therefore, humble himself, as a being of an infinitely lower order in the system of nature; but as a penitent transgressor, who has incurred guilt, in the way in which men commonly think and reason, there can be no foundation or cause for any degree of humiliation at all. What, again, can resignation be, on this plan, but submission to the will of a being infinitely. above me, who has established the whole chain of causes and effects; and who, in consequence

consequence of this, may make me feel as a transgressor, for a depravity of heart, and baseness of conduct, to which he has, by the law of my nature, made me unavoidably subject? What kind, or degree, of piety such fentiments may produce, I will not pretend to fay; but that the piety, which they naturally tend to produce, is very different from that, for which the ideas of liberty, and a proper moral government, lay a rational and folid foundation, feems no less clear, than the difference between the principles themselves of the two opposite schemes we are confidering. On the latter scheme, while the Creator is acknowledged to be the author of all good, he is excluded from all agency in the production of moral evil. This is confidered as arising folely from the creature, from his perversion or abuse of faculties, defigned and fitted for the noblest purposes. The moral character of the object of his adoration, whatever evil of this kind may exist, still remains in all its purity and perfection. He has, therefore, to adore a being, who neither is, nor in a proper sense can be, the author or cause of sin, in any in-

Humility, confidered as forming ing the temper of an offending creature, thus constituted, will imply in it, not only an infinite disparity of nature, but also a sense of guilt and demerit, producing a deep and penitent self-abasement, while he is contemplating infinite and perfect rectitude. Here, too, refignation finds the best and most satisfactory reason for the intire and chearful exercise of it. The creature is at once freed from the idea of a possibility, that he can feel any impressions of criminality (the most painful and distressing of all impressions) which he has not deserved, and brought upon himself by fome real choice or act of his own. it admitted, on this scheme, that any "ac-" tual evil, unconnected with, and unpro-"ductive of good, does exist." Dr. Priestley in this, though undefignedly, again fuggests a wrong idea of the scheme of liberty. Though the character of every moral intelligence would certainly have been nobler, and, consequently, his happiness more exalted, if he had never finned at all; yet it will not follow from hence, on the doctrine of liberty, that real good may not be produced

out of this evil. And both reason and revelation unite to assure us, that, under the government of an infinitely perfect being, the greatest good will be made to arise out of all the evil, both natural and moral, which takes place; so far as is consistent with that agency of man, and the nature and ends of that moral administration, which form the basis of the whole plan. In short, while the doctrine of necessity suggests those ideas of the great Author of Nature, and of his government over mankind, which have a plain tendency to subvert the foundations of piety; the scheme of liberty, on the other hand, appears in every respect well calculated to strengthen its obligations, and increase the disposition to its highest and most pleasing exercises.

But let us now turn our thoughts to the representation, given by Dr. Priestley, of the influence which he supposes the doctrine of necessity will have, on our tempers and conduct in relation to our fellow-creatures. P. 109. he says, "With this disposition of mind towards God, it will not be possible to bear ill-will to any of our brethren, his offspring."

" ceffarily soever they act, they are influenced " by a base and mischievous disposition of " mind, against which I must guard myself and others, in proportion as I love myfelf and others) I, on my fystem, cannot " help viewing them with a tenderness and " compassion that will have an infinitely "finer and happier effect; as it must make me more earnest and unwearied in my en-" deavours to reclaim them, without suffer-" ing myself to be offended, and desist from "my labour, through provocation, dif-"gust, or despair." A necessarian has no more reason to blame, in the common, than in the ultimate, sense of the word. In a proper sense, he has no reason to blame at all: because, in the worst things that can be done, he, who is a mere passive instrument, has really done nothing; consequently, there can be no proper foundation for blaming If, in the common fense, I blame him, on the necessarian principle; I must do it without the commonly supposed ground, namely, that he has done fomething wrong, which he might have avoided. Besides this, the confideration, that he has done nothing, but what he was expressly designed and apbotnica

pointed to do, must, I should think, if it has any effect at all, naturally operate so as to prevent me from blaming him, in the common as well as the ultimate sense. Though I cannot feel the injury that is done me as friendly on the part of him who was only the instrument of it, nor can, therefore, view him in a friendly or pleasing light, it yet feems equally natural, as it is just, that my compassion for the innocent instrument of my fufferings should absorb and efface every feeling of blame. Whatever measures I may think necessary to guard myself against further injury, should the same conduct be repeated, all blame will still be excluded. I cannot, therefore, see, if I act up to the principles of a necessarian, that there can be the least danger of my being so offended, or my conceiving such a disgust, as shall cause me to defift from my endeavours to reclaim Pity, not blame, any more than love or respect, is all I ought or can be supposed to feel towards him, who has thus innocently done me wrong, or made me a sufferer. But, though fuch feems to be the natural and direct tendency of the doctrine of necessity,

in the common way of reasoning on the instance proposed; it is yet grossly inconfistent with the principles of a necessarian to countenance or support any such train of thought, as that which the Dr. pursues: because it tends to subvert, in part, the very scheme which it means to defend. the necessarian principle, the injury which is done to me or another, whoever was the instrument, is designed, appointed, and unavoidable. The blame which I cast upon him, or the difgust I conceive at the ill treatment, is also a like necessary and salutary. part of the plan. To offer any thing, then, that serves to obliterate the sense of the injury, and, consequently, prevent the blame from being thrown on the instrument of it, feems directly to make against the scheme itself, and to prove clearly, that the knowledge will by no means confift with the practice of it.

Speaking of the vicious, the Dr. says, p. 113. "Looking beyond the present tem"porary scene, to a future period and their
final destination, we may consider them
says brethren, even in virtue and happiness.

" Their

"Their sufferings, however, in the mean "time, will be in proportion to their de-" pravity; and for this reason I cannot but " feel myself most earnestly concerned to " lessen it." The principle of benevolence, on which the Dr. here argues for the use of all proper means for reclaiming the vicious at present, is, indeed, a noble one. And, on that very principle, I cannot but look upon the promulgation of the scheme of necessity as highly exceptionable, beit is likely to do unspeakable cause mischief. That men should believe themfelves to be free, and consequently accountable, seems to be a principle that lies at the foundation of all just hope of reformation; at least with regard to the generality of mankind. Nor can any thing have a stronger tendency to confirm and harden men in their vices, than the fentiment, that all which they now do, or can do, is by them unavoidable, and that they shall all inevitably be brought to virtue and happiness at the last.

ON SECTION X.

- "In what Sense God may be con-
 - " sidered as the Author of Sin;
 - " AND OF THE OBJECTION TO THE
 - " Doctrine of Necessity on that
 - " ACCOUNT:"

R. Priestley says, p. 117. " Our sup-" poing that God is the author of " fin, (as, upon the scheme of necessity. " he must, in fact, be the author of all " things) by no means implies that he is a " finful being, &c." Here the Dr. seems plainly to admit what the objection states as the difficulty, namely, that God is the author of fin. In this the Dr. differs from some other writers on the same side of the question, who, startled at the idea which the objection feems to convey, or, however, aware that fuch an idea would be shocking to the generality of mankind, who think at all on these subjects, have endeavoured to explain away what they or others might deem

deem most obnoxious in the charge here brought. Thus Mr. Hobbes, in his Leviathan, as quoted in the Preface, p. 28, fays, "Though men may do many things " which God does not command, nor is " therefore the author of them, yet they can " have no passion, will, or appetite to any " thing, of which appetite God's will is or not the cause." What Mr. Hobbes here fays feems really to amount to nothing, but a very poor evasion of the difficulty; denying only the propriety of the term Author, while he admits the fentiment couched under it, in all its force. In the section before us, we have another quotation from Mr. Hobbes, the defign of which is, not to explain away, but to folve, the difficulty: of which some notice may be taken hereafter. The distinction which Mr. Edwards makes on this question, when fairly examined, feems to be of little more consequence than that of Mr. Hobbes. Mr. Edwards, as cited by Dr. Priestley, p. 122, says, (Inquiry, p. 363) "There is a great difference between God's " being the ordainer of the certain existence of fin, by not hindering it under certain N circumstances. " circumstances, and his being the proper " actor, or author of it, by a positive agen-"cy or efficiency," &c. On the plan of neceffity, between these two things, which Mr. Edwards thinks to be so very different, there feems to be really no difference at all: for, as Dr. Priestly observes, p. 123, " If there be " any foundation for the doctrine of necessi-"ty; that is, if all events arise from preceeding fituations, and the original fituations " of all things, together with the laws by " which all changes of fituation take place, " were fixed by the Divine Being, there can " be no difference whatever with respect to " his causation of one thing more than ano-"ther." I have only just to add here, that permission and causation, on the scheme of liberty, stand to express ideas, between which there is a real and very important difference; but, on the principle of necessity, the whole plan of things, and every part of it, takes its rise from a proper causation. It must all finally be refolved into the will, or appointment and agency, of the first Cause and Creator of all things. Now Dr. Priestley, instead of shunning, seems desirous to "encounter " the

" the difficulty in its greatest strength," that he might obtain the most compleat "mastery " over it." Mr. Hume, also, before him, had shewn the same philosophical intrepidity, and has, indeed, carried his speculations still further: for this writer, while he admits the fact to be, as stated in the objection, as little concerned about what it might draw after it, or any thing which might be imputed to it, "abandons," as Dr. Priestly fays of him, "the doctrine of necessity " to the most immoral and shocking " consequences." He says (Philosophical Essays, p. 157) that, "upon the scheme of " necessity, human actions can either have " no turpitude at all, as proceeding from fo " good a cause (the Deity) or if they can " have any moral turpitude, they must in-" volve our Creator in the same guilt, while " he is acknowledged to be their ultimate " cause and author." "It is not possible," fays he again (p. 262) " to explain distinct-" ly how the Deity can be the mediate " cause of all the actions of men, without " being the author of fin and moral turpi-"tude." For my own part, it appears to me,

that Mr. Hume has here done no more than pursue the doctrine of necessity into its natural and just consequences. He has imputed nothing to it, but what is really implied in it, or directly follows from it. At the same time, I cannot but remark, that there must be fomewhat very uncommon in the mind of a writer, who could allow himself to lay open to the public eye fo very odious a view of the scheme, in which he professed himself a believer, and for which he was an advocate. The state of his mind must certainly be no less extraordinary than the theory of the system, which he so strongly defends, and yet so clearly marks out to the just indignation of every man, who has the smallest share either of virtue or of common fense. Not so our Dr. Priestley seems no less shockauthor. ed with Mr. Hume's indecent avowal of the immoral consequences of the scheme of neceffity, than any other person, who was not a believer in it, would be; and, like an author whose first concern was to secure the love and practice of virtue amongst mankind, carefully endeavours to obviate all such consequences arising from his opinions,

as might be thought dishonourable to the moral character of the Deity, or likely to have a pernicious influence on the tempers and conduct of his intelligent offspring.

Let us now attend to what the Dr. has offered for this purpose.

"When it is confidered," fays the Dr.

p. 115, "that the distinction between "things natural and moral intirely ceases " on the scheme of necessity, the vices of " men come under the class of common evils producing mifery for a time; but, " like all other evils, in the same great sys-" tem, are ultimately subservient to greater "good. In this light, therefore, every " thing, without distinction, may be safely " ascribed to God. Whatever terminates in "good, philosophically speaking, is good." I can have no doubt, that when the Dr. wrote this, it appeared to him to be a clear and full folution of the difficulty before us; but though he might not be aware of it, what he has advanced in the above passage comes to much the same, as the concession, before noticed, made by Mr. Hume, which the Dr. speaks of as so very exceptionable.

Hume fays, "Upon the scheme of neces-" fity, human actions can either have no " turpitude at all, as proceeding from fo " good a cause (the Deity) or if they can " have any moral turpitude, they must in-" volve our Creator in the same guilt." Dr. Priestley grants, that, on the scheme of neceffity, " the distinction between things na-"tural and moral intirely ceases," and "the vices of men come under the class of " common evils," &c. What then becomes of the moral turpitude of vice or fin? According to the Dr. all is natural, and nothing moral, but in the fense of natural, and the vices of men are common evils. For ought I can see, Mr. Hume and Dr. Priestley are here entirely agreed in opinion. Nor do I see how Dr. Priestley could well stop short of this concession: for, as the Dr. acknowledges the truth of the objection, or that the Diety really is the author of what we call fin, or moral evil, there feems to be no other way of reconciling this with the perfection of the supreme mind, but by annihilating the idea of moral evil, as any thing different from natural; so that what

to us appears to be morally wrong, is, in the view of Omniscience, only a means of producing good, and is therefore good in itself.

I cannot but think fuch fentiments are as dangerous in their tendency, as they are false and absurd in themselves. They feem very materially, though undefignedly, to affect the moral character of the Deity, and to be big with consequences the most fatal to the virtue and happiness of mankind. The Dr. indeed, himself allows that the above principle is better fitted for speculation, than practice. Accordingly, he adds, "But this " is a view of moral evil, which, though " innocent, and even useful in speculation, " no wise man can, or would chuse to act. " upon himself, because our understandings " are too limited for the application of such " a means of good, though a being of infi-" nite knowledge may introduce it with the . " greatest advantage." I cannot look on the view of moral evil, above given, as innocent, much less useful, even in speculation. It does so far justify the conduct of the Deity, confidered as the author of fin, that it entirely wipes off the stain of any moral turpitude in his conduct; but it does this only on the supposition that there is really no moral difference in things, and, consequently, no foundation for any moral character at By this rule of judging, every thing is innocent which is conducive to natural good, or can be made productive of it. And why a man, who believes this to be the principle upon which the Deity, his Creator, acts, should not choose to act upon it himself, I cannot conceive. Man has not, indeed, infinite knowledge, enabling him to fee how it may be applied, so as to produce the greatest good. But he has understanding sufficient to discern, when, in any particular instance, and especially with regard to himself, it is conducive to natural good; and as far, therefore, as his understanding and limited sphere of action reach, there seems to be no less propriety, than on the supposition of infinite knowledge, in applying the same means to produce the same end. The confideration that fuch is the conduct of his Creator, the one independant source of life and happiness, must naturally operate as 2 powerfu!

powerful incentive, to engage him to act in a fimilar manner. It will be in vain to affert, as the Dr. does, p. 116. "That vice " is productive not of good, but of evil to " us both here and hereafter, and probably through the whole of our existence; " though good may refult from it to the "whole fystem." How is a vicious man, who finds that the present natural good of pleasure, or prosit, results from the gratification of his appetites, and from defrauding or overreaching his neighbour, to be persuaded to think, that vice is productive of evil to him here? On the supposition, that there is no moral difference in things, all moral arguments against the course of conduct, to which his appetites or inclinations prompt him, immediately vanish. As long, therefore, as he can make his present conduct confistent with what is his natural good, or which he looks upon to be so, that is, with sensitive pleasure, or his worldly advantage; all is right and well, so far as regards the present scene of things. And in relation to futurity, it is naturally to be supposed, that a man of this disposition will not concern Helmid himself about it, or, if he does, his necessarian principle, by holding up to his view his future moral good or happiness, as secured to him by his omnipotent Creator, will lead him hastily to pass over all the intermediate sufferings, with which he is threatened, how long or severe soever; considering them only as natural evils, which he can no more avoid, than the course of action which is connected with them. So extremely dangerous, in its direct tendency, is that principle of necessity, which sets aside the distinction between things natural and moral, on which the Dr. thinks "every "thing may be safely ascribed to God."

If, in reality, moral be only natural evil, it is then evident that, on this principle, there can be nothing more to vindicate in the conduct of the Deity, for the introduction of what usually passes under the denomination of the former than of the latter. Moral is then only one species of natural evil-But, as a farther justification of the divine character, the Dr. observes, p. 117. "Our supposing that God is the author of sin, sa, upon the scheme of necessity, he must,

in fact, be the author of all things) by no " means implies that he is a finful being, " for it is the disposition of mind, and the " design that constitutes the sinfulness of an " action." If, indeed, the distinction between things natural and moral be not just, that is, if fin be only a natural evil, then the introduction of fin cannot be a finful, or morally evil, action; but whatever evil there is in fin, he, who appointed and caused it to take place, must certainly be chargeable with the whole of it. The intention and the fact are, in many instances, very properly distinguished. A being of limited understanding, as man is, and who is liable to mistake, may, through unavoidable ignorance as to some circumstances attending a case, do what is really wrong in itself. though he is not therefore chargeable with the least degree of criminality. But this distinction cannot hold with regard to a being of perfect knowledge. Whatever he does, he must, in the strictest and fullest sense, defign to do. Here the action must entirely correspond with the disposition, and be produced by it. If God, then, is the author

of fin, and has introduced it into his creation by his own appointment and positive agency; (as the doctrine of necessity teaches) whatever evil there is in it, whether natural or moral, as he could not but have a perfect view of it, both in its nature and tendency, it must all belong to him, as its proper cause. Admitting, as the necessarian tenet supposes, that his disposition and defign, in relation to the end, was good; it must still be true, that he was disposed and defigned to introduce the evil of fin as the means of good. If then, amongst men, he who does evil, or a finful and wicked action. knowing it to be such, though he may pretend to have, or may really have, some good end in view by it, is, notwithstanding, as far as that action goes, really a finner, or transgreffor of the law of rectitude; fo, by parity of reason, if God is the original author of fin, of all the fin that ever did, does, or shall, take place, whatever ends it was defigned to answer, he cannot, then, but appear to be, (horrid thought!) the most finful of all beings. Though the greatest natural good, which it is possible for infinite Benevolence

volence to design, or almighty power to effect, should be brought out of it; still it must be in repugnance to every just idea of that moral rectitude, which renders him the most excellent and glorious of all beings, and is the only proper foundation of that love, reverence and confidence, which are due to him from all other intelligent natures. The only idea of benevolence that then remains, as a part of his character, is a disposition to produce natural good, independant of any moral fitness, or at least without a constant regard to it, either in the choice of the end, or the means to bring it about. The case of Joseph and his brethren, which the Dr. enlarges on, as fully to his point, will by no means answer his purpose, but on the supposition that God ordained the cruel treatment which Joseph met with from his brethren: whereas, on the scheme of liberty, nothing more than a permission of their barbarity is admitted; and, on that principle, God overruled the evil, in which he had no concern as the author, so as to cause it to be, in the issue, productive of great and extenfive good.

Mr. Hobbes, as was before hinted, to folve the difficulty, which the Dr. is here confidering, "justifies the divine conduct, " not upon the principle of the goodness " of his ultimate defigns in every thing that " he appoints, but on account of his power." p. 119. Whether Mr. Hobbes meant " power fimply," which the Dr. fays, p. 120. " it is possible he might not," is not very material to enquire. That goodness in the ultimate design, which is takenabstracted from rectitude, or a regard to the moral fitness of the end, has really no more of moral perfection in it, than the attribute of power itself. Power employed to beneficial purposes will, indeed, make a very different impression upon our minds, from that which we shall naturally receive, on the view of it as exercised in doing mischief. But if it be supposed, that there is no proper moral principle directing the exercise of it in either case, the only difference in the effect, which these different exertions of power will have upon us, is, that the one will give us pleasure, the other pain. Approbation, as implying moral worth of character, no

more belongs to the one than the other. And what moral worth there can be, if there is no moral difference in things, or where a regard to that difference is not made the ground or reason of action; it seems impossible to conceive.

Dr. Priestley further observes, p. 125; &c. "That upon any scheme that admits "of the divine prescience, the same conse"quences follow," as upon the doctrine of necessity. "For still God is supposed to
"foresee and permit what it was in his
"power to have prevented, which is
"very same thing as willing and directly
causing it. If I certainly know that my
child, if left to his liberty, will fall into
a river, and be drowned, and I do not reftrain him, I certainly mean that he should
be drowned; and my conduct cannot admit of any other construction."

I have only to reply, as before, that prescience, and causation or efficiency, are two very different things. The idea of a moral agent supposes a power of choosing to act virtuously or vitiously. To put men, then, under the physical necessity of not choos-

the latter, that is, to render such a choice impossible, would be to take away their agency. Still, therefore, the Divine Being may, and cannot but will, that all men should become virtuous and happy, though he may not choose to take away their freedom, that is, to make them different beings from what they are. In the case adduced, not to interpose for the preservation of a life that is in danger, when it is in my power, is fuffering an evil to take place which, because it is in my power, it is my duty to prevent. But to lay a moral agent under a physical or absolute necessity of not becoming vicious, would be to contradict or transform his very nature, or, in other words, must destroy that very power of agency which is here supposed. It must, however, be granted, that the particular difadvantages for moral improvement under which fome are placed, does, indeed, create a real and confiderable difficulty in the plan of Divine Providence; though it is by no means attended with those dire consequences, on the scheme of liberty, which must directly follow on that folution of it, which

the doctrine of necessity proposes. This difficulty has been largely considered by Dr. Price, on the subject of Providence, in the first of his four Dissertations, in which many ingenious and judicious remarks are made to clear this interesting point, and the whole of the Essay is highly deserving of a careful perusal.

Upon the whole, Dr. Priestley, as far as it appears to me, instead of having given a satisfactory answer to the objection treated of in this Section, has, on the contrary, in his way of endeavouring to remove it, been led into the acknowledgment of principles extremely dangerous in themselves (though differently viewed by him) both to the cause of piety and morality.

On SECTION XI.

- "How far the Scriptures are fa-
 - " VOURABLE TO THE DOCTRINE OF
 - " NECESSITY."

R. Priestley introduces this Section with fome general remarks, on the close connection which he supposes to subsist, between the principle of devotion and the doctrine of necessity; and on the common language, in which pious and holy men, who have a strong sense of the providence and government of God upon their minds, express themselves on these subjects; which the Dr. thinks to be extremely favourable to the cause he espouses. In reply to these remarks, it may be sufficient to refer to the observations made on Section IX. We there endeavoured to shew, that the neceffarian doctrine is so far from affording any support to the cause of rational devotion either in its principles or exercises, that when fairly examined, it appears, in its tendency, to be directly subversive of all true religion; and so utterly repugnant is

this doctrine to the moral perfection of the divine character, that we cannot but suppose it must be entirely foreign to the ideas of those holy men, whose piety is celebrated in Scripture, and, consequently, of all, who have imbibed their principles and fpirit of devotion. I shall therefore proceed to the consideration of the proofs which the Dr. here brings from the Scriptures themfelves, in favour of the truth of the doctrine which he advances. But here I cannot avoid previously remarking, that the Dr. is very frank and ingenuous in acknowledging, as he does, p. 133. That he does not think " the facred writers were, strictly speaking. " necessarians. For, says he, they were " not philosophers, not even our Saviour " himself, as far as appears; but their ha-" bitual devotion naturally led them to re-" fer all things to God, without reflecting " on the rigorous meaning of their lan-" guage; and, very probably, had they " been interrogated on the subject, they " would have appeared not to be apprized of the proper extent of the necessarian " scheme, and would have answered in a

" manner unfavourable to it." This is 2 very liberal concession on the part of the Dr. and all the use which I would make of it, is to observe, that there must surely be fomething in the nature of this doctrine, which lies very much out of the road of reafon and common sense, if it be probable, as the Dr. acknowledges it to be, that the facred writers themselves, with all that illumination which they must be allowed to possess on subjects of a religious kind, if interrogated concerning the necessarian scheme, would have answered in a manner unfavourable to it. What benefit, I would further ask, can they be supposed to derive from the principle of necessity, in aid to their piety, or to animate their acknowledgements of the dependance of all things upon God, if they were fo far from being apprized of the proper extent of it, that they were likely to express themselves in such a manner, to any of their followers who should enquire about it, as should have a discouraging aspect on the principle itself? Does not this seem, as if they were really unable to defend the doctrine; and that there was fomething in it which was a gross offence to their understandings?

standings? In short, a principle, in which they were so poorly instructed, and in the belief of which they were in danger of being so easily staggered, could afford but a very feeble support to their piety; and upon a fair exposition of the Dr.'s own confession, it seems to surnish a strong presumptive argument against the truth of the doctrine. Having hinted this, I now go on to the Dr.'s Scripture proofs, which I shall consider under the several classes, in which he arranges them.

The first class of texts includes those, in which God is spoken of "as the author of "the good dispositions and good works of men," p. 134. That the good dispositions and good works of men are, in the serveral passages here quoted by the Dr. and in numberless others, ultimately referred to God, cannot be disputed. But it will by no means follow from hence, that the sacred writers considered him as the author of them, in the necessarian sense. One objection against that sense of them, and which seems to be unanswerable, is, that to suppose no proper choice or agency in man, is directly subversive of all virtue or

goodness in him. Our ideas of moral agency, and of a government exercised by the
Almighty, adapted to the nature of beings
endowed with such a power, strongly militate against the necessarian view of these
texts; in consequence of which we are naturally led to seek out some other sense of
them. And such a sense is very obvious and
clear, as will well accord both with the ideas
of a proper agency on the part of man, in
the acquisition of the habits of religious
goodness, and of the agency of God, as the
original source of them.

To God man is indebted, both for the faculties which render him capable of virtue and goodness, and for all the means and assistances which he enjoys, to co-operate with his own endeavours, in the application of his powers to those moral and religious purposes, for which they are imparted to him. Whatever there is in the rational and moral nature of man that is favourable to the attainment of goodness; all the aids of religious and moral culture, whether such as arise from education or from any other cause; these are all the gifts of the Creator, or are owing

owing to the fituation in which his providence has placed us. In connection with these means of forming good dispositions and virtuous habits, it seems further no less reasonable, than it is agreeable to the doctrine of revelation, to admit the belief of an internal influence of the great Father of Spirits on the minds of his rational offspring, in answer to their humble prayers to him for this purpose; presenting motives before them, in such a point of view, as shall cause them to be more deeply felt, and thus giving every needful aid, though in perfect confistence with liberty, to the virtuous principle. Now, on these accounts, the good dispositions and actions of men may be justly asccribed to God. The same key will also serve to shew the propriety of the prayers, which we meet with in th Scriptures, for these dispositions, and of the exhortations given us to pray to God for them. I cannot, therefore, think it necesfary to fpend any time in adverting to the particular passages which come under these two classes. The dictates of reason, and the doctrine of revelation, must, in themselves,

part of the latter, which sets it at variance with the former, cannot but be false and erroneous. In the instance before us, while the necessarian tenet supposes the good dispositions and actions of men to be ascribed to God, in a sense that is absolutely repugnant to the nature of man, and of God's moral government over him; the view, which the scheme of liberty enables us to take of the doctrine of Scripture on this head, is at once correspondent with the agency of the creature, and the obligations he is under to his Creator.

Another class of texts, pointed out by the Dr. to our consideration, consists of those, which, he says, "abundantly prove, that "the evil actions of men also, which ne-"cessarily imply bad dispositions, do, in the language of Scripture, take place in consequence of the particular appointment of God, and especially such actions as ter-"minate in great good or just punishment, "which is the same thing."

That the facred writers could not mean, by any language which they use, that the evil actions, or bad dispositions of the perfons they describe, or speak of, were, in any instance, the consequence of the particular appointment of God; so that they were neceffary, and unavoidable, may, with the utmost certainty, be concluded from the absolute contrariety of such an appointment to the rectitude of the divine mind. again, we are under the necessity of having recourse to a very different interpretation of the Scriptures cited by the Dr. from that which he puts upon them. And nothing more can, I think, be meant in any of them, than that God permitted the evil actions, spoken of, to take place, intending, by the direction of his unerring wisdom, to render them productive of good, in one way or other. Now, in all these instances, the agency of God is alone concerned in the appointment or accomplishment of the end; of which the wickedness of man, permitted by God, but which he did not will or appoint, was by his providence converted into the means: whereas, in the case of good actions and dispositions, they are referred to him, on account of his agency in the provision of while it depends on the agency of man to apply those means to their designed important ends. And thus, in order rightly to understand any author, we must always have respect to the characters of the persons, and the nature of the subjects and things treated of.

Under this class, where the evil actions of men are described, it may not be improper to point out the different views, which the Scriptures, in some instances, give us of the same actions and events.

As to the case of Joseph (which is the first instance mentioned) the favourable light, in which he represents to his brethren the transaction of their selling him for a slave, proves nothing but the amiable tenderness of his heart, and his great benevolence, in endeavouring to conceal from their view the cruelty of their behaviour towards him, the thought of which, he well knew, must fill them with the most painful sense of their guilt. For this purpose, he directs their attention to the good and important ends, to which the over-ruling providence of the Most High rendered

his being fent into Egypt subservient. (" Gen. xlv. 5.) Now therefore be not " grieved, nor angry with yourselves, that ye " fold me hither; for God did fend me before " you to preserve life: And again (v. 8.) It " was not you that sent me hither, but God." Observe here the different language which Joseph uses, in describing the concern which his brethren had in the transaction, and that of Providence, in giving so happy a turn to the event. "Ye," fays he of his brethren. " fold me hither;" but of God, " he did " fend me before you to preserve life:" in which is clearly intimated, that his brethren were alone concerned in the transaction of felling him; though, as God permitted and over-ruled it for good, he might, on this account, be faid to have fent him thither: and in this view only could it be justly said, "It was not you that fent me hither, but "God." And to recur to the Dr.'s liberal concession, before noticed; had Joseph been interrogated concerning his meaning, in the passages we have been considering, I believe the Dr. himself will hardly doubt, that he would have given an answer by no means favourable

vourable to the doctrine of necessity, which the Dr. has notwithstanding produced them to support,

"The manner," fays the Dr. (p. 139.) " in which God is faid to have hardened "the heart of Pharaoh, is very express, " (Exodus vi. 21.) I will harden his heart, " that he shall not let the people go; and the expression is frequently repeated in the " course of the history." It must surely merit equal notice, that Pharaoh is, also, in a very express manner, said by the historian to have himself hardened his heart. Thus (Exodus viii. 15.) " But when Pha-" roah saw that there was respite, he hardened his heart, and hearkened not unto them; " as the Lord had said." And (v. 32,) " And Pharaoh hardened his heart at this " time also, neither would he let the people " go." Now, in this latter account, the hardness of Pharaoh's heart is clearly ascribed to his own choice or agency. And how is this to be reconciled with the former representation, but by admitting, that when "God is faid to have hardened Pharaoh's " heart," nothing more is intended, than that he permitted the several measures of his nrovidence

providence to operate, as they naturally, though not necessarily, would, on a mind depraved as that of Pharaoh's was, fo that, as the historian speaks in another place (chap. ix. 35.) " The heart of Pharaoh was " bardened." Both the temporary executions, and suspensions, of the divine judgements, were means well fitted to suppress an impious opposition to the will and command of God; and that they had not this effect on Pharaoh, was folely owing to that daringly wicked obstinacy of heart which he had contracted; in consequence of which, all the methods made use of by Divine Providence to reform his mind, ferved only to render him more incorrigibly obstinate; as the best means will, in common, be found to do, where there is an equally wicked dispofition. In this view of the case of Pharaoh. an entire harmony will be preserved between the two accounts. While God, in the way of permission, may be said to have hardened his heart, it will, in the strictest sense, be true, that Pharaoh himself hardened his heart. If it be faid, that, according to this method of interpretation, we admit the literal sense in the latter of the two accounts, while we reject it in the former; the answer is, that in both it cannot be admitted without a manifest contradiction; and that the imputation of Pharaoh's hardness of heart, not to God, but to himself, as the agent and proper cause of it, will alone consist with the rectitude of the supreme mind.

The remarks, already made, equally conclude in favour of a fimilar interpretation of all those other passages, in which evil dispositions or actions are described in such a manner, as, at first fight, may seem to refer them to God as their author. It is no less certain, that no finful disposition, or act of wickedness, can be produced by the appointment or agency of God, than that he himfelf is an infinitely holy or righteous being. The one is the certain and necessary consequence of the other. And though the agency of man may not, in some particular instances, be directly specified, yet the general and current doctrine and language of the Scriptures, as will be shewn hereafter, are abundantly sufficient to clear those passages, in which a different mode of expression is made

made use of, from any such sense as the necessarian tenet would lead us to put upon them.

When our Saviour thanks his Father, that he had " bid thefe things from the wife " and prudent, and had revealed them unto " babes;" Matt. xi. 25. to which the Dr. refers, p. 140. He is evidently speaking of no other appointment of God than what concerned the nature of the christian doctrine. This was of that pure and spiritual kind, that while men of craft and policy, blinded by their worldly prejudices, could fee nothing in it to engage their regard; they, on the other hand, who resembled babes in the simplicity of their minds, or, who were free from all corrupt, finister designs, discerned the beauty and excellence of this heavenly institution, and cordially embraced it. That fuch was the nature and tendency of those truths, which our Saviour was appointed to communicate to mankind, he here makes the matter of his devout rejoicing, and of that grateful praise to God, which it fo highly merited. See Luke x. 21.

That

That the rejection of the gospel, whereever it took place, and in whatever manner it is described, is, as above, to be attributed to fomething wrong and criminal in the dispositions of men, which they had it in their power to have prevented; and was by no means " the consequence of the express " appointment of God," as Dr. Priestley maintains; seems undeniably clear from many declarations of Scripture, plain and determinate in their sense, which treat on this Thus, John v. 40. " And ye will subject. " not come to me, that ye might have life." V. 44. " How can ye believe, who receive bo-" nour one of another and feek not the bonour " that cometh from God only." Chap. iii. 19. "This is the condemnation, that light is come into the world, and men loved darkness ra-" ther than light, because their deeds were evil: " Again, Matt. xxiii. 37. " O Jerusalem, " Jerusalem, thou that killest the prophets, and " stonest them, which are sent unto thee, how often would I have gathered thy children to-" gether, even as a hen gathereth her chickens " under her wings, and ye would not!" These. passages evidently resolve the unbelief of the

Jews

Jews into their own choice, and evil dispositions previously contracted, as the causes of it; and analogous to the sense of these plain texts, must be the true meaning of all others which speak on the same subject.

With respect to the apostacy of the lat-. ter time, referred to by the Apostle Paul, 2 Thef. ii. 11. The introductory clause of this passage leads us to a very different view of it, from that in which the Dr. seems to have considered it. " And for this cause," fays the Apostle, "God shall send them strong " delusion, that they shall believe a lie." &c. There is, we fee, fomething preceding as a cause of this delusion, and we are told, in the 10th verse, what that cause is, namely, that the persons, spoken of, " received not the love " of the truth, that they might be faved." The passage, viewed in this connection, will very naturally admit the following interpretation; that in the latter times, here described, a great disaffection and aversion to the truth would become very prevalent; and that by way of punishment, they, who, under the influence of fuch a disposition, had abused the means of religious knowledge

and improvement, with which they were favoured, should be deprived of them; in consequence of which, they would be exposed to the delusions of a scheme of crast and worldly policy, which would be set up in opposition to genuine christianity. Thus explained, the declaration of this passage is entirely consistent with that other of the same Apostle, I Tim. ii. II. "Who," (that is, God) "will have all men to be saved, and to come unto the knowledge of the truth;" with which latter assertion, the former, taken in the necessarian sense, appears to be utterly irreconcileable.

Again, there does not seem to be any thing in the representation, given in the passages next quoted, of the death of Christ, as entering into the plan of Divine Providence, but what will agree with the idea of permission on foresight, without any such decree, or appointment and agency, as the doctrine of necessity supposes. Acts ii. 23. "Him, being delivered by the determinate "counsel and foreknowledge of God, ye have taken, and by wicked hands have crucified and state." and sain: "and again, Chap. iv. 27. "Of

- " a truth against thy boly child Jesus, whom
 " thou hast anointed, both Herod and Pontius
 " Pilate, with the Gentiles, and the people of
 " Israel were gathered together, for to do
 " whatsoever thy hand, and thy counsel, deter" mined before to be done." In the former of
 these texts, the Jews are accused, as having
 slain Christ " with wicked hands;" which
 appears extremely favourable to the sense of
 them above suggested: since there could be
 no wickedness, at least as including demerit, in the part which men acted in
 accomplishing this event, if the whole is to
 be considered as the necessary and unavoid-
- "That God is confidered as the fovereign disposer both of gospel privileges here, and future happiness hereafter," as the Dr. observes, p. 142. is allowed both on the scheme of liberty and necessity. The question is concerning the way in which they are dispensed.

able consequence of the positive appoint-

ment of God.

The observations before made, on the case of Pharaoh, will easily apply to that of unbelievers, in reference to christianity, de-

fcribed by St. Paul, in the passage cited by the Dr. p. 142. Rom. ix. 15. &c. And as to the several steps in the plan and operations of Providence, for the salvation of men, pointed out, Rom. viii. 29, &c. they are all, upon both schemes, resolveable into the divine will or agency; though the manner in which the several effects, there described, are supposed to be brought about, will differ as widely, as the principles of liberty and necessity do, in the ideas which they suggest of the nature of man, who is the subject of this procedure.

P. 144, and following, the Dr. produces feveral passages to shew, "that such things "as come to pass in the common course of Providence were considered by the pious "writers of the Scriptures as more immediately administered by himself, overlooking second causes, and regarding only the first and proper cause of all things." Thus "with respect to the general constitution of mature the Psalmist says (Psalm lxv. 9.) "Thou visitest the earth, and waterest it: "thou greatly enrichest it with the river of God, which is full of water," &c. (Psalm

civ. 27. These all wait upon thee, that thou " mayest give them their meat in due season." &c. Again, "what we call common events, " and accidents of life, are all, in the lan-" guage of Scripture, the express appoint-" ment of God." Matt. x. 29. " Are not " two sparrows sold for a farthing, and not " one of them shall fall to the ground without " your Father." I Sam. ii. 6, 7. "The Lord " killeth and maketh alive; he bringeth down " to the grave and bringeth up: he raiseth up " the poor out of the dust, and lifteth up the " beggar from the dungbill." Now, in these and such like texts, though second causes are overlooked, or no mention is made of them, the Dr. will himself allow, that such causes are employed in bringing to pass the several events here spoken of. In like manner, where what is done by men is ascribed to God, the agency of man is to be supposed, though it be not specified. In Scripture. every thing is referred to God, as well what he only permits, as what he appoints. And the nature of the reference which the facred writers have to God, in the language they use, or the ideas which they are to be sup-

posed to have entertained of the concern of Providence, must be determined by the nature of the subject or thing spoken of. Thus, when such effects in the natural world are described, as proceed from the operation of natural causes, acting according to certain laws, to which they are made necessarily subject; there the effects are, in the strictest and fullest sense, of God; he is the proper author, or cause of them. And, according to the same rule of interpretation, when the facred writers speak of the actions of men, whether good or evil, they cannot be justly supposed to refer them to God in any other sense, than will consist with the perfection of the supreme mind, and with the moral and accountable nature of man. It can never, therefore, be intended that, in any instance of human conduct, God is to be considered as the author or cause, so as to exclude the proper agency of man. And in all cases, in which the actions spoken of are morally evil, the all-perfect Being can have no other concern in them, than in the permission of them, or in rendering them subservient to those useful designs, either in the way of judgmen**t**

judgment or of mercy, which never entered into the thought of the agent. With this plain reference it is, that "ambitious and "wicked men are often spoken of as the "instruments of Divine Providence. Psalm xvii. 13. ", Arise, O Lord, deliver my soul "from the wicked, which is thy sword." And such is evidently the meaning of the prophetical view, which Isaiah gives of the character and conduct of the Assyrian monarch, as quoted by the Dr. p. 147, Isaiah x. 5. and following.

Upon the whole, the remarks, which have been made, are submitted to the careful attention of the reader, who will then determine for himself, whether the passages, cited by the Dr. have that favourable aspect on the necessarian principle, which he supposes. But as it is fair and necessary to compare Scripture with Scripture; I shall now, for the conclusion of this Section, give a few specimens of other texts, under several classes, which appear clearly and strongly to decide against the doctrine of necessity, and in savour of human liberty.

1. Such texts as ascribe holiness, rectitude, or moral perfection to God.

Deuteronomy xxxii. 4. A God of truth, and without iniquity, just and night is he.

Psalm cxlv. 17. The Lord is righteous in all his ways, and holy in all his works.

Habakkuk i. 13. Thou art of purer eyes than to behold evil, and canst not look on iniquity. And to mention no more.

James i. 13. God cannot be tempted with evil.

On the above class of texts I must observe, as my reason for introducing them, that I cannot but look upon a scheme, which confiders fin, or moral evil, as taking place in consequence of the express appointment of God, and as a defigned necessary effect of his agency, to be a direct contradiction to those ideas of the divine holiness or rectitude, which the passages now cited lead us to form The only character, which the necessarian tenet, if confidered in its due extent, will admit of, as belonging to the uncreated mind. is a mixed one; in which, if I may so speak, matchless virtues and matchless vices are blended together. On the one fide, is a difposition,

position, independent of all ideas of sitness or rectitude, to produce the greatest possible natural good; and on the other, the appointment of all the sin or moral evil, that ever did or can exist, as the means and for the sake of that good. If then, what the Scriptures teach us concerning the spotless and perfect rectitude of the Deity be true; the doctrine of necessity must be false.

2. Passages of Scripture, which address mankind, as possessed of a power of choice or agency; or in which that power is spoken of as actually exerted.

Gen. iv. 7. If thou doft well, shall not thou be accepted? and if thou doest not well, sin lieth at the door.

Deuteronomy xxx. 19. I call heaven and earth to record this day against you, that I have set before you life and death, blessing and cursing: therefore choose life, that both thou and thy seed may live.

Joshua xxiv. 15. If it seem evil unto you to serve the Lord, choose you this day whom ye will serve; whether the gods which your fathers served, that were on the other side the flood, or the gods of the Amorites, in whose land ye dwell:

but as for me and my house, we will serve the Lord.

Job xxxvi. 21. Take beed, regard not inquity; for this hast thou chosen rather than affiction.

Pfalm cxix. 30. I have chosen the way of truth.

Psalm exix. 173. I have chosen thy precepts.

Prov. i. 29. For that they hated knowledge, and did not choose the fear of the Lord.

Isaiah lxvi. 3. Yea, they have chosen their own ways.

Luke x. 42. But one thing is needful, and Mary hath chosen that good part, which shall not be taken away from her.

To this class, also, belong those numerous passages, both in the Old and New Testament, in which men are commanded or exhorted to practise what is right, and to abstain from that which is evil. Of these the Scriptures are so full, that it must be need-less to make any further reference to them.

There are, moreover, some instances of the most pathetic expostulations with the wicked; which, if the misconduct referred to was really unavoidable, must be altogether delusive. Such is that of God by the Prophet Ezekiel, addressed to the Jews, chap. xxxiii. II. As I live, saith the Lord God, I have no pleasure in the death of the wicked; but that the wicked turn from his way and live: turn ye, turn ye, from your evil ways; for why will ye die, O House of Israel? Such also is our Saviour's lamentation over Jerusalem, before quoted.

3. Texts, which represent men as blaming or reproaching themselves for evil actions which they have done, or as making supplication for the pardon of them.

Thus 2 Samuel xii. 13. And David said unto Nathan, I have sinned against the Lord.

Job, Chap. vii. 20. I have sinned, what shall I do unto thee, O thou preserver of men.

Of Peter we are told, that when he remembered the words of Jesus, which said unto him, Before the cock crow, thou shalt deny me thrice; he went out and wept bitterly. Matt. xxvi. 75. And of Judas, that when he saw his master was condemned, he repented himself, and brought again the thirty pieces of silver

filver to the chief priests and elders, saying, I have sinned, in that I have betrayed the innocent blood, and he departed and went and hanged himself. Chap. xxvii. 3, 4, 5.

It is here, also, unnecessary to recite more passages. The penitential Psalms of David, all the confessions of sin, and prayers for forgiveness, which we meet with in any part of Scripture, are the language of conscious guilt, for which the doctrine of necessity leaves no room, because it utterly destroys that freedom of choice and action, which is the only cause of it.

4. Passages of Scripture, in which God is considered as exercising a moral government over mankind; that is, as approving the good, and being displeased with the wicked, and dispensing, in the course of his providence, tokens of his approbation or displeasure, according to their different characters.

Genesis xviii. 25. That be far from thee to do after this manner, to slay the righteous with the wicked: and that the righteous should be as the wicked, that be far from thee: shall not the judge of all the earth do right? Job. xxxiv. 10, 11, 12. Therefore hearken unto me, ye men of understanding: far be it from God, that he should do wickedness, and from the Almighty, that he should commit iniquity. For the work of a man shall he render unto him, and cause every man to find according to his ways. Yea, surely God will not do wickedly, neither will the Almighty pervert judgment.

Eccles. viii. 12. Though a sinner do evil an hundred times and his days be prolonged, yet surely I know that it shall be well with them that fear God, which fear before him: but it shall not be well with the wicked.

Ezek. xviii. 29. O House of Israel, are not my ways equal? And to mention no more,

Romans ii. 6. &cc. Who will render unto every man according to his deeds: to them who by patient continuance in well-doing seek for glory, honour and immortality, eternal life: but unto them that are contentious, and do not obey the truth, but obey unrighteousness; indignation and wrath, tribulation and anguish, upon every soul of man that doth evil, of the Jew sirst, and also of the Gentile. For there is no respect of persons with God.

There

There are a multitude of other texts which speak the same sense. Such are all those in the New Testament, which teach the great doctrine of suture retributions—all its promises of life and happiness, as connected with obedience, on one hand; and its denunciations of misery and destruction, as the punishment of unrepented sin and wickedness, on the other.

I shall add no further remarks on the Scriptures, which I have now quoted or referred to. To have collected all that could be found, which come under one or other of the classes above-mentioned, would have been to transcribe no small part of the Old and New Testament. Whether, in their plain meaning, or according to any just rules of interpretation, they countenance the doctrine of an uncontroulable necessity, attending the actions of men, or that of free agency, I leave to every one, who impartially considers them, to judge.

ON SECTION XII.

- "THE CALVINISTIC DOCTRINE OF PRE-
 - " DESTINATION, COMPARED WITH THE
 - " PHILOSOPHICAL DOCTRINE OF NE-
 - " CESSITY."

Section, is to clear the doctrine of necessity from such objections as might be supposed to lie against it, equally with the Calvinistic doctrine of Predestination, to which the Dr. himself allows that it bears a good degree of resemblance in some views. I cannot but be of opinion that the two schemes bear a much nearer affinity to one another, than the Dr. is aware of, and in those very points too, which, in Calvinism, the Dr. deems most obnoxious, because of their hurtful tendency.

It cannot be denied, that in reference to the end proposed, the doctrine of necessity has incomparably more in it that carries the appearance

appearance of benevolence, than that view of Calvinism to which it stands opposed. the latter scheme, only a small number of the race of mankind are predestinated to final happiness, while the far greater part are doomed to everlasting misery: whereas the necessarian principle, on the other hand, maintains a predestination including in its object the whole human race, who all, without exception, though at different periods, are to be finally made partakers of the destined good or happiness. It will not, then, admit a moment's hesitation, which of the two schemes is most desirable. If natural good, or happiness, through endless duration, be preferable to mifery; most certainly the necessarian tenet has infinitely the advantage of the common Calvinistic doctrine, in reference to its end. But important as the difference is between the two schemes, in this one respect; in all others, upon enquiry, they feem to be much more agreed, than, on a transient view of them, might be supposed. In both schemes, as the Dr. observes, p. 153, "The future " happiness or misery of all men are cer-

tainly foreknown and appointed by God." The Dr. might also have added, "without " any reason of preference." For it is manifestly no less true on the Necessarian, than on the Calvinistic scheme, that the appointment of some to happiness, and of others to misery, is not founded on any personal worth or demerit. On both schemes, there is a certain number elected or appointed by God to happiness or misery in a future state, and whatever difference there is in the difpositions and conduct of the objects of these different appointments, that difference is not the cause, but the consequence, of the divine appointment. In the view of the Necessarian, they who are appointed to future mifery, are also appointed to be vicious in the present state. Unless, therefore, that course of conduct, which was of God's own appointment, and was therefore absolutely unavoidable, can be truly faid to involve demerit in it; they, who are to undergo misery in a future state, have done no more to forfeit the divine favour than their elect brethren, who are immediately to enter into happiness. far, then, as respects the good or ill desert

of these different classes of men, the preference that is given to the one is without any reason. It is ultimately to be resolved into the fovereign and uncontroulable will of God. Here is furely a very plain and striking similarity between the Necessarian and Calvinistic predestination, as far as the former reaches. The duration of fuffering, which this supposes, is, indeed, only temporary, and is to terminate in the happiness of the sufferer; while that of the latter is everlasting and remediless. But even the temporary suffering, considered in the light of punishment, is the effect of an appointment of the same arbitrary kind with that, to which Calvinism ascribes the future misery of the non-elect or reprobate: and when it is further taken into the account. that a great part of the future suffering, though only for a time, arises from remorse or felf-reproach, without any thing done, that could have been avoided, and, confequently, without any just occasion or cause for this worst of all suffering; excepting in point of duration of misery, the one appointment is clogged with the same unfurmountable

mountable difficulties as the other. They are both repugnant to every idea of justice and goodness, in the way we usually conceive of them.

Nor are the grounds of these two appointments, as existing in the divine mind, which are affigned by their respective advocates, so essentially different, as they may at first be thought. The Calvinistic decree is, indeed, represented as having been made for God's own glory and fovereign good will. But if the Dr. will only permit us to make the fame allowance to the Calvinists, that he did, in a former section, in favour of Mr. Hobbes (see Illustrations, Section X. p. 120.) and we may then suppose, however incautiously some writers of that denomination may have expressed themselves on the subject, that they do not, any more than Mr. Hobbes, mean, when they speak of the glory of God, or his fovereignty, to include only the idea of his power, or dominion, as giving rise to his decrees. Imperfect as their notions of the divine rectitude appear to be, from their ascribing to God a measure so incompatible with the true idea of it; they may yet not intend, and I believe, in general, do not intend, to represent the divine decrees, as a merely arbitrary exercise of power, but, on the contrary, consider this attribute as acting in conjunction with all his moral persections, under some idea of them or other, in every determination that he forms.

The reason or ground of the divine appointment, or predestination, on the Necessarian plan, is—a regard to the production of the greatest good—Now though the good will, as opposed to injustice and cruelty, that appears in this principle of action, cannot but be pleasing to a benevolent mind, there feems, however, to be no more of moral rectitude in this principle, than in the mere power or fovereignty of God. is a goodness of design which is abstracted from, and independent of, every idea of fitness or rectitude; and must, therefore, be arbitrary in its nature, whatever beneficial effects it may produce: and in order to the accomplishment of the end, it becomes an effential part of the plan, to treat mankind as being what they really are not. It confers both

both rewards and punishments without any of those constituents of character, which lay the proper foundation for either the one or the other; and, in the latter case, that of punishments, as was before observed, it fupposes an opposition even to that great law of justice, which is so important a branch of moral rectitude. More to the same purpose was remarked on Section X. And, upon the whole, there appears to be a very confiderable resemblance between the two schemes, in the ends proposed, and the principles on which they are supposed to be founded. Let us now proceed to the comparative view of the manner in which these ends are brought about.

Or. Priestley says of this, p. 153. "The difference in the manner by which the end is accomplished, is so very great, that the influence of the two systems on the minds of those that adopt and act upon them, is the reverse of one another, exceedingly sayourable to virtue in the necessarian, and as unfavourable to it in the Calvinist." Now I would here desire the most careful attention to this one single

point—That both the Necessarian and the Calvinist hold a predestination or appoint: ment confisting of two parts; one respecting the end, the other, the means; and that, on both schemes, every thing which takes place, with regard to every individual, is the effect of a divine constitution, unalterable by man, and which could not possibly have been otherwise than it actually is— This Dr. Priestley has so repeatedly granted, in the course of his Illustrations, that I need fay nothing to prove that such is the Necesfarian tenet; and if this be admitted, it feems very immaterial, as to its practical influence, what the manner be in which the end is brought about. On the Necessarian plan, the manner, or means, may be more agreeable to the ideas of a philosopher, than on the Calvinistic scheme; but still, I say, the practical influence must be the very fame. For upon both fystems, man is a mere passive instrument of the divine will or It is therefore to little purpose for the Necessarian to believe, "that his own " dispositions and actions are the necessary " and fole means of his present and future "happiness."

"happiness." Properly speaking, there are no dispositions or actions, which he can call his own: for there are none over which he has any power, or in the production of which he had any concern as an agent. Whatever, then, he may believe about his own dispositions and actions, improperly so termed, it will not make him a whit more of an agent than he was before: and the agency of man being excluded, every bad confequence, which can attend the Calvinistic faith, follows upon the other. To say, as the Dr. does, p. 153. " that in the most proper " sense of the words, it depends entirely " upon man himself whether he be virtu-" our or vitious, happy or miserable," and yet to maintain, that the happiness and mifery of every individual of the human race. together with the means by which they are produced, are ordained and appointed by God. fo as not to admit the possibility of any the least alteration, in any part of our existence, either present or future, seems to imply a contradiction of principles of the groffest kind. What the Dr. says of man, p. 154. may be true in itsef; namely, " that " his

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" his fuccess is certain in proportion to " his exertion of himself." And that with " this exertion he cannot miscarry, but "without it he must, unless the laws of " nature should change, be inevitably mi-" ferable." This, I say, may be true in itfelf, but it amounts to nothing, which will in the least affect the main argument, fince the exertions that are made are no less necesfary and fixed, than the success that is to attend them.—Allowing the agreement of the two fystems in this one grand point; namely, that the manner in which the end is accomplished, as well as the end itself, is ordained and appointed by God; and much of what the Dr. observes, p. 154, 155. concerning Calvinism, may, with equal propriety, be applied to the doctrine of Necessity. "I do not see what motive a Necessa-" rian, any more than a Calvinist, can have " to give any attention to his moral con-"duct." "If a man be in the happy number of the elect," (for an elect number there is on the Necessarian scheme to whom the preference is so far given, as that they are to become virtuous and happy in this life) " he is

" fure that God will, at the appointed and "most proper time, work upon him, by the of power of motives, so as to form his mind to " the love and practice of virtue;" that is, in the Calvinistic way of speaking, "God will work upon him his miraculous work " of saving and sanctifying grace. Though " he should be ever so wicked," before this great change, it makes nothing against the certainty of the change; fince as it is a divine appointment, it must unavoidably take. place. On the Necessarian principle, these reasonings are to be extended much farther. For, though a man should not be in the elect number, who are to be virtuous and happy in this life, he is not, however, for that reason, to despair. It is the appointment of the Creator and Lord of the human race, that all, without exception, shall be brought to virtue and happiness at the last. There is, therefore, not merely an encouragement for hope, but an assurance of endless happiness in the result, for the worst finners. What the character is which any one is to sustain on earth, is appointed by him who knows what is best: and what his

will concerning us is, we shall all be made to know, by the effects which we feel in ourselves. The vicious, as well as the virtuous, are alike necessary in the plan of God's government; and whether he has assigned one or the other of these characters to any of us, it becomes us to acquiesce in our lot, and to consider ourselves, in all that we do, whether good or evil, as nothing more than instruments in the hands of our Maker, and as sulfilling his facred pleasure.

As far as I am able to judge, the above reasonings on the principle of Necessity are just and natural; and on this view of the direct tendency of the doctrine, I cannot but adopt the remark which the Dr. makes on Calvinism, in the close of his reasonings on its principles, p. 155. "If any system of speculative principles can operate as an axe at the root of all virtue, and goodness it is this," of Necessity.

" The Necessarian, also, (says the Dr.

[&]quot; p. 155.) believes nothing of the posterity

[&]quot; of Adam finning in him, and of their be-

[&]quot; ing liable to the wrath of God on that ac-

" count." The just exception, which has been taken against this tenet, is, that beings are hereby confidered as criminal, and liable to be treated as such, for a fact in which they had no choice or agency, but which was done by the choice or agency of another. And is not this the very case with regard to all that part of mankind, who come under the common denomination of finners or the wicked, on the Necessarian system? Their supposed crimes, and the punishments annexed to them, on this principle, take place in consequence of the original appointment of their Creator, are really affected by his agency, and on their part are absolutely unavoidable.

The Dr. further observes, p. 158. "The se Calvinistic system entirely excludes the " popular notion of free will, namely, the " liberty or power of doing what we please. " virtuous or vicious, as belonging to every " person in every fituation: which is per-" fectly confistent with the doctrine of phi-" losophical necessity, and, indeed, results " from it. And in this respect it is, that " the language of Scripture cannot be re-" conciled

2

" conciled with the tenets of Calvinism." To this I reply, when it is recollected, that on the Necessarian principle, the liberty or power of doing what we please, implies in it no idea of felf-determination, but that to please means no more than to be inclined by a physical necessity; the only just, and which is also, (as was before shewn) the popular notion of free will, appears to be no more confistent with the doctrine of Necessity than of Calvinism, and the language of revelation feems equally repugnant to both. Necessitating motives, presented to the mind. are furely as much the effects of a divine power, as that kind of agency which is supposed by the Calvinist; and though one may be called a natural means, and the other a miraculous way of operating on the mind, for producing the defigned change of dispofition and character, the effect is, however. equally necessary and unavoidable, and the operation in both cases, may, with the same propriety, be termed—irrefistible grace. Neither the Necessarian, nor the Calvinistic doctrine, admits of any other effect, than what is actually produced. There is no proper 19W0q power of choice or agency in man, on one plan more than the other: and what can it then be, but "tantalizing men," as the Dr. expresses it, on either scheme, to propose to them what nothing but a divine power is able to effect; to exhort them to make that change in themselves, which they cannot make, nor do any thing towards producing? All, in both fystems, is owing to the uncontroulable or irrefistible agency of God, in one way or other, and nothing to the choice or agency of man. According to the Calvinistic doctrine, the power of doing good was lost in Adam; and, on the Necessarian plan, man never did, nor can, possess a power of doing any thing that is morally right or wrong, or which is deferving praise or blame, reward or punishment, at all.

There are some other points, in which Dr. Priestley has drawn the comparison between the two systems, and endeavoured to shew—that the doctrine of philosophical necessity most essentially differs from what is generally understood by Calvinism. But, as these do not so immediately affect the grand question of liberty, I have nothing to offer

upon them. In those most material respects which regard the present controversy, I have confidered both schemes with a good degreeof attention; and notwithstanding all that Dr. Priestley has so ingeniously said, to prove there is a very important difference, I cannot but still think, that there is a very confiderable and firiking fimilarity, between them. In those most exceptionable and dangerous principles of Calvinism, which maintain-That God has fore-ordained whatfoever comes to pass, and that this predestination respects the characters and conduct, as well as the final state of mankind—That the different parts which men act in life are not the cause, but the consequences, of a divine appointment concerning the present and future state of their being-And That it is not possible for any one of mankind to do or be any other, than what they actually do and are-I fay, in these most exceptionable and dangerous principles of Calvinism, the doctrine of Necessity, however it may seem to differ in the representations that are given of it, is, when examined to the bottom, really the very fame. And though, in the end it propoles

proposes, it breathes a spirit of benevolence, which is the direct contrast to the genius of Calvinism; yet I cannot but be of opinion, that the persuasion of the final restoration of all the wicked to virtue and happiness, which it supports, will, in its natural operation, have a very pernicious influence on the unfettled minds of the generality of mankind: while the doctrine of eternal, remediless, torments for the non-elect, taught by Calvinism, horrible as it is in itself, may, in the way of restraint, have a considerable effect, and, in some instances, may probably produce an external reformation of life. For, notwithstanding all the degrading reflections which fome of the Calvinistic persuasion may at times cast on the moral and personal righteoulness of mankind, yet the more moderate among them, of whom the Dr. speaks, do, I believe, maintain the inseparable connection of holiness here with happiness hereafter; so that, on this scheme, the comfort of hope cannot be enjoyed without holiness; that is, without those very moral qualifications which they are apt so much to degrade, the belief belief of which may operate on some minds; as a motive to the cultivation of them.

P. 160. Dr. Priestley observes—" The " doctrine of philosophical necessity is, in " reality, a modern thing, not older, I be-" lieve, than Mr. Hobbes."—The Dr. might, I suppose, have traced the leading principles of the doctrine much beyond the time of Mr. Hobbes; though that author might confiderably enlarge the view of them, and reduce them into fo regular and refined a fystem. * Spinoza, who wrote about the fame time, has no less strongly declared against the principle of liberty. Thus that author (as cited by Dr. Clarke, in his Demonstr. p. 89. Margin.) says, in his Ethic. Part II. Prop. 13. Lemma 3. "Cor-" pus motum vel quiescens, ad motum vel " quietem determinari debuit ab alio cor-" pore, quod etiam ad motum vel quietem " determinatum fuit ab alio, et illud " iterum ab alio & sic in infinitum." Id. Ethic. Par. I. Prop. 32. " Unaquæ-" que volitio non potest existere, neque

^{*} Mr. Hobbes was born 1588, died 1679. Spinoza was born 1633, died 1677. See Bayle.

" ad operandum determinari, nisi ab alia " causa determinetur, & hæc rursus ab alia, " & sic porro in infinitum." Id. Part II. Prop. 48. " In mente nulla est absoluta sive " libera voluntas: sed mens ad hoc vel illud " volendum determinatur a causa, quæ etiam " ab alia determinata est, & hæc iterum ab " alia, & sic in infinitum."

The clear fense of which passages is, in Dr. Clark's words, as follows: "What"ever body is moved, must be moved by
some other body, which itself likewise
"must be moved by some third, and so on
"without end. The will, in like manner,
of any voluntary agent, must, of necessity,
be determined by some external cause,
and not by any power of determining itself,
inherent in itself: and that external cause
"must be determined necessarily by some
other cause, external to it; and so on
"without end."

Dr. Macknight, in his Harmony, Vol. I. p. 98. informs us from Josephus, Ant. 13. 9. That " the Essenes affirm, that all things are subject to the government of fate, and that nothing can happen to a man other-

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on practice; it nearly concerns every friend of virtue, who treats on moral and religious fubjects, to be extremely careful, that what he advances has a tendency, not to obstruct, but to promote, the improvement of mankind. And, in this view, what Dr. Price observes on the writings of one ingenious advocate for necessity, merits the closest attention from every one, who espouses the same fide of the question-namely, "If," as that Necessarian grants, "the divine plan required st that we should be so made, as to seem to ourselves free; and the whole constitution " of things is as if we were free;" to endeayour to establish the contrary opinion is an attempt " to conquer the necessity we are " under—to discover the secret, which, by " his account, was intended to be conceal-" ed from us—and to lay open the scheme " formed to deceive us," with the benevolent design, that we might not be injured by the knowledge of it. See Dr. Price's Review, first Ed. page 318, the note.

APPENDIX

TO THE

OBSERVATIONS;

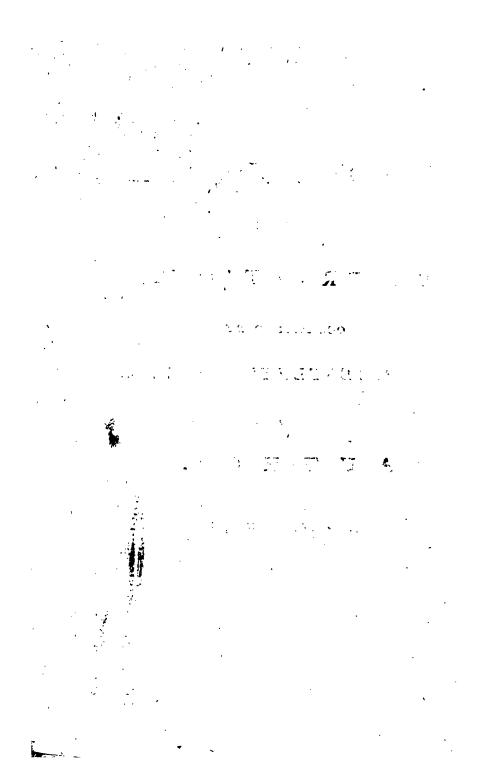
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DR. PRIESTLEY'S LETTER

TO THE

AUTHOR.

[Price SIX-PENCE.]



APPENDIX

TO THE

OBSERVATIONS

IN DEFENCE OF

THE LIBERTY OF MAN,

ÁS

A MORAL AGENT;

IN ANSWER TO

DR. PRIESTLEY'S ILLUSTRATIONS

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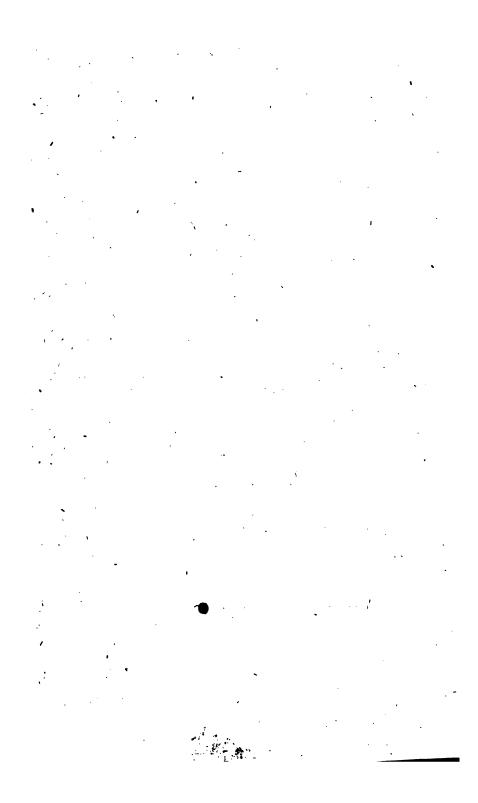
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THE DR'S. LETTER TO THE AUTHOR.

BY JOHN PALMER,
MINISTER OF NEW BROAD-STREET.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

Priestley's Letter, I cannot think it necessary to enter into any fuller discussion of its contents, than what is contained in the following remarks. In them, those parts of the Letter, which were deemed most material, are noticed. I have not, as far as I know, passed over any thing of the argumentative kind, which seemed to require a reply; and as to every thing else, I have aimed to be as concise, as was at all consistent with a proper vindication of myself; desirous to render the whole as useful, and as little offensive, as possible.

JOHN PALMER.

REMARKS

ON

DR. PRIESTLEY'S LETTE'R.

prize, which the Dr. expresses in several parts of his Letter*, that I had not attended more to what he had said, on some points of the controversy, in the Correspondence. It might have prevented the Dr's wonder, had he recollected, that I had said in the Presaco, p. 6. "The following Observations were nearly sinished before the publication of the Correspondence between Dr. Price. and Dr. Priestley; though I have since given that performance a careful perusal." The fact is as exactly as I have there stated

it:

it: not, (as Dr. Priestley, by a most unaccountable mistake, supposes me to have said 'or intimated') that my publication was " composed more than a year ago;" that is, from the date of his Letter, which is August 1779*; but the composition was nearly finished before the Correspondence was published, which was not till December 1778; nor, as I have above fuggested, did I read the correspondence, till after I had finished the Observations, which was towards the end of January 1779. My reason for deferring the perusal of that performance was, that I supposed the leading arguments in favour of necessity were contained in the Illustrations; and that, as my first design was so nearly executed, it would be best to compleat it, before I entered into the confideration of what had passed in the Correspondence: though, at the same time. I determined to submit st to the judgment of some learned friends, whether, after the publication of the Correspondence, that of the Observations was not unnecessary.

Confidering the declaration in my preface, before

^{*} See Letter, Page 2.

before cited, I cannot but think it a little extraordinary, that the Dr. should say, as he does p. 22. of his Letter, referring to what I had observed on certainty and necessity: Now, this is a case that I had considered fo fully in my late Treatife, in my Correspondence with Dr. Price, and in my fe letters to Dr. Horsley and Mr. Berington, that I did not think I should have heard any more of it; and yet it feems you have read part, at least, of what I have advanced on that subject." I have only to reply, that it would have been strange indeed, if I had not read somewhat which the Dr. had written on a subject, about which I presumed to reply to him. But need I affure him, that what I had read was in the Illustrations; the other pieces, to which he here refers, I had not then read. I must also take the liberty to add, that now I have read them, they appear as little satisfactory as the former: and that to all, which Dr. Priestley has advanced on this part of the argument, in the Correfpondence, Dr. Price appears to have given a very clear and sufficient reply.

Dr. Priestley, in p. 3, of his Letter, speaks

of the consequences of the doctrine of necesfity, as if they did not affect the real merits " I shall, fays the Dr. of the question. " confine myself chiefly to the discussion of so those points, on which the real merits of " the question turn, without replying at large " to what you have advanced, with respect " to the consequences of the doctrine. In-" deed, if the doctrine itself be true, we " must take all the genuine consequences, " whether we relish them or not." I must here observe, that the proof of liberty is far from being wholly rested on the consequences of not admitting it. But if those consequences will clearly and directly follow from necessity, which are subversive of such plain and important principles, as are intimately connected with the moral and accountable nature of man, and with the moral character and government of God; these consequences must operate very forcibly, as proofs of the falshood of the necessarian doctrine. must, no doubt, take all the genuine con-" sequences, whether we relish them or of not, if the doctrine itself be true." But consequences, of the kind just mentioned, - seem greatly to outweigh all speculative reafonings, of every fort, which can be thought of; and incontestably to prove, that the doctrine, which such consequences attend, is not, and cannot be, true. They are also consequences, implying in them ideas so abhorrent to my reason and feelings, and, in short, to every principle in my mind; as must cause me not barely to disapprove, but to reject, with the utmost detestation, the doctrine from which they follow.

In thus arguing from consequences, I' have done no more than adopt an usual, and what has been generally deemed, a just mode of reasoning. Dr. Watts, in his celebrated Treatise on Logick, or the Right Use of Reason, Edit, vii. p. 335. in a note, remarks, " It is a very common and useful way of arguing to refute a false proposi-" tion, by shewing what evident falsehood " or absurdity will follow from it: for what so proposition soever is really absurd and se false, does really prove that principle to 46 be false, from which it is derived."

I must further remind Dr. Priestley, that the mode of reasoning from consequences, which which he feems, at times, so much to dislike, is the very mode, which he himself has made great use of, and to which he is indebted for some of his principal arguments in defence of Philosophical Necessity. Does not the Dr. take great pains to prove, that if the mind be moved, not as necessity, but as liberty teaches, it would follow, that the volitions, or actions of men, are effects, which exist without any proper cause to produce them? Does he not also lay the utmost stress on the denial of the Divine Prescience, as the immediate and necessary consequence of holding the doctrine of liberty? It is only in the same way of reasoning, that I have endeavoured to support the doctrine of liberty; and with no other difference that I can see, than that the consequences depending are much more interesting, and those arising from the denial of it so peculiarly dangerous.

Page 23. The Dr. says, "You have indeed been able to collect, which was not
difficult, (for I had occasion to repeat it
feveral times) that in favour of the necesfary determination of the mind ascording

"I wonder you should not likewise have observed, that, in farther support of this, I added, that certainty or universality is the only possible ground of concluding, that there is a necessity in any case whatever; and to this, which you have not so much as noticed, you ought principally to have replied."

Inattentive as the Dr. thinks I have been, to the position which he here recites from his Illustrations; I was so far from overlooking it, that I regarded it as the basis, on which his argument for the necessary determination of the mind rested: nor could his reasoning, in favour of such a determination, carry the least appearance of propriety in it, but on the supposition, that the idea of necessity did, in all cases, immediately arise out of the certainty or universality of the effect produced: or, in the Dr's own words, that this " is " the only pessible ground of concluding, that "there is a necessity in any case whatever." I must therefore still consider myself, in all that I have infifted on, to establish the aoit3aiftib

distinction between physical and moral necessity; as really replying to this very argument, which the Dr. fays, "I have not so much as noticed." The reader will judge, whether I have noticed it or not, from what is contained in the fortieth and nine following pages, of the Observations, which I must beg leave to recommend to his careful attention. I have only to add this one general remark, that, whereas Dr. Priestley makes certainty or unitversality to be the ground of his idea of neceffity (and which, notwithstanding his seeming allowance, in fome places, of a distinction in the kinds of it, appears, upon examination, to be uniformly the fame, amounting to that necessity which is physical or absolute) I cannot, on the other hand, but confider the certainty, both natural and moral, as arifing out of the different ideas of necessity; which I have endeavoured to explain and fupport; and, in consequence of this, I am led to think, that the certainty is as different as the different causes or occasions of it: and which of these is the most natural and reasonable method of deduction, I must likewise submit to the judgment of those, who will be at the pains to examine what

we have respectively offered on the subject.

Page 27. The Dr. says, "I hope to satisfy you, that even all that you describe
as most horrid and frightful in the doctrine
of necessity, follows as evidently from your
doctrine of certainty, provided it be a real
certainty, though not such as you would
chuse to call a physical one; and therefore
that it can be nothing more than the mere
name that you object to."

My reply is briefly this—Certainty is a real certainty, though it be only a moral one; and yet it is not a physical one. The difference is as great, as between my being persuaded, excited, moved, influenced, by any arguments or motives, to do a thing; and my being impelled to do it, so as that it was out of my power not to do it. In a word, where moral certainty only takes place, the power of agency still remains; whereas, by that, which is physical, it is entirely destroyed. To suppose the existence of the one, in the latter sense, is virtually, and to all intents and purposes, to contradict and deny the existence of the other.

Page 28, &c. The Dr. introduces the following case, which, that it may be fully understood, I will recite in the Dr's own words—" We will suppose that a child of yours has committed an offence, to which " his mind was certainly, though not ne-" ceffarily determined by motives. He was " not made, we will fay, in such a manner " as that motives had a necessary effect upon " his mind, and physically or mechanically de-"termined his actions, but only that his " mind would in all cases determine itself. se according to the same motives. You hear " of the offence, and prepare for instant cor-" rection, not, however, on the idea that - " punishment is justifiable whenever it will reform the offender, or prevent the of-" fences of others, but simply on your own " idea, of its having been in the power of " the moral agent to aft otherwise than he " had done."

"Your son, aware of your principles,"
"fays, dear father, you ought not to be angry with, or punish me, when you knew that I could not help doing as I have done, "You placed the apples within my reach,

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and knew that my fondness for them was irresistible. No, you reply, that is not a just state of the case, you were not under any necessity to take them, you were only fo constituted as that you certainly would take them. But, says your son, what am I the better for this freedom from necessity? I wish I had been necessarily determined, for then you would not punish me; whereas now that I only certainly determine myself, I find that I offend just as much, and you always correct me for it."

"A man must be peculiarly constituted, if, upon this poor distinction, he could fatisfy himself with punishing his son in the one case, and not in the other. The offence he clearly foresaw would take place: for by the hypothesis, it was active howeldged to be certain, arising from his disposition and motives; and yet merely because he will not term it necessarily, he thinks him a proper object of punishment. Besides, please to consider whether, if the child never did refrain from the offence, in those circumstances, there be any reason

" to think that he properly could have re" frained."

The above case carries some appearance of novelty, but is as extraordinary as it is new. It involves in it many questions, and is too generally stated, to admit a particular discussion. All I can reply to it must be in general, and it is briefly this-Supposing the child to possess intelligence and liberty, both which I must consider as essential to moral agency, and consequently to responsibility; and I will then not scruple to say, that disobedience to his father's orders, in taking the apples, which were forbidden, renders him, in a degree, culpable and deserving punishment—In what degree he is so? and. what allowances candour should lead the father to make for the trespass?—These are other and different questions, the folution of which must depend on a variety of circumstances; such as—the abilities and temper of the child—his fituation at the time—the degree of his fondness for apples—the nature of the prohibition—the manner in which it was urged and supported—and the like— All which, it is readily allowed, must have fome

Tome and a certain influence, so as materially to affect the degree of criminality, with which the child flood chargeable: but however those circumstances be settled, he must, after all can be supposed in his favour, be deserving some blame, unters his fondness for the apples was really irrefifible, so that he had it not in his power to refuse them. This I take to be the precise point on which the criminality depends: and if the offending child should, therefore, be such an adept in the art of felf-defence, as to reply, " What am I the better for this freedom from or necessity? I wish I had been necessarily " determined, for then you would not punish " me; whereas now, that I only certainly " determine myself, I find that I offend just " as much, and you always correct me for " it,"—The answer to be returned him is a plain and convincing one, and it is this-That you are not the better for your freedom is owing to your not using it—Don't you, my son, see a vast difference between determining yourself, call it certainly, if you please, and being necessarily determined by something

else? Nay, I appeal to yourself, whether you are not conscious that you had it in your power not to have taken the apples? I should hardly think that any boy of common understanding, if he attended, would call this answer, or the distinction on which it is founded, a poor one.

Dr. Priestley asks, " if the child never " did refrain in these circumstances, there " be any reason to think that he properly " could?"

My answer is, all that appears to me to follow, from a child's never having refrained, is not that there was no reason to think he could, but merely that he would.

I have only further to remark on this case, that the Dr. misrepresents me, when he intimates, p. 28. that I have no idea of punishment, as justifiable "whenever it will rement, of others; but simply," on what he calls my "own idea, of its having been in the power of the moral agent to act otherwise than he had done." I must here refer to Section 7, of the Observations, where, on a careful revisal, I still think it plain, that I

am not speaking of the ends of pumishment, but the foundation of it in the moral character of the objects of it.—Had the Dr. considered this, he would have spared his remark.

Notwithstanding all that the Dr. has said, to urge the pursuit of the controversy about prescience; I am so far satisfied with what I have advanced on that subject, in the Obfervations, as to leave the argument in the state, in which I have there placed it. I cannot, however, forbear adverting a little to the charge of "seeming levity, in treating "this most serious of all subjects," which the Dr. produces against me; and with which he owns, he "cannot help being extremely "shocked." See the Letter, page 44.

In answer to this formidable accusation, I must observe, that it is in the parody I have given on the Dr's satirical invective against Dr. Beatie, where alone I can find any thing, in that part of the argument, which is capable of being construed into a seeming levity: and if any thing, which I have there said, appears to the Dr. to merit that charge; I must then beg leave to ask

him, what ought to be his opinion of his own original, which I have so carefully endeavoured to copy after? If there is any reason for his being "extremely shocked" with my levity, how much greater cause has he to be shocked with his own, in setting before me so inviting a specimen, which I have done no more than imitate; and this too, with no other view, than to form an appeal to the Dr's seelings, for the utter impropriety of any such manner of writing?

Page 55. The Dr. makes a remark which I own I could little have expected from him. -I had represented the necessarian doctrine as having a tendency " to relax the mind, " and fink it into a state of indolence and " inactivity:" On which the Dr. observes, " Here then you reduce the Necessarian to a " state of absolute inactivity, that is, indif-4 posed to any pursuits, virtuous or vicious. "For your argument, if it goes to any thing, " goes to both alike."—Can this be deemed a just or fair construction of the terms indo-· lence and inactivity? When I had faid in the preceding part of the same argument, and in the very page before, "If we judge of " mankind

" mankind at large by what we see of them, * the disposition which they too commonly " discover, to find apologies for neglecting "the business and duties of life, and exceed-"ing in their indulgencies and pleasures, " cannot but lead us to suppose, that they " would avail themselves of such a senti-" timent, as the doctrine of necessity pro-" poses to their belief, to be still more neg-" ligent as to every important concern, and " to allow themselves much greater freedom " in every gratification, to which sense and "appetite prompt them." Was not fuch a previous explanation of my defign sufficient to clear me from the imputation, of having " reduced the Necessarian to a state of abso-" lute inactivity, that is, indisposed to any " pursuits, virtuous or vicious?"

I had clearly expressed my meaning to be, not that the necessarian believer was in danger of becoming wholly stupid and motion-less, but that his belief tended to indispose him for virtuous activity and self-command. This, it was plain, was the only activity which I meant to exclude, as the effect of such a belief; having all along supposed him

lar and vicious inclinations. Having hinted this; I shall not notice any of the Dr's reafonings, and lively turns, on a supposed overfight of mine; but which are all so evidently founded on a palpable mistake and misrepresentation of his own.

One of my arguments, the Dr. tells me, p. 73. of his Letter, he "really cannot treat with fo much feriousness," as he supposes I shall "probably expect."

I had faid, in the Observations, that, according to the scheme of necessity, "every thing that takes place in my body, as well as my mind, may with equal propriety be called my act or volition; and so the circulation of the blood, and the pulsation of the heart, may with equal reason be called my volitions."

Here the Dr. asks, with an air of triumph, "Now, Sir, is not judgment always called an ast of the mind, as well as volition? But has any man power over this? Is not this necessarily determined by the view of arguments, &c.? You will not deny it." To this I answer; I will not, indeed, nor will

will any one, deny, that judgment is, in common speech, called an act of the mind, as well as volition: but I shall most certainly deny, that judgment and volition are always understood to express acts of the mind, in the same, that is, a philosophical sense. The Dr. must surely have forgot that I had faid, in the Observations, p. 53. "The "judgment is in its own nature passive;" or he would not here have thought of my allowing judgment to be equally an act with volition. But he has himself furnished me with an answer to his first question, that is, " Is not judgment always called an act of "the mind, as well as volition?" By the two before recited, which immediately follow it; namely, "Has any man power over " this? Is not this necessarily determined by " the view of arguments?" It is granted to the Dr. that man has no power over judgment, meaning by that the last act of it; and that it is so determined, as he intimates.— And what is the conclusion? Is it not, that, in this respect, being passive; it cannot, in a proper sense, be active, or an act? How is

this conclusion to be avoided, unless to act, and to be acted upon, mean one and the same thing? When the Dr. has proved that, he may then with some reason suppose himself to have also proved, as he here thinks he has done, on my principles, " that whatever " passes in my body, as well as in my mind, " may with equal propriety be called an act " of my judgment; and so that the circula-"tion of the blood, and the pulsation of " the heart, may with equal reason be called " my judgment."—Till then the Dr's ergo, that judgments and volitions are the same things, will be plain only to a believer in necessity—And it is he only who can be affected by the paradoxical conclusion, which the Dr. subjoins.—On which I shall only add, that when he has proved judgment to be an act, he will then have set before the world a fair specimen of a method of proving contradictions; and will find it not a whit more difficult to prove to mankind, that their "heads" are their "feet," and their "feet" their "heads," or that they have no heads at all. But to return to the argument; I wish the Dr. to reconsider

the nature of the position, which he has represented as so very sutile and ridiculous. It was, in substance, only this, "that if I had "no power over my own volitions, the term (volitions) was no more applicable to what "passes in my mind, than to any thing "which takes place in my bodily frame." And what has the Dr. done to invalidate this reasoning? He has taken it for granted, that I admit that to be an act, which is really, and which I maintain to be, a mere passive effect. The principle therefore which he has adopted, as the medium of proof for all his conclusions, is denied: and what then must become of the conclusions themselves?

In all I have said, judgment still remains to be judgment, and volition is volition; or, in other words, according to my ideas of them, they are principles in the mental frame effentially different in their nature, the one active and the other passive: whereas, according to the Dr. they are both of the same general kind, that is, they are both really passive, or alike necessary in their operations; whatever verbal distinction he may choose to make between them.

Dr. Priestley, p. 77. recommends a close attention to the "real phanomena of human " nature," as the only unexceptionable method of fettling the debate concerning the agency of man. This is no other than the fame rule of philosophizing, which the Dr. so frequently and strenuously infists on, in his Illustrations: and to what I have faid in the course of the Observations, I must refer for an answer. I shall only add here, that if the "phænomena of human nature," are to . determine the question, we must certainly include the whole of the "phanomena;" one of which is, that, let the actions be ever so " definite in definite circumstances," they are still conscious of having had it in their power to determine otherwise than they actually did. This feems incontrovertible, from what they feel, in consequence of those volitions, or actions, which are of a moral nature. This reply, I am aware, can have no weight with the Dr: because he considers all these feelings as founded on a deception; a real, though a natural and necessary, deception. I must therefore be content with looking on the answer, which I have now given, as satisfactory. tisfactory to myself; nor do I apprehend, that I herein materially, if at all, differ from Dr. Price, as Dr. Priestley supposes I do.

Dr. Price does not, as far as I can recollect, any where say or intimate, that the volitions or actions of men are so definite in any circumstances, as that they are necessarily determined by the circumstances: but only considers the circumstances in the light of motives or reasons of action, to which the agent has respect in the determinations he forms, while he yet determines himself, on the view of them. And the frequent, or even constant similar determinations of men, in any given circumstances, only render it morally certain, that is, probable, and this in proportion to the frequency of the prior volitions, that he will form the same again Dr. Priestley has also very much mistaken Dr. Price, when he represents him, which he does, p. 78. of the Letter, as "admitff ting that the felf-determining power is " wanted only, when the motives are equal." Dr. Price has, indeed, in the Correspondence, put a case, in which he makes such a supposition, that is, that the motives are, in fact, equal: b 4

equal: but this I understand Dr. Price to have proposed only as one instance, in which Dr. Priestley himself must see, and be obliged to acknowledge, that without such a power, as the advocates for liberty maintain, no determination at all could be formed; while he yet held the necessity of it, in all cases whatever, to constitute proper agency; and that, in all our actions, it is wanted and used.

Dr. Priestley has further equally mistaken me, when he fays, p. 78. that I "generally " suppose the mind capable of acting contra-" ry to any motive whatever," by which the Dr. has, a little after in the same paragraph, explained himself to mean, acting "with-"out, or contrary to motives."—Answer-I never faid, or supposed, that a rational being can act without any motive, good or bad. But the most, I ever said, was, " that in " the very same circumstances, in which the " choice or determination of the mind was " directed to one object of pursuit, it might " have brought itself to will or determine on "the pursuit of a different and contrary. . " one," See the Observations on the state of the

the question, p. 17. So that still the volition or determination would have some ground or reason for it; though that would have been as different, as the determination which was grounded upon it.

Dr. Priestley pursuing his idea of the or unalterable chain of fituations and voli-"tions." See the Letter, p. 77. comes at last, in p. 79, to this conclusion, "that " there can be no more than one proper agent in the universe." On this I cannot avoid remarking, that, in the Dr's way of reasoning, it seems impossible there should be any one. Volition with him necessarily depends on motives, or fituations, that is, on fomething independent of itself, as the cause: and if this be true, it must hold univerfally, which will directly exclude, together with the idea of felf-motion, that of a first mover. And if, on the other hand, one felf-mover be admitted, I see nothing to hinder, why there may not be millions of self-movers; unless the communication of the power could be proved to be a contradiction and impossibility.

Dr. Priestley, treating on "the preju-

** fame as the origin of the Deity, concerning which we know nothing at all."

It is common with philosophers to speak of the origin of created beings, but to speak of "the origin of the Deity," that is, of an eternal, uncreated Being, seems to be a new mode of expression, and peculiar to the Dr.—What origin could there be to a Being, who is unoriginated, or eternal? As such is his nature, it is no wonder that "we know "nothing" concerning his "origin:" but thus much we know, concerning his power of volition and action, as well as concerning his existence, that they are both uncaused and eternal, that is, cannot possibly have any origin at all.

The Dr. further asks, same page,—"How wan you think it any degradation to the Deity, that he should ast necessarily, when you allow that he exists necessarily? And again—Is not the existence of any being or thing, of as much importance to him, as his acting?

I shall only reply to these questions, by proposing the following ones.—Is not necessary, that is, eternal existence, the highest possible

possible idea of existence which can be formed?—And can that be a degradation, which implies in it the most absolute perfection of existence?—But if by "atting necessarily" the Dr. means, any way of acting incompatible with the idea of self-motion, or perfect agency; I would then again ask—Is there any comparison to be made, between "acting necessarily," or, in other words, being acted upon, and being perfectly free in all his volitions and actions?—I confess, for my own part, I cannot perceive the least similarity between the two things, which the Dr. seems here to consider as so nearly resembling one another.

Dr. Priestley, pages 92, 93, of his Letter, expresses himself in the following remarkable manner.—" I really think it (the doctrine of necessity) " the clearest of all " questions, the truth of it being as indu" bitable as that the three angles of a right" lined triangle are equal to two right an" gles, or that two and two make four, and
" therefore I have no feeling either of fear
" or arrogance, in challenging the whole
" world in the desence of it. This argu-

ment I compare to fuch ground as one man may defend against an army. It is, therefore, absolutely indifferent to me by whom, or by how many, I be assailed. You would, probably, say the same with respect to the doctrine of liberty, at least the style, in which your book is written, seems to speak as much."

Probable as the Dr. may think it, that I would express myself in the same manner on the fide of liberty, as he has done in the above passage, in favour of necessity; in this I am clear, that it would be a mode of expression very unbecoming me: and notwithstanding the strength of those convictions on the subject, which I really possess, and which I have expressed in many parts of the Observations, and the confidence with which the Dr. has charged me; I would still hope, that the stile of the Observations does appear to the generality of its readers, to be very different from that of the paragraph which I have recited from the Dr's. Letter; and not to render it at all probable that I would allow myself in any such manner of writing, respecting the point of liberty, or any other controverted controverted point whatever.-Will the Dr. also excuse me, if I take the freedom of entering into a little candid expostulation on the great impropriety of such modes of expression in themselves?—Whatever the Dr. might fay, or infinuate, of some of the defenders of liberty, whom he thought by no means equal to the task they had undertaken; let him not deem me arrogant in asking, whether it might not have been expected, that the reverence due to such authors as a Locke, Wollaston, Clark, Foster, and Price, should have put some restraint on his pen? If the question about necessity was, as the Dr. fays, "the clearest of all questions," and so demonstrable, and even self-evident. as he makes it to be; will not the direct consequence be (for here again I must hint at consequences) will not, I say, the direct consequence be, that all those great authors, whose names I have mentioned, and very many others, which might be added to them, were either so very short-sighted, as to remain in all the darkness of the grossest ignorance, respecting the clearest of " all ques-"tions;" or else were so blinded by preju-

dice, as to controvert even a truth no less " indubitable" than any which are capable of strict demonstration, or discernible by immediate intuition.—If the Dr. had here " paused" a little, as he says, p. 94, the instances we every day see of "confirmed " judgments in things of the greatest, as " well as of the least moment, ought to " make the most consident of us" to do; though he might have remained equally and " necessarily determined by his own view of "the evidence before him;" I think I may yet venture to fay, that the mode of expresfing his convictions would have been confiderably lowered, so as, at once, to have rendered it better adapted to the object of !his zeal, and more confistent with the respect which he himself must allow to be due to not a few, who are of the contrary persuation.

Clear, however, as the evidence for the truth of the necessarian doctrine lies before the Dr's mind; his hopes of success, in propagating it, are as moderate, as his declarations in its favour are strong.

"Notwithstanding, says the Dr. p. 96, "all that I shall ever be able to write in sayour

- " favour of the doctrine of necessity, your
- " supposed consciousness of liberty, and other
- " popular arguments (though when analised,
- "they really make against your hypothesis)
- " will always secure nine out of ten of the
- " generality of our readers."

Not to enter into any further debate about the analysis of the arguments I have insisted on; I cannot help expressing my wishes, that the " consciousness of liberty," or any other arguments, might secure not only nine out of ten, but, if it were possible, even the tenth man too, from the reception of so enfnaring a doctrine, as that of necessity: but I will not, at the same time, conceal my apprehenfions, that, though it be indeed, as Dr. Price justly calls it, " a deadly potion," it must yet be so very grateful to those who want to find a plea for their vices, that the generality, who are unfortunate enough to get a taste of it, will be too ready to swallow its worst dregs; and that, having so done, they will be so far overcome by them, as to be confirmed in the practice of many vices, though they may not proceed to that outrage and violence, which the Dr. mentions: and even

against those greater enormities, I cannot consider necessarianism, but principles and feelings of a very different nature, as their security.

I cannot conclude these remarks without expressing a little wonder, that Dr. Priestley should have given himself the trouble of writing ninety seven pages in reply to the "Observations;" when he says, p. 97, " I see nothing new in any thing that you have advanced,

I never, indeed, made pretentions to the discovery of any of the great principles, on which the doctrine of liberty stands; and was clearly of opinion, long before the Correspondence was published, that all the arguments, which were of importance, on both fides of the question, had been ably discussed by other writers. Dr. Price, also, with his tifual liberality of mind, observes, in a note to his additional Observations in the Correspondence, p. 51. "It is, indeed, with " fome pain I reflect, that much of this dif-" cussion is little more than a repetition of " Mr. Collins's objections on one fide, and " Dr. Clarke's replies on the other." want

swer

want of novelty, therefore, in the principles of the Observations is not peculiar to that performance: and was it requisite to the utility of any publication, that the ideas should be so entirely new, as to be different from any thing which had been before advanced; Dr. Priestley must admit, that the number of such publications, as were sit to appear, would be very, very small. The application, however, which I have made of the principles of liberty, in reply to Dr. Priestley, I hope I may be permitted to consider as my own, whatever may be thought of my reasonings.

Whether there is that "appearance of "arrogance" in the tone of the Dr's Letter, which he supposes, p. 90, I shall "pro-"bably think there is;" I will join issue with him in referring to the decision of indifferent persons. I think it, however, proper to say for myself, that, having, in the best manner I was able, stated my views of the leading arguments both on the side of liberty and necessity; I now decline a controversy, which, I am persuaded, it can an-

fwer no good end to continue: and shall, therefore, hold myself excused, in being entirely silent, should "circumstances determine" the Dr. to take any public notice of what is subjoined in this Appendix, or to advance any thing more on the subject.

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