

A TREATISE OF HUMAN NATURE

By David Hume

CONTENTS

VOLUME I

INTRODUCTION BY THE AUTHOR.

BOOK I OF THE UNDERSTANDING

PART I OF IDEAS, THEIR ORIGIN, COMPOSITION,
CONNEXION,
ABSTRACTION, ETC.

SECT. I OF THE ORIGIN OF OUR IDEAS.
SECT. II. DIVISION OF THE SUBJECT.
SECT. III. OF THE IDEAS OF THE MEMORY AND
IMAGINATION.
SECT. IV. OF THE CONNECTION OR ASSOCIATION OF IDEAS.
SECT. V. OF RELATIONS.
SECT. VI. OF MODES AND SUBSTANCES
SECT. VII. OF ABSTRACT IDEAS.

PART II. OF THE IDEAS OF SPACE AND TIME.

SECT. I. OF THE INFINITE DIVISIBILITY OF OUR IDEAS
OF SPACE AND TIME.
SECT. II. OF THE INFINITE DIVISIBILITY OF SPACE AND
TIME.
SECT. III. OF THE OTHER QUALITIES OF OUR IDEA OF
SPACE AND TIME.
SECT. IV. OBJECTIONS ANSWERED.
SECT. V. THE SAME SUBJECT CONTINUED.
SECT. VI. OF THE IDEA OF EXISTENCE, AND OF EXTERNAL
EXISTENCE.

PART III. OF KNOWLEDGE AND PROBABILITY.

SECT. I. OF KNOWLEDGE.



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SECT. II. OF PROBABILITY, AND OF THE IDEA OF CAUSE
AND EFFECT.

SECT. III. WHY A CAUSE IS ALWAYS NECESSARY.

SECT. IV. OF THE COMPONENT PARTS OF OUR REASONINGS
CONCERNING CAUSE
AND EFFECT.

SECT. V. OF THE IMPRESSIONS OF THE SENSES AND
MEMORY.

SECT. VI. OF THE INFERENCE FROM THE IMPRESSION TO
THE IDEA.

SECT. VII. OF THE NATURE OF THE IDEA OR BELIEF.

SECT. VIII. OF THE CAUSES OF BELIEF.

SECT. IX. OF THE EFFECTS OF OTHER RELATIONS AND
OTHER HABITS.

SECT. X. OF THE INFLUENCE OF BELIEF.

SECT. XI. OF THE PROBABILITY OF CHANCES.

SECT. XII. OF THE PROBABILITY OF CAUSES.

SECT. XIII. OF UNPHILOSOPHICAL PROBABILITY.

SECT. XIV. OF THE IDEA OF NECESSARY CONNECTION.

SECT. XV. RULES BY WHICH TO JUDGE OF CAUSES AND
EFFECTS.

SECT. XVI. OF THE REASON OF ANIMALS

PART IV. OF THE SCEPTICAL AND OTHER SYSTEMS OF
PHILOSOPHY.

SECT. I. OF SCEPTICISM WITH REGARD TO REASON.

SECT. II. OF SCEPTICISM WITH REGARD TO THE SENSES.

SECT. III. OF THE ANTIENT PHILOSOPHY.

SECT. IV. OF THE MODERN PHILOSOPHY.

SECT. V. OF THE IMMATERIALITY OF THE SOUL.

SECT. VI. OF PERSONAL IDENTITY

SECT. VII. CONCLUSION OF THIS BOOK.

VOLUME II

BOOK II OF THE PASSIONS

PART I OF PRIDE AND HUMILITY

SECT. I DIVISION OF THE SUBJECT

SECT. II OF PRIDE AND HUMILITY, THEIR OBJECTS AND
CAUSES

SECT. III WHENCE THESE OBJECTS AND CAUSES ARE
DERIVED

SECT. IV OF THE RELATIONS OF IMPRESSIONS AND IDEAS
SECT. V OF THE INFLUENCE OF THESE RELATIONS ON
PRIDE AND HUMILITY
SECT. VI LIMITATIONS OF THIS SYSTEM
SECT. VII OF VICE AND VIRTUE
SECT. VIII OF BEAUTY AND DEFORMITY
SECT. IX OF EXTERNAL ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES
SECT. X OF PROPERTY AND RICHES
SECT. XI OF THE LOVE OF FAME
SECT. XII OF THE PRIDE AND HUMILITY OF ANIMALS

PART II OF LOVE AND HATRED

SECT. I OF THE OBJECT AND CAUSES OF LOVE AND
HATRED
SECT. II EXPERIMENTS TO CONFIRM THIS SYSTEM
SECT. III DIFFICULTIES SOLVED
SECT. IV OF THE LOVE OF RELATIONS
SECT. V OF OUR ESTEEM FOR THE RICH AND POWERFUL
SECT. VI OF BENEVOLENCE AND ANGER
SECT. VII OF COMPASSION
SECT. VIII OF MALICE AND ENVY
SECT. IX OF THE MIXTURE OF BENEVOLENCE AND ANGER
WITH COMPASSION
AND MALICE
SECT. X OF RESPECT AND CONTEMPT
SECT. XI OF THE AMOROUS PASSION, OR LOVE BETWIXT
THE SEXES
SECT. XII OF THE LOVE AND HATRED OF ANIMALS

PART III OF THE WILL AND DIRECT PASSIONS

SECT. I OF LIBERTY AND NECESSITY
SECT. II THE SAME SUBJECT CONTINUED
SECT. III OF THE INFLUENCING MOTIVES OF THE WILL
SECT. IV OF THE CAUSES OF THE VIOLENT PASSIONS
SECT. V OF THE EFFECTS OF CUSTOM
SECT. VI OF THE INFLUENCE OF THE IMAGINATION ON THE
PASSIONS
SECT. VII OF CONTIGUITY AND DISTANCE IN SPACE AND
TIME
SECT. VIII THE SAME SUBJECT CONTINUED
SECT. IX OF THE DIRECT PASSIONS
SECT. X OF CURIOSITY, OR THE LOVE OF TRUTH

BOOK III OF MORALS

PART I OF VIRTUE AND VICE IN GENERAL

SECT. I MORAL DISTINCTIONS NOT DERIVED FROM REASON
SECT. II MORAL DISTINCTIONS DERIVED FROM A MORAL
SENSE

PART II OF JUSTICE AND INJUSTICE

SECT. I JUSTICE, WHETHER A NATURAL OR ARTIFICIAL
VIRTUE?
SECT. II OF THE ORIGIN OF JUSTICE AND PROPERTY
SECT. III OF THE RULES WHICH DETERMINE PROPERTY
SECT. IV OF THE TRANSFERENCE OF PROPERTY BY CONSENT
SECT. V OF THE OBLIGATION OF PROMISES
SECT. VI SOME FARTHER REFLECTIONS CONCERNING
JUSTICE AND INJUSTICE
SECT. VII OF THE ORIGIN OF GOVERNMENT
SECT. VIII OF THE SOURCE OF ALLEGIANCE
SECT. IX OF THE MEASURES OF ALLEGIANCE
SECT. X OF THE OBJECTS OF ALLEGIANCE
SECT. XI OF THE LAWS OF NATIONS
SECT. XII OF CHASTITY AND MODESTY

PART III OF THE OTHER VIRTUES AND VICIES

SECT. I OF THE ORIGIN OF THE NATURAL VIRTUES AND
VICIES
SECT. II OF GREATNESS OF MIND
SECT. III OF GOODNESS AND BENEVOLENCE
SECT. IV OF NATURAL ABILITIES
SECT. V SOME FARTHER REFLECTIONS CONCERNING THE
NATURAL VIRTUES
SECT. VI CONCLUSION OF THIS BOOK

APPENDIX TO THE TREATISE OF HUMAN NATURE

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VOL. I OF THE UNDERSTANDING.

ADVERTISEMENT.

My design in the present work is sufficiently explained in the Introduction. The reader must only observe, that all the subjects I have there planned out to myself, are not treated of in these two volumes. The subjects of the Understanding and Passions make a compleat chain of reasoning by themselves; and I was willing to take advantage of this natural division, in order to try the taste of the public. If I have the good fortune to meet with success, I shall proceed to the examination of Morals, Politics, and Criticism; which will compleat this Treatise of Human Nature. The approbation of the public I consider as the greatest reward of my labours; but am determin'd to regard its judgment, whatever it be, as my best instruction.

INTRODUCTION.

Nothing is more usual and more natural for those, who pretend to discover anything new to the world in philosophy and the sciences, than to insinuate the praises of their own systems, by decrying all those,

which have been advanced before them. And indeed were they content with lamenting that ignorance, which we still lie under in the most important questions, that can come before the tribunal of human reason, there are few, who have an acquaintance with the sciences, that would not readily agree with them. It is easy for one of judgment and learning, to perceive the weak foundation even of those systems, which have obtained the greatest credit, and have carried their pretensions highest to accurate and profound reasoning. Principles taken upon trust, consequences lamely deduced from them, want of coherence in the parts, and of evidence in the whole, these are every where to be met with in the systems of the most eminent philosophers, and seem to have drawn disgrace upon philosophy itself.

Nor is there required such profound knowledge to discover the present imperfect condition of the sciences, but even the rabble without doors may, judge from the noise and clamour, which they hear, that all goes not well within. There is nothing which is not the subject of debate, and in which men of learning are not of contrary opinions. The most trivial question escapes not our controversy, and in the most momentous we are not able to give any certain decision. Disputes are multiplied, as if every thing was uncertain; and these disputes are managed with the greatest warmth, as if every thing was certain. Amidst all this bustle it is not reason, which carries the prize, but eloquence; and no man needs ever despair of gaining proselytes to the most

extravagant
hypothesis, who has art enough to represent it in any
favourable
colours. The victory is not gained by the men at arms,
who manage the
pike and the sword; but by the trumpeters, drummers, and
musicians of
the army.

From hence in my opinion arises that common prejudice
against
metaphysical reasonings of all kinds, even amongst
those, who profess
themselves scholars, and have a just value for every
other part of
literature. By metaphysical reasonings, they do not
understand those on
any particular branch of science, but every kind of
argument, which is
any way abstruse, and requires some attention to be
comprehended. We
have so often lost our labour in such researches, that
we commonly
reject them without hesitation, and resolve, if we must
for ever be a
prey to errors and delusions, that they shall at least
be natural and
entertaining. And indeed nothing but the most determined
scepticism,
along with a great degree of indolence, can justify this
aversion to
metaphysics. For if truth be at all within the reach of
human capacity,
it is certain it must lie very deep and abstruse: and to
hope we shall
arrive at it without pains, while the greatest geniuses
have failed
with the utmost pains, must certainly be esteemed
sufficiently vain
and presumptuous. I pretend to no such advantage in the
philosophy I am
going to unfold, and would esteem it a strong
presumption against it,
were it so very easy and obvious.

It is evident, that all the sciences have a relation, greater or less, to human nature: and that however wide any of them may seem to run from it, they still return back by one passage or another. Even. Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, and Natural Religion, are in some measure dependent on the science of MAN; since they lie under the cognizance of men, and are judged of by their powers and faculties. It is impossible to tell what changes and improvements we might make in these sciences were we thoroughly acquainted with the extent and force of human understanding, and could explain the nature of the ideas we employ, and of the operations we perform in our reasonings. And these improvements are the more to be hoped for in natural religion, as it is not content with instructing us in the nature of superior powers, but carries its views farther, to their disposition towards us, and our duties towards them; and consequently we ourselves are not only the beings, that reason, but also one of the objects, concerning which we reason.

If therefore the sciences of Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, and Natural Religion, have such a dependence on the knowledge of man, what may be expected in the other sciences, whose connexion with human nature is more close and intimate? The sole end of logic is to explain the principles and operations of our reasoning faculty, and the nature of our ideas: morals and criticism regard our tastes and sentiments: and politics consider men as united in society, and dependent on each other. In these four sciences of Logic, Morals, Criticism, and

Politics, is
comprehended almost everything, which it can any way
import us to be
acquainted with, or which can tend either to the
improvement or ornament
of the human mind.

Here then is the only expedient, from which we can hope
for success in
our philosophical researches, to leave the tedious
lingering method,
which we have hitherto followed, and instead of taking
now and then a
castle or village on the frontier, to march up directly
to the capital
or center of these sciences, to human nature itself;
which being once
masters of, we may every where else hope for an easy
victory. From this
station we may extend our conquests over all those
sciences, which more
intimately concern human life, and may afterwards
proceed at leisure
to discover more fully those, which are the objects of
pore curiosity.
There is no question of importance, whose decision is
not comprised in
the science of man; and there is none, which can be
decided with any
certainty, before we become acquainted with that
science. In pretending,
therefore, to explain the principles of human nature, we
in effect
propose a compleat system of the sciences, built on a
foundation almost
entirely new, and the only one upon which they can stand
with any
security.

And as the science of man is the-only solid foundation
for the other
sciences, so the only solid foundation we can give to
this science
itself must be laid on experience and observation. It is
no astonishing

reflection to consider, that the application of
experimental philosophy
to moral subjects should come after that to natural at
the distance of
above a whole century; since we find in fact, that there
was about the
same interval betwixt the origins of these sciences; and
that reckoning
from THALES to SOCRATES, the space of time is nearly
equal to that
betwixt, my Lord Bacon and some late philosophers [Mr.
Locke, my Lord
Shaftesbury, Dr. Mandeville, Mr. Hutchinson, Dr. Butler,
etc.] in
England, who have begun to put the science of man on a
new footing, and
have engaged the attention, and excited the curiosity of
the public. So
true it is, that however other nations may rival us in
poetry, and
excel us in some other agreeable arts, the improvements
in reason and
philosophy can only be owing to a land of toleration and
of liberty.

Nor ought we to think, that this latter improvement in
the science of
man will do less honour to our native country than the
former in natural
philosophy, but ought rather to esteem it a greater
glory, upon account
of the greater importance of that science, as well as
the necessity it
lay under of such a reformation. For to me it seems
evident, that the
essence of the mind being equally unknown to us with
that of external
bodies, it must be equally impossible to form any notion
of its powers
and qualities otherwise than from careful and exact
experiments, and the
observation of those particular effects, which result
from its different
circumstances and situations. And though we must
endeavour to render all

our principles as universal as possible, by tracing up our experiments to the utmost, and explaining all effects from the simplest and fewest causes, it is still certain we cannot go beyond experience; and any hypothesis, that pretends to discover the ultimate original qualities of human nature, ought at first to be rejected as presumptuous and chimerical.

I do not think a philosopher, who would apply himself so earnestly to the explaining the ultimate principles of the soul, would show himself a great master in that very science of human nature, which he pretends to explain, or very knowing in what is naturally satisfactory to the mind of man. For nothing is more certain, than that despair has almost the same effect upon us with enjoyment, and that we are no sooner acquainted with the impossibility of satisfying any desire, than the desire itself vanishes. When we see, that we have arrived at the utmost extent of human reason, we sit down contented, though we be perfectly satisfied in the main of our ignorance, and perceive that we can give no reason for our most general and most refined principles, beside our experience of their reality; which is the reason of the mere vulgar, and what it required no study at first to have discovered for the most particular and most extraordinary phaenomenon. And as this impossibility of making any farther progress is enough to satisfy the reader, so the writer may derive a more delicate satisfaction from the free confession of his ignorance, and from his prudence in avoiding that error,

into which so many have fallen, of imposing their conjectures and hypotheses on the world for the most certain principles. When this mutual contentment and satisfaction can be obtained betwixt the master and scholar, I know not what more we can require of our philosophy.

But if this impossibility of explaining ultimate principles should be esteemed a defect in the science of man, I will venture to affirm, that it is a defect common to it with all the sciences, and all the arts, in which we can employ ourselves, whether they be such as are cultivated in the schools of the philosophers, or practised in the shops of the meanest artizans. None of them can go beyond experience, or establish any principles which are not founded on that authority. Moral philosophy has, indeed, this peculiar disadvantage, which is not found in natural, that in collecting its experiments, it cannot make them purposely, with premeditation, and after such a manner as to satisfy itself concerning every particular difficulty which may be. When I am at a loss to know the effects of one body upon another in any situation, I need only put them in that situation, and observe what results from it. But should I endeavour to clear up after the same manner any doubt in moral philosophy, by placing myself in the same case with that which I consider, it is evident this reflection and premeditation would so disturb the operation of my natural principles, as must render it impossible to form any just conclusion from the phenomenon. We must

therefore glean up our experiments in this science from a cautious observation of human life, and take them as they appear in the common course of the world, by men's behaviour in company, in affairs, and in their pleasures. Where experiments of this kind are judiciously collected and compared, we may hope to establish on them a science which will not be inferior in certainty, and will be much superior in utility to any other of human comprehension.

BOOK I. OF THE UNDERSTANDING

PART I. OF IDEAS, THEIR ORIGIN, COMPOSITION, CONNEXION, ABSTRACTION, ETC.

SECT. I. OF THE ORIGIN OF OUR IDEAS.

All the perceptions of the human mind resolve themselves into two distinct kinds, which I shall call IMPRESSIONS and IDEAS. The difference betwixt these consists in the degrees of force and liveliness, with which they strike upon the mind, and make their way into our thought or consciousness. Those perceptions, which enter with most force and violence, we may name impressions: and under this name I comprehend

all our sensations, passions and emotions, as they make their first appearance in the soul. By ideas I mean the faint images of these in thinking and reasoning; such as, for instance, are all the perceptions excited by the present discourse, excepting only those which arise from the sight and touch, and excepting the immediate pleasure or uneasiness it may occasion. I believe it will not be very necessary to employ many words in explaining this distinction. Every one of himself will readily perceive the difference betwixt feeling and thinking. The common degrees of these are easily distinguished; though it is not impossible but in particular instances they may very nearly approach to each other. Thus in sleep, in a fever, in madness, or in any very violent emotions of soul, our ideas may approach to our impressions, As on the other hand it sometimes happens, that our impressions are so faint and low, that we cannot distinguish them from our ideas. But notwithstanding this near resemblance in a few instances, they are in general so very different, that no-one can make a scruple to rank them under distinct heads, and assign to each a peculiar name to mark the difference [Footnote 1.].

[Footnote 1. I here make use of these terms, impression and idea, in a sense different from what is usual, and I hope this liberty will be allowed me. Perhaps I rather restore the word, idea, to its original sense, from which Mr LOCKE had perverted it, in making it stand for all our

perceptions. By the terms of impression I would not be understood to express the manner, in which our lively perceptions are produced in the soul, but merely the perceptions themselves; for which there is no particular name either in the English or any other language, that I know of.]

There is another division of our perceptions, which it will be convenient to observe, and which extends itself both to our impressions and ideas. This division is into SIMPLE and COMPLEX. Simple perceptions or impressions and ideas are such as admit of no distinction nor separation. The complex are the contrary to these, and may be distinguished into parts. Though a particular colour, taste, and smell, are qualities all united together in this apple, it is easy to perceive they are not the same, but are at least distinguishable from each other.

Having by these divisions given an order and arrangement to our objects, we may now apply ourselves to consider with the more accuracy their qualities and relations. The first circumstance, that strikes my eye, is the great resemblance betwixt our impressions and ideas in every other particular, except their degree of force and vivacity. The one seem to be in a manner the reflexion of the other; so that all the perceptions of the mind are double, and appear both as impressions and ideas. When I shut my eyes and think of my chamber, the ideas I form are exact

representations of the impressions I felt; nor is there any circumstance of the one, which is not to be found in the other. In running over my other perceptions, I find still the same resemblance and representation. Ideas and impressions appear always to correspond to each other. This circumstance seems to me remarkable, and engages my attention for a moment.

Upon a more accurate survey I find I have been carried away too far by the first appearance, and that I must make use of the distinction of perceptions into simple and complex, to limit this general decision, that all our ideas and impressions are resembling. I observe, that many of our complex ideas never had impressions, that corresponded to them, and that many of our complex impressions never are exactly copied in ideas. I can imagine to myself such a city as the New Jerusalem, whose pavement is gold and walls are rubies, though I never saw any such. I have seen Paris; but shall I affirm I can form such an idea of that city, as will perfectly represent all its streets and houses in their real and just proportions?

I perceive, therefore, that though there is in general a great, resemblance betwixt our complex impressions and ideas, yet the rule is not universally true, that they are exact copies of each other. We may next consider how the case stands with our simple, perceptions. After the most accurate examination, of which I am capable, I venture to affirm, that the rule here holds without any exception,

and that every
simple idea has a simple impression, which resembles it,
and every
simple impression a correspondent idea. That idea of
red, which we form
in the dark, and that impression which strikes our eyes
in sun-shine,
differ only in degree, not in nature. That the case is
the same with
all our simple impressions and ideas, it is impossible
to prove by a
particular enumeration of them. Every one may satisfy
himself in this
point by running over as many as he pleases. But if any
one should deny
this universal resemblance, I know no way of convincing
him, but by
desiring him to shew a simple impression, that has not a
correspondent
idea, or a simple idea, that has not a correspondent
impression. If he
does not answer this challenge, as it is certain he
cannot, we may from
his silence and our own observation establish our
conclusion.

Thus we find, that all simple ideas and impressions
resemble each other;
and as the complex are formed from them, we may affirm
in general,
that these two species of perception are exactly
correspondent. Having
discovered this relation, which requires no farther
examination, I am
curious to find some other of their qualities. Let us
consider how they
stand with regard to their existence, and which of the
impressions and
ideas are causes, and which effects.

The full examination of this question is the subject of
the present
treatise; and therefore we shall here content ourselves
with
establishing one general proposition, THAT ALL OUR

SIMPLE IDEAS IN
THEIR FIRST APPEARANCE ARE DERIVED FROM SIMPLE
IMPRESSIONS, WHICH ARE
CORRESPONDENT TO THEM, AND WHICH THEY EXACTLY REPRESENT.

In seeking for phenomena to prove this proposition, I find only those of two kinds; but in each kind the phenomena are obvious, numerous, and conclusive. I first make myself certain, by a new, review, of what I have already asserted, that every simple impression is attended with a correspondent idea, and every simple idea with a correspondent impression. From this constant conjunction of resembling perceptions I immediately conclude, that there is a great connexion betwixt our correspondent impressions and ideas, and that the existence of the one has a considerable influence upon that of the other. Such a constant conjunction, in such an infinite number of instances, can never arise from chance; but clearly proves a dependence of the impressions on the ideas, or of the ideas on the impressions. That I may know on which side this dependence lies, I consider the order of their first appearance; and find by constant experience, that the simple impressions always take the precedence of their correspondent ideas, but never appear in the contrary order. To give a child an idea of scarlet or orange, of sweet or bitter, I present the objects, or in other words, convey to him these impressions; but proceed not so absurdly, as to endeavour to produce the impressions by exciting the ideas. Our ideas upon their appearance produce not their correspondent impressions, nor do we perceive any

colour, or feel any sensation merely upon thinking of them. On the other hand we find, that any impression either of the mind or body is constantly followed by an idea, which resembles it, and is only different in the degrees of force and liveliness, The constant conjunction of our resembling perceptions, is a convincing proof, that the one are the causes of the other; and this priority of the impressions is an equal proof, that our impressions are the causes of our ideas, not our ideas of our impressions.

To confirm this I consider Another plain and convincing phaenomenon; which is, that, where-ever by any accident the faculties, which give rise to any impressions, are obstructed in their operations, as when one is born blind or deaf; not only the impressions are lost, but also their correspondent ideas; so that there never appear in the mind the least traces of either of them. Nor is this only true, where the organs of sensation are entirely destroyed, but likewise where they have never been put in action to produce a particular impression. We cannot form to ourselves a just idea of the taste of a pine apple, without having actually tasted it.

There is however one contradictory phaenomenon, which may prove, that it is not absolutely impossible for ideas to go before their correspondent impressions. I believe it will readily be allowed that the several distinct ideas of colours, which enter by the eyes, or those of sounds, which are conveyed by the hearing, are really different

from each other,
though at the same time resembling. Now if this be true
of different
colours, it must be no less so of the different shades
of the same
colour, that each of them produces a distinct idea,
independent of the
rest. For if this should be denied, it is possible, by
the continual
gradation of shades, to run a colour insensibly into
what is most remote
from it; and if you will not allow any of the means to
be different,
you cannot without absurdity deny the extremes to be the
same. Suppose
therefore a person to have enjoyed his sight for thirty
years, and
to have become perfectly well acquainted with colours of
all kinds,
excepting one particular shade of blue, for instance,
which it never
has been his fortune to meet with. Let all the different
shades of
that colour, except that single one, be placed before
him, descending
gradually from the deepest to the lightest; it is plain,
that he will
perceive a blank, where that shade is wanting, said will
be sensible,
that there is a greater distance in that place betwixt
the contiguous
colours, than in any other. Now I ask, whether it is
possible for him,
from his own imagination, to supply this deficiency, and
raise up to
himself the idea of that particular shade, though it had
never been
conveyed to him by his senses? I believe there are few
but will be
of opinion that he can; and this may serve as a proof,
that the simple
ideas are not always derived from the correspondent
impressions; though
the instance is so particular and singular, that it is
scarce worth

our observing, and does not merit that for it alone we should alter our general maxim.

But besides this exception, it may not be amiss to remark on this head, that the principle of the priority of impressions to ideas must be understood with another limitation, viz., that as our ideas are images of our impressions, so we can form secondary ideas, which are images of the primary; as appears from this very reasoning concerning them. This is not, properly speaking, an exception to the rule so much as an explanation of it. Ideas produce the images of themselves in new ideas; but as the first ideas are supposed to be derived from impressions, it still remains true, that all our simple ideas proceed either mediately or immediately, from their correspondent impressions.

This then is the first principle I establish in the science of human nature; nor ought we to despise it because of the simplicity of its appearance. For it is remarkable, that the present question concerning the precedency of our impressions or ideas, is the same with what has made so much noise in other terms, when it has been disputed whether there be any INNATE IDEAS, or whether all ideas be derived from sensation and reflexion. We may observe, that in order to prove the ideas of extension and colour not to be innate, philosophers do nothing but shew that they are conveyed by our senses. To prove the ideas of passion and desire not to be innate, they observe that we have a

preceding experience of these emotions in ourselves. Now if we carefully examine these arguments, we shall find that they prove nothing but that ideas are preceded by other more lively perceptions, from which the are derived, and which they represent. I hope this clear stating of the question will remove all disputes concerning it, and win render this principle of more use in our reasonings, than it seems hitherto to have been.

SECT. II. DIVISION OF THE SUBJECT.

Since it appears, that our simple impressions are prior to their correspondent ideas, and that the exceptions are very rare, method seems to require we should examine our impressions, before we consider our ideas. Impressions may be divided into two kinds, those Of SENSATION and those of REFLEXION. The first kind arises in the soul originally, from unknown causes. The second is derived in a great measure from our ideas, and that in the following order. An impression first strikes upon the senses, and makes us perceive heat or cold, thirst or hunger, pleasure or pain of some kind or other. Of this impression there is a copy taken by the mind, which remains after the impression ceases; and this we call an idea. This idea of pleasure or pain, when it returns upon the soul, produces the new impressions of desire and aversion, hope and fear, which may properly be called impressions of reflexion,

because derived
from it. These again are copied by the memory and
imagination, and
become ideas; which perhaps in their turn give rise to
other impressions
and ideas. So that the impressions of reflexion are only
antecedent
to their correspondent ideas; but posterior to those of
sensation, and
derived from them. The examination of our sensations
belongs more to
anatomists and natural philosophers than to moral; and
therefore shall
not at present be entered upon. And as the impressions
of reflexion,
viz. passions, desires, and emotions, which principally
deserve our
attention, arise mostly from ideas, it will be necessary
to reverse that
method, which at first sight seems most natural; and in
order to explain
the nature and principles of the human mind, give a
particular account
of ideas, before we proceed to impressions. For this
reason I have here
chosen to begin with ideas.

SECT. III. OF THE IDEAS OF THE MEMORY AND IMAGINATION.

We find by experience, that when any impression has been
present with
the mind, it again makes its appearance there as an
idea; and this it
may do after two different ways: either when in its new
appearance it
retains a considerable degree of its first vivacity, and
is somewhat
intermediate betwixt an impression and an idea: or when
it entirely
loses that vivacity, and is a perfect idea. The faculty,
by which we

repeat our impressions in the first manner, is called the MEMORY, and the other the IMAGINATION. It is evident at first sight, that the ideas of the memory are much more lively and strong than those of the imagination, and that the former faculty paints its objects in more distinct colours, than any which are employed by the latter. When we remember any past event, the idea of it flows in upon the mind in a forcible manner; whereas in the imagination the perception is faint and languid, and cannot without difficulty be preserved by the mind steady and uniform for any considerable time. Here then is a sensible difference betwixt one species of ideas and another. But of this more fully hereafter.[Part II, Sect. 5.]

There is another difference betwixt these two kinds of ideas, which is no less evident, namely that though neither the ideas, of the memory nor imagination, neither the lively nor faint ideas can make their appearance in the mind, unless their correspondent impressions have gone before to prepare the way for them, yet the imagination is not restrained to the same order and form with the original impressions; while the memory is in a manner tied down in that respect, without any power of variation.

It is evident, that the memory preserves the original form, in which its objects were presented, and that where-ever we depart from it in recollecting any thing, it proceeds from some defect or imperfection in that faculty. An historian may, perhaps, for the more

convenient

Carrying on of his narration, relate an event before another, to which it was in fact posterior; but then he takes notice of this disorder, if he be exact; and by that means replaces the idea in its due position. It is the same case in our recollection of those places and persons, with which we were formerly acquainted. The chief exercise of the memory is not to preserve the simple ideas, but their order and position. In short, this principle is supported by such a number of common and vulgar phaenomena, that we may spare ourselves the trouble of insisting on it any farther.

The same evidence follows us in our second principle, OF THE LIBERTY OF THE IMAGINATION TO TRANSPOSE AND CHANGE ITS IDEAS. The fables we meet with in poems and romances put this entirely out of the question. Nature there is totally confounded, and nothing mentioned but winged horses, fiery dragons, and monstrous giants. Nor will this liberty of the fancy appear strange, when we consider, that all our ideas are copied from our impressions, and that there are not any two impressions which are perfectly inseparable. Not to mention, that this is an evident consequence of the division of ideas into simple and complex. Where-ever the imagination perceives a difference among ideas, it can easily produce a separation.

SECT. IV. OF THE CONNEXION OR ASSOCIATION OF IDEAS.

As all simple ideas may be separated by the imagination, and may be united again in what form it pleases, nothing would be more unaccountable than the operations of that faculty, were it not guided by some universal principles, which render it, in some measure, uniform with itself in all times and places. Were ideas entirely loose and unconnected, chance alone would join them; and it is impossible the same simple ideas should fall regularly into complex ones (as they commonly do) without some bond of union among them, some associating quality, by which one idea naturally introduces another. This uniting principle among ideas is not to be considered as an inseparable connexion; for that has been already excluded from the imagination: Nor yet are we to conclude, that without it the mind cannot join two ideas; for nothing is more free than that faculty: but we are only to regard it as a gentle force, which commonly prevails, and is the cause why, among other things, languages so nearly correspond to each other; nature in a manner pointing out to every one those simple ideas, which are most proper to be united in a complex one. The qualities, from which this association arises, and by which the mind is after this manner conveyed from one idea to another, are three, viz. RESEMBLANCE, CONTIGUITY in time or place, and CAUSE and EFFECT.

I believe it will not be very necessary to prove, that these qualities produce an association among ideas, and upon the

appearance of one idea naturally introduce another. It is plain, that in the course of our thinking, and in the constant revolution of our ideas, our imagination runs easily from one idea to any other that resembles it, and that this quality alone is to the fancy a sufficient bond and association. It is likewise evident that as the senses, in changing their objects, are necessitated to change them regularly, and take them as they lie CONTIGUOUS to each other, the imagination must by long custom acquire the same method of thinking, and run along the parts of space and time in conceiving its objects. As to the connexion, that is made by the relation of cause and effect, we shall have occasion afterwards to examine it to the bottom, and therefore shall not at present insist upon it. It is sufficient to observe, that there is no relation, which produces a stronger connexion in the fancy, and makes one idea more readily recall another, than the relation of cause and effect betwixt their objects.

That we may understand the full extent of these relations, we must consider, that two objects are connected together in the imagination, not only when the one is immediately resembling, contiguous to, or the cause of the other, but also when there is interposed betwixt them a third object, which bears to both of them any of these relations. This may be carried on to a great length; though at the same time we may observe, that each remove considerably weakens the relation. Cousins in

the fourth degree are connected by causation, if I may be allowed to use that term; but not so closely as brothers, much less as child and parent. In general we may observe, that all the relations of blood depend upon cause and effect, and are esteemed near or remote, according to the number of connecting causes interposed betwixt the persons.

Of the three relations above-mentioned this of causation is the most extensive. Two objects may be considered as placed in this relation, as well when one is the cause of any of the actions or motions of the other, as when the former is the cause of the existence of the latter. For as that action or motion is nothing but the object itself, considered in a certain light, and as the object continues the same in all its different situations, it is easy to imagine how such an influence of objects upon one another may connect them in the imagination.

We may carry this farther, and remark, not only that two objects are connected by the relation of cause and effect, when the one produces a motion or any action in the other, but also when it has a power of producing it. And this we may observe to be the source of all the relation, of interest and duty, by which men influence each other in society, and are placed in the ties of government and subordination. A master is such-a-one as by his situation, arising either from force or agreement, has a power of directing in certain particulars the actions

of another, whom we call servant. A judge is one, who in all disputed cases can fix by his opinion the possession or property of any thing betwixt any members of the society. When a person is possessed of any power, there is no more required to convert it into action, but the exertion of the will; and that in every case is considered as possible, and in many as probable; especially in the case of authority, where the obedience of the subject is a pleasure and advantage to the superior.

These are therefore the principles of union or cohesion among our simple ideas, and in the imagination supply the place of that inseparable connexion, by which they are united in our memory. Here is a kind of ATTRACTION, which in the mental world will be found to have as extraordinary effects as in the natural, and to shew itself in as many and as various forms. Its effects are every where conspicuous; but as to its causes, they are mostly unknown, and must be resolved into original qualities of human nature, which I pretend not to explain. Nothing is more requisite for a true philosopher, than to restrain the intemperate desire of searching into causes, and having established any doctrine upon a sufficient number of experiments, rest contented with that, when he sees a farther examination would lead him into obscure and uncertain speculations. In that case his enquiry would be much better employed in examining the effects than the causes of his principle.

Amongst the effects of this union or association of ideas, there are

none more remarkable, than those complex ideas, which are the common subjects of our thoughts and reasoning, and generally arise from some principle of union among our simple ideas. These complex ideas may be divided into Relations, Modes, and Substances. We shall briefly examine each of these in order, and shall subjoin some considerations concerning our general and particular ideas, before we leave the present subject, which may be considered as the elements of this philosophy.

SECT. V. OF RELATIONS.

The word RELATION is commonly used in two senses considerably different from each other. Either for that quality, by which two ideas are connected together in the imagination, and the one naturally introduces the other, after the manner above-explained: or for that particular circumstance, in which, even upon the arbitrary union of two ideas in the fancy, we may think proper to compare them. In common language the former is always the sense, in which we use the word, relation; and it is only in philosophy, that we extend it to mean any particular subject of comparison, without a connecting principle. Thus distance will be allowed by philosophers to be a true relation, because we acquire an idea of it by the comparing of objects: But in a common way we say, THAT NOTHING CAN BE MORE DISTANT THAN SUCH OR SUCH THINGS FROM EACH OTHER,

NOTHING CAN HAVE LESS RELATION: as if distance and relation were incompatible.

It may perhaps be esteemed an endless task to enumerate all those qualities, which make objects admit of comparison, and by which the ideas of philosophical relation are produced. But if we diligently consider them, we shall find that without difficulty they may be comprised under seven general heads, which may be considered as the sources of all philosophical relation.

(1) The first is RESEMBLANCE: And this is a relation, without which no philosophical relation can exist; since no objects will admit of comparison, but what have some degree of resemblance. But though resemblance be necessary to all philosophical relation, it does not follow, that it always produces a connexion or association of ideas. When a quality becomes very general, and is common to a great many individuals, it leads not the mind directly to any one of them; but by presenting at once too great a choice, does thereby prevent the imagination from fixing on any single object.

(2) IDENTITY may be esteemed a second species of relation. This relation I here consider as applied in its strictest sense to constant and unchangeable objects; without examining the nature and foundation of personal identity, which shall find its place afterwards. Of all relations the most universal is that of identity, being common to every being whose existence has any duration.

(3) After identity the most universal and comprehensive relations are those of SPACE and TIME, which are the sources of an infinite number of comparisons, such as distant, contiguous, above, below, before, after, etc.

(4) All those objects, which admit of QUANTITY, or NUMBER, may be compared in that particular; which is another very fertile source of relation.

(5) When any two objects possess the same QUALITY in common, the DEGREES, in which they possess it, form a fifth species of relation. Thus of two objects, which are both heavy, the one may be either of greater, or less weight than the other. Two colours, that are of the same kind, may yet be of different shades, and in that respect admit of comparison.

(6) The relation of CONTRARIETY may at first sight be regarded as an exception to the rule, THAT NO RELATION OF ANY KIND CAN SUBSIST WITHOUT SOME DEGREE OF RESEMBLANCE. But let us consider, that no two ideas are in themselves contrary, except those of existence and non-existence, which are plainly resembling, as implying both of them an idea of the object; though the latter excludes the object from all times and places, in which it is supposed not to exist.

(7) All other objects, such as fire and water, heat and cold, are only found to be contrary from experience, and from the contrariety of their

causes or effects; which relation of cause and effect is a seventh philosophical relation, as well as a natural one. The resemblance implied in this relation, shall be explained afterwards.

It might naturally be expected, that I should join DIFFERENCE to the other relations. But that I consider rather as a negation of relation, than as anything real or positive. Difference is of two kinds as opposed either to identity or resemblance. The first is called a difference of number; the other of KIND.

SECT. VI. OF MODES AND SUBSTANCES

I would fain ask those philosophers, who found so much of their reasonings on the distinction of substance and accident, and imagine we have clear ideas of each, whether the idea of substance be derived from the impressions of sensation or of reflection? If it be conveyed to us by our senses, I ask, which of them; and after what manner? If it be perceived by the eyes, it must be a colour; if by the ears, a sound; if by the palate, a taste; and so of the other senses. But I believe none will assert, that substance is either a colour, or sound, or a taste. The idea, of substance must therefore be derived from an impression of reflection, if it really exist. But the impressions of reflection resolve themselves into our passions and emotions: none of which can possibly represent a substance. We have therefore no

idea of substance,
distinct from that of a collection of particular
qualities, nor have we
any other meaning when we either talk or reason
concerning it.

The idea of a substance as well as that of a mode, is
nothing but a
collection of Simple ideas, that are united by the
imagination, and have
a particular name assigned them, by which we are able to
recall, either
to ourselves or others, that collection. But the
difference betwixt
these ideas consists in this, that the particular
qualities, which form
a substance, are commonly referred to an unknown
something, in which
they are supposed to inhere; or granting this fiction
should not take
place, are at least supposed to be closely and
inseparably connected by
the relations of contiguity and causation. The effect of
this is, that
whatever new simple quality we discover to have the same
connexion with
the rest, we immediately comprehend it among them, even
though it did
not enter into the first conception of the substance.
Thus our idea of
gold may at first be a yellow colour, weight,
malleableness, fusibility;
but upon the discovery of its dissolubility in aqua
regia, we join that
to the other qualities, and suppose it to belong to the
substance as
much as if its idea had from the beginning made a part
of the compound
one. The principal of union being regarded as the chief
part of the
complex idea, gives entrance to whatever quality
afterwards occurs, and
is equally comprehended by it, as are the others, which
first presented
themselves.

That this cannot take place in modes, is evident from considering their mature. The simple ideas of which modes are formed, either represent qualities, which are not united by contiguity and causation, but are dispersed in different subjects; or if they be all united together, the uniting principle is not regarded as the foundation of the complex idea. The idea of a dance is an instance of the first kind of modes; that of beauty of the second. The reason is obvious, why such complex ideas cannot receive any new idea, without changing the name, which distinguishes the mode.

SECT. VII. OF ABSTRACT IDEAS.

A very material question has been started concerning ABSTRACT or GENERAL ideas, WHETHER THEY BE GENERAL OR PARTICULAR IN THE MIND'S CONCEPTION OF THEM. A great philosopher [Dr. Berkeley.] has disputed the received opinion in this particular, and has asserted, that all general ideas are nothing but particular ones, annexed to a certain term, which gives them a more extensive signification, and makes them recall upon occasion other individuals, which are similar to them. As I look upon this to be one of the greatest and most valuable discoveries that has been made of late years in the republic of letters, I shall here endeavour to confirm it by some arguments, which I hope will put it beyond all doubt and

controversy.

It is evident, that in forming most of our general ideas, if not all of them, we abstract from every particular degree of quantity and quality, and that an object ceases not to be of any particular species on account of every small alteration in its extension, duration and other properties. It may therefore be thought, that here is a plain dilemma, that decides concerning the nature of those abstract ideas, which have afforded so much speculation to philosophers. The abstract idea of a man represents men of all sizes and all qualities; which it is concluded it cannot do, but either by representing at once all possible sizes and all possible qualities, or by, representing no particular one at all. Now it having been esteemed absurd to defend the former proposition, as implying an infinite capacity in the mind, it has been commonly inferred in favour of the latter: and our abstract ideas have been supposed to represent no particular degree either of quantity or quality. But that this inference is erroneous, I shall endeavour to make appear, first, by proving, that it is utterly impossible to conceive any quantity or quality, without forming a precise notion of its degrees: And secondly by showing, that though the capacity of the mind be not infinite, yet we can at once form a notion of all possible degrees of quantity and quality, in such a manner at least, as, however imperfect, may serve all the purposes of reflection and conversation.

To begin with the first proposition, THAT THE MIND

CANNOT FORM ANY
NOTION OF QUANTITY OR QUALITY WITHOUT FORMING A PRECISE
NOTION OF
DEGREES OF EACH; we may prove this by the three
following arguments.
First, We have observed, that whatever objects are
different are
distinguishable, and that whatever objects are
distinguishable are
separable by the thought and imagination. And we may
here add, that
these propositions are equally true in the inverse, and
that whatever
objects are separable are also distinguishable, and that
whatever
objects are distinguishable, are also different. For how
is it possible
we can separate what is not distinguishable, or
distinguish what is not
different? In order therefore to know, whether
abstraction implies a
separation, we need only consider it in this view, and
examine, whether
all the circumstances, which we abstract from in our
general ideas, be
such as are distinguishable and different from those,
which we retain
as essential parts of them. But it is evident at first
sight, that the
precise length of a line is not different nor
distinguishable from the
line itself nor the precise degree of any quality from
the quality.
These ideas, therefore, admit no more of separation than
they do of
distinction and difference. They are consequently
conjoined with
each other in the conception; and the general idea of a
line,
notwithstanding all our abstractions and refinements,
has in its
appearance in the mind a precise degree of quantity and
quality; however
it may be made to represent others, which have different
degrees of

both.

Secondly, it is contest, that no object can appear to the senses; or in other words, that no impression can become present to the mind, without being determined in its degrees both of quantity and quality. The confusion, in which impressions are sometimes involved, proceeds only from their faintness and unsteadiness, not from any capacity in the mind to receive any impression, which in its real existence has no particular degree nor proportion. That is a contradiction in terms; and even implies the flattest of all contradictions, viz. that it is possible for the same thing both to be and not to be.

Now since all ideas are derived from impressions, and are nothing but copies and representations of them, whatever is true of the one must be acknowledged concerning the other. Impressions and ideas differ only in their strength and vivacity. The foregoing conclusion is not founded on any particular degree of vivacity. It cannot therefore be affected by any variation in that particular. An idea is a weaker impression; and as a strong impression must necessarily have a determinate quantity and quality, the case must be the same with its copy or representative.

Thirdly, it is a principle generally received in philosophy that everything in nature is individual, and that it is utterly absurd to suppose a triangle really existent, which has no precise proportion of sides and angles. If this therefore be absurd in fact and reality, it

must also be absurd in idea; since nothing of which we can form a clear and distinct idea is absurd and impossible. But to form the idea of an object, and to form an idea simply, is the same thing; the reference of the idea to an object being an extraneous denomination, of which in itself it bears no mark or character. Now as it is impossible to form an idea of an object, that is possest of quantity and quality, and yet is possest of no precise degree of either; it follows that there is an equal impossibility of forming an idea, that is not limited and confined in both these particulars. Abstract ideas are therefore in themselves individual, however they may become general in their representation. The image in the mind is only that of a particular object, though the application of it in our reasoning be the same, as if it were universal.

This application of ideas beyond their nature proceeds from our collecting all their possible degrees of quantity and quality in such an imperfect manner as may serve the purposes of life, which is the second proposition I proposed to explain. When we have found a resemblance [Footnote 2.] among several objects, that often occur to us, we apply the same name to all of them, whatever differences we may observe in the degrees of their quantity and quality, and whatever other differences may appear among them. After we have acquired a custom of this kind, the hearing of that name revives the idea of one of these objects, and makes the imagination conceive it with all its particular circumstances and

proportions. But as the same word is supposed to have been frequently applied to other individuals, that are different in many respects from that idea, which is immediately present to the mind; the word not being able to revive the idea of all these individuals, but only touches the soul, if I may be allowed so to speak, and revives that custom, which we have acquired by surveying them. They are not really and in fact present to the mind, but only in power; nor do we draw them all out distinctly in the imagination, but keep ourselves in a readiness to survey any of them, as we may be prompted by a present design or necessity. The word raises up an individual idea, along with a certain custom; and that custom produces any other individual one, for which we may have occasion. But as the production of all the ideas, to which the name may be applied, is in most cases impossible, we abridge that work by a more partial consideration, and find but few inconveniences to arise in our reasoning from that abridgment.

[Footnote 2. It is evident, that even different simple ideas may have a similarity or resemblance to each other; nor is it necessary, that the point or circumstance of resemblance should be distinct or separable from that in which they differ. BLUE and GREEN are different simple ideas, but are more resembling than BLUE and SCARLET; tho their perfect simplicity excludes all possibility of separation or

distinction. It is the same case with particular sounds, and tastes and smells. These admit of infinite resemblances upon the general appearance and comparison, without having any common circumstance the same. And of this we may be certain, even from the very abstract terms SIMPLE IDEA. They comprehend all simple ideas under them. These resemble each other in their simplicity. And yet from their very nature, which excludes all composition, this circumstance, In which they resemble, Is not distinguishable nor separable from the rest. It is the same case with all the degrees In any quality. They are all resembling and yet the quality, In any individual, Is not distinct from the degree.]

For this is one of the most extraordinary circumstances in the present affair, that after the mind has produced an individual idea, upon which we reason, the attendant custom, revived by the general or abstract term, readily suggests any other individual, if by chance we form any reasoning, that agrees not with it. Thus should we mention the word triangle, and form the idea of a particular equilateral one to correspond to it, and should we afterwards assert, that the three angles of a triangle are equal to each other, the other individuals of a scalenum and isosceles, which we overlooked at first, immediately crowd in upon us, and make us perceive the falshood of this proposition, though it be true with relation to that idea, which we had formed. If

the mind suggests not always these ideas upon occasion, it proceeds from some imperfection in its faculties; and such a one as is often the source of false reasoning and sophistry. But this is principally the case with those ideas which are abstruse and compounded. On other occasions the custom is more entire, and it is seldom we run into such errors.

Nay so entire is the custom, that the very same idea may be annexed to several different words, and may be employed in different reasonings, without any danger of mistake. Thus the idea of an equilateral triangle of an inch perpendicular may serve us in talking of a figure, of a rectilinear figure, of a regular figure, of a triangle, and of an equilateral triangle. All these terms, therefore, are in this case attended with the same idea; but as they are wont to be applied in a greater or lesser compass, they excite their particular habits, and thereby keep the mind in a readiness to observe, that no conclusion be formed contrary to any ideas, which are usually comprized under them.

Before those habits have become entirely perfect, perhaps the mind may not be content with forming the idea of only one individual, but may run over several, in order to make itself comprehend its own meaning, and the compass of that collection, which it intends to express by the general term. That we may fix the meaning of the word, figure, we may revolve in our mind the ideas of circles, squares, parallelograms,

triangles of different sizes and proportions, and may not rest on one image or idea. However this may be, it is certain that we form the idea of individuals, whenever we use any general term; that we seldom or never can exhaust these individuals; and that those, which remain, are only represented by means of that habit, by which we recall them, whenever any present occasion requires it. This then is the nature of our abstract ideas and general terms; and it is after this manner we account for the foregoing paradox, THAT SOME IDEAS ARE PARTICULAR IN THEIR NATURE, BUT GENERAL IN THEIR REPRESENTATION. A particular idea becomes general by being annexed to a general term; that is, to a term, which from a customary conjunction has a relation to many other particular ideas, and readily recalls them in the imagination.

The only difficulty, that can remain on this subject, must be with regard to that custom, which so readily recalls every particular idea, for which we may have occasion, and is excited by any word or sound, to which we commonly annex it. The most proper method, in my opinion, of giving a satisfactory explication of this act of the mind, is by producing other instances, which are analogous to it, and other principles, which facilitate its operation. To explain the ultimate causes of our mental actions is impossible. It is sufficient, if we can give any satisfactory account of them from experience and analogy.

First then I observe, that when we mention any great

number, such as
a thousand, the mind has generally no adequate idea of
it, but only a
power of producing such an idea, by its adequate idea of
the decimals,
under which the number is comprehended. This
imperfection, however,
in our ideas, is never felt in our reasonings; which
seems to be an
instance parallel to the present one of universal ideas.

Secondly, we have several instances of habits, which may
be revived
by one single word; as when a person, who has by rote
any periods of a
discourse, or any number of verses, will be put in
remembrance of
the whole, which he is at a loss to recollect, by that
single word or
expression, with which they begin.

Thirdly, I believe every one, who examines the situation
of his mind in
reasoning will agree with me, that we do not annex
distinct and compleat
ideas to every term we make use of, and that in talking
of government,
church, negotiation, conquest, we seldom spread out in
our minds all the
simple ideas, of which these complex ones are composed.
It is however
observable, that notwithstanding this imperfection we
may avoid talking
nonsense on these subjects, and may perceive any
repugnance among
the ideas, as well as if we had a full comprehension of
them. Thus
if instead of saying, that in war the weaker have always
recourse to
negotiation, we should say, that they have always
recourse to conquest,
the custom, which we have acquired of attributing
certain relations to
ideas, still follows the words, and makes us immediately
perceive the

absurdity of that proposition; in the same manner as one particular idea may serve us in reasoning concerning other ideas, however different from it in several circumstances.

Fourthly, As the individuals are collected together, said placed under a general term with a view to that resemblance, which they bear to each other, this relation must facilitate their entrance in the imagination, and make them be suggested more readily upon occasion. And indeed if we consider the common progress of the thought, either in reflection or conversation, we shall find great reason to be satisfied in this particular. Nothing is more admirable, than the readiness, with which the imagination suggests its ideas, and presents them at the very instant, in which they become necessary or useful. The fancy runs from one end of the universe to the other in collecting those ideas, which belong to any subject. One would think the whole intellectual world of ideas was at once subjected to our view, and that we did nothing but pick out such as were most proper for our purpose. There may not, however, be any present, beside those very ideas, that are thus collected by a kind of magical faculty in the soul, which, though it be always most perfect in the greatest geniuses, and is properly what we call a genius, is however inexplicable by the utmost efforts of human understanding.

Perhaps these four reflections may help to remove an difficulties to the hypothesis I have proposed concerning abstract

ideas, so contrary to
that, which has hitherto prevailed in philosophy, But,
to tell the truth
I place my chief confidence in what I have already
proved concerning
the impossibility of general ideas, according to the
common method of
explaining them. We must certainly seek some new system
on this head,
and there plainly is none beside what I have proposed.
If ideas be
particular in their nature, and at the same time finite
in their number,
it is only by custom they can become general in their
representation,
and contain an infinite number of other ideas under
them.

Before I leave this subject I shall employ the same
principles to
explain that distinction of reason, which is so much
talked of, and is
so little understood, in the schools. Of this kind is
the distinction
betwixt figure and the body figured; motion and the body
moved. The
difficulty of explaining this distinction arises from
the principle
above explained, that all ideas, which are different,
are separable. For
it follows from thence, that if the figure be different
from the body,
their ideas must be separable as well as
distinguishable: if they be
not different, their ideas can neither be separable nor
distinguishable.
What then is meant by a distinction of reason, since it
implies neither
a difference nor separation.

To remove this difficulty we must have recourse to the
foregoing
explication of abstract ideas. It is certain that the
mind would never
have dreamed of distinguishing a figure from the body

figured, as being
in reality neither distinguishable, nor different, nor
separable; did it
not observe, that even in this simplicity there might be
contained many
different resemblances and relations. Thus when a globe
of white marble
is presented, we receive only the impression of a white
colour disposed
in a certain form, nor are we able to separate and
distinguish the
colour from the form. But observing afterwards a globe
of black marble
and a cube of white, and comparing them with our former
object, we
find two separate resemblances, in what formerly seemed,
and really is,
perfectly inseparable. After a little more practice of
this kind, we
begin to distinguish the figure from the colour by a
distinction of
reason; that is, we consider the figure and colour
together, since they
are in effect the same and undistinguishable; but still
view them in
different aspects, according to the resemblances, of
which they are
susceptible. When we would consider only the figure of
the globe of
white marble, we form in reality an idea both of the
figure and colour,
but tacitly carry our eye to its resemblance with the
globe of black
marble: And in the same manner, when we would consider
its colour only,
we turn our view to its resemblance with the cube of
white marble. By
this means we accompany our ideas with a kind of
reflection, of which
custom renders us, in a great measure, insensible. A
person, who desires
us to consider the figure of a globe of white marble
without thinking on
its colour, desires an impossibility but his meaning is,
that we should

consider the figure and colour together, but still keep in our eye the resemblance to the globe of black marble, or that to any other globe of whatever colour or substance.

PART II. OF THE IDEAS OF SPACE AND TIME.

SECT. I. OF THE INFINITE DIVISIBILITY OF OUR IDEAS OF SPACE AND TIME.

Whatever has the air of a paradox, and is contrary to the first and most unprejudiced notions of mankind, is often greedily embraced by philosophers, as shewing the superiority of their science, which coued discover opinions so remote from vulgar conception. On the other hand, anything proposed to us, which causes surprize and admiration, gives such a satisfaction to the mind, that it indulges itself in those agreeable emotions, and will never be persuaded that its pleasure is entirely without foundation. From these dispositions in philosophers and their disciples arises that mutual complaisance betwixt them; while the former furnish such plenty of strange and unaccountable opinions, and the latter so readily believe them. Of this mutual complaisance I cannot give a more evident instance than in the doctrine of infinite divisibility, with the examination of which I shall begin this subject

of the ideas of space and time.

It is universally allowed, that the capacity of the mind is limited, and can never attain a full and adequate conception of infinity: And though it were not allowed, it would be sufficiently evident from the plainest observation and experience. It is also obvious, that whatever is capable of being divided in infinitum, must consist of an infinite number of parts, and that it is impossible to set any bounds to the number of parts, without setting bounds at the same time to the division. It requires scarce any, induction to conclude from hence, that the idea, which we form of any finite quality, is not infinitely divisible, but that by proper distinctions and separations we may run up this idea to inferior ones, which will be perfectly simple and indivisible. In rejecting the infinite capacity of the mind, we suppose it may arrive at an end in the division of its ideas; nor are there any possible means of evading the evidence of this conclusion.

It is therefore certain, that the imagination reaches a minimum, and may raise up to itself an idea, of which it cannot conceive any sub-division, and which cannot be diminished without a total annihilation. When you tell me of the thousandth and ten thousandth part of a grain of sand, I have a distinct idea of these numbers and of their different proportions; but the images, which I form in my mind to represent the things themselves, are nothing different from each other, nor inferior to that image, by which I represent the

grain of sand
itself, which is supposed so vastly to exceed them. What
consists of
parts is distinguishable into them, and what is
distinguishable is
separable. But whatever we may imagine of the thing, the
idea of a grain
of sand is not distinguishable, nor separable into
twenty, much less
into a thousand, ten thousand, or an infinite number of
different ideas.

It is the same case with the impressions of the senses
as with the ideas
of the imagination. Put a spot of ink upon paper, fix
your eye upon that
spot, and retire to such a distance, that, at last you
lose sight of it;
it is plain, that the moment before it vanished the
image or impression
was perfectly indivisible. It is not for want of rays of
light striking
on our eyes, that the minute parts of distant bodies
convey not any
sensible impression; but because they are removed beyond
that distance,
at which their impressions were reduced to a minimum,
and were incapable
of any farther diminution. A microscope or telescope,
which renders them
visible, produces not any new rays of light, but only
spreads those,
which always flowed from them; and by that means both
gives parts to
impressions, which to the naked eye appear simple and
uncompounded, and
advances to a minimum, what was formerly imperceptible.

We may hence discover the error of the common opinion,
that the capacity
of the mind is limited on both sides, and that it is
impossible for
the imagination to form an adequate idea, of what goes
beyond a certain
degree of minuteness as well as of greatness. Nothing

can be more minute, than some ideas, which we form in the fancy; and images, which appear to the senses; since there are ideas and images perfectly simple and indivisible. The only defect of our senses is, that they give us disproportioned images of things, and represent as minute and uncompounded what is really great and composed of a vast number of parts. This mistake we are not sensible of: but taking the impressions of those minute objects, which appear to the senses, to be equal or nearly equal to the objects, and finding by reason, that there are other objects vastly more minute, we too hastily conclude, that these are inferior to any idea of our imagination or impression of our senses. This however is certain, that we can form ideas, which shall be no greater than the smallest atom of the animal spirits of an insect a thousand times less than a mite: And we ought rather to conclude, that the difficulty lies in enlarging our conceptions so much as to form a just notion of a mite, or even of an insect a thousand times less than a mite. For in order to form a just notion of these animals, we must have a distinct idea representing every part of them, which, according to the system of infinite divisibility, is utterly impossible, and, recording to that of indivisible parts or atoms, is extremely difficult, by reason of the vast number and multiplicity of these parts.

SECT. II. OF THE INFINITE DIVISIBILITY OF SPACE AND

TIME.

Wherever ideas are adequate representations of objects, the relations, contradictions and agreements of the ideas are all applicable to the objects; and this we may in general observe to be the foundation of all human knowledge. But our ideas are adequate representations of the most minute parts of extension; and through whatever divisions and subdivisions we may suppose these parts to be arrived at, they can never become inferior to some ideas, which we form. The plain consequence is, that whatever appears impossible and contradictory upon the comparison of these ideas, must be really impossible and contradictory, without any farther excuse or evasion.

Every thing capable of being infinitely divided contains an infinite number of parts; otherwise the division would be stopt short by the indivisible parts, which we should immediately arrive at. If therefore any finite extension be infinitely divisible, it can be no contradiction to suppose, that a finite extension contains an infinite number of parts: And vice versa, if it be a contradiction to suppose, that a finite extension contains an infinite number of parts, no finite extension can be infinitely divisible. But that this latter supposition is absurd, I easily convince myself by the consideration of my clear ideas. I first take the least idea I can form of a part of extension, and being certain that there is nothing more minute than this idea, I

conclude, that whatever I discover by its means must be a real quality of extension. I then repeat this idea once, twice, thrice, &c., and find the compound idea of extension, arising from its repetition, always to augment, and become double, triple, quadruple, &c., till at last it swells up to a considerable bulk, greater or smaller, in proportion as I repeat more or less the same idea. When I stop in the addition of parts, the idea of extension ceases to augment; and were I to carry on the addition in infinitum, I clearly perceive, that the idea of extension must also become infinite. Upon the whole, I conclude, that the idea of all infinite number of parts is individually the same idea with that of an infinite extension; that no finite extension is capable of containing an infinite number of parts; and consequently that no finite extension is infinitely divisible [Footnote 3.].

[Footnote 3. It has been objected to me, that infinite divisibility supposes only an infinite number of PROPORTIONAL not of ALIQUOT parts, and that an infinite number of proportional parts does not form an infinite extension. But this distinction is entirely frivolous. Whether these parts be calld ALIQUOT or PROPORTIONAL, they cannot be inferior to those minute parts we conceive; and therefore cannot form a less extension by their conjunction.]

I may subjoin another argument proposed by a noted author [Mons.

MALEZIEU], which seems to me very strong and beautiful. It is evident, that existence in itself belongs only to unity, and is never applicable to number, but on account of the unites, of which the number is composed. Twenty men may be said to exist; but it is only because one, two, three, four, &c. are existent, and if you deny the existence of the latter, that of the former falls of course. It is therefore utterly absurd to suppose any number to exist, and yet deny the existence of unites; and as extension is always a number, according to the common sentiment of metaphysicians, and never resolves itself into any unite or indivisible quantity, it follows, that extension can never at all exist. It is in vain to reply, that any determinate quantity of extension is an unite; but such-a-one as admits of an infinite number of fractions, and is inexhaustible in its sub-divisions. For by the same rule these twenty men may be considered as a unit. The whole globe of the earth, nay the whole universe, may be considered as a unit. That term of unity is merely a fictitious denomination, which the mind may apply to any quantity of objects it collects together; nor can such an unity any more exist alone than number can, as being in reality a true number. But the unity, which can exist alone, and whose existence is necessary to that of all number, is of another kind, and must be perfectly indivisible, and incapable of being resolved into any lesser unity.

All this reasoning takes place with regard to time; along with an additional argument, which it may be proper to take

notice of. It is a property inseparable from time, and which in a manner constitutes its essence, that each of its parts succeeds another, and that none of them, however contiguous, can ever be co-existent. For the same reason, that the year 1737 cannot concur with the present year 1738 every moment must be distinct from, and posterior or antecedent to another. It is certain then, that time, as it exists, must be composed of indivisible moments. For if in time we could never arrive at an end of division, and if each moment, as it succeeds another, were not perfectly single and indivisible, there would be an infinite number of co-existent moments, or parts of time; which I believe will be allowed to be an arrant contradiction.

The infinite divisibility of space implies that of time, as is evident from the nature of motion. If the latter, therefore, be impossible, the former must be equally so.

I doubt not but, it will readily be allowed by the most obstinate defender of the doctrine of infinite divisibility, that these arguments are difficulties, and that it is impossible to give any answer to them which will be perfectly clear and satisfactory. But here we may observe, that nothing can be more absurd, than this custom of calling a difficulty what pretends to be a demonstration, and endeavouring by that means to elude its force and evidence. It is not in demonstrations as in probabilities, that difficulties can take place, and one argument

counter-balance another, and diminish its authority. A demonstration, if just, admits of no opposite difficulty; and if not just, it is a mere sophism, and consequently can never be a difficulty. It is either irresistible, or has no manner of force. To talk therefore of objections and replies, and ballancing of arguments in such a question as this, is to confess, either that human reason is nothing but a play of words, or that the person himself, who talks so, has not a Capacity equal to such subjects. Demonstrations may be difficult to be comprehended, because of abstractedness of the subject; but can never have such difficulties as will weaken their authority, when once they are comprehended.

It is true, mathematicians are wont to say, that there are here equally strong arguments on the other side of the question, and that the doctrine of indivisible points is also liable to unanswerable objections. Before I examine these arguments and objections in detail, I will here take them in a body, and endeavour by a short and decisive reason to prove at once, that it is utterly impossible they can have any just foundation.

It is an established maxim in metaphysics, That whatever the mind clearly conceives, includes the idea of possible existence, or in other words, that nothing we imagine is absolutely impossible. We can form the idea of a golden mountain, and from thence conclude that such a mountain may actually exist. We can form no idea of a mountain without a valley,

and therefore regard it as impossible.

Now it is certain we have an idea of extension; for otherwise why do we talk and reason concerning it? It is likewise certain that this idea, as conceived by the imagination, though divisible into parts or inferior ideas, is not infinitely divisible, nor consists of an infinite number of parts: For that exceeds the comprehension of our limited capacities. Here then is an idea of extension, which consists of parts or inferior ideas, that are perfectly, indivisible: consequently this idea implies no contradiction: consequently it is possible for extension really to exist conformable to it: and consequently all the arguments employed against the possibility of mathematical points are mere scholastick quibbles, and unworthy of our attention.

These consequences we may carry one step farther, and conclude that all the pretended demonstrations for the infinite divisibility of extension are equally sophistical; since it is certain these demonstrations cannot be just without proving the impossibility of mathematical points; which it is an evident absurdity to pretend to.

SECT. III. OF THE OTHER QUALITIES OF OUR IDEA OF SPACE AND TIME.

No discovery could have been made more happily for deciding all controversies concerning ideas, than that abovementioned, that

impressions always take the precedency of them, and that every idea, with which the imagination is furnished, first makes its appearance in a correspondent impression. These latter perceptions are all so clear and evident, that they admit of no controversy; though many of our ideas are so obscure, that it is almost impossible even for the mind, which forms them, to tell exactly their nature and composition. Let us apply this principle, in order to discover farther the nature of our ideas of space and time.

Upon opening my eyes, and turning them to the surrounding objects, I perceive many visible bodies; and upon shutting them again, and considering the distance betwixt these bodies, I acquire the idea of extension. As every idea is derived from some impression, which is exactly similar to it, the impressions similar to this idea of extension, must either be some sensations derived from the sight, or some internal impressions arising from these sensations.

Our internal impressions are our passions, emotions, desires and aversions; none of which, I believe, will ever be asserted to be the model, from which the idea of space is derived. There remains therefore nothing but the senses, which can convey to us this original impression. Now what impression do our senses here convey to us? This is the principal question, and decides without appeal concerning the nature of the idea.

The table before me is alone sufficient by its view to

give me the idea
of extension. This idea, then, is borrowed from, and
represents some
impression, which this moment appears to the senses. But
my senses
convey to me only the impressions of coloured points,
disposed in a
certain manner. If the eye is sensible of any thing
farther, I desire
it may be pointed out to me. But if it be impossible to
shew any thing
farther, we may conclude with certainty, that the idea
of extension is
nothing but a copy of these coloured points, and of the
manner of their
appearance.

Suppose that in the extended object, or composition of
coloured points,
from which we first received the idea of extension, the
points were of
a purple colour; it follows, that in every repetition of
that idea we
would not only place the points in the same order with
respect to each
other, but also bestow on them that precise colour, with
which alone we
are acquainted. But afterwards having experience of the
other colours of
violet, green, red, white, black, and of all the
different compositions
of these, and finding a resemblance in the disposition
of coloured
points, of which they are composed, we omit the
peculiarities of
colour, as far as possible, and found an abstract idea
merely on that
disposition of points, or manner of appearance, in which
they agree. Nay
even when the resemblance is carryed beyond the objects
of one sense,
and the impressions of touch are found to be Similar to
those of sight
in the disposition of their parts; this does not hinder
the abstract

idea from representing both, upon account of their resemblance. All abstract ideas are really nothing but particular ones, considered in a certain light; but being annexed to general terms, they are able to represent a vast variety, and to comprehend objects, which, as they are alike in some particulars, are in others vastly wide of each other.

The idea of time, being derived from the succession of our perceptions of every kind, ideas as well as impressions, and impressions of reflection as well as of sensations will afford us an instance of an abstract idea, which comprehends a still greater variety than that of space, and yet is represented in the fancy by some particular individual idea of a determinate quantity and quality.

As it is from the disposition of visible and tangible objects we receive the idea of space, so from the succession of ideas and impressions we form the idea of time, nor is it possible for time alone ever to make its appearance, or be taken notice of by the mind. A man in a sound sleep, or strongly occupied with one thought, is insensible of time; and according as his perceptions succeed each other with greater or less rapidity, the same duration appears longer or shorter to his imagination. It has been remarked by a great philosopher, that our perceptions have certain bounds in this particular, which are fixed by the original nature and constitution of the mind, and beyond which no influence of external objects on the senses is ever able to hasten or

retard our thought. If you wheel about a burning coal with rapidity, it will present to the senses an image of a circle of fire; nor will there seem to be any interval of time betwixt its revolutions; meerly because it is impossible for our perceptions to succeed each other with the same rapidity, that motion may be communicated to external objects. Wherever we have no successive perceptions, we have no notion of time, even though there be a real succession in the objects. From these phenomena, as well as from many others, we may conclude, that time cannot make its appearance to the mind, either alone, or attended with a steady unchangeable object, but is always discovered some PERCEIVABLE succession of changeable objects.

To confirm this we may add the following argument, which to me seems perfectly decisive and convincing. It is evident, that time or duration consists of different parts: For otherwise we could not conceive a longer or shorter duration. It is also evident, that these parts are not co-existent: For that quality of the co-existence of parts belongs to extension, and is what distinguishes it from duration. Now as time is composed of parts, that are not coexistent: an unchangeable object, since it produces none but coexistent impressions, produces none that can give us the idea of time; and consequently that idea must be derived from a succession of changeable objects, and time in its first appearance can never be severed from such a succession.

Having therefore found, that time in its first

appearance to the mind
is always conjoined with a succession of changeable
objects, and that
otherwise it can never fall under our notice, we must
now examine
whether it can be conceived without our conceiving any
succession
of objects, and whether it can alone form a distinct
idea in the
imagination.

In order to know whether any objects, which are joined
in impression,
be inseparable in idea, we need only consider, if they
be different
from each other; in which case, it is plain they may be
conceived apart.
Every thing, that is different is distinguishable: and
everything,
that is distinguishable, may be separated, according to
the maxims
above-explained. If on the contrary they be not
different, they are
not distinguishable: and if they be not distinguishable,
they cannot be
separated. But this is precisely the case with respect
to time, compared
with our successive perceptions. The idea of time is not
derived from a
particular impression mixed up with others, and plainly
distinguishable
from them; but arises altogether from the manner, in
which impressions
appear to the mind, without making one of the number.
Five notes played
on a flute give us the impression and idea of time;
though time be not
a sixth impression, which presents itself to the hearing
or any other of
the senses. Nor is it a sixth impression, which the mind
by reflection
finds in itself. These five sounds making their
appearance in this
particular manner, excite no emotion in the mind, nor
produce an

affection of any kind, which being observed by it can give rise to a new idea. For that is necessary to produce a new idea of reflection, nor can the mind, by revolving over a thousand times all its ideas of sensation, ever extract from them any new original idea, unless nature has so framed its faculties, that it feels some new original impression arise from such a contemplation. But here it only takes notice of the manner, in which the different sounds make their appearance; and that it may afterwards consider without considering these particular sounds, but may conjoin it with any other objects. The ideas of some objects it certainly must have, nor is it possible for it without these ideas ever to arrive at any conception of time; which since it, appears not as any primary distinct impression, can plainly be nothing but different ideas, or impressions, or objects disposed in a certain manner, that is, succeeding each other.

I know there are some who pretend, that the idea of duration is applicable in a proper sense to objects, which are perfectly unchangeable; and this I take to be the common opinion of philosophers as well as of the vulgar. But to be convinced of its falsehood we need but reflect on the foregoing conclusion, that the idea of duration is always derived from a succession of changeable objects, and can never be conveyed to the mind by any thing steadfast and unchangeable. For it inevitably follows from thence, that since the idea of duration cannot be derived from such an object, it can never-in any

propriety or exactness be applied to it, nor can any thing unchangeable be ever said to have duration. Ideas always represent the Objects or impressions, from which they are derived, and can never without a fiction represent or be applied to any other. By what fiction we apply the idea of time, even to what is unchangeable, and suppose, as is common, that duration is a measure of rest as well as of motion, we shall consider [Sect 5.] afterwards.

There is another very decisive argument, which establishes the present doctrine concerning our ideas of space and time, and is founded only on that simple principle, that our ideas of them are compounded of parts, which are indivisible. This argument may be worth the examining.

Every idea, that is distinguishable, being also separable, let us take one of those simple indivisible ideas, of which the compound one of extension is formed, and separating it from all others, and considering it apart, let us form a judgment of its nature and qualities.

It is plain it is not the idea of extension. For the idea of extension consists of parts; and this idea, according to the supposition, is perfectly simple and indivisible. Is it therefore nothing? That is absolutely impossible. For as the compound idea of extension, which is real, is composed of such ideas; were these so many non-entities, there would be a real existence composed of non-entities; which is absurd.

Here therefore I must ask, What is our idea of a simple and indivisible point? No wonder if my answer appear somewhat new, since the question itself has scarce ever yet been thought of. We are wont to dispute concerning the nature of mathematical points, but seldom concerning the nature of their ideas.

The idea of space is conveyed to the mind by two senses, the sight and touch; nor does anything ever appear extended, that is not either visible or tangible. That compound impression, which represents extension, consists of several lesser impressions, that are indivisible to the eye or feeling, and may be called impressions of atoms or corpuscles endowed with colour and solidity. But this is not all. It is not only requisite, that these atoms should be coloured or tangible, in order to discover themselves to our senses; it is also necessary we should preserve the idea of their colour or tangibility in order to comprehend them by our imagination. There is nothing but the idea of their colour or tangibility, which can render them conceivable by the mind. Upon the removal of the ideas of these sensible qualities, they are utterly annihilated to the thought or imagination.

Now such as the parts are, such is the whole. If a point be not considered as coloured or tangible, it can convey to us no idea; and consequently the idea of extension, which is composed of the ideas of these points, can never possibly exist. But if the idea of extension really can exist, as we are conscious it does, its parts

must also exist; and in order to that, must be considered as coloured or tangible. We have therefore no idea of space or extension, but when we regard it as an object either of our sight or feeling.

The same reasoning will prove, that the indivisible moments of time must be filled with some real object or existence, whose succession forms the duration, and makes it be conceivable by the mind.

SECT. IV. OBJECTIONS ANSWERED.

Our system concerning space and time consists of two parts, which are intimately connected together. The first depends on this chain of reasoning. The capacity of the mind is not infinite; consequently no idea of extension or duration consists of an infinite number of parts or inferior ideas, but of a finite number, and these simple and indivisible: It is therefore possible for space and time to exist conformable to this idea: And if it be possible, it is certain they actually do exist conformable to it; since their infinite divisibility is utterly impossible and contradictory.

The other part of our system is a consequence of this. The parts, into which the ideas of space and time resolve themselves, become at last indivisible; and these indivisible parts, being nothing in themselves, are inconceivable when not filled with something real and existent. The

ideas of space and time are therefore no separate or distinct ideas, but merely those of the manner or order, in which objects exist: Or in other words, it is impossible to conceive either a vacuum and extension without matter, or a time, when there was no succession or change in any real existence. The intimate connexion betwixt these parts of our system is the reason why we shall examine together the objections, which have been urged against both of them, beginning with those against the finite divisibility of extension.

I. The first of these objections, which I shall take notice of, is more proper to prove this connexion and dependence of the one part upon the other, than to destroy either of them. It has often been maintained in the schools, that extension must be divisible, in infinitum, because the system of mathematical points is absurd; and that system is absurd, because a mathematical point is a non-entity, and consequently can never by its conjunction with others form a real existence. This would be perfectly decisive, were there no medium betwixt the infinite divisibility of matter, and the non-entity of mathematical points. But there is evidently a medium, viz. the bestowing a colour or solidity on these points; and the absurdity of both the extremes is a demonstration of the truth and reality of this medium. The system of physical points, which is another medium, is too absurd to need a refutation. A real extension, such as a physical point is supposed to be, can never exist without parts, different from each other; and wherever

objects are different, they are distinguishable and separable by the imagination.

II. The second objection is derived from the necessity there would be of PENETRATION, if extension consisted of mathematical points. A simple and indivisible atom, that touches another, must necessarily penetrate it; for it is impossible it can touch it by its external parts, from the very supposition of its perfect simplicity, which excludes all parts. It must therefore touch it intimately, and in its whole essence, SECUNDUM SE, TOTA, ET TOTALITER; which is the very definition of penetration. But penetration is impossible: Mathematical points are of consequence equally impossible.

I answer this objection by substituting a juster idea of penetration. Suppose two bodies containing no void within their circumference, to approach each other, and to unite in such a manner that the body, which results from their union, is no more extended than either of them; it is this we must mean when we talk of penetration. But it is evident this penetration is nothing but the annihilation of one of these bodies, and the preservation of the other, without our being able to distinguish particularly which is preserved and which annihilated. Before the approach we have the idea of two bodies. After it we have the idea only of one. It is impossible for the mind to preserve any notion of difference betwixt two bodies of the same nature existing in the same place at the same time.

Taking then penetration in this sense, for the annihilation of one body upon its approach to another, I ask any one, if he sees a necessity, that a coloured or tangible point should be annihilated upon the approach of another coloured or tangible point? On the contrary, does he not evidently perceive, that from the union of these points there results an object, which is compounded and divisible, and may be distinguished into two parts, of which each preserves its existence distinct and separate, notwithstanding its contiguity to the other? Let him aid his fancy by conceiving these points to be of different colours, the better to prevent their coalition and confusion. A blue and a red point may surely lie contiguous without any penetration or annihilation. For if they cannot, what possibly can become of them? Whether shall the red or the blue be annihilated? Or if these colours unite into one, what new colour will they produce by their union?

What chiefly gives rise to these objections, and at the same time renders it so difficult to give a satisfactory answer to them, is the natural infirmity and unsteadiness both of our imagination and senses, when employed on such minute objects. Put a spot of ink upon paper, and retire to such a distance, that the spot becomes altogether invisible; you will find, that upon your return and nearer approach the spot first becomes visible by short intervals; and afterwards becomes always visible; and afterwards acquires only a new force in its colouring

without augmenting its bulk; and afterwards, when it has increased to such a degree as to be really extended, it is still difficult for the imagination to break it into its component parts, because of the uneasiness it finds in the conception of such a minute object as a single point. This infirmity affects most of our reasonings on the present subject, and makes it almost impossible to answer in an intelligible manner, and in proper expressions, many questions which may arise concerning it.

III. There have been many objections drawn from the mathematics against the indivisibility of the parts of extension: though at first sight that science seems rather favourable to the present doctrine; and if it be contrary in its DEMONSTRATIONS, it is perfectly conformable in its definitions. My present business then must be to defend the definitions, and refute the demonstrations.

A surface is DEFINED to be length and breadth without depth: A line to be length without breadth or depth: A point to be what has neither length, breadth nor depth. It is evident that all this is perfectly unintelligible upon any other supposition than that of the composition of extension by indivisible points or atoms. How else coued any thing exist without length, without breadth, or without depth?

Two different answers, I find, have been made to this argument; neither of which is in my opinion satisfactory. The first is, that the objects of geometry, those surfaces, lines and points, whose

proportions and positions it examines, are mere ideas in the mind; I and not only never did, but never can exist in nature. They never did exist; for no one will pretend to draw a line or make a surface entirely conformable to the definition: They never can exist; for we may produce demonstrations from these very ideas to prove, that they are impossible.

But can anything be imagined more absurd and contradictory than this reasoning? Whatever can be conceived by a clear and distinct idea necessarily implies the possibility of existence; and he who pretends to prove the impossibility of its existence by any argument derived from the clear idea, in reality asserts, that we have no clear idea of it, because we have a clear idea. It is in vain to search for a contradiction in any thing that is distinctly conceived by the mind. Did it imply any contradiction, it is impossible it could ever be conceived.

There is therefore no medium betwixt allowing at least the possibility of indivisible points, and denying their idea; and it is on this latter principle, that the second answer to the foregoing argument is founded. It has been pretended [L'Art de penser.], that though it be impossible to conceive a length without any breadth, yet by an abstraction without a separation, we can consider the one without regarding the other; in the same manner as we may think of the length of the way betwixt two towns, and overlook its breadth. The length is inseparable from the

breadth both in nature and in our minds; but this excludes not a partial consideration, and a distinction of reason, after the manner above explained.

In refuting this answer I shall not insist on the argument, which I have already sufficiently explained, that if it be impossible for the mind to arrive at a minimum in its ideas, its capacity must be infinite, in order to comprehend the infinite number of parts, of which its idea of any extension would be composed. I shall here endeavour to find some new absurdities in this reasoning.

A surface terminates a solid; a line terminates a surface; a point terminates a line; but I assert, that if the ideas of a point, line or surface were not indivisible, it is impossible we should ever conceive these terminations: For let these ideas be supposed infinitely divisible; and then let the fancy endeavour to fix itself on the idea of the last surface, line or point; it immediately finds this idea to break into parts; and upon its seizing the last of these parts, it loses its hold by a new division, and so on in infinitum, without any possibility of its arriving at a concluding idea. The number of fractions bring it no nearer the last division, than the first idea it formed. Every particle eludes the grasp by a new fraction; like quicksilver, when we endeavour to seize it. But as in fact there must be something, which terminates the idea of every finite quantity; and as this terminating idea cannot itself consist of parts or inferior ideas;

otherwise it
would be the last of its parts, which finished the idea,
and so on; this
is a clear proof, that the ideas of surfaces, lines and
points admit
not of any division; those of surfaces in depth; of
lines in breadth and
depth; and of points in any dimension.

The school were so sensible of the force of this
argument, that some of
them maintained, that nature has mixed among those
particles of matter,
which are divisible in infinitum, a number of
mathematical points, in
order to give a termination to bodies; and others eluded
the force of
this reasoning by a heap of unintelligible cavils and
distinctions. Both
these adversaries equally yield the victory. A man who
hides himself,
confesses as evidently the superiority of his enemy, as
another, who
fairly delivers his arms.

Thus it appears, that the definitions of mathematics
destroy the
pretended demonstrations; and that if we have the idea
of indivisible
points, lines and surfaces conformable to the
definition, their
existence is certainly possible: but if we have no such
idea, it is
impossible we can ever conceive the termination of any
figure; without
which conception there can be no geometrical
demonstration.

But I go farther, and maintain, that none of these
demonstrations
can have sufficient weight to establish such a
principle, as this of
infinite divisibility; and that because with regard to
such minute
objects, they are not properly demonstrations, being

built on ideas,
which are not exact, and maxims, which are not precisely
true. When
geometry decides anything concerning the proportions of
quantity, we
ought not to look for the utmost precision and
exactness. None of its
proofs extend so far. It takes the dimensions and
proportions of
figures justly; but roughly, and with some liberty. Its
errors are never
considerable; nor would it err at all, did it not aspire
to such an
absolute perfection.

I first ask mathematicians, what they mean when they say
one line or
surface is EQUAL to, or GREATER or LESS than another?
Let any of them
give an answer, to whatever sect he belongs, and whether
he maintains
the composition of extension by indivisible points, or
by quantities
divisible in infinitum. This question will embarrass
both of them.

There are few or no mathematicians, who defend the
hypothesis of
indivisible points; and yet these have the readiest and
justest answer
to the present question. They need only reply, that
lines or surfaces
are equal, when the numbers of points in each are equal;
and that as
the proportion of the numbers varies, the proportion of
the lines and
surfaces is also varied. But though this answer be just,
as well as
obvious; yet I may affirm, that this standard of
equality is entirely
useless, and that it never is from such a comparison we
determine
objects to be equal or unequal with respect to each
other. For as the
points, which enter into the composition of any line or

surface, whether perceived by the sight or touch, are so minute and so confounded with each other, that it is utterly impossible for the mind to compute their number, such a computation will Never afford us a standard by which we may judge of proportions. No one will ever be able to determine by an exact numeration, that an inch has fewer points than a foot, or a foot fewer than an ell or any greater measure: for which reason we seldom or never consider this as the standard of equality or inequality.

As to those, who imagine, that extension is divisible in infinitum, it is impossible they can make use of this answer, or fix the equality of any line or surface by a numeration of its component parts. For since, according to their hypothesis, the least as well as greatest figures contain an infinite number of parts; and since infinite numbers, properly speaking, can neither be equal nor unequal with respect to each other; the equality or inequality of any portions of space can never depend on any proportion in the number of their parts. It is true, it may be said, that the inequality of an ell and a yard consists in the different numbers of the feet, of which they are composed; and that of a foot and a yard in the number of the inches. But as that quantity we call an inch in the one is supposed equal to what we call an inch in the other, and as it is impossible for the mind to find this equality by proceeding in infinitum with these references to inferior quantities: it is evident, that at last we must fix some standard of

equality different
from an enumeration of the parts.

There are some [See Dr. Barrow's mathematical lectures.], who pretend, that equality is best defined by congruity, and that any two figures are equal, when upon the placing of one upon the other, all their parts correspond to and touch each other. In order to judge of this definition let us consider, that since equality is a relation, it is not, strictly speaking, a property in the figures themselves, but arises merely from the comparison, which the mind makes betwixt them. If it consists, therefore, in this imaginary application and mutual contact of parts, we must at least have a distinct notion of these parts, and must conceive their contact. Now it is plain, that in this conception we would run up these parts to the greatest minuteness, which can possibly be conceived; since the contact of large parts would never render the figures equal. But the minutest parts we can conceive are mathematical points; and consequently this standard of equality is the same with that derived from the equality of the number of points; which we have already determined to be a just but an useless standard. We must therefore look to some other quarter for a solution of the present difficulty.

There are many philosophers, who refuse to assign any standard of equality, but assert, that it is sufficient to present two objects, that are equal, in order to give us a just notion of this proportion. All definitions, say they, are fruitless, without the

perception of such objects; and where we perceive such objects, we no longer stand in need of any definition. To this reasoning, I entirely agree; and assert, that the only useful notion of equality, or inequality, is derived from the whole united appearance and the comparison of particular objects.

It is evident, that the eye, or rather the mind is often able at one view to determine the proportions of bodies, and pronounce them equal to, or greater or less than each other, without examining or comparing the number of their minute parts. Such judgments are not only common, but in many cases certain and infallible. When the measure of a yard and that of a foot are presented, the mind can no more question, that the first is longer than the second, than it can doubt of those principles, which are the most clear and self-evident.

There are therefore three proportions, which the mind distinguishes in the general appearance of its objects, and calls by the names of greater, less and equal. But though its decisions concerning these proportions be sometimes infallible, they are not always so; nor are our judgments of this kind more exempt from doubt and error than those on any other subject. We frequently correct our first opinion by a review and reflection; and pronounce those objects to be equal, which at first we esteemed unequal; and regard an object as less, though before it appeared greater than another. Nor is this the only correction, which these judgments of our senses undergo; but we often

discover our error
by a juxtaposition of the objects; or where that is
impracticable, by
the use of some common and invariable measure, which
being successively
applied to each, informs us of their different
proportions. And even
this correction is susceptible of a new correction, and
of different
degrees of exactness, according to the nature of the
instrument,
by which we measure the bodies, and the care which we
employ in the
comparison.

When therefore the mind is accustomed to these judgments
and their
corrections, and finds that the same proportion which
makes two figures
have in the eye that appearance, which we call equality,
makes them also
correspond to each other, and to any common measure,
with which they
are compared, we form a mixed notion of equality derived
both from the
looser and stricter methods of comparison. But we are
not content with
this. For as sound reason convinces us that there are
bodies vastly more
minute than those, which appear to the senses; and as a
false reason
would persuade us, that there are bodies infinitely more
minute; we
clearly perceive, that we are not possessed of any
instrument or art of
measuring, which can secure us from ill error and
uncertainty. We are
sensible, that the addition or removal of one of these
minute parts,
is not discernible either in the appearance or
measuring; and as we
imagine, that two figures, which were equal before,
cannot be equal
after this removal or addition, we therefore suppose
some imaginary

standard of equality, by which the appearances and measuring are exactly corrected, and the figures reduced entirely to that proportion. This standard is plainly imaginary. For as the very idea of equality is that of such a particular appearance corrected by juxtaposition or a common measure. The notion of any correction beyond what we have instruments and art to make, is a mere fiction of the mind, and useless as well as incomprehensible. But though this standard be only imaginary, the fiction however is very natural; nor is anything more usual, than for the mind to proceed after this manner with any action, even after the reason has ceased, which first determined it to begin. This appears very conspicuously with regard to time; where though it is evident we have no exact method of determining the proportions of parts, not even so exact as in extension, yet the various corrections of our measures, and their different degrees of exactness, have given as an obscure and implicit notion of a perfect and entire equality. The case is the same in many other subjects. A musician finding his ear becoming every day more delicate, and correcting himself by reflection and attention, proceeds with the same act of the mind, even when the subject fails him, and entertains a notion of a compleat TIERCE or OCTAVE, without being able to tell whence he derives his standard. A painter forms the same fiction with regard to colours. A mechanic with regard to motion. To the one light and shade; to the other swift and slow are imagined to be capable of an exact comparison and equality beyond the judgments

of the senses.

We may apply the same reasoning to CURVE and RIGHT lines. Nothing is more apparent to the senses, than the distinction betwixt a curve and a right line; nor are there any ideas we more easily form than the ideas of these objects. But however easily we may form these ideas, it is impossible to produce any definition of them, which will fix the precise boundaries betwixt them. When we draw lines upon paper, or any continued surface, there is a certain order, by which the lines run along from one point to another, that they may produce the entire impression of a curve or right line; but this order is perfectly unknown, and nothing is observed but the united appearance. Thus even upon the system of indivisible points, we can only form a distant notion of some unknown standard to these objects. Upon that of infinite divisibility we cannot go even this length; but are reduced meerly to the general appearance, as the rule by which we determine lines to be either curve or right ones. But though we can give no perfect definition of these lines, nor produce any very exact method of distinguishing the one from the other; yet this hinders us not from correcting the first appearance by a more accurate consideration, and by a comparison with some rule, of whose rectitude from repeated trials we have a greater assurance. And it is from these corrections, and by carrying on the same action of the mind, even when its reason fails us, that we form the loose idea of a perfect standard to these figures, without being able to explain

or comprehend
it.

It is true, mathematicians pretend they give an exact definition of a right line, when they say, it is the shortest way betwixt two points. But in the first place I observe, that this is more properly the discovery of one of the properties of a right line, than a just deflation of it. For I ask any one, if upon mention of a right line he thinks not immediately on such a particular appearance, and if it is not by accident only that he considers this property? A right line can be comprehended alone; but this definition is unintelligible without a comparison with other lines, which we conceive to be more extended. In common life it is established as a maxim, that the straightest way is always the shortest; which would be as absurd as to say, the shortest way is always the shortest, if our idea of a right line was not different from that of the shortest way betwixt two points.

Secondly, I repeat what I have already established, that we have no precise idea of equality and inequality, shorter and longer, more than of a right line or a curve; and consequently that the one can never afford us a perfect standard for the other. An exact idea can never be built on such as are loose and undetermined.

The idea of a plain surface is as little susceptible of a precise standard as that of a right line; nor have we any other means of distinguishing such a surface, than its general

appearance. It is in vain, that mathematicians represent a plain surface as produced by the flowing of a right line. It will immediately be objected, that our idea of a surface is as independent of this method of forming a surface, as our idea of an ellipse is of that of a cone; that the idea of a right line is no more precise than that of a plain surface; that a right line may flow irregularly, and by that means form a figure quite different from a plane; and that therefore we must suppose it to flow along two right lines, parallel to each other, and on the same plane; which is a description, that explains a thing by itself, and returns in a circle.

It appears, then, that the ideas which are most essential to geometry, viz. those of equality and inequality, of a right line and a plain surface, are far from being exact and determinate, according to our common method of conceiving them. Not only we are incapable of telling, if the case be in any degree doubtful, when such particular figures are equal; when such a line is a right one, and such a surface a plain one; but we can form no idea of that proportion, or of these figures, which is firm and invariable. Our appeal is still to the weak and fallible judgment, which we make from the appearance of the objects, and correct by a compass or common measure; and if we join the supposition of any farther correction, it is of such-a-one as is either useless or imaginary. In vain should we have recourse to the common topic, and employ the supposition of a deity, whose omnipotence may

enable him to
form a perfect geometrical figure, and describe a right
line without any
curve or inflexion. As the ultimate standard of these
figures is derived
from nothing but the senses and imagination, it is
absurd to talk of
any perfection beyond what these faculties can judge of;
since the true
perfection of any thing consists in its conformity to
its standard.

Now since these ideas are so loose and uncertain, I
would fain ask any
mathematician what infallible assurance he has, not only
of the more
intricate, and obscure propositions of his science, but
of the most
vulgar and obvious principles? How can he prove to me,
for instance,
that two right lines cannot have one common segment? Or
that it is
impossible to draw more than one right line betwixt any
two points?
should he tell me, that these opinions are obviously
absurd, and
repugnant to our clear ideas; I would answer, that I do
not deny, where
two right lines incline upon each other with a sensible
angle, but it is
absurd to imagine them to have a common segment. But
supposing these two
lines to approach at the rate of an inch in twenty
leagues, I perceive
no absurdity in asserting, that upon their contact they
become one. For,
I beseech you, by what rule or standard do you judge,
when you assert,
that the line, in which I have supposed them to concur,
cannot make
the same right line with those two, that form so small
an angle betwixt
them? You must surely have some idea of a right line, to
which this line
does not agree. Do you therefore mean that it takes not

the points in
the same order and by the same rule, as is peculiar and
essential to a
right line? If so, I must inform you, that besides that
in judging after
this manner you allow, that extension is composed of
indivisible points
(which, perhaps, is more than you intend) besides this,
I say, I must
inform you, that neither is this the standard from which
we form the
idea of a right line; nor, if it were, is there any such
firmness in our
senses or imagination, as to determine when such an
order is violated or
preserved. The original standard of a right line is in
reality nothing
but a certain general appearance; and it is evident
right lines may be
made to concur with each other, and yet correspond to
this standard,
though corrected by all the means either practicable or
imaginable.

To whatever side mathematicians turn, this dilemma still
meets them.
If they judge of equality, or any other proportion, by
the accurate and
exact standard, viz. the enumeration of the minute
indivisible parts,
they both employ a standard, which is useless in
practice, and actually
establish the indivisibility of extension, which they
endeavour to
explode. Or if they employ, as is usual, the inaccurate
standard,
derived from a comparison of objects, upon their general
appearance,
corrected by measuring and juxtaposition; their first
principles,
though certain and infallible, are too coarse to afford
any such subtle
inferences as they commonly draw from them. The first
principles are
founded on the imagination and senses: The conclusion,

therefore, can
never go beyond, much less contradict these faculties.

This may open our eyes a little, and let us see, that no geometrical demonstration for the infinite divisibility of extension can have so much force as what we naturally attribute to every argument, which is supported by such magnificent pretensions. At the same time we may learn the reason, why geometry falls of evidence in this single point, while all its other reasonings command our fullest assent and approbation. And indeed it seems more requisite to give the reason of this exception, than to shew, that we really must make such an exception, and regard all the mathematical arguments for infinite divisibility as utterly sophistical. For it is evident, that as no idea of quantity is infinitely divisible, there cannot be imagined a more glaring absurdity, than to endeavour to prove, that quantity itself admits of such a division; and to prove this by means of ideas, which are directly opposite in that particular. And as this absurdity is very glaring in itself, so there is no argument founded on it which is not attended with a new absurdity, and involves not an evident contradiction.

I might give as instances those arguments for infinite divisibility, which are derived from the point of contact. I know there is no mathematician, who will not refuse to be judged by the diagrams he describes upon paper, these being loose draughts, as he will tell us, and serving only to convey with greater facility certain

ideas, which
are the true foundation of all our reasoning. This I am
satisfied with,
and am willing to rest the controversy merely upon these
ideas. I desire
therefore our mathematician to form, as accurately as
possible,
the ideas of a circle and a right line; and I then ask,
if upon the
conception of their contact he can conceive them as
touching in a
mathematical point, or if he must necessarily imagine
them to concur
for some space. Whichever side he chooses, he runs
himself into equal
difficulties. If he affirms, that in tracing these
figures in his
imagination, he can imagine them to touch only in a
point, he allows
the possibility of that idea, and consequently of the
thing. If he says,
that in his conception of the contact of those lines he
must make
them concur, he thereby acknowledges the fallacy of
geometrical
demonstrations, when carried beyond a certain degree of
minuteness;
since it is certain he has such demonstrations against
the concurrence
of a circle and a right line; that is, in other words,
he can prove an
idea, viz. that of concurrence, to be INCOMPATIBLE with
two other
ideas, those of a circle and right line; though at the
same time he
acknowledges these ideas to be inseparable.

SECT. V. THE SAME SUBJECT CONTINUED.

If the second part of my system be true, that the idea
of space

or extension is nothing but the idea of visible or tangible points distributed in a certain order; it follows, that we can form no idea of a vacuum, or space, where there is nothing visible or tangible. This gives rise to three objections, which I shall examine together, because the answer I shall give to one is a consequence of that which I shall make use of for the others.

First, It may be said, that men have disputed for many ages concerning a vacuum and a plenum, without being able to bring the affair to a final decision; and philosophers, even at this day, think themselves at liberty to take part on either side, as their fancy leads them. But whatever foundation there may be for a controversy concerning the things themselves, it may be pretended, that the very dispute is decisive concerning the idea, and that it is impossible men could so long reason about a vacuum, and either refute or defend it, without having a notion of what they refuted or defended.

Secondly, If this argument should be contested, the reality or at least the possibility of the idea of a vacuum may be proved by the following reasoning. Every idea is possible, which is a necessary and infallible consequence of such as are possible. Now though we allow the world to be at present a plenum, we may easily conceive it to be deprived of motion; and this idea will certainly be allowed possible. It must also be allowed possible, to conceive the annihilation of any part of matter by the omnipotence of the deity, while the other parts

remain at rest. For
as every idea, that is distinguishable, is separable by
the imagination;
and as every idea, that is separable by the imagination,
may be
conceived to be separately existent; it is evident, that
the existence
of one particle of matter, no more implies the existence
of another,
than a square figure in one body implies a square figure
in every one.
This being granted, I now demand what results from the
concurrence of
these two possible ideas of rest and annihilation, and
what must we
conceive to follow upon the annihilation of all the air
and subtile
matter in the chamber, supposing the walls to remain the
same, without
any motion or alteration? There are some metaphysicians,
who answer,
that since matter and extension are the same, the
annihilation of one
necessarily implies that of the other; and there being
now no distance
betwixt the walls of the chamber, they touch each other;
in the same
manner as my hand touches the paper, which is
immediately before me.
But though this answer be very common, I defy these
metaphysicians to
conceive the matter according to their hypothesis, or
imagine the floor
and roof, with all the opposite sides of the chamber, to
touch each
other, while they continue in rest, and preserve the
same position. For
how can the two walls, that run from south to north,
touch each other,
while they touch the opposite ends of two walls, that
run from east
to west? And how can the floor and roof ever meet, while
they are
separated by the four walls, that lie in a contrary
position? If you

change their position, you suppose a motion. If you conceive any thing betwixt them, you suppose a new creation. But keeping strictly to the two ideas of rest and annihilation, it is evident, that the idea, which results from them, is not that of a contact of parts, but something else; which is concluded to be the idea of a vacuum.

The third objection carries the matter still farther, and not only asserts, that the idea of a vacuum is real and possible, but also necessary and unavoidable. This assertion is founded on the motion we observe in bodies, which, it is maintained, would be impossible and inconceivable without a vacuum, into which one body must move in order to make way for another.. I shall not enlarge upon this objection, because it principally belongs to natural philosophy, which lies without our present sphere.

In order to answer these objections, we must take the matter pretty deep, and consider the nature and origin of several ideas, lest we dispute without understanding perfectly the subject of the controversy. It is evident the idea of darkness is no positive idea, but merely the negation of light, or more properly speaking, of coloured and visible objects. A man, who enjoys his sight, receives no other perception from turning his eyes on every side, when entirely deprived of light, than what is common to him with one born blind; and it is certain such-a-one has no idea either of light or darkness. The consequence of this is, that it is not from the mere removal of visible objects

we receive
the impression of extension without matter; and that the
idea of utter
darkness can never be the same with that of vacuum.

Suppose again a man to be supported in the air, and to
be softly
conveyed along by some invisible power; it is evident he
is sensible of
nothing, and never receives the idea of extension, nor
indeed any idea,
from this invariable motion. Even supposing he moves his
limbs to
and fro, this cannot convey to him that idea. He feels
in that case a
certain sensation or impression, the parts of which are
successive to
each other, and may give him the idea of time: But
certainly are not
disposed in such a manner, as is necessary to convey the
idea of space
or the idea of space or extension.

Since then it appears, that darkness and motion, with
the utter removal
of every thing visible and tangible, can never give us
the idea of
extension without matter, or of a vacuum; the next
question is, whether
they can convey this idea, when mixed with something
visible and
tangible?

It is commonly allowed by philosophers, that all bodies,
which discover
themselves to the eye, appear as if painted on a plain
surface, and that
their different degrees of remoteness from ourselves are
discovered
more by reason than by the senses. When I hold up my
hand before me, and
spread my fingers, they are separated as perfectly by
the blue colour
of the firmament, as they could be by any visible
object, which I could

place betwixt them. In order, therefore, to know whether the sight can convey the impression and idea of a vacuum, we must suppose, that amidst an entire darkness, there are luminous bodies presented to us, whose light discovers only these bodies themselves, without giving us any impression of the surrounding objects.

We must form a parallel supposition concerning the objects of our feeling. It is not proper to suppose a perfect removal of all tangible objects: we must allow something to be perceived by the feeling; and after an interval and motion of the hand or other organ of sensation, another object of the touch to be met with; and upon leaving that, another; and so on, as often as we please. The question is, whether these intervals do not afford us the idea of extension without body?

To begin with the first case; it is evident, that when only two luminous bodies appear to the eye, we can perceive, whether they be conjoined or separate: whether they be separated by a great or small distance; and if this distance varies, we can perceive its increase or diminution, with the motion of the bodies. But as the distance is not in this case any thing coloured or visible, it may be thought that there is here a vacuum or pure extension, not only intelligible to the mind, but obvious to the very senses.

This is our natural and most familiar way of thinking; but which we shall learn to correct by a little reflection. We may observe, that

when two bodies present themselves, where there was formerly an entire darkness, the only change, that is discoverable, is in the appearance of these two objects, and that all the rest continues to be as before, a perfect negation of light, and of every coloured or visible object. This is not only true of what may be said to be remote from these bodies, but also of the very distance; which is interposed betwixt them; that being nothing but darkness, or the negation of light; without parts, without composition, invariable and indivisible. Now since this distance causes no perception different from what a blind man receives from his eyes, or what is conveyed to us in the darkest night, it must partake of the same properties: And as blindness and darkness afford us no ideas of extension, it is impossible that the dark and undistinguishable distance betwixt two bodies can ever produce that idea.

The sole difference betwixt an absolute darkness and the appearance of two or more visible luminous objects consists, as I said, in the objects themselves, and in the manner they affect our senses. The angles, which the rays of light flowing from them, form with each other; the motion that is required in the eye, in its passage from one to the other; and the different parts of the organs, which are affected by them; these produce the only perceptions, from which we can judge of the distance. But as these perceptions are each of them simple and indivisible, they can never give us the idea of extension.

We may illustrate this by considering the sense of

feeling, and the
imaginary distance or interval interposed betwixt
tangible or solid
objects. I suppose two cases, viz. that of a man
supported in the air,
and moving his limbs to and fro, without meeting any
thing tangible; and
that of a man, who feeling something tangible, leaves
it, and after a
motion, of which he is sensible, perceives another
tangible object; and
I then ask, wherein consists the difference betwixt
these two cases?
No one will make any scruple to affirm, that it consists
meerly in the
perceiving those objects, and that the sensation, which
arises from the
motion, is in both cases the same: And as that sensation
is not capable
of conveying to us an idea of extension, when
unaccompanied with some
other perception, it can no more give us that idea, when
mixed with
the impressions of tangible objects; since that mixture
produces no
alteration upon it.

But though motion and darkness, either alone, or
attended with tangible
and visible objects, convey no idea of a vacuum or
extension without
matter, yet they are the causes why we falsly imagine we
can form such
an idea. For there is a close relation betwixt that
motion and darkness,
and a real extension, or composition of visible and
tangible objects.

First, We may observe, that two visible objects
appearing in the midst
of utter darkness, affect the senses in the same manner,
and form the
same angle by the rays, which flow from them, and meet
in the eye, as if
the distance betwixt them were find with visible

objects, that give us
a true idea of extension. The sensation of motion is
likewise the same,
when there is nothing tangible interposed betwixt two
bodies, as when
we feel a compounded body, whose different parts are
placed beyond each
other.

Secondly, We find by experience, that two bodies, which
are so placed
as to affect the senses in the same manner with two
others, that have a
certain extent of visible objects interposed betwixt
them, are
capable of receiving the same extent, without any
sensible impulse or
penetration, and without any change on that angle, under
which they
appear to the senses. In like manner, where there is one
object, which
we cannot feel after another without an interval, and
the perceiving
of that sensation we call motion in our hand or organ of
sensation;
experience shews us, that it is possible the same object
may be felt
with the same sensation of motion, along with the
interposed impression
of solid and tangible objects, attending the sensation.
That is, in
other words, an invisible and intangible distance may be
converted into
a visible and tangible one, without any change on the
distant objects.

Thirdly, We may observe, as another relation betwixt
these two kinds
of distance, that they have nearly the same effects on
every natural
phaenomenon. For as all qualities, such as heat, cold,
light,
attraction, &c. diminish in proportion to the distance;
there is but
little difference observed, whether this distance be

marled out by
compounded and sensible objects, or be known only by the
manner, in
which the distant objects affect the senses.

Here then are three relations betwixt that distance,
which conveys the
idea of extension, and that other, which is not filled
with any coloured
or solid object. The distant objects affect the senses
in the same
manner, whether separated by the one distance or the
other; the second
species of distance is found capable of receiving the
first; and they
both equally diminish the force of every quality.

These relations betwixt the two kinds of distance will
afford us an easy
reason, why the one has so often been taken for the
other, and why we
imagine we have an idea of extension without the idea of
any object
either of the sight or feeling. For we may establish it
as a general
maxim in this science of human nature, that wherever
there is a close
relation betwixt two ideas, the mind is very apt to
mistake them, and
in all its discourses and reasonings to use the one for
the other. This
phaenomenon occurs on so many occasions, and is of such
consequence,
that I cannot forbear stopping a moment to examine its
causes. I shall
only premise, that we must distinguish exactly betwixt
the phaenomenon
itself, and the causes, which I shall assign for it; and
must not
imagine from any uncertainty in the latter, that the
former is also
uncertain. The phaenomenon may be real, though my
explication be
chimerical. The falshood of the one is no consequence of
that of the

other; though at the same time we may observe, that it is very natural for us to draw such a consequence; which is an evident instance of that very principle, which I endeavour to explain.

When I received the relations of resemblance, contiguity and causation, as principles of union among ideas, without examining into their causes, it was more in prosecution of my first maxim, that we must in the end rest contented with experience, than for want of something specious and plausible, which I might have displayed on that subject. It would have been easy to have made an imaginary dissection of the brain, and have shewn, why upon our conception of any idea, the animal spirits run into all the contiguous traces, and rouse up the other ideas, that are related to it. But though I have neglected any advantage, which I might have drawn from this topic in explaining the relations of ideas, I am afraid I must here have recourse to it, in order to account for the mistakes that arise from these relations. I shall therefore observe, that as the mind is endowed with a power of exciting any idea it pleases; whenever it dispatches the spirits into that region of the brain, in which the idea is placed; these spirits always excite the idea, when they run precisely into the proper traces, and rummage that cell, which belongs to the idea. But as their motion is seldom direct, and naturally turns a little to the one side or the other; for this reason the animal spirits, falling into the contiguous traces, present other related ideas in lieu of that, which the mind

desired at first to survey. This change we are not always sensible of; but continuing still the same train of thought, make use of the related idea, which is presented to us, and employ it in our reasoning, as if it were the same with what we demanded. This is the cause of many mistakes and sophisms in philosophy; as will naturally be imagined, and as it would be easy to show, if there was occasion.

Of the three relations above-mentioned that of resemblance is the most fertile source of error; and indeed there are few mistakes in reasoning, which do not borrow largely from that origin. Resembling ideas are not only related together, but the actions of the mind, which we employ in considering them, are so little different, that we are not able to distinguish them. This last circumstance is of great consequence, and we may in general observe, that wherever the actions of the mind in forming any two ideas are the same or resembling, we are very apt to confound these ideas, and take the one for the other. Of this we shall see many instances in the progress of this treatise. But though resemblance be the relation, which most readily produces a mistake in ideas, yet the others of causation and contiguity may also concur in the same influence. We might produce the figures of poets and orators, as sufficient proofs of this, were it as usual, as it is reasonable, in metaphysical subjects to draw our arguments from that quarter. But lest metaphysicians should esteem this below their dignity, I shall borrow

a proof from an observation, which may be made on most of their own discourses, viz. that it is usual for men to use words for ideas, and to talk instead of thinking in their reasonings. We use words for ideas, because they are commonly so closely connected that the mind easily mistakes them. And this likewise is the reason, why we substitute the idea of a distance, which is not considered either as visible or tangible, in the room of extension, which is nothing but a composition of visible or tangible points disposed in a certain order. In causing this mistake there concur both the relations of causation and resemblance. As the first species of distance is found to be convertible into the second, it is in this respect a kind of cause; and the similarity of their manner of affecting the senses, and diminishing every quality, forms the relation of resemblance.

After this chain of reasoning and explication of my principles, I am now prepared to answer all the objections that have been offered, whether derived from metaphysics or mechanics. The frequent disputes concerning a vacuum, or extension without matter prove not the reality of the idea, upon which the dispute turns; there being nothing more common, than to see men deceive themselves in this particular; especially when by means of any close relation, there is another idea presented, which may be the occasion of their mistake.

We may make almost the same answer to the second objection, derived from the conjunction of the ideas of rest and annihilation.

When every thing
is annihilated in the chamber, and the walls continue
immoveable, the
chamber must be conceived much in the same manner as at
present, when
the air that fills it, is not an object of the senses.
This annihilation
leaves to the eye, that fictitious distance, which is
discovered by the
different parts of the organ, that are affected, and by
the degrees of
light and shade;--and to the feeling, that which
consists in a sensation
of motion in the hand, or other member of the body. In
vain should we
search any farther. On whichever side we turn this
subject, we shall
find that these are the only impressions such an object
can produce
after the supposed annihilation; and it has already been
remarked, that
impressions can give rise to no ideas, but to such as
resemble them.

Since a body interposed betwixt two others may be
supposed to be
annihilated, without producing any change upon such as
lie on each
hand of it, it is easily conceived, how it may be
created anew, and yet
produce as little alteration. Now the motion of a body
has much the same
effect as its creation. The distant bodies are no more
affected in the
one case, than in the other. This suffices to satisfy
the imagination,
and proves there is no repugnance in such a motion.
Afterwards
experience comes in play to persuade us that two bodies,
situated in the
manner above-described, have really such a capacity of
receiving body
betwixt them, and that there is no obstacle to the
conversion of the
invisible and intangible distance into one that is

visible and tangible.

However natural that conversion may seem, we cannot be sure it is practicable, before we have had experience of it.

Thus I seem to have answered the three objections above-mentioned;

though at the same time I am sensible, that few will be satisfied

with these answers, but will immediately propose new objections and

difficulties. It will probably be said, that my reasoning makes nothing

to the matter in hands and that I explain only the manner in which

objects affect the senses, without endeavouring to account for their

real nature and operations. Though there be nothing visible or tangible

interposed betwixt two bodies, yet we find BY EXPERIENCE, that the

bodies may be placed in the same manner, with regard to the eye, and

require the same motion of the hand in passing from one to the other,

as if divided by something visible and tangible. This invisible and

intangible distance is also found by experience to contain a capacity of

receiving body, or of becoming visible and tangible.

Here is the whole

of my system; and in no part of it have I endeavoured to explain the

cause, which separates bodies after this manner, and gives them a

capacity of receiving others betwixt them, without any impulse or

penetration.

I answer this objection, by pleading guilty, and by confessing that my

intention never was to penetrate into the nature of bodies, or explain

the secret causes of their operations. For besides that this belongs not

to my present purpose, I am afraid, that such an enterprise is beyond the reach of human understanding, and that we can never pretend to know body otherwise than by those external properties, which discover themselves to the senses. As to those who attempt any thing farther, I cannot approve of their ambition, till I see, in some one instance at least, that they have met with success. But at present I content myself with knowing perfectly the manner in which objects affect my senses, and their connections with each other, as far as experience informs me of them. This suffices for the conduct of life; and this also suffices for my philosophy, which pretends only to explain the nature and causes of our perceptions, or impressions and ideas [Footnote 4.].

[Footnote 4. As long as we confine our speculations to the appearances of objects to our senses, without entering into disquisitions concerning their real nature and operations, we are safe from all difficulties, and can never be embarrassed by any question. Thus, if it be asked, if the invisible and intangible distance, interposed betwixt two objects, be something or nothing: It is easy to answer, that it is SOMETHING, VIZ. a property of the objects, which affect the SENSES after such a particular manner. If it be asked whether two objects, having such a distance betwixt them, touch or not: it may be answered, that this depends upon the definition of the word, TOUCH. If objects

be said

to touch, when there is nothing SENSIBLE interposed
betwixt

them, these objects touch: it objects be said to
touch, when

their IMAGES strike contiguous parts of the eye,
and when

the hand FEELS both objects successively, without
any

interposed motion, these objects do not touch. The
appearances of objects to our senses are all
consistent; and

no difficulties can ever arise, but from the
obscurity of

the terms we make use of.

If we carry our enquiry beyond the appearances of
objects to

the senses, I am afraid, that most of our
conclusions will

be full of scepticism and uncertainty. Thus if it
be asked,

whether or not the invisible and intangible
distance be

always full of body, or of something that by an
improvement

of our organs might become visible or tangible, I
must

acknowledge, that I find no very decisive arguments
on

either side; though I am inclined to the contrary
opinion,

as being more suitable to vulgar and popular
notions. If THE

NEWTONIAN philosophy be rightly understood, it will
be found

to mean no more. A vacuum is asserted: That is,
bodies are

said to be placed after such a manner, is to
receive bodies

betwixt them, without impulsion or penetration. The
real

nature of this position of bodies is unknown. We
are only

acquainted with its effects on the senses, and its

power of
receiving body. Nothing is more suitable to that
philosophy,
than a modest scepticism to a certain degree, and a
fair
confession of ignorance in subjects, that exceed
all human
capacity.]

I shall conclude this subject of extension with a
paradox, which will
easily be explained from the foregoing reasoning. This
paradox is, that
if you are pleased to give to the in-visible and
intangible distance,
or in other words, to the capacity of becoming a visible
and tangible
distance, the name of a vacuum, extension and matter are
the same, and
yet there is a vacuum. If you will not give it that
name, motion
is possible in a plenum, without any impulse in
infinitum, without
returning in a circle, and without penetration. But
however we may
express ourselves, we must always confess, that we have
no idea of any
real extension without filling it with sensible objects,
and conceiving
its parts as visible or tangible.

As to the doctrine, that time is nothing but the manner,
in which
some real objects exist; we may observe, that it is
liable to the same
objections as the similar doctrine with regard to
extension. If it be a
sufficient proof, that we have the idea of a vacuum,
because we dispute
and reason concerning it; we must for the same reason
have the idea
of time without any changeable existence; since there is
no subject of
dispute more frequent and common. But that we really

have no such idea,
is certain. For whence should it be derived? Does it
arise from an
impression of sensation or of reflection? Point it out
distinctly to us,
that we may know its nature and qualities. But if you
cannot point
out any such impression, you may be certain you are
mistaken, when you
imagine you have any such idea.

But though it be impossible to shew the impression, from
which the idea
of time without a changeable existence is derived; yet
we can easily
point out those appearances, which make us fancy we have
that idea. For
we may observe, that there is a continual succession of
perceptions in
our mind; so that the idea of time being for ever
present with us; when
we consider a stedfast object at five-a-clock, and
regard the same at
six; we are apt to apply to it that idea in the same
manner as if every
moment were distinguished by a different position, or an
alteration
of the object. The first and second appearances of the
object, being
compared with the succession of our perceptions, seem
equally removed as
if the object had really changed. To which we may add,
what experience
shews us, that the object was susceptible of such a
number of changes
betwixt these appearances; as also that the unchangeable
or rather
fictitious duration has the same effect upon every
quality, by
increasing or diminishing it, as that succession, which
is obvious to
the senses. From these three relations we are apt to
confound our ideas,
and imagine we can form the idea of a time and duration,
without any

change or succession.

SECT. VI. OF THE IDEA OF EXISTENCE, AND OF EXTERNAL EXISTENCE.

It may not be amiss, before we leave this subject, to explain the ideas of existence and of external existence; which have their difficulties, as well as the ideas of space and time. By this means we shall be the better prepared for the examination of knowledge and probability, when we understand perfectly all those particular ideas, which may enter into our reasoning.

There is no impression nor idea of any kind, of which we have any consciousness or memory, that is not conceived as existent; and it is evident, that from this consciousness the most perfect idea and assurance of being is derived. From hence we may form a dilemma, the most clear and conclusive that can be imagined, viz. that since we never remember any idea or impression without attributing existence to it, the idea of existence must either be derived from a distinct impression, conjoined with every perception or object of our thought, or must be the very same with the idea of the perception or object.

As this dilemma is an evident consequence of the principle, that every idea arises from a similar impression, so our decision betwixt the propositions of the dilemma is no more doubtful. So far from there being

any distinct impression, attending every impression and every idea, that I do not think there are any two distinct impressions, which are inseparably conjoined. Though certain sensations may at one time be united, we quickly find they admit of a separation, and may be presented apart. And thus, though every impression and idea we remember be considered as existent, the idea of existence is not derived from any particular impression.

The idea of existence, then, is the very same with the idea of what we conceive to be existent. To reflect on any thing simply, and to reflect on it as existent, are nothing different from each other. That idea, when conjoined with the idea of any object, makes no addition to it. Whatever we conceive, we conceive to be existent. Any idea we please to form is the idea of a being; and the idea of a being is any idea we please to form.

Whoever opposes this, must necessarily point out that distinct impression, from which the idea of entity is derived, and must prove, that this impression is inseparable from every perception we believe to be existent. This we may without hesitation conclude to be impossible.

Our foregoing reasoning [Part I. Sect. 7.] concerning the distinction of ideas without any real difference will not here serve us in any stead. That kind of distinction is founded on the different resemblances, which the same simple idea may have to several different ideas. But no object

can be presented resembling some object with respect to its existence, and different from others in the same particular; since every object, that is presented, must necessarily be existent.

A like reasoning will account for the idea of external existence. We may observe, that it is universally allowed by philosophers, and is besides pretty obvious of itself, that nothing is ever really present with the mind but its perceptions or impressions and ideas, and that external objects become known to us only by those perceptions they occasion. To hate, to love, to think, to feel, to see; all this is nothing but to perceive.

Now since nothing is ever present to the mind but perceptions, and since all ideas are derived from something antecedently present to the mind; it follows, that it is impossible for us so much as to conceive or form an idea of any thing specifically different from ideas and impressions. Let us fix our attention out of ourselves as much as possible: Let us chase our imagination to the heavens, or to the utmost limits of the universe; we never really advance a step beyond ourselves, nor can conceive any kind of existence, but those perceptions, which have appeared in that narrow compass. This is the universe of the imagination, nor have we any idea but what is there produced.

The farthest we can go towards a conception of external objects, when supposed SPECIFICALLY different from our perceptions, is to form a

relative idea of them, without pretending to comprehend the related objects. Generally speaking we do not suppose them specifically different; but only attribute to them different relations, connections and durations. But of this more fully hereafter.[Part IV, Sect. 2.]

PART III. OF KNOWLEDGE AND PROBABILITY.

SECT. I. OF KNOWLEDGE.

There are seven [Part I. Sect. 5.] different kinds of philosophical relation, viz. RESEMBLANCE, IDENTITY, RELATIONS OF TIME AND PLACE, PROPORTION IN QUANTITY OR NUMBER, DEGREES IN ANY QUALITY, CONTRARIETY and CAUSATION. These relations may be divided into two classes; into such as depend entirely on the ideas, which we compare together, and such as may be changed without any change in the ideas. It is from the idea of a triangle, that we discover the relation of equality, which its three angles bear to two right ones; and this relation is invariable, as long as our idea remains the same. On the contrary, the relations of contiguity and distance betwixt two objects may be changed merely by an alteration of their place, without any change on the objects themselves or on their ideas; and the place depends on a hundred different

accidents, which cannot be foreseen by the mind. It is the same case with identity and causation. Two objects, though perfectly resembling each other, and even appearing in the same place at different times, may be numerically different: And as the power, by which one object produces another, is never discoverable merely from their idea, it is evident cause and effect are relations, of which we receive information from experience, and not from any abstract reasoning or reflection. There is no single phaenomenon, even the most simple, which can be accounted for from the qualities of the objects, as they appear to us; or which we coued foresee without the help of our memory and experience.

It appears, therefore, that of these seven philosophical relations, there remain only four, which depending solely upon ideas, can be the objects of knowledge and certainty. These four are RESEMBLANCE, CONTRARIETY, DEGREES IN QUALITY, and PROPORTIONS IN QUANTITY OR NUMBER. Three of these relations are discoverable at first sight, and fall more properly under the province of intuition than demonstration. When any objects resemble each other, the resemblance will at first strike the eye, or rather the mind; and seldom requires a second examination. The case is the same with contrariety, and with the degrees of any quality. No one can once doubt but existence and non-existence destroy each other, and are perfectly incompatible and contrary. And though it be impossible to judge exactly of the degrees of any quality, such as

colour, taste, heat, cold, when the difference betwixt them is very small: yet it is easy to decide, that any of them is superior or inferior to another, when their difference is considerable. And this decision we always pronounce at first sight, without any enquiry or reasoning.

We might proceed, after the same manner, in fixing the proportions of quantity or number, and might at one view observe a superiority or inferiority betwixt any numbers, or figures; especially where the difference is very great and remarkable. As to equality or any exact proportion, we can only guess at it from a single consideration; except in very short numbers, or very limited portions of extension; which are comprehended in an instant, and where we perceive an impossibility of falling into any considerable error. In all other cases we must settle the proportions with some liberty, or proceed in a more artificial manner.

I have already observed, that geometry, or the art, by which we fix the proportions of figures; though it much excels both in universality and exactness, the loose judgments of the senses and imagination; yet never attains a perfect precision and exactness. It's first principles are still drawn from the general appearance of the objects; and that appearance can never afford us any security, when we examine, the prodigious minuteness of which nature is susceptible. Our ideas seem to give a perfect assurance, that no two right lines can

have a common
segment; but if we consider these ideas, we shall find,
that they always
suppose a sensible inclination of the two lines, and
that where the
angle they form is extremely small, we have no standard
of a \perp right
line so precise as to assure us of the truth of this
proposition. It is
the same case with most of the primary decisions of the
mathematics.

There remain, therefore, algebra and arithmetic as the
only sciences, in
which we can carry on a chain of reasoning to any degree
of intricacy,
and yet preserve a perfect exactness and certainty. We
are possest of a
precise standard, by which we can judge of the equality
and proportion
of numbers; and according as they correspond or not to
that standard,
we determine their relations, without any possibility of
error. When two
numbers are so combined, as that the one has always an
unite answering
to every unite of the other, we pronounce them equal;
and it is for want
of such a standard of equality in extension, that
geometry can scarce be
esteemed a perfect and infallible science.

But here it may not be amiss to obviate a difficulty,
which may arise
from my asserting, that though geometry falls short of
that perfect
precision and certainty, which are peculiar to
arithmetic and algebra,
yet it excels the imperfect judgments of our senses and
imagination. The
reason why I impute any defect to geometry, is, because
its original and
fundamental principles are derived merely from
appearances; and it may
perhaps be imagined, that this defect must always attend

it, and keep it
from ever reaching a greater exactness in the comparison
of objects or
ideas, than what our eye or imagination alone is able to
attain. I own
that this defect so far attends it, as to keep it from
ever aspiring to
a full certainty: But since these fundamental principles
depend on
the easiest and least deceitful appearances, they bestow
on their
consequences a degree of exactness, of which these
consequences are
singly incapable. It is impossible for the eye to
determine the angles
of a chiliagon to be equal to 1996 right angles, or make
any conjecture,
that approaches this proportion; but when it determines,
that right
lines cannot concur; that we cannot draw more than one
right line
between two given points; it's mistakes can never be of
any consequence.
And this is the nature and use of geometry, to run us up
to such
appearances, as, by reason of their simplicity, cannot
lead us into any
considerable error.

I shall here take occasion to propose a second
observation concerning
our demonstrative reasonings, which is suggested by the
same subject of
the mathematics. It is usual with mathematicians, to
pretend, that
those ideas, which are their objects, are of so refined
and spiritual a
nature, that they fall not under the conception of the
fancy, but must
be comprehended by a pure and intellectual view, of
which the superior
faculties of the soul are alone capable. The same notion
runs through
most parts of philosophy, and is principally made use of
to explain oar

abstract ideas, and to shew how we can form an idea of a triangle, for instance, which shall neither be an isocetes nor scalenum, nor be confined to any particular length and proportion of sides. It is easy to see, why philosophers are so fond of this notion of some spiritual and refined perceptions; since by that means they cover many of their absurdities, and may refuse to submit to the decisions of clear ideas, by appealing to such as are obscure and uncertain. But to destroy this artifice, we need but reflect on that principle so oft insisted on, that all our ideas are copied from our impressions. For from thence we may immediately conclude, that since all impressions are clear and precise, the ideas, which are copied from them, must be of the same nature, and can never, but from our fault, contain any thing so dark and intricate. An idea is by its very nature weaker and fainter than an impression; but being in every other respect the same, cannot imply any very great mystery. If its weakness render it obscure, it is our business to remedy that defect, as much as possible, by keeping the idea steady and precise; and till we have done so, it is in vain to pretend to reasoning and philosophy.

SECT. II. OF PROBABILITY, AND OF THE IDEA OF CAUSE AND EFFECT.

This is all I think necessary to observe concerning those four

relations, which are the foundation of science; but as to the other three, which depend not upon the idea, and may be absent or present even while that remains the same, it will be proper to explain them more particularly. These three relations are identity, the situations in time and place, and causation.

All kinds of reasoning consist in nothing but a comparison, and a discovery of those relations, either constant or inconstant, which two or more objects bear to each other. This comparison we may make, either when both the objects are present to the senses, or when neither of them is present, or when only one. When both the objects are present to the senses along with the relation, we call this perception rather than reasoning; nor is there in this case any exercise of the thought, or any action, properly speaking, but a mere passive admission of the impressions through the organs of sensation. According to this way of thinking, we ought not to receive as reasoning any of the observations we may make concerning identity, and the relations of time and place; since in none of them the mind can go beyond what is immediately present to the senses, either to discover the real existence or the relations of objects. It is only causation, which produces such a connexion, as to give us assurance from the existence or action of one object, that it was followed or preceded by any other existence or action; nor can the other two relations be ever made use of in reasoning, except so far as they either affect or are affected by it. There is

nothing in any
objects to persuade us, that they are either always
remote or always
contiguous; and when from experience and observation we
discover, that
their relation in this particular is invariable, we,
always conclude
there is some secret cause, which separates or unites
them. The same
reasoning extends to identity. We readily suppose an
object may continue
individually the same, though several times absent from
and present
to the senses; and ascribe to it an identity,
notwithstanding the
interruption of the perception, whenever we conclude,
that if we had
kept our eye or hand constantly upon it, it would have
conveyed an
invariable and uninterrupted perception. But this
conclusion beyond the
impressions of our senses can be founded only on the
connexion of cause
and effect; nor can we otherwise have any security, that
the object is
not changed upon us, however much the new object may
resemble that which
was formerly present to the senses. Whenever we discover
such a perfect
resemblance, we consider, whether it be common in that
species of
objects; whether possibly or probably any cause could
operate in
producing the change and resemblance; and according as
we determine
concerning these causes and effects, we form our
judgment concerning the
identity of the object.

Here then it appears, that of those three relations,
which depend not
upon the mere ideas, the only one, that can be traced
beyond our senses
and informs us of existences and objects, which we do
not see or feel,

is causation. This relation, therefore, we shall endeavour to explain fully before we leave the subject of the understanding.

To begin regularly, we must consider the idea of causation, and see from what origin it is derived. It is impossible to reason justly, without understanding perfectly the idea concerning which we reason; and it is impossible perfectly to understand any idea, without tracing it up to its origin, and examining that primary impression, from which it arises. The examination of the impression bestows a clearness on the idea; and the examination of the idea bestows a like clearness on all our reasoning.

Let us therefore cast our eye on any two objects, which we call cause and effect, and turn them on all sides, in order to find that impression, which produces an idea, of such prodigious consequence. At first sight I perceive, that I must not search for it in any of the particular qualities of the objects; since whichever of these qualities I pitch on, I find some object, that is not possessed of it, and yet falls under the denomination of cause or effect. And indeed there is nothing existent, either externally or internally, which is not to be considered either as a cause or an effect; though it is plain there is no one quality, which universally belongs to all beings, and gives them a title to that denomination.

The idea, then, of causation must be derived from some relation among objects; and that relation we must now endeavour to

discover. I find
in the first place, that whatever objects are considered
as causes
or effects, are contiguous; and that nothing can operate
in a time or
place, which is ever so little removed from those of its
existence.
Though distant objects may sometimes seem productive of
each other, they
are commonly found upon examination to be linked by a
chain of causes,
which are contiguous among themselves, and to the
distant objects; and
when in any particular instance we cannot discover this
connexion, we
still presume it to exist. We may therefore consider the
relation of
CONTIGUITY as essential to that of causation; at least
may suppose it
such, according to the general opinion, till we can find
a more [Part
IV. Sect. 5.] proper occasion to clear up this matter,
by examining what
objects are or are not susceptible of juxtaposition and
conjunction.

The second relation I shall observe as essential to
causes and effects,
is not so universally acknowledged, but is liable to
some controversy.
It is that of PRIORITY Of time in the cause before the
effect. Some
pretend that it is not absolutely necessary a cause
should precede its
effect; but that any object or action, in the very first
moment of its
existence, may exert its productive quality, and give
rise to another
object or action, perfectly co-temporary with itself.
But beside that
experience in most instances seems to contradict this
opinion, we may
establish the relation of priority by a kind of
inference or reasoning.
It is an established maxim both in natural and moral

philosophy, that
an object, which exists for any time in its full
perfection without
producing another, is not its sole cause; but is
assisted by some other
principle, which pushes it from its state of inactivity,
and makes it
exert that energy, of which it was secretly possest. Now
if any cause
may be perfectly co-temporary with its effect, it is
certain, according
to this maxim, that they must all of them be so; since
any one of them,
which retards its operation for a single moment, exerts
not itself
at that very individual time, in which it might have
operated; and
therefore is no proper cause. The consequence of this
would be no less
than the destruction of that succession of causes, which
we observe in
the world; and indeed, the utter annihilation of time.
For if one cause
were co-temporary with its effect, and this effect with
its effect, and
so on, it is plain there would be no such thing as
succession, and all
objects must be co-existent.

If this argument appear satisfactory, it is well. If
not, I beg the
reader to allow me the same liberty, which I have used
in the preceding
case, of supposing it such. For he shall find, that the
affair is of no
great importance.

Having thus discovered or supposed the two relations of
contiguity and
succession to be essential to causes and effects, I find
I am stopt
short, and can proceed no farther in considering any
single instance
of cause and effect. Motion in one body is regarded upon
impulse as the

cause of motion in another. When we consider these objects with utmost attention, we find only that the one body approaches the other; and that the motion of it precedes that of the other, but without any, sensible interval. It is in vain to rack ourselves with farther thought and reflection upon this subject. We can go no farther in considering this particular instance.

Should any one leave this instance, and pretend to define a cause, by saying it is something productive of another, it is evident he would say nothing. For what does he mean by production? Can he give any definition of it, that will not be the same with that of causation? If he can; I desire it may be produced. If he cannot; he here runs in a circle, and gives a synonymous term instead of a definition.

Shall we then rest contented with these two relations of contiguity and succession, as affording a complete idea of causation? By, no means. An object may be contiguous and prior to another, without being considered as its cause. There is a NECESSARY CONNEXION to be taken into consideration; and that relation is of much greater importance, than any of the other two above-mentioned.

Here again I turn the object on all sides, in order to discover the nature of this necessary connexion, and find the impression, or impressions, from which its idea may be derived. When I cast my eye on the known Qualities of objects, I immediately discover that the relation of cause and effect depends not in the least on them.

When I consider
their relations, I can find none but those of contiguity
and succession;
which I have already regarded as imperfect and
unsatisfactory. Shall the
despair of success make me assert, that I am here
possest of an idea,
which is not preceded by any similar impression? This
would be too
strong a proof of levity and inconstancy; since the
contrary principle
has been already so firmly established, as to admit of
no farther doubt;
at least, till we have more fully examined the present
difficulty.

We must, therefore, proceed like those, who being in
search of any
thing, that lies concealed from them, and not finding it
in the place
they expected, beat about all the neighbouring fields,
without any
certain view or design, in hopes their good fortune will
at last guide
them to what they search for. It is necessary for us to
leave the
direct survey of this question concerning the nature of
that necessary
connexion, which enters into our idea of cause and
effect; and endeavour
to find some other questions, the examination of which
will perhaps
afford a hint, that may serve to clear up the present
difficulty. Of
these questions there occur two, which I shall proceed
to examine, viz.

First, For what reason we pronounce it necessary, that
every thing whose
existence has a beginning, should also have a cause.

Secondly, Why we conclude, that such particular causes
must necessarily
have such particular effects; and what is the nature of
that inference

we draw from the one to the other, and of the belief we repose in it?

I shall only observe before I proceed any farther, that though the ideas of cause and effect be derived from the impressions of reflection as well as from those of sensation, yet for brevity's sake, I commonly mention only the latter as the origin of these ideas; though I desire that whatever I say of them may also extend to the former. Passions are connected with their objects and with one another; no less than external bodies are connected together. The same relation, then, of cause and effect, which belongs to one, must be common to all of them.

SECT. III. WHY A CAUSE IS ALWAYS NECESSARY.

To begin with the first question concerning the necessity of a cause:
It is a general maxim in philosophy, that whatever begins to exist, must have a cause of existence. This is commonly taken for granted in all reasonings, without any proof given or demanded. It is supposed to be founded on intuition, and to be one of those maxims, which though they may be denied with the lips, it is impossible for men in their hearts really to doubt of. But if we examine this maxim by the idea of knowledge above-explained, we shall discover in it no mark of any such intuitive certainty; but on the contrary shall find, that it is of a nature quite foreign to that species of conviction.

All certainty arises from the comparison of ideas, and from the discovery of such relations as are unalterable, so long as the ideas continue the same. These relations are RESEMBLANCE, PROPORTIONS IN QUANTITY AND NUMBER, DEGREES OF ANY QUALITY, and CONTRARIETY; none of which are implied in this proposition, Whatever has a beginning has also a cause of existence. That proposition therefore is not intuitively certain. At least any one, who would assert it to be intuitively certain, must deny these to be the only infallible relations, and must find some other relation of that kind to be implied in it; which it will then be time enough to examine.

But here is an argument, which proves at once, that the foregoing proposition is neither intuitively nor demonstrably certain. We can never demonstrate the necessity of a cause to every new existence, or new modification of existence, without shewing at the same time the impossibility there is, that any thing can ever begin to exist without some productive principle; and where the latter proposition cannot be proved, we must despair of ever being able to prove the former. Now that the latter proposition is utterly incapable of a demonstrative proof, we may satisfy ourselves by considering that as all distinct ideas are separable from each other, and as the ideas of cause and effect are evidently distinct, it will be easy for us to conceive any object to be non-existent this moment, and existent the next, without conjoining to

it the distinct idea of a cause or productive principle. The separation, therefore, of the idea of a cause from that of a beginning of existence, is plainly possible for the imagination; and consequently the actual separation of these objects is so far possible, that it implies no contradiction nor absurdity; and is therefore incapable of being refuted by any reasoning from mere ideas; without which it is impossible to demonstrate the necessity of a cause.

Accordingly we shall find upon examination, that every demonstration, which has been produced for the necessity of a cause, is fallacious and sophistical. All the points of time and place, say some philosophers [Mr. Hobbes.], in which we can suppose any object to begin to exist, are in themselves equal; and unless there be some cause, which is peculiar to one time and to one place, and which by that means determines and fixes the existence, it must remain in eternal suspence; and the object can never begin to be, for want of something to fix its beginning. But I ask; Is there any more difficulty in supposing the time and place to be fixed without a cause, than to suppose the existence to be determined in that manner? The first question that occurs on this subject is always, whether the object shall exist or not: The next, when and where it shall begin to exist. If the removal of a cause be intuitively absurd in the one case, it must be so in the other: And if that absurdity be not clear without a proof in the one case, it will equally require one in the other. The absurdity, then, of the one supposition can

never be a proof
of that of the other; since they are both upon the same
footing, and
must stand or fall by the same reasoning.

The second argument [Dr. Clarke and others.], which I
find used on this
head, labours under an equal difficulty. Every thing, it
is said, must
have a cause; for if any thing wanted a cause, it would
produce
ITSELF; that is, exist before it existed; which is
impossible. But this
reasoning is plainly unconvincing; because it supposes,
that in our
denial of a cause we still grant what we expressly deny,
viz. that there
must be a cause; which therefore is taken to be the
object itself; and
that, no doubt, is an evident contradiction. But to say
that any thing
is produced, or to express myself more properly, comes
into existence,
without a cause, is not to affirm, that it is itself its
own cause; but
on the contrary in excluding all external causes,
excludes a fortiori
the thing itself, which is created. An object, that
exists absolutely
without any cause, certainly is not its own cause; and
when you assert,
that the one follows from the other, you suppose the
very point in
questions and take it for granted, that it is utterly
impossible any
thing can ever begin to exist without a cause, but that,
upon the
exclusion of one productive principle, we must still
have recourse to
another.

It is exactly the same case with the third argument [Mr.
Locke.], which
has been employed to demonstrate the necessity of a
cause. Whatever is

produced without any cause, is produced by nothing; or in other words, has nothing for its cause. But nothing can never be a cause, no more than it can be something, or equal to two right angles. By the same intuition, that we perceive nothing not to be equal to two right angles, or not to be something, we perceive, that it can never be a cause; and consequently must perceive, that every object has a real cause of its existence.

I believe it will not be necessary to employ many words in shewing the weakness of this argument, after what I have said of the foregoing. They are all of them founded on the same fallacy, and are derived from the same turn of thought. It is sufficient only to observe, that when we exclude all causes we really do exclude them, and neither suppose nothing nor the object itself to be the causes of the existence; and consequently can draw no argument from the absurdity of these suppositions to prove the absurdity of that exclusion. If every thing must have a cause, it follows, that upon the exclusion of other causes we must accept of the object itself or of nothing as causes. But it is the very point in question, whether every thing must have a cause or not; and therefore, according to all just reasoning, it ought never to be taken for granted.

They are still more frivolous, who say, that every effect must have a cause, because it is implied in the very idea of effect. Every effect necessarily pre-supposes a cause; effect being a

relative term, of which
cause is the correlative. But this does not prove, that
every being must
be preceded by a cause; no more than it follows, because
every husband
must have a wife, that therefore every man must be
married. The true
state of the question is, whether every object, which
begins to exist,
must owe its existence to a cause: and this I assert
neither to be
intuitively nor demonstratively certain, and hope to
have proved it
sufficiently by the foregoing arguments.

Since it is not from knowledge or any scientific
reasoning, that we
derive the opinion of the necessity of a cause to every
new production,
that opinion must necessarily arise from observation and
experience. The
next question, then, should naturally be, how experience
gives rise to
such a principle? But as I find it will be more
convenient to sink this
question in the following, Why we conclude, that such
particular
causes must necessarily have such particular effects, and
why we form
an inference from one to another? we shall make that the
subject of our
future enquiry. It will, perhaps, be found in the end,
that the same
answer will serve for both questions.

SECT. IV. OF THE COMPONENT PARTS OF OUR REASONINGS CONCERNING CAUSE AND EFFECT.

Though the mind in its reasonings from causes or effects
carries its
view beyond those objects, which it sees or remembers,

it must never
lose sight of them entirely, nor reason merely upon its
own ideas,
without some mixture of impressions, or at least of
ideas of the memory,
which are equivalent to impressions. When we infer
effects from causes,
we must establish the existence of these causes; which
we have only
two ways of doing, either by an immediate perception of
our memory or
senses, or by an inference from other causes; which
causes again we must
ascertain in the same manner, either by a present
impression, or by an
inference from their causes, and so on, till we arrive
at some object,
which we see or remember. It is impossible for us to
carry on our
inferences IN INFINITUM; and the only thing, that can
stop them, is an
impression of the memory or senses, beyond which there
is no room for
doubt or enquiry.

To give an instance of this, we may chuse any point of
history, and
consider for what reason we either believe or reject it.
Thus we believe
that Caesar was killed in the senate-house on the ides
of March; and
that because this fact is established on the unanimous
testimony of
historians, who agree to assign this precise time and
place to that
event. Here are certain characters and letters present
either to our
memory or senses; which characters we likewise remember
to have been
used as the signs of certain ideas; and these ideas were
either in the
minds of such as were immediately present at that
action, and received
the ideas directly from its existence; or they were
derived from the

testimony of others, and that again from another testimony, by a visible gradation, it will we arrive at those who were eyewitnesses and spectators of the event. It is obvious all this chain of argument or connexion of causes and effects, is at first founded on those characters or letters, which are seen or remembered, and that without the authority either of the memory or senses our whole reasoning would be chimerical and without foundation. Every link of the chain would in that case hang upon another; but there would not be any thing fixed to one end of it, capable of sustaining the whole; and consequently there would be no belief nor evidence. And this actually is the case with all hypothetical arguments, or reasonings upon a supposition; there being in them, neither any present impression, nor belief of a real existence.

I need not observe, that it is no just objection to the present doctrine, that we can reason upon our past conclusions or principles, without having recourse to those impressions, from which they first arose. For even supposing these impressions should be entirely effaced from the memory, the conviction they produced may still remain; and it is equally true, that all reasonings concerning causes and effects are originally derived from some impression; in the same manner, as the assurance of a demonstration proceeds always from a comparison of ideas, though it may continue after the comparison is forgot.

SECT. V. OF THE IMPRESSIONS OF THE SENSES AND MEMORY.

In this kind of reasoning, then, from causation, we employ materials, which are of a mixed and heterogeneous nature, and which, however connected, are yet essentially different from each other. All our arguments concerning causes and effects consist both of an impression of the memory or, senses, and of the idea of that existence, which produces the object of the impression, or is produced by it. Here therefore we have three things to explain, viz. First, The original impression. Secondly, The transition to the idea of the connected cause or effect. Thirdly, The nature and qualities of that idea.

As to those impressions, which arise from the senses, their ultimate cause is, in my opinion, perfectly inexplicable by human reason, and it will always be impossible to decide with certainty, whether they arise immediately from the object, or are produced by the creative power of the mind, or are derived from the author of our being. Nor is such a question any way material to our present purpose. We may draw inferences from the coherence of our perceptions, whether they be true or false; whether they represent nature justly, or be mere illusions of the senses.

When we search for the characteristic, which distinguishes the memory from the imagination, we must immediately perceive, that it cannot lie in the simple ideas it presents to us; since both these

faculties borrow
their simple ideas from the impressions, and can never
go beyond these
original perceptions. These faculties are as little
distinguished from
each other by the arrangement of their complex ideas.
For though it be
a peculiar property of the memory to preserve the
original order and
position of its ideas, while the imagination transposes
and changes
them, as it pleases; yet this difference is not
sufficient to
distinguish them in their operation, or make us know the
one from the
other; it being impossible to recal the past
impressions, in order to
compare them with our present ideas, and see whether
their arrangement
be exactly similar. Since therefore the memory, is
known, neither by
the order of its complex ideas, nor the nature of its
simple ones; it
follows, that the difference betwixt it and the
imagination lies in its
superior force and vivacity. A man may indulge his fancy
in feigning
any past scene of adventures; nor would there be any
possibility of
distinguishing this from a remembrance of a like kind,
were not the
ideas of the imagination fainter and more obscure.

It frequently happens, that when two men have been
engaged in any scene
of action, the one shall remember it much better than
the other,
and shall have all the difficulty in the world to make
his companion
recollect it. He runs over several circumstances in
vain; mentions the
time, the place, the company, what was said, what was
done on all sides;
till at last he hits on some lucky circumstance, that
revives the whole,

and gives his friend a perfect memory of every thing. Here the person that forgets receives at first all the ideas from the discourse of the other, with the same circumstances of time and place; though he considers them as mere fictions of the imagination. But as soon as the circumstance is mentioned, that touches the memory, the very same ideas now appear in a new light, and have, in a manner, a different feeling from what they had before. Without any other alteration, beside that of the feeling, they become immediately ideas of the memory, and are assented to.

Since, therefore, the imagination can represent all the same objects that the memory can offer to us, and since those faculties are only distinguished by the different feeling of the ideas they present, it may be proper to consider what is the nature of that feeling. And here I believe every one will readily agree with me, that the ideas of the memory are more strong and lively than those of the fancy.

A painter, who intended to represent a passion or emotion of any kind, would endeavour to get a sight of a person actuated by a like emotion, in order to enliven his ideas, and give them a force and vivacity superior to what is found in those, which are mere fictions of the imagination. The more recent this memory is, the clearer is the idea; and when after a long interval he would return to the contemplation of his object, he always finds its idea to be much decayed, if not wholly

obliterated. We are frequently in doubt concerning the ideas of the memory, as they become very weak and feeble; and are at a loss to determine whether any image proceeds from the fancy or the memory, when it is not drawn in such lively colours as distinguish that latter faculty. I think, I remember such an event, says one; but am not sure. A long tract of time has almost worn it out of my memory, and leaves me uncertain whether or not it be the pure offspring of my fancy.

And as an idea of the memory, by losing its force and vivacity, may degenerate to such a degree, as to be taken for an idea of the imagination; so on the other hand an idea of the imagination may acquire such a force and vivacity, as to pass for an idea of the memory, and counterfeit its effects on the belief and judgment. This is noted in the case of liars; who by the frequent repetition of their lies, come at last to believe and remember them, as realities; custom and habit having in this case, as in many others, the same influence on the mind as nature, and infixing the idea with equal force and vigour.

Thus it appears, that the belief or assent, which always attends the memory and senses, is nothing but the vivacity of those perceptions they present; and that this alone distinguishes them from the imagination. To believe is in this case to feel an immediate impression of the senses, or a repetition of that impression in the memory. It is merely the force and liveliness of the perception, which constitutes the

first act of the judgment, and lays the foundation of that reasoning, which we build upon it, when we trace the relation of cause and effect.

SECT. VI. OF THE INFERENCE FROM THE IMPRESSION TO THE IDEA.

It is easy to observe, that in tracing this relation, the inference we draw from cause to effect, is not derived merely from a survey of these particular objects, and from such a penetration into their essences as may discover the dependance of the one upon the other. There is no object, which implies the existence of any other if we consider these objects in themselves, and never look beyond the ideas which we form of them. Such an inference would amount to knowledge, and would imply the absolute contradiction and impossibility of conceiving any thing different. But as all distinct ideas are separable, it is evident there can be no impossibility of that kind. When we pass from a present impression to the idea of any object, we might possibly have separated the idea from the impression, and have substituted any other idea in its room.

It is therefore by EXPERIENCE only, that we can infer the existence of one object from that of another. The nature of experience is this. We remember to have had frequent instances of the existence of one species of objects; and also remember, that the individuals of

another species
of objects have always attended them, and have existed
in a regular
order of contiguity and succession with regard to them.
Thus we
remember, to have seen that species of object we call
flame, and to have
felt that species of sensation we call heat. We likewise
call to mind
their constant conjunction in all past instances.
Without any farther
ceremony, we call the one cause and the other effect,
and infer the
existence of the one from that of the other. In all
those instances,
from which we learn the conjunction of particular causes
and effects,
both the causes and effects have been perceived by the
senses, and are
remembered But in all cases, wherein we reason
concerning them, there
is only one perceived or remembered, and the other is
supplied in
conformity to our past experience.

Thus in advancing we have insensibly discovered a new
relation betwixt
cause and effect, when we least expected it, and were
entirely employed
upon another subject. This relation is their CONSTANT
CONJUNCTION.
Contiguity and succession are not sufficient to make us
pronounce any
two objects to be cause and effect, unless we perceive,
that these
two relations are preserved in several instances. We may
now see the
advantage of quitting the direct survey of this
relation, in order
to discover the nature of that necessary connexion,
which makes so
essential a part of it. There are hopes, that by this
means we may
at last arrive at our proposed end; though to tell the
truth, this

new-discovered relation of a constant conjunction seems to advance us but very little in our way. For it implies no more than this, that like objects have always been placed in like relations of contiguity and succession; and it seems evident, at least at first sight, that by this means we can never discover any new idea, and can only multiply, but not enlarge the objects of our mind. It may be thought, that what we learn not from one object, we can never learn from a hundred, which are all of the same kind, and are perfectly resembling in every circumstance. As our senses shew us in one instance two bodies, or motions, or qualities in certain relations of success and contiguity; so our memory presents us only with a multitude of instances, wherein we always find like bodies, motions, or qualities in like relations. From the mere repetition of any past impression, even to infinity, there never will arise any new original idea, such as that of a necessary connexion; and the number of impressions has in this case no more effect than if we confined ourselves to one only. But though this reasoning seems just and obvious; yet as it would be folly to despair too soon, we shall continue the thread of our discourse; and having found, that after the discovery of the constant conjunction of any objects, we always draw an inference from one object to another, we shall now examine the nature of that inference, and of the transition from the impression to the idea. Perhaps it will appear in the end, that the necessary connexion depends on the inference, instead of the inference's depending

on the necessary
connexion.

Since it appears, that the transition from an impression present to the memory or senses to the idea of an object, which we call cause or effect, is founded on past experience, and on our remembrance of their constant conjunction, the next question is, Whether experience produces the idea by means of the understanding or imagination; whether we are determined by reason to make the transition, or by a certain association and relation of perceptions. If reason determined us, it would proceed upon that principle, that instances, of which we have had no experience, must resemble those, of which we have had experience, and that the course of nature continues always uniformly the same. In order therefore to clear up this matter, let us consider all the arguments, upon which such a proposition may be supposed to be founded; and as these must be derived either from knowledge or probability, let us cast our eye on each of these degrees of evidence, and see whether they afford any just conclusion of this nature.

Our foregoing method of reasoning will easily convince us, that there can be no demonstrative arguments to prove, that those instances, of which we have, had no experience, resemble those, of which we have had experience. We can at least conceive a change in the course of nature; which sufficiently proves, that such a change is not absolutely impossible. To form a clear idea of any thing, is an undeniable

argument for its possibility, and is alone a refutation of any pretended demonstration against it.

Probability, as it discovers not the relations of ideas, considered as such, but only those of objects, must in some respects be founded on the impressions of our memory and senses, and in some respects on our ideas. Were there no mixture of any impression in our probable reasonings, the conclusion would be entirely chimerical: And were there no mixture of ideas, the action of the mind, in observing the relation, would, properly speaking, be sensation, not reasoning. It is therefore necessary, that in all probable reasonings there be something present to the mind, either seen or remembered; and that from this we infer something connected with it, which is not seen nor remembered.

The only connexion or relation of objects, which can lead us beyond the immediate impressions of our memory and senses, is that of cause and effect; and that because it is the only one, on which we can found a just inference from one object to another. The idea of cause and effect is derived from experience, which informs us, that such particular objects, in all past instances, have been constantly conjoined with each other: And as an object similar to one of these is supposed to be immediately present in its impression, we thence presume on the existence of one similar to its usual attendant. According to this account of things, which is, I think, in every point unquestionable,

probability is founded on the presumption of a resemblance betwixt those objects, of which we have had experience, and those, of which we have had none; and therefore it is impossible this presumption can arise from probability. The same principle cannot be both the cause and effect of another; and this is, perhaps, the only proposition concerning that relation, which is either intuitively or demonstratively certain.

Should any one think to elude this argument; and without determining whether our reasoning on this subject be derived from demonstration or probability, pretend that all conclusions from causes and effects are built on solid reasoning: I can only desire, that this reasoning may be produced, in order to be exposed to our examination. It may, perhaps, be said, that after experience of the constant conjunction of certain objects, we reason in the following manner. Such an object is always found to produce another. It is impossible it could have this effect, if it was not endowed with a power of production. The power necessarily implies the effect; and therefore there is a just foundation for drawing a conclusion from the existence of one object to that of its usual attendant. The past production implies a power: The power implies a new production: And the new production is what we infer from the power and the past production.

It were easy for me to shew the weakness of this reasoning, were I willing to make use of those observations, I have already made, that

the idea of production is the same with that of causation, and that no existence certainly and demonstratively implies a power in any other object; or were it proper to anticipate what I shall have occasion to remark afterwards concerning the idea we form of power and efficacy. But as such a method of proceeding may seem either to weaken my system, by resting one part of it on another, or to breed a confusion in my reasoning, I shall endeavour to maintain my present assertion without any such assistance.

It shall therefore be allowed for a moment, that the production of one object by another in any one instance implies a power; and that this power is connected with its effect. But it having been already proved, that the power lies not in the sensible qualities of the cause; and there being nothing but the sensible qualities present to us; I ask, why in other instances you presume that the same power still exists, merely upon the appearance of these qualities? Your appeal to past experience decides nothing in the present case; and at the utmost can only prove, that that very object, which produced any other, was at that very instant endowed with such a power; but can never prove, that the same power must continue in the same object or collection of sensible qualities; much less, that a like power is always conjoined with like sensible qualities, should it be said, that we have experience, that the same power continues united with the same object, and that like objects are endowed with like powers, I would renew my question,

why from this
experience we form any conclusion beyond those past
instances, of which
we have had experience. If you answer this question in,
the same manner
as the preceding, your answer gives still occasion to a
new question
of the same kind, even in infinitum; which clearly
proves, that the
foregoing reasoning had no just foundation.

Thus not only our reason fails us in the discovery of
the ultimate
connexion of causes and effects, but even after
experience has informed
us of their constant conjunction, it is impossible for
us to satisfy
ourselves by our reason, why we should extend that
experience beyond
those particular instances, which have fallen under our
observation. We
suppose, but are never able to prove, that there must be
a resemblance
betwixt those objects, of which we have had experience,
and those which
lie beyond the reach of our discovery.

We have already taken notice of certain relations, which
make us pass
from one object to another, even though there be no
reason to determine
us to that transition; and this we may establish for a
general rule,
that wherever the mind constantly and uniformly makes a
transition
without any reason, it is influenced by these relations.
Now this is
exactly the present case. Reason can never shew us the
connexion of one
object with another, though aided by experience, and the
observation
of their constant conjunction in all past instances.
When the mind,
therefore, passes from the idea or impression of one
object to the idea

or belief of another, it is not determined by reason, but by certain principles, which associate together the ideas of these objects, and unite them in the imagination. Had ideas no more union in the fancy than objects seem to have to the understanding, we could never draw any inference from causes to effects, nor repose belief in any matter of fact. The inference, therefore, depends solely on the union of ideas.

The principles of union among ideas, I have reduced to three general ones, and have asserted, that the idea or impression of any object naturally introduces the idea of any other object, that is resembling, contiguous to, or connected with it. These principles I allow to be neither the infallible nor the sole causes of an union among ideas. They are not the infallible causes. For one may fix his attention during Sometime on any one object without looking farther. They are not the sole causes. For the thought has evidently a very irregular motion in running along its objects, and may leap from the heavens to the earth, from one end of the creation to the other, without any certain method or order. But though I allow this weakness in these three relations, and this irregularity in the imagination; yet I assert that the only general principles, which associate ideas, are resemblance, contiguity and causation.

There is indeed a principle of union among ideas, which at first sight may be esteemed different from any of these, but will be found at

the bottom to depend on the same origin. When every individual of any species of objects is found by experience to be constantly united with an individual of another species, the appearance of any new individual of either species naturally conveys the thought to its usual attendant. Thus because such a particular idea is commonly annexed to such a particular word, nothing is required but the hearing of that word to produce the correspondent idea; and it will scarce be possible for the mind, by its utmost efforts, to prevent that transition. In this case it is not absolutely necessary, that upon hearing such a particular sound we should reflect on any past experience, and consider what idea has been usually connected with the sound. The imagination of itself supplies the place of this reflection, and is so accustomed to pass from the word to the idea, that it interposes not a moment's delay betwixt the hearing of the one, and the conception of the other.

But though I acknowledge this to be a true principle of association among ideas, I assert it to be the very same with that betwixt the ideas of cause and effects and to be an essential part in all our reasonings from that relation. We have no other notion of cause and effect, but that of certain objects, which have been always conjoined together, and which in all past instances have been found inseparable. We cannot penetrate into the reason of the conjunction. We only observe the thing itself, and always find that from the constant conjunction the objects acquire an union in the imagination. When the impression

of one becomes present to us, we immediately form an idea of its usual attendant; and consequently we may establish this as one part of the definition of an opinion or belief, that it is an idea related to or associated with a present impression.

Thus though causation be a philosophical relation, as implying contiguity, succession, and constant conjunction, yet it is only so far as it is a natural relation, and produces an union among our ideas, that we are able to reason upon it, or draw any inference from it.

SECT. VII. OF THE NATURE OF THE IDEA OR BELIEF.

The idea of an object is an essential part of the belief of it, but not the whole. We conceive many things, which we do not believe. In order then to discover more fully the nature of belief, or the qualities of those ideas we assent to, let us weigh the following considerations.

It is evident, that all reasonings from causes or effects terminate in conclusions, concerning matter of fact; that is, concerning the existence of objects or of their qualities. It is also evident, that the idea, of existence is nothing different from the idea of any object, and that when after the simple conception of any thing we would conceive it as existent, we in reality make no addition to or alteration on our

first idea. Thus when we affirm, that God is existent, we simply form the idea of such a being, as he is represented to us; nor is the existence, which we attribute to him, conceived by a particular idea, which we join to the idea of his other qualities, and can again separate and distinguish from them. But I go farther; and not content with asserting, that the conception of the existence of any object is no addition to the simple conception of it, I likewise maintain, that the belief of the existence joins no new ideas to those which compose the idea of the object. When I think of God, when I think of him as existent, and when I believe him to be existent, my idea of him neither encreases nor diminishes. But as it is certain there is a great difference betwixt the simple conception of the existence of an object, and the belief of it, and as this difference lies not in the parts or composition of the idea, which we conceive; it follows, that it must lie in the manner, in which we conceive it.

Suppose a person present with me, who advances propositions, to which I do not assent, that Caesar dyed in his bed, that silver is more fusible, than lead, or mercury heavier than gold; it is evident, that notwithstanding my incredulity, I clearly understand his meaning, and form all the same ideas, which he forms. My imagination is endowed with the same powers as his; nor is it possible for him to conceive any idea, which I cannot conceive; nor conjoin any, which I cannot conjoin. I therefore ask, Wherein consists the difference betwixt

believing
and disbelieving any proposition? The answer is easy
with regard to
propositions, that are proved by intuition or
demonstration. In that
case, the person, who assents, not only conceives the
ideas according to
the proposition, but is necessarily determined to
conceive them in that
particular manner, either immediately or by the
interposition of other
ideas. Whatever is absurd is unintelligible; nor is it
possible for the
imagination to conceive any thing contrary to a
demonstration. But as in
reasonings from causation, and concerning matters of
fact, this absolute
necessity cannot take place, and the imagination is free
to conceive
both sides of the question, I still ask, Wherein
consists the deference
betwixt incredulity and belief? since in both cases the
conception of
the idea is equally possible and requisite.

It will not be a satisfactory answer to say, that a
person, who does not
assent to a proposition you advance; after having
conceived the object
in the same manner with you; immediately conceives it in
a different
manner, and has different ideas of it. This answer is
unsatisfactory;
not because it contains any falshood, but because it
discovers not all
the truth. It is contest, that in all cases, wherein we
dissent from any
person, we conceive both sides of the question; but as
we can believe
only one, it evidently follows, that the belief must
make some
difference betwixt that conception to which we assent,
and that from
which we dissent. We may mingle, and unite, and
separate, and confound,

and vary our ideas in a hundred different ways; but until there appears some principle, which fixes one of these different situations, we have in reality no opinion: And this principle, as it plainly makes no addition to our precedent ideas, can only change the manner of our conceiving them.

All the perceptions of the mind are of two kinds, viz. impressions and ideas, which differ from each other only in their different degrees of force and vivacity. Our ideas are copied from our impressions, and represent them in all their parts. When you would any way vary the idea of a particular object, you can only encrease or diminish its force and vivacity. If you make any other change on it, it represents a different object or impression. The case is the same as in colours. A particular shade of any colour may acquire a new degree of liveliness or brightness without any other variation. But when you produce any other variation, it is no longer the same shade or colour. So that as belief does nothing but vary the manner, in which we conceive any object, it can only bestow on our ideas an additional force and vivacity. An opinion, therefore, or belief may be most accurately defined, a lively idea related to or associated with a present impression.

We may here take occasion to observe a very remarkable error, which being frequently inculcated in the schools, has become a kind of establishd maxim, and is universally received by all logicians. This error consists in the vulgar division of the acts of the

understanding,
into CONCEPTION, JUDGMENT and REASONING, and in the
definitions we give
of them. Conception is defined to be the simple survey of
one or more
ideas: Judgment to be the separating or uniting of
different ideas:
Reasoning to be the separating or uniting of different
ideas by the
interposition of others, which show the relation they
bear to each
other. But these distinctions and definitions are faulty
in very
considerable articles. For FIRST, it is far from being
true, that in
every judgment, which we form, we unite two different
ideas; since in
that proposition, GOD IS, or indeed any other, which
regards existence,
the idea of existence is no distinct idea, which we
unite with that
of the object, and which is capable of forming a
compound idea by the
union. SECONDLY, As we can thus form a proposition,
which contains only
one idea, so we may exert our reason without employing
more than two
ideas, and without having recourse to a third to serve
as a medium
betwixt them. We infer a cause immediately from its
effect; and this
inference is not only a true species of reasoning, but
the strongest of
all others, and more convincing than when we interpose
another idea to
connect the two extremes. What we may in general affirm
concerning these
three acts of the understanding is, that taking them in
a proper
light, they all resolve themselves into the first, and
are nothing but
particular ways of conceiving our objects. Whether we
consider a single
object, or several; whether we dwell on these objects,
or run from them

to others; and in whatever form or order we survey them,
the act of
the mind exceeds not a simple conception; and the only
remarkable
difference, which occurs on this occasion, is, when we
join belief to
the conception, and are persuaded of the truth of what
we conceive.
This act of the mind has never yet been explained by any
philosopher; and
therefore I am at liberty to propose my hypothesis
concerning it; which
is, that it is only a strong and steady conception of
any idea, and such
as approaches in some measure to an immediate
impression. [Footnote 5.]

[Footnote 5. Here are the heads of those arguments,
which
lead us to this conclusion. When we infer the
existence of
an object from that of others, some object must
always be
present either to the memory or senses, in order to
be the
foundation of our reasoning; since the mind cannot
run up
with its inferences IN INFINITUM. Reason can never
satisfy
us that the existence of any one object does ever
imply that
of another; so that when we pass from the
impression of one
to the idea or belief of another, we are not
determined by
reason, but by custom or a principle of
association. But
belief is somewhat more than a simple idea. It is a
particular manner of forming an idea: And as the
same idea
can only be varied by a variation of its degrees of
force
and vivacity; it follows upon the whole, that
belief is a

lively idea produced by a relation to a present
impression,
according to the foregoing definition.]

This operation of the mind, which forms the belief of
any matter of
fact, seems hitherto to have been one of the greatest
mysteries of
philosophy; though no one has so much as suspected, that
there was
any difficulty in explaining it. For my part I must own,
that I find
a considerable difficulty in the case; and that even
when I think I
understand the subject perfectly, I am at a loss for
terms to express
my meaning. I conclude, by an induction which seems to
me very evident,
that an opinion or belief is nothing but an idea, that
is different
from a fiction, not in the nature or the order of its
parts, but in the
manner of its being conceived. But when I would explain
this manner, I
scarce find any word that fully answers the case, but am
obliged to have
recourse to every one's feeling, in order to give him a
perfect notion
of this operation of the mind. An idea assented to FEELS
different
from a fictitious idea, that the fancy alone presents to
us: And this
different feeling I endeavour to explain by calling it a
superior force,
or vivacity, or solidity, or FIRMNESS, or steadiness.
This variety of
terms, which may seem so unphilosophical, is intended
only to express
that act of the mind, which renders realities more
present to us than
fictions, causes them to weigh more in the thought, and
gives them a
superior influence on the passions and imagination.
Provided we
agree about the thing, it is needless to dispute about

the terms. The imagination has the command over all its ideas, and can join, and mix, and vary them in all the ways possible. It may conceive objects with all the circumstances of place and time. It may set them, in a manner, before our eyes in their true colours, just as they might have existed. But as it is impossible, that that faculty can ever, of itself, reach belief, it is evident, that belief consists not in the nature and order of our ideas, but in the manner of their conception, and in their feeling to the mind. I confess, that it is impossible to explain perfectly this feeling or manner of conception. We may make use of words, that express something near it. But its true and proper name is belief, which is a term that every one sufficiently understands in common life. And in philosophy we can go no farther, than assert, that it is something felt by the mind, which distinguishes the ideas of the judgment from the fictions of the imagination. It gives them more force and influence; makes them appear of greater importance; infixes them in the mind; and renders them the governing principles of all our actions.

This definition will also be found to be entirely conformable to every one's feeling and experience. Nothing is more evident, than that those ideas, to which we assent, are more strong, firm and vivid, than the loose reveries of a castle-builder. If one person sits down to read a book as a romance, and another as a true history, they plainly receive the same ideas, and in the same order; nor does the

incredulity of the one, and the belief of the other hinder them from putting the very same sense upon their author. His words produce the same ideas in both; though his testimony has not the same influence on them. The latter has a more lively conception of all the incidents. He enters deeper into the concerns of the persons: represents to himself their actions, and characters, and friendships, and enmities: He even goes so far as to form a notion of their features, and air, and person. While the former, who gives no credit to the testimony of the author, has a more faint and languid conception of all these particulars; and except on account of the style and ingenuity of the composition, can receive little entertainment from it.

SECT. VIII. OF THE CAUSES OF BELIEF.

Having thus explained the nature of belief, and shewn that it consists in a lively idea related to a present impression; let us now proceed to examine from what principles it is derived, and what bestows the vivacity on the idea.

I would willingly establish it as a general maxim in the science of human nature, that when any impression becomes present to us, it not only transports the mind to such ideas as are related to it, but likewise communicates to them a share of its force and vivacity. All

the operations of the mind depend in a great measure on its disposition, when it performs them; and according as the spirits are more or less elevated, and the attention more or less fixed, the action will always have more or less vigour and vivacity. When therefore any object is presented, which elevates and enlivens the thought, every action, to which the mind applies itself, will be more strong and vivid, as long as that disposition continues, Now it is evident the continuance of the disposition depends entirely on the objects, about which the mind is employed; and that any new object naturally gives a new direction to the spirits, and changes the disposition; as on the contrary, when the mind fixes constantly on the same object, or passes easily and insensibly along related objects, the disposition has a much longer duration. Hence it happens, that when the mind is once enlivened by a present impression, it proceeds to form a more lively idea of the related objects, by a natural transition of the disposition from the one to the other. The change of the objects is so easy, that the mind is scarce sensible of it, but applies itself to the conception of the related idea with all the force and vivacity it acquired from the present impression.

If in considering the nature of relation, and that facility of transition, which is essential to it, we can satisfy ourselves concerning the reality of this phaenomenon, it is well: But I must confess I place my chief confidence in experience to prove so material

a principle. We may, therefore, observe, as the first experiment to our present purpose, that upon the appearance of the picture of an absent friend, our idea of him is evidently enlivened by the resemblance, and that every passion, which that idea occasions, whether of joy or sorrow, acquires new force and vigour. In producing this effect there concur both a relation and a present impression. Where the picture bears him no resemblance, or at least was not intended for him, it never so much as conveys our thought to him: And where it is absent, as well as the person; though the mind may pass from the thought of the one to that of the other; it feels its idea to be rather weak than enlivened by that transition. We take a pleasure in viewing the picture of a friend, when it is set before us; but when it is removed, rather choose to consider him directly, than by reflexion in an image, which is equally distinct and obscure.

The ceremonies of the Roman Catholic religion may be considered as experiments of the same nature. The devotees of that strange superstition usually plead in excuse of the mummeries, with which they are upbraided, that they feel the good effect of those external motions, and postures, and actions, in enlivening their devotion, and quickening their fervour, which otherwise would decay away, if directed entirely to distant and immaterial objects. We shadow out the objects of our faith, say they, in sensible types and images, and render them more present to us by the immediate presence of these types, than it is

possible for us to do, merely by an intellectual view and contemplation. Sensible objects have always a greater influence on the fancy than any other; and this influence they readily convey to those ideas, to which they are related, and which they Resemble. I shall only infer from these practices, and this reasoning, that the effect of resemblance in inlivening the idea is very common; and as in every case a resemblance and a present impression must concur, we are abundantly supplied with experiments to prove the reality of the foregoing principle.

We may add force to these experiments by others of a different kind, in considering the effects of contiguity, as well as of resemblance. It is certain, that distance diminishes the force of every idea, and that upon our approach to any object; though it does not discover itself to our senses; it operates upon the mind with an influence that imitates an immediate impression. The thinking on any object readily transports the mind to what is contiguous; but it is only the actual presence of an object, that transports it with a superior vivacity. When I am a few miles from home, whatever relates to it touches me more nearly than when I am two hundred leagues distant; though even at that distance the reflecting on any thing in the neighbourhood of my friends and family naturally produces an idea of them. But as in this latter case, both the objects of the mind are ideas; notwithstanding there is an easy transition betwixt them; that transition alone is not

able to give
a superior vivacity to any of the ideas, for want of
some immediate
impression. [Footnote 6.]

[Footnote 6. NATURANE NOBIS, IN QUIT, DATUM DICAM,
AN ERRORE
QUODAM, UT, CUM EA LOCA VIDEAMUS, IN QUIBUS MEMORIA
DIGNOS
VIROS ACCEPERIMUS MULTURN ESSE VERSATOS, MAGIS
MOVEAMUR,
QUAM SIQUANDO EORUM IPSORUM AUT JACTA AUDIAMUS, AUT
SCRIPTUM
ALIQUOD LEGAMUS? VELUT EGO NUNC MOVEOR. VENIT ENIM
MIHI
PLATONIS IN MENTEM: QUEM ACCIPIMUS PRIMURN HIC
DISPUTARE
SOLITUM: CUJUS ETIAM ILLI HORTULI PROPINQUI NON
MEMORIAM
SOLUM MIHI AFFERUNT, SED IPSUM VIDENTUR IN
CONSPECTU MEO HIC
PONERE. HIC SPEUSIPPUS, HIC XENOCRATES, HIC EJUS
AUDITOR
POLEMO; CUJUS IPSA ILLA SESSIO FUIT, QUAM VIDEAMUS.
EQUIDEM
ETIAM CURIAM NOSTRAM, HOSTILIAM DICO, NON HANC
NOVAM, QUAE
MIHI MINOR ESSE VIDETUR POST QUAM EST MAJOR, SOLE
BARN
INTUENS SCIPIONEM, CATONEM, LACLIIUM, NOSTRUM VERO
IN PRIMIS
AVUM COGITARE. TANTA VIS ADMONITIONIS INEST IN
LOCIS; UT NON
SINE CAUSA EX HIS MEMORIAE DUCTA SIT DISCIPLINA.
Cicero de
Finibus, lib. 5.

{"Should I, he said, "attribute to instinct or to
some kind
of illusion the fact that when we see those places
in which
we are told notable men spent much of their time,
we are
more powerfully affected than when we hear of the

exploits

of the men themselves or read something written?

This is

just what is happening to me now; for I am reminded of Plato

who, we are told, was the first to make a practice of

holding discussions here. Those gardens of his near by do

not merely put me in mind of him; they seem to set the man

himself before my very eyes. Speusippus was here; so was

Xenocrates; so was his pupil, Polemo, and that very seat

which we may view was his.

"Then again, when I looked at our Senate-house (I mean the

old building of Hostilius, not this new one; when it was

enlarged, it diminished in my estimation), I used to think

of Scipio, Cato, Laelius and in particular of my own

grandfather.

"Such is the power of places to evoke associations; so it is

with good reason that they are used as a basis for memory

training."}]

No one can doubt but causation has the same influence as the other two

relations; of resemblance and contiguity. Superstitious people are fond

of the relicks of saints and holy men, for the same reason that they

seek after types and images, in order to enliven their devotion, and

give them a more intimate and strong conception of those exemplary

lives, which they desire to imitate. Now it is evident,

one of the best
relics a devotee could procure, would be the handywork
of a saint; and
if his cloaths and furniture are ever to be considered
in this light, it
is because they were once at his disposal, and were
moved and affected
by him; in which respect they are to be considered as
imperfect effects,
and as connected with him by a shorter chain of
consequences than any
of those, from which we learn the reality of his
existence. This
phenomenon clearly proves, that a present impression
with a relation
of causation may, inliven any idea, and consequently
produce belief or
assent, according to the precedent definition of it.

But why need we seek for other arguments to prove, that
a present
impression with a relation or transition of the fancy
may inliven any
idea, when this very instance of our reasonings from
cause and effect
will alone suffice to that purpose? It is certain we
must have an idea
of every matter of fact, which we believe. It is
certain, that this idea
arises only from a relation to a present impression. It
is certain, that
the belief super-adds nothing to the idea, but only
changes our manner
of conceiving it, and renders it more strong and lively.
The present
conclusion concerning the influence of relation is the
immediate
consequence of all these steps; and every step appears
to me sure end
infallible. There enters nothing into this operation of
the mind but a
present impression, a lively idea, and a relation or
association in the
fancy betwixt the impression and idea; so that there can
be no suspicion

of mistake.

In order to put this whole affair in a fuller light, let us consider it as a question in natural philosophy, which we must determine by experience and observation. I suppose there is an object presented, from which I draw a certain conclusion, and form to myself ideas, which I am said to believe or assent to. Here it is evident, that however that object, which is present to my senses, and that other, whose existence I infer by reasoning, may be thought to influence each other by their particular powers or qualities; yet as the phenomenon of belief, which we at present examine, is merely internal, these powers and qualities, being entirely unknown, can have no hand in producing it. It is the present impression, which is to be considered as the true and real cause of the idea, and of the belief which attends it. We must therefore endeavour to discover by experiments the particular qualities, by which it is enabled to produce so extraordinary an effect.

First then I observe, that the present impression has not this effect by its own proper power and efficacy, and when considered alone, as a single perception, limited to the present moment. I find, that an impression, from which, on its first appearance, I can draw no conclusion, may afterwards become the foundation of belief, when I have had experience of its usual consequences. We must in every case have observed the same impression in past instances, and have found it to be constantly conjoined with some other impression. This is

confirmed by
such a multitude of experiments, that it admits not of
the smallest
doubt.

From a second observation I conclude, that the belief,
which attends the
present impression, and is produced by a number of past
impressions and
conjunctions; that this belief, I say, arises
immediately, without any
new operation of the reason or imagination. Of this I
can be certain,
because I never am conscious of any such operation, and
find nothing
in the subject, on which it can be founded. Now as we
call every thing
CUSTOM, which proceeds from a past repetition, without
any new reasoning
or conclusion, we may establish it as a certain truth,
that all the
belief, which follows upon any present impression, is
derived solely
from that origin. When we are accustomed to see two
impressions
conjoined together, the appearance or idea of the one
immediately
carries us to the idea of the other.

Being fully satisfied on this head, I make a third set
of experiments,
in order to know, whether any thing be requisite, beside
the customary
transition, towards the production of this phaenomenon
of belief. I
therefore change the first impression into an idea; and
observe, that
though the customary transition to the correlative idea
still remains,
yet there is in reality no belief nor persuasion. A
present impression,
then, is absolutely requisite to this whole operation;
and when after
this I compare an impression with an idea, and find that
their only

difference consists in their different degrees of force and vivacity,
I conclude upon the whole, that belief is a more vivid and intense
conception of an idea, proceeding from its relation to a present
impression.

Thus all probable reasoning is nothing but a species of sensation. It is
not solely in poetry and music, we must follow our taste and sentiment,
but likewise in philosophy. When I am convinced of any principle, it
is only an idea, which strikes more strongly upon me. When I give the
preference to one set of arguments above another, I do nothing but
decide from my feeling concerning the superiority of their influence.
Objects have no discoverable connexion together; nor is it from any
other principle but custom operating upon the imagination, that we
can draw any inference from the appearance of one to the existence of
another.

It will here be worth our observation, that the past experience, on
which all our judgments concerning cause and effect depend, may operate
on our mind in such an insensible manner as never to be taken notice of,
and may even in some measure be unknown to us. A person, who stops
short in his journey upon meeting a river in his way, foresees the
consequences of his proceeding forward; and his knowledge of these
consequences is conveyed to him by past experience, which informs him of
such certain conjunctions of causes and effects. But can we think,
that on this occasion he reflects on any past

experience, and calls
to remembrance instances, that he has seen or heard of,
in order to
discover the effects of water on animal bodies? No
surely; this is not
the method, in which he proceeds in his reasoning. The
idea of sinking
is so closely connected with that of water, and the idea
of suffocating
with that of sinking, that the mind makes the transition
without the
assistance of the memory. The custom operates before we
have time for
reflection. The objects seem so inseparable, that we
interpose not
a moment's delay in passing from the one to the other.
But as this
transition proceeds from experience, and not from any
primary connexion
betwixt the ideas, we must necessarily acknowledge, that
experience
may produce a belief and a judgment of causes and
effects by a secret
operation, and without being once thought of. This
removes all pretext,
if there yet remains any, for asserting that the mind is
convinced
by reasoning of that principle, that instances of which
we have no
experience, must necessarily resemble those, of which we
have. For we
here find, that the understanding or imagination can
draw inferences
from past experience, without reflecting on it; much
more without
forming any principle concerning it, or reasoning upon
that principle.

In general we may observe, that in all the most
established and uniform
conjuncts of causes and effects, such as those of
gravity, impulse,
solidity, &c. the mind never carries its view expressly
to consider any
past experience: Though in other associations of

objects, which are more rare and unusual, it may assist the custom and transition of ideas by this reflection. Nay we find in some cases, that the reflection produces the belief without the custom; or more properly speaking, that the reflection produces the custom in an oblique and artificial manner. I explain myself. It is certain, that not only in philosophy, but even in common life, we may attain the knowledge of a particular cause merely by one experiment, provided it be made with judgment, and after a careful removal of all foreign and superfluous circumstances. Now as after one experiment of this kind, the mind, upon the appearance either of the cause or the effect, can draw an inference concerning the existence of its correlative; and as a habit can never be acquired merely by one instance; it may be thought, that belief cannot in this case be esteemed the effect of custom. But this difficulty will vanish, if we consider, that though we are here supposed to have had only one experiment of a particular effect, yet we have many millions to convince us of this principle; that like objects placed in like circumstances, will always produce like effects; and as this principle has established itself by a sufficient custom, it bestows an evidence and firmness on any opinion, to which it can be applied. The connexion of the ideas is not habitual after one experiment: but this connexion is comprehended under another principle, that is habitual; which brings us back to our hypothesis. In all cases we transfer our experience to instances, of which we have no

experience, either expressly or tacitly, either directly or indirectly.

I must not conclude this subject without observing, that it is very difficult to talk of the operations of the mind with perfect propriety and exactness; because common language has seldom made any very nice distinctions among them, but has generally called by the same term all such as nearly resemble each other. And as this is a source almost inevitable of obscurity and confusion in the author; so it may frequently give rise to doubts and objections in the reader, which otherwise he would never have dreamed of. Thus my general position, that an opinion or belief is nothing but a strong and lively idea derived from a present impression related to it, maybe liable to the following objection, by reason of a little ambiguity in those words strong and lively. It may be said, that not only an impression may give rise to reasoning, but that an idea may also have the same influence; especially upon my principle, that all our ideas are derived from correspondent impressions. For suppose I form at present an idea, of which I have forgot the correspondent impression, I am able to conclude from this idea, that such an impression did once exist; and as this conclusion is attended with belief, it may be asked, from whence are the qualities of force and vivacity derived, which constitute this belief? And to this I answer very readily, from the present idea. For as this idea is not here considered, as the representation of any absent object, but as a real

perception in the mind, of which we are intimately conscious, it must be able to bestow on whatever is related to it the same quality, call it firmness, or solidity, or force, or vivacity, with which the mind reflects upon it, and is assured of its present existence. The idea here supplies the place of an impression, and is entirely the same, so far as regards our present purpose.

Upon the same principles we need not be surprized to hear of the remembrance of an idea: that is, of the idea of an idea, and of its force and vivacity superior to the loose conceptions of the imagination. In thinking of our past thoughts we not only delineate out the objects, of which we were thinking, but also conceive the action of the mind in the meditation, that certain JE-NE-SCAI-QUOI, of which it is impossible to give any definition or description, but which every one sufficiently understands. When the memory offers an idea of this, and represents it as past, it is easily conceived how that idea may have more vigour and firmness, than when we think of a past thought, of which we have no remembrance.

After this any one will understand how we may form the idea of an impression and of an idea, and how we way believe the existence of an impression and of an idea.

SECT. IX. OF THE EFFECTS OF OTHER RELATIONS AND OTHER HABITS.

However convincing the foregoing arguments may appear, we must not rest contented with them, but must turn the subject on every side, in order to find some new points of view, from which we may illustrate and confirm such extraordinary, and such fundamental principles. A scrupulous hesitation to receive any new hypothesis is so laudable a disposition in philosophers, and so necessary to the examination of truth, that it deserves to be complied with, and requires that every argument be produced, which may tend to their satisfaction, and every objection removed, which may stop them in their reasoning.

I have often observed, that, beside cause and effect, the two relations of resemblance and contiguity, are to be considered as associating principles of thought, and as capable of conveying the imagination from one idea to another. I have also observed, that when of two objects connected to-ether by any of these relations, one is immediately present to the memory or senses, not only the mind is conveyed to its co-relative by means of the associating principle; but likewise conceives it with an additional force and vigour, by the united operation of that principle, and of the present impression. All this I have observed, in order to confirm by analogy, my explication of our judgments concerning cause and effect. But this very argument may, perhaps, be turned against me, and instead of a confirmation of my

hypothesis, may become an objection to it. For it may be said, that if all the parts of that hypothesis be true, viz. that these three species of relation are derived from the same principles; that their effects in informing and enlivening our ideas are the same; and that belief is nothing but a more forcible and vivid conception of an idea; it should follow, that that action of the mind may not only be derived from the relation of cause and effect, but also from those of contiguity and resemblance. But as we find by experience, that belief arises only from causation, and that we can draw no inference from one object to another, except they be connected by this relation, we may conclude, that there is some error in that reasoning, which leads us into such difficulties.

This is the objection; let us now consider its solution. It is evident, that whatever is present to the memory, striking upon the mind with a vivacity, which resembles an immediate impression, must become of considerable moment in all the operations of the mind, and must easily distinguish itself above the mere fictions of the imagination. Of these impressions or ideas of the memory we form a kind of system, comprehending whatever we remember to have been present, either to our internal perception or senses; and every particular of that system, joined to the present impressions, we are pleased to call a reality. But the mind stops not here. For finding, that with this system of perceptions, there is another connected by custom, or if you will, by

the relation of cause or effect, it proceeds to the consideration of their ideas; and as it feels that it is in a manner necessarily determined to view these particular ideas, and that the custom or relation, by which it is determined, admits not of the least change, it forms them into a new system, which it likewise dignifies with the title of realities. The first of these systems is the object of the memory and senses; the second of the judgment.

It is this latter principle, which peoples the world, and brings us acquainted with such existences, as by their removal in time and place, lie beyond the reach of the senses and memory. By means of it I paint the universe in my imagination, and fix my attention on any part of it I please. I form an idea of ROME, which I neither see nor remember; but which is connected with such impressions as I remember to have received from the conversation and books of travellers and historians. This idea of Rome I place in a certain situation on the idea of an object, which I call the globe. I join to it the conception of a particular government, and religion, and manners. I look backward and consider its first foundation; its several revolutions, successes, and misfortunes. All this, and everything else, which I believe, are nothing but ideas; though by their force and settled order, arising from custom and the relation of cause and effect, they distinguish themselves from the other ideas, which are merely the offspring of the imagination.

As to the influence of contiguity and resemblance, we may observe, that if the contiguous and resembling object be comprehended in this system of realities, there is no doubt but these two relations will assist that of cause and effect, and infix the related idea with more force in the imagination. This I shall enlarge upon presently. Mean while I shall carry my observation a step farther, and assert, that even where the related object is but feigned, the relation will serve to enliven the idea, and encrease its influence. A poet, no doubt, will be the better able to form a strong description of the Elysian fields, that he prompts his imagination by the view of a beautiful meadow or garden; as at another time he may by his fancy place himself in the midst of these fabulous regions, that by the feigned contiguity he may enliven his imagination.

But though I cannot altogether exclude the relations of resemblance and contiguity from operating on the fancy in this manner, it is observable that, when single, their influence is very feeble and uncertain. As the relation of cause and effect is requisite to persuade us of any real existence, so is this persuasion requisite to give force to these other relations. For where upon the appearance of an impression we not only feign another object, but likewise arbitrarily, and of our mere good-will and pleasure give it a particular relation to the impression, this can have but a small effect upon the mind; nor is there any reason, why, upon the return of the same impression, we should

be determined to place the same object in the same relation to it. There is no manner of necessity for the mind to feign any resembling and contiguous objects; and if it feigns such, there is as little necessity for it always to confine itself to the same, without any difference or variation. And indeed such a fiction is founded on so little reason, that nothing but pure caprice can determine the mind to form it; and that principle being fluctuating and uncertain, it is impossible it can ever operate with any considerable degree of force and constancy. The mind forsees and anticipates the change; and even from the very first instant feels the looseness of its actions, and the weak hold it has of its objects. And as this imperfection is very sensible in every single instance, it still increases by experience and observation, when we compare the several instances we may remember, and form a general rule against the reposing any assurance in those momentary glimpses of light, which arise in the imagination from a feigned resemblance and contiguity.

The relation of cause and effect has all the opposite advantages. The objects it presents are fixt and unalterable. The impressions of the memory never change in any considerable degree; and each impression draws along with it a precise idea, which takes its place in the imagination as something solid and real, certain and invariable. The thought is always determined to pass from the impression to the idea, and from that particular impression to that particular idea, without any

choice or hesitation.

But not content with removing this objection, I shall endeavour to extract from it a proof of the present doctrine. Contiguity and resemblance have an effect much inferior to causation; but still have some effect, and augment the conviction of any opinion, and the vivacity of any conception. If this can be proved in several new instances, beside what we have already observed, it will be allowed no inconsiderable argument, that belief is nothing but a lively idea related to a present impression.

To begin with contiguity; it has been remarked among the Mahometans as well as Christians, that those pilgrims, who have seen MECCA or the HOLY LAND, are ever after more faithful and zealous believers, than those who have not had that advantage. A man, whose memory presents him with a lively image of the Red-Sea, and the Desert, and Jerusalem, and Galilee, can never doubt of any miraculous events, which are related either by Moses or the Evangelists. The lively idea of the places passes by an easy transition to the facts, which are supposed to have been related to them by contiguity, and increases the belief by encreasing the vivacity of the conception. The remembrance of these fields and rivers has the same influence on the vulgar as a new argument; and from the same causes.

We may form a like observation concerning resemblance. We have remarked, that the conclusion, which we draw from a present object

to its absent
cause or effect, is never founded on any qualities,
which we observe
in that object, considered in itself, or, in other
words, that it is
impossible to determine, otherwise than by experience,
what will result
from any phenomenon, or what has preceded it. But though
this be so
evident in itself, that it seemed not to require any,
proof; yet some
philosophers have imagined that there is an apparent
cause for the
communication of motion, and that a reasonable man might
immediately
infer the motion of one body from the impulse of
another, without having
recourse to any past observation. That this opinion is
false will admit
of an easy proof. For if such an inference may be drawn
merely from
the ideas of body, of motion, and of impulse, it must
amount to a
demonstration, and must imply the absolute impossibility
of any contrary
supposition. Every effect, then, beside the
communication of motion,
implies a formal contradiction; and it is impossible not
only that it
can exist, but also that it can be conceived. But we may
soon satisfy
ourselves of the contrary, by forming a clear and
consistent idea of
one body's moving upon another, and of its rest
immediately upon the
contact, or of its returning back in the same line in
which it came; or
of its annihilation; or circular or elliptical motion:
and in short, of
an infinite number of other changes, which we may
suppose it to undergo.
These suppositions are all consistent and natural; and
the reason, Why
we imagine the communication of motion to be more
consistent and natural

not only than those suppositions, but also than any other natural effect, is founded on the relation of resemblance betwixt the cause and effect, which is here united to experience, and binds the objects in the closest and most intimate manner to each other, so as to make us imagine them to be absolutely inseparable. Resemblance, then, has the same or a parallel influence with experience; and as the only immediate effect of experience is to associate our ideas together, it follows, that all belief arises from the association of ideas, according to my hypothesis.

It is universally allowed by the writers on optics, that the eye at all times sees an equal number of physical points, and that a man on the top of a mountain has no larger an image presented to his senses, than when he is cooped up in the narrowest court or chamber. It is only by experience that he infers the greatness of the object from some peculiar qualities of the image; and this inference of the judgment he confounds with sensation, as is common on other occasions. Now it is evident, that the inference of the judgment is here much more lively than what is usual in our common reasonings, and that a man has a more vivid conception of the vast extent of the ocean from the image he receives by the eye, when he stands on the top of the high promontory, than merely from hearing the roaring of the waters. He feels a more sensible pleasure from its magnificence; which is a proof of a more lively idea: And he confounds his judgment with sensation, which is another proof of

it. But as the inference is equally certain and immediate in both cases, this superior vivacity of our conception in one case can proceed from nothing but this, that in drawing an inference from the sight, beside the customary conjunction, there is also a resemblance betwixt the image and the object we infer; which strengthens the relation, and conveys the vivacity of the impression to the related idea with an easier and more natural movement.

No weakness of human nature is more universal and conspicuous than what we commonly call CREDULITY, or a too easy faith in the testimony of others; and this weakness is also very naturally accounted for from the influence of resemblance. When we receive any matter of fact upon human testimony, our faith arises from the very same origin as our inferences from causes to effects, and from effects to causes; nor is there anything but our experience of the governing principles of human nature, which can give us any assurance of the veracity of men. But though experience be the true standard of this, as well as of all other judgments, we seldom regulate ourselves entirely by it; but have a remarkable propensity to believe whatever is reported, even concerning apparitions, enchantments, and prodigies, however contrary to daily experience and observation. The words or discourses of others have an intimate connexion with certain ideas in their mind; and these ideas have also a connexion with the facts or objects, which they represent. This latter connexion is generally much over-rated, and

commands our
assent beyond what experience will justify; which can
proceed from
nothing beside the resemblance betwixt the ideas and the
facts. Other
effects only point out their causes in an oblique
manner; but the
testimony of men does it directly, and is to be
considered as an image
as well as an effect. No wonder, therefore, we are so
rash in drawing
our inferences from it, and are less guided by
experience in our
judgments concerning it, than in those upon any other
subject.

As resemblance, when conjoined with causation, fortifies
our reasonings;
so the want of it in any very great degree is able
almost entirely to
destroy them. Of this there is a remarkable instance in
the universal
carelessness and stupidity of men with regard to a
future state, where
they show as obstinate an incredulity, as they do a
blind credulity on
other occasions. There is not indeed a more ample matter
of wonder
to the studious, and of regret to the pious man, than to
observe
the negligence of the bulk of mankind concerning their
approaching
condition; and it is with reason, that many eminent
theologians have not
scrupled to affirm, that though the vulgar have no
formal principles
of infidelity, yet they are really infidels in their
hearts, and have
nothing like what we can call a belief of the eternal
duration of their
souls. For let us consider on the one hand what divines
have displayed
with such eloquence concerning the importance of
eternity; and at the
same time reflect, that though in matters of rhetoric we

ought to lay
our account with some exaggeration, we must in this case
allow, that the
strongest figures are infinitely inferior to the
subject: And after this
let us view on the other hand, the prodigious security
of men in this
particular: I ask, if these people really believe what
is inculcated on
them, and what they pretend to affirm; and the answer is
obviously in
the negative. As belief is an act of the mind arising
from custom, it
is not strange the want of resemblance should overthrow
what custom has
established, and diminish the force of the idea, as much
as that latter
principle encreases it. A future state is so far removed
from our
comprehension, and we have so obscure an idea of the
manner, in which we
shall exist after the dissolution of the body, that all
the reasons we
can invent, however strong in themselves, and however
much assisted
by education, are never able with slow imaginations to
surmount this
difficulty, or bestow a sufficient authority and force
on the idea. I
rather choose to ascribe this incredulity to the faint
idea we form
of our future condition, derived from its want of
resemblance to the
present life, than to that derived from its remoteness.
For I observe,
that men are everywhere concerned about what may happen
after their
death, provided it regard this world; and that there are
few to whom
their name, their family, their friends, and their
country are in any
period of time entirely indifferent.

And indeed the want of resemblance in this case so
entirely destroys

belief, that except those few, who upon cool reflection on the importance of the subject, have taken care by repeated meditation to imprint in their minds the arguments for a future state, there scarce are any, who believe the immortality of the soul with a true and established judgment; such as is derived from the testimony of travellers and historians. This appears very conspicuously wherever men have occasion to compare the pleasures and pains, the rewards and punishments of this life with those of a future; even though the case does not concern themselves, and there is no violent passion to disturb their judgment. The Roman Catholics are certainly the most zealous of any sect in the Christian world; and yet you'll find few among the more sensible people of that communion who do not blame the Gunpowder-treason, and the massacre of St. Bartholomew, as cruel and barbarous, though projected or executed against those very people, whom without any scruple they condemn to eternal and infinite punishments. All we can say in excuse for this inconsistency is, that they really do not believe what they affirm concerning a future state; nor is there any better proof of it than the very inconsistency.

We may add to this a remark; that in matters of religion men take a pleasure in being terrified, and that no preachers are so popular, as those who excite the most dismal and gloomy passions. In the common affairs of life, where we feel and are penetrated with the solidity of the subject, nothing can be more disagreeable than fear

and terror; and
it is only in dramatic performances and in religious
discourses, that
they ever give pleasure. In these latter cases the
imagination reposes
itself indolently on the idea; and the passion, being
softened by the
want of belief in the subject, has no more than the
agreeable effect of
enlivening the mind, and fixing the attention.

The present hypothesis will receive additional
confirmation, if we
examine the effects of other kinds of custom, as well as
of other
relations. To understand this we must consider, that
custom, to which
I attribute all belief and reasoning, may operate upon
the mind in
invigorating an idea after two several ways. For
supposing that in all
past experience we have found two objects to have been
always conjoined
together, it is evident, that upon the appearance of one
of these
objects in an impression, we must from custom make an
easy transition to
the idea of that object, which usually attends it; and
by means of the
present impression and easy transition must conceive
that idea in a
stronger and more lively manner, than we do any loose
floating image of
the fancy. But let us next suppose, that a mere idea
alone, without any
of this curious and almost artificial preparation,
should frequently
make its appearance in the mind, this idea must by
degrees acquire a
facility and force; and both by its firm hold and easy
introduction
distinguish itself from any new and unusual idea. This
is the only
particular, in which these two kinds of custom agree;
and if it appear,

that their effects on the judgment, are similar and proportionable, we may certainly conclude, that the foregoing explication of that faculty is satisfactory. But can we doubt of this agreement in their influence on the judgment, when we consider the nature and effects Of EDUCATION?

All those opinions and notions of things, to which we have been accustomed from our infancy, take such deep root, that it is impossible for us, by all the powers of reason and experience, to eradicate them; and this habit not only approaches in its influence, but even on many occasions prevails over that which a-rises from the constant and inseparable union of causes and effects. Here we most not be contented with saying, that the vividness of the idea produces the belief: We must maintain that they are individually the same. The frequent repetition of any idea infixes it in the imagination; but coued never possibly of itself produce belief, if that act of the mind was, by the original constitution of our natures, annexed only to a reasoning and comparison of ideas. Custom may lead us into some false comparison of ideas. This is the utmost effect we can conceive of it. But it is certain it coued never supply the place of that comparison, nor produce any act of the mind, which naturally belonged to that principle.

A person, that has lost a leg or an arm by amputation, endeavours for a long time afterwards to serve himself with them. After the death of any one, it is a common remark of the whole family, but especially of the

servants, that they can scarce believe him to be dead, but still imagine him to be in his chamber or in any other place, where they were accustomed to find him. I have often heard in conversation, after talking of a person, that is any way celebrated, that one, who has no acquaintance with him, will say, I have never seen such-a-one, but almost fancy I have; so often have I heard talk of him. All these are parallel instances.

If we consider this argument from EDUCATION in a proper light, it will appear very convincing; and the more so, that it is founded on one of the most common phaenomena, that is any where to be met with. I am persuaded, that upon examination we shall find more than one half of those opinions, that prevail among mankind, to be owing to education, and that the principles, which are thus implicitly embraced, overballance those, which are owing either to abstract reasoning or experience. As liars, by the frequent repetition of their lies, come at last to remember them; so the judgment, or rather the imagination, by the like means, may have ideas so strongly imprinted on it, and conceive them in so full a light, that they may operate upon the mind in the same manner with those, which the senses, memory or reason present to us. But as education is an artificial and not a natural cause, and as its maxims are frequently contrary to reason, and even to themselves in different times and places, it is never upon that account recognized by philosophers; though in reality it be built almost on

the same
foundation of custom and repetition as our reasonings
from causes and
effects.

[Footnote 7. In general we may observe, that as our
assent
to all probable reasonings is founded on the
vivacity of
ideas, It resembles many of those whimsies and
prejudices,
which are rejected under the opprobrious character
of being
the offspring of the imagination. By this
expression it
appears that the word, imagination, is commonly used
in two
different senses; and tho nothing be more contrary
to true
philosophy, than this inaccuracy, yet in the
following
reasonings I have often been obligd to fall into
it. When I
oppose the Imagination to the memory, I mean the
faculty, by
which we form our fainter ideas. When I oppose it
to reason,
I mean the same faculty, excluding only our
demonstrative
and probable reasonings. When I oppose it to
neither, it is
indifferent whether it be taken in the larger or
more
limited sense, or at least the context will
sufficiently
explain the meaning.]

SECT. X. OF THE INFLUENCE OF BELIEF.

But though education be disclaimed by philosophy, as a fallacious ground of assent to any opinion, it prevails nevertheless in the world, and is the cause why all systems are apt to be rejected at first as new and unusual. This perhaps will be the fate of what I have here advanced concerning belief, and though the proofs I have produced appear to me perfectly conclusive, I expect not to make many proselytes to my opinion. Men will scarce ever be persuaded, that effects of such consequence can flow from principles, which are seemingly so inconsiderable, and that the far greatest part of our reasonings with all our actions and passions, can be derived from nothing but custom and habit. To obviate this objection, I shall here anticipate a little what would more properly fall under our consideration afterwards, when we come to treat of the passions and the sense of beauty.

There is implanted in the human mind a perception of pain and pleasure, as the chief spring and moving principle of all its actions. But pain and pleasure have two ways of making their appearance in the mind; of which the one has effects very different from the other. They may either appear in impression to the actual feeling, or only in idea, as at present when I mention them. It is evident the influence of these upon our actions is far from being equal. Impressions always actuate the soul, and that in the highest degree; but it is not every idea which has the same effect. Nature has proceeded with caution in this case, and seems to have carefully avoided the inconveniences of

two extremes.

Did impressions alone influence the will, we should every moment of our lives be subject to the greatest calamities; because, though we foresaw their approach, we should not be provided by nature with any principle of action, which might impel us to avoid them. On the other hand, did every idea influence our actions, our condition would not be much mended. For such is the unsteadiness and activity of thought, that the images of every thing, especially of goods and evils, are always wandering in the mind; and were it moved by every idle conception of this kind, it would never enjoy a moment's peace and tranquillity.

Nature has, therefore, chosen a medium, and has neither bestowed on every idea of good and evil the power of actuating the will, nor yet has entirely excluded them from this influence. Though an idle fiction has no efficacy, yet we find by experience, that the ideas of those objects, which we believe either are or will be existent, produce in a lesser degree the same effect with those impressions, which are immediately present to the senses and perception. The effect, then, of belief is to raise up a simple idea to an equality with our impressions, and bestow on it a like influence on the passions. This effect it can only have by making an idea approach an impression in force and vivacity. For as the different degrees of force make all the original difference betwixt an impression and an idea, they must of consequence be the source of all the differences in the effects of these perceptions, and

their removal,
in whole or in part, the cause of every new resemblance
they acquire.
Wherever we can make an idea approach the impressions in
force and
vivacity, it will likewise imitate them in its influence
on the mind;
and vice versa, where it imitates them in that
influence, as in the
present case, this must proceed from its approaching
them in force and
vivacity. Belief, therefore, since it causes an idea to
imitate
the effects of the impressions, must make it resemble
them in these
qualities, and is nothing but A MORE VIVID AND INTENSE
CONCEPTION OF
ANY IDEA. This, then, may both serve as an additional
argument for
the present system, and may give us a notion after what
manner our
reasonings from causation are able to operate on the
will and passions.

As belief is almost absolutely requisite to the exciting
our passions,
so the passions in their turn are very favourable to
belief; and not
only such facts as convey agreeable emotions, but very
often such as
give pain, do upon that account become more readily the
objects of faith
and opinion. A coward, whose fears are easily awakened,
readily assents
to every account of danger he meets with; as a person of
a sorrowful and
melancholy disposition is very credulous of every thing,
that nourishes
his prevailing passion. When any affecting object is
presented, it
gives the alarm, and excites immediately a degree of its
proper passion;
especially in persons who are naturally inclined to that
passion. This
emotion passes by an easy transition to the imagination;

and diffusing
itself over our idea of the affecting object, makes us
form that
idea with greater force and vivacity, and consequently
assent to it,
according to the precedent system. Admiration and
surprize have the same
effect as the other passions; and accordingly we may
observe, that
among the vulgar, quacks and projectors meet with a more
easy faith upon
account of their magnificent pretensions, than if they
kept themselves
within the bounds of moderation. The first astonishment,
which naturally
attends their miraculous relations, spreads itself over
the whole soul,
and so vivifies and enlivens the idea, that it resembles
the inferences
we draw from experience. This is a mystery, with which
we may be already
a little acquainted, and which we shall have farther
occasion to be let
into in the progress of this treatise.

After this account of the influence of belief on the
passions, we shall
find less difficulty in explaining its effects on the
imagination,
however extraordinary they may appear. It is certain we
cannot take
pleasure in any discourse, where our judgment gives no
assent to those
images which are presented to our fancy. The
conversation of those who
have acquired a habit of lying, though in affairs of no
moment, never
gives any satisfaction; and that because those ideas
they present to us,
not being attended with belief, make no impression upon
the mind. Poets
themselves, though liars by profession, always endeavour
to give an air
of truth to their fictions; and where that is totally
neglected, their

performances, however ingenious, will never be able to afford much pleasure. In short, we may observe, that even when ideas have no manner of influence on the will and passions, truth and reality are still requisite, in order to make them entertaining to the imagination.

But if we compare together all the phenomena that occur on this head, we shall find, that truth, however necessary it may seem in all works of genius, has no other effect than to procure an easy reception for the ideas, and to make the mind acquiesce in them with satisfaction, or at least without reluctance. But as this is an effect, which may easily be supposed to flow from that solidity and force, which, according to my system, attend those ideas that are established by reasonings from causation; it follows, that all the influence of belief upon the fancy may be explained from that system. Accordingly we may observe, that wherever that influence arises from any other principles beside truth or reality, they supply its place, and give an equal entertainment to the imagination. Poets have formed what they call a poetical system of things, which though it be believed neither by themselves nor readers, is commonly esteemed a sufficient foundation for any fiction. We have been so much accustomed to the names of MARS, JUPITER, VENUS, that in the same manner as education infixes any opinion, the constant repetition of these ideas makes them enter into the mind with facility, and prevail upon the fancy, without influencing the judgment. In like

manner tragedians always borrow their fable, or at least the names of their principal actors, from some known passage in history; and that not in order to deceive the spectators; for they will frankly confess, that truth is not in any circumstance inviolably observed: but in order to procure a more easy reception into the imagination for those extraordinary events, which they represent. But this is a precaution, which is not required of comic poets, whose personages and incidents, being of a more familiar kind, enter easily into the conception, and are received without any such formality, even though at first night they be known to be fictitious, and the pure offspring of the fancy.

This mixture of truth and falshood in the fables of tragic poets not only serves our present purpose, by shewing, that the imagination can be satisfied without any absolute belief or assurance; but may in another view be regarded as a very strong confirmation of this system. It is evident, that poets make use of this artifice of borrowing the names of their persons, and the chief events of their poems, from history, in order to procure a more easy reception for the whole, and cause it to make a deeper impression on the fancy and affections. The several incidents of the piece acquire a kind of relation by being united into one poem or representation; and if any of these incidents be an object of belief, it bestows a force and vivacity on the others, which are related to it. The vividness of the first conception diffuses itself

along the relations, and is conveyed, as by so many pipes or canals, to every idea that has any communication with the primary one. This, indeed, can never amount to a perfect assurance; and that because the union among the ideas is, in a manner, accidental: But still it approaches so near, in its influence, as may convince us, that they are derived from the same origin. Belief must please the imagination by means of the force and vivacity which attends it; since every idea, which has force and vivacity, is found to be agreeable to that faculty.

To confirm this we may observe, that the assistance is mutual betwixt the judgment and fancy, as well as betwixt the judgment and passion; and that belief not only gives vigour to the imagination, but that a vigorous and strong imagination is of all talents the most proper to procure belief and authority. It is difficult for us to withhold our assent from what is painted out to us in all the colours of eloquence; and the vivacity produced by the fancy is in many cases greater than that which arises from custom and experience. We are hurried away by the lively imagination of our author or companion; and even he himself is often a victim to his own fire and genius.

Nor will it be amiss to remark, that as a lively imagination very often degenerates into madness or folly, and bears it a great resemblance in its operations; so they influence the judgment after the same manner, and produce belief from the very same principles. When the imagination,

from any extraordinary ferment of the blood and spirits,
acquires such a
vivacity as disorders all its powers and faculties,
there is no means
of distinguishing betwixt truth and falshood; but every
loose fiction or
idea, having the same influence as the impressions of
the memory, or
the conclusions of the judgment, is received on the same
footing, and
operates with equal force on the passions. A present
impression and a
customary transition are now no longer necessary to
enliven our ideas.
Every chimera of the brain is as vivid and intense as
any of those
inferences, which we formerly dignified with the name of
conclusions
concerning matters of fact, and sometimes as the present
impressions of
the senses.

We may observe the same effect of poetry in a lesser
degree; and this is
common both to poetry and madness, that the vivacity
they bestow on the
ideas is not derived from the particular situations or
connexions of the
objects of these ideas, but from the present temper and
disposition
of the person. But how great soever the pitch may be, to
which this
vivacity rises, it is evident, that in poetry it never
has the same
feeling with that which arises in the mind, when we
reason, though even
upon the lowest species of probability. The mind can
easily distinguish
betwixt the one and the other; and whatever emotion the
poetical
enthusiasm may give to the spirits, it is still the mere
phantom of
belief or persuasion. The case is the same with the
idea, as with the
passion it occasions. There is no passion of the human

mind but what may
arise from poetry; though at the same time the feelings
of the passions
are very different when excited by poetical fictions,
from what they are
when they are from belief and reality. A passion, which
is disagreeable
in real life, may afford the highest entertainment in a
tragedy, or epic
poem. In the latter case, it lies not with that weight
upon us: It
feels less firm and solid: And has no other than the
agreeable effect of
exciting the spirits, and rousing the attention. The
difference in the
passions is a clear proof of a like difference in those
ideas, from
which the passions are derived. Where the vivacity
arises from a
customary conjunction with a present impression; though
the imagination
may not, in appearance, be so much moved; yet there is
always something
more forcible and real in its actions, than in the
fervors of poetry and
eloquence. The force of our mental actions in this case,
no more than in
any other, is not to be measured by the apparent
agitation of the mind.
A poetical description may have a more sensible effect
on the
fancy, than an historical narration. It may collect more
of those
circumstances, that form a compleat image or picture. It
may seem to
set the object before us in more lively colours. But
still the ideas it
presents are different to the feeling from those, which
arise from the
memory and the judgment. There is something weak and
imperfect amidst
all that seeming vehemence of thought and sentiment,
which attends the
fictions of poetry.

We shall afterwards have occasion to remark both the resemblance and differences betwixt a poetical enthusiasm, and a serious conviction. In the mean time I cannot forbear observing, that the great difference in their feeling proceeds in some measure from reflection and GENERAL RULES. We observe, that the vigour of conception, which fictions receive from poetry and eloquence, is a circumstance merely accidental, of which every idea is equally susceptible; and that such fictions are connected with nothing that is real. This observation makes us only lend ourselves, so to speak, to the fiction: But causes the idea to feel very different from the eternal established persuasions founded on memory and custom. They are somewhat of the same kind: But the one is much inferior to the other, both in its causes and effects.

A like reflection on general rules keeps us from augmenting our belief upon every encrease of the force and vivacity of our ideas. Where an opinion admits of no doubt, or opposite probability, we attribute to it a full conviction: though the want of resemblance, or contiguity, may render its force inferior to that of other opinions. It is thus the understanding corrects the appearances of the senses, and makes us imagine, that an object at twenty foot distance seems even to the eye as large as one of the same dimensions at ten.

We may observe the same effect of poetry in a lesser degree; only with this difference, that the least reflection dissipates the illusions of poetry, and Places the objects in their proper light.

It is however certain, that in the warmth of a poetical enthusiasm, a poet has a counterfeit belief, and even a kind of vision of his objects: And if there be any shadow of argument to support this belief, nothing contributes more to his full conviction than a blaze of poetical figures and images, which have their effect upon the poet himself, as well as upon his readers.

SECT. XI. OF THE PROBABILITY OF CHANCES.

But in order to bestow on this system its full force and evidence, we must carry our eye from it a moment to consider its consequences, and explain from the same principles some other species of reasoning, which are derived from the same origin.

Those philosophers, who have divided human reason into knowledge and probability, and have defined the first to be that evidence, which arises from the comparison of ideas, are obliged to comprehend all our arguments from causes or effects under the general term of probability. But though every one be free to use his terms in what sense he pleases; and accordingly in the precedent part of this discourse, I have followed this method of expression; it is however certain, that in common discourse we readily affirm, that many arguments from causation exceed probability, and may be received as a superior kind of evidence. One

would appear ridiculous, who would say, that it is only probable the sun will rise to-morrow, or that all men must dye; though it is plain we have no further assurance of these facts, than what experience affords us. For this reason, it would perhaps be more convenient, in order at once to preserve the common signification of words, and mark the several degrees of evidence, to distinguish human reason into three kinds, viz.

THAT FROM KNOWLEDGE, FROM PROOFS, AND FROM PROBABILITIES. By knowledge, I mean the assurance arising from the comparison of ideas. By proofs, those arguments, which are derived from the relation of cause and effect, and which are entirely free from doubt and uncertainty. By probability, that evidence, which is still attended with uncertainty. It is this last species of reasoning, I proceed to examine.

Probability or reasoning from conjecture may be divided into two kinds, viz. that which is founded on chance, and that which arises from causes. We shall consider each of these in order.

The idea of cause and effect is derived from experience, which presenting us with certain objects constantly conjoined with each other, produces such a habit of surveying them in that relation, that we cannot without a sensible violence survey them iii any other. On the other hand, as chance is nothing real in itself, and, properly speaking, is merely the negation of a cause, its influence on the mind is contrary to that of causation; and it is essential to it, to leave the imagination perfectly indifferent, either to consider the existence

or non-existence
of that object, which is regarded as contingent. A cause
traces the
way to our thought, and in a manner forces us to survey
such certain
objects, in such certain relations. Chance can only
destroy this
determination of the thought, and leave the mind in its
native situation
of indifference; in which, upon the absence of a cause,
it is instantly
re-instated.

Since therefore an entire indifference is essential to
chance, no one
chance can possibly be superior to another, otherwise
than as it is
composed of a superior number of equal chances. For if
we affirm that
one chance can, after any other manner, be superior to
another, we must
at the same time affirm, that there is something, which
gives it the
superiority, and determines the event rather to that
side than the
other: That is, in other words, we must allow of a
cause, and destroy
the supposition of chance; which we had before
established. A
perfect and total indifference is essential to chance,
and one total
indifference can never in itself be either superior or
inferior to
another. This truth is not peculiar to my system, but is
acknowledged by
every one, that forms calculations concerning chances.

And here it is remarkable, that though chance and
causation be directly
contrary, yet it is impossible for us to conceive this
combination of
chances, which is requisite to render one hazard
superior to another,
without supposing a mixture of causes among the chances,
and a

conjunction of necessity in some particulars, with a total indifference in others. Where nothing limits the chances, every notion, that the most extravagant fancy can form, is upon a footing of equality; nor can there be any circumstance to give one the advantage above another. Thus unless we allow, that there are some causes to make the dice fall, and preserve their form in their fall, and lie upon some one of their sides, we can form no calculation concerning the laws of hazard. But supposing these causes to operate, and supposing likewise all the rest to be indifferent and to be determined by chance, it is easy to arrive at a notion of a superior combination of chances. A die that has four sides marked with a certain number of spots, and only two with another, affords us an obvious and easy instance of this superiority. The mind is here limited by the causes to such a precise number and quality of the events; and at the same time is undetermined in its choice of any particular event.

Proceeding then in that reasoning, wherein we have advanced three steps; that chance is merely the negation of a cause, and produces a total indifference in the mind; that one negation of a cause and one total indifference can never be superior or inferior to another; and that there must always be a mixture of causes among the chances, in order to be the foundation of any reasoning: We are next to consider what effect a superior combination of chances can have upon the mind, and after what manner it influences our judgment and opinion. Here we may repeat all

the same arguments we employed in examining that belief, which arises from causes; and may prove, after the same manner, that a superior number of chances produces our assent neither by demonstration nor probability. It is indeed evident that we can never by the comparison of mere ideas make any discovery, which can be of consequence in this affairs and that it is impossible to prove with certainty, that any event must fall on that side where there is a superior number of chances. To, suppose in this case any certainty, were to overthrow what we have established concerning the opposition of chances, and their perfect equality and indifference.

Should it be said, that though in an opposition of chances it is impossible to determine with certainty, on which side the event will fall, yet we can pronounce with certainty, that it is more likely and probable, it will be on that side where there is a superior number of chances, than where there is an inferior: should this be said, I would ask, what is here meant by likelihood and probability? The likelihood and probability of chances is a superior number of equal chances; and consequently when we say it is likely the event will fall on the side, which is superior, rather than on the inferior, we do no more than affirm, that where there is a superior number of chances there is actually a superior, and where there is an inferior there is an inferior; which are identical propositions, and of no consequence. The question is, by what means a superior number of equal

chances operates upon the mind, and produces belief or assent; since it appears, that it is neither by arguments derived from demonstration, nor from probability.

In order to clear up this difficulty, we shall suppose a person to take a dye, formed after such a manner as that four of its sides are marked with one figure, or one number of spots, and two with another; and to put this dye into the box with an intention of throwing it: It is plain, he must conclude the one figure to be more probable than the other, and give the preference to that which is inscribed on the greatest number of sides. He in a manner believes, that this will lie uppermost; though still with hesitation and doubt, in proportion to the number of chances, which are contrary: And according as these contrary chances diminish, and the superiority encreases on the other side, his belief acquires new degrees of stability and assurance. This belief arises from an operation of the mind upon the simple and limited object before us; and therefore its nature will be the more easily discovered and explained. We have nothing but one single dye to contemplate, in order to comprehend one of the most curious operations of the understanding.

This dye, formed as above, contains three circumstances worthy of our attention. First, Certain causes, such as gravity, solidity, a cubical figure, &c. which determine it to fall, to preserve its form in its fall, and to turn up one of its sides. Secondly, A certain number

of sides, which are supposed indifferent. Thirdly, A certain figure inscribed on each side. These three particulars form the whole nature of the dye, so far as relates to our present purpose; and consequently are the only circumstances regarded by the mind in its forming a judgment concerning the result of such a throw. Let us, therefore, consider gradually and carefully what must be the influence of these circumstances on the thought and imagination.

First, We have already observed, that the mind is determined by custom to pass from any cause to its effect, and that upon the appearance of the one, it is almost impossible for it not to form an idea of the other. Their constant conjunction in past instances has produced such a habit in the mind, that it always conjoins them in its thought, and infers the existence of the one from that of its usual attendant. When it considers the dye as no longer supported by the box, it can not without violence regard it as suspended in the air; but naturally places it on the table, and views it as turning up one of its sides. This is the effect of the intermingled causes, which are requisite to our forming any calculation concerning chances.

Secondly, It is supposed, that though the dye be necessarily determined to fall, and turn up one of its sides, yet there is nothing to fix the particular side, but that this is determined entirely by chance. The very nature and essence of chance is a negation of causes, and the leaving the mind in a perfect indifference among those

events, which are supposed contingent. When therefore the thought is determined by the causes to consider the dye as falling and turning up one of its sides, the chances present all these sides as equal, and make us consider every one of them, one after another, as alike probable and possible. The imagination passes from the cause, viz. the throwing of the dye, to the effect, viz. the turning up one of the six sides; and feels a kind of impossibility both of stopping short in the way, and of forming any other idea. But as all these six sides are incompatible, and the dye cannot turn up above one at once, this principle directs us not to consider all of them at once as lying uppermost; which we look upon as impossible: Neither does it direct us with its entire force to any particular side; for in that case this side would be considered as certain and inevitable; but it directs us to the whole six sides after such a manner as to divide its force equally among them. We conclude in general, that some one of them must result from the throw: We run all of them over in our minds: The determination of the thought is common to all; but no more of its force falls to the share of any one, than what is suitable to its proportion with the rest. It is after this manner the original impulse, and consequently the vivacity of thought, arising from the causes, is divided and split in pieces by the intermingled chances.

We have already seen the influence of the two first qualities of the dye, viz. the causes, and the number and indifference of

the sides, and have learned how they give an impulse to the thought, and divide that impulse into as many parts as there are unites in the number of sides. We must now consider the effects of the third particular, viz. the figures inscribed on each side. It is evident that where several sides have the same figure inscribed on them, they must concur in their influence on the mind, and must unite upon one image or idea of a figure all those divided impulses, that were dispersed over the several sides, upon which that figure is inscribed. Were the question only what side will be turned up, these are all perfectly equal, and no one could ever have any advantage above another. But as the question is concerning the figure, and as the same figure is presented by more than one side: it is evident, that the impulses belonging to all these sides must re-unite in that one figure, and become stronger and more forcible by the union. Four sides are supposed in the present case to have the same figure inscribed on them, and two to have another figure. The impulses of the former are, therefore, superior to those of the latter. But as the events are contrary, and it is impossible both these figures can be turned up; the impulses likewise become contrary, and the inferior destroys the superior, as far as its strength goes. The vivacity of the idea is always proportionable to the degrees of the impulse or tendency to the transition; and belief is the same with the vivacity of the idea, according to the precedent doctrine.

SECT. XII. OF THE PROBABILITY OF CAUSES.

What I have said concerning the probability of chances can serve to no other purpose, than to assist us in explaining the probability of causes; since it is commonly allowed by philosophers, that what the vulgar call chance is nothing but a secret and concealed cause. That species of probability, therefore, is what we must chiefly examine.

The probabilities of causes are of several kinds; but are all derived from the same origin, viz. THE ASSOCIATION OF IDEAS TO A PRESENT IMPRESSION. As the habit, which produces the association, arises from the frequent conjunction of objects, it must arrive at its perfection by degrees, and must acquire new force from each instance, that falls under our observation. The first instance has little or no force: The second makes some addition to it: The third becomes still more sensible; and it is by these slow steps, that our judgment arrives at a full assurance. But before it attains this pitch of perfection, it passes through several inferior degrees, and in all of them is only to be esteemed a presumption or probability. The gradation, therefore, from probabilities to proofs is in many cases insensible; and the difference betwixt these kinds of evidence is more easily perceived in the remote degrees, than in the near and contiguous.

It is worthy of remark on this occasion, that though the species of probability here explained be the first in order, and naturally takes place before any entire proof can exist, yet no one, who is arrived at the age of maturity, can any longer be acquainted with it. It is true, nothing is more common than for people of the most advanced knowledge to have attained only an imperfect experience of many particular events; which naturally produces only an imperfect habit and transition: But then we must consider, that the mind, having formed another observation concerning the connexion of causes and effects, gives new force to its reasoning from that observation; and by means of it can build an argument on one single experiment, when duly prepared and examined. What we have found once to follow from any object, we conclude will for ever follow from it; and if this maxim be not always built upon as certain, it is not for want of a sufficient number of experiments, but because we frequently meet with instances to the contrary; which leads us to the second species of probability, where there is a contrariety in our experience and observation.

It would be very happy for men in the conduct of their lives and actions, were the same objects always conjoined together, and, we had nothing to fear but the mistakes of our own judgment, without having any reason to apprehend the uncertainty of nature. But as it is frequently found, that one observation is contrary to another, and that causes and effects follow not in the same order, of which we have I

had experience,
we are obliged to vary our reasoning on, account of this
uncertainty,
and take into consideration the contrariety of events.
The first
question, that occurs on this head, is concerning the
nature and causes
of the contrariety.

The vulgar, who take things according to their first
appearance,
attribute the uncertainty of events to such an
uncertainty in the
causes, as makes them often fail of their usual
influence, though
they meet with no obstacle nor impediment in their
operation. But
philosophers observing, that almost in every part of
nature there is
contained a vast variety of springs and principles,
which are hid,
by reason of their minuteness or remoteness, find that
it is at least
possible the contrariety of events may not proceed from
any contingency
in the cause, but from the secret operation of contrary
causes. This
possibility is converted into certainty by farther
observation, when
they remark, that upon an exact scrutiny, a contrariety
of effects
always betrays a contrariety of causes, and proceeds
from their mutual
hindrance and opposition. A peasant can give no better
reason for the
stopping of any clock or watch than to say, that
commonly it does not
go right: But an artizan easily perceives, that the same
force in the
spring or pendulum has always the same influence on the
wheels; but
fails of its usual effect, perhaps by reason of a grain
of dust, which
puts a stop to the whole movement. From the observation
of several

parallel instances, philosophers form a maxim, that the connexion betwixt all causes and effects is equally necessary, and that its seeming uncertainty in some instances proceeds from the secret opposition of contrary causes.

But however philosophers and the vulgar may differ in their explication of the contrariety of events, their inferences from it are always of the same kind, and founded on the same principles. A contrariety of events in the past may give us a kind of hesitating belief for the future after two several ways. First, By producing an imperfect habit and transition from the present impression to the related idea. When the conjunction of any two objects is frequent, without being entirely constant, the mind is determined to pass from one object to the other; but not with so entire a habit, as when the union is uninterrupted, and all the instances we have ever met with are uniform and of a piece-.. We find from common experience, in our actions as well as reasonings, that a constant perseverance in any course of life produces a strong inclination and tendency to continue for the future; though there are habits of inferior degrees of force, proportioned to the inferior degrees of steadiness and uniformity in our conduct.

There is no doubt but this principle sometimes takes place, and produces those inferences we draw from contrary phaenomena: though I am perswaded, that upon examination we shall not find it to be the principle, that most commonly influences the mind in

this species of reasoning. When we follow only the habitual determination of the mind, we make the transition without any reflection, and interpose not a moment's delay betwixt the view of one object and the belief of that, which is often found to attend it. As the custom depends not upon any deliberation, it operates immediately, without allowing any time for reflection. But this method of proceeding we have but few instances of in our probable reasonings; and even fewer than in those, which are derived from the uninterrupted conjunction of objects. In the former species of reasoning we commonly take knowingly into consideration the contrariety of past events; we compare the different sides of the contrariety, and carefully weigh the experiments, which we have on each side: Whence we may conclude, that our reasonings of this kind arise not directly from the habit, but in an oblique manner; which we must now endeavour to explain.

It is evident, that when an object is attended with contrary effects, we judge of them only by our past experience, and always consider those as possible, which we have observed to follow from it. And as past experience regulates our judgment concerning the possibility of these effects, so it does that concerning their probability; and that effect, which has been the most common, we always esteem the most likely. Here then are two things to be considered, viz. the reasons which determine us to make the past a standard for the future, and the manner how we

extract a single judgment from a contrariety of past events.

First we may observe, that the supposition, that the future resembles the past, is not founded on arguments of any kind, but is derived entirely from habit, by which we are determined to expect for the future the same train of objects, to which we have been accustomed. This habit or determination to transfer the past to the future is full and perfect; and consequently the first impulse of the imagination in this species of reasoning is endowed with the same qualities.

But, secondly, when in considering past experiments we find them of a contrary nature, this determination, though full and perfect in itself, presents us with no steady object, but offers us a number of disagreeing images in a certain order and proportion. The first impulse, therefore, is here broke into pieces, and diffuses itself over all those images, of which each partakes an equal share of that force and vivacity, that is derived from the impulse. Any of these past events may again happen; and we judge, that when they do happen, they will be mixed in the same proportion as in the past.

If our intention, therefore, be to consider the proportions of contrary events in a great number of instances, the images presented by our past experience must remain in their FIRST FORM, and preserve their first proportions. Suppose, for instance, I have found by long observation, that of twenty ships, which go to sea, only nineteen return. Suppose

I see at present twenty ships that leave the port: I transfer my past experience to the future, and represent to myself nineteen of these ships as returning in safety, and one as perishing. Concerning this there can be no difficulty. But as we frequently run over those several ideas of past events, in order to form a judgment concerning one single event, which appears uncertain; this consideration must change the FIRST FORM of our ideas, and draw together the divided images presented by experience; since it is to it we refer the determination of that particular event, upon which we reason. Many of these images are supposed to concur, and a superior number to concur on one side. These agreeing images unite together, and render the idea more strong and lively, not only than a mere fiction of the imagination, but also than any idea, which is supported by a lesser number of experiments. Each new experiment is as a new stroke of the pencil, which bestows an additional vivacity on the colours without either multiplying or enlarging the figure. This operation of the mind has been so fully explained in treating of the probability of chance, that I need not here endeavour to render it more intelligible. Every past experiment may be considered as a kind of chance; I it being uncertain to us, whether the object will exist conformable to one experiment or another. And for this reason every thing that has been said on the one subject is applicable to both.

Thus upon the whole, contrary experiments produce an imperfect belief,

either by weakening the habit, or by dividing and afterwards joining in different parts, that perfect habit, which makes us conclude in general, that instances, of which we have no experience, must necessarily resemble those of which we have.

To justify still farther this account of the second species of probability, where we reason with knowledge and reflection from a contrariety of past experiments, I shall propose the following considerations, without fearing to give offence by that air of subtilty, which attends them. Just reasoning ought still, perhaps, to retain its force, however subtile; in the same manner as matter preserves its solidity in the air, and fire, and animal spirits, as well as in the grosser and more sensible forms.

First, We may observe, that there is no probability so great as not to allow of a contrary possibility; because otherwise it would cease to be a probability, and would become a certainty. That probability of causes, which is most extensive, and which we at present examine, depends on a contrariety of experiments: and it is evident An experiment in the past proves at least a possibility for the future.

Secondly, The component parts of this possibility and probability are of the same nature, and differ in number only, but not in kind. It has been observed, that all single chances are entirely equal, and that the only circumstance, which can give any event, that is contingent, a superiority over another is a superior number of

chances. In like manner, as the uncertainty of causes is discovered by experience, which presents us with a view of contrary events, it is plain, that when we transfer the past to the future, the known to the unknown, every past experiment has the same weight, and that it is only a superior number of them, which can throw the ballance on any side. The possibility, therefore, which enters into every reasoning of this kind, is composed of parts, which are of the same nature both among themselves, and with those, that compose the opposite probability.

Thirdly, We may establish it as a certain maxim, that in all moral as well as natural phaenomena, wherever any cause consists of a number of parts, and the effect encreases or diminishes, according to the variation of that number, the effects properly speaking, is a compounded one, and arises from the union of the several effects, that proceed from each part of the cause. Thus, because the gravity of a body encreases or diminishes by the encrease or diminution of its parts, we conclude that each part contains this quality and contributes to the gravity of the whole. The absence or presence of a part of the cause is attended with that of a proportionable part of the effect. This connexion or constant conjunction sufficiently proves the one part to be the cause of the other. As the belief which we have of any event, encreases or diminishes according to the number of chances or past experiments, it is to be considered as a compounded effect, of which each part arises from a

proportionable number of chances or experiments.

Let us now join these three observations, and see what conclusion we can draw from them. To every probability there is an opposite possibility. This possibility is composed of parts, that are entirely of the same nature with those of the probability; and consequently have the same influence on the mind and understanding. The belief, which attends the probability, is a compounded effect, and is formed by the concurrence of the several effects, which proceed from each part of the probability. Since therefore each part of the probability contributes to the production of the belief, each part of the possibility must have the same influence on the opposite side; the nature of these parts being entirely the same. The contrary belief, attending the possibility, implies a view of a certain object, as well as the probability does an opposite view. In this particular both these degrees of belief are alike. The only manner then, in which the superior number of similar component parts in the one can exert its influence, and prevail above the inferior in the other, is by producing a stronger and more lively view of its object. Each part presents a particular view; and all these views uniting together produce one general view, which is fuller and more distinct by the greater number of causes or principles, from which it is derived.

The component parts of the probability and possibility, being alike in their nature, must produce like effects; and the

likeness of their effects consists in this, that each of them presents a view of a particular object. But though these parts be alike in their nature, they are very different in their quantity and number; and this difference must appear in the effect as well as the similarity. Now as the view they present is in both cases full and entire, and comprehends the object in all its parts, it is impossible that in this particular there can be any difference; nor is there any thing but a superior vivacity in the probability, arising from the concurrence of a superior number of views, which can distinguish these effects.

Here is almost the same argument in a different light. All our reasonings concerning the probability of causes are founded on the transferring of past to future. The transferring of any past experiment to the future is sufficient to give us a view of the object; whether that experiment be single or combined with others of the same kind; whether it be entire, or opposed by others of a contrary kind. Suppose, then, it acquires both these qualities of combination and opposition, it loses not upon that account its former power of presenting a view of the object, but only concurs with and opposes other experiments, that have a like influence. A question, therefore, may arise concerning the manner both of the concurrence and opposition. As to the concurrence, there is only the choice left betwixt these two hypotheses. First, That the view of the object, occasioned by the transference of each past experiment,

preserves itself entire, and only multiplies the number of views. Or, SECONDLY, That it runs into the other similar and correspondent views, and gives them a superior degree of force and vivacity. But that the first hypothesis is erroneous, is evident from experience, which informs us, that the belief, attending any reasoning, consists in one conclusion, not in a multitude of similar ones, which would only distract the mind, and in many cases would be too numerous to be comprehended distinctly by any finite capacity. It remains, therefore, as the only reasonable opinion, that these similar views run into each other, and unite their forces; so as to produce a stronger and clearer view, than what arises from any one alone. This is the manner, in which past experiments concur, when they are transferred to any future event. As to the manner of their opposition, it is evident, that as the contrary views are incompatible with each other, and it is impossible the object can at once exist conformable to both of them, their influence becomes mutually destructive, and the mind is determined to the superior only with that force, which remains, after subtracting the inferior.

I am sensible how abstruse all this reasoning must appear to the generality of readers, who not being accustomed to such profound reflections on the intellectual faculties of the mind, will be apt to reject as chimerical whatever strikes not in with the common received notions, and with the easiest and most obvious

principles of philosophy.
And no doubt there are some pains required to enter into these arguments; though perhaps very little are necessary to perceive the imperfection of every vulgar hypothesis on this subject, and the little light, which philosophy can yet afford us in such sublime and such curious speculations. Let men be once fully perswaded of these two principles, THAT THERE, IS NOTHING IN ANY OBJECT, CONSIDERED IN ITSELF, WHICH CAN AFFORD US A REASON FOR DRAWING A CONCLUSION BEYOND it; and, THAT EVEN AFTER THE OBSERVATION OF THE FREQUENT OR CONSTANT CONJUNCTION OF OBJECTS, WE HAVE NO REASON TO DRAW ANY INFERENCE CONCERNING ANY OBJECT BEYOND THOSE OF WHICH WE HAVE HAD EXPERIENCE; I say, let men be once fully convinced of these two principles, and this will throw them so loose from all common systems, that they will make no difficulty of receiving any, which may appear the most extraordinary. These principles we have found to be sufficiently convincing, even with regard to our most certain reasonings from causation: But I shall venture to affirm, that with regard to these conjectural or probable reasonings they still acquire a new degree of evidence.

First, It is obvious, that in reasonings of this kind, it is not the object presented to us, which, considered in itself, affords us any reason to draw a conclusion concerning any other object or event. For as this latter object is supposed uncertain, and as the uncertainty is derived from a concealed contrariety of causes in the former, were any

of the causes placed in the known qualities of that object, they would no longer be concealed, nor would our conclusion be uncertain.

But, secondly, it is equally obvious in this species of reasoning, that if the transference of the past to the future were founded merely on a conclusion of the understanding, it could never occasion any belief or assurance. When we transfer contrary experiments to the future, we can only repeat these contrary experiments with their particular proportions; which could not produce assurance in any single event, upon which we reason, unless the fancy melted together all those images that concur, and extracted from them one single idea or image, which is intense and lively in proportion to the number of experiments from which it is derived, and their superiority above their antagonists. Our past experience presents no determinate object; and as our belief, however faint, fixes itself on a determinate object, it is evident that the belief arises not merely from the transference of past to future, but from some operation of the fancy conjoined with it. This may lead us to conceive the manner, in which that faculty enters into all our reasonings.

I shall conclude this subject with two reflections, which may deserve our attention. The FIRST may be explained after this manner. When the mind forms a reasoning concerning any matter of fact, which is only probable, it casts its eye backward upon past experience, and

transferring it to the future, is presented with so many
contrary
views of its object, of which those that are of the same
kind uniting
together, and running into one act of the mind, serve to
fortify and
inliven it. But suppose that this multitude of views or
glimpses of an
object proceeds not from experience, but from a
voluntary act of the
imagination; this effect does not follow, or at least,
follows not in
the same degree. For though custom and education produce
belief by such
a repetition, as is not derived from experience, yet
this requires
a long tract of time, along with a very frequent and
undesigned
repetition. In general we may pronounce, that a person
who would
voluntarily repeat any idea in his mind, though
supported by one past
experience, would be no more inclined to believe the
existence of its
object, than if he had contented himself with one survey
of it.
Beside the effect of design; each act of the mind, being
separate and
independent, has a separate influence, and joins not its
force with that
of its fellows. Not being united by any common object,
producing them,
they have no relation to each other; and consequently
make no transition
or union of forces. This phaenomenon we shall understand
better
afterwards.

My second reflection is founded on those large
probabilities, which the
mind can judge of, and the minute differences it can
observe betwixt
them. When the chances or experiments on one side amount
to ten
thousand, and on the other to ten thousand and one, the

judgment gives
the preference to the latter, upon account of that
superiority; though
it is plainly impossible for the mind to run over every
particular view,
and distinguish the superior vivacity of the image
arising from the
superior number, where the difference is so
inconsiderable. We have a
parallel instance in the affections. It is evident,
according to the
principles above-mentioned, that when an object produces
any passion in
us, which varies according to the different quantity of
the object; I
say, it is evident, that the passion, properly speaking,
is not a simple
emotion, but a compounded one, of a great number of
weaker passions,
derived from a view of each part of the object. For
otherwise it were
impossible the passion should encrease by the encrease
of these parts.
Thus a man, who desires a thousand pound, has in reality
a thousand
or more desires which uniting together, seem to make
only one passion;
though the composition evidently betrays itself upon
every alteration of
the object, by the preference he gives to the larger
number, if superior
only by an unite. Yet nothing can be more certain, than
that so small
a difference would not be discernible in the passions,
nor could render
them distinguishable from each other. The difference,
therefore, of our
conduct in preferring the greater number depends not
upon our passions,
but upon custom, and general rules. We have found in a
multitude of
instances, that the augmenting the numbers of any sum
augments the
passion, where the numbers are precise and the
difference sensible. The

mind can perceive from its immediate feeling, that three guineas produce a greater passion than two; and this it transfers to larger numbers, because of the resemblance; and by a general rule assigns to a thousand guineas, a stronger passion than to nine hundred and ninety nine. These general rules we shall explain presently.

But beside these two species of probability, which are derived from an imperfect experience and from contrary causes, there is a third arising from ANALOGY, which differs from them in some material circumstances. According to the hypothesis above explained all kinds of reasoning from causes or effects are founded on two particulars, viz., the constant conjunction of any two objects in all past experience, and the resemblance of a present object to any one of them. The effect of these two particulars is, that the present object invigorates and enlivens the imagination; and the resemblance, along with the constant union, conveys this force and vivacity to the related idea; which we are therefore said to believe, or assent to. If you weaken either the union or resemblance, you weaken the principle of transition, and of consequence that belief, which arises from it. The vivacity of the first impression cannot be fully conveyed to the related idea, either where the conjunction of their objects is not constant, or where the present impression does not perfectly resemble any of those, whose union we are accustomed to observe. In those probabilities of chance and causes above-explained, it is the constancy of the union, which is diminished;

and in the probability derived from analogy, it is the resemblance only, which is affected. Without some degree of resemblance, as well as union, it is impossible there can be any reasoning: but as this resemblance admits of many different degrees, the reasoning becomes proportionably more or less firm and certain. An experiment loses of its force, when transferred to instances, which are not exactly resembling; though it is evident it may still retain as much as may be the foundation of probability, as long as there is any resemblance remaining.

SECT. XIII. OF UNPHILOSOPHICAL PROBABILITY.

All these kinds of probability are received by philosophers, and allowed to be reasonable foundations of belief and opinion. But there are others, that are derived from the same principles, though they have not had the good fortune to obtain the same sanction. The first probability of this kind may be accounted for thus. The diminution of the union, and of the resemblance, as above explained, diminishes the facility of the transition, and by that means weakens the evidence; and we may farther observe, that the same diminution of the evidence will follow from a diminution of the impression, and from the shading of those colours, under which it appears to the memory or senses. The argument, which we found on any matter of fact we remember, is more or

less convincing
according as the fact is recent or remote; and though
the difference
in these degrees of evidence be not received by
philosophy as solid and
legitimate; because in that case an argument must have a
different force
to day, from what it shall have a month hence; yet
notwithstanding
the opposition of philosophy, it is certain, this
circumstance has a
considerable influence on the understanding, and
secretly changes the
authority of the same argument, according to the
different times,
in which it is proposed to us. A greater force and
vivacity in the
impression naturally conveys a greater to the related
idea; and it is on
the degrees of force and vivacity, that the belief
depends, according to
the foregoing system.

There is a second difference, which we may frequently
observe in our
degrees of belief and assurance, and which never fails
to take place,
though disclaimed by philosophers. An experiment, that
is recent and
fresh in the memory, affects us more than one that is in
some measure
obliterated; and has a superior influence on the
judgment, as well as on
the passions. A lively impression produces more
assurance than a faint
one; because it has more original force to communicate
to the related
idea, which thereby acquires a greater force and
vivacity. A recent
observation has a like effect; because the custom and
transition is
there more entire, and preserves better the original
force in the
communication. Thus a drunkard, who has seen his
companion die of a

debauch, is struck with that instance for some time, and dreads a like accident for himself: But as the memory of it decays away by degrees, his former security returns, and the danger seems less certain and real.

I add, as a third instance of this kind, that though our reasonings from proofs and from probabilities be considerably different from each other, yet the former species of reasoning often degenerates insensibly into the latter, by nothing but the multitude of connected arguments. It is certain, that when an inference is drawn immediately from an object, without any intermediate cause or effect, the conviction is much stronger, and the persuasion more lively, than when the imagination is carried through a long chain of connected arguments, however infallible the connexion of each link may be esteemed. It is from the original impression, that the vivacity of all the ideas is derived, by means of the customary transition of the imagination; and it is evident this vivacity must gradually decay in proportion to the distance, and must lose somewhat in each transition. Sometimes this distance has a greater influence than even contrary experiments would have; and a man may receive a more lively conviction from a probable reasoning, which is close and immediate, than from a long chain of consequences, though just and conclusive in each part. Nay it is seldom such reasonings produce any conviction; and one must have a very strong and firm imagination to preserve the evidence to the end, where it passes through so many,

stages.

But here it may not be amiss to remark a very curious phaenomenon, which the present subject suggests to us. It is evident there is no point of ancient history, of which we can have any assurance, but by passing through many millions of causes and effects, and through a chain of arguments of almost an immeasurable length. Before the knowledge of the fact coued come to the first historian, it must be conveyed through many mouths; and after it is committed to writing, each new copy is a new object, of which the connexion with the foregoing is known only by experience and observation. Perhaps, therefore, it may be concluded from the precedent reasoning, that the evidence of all ancient history must now be lost; or at least, will be lost in time, as the chain of causes encreases, and runs on to a greater length. But as it seems contrary to common sense to think, that if the republic of letters, and the art of printing continue on the same footing as at present, our posterity, even after a thousand ages, can ever doubt if there has been such a man as JULIUS CAESAR; this may be considered as an objection to the present system. If belief consisted only in a certain vivacity, conveyed from an original impression, it would decay by the length of the transition, and must at last be utterly extinguished: And vice versa, if belief on some occasions be not capable of such an extinction; it must be something different from that vivacity.

Before I answer this objection I shall observe, that

from this topic
there has been borrowed a very celebrated argument
against the Christian
Religion; but with this difference, that the connexion
betwixt each link
of the chain in human testimony has been there supposed
not to go beyond
probability, and to be liable to a degree of doubt and
uncertainty.
And indeed it must be confest, that in this manner of
considering
the subject, (which however is not a true one) there is
no history or
tradition, but what must in the end lose all its force
and evidence.
Every new probability diminishes the original
conviction; and however
great that conviction may be supposed, it is impossible
it can subsist
under such re-iterated diminutions. This is true in
general; though
we shall find [Part IV. Sect. 1.] afterwards, that there
is one very
memorable exception, which is of vast consequence in the
present subject
of the understanding.

Mean while to give a solution of the preceding objection
upon the
supposition, that historical evidence amounts at first
to an entire
proof; let us consider, that though the links are
innumerable, that
connect any original fact with the present impression,
which is the
foundation of belief; yet they are all of the same kind,
and depend on
the fidelity of Printers and Copyists. One edition
passes into another,
and that into a third, and so on, till we come to that
volume we peruse
at present. There is no variation in the steps. After we
know one we
know all of them; and after we have made one, we can
have no scruple as

to the rest. This circumstance alone preserves the evidence of history, and will perpetuate the memory of the present age to the latest posterity. If all the long chain of causes and effects, which connect any past event with any volume of history, were composed of parts different from each other, and which it were necessary for the mind distinctly to conceive, it is impossible we should preserve to the end any belief or evidence. But as most of these proofs are perfectly resembling, the mind runs easily along them, jumps from one part to another with facility, and forms but a confused and general notion of each link. By this means a long chain of argument, has as little effect in diminishing the original vivacity, as a much shorter would have, if composed of parts, which were different from each other, and of which each required a distinct consideration.

A fourth unphilosophical species of probability is that derived from general rules, which we rashly form to ourselves, and which are the source of what we properly call PREJUDICE. An IRISHMAN cannot have wit, and a Frenchman cannot have solidity; for which reason, though the conversation of the former in any instance be visibly very agreeable, and of the latter very judicious, we have entertained such a prejudice against them, that they must be dunces or fops in spite of sense and reason. Human nature is very subject to errors of this kind; and perhaps this nation as much as any other.

Should it be demanded why men form general rules, and

allow them to influence their judgment, even contrary to present observation and experience, I should reply, that in my opinion it proceeds from those very principles, on which all judgments concerning causes and effects depend. Our judgments concerning cause and effect are derived from habit and experience; and when we have been accustomed to see one object united to another, our imagination passes from the first to the second, by a natural transition, which precedes reflection, and which cannot be prevented by it. Now it is the nature of custom not only to operate with its full force, when objects are presented, that are exactly the same with those to which we have been accustomed; but also to operate in an inferior degree, when we discover such as are similar; and though the habit loses somewhat of its force by every difference, yet it is seldom entirely destroyed, where any considerable circumstances remain the same. A man, who has contracted a custom of eating fruit by the use of pears or peaches, will satisfy himself with melons, where he cannot find his favourite fruit; as one, who has become a drunkard by the use of red wines, will be carried almost with the same violence to white, if presented to him. From this principle I have accounted for that species of probability, derived from analogy, where we transfer our experience in past instances to objects which are resembling, but are not exactly the same with those concerning which we have had experience. In proportion as the resemblance decays, the probability diminishes;

but still has some force as long as there remain any traces of the resemblance.

This observation we may carry farther; and may remark, that though custom be the foundation of all our judgments, yet sometimes it has an effect on the imagination in opposition to the judgment, and produces a contrariety in our sentiments concerning the same object. I explain myself. In almost all kinds of causes there is a complication of circumstances, of which some are essential, and others superfluous; some are absolutely requisite to the production of the effect, and others are only conjoined by accident. Now we may observe, that when these superfluous circumstances are numerous, and remarkable, and frequently conjoined with the essential, they have such an influence on the imagination, that even in the absence of the latter they carry us on to the conception of the usual effect, and give to that conception a force and vivacity, which make it superior to the mere fictions of the fancy. We may correct this propensity by a reflection on the nature of those circumstances: but it is still certain, that custom takes the start, and gives a bias to the imagination.

To illustrate this by a familiar instance, let us consider the case of a man, who, being hung out from a high tower in a cage of iron cannot forbear trembling, when he surveys the precipice below him, though he knows himself to be perfectly secure from falling, by his experience of the solidity of the iron, which supports him; and though

the ideas of
fall and descent, and harm and death, be derived solely
from custom and
experience. The same custom goes beyond the instances,
from which it is
derived, and to which it perfectly corresponds; and
influences his
ideas of such objects as are in some respect resembling,
but fall not
precisely under the same rule. The circumstances of
depth and descent
strike so strongly upon him, that their influence can-
not be destroyed
by the contrary circumstances of support and solidity,
which ought to
give him a perfect security. His imagination runs away
with its object,
and excites a passion proportioned to it. That passion
returns back
upon the imagination and inlivens the idea; which lively
idea has a
new influence on the passion, and in its turn augments
its force and
violence; and both his fancy and affections, thus
mutually supporting
each other, cause the whole to have a very great
influence upon him.

But why need we seek for other instances, while the
present subject
of philosophical probabilities offers us so obvious an
one, in the
opposition betwixt the judgment and imagination arising
from these
effects of custom? According to my system, all
reasonings are nothing
but the effects of custom; and custom has no influence,
but by
inlivening the imagination, and giving us a strong
conception of
any object. It may, therefore, be concluded, that our
judgment and
imagination can never be contrary, and that custom
cannot operate on
the latter faculty after such a manner, as to render it

opposite to the former. This difficulty we can remove after no other manner, than by supposing the influence of general rules. We shall afterwards take [Sect. 15.] notice of some general rules, by which we ought to regulate our judgment concerning causes and effects; and these rules are formed on the nature of our understanding, and on our experience of its operations in the judgments we form concerning objects. By them we learn to distinguish the accidental circumstances from the efficacious causes; and when we find that an effect can be produced without the concurrence of any particular circumstance, we conclude that that circumstance makes not a part of the efficacious cause, however frequently conjoined with it. But as this frequent conjunction necessity makes it have some effect on the imagination, in spite of the opposite conclusion from general rules, the opposition of these two principles produces a contrariety in our thoughts, and causes us to ascribe the one inference to our judgment, and the other to our imagination. The general rule is attributed to our judgment; as being more extensive and constant. The exception to the imagination, as being more capricious and uncertain.

Thus our general rules are in a manner set in opposition to each other. When an object appears, that resembles any cause in very considerable circumstances, the imagination naturally carries us to a lively conception of the usual effect, Though the object be different in the most material and most efficacious circumstances from

that cause. Here is the first influence of general rules. But when we take a review of this act of the mind, and compare it with the more general and authentic operations of the understanding, we find it to be of an irregular nature, and destructive of all the most established principles of reasonings; which is the cause of our rejecting it. This is a second influence of general rules, and implies the condemnation of the former. Sometimes the one, sometimes the other prevails, according to the disposition and character of the person. The vulgar are commonly guided by the first, and wise men by the second. Mean while the sceptics may here have the pleasure of observing a new and signal contradiction in our reason, and of seeing all philosophy ready to be subverted by a principle of human nature, and again saved by a new direction of the very same principle. The following of general rules is a very unphilosophical species of probability; and yet it is only by following them that we can correct this, and all other unphilosophical probabilities.

Since we have instances, where general rules operate on the imagination even contrary to the judgment, we need not be surprized to see their effects encrease, when conjoined with that latter faculty, and to observe that they bestow on the ideas they present to us a force superior to what attends any other. Every one knows, there is an indirect manner of insinuating praise or blame, which is much less

shocking than the open flattery or censure of any person. However he may communicate his sentiments by such secret insinuations, and make them known with equal certainty as by the open discovery of them, it is certain that their influence is not equally strong and powerful. One who lashes me with concealed strokes of satire, moves not my indignation to such a degree, as if he flatly told me I was a fool and coxcomb; though I equally understand his meaning, as if he did. This difference is to be attributed to the influence of general rules.

Whether a person openly, abuses me, or slyly intimates his contempt, in neither case do I immediately perceive his sentiment or opinion; and it is only by signs, that is, by its effects, I become sensible of it. The only difference, then, betwixt these two cases consists in this, that in the open discovery of his sentiments he makes use of signs, which are general and universal; and in the secret intimation employs such as are more singular and uncommon. The effect of this circumstance is, that the imagination, in running from the present impression to the absent idea, makes the transition with greater facility, and consequently conceives the object with greater force, where the connexion is common and universal, than where it is more rare and particular. Accordingly we may observe, that the open declaration of our sentiments is called the taking off the mask, as the secret intimation of our opinions is said to be the veiling of them. The difference betwixt an idea produced by a general connexion, and that arising from a particular

one is here
compared to the difference betwixt an impression and an
idea. This
difference in the imagination has a suitable effect on
the passions; and
this effect is augmented by another circumstance. A
secret intimation
of anger or contempt shews that we still have some
consideration for
the person, and avoid the directly abusing him. This
makes a concealed
satire less disagreeable; but still this depends on the
same principle.
For if an idea were not more feeble, when only
intimated, it would never
be esteemed a mark of greater respect to proceed in this
method than in
the other.

Sometimes scurrility is less displeasing than delicate
satire, because
it revenges us in a manner for the injury at the very
time it is
committed, by affording us a just reason to blame and
contemn the
person, who injures us. But this phaenomenon likewise
depends upon the
same principle. For why do we blame all gross and
injurious language,
unless it be, because we esteem it contrary to good
breeding and
humanity? And why is it contrary, unless it be more
shocking than any
delicate satire? The rules of good breeding condemn
whatever is openly
disobliging, and gives a sensible pain and confusion to
those, with
whom we converse. After this is once established,
abusive language is
universally blamed, and gives less pain upon account of
its coarseness
and incivility, which render the person despicable, that
employs it. It
becomes less disagreeable, merely because originally it
is more so; and

it is more disagreeable, because it affords an inference by general and common rules, that are palpable and undeniable.

To this explication of the different influence of open and concealed flattery or satire, I shall add the consideration of another phenomenon, which is analogous to it. There are many particulars in the point of honour both of men and women, whose violations, when open and avowed, the world never excuses, but which it is more apt to overlook, when the appearances are saved, and the transgression is secret and concealed.

Even those, who know with equal certainty, that the fault is committed, pardon it more easily, when the proofs seem in some measure oblique and equivocal, than when they are direct and undeniable. The same idea is presented in both cases, and, properly speaking, is equally assented to by the judgment; and yet its influence is different, because of the different manner, in which it is presented.

Now if we compare these two cases, of the open and concealed violations of the laws of honour, we shall find, that the difference betwixt them consists in this, that in the first case the sign, from which we infer the blameable action, is single, and suffices alone to be the foundation of our reasoning and judgment; whereas in the latter the signs are numerous, and decide little or nothing when alone and unaccompanied with many minute circumstances, which are almost imperceptible. But it is certainly true, that any reasoning is always the more convincing, the more single and united it is to the eye, and the less

exercise it gives
to the imagination to collect all its parts, and run
from them to the
correlative idea, which forms the conclusion. The labour
of the thought
disturbs the regular progress of the sentiments, as we
shall observe
presently.[Part IV. Sect. 1.] The idea strikes not on us
with such
vivacity; and consequently has no such influence on the
passion and
imagination.

From the same principles we may account for those
observations of the
CARDINAL DE RETZ, that there are many things, in which
the world wishes
to be deceived; and that it more easily excuses a person
in acting than
in talking contrary to the decorum of his profession and
character. A
fault in words is commonly more open and distinct than
one in actions,
which admit of many palliating excuses, and decide not
so clearly
concerning the intention and views of the actor.

Thus it appears upon the whole, that every kind of
opinion or judgment,
which amounts not to knowledge, is derived entirely from
the force and
vivacity of the perception, and that these qualities
constitute in the
mind, what we call the BELIEF Of the existence of any
object. This force
and this vivacity are most conspicuous in the memory;
and therefore our
confidence in the veracity of that faculty is the
greatest imaginable,
and equals in many respects the assurance of a
demonstration. The next
degree of these qualities is that derived from the
relation of cause and
effect; and this too is very great, especially when the
conjunction is

found by experience to be perfectly constant, and when the object, which is present to us, exactly resembles those, of which we have had experience. But below this degree of evidence there are many others, which have an influence on the passions and imagination, proportioned to that degree of force and vivacity, which they communicate to the ideas. It is by habit we make the transition from cause to effect; and it is from some present impression we borrow that vivacity, which we diffuse over the correlative idea. But when we have not observed a sufficient number of instances, to produce a strong habit; or when these instances are contrary to each other; or when the resemblance is not exact; or the present impression is faint and obscure; or the experience in some measure obliterated from the memory; or the connexion dependent on a long chain of objects; or the inference derived from general rules, and yet not conformable to them: In all these cases the evidence diminishes by the diminution of the force and intensesness of the idea. This therefore is the nature of the judgment and probability.

What principally gives authority to this system is, beside the undoubted arguments, upon which each part is founded, the agreement of these parts, and the necessity of one to explain another. The belief, which attends our memory, is of the same nature with that, which is derived from our judgments: Nor is there any difference betwixt that judgment, which is derived from a constant and uniform connexion of causes and effects, and that which depends upon an interrupted and

uncertain. It is indeed evident, that in all determinations, where the mind decides from contrary experiments, it is first divided within itself, and has an inclination to either side in proportion to the number of experiments we have seen and remember. This contest is at last determined to the advantage of that side, where we observe a superior number of these experiments; but still with a diminution of force in the evidence correspondent to the number of the opposite experiments. Each possibility, of which the probability is composed, operates separately upon the imagination; and it is the larger collection of possibilities, which at last prevails, and that with a force proportionable to its superiority. All these phenomena lead directly to the precedent system; nor will it ever be possible upon any other principles to give a satisfactory and consistent explication of them. Without considering these judgments as the effects of custom on the imagination, we shall lose ourselves in perpetual contradiction and absurdity.

SECT. XIV. OF THE IDEA OF NECESSARY CONNEXION.

Having thus explained the manner, in which we reason beyond our immediate impressions, and conclude that such particular causes must have such particular effects; we must now return upon our footsteps to examine that question, which [Sect. 2.] first occurred to us, and which

we dropt in our way, viz. What is our idea of necessity, when we say that two objects are necessarily connected together. Upon this head I repeat what I have often had occasion to observe, that as we have no idea, that is not derived from an impression, we must find some impression, that gives rise to this idea of necessity, if we assert we have really such an idea. In order to this I consider, in what objects necessity is commonly supposed to lie; and finding that it is always ascribed to causes and effects, I turn my eye to two objects supposed to be placed in that relation; and examine them in all the situations, of which they are susceptible. I immediately perceive, that they are contiguous in time and place, and that the object we call cause precedes the other we call effect. In no one instance can I go any farther, nor is it possible for me to discover any third relation betwixt these objects. I therefore enlarge my view to comprehend several instances; where I find like objects always existing in like relations of contiguity and succession. At first sight this seems to serve but little to my purpose. The reflection on several instances only repeats the same objects; and therefore can never give rise to a new idea. But upon farther enquiry I find, that the repetition is not in every particular the same, but produces a new impression, and by that means the idea, which I at present examine. For after a frequent repetition, I find, that upon the appearance of one of the objects, the mind is determined by custom to consider its usual attendant, and to

consider it in a stronger light upon account of its relation to the first object. It is this impression, then, or determination, which affords me the idea of necessity.

I doubt not but these consequences will at first sight be received without difficulty, as being evident deductions from principles, which we have already established, and which we have often employed in our reasonings. This evidence both in the first principles, and in the deductions, may seduce us unwarily into the conclusion, and make us imagine it contains nothing extraordinary, nor worthy of our curiosity.

But though such an inadvertence may facilitate the reception of this reasoning, it will make it be the more easily forgot; for which reason I think it proper to give warning, that I have just now examined one of the most sublime questions in philosophy, viz. that concerning the power and efficacy of causes; where all the sciences seem so much interested.

Such a warning will naturally rouse up the attention of the reader, and make him desire a more full account of my doctrine, as well as of the arguments, on which it is founded. This request is so reasonable, that I cannot refuse complying with it; especially as I am hopeful that these principles, the more they are examined, will acquire the more force and evidence.

There is no question, which on account of its importance, as well as difficulty, has caused more disputes both among antient and modern

philosophers, than this concerning the efficacy of causes, or that quality which makes them be followed by their effects. But before they entered upon these disputes, methinks it would not have been improper to have examined what idea we have of that efficacy, which is the subject of the controversy. This is what I find principally wanting in their reasonings, and what I shall here endeavour to supply.

I begin with observing that the terms of EFFICACY, AGENCY, POWER, FORCE, ENERGY, NECESSITY, CONNEXION, and PRODUCTIVE QUALITY, are all nearly synonymous; and therefore it is an absurdity to employ any of them in defining the rest. By this observation we reject at once all the vulgar definitions, which philosophers have given of power and efficacy; and instead of searching for the idea in these definitions, must look for it in the impressions, from which it is originally derived. If it be a compound idea, it must arise from compound impressions. If simple, from simple impressions.

I believe the most general and most popular explication of this matter, is to say [See Mr. Locke, chapter of power.], that finding from experience, that there are several new productions in matter, such as the motions and variations of body, and concluding that there must somewhere be a power capable of producing them, we arrive at last by this reasoning at the idea of power and efficacy. But to be convinced that this explication is more popular than philosophical, we need but reflect on two very obvious principles. First, That

reason alone can never give rise to any original idea, and secondly, that reason, as distinguished from experience, can never make us conclude, that a cause or productive quality is absolutely requisite to every beginning of existence. Both these considerations have been sufficiently explained: and therefore shall not at present be any farther insisted on.

I shall only infer from them, that since reason can never give rise to the idea of efficacy, that idea must be derived from experience, and from some particular instances of this efficacy, which make their passage into the mind by the common channels of sensation or reflection. Ideas always represent their objects or impressions; and vice versa, there are some objects necessary to give rise to every idea. If we pretend, therefore, to have any just idea of this efficacy, we must produce some instance, wherein the efficacy is plainly discoverable to the mind, and its operations obvious to our consciousness or sensation. By the refusal of this, we acknowledge, that the idea is impossible and imaginary, since the principle of innate ideas, which alone can save us from this dilemma, has been already refuted, and is now almost universally rejected in the learned world. Our present business, then, must be to find some natural production, where the operation and efficacy of a cause can be clearly conceived and comprehended by the mind, without any danger of obscurity or mistake.

In this research we meet with very little encouragement

from that prodigious diversity, which is found in the opinions of those philosophers, who have pretended to explain the secret force and energy of causes. [See Father Malbranche, Book vi. Part 2, chap. 3. And the illustrations upon it.] There are some, who maintain, that bodies operate by their substantial form; others, by their accidents or qualities; several, by their matter and form; some, by their form and accidents; others, by certain virtues and faculties distinct from all this. All these sentiments again are mixed and varied in a thousand different ways; and form a strong presumption, that none of them have any solidity or evidence, and that the supposition of an efficacy in any of the known qualities of matter is entirely without foundation. This presumption must encrease upon us, when we consider, that these principles of substantial forms, and accidents, and faculties, are not in reality any of the known properties of bodies, but are perfectly unintelligible and inexplicable. For it is evident philosophers would never have had recourse to such obscure and uncertain principles, had they met with any satisfaction in such as are clear and intelligible; especially in such an affair as this, which must be an object of the simplest understanding, if not of the senses. Upon the whole, we may conclude, that it is impossible in any one instance to shew the principle, in which the force and agency of a cause is placed; and that the most refined and most vulgar understandings are equally at a loss

in this particular. If any one think proper to refute this assertion, he need not put himself to the trouble of inventing any long reasonings: but may at once shew us an instance of a cause, where we discover the power or operating principle. This defiance we are obliged frequently to make use of, as being almost the only means of proving a negative in philosophy.

The small success, which has been met with in all the attempts to fix this power, has at last obliged philosophers to conclude, that the ultimate force and efficacy of nature is perfectly unknown to us, and that it is in vain we search for it in all the known qualities of matter. In this opinion they are almost unanimous; and it is only in the inference they draw from it, that they discover any difference in their sentiments. For some of them, as the CARTESIANS in particular, having established it as a principle, that we are perfectly acquainted with the essence of matter, have very naturally inferred, that it is endowed with no efficacy, and that it is impossible for it of itself to communicate motion, or produce any of those effects, which we ascribe to it. As the essence of matter consists in extension, and as extension implies not actual motion, but only mobility; they conclude, that the energy, which produces the motion, cannot lie in the extension.

This conclusion leads them into another, which they regard as perfectly unavoidable. Matter, say they, is in itself entirely unactive, and deprived of any power, by which it may produce, or

continue, or
communicate motion: But since these effects are evident
to our senses,
and since the power, that produces them, must be placed
somewhere, it
must lie in the DEITY, or that divine being, who
contains in his nature
all excellency and perfection. It is the deity,
therefore, who is the
prime mover of the universe, and who not only first
created matter, and
gave it it's original impulse, but likewise by a
continued exertion of
omnipotence, supports its existence, and successively
bestows on it
all those motions, and configurations, and qualities,
with which it is
endowed.

This opinion is certainly very curious, and well worth
our attention;
but it will appear superfluous to examine it in this
place, if we
reflect a moment on our present purpose in taking notice
of it. We
have established it as a principle, that as all ideas
are derived from
impressions, or some precedent perceptions, it is
impossible we can have
any idea of power and efficacy, unless some instances
can be produced,
wherein this power is perceived to exert itself. Now, as
these instances
can never be discovered in body, the Cartesians,
proceeding upon their
principle of innate ideas, have had recourse to a
supreme spirit or
deity, whom they consider as the only active being in
the universe, and
as the immediate cause of every alteration in matter.
But the principle
of innate ideas being allowed to be false, it follows,
that the
supposition of a deity can serve us in no stead, in
accounting for that

idea of agency, which we search for in vain in all the objects, which are presented to our senses, or which we are internally conscious of in our own minds. For if every idea be derived from an impression, the idea of a deity proceeds from the same origin; and if no impression, either of sensation or reflection, implies any force or efficacy, it is equally impossible to discover or even imagine any such active principle in the deity. Since these philosophers, therefore, have concluded, that matter cannot be endowed with any efficacious principle, because it is impossible to discover in it such a principle; the same course of reasoning should determine them to exclude it from the supreme being. Or if they esteem that opinion absurd and impious, as it really is, I shall tell them how they may avoid it; and that is, by concluding from the very first, that they have no adequate idea of power or efficacy in any object; since neither in body nor spirit, neither in superior nor inferior natures, are they able to discover one single instance of it.

The same conclusion is unavoidable upon the hypothesis of those, who maintain the efficacy of second causes, and attribute a derivative, but a real power and energy to matter. For as they confess, that this energy lies not in any of the known qualities of matter, the difficulty still remains concerning the origin of its idea. If we have really an idea of power, we may attribute power to an unknown quality: But as it is impossible, that that idea can be derived from such a quality, and as

there is nothing in known qualities, which can produce it; it follows that we deceive ourselves, when we imagine we are possessors of any idea of this kind, after the manner we commonly understand it. All ideas are derived from, and represent impressions. We never have any impression, that contains any power or efficacy. We never therefore have any idea of power.

Some have asserted, that we feel an energy, or power, in our own mind; and that having in this manner acquired the idea of power, we transfer that quality to matter, where we are not able immediately to discover it. The motions of our body, and the thoughts and sentiments of our mind, (say they) obey the will; nor do we seek any farther to acquire a just notion of force or power. But to convince us how fallacious this reasoning is, we need only consider, that the will being here considered as a cause, has no more a discoverable connexion with its effects, than any material cause has with its proper effect. So far from perceiving the connexion betwixt an act of volition, and a motion of the body; it is allowed that no effect is more inexplicable from the powers and essence of thought and matter. Nor is the empire of the will over our mind more intelligible. The effect is there distinguishable and separable from the cause, and could not be foreseen without the experience of their constant conjunction. We have command over our mind to a certain degree, but beyond that, lose all empire over it: And it is evidently impossible to fix any precise bounds to our

authority, where
we consult not experience. In short, the actions of the
mind are, in
this respect, the same with those of matter. We perceive
only their
constant conjunction; nor can we ever reason beyond it.
No internal
impression has an apparent energy, more than external
objects have.
Since, therefore, matter is confessed by philosophers to
operate by
an unknown force, we should in vain hope to attain an
idea of force by
consulting our own minds. [Footnote 8.]

[Footnote 8. The same imperfection attends our
ideas of the
Deity; but this can have no effect either on
religion or
morals. The order of the universe proves an
omnipotent mind;
that is, a mind whose will is CONSTANTLY ATTENDED
with the
obedience of every creature and being. Nothing more
is
requisite to give a foundation to all the articles
of
religion, nor is it necessary we should form a
distinct idea
of the force and energy of the supreme Being.]

It has been established as a certain principle, that
general or abstract
ideas are nothing but individual ones taken in a certain
light, and
that, in reflecting on any object, it is as impossible
to exclude from
our thought all particular degrees of quantity and
quality as from the
real nature of things. If we be possest, therefore, of
any idea of power
in general, we must also be able to conceive some
particular species
of it; and as power cannot subsist alone, but is always

regarded as an attribute of some being or existence, we must be able to place this power in some particular being, and conceive that being as endowed with a real force and energy, by which such a particular effect necessarily results from its operation. We must distinctly and particularly conceive the connexion betwixt the cause and effect, and be able to pronounce, from a simple view of the one, that it must be followed or preceded by the other. This is the true manner of conceiving a particular power in a particular body: and a general idea being impossible without an individual; where the latter is impossible, it is certain the former can never exist. Now nothing is more evident, than that the human mind cannot form such an idea of two objects, as to conceive any connexion betwixt them, or comprehend distinctly that power or efficacy, by which they are united. Such a connexion would amount to a demonstration, and would imply the absolute impossibility for the one object not to follow, or to be conceived not to follow upon the other: Which kind of connexion has already been rejected in all cases. If any one is of a contrary opinion, and thinks he has attained a notion of power in any particular object, I desire he may point out to me that object. But till I meet with such-a-one, which I despair of, I cannot forbear concluding, that since we can never distinctly conceive how any particular power can possibly reside in any particular object, we deceive ourselves in imagining we can form any such general idea.

Thus upon the whole we may infer, that when we talk of any being, whether of a superior or inferior nature, as endowed with a power or force, proportioned to any effect; when we speak of a necessary connexion betwixt objects, and suppose, that this connexion depends upon an efficacy or energy, with which any of these objects are endowed; in all these expressions, so applied, we have really no distinct meaning, and make use only of common words, without any clear and determinate ideas. But as it is more probable, that these expressions do here lose their true meaning by being wrong applied, than that they never have any meaning; it will be proper to bestow another consideration on this subject, to see if possibly we can discover the nature and origin of those ideas, we annex to them.

Suppose two objects to be presented to us, of which the one is the cause and the other the effect; it is plain, that from the simple consideration of one, or both these objects we never shall perceive the tie by which they are united, or be able certainly to pronounce, that there is a connexion betwixt them. It is not, therefore, from any one instance, that we arrive at the idea of cause and effect, of a necessary connexion of power, of force, of energy, and of efficacy. Did we never see any but particular conjunctions of objects, entirely different from each other, we should never be able to form any such ideas.

But again; suppose we observe several instances, in which the same

objects are always conjoined together, we immediately conceive a connexion betwixt them, and begin to draw an inference from one to another. This multiplicity of resembling instances, therefore, constitutes the very essence of power or connexion, and is the source from which the idea of it arises. In order, then, to understand the idea of power, we must consider that multiplicity; nor do I ask more to give a solution of that difficulty, which has so long perplexed us. For thus I reason. The repetition of perfectly similar instances can never alone give rise to an original idea, different from what is to be found in any particular instance, as has been observed, and as evidently follows from our fundamental principle, that all ideas are copied from impressions. Since therefore the idea of power is a new original idea, not to be found in any one instance, and which yet arises from the repetition of several instances, it follows, that the repetition alone has not that effect, but must either discover or produce something new, which is the source of that idea. Did the repetition neither discover nor produce anything new, our ideas might be multiplied by it, but would not be enlarged above what they are upon the observation of one single instance. Every enlargement, therefore, (such as the idea of power or connexion) which arises from the multiplicity of similar instances, is copied from some effects of the multiplicity, and will be perfectly understood by understanding these effects. Wherever we find anything new to be discovered or produced by the repetition, there we

must place the power, and must never look for it in any other object.

But it is evident, in the first place, that the repetition of like objects in like relations of succession and contiguity discovers nothing new in any one of them: since we can draw no inference from it, nor make it a subject either of our demonstrative or probable reasonings; [Sect. 6.] as has been already proved. Nay suppose we could draw an inference, it would be of no consequence in the present case; since no kind of reasoning can give rise to a new idea, such as this of power is; but wherever we reason, we must antecedently be possessors of clear ideas, which may be the objects of our reasoning. The conception always precedes the understanding; and where the one is obscure, the other is uncertain; where the one fails, the other must fail also.

Secondly, It is certain that this repetition of similar objects in similar situations produces nothing new either in these objects, or in any external body. For it will readily be allowed, that the several instances we have of the conjunction of resembling causes and effects are in themselves entirely independent, and that the communication of motion, which I see result at present from the shock of two billiard-balls, is totally distinct from that which I saw result from such an impulse a twelve-month ago. These impulses have no influence on each other. They are entirely divided by time and place; and the one might have existed and communicated motion, though the

other never had
been in being.

There is, then, nothing new either discovered or
produced in any objects
by their constant conjunction, and by the uninterrupted
resemblance
of their relations of succession and contiguity. But it
is from this
resemblance, that the ideas of necessity, of power, and
of efficacy, are
derived. These ideas, therefore, represent not anything,
that does or
can belong to the objects, which are constantly
conjoined. This is
an argument, which, in every view we can examine it,
will be found
perfectly unanswerable. Similar instances are still the
first source
of our idea of power or necessity; at the same time that
they have no
influence by their similarity either on each other, or
on any external
object. We must, therefore, turn ourselves to some other
quarter to seek
the origin of that idea.

Though the several resembling instances, which give rise
to the idea of
power, have no influence on each other, and can never
produce any new
quality in the object, which can be the model of that
idea, yet the
observation of this resemblance produces a new
impression in the mind,
which is its real model. For after we have observed the
resemblance in
a sufficient number of instances, we immediately feel a
determination of
the mind to pass from one object to its usual attendant,
and to conceive
it in a stronger light upon account of that relation.
This determination
is the only effect of the resemblance; and therefore
must be the same

with power or efficacy, whose idea is derived from the resemblance. The several instances of resembling conjunctions lead us into the notion of power and necessity. These instances are in themselves totally distinct from each other, and have no union but in the mind, which observes them, and collects their ideas. Necessity, then, is the effect of this observation, and is nothing but an internal impression of the mind, or a determination to carry our thoughts from one object to another. Without considering it in this view, we can never arrive at the most distant notion of it, or be able to attribute it either to external or internal objects, to spirit or body, to causes or effects.

The necessary connexion betwixt causes and effects is the foundation of our inference from one to the other. The foundation of our inference is the transition arising from the accustomed union. These are, therefore, the same.

The idea of necessity arises from some impression. There is no impression conveyed by our senses, which can give rise to that idea. It must, therefore, be derived from some internal impression, or impression of reflection. There is no internal impression, which has any relation to the present business, but that propensity, which custom produces, to pass from an object to the idea of its usual attendant. This therefore is the essence of necessity. Upon the whole, necessity is something, that exists in the mind, not in objects; nor is it possible for us ever

to form the most distant idea of it, considered as a quality in bodies.
Either we have no idea of necessity, or necessity is nothing but that determination of the thought to pass from causes to effects, and from effects to causes, according to their experienced union.

Thus as the necessity, which makes two times two equal to four, or three angles of a triangle equal to two right ones, lies only in the act of the understanding, by which we consider and compare these ideas; in like manner the necessity or power, which unites causes and effects, lies in the determination of the mind to pass from the one to the other. The efficacy or energy of causes is neither placed in the causes themselves, nor in the deity, nor in the concurrence of these two principles; but belongs entirely to the soul, which considers the union of two or more objects in all past instances. It is here that the real power of causes is placed along with their connexion and necessity.

I am sensible, that of all the paradoxes, which I, have had, or shall hereafter have occasion to advance in the course of this treatise, the present one is the most violent, and that it is merely by dint of solid proof and reasoning I can ever hope it will have admission, and overcome the inveterate prejudices of mankind. Before we are reconciled to this doctrine, how often must we repeat to ourselves, that the simple view of any two objects or actions, however related, can never give us any idea, of power, or of a connexion betwixt them: that this idea arises from the repetition of their union: that the repetition

neither discovers nor
causes any thing in the objects, but has an influence
only on the mind,
by that customary transition it produces: that this
customary transition
is, therefore, the same with the power and necessity;
which are
consequently qualities of perceptions, not of objects,
and are
internally felt by the soul, and not perceivd externally
in bodies?

There is commonly an astonishment attending every thing
extraordinary;
and this astonishment changes immediately into the
highest degree
of esteem or contempt, according as we approve or
disapprove of the
subject. I am much afraid, that though the foregoing
reasoning appears
to me the shortest and most decisive imaginable; yet
with the generality
of readers the biass of the mind will prevail, and give
them a prejudice
against the present doctrine.

This contrary biass is easily accounted for. It is a
common observation,
that the mind has a great propensity to spread itself on
external
objects, and to conjoin with them any internal
impressions, which they
occasion, and which always make their appearance at the
same time that
these objects discover themselves to the senses. Thus as
certain sounds
and smells are always found to attend certain visible
objects, we
naturally imagine a conjunction, even in place, betwixt
the objects and
qualities, though the qualities be of such a nature as
to admit of no
such conjunction, and really exist no where. But of this
more fully
hereafter [Part IV, Sect. 5.]. Mean while it is
sufficient to observe,

that the same propensity is the reason, why we suppose necessity and power to lie in the objects we consider, not in our mind that considers them; notwithstanding it is not possible for us to form the most distant idea of that quality, when it is not taken for the determination of the mind, to pass from the idea of an object to that of its usual attendant.

But though this be the only reasonable account we can give of necessity, the contrary notion is; so riveted in the mind from the principles above-mentioned, that I doubt not but my sentiments will be treated by many as extravagant and ridiculous. What! the efficacy of causes lie in the determination of the mind! As if causes did not operate entirely independent of the mind, and would not continue their operation, even though there was no mind existent to contemplate them, or reason concerning them. Thought may well depend on causes for its operation, but not causes on thought. This is to reverse the order of nature, and make that secondary, which is really primary, To every operation there is a power proportioned; and this power must be placed on the body, that operates. If we remove the power from one cause, we must ascribe it to another: But to remove it from all causes, and bestow it on a being, that is no ways related to the cause or effect, but by perceiving them, is a gross absurdity, and contrary to the most certain principles of human reason.

I can only reply to all these arguments, that the case is here much the

same, as if a blind man should pretend to find a great many absurdities in the supposition, that the colour of scarlet is not the same with the sound of a trumpet, nor light the same with solidity. If we have really no idea of a power or efficacy in any object, or of any real connexion betwixt causes and effects, it will be to little purpose to prove, that an efficacy is necessary in all operations. We do not understand our own meaning in talking so, but ignorantly confound ideas, which are entirely distinct from each other. I am, indeed, ready to allow, that there may be several qualities both in material and immaterial objects, with which we are utterly unacquainted; and if we please to call these POWER or EFFICACY, it will be of little consequence to the world. But when, instead of meaning these unknown qualities, we make the terms of power and efficacy signify something, of which we have a clear idea, and which is incompatible with those objects, to which we apply it, obscurity and error begin then to take place, and we are led astray by a false philosophy. This is the case, when we transfer the determination of the thought to external objects, and suppose any real intelligible connexion betwixt them; that being a quality, which can only belong to the mind that considers them.

As to what may be said, that the operations of nature are independent of our thought and reasoning, I allow it; and accordingly have observed, that objects bear to each other the relations of contiguity and succession: that like objects may be observed in several

instances to
have like relations; and that all this is independent
of, and antecedent
to the operations of the understanding. But if we go any
farther, and
ascribe a power or necessary connexion to these objects;
this is what
we can never observe in them, but must draw the idea of
it from what we
feel internally in contemplating them. And this I carry
so far, that I
am ready to convert my present reasoning into an
instance of it, by a
subtlety, which it will not be difficult to comprehend.

When any object is presented to us, it immediately
conveys to the mind
a lively idea of that object, which is usually found to
attend it; and
this determination of the mind forms the necessary
connexion of these
objects. But when we change the point of view, from the
objects to the
perceptions; in that case the impression is to be
considered as the
cause, and the lively idea as the effect; and their
necessary connexion
is that new determination, which we feel to pass from
the idea of the
one to that of the other. The uniting principle among
our internal
perceptions is as unintelligible as that among external
objects, and
is not known to us any other way than by experience. Now
the nature
and effects of experience have been already sufficiently
examined and
explained. It never gives us any insight into the
internal structure or
operating principle of objects, but only accustoms the
mind to pass from
one to another.

It is now time to collect all the different parts of
this reasoning,

and by joining them together form an exact definition of the relation of cause and effect, which makes the subject of the present enquiry. This order would not have been excusable, of first examining our inference from the relation before we had explained the relation itself, had it been possible to proceed in a different method. But as the nature of the relation depends so much on that of the inference, we have been obliged to advance in this seemingly preposterous manner, and make use of terms before we were able exactly to define them, or fix their meaning. We shall now correct this fault by giving a precise definition of cause and effect.

There may two definitions be given of this relation, which are only different, by their presenting a different view of the same object, and making us consider it either as a philosophical or as a natural relation; either as a comparison of two ideas, or as an association betwixt them. We may define a CAUSE to be An object precedent and contiguous to another, and where all the objects resembling the former are placed in like relations of precedency and contiguity to those objects that resemble the latter. I If this definition be esteemed defective, because drawn from objects foreign to the cause, we may substitute this other definition in its place, viz. A CAUSE is an object precedent and contiguous to another, and so united with it, that the idea, of the one determines the mind to form the idea of the other, and the impression of the one to form a more lively idea of

the other. 2
should this definition also be rejected for the same
reason, I know no
other remedy, than that the persons, who express this
delicacy, should
substitute a juster definition in its place. But for my
part I must own
my incapacity for such an undertaking. When I examine
with the utmost
accuracy those objects, which are commonly denominated
causes and
effects, I find, in considering a single instance, that
the one object
is precedent and contiguous to the other; and in
inlarging my view
to consider several instances, I find only, that like
objects are
constantly placed in like relations of succession and
contiguity. Again,
when I consider the influence of this constant
conjunction, I perceive,
that such a relation can never be an object of
reasoning, and can never
operate upon the mind, but by means of custom, which
determines the
imagination to make a transition from the idea of one
object to that
of its usual attendant, and from the impression of one
to a more lively
idea of the other. However extraordinary these
sentiments may appear,
I think it fruitless to trouble myself with any farther
enquiry or
reasoning upon the subject, but shall repose myself on
them as on
established maxims.

It will only be proper, before we leave this subject, to
draw some
corollaries from it, by which we may remove several
prejudices and
popular errors, that have very much prevailed in
philosophy. First, We
may learn from the foregoing, doctrine, that all causes
are of the

same kind, and that in particular there is no foundation for that distinction, which we sometimes make betwixt efficient causes and causes sine qua non; or betwixt efficient causes, and formal, and material, and exemplary, and final causes. For as our idea of efficiency is derived from the constant conjunction of two objects, wherever this is observed, the cause is efficient; and where it is not, there can never be a cause of any kind. For the same reason we must reject the distinction betwixt cause and occasion, when supposed to signify any thing essentially different from each other. If constant conjunction be implied in what we call occasion, it is a real cause. If not, it is no relation at all, and cannot give rise to any argument or reasoning.

Secondly, The same course of reasoning will make us conclude, that there is but one kind of necessity, as there is but one kind of cause, and that the common distinction betwixt moral and physical necessity is without any foundation in nature. This clearly appears from the precedent explication of necessity. It is the constant conjunction of objects, along with the determination of the mind, which constitutes a physical necessity: And the removal of these is the same thing with chance. As objects must either be conjoined or not, and as the mind must either be determined or not to pass from one object to another, it is impossible to admit of any medium betwixt chance and an absolute necessity. In weakening this conjunction and determination you do not change the nature of the necessity; since even in the

operation of
bodies, these have different degrees of constancy and
force, without
producing a different species of that relation.

The distinction, which we often make betwixt POWER and
the EXERCISE of
it, is equally without foundation.

Thirdly, We may now be able fully to overcome all that
repugnance, which
it is so natural for us to entertain against the
foregoing reasoning,
by which we endeavoured to prove, that the necessity of
a cause to
every beginning of existence is not founded on any
arguments either
demonstrative or intuitive. Such an opinion will not
appear strange
after the foregoing definitions. If we define a cause to
be an
object precedent and contiguous to another, and where
all the objects
resembling the farmer are placed in a like relation of
priority and
contiguity to those objects, that resemble the latter;
we may easily
conceive, that there is no absolute nor metaphysical
necessity, that
every beginning of existence should be attended with
such an object. If
we define a cause to be, AN OBJECT PRECEDENT AND
CONTIGUOUS TO ANOTHER,
AND SO UNITED WITH IT IN THE IMAGINATION, THAT THE IDEA
OF THE ONE
DETERMINES THE MIND TO FORM THE IDEA OF THE OTHER, AND
THE IMPRESSION
OF THE ONE TO FORM A MORE LIVELY IDEA OF THE OTHER; we
shall make still
less difficulty of assenting to this opinion. Such an
influence on the
mind is in itself perfectly extraordinary and
incomprehensible; nor can
we be certain of its reality, but from experience and
observation.

I shall add as a fourth corollary that we can never have reason to believe that any object exists, of which we cannot form an idea. For as all our reasonings concerning existence are derived from causation, and as all our reasonings concerning causation are derived from the experienced conjunction of objects, not from any reasoning or reflection, the same experience must give us a notion of these objects, and must remove all mystery from our conclusions. This is so evident, that it would scarce have merited our attention, were it not to obviate certain objections of this kind, which might arise against the following reasonings concerning matter and substance. I need not observe, that a full knowledge of the object is not requisite, but only of those qualities of it, which we believe to exist.

SECT. XV. RULES BY WHICH TO JUDGE OF CAUSES AND EFFECTS.

According to the precedent doctrine, there are no objects which by the mere survey, without consulting experience, we can determine to be the causes of any other; and no objects, which we can certainly determine in the same manner not to be the causes. Any thing may produce any thing. Creation, annihilation, motion, reason, volition; all these may arise from one another, or from any other object we can imagine. Nor will this appear strange, if we compare two principles explained above, THAT THE

CONSTANT CONJUNCTION OF OBJECTS DETERMINES THEIR CAUSATION, AND [Part I. Sect. 5.] THAT, PROPERTY SPEAKING, NO OBJECTS ARE CONTRARY TO EACH OTHER BUT EXISTENCE AND NON-EXISTENCE. Where objects are not contrary, nothing hinders them from having that constant conjunction, on which the relation of cause and effect totally depends.

Since therefore it is possible for all objects to become causes or effects to each other, it may be proper to fix some general rules, by which we may know when they really are so.

(1) The cause and effect must be contiguous in space and time.

(2) The cause must be prior to the effect.

(3) There must be a constant union betwixt the cause and effect. It is chiefly this quality, that constitutes the relation.

(4) The same cause always produces the same effect, and the same effect never arises but from the same cause. This principle we derive from experience, and is the source of most of our philosophical reasonings. For when by any clear experiment we have discovered the causes or effects of any phaenomenon, we immediately extend our observation to every phenomenon of the same kind, without waiting for that constant repetition, from which the first idea of this relation is derived.

(5) There is another principle, which hangs upon this, viz. that where several different objects produce the same effect, it must be by means of some quality, which we discover to be common amongst

them. For as like effects imply like causes, we must always ascribe the causation to the circumstance, wherein we discover the resemblance.

(6) The following principle is founded on the same reason. The difference in the effects of two resembling objects must proceed from that particular, in which they differ. For as like causes always produce like effects, when in any instance we find our expectation to be disappointed, we must conclude that this irregularity proceeds from some difference in the causes.

(7) When any object encreases or diminishes with the encrease or diminution of its cause, it is to be regarded as a compounded effect, derived from the union of the several different effects, which arise from the several different parts of the cause. The absence or presence of one part of the cause is here supposed to be always attended with the absence or presence of a proportionable part of the effect. This constant conjunction sufficiently proves, that the one part is the cause of the other. We must, however, beware not to draw such a conclusion from a few experiments. A certain degree of heat gives pleasure; if you diminish that heat, the pleasure diminishes; but it does not follow, that if you augment it beyond a certain degree, the pleasure will likewise augment; for we find that it degenerates into pain.

(8) The eighth and last rule I shall take notice of is, that an object, which exists for any time in its full perfection without

any effect, is not the sole cause of that effect, but requires to be assisted by some other principle, which may forward its influence and operation. For as like effects necessarily follow from like causes, and in a contiguous time and place, their separation for a moment shews, that these causes are not compleat ones.

Here is all the LOGIC I think proper to employ in my reasoning; and perhaps even this was not very necessary, but might have been supplyd by the natural principles of our understanding. Our scholastic head-pieces and logicians shew no such superiority above the mere vulgar in their reason and ability, as to give us any inclination to imitate them in delivering a long system of rules and precepts to direct our judgment, in philosophy. All the rules of this nature are very easy in their invention, but extremely difficult in their application; and even experimental philosophy, which seems the most natural and simple of any, requires the utmost stretch of human judgment. There is no phaenomenon in nature, but what is compounded and modifyd by so many different circumstances, that in order to arrive at the decisive point, we must carefully separate whatever is superfluous, and enquire by new experiments, if every particular circumstance of the first experiment was essential to it. These new experiments are liable to a discussion of the same kind; so that the utmost constancy is requird to make us persevere in our enquiry, and the utmost sagacity to choose the right

way among so many that present themselves. If this be the case even in natural philosophy, how much more in moral, where there is a much greater complication of circumstances, and where those views and sentiments, which are essential to any action of the mind, are so implicit and obscure, that they often escape our strictest attention, and are not only unaccountable in their causes, but even unknown in their existence? I am much afraid lest the small success I meet with in my enquiries will make this observation bear the air of an apology rather than of boasting.

If any thing can give me security in this particular, it will be the enlarging of the sphere of my experiments as much as possible; for which reason it may be proper in this place to examine the reasoning faculty of brutes, as well as that of human creatures.

SECT. XVI OF THE REASON OF ANIMALS

Next to the ridicule of denying an evident truth, is that of taking much pains to defend it; and no truth appears to me more evident, than that beasts are endowd with thought and reason as well as men. The arguments are in this case so obvious, that they never escape the most stupid and ignorant.

We are conscious, that we ourselves, in adapting means to ends, are guided by reason and design, and that it is not

ignorantly nor casually
we perform those actions, which tend to self-
preservation, to the
obtaining pleasure, and avoiding pain. When therefore we
see other
creatures, in millions of instances, perform like
actions, and direct
them to the ends, all our principles of reason and
probability carry us
with an invincible force to believe the existence of a
like cause. It is
needless in my opinion to illustrate this argument by
the enumeration
of particulars. The smallest attention will supply us
with more than are
requisite. The resemblance betwixt the actions of
animals and those
of men is so entire in this respect, that the very first
action of
the first animal we shall please to pitch on, will
afford us an
incontestable argument for the present doctrine.

This doctrine is as useful as it is obvious, and
furnishes us with a
kind of touchstone, by which we may try every system in
this species
of philosophy. It is from the resemblance of the
external actions of
animals to those we ourselves perform, that we judge
their internal
likewise to resemble ours; and the same principle of
reasoning, carryd
one step farther, will make us conclude that since our
internal actions
resemble each other, the causes, from which they are
derivd, must also
be resembling. When any hypothesis, therefore, is
advancd to explain a
mental operation, which is common to men and beasts, we
must apply the
same hypothesis to both; and as every true hypothesis
will abide this
trial, so I may venture to affirm, that no false one
will ever be able

to endure it. The common defect of those systems, which philosophers have employd to account for the actions of the mind, is, that they suppose such a subtilty and refinement of thought, as not only exceeds the capacity of mere animals, but even of children and the common people in our own species; who are notwithstanding susceptible of the same emotions and affections as persons of the most accomplishd genius and understanding. Such a subtilty is a dear proof of the falshood, as the contrary simplicity of the truth, of any system.

Let us therefore put our present system concerning the nature of the understanding to this decisive trial, and see whether it will equally account for the reasonings of beasts as for these of the human species.

Here we must make a distinction betwixt those actions of animals, which are of a vulgar nature, and seem to be on a level with their common capacities, and those more extraordinary instances of sagacity, which they sometimes discover for their own preservation, and the propagation of their species. A dog, that avoids fire and precipices, that shuns strangers, and caresses his master, affords us an instance of the first kind. A bird, that chooses with such care and nicety the place and materials of her nest, and sits upon her eggs for a due time, and in suitable season, with all the precaution that a chymist is capable of in the most delicate projection, furnishes us with a lively instance of the second.

As to the former actions, I assert they proceed from a reasoning, that is not in itself different, nor founded on different principles, from that which appears in human nature. It is necessary in the first place, that there be some impression immediately present to their memory or senses, in order to be the foundation of their judgment. From the tone of voice the dog infers his masters anger, and foresees his own punishment. From a certain sensation affecting his smell, he judges his game not to be far distant from him.

Secondly, The inference he draws from the present impression is built on experience, and on his observation of the conjunction of objects in past instances. As you vary this experience, he varies his reasoning. Make a beating follow upon one sign or motion for some time, and afterwards upon another; and he will successively draw different conclusions, according to his most recent experience.

Now let any philosopher make a trial, and endeavour to explain that act of the mind, which we call BELIEF, and give an account of the principles, from which it is derivd, independent of the influence of custom on the imagination, and let his hypothesis be equally applicable to beasts as to the human species; and after he has done this, I promise to embrace his opinion. But at the same time I demand as an equitable condition, that if my system be the only one, which can answer to all these terms, it may be receivd as entirely satisfactory and convincing. And that it is the only one, is evident almost without

any reasoning.

Beasts certainly never perceive any real connexion among objects. It is

therefore by experience they infer one from another.

They can never by

any arguments form a general conclusion, that those objects, of which

they have had no experience, resemble those of which they have. It is

therefore by means of custom alone, that experience operates upon them.

All this was sufficiently evident with respect to man.

But with respect

to beasts there cannot be the least suspicion of mistake; which must be

ownd to be a strong confirmation, or rather an invincible proof of my

system.

Nothing shews more the force of habit in reconciling us to any

phaenomenoun, than this, that men are not astonished at the operations

of their own reason, at the same time, that they admire the instinct

of animals, and find a difficulty in explaining it, merely because it

cannot be reducd tothe very same principles. To consider the matter

aright, reason is nothing but a wonderful and unintelligible instinct in

our souls, which carries us along a certain train of ideas, and endows

them with particular qualities, according to their particular situations

and relations. This instinct, it is true, arises from past observation

and experience; but can any one give the ultimate reason, why past

experience and observation produces such an effect, any more than why

nature alone shoud produce it? Nature may certainly produce whatever

can arise from habit: Nay, habit is nothing but one of the principles of

nature, and derives all its force from that origin.

PART IV. OF THE SCEPTICAL AND OTHER SYSTEMS OF PHILOSOPHY.

SECT. I. OF SCEPTICISM WITH REGARD TO REASON.

In all demonstrative sciences the rules are certain and infallible; but when we apply them, our fallible said uncertain faculties are very apt to depart from them, and fall into error. We must, therefore, in every reasoning form a new judgment, as a check or controul on our first judgment or belief; and must enlarge our view to comprehend a kind of history of all the instances, wherein our understanding has deceived us, compared with those, wherein its testimony was just and true. Our reason must be considered as a kind of cause, of which truth is the natural effect; but such-a-one as by the irruption of other causes, and by the inconstancy of our mental powers, may frequently be prevented. By this means all knowledge degenerates into probability; and this probability is greater or less, according to our experience of the veracity or deceitfulness of our understanding, and according to the simplicity or intricacy of the question.

There is no Algebraist nor Mathematician so expert in his science, as to

place entire confidence in any truth immediately upon his discovery of it, or regard it as any thing, but a mere probability. Every time he runs over his proofs, his confidence increases; but still more by the approbation of his friends; and is raised to its utmost perfection by the universal assent and applauses of the learned world. Now it is evident, that this gradual increase of assurance is nothing but the addition of new probabilities, and is derived from the constant union of causes and effects, according to past experience and observation.

In accounts of any length or importance, Merchants seldom trust to the infallible certainty of numbers for their security; but by the artificial structure of the accounts, produce a probability beyond what is derived from the skill and experience of the accountant. For that is plainly of itself some degree of probability; though uncertain and variable, according to the degrees of his experience and length of the account. Now as none will maintain, that our assurance in a long numeration exceeds probability, I may safely affirm, that there scarce is any proposition concerning numbers, of which we can have a fuller security. For it is easily possible, by gradually diminishing the numbers, to reduce the longest series of addition to the most simple question, which can be formed, to an addition of two single numbers; and upon this supposition we shall find it impracticable to shew the precise limits of knowledge and of probability, or discover that particular

number, at which the one ends and the other begins. But knowledge and probability are of such contrary and disagreeing natures, that they cannot well run insensibly into each other, and that because they will not divide, but must be either entirely present, or entirely absent. Besides, if any single addition were certain, every one would be so, and consequently the whole or total sum; unless the whole can be different from all its parts. I had almost said, that this was certain; but I reflect that it must reduce itself, as well as every other reasoning, and from knowledge degenerate into probability.

Since therefore all knowledge resolves itself into probability, and becomes at last of the same nature with that evidence, which we employ in common life, we must now examine this latter species of reasoning, and see on what foundation it stands.

In every judgment, which we can form concerning probability, as well as concerning knowledge, we ought always to correct the first judgment, derived from the nature of the object, by another judgment, derived from the nature of the understanding. It is certain a man of solid sense and long experience ought to have, and usually has, a greater assurance in his opinions, than one that is foolish and ignorant, and that our sentiments have different degrees of authority, even with ourselves, in proportion to the degrees of our reason and experience. In the man of the best sense and longest experience, this authority is never entire; since even such-a-one must be conscious of many errors

in the past, and
must still dread the like for the future. Here then
arises a new species
of probability to correct and regulate the first, and
fix its just
standard and proportion. As demonstration is subject to
the controul of
probability, so is probability liable to a new
correction by a reflex
act of the mind, wherein the nature of our
understanding, and our
reasoning from the first probability become our objects.

Having thus found in every probability, beside the
original uncertainty
inherent in the subject, a new uncertainty derived from
the weakness of
that faculty, which judges, and having adjusted these
two together,
we are obliged by our reason to add a new doubt derived
from the
possibility of error in the estimation we make of the
truth and fidelity
of our faculties. This is a doubt, which immediately
occurs to us, and
of which, if we would closely pursue our reason, we
cannot avoid giving
a decision. But this decision, though it should be
favourable to our
preceding judgment, being founded only on probability,
must weaken still
further our first evidence, and must itself be weakened
by a fourth
doubt of the same kind, and so on in infinitum: till at
last there
remain nothing of the original probability, however
great we may
suppose it to have been, and however small the
diminution by every new
uncertainty. No finite object can subsist under a
decrease repeated IN
INFINITUM; and even the vastest quantity, which can
enter into human
imagination, must in this manner be reduced to nothing.
Let our first

belief be never so strong, it must infallibly perish by passing through so many new examinations, of which each diminishes somewhat of its force and vigour. When I reflect on the natural fallibility of my judgment, I have less confidence in my opinions, than when I only consider the objects concerning which I reason; and when I proceed still farther, to turn the scrutiny against every successive estimation I make of my faculties, all the rules of logic require a continual diminution, and at last a total extinction of belief and evidence.

Should it here be asked me, whether I sincerely assent to this argument, which I seem to take such pains to inculcate, and whether I be really one of those sceptics, who hold that all is uncertain, and that our judgment is not in any thing possest of any measures of truth and falshood; I should reply, that this question is entirely superfluous, and that neither I, nor any other person was ever sincerely and constantly of that opinion. Nature, by an absolute and uncontroulable necessity has determined us to judge as well as to breathe and feel; nor can we any more forbear viewing certain objects in a stronger and fuller light, upon account of their customary connexion with a present impression, than we can hinder ourselves from thinking as long, as we are awake, or seeing the surrounding bodies, when we turn our eyes towards them in broad sunshine. Whoever has taken the pains to refute the cavils of this total scepticism, has really disputed without an antagonist, and endeavoured by arguments to establish a

faculty, which nature has antecedently implanted in the mind, and rendered unavoidable.

My intention then in displaying so carefully the arguments of that fantastic sect, is only to make the reader sensible of the truth of my hypothesis, that all our reasonings concerning causes and effects are derived from nothing but custom; and that belief is more properly an act of the sensitive, than of the cogitative part of our natures. I have here proved, that the very same principles, which make us form a decision upon any subject, and correct that decision by the consideration of our genius and capacity, and of the situation of our mind, when we examined that subject; I say, I have proved, that these same principles, when carryed farther, and applied to every new reflex judgment, must, by continually diminishing the original evidence, at last reduce it to nothing, and utterly subvert all belief and opinion. If belief, therefore, were a simple act of the thought, without any peculiar manner of conception, or the addition of a force and vivacity, it must infallibly destroy itself, and in every case terminate in a total suspense of judgment. But as experience will sufficiently convince any one, who thinks it worth while to try, that though he can find no error in the foregoing arguments, yet he still continues to believe, and think, and reason as usual, he may safely conclude, that his reasoning and belief is some sensation or peculiar manner of conception, which it is impossible for mere ideas and reflections to destroy.

But here, perhaps, it may be demanded, how it happens, even upon my hypothesis, that these arguments above-explained produce not a total suspense of judgment, and after what manner the mind ever retains a degree of assurance in any subject? For as these new probabilities, which by their repetition perpetually diminish the original evidence, are founded on the very same principles, whether of thought or sensation, as the primary judgment, it may seem unavoidable, that in either case they must equally subvert it, and by the opposition, either of contrary thoughts or sensations, reduce the mind to a total uncertainty. I suppose, there is some question proposed to me, and that after revolving over the impressions of my memory and senses, and carrying my thoughts from them to such objects, as are commonly conjoined with them, I feel a stronger and more forcible conception on the one side, than on the other. This strong conception forms my first decision. I suppose, that afterwards I examine my judgment itself, and observing from experience, that it is sometimes just and sometimes erroneous, I consider it as regulated by contrary principles or causes, of which some lead to truth, and some to error; and in ballancing these contrary causes, I diminish by a new probability the assurance of my first decision. This new probability is liable to the same diminution as the foregoing, and so on, IN INFINITUM. It is therefore demanded, how it happens, that even after all we retain a degree of belief, which is

sufficient for our purpose, either in philosophy or common life.

I answer, that after the first and second decision; as the action of the mind becomes forced and unnatural, and the ideas faint and obscure; though the principles of judgment, and the ballancing of opposite causes be the same as at the very beginning; yet their influence on the imagination, and the vigour they add to, or diminish from the thought, is by no means equal. Where the mind reaches not its objects with easiness and facility, the same principles have not the same effect as in a more natural conception of the ideas; nor does the imagination feel a sensation, which holds any proportion with that which arises from its common judgments and opinions. The attention is on the stretch: The posture of the mind is uneasy; and the spirits being diverted from their natural course, are not governed in their movements by the same laws, at least not to the same degree, as when they flow in their usual channel.

If we desire similar instances, it will not be very difficult to find them. The present subject of metaphysics will supply us abundantly. The same argument, which would have been esteemed convincing in a reasoning concerning history or politics, has little or no influence in these abstruser subjects, even though it be perfectly comprehended; and that because there is required a study and an effort of thought, in order to its being comprehended: And this effort of thought disturbs the operation of our sentiments, on which the belief

depends. The case is the same in other subjects. The straining of the imagination always hinders the regular flowing of the passions and sentiments. A tragic poet, that would represent his heroes as very ingenious and witty in their misfortunes, would never touch the passions. As the emotions of the soul prevent any subtile reasoning and reflection, so these latter actions of the mind are equally prejudicial to the former. The mind, as well as the body, seems to be endowed with a certain precise degree of force and activity, which it never employs in one action, but at the expense of all the rest. This is more evidently true, where the actions are of quite different natures; since in that case the force of the mind is not only diverted, but even the disposition changed, so as to render us incapable of a sudden transition from one action to the other, and still more of performing both at once. No wonder, then, the conviction, which arises from a subtile reasoning, diminishes in proportion to the efforts, which the imagination makes to enter into the reasoning, and to conceive it in all its parts. Belief, being a lively conception, can never be entire, where it is not founded on something natural and easy.

This I take to be the true state of the question, and cannot approve of that expeditious way, which some take with the sceptics, to reject at once all their arguments without enquiry or examination. If the sceptical reasonings be strong, say they, it is a proof, that reason may have some force and authority: if weak, they can never

be sufficient to
invalidate all the conclusions of our understanding.
This argument is
not just; because the sceptical reasonings, were it
possible for them
to exist, and were they not destroyed by their
subtlety, would
be successively both strong and weak, according to the
successive
dispositions of the mind. Reason first appears in
possession of the
throne, prescribing laws, and imposing maxims, with an
absolute sway and
authority. Her enemy, therefore, is obliged to take
shelter under
her protection, and by making use of rational arguments
to prove the
fallaciousness and imbecility of reason, produces, in a
manner, a
patent under her band and seal. This patent has at first
an authority,
proportioned to the present and immediate authority of
reason, from
which it is derived. But as it is supposed to be
contradictory to
reason, it gradually diminishes the force of that
governing power
and its own at the same time; till at last they both
vanish away into
nothing, by a regular and just diminution. The sceptical
and dogmatical
reasons are of the same kind, though contrary in their
operation and
tendency; so that where the latter is strong, it has an
enemy of equal
force in the former to encounter; and as their forces
were at first
equal, they still continue so, as long as either of them
subsists; nor
does one of them lose any force in the contest, without
taking as much
from its antagonist. It is happy, therefore, that nature
breaks the
force of all sceptical arguments in time, and keeps them
from having any

considerable influence on the understanding. Were we to trust entirely to their self-destruction, that can never take place, until they have first subverted all conviction, and have totally destroyed human reason.

SECT. II. OF SCEPTICISM WITH REGARD TO THE SENSES.

Thus the sceptic still continues to reason and believe, even though he asserts, that he cannot defend his reason by reason; and by the same rule he must assent to the principle concerning the existence of body, though he cannot pretend by any arguments of philosophy to maintain its veracity. Nature has not left this to his choice, and has doubtless, esteemed it an affair of too great importance to be trusted to our uncertain reasonings and speculations. We may well ask, What causes induce us to believe in the existence of body? but it is in vain to ask, Whether there be body or not? That is a point, which we must take for granted in all our reasonings.

The subject, then, of our present enquiry is concerning the causes which induce us to believe in the existence of body: And my reasonings on this head I shall begin with a distinction, which at first sight may seem superfluous, but which will contribute very much to the perfect understanding of what follows. We ought to examine apart those two questions, which are commonly confounded together, viz. Why we attribute

a continued existence to objects, even when they are not present to the senses; and why we suppose them to have an existence DISTINCT from the mind and perception. Under this last head I comprehend their situation as well as relations, their external position as well as the independence of their existence and operation. These two questions concerning the continued and distinct existence of body are intimately connected together. For if the objects of our senses continue to exist, even when they are not perceived, their existence is of course independent of and distinct from the perception: and vice versa, if their existence be independent of the perception and distinct from it, they must continue to exist, even though they be not perceived. But though the decision of the one question decides the other; yet that we may the more easily discover the principles of human nature, from whence the decision arises, we shall carry along with us this distinction, and shall consider, whether it be the senses, reason, or the imagination, that produces the opinion of a continued or of a distinct existence. These are the only questions, that are intelligible on the present subject. For as to the notion of external existence, when taken for something specially different from our perceptions [Part. II. Sect. 6.], we have already shewn its absurdity.

To begin with the SENSES, it is evident these faculties are incapable of giving rise to the notion of the continued existence of their objects, after they no longer appear to the senses. For that is a

contradiction
in terms, and suppose that the senses continue to
operate, even after
they have ceased all manner of operation. These
faculties, therefore, if
they have any influence in the present case, must
produce the opinion
of a distinct, not of a continued existence; and in
order to that, must
present their impressions either as images and
representations, or as
these very distinct and external existences.

That our senses offer not their impressions as the
images of something
distinct, or independent, and external, is evident;
because they convey
to us nothing but a single perception, and never give us
the least
intimation of any thing beyond. A single perception can
never produce
the idea of a double existence, but by some inference
either of the
reason or imagination. When the mind looks farther than
what immediately
appears to it, its conclusions can never be put to the
account of the
senses; and it certainly looks farther, when from a
single perception it
infers a double existence, and supposes the relations of
resemblance and
causation betwixt them.

If our senses, therefore, suggest any idea of distinct
existences,
they must convey the impressions as those very
existences, by a kind of
fallacy and illusion. Upon this head we may observe,
that all sensations
are felt by the mind, such as they really are, and that
when we
doubt, whether they present themselves as distinct
objects, or as
mere impressions, the difficulty is not concerning their
nature, but

concerning their relations and situation. Now if the senses presented our impressions as external to, and independent of ourselves, both the objects and ourselves must be obvious to our senses, otherwise they could not be compared by these faculties. The difficulty, then, is how far we are ourselves the objects of our senses.

It is certain there is no question in philosophy more abstruse than that concerning identity, and the nature of the uniting principle, which constitutes a person. So far from being able by our senses merely to determine this question, we must have recourse to the most profound metaphysics to give a satisfactory answer to it; and in common life it is evident these ideas of self and person are never very fixed nor determinate. It is absurd, therefore, to imagine the senses can ever distinguish betwixt ourselves and external objects.

Add to this, that every impression, external and internal, passions, affections, sensations, pains and pleasures, are originally on the same footing; and that whatever other differences we may observe among them, they appear, all of them, in their true colours, as impressions or perceptions. And indeed, if we consider the matter aright, it is scarce possible it should be otherwise, nor is it conceivable that our senses should be more capable of deceiving us in the situation and relations, than in the nature of our impressions. For since all actions and sensations of the mind are known to us by consciousness, they must necessarily appear in every particular what they are,

and be what they appear. Every thing that enters the mind, being in reality a perception, it is impossible any thing should to feeling appear different. This were to suppose, that even where we are most intimately conscious, we might be mistaken.

But not to lose time in examining, whether it is possible for our senses to deceive us, and represent our perceptions as distinct from ourselves, that is as external to and independent of us; let us consider whether they really do so, and whether this error proceeds from an immediate sensation, or from some other causes.

To begin with the question concerning EXTERNAL existence, it may perhaps be said, that setting aside the metaphysical question of the identity of a thinking substance, our own body evidently belongs to us; and as several impressions appear exterior to the body, we suppose them also exterior to ourselves. The paper, on which I write at present, is beyond my hand. The table is beyond the paper. The walls of the chamber beyond the table. And in casting my eye towards the window, I perceive a great extent of fields and buildings beyond my chamber. From all this it may be infered, that no other faculty is required, beside the senses, to convince us of the external existence of body. But to prevent this inference, we need only weigh the three following considerations. First, That, properly speaking, it is not our body we perceive, when we regard our limbs and members, but certain impressions, which enter by the

senses; so that the ascribing a real and corporeal existence to these impressions, or to their objects, is an act of the mind as difficult to explain, as that which we examine at present. Secondly, Sounds, and tastes, and smells, though commonly regarded by the mind as continued independent qualities, appear not to have any existence in extension, and consequently cannot appear to the senses as situated externally to the body. The reason, why we ascribe a place to them, shall be: considered afterwards. Thirdly, Even our sight informs us not of distance or outness (so to speak) immediately and without a certain reasoning and experience, as is acknowledged by the most rational philosophers.

As to the independency of our perceptions on ourselves, this can never be an object of the senses; but any opinion we form concerning it, must be derived from experience and observation: And we shall see afterwards, that our conclusions from experience are far from being favourable to the doctrine of the independency of our perceptions. Mean while we may observe that when we talk of real distinct existences, we have commonly more in our eye their independency than external situation in place, and think an object has a sufficient reality, when its Being is uninterrupted, and independent of the incessant revolutions, which we are conscious of in ourselves.

Thus to resume what I have said concerning the senses; they give us no notion of continued existence, because they cannot

operate beyond the extent, in which they really operate. They as little produce the opinion of a distinct existence, because they neither can offer it to the mind as represented, nor as original. To offer it as represented, they must present both an object and an image. To make it appear as original, they must convey a falshood; and this falshood must lie in the relations and situation: In order to which they must be able to compare the object with ourselves; and even in that case they do not, nor is it possible they should, deceive us. We may, therefore, conclude with certainty, that the opinion of a continued and of a distinct existence never arises from the senses.

To confirm this we may observe, that there are three different kinds of impressions conveyed by the senses. The first are those of the figure, bulk, motion and solidity of bodies. The second those of colours, tastes, smells, sounds, heat and cold. The third are the pains and pleasures, that arise from the application of objects to our bodies, as by the cutting of our flesh with steel, and such like. Both philosophers and the vulgar suppose the first of these to have a distinct continued existence. The vulgar only regard the second as on the same footing. Both philosophers and the vulgar, again, esteem the third to be merely perceptions and consequently interrupted and dependent beings.

Now it is evident, that, whatever may be our philosophical opinion, colours, Sounds, heat and cold, as far as appears to the

senses, exist
after the same manner with motion and solidity, and that
the difference
we make betwixt them in this respect, arises not from
the mere
perception. So strong the prejudice for the distinct
continued existence
Of the former qualities, that when the contrary opinion
is advanced by
modern philosophers, people imagine they can almost
refute it from
their feeling and experience, and that their very senses
contradict this
philosophy. It is also evident, that colours, sounds,
&c. are originally
on the same footing with the pain that arises from
steel, and pleasure
that proceeds from a fire; and that the difference
betwixt them is
founded neither on perception nor reason, but on the
imagination. For
as they are confest to be, both of them, nothing but
perceptions arising
from the particular configurations and motions of the
parts of body,
wherein possibly can their difference consist? Upon the
whole, then, we
may conclude, that as far as the senses are judges, all
perceptions are
the same in the manner of their existence.

We may also observe in this instance of sounds and
colours, that we
can attribute a distinct continued existence to objects
without ever
consulting REASON, or weighing our opinions by any
philosophical
principles. And indeed, whatever convincing arguments
philosophers may
fancy they can produce to establish the belief of
objects independent of
the mind, it is obvious these arguments are known but to
very few, and
that it is not by them, that children, peasants, and the
greatest part

of mankind are induced to attribute objects to some impressions, and deny them to others. Accordingly we find, that all the conclusions, which the vulgar form on this head, are directly contrary to those, which are confirmed by philosophy. For philosophy informs us, that every thing, which appears to the mind, is nothing but a perception, and is interrupted, and dependent on the mind: whereas the vulgar confound perceptions and objects, and attribute a distinct continued existence to the very things they feel or see. This sentiment, then, as it is entirely unreasonable, must proceed from some other faculty than the understanding. To which we may add, that as long as we take our perceptions and objects to be the same, we can never infer the existence of the one from that of the other, nor form any argument from the relation of cause and effect; which is the only one that can assure us of matter of fact. Even after we distinguish our perceptions from our objects, it will appear presently, that we are still incapable of reasoning from the existence of one to that of the other: So that upon the whole our reason neither does, nor is it possible it ever should, upon any supposition, give us an assurance of the continued and distinct existence of body. That opinion must be entirely owing to the IMAGINATION: which must now be the subject of our enquiry.

Since all impressions are internal and perishing existences, and appear as such, the notion of their distinct and continued existence must arise

from a concurrence of some of their qualities with the qualities of the imagination, and since this notion does not extend to all of them, it must arise from certain qualities peculiar to some impressions. It will therefore be easy for us to discover these qualities by a comparison of the impressions, to which we attribute a distinct and continued existence, with those, which we regard as internal and perishing.

We may observe, then, that it is neither upon account of the involuntariness of certain impressions, as is commonly supposed, nor of their superior force and violence, that we attribute to them a reality, and continued existence, which we refuse to others, that are voluntary or feeble. For it is evident our pains and pleasures, our passions and affections, which we never suppose to have any existence beyond our perception, operate with greater violence, and are equally involuntary, as the impressions of figure and extension, colour and sound, which we suppose to be permanent beings. The heat of a fire, when moderate, is supposed to exist in the fire; but the pain, which it causes upon a near approach, is not taken to have any being, except in the perception.

These vulgar opinions, then, being rejected, we must search for some other hypothesis, by which we may discover those peculiar qualities in our impressions, which makes us attribute to them a distinct and continued existence.

After a little examination, we shall find, that all

those objects, to
which we attribute a continued existence, have a
peculiar constancy,
which distinguishes them from the impressions, whose
existence depends
upon our perception. Those mountains, and houses, and
trees, which lie
at present under my eye, have always appeared to me in
the same order;
and when I lose sight of them by shutting my eyes or
turning my head, I
soon after find them return upon me without the least
alteration. My bed
and table, my books and papers, present themselves in
the same uniform
manner, and change not upon account of any interruption
in my seeing
or perceivilng them. This is the case with all the
impressions, whose
objects are supposed to have an external existence; and
is the case
with no other impressions, whether gentle or violent,
voluntary or
involuntary.

This constancy, however, is not so perfect as not to
admit of very
considerable exceptions. Bodies often change their
position and
qualities, and after a little absence or interruption
may become hardly
knowable. But here it is observable, that even in these
changes they
preserve a coherence, and have a regular dependence on
each other; which
is the foundation of a kind of reasoning from causation,
and produces
the opinion of their continued existence. When I return
to my chamber
after an hour's absence, I find not my fire in the same
situation, in
which I left it: But then I am accustomed in other
instances to see a
like alteration produced in a like time, whether I am
present or absent,

near or remote. This coherence, therefore, in their changes is one of the characteristics of external objects, as well as their constancy.

Having found that the opinion of the continued existence of body depends on the COHERENCE, and CONSTANCY of certain impressions, I now proceed to examine after what manner these qualities give rise to so extraordinary an opinion. To begin with the coherence; we may observe, that though those internal impressions, which we regard as fleeting and perishing, have also a certain coherence or regularity in their appearances, yet it is of somewhat a different nature, from that which we discover in bodies. Our passions are found by experience to have a mutual connexion with and dependence on each other; but on no occasion is it necessary to suppose, that they have existed and operated, when they were not perceived, in order to preserve the same dependence and connexion, of which we have had experience. The case is not the same with relation to external objects. Those require a continued existence, or otherwise lose, in a great measure, the regularity of their operation. I am here seated in my chamber with my face to the fire; and all the objects, that strike my senses, are contained in a few yards around me. My memory, indeed, informs me of the existence of many objects; but then this information extends not beyond their past existence, nor do either my senses or memory give any testimony to the continuance of their being. When therefore I am thus seated, and revolve over these thoughts, I hear

on a sudden a noise as of a door turning upon its hinges; and a little after see a porter, who advances towards me. This gives occasion to many new reflections and reasonings. First, I never have observed, that this noise could proceed from any thing but the motion of a door; and therefore conclude, that the present phaenomenon is a contradiction to all past experience, unless the door, which I remember on the other side the chamber, be still in being. Again, I have always found, that a human body was possest of a quality, which I call gravity, and which hinders it from mounting in the air, as this porter must have done to arrive at my chamber, unless the stairs I remember be not annihilated by my absence. But this is not all. I receive a letter, which upon, opening it I perceive by the hand-writing and subscription to have come from a friend, who says he is two hundred leagues distant. It is evident I can never account for this phenomenon, conformable to my experience in other instances, without spreading out in my mind the whole sea and continent between us, and supposing the effects and continued existence of posts and ferries, according to my Memory and observation. To consider these phaenomena of the porter and letter in a certain light, they are contradictions to common experience, and may be regarded as objections to those maxims, which we form concerning the connexions of causes and effects. I am accustomed to hear such a sound, and see such an object in motion at the same time. I have not received in this particular instance both these perceptions. These observations are contrary,

unless I suppose that the door still remains, and that it was opened without my perceiving it: And this supposition, which was at first entirely arbitrary and hypothetical, acquires a force and evidence by its being the only one, upon which I can reconcile these contradictions. There is scarce a moment of my life, wherein there is not a similar instance presented to me, and I have not occasion to suppose the continued existence of objects, in order to connect their past and present appearances, and give them such an union with each other, as I have found by experience to be suitable to their particular natures and circumstances. Here then I am naturally led to regard the world, as something real and durable, and as preserving its existence, even when it is no longer present to my perception.

But though this conclusion from the coherence of appearances may seem to be of the same nature with our reasonings concerning causes and effects; as being derived from custom, and regulated by past experience; we shall find upon examination, that they are at the bottom considerably different from each other, and that this inference arises from the understanding, and from custom in an indirect and oblique manner. For it will readily be allowed, that since nothing is ever really present to the mind, besides its own perceptions, it is not only impossible, that any habit should ever be acquired otherwise than by the regular succession of these perceptions, but also that any habit should ever

exceed that degree of regularity. Any degree, therefore, of regularity in our perceptions, can never be a foundation for us to infer a greater degree of regularity in some objects, which are not perceived; since this supposes a contradiction, viz. a habit acquired by what was never present to the mind. But it is evident, that whenever we infer the continued existence of the objects of sense from their coherence, and the frequency of their union, it is in order to bestow on the objects a greater regularity than what is observed in our mere perceptions. We remark a connexion betwixt two kinds of objects in their past appearance to the senses, but are not able to observe this connexion to be perfectly constant, since the turning about of our head or the shutting of our eyes is able to break it. What then do we suppose in this case, but that these objects still continue their usual connexion, notwithstanding their apparent interruption, and that the irregular appearances are joined by something, of which we are insensible? But as all reasoning concerning matters of fact arises only from custom, and custom can only be the effect of repeated perceptions, the extending of custom and reasoning beyond the perceptions can never be the direct and natural effect of the constant repetition and connexion, but must arise from the co-operation of some other principles.

I have already observed [Part II, Sect. 4.], in examining the foundation of mathematics, that the imagination, when set into any train of thinking, is apt to continue, even when its object fails

it, and like a galley put in motion by the oars, carries on its course without any new impulse. This I have assigned for the reason, why, after considering several loose standards of equality, and correcting them by each other, we proceed to imagine so correct and exact a standard of that relation, as is not liable to the least error or variation. The same principle makes us easily entertain this opinion of the continued existence of body. Objects have a certain coherence even as they appear to our senses; but this coherence is much greater and more uniform, if we suppose the object to have a continued existence; and as the mind is once in the train of observing an uniformity among objects, it naturally continues, till it renders the uniformity as compleat as possible. The simple supposition of their continued existence suffices for this purpose, and gives us a notion of a much greater regularity among objects, than what they have when we look no farther than our senses.

But whatever force we may ascribe to this principle, I am afraid it is too weak to support alone so vast an edifice, as is that of the continued existence of all external bodies; and that we must join the constancy of their appearance to the coherence, in order to give a satisfactory account of that opinion. As the explication of this will lead me into a considerable compass of very profound reasoning; I think it proper, in order to avoid confusion, to give a short sketch or abridgment of my system, and afterwards draw out all its

parts in their
full compass. This inference from the constancy of our
perceptions, like
the precedent from their coherence, gives rise to the
opinion of the
continued existence of body, which is prior to that of
its distinct
existence, and produces that latter principle.

When we have been accustomed to observe a constancy in
certain
impressions, and have found, that the perception of the
sun or ocean,
for instance, returns upon us after an absence or
annihilation with like
parts and in a like order, as at its first appearance,
we are not apt
to regard these interrupted perceptions as different,
(which they really
are) but on the contrary consider them as individually
the same,
upon account of their resemblance. But as this
interruption of their
existence is contrary to their perfect identity, and
makes us regard
the first impression as annihilated, and the second as
newly created,
we find ourselves somewhat at a loss, and are involved
in a kind of
contradiction. In order to free ourselves from this
difficulty, we
disguise, as much as possible, the interruption, or
rather remove it
entirely, by supposing that these interrupted
perceptions are connected
by a real existence, of which we are insensible. This
supposition, or
idea of continued existence, acquires a force and
vivacity from the
memory of these broken impressions, and from that
propensity, which
they give us, to suppose them the same; and according to
the precedent
reasoning, the very essence of belief consists in the
force and vivacity

of the conception.

In order to justify this system, there are four things requisite. First, To explain the PRINCIPIUM INDIVIDUATIONIS, or principle of identity. Secondly, Give a reason, why the resemblance of our broken and interrupted perceptions induces us to attribute an identity to them. Thirdly, Account for that propensity, which this illusion gives, to unite these broken appearances by a continued existence. Fourthly and lastly, Explain that force and vivacity of conception, which arises from the propensity.

First, As to the principle of individuation; we may observe, that the view of any one object is not sufficient to convey the idea of identity. For in that proposition, an object is the same with itself, if the idea expressed by the word, object, were no ways distinguished from that meant by itself; we really should mean nothing, nor would the proposition contain a predicate and a subject, which however are implied in this affirmation. One single object conveys the idea of unity, not that of identity.

On the other hand, a multiplicity of objects can never convey this idea, however resembling they may be supposed. The mind always pronounces the one not to be the other, and considers them as forming two, three, or any determinate number of objects, whose existences are entirely distinct and independent.

Since then both number and unity are incompatible with

the relation of
identity, it must lie in something that is neither of
them. But to tell
the truth, at first sight this seems utterly impossible.
Betwixt unity
and number there can be no medium; no more than betwixt
existence and
nonexistence. After one object is supposed to exist, we
must either
suppose another also to exist; in which case we have the
idea of number:
Or we must suppose it not to exist; in which case the
first object
remains at unity.

To remove this difficulty, let us have recourse to the
idea of time or
duration. I have already observd [Part II, Sect. 5.],
that time, in a
strict sense, implies succession, and that when we apply
its idea to
any unchangeable object, it is only by a fiction of the
imagination, by
which the unchangeable object is supposd to participate
of the
changes of the co-existent objects, and in particular of
that of our
perceptions. This fiction of the imagination almost
universally takes
place; and it is by means of it, that a single object,
placd before us,
and surveyd for any time without our discovering in it
any interruption
or variation, is able to give us a notion of identity.
For when we
consider any two points of this time, we may place them
in different
lights: We may either survey them at the very same
instant; in which
case they give us the idea of number, both by themselves
and by the
object; which must be multiplyd, in order to be conceivd
at once, as
existent in these two different points of time: Or on
the other hand,

we may trace the succession of time by a like succession of ideas,
and conceiving first one moment, along with the object then existent,
imagine afterwards a change in the time without any VARIATION or
INTERRUPTION in the object; in which case it gives us the idea of unity.
Here then is an idea, which is a medium betwixt unity and number; or
more properly speaking, is either of them, according to the view, in
which we take it: And this idea we call that of identity. We cannot, in
any propriety of speech, say, that an object is the same with itself,
unless we mean, that the object existent at one time is the same with
itself existent at another. By this means we make a difference, betwixt
the idea meant by the word, OBJECT, and that meant by ITSELF, without
going the length of number, and at the same time without restraining
ourselves to a strict and absolute unity.

Thus the principle of individuation is nothing but the INVARIABLENESS
and UNINTERRUPTEDNESS of any object, thro a supposd variation of
time, by which the mind can trace it in the different periods of its
existence, without any break of the view, and without being obligd to
form the idea of multiplicity or number.

I now proceed to explain the SECOND part of my system, and shew why
the constancy of our perceptions makes us ascribe to them a perfect
numerical identity, tho there be very long intervals betwixt their
appearance, and they have only one of the essential qualities of
identity, VIZ, INVARIABLENESS. That I may avoid all

ambiguity and
confusion on this head, I shall observe, that I here
account for the
opinions and belief of the vulgar with regard to the
existence of body;
and therefore must entirely conform myself to their
manner of thinking
and of expressing themselves. Now we have already
observd, that however
philosophers may distinguish betwixt the objects and
perceptions of the
senses; which they suppose co-existent and resembling;
yet this is a
distinction, which is not comprehended by the generality
of mankind, who
as they perceive only one being, can never assent to the
opinion of a
double existence and representation. Those very
sensations, which enter
by the eye or ear, are with them the true objects, nor
can they
readily conceive that this pen or paper, which is
immediately perceivd,
represents another, which is different from, but
resembling it. In
order, therefore, to accommodate myself to their
notions, I shall at
first suppose; that there is only a single existence,
which I shall call
indifferently OBJECT or PERCEPTION, according as it
shall seem best to
suit my purpose, understanding by both of them what any
common man means
by a hat, or shoe, or stone, or any other impression,
conveyd to him
by his senses. I shall be sure to give warning, when I
return to a more
philosophical way of speaking and thinking.

To enter, therefore, upon the question concerning the
source of the
error and deception with regard to identity, when we
attribute it to our
resembling perceptions, notwithstanding their
interruption; I must here

recal an observation, which I have already provd and explaind [Part II. Sect. 5.]. Nothing is more apt to make us mistake one idea for another, than any relation betwixt them, which associates them together in the imagination, and makes it pass with facility from one to the other. Of all relations, that of resemblance is in this respect the most efficacious; and that because it not only causes an association of ideas, but also of dispositions, and makes us conceive the one idea by an act or operation of the mind, similar to that by which we conceive the other. This circumstance I have observd to be of great moment; and we may establish it for a general rule, that whatever ideas place the mind in the same disposition or in similar ones, are very apt to be confounded. The mind readily passes from one to the other, and perceives not the change without a strict attention, of which, generally speaking, it is wholly incapable.

In order to apply this general maxim, we must first examine the disposition of the mind in viewing any object which preserves a perfect identity, and then find some other object, that is confounded with it, by causing a similar disposition. When we fix our thought on any object, and suppose it to continue the same for some time; it is evident we suppose the change to lie only in the time, and never exert ourselves to produce any new image or idea of the object. The faculties of the mind repose themselves in a manner, and take no more exercise, than what is necessary to continue that idea, of which we were

formerly possess, and which subsists without variation or interruption. The passage from one moment to another is scarce felt, and distinguishes not itself by a different perception or idea, which may require a different direction of the spirits, in order to its conception.

Now what other objects, beside identical ones, are capable of placing the mind in the same disposition, when it considers them, and of causing the same uninterrupted passage of the imagination from one idea to another? This question is of the last importance. For if we can find any such objects, we may certainly conclude, from the foregoing principle, that they are very naturally confounded with identical ones, and are taken for them in most of our reasonings. But though this question be very important, it is not very difficult nor doubtful. For I immediately reply, that a succession of related objects places the mind in this disposition, and is considered with the same smooth and uninterrupted progress of the imagination, as attends the view of the same invariable object. The very nature and essence of relation is to connect our ideas with each other, and upon the appearance of one, to facilitate the transition to its correlative. The passage betwixt related ideas is, therefore, so smooth and easy, that it produces little alteration on the mind, and seems like the continuation of the same action; and as the continuation of the same action is an effect of the continued view of the same object, it is for this reason we attribute sameness to every

succession of related objects. The thought slides along the succession with equal facility, as if it considered only one object; and therefore confounds the succession with the identity.

We shall afterwards see many instances of this tendency of relation to make us ascribe an identity to different objects; but shall here confine ourselves to the present subject. We find by experience, that there is such a constancy in almost all the impressions of the senses, that their interruption produces no alteration on them, and hinders them not from returning the same in appearance and in situation as at their first existence. I survey the furniture of my chamber; I shut my eyes, and afterwards open them; and find the new perceptions to resemble perfectly those, which formerly struck my senses. This resemblance is observed in a thousand instances, and naturally connects together our ideas of these interrupted perceptions by the strongest relation, and conveys the mind with an easy transition from one to another. An easy transition or passage of the imagination, along the ideas of these different and interrupted perceptions, is almost the same disposition of mind with that in which we consider one constant and uninterrupted perception. It is therefore very natural for us to mistake the one for the other.

[Footnote 9 This reasoning, it must be confest, is somewhat abstruse, and difficult to be comprehended; but it is remarkable, that this very difficulty may be

converted into
a proof of the reasoning. We may observe, that
there are two
relations, and both of them resemblances, which
contribute
to our mistaking the succession of our interrupted
perceptions for an identical object. The first is,
the
resemblance of the perceptions: The second is the
resemblance, which the act of the mind in surveying
a
succession of resembling objects bears to that in
surveying
an identical object. Now these resemblances we are
apt to
confound with each other; and it is natural we
should,
according to this very reasoning. But let us keep
them
distinct, and we shall find no difficulty in
conceiving the
precedent argument.]

The persons, who entertain this opinion concerning the
identity of
our resembling perceptions, are in general an the
unthinking and
unphilosophical part of mankind, (that is, all of us, at
one time or
other) and consequently such as suppose their
perceptions to be their
only objects, and never think of a double existence
internal and
external, representing and represented. The very image,
which is present
to the senses, is with us the real body; and it is to
these interrupted
images we ascribe a perfect identity. But as the
interruption of the
appearance seems contrary to the identity, and naturally
leads us to
regard these resembling perceptions as different from
each other, we
here find ourselves at a loss how to reconcile such
opposite opinions.

The smooth passage of the imagination along the ideas of the resembling perceptions makes us ascribe to them a perfect identity. The interrupted manner of their appearance makes us consider them as so many resembling, but still distinct beings, which appear after certain intervals. The perplexity arising from this contradiction produces a propension to unite these broken appearances by the fiction of a continued existence, which is the third part of that hypothesis I proposed to explain.

Nothing is more certain from experience, than that any contradiction either to the sentiments or passions gives a sensible uneasiness, whether it proceeds from without or from within; from the opposition of external objects, or from the combat of internal principles. On the contrary, whatever strikes in with the natural propensities, and either externally forwards their satisfaction, or internally concurs with their movements, is sure to give a sensible pleasure. Now there being here an opposition betwixt the notion of the identity of resembling perceptions, and the interruption of their appearance, the mind must be uneasy in that situation, and will naturally seek relief from the uneasiness. Since the uneasiness arises from the opposition of two contrary principles, it must look for relief by sacrificing the one to the other. But as the smooth passage of our thought along our resembling perceptions makes us ascribe to them an identity, we can never without reluctance yield up that opinion. We must, therefore, turn to the other

side, and suppose that our perceptions are no longer interrupted, but preserve a continued as well as an invariable existence, and are by that means entirely the same. But here the interruptions in the appearance of these perceptions are so long and frequent, that it is impossible to overlook them; and as the appearance of a perception in the mind and its existence seem at first sight entirely the same, it may be doubted, whether we can ever assent to so palpable a contradiction, and suppose a perception to exist without being present to the mind. In order to clear up this matter, and learn how the interruption in the appearance of a perception implies not necessarily an interruption in its existence, it will be proper to touch upon some principles, which we shall have occasion to explain more fully afterwards. [Sect. 6.]

We may begin with observing, that the difficulty in the present case is not concerning the matter of fact, or whether the mind forms such a conclusion concerning the continued existence of its perceptions, but only concerning the manner in which the conclusion is formed, and principles from which it is derived. It is certain, that almost all mankind, and even philosophers themselves, for the greatest part of their lives, take their perceptions to be their only objects, and suppose, that the very being, which is intimately present to the mind, is the real body or material existence. It is also certain, that this very perception or object is supposed to have a continued uninterrupted being, and neither to be annihilated by our absence, nor

to be brought
into existence by our presence. When we are absent from
it, we say it
still exists, but that we do not feel, we do not see it.
When we are
present, we say we feel, or see it. Here then may arise
two questions;
First, How we can satisfy ourselves in supposing a
perception to be
absent from the mind without being annihilated.
Secondly, After what
manner we conceive an object to become present to the
mind, without some
new creation of a perception or image; and what we mean
by this seeing,
and feeling, and perceiving.

As to the first question; we may observe, that what we
call a mind,
is nothing but a heap or collection of different
perceptions, united
together by certain relations, and supposed, though
falsely, to be
endowed with a perfect simplicity and identity. Now as
every perception
is distinguishable from another, and may be considered
as separately
existent; it evidently follows, that there is no
absurdity in separating
any particular perception from the mind; that is, in
breaking off all
its relations, with that connected mass of perceptions,
which constitute
a thinking being.

The same reasoning affords us an answer to the second
question. If the
name of perception renders not this separation from a
mind absurd and
contradictory, the name of object, standing for the very
same thing, can
never render their conjunction impossible. External
objects are seen,
and felt, and become present to the mind; that is, they
acquire such a

relation to a connected heap of perceptions, as to influence them very considerably in augmenting their number by present reflections and passions, and in storing the memory with ideas. The same continued and uninterrupted Being may, therefore, be sometimes present to the mind, and sometimes absent from it, without any real or essential change in the Being itself. An interrupted appearance to the senses implies not necessarily an interruption in the existence. The supposition of the continued existence of sensible objects or perceptions involves no contradiction. We may easily indulge our inclination to that supposition. When the exact resemblance of our perceptions makes us ascribe to them an identity, we may remove the seeming interruption by feigning a continued being, which may fill those intervals, and preserve a perfect and entire identity to our perceptions.

But as we here not only feign but believe this continued existence, the question is, from whence arises such a belief; and this question leads us to the fourth member of this system. It has been proved already, that belief in general consists in nothing, but the vivacity of an idea; and that an idea may acquire this vivacity by its relation to some present impression. Impressions are naturally the most vivid perceptions of the mind; and this quality is in part conveyed by the relation to every connected idea. The relation causes a smooth passage from the impression to the idea, and even gives a propensity to that passage. The mind falls so easily from the one perception to the other, that it

scarce perceives
the change, but retains in the second a considerable
share of the
vivacity of the first. It is excited by the lively
impression; and this
vivacity is conveyed to the related idea, without any
great diminution
in the passage, by reason of the smooth transition and
the propensity of
the imagination.

But suppose, that this propensity arises from some other
principle,
besides that of relation; it is evident it must still
have the same
effect, and convey the vivacity from the impression to
the idea. Now
this is exactly the present case. Our memory presents us
with a vast
number of instances of perceptions perfectly resembling
each other,
that return at different distances of time, and after
considerable
interruptions. This resemblance gives us a propension to
consider these
interrupted perceptions as the same; and also a
propension to connect
them by a continued existence, in order to justify this
identity, and
avoid the contradiction, in which the interrupted
appearance of these
perceptions seems necessarily to involve us. Here then
we have a
propensity to feign the continued existence of all
sensible objects; and
as this propensity arises from some lively impressions
of the memory, it
bestows a vivacity on that fiction: or in other words,
makes us believe
the continued existence of body. If sometimes we ascribe
a continued
existence to objects, which are perfectly new to us, and
of whose
constancy and coherence we have no experience, it is
because the manner,

in which they present themselves to our senses,
resembles that of
constant and coherent objects; and this resemblance is a
source of
reasoning and analogy, and leads us to attribute the
same qualities to
similar objects.

I believe an intelligent reader will find less
difficulty to assent to
this system, than to comprehend it fully and distinctly,
and will allow,
after a little reflection, that every part carries its
own proof
along with it. It is indeed evident, that as the vulgar
suppose their
perceptions to be their only objects, and at the same
time believe the
continued existence of matter, we must account for the
origin of the
belief upon that supposition. Now upon that supposition,
it is a false
opinion that any of our objects, or perceptions, are
identically the
same after an interruption; and consequently the opinion
of their
identity can never arise from reason, but must arise
from the
imagination. The imagination is seduced into such an
opinion only by
means of the resemblance of certain perceptions; since
we find they are
only our resembling perceptions, which we have a
propension to suppose
the same. This propension to bestow an identity on our
resembling
perceptions, produces the fiction of a continued
existence; since that
fiction, as well as the identity, is really false, as is
acknowledged
by all philosophers, and has no other effect than to
remedy the
interruption of our perceptions, which is the only
circumstance that
is contrary to their identity. In the last place this

propension causes
belief by means of the present impressions of the
memory; since without
the remembrance of former sensations, it is plain we
never should have
any belief of the continued existence of body. Thus in
examining all
these parts, we find that each of them is supported by
the strongest
proofs: and that all of them together form a consistent
system, which is
perfectly convincing. A strong propensity or inclination
alone, without
any present impression, will sometimes cause a belief or
opinion. How
much more when aided by that circumstance?

But though we are led after this manner, by the natural
propensity of
the imagination, to ascribe a continued existence to
those sensible
objects or perceptions, which we find to resemble each
other in their
interrupted appearance; yet a very little reflection and
philosophy
is sufficient to make us perceive the fallacy of that
opinion. I have
already observed, that there is an intimate connexion
betwixt those two
principles, of a continued and of a distinct or
independent existence,
and that we no sooner establish the one than the other
follows, as a
necessary consequence. It is the opinion of a continued
existence, which
first takes place, and without much study or reflection
draws the other
along with it, wherever the mind follows its first and
most natural
tendency. But when we compare experiments, and reason a
little upon
them, we quickly perceive, that the doctrine of the
independent
existence of our sensible perceptions is contrary to the
plainest

experience. This leads us backward upon our footsteps to perceive our error in attributing a continued existence to our perceptions, and is the origin of many very curious opinions, which we shall here endeavour to account for.

It will first be proper to observe a few of those experiments, which convince us, that our perceptions are not possest of any independent existence. When we press one eye with a finger, we immediately perceive all the objects to become double, and one half of them to be removed from their common and natural position. But as we do not attribute to continued existence to both these perceptions, and as they are both of the same nature, we clearly perceive, that all our perceptions are dependent on our organs, and the disposition of our nerves and animal spirits. This opinion is confirmed by the seeming encrease and diminution of objects, according to their distance; by the apparent alterations in their figure; by the changes in their colour and other qualities from our sickness and distempers: and by an infinite number of other experiments of the same kind; from all which we learn, that our sensible perceptions are not possest of any distinct or independent existence.

The natural consequence of this reasoning should be, that our perceptions have no more a continued than an independent existence; and indeed philosophers have so far run into this opinion, that they change their system, and distinguish, (as we shall do for the

future) betwixt perceptions and objects, of which the former are supposed to be interrupted, and perishing, and different at every different return; the latter to be uninterrupted, and to preserve a continued existence and identity. But however philosophical this new system may be esteemed, I assert that it is only a palliative remedy, and that it contains all the difficulties of the vulgar system, with some others, that are peculiar to itself. There are no principles either of the understanding or fancy, which lead us directly to embrace this opinion of the double existence of perceptions and objects, nor can we arrive at it but by passing through the common hypothesis of the identity and continuance of our interrupted perceptions. Were we not first persuaded, that our perceptions are our only objects, and continue to exist even when they no longer make their appearance to the senses, we should never be led to think, that our perceptions and objects are different, and that our objects alone preserve a continued existence. The latter hypothesis has no primary recommendation either to reason or the imagination, but acquires all its influence on the imagination from the former. This proposition contains two parts, which we shall endeavour to prove as distinctly and clearly, as such abstruse subjects will permit.

As to the first part of the proposition, that this philosophical hypothesis has no primary recommendation, either to reason, or the imagination, we may soon satisfy ourselves with regard

to reason by the following reflections. The only existences, of which we are certain, are perceptions, which being immediately present to us by consciousness, command our strongest assent, and are the first foundation of all our conclusions. The only conclusion we can draw from the existence of one thing to that of another, is by means of the relation of cause and effect, which shews, that there is a connexion betwixt them, and that the existence of one is dependent on that of the other. The idea of this relation is derived from past experience, by which we find, that two beings are constantly conjoined together, and are always present at once to the mind. But as no beings are ever present to the mind but perceptions; it follows that we may observe a conjunction or a relation of cause and effect between different perceptions, but can never observe it between perceptions and objects. It is impossible, therefore, that from the existence or any of the qualities of the former, we can ever form any conclusion concerning the existence of the latter, or ever satisfy our reason in this particular.

It is no less certain, that this philosophical system has no primary recommendation to the imagination, and that that faculty would never, of itself, and by its original tendency, have fallen upon such a principle. I confess it will be somewhat difficult to prove this to the full satisfaction of the reader; because it implies a negative, which in many cases will not admit of any positive proof. If any one would take the

pains to examine this question, and would invent a system, to account for the direct origin of this opinion from the imagination, we should be able, by the examination of that system, to pronounce a certain judgment in the present subject. Let it be taken for granted, that our perceptions are broken, and interrupted, and however like, are still different from each other; and let any one upon this supposition shew why the fancy, directly and immediately, proceeds to the belief of another existence, resembling these perceptions in their nature, but yet continued, and uninterrupted, and identical; and after he has done this to my satisfaction, I promise to renounce my present opinion. Mean while I cannot forbear concluding, from the very abstractedness and difficulty of the first supposition, that it is an improper subject for the fancy to work upon. Whoever would explain the origin of the common opinion concerning the continued and distinct existence of body, must take the mind in its common situation, and must proceed upon the supposition, that our perceptions are our only objects, and continue to exist even when they are not perceived. Though this opinion be false, it is the most natural of any, and has alone any primary recommendation to the fancy.

As to the second part of the proposition, that the philosophical system acquires all its influence on the imagination from the vulgar one; we may observe, that this is a natural and unavoidable consequence of the foregoing conclusion, that it has no primary

recommendation to reason or
the imagination. For as the philosophical system is
found by experience
to take hold of many minds, and in particular of all
those, who reflect
ever so little on this subject, it must derive all its
authority from
the vulgar system; since it has no original authority of
its own.
The manner, in which these two systems, though directly
contrary, are
connected together, may be explained, as follows.

The imagination naturally runs on in this train of
thinking. Our
perceptions are our only objects: Resembling perceptions
are the same,
however broken or uninterrupted in their appearance:
This appealing
interruption is contrary to the identity: The
interruption consequently
extends not beyond the appearance, and the perception or
object really
continues to exist, even when absent from us: Our
sensible perception
s have, therefore, a continued and uninterrupted
existence. But as a
little reflection destroys this conclusion, that our
perceptions have a
continued existence, by shewing that they have a
dependent one, it would
naturally be expected, that we must altogether reject
the opinion,
that there is such a thing in nature as a continued
existence, which
is preserved even when it no longer appears to the
senses. The case,
however, is otherwise. Philosophers are so far from
rejecting the
opinion of a continued existence upon rejecting that of
the independence
and continuance of our sensible perceptions, that though
all sects
agree in the latter sentiment, the former, which is, in
a manner, its

necessary consequence, has been peculiar to a few
extravagant sceptics;
who after all maintained that opinion in words only, and
were never able
to bring themselves sincerely to believe it.

There is a great difference betwixt such opinions as we
form after
a calm and profound reflection, and such as we embrace
by a kind of
instinct or natural impulse, on account of their
suitableness and
conformity to the mind. If these opinions become
contrary, it is not
difficult to foresee which of them will have the
advantage. As long as
our attention is bent upon the subject, the
philosophical and studied
principle may prevail; but the moment we relax our
thoughts, nature will
display herself, and draw us back to our former opinion.
Nay she has
sometimes such an influence, that she can stop our
progress, even in the
midst of our most profound reflections, and keep us from
running on
with all the consequences of any philosophical opinion.
Thus though we
clearly perceive the dependence and interruption of our
perceptions, we
stop short in our career, and never upon that account
reject the notion
of an independent and continued existence. That opinion
has taken such
deep root in the imagination, that it is impossible ever
to eradicate
it, nor will any strained metaphysical conviction of the
dependence of
our perceptions be sufficient for that purpose.

But though our natural and obvious principles here
prevail above our
studied reflections, it is certain there must be sonic
struggle and
opposition in the case: at least so long as these

rejections retain any force or vivacity. In order to set ourselves at ease in this particular, we contrive a new hypothesis, which seems to comprehend both these principles of reason and imagination. This hypothesis is the philosophical, one of the double existence of perceptions and objects; which pleases our reason, in allowing, that our dependent perceptions are interrupted and different; and at the same time is agreeable to the imagination, in attributing a continued existence to something else, which we call objects. This philosophical system, therefore, is the monstrous offspring of two principles, which are contrary to each other, which are both at once embraced by the mind, and which are unable mutually to destroy each other. The imagination tells us, that our resembling perceptions have a continued and uninterrupted existence, and are not annihilated by their absence. Reflection tells us, that even our resembling perceptions are interrupted in their existence, and different from each other. The contradiction betwixt these opinions we elude by a new fiction, which is conformable to the hypotheses both of reflection and fancy, by ascribing these contrary qualities to different existences; the interruption to perceptions, and the continuance to objects. Nature is obstinate, and will not quit the field, however strongly attacked by reason; and at the same time reason is so clear in the point, that there is no possibility of disguising her. Not being able to reconcile these two enemies, we endeavour to set ourselves at

ease as much as possible, by successively granting to each whatever it demands, and by feigning a double existence, where each may find something, that has all the conditions it desires. Were we fully convinced, that our resembling perceptions are continued, and identical, and independent, we should never run into this opinion of a double existence, since we should find satisfaction in our first supposition, and would not look beyond. Again, were we fully convinced, that our perceptions are dependent, and interrupted, and different, we should be as little inclined to embrace the opinion of a double existence; since in that case we should clearly perceive the error of our first supposition of a continued existence, and would never regard it any farther. It is therefore from the intermediate situation of the mind, that this opinion arises, and from such an adherence to these two contrary principles, as makes us seek some pretext to justify our receiving both; which happily at last is found in the system of a double existence.

Another advantage of this philosophical system is its similarity to the vulgar one; by which means we can humour our reason for a moment, when it becomes troublesome and sollicitous; and yet upon its least negligence or inattention, can easily return to our vulgar and natural notions. Accordingly we find, that philosophers neglect not this advantage; but immediately upon leaving their closets, mingle with the rest of mankind in those exploded opinions, that our

perceptions are our
only objects, and continue identically and
uninterruptedly the same in
all their interrupted appearances.

There are other particulars of this system, wherein we
may remark its
dependence on the fancy, in a very conspicuous manner.
Of these, I
shall observe the two following. First, We suppose
external objects to
resemble internal perceptions. I have already shewn,
that the relation
of cause and effect can never afford us any just
conclusion from the
existence or qualities of our perceptions to the
existence of external
continued objects: And I shall farther add, that even
though they could
afford such a conclusion, we should never have any
reason to infer,
that our objects resemble our perceptions. That opinion,
therefore, is
derived from nothing but the quality of the fancy above-
explained, <that
it borrows all its ideas from some precedent
perception>. We never can
conceive any thing but perceptions, and therefore must
make every thing
resemble them.

Secondly, As we suppose our objects in general to
resemble our
perceptions, so we take it for granted, that every
particular object
resembles that perception, which it causes. The relation
of cause and
effect determines us to join the other of resemblance;
and the ideas
of these existences being already united together in the
fancy by the
former relation, we naturally add the latter to compleat
the union.
We have a strong propensity to compleat every union by
joining new

relations to those which we have before observed betwixt any ideas, as we shall have occasion to observe presently. [Sect. 5.]

Having thus given an account of all the systems both popular and philosophical, with regard to external existences, I cannot forbear giving vent to a certain sentiment, which arises upon reviewing those systems. I begun this subject with premising, that we ought to have an implicit faith in our senses, and that this would be the conclusion, I should draw from the whole of my reasoning. But to be ingenuous, I feel myself at present of a quite contrary sentiment, and am more inclined to repose no faith at all in my senses, or rather imagination, than to place in it such an implicit confidence. I cannot conceive how such trivial qualities of the fancy, conducted by such false suppositions, can ever lead to any solid and rational system. They are the coherence and constancy of our perceptions, which produce the opinion of their continued existence; though these qualities of perceptions have no perceivable connexion with such an existence. The constancy of our perceptions has the most considerable effect, and yet is attended with the greatest difficulties. It is a gross illusion to suppose, that our resembling perceptions are numerically the same; and it is this illusion, which leads us into the opinion, that these perceptions are uninterrupted, and are still existent, even when they are not present to the senses. This is the case with our popular system. And as to our philosophical one, it is liable to the same

difficulties; and is
over-and-above loaded with this absurdity, that it at
once denies and
establishes the vulgar supposition. Philosophers deny
our resembling
perceptions to be identically the same, and
uninterrupted; and yet have
so great a propensity to believe them such, that they
arbitrarily invent
a new set of perceptions, to which they attribute these
qualities. I
say, a new set of perceptions: For we may well suppose
in general, but
it is impossible for us distinctly to conceive, objects
to be in their
nature any thing but exactly the same with perceptions.
What then can
we look for from this confusion of groundless and
extraordinary opinions
but error and falshood? And how can we justify to
ourselves any belief
we repose in them?

This sceptical doubt, both with respect to reason and
the senses, is
a malady, which can never be radically cured, but must
return upon
us every moment, however we may chace it away, and
sometimes may seem
entirely free from it. It is impossible upon any system
to defend either
our understanding or senses; and we but expose them
farther when we
endeavour to justify them in that manner. As the
sceptical doubt arises
naturally from a profound and intense reflection on
those subjects,
it always encreases, the farther we carry our
reflections, whether in
opposition or conformity to it. Carelessness and in-
attention alone can
afford us any remedy. For this reason I rely entirely
upon them; and
take it for granted, whatever may be the reader's
opinion at this

present moment, that an hour hence he will be persuaded there is both an external and internal world; and going upon that supposition, I intend to examine some general systems both ancient and modern, which have been proposed of both, before I proceed to a more particular enquiry concerning our impressions. This will not, perhaps, in the end be found foreign to our present purpose.

SECT. III. OF THE ANTIENT PHILOSOPHY.

Several moralists have recommended it as an excellent method of becoming acquainted with our own hearts, and knowing our progress in virtue, to recollect our dreams in a morning, and examine them with the same rigour, that we would our most serious and most deliberate actions. Our character is the same throughout, say they, and appears best where artifice, fear, and policy have no place, and men can neither be hypocrites with themselves nor others. The generosity, or baseness of our temper, our meekness or cruelty, our courage or pusillanimity, influence the fictions of the imagination with the most unbounded liberty, and discover themselves in the most glaring colours. In like manner, I am persuaded, there might be several useful discoveries made from a criticism of the fictions of the antient philosophy, concerning substances, and substantial form, and accidents, and occult qualities; which, however unreasonable and capricious, have a very

intimate
connexion with the principles of human nature.

It is confest by the most judicious philosophers, that our ideas of bodies are nothing but collections formed by the mind of the ideas of the several distinct sensible qualities, of which objects are composed, and which we find to have a constant union with each other. But however these qualities may in themselves be entirely distinct, it is certain we commonly regard the compound, which they form, as ONE thing, and as continuing the SAME under very considerable alterations. The acknowledged composition is evidently contrary to this supposed simplicity, and the variation to the identity. It may, therefore, be worth while to consider the causes, which make us almost universally fall into such evident contradictions, as well as the means by which we endeavour to conceal them.

It is evident, that as the ideas of the several distinct, successive qualities of objects are united together by a very close relation, the mind, in looking along the succession, must be carryed from one part of it to another by an easy transition, and will no more perceive the change, than if it contemplated the same unchangeable object. This easy transition is the effect, or rather essence of relation; I and as the imagination readily takes one idea for another, where their influence on the mind is similar; hence it proceeds, that any such succession of related qualities is readily considered as one continued object,

existing without any variation. The smooth and uninterrupted progress of the thought, being alike in both cases, readily deceives the mind, and makes us ascribe an identity to the changeable succession of connected qualities.

But when we alter our method of considering the succession, and instead of tracing it gradually through the successive points of time, survey at once any two distinct periods of its duration, and compare the different conditions of the successive qualities; in that case the variations, which were insensible when they arose gradually, do now appear of consequence, and seem entirely to destroy the identity. By this means there arises a kind of contrariety in our method of thinking, from the different points of view, in which we survey the object, and from the nearness or remoteness of those instants of time, which we compare together. When we gradually follow an object in its successive changes, the smooth progress of the thought makes us ascribe an identity to the succession; because it is by a similar act of the mind we consider an unchangeable object. When we compare its situation after a considerable change the progress of the thought is broke; and consequently we are presented with the idea of diversity: In order to reconcile which contradictions the imagination is apt to feign something unknown and invisible, which it supposes to continue the same under all these variations; and this unintelligible something it calls a substance, or original and first matter.

We entertain a like notion with regard to the simplicity of substances, and from like causes. Suppose an object perfectly simple and indivisible to be presented, along with another object, whose co-existent parts are connected together by a strong relation, it is evident the actions of the mind, in considering these two objects, are not very different. The imagination conceives the simple object at once, with facility, by a single effort of thought, without change or variation. The connexion of parts in the compound object has almost the same effect, and so unites the object within itself, that the fancy feels not the transition in passing from one part to another. Hence the colour, taste, figure, solidity, and other qualities, combined in a peach or melon, are conceived to form one thing; and that on account of their close relation, which makes them affect the thought in the same manner, as if perfectly uncompounded. But the mind rests not here. Whenever it views the object in another light, it finds that all these qualities are different, and distinguishable, and separable from each other; which view of things being destructive of its primary and more natural notions, obliges the imagination to feign an unknown something, or original substance and matter, as a principle of union or cohesion among these qualities, and as what may give the compound object a title to be called one thing, notwithstanding its diversity and composition.

The peripatetic philosophy asserts the original matter

to be perfectly homogeneous in all bodies, and considers fire, water, earth, and air, as of the very same substance; on account of their gradual revolutions and changes into each other. At the same time it assigns to each of these species of objects a distinct substantial form, which it supposes to be the source of all those different qualities they possess, and to be a new foundation of simplicity and identity to each particular species. All depends on our manner of viewing the objects. When we look along the insensible changes of bodies, we suppose all of them to be of the same substance or essence. When we consider their sensible differences, we attribute to each of them a substantial and essential difference. And in order to indulge ourselves in both these ways of considering our objects, we suppose all bodies to have at once a substance and a substantial form.

The notion of accidents is an unavoidable consequence of this method of thinking with regard to substances and substantial forms; nor can we forbear looking upon colours, sounds, tastes, figures, and other properties of bodies, as existences, which cannot subsist apart, but require a subject of inhesion to sustain and support them. For having never discovered any of these sensible qualities, where, for the reasons above-mentioned, we did not likewise fancy a substance to exist; the same habit, which makes us infer a connexion betwixt cause and effect, makes us here infer a dependence of every quality on the unknown

substance. The custom of imagining a dependence has the same effect as the custom of observing it would have. This conceit, however, is no more reasonable than any of the foregoing. Every quality being a distinct thing from another, may be conceived to exist apart, and may exist apart, not only from every other quality, but from that unintelligible chimera of a substance.

But these philosophers carry their fictions still farther in their sentiments concerning occult qualities, and both suppose a substance supporting, which they do not understand, and an accident supported, of which they have as imperfect an idea. The whole system, therefore, is entirely incomprehensible, and yet is derived from principles as natural as any of these above-explained.

In considering this subject we may observe a gradation of three opinions, that rise above each other, according as the persons, who form them, acquire new degrees of reason and knowledge. These opinions are that of the vulgar, that of a false philosophy, and that of the true; where we shall find upon enquiry, that the true philosophy approaches nearer to the sentiments of the vulgar, than to those of a mistaken knowledge. It is natural for men, in their common and care, less way of thinking, to imagine they perceive a connexion betwixt such objects as they have constantly found united together; and because custom has rendered it difficult to separate the ideas, they are apt to fancy such a separation to be in itself impossible and absurd. But

philosophers,
who abstract from the effects of custom, and compare the
ideas of
objects, immediately perceive the falshood of these
vulgar sentiments,
and discover that there is no known connexion among
objects. Every
different object appears to them entirely distinct and
separate; and
they perceive, that it is not from a view of the nature
and qualities of
objects we infer one from another, but only when in
several instances we
observe them to have been constantly conjoined. But
these philosophers,
instead of drawing a just inference from this
observation, and
concluding, that we have no idea of power or agency,
separate from
the mind, and belonging to causes; I say, instead of
drawing this
conclusion, they frequently search for the qualities, in
which this
agency consists, and are displeas'd with every system,
which their
reason suggests to them, in order to explain it. They
have sufficient
force of genius to free them from the vulgar error, that
there is a
natural and perceivable connexion betwixt the several
sensible qualities
and actions of matter; but not sufficient to keep them
from ever
seeking for this connexion in matter, or causes. Had
they fallen upon
the just conclusion, they would have returned back to
the situation
of the vulgar, and would have regarded all these
disquisitions with
indolence and indifference. At present they seem to be
in a very
lamentable condition, and such as the poets have given
us but a faint
notion of in their descriptions of the punishment of
Sisyphus and

Tantalus. For what can be imagined more tormenting, than to seek with eagerness, what for ever flies us; and seek for it in a place, where it is impossible it can ever exist?

But as nature seems to have observed a kind of justice and compensation in every thing, she has not neglected philosophers more than the rest of the creation; but has reserved them a consolation amid all their disappointments and afflictions. This consolation principally consists in their invention of the words: faculty and occult quality. For it being usual, after the frequent use of terms, which are really significant and intelligible, to omit the idea, which we would express by them, and to preserve only the custom, by which we recal the idea at pleasure; so it naturally happens, that after the frequent use of terms, which are wholly insignificant and unintelligible, we fancy them to be on the same footing with the precedent, and to have a secret meaning, which we might discover by reflection. The resemblance of their appearance deceives the mind, as is usual, and makes us imagine a thorough resemblance and conformity. By this means these philosophers set themselves at ease, and arrive at last, by an illusion, at the same indifference, which the people attain by their stupidity, and true philosophers by their moderate scepticism. They need only say, that any phenomenon, which puzzles them, arises from a faculty or an occult quality, and there is an end of all dispute and enquiry upon the matter.

But among all the instances, wherein the Peripatetics have shewn they were guided by every trivial propensity of the imagination, no one is more-remarkable than their sympathies, antipathies, and horrors of a vacuum. There is a very remarkable inclination in human nature, to bestow on external objects the same emotions, which it observes in itself; and to find every where those ideas, which are most present to it. This inclination, it is true, is suppressed by a little reflection, and only takes place in children, poets, and the antient philosophers. It appears in children, by their desire of beating the stones, which hurt them: In poets, by their readiness to personify every thing: And in the antient philosophers, by these fictions of sympathy and antipathy. We must pardon children, because of their age; poets, because they profess to follow implicitly the suggestions of their fancy: But what excuse shall we find to justify our philosophers in so signal a weakness?

SECT. IV. OF THE MODERN PHILOSOPHY.

But here it may be objected, that the imagination, according to my own confession, being the ultimate judge of all systems of philosophy, I am unjust in blaming the antient philosophers for making use of that faculty, and allowing themselves to be entirely guided by it in their reasonings. In order to justify myself, I must

distinguish in the
imagination betwixt the principles which are permanent,
irresistible,
and universal; such as the customary transition from
causes to effects,
and from effects to causes: And the principles, which
are changeable,
weak, and irregular; such as those I have just now taken
notice of. The
former are the foundation of all our thoughts and
actions, so that upon
their removal human nature must immediately perish and
go to ruin. The
latter are neither unavoidable to mankind, nor
necessary, or so much as
useful in the conduct of life; but on the contrary are
observed only to
take place in weak minds, and being opposite to the
other principles
of custom and reasoning, may easily be subverted by a
due contrast and
opposition. For this reason the former are received by
philosophy, and
the latter rejected. One who concludes somebody to be
near him, when
he hears an articulate voice in the dark, reasons justly
and naturally;
though that conclusion be derived from nothing but
custom, which infixes
and inlivens the idea of a human creature, on account of
his usual
conjunction with the present impression. But one, who is
tormented
he knows not why, with the apprehension of spectres in
the dark, may,
perhaps, be said to reason, and to reason naturally too:
But then it
must be in the same sense, that a malady is said to be
natural; as
arising from natural causes, though it be contrary to
health, the most
agreeable and most natural situation of man.

The opinions of the antient philosophers, their fictions
of substance

and accident, and their reasonings concerning substantial forms and occult qualities, are like the spectres in the dark, and are derived from principles, which, however common, are neither universal nor unavoidable in human nature. The modern philosophy pretends to be entirely free from this defect, and to arise only from the solid, permanent, and consistent principles of the imagination. Upon what grounds this pretension is founded must now be the subject of our enquiry.

The fundamental principle of that philosophy is the opinion concerning colours, sounds, tastes, smells, heat and cold; which it asserts to be nothing but impressions in the mind, derived from the operation of external objects, and without any resemblance to the qualities of the objects. Upon examination, I find only one of the reasons commonly produced for this opinion to be satisfactory, viz. that derived from the variations of those impressions, even while the external object, to all appearance, continues the same. These variations depend upon several circumstances. Upon the different situations of our health: A man in a malady feels a disagreeable taste in meats, which before pleased him the most. Upon the different complexions and constitutions of men That seems bitter to one, which is sweet to another. Upon the difference of their external situation and position: Colours reflected from the clouds change according to the distance of the clouds, and according to the angle they make with the eye and luminous body. Fire

also communicates
the sensation of pleasure at one distance, and that of
pain at another.
Instances of this kind are very numerous and frequent.

The conclusion drawn from them, is likewise as
satisfactory as can
possibly be imagined. It is certain, that when different
impressions of
the same sense arise from any object, every one of these
impressions has
not a resembling quality existent in the object. For as
the same object
cannot, at the same time, be endowed with different
qualities of the
same sense, and as the same quality cannot resemble
impressions entirely
different; it evidently follows, that many of our
impressions have
no external model or archetype. Now from like effects we
presume like
causes. Many of the impressions of colour, sound, &c.
are confest to be
nothing but internal existences, and to arise from
causes, which no ways
resemble them. These impressions are in appearance
nothing different
from the other impressions of colour, sound, &c. We
conclude, therefore,
that they are, all of them, derived from a like origin.

This principle being once admitted, all the other
doctrines of that
philosophy seem to follow by an easy consequence. For
upon the removal
of sounds, colours, heat, cold, and other sensible
qualities, from the
rank of continued independent existences, we are reduced
merely to what
are called primary qualities, as the only real ones, of
which we have
any adequate notion. These primary qualities are
extension and solidity,
with their different mixtures and modifications; figure,
motion,

gravity, and cohesion. The generation, encrease, decay, and corruption of animals and vegetables, are nothing but changes of figure and motion; as also the operations of all bodies on each other; of fire, of light, water, air, earth, and of all the elements and powers of nature. One figure and motion produces another figure and motion; nor does there remain in the material universe any other principle, either active or passive, of which we can form the most distant idea.

I believe many objections might be made to this system But at present I shall confine myself to one, which is in my opinion very decisive. I assert, that instead of explaining the operations of external objects by its means, we utterly annihilate all these objects, and reduce ourselves to the opinions of the most extravagant scepticism concerning them. If colours, sounds, tastes, and smells be merely perceptions, nothing we can conceive is possest of a real, continued, and independent existence; not even motion, extension and solidity, which are the primary qualities chiefly insisted on.

To begin with the examination of motion; it is evident this is a quality altogether inconceivable alone, and without a reference to some other object. The idea of motion necessarily supposes that of a body moving. Now what is our idea of the moving body, without which motion is incomprehensible? It must resolve itself into the idea of extension or of solidity; and consequently the reality of motion depends upon that of these other qualities.

This opinion, which is universally acknowledged concerning motion, I have proved to be true with regard to extension; and have shewn that it is impossible to conceive extension, but as composed of parts, endowed with colour or solidity. The idea of extension is a compound idea; but as it is not compounded of an infinite number of parts or inferior ideas, it must at last resolve itself into such as are perfectly simple and indivisible. These simple and indivisible parts, not being ideas of extension, must be non entities, unless conceived as coloured or solid. Colour is excluded from any real existence. The reality, therefore, of our idea of extension depends upon the reality of that of solidity, nor can the former be just while the latter is chimerical. Let us, then, lend our attention to the examination of the idea of solidity.

The idea of solidity is that of two objects, which being impelled by the utmost force, cannot penetrate each other; but still maintain a separate and distinct existence. Solidity, therefore, is perfectly incomprehensible alone, and without the conception of some bodies, which are solid, and maintain this separate and distinct existence. Now what idea have we of these bodies? The ideas of colours, sounds, and other secondary qualities are excluded. The idea of motion depends on that of extension, and the idea of extension on that of solidity. It is impossible, therefore, that the idea of solidity can depend on either of them. For that would be to run in a circle, and make one

idea depend on another, while at the same time the latter depends on the former. Our modern philosophy, therefore, leaves us no just nor satisfactory idea of solidity; nor consequently of matter.

This argument will appear entirely conclusive to every one that comprehends it; but because it may seem abstruse and intricate to the generality of readers, I hope to be excused, if I endeavour to render it more obvious by some variation of the expression. In order to form an idea of solidity, we must conceive two bodies pressing on each other without any penetration; and it is impossible to arrive at this idea, when we confine ourselves to one object, much more without conceiving any. Two non-entities cannot exclude each other from their places; because they never possess any place, nor can be endowed with any quality. Now I ask, what idea do we form of these bodies or objects, to which we suppose solidity to belong? To say, that we conceive them merely as solid, is to run on in infinitum. To affirm, that we paint them out to ourselves as extended, either resolves all into a false idea, or returns in a circle. Extension must necessarily be considered either as coloured, which is a false idea; or as solid, which brings us back to the first question. We may make the same observation concerning mobility and figure; and upon the whole must conclude, that after the exclusion of colours, sounds, heat and cold from the rank of external existences, there remains nothing, which can afford us a just

and constituent idea of body.

Add to this, that, properly speaking, solidity or impenetrability is nothing, but an impossibility of annihilation, as [Part II. Sect. 4.] has been already observed: For which reason it is the more necessary for us to form some distinct idea of that object, whose annihilation we suppose impossible. An impossibility of being annihilated cannot exist, and can never be conceived to exist, by itself: but necessarily requires some object or real existence, to which it may belong. Now the difficulty still remains, how to form an idea of this object or existence, without having recourse to the secondary and sensible qualities.

Nor must we omit on this occasion our accustomed method of examining ideas by considering those impressions, from which they are derived. The impressions, which enter by the sight and hearing, the smell and taste, are affirmed by modern philosophy to be without any resembling objects; and consequently the idea of solidity, which is supposed to be real, can never be derived from any of these senses. There remains, therefore, the feeling as the only sense, that can convey the impression, which is original to the idea of solidity; and indeed we naturally imagine, that we feel the solidity of bodies, and need but touch any object in order to perceive this quality. But this method of thinking is more popular than philosophical; as will appear from the following reflections.

First, It is easy to observe, that though bodies are felt by means of their solidity, yet the feeling is a quite different thing from the solidity; and that they have not the least resemblance to each other. A man, who has the palsey in one hand, has as perfect an idea of impenetrability, when he observes that hand to be supported by the table, as when he feels the same table with the other hand. An object, that presses upon any of our members, meets with resistance; and that resistance, by the motion it gives to the nerves and animal spirits, conveys a certain sensation to the mind; but it does not follow, that the sensation, motion, and resistance are any ways resembling.

Secondly, The impressions of touch are simple impressions, except when considered with regard to their extension; which makes nothing to the present purpose: And from this simplicity I infer, that they neither represent solidity, nor any real object. For let us put two cases, viz. that of a man, who presses a stone, or any solid body, with his hand, and that of two stones, which press each other; it will readily be allowed, that these two cases are not in every respect alike, but that in the former there is conjoined with the solidity, a feeling or sensation, of which there is no appearance in the latter. In order, therefore, to make these two cases alike, it is necessary to remove some part of the impression, which the man feels by his hand, or organ of sensation; and that being impossible in a simple impression, obliges

us to remove the whole, and proves that this whole impression has no archetype or model in external objects. To which we may add, that solidity necessarily supposes two bodies, along with contiguity and impulse; which being a compound object, can never be represented by a simple impression. Not to mention, that though solidity continues always invariably the same, the impressions of touch change every moment upon us; which is a clear proof that the latter are not representations of the former.

Thus there is a direct and total opposition betwixt our reason and our senses; or more properly speaking, betwixt those conclusions we form from cause and effect, and those that persuade us of the continued and independent existence of body. When we reason from cause and effect, we conclude, that neither colour, sound, taste, nor smell have a continued and independent existence. When we exclude these sensible qualities there remains nothing in the universe, which has such an existence.

SECT. V. OF THE IMMATERIALITY OF THE SOUL.

Having found such contradictions and difficulties in every system concerning external objects, and in the idea of matter, which we fancy so clear and determinate, We shall naturally expect still greater difficulties and contradictions in every hypothesis concerning our

internal perceptions, and the nature of the mind, which we are apt to imagine so much more obscure, and uncertain. But in this we should deceive ourselves. The intellectual world, though involved in infinite obscurities, is not perplexed with any such contradictions, as those we have discovered in the natural. What is known concerning it, agrees with itself; and what is unknown, we must be contented to leave so.

It is true, would we hearken to certain philosophers, they promise to diminish our ignorance; but I am afraid it is at the hazard of running us into contradictions, from which the subject is of itself exempted. These philosophers are the curious reasoners concerning the material or immaterial substances, in which they suppose our perceptions to inhere. In order to put a stop to these endless cavils on both sides, I know no better method, than to ask these philosophers in a few words, What they mean by substance and inhesion? And after they have answered this question, it will then be reasonable, and not till then, to enter seriously into the dispute.

This question we have found impossible to be answered with regard to matter and body: But besides that in the case of the mind, it labours under all the same difficulties, it is burthened with some additional ones, which are peculiar to that subject. As every idea is derived from a precedent impression, had we any idea of the substance of our minds, we must also have an impression of it; which is very difficult, if

not impossible, to be conceived. For how can an impression represent a substance, otherwise than by resembling it? And how can an impression resemble a substance, since, according to this philosophy, it is not a substance, and has none of the peculiar qualities or characteristics of a substance?

But leaving the question of what may or may not be, for that other what actually is, I desire those philosophers, who pretend that we have an idea of the substance of our minds, to point out the impression that produces it, and tell distinctly after what manner that impression operates, and from what object it is derived. Is it an impression of sensation or of reflection? Is it pleasant, or painful, or indifferent? Does it attend us at all times, or does it only return at intervals? If at intervals, at what times principally does it return, and by what causes is it produced?

If instead of answering these questions, any one should evade the difficulty, by saying, that the definition of a substance is something which may exist by itself; and that this definition ought to satisfy us: should this be said, I should observe, that this definition agrees to every thing, that can possibly be conceived; and never will serve to distinguish substance from accident, or the soul from its perceptions. For thus I reason. Whatever is clearly conceived may exist; and whatever is clearly conceived, after any manner, may exist after the same manner. This is one principle, which has been already

acknowledged. Again, every thing, which is different, is distinguishable, and every thing which is distinguishable, is separable by the imagination. This is another principle. My conclusion from both is, that since all our perceptions are different from each other, and from every thing else in the universe, they are also distinct and separable, and may be considered as separately existent, and may exist separately, and have no need of any thing else to support their existence. They are, therefore, substances, as far as this definition explains a substance.

Thus neither by considering the first origin of ideas, nor by means of a definition are we able to arrive at any satisfactory notion of substance; which seems to me a sufficient reason for abandoning utterly that dispute concerning the materiality and immateriality of the soul, and makes me absolutely condemn even the question itself. We have no perfect idea of any thing but of a perception. A substance is entirely different from a perception. We have, therefore, no idea of a substance. Inhesion in something is supposed to be requisite to support the existence of our perceptions. Nothing appears requisite to support the existence of a perception. We have, therefore, no idea of inhesion. What possibility then of answering that question, Whether perceptions inhere in a material or immaterial substance, when we do not so much as understand the meaning of the question?

There is one argument commonly employed for the immateriality of the

soul, which seems to me remarkable. Whatever is extended consists of parts; and whatever consists of parts is divisible, if not in reality, at least in the imagination. But it is impossible anything divisible can be conjoined to a thought or perception, which is a being altogether inseparable and indivisible. For supposing such a conjunction, would the indivisible thought exist on the left or on the right hand of this extended divisible body? On the surface or in the middle? On the back or fore side of it? If it be conjoined with the extension, it must exist somewhere within its dimensions. If it exist within its dimensions, it must either exist in one particular part; and then that particular part is indivisible, and the perception is conjoined only with it, not with the extension: Or if the thought exists in every part, it must also be extended, and separable, and divisible, as well as the body; which is utterly absurd and contradictory. For can any one conceive a passion of a yard in length, a foot in breadth, and an inch in thickness? Thought, therefore, and extension are qualities wholly incompatible, and never can incorporate together into one subject.

This argument affects not the question concerning the substance of the soul, but only that concerning its local conjunction with matter; and therefore it may not be improper to consider in general what objects are, or are not susceptible of a local conjunction. This is a curious question, and may lead us to some discoveries of considerable moment.

The first notion of space and extension is derived solely from the senses of sight and feeling; nor is there any thing, but what is coloured or tangible, that has parts disposed after such a manner, as to convey that idea. When we diminish or encrease a relish, it is not after the same manner that we diminish or encrease any visible object; and when several sounds strike our hearing at once, custom and reflection alone make us form an idea of the degrees of the distance and contiguity of those bodies, from which they are derived. Whatever marks the place of its existence either must be extended, or must be a mathematical point, without parts or composition. What is extended must have a particular figure, as square, round, triangular; none of which will agree to a desire, or indeed to any impression or idea, except to these two senses above-mentioned. Neither ought a desire, though indivisible, to be considered as a mathematical point. For in that case it would be possible, by the addition of others, to make two, three, four desires, and these disposed and situated in such a manner, as to have a determinate length, breadth and thickness; which is evidently absurd.

It will not be surprising after this, if I deliver a maxim, which is condemned by several metaphysicians, and is esteemed contrary to the most certain principles of hum reason. This maxim is that an object may exist, and yet be no where: and I assert, that this is not only possible, but that the greatest part of beings do and must exist after

this manner. An object may be said to be no where, when its parts are not so situated with respect to each other, as to form any figure or quantity; nor the whole with respect to other bodies so as to answer to our notions of contiguity or distance. Now this is evidently the case with all our perceptions and objects, except those of the sight and feeling. A moral reflection cannot be placed on the right or on the left hand of a passion, nor can a smell or sound be either of a circular or a square figure. These objects and perceptions, so far from requiring any particular place, are absolutely incompatible with it, and even the imagination cannot attribute it to them. And as to the absurdity of supposing them to be no where, we may consider, that if the passions and sentiments appear to the perception to have any particular place, the idea of extension might be derived from them, as well as from the sight and touch; contrary to what we have already established. If they APPEAR not to have any particular place, they may possibly exist in the same manner; since whatever we conceive is possible.

It will not now be necessary to prove, that those perceptions, which are simple, and exist no where, are incapable of any conjunction in place with matter or body, which is extended and divisible; since it is impossible to found a relation but on some common quality. It may be better worth our while to remark, that this question of the local conjunction of objects does not only occur in metaphysical disputes concerning the nature of the soul, but that even in

common life we have every moment occasion to examine it. Thus supposing we consider a fig at one end of the table, and an olive at the other, it is evident, that in forming the complex ideas of these substances, one of the most obvious is that of their different relishes; and it is as evident, that we incorporate and conjoin these qualities with such as are coloured and tangible. The bitter taste of the one, and sweet of the other are supposed to lie in the very visible body, and to be separated from each other by the whole length of the table. This is so notable and so natural an illusion, that it may be proper to consider the principles, from which it is derived.

Though an extended object be incapable of a conjunction in place with another, that exists without any place or extension, yet are they susceptible of many other relations. Thus the taste and smell of any fruit are inseparable from its other qualities of colour and tangibility; and whichever of them be the cause or effect, it is certain they are always co-existent. Nor are they only co-existent in general, but also co-temporary in their appearance in the mind; and it is upon the application of the extended body to our senses we perceive its particular taste and smell. These relations, then, of causation, and contiguity in the time of their appearance, betwixt the extended object and the quality, which exists without any particular place, must have such an effect on the mind, that upon the appearance of one it will

immediately turn its thought to the conception of the other. Nor is this all. We not only turn our thought from one to the other upon account of their relation, but likewise endeavour to give them a new relation, viz. that of a CONJUNCTION IN PLACE, that we may render the transition more easy and natural. For it is a quality, which I shall often have occasion to remark in human nature, and shall explain more fully in its proper place, that when objects are united by any relation, we have a strong propensity to add some new relation to them, in order to compleat the union. In our arrangement of bodies we never fail to place such as are resembling, in contiguity to each other, or at least in correspondent points of view: Why? but because we feel a satisfaction in joining the relation of contiguity to that of resemblance, or the resemblance of situation to that of qualities. The effects this propensity have been [Sect. 2, towards the end.] already observed in that resemblance, which we so readily suppose betwixt particular impressions and their external causes. But we shall not find a more evident effect of it, than in the present instance, where from the relations of causation and contiguity in time betwixt two objects, we feign likewise that of a conjunction in place, in order to strengthen the connexion.

But whatever confused notions we may form of an union in place betwixt an extended body, as a fig, and its particular taste, it is certain that upon reflection we must observe this union something altogether unintelligible and contradictory. For should we ask

ourselves one
obvious question, viz. if the taste, which we conceive
to be contained
in the circumference of the body, is in every part of it
or in one only,
we must quickly find ourselves at a loss, and perceive
the impossibility
of ever giving a satisfactory answer. We cannot rely,
that it is only
in one part: For experience convinces us, that every
part has the same
relish. We can as little reply, that it exists in every
part: For
then we must suppose it figured and extended; which is
absurd and
incomprehensible. Here then we are influenced by two
principles directly
contrary to each other, viz. that inclination of our
fancy by which we
are determined to incorporate the taste with the
extended object, and
our reason, which shows us the impossibility of such an
union. Being
divided betwixt these opposite principles, we renounce
neither one nor
the other, but involve the subject in such confusion and
obscurity, that
we no longer perceive the opposition. We suppose, that
the taste exists
within the circumference of the body, but in such a
manner, that it
fills the whole without extension, and exists entire in
every part
without separation. In short, we use in our most
familiar way of
thinking, that scholastic principle, which, when crudely
proposed,
appears so shocking, of TOTUM IN TOTO & TOLUM IN
QUALIBET PARTE: Which
is much the same, as if we should say, that a thing is
in a certain
place, and yet is not there.

All this absurdity proceeds from our endeavouring to
bestow a place on

what is utterly incapable of it; and that endeavour again arises from our inclination to compleat an union, which is founded on causation, and a contiguity of time, by attributing to the objects a conjunction in place. But if ever reason be of sufficient force to overcome prejudice, it is certain, that in the present case it must prevail. For we have only this choice left, either to suppose that some beings exist without any place; or that they are figured and extended; or that when they are incorporated with extended objects, the whole is in the whole, and the whole in every part. The absurdity of the two last suppositions proves sufficiently the veracity of the first. Nor is there any fourth opinion. For as to the supposition of their existence in the manner of mathematical points, it resolves itself into the second opinion, and supposes, that several passions may be placed in a circular figure, and that a certain number of smells, conjoined with a certain number of sounds, may make a body of twelve cubic inches; which appears ridiculous upon the bare mentioning of it.

But though in this view of things we cannot refuse to condemn the materialists, who conjoin all thought with extension; yet a little reflection will show us equal reason for blaming their antagonists, who conjoin all thought with a simple and indivisible substance. The most vulgar philosophy informs us, that no external object can make itself known to the mind immediately, and without the interposition of an image or perception. That table, which just now appears

to me, is only a perception, and all its qualities are qualities of a perception. Now the most obvious of all its qualities is extension. The perception consists of parts. These parts are so situated, as to afford us the notion of distance and contiguity; of length, breadth, and thickness. The termination of these three dimensions is what we call figure. This figure is moveable, separable, and divisible. Mobility, and separability are the distinguishing properties of extended objects. And to cut short all disputes, the very idea of extension is copied from nothing but an impression, and consequently must perfectly agree to it. To say the idea of extension agrees to any thing, is to say it is extended.

The free-thinker may now triumph in his turn; and having found there are impressions and ideas really extended, may ask his antagonists, how they can incorporate a simple and indivisible subject with an extended perception? All the arguments of Theologians may here be retorted upon them. Is the indivisible subject, or immaterial substance, if you will, on the left or on the right hand of the perception? Is it in this particular part, or in that other? Is it in every part without being extended? Or is it entire in any one part without deserting the rest? It is impossible to give any answer to these questions, but what will both be absurd in itself, and will account for the union of our indivisible perceptions with an extended substance.

This gives me an occasion to take a-new into

consideration the question concerning the substance of the soul; and though I have condemned that question as utterly unintelligible, yet I cannot forbear proposing some farther reflections concerning it. I assert, that the doctrine of the immateriality, simplicity, and indivisibility of a thinking substance is a true atheism, and will serve to justify all those sentiments, for which Spinoza is so universally infamous. From this topic, I hope at least to reap one advantage, that my adversaries will not have any pretext to render the present doctrine odious by their declamations, when they see that they can be so easily retorted on them.

The fundamental principle of the atheism of Spinoza is the doctrine of the simplicity of the universe, and the unity of that substance, in which he supposes both thought and matter to inhere. There is only one substance, says he, in the world; and that substance is perfectly simple and indivisible, and exists every where, without any local presence. Whatever we discover externally by sensation; whatever we feel internally by reflection; all these are nothing but modifications of that one, simple, and necessarily existent being, and are not possest of any separate or distinct existence. Every passion of the soul; every configuration of matter, however different and various, inhere in the same substance, and preserve in themselves their characters of distinction, without communicating them to that subject, in which they inhere. The same substratum, if I may so speak,

supports the most different modifications, without any difference in itself; and varies them, without any variation. Neither time, nor place, nor all the diversity of nature are able to produce any composition or change in its perfect simplicity and identity.

I believe this brief exposition of the principles of that famous atheist will be sufficient for the present purpose, and that without entering farther into these gloomy and obscure regions, I shall be able to shew, that this hideous hypothesis is almost the same with that of the immateriality of the soul, which has become so popular. To make this evident, let us [Part II, Sect. 6.] remember, that as every idea is derived from a preceding perception, it is impossible our idea of a perception, and that of an object or external existence can ever represent what are specifically different from each other. Whatever difference we may suppose betwixt them, it is still incomprehensible to us; and we are obliged either to conceive an external object merely as a relation without a relative, or to make it the very same with a perception or impression.

The consequence I shall draw from this may, at first sight, appear a mere sophism; but upon the least examination will be found solid and satisfactory. I say then, that since we may suppose, but never can conceive a specific deference betwixt an object and impression; any conclusion we form concerning the connexion and repugnance of

impressions, will not be known certainly to be applicable to objects; but that on the other hand, whatever conclusions of this kind we form concerning objects, will most certainly be applicable to impressions. The reason is not difficult. As an object is supposed to be different from an impression, we cannot be sure, that the circumstance, upon which we found our reasoning, is common to both, supposing we form the reasoning upon the impression. It is still possible, that the object may differ from it in that particular. But when we first form our reasoning concerning the object, it is beyond doubt, that the same reasoning must extend to the impression: And that because the quality of the object, upon which the argument is founded, must at least be conceived by the mind; and could not be conceived, unless it were common to an impression; since we have no idea but what is derived from that origin. Thus we may establish it as a certain maxim, that we can never, by any principle, but by an irregular kind [Such as that of Sect. 2, form the coherence of our perceptions.] of reasoning from experience, discover a connexion or repugnance betwixt objects, which extends not to impressions; though the inverse proposition may not be equally true, that all the discoverable relations of impressions are common to objects.

To apply this to the present case; there are two different systems of being presented, to which I suppose myself under necessity of assigning some substance, or ground of inhesion. I

observe first the universe of objects or of body: The sun, moon and stars; the earth, seas, plants, animals, men, ships, houses, and other productions either of art or nature. Here Spinoza appears, and tells me, that these are only modifications; and that the subject, in which they inhere, is simple, uncompounded, and indivisible. After this I consider the other system of beings, viz. the universe of thought, or my impressions and ideas. There I observe another sun, moon and stars; an earth, and seas, covered and inhabited by plants and animals; towns, houses, mountains, rivers; and in short every thing I can discover or conceive in the first system. Upon my enquiring concerning these, Theologians present themselves, and tell me, that these also are modifications, and modifications of one simple, uncompounded, and indivisible substance. Immediately upon which I am deafened with the noise of a hundred voices, that treat the first hypothesis with detestation and scorn, and the second with applause and veneration. I turn my attention to these hypotheses to see what may be the reason of so great a partiality; and find that they have the same fault of being unintelligible, and that as far as we can understand them, they are so much alike, that it is impossible to discover any absurdity in one, which is not common to both of them. We have no idea of any quality in an object, which does not agree to, and may not represent a quality in an impression; and that because all our ideas are derived from our impressions. We can

never, therefore, find any repugnance betwixt an extended object as a modification, and a simple un compounded essence, as its substance, unless that repugnance takes place equally betwixt the perception or impression of that extended object, and the same un compounded essence.

Every idea of a quality in an object passes through an impression; and therefore every perceivable relation, whether of connexion or repugnance, must be common both to objects and impressions.

But though this argument, considered in general, seems evident beyond all doubt and contradiction, yet to make it more clear and sensible, let us survey it in detail; and see whether all the absurdities, which have been found in the system of Spinoza, may not likewise be discovered in that of Theologians. [See Bayle's dictionary, article of Spinoza.]

First, It has been said against Spinoza, according to the scholastic way of talking, rather than thinking, that a mode, not being any distinct or separate existence, must be the very same with its substance, and consequently the extension of the universe, must be in a manner identified with that, simple, un compounded essence, in which the universe is supposed to inhere. But this, it may be pretended, is utterly impossible and inconceivable unless the indivisible substance expand itself, so as to correspond to the extension, or the extension contract itself, so as to answer to the indivisible substance. This argument seems just, as far as we can understand it; and

it is plain
nothing is required, but a change in the terms, to apply
the same
argument to our extended perceptions, and the simple
essence of the
soul; the ideas of objects and perceptions being in
every respect
the same, only attended with the supposition of a
difference, that is
unknown and incomprehensible.

Secondly, It has been said, that we have no idea of
substance, which is
not applicable to matter; nor any idea of a distinct
substance, which is
not applicable to every distinct portion of matter.
Matter, therefore,
is not a mode but a substance, and each part of matter
is not a distinct
mode, but a distinct substance. I have already proved,
that we have no
perfect idea of substance; but that taking it for
something, that can
exist by itself, it is evident every perception is a
substance,
and every distinct part of a perception a distinct
substance: And
consequently the one hypothesis labours under the same
difficulties in
this respect with the other.

Thirdly, It has been objected to the system of one
simple substance in
the universe, that this substance being the support or
substratum of
every thing, must at the very same instant be modified
into forms,
which are contrary and incompatible. The round and
square figures are
incompatible in the same substance at the same time. How
then is it
possible, that the same substance can at once be
modified into
that square table, and into this round one? I ask the
same question

concerning the impressions of these tables; and find that the answer is no more satisfactory in one case than in the other.

It appears, then, that to whatever side we turn, the same difficulties follow us, and that we cannot advance one step towards the establishing the simplicity and immateriality of the soul, without preparing the way for a dangerous and irrecoverable atheism. It is the same case, if instead of calling thought a modification of the soul, we should give it the more ancient, and yet more modish name of an action. By an action we mean much the same thing, as what is commonly called an abstract mode; that is, something, which, properly speaking, is neither distinguishable, nor separable from its substance, and is only conceived by a distinction of reason, or an abstraction. But nothing is gained by this change of the term of modification, for that of action; nor do we free ourselves from one single difficulty by its means; as will appear from the two following reflexions.

First, I observe, that the word, action, according to this explication of it, can never justly be applied to any perception, as derived from a mind or thinking substance. Our perceptions are all really different, and separable, and distinguishable from each other, and from everything else, which we can imagine: and therefore it is impossible to conceive, how they can be the action or abstract mode of any substance. The instance of motion, which is commonly made use of to shew after what manner perception depends, as an action, upon its

substance, rather
confounds than instructs us. Motion to all appearance
induces no real
nor essential change on the body, but only varies its
relation to other
objects. But betwixt a person in the morning walking a
garden with
company, agreeable to him; and a person in the afternoon
inclosed in a
dungeon, and full of terror, despair, and resentment,
there seems to be
a radical difference, and of quite another kind, than
what is produced
on a body by the change of its situation. As we conclude
from the
distinction and separability of their ideas, that
external objects
have a separate existence from each other; so when we
make these ideas
themselves our objects, we must draw the same conclusion
concerning
them, according to the precedent reasoning. At least it
must be confest,
that having idea of the substance of the soul, it is
impossible for us
to tell how it can admit of such differences, and even
contrarities of
perception without any fundamental change; and
consequently can never
tell in what sense perceptions are actions of that
substance. The use,
therefore, of the word, action, unaccompanied with any
meaning, instead
of that of modification, makes no addition to our
knowledge, nor is of
any advantage to the doctrine of the immateriality of
the soul.

I add in the second place, that if it brings any
advantage to that
cause, it must bring an equal to the cause of atheism.
For do our
Theologians pretend to make a monopoly of the word,
action, and may not
the atheists likewise take possession of it, and affirm

that plants,
animals, men, &c. are nothing but particular actions of
one simple
universal substance, which exerts itself from a blind
and
absolute necessity? This you'll say is utterly absurd. I
own it is
unintelligible; but at the same time assert, according
to the principles
above-explained, that it is impossible to discover any
absurdity in the
supposition, that all the various objects in nature are
actions of
one simple substance, which absurdity will not be
applicable to a like
supposition concerning impressions and ideas.

From these hypotheses concerning the substance and local
conjunction of
our perceptions, we may pass to another, which is more
intelligible
than the former, and more important than the latter,
viz. concerning the
cause of our perceptions. Matter and motion, it is
commonly said in the
schools, however varied, are still matter and motion,
and produce only
a difference in the position and situation of objects.
Divide a body as
often as you please, it is still body. Place it in any
figure, nothing
ever results but figure, or the relation of parts. Move
it in any
manner, you still find motion or a change of relation.
It is absurd to
imagine, that motion in a circle, for instance, should
be nothing but
merely motion in a circle; while motion in another
direction, as in an
ellipse, should also be a passion or moral reflection:
That the shocking
of two globular particles should become a sensation of
pain, and that
the meeting of two triangular ones should afford a
pleasure. Now as

these different shocks, and variations, and mixtures are the only changes, of which matter is susceptible, and as these never afford us any idea of thought or perception, it is concluded to be impossible, that thought can ever be caused by matter.

Few have been able to withstand the seeming evidence of this argument; and yet nothing in the world is more easy than to refute it. We need only reflect on what has been proved at large, that we are never sensible of any connexion betwixt causes and effects, and that it is only by our experience of their constant conjunction, we can arrive at any knowledge of this relation. Now as all objects, which are not contrary, are susceptible of a constant conjunction, and as no real objects are contrary [Part III. Sect. 15.]; I have inferred from these principles, that to consider the matter A PRIORI, any thing may produce any thing, and that we shall never discover a reason, why any object may or may not be the cause of any other, however great, or however little the resemblance may be betwixt them. This evidently destroys the precedent reasoning concerning the cause of thought or perception. For though there appear no manner of connexion betwixt motion or thought, the case is the same with all other causes and effects. Place one body of a pound weight on one end of a lever, and another body of the same weight on another end; you will never find in these bodies any principle of motion dependent on their distances from the center, more than of thought and perception. If you pretend, therefore, to

prove a priori,
that such a position of bodies can never cause thought;
because turn it
which way you will, it is nothing but a position of
bodies; you must by
the same course of reasoning conclude, that it can never
produce motion;
since there is no more apparent connexion in the one
case than in the
other. But as this latter conclusion is contrary to
evident experience,
and as it is possible we may have a like experience in
the operations of
the mind, and may perceive a constant conjunction of
thought and motion;
you reason too hastily, when from the mere consideration
of the ideas,
you conclude that it is impossible motion can ever
produce thought, or
a different position of parts give rise to a different
passion or
reflection. Nay it is not only possible we may have such
an experience,
but it is certain we have it; since every one may
perceive, that the
different dispositions of his body change his thoughts
and sentiments.
And should it be said, that this depends on the union of
soul and
body; I would answer, that we must separate the question
concerning the
substance of the mind from that concerning the cause of
its thought; and
that confining ourselves to the latter question we find
by the comparing
their ideas, that thought and motion are different from
each other,
and by experience, that they are constantly united;
which being all
the circumstances, that enter into the idea of cause and
effect, when
applied to the operations of matter, we may certainly
conclude, that
motion may be, and actually is, the cause of thought and
perception.

There seems only this dilemma left us in the present case; either to assert, that nothing can be the cause of another, but where the mind can perceive the connexion in its idea of the objects: Or to maintain, that all objects, which we find constantly conjoined, are upon that account to be regarded as causes and effects. If we choose the first part of the dilemma, these are the consequences. First, We in reality affirm, that there is no such thing in the universe as a cause or productive principle, not even the deity himself; since our idea of that supreme Being is derived from particular impressions, none of which contain any efficacy, nor seem to have any connexion with any other existence. As to what may be said, that the connexion betwixt the idea of an infinitely powerful being, and that of any effect, which he wills, is necessary and unavoidable; I answer, that we have no idea of a being endowed with any power, much less of one endowed with infinite power. But if we will change expressions, we can only define power by connexion; and then in saying, that the idea, of an infinitely powerful being is connected with that of every effect, which he wills, we really do no more than assert, that a being, whose volition is connected with every effect, is connected with every effect: which is an identical proposition, and gives us no insight into the nature of this power or connexion. But, secondly, supposing, that the deity were the great and efficacious principle, which supplies the deficiency of all causes, this leads us

into the grossest impieties and absurdities. For upon the same account, that we have recourse to him in natural operations, and assert that matter cannot of itself communicate motion, or produce thought, viz. because there is no apparent connexion betwixt these objects; I say, upon the very same account, we must acknowledge that the deity is the author of all our volitions and perceptions; since they have no more apparent connexion either with one another, or with the supposed but unknown substance of the soul. This agency of the supreme Being we know to have been asserted by [As father Malebranche and other Cartesians.] several philosophers with relation to all the actions of the mind, except volition, or rather an inconsiderable part of volition; though it is easy to perceive, that this exception is a mere pretext, to avoid the dangerous consequences of that doctrine. If nothing be active but what has an apparent power, thought is in no case any more active than matter; and if this inactivity must make us have recourse to a deity, the supreme being is the real cause of all our actions, bad as well as good, vicious as well as virtuous.

Thus we are necessarily reduced to the other side of the dilemma, viz.. that all objects, which are found to be constantly conjoined, are upon that account only to be regarded as causes and effects. Now as all objects, which are not contrary, are susceptible of a constant conjunction, and as no real objects are contrary: it follows, that for ought we can determine by the mere ideas, any thing may

be the cause
or effect of any thing; which evidently gives the
advantage to the
materialists above their antagonists.

To pronounce, then, the final decision upon the whole;
the question
concerning the substance of the soul is absolutely
unintelligible: All
our perceptions are not susceptible of a local union,
either with what
is extended or unextended: there being some of them of
the one kind,
and some of the other: And as the constant conjunction
of objects
constitutes the very essence of cause and effect, matter
and motion may
often be regarded as the causes of thought, as far as we
have any notion
of that relation.

It is certainly a kind of indignity to philosophy, whose
sovereign
authority ought every where to be acknowledged, to
oblige her on every
occasion to make apologies for her conclusions, and
justify herself to
every particular art and science, which may be offended
at her. This
puts one in mind of a king arraigned for high-treason
against his
subjects. There is only one occasion, when philosophy
will think it
necessary and even honourable to justify herself, and
that is, when
religion may seem to be in the least offended; whose
rights are as
dear to her as her own, and are indeed the same. If any
one, therefore,
should imagine that the foregoing arguments are any ways
dangerous to
religion, I hope the following apology will remove his
apprehensions.

There is no foundation for any conclusion a priori,

either concerning
the operations or duration of any object, of which it is
possible for
the human mind to form a conception. Any object may be
imagined to
become entirely inactive, or to be annihilated in a
moment; and it is an
evident principle, that whatever we can imagine, is
possible. Now this
is no more true of matter, than of spirit; of an
extended compounded
substance, than of a simple and unextended. In both
cases the
metaphysical arguments for the immortality of the soul
are equally
inconclusive: and in both cases the moral arguments and
those derived
from the analogy of nature are equally strong and
convincing. If my
philosophy, therefore, makes no addition to the
arguments for religion,
I have at least the satisfaction to think it takes
nothing from them,
but that every thing remains precisely as before.

SECT. VI. OF PERSONAL IDENTITY

There are some philosophers who imagine we are every
moment intimately
conscious of what we call our SELF; that we feel its
existence and its
continuance in existence; and are certain, beyond the
evidence of a
demonstration, both of its perfect identity and
simplicity. The strongest
sensation, the most violent passion, say they, instead
of distracting
us from this view, only fix it the more intently, and
make us consider
their influence on self either by their pain or
pleasure. To attempt a

farther proof of this were to weaken its evidence; since no proof can be derived from any fact, of which we are so intimately conscious; nor is there any thing, of which we can be certain, if we doubt of this.

Unluckily all these positive assertions are contrary to that very experience, which is pleaded for them, nor have we any idea of self, after the manner it is here explained. For from what impression could this idea be derived? This question it is impossible to answer without a manifest contradiction and absurdity; and yet it is a question, which must necessarily be answered, if we would have the idea of self pass for clear and intelligible, It must be some one impression, that gives rise to every real idea. But self or person is not any one impression, but that to which our several impressions and ideas are supposed to have a reference. If any impression gives rise to the idea of self, that impression must continue invariably the same, through the whole course of our lives; since self is supposed to exist after that manner. But there is no impression constant and invariable. Pain and pleasure, grief and joy, passions and sensations succeed each other, and never all exist at the same time. It cannot, therefore, be from any of these impressions, or from any other, that the idea of self is derived; and consequently there is no such idea.

But farther, what must become of all our particular perceptions upon this hypothesis? All these are different, and distinguishable, and

separable from each other, and may be separately considered, and may exist separately, and have no Deed of tiny thing to support their existence. After what manner, therefore, do they belong to self; and how are they connected with it? For my part, when I enter most intimately into what I call myself, I always stumble on some particular perception or other, of heat or cold, light or shade, love or hatred, pain or pleasure. I never can catch myself at any time without a perception, and never can observe any thing but the perception. When my perceptions are removed for any time, as by sound sleep; so long am I insensible of myself, and may truly be said not to exist. And were all my perceptions removed by death, and coued I neither think, nor feel, nor see, nor love, nor hate after the dissolution of my body, I should be entirely annihilated, nor do I conceive what is farther requisite to make me a perfect non-entity. If any one, upon serious and unprejudiced reflection thinks he has a different notion of himself, I must confess I call reason no longer with him. All I can allow him is, that he may be in the right as well as I, and that we are essentially different in this particular. He may, perhaps, perceive something simple and continued, which he calls himself; though I am certain there is no such principle in me.

But setting aside some metaphysicians of this kind, I may venture to affirm of the rest of mankind, that they are nothing but a bundle or collection of different perceptions, which succeed each

other with an
inconceivable rapidity, and are in a perpetual flux and
movement. Our
eyes cannot turn in their sockets without varying our
perceptions. Our
thought is still more variable than our sight; and all
our other senses
and faculties contribute to this change; nor is there
any single power
of the soul, which remains unalterably the same, perhaps
for one moment.
The mind is a kind of theatre, where several perceptions
successively
make their appearance; pass, re-pass, glide away, and
mingle in an
infinite variety of postures and situations. There is
properly no
simplicity in it at one time, nor identity in different;
whatever
natural propension we may have to imagine that
simplicity and identity.
The comparison of the theatre must not mislead us. They
are the
successive perceptions only, that constitute the mind;
nor have we the
most distant notion of the place, where these scenes are
represented, or
of the materials, of which it is composed.

What then gives us so great a propension to ascribe an
identity to
these successive perceptions, and to suppose ourselves
possest of an
invariable and uninterrupted existence through the whole
course of our
lives? In order to answer this question, we must
distinguish betwixt
personal identity, as it regards our thought or
imagination, and as it
regards our passions or the concern we take in
ourselves. The first is
our present subject; and to explain it perfectly we must
take the matter
pretty deep, and account for that identity, which we
attribute to plants

and animals; there being a great analogy betwixt it, and the identity of a self or person.

We have a distinct idea of an object, that remains invariable and uninterrupted through a supposed variation of time; and this idea we call that of identity or sameness. We have also a distinct idea of several different objects existing in succession, and connected together by a close relation; and this to an accurate view affords as perfect a notion of diversity, as if there was no manner of relation among the objects. But though these two ideas of identity, and a succession of related objects be in themselves perfectly distinct, and even contrary, yet it is certain, that in our common way of thinking they are generally confounded with each other. That action of the imagination, by which we consider the uninterrupted and invariable object, and that by which we reflect on the succession of related objects, are almost the same to the feeling, nor is there much more effort of thought required in the latter case than in the former. The relation facilitates the transition of the mind from one object to another, and renders its passage as smooth as if it contemplated one continued object. This resemblance is the cause of the confusion and mistake, and makes us substitute the notion of identity, instead of that of related objects. However at one instant we may consider the related succession as variable or interrupted, we are sure the next to ascribe to it a perfect identity, and regard it as envariable and uninterrupted. Our propensity to this

mistake is so great
from the resemblance above-mentioned, that we fall into
it before we are
aware; and though we incessantly correct ourselves by
reflection, and
return to a more accurate method of thinking, yet we
cannot long sustain
our philosophy, or take off this bias from the
imagination. Our last
resource is to yield to it, and boldly assert that these
different
related objects are in effect the same, however
interrupted and
variable. In order to justify to ourselves this
absurdity, we often
feign some new and unintelligible principle, that
connects the objects
together, and prevents their interruption or variation.
Thus we feign
the continued existence of the perceptions of our
senses, to remove
the interruption: and run into the notion of a soul, and
self, and
substance, to disguise the variation. But we may farther
observe, that
where we do not give rise to such a fiction, our
propension to confound
identity with relation is so great, that we are apt to
imagine [Footnote
10] something unknown and mysterious, connecting the
parts, beside their
relation; and this I take to be the case with regard to
the identity
we ascribe to plants and vegetables. And even when this
does not take
place, we still feel a propensity to confound these
ideas, though we
a-re not able fully to satisfy ourselves in that
particular, nor
find any thing invariable and uninterrupted to justify
our notion of
identity.

[Footnote 10 If the reader is desirous to see how

a great

genius may be influenced by these seemingly trivial principles of the imagination, as well as the mere vulgar,

let him read my Lord SHAFTSBURYS reasonings concerning the

uniting principle of the universe, and the identity of

plants and animals. See his MORALISTS: or, PHILOSOPHICAL RHAPSODY.]

Thus the controversy concerning identity is not merely a dispute of

words. For when we attribute identity, in an improper sense, to variable

or interrupted objects, our mistake is not confined to the expression,

but is commonly attended with a fiction, either of something invariable

and uninterrupted, or of something mysterious and inexplicable, or at

least with a propensity to such fictions. What will suffice to prove

this hypothesis to the satisfaction of every fair enquirer, is to shew

from daily experience and observation, that the objects, which are

variable or interrupted, and yet are supposed to continue the same, are

such only as consist of a succession of parts, connected together by

resemblance, contiguity, or causation. For as such a succession answers

evidently to our notion of diversity, it can only be by mistake we

ascribe to it an identity; and as the relation of parts, which leads us

into this mistake, is really nothing but a quality, which produces an

association of ideas, and an easy transition of the imagination from one

to another, it can only be from the resemblance, which this act of the

mind bears to that, by which we contemplate one

continued object, that
the error arises. Our chief business, then, must be to
prove, that
all objects, to which we ascribe identity, without
observing their
invariableness and uninterruptedness, are such as
consist of a
succession of related objects.

In order to this, suppose any mass of matter, of which
the parts are
contiguous and connected, to be placed before us; it is
plain we must
attribute a perfect identity to this mass, provided all
the parts
continue uninterruptedly and invariably the same,
whatever motion or
change of place we may observe either in the whole or in
any of the
parts. But supposing some very small or inconsiderable
part to be added
to the mass, or subtracted from it; though this
absolutely destroys
the identity of the whole, strictly speaking; yet as we
seldom think so
accurately, we scruple not to pronounce a mass of matter
the same, where
we find so trivial an alteration. The passage of the
thought from the
object before the change to the object after it, is so
smooth and easy,
that we scarce perceive the transition, and are apt to
imagine, that it
is nothing but a continued survey of the same object.

There is a very remarkable circumstance, that attends
this experiment;
which is, that though the change of any considerable
part in a mass
of matter destroys the identity of the whole, let we
must measure the
greatness of the part, not absolutely, but by its
proportion to the
whole. The addition or diminution of a mountain would
not be sufficient

to produce a diversity in a planet: though the change of a very few inches would be able to destroy the identity of some bodies. It will be impossible to account for this, but by reflecting that objects operate upon the mind, and break or interrupt the continuity of its actions not according to their real greatness, but according to their proportion to each other: And therefore, since this interruption makes an object cease to appear the same, it must be the uninterrupted progress of the thought, which constitutes the imperfect identity.

This may be confirmed by another phenomenon. A change in any considerable part of a body destroys its identity; but it is remarkable, that where the change is produced gradually and insensibly we are less apt to ascribe to it the same effect. The reason can plainly be no other, than that the mind, in following the successive changes of the body, feels an easy passage from the surveying its condition in one moment to the viewing of it in another, and at no particular time perceives any interruption in its actions. From which continued perception, it ascribes a continued existence and identity to the object.

But whatever precaution we may use in introducing the changes gradually, and making them proportionable to the whole, it is certain, that where the changes are at last observed to become considerable, we make a scruple of ascribing identity to such different objects. There is, however, another artifice, by which we may induce the

imagination to advance a step farther; and that is, by producing a reference of the parts to each other, and a combination to some common end or purpose. A ship, of which a considerable part has been changed by frequent reparations, is still considered as the same; nor does the difference of the materials hinder us from ascribing an identity to it. The common end, in which the parts conspire, is the same under all their variations, and affords an easy transition of the imagination from one situation of the body to another.

But this is still more remarkable, when we add a sympathy of parts to their common end, and suppose that they bear to each other, the reciprocal relation of cause and effect in all their actions and operations. This is the case with all animals and vegetables; where not only the several parts have a reference to some general purpose, but also a mutual dependence on, and connexion with each other. The effect of so strong a relation is, that though every one must allow, that in a very few years both vegetables and animals endure a total change, yet we still attribute identity to them, while their form, size, and substance are entirely altered. An oak, that grows from a small plant to a large tree, is still the same oak; though there be not one particle of matter, or figure of its parts the same. An infant becomes a man-, and is sometimes fat, sometimes lean, without any change in his identity.

We may also consider the two following phaenomena, which

are remarkable
in their kind. The first is, that though we commonly be
able to
distinguish pretty exactly betwixt numerical and
specific identity, yet
it sometimes happens, that we confound them, and in our
thinking and
reasoning employ the one for the other. Thus a man, who
bears a noise,
that is frequently interrupted and renewed, says, it is
still the same
noise; though it is evident the sounds have only a
specific identity or
resemblance, and there is nothing numerically the same,
but the cause,
which produced them. In like manner it may be said
without breach of the
propriety of language, that such a church, which was
formerly of brick,
fell to ruin, and that the parish rebuilt the same
church of free-stone,
and according to modern architecture. Here neither the
form nor
materials are the same, nor is there any thing common to
the two
objects, but their relation to the inhabitants of the
parish; and yet
this alone is sufficient to make us denominate them the
same. But
we must observe, that in these cases the first object is
in a manner
annihilated before the second comes into existence; by
which means, we
are never presented in any one point of time with the
idea of difference
and multiplicity: and for that reason are less
scrupulous in calling
them the same.

Secondly, We may remark, that though in a succession of
related objects,
it be in a manner requisite, that the change of parts be
not sudden nor
entire, in order to preserve the identity, yet where the
objects are

in their nature changeable and inconstant, we admit of a more sudden transition, than would otherwise be consistent with that relation. Thus as the nature of a river consists in the motion and change of parts; though in less than four and twenty hours these be totally altered; this hinders not the river from continuing the same during several ages. What is natural and essential to any thing is, in a manner, expected; and what is expected makes less impression, and appears of less moment, than what is unusual and extraordinary. A considerable change of the former kind seems really less to the imagination, than the most trivial alteration of the latter; and by breaking less the continuity of the thought, has less influence in destroying the identity.

We now proceed to explain the nature of personal identity, which has become so great a question ill philosophy, especially of late years in England, where all the abstruser sciences are studied with a peculiar ardour and application. And here it is evident, the same method of reasoning must be continued which has so successfully explained the identity of plants, and animals, and ships, and houses, and of all the compounded and changeable productions either of art or nature. The identity, which we ascribe to the mind of man, is only a fictitious one, and of a like kind with that which we ascribe to vegetables and animal bodies. It cannot, therefore, have a different origin, but must proceed from a like operation of the imagination upon like objects.

But lest this argument should not convince the reader; though in my opinion perfectly decisive; let him weigh the following reasoning, which is still closer and more immediate. It is evident, that the identity, which we attribute to the human mind, however perfect we may imagine it to be, is not able to run the several different perceptions into one, and make them lose their characters of distinction and difference, which are essential to them. It is still true, that every distinct perception, which enters into the composition of the mind, is a distinct existence, and is different, and distinguishable, and separable from every other perception, either contemporary or successive. But, as, notwithstanding this distinction and separability, we suppose the whole train of perceptions to be united by identity, a question naturally arises concerning this relation of identity; whether it be something that really binds our several perceptions together, or only associates their ideas in the imagination. That is, in other words, whether in pronouncing concerning the identity of a person, we observe some real bond among his perceptions, or only feel one among the ideas we form of them. This question we might easily decide, if we would recollect what has been already said at large, that the understanding never observes any real connexion among objects, and that even the union of cause and effect, when strictly examined, resolves itself into a customary association of ideas. For from thence it evidently follows, that identity is nothing really belonging to these different

perceptions, and uniting them together; but is merely a quality, which we attribute to them, because of the union of their ideas in the imagination, when we reflect upon them. Now the only qualities, which can give ideas an union in the imagination, are these three relations above-mentioned. There are the uniting principles in the ideal world, and without them every distinct object is separable by the mind, and may be separately considered, and appears not to have any more connexion with any other object, than if disjointed by the greatest difference and remoteness. It is, therefore, on some of these three relations of resemblance, contiguity and causation, that identity depends; and as the very essence of these relations consists in their producing an easy transition of ideas; it follows, that our notions of personal identity, proceed entirely from the smooth and uninterrupted progress of the thought along a train of connected ideas, according to the principles above-explained.

The only question, therefore, which remains, is, by what relations this uninterrupted progress of our thought is produced, when we consider the successive existence of a mind or thinking person. And here it is evident we must confine ourselves to resemblance and causation, and must drop contiguity, which has little or no influence in the present case.

To begin with resemblance; suppose we could see clearly into the breast of another, and observe that succession of perceptions, which

constitutes his mind or thinking principle, and suppose that he always preserves the memory of a considerable part of past perceptions; it is evident that nothing could more contribute to the bestowing a relation on this succession amidst all its variations. For what is the memory but a faculty, by which we raise up the images of past perceptions? And as an image necessarily resembles its object, must not. The frequent placing of these resembling perceptions in the chain of thought, convey the imagination more easily from one link to another, and make the whole seem like the continuance of one object? In this particular, then, the memory not only discovers the identity, but also contributes to its production, by producing the relation of resemblance among the perceptions. The case is the same whether we consider ourselves or others.

As to causation; we may observe, that the true idea of the human mind, is to consider it as a system of different perceptions or different existences, which are linked together by the relation of cause and effect, and mutually produce, destroy, influence, and modify each other. Our impressions give rise to their correspondent ideas; said these ideas in their turn produce other impressions. One thought chases another, and draws after it a third, by which it is expelled in its turn. In this respect, I cannot compare the soul more properly to any thing than to a republic or commonwealth, in which the several members are united by the reciprocal ties of government and subordination, and

give rise to other persons, who propagate the same republic in the incessant changes of its parts. And as the same individual republic may not only change its members, but also its laws and constitutions; in like manner the same person may vary his character and disposition, as well as his impressions and ideas, without losing his identity. Whatever changes he endures, his several parts are still connected by the relation of causation. And in this view our identity with regard to the passions serves to corroborate that with regard to the imagination, by the making our distant perceptions influence each other, and by giving us a present concern for our past or future pains or pleasures.

As a memory alone acquaints us with the continuance and extent of this succession of perceptions, it is to be considered, upon that account chiefly, as the source of personal identity. Had we no memory, we never should have any notion of causation, nor consequently of that chain of causes and effects, which constitute our self or person. But having once acquired this notion of causation from the memory, we can extend the same chain of causes, and consequently the identity of our persons beyond our memory, and can comprehend times, and circumstances, and actions, which we have entirely forgot, but suppose in general to have existed. For how few of our past actions are there, of which we have any memory? Who can tell me, for instance, what were his thoughts and actions on the 1st of January 1715, the 11th of March 1719, and the 3rd

of August 1733? Or will he affirm, because he has entirely forgot the incidents of these days, that the present self is not the same person with the self of that time; and by that means overturn all the most established notions of personal identity? In this view, therefore, memory does not so much produce as discover personal identity, by shewing us the relation of cause and effect among our different perceptions. It will be incumbent on those, who affirm that memory produces entirely our personal identity, to give a reason why we can thus extend our identity beyond our memory.

The whole of this doctrine leads us to a conclusion, which is of great importance in the present affair, viz. that all the nice and subtle questions concerning personal identity can never possibly be decided, and are to be regarded rather as grammatical than as philosophical difficulties. Identity depends on the relations of ideas; and these relations produce identity, by means of that easy transition they occasion. But as the relations, and the easiness of the transition may diminish by insensible degrees, we have no just standard, by which we can decide any dispute concerning the time, when they acquire or lose a title to the name of identity. All the disputes concerning the identity of connected objects are merely verbal, except so far as the relation of parts gives rise to some fiction or imaginary principle of union, as we have already observed.

What I have said concerning the first origin and

uncertainty of our
notion of identity, as applied to the human mind, may be
extended with
little or no variation to that of simplicity. An object,
whose different
co-existent parts are bound together by a close
relation, operates upon
the imagination after much the same manner as one
perfectly simple and
indivisible and requires not a much greater stretch of
thought in order
to its conception. From this similarity of operation we
attribute a
simplicity to it, and feign a principle of union as the
support of this
simplicity, and the center of all the different parts
and qualities of
the object.

Thus we have finished our examination of the several
systems of
philosophy, both of the intellectual and natural world;
and in our
miscellaneous way of reasoning have been led into
several topics;
which will either illustrate and confirm some preceding
part of this
discourse, or prepare the way for our following
opinions. It is now time
to return to a more close examination of our subject,
and to proceed in
the accurate anatomy of human nature, having fully
explained the nature
of our judgment and understandings.

SECT. VII. CONCLUSION OF THIS BOOK.

But before I launch out into those immense depths of
philosophy, which
lie before me, I find myself inclined to stop a moment
in my present

station, and to ponder that voyage, which I have undertaken, and which undoubtedly requires the utmost art and industry to be brought to a happy conclusion. Methinks I am like a man, who having struck on many shoals, and having narrowly escaped shipwreck in passing a small frith, has yet the temerity to put out to sea in the same leaky weather-beaten vessel, and even carries his ambition so far as to think of compassing the globe under these disadvantageous circumstances. My memory of past errors and perplexities, makes me diffident for the future. The wretched condition, weakness, and disorder of the faculties, I must employ in my enquiries, encrease my apprehensions. And the impossibility of amending or correcting these faculties, reduces me almost to despair, and makes me resolve to perish on the barren rock, on which I am at present, rather than venture myself upon that boundless ocean, which runs out into immensity. This sudden view of my danger strikes me with melancholy; and as it is usual for that passion, above all others, to indulge itself; I cannot forbear feeding my despair, with all those desponding reflections, which the present subject furnishes me with in such abundance.

I am first affrighted and confounded with that forelorn solitude, in which I am placed in my philosophy, and fancy myself some strange uncouth monster, who not being able to mingle and unite in society, has been expelled all human commerce, and left utterly abandoned and disconsolate. Fain would I run into the crowd for

shelter and warmth;
but cannot prevail with myself to mix with such
deformity. I call upon
others to join me, in order to make a company apart; but
no one will
hearken to me. Every one keeps at a distance, and dreads
that storm,
which beats upon me from every side. I have exposed
myself to the enmity
of all metaphysicians, logicians, mathematicians, and
even theologians;
and can I wonder at the insults I must suffer? I have
declared my
disapprobation of their systems; and can I be surprized,
if they should
express a hatred of mine and of my person? When I look
abroad, I foresee
on every side, dispute, contradiction, anger, calumny
and detraction.
When I turn my eye inward, I find nothing but doubt and
ignorance.
All the world conspires to oppose and contradict me;
though such is my
weakness, that I feel all my opinions loosen and fall of
themselves,
when unsupported by the approbation of others. Every
step I take is
with hesitation, and every new reflection makes me dread
an error and
absurdity in my reasoning.

For with what confidence can I venture upon such bold
enterprises, when
beside those numberless infirmities peculiar to myself,
I find so many
which are common to human nature? Can I be sure, that in
leaving all
established opinions I am following truth; and by what
criterion shall
I distinguish her, even if fortune should at last guide
me on her
foot-steps? After the most accurate and exact of my
reasonings, I can
give no reason why I should assent to it; and feel
nothing but a strong

propensity to consider objects strongly in that view,
under which they
appear to me. Experience is a principle, which instructs
me in
the several conjunctions of objects for the past. Habit
is another
principle, which determines me to expect the same for
the future; and
both of them conspiring to operate upon the imagination,
make me form
certain ideas in a more intense and lively manner, than
others, which
are not attended with the same advantages. Without this
quality, by
which the mind enlivens some ideas beyond others (which
seemingly is so
trivial, and so little founded on reason) we could never
assent to any
argument, nor carry our view beyond those few objects,
which are present
to our senses. Nay, even to these objects we could never
attribute any
existence, but what was dependent on the senses; and
must comprehend
them entirely in that succession of perceptions, which
constitutes our
self or person. Nay farther, even with relation to that
succession, we
could only admit of those perceptions, which are
immediately present to
our consciousness, nor could those lively images, with
which the memory
presents us, be ever received as true pictures of past
perceptions. The
memory, senses, and understanding are, therefore, all of
them founded on
the imagination, or the vivacity of our ideas.

No wonder a principle so inconstant and fallacious
should lead us into
errors, when implicitly followed (as it must be) in all
its variations.
It is this principle, which makes us reason from causes
and effects; and
it is the same principle, which convinces us of the

continued existence
of external objects, when absent from the senses. But
though these two
operations be equally natural and necessary in the human
mind, yet in
some circumstances they are [Sect. 4.] directly
contrary, nor is it
possible for us to reason justly and regularly from
causes and effects,
and at the same time believe the continued existence of
matter. How
then shall we adjust those principles together? Which of
them shall we
prefer? Or in case we prefer neither of them, but
successively assent
to both, as is usual among philosophers, with what
confidence can we
afterwards usurp that glorious title, when we thus
knowingly embrace a
manifest contradiction?

This contradiction [Part III. Sect. 14.] would be more
excusable, were
it compensated by any degree of solidity and
satisfaction in the other
parts of our reasoning. But the case is quite contrary.
When we trace up
the human understanding to its first principles, we find
it to lead us
into such sentiments, as seem to turn into ridicule all
our past pains
and industry, and to discourage us from future
enquiries. Nothing is
more curiously enquired after by the mind of man, than
the causes of
every phenomenon; nor are we content with knowing the
immediate causes,
but push on our enquiries, till we arrive at the
original and ultimate
principle. We would not willingly stop before we are
acquainted with
that energy in the cause, by which it operates on its
effect; that tie,
which connects them together; and that efficacious
quality, on which the

tie depends. This is our aim in all our studies and reflections: And how must we be disappointed, when we learn, that this connexion, tie, or energy lies merely in ourselves, and is nothing but that determination of the mind, which is acquired by custom, and causes us to make a transition from an object to its usual attendant, and from the impression of one to the lively idea of the other? Such a discovery not only cuts off all hope of ever attaining satisfaction, but even prevents our very wishes; since it appears, that when we say we desire to know the ultimate and operating principle, as something, which resides in the external object, we either contradict ourselves, or talk without a meaning.

This deficiency in our ideas is not, indeed, perceived in common life, nor are we sensible, that in the most usual conjunctions of cause and effect we are as ignorant of the ultimate principle, which binds them together, as in the most unusual and extraordinary. But this proceeds merely from an illusion of the imagination; and the question is, how far we ought to yield to these illusions. This question is very difficult, and reduces us to a very dangerous dilemma, whichever way we answer it. For if we assent to every trivial suggestion of the fancy; beside that these suggestions are often contrary to each other; they lead us into such errors, absurdities, and obscurities, that we must at last become ashamed of our credulity. Nothing is more dangerous to reason than the flights of the imagination, and nothing has been the

occasion of more
mistakes among philosophers. Men of bright fancies may
in this respect
be compared to those angels, whom the scripture
represents as covering
their eyes with their wings. This has already appeared
in so many
instances, that we may spare ourselves the trouble of
enlarging upon it
any farther.

But on the other hand, if the consideration of these
instances makes us
take a resolution to reject all the trivial suggestions
of the fancy,
and adhere to the understanding, that is, to the general
and more
established properties of the imagination; even this
resolution, if
steadily executed, would be dangerous, and attended with
the most
fatal consequences. For I have already shewn [Sect. 1.],
that the
understanding, when it acts alone, and according to its
most general
principles, entirely subverts itself, and leaves not the
lowest degree
of evidence in any proposition, either in philosophy or
common life. We
save ourselves from this total scepticism only by means
of that singular
and seemingly trivial property of the fancy, by which we
enter with
difficulty into remote views of things, and are not able
to accompany
them with so sensible an impression, as we do those,
which are more easy
and natural. Shall we, then, establish it for a general
maxim, that no
refined or elaborate reasoning is ever to be received?
Consider well the
consequences of such a principle. By this means you cut
off entirely
all science and philosophy: You proceed upon one
singular quality of the

imagination, and by a parity of reason must embrace all of them: And you expressly contradict yourself; since this maxim must be built on the preceding reasoning, which will be allowed to be sufficiently refined and metaphysical. What party, then, shall we choose among these difficulties? If we embrace this principle, and condemn all refined reasoning, we run into the most manifest absurdities. If we reject it in favour of these reasonings, we subvert entirely the human understanding. We have, therefore, no choice left but betwixt a false reason and none at all. For my part, know not what ought to be done in the present case. I can only observe what is commonly done; which is, that this difficulty is seldom or never thought of; and even where it has once been present to the mind, is quickly forgot, and leaves but a small impression behind it. Very refined reflections have little or no influence upon us; and yet we do not, and cannot establish it for a rule, that they ought not to have any influence; which implies a manifest contradiction.

But what have I here said, that reflections very refined and metaphysical have little or no influence upon us? This opinion I can scarce forbear retracting, and condemning from my present feeling and experience. The intense view of these manifold contradictions and imperfections in human reason has so wrought upon me, and heated my brain, that I am ready to reject all belief and reasoning, and can look upon no opinion even as more probable or likely than

another. Where
am I, or what? From what causes do I derive my
existence, and to what
condition shall I return? Whose favour shall I court,
and whose
anger must I dread? What beings surround me? and on whom
have, I any
influence, or who have any influence on me? I am
confounded with all
these questions, and begin to fancy myself in the most
deplorable
condition imaginable, invironed with the deepest
darkness, and utterly
deprived of the use of every member and faculty.

Most fortunately it happens, that since reason is
incapable of
dispelling these clouds, nature herself suffices to that
purpose,
and cures me of this philosophical melancholy and
delirium, either by
relaxing this bent of mind, or by some avocation, and
lively impression
of my senses, which obliterate all these chimeras. I
dine, I play a game
of backgammon, I converse, and am merry with my friends;
and when after
three or four hours' amusement, I would return to these
speculations,
they appear so cold, and strained, and ridiculous, that
I cannot find in
my heart to enter into them any farther.

Here then I find myself absolutely and necessarily
determined to live,
and talk, and act like other people in the common
affairs of life. But
notwithstanding that my natural propensity, and the
course of my animal
spirits and passions reduce me to this indolent belief
in the general
maxims of the world, I still feel such remains of my
former disposition,
that I am ready to throw all my books and papers into
the fire, and

resolve never more to renounce the pleasures of life for the sake of reasoning and philosophy. For those are my sentiments in that splenetic humour, which governs me at present. I may, nay I must yield to the current of nature, in submitting to my senses and understanding; and in this blind submission I shew most perfectly my sceptical disposition and principles. But does it follow, that I must strive against the current of nature, which leads me to indolence and pleasure; that I must seclude myself, in some measure, from the commerce and society of men, which is so agreeable; and that I must torture my brains with subtilities and sophistries, at the very time that I cannot satisfy myself concerning the reasonableness of so painful an application, nor have any tolerable prospect of arriving by its means at truth and certainty. Under what obligation do I lie of making such an abuse of time? And to what end can it serve either for the service of mankind, or for my own private interest? No: If I must be a fool, as all those who reason or believe any thing certainly are, my follies shall at least be natural and agreeable. Where I strive against my inclination, I shall have a good reason for my resistance; and will no more be led a wandering into such dreary solitudes, and rough passages, as I have hitherto met with.

These are the sentiments of my spleen and indolence; and indeed I must confess, that philosophy has nothing to oppose to them, and expects a victory more from the returns of a serious good-humoured disposition,

than from the force of reason and conviction. In all the incidents of life we ought still to preserve our scepticism. If we believe, that fire warms, or water refreshes, it is only because it costs us too much pains to think otherwise. Nay if we are philosophers, it ought only to be upon sceptical principles, and from an inclination, which we feel to the employing ourselves after that manner. Where reason is lively, and mixes itself with some propensity, it ought to be assented to. Where it does not, it never can have any title to operate upon us.

At the time, therefore, that I am tired with amusement and company, and have indulged a reverie in my chamber, or in a solitary walk by a river-side, I feel my mind all collected within itself, and am naturally inclined to carry my view into all those subjects, about which I have met with so many disputes in the course of my reading and conversation. I cannot forbear having a curiosity to be acquainted with the principles of moral good and evil, the nature and foundation of government, and the cause of those several passions and inclinations, which actuate and govern me. I am uneasy to think I approve of one object, and disapprove of another; call one thing beautiful, and another deformed; decide concerning truth and falshood, reason and folly, without knowing upon what principles I proceed. I am concerned for the condition of the learned world, which lies under such t deplorable ignorance in all these particulars. I feel an ambition to arise in me of contributing to the instruction of mankind, and of acquiring a name by my

inventions
and discoveries. These sentiments spring up naturally in
my present
disposition; and should I endeavour to banish them, by
attaching myself
to any other business or diversion, I feel I should be a
loser in point
of pleasure; and this is the origin of my philosophy.

But even suppose this curiosity and ambition should not
transport
me into speculations without the sphere of common life,
it would
necessarily happen, that from my very weakness I must be
led into such
enquiries. It is certain, that superstition is much more
bold in its
systems and hypotheses than philosophy; and while the
latter contents
itself with assigning new causes and principles to the
phaenomena, which
appear in the visible world, the former opens a world of
its own, and
presents us with scenes, and beings, and objects, which
are altogether
new. Since therefore it is almost impossible for the
mind of man to
rest, like those of beasts, in that narrow circle of
objects, which
are the subject of daily conversation and action, we
ought only to
deliberate concerning the choice of our guide, and ought
to prefer that
which is safest and most agreeable. And in this respect
I make bold to
recommend philosophy, and shall not scruple to give it
the preference to
superstition of every kind or denomination. For as
superstition arises
naturally and easily from the popular opinions of
mankind, it seizes
more strongly on the mind, and is often able to disturb
us in the
conduct of our lives and actions. Philosophy on the
contrary, if just,

can present us only with mild and moderate sentiments; and if false and extravagant, its opinions are merely the objects of a cold and general speculation, and seldom go so far as to interrupt the course of our natural propensities. The CYNICS are an extraordinary instance of philosophers, who from reasonings purely philosophical ran into as great extravagancies of conduct as any Monk or Dervise that ever was in the world. Generally speaking, the errors in religion are dangerous; those in philosophy only ridiculous.

I am sensible, that these two cases of the strength and weakness of the mind will not comprehend all mankind, and that there are in England, in particular, many honest gentlemen, who being always employed in their domestic affairs, or amusing themselves in common recreations, have carried their thoughts very little beyond those objects, which are every day exposed to their senses. And indeed, of such as these I pretend not to make philosophers, nor do I expect them either to be associates in these researches or auditors of these discoveries. They do well to keep themselves in their present situation; and instead of refining them into philosophers, I wish we could communicate to our founders of systems, a share of this gross earthy mixture, as an ingredient, which they commonly stand much in need of, and which would serve to temper those fiery particles, of which they are composed. While a warm imagination is allowed to enter into philosophy, and hypotheses embraced merely for being specious and agreeable, we can never have any

steady principles,
nor any sentiments, which will suit with common practice
and experience.
But were these hypotheses once removed, we might hope to
establish a
system or set of opinions, which if not true (for that,
perhaps, is too
much to be hoped for) might at least be satisfactory to
the human mind,
and might stand the test of the most critical
examination. Nor should we
despair of attaining this end, because of the many
chimerical systems,
which have successively arisen and decayed away among
men, would we
consider the shortness of that period, wherein these
questions have been
the subjects of enquiry and reasoning. Two thousand
years with such long
interruptions, and under such mighty discouragements are
a small space
of time to give any tolerable perfection to the
sciences; and perhaps we
are still in too early an age of the world to discover
any principles,
which will bear the examination of the latest posterity.
For my part,
my only hope is, that I may contribute a little to the
advancement
of knowledge, by giving in some particulars a different
turn to the
speculations of philosophers, and pointing out to them
more distinctly
those subjects, where alone they can expect assurance
and conviction.
Human Nature is the only science of man; and yet has
been hitherto the
most neglected. It will be sufficient for me, if I can
bring it a little
more into fashion; and the hope of this serves to
compose my temper
from that spleen, and invigorate it from that indolence,
which
sometimes prevail upon me. If the reader finds himself
in the same easy

disposition, let him follow me in my future speculations. If not, let him follow his inclination, and wait the returns of application and good humour. The conduct of a man, who studies philosophy in this careless manner, is more truly sceptical than that of one, who feeling in himself an inclination to it, is yet so overwhelmed with doubts and scruples, as totally to reject it. A true sceptic will be diffident of his philosophical doubts, as well as of his philosophical conviction; and will never refuse any innocent satisfaction, which offers itself, upon account of either of them.

Nor is it only proper we should in general indulge our inclination in the most elaborate philosophical researches, notwithstanding our sceptical principles, but also that we should yield to that propensity, which inclines us to be positive and certain in particular points, according to the light, in which we survey them in any particular instant. It is easier to forbear all examination and enquiry, than to check ourselves in so natural a propensity, and guard against that assurance, which always arises from an exact and full survey of an object. On such an occasion we are apt not only to forget our scepticism, but even our modesty too; and make use of such terms as these, it is evident, it is certain, it is undeniable; which a due deference to the public ought, perhaps, to prevent. I may have fallen into this fault after the example of others; but I here enter a caveat against any Objections, which may be offered on that

head; and declare
that such expressions were extorted from me by the
present view of the
object, and imply no dogmatical spirit, nor conceited
idea of my own
judgment, which are sentiments that I am sensible can
become no body,
and a sceptic still less than any other.

BOOK II OF THE PASSIONS

PART I OF PRIDE AND HUMILITY

SECT. I DIVISION OF THE SUBJECT

As all the perceptions of the mind may be divided into
impressions and
ideas, so the impressions admit of another division into
original and
secondary. This division of the impressions is the same
with that which
I formerly made use of [Book I. Part I. Sect. 2.] when I
distinguished
them into impressions of sensation and reflection.
Original impressions
or impressions of sensation are such as without any
antecedent
perception arise in the soul, from the constitution of
the body, from
the animal spirits, or from the application of objects
to the external
organs. Secondary, or reflective impressions are such as

proceed from
some of these original ones, either immediately or by
the interposition
of its idea. Of the first kind are all the impressions
of the senses,
and all bodily pains and pleasures: Of the second are
the passions, and
other emotions resembling them.

It is certain, that the mind, in its perceptions, must
begin somewhere;
and that since the impressions precede their
correspondent ideas, there
must be some impressions, which without any introduction
make their
appearance in the soul. As these depend upon natural and
physical
causes, the examination of them would lead me too far
from my present
subject, into the sciences of anatomy and natural
philosophy. For this
reason I shall here confine myself to those other
impressions, which
I have called secondary and reflective, as arising
either from the
original impressions, or from their ideas. Bodily pains
and pleasures
are the source of many passions, both when felt and
considered by the
mind; but arise originally in the soul, or in the body,
whichever you
please to call it, without any preceding thought or
perception. A fit of
the gout produces a long train of passions, as grief,
hope, fear; but
is not derived immediately from any affection or idea.
The reflective
impressions may be divided into two kinds, viz. the calm
and the
VIOLENT. Of the first kind is the sense of beauty and
deformity in
action, composition, and external objects. Of the second
are the
passions of love and hatred, grief and joy, pride and
humility. This

division is far from being exact. The raptures of poetry and music frequently rise to the greatest height; while those other impressions, properly called PASSIONS, may decay into so soft an emotion, as to become, in a manner, imperceptible. But as in general the passions are more violent than the emotions arising from beauty and deformity, these impressions have been commonly distinguished from each other. The subject of the human mind being so copious and various, I shall here take advantage of this vulgar and spacious division, that I may proceed with the greater order; and having said all I thought necessary concerning our ideas, shall now explain those violent emotions or passions, their nature, origin, causes, and effects.

When we take a survey of the passions, there occurs a division of them into DIRECT and INDIRECT. By direct passions I understand such as arise immediately from good or evil, from pain or pleasure. By indirect such as proceed from the same principles, but by the conjunction of other qualities. This distinction I cannot at present justify or explain any farther. I can only observe in general, that under the indirect passions I comprehend pride, humility, ambition, vanity, love, hatred, envy, pity, malice, generosity, with their dependants. And under the direct passions, desire, aversion, grief, joy, hope, fear, despair and security. I shall begin with the former.

SECT. II OF PRIDE AND HUMILITY, THEIR OBJECTS AND CAUSES

The passions of PRIDE and HUMILITY being simple and uniform impressions, it is impossible we can ever, by a multitude of words, give a just definition of them, or indeed of any of the passions. The utmost we can pretend to is a description of them, by an enumeration of such circumstances, as attend them: But as these words, PRIDE and humility, are of general use, and the impressions they represent the most common of any, every one, of himself, will be able to form a just idea of them, without any danger of mistake. For which reason, not to lose time upon preliminaries, I shall immediately enter upon the examination of these passions.

It is evident, that pride and humility, though directly contrary, have yet the same OBJECT. This object is self, or that succession of related ideas and impressions, of which we have an intimate memory and consciousness. Here the view always fixes when we are actuated by either of these passions. According as our idea of ourself is more or less advantageous, we feel either of those opposite affections, and are elated by pride, or dejected with humility. Whatever other objects may be comprehended by the mind, they are always considered with a view to ourselves; otherwise they would never be able either to excite these passions, or produce the smallest encrease or diminution of them. When self enters not into the consideration, there is no room either for

pride or humility.

But though that connected succession of perceptions, which we call SELF, be always the object of these two passions, it is impossible it can be their CAUSE, or be sufficient alone to excite them. For as these passions are directly contrary, and have the same object in common; were their object also their cause; it could never produce any degree of the one passion, but at the same time it must excite an equal degree of the other; which opposition and contrariety must destroy both. It is impossible a man can at the same time be both proud and humble; and where he has different reasons for these passions, as frequently happens, the passions either take place alternately; or if they encounter, the one annihilates the other, as far as its strength goes, and the remainder only of that, which is superior, continues to operate upon the mind. But in the present case neither of the passions could ever become superior; because supposing it to be the view only of ourself, which excited them, that being perfectly indifferent to either, must produce both in the very same proportion; or in other words, can produce neither. To excite any passion, and at the same time raise an equal share of its antagonist, is immediately to undo what was done, and must leave the mind at last perfectly calm and indifferent.

We must therefore, make a distinction betwixt the cause and the object of these passions; betwixt that idea, which excites them, and that to

which they direct their view, when excited. Pride and humility, being once raised, immediately turn our attention to ourself, and regard that as their ultimate and final object; but there is something farther requisite in order to raise them: Something, which is peculiar to one of the passions, and produces not both in the very same degree. The first idea, that is presented to the mind, is that of the cause or productive principle. This excites the passion, connected with it; and that passion, when excited, turns our view to another idea, which is that of self. Here then is a passion placed betwixt two ideas, of which the one produces it, and the other is produced by it. The first idea, therefore, represents the cause, the second the object of the passion.

To begin with the causes of pride and humility; we may observe, that their most obvious and remarkable property is the vast variety of subjects, on which they may be placed. Every valuable quality of the mind, whether of the imagination, judgment, memory or disposition; wit, good-sense, learning, courage, justice, integrity; all these are the cause of pride; and their opposites of humility. Nor are these passions confined to the mind but extend their view to the body likewise. A man may be proud of his beauty, strength, agility, good mein, address in dancing, riding, and of his dexterity in any manual business or manufacture. But this is not all. The passions looking farther, comprehend whatever objects are in the least allied or related to us.

Our country, family, children, relations, riches, houses, gardens, horses, dogs, cloaths; any of these may become a cause either of pride or of humility.

From the consideration of these causes, it appears necessary we should make a new distinction in the causes of the passion, betwixt that QUALITY, which operates, and the subject, on which it is placed. A man, for instance, is vain of a beautiful house, which belongs to him, or which he has himself built and contrived. Here the object of the passion is himself, and the cause is the beautiful house: Which cause again is sub-divided into two parts, viz. the quality, which operates upon the passion, and the subject in which the quality inheres. The quality is the beauty, and the subject is the house, considered as his property or contrivance. Both these parts are essential, nor is the distinction vain and chimerical. Beauty, considered merely as such, unless placed upon something related to us, never produces any pride or vanity; and the strongest relation alone, without beauty, or something else in its place, has as little influence on that passion. Since, therefore, these two particulars are easily separated and there is a necessity for their conjunction, in order to produce the passion, we ought to consider them as component parts of the cause; and infix in our minds an exact idea of this distinction.

SECT. III WHENCE THESE OBJECTS AND CAUSES ARE DERIVED

Being so far advanced as to observe a difference betwixt the object of the passions and their cause, and to distinguish in the cause the quality, which operates on the passions, from the subject, in which it inheres; we now proceed to examine what determines each of them to be what it is, and assigns such a particular object, and quality, and subject to these affections. By this means we shall fully understand the origin of pride and humility.

It is evident in the first place, that these passions are determined to have self for their object, not only by a natural but also by an original property. No one can doubt but this property is natural from the constancy and steadiness of its operations. It is always self, which is the object of pride and humility; and whenever the passions look beyond, it is still with a view to ourselves, nor can any person or object otherwise have any influence upon us.

That this proceeds from an original quality or primary impulse, will likewise appear evident, if we consider that it is the distinguishing characteristic of these passions Unless nature had given some original qualities to the mind, it could never have any secondary ones; because in that case it would have no foundation for action, nor could ever begin to exert itself. Now these qualities, which we must consider as original, are such as are most inseparable from the soul, and can be

resolved into no other: And such is the quality, which determines the object of pride and humility. We may, perhaps, make it a greater question, whether the causes, that produce the passion, be as natural as the object, to which it is directed, and whether all that vast variety proceeds from caprice or from the constitution of the mind. This doubt we shall soon remove, if we cast our eye upon human nature, and consider that in all nations and ages, the same objects still give rise to pride and humility; and that upon the view even of a stranger, we can know pretty nearly, what will either encrease or diminish his passions of this kind. If there be any variation in this particular, it proceeds from nothing but a difference in the tempers and complexions of men; and is besides very inconsiderable. Can we imagine it possible, that while human nature remains the same, men will ever become entirely indifferent to their power, riches, beauty or personal merit, and that their pride and vanity will not be affected by these advantages?

But though the causes of pride and humility be plainly natural, we shall find upon examination, that they are not original, and that it is utterly impossible they should each of them be adapted to these passions by a particular provision, and primary constitution of nature, Beside their prodigious number, many of them are the effects of art, and arise partly from the industry, partly from the caprice, and partly from the good fortune of men, Industry produces houses, furniture, cloaths. Caprice determines their particular kinds and qualities.

And good fortune frequently contributes to all this, by discovering the effects that result from the different mixtures and combinations of bodies. It is absurd, therefore, to imagine, that each of these was foreseen and provided for by nature, and that every new production of art, which causes pride or humility; instead of adapting itself to the passion by partaking of some general quality, that naturally operates on the mind; is itself the object of an original principle, which till then lay concealed in the soul, and is only by accident at last brought to light. Thus the first mechanic, that invented a fine scrittoire, produced pride in him, who became possesser of it, by principles different from those, which made him proud of handsome chairs and tables. As this appears evidently ridiculous, we must conclude, that each cause of pride and humility is not adapted to the passions by a distinct original quality; but that there are some one or more circumstances common to all of them, on which their efficacy depends.

Besides, we find in the course of nature, that though the effects be many, the principles, from which they arise, are commonly but few and simple, and that it is the sign of an unskilful naturalist to have recourse to a different quality, in order to explain every different operation. How much more must this be true with regard to the human mind, which being so confined a subject may justly be thought incapable of containing such a monstrous heap of principles, as would be necessary

to excite the passions of pride and humility, were each distinct cause adapted to the passion by a distinct set of principles?

Here, therefore, moral philosophy is in the same condition as natural, with regard to astronomy before the time of COPERNICUS. The ancients, though sensible of that maxim, THAT NATURE DOES NOTHING IN VAIN, contrived such intricate systems of the heavens, as seemed inconsistent with true philosophy, and gave place at last to something more simple and natural. To invent without scruple a new principle to every new phaenomenon, instead of adapting it to the old; to overload our hypotheses with a variety of this kind; are certain proofs, that none of these principles is the just one, and that we only desire, by a number of falsehoods, to cover our ignorance of the truth.

SECT. IV OF THE RELATIONS OF IMPRESSIONS AND IDEAS

Thus we have established two truths without any obstacle or difficulty, that IT IS FROM NATURAL PRINCIPLES THIS VARIETY OF CAUSES EXCITES PRIDE AND HUMILITY, and that IT IS NOT BY A DIFFERENT PRINCIPLE EACH DIFFERENT CAUSE IS ADAPTED TO ITS PASSION. We shall now proceed to enquire how we may reduce these principles to a lesser number, and find among the causes something common, on which their influence depends.

In order to this we must reflect on certain properties of human nature,

which though they have a mighty influence on every operation both of the understanding and passions, are not commonly much insisted on by philosophers. The first of these is the association of ideas, which I have so often observed and explained. It is impossible for the mind to fix itself steadily upon one idea for any considerable time; nor can it by its utmost efforts ever arrive at such a constancy. But however changeable our thoughts may be, they are not entirely without rule and method in their changes. The rule, by which they proceed, is to pass from one object to what is resembling, contiguous to, or produced by it. When one idea is present to the imagination, any other, united by these relations, naturally follows it, and enters with more facility by means of that introduction.

The second property I shall observe in the human mind is a like association of impressions. All resembling impressions are connected together, and no sooner one arises than the rest immediately follow. Grief and disappointment give rise to anger, anger to envy, envy to malice, and malice to grief again, till the whole circle be compleated. In like manner our temper, when elevated with joy, naturally throws itself into love, generosity, pity, courage, pride, and the other resembling affections. It is difficult for the mind, when actuated by any passion, to confine itself to that passion alone, without any change or variation. Human nature is too inconstant to admit of any such regularity. Changeableness is essential to it. And to

what can it so naturally change as to affections or emotions, which are suitable to the temper, and agree with that set of passions, which then prevail? It is evident, then, there is an attraction or association among impressions, as well as among ideas; though with this remarkable difference, that ideas are associated by resemblance, contiguity, and causation; and impressions only by resemblance.

In the THIRD place, it is observable of these two kinds of association, that they very much assist and forward each other, and that the transition is more easily made where they both concur in the same object. Thus a man, who, by any injury from another, is very much discomposed and ruffled in his temper, is apt to find a hundred subjects of discontent, impatience, fear, and other uneasy passions; especially if he can discover these subjects in or near the person, who was the cause of his first passion. Those principles, which forward the transition of ideas, here concur with those, which operate on the passions; and both uniting in one action, bestow on the mind a double impulse. The new passion, therefore, must arise with so much greater violence, and the transition to it must be rendered so much more easy and natural.

Upon this occasion I may cite the authority of an elegant writer, who expresses himself in the following manner.

"As the fancy delights in every thing that is great, strange, or

beautiful, and is still more pleased the more it finds of these perfections in the same object, so it is capable of receiving a new satisfaction by the assistance of another sense. Thus any continued sound, as the music of birds, or a fall of waters, awakens every moment the mind of the beholder, and makes him more attentive to the several beauties of the place, that lie before him. Thus if there arises a fragrancy of smells or perfumes, they heighten the pleasure of the imagination, and make even the colours and verdure of the landschape appear more agreeable; for the ideas of both senses recommend each other, and are pleasanter together than when they enter the mind separately: As the different colours of a picture, when they are well disposed, set off one another, and receive an additional beauty from the advantage of the situation." [Addison, SPECTATOR 412, final paragraph.]

In this phaenomenon we may remark the association both of impressions and ideas, as well as the mutual assistance they lend each other.

SECT. V OF THE INFLUENCE OF THESE RELATIONS ON PRIDE AND HUMILITY

These principles being established on unquestionable experience, I begin to consider how we shall apply them, by revolving over all the causes of pride and humility, whether these causes be regarded, as the qualities,

that operate, or as the subjects, on which the qualities are placed. In examining these qualities I immediately find many of them to concur in producing the sensation of pain and pleasure, independent of those affections, which I here endeavour to explain. Thus the beauty of our person, of itself, and by its very appearance, gives pleasure, as well as pride; and its deformity, pain as well as humility. A magnificent feast delights us, and a sordid one displeases. What I discover to be true in some instances, I suppose to be so in all; and take it for granted at present, without any farther proof, that every cause of pride, by its peculiar qualities, produces a separate pleasure, and of humility a separate uneasiness.

Again, in considering the subjects, to which these qualities adhere, I make a new supposition, which also appears probable from many obvious instances, viz, that these subjects are either parts of ourselves, or something nearly related to us. Thus the good and bad qualities of our actions and manners constitute virtue and vice, and determine our personal character, than which nothing operates more strongly on these passions. In like manner, it is the beauty or deformity of our person, houses, equipage, or furniture, by which we are rendered either vain or humble. The same qualities, when transferred to subjects, which bear us no relation, influence not in the smallest degree either of these affections.

Having thus in a manner supposed two properties of the

causes of these affections, viz, that the qualities produce a separate pain or pleasure, and that the subjects, on which the qualities are placed, are related to self; I proceed to examine the passions themselves, in order to find something in them, correspondent to the supposed properties of their causes. First, I find, that the peculiar object of pride and humility is determined by an original and natural instinct, and that it is absolutely impossible, from the primary constitution of the mind, that these passions should ever look beyond self, or that individual person. of whose actions and sentiments each of us is intimately conscious. Here at last the view always rests, when we are actuated by either of these passions; nor can we, in that situation of mind, ever lose sight of this object. For this I pretend not to give any reason; but consider such a peculiar direction of the thought as an original quality.

The SECOND quality, which I discover in these passions, and which I likewise consider an an original quality, is their sensations, or the peculiar emotions they excite in the soul, and which constitute their very being and essence. Thus pride is a pleasant sensation, and humility a painful; and upon the removal of the pleasure and pain, there is in reality no pride nor humility. Of this our very feeling convinces us; and beyond our feeling, it is here in vain to reason or dispute.

If I compare, therefore, these two established properties of the

passions, viz, their object, which is self, and their sensation, which is either pleasant or painful, to the two supposed properties of the causes, viz, their relation to self, and their tendency to produce a pain or pleasure, independent of the passion; I immediately find, that taking these suppositions to be just, the true system breaks in upon me with an irresistible evidence. That cause, which excites the passion, is related to the object, which nature has attributed to the passion; the sensation, which the cause separately produces, is related to the sensation of the passion: From this double relation of ideas and impressions, the passion is derived. The one idea is easily converted into its correlative; and the one impression into that, which resembles and corresponds to it: With how much greater facility must this transition be made, where these movements mutually assist each other, and the mind receives a double impulse from the relations both of its impressions and ideas?

That we may comprehend this the better, we must suppose, that nature has given to the organs of the human mind, a certain disposition fitted to produce a peculiar impression or emotion, which we call pride: To this emotion she has assigned a certain idea, viz, that of self, which it never fails to produce. This contrivance of nature is easily conceived. We have many instances of such a situation of affairs. The nerves of the nose and palate are so disposed, as in certain circumstances to convey such peculiar sensations to the mind: The sensations of

lust and hunger
always produce in us the idea of those peculiar objects,
which are
suitable to each appetite. These two circumstances are
united in pride.
The organs are so disposed as to produce the passion;
and the passion,
after its production, naturally produces a certain idea.
All this needs
no proof. It is evident we never should be possest of
that passion, were
there not a disposition of mind proper for it; and it is
as evident,
that the passion always turns our view to ourselves, and
makes us think
of our own qualities and circumstances.

This being fully comprehended, it may now be asked,
WHETHER NATURE
PRODUCES THE PASSION IMMEDIATELY, OF HERSELF; OR WHETHER
SHE MUST BE
ASSISTED BY THE CO-OPERATION OF OTHER CAUSES? For it is
observable, that
in this particular her conduct is different in the
different passions
and sensations. The palate must be excited by an
external object, in
order to produce any relish: But hunger arises
internally, without the
concurrence of any external object. But however the case
may stand with
other passions and impressions, it is certain, that
pride requires the
assistance of some foreign object, and that the organs,
which produce
it, exert not themselves like the heart and arteries, by
an original
internal movement. For first, daily experience convinces
us, that pride
requires certain causes to excite it, and languishes
when unsupported by
some excellency in the character, in bodily
accomplishments, in cloaths,
equipage or fortune. SECONDLY, it is evident pride would
be perpetual,

if it arose immediately from nature; since the object is always the same, and there is no disposition of body peculiar to pride, as there is to thirst and hunger. Thirdly, Humility is in the very same situation with pride; and therefore, either must, upon this supposition, be perpetual likewise, or must destroy the contrary passion from, the very first moment; so that none of them could ever make its appearance. Upon the whole, we may rest satisfied with the foregoing conclusion, that pride must have a cause, as well as an object, and that the one has no influence without the other.

The difficulty, then, is only to discover this cause, and find what it is that gives the first motion to pride, and sets those organs in action, which are naturally fitted to produce that emotion. Upon my consulting experience, in order to resolve this difficulty, I immediately find a hundred different causes, that produce pride; and upon examining these causes, I suppose, what at first I perceive to be probable, that all of them concur in two circumstances; which are, that of themselves they produce an impression, allied to the passion, and are placed on a subject, allied to the object of the passion. When I consider after this the nature of relation, and its effects both on the passions and ideas, I can no longer doubt, upon these suppositions, that it is the very principle, which gives rise to pride, and bestows motion on those organs, which being naturally disposed to produce that affection, require only a first impulse or beginning to

their action.

Any thing, that gives a pleasant sensation, and is related to self, excites the passion of pride, which is also agreeable, and has self for its object.

What I have said of pride is equally true of humility. The sensation of humility is uneasy, as that of pride is agreeable; for which reason the separate sensation, arising from the causes, must be reversed, while the relation to self continues the same. Though pride and humility are directly contrary in their effects, and in their sensations, they have notwithstanding the same object; so that it is requisite only to change the relation of impressions, without making any change upon that of ideas. Accordingly we find, that a beautiful house, belonging to ourselves, produces pride; and that the same house, still belonging to ourselves, produces humility, when by any accident its beauty is changed into deformity, and thereby the sensation of pleasure, which corresponded to pride, is transformed into pain, which is related to humility. The double relation between the ideas and impressions subsists in both cases, and produces an easy transition from the one emotion to the other.

In a word, nature has bestowed a kind of attraction on certain impressions and ideas, by which one of them, upon its appearance, naturally introduces its correlative. If these two attractions or associations of impressions and ideas concur on the same object, they

mutually assist each other, and the transition of the affections and of the imagination is made with the greatest ease and facility. When an idea produces an impression, related to an impression, which is connected with an idea, related to the first idea, these two impressions must be in a manner inseparable, nor will the one in any case be unattended with the other. It is after this manner, that the particular causes of pride and humility are determined. The quality, which operates on the passion, produces separately an impression resembling it; the subject, to which the quality adheres, is related to self, the object of the passion: No wonder the whole cause, consisting of a quality and of a subject, does so unavoidably give rise to the passion.

To illustrate this hypothesis we may compare it to that, by which I have already explained the belief attending the judgments, which we form from causation. I have observed, that in all judgments of this kind, there is always a present impression and a related idea; and that the present impression gives a vivacity to the fancy, and the relation conveys this vivacity, by an easy transition, to the related idea. Without the present impression, the attention is not fixed, nor the spirits excited. Without the relation, this attention rests on its first object, and has no farther consequence. There is evidently a great analogy betwixt that hypothesis and our present one of an impression and idea, that transfuse themselves into another impression and idea by means of their double relation: Which analogy must be

allowed to be no
despicable proof of both hypotheses.

SECT. VI LIMITATIONS OF THIS SYSTEM

But before we proceed farther in this subject, and
examine particularly
all the causes of pride and humility, it will be proper
to make some
limitations to the general system, THAT ALL AGREEABLE
OBJECTS, RELATED
TO OURSELVES, BY AN ASSOCIATION OF IDEAS AND OF
IMPRESSIONS, PRODUCE
PRIDE, AND DISAGREEABLE ONES, HUMILITY: And these
limitations are
derived from the very nature of the subject.

I. Suppose an agreeable object to acquire a relation to
self, the
first passion, that appears on this occasion, is joy;
and this passion
discovers itself upon a slighter relation than pride and
vain-glory. We
may feel joy upon being present at a feast, where our
senses are regard
with delicacies of every kind: But it is only the master
of the feast,
who, beside the same joy, has the additional passion of
self-applause
and vanity. It is true, men sometimes boast of a great
entertainment,
at which they have only been present; and by so small a
relation convert
their pleasure into pride: But however, this must in
general be owned,
that joy arises from a more inconsiderable relation than
vanity, and
that many things, which are too foreign to produce
pride, are yet able
to give us a delight and pleasure, The reason of the
difference may be

explained thus. A relation is requisite to joy, in order to approach the object to us, and make it give us any satisfaction. But beside this, which is common to both passions, it is requisite to pride, in order to produce a transition from one passion to another, and convert the falsification into vanity. As it has a double task to perform, it must be endowed with double force and energy. To which we may add, that where agreeable objects bear not a very close relation to ourselves, they commonly do to some other person; and this latter relation not only excels, but even diminishes, and sometimes destroys the former, as we shall see afterwards. [Part II. Sec. 4.]

Here then is the first limitation, we must make to our general position, that every thing related to us, which produces pleasure or pain, produces likewise pride or humility. There is not only a relation required, but a close one, and a closer than is required to joy.

II. The second limitation is, that the agreeable or disagreeable object be not only closely related, but also peculiar to ourselves, or at least common to us with a few persons. It is a quality observable in human nature, and which we shall endeavour to explain afterwards, that every thing, which is often presented and to which we have been long accustomed, loses its value in our eyes, and is in a little time despised and neglected. We likewise judge of objects more from comparison than from their real and intrinsic merit; and where we cannot

by some contrast enhance their value, we are apt to overlook even what is essentially good in them. These qualities of the mind have an effect upon joy as well as pride; and it is remarkable, that goods which are common to all mankind, and have become familiar to us by custom, give us little satisfaction; though perhaps of a more excellent kind, than those on which, for their singularity, we set a much higher value. But though this circumstance operates on both these passions, it has a much greater influence on vanity. We are rejoiced for many goods, which, on account of their frequency, give us no pride. Health, when it returns after a long absence, affords us a very sensible satisfaction; but is seldom regarded as a subject of vanity, because it is shared with such vast numbers.

The reason, why pride is so much more delicate in this particular than joy, I take to be, as follows. In order to excite pride, there are always two objects we must contemplate, viz. the cause or that object which produces pleasure; and self, which is the real object of the passion. But joy has only one object necessary to its production, viz. that which gives pleasure; and though it be requisite, that this bear some relation to self, yet that is only requisite in order to render it agreeable; nor is self, properly speaking, the object of this passion. Since, therefore, pride has in a manner two objects, to which it directs our view; it follows, that where neither of them have any singularity, the passion must be more weakened upon that account,

than a passion,
which has only one object. Upon comparing ourselves with
others, as
we are every moment apt to do, we find we are not in the
least
distinguished; and upon comparing the object we possess,
we
discover still the same unlucky circumstance. By two
comparisons so
disadvantageous the passion must be entirely destroyed.

III The third limitation is, that the pleasant or
painful object be very
discernible and obvious, and that not only to ourselves,
but to others
also. This circumstance, like the two foregoing, has an
effect upon
joy, as well as pride. We fancy Ourselves more happy, as
well as more
virtuous or beautiful, when we appear so to others; but
are still more
ostentatious of our virtues than of our pleasures. This
proceeds from
causes, which I shall endeavour to explain afterwards.

IV. The fourth limitation is derived from the
inconstancy of the cause
of these passions, and from the short duration of its
connexion with
ourselves. What is casual and inconstant gives but
little joy, and less
pride. We are not much satisfied with the thing itself;
and are still
less apt to feel any new degrees of self-satisfaction
upon its account.
We foresee and anticipate its change by the imagination;
which makes
us little satisfied with the thing: We compare it to
ourselves, whose
existence is more durable; by which means its
inconstancy appears still
greater. It seems ridiculous to infer an excellency in
ourselves from an
object, which is of so much shorter duration, and
attends us during so

small a part of our existence. It will be easy to comprehend the reason, why this cause operates not with the same force in joy as in pride; since the idea of self is not so essential to the former passion as to the latter.

V. I may add as a fifth limitation, or rather enlargement of this system, that general rules have a great influence upon pride and humility, as well as on all the other passions. Hence we form a notion of different ranks of men, suitable to the power of riches they are possest of; and this notion we change not upon account of any peculiarities of the health or temper of the persons, which may deprive them of all enjoyment in their possessions. This may be accounted for from the same principles, that explained the influence of general rules on the understanding. Custom readily carries us beyond the just bounds in our passions, as well as in our reasonings.

It may not be amiss to observe on this occasion, that the influence of general rules and maxims on the passions very much contributes to facilitate the effects of all the principles, which we shall explain in the progress of this treatise. For it is evident, that if a person full-grown, and of the same nature with ourselves, were on a sudden-transported into our world, he would be very much embarrassed with every object, and would not readily find what degree of love or hatred, pride or humility, or any other passion he ought to attribute to it. The passions are often varied by very inconsiderable

principles; and these do not always play with a perfect regularity, especially on the first trial. But as custom and practice have brought to light all these principles, and have settled the just value of every thing; this must certainly contribute to the easy production of the passions, and guide us, by means of general established maxims, in the proportions we ought to observe in preferring one object to another. This remark may, perhaps, serve to obviate difficulties, that may arise concerning some causes, which I shall hereafter ascribe to particular passions, and which may be esteemed too refined to operate so universally and certainly, as they are found to do.

I shall close this subject with a reflection derived from these five limitations. This reflection is, that the persons, who are proudest, and who in the eye of the world have most reason for their pride, are not always the happiest; nor the most humble always the most miserable, as may at first sight be imagined from this system. An evil may be real, though its cause has no relation to us: It may be real, without being peculiar: It may be real, without shewing itself to others: It may be real, without being constant: And it may be real, without falling under the general rules. Such evils as these will not fail to render us miserable, though they have little tendency to diminish pride: And perhaps the most real and the most solid evils of life will be found of this nature.

SECT. VII OF VICE AND VIRTUE

Taking these limitations along with us, let us proceed to examine the causes of pride and humility; and see, whether in every case we can discover the double relations, by which they operate on the passions. If we find that all these causes are related to self, and produce a pleasure or uneasiness separate from the passion, there will remain no farther scruple with regard to the present system. We shall principally endeavour to prove the latter point; the former being in a manner self-evident.

To begin, with vice and virtue; which are the most obvious causes of these passions; it would be entirely foreign to my present purpose to enter upon the controversy, which of late years has so much excited the curiosity of the publick. WHETHER THESE MORAL DISTINCTIONS BE FOUNDED ON NATURAL AND ORIGINAL PRINCIPLES, OR ARISE FROM INTEREST AND EDUCATION. The examination of this I reserve for the following book; and in the mean time I shall endeavour to show, that my system maintains its ground upon either of these hypotheses; which will be a strong proof of its solidity.

For granting that morality had no foundation in nature, it must still be allowed, that vice and virtue, either from self-interest or the prejudices of education, produce in us a real pain and

pleasure; and
this we may observe to be strenuously asserted by the
defenders of that
hypothesis. Every passion, habit, or turn of character
(say they)
which has a tendency to our advantage or prejudice,
gives a delight
or uneasiness; and it is from thence the approbation or
disapprobation
arises. We easily gain from the liberality of others,
but are always
in danger of losing by their avarice: Courage defends
us, but cowardice
lays us open to every attack: Justice is the support of
society, but
injustice, unless checked would quickly prove its ruin:
Humility exalts;
but pride mortifies us. For these reasons the former
qualities are
esteemed virtues, and the latter regarded as vices. Now
since it is
granted there is a delight or uneasiness still attending
merit or
demerit of every kind, this is all that is requisite for
my purpose.

But I go farther, and observe, that this moral
hypothesis and my present
system not only agree together, but also that, allowing
the former to be
just, it is an absolute and invincible proof of the
latter. For if
all morality be founded on the pain or pleasure, which
arises from
the prospect of any loss or advantage, that may result
from our own
characters, or from those of others, all the effects of
morality must-be
derived from the same pain or pleasure, and among the
rest, the passions
of pride and humility. The very essence of virtue,
according to this
hypothesis, is to produce pleasure and that of vice to
give pain. The
virtue and vice must be part of our character in order

to excite pride
or humility. What farther proof can we desire for the
double relation of
impressions and ideas?

The same unquestionable argument may be derived from the
opinion of
those, who maintain that morality is something real,
essential, and
founded on nature. The most probable hypothesis, which
has been advanced
to explain the distinction betwixt vice and virtue, and
the origin of
moral rights and obligations, is, that from a primary
constitution
of nature certain characters and passions, by the very
view and
contemplation, produce a pain, and others in like manner
excite a
pleasure. The uneasiness and satisfaction are not only
inseparable
from vice and virtue, but constitute their very nature
and essence.
To approve of a character is to feel an original delight
upon its
appearance. To disapprove of it is to be sensible of an
uneasiness.
The pain and pleasure, therefore, being the primary
causes of vice and
virtue, must also be the causes of all their effects,
and consequently
of pride and humility, which are the unavoidable
attendants of that
distinction.

But supposing this hypothesis of moral philosophy should
be allowed to
be false, it is still evident, that pain and pleasure,
if not the causes
of vice and virtue, are at least inseparable from them.
A generous and
noble character affords a satisfaction even in the
survey; and when
presented to us, though only in a poem or fable, never
fails to charm

and delight us. On the other hand cruelty and treachery displease from their very nature; nor is it possible ever to reconcile us to these qualities, either in ourselves or others. Thus one hypothesis of morality is an undeniable proof of the foregoing system, and the other at worst agrees with it. But pride and humility arise not from these qualities alone of the mind, which, according to the vulgar systems of ethicks, have been comprehended as parts of moral duty, but from any other that has a connexion with pleasure and uneasiness. Nothing flatters our vanity more than the talent of pleasing by our wit, good humour, or any other accomplishment; and nothing gives us a more sensible mortification than a disappointment in any attempt of that nature. No one has ever been able to tell what wit is, and to shew why such a system of thought must be received under that denomination, and such another rejected. It is only by taste we can decide concerning it, nor are we possest of any other standard, upon which we can form a judgment of this kind. Now what is this taste, from which true and false wit in a manner receive their being, and without which no thought can have a title to either of these denominations? It is plainly nothing but a sensation of pleasure from true wit, and of uneasiness from false, without our being able to tell the reasons of that pleasure or uneasiness. The power of bestowing these opposite sensations is. therefore, the very essence of true and false wit; and consequently the cause of that pride or humility, which arises from them.

There may, perhaps, be some, who being accustomed to the style of the schools and pulpit, and having never considered human nature in any other light, than that in which they place it, may here be surprized to hear me talk of virtue as exciting pride, which they look upon as a vice; and of vice as producing humility, which they have been taught to consider as a virtue. But not to dispute about words, I observe, that by pride I understand that agreeable impression, which arises in the mind, when the view either of our virtue, beauty, riches or power makes us satisfied with ourselves: and that by humility I mean the opposite impression. It is evident the former impression is not always vicious, nor the latter virtuous. The most rigid morality allows us to receive a pleasure from reflecting on a generous action; and it is by none esteemed a virtue to feel any fruitless remorse upon the thoughts of past villainy and baseness. Let us, therefore, examine these impressions, considered in themselves; and enquire into their causes, whether placed on the mind or body, without troubling ourselves at present with that merit or blame, which may attend them.

SECT. VIII OF BEAUTY AND DEFORMITY

Whether we consider the body as a part of ourselves, or assent to those philosophers, who regard it as something external, it must still be

allowed to be near enough connected with us to form one of these double relations, which I have asserted to be necessary to the causes of pride and humility. Wherever, therefore, we can find the other relation of impressions to join to this of ideas, we may expect with assurance either of these passions, according as the impression is pleasant or uneasy. But beauty of all kinds gives us a peculiar delight and satisfaction; as deformity produces pain, upon whatever subject it may be placed, and whether surveyed in an animate or inanimate object. If the beauty or deformity, therefore, be placed upon our own bodies, this pleasure or uneasiness must be converted into pride or humility, as having in this case all the circumstances requisite to produce a perfect transition of impressions and ideas. These opposite sensations are related to the opposite passions. The beauty or deformity is closely related to self, the object of both these passions. No wonder, then our own beauty becomes an object of pride, and deformity of humility.

But this effect of personal and bodily qualities is not only a proof of the present system, by shewing that the passions arise not in this case without all the circumstances I have required, but may be employed as a stronger and more convincing argument. If we consider all the hypotheses, which have been formed either by philosophy or common reason, to explain the difference betwixt beauty and deformity, we shall find that all of them resolve into this, that beauty is such an order

and construction of parts, as either by the primary constitution of our nature, by custom, or by caprice, is fitted to give a pleasure and satisfaction to the soul. This is the distinguishing character of beauty, and forms all the difference betwixt it and deformity, whose natural tendency is to produce uneasiness. Pleasure and pain, therefore, are not only necessary attendants of beauty and deformity, but constitute their very essence. And indeed, if we consider, that a great part of the beauty, which we admire either in animals or in other objects, is derived from the idea of convenience and utility, we shall make no scruple to assent to this opinion. That shape, which produces strength, is beautiful in one animal; and that which is a sign of agility in another. The order and convenience of a palace are no less essential to its beauty, than its mere figure and appearance. In like manner the rules of architecture require, that the top of a pillar should be more slender than its base, and that because such a figure conveys to us the idea of security, which is pleasant; whereas the contrary form gives us the apprehension of danger, which is uneasy. From innumerable instances of this kind, as well as from considering that beauty like wit, cannot be defined, but is discerned only by a taste or sensation, we may conclude, that beauty is nothing but a form, which produces pleasure, as deformity is a structure of parts, which conveys pain; and since the power of producing pain and pleasure make in this manner the essence of beauty and deformity, all the

effects of these qualities must be derived from the sensation; and among the rest pride and humility, which of all their effects are the most common and remarkable.

This argument I esteem just and decisive; but in order to give greater authority to the present reasoning, let us suppose it false for a moment, and see what will follow. It is certain, then, that if the power of producing pleasure and pain forms not the essence of beauty and deformity, the sensations are at least inseparable from the qualities, and it is even difficult to consider them apart. Now there is nothing common to natural and moral beauty, (both of which are the causes of pride) but this power of producing pleasure; and as a common effect supposes always a common cause, it is plain the pleasure must in both cases be the real and influencing cause of the passion. Again; there is nothing originally different betwixt the beauty of our bodies and the beauty of external and foreign objects, but that the one has a near relation to ourselves, which is wanting in the other. This original difference, therefore, must be the cause of all their other differences, and among the rest, of their different influence upon the passion of pride, which is excited by the beauty of our person, but is not affected in the least by that of foreign and external objects. Placing, then, these two conclusions together, we find they compose the preceding system betwixt them, viz, that pleasure, as a related or resembling

impression, when placed on a related object by a natural transition, produces pride; and its contrary, humility. This system, then, seems already sufficiently confirmed by experience; that we have not yet exhausted all our arguments.

It is not the beauty of the body alone that produces pride, but also its strength and force. Strength is a kind of power; and therefore the desire to excel in strength is to be considered as an inferior species of ambition. For this reason the present phaenomenon will be sufficiently accounted for, in explaining that passion.

Concerning all other bodily accomplishments we may observe in general, that whatever in ourselves is either useful, beautiful, or surprising, is an object of pride; and it's contrary, of humility. Now it is obvious, that every thing useful, beautiful or surprising, agrees in producing a separate pleasure and agrees in nothing else. The pleasure, therefore, with the relation to self must be the cause of the passion.

Though it should be questioned, whether beauty be not something real, and different from the power of producing pleasure, it can never be disputed, that as surprize is nothing but a pleasure arising from novelty, it is not, properly speaking, a quality in any object, but merely a passion or impression in the soul. It must, therefore, be from that impression, that pride by a natural transition arises. And it arises so naturally, that there is nothing in us or belonging to

us, which produces surprize, that does not at the same time excite that other passion. Thus we are vain of the surprising adventures we have met with, the escapes we have made, and dangers we have been exposed to. Hence the origin of vulgar lying; where men without any interest, and merely out of vanity, heap up a number of extraordinary events, which are either the fictions of their brain, or if true, have at least no connexion with themselves. Their fruitful invention supplies them with a variety of adventures; and where that talent is wanting, they appropriate such as belong to others, in order to satisfy their vanity.

In this phaenomenon are contained two curious experiments, which if we compare them together, according to the known rules, by which we judge of cause and effect in anatomy, natural philosophy, and other sciences, will be an undeniable argument for that influence of the double relations above-mentioned. By one of these experiments we find, that an object produces pride merely by the interposition of pleasure; and that because the quality, by which it produces pride, is in reality nothing but the power of producing pleasure. By the other experiment we find, that the pleasure produces the pride by a transition along related ideas; because when we cut off that relation the passion is immediately destroyed.. A surprising adventure, in which we have been ourselves engaged, is related to us, and by that means produces pride: But the adventures of others, though they may cause pleasure, yet for want of

this relation of ideas, never excite that passion. What farther proof can be desired for the present system?

There is only one objection to this system with regard to our body: which is, that though nothing be more agreeable than health, and more painful than sickness, yet commonly men are neither proud of the one, nor mortified with the other. This will easily be accounted for, if we consider the second and fourth limitations, proposed to our general system. It was observed, that no object ever produces pride or humility, if it has not something peculiar to ourself; as also, that every cause of that passion must be in some measure constant, and hold some proportion to the duration of our self, which, is its object. Now as health and sickness vary incessantly to all men, and there is none, who is solely or certainly fixed in either, these accidental blessings and calamities are in a manner separated from us, and are never considered as connected with our being and existence. And that this account is just appears hence, that wherever a malady of any kind is so rooted in our constitution, that we no longer entertain any hopes of recovery, from that moment it becomes an object of humility; as is evident in old men, whom nothing mortifies more than the consideration of their age and infirmities. They endeavour, as long as possible, to conceal their blindness and deafness, their rheums and gouts; nor do they ever confess them without reluctance and uneasiness. And though young men are not ashamed of every head-ach or cold they fall into, yet no

topic is so proper to mortify human pride, and make us entertain a mean opinion of our nature, than this, that we are every moment of our lives subject to such infirmities. This sufficiently proves that bodily pain and sickness are in themselves proper causes of humility; though the custom of estimating every thing by comparison more than by its intrinsic worth and value, makes us overlook these calamities, which we find to be incident to every one, and causes us to form an idea of our merit and character independent of them.

We are ashamed of such maladies as affect others, and are either dangerous or disagreeable to them. Of the epilepsy; because it gives a horror to every one present: Of the itch; because it is infectious: Of the king's-evil; because it commonly goes to posterity. Men always consider the sentiments of others in their judgment of themselves. This has evidently appeared in some of the foregoing reasonings; and will appear still more evidently, and be more fully explained afterwards.

SECT. IX OF EXTERNAL ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES

But though pride and humility have the qualities of our mind and body that is self, for their natural and more immediate causes, we find by experience, that there are many other objects, which produce these affections, and that the primary one is, in some

measure, obscured and
lost by the multiplicity of foreign and extrinsic. We
found a vanity
upon houses, gardens, equipages, as well as upon
personal merit and
accomplishments; and though these external advantages be
in themselves
widely distant from thought or a person, yet they
considerably influence
even a passion, which is directed to that as its
ultimate object,
This, happens when external objects acquire any
particular relation to
ourselves, and are associated or connected with us. A
beautiful fish
in the ocean, an animal in a desert, and indeed any
thing that neither
belongs, nor is related to us, has no manner of
influence on our vanity,
whatever extraordinary qualities it may be endowed with,
and whatever
degree of surprize and admiration it may naturally
occasion. It must be
some way associated with us in order to touch our pride.
Its idea must
hang in a manner, upon that of ourselves and the
transition from the one
to the other must be easy and natural.

But here it is remarkable, that though the relation of
resemblance
operates upon the mind in the same manner as contiguity
and causation,
in conveying us from one idea to another, yet it is
seldom a foundation
either of pride or of humility. If we resemble a person
in any of the
valuable parts of his character, we must, in some
degree, possess the
quality, in which we resemble him; and this quality we
always chuse to
survey directly in ourselves rather than by reflexion in
another person,
when we would found upon it any degree of vanity. So
that though a

likeness may occasionally produce that passion by suggesting a more advantageous idea of ourselves, it is there the view fixes at last, and the passion finds its ultimate and final cause.

There are instances, indeed, wherein men shew a vanity in resembling a great man in his countenance, shape, air, or other minute circumstances, that contribute not in any degree to his reputation; but it must be confessed that this extends not very far, nor is of any considerable moment in these affections. For this I assign the following reason. We can never have a vanity of resembling in trifles any person, unless he be possessed of very shining qualities, which give us a respect and veneration for him. These qualities, then, are, properly speaking, the causes of our vanity, by means of their relation to ourselves. Now after what manner are they related to ourselves? They are parts of the person we value, and consequently connected with these trifles; which are also supposed to be parts of him. These trifles are connected with the resembling qualities in us; and these qualities in us, being parts, are connected with the whole; and by that means form a chain of several links of the person we resemble. But besides that this multitude of relations must weaken the connexion; it is evident the mind, in passing from the shining qualities to the trivial ones, must by that contrast the better perceive the minuteness of the latter, and be in some measure ashamed of the comparison and resemblance.

The relation, therefore, of contiguity, or that of

causation, betwixt
the cause and object of pride and humility, is alone
requisite to
give rise to these passions; and these relations are
nothing else
but qualities, by which the imagination is conveyed from
one idea to
another. Now let us consider what effect these can
possibly have upon
the mind, and by what means they become so requisite to
the production
of the passions. It is evident, that the association of
ideas operates
in so silent and imperceptible a manner, that we are
scarce sensible of
it, and discover it more by its effects than by any
immediate feeling or
perception. It produces no emotion, and gives rise to no
new impression
of any kind, but only modifies those ideas, of which the
mind was
formerly possessed, and which it could recal upon
occasion. From this
reasoning, as well as from undoubted experience, we may
conclude, that
an association of ideas, however necessary, is not alone
sufficient to
give rise to any passion.

It is evident, then, that when the mind feels the
passion either of
pride or humility upon the appearance of related object,
there is,
beside the relation or transition of thought, an emotion
or original
impression produced by some other principle. The
question is, whether
the emotion first produced be the passion itself, or
some other
impression related to it. This question we cannot be
long in deciding,
For besides all the other arguments, with which this
subject abounds,
it must evidently appear, that the relation of ideas,
which experience

shews to be so requisite a circumstance to the production of the passion, would be entirely superfluous, were it not to second a relation of affections, and facilitate the transition from one impression to another. If nature produced immediately the passion of pride or humility, it would be compleated in itself, and would require no farther addition or encrease from any other affection. But supposing the first emotion to be only related to pride or humility, it is easily conceived to what purpose the relation of objects may serve, and how the two different associations, of impressions and ideas, by uniting their forces, may assist each other's operation. This is not only easily conceived, but I will venture to affirm it is the only manner, in which we can conceive this subject. An easy transition of ideas, which, of itself, causes no emotion, can never be necessary, or even useful to the passions, but by forwarding the transition betwixt some related impressions. Not to mention, that the same object causes a greater or smaller degree of pride, not only in proportion to the encrease or decrease of its qualities, but also to the distance or nearness of the relation; which is a clear argument for the transition of affections along the relation of ideas; since every change in the relation produces a proportionable change in the passion. Thus one part of the preceding system, concerning the relations of ideas is a sufficient proof of the other, concerning that of impressions; and is itself so evidently founded on experience, that it would be lost time to

endeavour farther
to prove it.

This will appear still more evidently in particular instances. Men are vain of the beauty of their country, of their county, of their parish. Here the idea of beauty plainly produces a pleasure. This pleasure is related to pride. The object or cause of this pleasure is, by the supposition, related to self, or the object of pride. By this double relation of impressions and ideas, a transition is made from the one impression to the other.

Men are also vain of the temperature of the climate, in which they were born; of the fertility of their native soil; of the goodness of the wines, fruits or victuals, produced by it; of the softness or force of their language; with other particulars of that kind. These objects have plainly a reference to the pleasures of the senses, and are originally considered as agreeable to the feeling, taste or hearing. How is it possible they could ever become objects of pride, except by means of that transition above-explained?

There are some, that discover a vanity of an opposite kind, and affect to depreciate their own country, in comparison of those, to which they have travelled. These persons find, when they are at home, and surrounded with their countrymen, that the strong relation betwixt them and their own nation is shared with so many, that it is in a manner lost to them; whereas their distant relation to a foreign country, which is

formed by their having seen it and lived in it, is augmented by their considering how few there are who have done the same. For this reason they always admire the beauty, utility and rarity of what is abroad, above what is at home.

Since we can be vain of a country, climate or any inanimate object, which bears a relation to us, it is no wonder we are vain of the qualities of those, who are connected with us by blood or friendship. Accordingly we find, that the very same qualities, which in ourselves produce pride, produce also in a lesser degree the same affection, when discovered in persons related to us. The beauty, address, merit, credit and honours of their kindred are carefully displayed by the proud, as some of their most considerable sources of their vanity.

As we are proud of riches in ourselves, so to satisfy our vanity we desire that every one, who has any connexion with us, should likewise be possest of them, and are ashamed of any one, that is mean or poor, among our friends and relations. For this reason we remove the poor as far from us as possible; and as we cannot prevent poverty in some distant collaterals, and our forefathers are taken to be our nearest relations; upon this account every one affects to be of a good family, and to be descended from a long succession of rich and honourable ancestors.

I have frequently observed, that those, who boast of the antiquity of their families, are glad when they can join this circumstance, that

their ancestors for many generations have been uninterrupted proprietors of the same portion of land, and that their family has never changed its possessions, or been transplanted into any other county or province.

I have also observed, that it is an additional subject of vanity, when they can boast, that these possessions have been transmitted through a descent composed entirely of males, and that the honour, and fortune have never past through any female. Let us endeavour to explain these phaenomena by the foregoing system.

It is evident, that when any one boasts of the antiquity of his family, the subjects of his vanity are not merely the extent of time and number of ancestors, but also their riches and credit, which are supposed to reflect a lustre on himself on account of his relation to them. He first considers these objects; is affected by them in an agreeable manner; and then returning back to himself, through the relation of parent and child, is elevated with the passion of pride, by means of the double relation, of impressions and ideas. Since therefore the passion depends on these relations, whatever strengthens any of the relations must also encrease the passion, and whatever weakens the relations must diminish the passion. Now it is certain the identity of the possession strengthens the relation of ideas arising from blood and kindred, and conveys the fancy with greater facility from one generation to another, from the remote ancestors to their posterity, who are both their heirs and their descendants. By this facility the impression is

transmitted more entire,
and excites a greater degree of pride and vanity.

The case is the same with the transmission of the honours and fortune through a succession of males without their passing through any female. It is a quality of human nature, which we shall consider [Part II. Sect, 2.] afterwards, that the imagination naturally turns to whatever is important and considerable; and where two objects are presented to it, a small and a great one, usually leaves the former, and dwells entirely upon the latter. As in the society of marriage, the male sex has the advantage above the female, the husband first engages our attention; and whether we consider him directly, or reach him by passing through related objects, the thought both rests upon him with greater satisfaction, and arrives at him with greater facility than his consort. It is easy to see, that this property must strengthen the child's relation to the father, and weaken that to the mother. For as all relations are nothing hut a propensity to pass from one idea ma another, whatever strengthens the propensity strengthens the relation; and as we have a stronger propensity to pass from the idea of the children to that of the father, than from the same idea to that of the mother, we ought to regard the former relation as the closer and more considerable. This is the reason why children commonly bear their father's name, and are esteemed to be of nobler or baser birth, according to his family. And though the mother should be possest of a superior spirit and genius to

the father, as often happens, the general rule prevails, notwithstanding the exception, according to the doctrine above-explained. Nay even when a superiority of any kind is so great, or when any other reasons have such an effect, as to make the children rather represent: the mother's family than the father's, the general rule still retains such an efficacy that it weakens the relation, and makes a kind of break in the line of ancestors. The imagination runs not along them with facility, nor is able to transfer the honour and credit of the ancestors to their posterity of the same name and family so readily, as when the transition is conformable to the general rules, and passes from father to son, or from brother to brother.

SECT. X OF PROPERTY AND RICHES

But the relation, which is esteemed the closest, and which of all others produces most commonly the passion of pride, is that of property. This relation it will be impossible for me fully to explain before I come to treat of justice and the other moral virtues. It is sufficient to observe on this occasion, that property may be defined, such a relation betwixt a person and an object as permits him, but forbids any other, the free use and possession of it, without violating the laws of justice and moral equity. If justice, therefore, be a virtue, which has a natural and original influence on the human mind,

property may be looked upon as a particular species of causation; whether we consider the liberty it gives the proprietor to operate as he please upon the object or the advantages, which he reaps from it. It is the same case, if justice, according to the system of certain philosophers, should be esteemed an artificial and not a natural virtue. For then honour, and custom, and civil laws supply the place of natural conscience, and produce, in some degree, the same effects. This in the mean time is certain, that the mention of the property naturally carries our thought to the proprietor, and of the proprietor to the property; which being a proof of a perfect relation of ideas is all that is requisite to our present purpose. A relation of ideas, joined to that of impressions, always produces a transition of affections; and therefore, whenever any pleasure or pain arises from an object, connected with us by property. we may be certain, that either pride or humility must arise from this conjunction of relations; if the foregoing system be solid and satisfactory. And whether it be so or not, we may soon satisfy ourselves by the most cursory view of human life.

Every thing belonging to a vain man is the best that is any where to be found. His houses, equipage, furniture, doaths, horses, hounds, excel all others in his conceit; and it is easy to observe, that from the least advantage in any of these, he draws a new subject of pride and vanity. His wine, if you'll believe him, has a finer flavour than

any other; his cookery is more exquisite; his table more orderly; his servants more expert; the air, in which he lives, more healthful; the soil he cultivates more fertile; his fruits ripen earlier and to greater perfection: Such a thing is remarkable for its novelty; such another for its antiquity: This is the workmanship of a famous artist; that belonged once to such a prince or great man: All objects, in a word, that are useful, beautiful or surprising, or are related to such, may, by means of property, give rise to this passion. These agree in giving pleasure, and agree in nothing else. This alone is common to them; and therefore must be the quality that produces the passion, which is their common effect. As every new instance is a new argument, and as the instances are here without number, I may venture to affirm, that scarce any system was ever so fully proved by experience, as that which I have here advanced.

If the property of any thing, that gives pleasure either by its utility, beauty or novelty, produces also pride by a double relation of impressions and ideas; we need not be surprized, that the power of acquiring this property, should have the same effect. Now riches are to be considered as the power of acquiring the property of what pleases; and it is only in this view they have any influence on the passions. Paper will, on many occasions, be considered as riches, and that because it may convey the power of acquiring money: And money is not riches, as it is a metal endowed with certain qualities of

solidity, weight
and fusibility; but only as it has a relation to the
pleasures and
conveniences of life. Taking then this for granted,
which is in itself
so evident, we may draw from it one of the strongest
arguments I have
yet employed to prove the influence of the double
relations on pride and
humility.

It has been observed in treating of the understanding,
that the
distinction, which we sometimes make betwixt a power and
the exercise
of it, is entirely frivolous, and that neither man nor
any other being
ought ever to be thought possess of any ability, unless
it be exerted
and put in action. But though this be strictly true in a
just and
philosophical way of thinking, it is certain it is not
the philosophy
of our passions; but that many things operate upon them
by means of the
idea and supposition of power, independent of its actual
exercise. We
are pleased when we acquire an ability of procuring
pleasure, and are
displeased when another acquires a power of giving pain.
This is evident
from experience; but in order to give a just explication
of the matter,
and account for this satisfaction and uneasiness, we
must weigh the
following reflections.

It is evident the error of distinguishing power from its
exercise
proceeds not entirely from the scholastic doctrine of
free-will, which,
indeed, enters very little into common life, and has but
small influence
on our vulgar and popular ways of thinking. According to
that doctrine,

motives deprive us not of free-will, nor take away our power of performing or forbearing any action. But according to common notions a man has no power, where very considerable motives lie betwixt him and the satisfaction of his desires, and determine him to forbear what he wishes to perform. I do not think I have fallen into my enemy's power, when I see him pass me in the streets with a sword by his side, while I am unprovided of any weapon. I know that the fear of the civil magistrate is as strong a restraint as any of iron, and that I am in as perfect safety as if he were chained or imprisoned. But when a person acquires such an authority over me, that not only there is no external obstacle to his actions; but also that he may punish or reward me as he pleases, without any dread of punishment in his turn, I then attribute a full power to him, and consider myself as his subject or vassal.

Now if we compare these two cases, that of a person, who has very strong motives of interest or safety to forbear any action, and that of another, who lies under no such obligation, we shall find, according to the philosophy explained in the foregoing book, that the only known difference betwixt them lies in this, that in the former case we conclude from past experience, that the person never will perform that action, and in the latter, that he possibly or probably will perform it. Nothing is more fluctuating and inconstant on many occasions, than the will of man; nor is there any thing but strong motives, which can give

us an absolute certainty in pronouncing concerning any of his future actions. When we see a person free from these motives, we suppose a possibility either of his acting or forbearing; and though in general we may conclude him to be determined by motives and causes, yet this removes not the uncertainty of our judgment concerning these causes, nor the influence of that uncertainty on the passions. Since therefore we ascribe a power of performing an action to every one, who has no very powerful motive to forbear it, and refuse it to such as have; it may justly be concluded, that power has always a reference to its exercise, either actual or probable, and that we consider a person as endowed with any ability when we find from past experience, that it is probable, or at least possible he may exert it. And indeed, as our passions always regard the real existence of objects, and we always judge of this reality from past instances; nothing can be more likely of itself, without any farther reasoning, than that power consists in the possibility or probability of any action, as discovered by experience and the practice of the world.

Now it is evident, that wherever a person is in such a situation with regard to me, that there is no very powerful motive to deter him from injuring me, and consequently it is uncertain whether he will injure me or not, I must be uneasy in such a situation, and cannot consider the possibility or probability of that injury without a sensible concern. The passions are not only affected by such events as are

certain and
infallible, but also in an inferior degree by such as
are possible
and contingent. And though perhaps I never really feel
any harm, and
discover by the event, that, philosophically speaking,
the person never
had any power of harming me; since he did not exert any;
this prevents
not my uneasiness from the preceding uncertainty. The
agreeable passions
may here operate as well as the uneasy, and convey a
pleasure when I
perceive a good to become either possible or probable by
the possibility
or probability of another's bestowing it on me, upon the
removal of any
strong motives, which might formerly have hindered him.

But we may farther observe, that this satisfaction
encreases, when any
good approaches in such a manner that it is in one's own
power to take
or leave it, and there neither is any physical
impediment, nor any
very strong motive to hinder our enjoyment. As all men
desire pleasure,
nothing can be more probable, than its existence when
there is no
external obstacle to the producing it, and men perceive
no danger in
following their inclinations. In that case their
imagination easily
anticipates the satisfaction, and conveys the same joy,
as if they were
persuaded of its real and actual existence.

But this accounts not sufficiently for the satisfaction,
which attends
riches. A miser receives delight from his money; that
is, from the power
it affords him of procuring all the pleasures and
conveniences of life,
though he knows he has enjoyed his riches for forty
years without ever

employing them; and consequently cannot conclude by any species of reasoning, that the real existence of these pleasures is nearer, than if he were entirely deprived of all his possessions. But though he cannot form any such conclusion in a way of reasoning concerning the nearer approach of the pleasure, it is certain he imagines it to approach nearer, whenever all external obstacles are removed, along with the more powerful motives of interest and danger, which oppose it. For farther satisfaction on this head I must refer to my account of the will, where I shall [Part III. Sect. 2.] explain that false sensation of liberty, which make, us imagine we can perform any thing, that is not very dangerous or destructive. Whenever any other person is under no strong obligations of interest to forbear any pleasure, we judge from experience, that the pleasure will exist, and that he will probably obtain it. But when ourselves are in that situation, we judge from an illusion of the fancy, that the pleasure is still closer and more immediate. The will seems to move easily every way, and casts a shadow or image of itself, even to that side, on which it did not settle. By means of this image the enjoyment seems to approach nearer to us, and gives us the same lively satisfaction, as if it were perfectly certain and unavoidable.

It will now be easy to draw this whole reasoning to a point, and to prove, that when riches produce any pride or vanity in their possessors, as they never fail so do, it is only by means of a

double relation of impressions and ideas. The very essence of riches consists in the power of procuring the pleasures and conveniences of life. The very essence of this consists in the probability of its exercise, and in its causing us to anticipate, by a true or false reasoning, the real existence of the pleasure. This anticipation of pleasure is, in itself, a very considerable pleasure; and as its cause is some possession or property, which we enjoy, and which is thereby related to us, we here dearly see all the parts of the foregoing system most exactly and distinctly drawn out before us. For the same reason, that riches cause pleasure and pride, and poverty excites uneasiness and humility, power must produce the former emotions, and slavery the latter. Power or an authority over others makes us capable of satisfying all our desires; as slavery, by subjecting us to the will of others, exposes us to a thousand wants, and mortifications.

It is here worth observing, that the vanity of power, or shame of slavery, are much augmented by the consideration of the persons, over whom we exercise our authority, or who exercise it over us. For supposing it possible to frame statues of such an admirable mechanism, that they could move and act in obedience to the will; it is evident the possession of them would give pleasure and pride, but not to such a degree, as the same authority, when exerted over sensible and rational creatures, whose condition, being compared to our own, makes it seem

more agreeable and honourable. Comparison is in every case a sure method of augmenting our esteem of any thing. A rich man feels the felicity of his condition better by opposing it to that of a beggar. But there is a peculiar advantage in power, by the contrast, which is, in a manner, presented to us, betwixt ourselves and the person we command. The comparison is obvious and natural: The imagination finds it in the very subject: The passage of the thought to its conception is smooth and easy. And that this circumstance has a considerable effect in augmenting its influence, will appear afterwards in examining the nature of malice and envy.

SECT. XI OF THE LOVE OF FAME

But beside these original causes of pride and humility, there is a secondary one in the opinions of others, which has an equal influence on the affections. Our reputation, our character, our name are considerations of vast weight and importance; and even the other causes of pride; virtue, beauty and riches; have little influence, when not seconded by the opinions and sentiments of others. In order to account for this phaenomenon it will be necessary to take some compass, and first explain the nature of sympathy.

No quality of human nature is more remarkable, both in itself and in its consequences, than that propensity we have to sympathize

with others,
and to receive by communication their inclinations and
sentiments,
however different from, or even contrary to our own.
This is not only
conspicuous in children, who implicitly embrace every
opinion proposed
to them; but also in men of the greatest judgment and
understanding,
who find it very difficult to follow their own reason or
inclination,
in opposition to that of their friends and daily
companions. To this
principle we ought to ascribe the great uniformity we
may observe in the
humours and turn of thinking of those of the same
nation; and it is much
more probable, that this resemblance arises from
sympathy, than from
any influence of the soil and climate, which, though
they continue
invariably the same, are not able to preserve the
character of a nation
the same for a century together. A good-natured man
finds himself in an
instant of the same humour with his company; and even
the proudest and
most surly take a tincture from their countrymen and
acquaintance. A
cheerful countenance infuses a sensible complacency and
serenity into my
mind; as an angry or sorrowful one throws a sudden dump
upon me. Hatred,
resentment, esteem, love, courage, mirth and melancholy;
all these
passions I feel more from communication than from my own
natural temper
and disposition. So remarkable a phaenomenon merits our
attention, and
must be traced up to its first principles.

When any affection is infused by sympathy, it is at
first known only
by its effects, and by those external signs in the
countenance and

conversation, which convey an idea of it. This idea is presently converted into an impression, and acquires such a degree of force and vivacity, as to become the very passion itself, and produce an equal emotion, as any original affection. However instantaneous this change of the idea into an impression may be, it proceeds from certain views and reflections, which will not escape the strict scrutiny of a philosopher, though they may be made by the person himself, who makes them.

It is evident, that the idea, or rather impression of ourselves is always intimately present with us, and that our consciousness gives us so lively a conception of our own person, that it is not possible to imagine, that any thing can in this particular go beyond it. Whatever object, therefore, is related to ourselves must be conceived with a little vivacity of conception, according to the foregoing principles; and though this relation should not be so strong as that of causation, it must still have a considerable influence. Resemblance and contiguity are relations not to be neglected; especially when by an inference from cause and effect, and by the observation of external signs, we are informed of the real existence of the object, which is resembling or contiguous.

Now it is obvious, that nature has preserved a great resemblance among all human creatures, and that we never remark any passion or principle in others, of which, in some degree or other, we may not find a parallel

in ourselves. The case is the same with the fabric of the mind, as with that of the body. However the parts may differ in shape or size, their structure and composition are in general the same. There is a very remarkable resemblance, which preserves itself amidst all their variety; and this resemblance must very much contribute to make us enter into the sentiments of others; and embrace them with facility and pleasure. Accordingly we find, that where, beside the general resemblance of our natures, there is any peculiar similarity in our manners, or character, or country, or language, it facilitates the sympathy. The stronger the relation is betwixt ourselves and any object, the more easily does the imagination make the transition, and convey to the related idea the vivacity of conception, with which we always form the idea of our own person.

Nor is resemblance the only relation, which has this effect, but receives new force from other relations, that may accompany it. The sentiments of others have little influence, when far removed from us, and require the relation of contiguity, to make them communicate themselves entirely. The relations of blood, being a species of causation, may sometimes contribute to the same effect; as also acquaintance, which operates in the same manner with education and custom; as we shall see more fully [Part II. Sect. 4.] afterwards. All these relations, when united together, convey the impression or consciousness of our own person to the idea of the

sentiments or
passions of others, and makes us conceive them in the
strongest and most
lively manner.

It has been remarked in the beginning of this treatise,
that all ideas
are borrowed from impressions, and that these two kinds
of perceptions
differ only in the degrees of force and vivacity, with
which they
strike upon the soul. The component part of ideas and
impressions are
precisely alike. The manner and order of their
appearance may be the
same. The different degrees of their force and vivacity
are, therefore,
the only particulars, that distinguish them: And as this
difference may
be removed, in some measure, by a relation betwixt the
impressions and
ideas, it is no wonder an idea of a sentiment or
passion, may by this
means be invivified as to become the very sentiment or
passion. The
lively idea of any object always approaches is
impression; and it
is certain we may feel sickness and pain from the mere
force of
imagination, and make a malady real by often thinking of
it. But this
is most remarkable in the opinions and affections; and
it is there
principally that a lively idea is converted into an
impression. Our
affections depend more upon ourselves, and the internal
operations of
the mind, than any other impressions; for which reason
they arise more
naturally from the imagination, and from every lively
idea we form of
them. This is the nature and cause of sympathy; and it
is after this
manner we enter so deep into the opinions and affections
of others,

whenever we discover them.

What is principally remarkable in this whole affair is the strong confirmation these phaenomena give to the foregoing system concerning the understanding, and consequently to the present one concerning the passions; since these are analogous to each other. It is indeed evident, that when we sympathize with the passions and sentiments of others, these movements appear at first in our mind as mere ideas, and are conceived to belong to another person, as we conceive any other matter of fact. It is also evident, that the ideas of the affections of others are converted into the very impressions they represent, and that the passions arise in conformity to the images we form of them. All this is an object of the plainest experience, and depends not on any hypothesis of philosophy. That science can only be admitted to explain the phaenomena; though at the same time it must be confessed, they are so clear of themselves, that there is but little occasion to employ it. For besides the relation of cause and effect, by which we are convinced of the reality of the passion, with which we sympathize; besides this, I say, we must be assisted by the relations of resemblance and contiguity, in order to feel the sympathy in its full perfection. And since these relations can entirely convert an idea into an impression, and convey the vivacity of the latter into the former, so perfectly as to lose nothing of it in the transition, we may easily conceive how the relation of cause and effect alone, may serve to strengthen and

inliven an
idea. In sympathy there is an evident conversion of an
idea into an
impression. This conversion arises from the relation of
objects to
ourselves. Ourselves is always intimately present to us. Let
us compare
all these circumstances, and we shall find, that
sympathy is exactly
correspondent to the operations of our understanding;
and even contains
something more surprizing and extraordinary.

It is now time to turn our view from the general
consideration of
sympathy, to its influence on pride and humility, when
these passions
arise from praise and blame, from reputation and infamy.
We may observe,
that no person is ever praised by another for any
quality, which would
not, if real, produce, of itself, a pride in the person
possest of
it. The elogiums either turn upon his power, or riches,
or family,
or virtue; all of which are subjects of vanity, that we
have already
explained and accounted for. It is certain, then, that
if a person
considered himself in the same light, in which he
appears to his
admirer, he would first receive a separate pleasure, and
afterwards a
pride or self-satisfaction, according to the hypothesis
above explained.
Now nothing is more natural than for us to embrace the
opinions of
others in this particular; both from sympathy, which
renders all their
sentiments intimately present to us; and from reasoning,
which makes us
regard their judgment, as a kind of argument for what
they affirm.
These two principles of authority and sympathy influence
almost all our

opinions; but must have a peculiar influence, when we judge of our own worth and character. Such judgments are always attended with passion [Book I, Part III. Sect. 10.]; and nothing tends more to disturb our understanding, and precipitate us into any opinions, however unreasonable, than their connexion with passion; which diffuses itself over the imagination, and gives an additional force to every related idea. To which we may add, that being conscious of great partiality in our own favour, we are peculiarly pleased with any thing, that confirms the good opinion we have of ourselves, and are easily shocked with whatever opposes it.

All this appears very probable in theory; but in order to bestow a full certainty on this reasoning, we must examine the phaenomena of the passions, and see if they agree with it.

Among these phaenomena we may esteem it a very favourable one to our present purposes that though fame in general be agreeable, yet we receive a much greater satisfaction from the approbation of those, whom we ourselves esteem and approve of, than of those, whom we hate and despise. In like measure we are principally mortified with the contempt of persons, upon whose judgment we set some value, and are, in a peat measure, indifferent about the opinions of the rest of mankind. But if the mind received from any original instinct a desire of fame and aversion to infamy, fame and infamy would influence us without distinction; and every opinion, according as it were

favourable or
unfavourable, would equally excite that desire or
aversion. The judgment
of a fool is the judgment of another person, as well as
that of a wise
man, and is only inferior in its influence on our own
judgment.

We are not only better pleased with the approbation of a
wise man than
with that of a fool, but receive an additional
satisfaction from the
former, when it is obtained after a long and intimate
acquaintance. This
is accounted for after the same manner.

The praises of others never give us much pleasure,
unless they concur
with our own opinion, and extol us for those qualities,
in which we
chiefly excel. A mere soldier little values the
character of eloquence:
A gownman of courage: A bishop of humour: Or a merchant
of learning.
Whatever esteem a man may have for any quality,
abstractedly considered;
when he is conscious he is not possesser of it; the
opinions of the whole
world will give him little pleasure in that particular,
and that because
they never will be able to draw his own opinion after
them.

Nothing is more usual than for men of good families, but
narrow
circumstances, to leave their friends and country, and
rather seek their
livelihood by mean and mechanical employments among
strangers, than
among those, who are acquainted with their birth and
education. We shall
be unknown, say they, where we go. No body will suspect
from what
family we are sprung. We shall be removed from all our
friends and

acquaintance, and our poverty and meanness will by that means sit more easy upon us. In examining these sentiments, I find they afford many very convincing arguments for my present purpose.

First, We may infer from them, that the uneasiness of being contemned depends on sympathy, and that sympathy depends on the relation of objects to ourselves; since we are most uneasy under the contempt of persons, who are both related to us by blood, and contiguous in place. Hence we seek to diminish this sympathy and uneasiness by separating these relations, and placing ourselves in a contiguity to strangers, and at a distance from relations.

Secondly, We may conclude, that relations are requisite to sympathy, not absolutely considered as relations, but by their influence in converting our ideas of the sentiments of others into the very sentiments, by means of the association betwixt the idea of their persons, and that of our own. For here the relations of kindred and contiguity both subsist; but not being united in the same persons, they contribute in a less degree to the sympathy.

Thirdly, This very circumstance of the diminution of sympathy by the separation of relations is worthy of our attention. Suppose I am placed in a poor condition among strangers, and consequently am but lightly treated; I yet find myself easier in that situation, than when I was every day exposed to the contempt of my kindred and countrymen. Here I feel a double contempt; from my relations, but they

are absent; from those about me, but they are strangers. This double contempt is likewise strengthened by the two relations of kindred and contiguity. But as the persons are not the same, who are connected with me by those two relations, this difference of ideas separates the impressions arising from the contempt, and keeps them from running into each other. The contempt of my neighbours has a certain influence; as has also that of my kindred: But these influences are distinct, and never unite; as when the contempt proceeds from persons who are at once both my neighbours and kindred. This phaenomenon is analogous to the system of pride and humility above-explained, which may seem so extraordinary to vulgar apprehensions.

Fourthly, A person in these circumstances naturally conceals his birth from those among whom he lives, and is very uneasy, if any one suspects him to be of a family, much superior to his present fortune and way of living. Every thing in this world is judged of by comparison. What is an immense fortune for a private gentleman is beggary for a prince. A peasant would think himself happy in what cannot afford necessaries for a gentleman. When a man has either been accustomed to a more splendid way of living, or thinks himself intitled to it by his birth and quality, every thing below is disagreeable and even shameful; and it is with the greatest industry he conceals his pretensions to a better fortune. Here he himself knows his misfortunes; but as those, with whom he lives.

are ignorant of them, he has the disagreeable reflection and comparison suggested only by his own thoughts, and never receives it by a sympathy with others; which must contribute very much so his ease and satisfaction.

If there be any objections to this hypothesis, THAT THE PLEASURE, WHICH WE RECEIVE FROM PRAISE, ARISES FROM A COMMUNICATION OF SENTIMENTS, we shall find, upon examination, that these objections, when taken in a proper light, will serve to confirm it. Popular fame may be agreeable even to a man, who despises the vulgar; but it is because their multitude gives them additional weight and authority. Plagiaries are delighted with praises, which they are conscious they do not deserve; but this is a kind of castle-building, where the imagination amuses itself with its own fictions, and strives to render them firm and stable by a sympathy with the sentiments of others. Proud men are most shocked with contempt, should they do not most readily assent to it; but it is because of the opposition betwixt the passion, which is natural so them, and that received by sympathy. A violent lover in like manner is very much displeas'd when you blame and condemn his love; though it is evident your opposition can have no influence, but by the hold it takes of himself, and by his sympathy with you. If he despises you, or perceives you are in jest, whatever you say has no effect upon him.

SECT. XII OF THE PRIDE AND HUMILITY OF ANIMALS

Thus in whatever light we consider this subject, we may still observe, that the causes of pride and humility correspond exactly to our hypothesis, and that nothing can excite either of these passions, unless it be both related to ourselves, and produces a pleasure or pain independent of the passion. We have not only proved, that a tendency to produce pleasure or pain is common to all the causes of pride or humility, but also that it is the only thing, which is common; and consequently is the quality, by which they operate. We have farther proved, that the most considerable causes of these passions are really nothing but the power of producing either agreeable or uneasy sensations; and therefore that all their effects, and amongst the rest, pride and humility, are derived solely from that origin. Such simple and natural principles, founded on such solid proofs, cannot fail to be received by philosophers, unless opposed by some objections, that have escaped me.

It is usual with anatomists to join their observations and experiments on human bodies to those on beasts, and from the agreement of these experiments to derive an additional argument for any particular hypothesis. It is indeed certain, that where the structure of parts in brutes is the same as in men, and the operation of these parts also the same, the causes of that operation cannot be

different, and that whatever we discover to be true of the one species, may be concluded without hesitation to be certain of the other. Thus though the mixture of humours and the composition of minute parts may justly be presumed so be somewhat different in men from what it is in mere animals; and therefore any experiment we make upon the one concerning the effects of medicines will not always apply to the other; yet as the structure of the veins and muscles, the fabric and situation of the heart, of the lungs, the stomach, the liver and other parts, are the same or nearly the same in all animals, the very same hypothesis, which in one species explains muscular motion, the progress of the chyle, the circulation of the blood, must be applicable to every one; and according as it agrees or disagrees with the experiments we may make in any species of creatures, we may draw a proof of its truth or falshood on the whole. Let us, therefore, apply this method of enquiry, which is found so just and useful in reasonings concerning the body, to our present anatomy of the mind, and see what discoveries we can make by it.

In order to this we must first shew the correspondence of passions in men and animals, and afterwards compare the causes, which produce these passions.

It is plain, that almost in every species of creatures, but especially of the nobler kind, there are many evident marks of pride and humility. The very port and gait of a swan, or turkey, or peacock show the high

idea he has entertained of himself, and his contempt of all others. This is the more remarkable, that in the two last species of animals, the pride always attends the beauty, and is discovered in the male only. The vanity and emulation of nightingales in singing have been commonly remarked; as likewise that of horses in swiftness, of hounds in sagacity and smell, of the bull and cock in strength, and of every other animal in his particular excellency. Add to this, that every species of creatures, which approach so often to man, as to familiarize themselves with him, show an evident pride in his approbation, and are pleased with his praises and caresses, independent of every other consideration. Nor are they the caresses of every one without distinction, which give them this vanity, but those principally of the persons they know and love; in the same manner as that passion is excited in mankind. All these are evident proofs, that pride and humility are not merely human passions, but extend themselves over the whole animal creation.

The CAUSES of these passions are likewise much the same in beasts as in us, making a just allowance for our superior knowledge and understanding. Thus animals have little or no sense of virtue or vice; they quickly lose sight of the relations of blood; and are incapable of that of right and property: For which reason the causes of their pride and humility must lie solely in the body, and can never be placed either in the mind or external objects. But so far as regards the body, the same qualities cause pride in the animal as in the human

kind; and it is
on beauty, strength, swiftness or some other useful or
agreeable quality
that this passion is always founded.

The next question is, whether, since those passions are
the same, and
arise from the same causes through the whole creation,
the manner, in
which the causes operate, be also the same. According to
all rules of
analogy, this is justly to be expected; and if we find
upon trial,
that the explication of these phaenomena, which we make
use of in
one species, will not apply to the rest, we may presume
that that
explication, however specious, is in reality without
foundation.

In order to decide this question, let us consider, that
there is
evidently the same relation of ideas, and derived from
the same causes,
in the minds of animals as in those of men. A dog, that
has hid a bone,
often forgets the place; but when brought to it, his
thought passes
easily to what he formerly concealed, by means of the
contiguity, which
produces a relation among his ideas. In like manner,
when he has been
heartily beat in any place, he will tremble on his
approach to it,
even though he discover no signs of any present danger.
The effects
of resemblance are not so remarkable; but as that
relation makes a
considerable ingredient in causation, of which all
animals shew
so evident a judgment, we may conclude that the three
relations of
resemblance, contiguity and causation operate in the
same manner upon
beasts as upon human creatures.

There are also instances of the relation of impressions, sufficient to convince us, that there is an union of certain affections with each other in the inferior species of creatures as well as in the superior, and that their minds are frequently conveyed through a series of connected emotions. A dog, when elevated with joy, runs naturally into love and kindness, whether of his master or of the sex. In like manner, when full of pain and sorrow, he becomes quarrelsome and illnatured; and that passion; which at first was grief, is by the smallest occasion converted into anger.

Thus all the internal principles, that are necessary in us to produce either pride or humility, are common to all creatures; and since the causes, which excite these passions, are likewise the same, we may justly conclude, that these causes operate after the same manner through the whole animal creation. My hypothesis is so simple, and supposes so little reflection and judgment, that it is applicable to every sensible creature; which must not only be allowed to be a convincing proof of its veracity, but, I am confident, will be found an objection to every other system.

PART II OF LOVE AND HATRED

SECT. I OF THE OBJECT AND CAUSES OF LOVE AND HATRED

It is altogether impossible to give any definition of the passions of love and hatred; and that because they produce merely a simple impression, without any mixture or composition. Twould be as unnecessary to attempt any description of them, drawn from their nature, origin, causes and objects; and that both because these are the subjects of our present enquiry, and because these passions of themselves are sufficiently known from our common feeling and experience. This we have already observed concerning pride and humility, and here repeat it concerning love and hatred; and indeed there is so great a resemblance betwixt these two sets of passions, that we shall be obliged to begin with a kind of abridgment of our reasonings concerning the former, in order to explain the latter.

As the immediate object of pride and humility is self or that identical person, of whose thoughts, actions, and sensations we are intimately conscious; so the object of love and hatred is some other person, of whose thoughts, actions, and sensations we are not conscious. This is sufficiently evident from experience. Our love and hatred are always directed to some sensible being external to us; and when we talk of self-love, it is not in a proper sense, nor has the sensation it produces any thing in common with that tender emotion which is excited by a friend or mistress. It is the same case with

hatred. We may be mortified by our own faults and follies; but never feel any anger or hatred except from the injuries of others.

But though the object of love and hatred be always some other person, it is plain that the object is not, properly speaking, the cause of these passions, or alone sufficient to excite them. For since love and hatred are directly contrary in their sensation, and have the same object in common, if that object were also their cause, it would produce these opposite passions in an equal degree; and as they must, from the very first moment, destroy each other, none of them would ever be able to make its appearance. There must, therefore, be some cause different from the object.

If we consider the causes of love and hatred, we shall find they are very much diversified, and have not many things in common. The virtue, knowledge, wit, good sense, good humour of any person, produce love and esteem; as the opposite qualities, hatred and contempt. The same passions arise from bodily accomplishments, such as beauty, force, swiftness, dexterity; and from their contraries; as likewise from the external advantages and disadvantages of family, possession, cloaths, nation and climate. There is not one of these objects, but what by its different qualities may produce love and esteem, or hatred and contempt.

From the view of these causes we may derive a new distinction betwixt the quality that operates, and the subject on which it

is placed. A prince, that is possessed of a stately palace, commands the esteem of the people upon that account; and that first, by the beauty of the palace, and secondly, by the relation of property, which connects it with him. The removal of either of these destroys the passion; which evidently proves that the cause is a compounded one.

It would be tedious to trace the passions of love and hatred, through all the observations which we have formed concerning pride and humility, and which are equally applicable to both sets of passions. It will be sufficient to remark in general, that the object of love and hatred is evidently some thinking person; and that the sensation of the former passion is always agreeable, and of the latter uneasy. We may also suppose with some shew of probability, THAT THE CAUSE OF BOTH THESE PASSIONS IS ALWAYS RELATED TO A THINKING BEING, AND THAT THE CAUSE OF THE FORMER PRODUCES A SEPARATE PLEASURE, AND OF THE LATTER A SEPARATE UNEASINESS.

One of these suppositions, viz, that the cause of love and hatred must be related to a person or thinking being, in order to produce these passions, is not only probable, but too evident to be contested. Virtue and vice, when considered in the abstract; beauty and deformity, when placed on inanimate objects; poverty and riches when belonging to a third person, excite no degree of love or hatred, esteem or contempt towards those, who have no relation to them. A person looking out at a

window, sees me in the street, and beyond me a beautiful palace, with which I have no concern: I believe none will pretend, that this person will pay me the same respect, as if I were owner of the palace.

It is not so evident at first sight, that a relation of impressions is requisite to these passions, and that because in the transition the one impression is so much confounded with the other, that they become in a manner undistinguishable. But as in pride and humility, we have easily been able to make the separation, and to prove, that every cause of these passions, produces a separate pain or pleasure, I might here observe the same method with the same success, in examining particularly the several causes of love and hatred. But as I hasten a full and decisive proof of these systems, I delay this examination for a moment: And in the mean time shall endeavour to convert to my present purpose all my reasonings concerning pride and humility, by an argument that is founded on unquestionable examination.

There are few persons, that are satisfied with their own character, or genius, or fortune, who are not desirous of shewing themselves to the world, and of acquiring the love and approbation of mankind. Now it is evident, that the very same qualities and circumstances, which are the causes of pride or self-esteem, are also the causes of vanity or the desire of reputation; and that we always put to view those particulars with which in ourselves we are best satisfied. But if love and esteem

were not produced by the same qualities as pride, according as these qualities are related to ourselves or others, this method of proceeding would be very absurd, nor could men expect a correspondence in the sentiments of every other person, with those themselves have entertained. It is true, few can form exact systems of the passions, or make reflections on their general nature and resemblances. But without such a progress in philosophy, we are not subject to many mistakes in this particular, but are sufficiently guided by common experience, as well as by a kind of presentation; which tells us what will operate on others, by what we feel immediately in ourselves. Since then the same qualities that produce pride or humility, cause love or hatred; all the arguments that have been employed to prove, that the causes of the former passions excite a pain or pleasure independent of the passion, will be applicable with equal evidence to the causes of the latter.

SECT. II EXPERIMENTS TO CONFIRM THIS SYSTEM

Upon duly weighing these arguments, no one will make any scruple to assent to that conclusion I draw from them, concerning the transition along related impressions and ideas, especially as it is a principle, in itself, so easy and natural. But that we may place this system beyond doubt both with regard to love and hatred, pride and humility, it will

be proper to make some new experiments upon all these passions, as well as to recal a few of these observations, which I have formerly touched upon.

In order to make these experiments, let us suppose I am in company with a person, whom I formerly regarded without any sentiments either of friendship or enmity. Here I have the natural and ultimate object of all these four passions placed before me. Myself am the proper object of pride or humility; the other person of love or hatred.

Regard now with attention the nature of these passions, and their situation with respect to each other. It is evident here are four affections, placed, as it were, in a square or regular connexion with, and distance from each other. The passions of pride and humility, as well as those of love and hatred, are connected together by the identity of their object, which to the first set of passions is self, to the second some other person. These two lines of communication or connexion form two opposite sides of the square. Again, pride and love are agreeable passions; hatred and humility uneasy. This similitude of sensation betwixt pride and love, and that betwixt humility and hatred form a new connexion, and may be considered as the other two sides of the square. Upon the whole, pride is connected with humility, love with hatred, by their objects or ideas: Pride with love, humility with hatred, by their sensations or impressions.

I say then, that nothing can produce any of these

passions without bearing it a double relation, viz, of ideas to the object of the passion, and of sensation to the passion itself. This we must prove by our experiments. First Experiment. To proceed with the greater order in these experiments, let us first suppose, that being placed in the situation above-mentioned, viz, in company with some other person, there is an object presented, that has no relation either of impressions or ideas to any of these passions. Thus suppose we regard together an ordinary stone, or other common object, belonging to neither of us, and causing of itself no emotion, or independent pain and pleasure: It is evident such an object will produce none of these four passions. Let us try it upon each of them successively. Let us apply it to love, to hatred, to humility, to pride; none of them ever arises in the smallest degree imaginable. Let us change the object, as oft as we please; provided still we choose one, that has neither of these two relations. Let us repeat the experiment in all the dispositions, of which the mind is susceptible. No object, in the vast variety of nature, will, in any disposition, produce any passion without these relations.

Second Experiment. Since an object, that wants both these relations can never produce any passion, let us bestow on it only one of these relations; and see what will follow. Thus suppose, I regard a stone or any common object, that belongs either to me or my companion, and by that means acquires a relation of ideas to the object of

the passions:

It is plain, that to consider the matter a priori, no emotion of any kind can reasonably be expected. For besides, that a relation of ideas operates secretly and calmly on the mind, it bestows an equal impulse towards the opposite passions of pride and humility, love and hatred, according as the object belongs to ourselves or others; which opposition of the passions must destroy both, and leave the mind perfectly free from any affection or emotion. This reasoning a priori is confirmed by experience. No trivial or vulgar object, that causes not a pain or pleasure, independent of the passion, will ever, by its property or other relations either to ourselves or others, be able to produce the affections of pride or humility, love or hatred.

Third Experiment. It is evident, therefore, that a relation of ideas is not able alone to give rise to these affections. Let us now remove this relation, and in its stead place a relation of impressions, by presenting an object, which is agreeable or disagreeable, but has no relation either to ourself or companion; and let us observe the consequences. To consider the matter first a priori, as in the preceding experiment; we may conclude, that the object will have a small, but an uncertain connexion with these passions. For besides, that this relation is not a cold and imperceptible one, it has not the inconvenience of the relation of ideas, nor directs us with equal force to two contrary passions, which by their opposition destroy each other. But if we

consider, on the other hand, that this transition from the sensation to the affection is not forwarded by any principle, that produces a transition of ideas; but, on the contrary, that though the one impression be easily transfused into the other, yet the change of objects is supposed contrary to all the principles, that cause a transition of that kind; we may from thence infer, that nothing will ever be a steady or durable cause of any passion, that is connected with the passion merely by a relation of impressions. What our reason would conclude from analogy, after balancing these arguments, would be, that an object, which produces pleasure or uneasiness, but has no manner of connexion either with ourselves or others, may give such a turn to the disposition, as that may naturally fall into pride or love, humility or hatred, and search for other objects, upon which by a double relation, it can found these affections; but that an object, which has only one of these relations, though the most advantageous one, can never give rise to any constant and established passion.

Most fortunately all this reasoning is found to be exactly conformable to experience, and the phaenomena of the passions. Suppose I were travelling with a companion through a country, to which we are both utter strangers; it is evident, that if the prospects be beautiful, the roads agreeable, and the inns commodious, this may put me into good humour both with myself and fellow-traveller. But as we suppose, that this country has no relation either to myself or friend

it can never be
the immediate cause of pride or love; and therefore if I
found not the
passion on some other object, that bears either of us a
closer relation,
my emotions are rather to be considered as the
overflowings of an elevated
or humane disposition, than as an established passion.
The case is the
same where the object produces uneasiness.

Fourth Experiment. Having found, that neither an object
without any
relation of ideas or impressions, nor an object, that
has only one
relation, can ever cause pride or humility, love or
hatred; reason alone
may convince us, without any farther experiment, that
whatever has a
double relation must necessarily excite these passions;
since it is
evident they must have some cause. But to leave as
little room for doubt
as possible, let us renew our experiments, and see
whether the event in
this case answers our expectation. I choose an object,
such as virtue,
that causes a separate satisfaction: On this object I
bestow a relation
to self; and find, that from this disposition of
affairs, there
immediately arises a passion. But what passion? That
very one of pride,
to which this object bears a double relation. Its idea
is related
to that of self, the object of the passion: The
sensation it causes
resembles the sensation of the passion. That I may be
sure I am not
mistaken in this experiment, I remove first one
relation; then another;
and find, that each removal destroys the passion, and
leaves the object
perfectly indifferent. But I am not content with this. I
make a still

farther trial; and instead of removing the relation, I only change it for one of a different kind. I suppose the virtue to belong to my companion, not to myself; and observe what follows from this alteration. I immediately perceive the affections wheel to about, and leaving pride, where there is only one relation, viz, of impressions, fall to the side of love, where they are attracted by a double relation of impressions and ideas. By repeating the same experiment, in changing anew the relation of ideas, I bring the affections back to pride; and by a new repetition I again place them at love or kindness. Being fully convinced of the influence of this relation, I try the effects of the other; and by changing virtue for vice, convert the pleasant impression, which arises from the former, into the disagreeable one, which proceeds from the latter. The effect still answers expectation. Vice, when placed on another, excites, by means of its double relations, the passion of hatred, instead of love, which for the same reason arises from virtue. To continue the experiment, I change anew the relation of ideas, and suppose the vice to belong to myself. What follows? What is usual. A subsequent change of the passion from hatred to humility. This humility I convert into pride by a new change of the impression; and find after all that I have compleated the round, and have by these changes brought back the passion to that very situation, in which I first found it.

But to make the matter still more certain, I alter the object; and

instead of vice and virtue, make the trial upon beauty and deformity, riches and poverty, power and servitude. Each of these objects runs the circle of the passions in the same manner, by a change of their relations: And in whatever order we proceed, whether through pride, love, hatred, humility, or through humility, hatred, love, pride, the experiment is not in the least diversified. Esteem and contempt, indeed, arise on some occasions instead of love and hatred; but these are at the bottom the same passions, only diversified by some causes, which we shall explain afterwards.

Fifth Experiment. To give greater authority to these experiments, let us change the situation of affairs as much as possible, and place the passions and objects in all the different positions, of which they are susceptible. Let us suppose, beside the relations above-mentioned, that the person, along with whom I make all these experiments, is closely connected with me either by blood or friendship. He is, we shall suppose, my son or brother, or is united to me by a long and familiar acquaintance. Let us next suppose, that the cause of the passion acquires a double relation of impressions and ideas to this person; and let us see what the effects are of all these complicated attractions and relations.

Before we consider what they are in fact, let us determine what they ought to be, conformable to my hypothesis. It is plain, that, according as the impression is either pleasant or uneasy, the

passion of love or
hatred must arise towards the person, who is thus
connected to the cause
of the impression by these double relations, which I
have all along
required. The virtue of a brother must make me love him;
as his vice
or infamy must excite the contrary passion. But to judge
only from the
situation of affairs, I should not expect, that the
affections would
rest there, and never transfuse themselves into any
other impression. As
there is here a person, who by means of a double
relation is the object
of my passion, the very same reasoning leads me to think
the passion
will be carryed farther. The person has a relation of
ideas to myself,
according to the supposition; the passion, of which he
is the object, by
being either agreeable or uneasy, has a relation of
impressions to pride
or humility. It is evident, then, that one of these
passions must arise
from the love or hatred.

This is the reasoning I form in conformity to my
hypothesis; and am
pleased to find upon trial that every thing answers
exactly to my
expectation. The virtue or vice of a son or brother not
only excites
love or hatred, but by a new transition, from similar
causes, gives rise
to pride or humility. Nothing causes greater vanity than
any shining
quality in our relations; as nothing mortifies us more
than their vice
or infamy. This exact conformity of experience to our
reasoning is
a convincing proof of the solidity of that hypothesis,
upon which we
reason.

Sixth Experiment. This evidence will be still augmented, if we reverse the experiment, and preserving still the same relations, begin only with a different passion. Suppose, that instead of the virtue or vice of a son or brother, which causes first love or hatred, and afterwards pride or humility, we place these good or bad qualities on ourselves, without any immediate connexion with the person, who is related to us: Experience shews us, that by this change of situation the whole chain is broke, and that the mind is not conveyed from one passion to another, as in the preceding instance. We never love or hate a son or brother for the virtue or vice we discern in ourselves; though it is evident the same qualities in him give us a very sensible pride or humility. The transition from pride or humility to love or hatred is not so natural as from love or hatred to pride or humility. This may at first sight be esteemed contrary to my hypothesis; since the relations of impressions and ideas are in both cases precisely the same. Pride and humility are impressions related to love and hatred. Myself am related to the person. It should, therefore, be expected, that like causes must produce like effects, and a perfect transition arise from the double relation, as in all other cases. This difficulty we may easily solve by the following reflections.

It is evident, that as we are at all times intimately conscious of ourselves, our sentiments and passions, their ideas must strike upon us with greater vivacity than the ideas of the sentiments

and passions of
any other person. But every thing, that strikes upon us
with vivacity,
and appears in a full and strong light, forces itself,
in a manner, into
our consideration, and becomes present to the mind on
the smallest hint
and most trivial relation. For the same reason, when it
is once present,
it engages the attention, and keeps it from wandering to
other
objects, however strong may be their relation to our
first object.
The imagination passes easily from obscure to lively
ideas, but with
difficulty from lively to obscure. In the one case the
relation is aided
by another principle: In the other case, it is opposed
by it.

Now I have observed, that those two faculties of the
mind, the
imagination and passions, assist each other in their
operations when
their propensities are similar, and when they act upon
the same object.
The mind has always a propensity to pass from a passion
to any other
related to it; and this propensity is forwarded when the
object of the
one passion is related to that of the other. The two
impulses concur
with each other, and render the whole transition more
smooth and easy.
But if it should happen, that while the relation of
ideas, strictly
speaking, continues the same, its influence, in causing
a transition
of the imagination, should no longer take place, it is
evident its
influence on the passions must also cease, as being
dependent entirely
on that transition. This is the reason why pride or
humility is not
transfused into love or hatred with the same ease, that

the latter
passions are changed into the former. If a person be my
brother I am
his likewise: but though the relations be reciprocal
they have very
different effects on the imagination. The passage is
smooth and open
from the consideration of any person related to us to
that of ourself,
of whom we are every moment conscious. But when the
affections are once
directed to ourself, the fancy passes not with the same
facility from
that object to any other person, how closely so ever
connected with us.
This easy or difficult transition of the imagination
operates upon the
passions, and facilitates or retards their transition,
which is a clear
proof, that these two faculties of the passions and
imagination are
connected together, and that the relations of ideas have
an influence
upon the affections. Besides innumerable experiments
that prove this,
we here find, that even when the relation remains; if by
any particular
circumstance its usual effect upon the fancy in
producing an association
or transition of ideas, is prevented; its usual effect
upon the
passions, in conveying us from one to another, is in
like manner
prevented.

Some may, perhaps, find a contradiction betwixt this
phaenomenon
and that of sympathy, where the mind passes easily from
the idea of
ourselves to that of any other object related to us. But
this difficulty
will vanish, if we consider that in sympathy our own
person is not the
object of any passion, nor is there any thing, that
fixes our attention

on ourselves; as in the present case, where we are supposed to be actuated with pride or humility. Ourself, independent of the perception of every other object, is in reality nothing: For which reason we must turn our view to external objects; and it is natural for us to consider with most attention such as lie contiguous to us, or resemble us. But when self is the object of a passion, it is not natural to quit the consideration of it, till the passion be exhausted: in which case the double relations of impressions and ideas can no longer operate.

Seventh Experiment. To put this whole reasoning to a farther trial, let us make a new experiment; and as we have already seen the effects of related passions and ideas, let us here suppose an identity of passions along with a relation of ideas; and let us consider the effects of this new situation. It is evident a transition of the passions from the one object to the other is here in all reason to be expected; since the relation of ideas is supposed still to continue, and identity of impressions must produce a stronger connexion, than the most perfect resemblance, that can be imagined. If a double relation, therefore, of impressions and ideas is able to produce a transition from one to the other, much more an identity of impressions with a relation of ideas. Accordingly we find, that when we either love or hate any person, the passions seldom continue within their first bounds; but extend themselves towards all the contiguous objects, and comprehend the

friends and relations of him we love or hate. Nothing is more natural than to bear a kindness to one brother on account of our friendship for another, without any farther examination of his character. A quarrel with one person gives us a hatred for the whole family, though entirely innocent of that, which displeases us. Instances of this kind are every where to be met with.

There is only one difficulty in this experiment, which it will be necessary to account for, before we proceed any farther. It is evident, that though all passions pass easily from one object to another related to it, yet this transition is made with greater facility, where the more considerable object is first presented, and the lesser follows it, than where this order is reversed, and the lesser takes the precedence. Thus it is more natural for us to love the son upon account of the father, than the father upon account of the son; the servant for the master, than the master for the servant; the subject for the prince, than the prince for the subject. In like manner we more readily contract a hatred against a whole family, where our first quarrel is with the head of it, than where we are displeased with a son, or servant, or some inferior member. In short, our passions, like other objects, descend with greater facility than they ascend.

That we may comprehend, wherein consists the difficulty of explaining this phaenomenon, we must consider, that the very same reason, which determines the imagination to pass from remote to

contiguous objects,
with more facility than from contiguous to remote,
causes it likewise
to change with more ease, the less for the greater, than
the greater for
the less. Whatever has the greatest influence is most
taken notice of;
and whatever is most taken notice of, presents itself
most readily to
the imagination. We are more apt to over-look in any
subject, what is
trivial, than what appears of considerable moment; but
especially if the
latter takes the precedence, and first engages our
attention. Thus if
any accident makes us consider the Satellites of
JUPITER, our fancy is
naturally determined to form the idea of that planet;
but if we first
reflect on the principal planet, it is more natural for
us to overlook
its attendants. The mention of the provinces of any
empire conveys our
thought to the seat of the empire; but the fancy returns
not with the
same facility to the consideration of the provinces. The
idea of the
servant makes us think of the master; that of the
subject carries our
view to the prince. But the same relation has not an
equal influence
in conveying us back again. And on this is founded that
reproach of
Cornelia to her sons, that they ought to be ashamed she
should be more
known by the title of the daughter of Scipio than by
that of the mother
of the Gracchi. This was, in other words, exhorting them
to render
themselves as illustrious and famous as their
grandfather, otherwise the
imagination of the people, passing from her who was
intermediate,
and placed in an equal relation to both, would always
leave them, and

denominate her by what was more considerable and of greater moment. On the same principle is founded that common custom of making wives bear the name of their husbands, rather than husbands that of their wives; as also the ceremony of giving the precedence to those, whom we honour and respect. We might find many other instances to confirm this principle, were it not already sufficiently evident.

Now since the fancy finds the same facility in passing from the lesser to the greater, as from remote to contiguous, why does not this easy transition of ideas assist the transition of passions in the former case, as well as in the latter? The virtues of a friend or brother produce first love, and then pride; because in that case the imagination passes from remote to contiguous, according to its propensity. Our own virtues produce not first pride, and then love to a friend or brother; because the passage in that case would be from contiguous to remote, contrary to its propensity. But the love or hatred of an inferior causes not readily any passion to the superior, though that be the natural propensity of the imagination: While the love or hatred of a superior, causes a passion to the inferior, contrary to its propensity. In short, the same facility of transition operates not in the same manner upon superior and inferior as upon contiguous and remote. These two phaenomena appear contradictory, and require some attention to be reconciled.

As the transition of ideas is here made contrary to the

natural
propensity of the imagination, that faculty must be
overpowered by some
stronger principle of another kind; and as there is
nothing ever present
to the mind but impressions and ideas, this principle
must necessarily
lie in the impressions. Now it has been observed, that
impressions or
passions are connected only by their resemblance, and
that where any two
passions place the mind in the same or in similar
dispositions, it
very naturally passes from the one to the other: As on
the contrary, a
repugnance in the dispositions produces a difficulty in
the transition
of the passions. But it is observable, that this
repugnance may arise
from a difference of degree as well as of kind; nor do
we experience a
greater difficulty in passing suddenly from a small
degree of love to a
small degree of hatred, than from a small to a great
degree of either
of these affections. A man, when calm or only moderately
agitated, is so
different, in every respect, from himself, when
disturbed with a violent
passion, that no two persons can be more unlike; nor is
it easy to
pass from the one extreme to the other, without a
considerable interval
betwixt them.

The difficulty is not less, if it be not rather greater,
in passing from
the strong passion to the weak, than in passing from the
weak to the
strong, provided the one passion upon its appearance
destroys the other,
and they do not both of them exist at once. But the case
is entirely
altered, when the passions unite together, and actuate
the mind at

the same time. A weak passion, when added to a strong, makes not so considerable a change in the disposition, as a strong when added to a weak; for which reason there is a closer connexion betwixt the great degree and the small, than betwixt the small degree and the great.

The degree of any passion depends upon the nature of its object; and an affection directed to a person, who is considerable in our eyes, fills and possesses the mind much more than one, which has for its object a person we esteem of less consequence. Here then the contradiction betwixt the propensities of the imagination and passion displays itself.

When we turn our thought to a great and a small object, the imagination finds more facility in passing from the small to the great, than from the great to the small; but the affections find a greater difficulty: And as the affections are a more powerful principle than the imagination, no wonder they prevail over it, and draw the mind to their side. In spite of the difficulty of passing from the idea of great to that of little, a passion directed to the former, produces always a similar passion towards the latter; when the great and little are related together. The idea of the servant conveys our thought most readily to the master; but the hatred or love of the master produces with greater facility anger or good-will to the servant. The strongest passion in this case takes the precedence; and the addition of the weaker making no considerable change on the disposition, the passage is

by that means rendered more easy and natural betwixt them.

As in the foregoing experiment we found, that a relation of ideas, which, by any particular circumstance, ceases to produce its usual effect of facilitating the transition of ideas, ceases likewise to operate on the passions; so in the present experiment we find the same property of the impressions. Two different degrees of the same passion are surely related together; but if the smaller be first present, it has little or no tendency to introduce the greater; and that because the addition of the great to the little, produces a more sensible alteration on the temper, than the addition of the little to the great. These phaenomena, when duly weighed, will be found convincing proofs of this hypothesis.

And these proofs will be confirmed, if we consider the manner in which the mind here reconciles the contradiction, I have observed betwixt the passions and the imagination. The fancy passes with more facility from the less to the greater, than from the greater to the less: But on the contrary a violent passion produces more easily a feeble, than that does a violent. In this opposition the passion in the end prevails over the imagination; but it is commonly by complying with it, and by seeking another quality, which may counter-ballance that principle, from whence the opposition arises. When we love the father or master of a family, we little think of his children or servants. But when these are present

with us, or when it lies any ways in our power to serve them, the nearness and contiguity in this case encreases their magnitude, or at least removes that opposition, which the fancy makes to the transition of the affections. If the imagination finds a difficulty in passing from greater to less, it finds an equal facility in passing from remote to contiguous, which brings the matter to an equality, and leaves the way open from the one passion to the other.

Eighth Experiment. I have observed that the transition from love or hatred to pride or humility, is more easy than from pride or humility to love or hatred; and that the difficulty, which the imagination finds in passing from contiguous to remote, is the cause why we scarce have any instance of the latter transition of the affections. I must, however, make one exception, viz, when the very cause of the pride and humility is placed in some other person. For in that case the imagination is necessitated to consider the person, nor can it possibly confine its view to ourselves. Thus nothing more readily produces kindness and affection to any person, than his approbation of our conduct and character: As on the other hand, nothing inspires us with a stronger hatred, than his blame or contempt. Here it is evident, that the original passion is pride or humility, whose object is self; and that this passion is transfused into love or hatred, whose object is some other person, notwithstanding the rule I have already established, THAT THE IMAGINATION PASSES WITH DIFFICULTY FROM CONTIGUOUS

TO REMOTE.

But the transition in this case is not made merely on account of the relation betwixt ourselves and the person; but because that very person is the real cause of our first passion, and of consequence is intimately connected with it. It is his approbation that produces pride; and disapprobation, humility. No wonder, then, the imagination returns back again attended with the related passions of love and hatred. This is not a contradiction, but an exception to the rule; and an exception that arises from the same reason with the rule itself.

Such an exception as this is, therefore, rather a confirmation of the rule. And indeed, if we consider all the eight experiments I have explained, we shall find that the same principle appears in all of them, and that it is by means of a transition arising from a double relation of impressions and ideas, pride and humility, love and hatred are produced. An object without [First Experiment.] a relation, or [Second and Third Experiments] with but one, never produces either of these passions; and it is [Fourth Experiment.] found that the passion always varies in conformity to the relation. Nay we may observe, that where the relation, by any particular circumstance, has not its usual effect of producing a transition either of [Sixth Experiment.] ideas or of impressions, it ceases to operate upon the passions, and gives rise neither to pride nor love, humility nor hatred. This rule we find still to hold good [Seventh and Eighth Experiments.] even under the appearance

of its contrary; and as relation is frequently experienced to have no effect; which upon examination is found to proceed from some particular circumstance, that prevents the transition; so even in instances, where that circumstance, though present, prevents not the transition, it is found to arise from some other circumstance, which counter-balances it. Thus not only the variations resolve themselves into the general principle, but even the variations of these variations.

SECT. III DIFFICULTIES SOLVED

After so many and such undeniable proofs drawn from daily experience and observation, it may seem superfluous to enter into a particular examination of all the causes of love and hatred. I shall, therefore, employ the sequel of this part, First, In removing some difficulties, concerning particular causes of these passions. Secondly, In examining the compound affections, which arise from the mixture of love and hatred with other emotions.

Nothing is more evident, than that any person acquires our kindness, or is exposed to our ill-will, in proportion to the pleasure or uneasiness we receive from him, and that the passions keep pace exactly with the sensations in all their changes and variations. Whoever can find the means either by his services, his beauty, or his flattery, to render himself useful or agreeable to us, is sure of our

affections: As on the other hand, whoever harms or displeases us never fails to excite our anger or hatred. When our own nation is at war with any other, we detest them under the character of cruel, perfidious, unjust and violent: But always esteem ourselves and allies equitable, moderate, and merciful. If the general of our enemies be successful, it is with difficulty we allow him the figure and character of a man. He is a sorcerer: He has a communication with daemons; as is reported of OLIVER CROMWELL, and the DUKE OF LUXEMBOURG: He is bloody-minded, and takes a pleasure in death and destruction. But if the success be on our side, our commander has all the opposite good qualities, and is a pattern of virtue, as well as of courage and conduct. His treachery we call policy: His cruelty is an evil inseparable from war. In short, every one of his faults we either endeavour to extenuate, or dignify it with the name of that virtue, which approaches it. It is evident the same method of thinking runs through common life.

There are some, who add another condition, and require not only that the pain and pleasure arise from the person, but likewise that it arise knowingly, and with a particular design and intention. A man, who wounds and harms us by accident, becomes not our enemy upon that account, nor do we think ourselves bound by any ties of gratitude to one, who does us any service after the same manner. By the intention we judge of the actions, and according as that is good or bad, they become causes of

love or hatred.

But here we must make a distinction. If that quality in another, which pleases or displeases, be constant and inherent in his person and character, it will cause love or hatred independent of the intention:

But otherwise a knowledge and design is requisite, in order to give rise to these passions. One that is disagreeable by his deformity or folly is the object of our aversion, though nothing be more certain, than that he has not the least intention of displeasing us by these qualities. But if the uneasiness proceed not from a quality, but an action, which is produced and annihilated in a moment, it is necessary, in order to produce some relation, and connect this action sufficiently with the person, that it be derived from a particular forethought and design. It is not enough, that the action arise from the person, and have him for its immediate cause and author. This relation alone is too feeble and inconstant to be a foundation for these passions. It reaches not the sensible and thinking part, and neither proceeds from any thing durable in him, nor leaves any thing behind it; but passes in a moment, and is as if it had never been. On the other hand, an intention shews certain qualities, which remaining after the action is performed, connect it with the person, and facilitate the transition of ideas from one to the other. We can never think of him without reflecting on these qualities; unless repentance and a change of life have produced an alteration in that respect: In which case the passion is likewise

altered. This
therefore is one reason, why an intention is requisite
to excite either
love or hatred.

But we must farther consider, that an intention, besides
its
strengthening the relation of ideas, is often necessary
to produce a
relation of impressions, and give rise to pleasure and
uneasiness. For
it is observable, that the principal part of an injury
is the contempt
and hatred, which it shews in the person, that injures
us; and without
that, the mere harm gives us a less sensible uneasiness.
In like manner,
a good office is agreeable, chiefly because it flatters
our vanity, and
is a proof of the kindness and esteem of the person, who
performs it.
The removal of the intention, removes the mortification
in the one
case, and vanity in the other, and must of course cause
a remarkable
diminution in the passions of love and hatred.

I grant, that these effects of the removal of design, in
diminishing the
relations of impressions and ideas, are not entire, nor
able to remove
every degree of these relations. But then I ask, if the
removal of
design be able entirely to remove the passion of love
and hatred?
Experience, I am sure, informs us of the contrary, nor
is there any
thing more certain, than that men often fall into a
violent anger for
injuries, which they themselves must own to be entirely
involuntary and
accidental. This emotion, indeed, cannot be of long
continuance; but
still is sufficient to shew, that there is a natural
connexion betwixt

uneasiness and anger, and that the relation of impressions will operate upon a very small relation of ideas. But when the violence of the impression is once a little abated, the defect of the relation begins to be better felt; and as the character of a person is no wise interested in such injuries as are casual and involuntary, it seldom happens that on their account, we entertain a lasting enmity.

To illustrate this doctrine by a parallel instance, we may observe, that not only the uneasiness, which proceeds from another by accident, has but little force to excite our passion, but also that which arises from an acknowledged necessity and duty. One that has a real design of harming us, proceeding not from hatred and ill-will, but from justice and equity, draws not upon him our anger, if we be in any degree reasonable; notwithstanding he is both the cause, and the knowing cause of our sufferings. Let us examine a little this phaenomenon.

It is evident in the first place, that this circumstance is not decisive; and though it may be able to diminish the passions, it is seldom it can entirely remove them. How few criminals are there, who have no ill-will to the person, that accuses them, or to the judge, that condemns them, even though they be conscious of their own deserts? In like manner our antagonist in a law-suit, and our competitor for any office, are commonly regarded as our enemies; though we must acknowledge, if we would but reflect a moment, that their motive is

entirely as justifiable as our own.

Besides we may consider, that when we receive harm from any person, we are apt to imagine him criminal, and it is with extreme difficulty we allow of his justice and innocence. This is a clear proof, that, independent of the opinion of iniquity, any harm or uneasiness has a natural tendency to excite our hatred, and that afterwards we seek for reasons upon which we may justify and establish the passion. Here the idea of injury produces not the passion, but arises from it.

Nor is it any wonder that passion should produce the opinion of injury; since otherwise it must suffer a considerable diminution, which all the passions avoid as much as possible. The removal of injury may remove the anger, without proving that the anger arises only from the injury. The harm and the justice are two contrary objects, of which the one has a tendency to produce hatred, and the other love; and it is according to their different degrees, and our particular turn of thinking, that either of the objects prevails, and excites its proper passion.

SECT. IV OF THE LOVE OF RELATIONS

Having given a reason, why several actions, that cause a real pleasure or uneasiness, excite not any degree, or but a small one, of the passion of love or hatred towards the actors; it will be

necessary to shew,
wherein consists the pleasure or uneasiness of many
objects, which we
find by experience to produce these passions.

According to the preceding system there is always
required a double
relation of impressions and ideas betwixt the cause and
effect, in order
to produce either love or hatred. But though this be
universally true,
it is remarkable that the passion of love may be excited
by only one
relation of a different kind, viz, betwixt ourselves and
the object; or
more properly speaking, that this relation is always
attended with both
the others. Whoever is united to us by any connexion is
always sure of a
share of our love, proportioned to the connexion,
without enquiring into
his other qualities. Thus the relation of blood produces
the strongest
tie the mind is capable of in the love of parents to
their children, and
a lesser degree of the same affection, as the relation
lessens. Nor
has consanguinity alone this effect, but any other
relation without
exception. We love our country-men, our neighbours,
those of the same
trade, profession, and even name with ourselves. Every
one of these
relations is esteemed some tie, and gives a title to a
share of our
affection.

There is another phaenomenon, which is parallel to this,
viz, that
acquaintance, without any kind of relation, gives rise
to love and
kindness. When we have contracted a habitude and
intimacy with any
person; though in frequenting his company we have not
been able to

discover any very valuable quality, of which he is possessed; yet we cannot forebear preferring him to strangers, of whose superior merit we are fully convinced. These two phaenomena of the effects of relation and acquaintance will give mutual light to each other, and may be both explained from the same principle.

Those, who take a pleasure in declaiming against human nature, have observed, that man is altogether insufficient to support himself; and that when you loosen all the holds, which he has of external objects, he immediately drops down into the deepest melancholy and despair. From this, say they, proceeds that continual search after amusement in gaming, in hunting, in business; by which we endeavour to forget ourselves, and excite our spirits from the languid state, into which they fall, when not sustained by some brisk and lively emotion. To this method of thinking I so far agree, that I own the mind to be insufficient, of itself, to its own entertainment, and that it naturally seeks after foreign objects, which may produce a lively sensation, and agitate the spirits. On the appearance of such an object it awakes, as it were, from a dream: The blood flows with a new tide: The heart is elevated: And the whole man acquires a vigour, which he cannot command in his solitary and calm moments. Hence company is naturally so rejoicing, as presenting the liveliest of all objects, viz, a rational and thinking Being like ourselves, who communicates to us all the actions of his mind; makes us privy to his inmost

sentiments and
affections; and lets us see, in the very instant of
their production,
all the emotions, which are caused by any object. Every
lively idea
is agreeable, but especially that of a passion, because
such an idea
becomes a kind of passion, and gives a more sensible
agitation to the
mind, than any other image or conception.

This being once admitted, all the rest is easy. For as
the company
of strangers is agreeable to us for a short time, by
inlivening our
thought; so the company of our relations and
acquaintance must be
peculiarly agreeable, because it has this effect in a
greater degree,
and is of more durable influence. Whatever is related to
us is conceived
in a lively manner by the easy transition from ourselves
to the related
object. Custom also, or acquaintance facilitates the
entrance, and
strengthens the conception of any object. The first case
is parallel to
our reasonings from cause and effect; the second to
education. And as
reasoning and education concur only in producing a
lively and strong
idea of any object; so is this the only particular,
which is common
to relation and acquaintance. This must, therefore, be
the influencing
quality, by which they produce all their common effects;
and love or
kindness being one of these effects, it must be from the
force and
liveliness of conception, that the passion is derived.
Such a conception
is peculiarly agreeable, and makes us have an
affectionate regard for
every thing, that produces it, when the proper object of
kindness and

goodwill.

It is obvious, that people associate together according to their particular tempers and dispositions, and that men of gay tempers naturally love the gay; as the serious bear an affection to the serious. This not only happens, where they remark this resemblance betwixt themselves and others, but also by the natural course of the disposition, and by a certain sympathy, which always arises betwixt similar characters. Where they remark the resemblance, it operates after the manner of a relation, by producing a connexion of ideas. Where they do not remark it, it operates by some other principle; and if this latter principle be similar to the former, it must be received as a confirmation of the foregoing reasoning.

The idea of ourselves is always intimately present to us, and conveys a sensible degree of vivacity to the idea of any other object, to which we are related. This lively idea changes by degrees into a real impression; these two kinds of perception being in a great measure the same, and differing only in their degrees of force and vivacity. But this change must be produced with the greater ease, that our natural temper gives us a propensity to the same impression, which we observe in others, and makes it arise upon any slight occasion. In that case resemblance converts the idea into an impression, not only by means of the relation, and by transfusing the original vivacity into the related idea; but also by presenting such materials as take fire from the least

spark. And as
in both cases a love or affection arises from the
resemblance, we may
learn that a sympathy with others is agreeable only by
giving an emotion
to the spirits, since an easy sympathy and correspondent
emotions are
alone common to RELATION, ACQUAINTANCE, and RESEMBLANCE.

The great propensity men have to pride may be considered
as another
similar phaenomenon. It often happens, that after we
have lived a
considerable time in any city; however at first it might
be disagreeable
to us; yet as we become familiar with the objects, and
contact an
acquaintance, though merely with the streets and
buildings, the aversion
diminishes by degrees, and at last changes into the
opposite passion.
The mind finds a satisfaction and ease in the view of
objects, to which
it is accustomed, and naturally prefers them to others,
which, though,
perhaps, in themselves more valuable, are less known to
it. By the same
quality of the mind we are seduced into a good opinion
of ourselves, and
of all objects, that belong to us. They appear in a
stronger light; are
more agreeable; and consequently fitter subjects of
pride and vanity,
than any other.

It may not be amiss, in treating of the affection we
bear our
acquaintance and relations, to observe some pretty
curious phaenomena,
which attend it. It is easy to remark in common life,
that children
esteem their relation to their mother to be weakened, in
a great
measure, by her second marriage, and no longer regard
her with the same

eye, as if she had continued in her state of widow-hood. Nor does this happen only, when they have felt any inconveniences from her second marriage, or when her husband is much her inferior; but even without any of these considerations, and merely because she has become part of another family. This also takes place with regard to the second marriage of a father; but in a much less degree: And it is certain the ties of blood are not so much loosened in the latter case as by the marriage of a mother. These two phaenomena are remarkable in themselves, but much more so when compared.

In order to produce a perfect relation betwixt two objects, it is requisite, not only that the imagination be conveyed from one to the other by resemblance, contiguity or causation, but also that it return back from the second to the first with the same ease and facility. At first sight this may seem a necessary and unavoidable consequence. If one object resemble another, the latter object must necessarily resemble the former. If one object be the cause of another, the second object is effect to its cause. It is the same case with contiguity: And therefore the relation being always reciprocal, it may be thought, that the return of the imagination from the second to the first must also, in every case, be equally natural as its passage from the first to the second. But upon farther examination we shall easily discover our mistake. For supposing the second object, beside its reciprocal relation to the first, to have also a strong relation to a third object;

in that case
the thought, passing from the first object to the
second, returns not
back with the same facility, though the relation
continues the same; but
is readily carried on to the third object, by means of
the new relation,
which presents itself, and gives a new impulse to the
imagination. This
new relation, therefore, weakens the tie betwixt the
first and second
objects. The fancy is by its very nature wavering and
inconstant; and
considers always two objects as more strongly related
together, where it
finds the passage equally easy both in going and
returning, than where
the transition is easy only in one of these motions. The
double motion
is a kind of a double tie, and binds the objects
together in the closest
and most intimate manner.

The second marriage of a mother breaks not the relation
of child and
parent; and that relation suffices to convey my
imagination from myself
to her with the greatest ease and facility. But after
the imagination is
arrived at this point of view, it finds its object to be
surrounded with
so many other relations, which challenge its regard,
that it knows not
which to prefer, and is at a loss what new object to
pitch upon. The
ties of interest and duty bind her to another family,
and prevent that
return of the fancy from her to myself, which is
necessary to support
the union. The thought has no longer the vibration,
requisite to set it
perfectly at ease, and indulge its inclination to
change. It goes with
facility, but returns with difficulty; and by that
interruption finds

the relation much weakened from what it would be were
the passage open
and easy on both sides.

Now to give a reason, why this effect follows not in the
same degree
upon the second marriage of a father: we may reflect on
what has been
proved already, that though the imagination goes easily
from the view of
a lesser object to that of a greater, yet it returns not
with the same
facility from the greater to the less. When my
imagination goes from
myself to my father, it passes not so readily from him
to his second
wife, nor considers him as entering into a different
family, but as
continuing the head of that family, of which I am myself
a part. His
superiority prevents the easy transition of the thought
from him to his
spouse, but keeps the passage still open for a return to
myself along
the same relation of child and parent. He is not sunk in
the new
relation he acquires; so that the double motion or
vibration of thought
is still easy and natural. By this indulgence of the
fancy in its
inconstancy, the tie of child and parent still preserves
its full force
and influence. A mother thinks not her tie to a son
weakened, because it
is shared with her husband: Nor a son his with a parent,
because it is
shared with a brother. The third object is here related
to the first, as
well as to the second; so that the imagination goes and
comes along all
of them with the greatest facility.

SECT. V OF OUR ESTEEM FOR THE RICH AND POWERFUL

Nothing has a greater tendency to give us an esteem for any person, than his power and riches; or a contempt, than his poverty and meanness: And as esteem and contempt are to be considered as species of love and hatred, it will be proper in this place to explain these phaenomena.

Here it happens most fortunately, that the greatest difficulty is not to discover a principle capable of producing such an effect, but to choose the chief and predominant among several, that present themselves. The satisfaction we take in the riches of others, and the esteem we have for the possessors may be ascribed to three different causes. FIRST, To the objects they possess; such as houses, gardens, equipages; which, being agreeable in themselves, necessarily produce a sentiment of pleasure in every one; that either considers or surveys them. SECONDLY, To the expectation of advantage from the rich and powerful by our sharing their possessions. THIRDLY, To sympathy, which makes us partake of the satisfaction of every one, that approaches us. All these principles may concur in producing the present phaenomenon. The question is, to which of them we ought principally to ascribe it.

It is certain, that the first principle, viz, the reflection on agreeable objects, has a greater influence, than what, at first sight, we may be apt to imagine. We seldom reflect on what is beautiful or ugly, agreeable or disagreeable, without an emotion of

pleasure or
uneasiness; and though these sensations appear not much
in our common
indolent way of thinking, it is easy, either in reading
or conversation,
to discover them. Men of wit always turn the discourse
on subjects that
are entertaining to the imagination; and poets never
present any objects
but such as are of the same nature. Mr Philips has
chosen CYDER for the
subject of an excellent poem. Beer would not have been
so proper, as
being neither so agreeable to the taste nor eye. But he
would certainly
have preferred wine to either of them, coued his native
country have
afforded him so agreeable a liquor. We may learn from
thence, that
every thing, which is agreeable to the senses, is also
in some measure
agreeable to the fancy, and conveys to the thought an
image of that
satisfaction, which it gives by its real application to
the bodily
organs.

But though these reasons may induce us to comprehend
this delicacy of
the imagination among the causes of the respect, which
we pay the
rich and powerful, there are many other reasons, that
may keep us from
regarding it as the sole or principal. For as the ideas
of pleasure
can have an influence only by means of their vivacity,
which makes them
approach impressions, it is most natural those ideas
should have that
influence, which are favoured by most circumstances, and
have a natural
tendency to become strong and lively; such as our ideas
of the passions
and sensations of any human creature. Every human
creature resembles

ourselves, and by that means has an advantage above any other object, in operating on the imagination.

Besides, if we consider the nature of that faculty, and the great influence which all relations have upon it, we shall easily be persuaded, that however the ideas of the pleasant wines, music, or gardens, which the rich man enjoys, may become lively and agreeable, the fancy will not confine itself to them, but will carry its view to the related objects; and in particular, to the person, who possesses them.

And this is the more natural, that the pleasant idea or image produces here a passion towards the person, by means of his relation to the object; so that it is unavoidable but he must enter into the original conception, since he makes the object of the derivative passion: But if he enters into the original conception, and is considered as enjoying these agreeable objects, it is sympathy, which is properly the cause of the affection; and the third principle is more powerful and universal than the first.

Add to this, that riches and power alone, even though unemployed, naturally cause esteem and respect: And consequently these passions arise not from the idea of any beautiful or agreeable objects. It is true; money implies a kind of representation of such objects, by the power it affords of obtaining them; and for that reason may still be esteemed proper to convey those agreeable images, which may give rise to the passion. But as this prospect is very distant, it

is more natural
for us to take a contiguous object, viz, the
satisfaction, which this
power affords the person, who is possess of it. And of
this we shall be
farther satisfied, if we consider, that riches represent
the goods of
life, only by means of the will; which employs them; and
therefore imply
in their very nature an idea of the person, and cannot
be considered
without a kind of sympathy with his sensations and
enjoyments.

This we may confirm by a reflection, which to some will,
perhaps,
appear too subtle and refined. I have already observed,
that power,
as distinguished from its exercise, has either no
meaning at all, or
is nothing but a possibility or probability of
existence; by which any
object approaches to reality, and has a sensible
influence on the mind.
I have also observed, that this approach, by an illusion
of the fancy,
appears much greater, when we ourselves are possess of
the power, than
when it is enjoyed by another; and that in the former
case the objects
seem to touch upon the very verge of reality, and convey
almost an equal
satisfaction, as if actually in our possession. Now I
assert, that where
we esteem a person upon account of his riches, we must
enter into this
sentiment of the proprietor, and that without such a
sympathy the idea
of the agreeable objects, which they give him the power
to produce,
would have but a feeble influence upon us. An avaritious
man is
respected for his money, though he scarce is possess of
a power; that
is, there scarce is a probability or even possibility of

his employing
it in the acquisition of the pleasures and conveniences
of life. To
himself alone this power seems perfect and entire; and
therefore we must
receive his sentiments by sympathy, before we can have a
strong intense
idea of these enjoyments, or esteem him upon account of
them.

Thus we have found, that the first principle, viz, the
agreeable idea of
those objects, which riches afford the enjoyment of;
resolves itself in
a great measure into the third, and becomes a sympathy
with the person
we esteem or love. Let us now examine the second
principle, viz, the
agreeable expectation of advantage, and see what force
we may justly
attribute to it.

It is obvious, that though riches and authority
undoubtedly give
their owner a power of doing us service, yet this power
is not to be
considered as on the same footing with that, which they
afford him, of
pleasing himself, and satisfying his own appetites.
Self-love approaches
the power and exercise very near each other in the
latter case; but
in order to produce a similar effect in the former, we
must suppose a
friendship and good-will to be conjoined with the
riches. Without that
circumstance it is difficult to conceive on what we can
found our hope
of advantage from the riches of others, though there is
nothing more
certain, than that we naturally esteem and respect the
rich, even before
we discover in them any such favourable disposition
towards us.

But I carry this farther, and observe, not only that we respect the rich and powerful, where they shew no inclination to serve us, but also when we lie so much out of the sphere of their activity, that they cannot even be supposed to be endowed with that power. Prisoners of war are always treated with a respect suitable to their condition; and it is certain riches go very far towards fixing the condition of any person. If birth and quality enter for a share, this still affords us an argument of the same kind. For what is it we call a man of birth, but one who is descended from a long succession of rich and powerful ancestors, and who acquires our esteem by his relation to persons whom we esteem? His ancestors, therefore, though dead, are respected, in some measure, on account of their riches, and consequently without any kind of expectation.

But not to go so far as prisoners of war and the dead to find instances of this disinterested esteem for riches, let us observe with a little attention those phaenomena that occur to us in common life and conversation. A man, who is himself of a competent fortune, upon coming into a company of strangers, naturally treats them with different degrees of respect and deference, as he is informed of their different fortunes and conditions; though it is impossible he can ever propose, and perhaps would not accept of any advantage from them. A traveller is always admitted into company, and meets with civility, in proportion as his train and equipage speak him a man of great or

moderate fortune. In short, the different ranks of men are, in a great measure, regulated by riches, and that with regard to superiors as well as inferiors, strangers as well as acquaintance.

There is, indeed, an answer to these arguments, drawn from the influence of general rules. It may be pretended, that being accustomed to expect succour and protection from the rich and powerful, and to esteem them upon that account, we extend the same sentiments to those, who resemble them in their fortune, but from whom we can never hope for any advantage. The general rule still prevails, and by giving a bent to the imagination draws along the passion, in the same manner as if its proper object were real and existent.

But that this principle does not here take place, will easily appear, if we consider, that in order to establish a general rule, and extend it beyond its proper bounds, there is required a certain uniformity in our experience, and a great superiority of those instances, which are conformable to the rule, above the contrary. But here the case is quite otherwise. Of a hundred men of credit and fortune I meet with, there is not, perhaps, one from whom I can expect advantage; so that it is impossible any custom can ever prevail in the present case.

Upon the whole, there remains nothing, which can give us an esteem for power and riches, and a contempt for meanness and poverty, except the principle of sympathy, by which we enter into the

sentiments of the rich and poor, and partake of their pleasure and uneasiness. Riches give satisfaction to their possessor; and this satisfaction is conveyed to the beholder by the imagination, which produces an idea resembling the original impression in force and vivacity. This agreeable idea or impression is connected with love, which is an agreeable passion. It proceeds from a thinking conscious being, which is the very object of love. From this relation of impressions, and identity of ideas, the passion arises, according to my hypothesis.

The best method of reconciling us to this opinion is to take a general survey of the universe, and observe the force of sympathy through the whole animal creation, and the easy communication of sentiments from one thinking being to another. In all creatures, that prey not upon others, and are not agitated with violent passions, there appears a remarkable desire of company, which associates them together, without any advantages they can ever propose to reap from their union. This is still more conspicuous in man, as being the creature of the universe, who has the most ardent desire of society, and is fitted for it by the most advantages. We can form no wish, which has not a reference to society. A perfect solitude is, perhaps, the greatest punishment we can suffer. Every pleasure languishes when enjoyed a-part from company, and every pain becomes more cruel and intolerable. Whatever other passions we may be actuated by; pride, ambition, avarice, curiosity, revenge or lust;

the soul or animating principle of them all is sympathy; nor would they have any force, were we to abstract entirely from the thoughts and sentiments of others. Let all the powers and elements of nature conspire to serve and obey one man: Let the sun rise and set at his command: The sea and rivers roll as he pleases, and the earth furnish spontaneously whatever may be useful or agreeable to him: He will still be miserable, till you give him some one person at least, with whom he may share his happiness, and whose esteem and friendship he may enjoy.

This conclusion from a general view of human nature, we may confirm by particular instances, wherein the force of sympathy is very remarkable. Most kinds of beauty are derived from this origin; and though our first object be some senseless inanimate piece of matter, it is seldom we rest there, and carry not our view to its influence on sensible and rational creatures. A man, who shews us any house or building, takes particular care among other things to point out the convenience of the apartments, the advantages of their situation, and the little room lost in the stairs, antichambers and passages; and indeed it is evident, the chief part of the beauty consists in these particulars. The observation of convenience gives pleasure, since convenience is a beauty. But after what manner does it give pleasure? It is certain our own interest is not in the least concerned; and as this is a beauty of interest, not of form, so to speak, it must delight us merely by communication, and by our sympathizing with the proprietor of the lodging. We

enter into his
interest by the force of imagination, and feel the same
satisfaction,
that the objects naturally occasion in him.

This observation extends to tables, chairs, scrittoires,
chimneys,
coaches, saddles, ploughs, and indeed to every work of
art; it being an
universal rule, that their beauty is chiefly derived
from their utility,
and from their fitness for that purpose, to which they
are destined.
But this is an advantage, that concerns only the owner,
nor is there any
thing but sympathy, which can interest the spectator.

It is evident, that nothing renders a field more
agreeable than its
fertility, and that scarce any advantages of ornament or
situation will
be able to equal this beauty. It is the same case with
particular trees
and plants, as with the field on which they grow. I know
not but a
plain, overgrown with furze and broom, may be, in
itself, as beautiful
as a hill covered with vines or olive-trees; though it
will never appear
so to one, who is acquainted with the value of each. But
this is a
beauty merely of imagination, and has no foundation in
what appears to
the senses. Fertility and value have a plain reference
to use; and
that to riches, joy, and plenty; in which though we have
no hope of
partaking, yet we enter into them by the vivacity of the
fancy, and
share them, in some measure, with the proprietor.

There is no rule in painting more reasonable than that
of ballancing the
figures, and placing them with the greatest exactness on
their proper

centers of gravity. A figure, which is not justly ballanced, is disagreeable; and that because it conveys the ideas of its fall, of harm, and of pain: Which ideas are painful, when by sympathy they acquire any degree of force and vivacity.

Add to this, that the principal part of personal beauty is an air of health and vigour, and such a construction of members as promises strength and activity. This idea of beauty cannot be accounted for but by sympathy.

In general we may remark, that the minds of men are mirrors to one another, not only because they reflect each others emotions, but also because those rays of passions, sentiments and opinions may be often reverberated, and may decay away by insensible degrees. Thus the pleasure, which a rich man receives from his possessions, being thrown upon the beholder, causes a pleasure and esteem; which sentiments again, being perceived and sympathized with, encrease the pleasure of the possessor; and being once more reflected, become a new foundation for pleasure and esteem in the beholder. There is certainly an original satisfaction in riches derived from that power, which they bestow, of enjoying all the pleasures of life; and as this is their very nature and essence, it must be the first source of all the passions, which arise from them. One of the most considerable of these passions is that of love or esteem in others, which therefore proceeds from a sympathy with the pleasure of the possessor. But the possessor has

also a secondary satisfaction in riches arising from the love and esteem he acquires by them, and this satisfaction is nothing but a second reflexion of that original pleasure, which proceeded from himself. This secondary satisfaction or vanity becomes one of the principal recommendations of riches, and is the chief reason, why we either desire them for ourselves, or esteem them in others. Here then is a third rebound of the original pleasure; after which it is difficult to distinguish the images and reflexions, by reason of their faintness and confusion.

SECT. VI OF BENEVOLENCE AND ANGER

Ideas may be compared to the extension and solidity of matter, and impressions, especially reflective ones, to colours, tastes, smells and other sensible qualities. Ideas never admit of a total union, but are endowed with a kind of impenetrability, by which they exclude each other, and are capable of forming a compound by their conjunction, not by their mixture. On the other hand, impressions and passions are susceptible of an entire union; and like colours, may be blended so perfectly together, that each of them may lose itself, and contribute only to vary that uniform impression, which arises from the whole. Some of the most curious phaenomena of the human mind are derived from this property of the passions.

In examining those ingredients, which are capable of uniting with love and hatred, I begin to be sensible, in some measure, of a misfortune, that has attended every system of philosophy, with which the world has been yet acquainted. It is commonly found, that in accounting for the operations of nature by any particular hypothesis; among a number of experiments, that quadrate exactly with the principles we would endeavour to establish; there is always some phaenomenon, which is more stubborn, and will not so easily bend to our purpose. We need not be surprized, that this should happen in natural philosophy. The essence and composition of external bodies are so obscure, that we must necessarily, in our reasonings, or rather conjectures concerning them, involve ourselves in contradictions and absurdities. But as the perceptions of the mind are perfectly known, and I have used all imaginable caution in forming conclusions concerning them, I have always hoped to keep clear of those contradictions, which have attended every other system. Accordingly the difficulty, which I have at present in my eye, is nowise contrary to my system; but only departs a little from that simplicity, which has been hitherto its principal force and beauty.

The passions of love and hatred are always followed by, or rather conjoined with benevolence and anger. It is this conjunction, which chiefly distinguishes these affections from pride and humility. For pride and humility are pure emotions in the soul,

unattended with any
desire, and not immediately exciting us to action. But
love and hatred
are not compleated within themselves, nor rest in that
emotion, which
they produce, but carry the mind to something farther.
Love is always
followed by a desire of the happiness of the person
beloved, and an
aversion to his misery: As hatred produces a desire of
the misery and
an aversion to the happiness of the person hated. So
remarkable a
difference betwixt these two sets of passions of pride
and humility,
love and hatred, which in so many other particulars
correspond to each
other, merits our attention.

The conjunction of this desire and aversion with love
and hatred may be
accounted for by two different hypotheses. The first is,
that love and
hatred have not only a cause, which excites them, viz,
pleasure and
pain; and an object, to which they are directed, viz, a
person or
thinking being; but likewise an end, which they
endeavour to attain,
viz, the happiness or misery of the person beloved or
hated; all which
views, mixing together, make only one passion. According
to this system,
love is nothing but the desire of happiness to another
person, and
hatred that of misery. The desire and aversion
constitute the very
nature of love and hatred. They are not only inseparable
but the same.

But this is evidently contrary to experience. For though
it is certain
we never love any person without desiring his happiness,
nor hate any
without wishing his misery, yet these desires arise only

upon the ideas
of the happiness or misery of our friend or enemy being
presented by the
imagination, and are not absolutely essential to love
and hatred. They
are the most obvious and natural sentiments of these
affections, but not
the only ones. The passions may express themselves in a
hundred ways,
and may subsist a considerable time, without our
reflecting on the
happiness or misery of their objects; which clearly
proves, that these
desires are not the same with love and hatred, nor make
any essential
part of them.

We may, therefore, infer, that benevolence and anger are
passions
different from love and hatred, and only conjoined with
them, by the
original constitution of the mind. As nature has given
to the body
certain appetites and inclinations, which she encreases,
diminishes,
or changes according to the situation of the fluids or
solids; she
has proceeded in the same manner with the mind.
According as we are
possessed with love or hatred, the correspondent desire
of the happiness
or misery of the person, who is the object of these
passions, arises
in the mind, and varies with each variation of these
opposite passions.
This order of things, abstractedly considered, is not
necessary. Love
and hatred might have been unattended with any such
desires, or their
particular connexion might have been entirely reversed.
If nature had
so pleased, love might have had the same effect as
hatred, and hatred as
love. I see no contradiction in supposing a desire of
producing misery

annexed to love, and of happiness to hatred. If the sensation of the passion and desire be opposite, nature could have altered the sensation without altering the tendency of the desire, and by that means made them compatible with each other.

SECT. VII OF COMPASSION

But though the desire of the happiness or misery of others, according to the love or hatred we bear them, be an arbitrary and original instinct implanted in our nature, we find it may be counterfeited on many occasions, and may arise from secondary principles. Pity is a concern for, and malice a joy in the misery of others, without any friendship or enmity to occasion this concern or joy. We pity even strangers, and such as are perfectly indifferent to us: And if our ill-will to another proceed from any harm or injury, it is not, properly speaking, malice, but revenge. But if we examine these affections of pity and malice we shall find them to be secondary ones, arising from original affections, which are varied by some particular turn of thought and imagination.

It will be easy to explain the passion of pity, from the precedent reasoning concerning sympathy. We have a lively idea of every thing related to us. All human creatures are related to us by resemblance. Their persons, therefore, their interests, their passions, their pains

and pleasures must strike upon us in a lively manner,
and produce an
emotion similar to the original one; since a lively idea
is easily
converted into an impression. If this be true in
general, it must be
more so of affliction and sorrow. These have always a
stronger and more
lasting influence than any pleasure or enjoyment.

A spectator of a tragedy passes through a long train of
grief, terror,
indignation, and other affections, which the poet
represents in the
persons he introduces. As many tragedies end happily,
and no excellent
one can be composed without some reverses of fortune,
the spectator must
sympathize with all these changes, and receive the
fictitious joy as
well as every other passion. Unless, therefore, it be
asserted, that
every distinct passion is communicated by a distinct
original
quality, and is not derived from the general principle
of sympathy
above-explained, it must be allowed, that all of them
arise from
that principle. To except any one in particular must
appear highly
unreasonable. As they are all first present in the mind
of one person,
and afterwards appear in the mind of another; and as the
manner of their
appearance, first as an idea, then as an impression, is
in every case
the same, the transition must arise from the same
principle. I am
at least sure, that this method of reasoning would be
considered as
certain, either in natural philosophy or common life.

Add to this, that pity depends, in a great measure, on
the contiguity,
and even sight of the object; which is a proof, that it

is derived from
the imagination. Not to mention that women and children
are most subject
to pity, as being most guided by that faculty. The same
infirmity, which
makes them faint at the sight of a naked sword, though
in the hands of
their best friend, makes them pity extremely those, whom
they find in
any grief or affliction. Those philosophers, who derive
this passion
from I know not what subtile reflections on the
instability of fortune,
and our being liable to the same miseries we behold,
will find this
observation contrary to them among a great many others,
which it were
easy to produce.

There remains only to take notice of a pretty remarkable
phaenomenon
of this passion; which is, that the communicated passion
of sympathy
sometimes acquires strength from the weakness of its
original, and even
arises by a transition from affections, which have no
existence.
Thus when a person obtains any honourable office, or
inherits a great
fortune, we are always the more rejoiced for his
prosperity, the
less sense he seems to have of it, and the greater
equanimity and
indifference he shews in its enjoyment. In like manner a
man, who is
not dejected by misfortunes, is the more lamented on
account of his
patience; and if that virtue extends so far as utterly
to remove all
sense of uneasiness, it still farther encreases our
compassion. When a
person of merit falls into what is vulgarly esteemed a
great misfortune,
we form a notion of his condition; and carrying our
fancy from the cause

to the usual effect, first conceive a lively idea of his sorrow, and then feel an impression of it, entirely over-looking that greatness of mind, which elevates him above such emotions, or only considering it so far as to encrease our admiration, love and tenderness for him. We find from experience, that such a degree of passion is usually connected with such a misfortune; and though there be an exception in the present case, yet the imagination is affected by the general rule, and makes us conceive a lively idea of the passion, or rather feel the passion itself, in the same manner, as if the person were really actuated by it. From the same principles we blush for the conduct of those, who behave themselves foolishly before us; and that though they shew no sense of shame, nor seem in the least conscious of their folly. All this proceeds from sympathy; but it is of a partial kind, and views its objects only on one side, without considering the other, which has a contrary effect, and would entirely destroy that emotion, which arises from the first appearance.

We have also instances, wherein an indifference and insensibility under misfortune encreases our concern for the misfortunate, even though the indifference proceed not from any virtue and magnanimity. It is an aggravation of a murder, that it was committed upon persons asleep and in perfect security; as historians readily observe of any infant prince, who is captive in the hands of his enemies, that he is the more worthy of compassion the less sensible he is of his miserable

condition. As we ourselves are here acquainted with the wretched situation of the person, it gives us a lively idea and sensation of sorrow, which is the passion that generally attends it; and this idea becomes still more lively, and the sensation more violent by a contrast with that security and indifference, which we observe in the person himself. A contrast of any kind never fails to affect the imagination, especially when presented by the subject; and it is on the imagination that pity entirely depends.

[Footnote 11. To prevent all ambiguity, I must observe, that where I oppose the imagination to the memory, I mean in general the faculty that presents our fainter ideas. In all other places, and particularly when it is opposed to the understanding, I understand the same faculty, excluding only our demonstrative and probable reasonings.]

SECT. VIII OF MALICE AND ENVY

We must now proceed to account for the passion of malice, which imitates the effects of hatred, as pity does those of love; and gives us a joy in the sufferings and miseries of others, without any offence or injury on their part.

So little are men governed by reason in their sentiments and opinions,

that they always judge more of objects by comparison than from their intrinsic worth and value. When the mind considers, or is accustomed to, any degree of perfection, whatever falls short of it, though really esteemable, has notwithstanding the same effect upon the passions; as what is defective and ill. This is an original quality of the soul, and similar to what we have every day experience of in our bodies. Let a man heat one hand and cool the other; the same water will, at the same time, seem both hot and cold, according to the disposition of the different organs. A small degree of any quality, succeeding a greater, produces the same sensation, as if less than it really is, and even sometimes as the opposite quality. Any gentle pain, that follows a violent one, seems as nothing, or rather becomes a pleasure; as on the other hand a violent pain, succeeding a gentle one, is doubly grievous and uneasy.

This no one can doubt of with regard to our passions and sensations. But there may arise some difficulty with regard to our ideas and objects.

When an object augments or diminishes to the eye or imagination from a comparison with others, the image and idea of the object are still the same, and are equally extended in the retina, and in the brain or organ of perception. The eyes refract the rays of light, and the optic nerves convey the images to the brain in the very same manner, whether a great or small object has preceded; nor does even the imagination alter the dimensions of its object on account of a comparison with others. The

question then is, how from the same impression and the same idea we can form such different judgments concerning the same object, and at one time admire its bulk, and at another despise its littleness. This variation in our judgments must certainly proceed from a variation in some perception; but as the variation lies not in the immediate impression or idea of the object, it must lie in some other impression, that accompanies it.

In order to explain this matter, I shall just touch upon two principles, one of which shall be more fully explained in the progress of this treatise; the other has been already accounted for. I believe it may safely be established for a general maxim, that no object is presented to the senses, nor image formed in the fancy, but what is accompanied with some emotion or movement of spirits proportioned to it; and however custom may make us insensible of this sensation and cause us to confound it with the object or idea, it will be easy, by careful and exact experiments, to separate and distinguish them. For to instance only in the cases of extension and number; it is evident, that any very bulky object, such as the ocean, an extended plain, a vast chain of mountains, a wide forest: or any very numerous collection of objects, such as an army, a fleet, a crowd, excite in the mind a sensible emotion; and that the admiration, which arises on the appearance of such objects, is one of the most lively pleasures, which human nature is capable of enjoying. Now as this admiration encreases or diminishes by the

encrease or
diminution of the objects, we may conclude, according to
our foregoing
[Book I. Part III. Sect. 15.] principles, that it is a
compound effect,
proceeding from the conjunction of the several effects,
which arise from
each part of the cause. Every part, then, of extension,
and every unite
of number has a separate emotion attending it; and
though that emotion
be not always agreeable, yet by its conjunction with
others, and by its
agitating the spirits to a just pitch, it contributes to
the production
of admiration, which is always agreeable. If this be
allowed with
respect to extension and number, we can make no
difficulty with respect
to virtue and vice, wit and folly, riches and poverty,
happiness and
misery, and other objects of that kind, which are always
attended with
an evident emotion.

The second principle I shall take notice of is that of
our adherence
to general rules; which has such a mighty influence on
the actions and
understanding, and is able to impose on the very senses.
When an object
is found by-experience to be always accompanied with
another; whenever
the first object appears, though changed in very
material circumstances;
we naturally fly to the conception of the second, and
form an idea of it
in as lively and strong a manner, as if we had infered
its existence by
the justest and most authentic conclusion of our
understanding. Nothing
can undeceive us, not even our senses, which, instead of
correcting this
false judgment, are often perverted by it, and seem to
authorize its

errors.

The conclusion I draw from these two principles, joined to the influence of comparison above-mentioned, is very short and decisive. Every object is attended with some emotion proportioned to it; a great object with a great emotion, a small object with a small emotion. A great object, therefore, succeeding a small one makes a great emotion succeed a small one. Now a great emotion succeeding a small one becomes still greater, and rises beyond its ordinary proportion. But as there is a certain degree of an emotion, which commonly attends every magnitude of an object; when the emotion encreases, we naturally imagine that the object has likewise encreased. The effect conveys our view to its usual cause, a certain degree of emotion to a certain magnitude of the object; nor do we consider, that comparison may change the emotion without changing anything in the object. Those who are acquainted with the metaphysical part of optics and know how we transfer the judgments and conclusions of the understanding to the senses, will easily conceive this whole operation.

But leaving this new discovery of an impression, that secretly attends every idea; we must at least allow of that principle, from whence the discovery arose, that objects appear greater or less by a comparison with others. We have so many instances of this, that it is impossible we can dispute its veracity; and it is from this principle I derive the passions of malice and envy.

It is evident we must receive a greater or less satisfaction or uneasiness from reflecting on our own condition and circumstances, in proportion as they appear more or less fortunate or unhappy, in proportion to the degrees of riches, and power, and merit, and reputation, which we think ourselves possess of. Now as we seldom judge of objects from their intrinsic value, but from our notions of them from a comparison with other objects; it follows, that according as we observe a greater or less share of happiness or misery in others, we must make an estimate of our own, and feel a consequent pain or pleasure. The misery of another gives us a more lively idea of our happiness, and his happiness of our misery. The former, therefore, produces delight; and the latter uneasiness.

Here then is a kind of pity reversed, or contrary sensations arising in the beholder, from those which are felt by the person, whom he considers. In general we may observe, that in all kinds of comparison an object makes us always receive from another, to which it is compared, a sensation contrary to what arises from itself in its direct and immediate survey. A small object makes a great one appear still greater. A great object makes a little one appear less. Deformity of itself produces uneasiness; but makes us receive new pleasure by its contrast with a beautiful object, whose beauty is augmented by it; as on the other hand, beauty, which of itself produces pleasure, makes us receive

a new pain by the contrast with any thing ugly, whose deformity it augments. The case, therefore, must be the same with happiness and misery. The direct survey of another's pleasure naturally gives us pleasure, and therefore produces pain when compared with our own. His pain, considered in itself, is painful to us, but augments the idea of our own happiness, and gives us pleasure.

Nor will it appear strange, that we may feel a reverse sensation from the happiness and misery of others; since we find the same comparison may give us a kind of malice against ourselves, and make us rejoice for our pains, and grieve for our pleasures. Thus the prospect of past pain is agreeable, when we are satisfied with our present condition; as on the other hand our past pleasures give us uneasiness, when we enjoy nothing at present equal to them. The comparison being the same, as when we reflect on the sentiments of others, must be attended with the same effects.

Nay a person may extend this malice against himself, even to his present fortune, and carry it so far as designedly to seek affliction, and increase his pains and sorrows. This may happen upon two occasions. First, Upon the distress and misfortune of a friend, or person dear to him. Secondly, Upon the feeling any remorse for a crime, of which he has been guilty. It is from the principle of comparison that both these irregular appetites for evil arise. A person, who indulges himself in any pleasure, while his friend lies under affliction,

feels the reflected uneasiness from his friend more sensibly by a comparison with the original pleasure, which he himself enjoys. This contrast, indeed, ought also to inliven the present pleasure. But as grief is here supposed to be the predominant passion, every addition falls to that side, and is swallowed up in it, without operating in the least upon the contrary affection. It is the same case with those penances, which men inflict on themselves for their past sins and failings. When a criminal reflects on the punishment he deserves, the idea of it is magnified by a comparison with his present ease and satisfaction; which forces him, in a manner, to seek uneasiness, in order to avoid so disagreeable a contrast.

This reasoning will account for the origin of envy as well as of malice. The only difference betwixt these passions lies in this, that envy is excited by some present enjoyment of another, which by comparison diminishes our idea of our own: Whereas malice is the unprovoked desire of producing evil to another, in order to reap a pleasure from the comparison. The enjoyment, which is the object of envy, is commonly superior to our own. A superiority naturally seems to overshadow us, and presents a disagreeable comparison. But even in the case of an inferiority, we still desire a greater distance, in order to augment, still more the idea of ourself. When this distance diminishes, the comparison is less to our advantage; and consequently gives us less

pleasure, and is even disagreeable. Hence arises that species of envy, which men feel, when they perceive their inferiors approaching or overtaking them in the pursuits of glory or happiness. In this envy we may see the effects of comparison twice repeated. A man, who compares himself to his inferior, receives a pleasure from the comparison: And when the inferiority decreases by the elevation of the inferior, what should only have been a decrease of pleasure, becomes a real pain, by a new comparison with its preceding condition.

It is worthy of observation concerning that envy, which arises from a superiority in others, that it is not the great disproportion betwixt ourself and another, which produces it; but on the contrary, our proximity. A common soldier bears no such envy to his general as to his serjeant or corporal; nor does an eminent writer meet with so great jealousy in common hackney scriblers, as in authors, that more nearly approach him. It may, indeed, be thought, that the greater the disproportion is, the greater must be the uneasiness from the comparison. But we may consider on the other hand, that the great disproportion cuts off the relation, and either keeps us from comparing ourselves with what is remote from us, or diminishes the effects of the comparison. Resemblance and proximity always produce a relation of ideas; and where you destroy these ties, however other accidents may bring two ideas together; as they have no bond or connecting quality to join them in the imagination; it is impossible they

can remain long
united, or have any considerable influence on each
other.

I have observed in considering the nature of ambition,
that the great
feel a double pleasure in authority from the comparison
of their own
condition with that of their slaves; and that this
comparison has a
double influence, because it is natural, and presented
by the subject.

When the fancy, in the comparison of objects, passes not
easily from the
one object to the other, the action of the mind is, in a
great measure,
broke, and the fancy, in considering the second object,
begins, as it
were, upon a new footing. The impression, which attends
every object,
seems not greater in that case by succeeding a less of
the same kind;
but these two impressions are distinct, and produce
their distinct
effects, without any communication together. The want of
relation in the
ideas breaks the relation of the impressions, and by
such a separation
prevents their mutual operation and influence.

To confirm this we may observe, that the proximity in
the degree of
merit is not alone sufficient to give rise to envy, but
must be assisted
by other relations. A poet is not apt to envy a
philosopher, or a poet
of a different kind, of a different nation, or of a
different age. All
these differences prevent or weaken the comparison, and
consequently the
passion.

This too is the reason, why all objects appear great or
little, merely
by a comparison with those of the same species. A

mountain neither
magnifies nor diminishes a horse in our eyes; but when a
Flemish and
a Welsh horse are seen together, the one appears greater
and the other
less, than when viewed apart.

From the same principle we may account for that remark
of historians,
that any party in a civil war always choose to call in a
foreign enemy
at any hazard rather than submit to their fellow-
citizens. Guicciardin
applies this remark to the wars in Italy, where the
relations betwixt
the different states are, properly speaking, nothing but
of name,
language, and contiguity. Yet even these relations, when
joined with
superiority, by making the comparison more natural, make
it likewise
more grievous, and cause men to search for some other
superiority, which
may be attended with no relation, and by that means may
have a less
sensible influence on the imagination. The mind quickly
perceives its
several advantages and disadvantages; and finding its
situation to be
most uneasy, where superiority is conjoined with other
relations, seeks
its repose as much as possible, by their separation, and
by breaking
that association of ideas, which renders the comparison
so much more
natural and efficacious. When it cannot break the
association, it feels
a stronger desire to remove the superiority; and this is
the reason why
travellers are commonly so lavish of their praises to
the Chinese and
Persians, at the same time, that they depreciate those
neighbouring
nations, which may stand upon a foot of rivalship with
their native

country.

These examples from history and common experience are rich and curious; but we may find parallel ones in the arts, which are no less remarkable. should an author compose a treatise, of which one part was serious and profound, another light and humorous, every one would condemn so strange a mixture, and would accuse him of the neglect of all rules of art and criticism. These rules of art are founded on the qualities of human nature; and the quality of human nature, which requires a consistency in every performance is that which renders the mind incapable of passing in a moment from one passion and disposition to a quite different one. Yet this makes us not blame Mr Prior for joining his Alma and his Solomon in the same volume; though that admirable poet has succeeded perfectly well in the gaiety of the one, as well as in the melancholy of the other. Even supposing the reader should peruse these two compositions without any interval, he would feel little or no difficulty in the change of passions: Why, but because he considers these performances as entirely different, and by this break in the ideas, breaks the progress of the affections, and hinders the one from influencing or contradicting the other?

An heroic and burlesque design, united in one picture, would be monstrous; though we place two pictures of so opposite a character in the same chamber, and even close by each other, without any scruple or difficulty.

In a word, no ideas can affect each other, either by comparison, or by the passions they separately produce, unless they be united together by some relation, which may cause an easy transition of the ideas, and consequently of the emotions or impressions, attending the ideas; and may preserve the one impression in the passage of the imagination to the object of the other. This principle is very remarkable, because it is analogous to what we have observed both concerning the understanding and the passions. Suppose two objects to be presented to me, which are not connected by any kind of relation. Suppose that each of these objects separately produces a passion; and that these two passions are in themselves contrary: We find from experience, that the want of relation in the objects or ideas hinders the natural contrariety of the passions, and that the break in the transition of the thought removes the affections from each other, and prevents their opposition. It is the same case with comparison; and from both these phaenomena we may safely conclude, that the relation of ideas must forward the transition of impressions; since its absence alone is able to prevent it, and to separate what naturally should have operated upon each other. When the absence of an object or quality removes any usual or natural effect, we may certainly conclude that its presence contributes to the production of the effect.

SECT. IX OF THE MIXTURE OF BENEVOLENCE AND ANGER WITH
COMPASSION AND MALICE

Thus we have endeavoured to account for pity and malice. Both these affections arise from the imagination, according to the light, in which it places its object. When our fancy considers directly the sentiments of others, and enters deep into them, it makes us sensible of all the passions it surveys, but in a particular manner of grief or sorrow. On the contrary, when we compare the sentiments of others to our own, we feel a sensation directly opposite to the original one, viz. a joy from the grief of others, and a grief from their joy. But these are only the first foundations of the affections of pity and malice. Other passions are afterwards confounded with them. There is always a mixture of love or tenderness with pity, and of hatred or anger with malice. But it must be confessed, that this mixture seems at first sight to be contradictory to my system. For as pity is an uneasiness, and malice a joy, arising from the misery of others, pity should naturally, as in all other cases, produce hatred; and malice, love. This contradiction I endeavour to reconcile, after the following manner.

In order to cause a transition of passions, there is required a double relation of impressions and ideas, nor is one relation sufficient to produce this effect. But that we may understand the full force of this double relation, we must consider, that it is not the present sensation

alone or momentary pain or pleasure, which determines the character of any passion, but the whole bent or tendency of it from the beginning to the end. One impression may be related to another, not only when their sensations are resembling, as we have all along supposed in the preceding cases; but also when their impulses or directions are similar and correspondent. This cannot take place with regard to pride and humility; because these are only pure sensations, without any direction or tendency to action. We are, therefore, to look for instances of this peculiar relation of impressions only in such affections, as are attended with a certain appetite or desire; such as those of love and hatred.

Benevolence or the appetite, which attends love, is a desire of the happiness of the person beloved, and an aversion to his misery; as anger or the appetite, which attends hatred, is a desire of the misery of the person hated, and an aversion to his happiness. A desire, therefore, of the happiness of another, and aversion to his misery, are similar to benevolence; and a desire of his misery and aversion to his happiness are correspondent to anger. Now pity is a desire of happiness to another, and aversion to his misery; as malice is the contrary appetite. Pity, then, is related to benevolence; and malice to anger: And as benevolence has been already found to be connected with love, by a natural and original quality, and anger with hatred; it is by this chain the passions of pity and malice are connected with love

and hatred.

This hypothesis is founded on sufficient experience. A man, who from any motives has entertained a resolution of performing an action, naturally runs into every other view or motive, which may fortify that resolution, and give it authority and influence on the mind. To confirm us in any design, we search for motives drawn from interest, from honour, from duty. What wonder, then, that pity and benevolence, malice, and anger, being the same desires arising from different principles, should so totally mix together as to be undistinguishable? As to the connexion betwixt benevolence and love, anger and hatred, being original and primary, it admits of no difficulty.

We may add to this another experiment, viz, that benevolence and anger, and consequently love and hatred, arise when our happiness or misery have any dependance on the happiness or misery of another person, without any farther relation. I doubt not but this experiment will appear so singular as to excuse us for stopping a moment to consider it.

Suppose, that two persons of the same trade should seek employment in a town, that is not able to maintain both, it is plain the success of one is perfectly incompatible with that of the other, and that whatever is for the interest of either is contrary to that of his rival, and so vice versa. Suppose again, that two merchants, though living in different parts of the world, should enter into co-partnership together, the

advantage or loss of one becomes immediately the advantage or loss of his partner, and the same fortune necessarily attends both. Now it is evident, that in the first case, hatred always follows upon the contrariety of interests; as in the second, love arises from their union. Let us consider to what principle we can ascribe these passions.

It is plain they arise not from the double relations of impressions and ideas, if we regard only the present sensation. For taking the first case of rivalry; though the pleasure and advantage of an antagonist necessarily causes my pain and loss, yet to counter-balance this, his pain and loss causes my pleasure and advantage; and supposing him to be unsuccessful, I may by this means receive from him a superior degree of satisfaction. In the same manner the success of a partner rejoices me, but then his misfortunes afflict me in an equal proportion; and it is easy to imagine, that the latter sentiment may in many cases preponderate. But whether the fortune of a rival or partner be good or bad, I always hate the former and love the latter.

This love of a partner cannot proceed from the relation or connexion betwixt us; in the same manner as I love a brother or countryman. A rival has almost as close a relation to me as a partner. For as the pleasure of the latter causes my pleasure, and his pain my pain; so the pleasure of the former causes my pain, and his pain my pleasure. The connexion, then, of cause and effect is the same in both cases; and

if in the one case, the cause and effect have a farther relation of resemblance, they have that of contrariety in the other; which, being also a species of resemblance, leaves the matter pretty equal.

The only explication, then, we can give of this phaenomenon is derived from that principle of a parallel direction above-mentioned. Our concern for our own interest gives us a pleasure in the pleasure, and a pain in the pain of a partner, after the same manner as by sympathy we feel a sensation correspondent to those, which appear in any person, who is present with us. On the other hand, the same concern for our interest makes us feel a pain in the pleasure, and a pleasure in the pain of a rival; and in short the same contrariety of sentiments as arises from comparison and malice. Since, therefore, a parallel direction of the affections, proceeding from interest, can give rise to benevolence or anger, no wonder the same parallel direction, derived from sympathy and from comparison, should have the same effect.

In general we may observe, that it is impossible to do good to others, from whatever motive, without feeling some touches of kindness and good-will towards them; as the injuries we do, not only cause hatred in the person, who suffers them, but even in ourselves. These phaenomena, indeed, may in part be accounted for from other principles.

But here there occurs a considerable objection, which it will be necessary to examine before we proceed any farther. I

have endeavoured
to prove, that power and riches, or poverty and
meanness; which give
rise to love or hatred, without producing any original
pleasure or
uneasiness; operate upon us by means of a secondary
sensation derived
from a sympathy with that pain or satisfaction, which
they produce in
the person, who possesses them. From a sympathy with his
pleasure there
arises love; from that with his uneasiness, hatred. But
it is a maxim,
which I have just now established, and which is
absolutely necessary to
the explication of the phaenomena of pity and malice,
that it is not the
present sensation or momentary pain or pleasure, which
determines the
character of any passion, but the general bent or
tendency of it from
the beginning to the end. For this reason, pity or a
sympathy with
pain produces love, and that because it interests us in
the fortunes of
others, good or bad, and gives us a secondary sensation
correspondent
to the primary; in which it has the same influence with
love and
benevolence. Since then this rule holds good in one
case, why does it
not prevail throughout, and why does sympathy in
uneasiness ever produce
any passion beside good-will and kindness? Is it
becoming a philosopher
to alter his method of reasoning, and run from one
principle to its
contrary, according to the particular phaenomenon, which
he would
explain?

I have mentioned two different causes, from which a
transition of
passion may arise, viz, a double relation of ideas and
impressions, and

what is similar to it, a conformity in the tendency and direction of any two desires, which arise from different principles. Now I assert, that when a sympathy with uneasiness is weak, it produces hatred or contempt by the former cause; when strong, it produces love or tenderness by the latter. This is the solution of the foregoing difficulty, which seems so urgent; and this is a principle founded on such evident arguments, that we ought to have established it, even though it were not necessary to the explication of any phaenomenon.

It is certain, that sympathy is not always limited to the present moment, but that we often feel by communication the pains and pleasures of others, which are not in being, and which we only anticipate by the force of imagination. For supposing I saw a person perfectly unknown to me, who, while asleep in the fields, was in danger of being trod under foot by horses, I should immediately run to his assistance; and in this I should be actuated by the same principle of sympathy, which makes me concerned for the present sorrows of a stranger. The bare mention of this is sufficient. Sympathy being nothing but a lively idea converted into an impression, it is evident, that, in considering the future possible or probable condition of any person, we may enter into it with so vivid a conception as to make it our own concern; and by that means be sensible of pains and pleasures, which neither belong to ourselves, nor at the present instant have any real existence.

But however we may look forward to the future in

sympathizing with any person, the extending of our sympathy depends in a great measure upon our sense of his present condition. It is a great effort of imagination, to form such lively ideas even of the present sentiments of others as to feel these very sentiments; but it is impossible we could extend this sympathy to the future, without being aided by some circumstance in the present, which strikes upon us in a lively manner. When the present misery of another has any strong influence upon me, the vivacity of the conception is not confined merely to its immediate object, but diffuses its influence over all the related ideas, and gives me a lively notion of all the circumstances of that person, whether past, present, or future; possible, probable or certain. By means of this lively notion I am interested in them; take part with them; and feel a sympathetic motion in my breast, conformable to whatever I imagine in his. If I diminish the vivacity of the first conception, I diminish that of the related ideas; as pipes can convey no more water than what arises at the fountain. By this diminution I destroy the future prospect, which is necessary to interest me perfectly in the fortune of another. I may feel the present impression, but carry my sympathy no farther, and never transfuse the force of the first conception into my ideas of the related objects. If it be another's misery, which is presented in this feeble manner, I receive it by communication, and am affected with all the passions related to it: But as I am not so much interested as to

concern myself in his good fortune, as well as his bad, I never feel the extensive sympathy, nor the passions related to it.

Now in order to know what passions are related to these different kinds of sympathy, we must consider, that benevolence is an original pleasure arising from the pleasure of the person beloved, and a pain proceeding from his pain: From which correspondence of impressions there arises a subsequent desire of his pleasure, and aversion to his pain. In order, then, to make a passion run parallel with benevolence, it is requisite we should feel these double impressions, correspondent to those of the person, whom we consider; nor is any one of them alone sufficient for that purpose. When we sympathize only with one impression, and that a painful one, this sympathy is related to anger and to hatred, upon account of the uneasiness it conveys to us. But as the extensive or limited sympathy depends upon the force of the first sympathy; it follows, that the passion of love or hatred depends upon the same principle. A strong impression, when communicated, gives a double tendency of the passions; which is related to benevolence and love by a similarity of direction; however painful the first impression might have been. A weak impression, that is painful, is related to anger and hatred by the resemblance of sensations. Benevolence, therefore, arises from a great degree of misery, or any degree strongly sympathized with: Hatred or contempt from a small degree, or one weakly sympathized with; which is the principle I intended to prove and explain.

Nor have we only our reason to trust to for this principle, but also experience. A certain degree of poverty produces contempt; but a degree beyond causes compassion and good-will. We may undervalue a peasant or servant; but when the misery of a beggar appears very great, or is painted in very lively colours, we sympathize with him in his afflictions; and feel in our heart evident touches of pity and benevolence. The same object causes contrary passions according to its different degrees. The passions, therefore, must depend upon principles, that operate in such certain degrees, according to my hypothesis. The increase of the sympathy has evidently the same effect as the increase of the misery.

A barren or desolate country always seems ugly and disagreeable, and commonly inspires us with contempt for the inhabitants. This deformity, however, proceeds in a great measure from a sympathy with the inhabitants, as has been already observed; but it is only a weak one, and reaches no farther than the immediate sensation, which is disagreeable. The view of a city in ashes conveys benevolent sentiments; because we there enter so deep into the interests of the miserable inhabitants, as to wish for their prosperity, as well as feel their adversity.

But though the force of the impression generally produces pity and benevolence, it is certain, that by being carryed too far it ceases

to have that effect. This, perhaps, may be worth our notice. When the uneasiness is either small in itself, or remote from us, it engages not the imagination, nor is able to convey an equal concern for the future and contingent good, as for the present and real evil. Upon its acquiring greater force, we become so interested in the concerns of the person, as to be sensible both of his good and had fortune; and from that compleat sympathy there arises pity and benevolence. But it will easily be imagined, that where the present evil strikes with more than ordinary force, it may entirely engage our attention, and prevent that double sympathy, above-mentioned. Thus we find, that though every one, but especially women, are apt to contract a kindness for criminals, who go to the scaffold, and readily imagine them to be uncommonly handsome and wellshaped; yet one, who is present at the cruel execution of the rack, feels no such tender emotions; but is in a manner overcome with horror, and has no leisure to temper this uneasy sensation by any opposite sympathy.

But the instance, which makes the most clearly for my hypothesis, is that wherein by a change of the objects we separate the double sympathy even from a midling degree of the passion; in which case we find, that pity, instead of producing love and tenderness as usual, always gives rise to the contrary affection. When we observe a person in misfortunes, we are affected with pity and love; but the author of that misfortune becomes the object of our strongest hatred, and is the

more detested in
proportion to the degree of our compassion. Now for what
reason should
the same passion of pity produce love to the person, who
suffers the
misfortune, and hatred to the person, who causes it;
unless it be
because in the latter case the author bears a relation
only to the
misfortune; whereas in considering the sufferer we carry
our view on
every side, and wish for his prosperity, as well as are
sensible of his
affliction?

I. shall just observe, before I leave the present
subject, that this
phaenomenon of the double sympathy, and its tendency to
cause love, may
contribute to the production of the kindness, which we
naturally bear
our relations and acquaintance. Custom and relation make
us enter deeply
into the sentiments of others; and whatever fortune we
suppose to attend
them, is rendered present to us by the imagination, and
operates as if
originally our own. We rejoice in their pleasures, and
grieve for their
sorrows, merely from the force of sympathy. Nothing that
concerns them
is indifferent to us; and as this correspondence of
sentiments is the
natural attendant of love, it readily produces that
affection.

SECT. X OF RESPECT AND CONTEMPT

There now remains only to explain the passion of respect
and contempt,
along with the amorous affection, in order to understand

all the
passions which have any mixture of love or hatred. Let
us begin with
respect and contempt.

In considering the qualities and circumstances of
others, we may either
regard them as they really are in themselves; or may
make a comparison
betwixt them and our own qualities and circumstances; or
may join these
two methods of consideration. The good qualities of
others, from the
first point of view, produce love; from the second,
humility; and from
the third, respect; which is a mixture of these two
passions. Their
bad qualities, after the same manner, cause either
hatred, or pride, or
contempt, according to the light in which we survey
them.

That there is a mixture of pride in contempt, and of
humility
in respect, is, I think, too evident, from their very
feeling or
appearance, to require any particular proof. That this
mixture arises
from a tacit comparison of the person contemned or
respected with
ourselves is no less evident. The same man may cause
either respect,
love, or contempt by his condition and talents,
according as the person,
who considers him, from his inferior becomes his equal
or superior. In
changing the point of view, though the object may remain
the same,
its proportion to ourselves entirely alters; which is
the cause of an
alteration in the passions. These passions, therefore,
arise from our
observing the proportion; that is, from a comparison.

I have already observed, that the mind has a much

stronger propensity
to pride than to humility, and have endeavoured, from
the principles
of human nature, to assign a cause for this phaenomenon.
Whether my
reasoning be received or not, the phaenomenon is
undisputed, and appears
in many instances. Among the rest, it is the reason why
there is a much
greater mixture of pride in contempt, than of humility
in respect, and
why we are more elevated with the view of one below us,
than mortified
with the presence of one above us. Contempt or scorn has
so strong a
tincture of pride, that there scarce is any other
passion discernable:
Whereas in esteem or respect, love makes a more
considerable ingredient
than humility. The passion of vanity is so prompt, that
it rouzes at the
least call; while humility requires a stronger impulse
to make it exert
itself.

But here it may reasonably be asked, why this mixture
takes place only
in some cases, and appears not on every occasion. All
those objects,
which cause love, when placed on another person, are the
causes of
pride, when transfered to ourselves; and consequently
ought to be causes
of humility, as well as love, while they belong to
others, and are only
compared to those, which we ourselves possess. In like
manner every
quality, which, by being directly considered, produces
hatred, ought
always to give rise to pride by comparison, and by a
mixture of these
passions of hatred and pride ought to excite contempt or
scorn. The
difficulty then is, why any objects ever cause pure love
or hatred, and

produce not always the mixt passions of respect and contempt.

I have supposed all along, that the passions of love and pride, and those of humility and hatred are similar in their sensations, and that the two former are always agreeable, and the two latter painful.

But though this be universally true, it is observable, that the two agreeable, as well as the two painful passions, have some difference, and even contrarieties, which distinguish them. Nothing invigorates and exalts the mind equally with pride and vanity; though at the same time love or tenderness is rather found to weaken and infeeble it. The same difference is observable betwixt the uneasy passions. Anger and hatred bestow a new force on all our thoughts and actions; while humility and shame deject and discourage us. Of these qualities of the passions, it will be necessary to form a distinct idea. Let us remember, that pride and hatred invigorate the soul; and love and humility infeeble it.

From this it follows, that though the conformity betwixt love and hatred in the agreeableness of their sensation makes them always be excited by the same objects, yet this other contrariety is the reason, why they are excited in very different degrees. Genius and learning are pleasant and magnificent objects, and by both these circumstances are adapted to pride and vanity; but have a relation to love by their pleasure only.

Ignorance and simplicity are disagreeable and mean, which in the same manner gives them a double connexion with humility, and

a single one
with hatred. We may, therefore, consider it as certain,
that though
the same object always produces love and pride, humility
and hatred,
according to its different situations, yet it seldom
produces either the
two former or the two latter passions, in the same
proportion.

It is here we must seek for a solution of the difficulty
above-mentioned, why any object ever excites pure love
or hatred, and
does not always produce respect or contempt, by a
mixture of humility
or pride. No quality in another gives rise to humility
by comparison,
unless it would have produced pride by being placed in
ourselves; and
vice versa no object excites pride by comparison, unless
it would have
produced humility by the direct survey. This is evident,
objects always
produce by comparison a sensation directly contrary to
their original
one. Suppose, therefore, an object to be presented,
which is peculiarly
fitted to produce love, but imperfectly to excite pride;
this object,
belonging to another, gives rise directly to a great
degree of love, but
to a small one of humility by comparison; and
consequently that latter
passion is scarce felt in the compound, nor is able to
convert the love
into respect. This is the case with good nature, good
humour, facility,
generosity, beauty, and many other qualities. These have
a peculiar
aptitude to produce love in others; but not so great a
tendency to
excite pride in ourselves: For which reason the view of
them, as
belonging to another person, produces pure love, with
but a small

mixture of humility and respect. It is easy to extend the same reasoning to the opposite passions.

Before we leave this subject, it may not be amiss to account for a pretty curious phaenomenon, viz, why we commonly keep at a distance such as we contemn, and allow not our inferiors to approach too near even in place and situation. It has already been observed, that almost every kind of idea is attended with some emotion, even the ideas of number and extension, much more those of such objects as are esteemed of consequence in life, and fix our attention. It is not with entire indifference we can survey either a rich man or a poor one, but must feel some faint touches at least, of respect in the former case, and of contempt in the latter. These two passions are contrary to each other; but in order to make this contrariety be felt, the objects must be someway related; otherwise the affections are totally separate and distinct, and never encounter. The relation takes place wherever the persons become contiguous; which is a general reason why we are uneasy at seeing such disproportioned objects, as a rich man and a poor one, a nobleman and a porter, in that situation.

This uneasiness, which is common to every spectator, must be more sensible to the superior; and that because the near approach of the inferior is regarded as a piece of ill-breeding, and shews that he is not sensible of the disproportion, and is no way affected by it. A sense of superiority in another breeds in all men an

inclination to keep
themselves at a distance from him, and determines them
to redouble the
marks of respect and reverence, when they are obliged to
approach him;
and where they do not observe that conduct, it is a
proof they are not
sensible of his superiority. From hence too it proceeds,
that any great
difference in the degrees of any quality is called a
distance by a
common metaphor, which, however trivial it may appear,
is founded on
natural principles of the imagination. A great
difference inclines us to
produce a distance. The ideas of distance and difference
are, therefore,
connected together. Connected ideas are readily taken
for each other;
and this is in general the source of the metaphor, as we
shall have
occasion to observe afterwards.

SECT. XI OF THE AMOROUS PASSION, OR LOVE BETWIXT THE SEXES

Of all the compound passions, which proceed from a
mixture of love and
hatred with other affections, no one better deserves our
attention, than
that love, which arises betwixt the sexes, as well on
account of its
force and violence, as those curious principles of
philosophy, for
which it affords us an uncontestable argument. It is
plain, that this
affection, in its most natural state, is derived from
the conjunction
of three different impressions or passions, viz. The
pleasing sensation
arising from beauty; the bodily appetite for generation;

and a generous kindness or good-will. The origin of kindness from beauty may be explained from the foregoing reasoning. The question is how the bodily appetite is excited by it.

The appetite of generation, when confined to a certain degree, is evidently of the pleasant kind, and has a strong connexion with, all the agreeable emotions. Joy, mirth, vanity, and kindness are all incentives to this desire; as well as music, dancing, wine, and good cheer. On the other hand, sorrow, melancholy, poverty, humility are destructive of it. From this quality it is easily conceived why it should be connected with the sense of beauty.

But there is another principle that contributes to the same effect. I have observed that the parallel direction of the desires is a real relation, and no less than a resemblance in their sensation, produces a connexion among them. That we may fully comprehend the extent of this relation, we must consider, that any principal desire may be attended with subordinate ones, which are connected with it, and to which if other desires are parallel, they are by that means related to the principal one. Thus hunger may oft be considered as the primary inclination of the soul, and the desire of approaching the meat as the secondary one; since it is absolutely necessary to the satisfying that appetite. If an object, therefore, by any separate qualities, inclines us to approach the meat, it naturally increases our appetite; as on the

contrary, whatever inclines us to set our victuals at a distance, is contradictory to hunger, and diminishes our inclination to them. Now it is plain that beauty has the first effect, and deformity the second: Which is the reason why the former gives us a keener appetite for our victuals, and the latter is sufficient to disgust us at the most savoury dish that cookery has invented. All this is easily applicable to the appetite for generation.

From these two relations, viz, resemblance and a parallel desire, there arises such a connexion betwixt the sense of beauty, the bodily appetite, and benevolence, that they become in a manner inseparable: And we find from experience that it is indifferent which of them advances first; since any of them is almost sure to be attended with the related affections. One, who is inflamed with lust, feels at least a momentary kindness towards the object of it, and at the same time fancies her more beautiful than ordinary; as there are many, who begin with kindness and esteem for the wit and merit of the person, and advance from that to the other passions. But the most common species of love is that which first arises from beauty, and afterwards diffuses itself into kindness and into the bodily appetite. Kindness or esteem, and the appetite to generation, are too remote to unite easily together. The one is, perhaps, the most refined passion of the soul; the other the most gross and vulgar. The love of beauty is placed in a just medium betwixt them, and partakes of both their natures: From whence it

proceeds, that it is
so singularly fitted to produce both.

This account of love is not peculiar to my system, but
is unavoidable
on any hypothesis. The three affections, which compose
this passion,
are evidently distinct, and has each of them its
distinct object. It is
certain, therefore, that it is only by their relation
they produce
each other. But the relation of passions is not alone
sufficient. It is
likewise necessary, there should be a relation of ideas.
The beauty
of one person never inspires us with love for another.
This then is a
sensible proof of the double relation of impressions and
ideas. From one
instance so evident as this we may form a judgment of
the rest.

This may also serve in another view to illustrate what I
have insisted
on concerning the origin of pride and humility, love and
hatred. I have
observed, that though self be the object of the first
set of passions,
and some other person of the second, yet these objects
cannot alone be
the causes of the passions; as having each of them a
relation to two
contrary affections, which must from the very first
moment destroy
each other. Here then is the situation of the mind, as I
have already
described it. It has certain organs naturally fitted to
produce a
passion; that passion, when produced, naturally turns
the view to a
certain object. But this not being sufficient to produce
the passion,
there is required some other emotion, which by a double
relation of
impressions and ideas may set these principles in

action, and bestow on them their first impulse. This situation is still more remarkable with regard to the appetite of generation. Sex is not only the object, but also the cause of the appetite. We not only turn our view to it, when actuated by that appetite; but the reflecting on it suffices to excite the appetite. But as this cause loses its force by too great frequency, it is necessary it should be quickened by some new impulse; and that impulse we find to arise from the beauty of the person; that is, from a double relation of impressions and ideas. Since this double relation is necessary where an affection has both a distinct cause, and object, how much more so, where it has only a distinct object, without any determinate cause?

SECT. XII OF THE LOVE AND HATRED OF ANIMALS

But to pass from the passions of love and hatred, and from their mixtures and compositions, as they appear in man, to the same affections, as they display themselves in brutes; we may observe, not only that love and hatred are common to the whole sensitive creation, but likewise that their causes, as above-explained, are of so simple a nature, that they may easily be supposed to operate on mere animals. There is no force of reflection or penetration required. Every thing is conducted by springs and principles, which are not peculiar to man, or any one species of

animals. The conclusion from this is obvious in favour of the foregoing system.

Love in animals, has not for its only object animals of the same species, but extends itself farther, and comprehends almost every sensible and thinking being. A dog naturally loves a man above his own species, and very commonly meets with a return of affection.

As animals are but little susceptible either of the pleasures or pains of the imagination, they can judge of objects only by the sensible good or evil, which they produce, and from that must regulate their affections towards them. Accordingly we find, that by benefits or injuries we produce their love or hatred; and that by feeding and cherishing any animal, we quickly acquire his affections; as by beating and abusing him we never fail to draw on us his enmity and ill-will.

Love in beasts is not caused so much by relation, as in our species; and that because their thoughts are not so active as to trace relations, except in very obvious instances. Yet it is easy to remark, that on some occasions it has a considerable influence upon them. Thus acquaintance, which has the same effect as relation, always produces love in animals either to men or to each other. For the same reason any likeness among them is the source of affection. An ox confined to a park with horses, will naturally join their company, if I may so speak, but always leaves it to enjoy that of his own species, where he has the

choice of both.

The affection of parents to their young proceeds from a peculiar instinct in animals, as well as in our species.

It is evident, that sympathy, or the communication of passions, takes place among animals, no less than among men. Fear, anger, courage, and other affections are frequently communicated from one animal to another, without their knowledge of that cause, which produced the original passion. Grief likewise is received by sympathy; and produces almost all the same consequences, and excites the same emotions as in our species.

The howlings and lamentations of a dog produce a sensible concern in his fellows. And it is remarkable, that though almost all animals use in play the same member, and nearly the same action as in fighting; a lion, a tyger, a cat their paws; an ox his horns; a dog his teeth; a horse his heels: Yet they most carefully avoid harming their companion, even though they have nothing to fear from his resentment; which is an evident proof of the sense brutes have of each other's pain and pleasure.

Every one has observed how much more dogs are animated when they hunt in a pack, than when they pursue their game apart; and it is evident this can proceed from nothing but from sympathy. It is also well known to hunters, that this effect follows in a greater degree, and even in too great a degree, where two packs, that are strangers to each other, are joined together. We might, perhaps, be at a loss to

explain this
phenomenon, if we had not experience of a similar in
ourselves.

Envy and malice are passions very remarkable in animals.
They are
perhaps more common than pity; as requiring less effort
of thought and
imagination.

PART III OF THE WILL AND DIRECT PASSIONS

SECT. I OF LIBERTY AND NECESSITY

We come now to explain the direct passions, or the
impressions, which
arise immediately from good or evil, from pain or
pleasure. Of this kind
are, desire and aversion, grief and joy, hope and fear.

Of all the immediate effects of pain and pleasure, there
is none more
remarkable than the WILL; and though properly speaking,
it be not
comprehended among the passions, yet as the full
understanding of its
nature and properties, is necessary to the explanation
of them, we shall
here make it the subject of our enquiry. I desire it may
be observed,
that by the will, I mean nothing but the internal
impression we feel and
are conscious of, when we knowingly give rise to any new
motion of our
body, or new perception of our mind. This impression,
like the preceding
ones of pride and humility, love and hatred, it is

impossible to define,
and needless to describe any farther; for which reason
we shall cut off
all those definitions and distinctions, with which
philosophers are wont
to perplex rather than clear up this question; and
entering at first
upon the subject, shall examine that long disputed
question concerning
liberty and necessity; which occurs so naturally in
treating of the
will.

It is universally acknowledged, that the operations of
external bodies
are necessary, and that in the communication of their
motion, in their
attraction, and mutual cohesion, there are nor the least
traces of
indifference or liberty. Every object is determined by
an absolute fate
to a certain degree and direction of its motion, and can
no more depart
from that precise line, in which it moves, than it can
convert itself
into an angel, or spirit, or any superior substance. The
actions,
therefore, of matter are to be regarded as instances of
necessary
actions; and whatever is in this respect on the same
footing with
matter, must be acknowledged to be necessary. That we
may know whether
this be the case with the actions of the mind, we shall
begin with
examining matter, and considering on what the idea of a
necessity in its
operations are founded, and why we conclude one body or
action to be the
infallible cause of another.

It has been observed already, that in no single instance
the ultimate
connexion of any objects is discoverable, either by our
senses or

reason, and that we can never penetrate so far into the essence and construction of bodies, as to perceive the principle, on which their mutual influence depends. It is their constant union alone, with which we are acquainted; and it is from the constant union the necessity arises. If objects had nor an uniform and regular conjunction with each other, we should never arrive at any idea of cause and effect; and even after all, the necessity, which enters into that idea, is nothing but a determination of the mind to pass from one object to its usual attendant, and infer the existence of one from that of the other. Here then are two particulars, which we are to consider as essential to necessity, viz, the constant union and the inference of the mind; and wherever we discover these we must acknowledge a necessity. As the actions of matter have no necessity, but what is derived from these circumstances, and it is not by any insight into the essence of bodies we discover their connexion, the absence of this insight, while the union and inference remain, will never, in any case, remove the necessity. It is the observation of the union, which produces the inference; for which reason it might be thought sufficient, if we prove a constant union in the actions of the mind, in order to establish the inference, along with the necessity of these actions. But that I may bestow a greater force on my reasoning, I shall examine these particulars apart, and shall first prove from experience that our actions have a constant union with our motives,

tempers, and
circumstances, before I consider the inferences we draw
from it.

To this end a very slight and general view of the common
course of human
affairs will be sufficient. There is no light, in which
we can take
them, that does nor confirm this principle. Whether we
consider mankind
according to the difference of sexes, ages, governments,
conditions,
or methods of education; the same uniformity and regular
operation
of natural principles are discernible. Uke causes still
produce like
effects; in the same manner as in the mutual action of
the elements and
powers of nature.

There are different trees, which regularly produce
fruit, whose relish
is different from each other; and this regularity will
be admitted as
an instance of necessity and causes in external bodies.
But are the
products of Guienne and of Champagne more regularly
different than the
sentiments, actions, and passions of the two sexes, of
which the one are
distinguished by their force and maturity, the other by
their delicacy
and softness?

Are the changes of our body from infancy to old age more
regular and
certain than those of our mind and conduct? And would a
man be more
ridiculous, who would expect that an infant of four
years old will raise
a weight of three hundred pound, than one, who from a
person of the
same age would look for a philosophical reasoning, or a
prudent and
well-concerted action?

We must certainly allow, that the cohesion of the parts of matter arises from natural and necessary principles, whatever difficulty we may find in explaining them: And for a reason we must allow, that human society is founded on like principles; and our reason in the latter case, is better than even that in the former; because we not only observe, that men always seek society, but can also explain the principles, on which this universal propensity is founded. For is it more certain, that two flat pieces of marble will unite together, than that two young savages of different sexes will copulate? Do the children arise from this copulation more uniformly, than does the parents care for their safety and preservation? And after they have arrived at years of discretion by the care of their parents, are the inconveniencies attending their separation more certain than their foresight of these inconveniencies and their care of avoiding them by a close union and confederacy?

The skin, pores, muscles, and nerves of a day-labourer are different from those of a man of quality: So are his sentiments, actions and manners. The different stations of life influence the whole fabric, external and internal; and different stations arise necessarily, because uniformly, from the necessary and uniform principles of human nature. Men cannot live without society, and cannot be associated without government. Government makes a distinction of property, and establishes the different ranks of men. This produces industry,

traffic,
manufactures, law-suits, war, leagues, alliances,
voyages, travels,
cities, fleets, ports, and all those other actions and
objects, which
cause such a diversity, and at the same time maintain
such an uniformity
in human life.

Should a traveller, returning from a far country, tell
us, that he had
seen a climate in the fiftieth degree of northern
latitude, where all
the fruits ripen and come to perfection in the winter,
and decay in the
summer, after the same manner as in England they are
produced and decay
in the contrary seasons, he would find few so credulous
as to believe
him. I am apt to think a traveller would meet with as
little credit, who
should inform us of people exactly of the same character
with those in
Plato's republic on the one hand, or those in Hobbes's
Leviathan on the
other. There is a general course of nature in human
actions, as well as
in the operations of the sun and the climate. There are
also characters
peculiar to different nations and particular persons, as
well as
common to mankind. The knowledge of these characters is
founded on the
observation of an uniformity in the actions, that flow
from them; and
this uniformity forms the very essence of necessity.

I can imagine only one way of eluding this argument,
which is by denying
that uniformity of human actions, on which it is
founded. As long as
actions have a constant union and connexion with the
situation and
temper of the agent, however we may in words refuse to
acknowledge the

necessity, we really allow the thing. Now some may, perhaps, find a pretext to deny this regular union and connexion. For what is more capricious than human actions? What more inconstant than the desires of man? And what creature departs more widely, not only from right reason, but from his own character and disposition? An hour, a moment is sufficient to make him change from one extreme to another, and overturn what cost the greatest pain and labour to establish. Necessity is regular and certain. Human conduct is irregular and uncertain. The one, therefore, proceeds not from the other.

To this I reply, that in judging of the actions of men we must proceed upon the same maxims, as when we reason concerning external objects. When any phaenomena are constantly and invariably conjoined together, they acquire such a connexion in the imagination, that it passes from one to the other, without any doubt or hesitation. But below this there are many inferior degrees of evidence and probability, nor does one single contrariety of experiment entirely destroy all our reasoning. The mind ballances the contrary experiments, and deducting the inferior from the superior, proceeds with that degree of assurance or evidence, which remains. Even when these contrary experiments are entirely equal, we remove not the notion of causes and necessity; but supposing that the usual contrariety proceeds from the operation of contrary and concealed causes, we conclude, that the chance or indifference lies only in our judgment on account of our imperfect knowledge, not

in the things
themselves, which are in every case equally necessary,
though to
appearance not equally constant or certain. No union can
be more
constant and certain, than that of some actions with
some motives and
characters; and if in other cases the union is
uncertain, it is no more
than what happens in the operations of body, nor can we
conclude any
thing from the one irregularity, which will not follow
equally from the
other.

It is commonly allowed that mad-men have no liberty. But
were we to
judge by their actions, these have less regularity and
constancy than
the actions of wise-men, and consequently are farther
removed from
necessity. Our way of thinking in this particular is,
therefore,
absolutely inconsistent; but is a natural consequence of
these confused
ideas and undefined terms, which we so commonly make use
of in our
reasonings, especially on the present subject.

We must now shew, that as the union betwixt motives and
actions has the
same constancy, as that in any natural operations, so
its influence
on the understanding is also the same, in determining us
to infer the
existence of one from that of another. If this shall
appear, there is no
known circumstance, that enters into the connexion and
production of the
actions of matter, that is not to be found in all the
operations of
the mind; and consequently we cannot, without a manifest
absurdity,
attribute necessity to the one, and refuse into the
other.

There is no philosopher, whose judgment is so riveted to this fantastical system of liberty, as not to acknowledge the force of moral evidence, and both in speculation and practice proceed upon it, as upon a reasonable foundation. Now moral evidence is nothing but a conclusion concerning the actions of men, derived from the consideration of their motives, temper and situation. Thus when we see certain characters or figures described upon paper, we infer that the person, who produced them, would affirm such facts, the death of Caesar, the success of Augustus, the cruelty of Nero; and remembering many other concurrent testimonies we conclude, that those facts were once really existant, and that so many men, without any interest, would never conspire to deceive us; especially since they must, in the attempt, expose themselves to the derision of all their contemporaries, when these facts were asserted to be recent and universally known. The same kind of reasoning runs through politics, war, commerce, economy, and indeed mixes itself so entirely in human life, that it is impossible to act or subsist a moment without having recourse to it. A prince, who imposes a tax upon his subjects, expects their compliance. A general, who conducts an army, makes account of a certain degree of courage. A merchant looks for fidelity and skill in his factor or super-cargo. A man, who gives orders for his dinner, doubts not of the obedience of his servants. In short, as nothing more nearly interests us than our own actions and those of others, the

greatest part of our reasonings is employed in judgments concerning them. Now I assert, that whoever reasons after this manner, does ipso facto believe the actions of the will to arise from necessity, and that he knows not what he means, when he denies it.

All those objects, of which we call the one cause and the other effect, considered in themselves, are as distinct and separate from each other, as any two things in nature, nor can we ever, by the most accurate survey of them, infer the existence of the one from that of the other.

It is only from experience and the observation of their constant union, that we are able to form this inference; and even after all, the inference is nothing but the effects of custom on the imagination. We must not here be content with saying, that the idea of cause and effect arises from objects constantly united; but must affirm, that it is the very same with the idea of those objects, and that the necessary connexion is not discovered by a conclusion of the understanding, but is merely a perception of the mind. Wherever, therefore, we observe the same union, and wherever the union operates in the same manner upon the belief and opinion, we have the idea of causes and necessity, though perhaps we may avoid those expressions. Motion in one body in all past instances, that have fallen under our observation, is followed upon impulse by motion in another. It is impossible for the mind to penetrate farther. From this constant union it forms the idea of cause and effect, and by its influence feels the necessity. As

there is the same
constancy, and the same influence in what we call moral
evidence, I ask
no more. What remains can only be a dispute of words.

And indeed, when we consider how aptly natural and moral
evidence cement
together, and form only one chain of argument betwixt
them, we shall
make no scruple to allow, that they are of the same
nature, and
derived from the same principles. A prisoner, who has
neither money nor
interest, discovers the impossibility of his escape, as
well from the
obstinacy of the goaler, as from the walls and bars with
which he is
surrounded; and in all attempts for his freedom chuses
rather to work
upon the stone and iron of the one, than upon the
inflexible nature of
the other. The same prisoner, when conducted to the
scaffold, foresees
his death as certainly from the constancy and fidelity
of his guards
as from the operation of the ax or wheel. His mind runs
along a certain
train of ideas: The refusal of the soldiers to consent
to his escape,
the action of the executioner; the separation of the
head and body;
bleeding, convulsive motions, and death. Here is a
connected chain of
natural causes and voluntary actions; but the mind feels
no difference
betwixt them in passing from one link to another; nor is
less certain of
the future event than if it were connected with the
present impressions
of the memory and senses by a train of causes cemented
together by what
we are pleased to call a physical necessity. The same
experienced union
has the same effect on the mind, whether the united
objects be motives,

volitions and actions; or figure and motion. We may change the names of things; but their nature and their operation on the understanding never change.

I dare be positive no one will ever endeavour to refute these reasonings otherwise than by altering my definitions, and assigning a different meaning to the terms of cause, and effect, and necessity, and liberty, and chance. According to my definitions, necessity makes an essential part of causation; and consequently liberty, by removing necessity, removes also causes, and is the very same thing with chance. As chance is commonly thought to imply a contradiction, and is at least directly contrary to experience, there are always the same arguments against liberty or free-will. If any one alters the definitions, I cannot pretend to argue with him, until I know the meaning he assigns to these terms.

SECT. II THE SAME SUBJECT CONTINUED

I believe we may assign the three following reasons for the prevalence of the doctrine of liberty, however absurd it may be in one sense, and unintelligible in any other. First, After we have performed any action; though we confess we were influenced by particular views and motives; it is difficult for us to persuade ourselves we were governed by necessity, and that it was utterly impossible for us to have acted

otherwise; the idea of necessity seeming to imply something of force, and violence, and constraint, of which we are not sensible. Few are capable of distinguishing betwixt the liberty of spontaniety, as it is called in the schools, and the liberty of indifference; betwixt that which is opposed to violence, and that which means a negation of necessity and causes. The first is even the most common sense of the word; and as it is only that species of liberty, which it concerns us to preserve, our thoughts have been principally turned towards it, and have almost universally confounded it with the other.

Secondly, There is a false sensation or experience even of the liberty of indifference; which is regarded as an argument for its real existence. The necessity of any action, whether of matter or of the mind, is not properly a quality in the agent, but in any thinking or intelligent being, who may consider the action, and consists in the determination of his thought to infer its existence from some preceding objects: As liberty or chance, on the other hand, is nothing but the want of that determination, and a certain looseness, which we feel in passing or not passing from the idea of one to that of the other. Now we may observe, that though in reflecting on human actions we seldom feel such a looseness or indifference, yet it very commonly happens, that in performing the actions themselves we are sensible of something like it: And as all related or resembling objects are readily taken for each

other, this has been employed as a demonstrative or even an intuitive proof of human liberty. We feel that our actions are subject to our will on most occasions, and imagine we feel that the will itself is subject to nothing; because when by a denial of it we are provoked to try, we feel that it moves easily every way, and produces an image of itself even on that side, on which it did not settle. This image or faint motion, we persuade ourselves, could have been completed into the thing itself; because, should that be denied, we find, upon a second trial, that it can. But these efforts are all in vain; and whatever capricious and irregular actions we may perform; as the desire of showing our liberty is the sole motive of our actions; we can never free ourselves from the bonds of necessity. We may imagine we feel a liberty within ourselves; but a spectator can commonly infer our actions from our motives and character; and even where he cannot, he concludes in general, that he might, were he perfectly acquainted with every circumstance of our situation and temper, and the most secret springs of our complexion and disposition. Now this is the very essence of necessity, according to the foregoing doctrine.

A third reason why the doctrine of liberty has generally been better received in the world, than its antagonist, proceeds from religion, which has been very unnecessarily interested in this question. There is no method of reasoning more common, and yet none more blameable, than in philosophical debates to endeavour to refute any

hypothesis by a pretext
of its dangerous consequences to religion and morality.
When any opinion
leads us into absurdities, it is certainly false; but it
is not certain
an opinion is false, because it is of dangerous
consequence. Such
topics, therefore, ought entirely to be foreborn, as
serving nothing
to the discovery of truth, but only to make the person
of an antagonist
odious. This I observe in general, without pretending to
draw any
advantage from it. I submit myself frankly to an
examination of this
kind, and dare venture to affirm, that the doctrine of
necessity,
according to my explication of it, is not only innocent,
but even
advantageous to religion and morality.

I define necessity two ways, conformable to the two
definitions of
cause, of which it makes an essential part. I place it
either in the
constant union and conjunction of like objects, or in
the inference of
the mind from the one to the other. Now necessity, in
both these senses,
has universally, though tacitely, in the schools, in the
pulpit, and in
common life, been allowed to belong to the will of man,
and no one has
ever pretended to deny, that we can draw inferences
concerning human
actions, and that those inferences are founded on the
experienced union
of like actions with like motives and circumstances. The
only particular
in which any one can differ from me, is either, that
perhaps he will
refuse to call this necessity. But as long as the
meaning is understood,
I hope the word can do no harm. Or that he will maintain
there is

something else in the operations of matter. Now whether it be so or not is of no consequence to religion, whatever it may be to natural philosophy. I may be mistaken in asserting, that we have no idea of any other connexion in the actions of body, and shall be glad to be farther instructed on that head: But sure I am, I ascribe nothing to the actions of the mind, but what must readily be allowed of. Let no one, therefore, put an invidious construction on my words, by saying simply, that I assert the necessity of human actions, and place them on the same footing with the operations of senseless matter. I do not ascribe to the will that unintelligible necessity, which is supposed to lie in matter. But I ascribe to matter, that intelligible quality, call it necessity or not, which the most rigorous orthodoxy does or must allow to belong to the will. I change, therefore, nothing in the received systems, with regard to the will, but only with regard to material objects.

Nay I shall go farther, and assert, that this kind of necessity is so essential to religion and morality, that without it there must ensue an absolute subversion of both, and that every other supposition is entirely destructive to all laws both divine and human. It is indeed certain, that as all human laws are founded on rewards and punishments, it is supposed as a fundamental principle, that these motives have an influence on the mind, and both produce the good and prevent the evil actions. We may give to this influence what name we please; but as it

is usually conjoined with the action, common sense requires it should be esteemed a cause, and be looked upon as an instance of that necessity, which I would establish.

This reasoning is equally solid, when applied to divine laws, so far as the deity is considered as a legislator, and is supposed to inflict punishment and bestow rewards with a design to produce obedience. But I also maintain, that even where he acts not in his magisterial capacity, but is regarded as the avenger of crimes merely on account of their odiousness and deformity, not only it is impossible, without the necessary connexion of cause and effect in human actions, that punishments could be inflicted compatible with justice and moral equity; but also that it could ever enter into the thoughts of any reasonable being to inflict them. The constant and universal object of hatred or anger is a person or creature endowed with thought and consciousness; and when any criminal or injurious actions excite that passion, it is only by their relation to the person or connexion with him. But according to the doctrine of liberty or chance, this connexion is reduced to nothing, nor are men more accountable for those actions, which are designed and premeditated, than for such as are the most casual and accidental. Actions are by their very nature temporary and perishing; and where they proceed not from some cause in the characters and disposition of the person, who performed them, they infix not themselves upon him, and can neither redound to his

honour, if good, nor
infamy, if evil. The action itself may be blameable; it
may be contrary
to all the rules of morality and religion: But the
person is not
responsible for it; and as it proceeded from nothing in
him, that is
durable or constant, and leaves nothing of that nature
behind it, it is
impossible he can, upon its account, become the object
of punishment or
vengeance. According to the hypothesis of liberty,
therefore, a man is
as pure and untainted, after having committed the most
horrid crimes, as
at the first moment of his birth, nor is his character
any way concerned
in his actions; since they are not derived from it, and
the wickedness
of the one can never be used as a proof of the depravity
of the other.
It is only upon the principles of necessity, that a
person acquires
any merit or demerit from his actions, however the
common opinion may
incline to the contrary.

But so inconsistent are men with themselves, that though
they often
assert, that necessity utterly destroys all merit and
demerit either
towards mankind or superior powers, yet they continue
still to
reason upon these very principles of necessity in all
their judgments
concerning this matter. Men are not blamed for such evil
actions as they
perform ignorantly and casually, whatever may be their
consequences.
Why? but because the causes of these actions are only
momentary, and
terminate in them alone. Men are less blamed for such
evil actions, as
they perform hastily and unpremeditatedly, than for such
as proceed from

thought and deliberation. For what reason? but because a hasty temper, though a constant cause in the mind, operates only by intervals, and infects not the whole character. Again, repentance wipes off every crime, especially if attended with an evident reformation of life and manners. How is this to be accounted for? But by asserting that actions render a person criminal, merely as they are proofs of criminal passions or principles in the mind; and when by any alteration of these principles they cease to be just proofs, they likewise cease to be criminal. But according to the doctrine of liberty or chance they never were just proofs, and consequently never were criminal.

Here then I turn to my adversary, and desire him to free his own system from these odious consequences before he charge them upon others. Or if he rather chuses, that this question should be decided by fair arguments before philosophers, than by declamations before the people, let him return to what I have advanced to prove that liberty and chance are synonymous; and concerning the nature of moral evidence and the regularity of human actions. Upon a review of these reasonings, I cannot doubt of an entire victory; and therefore having proved, that all actions of the will have particular causes, I proceed to explain what these causes are, and how they operate.

SECT. III OF THE INFLUENCING MOTIVES OF THE WILL

Nothing is more usual in philosophy, and even in common life, than to talk of the combat of passion and reason, to give the preference to reason, and assert that men are only so far virtuous as they conform themselves to its dictates. Every rational creature, it is said, is obliged to regulate his actions by reason; and if any other motive or principle challenge the direction of his conduct, he ought to oppose it, till it be entirely subdued, or at least brought to a conformity with that superior principle. On this method of thinking the greatest part of moral philosophy, antient and modern, seems to be founded; nor is there an ampler field, as well for metaphysical arguments, as popular declamations, than this supposed pre-eminence of reason above passion. The eternity, invariableness, and divine origin of the former have been displayed to the best advantage: The blindness, unconstancy, and deceitfulness of the latter have been as strongly insisted on. In order to shew the fallacy of all this philosophy, I shall endeavour to prove first, that reason alone can never be a motive to any action of the will; and secondly, that it can never oppose passion in the direction of the will.

The understanding exerts itself after two different ways, as it judges from demonstration or probability; as it regards the abstract relations of our ideas, or those relations of objects, of which experience only gives us information. I believe it scarce will be asserted, that the

first species of reasoning alone is ever the cause of any action. As its proper province is the world of ideas, and as the will always places us in that of realities, demonstration and volition seem, upon that account, to be totally removed, from each other. Mathematics, indeed, are useful in all mechanical operations, and arithmetic in almost every art and profession: But it is not of themselves they have any influence: Mechanics are the art of regulating the motions of bodies to some designed end or purpose; and the reason why we employ arithmetic in fixing the proportions of numbers, is only that we may discover the proportions of their influence and operation. A merchant is desirous of knowing the sum total of his accounts with any person: Why? but that he may learn what sum will have the same effects in paying his debt, and going to market, as all the particular articles taken together. Abstract or demonstrative reasoning, therefore, never influences any of our actions, but only as it directs our judgment concerning causes and effects; which leads us to the second operation of the understanding.

It is obvious, that when we have the prospect of pain or pleasure from any object, we feel a consequent emotion of aversion or propensity, and are carryed to avoid or embrace what will give us this uneasiness or satisfaction. It is also obvious, that this emotion rests not here, but making us cast our view on every side, comprehends whatever objects are connected with its original one by the relation of cause and effect.

Here then reasoning takes place to discover this relation; and according as our reasoning varies, our actions receive a subsequent variation. But it is evident in this case that the impulse arises not from reason, but is only directed by it. It is from the prospect of pain or pleasure that the aversion or propensity arises towards any object: And these emotions extend themselves to the causes and effects of that object, as they are pointed out to us by reason and experience. It can never in the least concern us to know, that such objects are causes, and such others effects, if both the causes and effects be indifferent to us. Where the objects themselves do not affect us, their connexion can never give them any influence; and it is plain, that as reason is nothing but the discovery of this connexion, it cannot be by its means that the objects are able to affect us.

Since reason alone can never produce any action, or give rise to volition, I infer, that the same faculty is as incapable of preventing volition, or of disputing the preference with any passion or emotion. This consequence is necessary. It is impossible reason could have the latter effect of preventing volition, but by giving an impulse in a contrary direction to our passion; and that impulse, had it operated alone, would have been able to produce volition. Nothing can oppose or retard the impulse of passion, but a contrary impulse; and if this contrary impulse ever arises from reason, that latter faculty must have an original influence on the will, and must be able to

cause, as well as hinder any act of volition. But if reason has no original influence, it is impossible it can withstand any principle, which has such an efficacy, or ever keep the mind in suspense a moment. Thus it appears, that the principle, which opposes our passion, cannot be the same with reason, and is only called so in an improper sense. We speak not strictly and philosophically when we talk of the combat of passion and of reason. Reason is, and ought only to be the slave of the passions, and can never pretend to any other office than to serve and obey them. As this opinion may appear somewhat extraordinary, it may not be improper to confirm it by some other considerations.

A passion is an original existence, or, if you will, modification of existence, and contains not any representative quality, which renders it a copy of any other existence or modification. When I am angry, I am actually possest with the passion, and in that emotion have no more a reference to any other object, than when I am thirsty, or sick, or more than five foot high. It is impossible, therefore, that this passion can be opposed by, or be contradictory to truth and reason; since this contradiction consists in the disagreement of ideas, considered as copies, with those objects, which they represent.

What may at first occur on this head, is, that as nothing can be contrary to truth or reason, except what has a reference to it, and as the judgments of our understanding only have this reference, it must

follow, that passions can be contrary to reason only so far as they are accompanied with some judgment or opinion. According to this principle, which is so obvious and natural, it is only in two senses, that any affection can be called unreasonable. First, When a passion, such as hope or fear, grief or joy, despair or security, is founded on the supposition or the existence of objects, which really do not exist. Secondly, When in exerting any passion in action, we chuse means insufficient for the designed end, and deceive ourselves in our judgment of causes and effects. Where a passion is neither founded on false suppositions, nor chuses means insufficient for the end, the understanding can neither justify nor condemn it. It is not contrary to reason to prefer the destruction of the whole world to the scratching of my finger. It is not contrary to reason for me to chuse my total ruin, to prevent the least uneasiness of an Indian or person wholly unknown to me. It is as little contrary to reason to prefer even my own acknowledged lesser good to my greater, and have a more ardent affection for the former than the latter. A trivial good may, from certain circumstances, produce a desire superior to what arises from the greatest and most valuable enjoyment; nor is there any thing more extraordinary in this, than in mechanics to see one pound weight raise up a hundred by the advantage of its situation. In short, a passion must be accompanied with some false judgment in order to its being unreasonable; and even then it is not the passion,

properly speaking,
which is unreasonable, but the judgment.

The consequences are evident. Since a passion can never, in any sense, be called unreasonable, but when founded on a false supposition or when it chuses means insufficient for the designed end, it is impossible, that reason and passion can ever oppose each other, or dispute for the government of the will and actions. The moment we perceive the falshood of any supposition, or the insufficiency of any means our passions yield to our reason without any opposition. I may desire any fruit as of an excellent relish; but whenever you convince me of my mistake, my longing ceases. I may will the performance of certain actions as means of obtaining any desired good; but as my willing of these actions is only secondary, and founded on the supposition, that they are causes of the proposed effect; as soon as I discover the falshood of that supposition, they must become indifferent to me.

It is natural for one, that does not examine objects with a strict philosophic eye, to imagine, that those actions of the mind are entirely the same, which produce not a different sensation, and are not immediately distinguishable to the feeling and perception. Reason, for instance, exerts itself without producing any sensible emotion; and except in the more sublime disquisitions of philosophy, or in the frivolous subtilties of the school, scarce ever conveys any pleasure or uneasiness. Hence it proceeds, that every action of the mind, which

operates with the same calmness and tranquillity, is confounded with reason by all those, who judge of things from the first view and appearance. Now it is certain, there are certain calm desires and tendencies, which, though they be real passions, produce little emotion in the mind, and are more known by their effects than by the immediate feeling or sensation. These desires are of two kinds; either certain instincts originally implanted in our natures, such as benevolence and resentment, the love of life, and kindness to children; or the general appetite to good, and aversion to evil, considered merely as such. When any of these passions are calm, and cause no disorder in the soul, they are very readily taken for the determinations of reason, and are supposed to proceed from the same faculty, with that, which judges of truth and falshood. Their nature and principles have been supposed the same, because their sensations are not evidently different.

Beside these calm passions, which often determine the will, there are certain violent emotions of the same kind, which have likewise a great influence on that faculty. When I receive any injury from another, I often feel a violent passion of resentment, which makes me desire his evil and punishment, independent of all considerations of pleasure and advantage to myself. When I am immediately threatened with any grievous ill, my fears, apprehensions, and aversions rise to a great height, and produce a sensible emotion.

The common error of metaphysicians has lain in ascribing the direction of the will entirely to one of these principles, and supposing the other to have no influence. Men often act knowingly against their interest: For which reason the view of the greatest possible good does not always influence them. Men often counter-act a violent passion in prosecution of their interests and designs: It is not therefore the present uneasiness alone, which determines them. In general we may observe, that both these principles operate on the will; and where they are contrary, that either of them prevails, according to the general character or present disposition of the person. What we call strength of mind, implies the prevalence of the calm passions above the violent; though we may easily observe, there is no man so constantly possessed of this virtue, as never on any occasion to yield to the sollicitations of passion and desire. From these variations of temper proceeds the great difficulty of deciding concerning the actions and resolutions of men, where there is any contrariety of motives and passions.

SECT. IV OF THE CAUSES OF THE VIOLENT PASSIONS

There is not-in philosophy a subject of more nice speculation than this of the different causes and effects of the calm and violent passions. It is evident passions influence not the will in proportion to their violence, or the disorder they occasion in the temper;

but on the contrary, that when a passion has once become a settled principle of action, and is the predominant inclination of the soul, it commonly produces no longer any sensible agitation. As repeated custom and its own force have made every thing yield to it, it directs the actions and conduct without that opposition and emotion, which so naturally attend every momentary gust of passion. We must, therefore, distinguish betwixt a calm and a weak passion; betwixt a violent and a strong one. But notwithstanding this, it is certain, that when we would govern a man, and push him to any action, it will commonly be better policy to work upon the violent than the calm passions, and rather take him by his inclination, than what is vulgarly called his reason. We ought to place the object in such particular situations as are proper to encrease the violence of the passion. For we may observe, that all depends upon the situation of the object, and that a variation in this particular will be able to change the calm and the violent passions into each other. Both these kinds of passions pursue good, and avoid evil; and both of them are encreased or diminished by the encrease or diminution of the good or evil. But herein lies the difference betwixt them: The same good, when near, will cause a violent passion, which, when remote, produces only a calm one. As this subject belongs very properly to the present question concerning the will, we shall here examine it to the bottom, and shall consider some of those circumstances and situations of objects, which

render a passion either calm or violent.

It is a remarkable property of human nature, that any emotion, which attends a passion, is easily converted into it, though in their natures they be originally different from, and even contrary to each other.

It is true; in order to make a perfect union among passions, there is always required a double relation of impressions and ideas; nor is one relation sufficient for that purpose. But though this be confirmed by undoubted experience, we must understand it with its proper limitations, and must regard the double relation, as requisite only to make one passion produce another. When two passions are already produced by their separate causes, and are both present in the mind, they readily mingle and unite, though they have but one relation, and sometimes without any.

The predominant passion swallows up the inferior, and converts it into itself. The spirits, when once excited, easily receive a change in their direction; and it is natural to imagine this change will come from the prevailing affection. The connexion is in many respects closer betwixt any two passions, than betwixt any passion and indifference.

When a person is once heartily in love, the little faults and caprices of his mistress, the jealousies and quarrels, to which that commerce is so subject; however unpleasant and related to anger and hatred; are yet found to give additional force to the prevailing passion. It is a common artifice of politicians, when they would affect any person very much by

a matter of fact, of which they intend to inform him, first to excite his curiosity; delay as long as possible the satisfying it; and by that means raise his anxiety and impatience to the utmost, before they give him a full insight into the business. They know that his curiosity will precipitate him into the passion they design to raise, and assist the object in its influence on the mind. A soldier advancing to the battle, is naturally inspired with courage and confidence, when he thinks on his friends and fellow-soldiers; and is struck with fear and terror, when he reflects on the enemy. Whatever new emotion, therefore, proceeds from the former naturally encreases the courage; as the same emotion, proceeding from the latter, augments the fear; by the relation of ideas, and the conversion of the inferior emotion into the predominant. Hence it is that in martial discipline, the uniformity and lustre of our habit, the regularity of our figures and motions, with all the pomp and majesty of war, encourage ourselves and allies; while the same objects in the enemy strike terror into us, though agreeable and beautiful in themselves.

Since passions, however independent, are naturally transfused into each other, if they are both present at the same time; it follows, that when good or evil is placed in such a situation, as to cause any particular emotion, beside its direct passion of desire or aversion, that latter passion must acquire new force and violence.

This happens, among other cases, whenever any object

excites contrary
passions. For it is observable that an opposition of
passions commonly
causes a new emotion in the spirits, and produces more
disorder, than
the concurrence of any two affections of equal force.
This new emotion
is easily converted into the predominant passion, and
encreases its
violence, beyond the pitch it would have arrived at had
it met with
no opposition. Hence we naturally desire what is forbid,
and take a
pleasure in performing actions, merely because they are
unlawful.
The notion of duty, when opposite to the passions, is
seldom able
to overcome them; and when it fails of that effect, is
apt rather to
encrease them, by producing an opposition in our motives
and principles.
The same effect follows whether the opposition arises
from internal
motives or external obstacles. The passion commonly
acquires new force
and violence in both cases.

The efforts, which the mind makes to surmount the
obstacle, excite the
spirits and inliven the passion.

Uncertainty has the same influence as opposition. The
agitation of the
thought; the quick turns it makes from one view to
another; the variety
of passions, which succeed each other, according to the
different views;
All these produce an agitation in the mind, and
transfuse themselves
into the predominant passion.

There is not in my opinion any other natural cause, why
security
diminishes the passions, than because it removes that
uncertainty, which

increases them. The mind, when left to itself, immediately languishes; and in order to preserve its ardour, must be every moment supported by a new flow of passion. For the same reason, despair, though contrary to security, has a like influence.

It is certain nothing more powerfully animates any affection, than to conceal some part of its object by throwing it into a kind of shade, which at the same time that it chews enough to pre-possess us in favour of the object, leaves still some work for the imagination. Besides that obscurity is always attended with a kind of uncertainty; the effort, which the fancy makes to compleat the idea, rouzes the spirits, and gives an additional force to the passion.

As despair and security, though contrary to each other, produce the same effects; so absence is observed to have contrary effects, and in different circumstances either increases or diminishes our affections. The Duc de La Rochefoucault has very well observed, that absence destroys weak passions, but increases strong; as the wind extinguishes a candle, but blows up a fire. Long absence naturally weakens our idea, and diminishes the passion: But where the idea is so strong and lively as to support itself, the uneasiness, arising from absence, increases the passion and gives it new force and violence.

SECT. V OF THE EFFECTS OF CUSTOM

But nothing has a greater effect both to encrease and diminish our passions, to convert pleasure into pain, and pain into pleasure, than custom and repetition. Custom has two original effects upon the mind, in bestowing a facility in the performance of any action or the conception of any object; and afterwards a tendency or inclination towards it; and from these we may account for all its other effects, however extraordinary.

When the soul applies itself to the performance of any action, or the conception of any object, to which it is not accustomed, there is a certain unpliableness in the faculties, and a difficulty of the spirit's moving in their new direction. As this difficulty excites the spirits, it is the source of wonder, surprize, and of all the emotions, which arise from novelty; and is in itself very agreeable, like every thing, which inlivens the mind to a moderate degree. But though surprize be agreeable in itself, yet as it puts the spirits in agitation, it not only augments our agreeable affections, but also our painful, according to the foregoing principle, that every emotion, which precedes or attends a passion, is easily converted into it. Hence every thing, that is new, is most affecting, and gives us either more pleasure or pain, than what, strictly speaking, naturally belongs to it. When it often returns upon us, the novelty wears off; the passions subside; the hurry of the spirits is over; and we survey the objects with greater

tranquillity.

By degrees the repetition produces a facility of the human mind, and an infallible source of pleasure, where the facility goes not beyond a certain degree. And here it is remarkable that the pleasure, which arises from a moderate facility, has not the same tendency with that which arises from novelty, to augment the painful, as well as the agreeable affections. The pleasure of facility does not so much consist in any ferment of the spirits, as in their orderly motion; which will sometimes be so powerful as even to convert pain into pleasure, and give us a relish in time what at first was most harsh and disagreeable.

But again, as facility converts pain into pleasure, so it often converts pleasure into pain, when it is too great, and renders the actions of the mind so faint and languid, that they are no longer able to interest and support it. And indeed, scarce any other objects become disagreeable through custom; but such as are naturally attended with some emotion or affection, which is destroyed by the too frequent repetition. One can consider the clouds, and heavens, and trees, and stones, however frequently repeated, without ever feeling any aversion. But when the fair sex, or music, or good cheer, or any thing, that naturally ought to be agreeable, becomes indifferent, it easily produces the opposite affection.

But custom not only gives a facility to perform any action, but likewise

an inclination and tendency towards it, where it is not entirely disagreeable, and can never be the object of inclination. And this is the reason why custom encreases all active habits, but diminishes passive, according to the observation of a late eminent philosopher. The facility takes off from the force of the passive habits by rendering the motion of the spirits faint and languid. But as in the active, the spirits are sufficiently supported of themselves, the tendency of the mind gives them new force, and bends them more strongly to the action.

SECT. VI OF THE INFLUENCE OF THE IMAGINATION ON THE PASSIONS

It is remarkable, that the imagination and affections have close union together, and that nothing, which affects the former, can be entirely indifferent to the latter. Wherever our ideas of good or evil acquire a new vivacity, the passions become more violent; and keep pace with the imagination in all its variations. Whether this proceeds from the principle above-mentioned, that any attendant emotion is easily converted into the predominant, I shall not determine. It is sufficient for my present purpose, that we have many instances to confirm this influence of the imagination upon the passions.

Any pleasure, with which we are acquainted, affects us more than any other, which we own to be superior, but of whose nature

we are wholly ignorant. Of the one we can form a particular and determinate idea: The other we conceive under the general notion of pleasure; and it is certain, that the more general and universal any of our ideas are, the less influence they have upon the imagination. A general idea, though it be nothing but a particular one considered in a certain view, is commonly more obscure; and that because no particular idea, by which we represent a general one, is ever fixed or determinate, but may easily be changed for other particular ones, which will serve equally in the representation.

There is a noted passage in the history of Greece, which may serve for our present purpose. Themistocles told the Athenians, that he had formed a design, which would be highly useful to the public, but which it was impossible for him to communicate to them without ruining the execution, since its success depended entirely on the secrecy with which it should be conducted. The Athenians, instead of granting him full power to act as he thought fitting, ordered him to communicate his design to Aristides, in whose prudence they had an entire confidence, and whose opinion they were resolved blindly to submit to. The design of Themistocles was secretly to set fire to the fleet of all the Grecian commonwealths, which was assembled in a neighbouring port, and which being once destroyed would give the Athenians the empire of the sea without any rival Aristides returned to the assembly, and told them,

that nothing could be more advantageous than the design of Themistocles but at the same time that nothing could be more unjust: Upon which the people unanimously rejected the project.

A late celebrated historian [Mons. Rollin {Charles Rollin, HISTOIRE ANCIENNE. (Paris 1730-38)}.] admires this passage of ancient history, as one of the most singular that is any where to be met.

"Here," says he, "they are not philosophers, to whom it is easy in their schools to establish the finest maxims and most sublime rules of morality, who decide that interest ought never to prevail above justice. It is a whole people interested in the proposal which is made to them, who consider it as of importance to the public good, and who notwithstanding reject it unanimously, and without hesitation, merely because it is contrary to justice."

For my part I see nothing so extraordinary in this proceeding of the Athenians. The same reasons, which render it so easy for philosophers to establish these sublime maxims, tend, in part, to diminish the merit of such a conduct in that people. Philosophers never ballance betwixt profit and honesty, because their decisions are general, and neither their passions nor imaginations are interested in the objects. And though in the present case the advantage was immediate to the Athenians, yet as it was known only under the general notion of advantage, without being conceived by any particular idea, it must have had a less considerable influence on their imaginations, and

have been a
less violent temptation, than if they had been
acquainted with all
its circumstances: Otherwise it is difficult to
conceive, that a whole
people, unjust and violent as men commonly are, should
so unanimously
have adhered to justice, and rejected any considerable
advantage.

Any satisfaction, which we lately enjoyed, and of which
the memory is
fresh and recent, operates on the will with more
violence, than another
of which the traces are decayed, and almost obliterated.
From whence
does this proceed, but that the memory in the first case
assists the
fancy and gives an additional force and vigour to its
conceptions?
The image of the past pleasure being strong and violent,
bestows these
qualities on the idea of the future pleasure, which is
connected with it
by the relation of resemblance.

A pleasure, which is suitable to the way of life, in
which we are
engaged, excites more our desires and appetites than
another, which
is foreign to it. This phaenomenon may be explained from
the same
principle.

Nothing is more capable of infusing any passion into the
mind, than
eloquence, by which objects are represented in their
strongest and most
lively colours. We may of ourselves acknowledge, that
such an object
is valuable, and such another odious; but until an
orator excites the
imagination, and gives force to these ideas, they may
have but a feeble
influence either on the will or the affections.

But eloquence is not always necessary. The bare opinion of another, especially when enforced with passion, will cause an idea of good or evil to have an influence upon us, which would otherwise have been entirely neglected. This proceeds from the principle of sympathy or communication; and sympathy, as I have already observed, is nothing but the conversion of an idea into an impression by the force of imagination.

It is remarkable, that lively passions commonly attend a lively imagination. In this respect, as well as others, the force of the passion depends as much on the temper of the person, as the nature or situation of the object.

I have already observed, that belief is nothing but a lively idea related to a present impression. This vivacity is a requisite circumstance to the exciting all our passions, the calm as well as the violent; nor has a mere fiction of the imagination any considerable influence upon either of them. It is too weak to take hold of the mind, or be attended with emotion.

SECT. VII OF CONTIGUITY AND DISTANCE IN SPACE AND TIME

There is an easy reason, why every thing contiguous to us, either in space or time, should be conceived with a peculiar force and vivacity,

and excel every other object, in its influence on the imagination. Ourself is intimately present to us, and whatever is related to self must partake of that quality. But where an object is so far removed as to have lost the advantage of this relation, why, as it is farther removed, its idea becomes still fainter and more obscure, would, perhaps, require a more particular examination.

It is obvious, that the imagination can never totally forget the points of space and time, in which we are existent; but receives such frequent advertisements of them from the passions and senses, that however it may turn its attention to foreign and remote objects, it is necessitated every moment to reflect on the present. It is also remarkable, that in the conception of those objects, which we regard as real and existent, we take them in their proper order and situation, and never leap from one object to another, which is distant from it, without running over, at least in a cursory manner, all those objects, which are interposed betwixt them. When we reflect, therefore, on any object distant from ourselves, we are obliged not only to reach it at first by passing through all the intermediate space betwixt ourselves and the object, but also to renew our progress every moment; being every moment recalled to the consideration of ourselves and our present situation. It is easily conceived, that this interruption must weaken the idea by breaking the action of the mind, and hindering the conception from being so intense and continued, as when we reflect on a nearer object.

The fewer steps
we make to arrive at the object, and the smoother the
road is, this
diminution of vivacity is less sensibly felt, but still
may be observed
more or less in proportion to the degrees of distance
and difficulty.

Here then we are to consider two kinds of objects, the
contiguous and
remote; of which the former, by means of their relation
to ourselves,
approach an impression in force and vivacity; the latter
by reason of
the interruption in our manner of conceiving them,
appear in a weaker
and more imperfect light. This is their effect on the
imagination. If
my reasoning be just, they must have a proportionable
effect on the will
and passions. Contiguous objects must have an influence
much superior to
the distant and remote. Accordingly we find in common
life, that men are
principally concerned about those objects, which are not
much removed
either in space or time, enjoying the present, and
leaving what is afar
off to the care of chance and fortune. Talk to a man of
his condition
thirty years hence, and he will not regard you. Speak of
what is to
happen tomorrow, and he will lend you attention. The
breaking of a
mirror gives us more concern when at home, than the
burning of a house,
when abroad, and some hundred leagues distant.

But farther; though distance both in space and time has
a considerable
effect on the imagination, and by that means on the will
and passions,
yet the consequence of a removal in space are much
inferior to those of
a removal in time. Twenty years are certainly but a

small distance
of time in comparison of what history and even the
memory of some may
inform them of, and yet I doubt if a thousand leagues,
or even the
greatest distance of place this globe can admit of, will
so remarkably
weaken our ideas, and diminish our passions. A West-
Indian merchant will
tell you, that he is not without concern about what
passes in Jamaica;
though few extend their views so far into futurity, as
to dread very
remote accidents.

The cause of this phaenomenon must evidently lie in the
different
properties of space and time. Without having recourse to
metaphysics,
any one may easily observe, that space or extension
consists of a number
of co-existent parts disposed in a certain order, and
capable of being
at once present to the sight or feeling. On the
contrary, time or
succession, though it consists likewise of parts, never
presents to us
more than one at once; nor is it possible for any two of
them ever to
be co-existent. These qualities of the objects have a
suitable effect on
the imagination. The parts of extension being
susceptible of an union to
the senses, acquire an union in the fancy; and as the
appearance of
one part excludes not another, the transition or passage
of the thought
through the contiguous parts is by that means rendered
more smooth and
easy. On the other hand, the incompatibility of the
parts of time in
their real existence separates them in the imagination,
and makes it
more difficult for that faculty to trace any long
succession or series

of events. Every part must appear single and alone, nor can regularly have entrance into the fancy without banishing what is supposed to have been immediately precedent. By this means any distance in time causes a greater interruption in the thought than an equal distance in space, and consequently weakens more considerably the idea, and consequently the passions; which depend in a great measure, on the imagination, according to my system.

There is another phaenomenon of a like nature with the foregoing, viz, the superior effects of the same distance in futurity above that in the past. This difference with respect to the will is easily accounted for. As none of our actions can alter the past, it is not strange it should never determine the will. But with respect to the passions the question is yet entire, and well worth the examining.

Besides the propensity to a gradual progression through the points of space and time, we have another peculiarity in our method of thinking, which concurs in producing this phaenomenon. We always follow the succession of time in placing our ideas, and from the consideration of any object pass more easily to that, which follows immediately after it, than to that which went before it. We may learn this, among other instances, from the order, which is always observed in historical narrations. Nothing but an absolute necessity can oblige an historian to break the order of time, and in his narration give the precedence to an event, which was in reality posterior to another.

This will easily be applied to the question in hand, if we reflect on what I have before observed, that the present situation of the person is always that of the imagination, and that it is from thence we proceed to the conception of any distant object. When the object is past, the progression of the thought in passing to it from the present is contrary to nature, as proceeding from one point of time to that which is preceding, and from that to another preceding, in opposition to the natural course of the succession. On the other hand, when we turn our thought to a future object, our fancy flows along the stream of time, and arrives at the object by an order, which seems most natural, passing always from one point of time to that which is immediately posterior to it. This easy progression of ideas favours the imagination, and makes it conceive its object in a stronger and fuller light, than when we are continually opposed in our passage, and are obliged to overcome the difficulties arising from the natural propensity of the fancy. A small degree of distance in the past has, therefore, a greater effect, in interrupting and weakening the conception, than a much greater in the future. From this effect of it on the imagination is derived its influence on the will and passions.

There is another cause, which both contributes to the same effect, and proceeds from the same quality of the fancy, by which we are determined to trace the succession of time by a similar succession of ideas. When

from the present instant we consider two points of time equally distant in the future and in the past, it is evident, that, abstractedly considered, their relation to the present is almost equal. For as the future will sometime be present, so the past was once present. If we coued, therefore, remove this quality of the imagination, an equal distance in the past and in the future, would have a similar influence. Nor is this only true, when the fancy remains fixed, and from the present instant surveys the future and the past; but also when it changes its situation, and places us in different periods of time. For as on the one hand, in supposing ourselves existent in a point of time interposed betwixt the present instant and the future object, we find the future object approach to us, and the past retire, and become more distant: so on the other hand, in supposing ourselves existent in a point of time interposed betwixt the present and the past, the past approaches to us, and the future becomes more distant. But from the property of the fancy above-mentioned we rather chuse to fix our thought on the point of time interposed betwixt the present and the future, than on that betwixt the present and the past. We advance, rather than retard our existence; and following what seems the natural succession of time, proceed from past to present, and from present to future. By which means we conceive the future as flowing every moment nearer us, and the past as retiring. An equal distance, therefore, in the past and in the future, has not the same effect on the imagination; and

that because we consider the one as continually encreasing, and the other as continually diminishing. The fancy anticipates the course of things, and surveys the object in that condition, to which it tends, as well as in that, which is regarded as the present.

SECT. VIII THE SAME SUBJECT CONTINUED

Thus we have accounted for three phaenomena, which seem pretty remarkable. Why distance weakens the conception and passion: Why distance in time has a greater effect than that in space: And why distance in past time has still a greater effect than that in future. We must now consider three phaenomena, which seem to be, in a manner, the reverse of these: Why a very great distance encreases our esteem and admiration for an object; Why such a distance in time encreases it more than that in space: And a distance in past time more than that in future. The curiousness of the subject will, I hope, excuse my dwelling on it for some time.

To begin with the first phaenomenon, why a great distance encreases our esteem and admiration for an object; it is evident that the mere view and contemplation of any greatness, whether successive or extended, enlarges the soul, and give it a sensible delight and pleasure. A wide plain, the ocean, eternity, a succession of several ages; all these are

entertaining objects, and excel every thing, however beautiful, which accompanies not its beauty with a suitable greatness. Now when any very distant object is presented to the imagination, we naturally reflect on the interposed distance, and by that means, conceiving something great and magnificent, receive the usual satisfaction. But as the fancy passes easily from one idea to another related to it, and transports to the second all the passions excited by the first, the admiration, which is directed to the distance, naturally diffuses itself over the distant object. Accordingly we find, that it is not necessary the object should be actually distant from us, in order to cause our admiration; but that it is sufficient, if, by the natural association of ideas, it conveys our view to any considerable distance. A great traveller, though in the same chamber, will pass for a very extraordinary person; as a Greek medal, even in our cabinet, is always esteemed a valuable curiosity. Here the object, by a natural transition, conveys our views to the distance; and the admiration, which arises from that distance, by another natural transition, returns back to the object.

But though every great distance produces an admiration for the distant object, a distance in time has a more considerable effect than that in space. Antient busts and inscriptions are more valued than Japan tables: And not to mention the Greeks and Romans, it is certain we regard with more veneration the old Chaldeans and Egyptians, than the modern Chinese and Persians, and bestow more fruitless pains to dear up

the history and
chronology of the former, than it would cost us to make
a voyage, and
be certainly informed of the character, learning and
government of the
latter. I shall be obliged to make a digression in order
to explain this
phaenomenon.

It is a quality very observable in human nature, that
any opposition,
which does not entirely discourage and intimidate us,
has rather a
contrary effect, and inspires us with a more than
ordinary grandeur
and magnanimity. In collecting our force to overcome the
opposition, we
invigorate the soul, and give it an elevation with which
otherwise it
would never have been acquainted. Compliance, by
rendering our strength
useless, makes us insensible of it: but opposition
awakens and employs
it.

This is also true in the universe. Opposition not only
enlarges the
soul; but the soul, when full of courage and
magnanimity, in a manner
seeks opposition.

SPUMANTEMQUE DARI PECORA INTER INERTIA VOTIS OPTAT
APRUM, AUT FULVUM
DESCENDERE MONTE LEONEM.

[And, among the tamer beasts, [he] longs to be granted,
in answer to his
prayers, a slaving boar, or to have a tawny lion come
down from the
mountain.]

Whatever supports and fills the passions is agreeable to
us; as on the

contrary, what weakens and infeebls them is uneasy. As
opposition
has the first effect, and facility the second, no wonder
the mind, in
certain dispositions, desires the former, and is averse
to the latter.

These principles have an effect on the imagination as
well as on the
passions. To be convinced of this we need only consider
the influence
of heights and depths on that faculty. Any great
elevation of place
communicates a kind of pride or sublimity of
imagination, and gives
a fancied superiority over those that lie below; and,
vice versa, a
sublime and strong imagination conveys the idea of
ascent and elevation.
Hence it proceeds, that we associate, in a manner, the
idea of whatever
is good with that of height, and evil with lowness.
Heaven is supposed
to be above, and hell below. A noble genius is called an
elevate and
sublime one. ATQUE UDAM SPERNIT HUMUM FUGIENTE PENNA.
[Spurns the dank
soil in winged flight.] On the contrary, a vulgar and
trivial conception
is stiled indifferently low or mean. Prosperity is
denominated ascent,
and adversity descent. Kings and princes are supposed to
be placed at
the top of human affairs; as peasants and day-labourers
are said to be
in the lowest stations. These methods of thinking, and
of expressing
ourselves, are not of so little consequence as they may
appear at first
sight.

It is evident to common sense, as well as philosophy,
that there is no
natural nor essential difference betwixt high and low,
and that this

distinction arises only from the gravitation of matter, which produces a motion from the one to the other. The very same direction, which in this part of the globe is called ascent, is denominated descent in our antipodes; which can proceed from nothing but the contrary tendency of bodies. Now it is certain, that the tendency of bodies, continually operating upon our senses, must produce, from custom, a like tendency in the fancy, and that when we consider any object situated in an ascent, the idea of its weight gives us a propensity to transport it from the place, in which it is situated, to the place immediately below it, and so on, until we come to the ground, which equally stops the body and our imagination. For a like reason we feel a difficulty in mounting, and pass not without a kind of reluctance from the inferior to that which is situated above it; as if our ideas acquired a kind of gravity from their objects. As a proof of this, do we not find, that the facility, which is so much studied in music and poetry, is called the fall or cadency of the harmony or period; the idea of facility communicating to us that of descent, in the same manner as descent produces a facility?

Since the imagination, therefore, in running from low to high, finds an opposition in its internal qualities and principles, and since the soul, when elevated with joy and courage, in a manner seeks opposition, and throws itself with alacrity into any scene of thought or action, where its courage meets with matter to nourish and employ it; it follows, that

everything, which invigorates and inlivens the soul,
whether by touching
the passions or imagination naturally conveys to the
fancy this
inclination for ascent, and determines it to run against
the natural
stream of its thoughts and conceptions. This aspiring
progress of
the imagination suits the present disposition of the
mind; and the
difficulty, instead of extinguishing its vigour and
alacrity, has the
contrary affect, of sustaining and encreasing it.
Virtue, genius, power,
and riches are for this reason associated with height
and sublimity; as
poverty, slavery, and folly are conjoined with descent
and lowness. Were
the case the same with us as Milton represents it to be
with the angels,
to whom descent is adverse, and who cannot sink without
labour and
compulsion, this order of things would be entirely
inverted; as appears
hence, that the very nature of ascent and descent is
derived from the
difficulty and propensity, and consequently every one of
their effects
proceeds from that origin.

All this is easily applied to the present question, why
a considerable
distance in time produces a greater veneration for the
distant objects
than a like removal in space. The imagination moves with
more difficulty
in passing from one portion of time to another, than in
a transition
through the parts of space; and that because space or
extension appears
united to our senses, while time or succession is always
broken and
divided. This difficulty, when joined with a small
distance, interrupts
and weakens the fancy: But has a contrary effect in a

great removal. The mind, elevated by the vastness of its object, is still farther elevated by the difficulty of the conception; and being obliged every moment to renew its efforts in the transition from one part of time to another, feels a more vigorous and sublime disposition, than in a transition through the parts of space, where the ideas flow along with easiness and facility. In this disposition, the imagination, passing, as is usual, from the consideration of the distance to the view of the distant objects, gives us a proportionable veneration for it; and this is the reason why all the relicts of antiquity are so precious in our eyes, and appear more valuable than what is brought even from the remotest parts of the world.

The third phaenomenon I have remarked will be a full confirmation of this. It is not every removal in time, which has the effect of producing veneration and esteem. We are not apt to imagine our posterity will excel us, or equal our ancestors. This phaenomenon is the more remarkable, because any distance in futurity weakens not our ideas so much as an equal removal in the past. Though a removal in the past, when very great, encreases our passions beyond a like removal in the future, yet a small removal has a greater influence in diminishing them.

In our common way of thinking we are placed in a kind of middle station betwixt the past and future; and as our imagination finds a kind of difficulty in running along the former, and a facility

in following the course of the latter, the difficulty conveys the notion of ascent, and the facility of the contrary. Hence we imagine our ancestors to be, in a manner, mounted above us, and our posterity to lie below us. Our fancy arrives not at the one without effort, but easily reaches the other: Which effort weakens the conception, where the distance is small; but enlarges and elevates the imagination, when attended with a suitable object. As on the other hand, the facility assists the fancy in a small removal, but takes off from its force when it contemplates any considerable distance.

It may not be improper, before we leave this subject of the will, to resume, in a few words, all that has been said concerning it, in order to set the whole more distinctly before the eyes of the reader. What we commonly understand by passion is a violent and sensible emotion of mind, when any good or evil is presented, or any object, which, by the original formation of our faculties, is fitted to excite an appetite. By reason we mean affections of the very same kind with the former; but such as operate more calmly, and cause no disorder in the temper: Which tranquillity leads us into a mistake concerning them, and causes us to regard them as conclusions only of our intellectual faculties. Both the causes and effects of these violent and calm passions are pretty variable, and depend, in a great measure, on the peculiar temper and disposition of every individual. Generally speaking, the violent

passions have a more powerful influence on the will; though it is often found, that the calm ones, when corroborated by reflection, and seconded by resolution, are able to controul them in their most furious movements. What makes this whole affair more uncertain, is, that a calm passion may easily be changed into a violent one, either by a change of temper, or of the circumstances and situation of the object, as by the borrowing of force from any attendant passion, by custom, or by exciting the imagination. Upon the whole, this struggle of passion and of reason, as it is called, diversifies human life, and makes men so different not only from each other, but also from themselves in different times. Philosophy can only account for a few of the greater and more sensible events of this war; but must leave all the smaller and more delicate revolutions, as dependent on principles too fine and minute for her comprehension.

SECT. IX OF THE DIRECT PASSIONS

It is easy to observe, that the passions, both direct and indirect, are founded on pain and pleasure, and that in order to produce an affection of any kind, it is only requisite to present some good or evil. Upon the removal of pain and pleasure there immediately follows a removal of love and hatred, pride and humility, desire and aversion, and of most of our reflective or secondary impressions.

The impressions, which arise from good and evil most naturally, and with the least preparation are the direct passions of desire and aversion, grief and joy, hope and fear, along with volition. The mind by an original instinct tends to unite itself with the good, and to avoid the evil, though they be conceived merely in idea, and be considered as to exist in any future period of time.

But supposing that there is an immediate impression of pain or pleasure, and that arising from an object related to ourselves or others, this does not prevent the propensity or aversion, with the consequent emotions, but by concurring with certain dormant principles of the human mind, excites the new impressions of pride or humility, love or hatred. That propensity, which unites us to the object, or separates us from it, still continues to operate, but in conjunction with the indirect passions, which arise from a double relation of impressions and ideas.

These indirect passions, being always agreeable or uneasy, give in their turn additional force to the direct passions, and encrease our desire and aversion to the object. Thus a suit of fine cloaths produces pleasure from their beauty; and this pleasure produces the direct passions, or the impressions of volition and desire. Again, when these cloaths are considered as belonging to ourself, the double relation conveys to us the sentiment of pride, which is an indirect passion; and the pleasure, which attends that passion, returns back

to the direct affections, and gives new force to our desire or volition, joy or hope.

When good is certain or probable, it produces joy. When evil is in the same situation there arises GRIEF or SORROW.

When either good or evil is uncertain, it gives rise to FEAR or HOPE, according to the degrees of uncertainty on the one side or the other.

DESIRE arises from good considered simply, and AVERSION is derived from evil. The WILL exerts itself, when either the good or the absence of the evil may be attained by any action of the mind or body.

Beside good and evil, or in other words, pain and pleasure, the direct passions frequently arise from a natural impulse or instinct, which is perfectly unaccountable. Of this kind is the desire of punishment to our enemies, and of happiness to our friends; hunger, lust, and a few other bodily appetites. These passions, properly speaking, produce good and evil, and proceed not from them, like the other affections.

None of the direct affections seem to merit our particular attention, except hope and fear, which we shall here endeavour to account for. It is evident that the very same event, which by its certainty would produce grief or joy, gives always rise to fear or hope, when only probable and uncertain. In order, therefore, to understand the reason why this circumstance makes such a considerable difference, we must reflect on what I have already advanced in the preceding

book concerning
the nature of probability.

Probability arises from an opposition of contrary chances or causes, by which the mind is not allowed to fix on either side, but is incessantly tost from one to another, and at one moment is determined to consider an object as existent, and at another moment as the contrary. The imagination or understanding, call it which you please, fluctuates betwixt the opposite views; and though perhaps it may be oftener turned to the one side than the other, it is impossible for it, by reason of the opposition of causes or chances, to rest on either. The pro and con of the question alternately prevail; and the mind, surveying the object in its opposite principles, finds such a contrariety as utterly destroys all certainty and established opinion.

Suppose, then, that the object, concerning whose reality we are doubtful, is an object either of desire or aversion, it is evident, that, according as the mind turns itself either to the one side or the other, it must feel a momentary impression of joy or sorrow. An object, whose existence we desire, gives satisfaction, when we reflect on those causes, which produce it; and for the same reason excites grief or uneasiness from the opposite consideration: So that as the understanding, in all probable questions, is divided betwixt the contrary points of view, the affections must in the same manner be divided betwixt opposite emotions.

Now if we consider the human mind, we shall find, that with regard to the passions, it is not the nature of a wind-instrument of music, which in running over all the notes immediately loses the sound after the breath ceases; but rather resembles a string-instrument, where after each stroke the vibrations still retain some sound, which gradually and insensibly decays. The imagination is extreme quick and agile; but the passions are slow and restive: For which reason, when any object is presented, that affords a variety of views to the one, and emotions to the other; though the fancy may change its views with great celerity; each stroke will not produce a clear and distinct note of passion, but the one passion will always be mixt and confounded with the other. According as the probability inclines to good or evil, the passion of joy or sorrow predominates in the composition: Because the nature of probability is to cast a superior number of views or chances on one side; or, which is the same thing, a superior number of returns of one passion; or since the dispersed passions are collected into one, a superior degree of that passion. That is, in other words, the grief and joy being intermingled with each other, by means of the contrary views of the imagination, produce by their union the passions of hope and fear.

Upon this head there may be started a very curious question concerning that contrariety of passions, which is our present subject. It is observable, that where the objects of contrary passions

are presented
at once, beside the encrease of the predominant passion
(which has
been already explained, and commonly arises at their
first shock
or rencounter) it sometimes happens, that both the
passions exist
successively, and by short intervals; sometimes, that
they destroy each
other, and neither of them takes place; and sometimes
that both of them
remain united in the mind. It may, therefore, be asked,
by what theory
we can explain these variations, and to what general
principle we can
reduce them.

When the contrary passions arise from objects entirely
different, they
take place alternately, the want of relation in the
ideas separating the
impressions from each other, and preventing their
opposition. Thus when
a man is afflicted for the loss of a law-suit, and
joyful for the birth
of a son, the mind running from the agreeable to the
calamitous object,
with whatever celerity it may perform this motion, can
scarcely temper
the one affection with the other, and remain betwixt
them in a state of
indifference.

It more easily attains that calm situation, when the
same event is of a
mixt nature, and contains something adverse and
something prosperous
in its different circumstances. For in that case, both
the passions,
mingling with each other by means of the relation,
become mutually
destructive, and leave the mind in perfect tranquility.

But suppose, in the third place, that the object is not
a compound of

good or evil, but is considered as probable or improbable in any degree; in that case I assert, that the contrary passions will both of them be present at once in the soul, and instead of destroying and tempering each other, will subsist together, and produce a third impression or affection by their union. Contrary passions are not capable of destroying each other, except when their contrary movements exactly encounter, and are opposite in their direction, as well as in the sensation they produce. This exact encounter depends upon the relations of those ideas, from which they are derived, and is more or less perfect, according to the degrees of the relation. In the case of probability the contrary chances are so far related, that they determine concerning the existence or non-existence of the same object. But this relation is far from being perfect; since some of the chances lie on the side of existence, and others on that of non-existence; which are objects altogether incompatible. It is impossible by one steady view to survey the opposite chances, and the events dependent on them; but it is necessary, that the imagination should run alternately from the one to the other. Each view of the imagination produces its peculiar passion, which decays away by degrees, and is followed by a sensible vibration after the stroke. The incompatibility of the views keeps the passions from shocking in a direct line, if that expression may be allowed; and yet their relation is sufficient to mingle their fainter emotions. It is after this manner that hope and fear arise from the

different mixture of
these opposite passions of grief and joy, and from their
imperfect union
and conjunction.

Upon the whole, contrary passions succeed each other
alternately, when
they arise from different objects: They mutually destroy
each other,
when they proceed from different parts of the same: And
they subsist
both of them and mingle together, when they are derived
from the
contrary and incompatible chances or possibilities, on
which any one
object depends. The influence of the relations of ideas
is plainly seen
in this whole affair. If the objects of the contrary
passions be totally
different, the passions are like two opposite liquors in
different
bottles, which have no influence on each other. If the
objects be
intimately connected, the passions are like an alcali
and an acid,
which, being mingled, destroy each other. If the
relation be more
imperfect, and consists in the contradictory views of
the same object,
the passions are like oil and vinegar, which, however
mingled, never
perfectly unite and incorporate.

As the hypothesis concerning hope and fear carries its
own evidence
along with it, we shall be the more concise in our
proofs. A few strong
arguments are better than many weak ones.

The passions of fear and hope may arise when the chances
are equal on
both sides, and no superiority can be discovered in the
one above the
other. Nay, in this situation the passions are rather
the strongest, as

the mind has then the least foundation to rest upon, and is tossed with the greatest uncertainty. Throw in a superior degree of probability to the side of grief, you immediately see that passion diffuse itself over the composition, and tincture it into fear. Encrease the probability, and by that means the grief, the fear prevails still more and more, till at last it runs insensibly, as the joy continually diminishes, into pure grief. After you have brought it to this situation, diminish the grief, after the same manner that you encreased it; by diminishing the probability on that side, and you'll see the passion clear every moment, until it changes insensibly into hope; which again runs, after the same manner, by slow degrees, into joy, as you encrease that part of the composition by the encrease of the probability. Are not these as plain proofs, that the passions of fear and hope are mixtures of grief and joy, as in optics it is a proof, that a coloured ray of the sun passing through a prism, is a composition of two others, when, as you diminish or encrease the quantity of either, you find it prevail proportionably more or less in the composition? I am sure neither natural nor moral philosophy admits of stronger proofs.

Probability is of two kinds, either when the object is really in itself uncertain, and to be determined by chance; or when, though the object be already certain, yet it is uncertain to our judgment, which finds a number of proofs on each side of the question. Both these kinds of probabilities cause fear and hope; which can only

proceed from that property, in which they agree, viz, the uncertainty and fluctuation they bestow on the imagination by that contrariety of views, which is common to both.

It is a probable good or evil, that commonly produces hope or fear; because probability, being a wavering and unconstant method of surveying an object, causes naturally a like mixture and uncertainty of passion. But we may observe, that wherever from other causes this mixture can be produced, the passions of fear and hope will arise, even though there be no probability; which must be allowed to be a convincing proof of the present hypothesis. We find that an evil, barely conceived as possible, does sometimes produce fear; especially if the evil be very great. A man cannot think of excessive pains and tortures without trembling, if he be in the least danger of suffering them. The smallness of the probability is compensated by the greatness of the evil; and the sensation is equally lively, as if the evil were more probable. One view or glimpse of the former, has the same effect as several of the latter.

But they are not only possible evils, that cause fear, but even some allowed to be impossible; as when we tremble on the brink of a precipice, though we know ourselves to be in perfect security, and have it in our choice whether we will advance a step farther. This proceeds from the immediate presence of the evil, which influences the imagination in the same manner as the certainty of it

would do; but
being encountered by the reflection on our security, is
immediately
retracted, and causes the same kind of passion, as when
from a
contrariety of chances contrary passions are produced.

Evils, that are certain, have sometimes the same effect
in producing
fear, as the possible or impossible. Thus a man in a
strong prison
well-guarded, without the least means of escape,
trembles at the thought
of the rack, to which he is sentenced. This happens only
when the
certain evil is terrible and confounding; in which case
the mind
continually rejects it with horror, while it continually
presses in
upon the thought. The evil is there fixed and
established, but the mind
cannot endure to fix upon it; from which fluctuation and
uncertainty
there arises a passion of much the same appearance with
fear.

But it is not only where good or evil is uncertain, as
to its existence,
but also as to its kind, that fear or hope arises. Let
one be told by
a person, whose veracity he cannot doubt of, that one of
his sons is
suddenly killed, it is evident the passion this event
would occasion,
would not settle into pure grief, till he got certain
information, which
of his sons he had lost. Here there is an evil certain,
but the kind of
it uncertain. Consequently the fear we feel on this
occasion is without
the least mixture of joy, and arises merely from the
fluctuation of the
fancy betwixt its objects. And though each side of the
question produces
here the same passion, yet that passion cannot settle,

but receives
from the imagination a tremulous and unsteady motion,
resembling in its
cause, as well as in its sensation, the mixture and
contention of grief
and joy.

From these principles we may account for a phaenomenon
in the passions,
which at first sight seems very extraordinary, viz, that
surprize is apt
to change into fear, and every thing that is unexpected
affrights
us. The most obvious conclusion from this is, that human
nature is in
general pusillanimous; since upon the sudden appearance
of any object.
we immediately conclude it to be an evil, and without
waiting till we
can examine its nature, whether it be good or bad, are
at first affected
with fear. This I say is the most obvious conclusion;
but upon farther
examination we shall find that the phaenomenon is
otherwise to be
accounted for. The suddenness and strangeness of an
appearance naturally
excite a commotion in the mind, like every thing for
which we are not
prepared, and to which we are not accustomed. This
commotion, again,
naturally produces a curiosity or inquisitiveness, which
being very
violent, from the strong and sudden impulse of the
object, becomes
uneasy, and resembles in its fluctuation and
uncertainty, the sensation
of fear or the mixed passions of grief and joy. This
image of
fear naturally converts into the thing itself, and gives
us a real
apprehension of evil, as the mind always forms its
judgments more from
its present disposition than from the nature of its
objects.

Thus all kinds of uncertainty have a strong connexion with fear, even though they do not cause any opposition of passions by the opposite views and considerations they present to us. A person, who has left his friend in any malady, will feel more anxiety upon his account, than if he were present, though perhaps he is not only incapable of giving him assistance, but likewise of judging of the event of his sickness. In this case, though the principal object of the passion, viz, the life or death of his friend, be to him equally uncertain when present as when absent; yet there are a thousand little circumstances of his friend's situation and condition, the knowledge of which fixes the idea, and prevents that fluctuation and uncertainty so near allied to fear. Uncertainty is, indeed, in one respect as near allied to hope as to fear, since it makes an essential part in the composition of the former passion; but the reason, why it inclines not to that side, is, that uncertainty alone is uneasy, and has a relation of impressions to the uneasy passions.

It is thus our uncertainty concerning any minute circumstance relating to a person increases our apprehensions of his death or misfortune. Horace has remarked this phaenomenon.

UT ASSIDENS IMPLUMI BUS PULLUS AVIS SERPENTIUM ALLAPSUS
TIRNET, MAGIS
RELICTIS; NON, UT ADSIT, AUXILI LATURA PLUS PRESENTIBUS.

[As a bird, watching over her fledgelings, is more

afraid of their being
attacked by snakes if she were to leave them even
though, were she to
stay, she would not be any more capable of helping them,
when they were
with her.]

But this principle of the connexion of fear with
uncertainty I carry
farther, and observe that any doubt produces that
passion, even though
it presents nothing to us on any side but what is good
and desireable. A
virgin, on her bridalnight goes to bed full of fears and
apprehensions,
though she expects nothing but pleasure of the highest
kind, and what
she has long wished for. The newness and greatness of
the event, the
confusion of wishes and joys so embarrass the mind, that
it knows not
on what passion to fix itself; from whence arises a
fluttering or
unsettledness of the spirits which being, in some
degree, uneasy, very
naturally degenerates into fear.

Thus we still find, that whatever causes any fluctuation
or mixture of
passions, with any degree of uneasiness, always produces
fear, or at
least a passion so like it, that they are scarcely to be
distinguished.

I have here confined myself to the examination of hope
and fear in
their most simple and natural situation, without
considering all the
variations they may receive from the mixture of
different views and
reflections. Terror, consternation, astonishment,
anxiety, and other
passions of that kind, are nothing but different species
and degrees of

fear. It is easy to imagine how a different situation of the object, or a different turn of thought, may change even the sensation of a passion; and this may in general account for all the particular sub-divisions of the other affections, as well as of fear. Love may shew itself in the shape of tenderness, friendship, intimacy, esteem, goodwill, and in many other appearances; which at the bottom are the same affections; and arise from the same causes, though with a small variation, which it is not necessary to give any particular account of. It is for this reason I have all along confined myself to the principal passion.

The same care of avoiding prolixity is the reason why I wave the examination of the will and direct passions, as they appear in animals; since nothing is more evident, than that they are of the same nature, and excited by the same causes as in human creatures. I leave this to the reader's own observation; desiring him at the same time to consider the additional force this bestows on the present system.

SECT. X OF CURIOSITY, OR THE LOVE OF TRUTH

But methinks we have been not a little inattentive to run over so many different parts of the human mind, and examine so many passions, without taking once into the consideration that love of truth, which was the first source of all our enquiries. Twill therefore be proper, before we leave this subject, to bestow a few reflections on

that passion, and shew its origin in human nature. It is an affection of so peculiar a kind, that it would have been impossible to have treated of it under any of those heads, which we have examined, without danger of obscurity and confusion.

Truth is of two kinds, consisting either in the discovery of the proportions of ideas, considered as such, or in the conformity of our ideas of objects to their real existence. It is certain, that the former species of truth, is not desired merely as truth, and that it is not the justness of our conclusions, which alone gives the pleasure. For these conclusions are equally just, when we discover the equality of two bodies by a pair of compasses, as when we learn it by a mathematical demonstration; and though in the one case the proofs be demonstrative, and in the other only sensible, yet generally speaking, the mind acquiesces with equal assurance in the one as in the other. And in an arithmetical operation, where both the truth and the assurance are of the same nature, as in the most profound algebraical problem, the pleasure is very inconsiderable, if rather it does not degenerate into pain: Which is an evident proof, that the satisfaction, which we sometimes receive from the discovery of truth, proceeds not from it, merely as such, but only as endowed with certain qualities.

The first and most considerable circumstance requisite to render truth agreeable, is the genius and capacity, which is

employed in its invention and discovery. What is easy and obvious is never valued; and even what is in itself difficult, if we come to the knowledge of it without difficulty, and without any stretch of thought or judgment, is but little regarded. We love to trace the demonstrations of mathematicians; but should receive small entertainment from a person, who should barely inform us of the proportions of lines and angles, though we repose the utmost confidence both in his judgment and veracity. In this case it is sufficient to have ears to learn the truth. We never are obliged to fix our attention or exert our genius; which of all other exercises of the mind is the most pleasant and agreeable.

But though the exercise of genius be the principal source of that satisfaction we receive from the sciences, yet I doubt, if it be alone sufficient to give us any considerable enjoyment. The truth we discover must also be of some importance. It is easy to multiply algebraical problems to infinity, nor is there any end in the discovery of the proportions of conic sections; though few mathematicians take any pleasure in these researches, but turn their thoughts to what is more useful and important. Now the question is, after what manner this utility and importance operate upon us? The difficulty on this head arises from hence, that many philosophers have consumed their time, have destroyed their health, and neglected their fortune, in the search of such truths, as they esteemed important and useful to

the world, though it appeared from their whole conduct and behaviour, that they were not endowed with any share of public spirit, nor had any concern for the interests of mankind. Were they convinced, that their discoveries were of no consequence, they would entirely lose all relish for their studies, and that though the consequences be entirely indifferent to them; which seems to be a contradiction.

To remove this contradiction, we must consider, that there are certain desires and inclinations, which go no farther than the imagination, and are rather the faint shadows and images of passions, than any real affections. Thus, suppose a man, who takes a survey of the fortifications of any city; considers their strength and advantages, natural or acquired; observes the disposition and contrivance of the bastions, ramparts, mines, and other military works; it is plain, that in proportion as all these are fitted to attain their ends he will receive a suitable pleasure and satisfaction. This pleasure, as it arises from the utility, not the form of the objects, can be no other than a sympathy with the inhabitants, for whose security all this art is employed; though it is possible, that this person, as a stranger or an enemy, may in his heart have no kindness for them, or may even entertain a hatred against them.

It may indeed be objected, that such a remote sympathy is a very slight foundation for a passion, and that so much industry and application,

as we frequently observe in philosophers, can never be derived from so inconsiderable an original. But here I return to what I have already remarked, that the pleasure of study conflicts chiefly in the action of the mind, and the exercise of the genius and understanding in the discovery or comprehension of any truth. If the importance of the truth be requisite to compleat the pleasure, it is not on account of any considerable addition, which of itself it brings to our enjoyment, but only because it is, in some measure, requisite to fix our attention. When we are careless and inattentive, the same action of the understanding has no effect upon us, nor is able to convey any of that satisfaction, which arises from it, when we are in another disposition.

But beside the action of the mind, which is the principal foundation of the pleasure, there is likewise required a degree of success in the attainment of the end, or the discovery of that truth we examine. Upon this head I shall make a general remark, which may be useful on many occasions, viz, that where the mind pursues any end with passion; though that passion be not derived originally from the end, but merely from the action and pursuit; yet by the natural course of the affections, we acquire a concern for the end itself, and are uneasy under any disappointment we meet with in the pursuit of it. This proceeds from the relation and parallel direction of the passions above-mentioned.

To illustrate all this by a similar instance, I shall

observe, that
there cannot be two passions more nearly resembling each
other, than
those of hunting and philosophy, whatever disproportion
may at first
sight appear betwixt them. It is evident, that the
pleasure of hunting
conflicts in the action of the mind and body; the
motion, the attention,
the difficulty, and the uncertainty. It is evident
likewise, that these
actions must be attended with an idea of utility, in
order to their
having any effect upon us. A man of the greatest
fortune, and the
farthest removed from avarice, though he takes a
pleasure in hunting
after partridges and pheasants, feels no satisfaction in
shooting crows
and magpies; and that because he considers the first as
fit for the
table, and the other as entirely useless. Here it is
certain, that the
utility or importance of itself causes no real passion,
but is
only requisite to support the imagination; and the same
person, who
over-looks a ten times greater profit in any other
subject, is pleased
to bring home half a dozen woodcocks or plovers, after
having employed
several hours in hunting after them. To make the
parallel betwixt
hunting and philosophy more compleat, we may observe,
that though in
both cases the end of our action may in itself be
despised, yet in the
heat of the action we acquire such an attention to this
end, that we are
very uneasy under any disappointments, and are sorry
when we either miss
our game, or fall into any error in our reasoning.

If we want another parallel to these affections, we may
consider the

passion of gaming, which affords a pleasure from the same principles as hunting and philosophy. It has been remarked, that the pleasure of gaming arises not from interest alone; since many leave a sure gain for this entertainment: Neither is it derived from the game alone; since the same persons have no satisfaction, when they play for nothing: But proceeds from both these causes united, though separately they have no effect. It is here, as in certain chymical preparations, where the mixture of two clear and transparent liquids produces a third, which is opaque and coloured..

The interest, which we have in any game, engages our attention, without which we can have no enjoyment, either in that or in any other action. Our attention being once engaged, the difficulty, variety, and sudden reverses of fortune, still farther interest us; and it is from that concern our satisfaction arises. Human life is so tiresome a scene, and men generally are of such indolent dispositions, that whatever amuses them, though by a passion mixt with pain, does in the main give them a sensible pleasure. And this pleasure is here encreased by the nature of the objects, which being sensible, and of a narrow compass, are entered into with facility, and are agreeable to the imagination.

The same theory, that accounts for the love of truth in mathematics and algebra may be extended to morals, politics, natural philosophy, and other studies, where we consider not the other abstract relations of

ideas, but their real connexions and existence. But beside the love of knowledge, which displays itself in the sciences, there is a certain curiosity implanted in human nature, which is a passion derived from a quite different principle. Some people have an insatiable desire of knowing the actions and circumstances of their neighbours, though their interest be no way concerned in them, and they must entirely depend on others for their information; in which case there is no room for study or application. Let us search for the reason of this phaenomenon.

It has been proved at large, that the influence of belief is at once to inliven and infix any idea in the imagination, and prevent all kind of hesitation and uncertainty about it. Both these circumstances are advantageous. By the vivacity of the idea we interest the fancy, and produce, though in a lesser degree, the same pleasure, which arises from a moderate passion. As the vivacity of the idea gives pleasure, so its certainty prevents uneasiness, by fixing one particular idea in the mind, and keeping it from wavering in the choice of its objects. It is a quality of human nature, which is conspicuous on many occasions, and is common both to the mind and body, that too sudden and violent a change is unpleasant to us, and that however any objects may in themselves be indifferent, yet their alteration gives uneasiness. As it is the nature of doubt to cause a variation in the thought, and transport us suddenly from one idea to another, it must of consequence be the occasion of

pain. This pain chiefly takes place, where interest, relation, or the greatness and novelty of any event interests us in it. It is not every matter of fact, of which we have a curiosity to be informed; neither are they such only as we have an interest to know. It is sufficient if the idea strikes on us with such force, and concerns us so nearly, as to give us an uneasiness in its instability and inconstancy. A stranger, when he arrives first at any town, may be entirely indifferent about knowing the history and adventures of the inhabitants; but as he becomes farther acquainted with them, and has lived any considerable time among them, he acquires the same curiosity as the natives. When we are reading the history of a nation, we may have an ardent desire of clearing up any doubt or difficulty, that occurs in it; but become careless in such researches, when the ideas of these events are, in a great measure, obliterated.

BOOK III OF MORALS

PART I OF VIRTUE AND VICE IN GENERAL

SECT. I MORAL DISTINCTIONS NOT DERIVED FROM REASON

There is an inconvenience which attends all abstruse reasoning that it may silence, without convincing an antagonist, and requires the same intense study to make us sensible of its force, that was at first requisite for its invention. When we leave our closet, and engage in the common affairs of life, its conclusions seem to vanish, like the phantoms of the night on the appearance of the morning; and it is difficult for us to retain even that conviction, which we had attained with difficulty. This is still more conspicuous in a long chain of reasoning, where we must preserve to the end the evidence of the first propositions, and where we often lose sight of all the most received maxims, either of philosophy or common life. I am not, however, without hopes, that the present system of philosophy will acquire new force as it advances; and that our reasonings concerning morals will corroborate whatever has been said concerning the UNDERSTANDING and the PASSIONS. Morality is a subject that interests us above all others: We fancy the peace of society to be at stake in every decision concerning it; and it is evident, that this concern must make our speculations appear more real and solid, than where the subject is, in a great measure, indifferent to us. What affects us, we conclude can never be a chimera; and as our passion is engaged on the one side or the other, we naturally think that the question lies within human comprehension; which, in other cases of this nature, we are apt to entertain some doubt

of. Without
this advantage I never should have ventured upon a third
volume of such
abstruse philosophy, in an age, wherein the greatest
part of men seem
agreed to convert reading into an amusement, and to
reject every thing
that requires any considerable degree of attention to be
comprehended.

It has been observed, that nothing is ever present to
the mind but
its perceptions; and that all the actions of seeing,
hearing, judging,
loving, hating, and thinking, fall under this
denomination. The mind can
never exert itself in any action, which we may not
comprehend under the
term of perception; and consequently that term is no
less applicable to
those judgments, by which we distinguish moral good and
evil, than
to every other operation of the mind. To approve of one
character, to
condemn another, are only so many different perceptions.

Now as perceptions resolve themselves into two kinds,
viz. impressions
and ideas, this distinction gives rise to a question,
with which we
shall open up our present enquiry concerning morals.
WHETHER IT IS
BY MEANS OF OUR IDEAS OR IMPRESSIONS WE DISTINGUISH
BETWIXT VICE AND
VIRTUE, AND PRONOUNCE AN ACTION BLAMEABLE OR
PRAISEWORTHY? This will
immediately cut off all loose discourses and
declamations, and reduce us
to something precise and exact on the present subject.

Those who affirm that virtue is nothing but a conformity
to reason; that
there are eternal fitnesses and unfitnesses of things,
which are the
same to every rational being that considers them; that

the immutable
measures of right and wrong impose an obligation, not
only on human
creatures, but also on the Deity himself: All these
systems concur in
the opinion, that morality, like truth, is discerned
merely by ideas,
and by their juxta-position and comparison. In order,
therefore, to
judge of these systems, we need only consider, whether
it be possible,
from reason alone, to distinguish betwixt moral good and
evil, or
whether there must concur some other principles to
enable us to make
that distinction.

If morality had naturally no influence on human passions
and actions,
it were in vain to take such pains to inculcate it; and
nothing would be
more fruitless than that multitude of rules and
precepts, with which all
moralists abound. Philosophy is commonly divided into
speculative and
practical; and as morality is always comprehended under
the latter
division, it is supposed to influence our passions and
actions, and to
go beyond the calm and indolent judgments of the
understanding. And this
is confirmed by common experience, which informs us,
that men are often
governed by their duties, and are deterred from some
actions by the
opinion of injustice, and impelled to others by that of
obligation.

Since morals, therefore, have an influence on the
actions and
affections, it follows, that they cannot be derived from
reason; and
that because reason alone, as we have already proved,
can never have any
such influence. Morals excite passions, and produce or

prevent actions.

Reason of itself is utterly impotent in this particular. The rules of morality therefore, are not conclusions of our reason.

No one, I believe, will deny the justness of this inference; nor is there any other means of evading it, than by denying that principle, on which it is founded. As long as it is allowed, that reason has no influence on our passions and action, it is in vain to pretend, that morality is discovered only by a deduction of reason. An active principle can never be founded on an inactive; and if reason be inactive in itself, it must remain so in all its shapes and appearances, whether it exerts itself in natural or moral subjects, whether it considers the powers of external bodies, or the actions of rational beings.

It would be tedious to repeat all the arguments, by which I have proved [Book II. Part III. Sect 3.], that reason is perfectly inert, and can never either prevent or produce any action or affection, it will be easy to recollect what has been said upon that subject. I shall only recall on this occasion one of these arguments, which I shall endeavour to render still more conclusive, and more applicable to the present subject.

Reason is the discovery of truth or falshood. Truth or falshood consists in an agreement or disagreement either to the real relations of ideas, or to real existence and matter of fact. Whatever, therefore, is not susceptible of this agreement or disagreement, is

incapable of being
true or false, and can never be an object of our reason.
Now it is
evident our passions, volitions, and actions, are not
susceptible of
any such agreement or disagreement; being original facts
and realities,
complete in themselves, and implying no reference to
other passions,
volitions, and actions. It is impossible, therefore,
they can be
pronounced either true or false, and be either contrary
or conformable
to reason.

This argument is of double advantage to our present
purpose. For
it proves DIRECTLY, that actions do not derive their
merit from a
conformity to reason, nor their blame from a contrariety
to it; and it
proves the same truth more INDIRECTLY, by shewing us,
that as reason
can never immediately prevent or produce any action by
contradicting or
approving of it, it cannot be the source of moral good
and evil, which
are found to have that influence. Actions may be
laudable or blameable;
but they cannot be reasonable: Laudable or blameable,
therefore, are
not the same with reasonable or unreasonable. The merit
and demerit
of actions frequently contradict, and sometimes controul
our natural
propensities. But reason has no such influence. Moral
distinctions,
therefore, are not the offspring of reason. Reason is
wholly inactive,
and can never be the source of so active a principle as
conscience, or a
sense of morals.

But perhaps it may be said, that though no will or
action can

be immediately contradictory to reason, yet we may find such a contradiction in some of the attendants of the action, that is, in its causes or effects. The action may cause a judgment, or may be obliquely caused by one, when the judgment concurs with a passion; and by an abusive way of speaking, which philosophy will scarce allow of, the same contrariety may, upon that account, be ascribed to the action. How far this truth or falsehood may be the source of morals, it will now be proper to consider.

It has been observed, that reason, in a strict and philosophical sense, can have influence on our conduct only after two ways: Either when it excites a passion by informing us of the existence of something which is a proper object of it; or when it discovers the connexion of causes and effects, so as to afford us means of exerting any passion. These are the only kinds of judgment, which can accompany our actions, or can be said to produce them in any manner; and it must be allowed, that these judgments may often be false and erroneous. A person may be affected with passion, by supposing a pain or pleasure to lie in an object, which has no tendency to produce either of these sensations, or which produces the contrary to what is imagined. A person may also take false measures for the attaining his end, and may retard, by his foolish conduct, instead of forwarding the execution of any project. These false judgments may be thought to affect the passions and actions, which are connected with them, and may be said to render them

unreasonable, in a figurative and improper way of speaking. But though this be acknowledged, it is easy to observe, that these errors are so far from being the source of all immorality, that they are commonly very innocent, and draw no manner of guilt upon the person who is so unfortunate as to fall into them. They extend not beyond a mistake of fact, which moralists have not generally supposed criminal, as being perfectly involuntary. I am more to be lamented than blamed, if I am mistaken with regard to the influence of objects in producing pain or pleasure, or if I know not the proper means of satisfying my desires. No one can ever regard such errors as a defect in my moral character.

A fruit, for instance, that is really disagreeable, appears to me at a distance, and through mistake I fancy it to be pleasant and delicious.

Here is one error. I choose certain means of reaching this fruit, which are not proper for my end. Here is a second error; nor is there any third one, which can ever possibly enter into our reasonings concerning actions. I ask, therefore, if a man, in this situation, and guilty of these two errors, is to be regarded as vicious and criminal, however unavoidable they might have been? Or if it be possible to imagine, that such errors are the sources of all immorality?

And here it may be proper to observe, that if moral distinctions be derived from the truth or falshood of those judgments, they must take place wherever we form the judgments; nor will there be any difference,

whether the question be concerning an apple or a kingdom, or whether the error be avoidable or unavoidable. For as the very essence of morality is supposed to consist in an agreement or disagreement to reason, the other circumstances are entirely arbitrary, and can never either bestow on any action the character of virtuous or vicious, or deprive it of that character. To which we may add, that this agreement or disagreement, not admitting of degrees, all virtues and vices would of course be equal.

Should it be pretended, that though a mistake of fact be not criminal, yet a mistake of right often is; and that this may be the source of immorality: I would answer, that it is impossible such a mistake can ever be the original source of immorality, since it supposes a real right and wrong; that is, a real distinction in morals, independent of these judgments. A mistake, therefore, of right may become a species of immorality; but it is only a secondary one, and is founded on some other, antecedent to it.

As to those judgments which are the effects of our actions, and which, when false, give occasion to pronounce the actions contrary to truth and reason; we may observe, that our actions never cause any judgment, either true or false, in ourselves, and that it is only on others they have such an influence. It is certain, that an action, on many occasions, may give rise to false conclusions in others; and that a person, who through a window sees any lewd behaviour of

mine with my
neighbour's wife, may be so simple as to imagine she is
certainly my
own. In this respect my action resembles somewhat a lye
or falshood;
only with this difference, which is material, that I
perform not the
action with any intention of giving rise to a false
judgment in another,
but merely to satisfy my lust and passion. It causes,
however, a mistake
and false judgment by accident; and the falshood of its
effects may be
ascribed, by some odd figurative way of speaking, to the
action itself.
But still I can see no pretext of reason for asserting,
that the
tendency to cause such an error is the first spring or
original source
of all immorality.

[Footnote 12. One might think it were entirely
superfluous
to prove this, if a late author [William Wollaston,
THE
RELIGION OF NATURE DELINEATED (London 1722)], who
has had
the good fortune to obtain some reputation, had not
seriously affirmed, that such a falshood is the
foundation
of all guilt and moral deformity. That we may
discover the
fallacy of his hypothesis, we need only consider,
that a
false conclusion is drawn from an action, only by
means of
an obscurity of natural principles, which makes a
cause be
secretly interrupted In its operation, by contrary
causes,
and renders the connexion betwixt two objects
uncertain and
variable. Now, as a like uncertainty and variety of

causes

take place, even in natural objects, and produce a like

error in our judgment, if that tendency to produce error

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It is in vain to urge, that inanimate objects act without

liberty and choice. For as liberty and choice are not necessary to make an action produce in us an erroneous conclusion, they can be, in no respect, essential to morality; and I do not readily perceive, upon this system, how they can ever come to be regarded by it. If the tendency to cause error be the origin of immorality, that tendency and immorality would in every case be inseparable.

Add to this, that if I had used the precaution of shutting the windows, while I indulged myself in those liberties with my neighbour's wife, I should have been guilty of no immorality; and that because my action, being perfectly concealed, would have had no tendency to produce any false conclusion.

For the same reason, a thief, who steals in by a ladder at a window, and takes all imaginable care to cause no disturbance, is in no respect criminal. For either he will not be perceived, or if he be, it is impossible he can produce any error, nor will any one, from these circumstances, take him to be other than what he really is.

It is well known, that those who are squint-sighted, do very readily cause mistakes in others, and that we imagine they salute or are talking to one person, while they address themselves to another. Are they therefore, upon that account,

immoral?

Besides, we may easily observe, that in all those arguments there is an evident reasoning in a circle. A person who takes possession of another's goods, and uses them as his own, in a manner declares them to be his own; and this falshood is the source of the immorality of injustice. But is property, or right, or obligation, intelligible, without an antecedent morality?

A man that is ungrateful to his benefactor, in a manner affirms, that he never received any favours from him. But in what manner? Is it because it is his duty to be grateful? But this supposes, that there is some antecedent rule of duty and morals. Is it because human nature is generally grateful, and makes us conclude, that a man who does any harm never received any favour from the person he harmed? But human nature is not so generally grateful, as to justify such a conclusion. Or if it were, is an exception to a general rule in every case criminal, for no other reason than because it is an exception?

But what may suffice entirely to destroy this whimsical system is, that it leaves us under the same difficulty to give a reason why truth is virtuous and falshood vicious, as to account for the merit or turpitude of any other

action. I

shall allow, if you please, that all immorality is derived from this supposed falshood in action, provided you can give me any plausible reason, why such a falshood is immoral. If you consider rightly of the matter, you will find yourself in the same difficulty as at the beginning.

This last argument is very conclusive; because, if there be not an evident merit or turpitude annexed to this species of truth or falahood, It can never have any influence upon our actions. For, who ever thought of forbearing any action, because others might possibly draw false conclusions from it? Or, who ever performed any, that he might give rise to true conclusions?]

Thus upon the whole, it is impossible, that the distinction betwixt moral good and evil, can be made to reason; since that distinction has an influence upon our actions, of which reason alone is incapable. Reason and judgment may, indeed, be the mediate cause of an action, by prompting, or by directing a passion: But it is not pretended, that a judgment of this kind, either in its truth or falshood, is attended with virtue or vice. And as to the judgments, which are caused by our judgments, they can still less bestow those moral qualities on the actions, which are their causes.

But to be more particular, and to shew, that those

eternal immutable
fitnesses and unfitnesses of things cannot be defended
by sound
philosophy, we may weigh the following considerations.

If the thought and understanding were alone capable of
fixing the
boundaries of right and wrong, the character of virtuous
and vicious
either must lie in some relations of objects, or must be
a matter of
fact, which is discovered by our reasoning. This
consequence is evident.

As the operations of human understanding divide
themselves into two
kinds, the comparing of ideas, and the inferring of
matter of fact; were
virtue discovered by the understanding; it must be an
object of one of
these operations, nor is there any third operation of
the understanding.
which can discover it. There has been an opinion very
industriously
propagated by certain philosophers, that morality is
susceptible of
demonstration; and though no one has ever been able to
advance a single
step in those demonstrations; yet it is taken for
granted, that this
science may be brought to an equal certainty with
geometry or algebra.

Upon this supposition vice and virtue must consist in
some relations;
since it is allowed on all hands, that no matter of fact
is capable
of being demonstrated. Let us, therefore, begin with
examining this
hypothesis, and endeavour, if possible, to fix those
moral qualities,
which have been so long the objects of our fruitless
researches. Point
out distinctly the relations, which constitute morality
or obligation,
that we may know wherein they consist, and after what
manner we must

judge of them.

If you assert, that vice and virtue consist in relations susceptible of certainty and demonstration, you must confine yourself to those four relations, which alone admit of that degree of evidence; and in that case you run into absurdities, from which you will never be able to extricate yourself. For as you make the very essence of morality to lie in the relations, and as there is no one of these relations but what is applicable, not only to an irrational, but also to an inanimate object; it follows, that even such objects must be susceptible of merit or demerit. RESEMBLANCE, CONTRARIETY, DEGREES IN QUALITY, and PROPORTIONS IN QUANTITY AND NUMBER; all these relations belong as properly to matter, as to our actions, passions, and volitions. It is unquestionable, therefore, that morality lies not in any of these relations, nor the sense of it in their discovery.

[Footnote 13. As a proof, how confused our way of thinking on this subject commonly is, we may observe, that those who assert, that morality is demonstrable, do not say, that morality lies in the relations, and that the relations are distinguishable by reason. They only say, that reason can discover such an action, In such relations, to be virtuous, and such another vicious. It seems they thought it sufficient, if they could bring the word, Relation, into the proposition, without troubling themselves whether

it was to

the purpose or not. But here, I think, is plain argument.

Demonstrative reason discovers only relations. But that

reason, according to this hypothesis, discovers also vice

and virtue. These moral qualities, therefore, must be

relations. When we blame any action, in any situation, the

whole complicated object, of action and situation, must form

certain relations, wherein the essence of vice consists.

This hypothesis is not otherwise intelligible. For what does

reason discover, when it pronounces any action vicious? Does

it discover a relation or a matter of fact? These questions

are decisive, and must not be eluded.]

Should it be asserted, that the sense of morality consists in

the discovery of some relation, distinct from these, and that our

enumeration was not complete, when we comprehended all demonstrable

relations under four general heads: To this I know not what to reply,

till some one be so good as to point out to me this new relation. It is

impossible to refute a system, which has never yet been explained. In

such a manner of fighting in the dark, a man loses his blows in the air,

and often places them where the enemy is not present.

I must, therefore, on this occasion, rest contented with requiring the

two following conditions of any one that would undertake to clear up

this system. First, As moral good and evil belong only to the actions

of the mind, and are derived from our situation with regard to external objects, the relations, from which these moral distinctions arise, must lie only betwixt internal actions, and external objects, and must not be applicable either to internal actions, compared among themselves, or to external objects, when placed in opposition to other external objects. For as morality is supposed to attend certain relations, if these relations coued belong to internal actions considered singly, it would follow, that we might be guilty of crimes in ourselves, and independent of our situation, with respect to the universe: And in like manner, if these moral relations coued be applied to external objects, it would follow, that even inanimate beings would be susceptible of moral beauty and deformity. Now it seems difficult to imagine, that any relation can be discovered betwixt our passions, volitions and actions, compared to external objects, which relation might not belong either to these passions and volitions, or to these external objects, compared among themselves. But it will be still more difficult to fulfil the second condition, requisite to justify this system. According to the principles of those who maintain an abstract rational difference betwixt moral good and evil, and a natural fitness and unfitness of things, it is not only supposed, that these relations, being eternal and immutable, are the same, when considered by every rational creature, but their effects are also supposed to be necessarily the same; and it is concluded they have no less, or rather a greater, influence in directing the

will of the deity, than in governing the rational and virtuous of our own species. These two particulars are evidently distinct. It is one thing to know virtue, and another to conform the will to it. In order, therefore, to prove, that the measures of right and wrong are eternal laws, obligatory on every rational mind, it is not sufficient to shew the relations upon which they are founded: We must also point out the connexion betwixt the relation and the will; and must prove that this connexion is so necessary, that in every well-disposed mind, it must take place and have its influence; though the difference betwixt these minds be in other respects immense and infinite. Now besides what I have already proved, that even in human nature no relation can ever alone produce any action: besides this, I say, it has been shewn, in treating of the understanding, that there is no connexion of cause and effect, such as this is supposed to be, which is discoverable otherwise than by experience, and of which we can pretend to have any security by the simple consideration of the objects. All beings in the universe, considered in themselves, appear entirely loose and independent of each other. It is only by experience we learn their influence and connexion; and this influence we ought never to extend beyond experience.

Thus it will be impossible to fulfil the first condition required to the system of eternal measures of right and wrong; because it is impossible to shew those relations, upon which such a distinction

may be founded:

And it is as impossible to fulfil the second condition; because we cannot prove A PRIORI, that these relations, if they really existed and were perceived, would be universally forcible and obligatory.

But to make these general reflections more dear and convincing, we may illustrate them by some particular instances, wherein this character of moral good or evil is the most universally acknowledged. Of all crimes that human creatures are capable of committing, the most horrid and unnatural is ingratitude, especially when it is committed against parents, and appears in the more flagrant instances of wounds and death. This is acknowledged by all mankind, philosophers as well as the people; the question only arises among philosophers, whether the guilt or moral deformity of this action be discovered by demonstrative reasoning, or be felt by an internal sense, and by means of some sentiment, which the reflecting on such an action naturally occasions. This question will soon be decided against the former opinion, if we can shew the same relations in other objects, without the notion of any guilt or iniquity attending them. Reason or science is nothing but the comparing of ideas, and the discovery of their relations; and if the same relations have different characters, it must evidently follow, that those characters are not discovered merely by reason. To put the affair, therefore, to this trial, let us chuse any inanimate object, such as an oak or elm; and let us suppose, that by the dropping of its seed, it

produces a
sapling below it, which springing up by degrees, at last
overtops and
destroys the parent tree: I ask, if in this instance
there be wanting
any relation, which is discoverable in parricide or
ingratitude? Is
not the one tree the cause of the other's existence; and
the latter the
cause of the destruction of the former, in the same
manner as when a
child murders his parent? It is not sufficient to reply,
that a choice
or will is wanting. For in the case of parricide, a will
does not give
rise to any DIFFERENT relations, but is only the cause
from which the
action is derived; and consequently produces the same
relations, that in
the oak or elm arise from some other principles. It is a
will or choice,
that determines a man to kill his parent; and they are
the laws of
matter and motion, that determine a sapling to destroy
the oak, from
which it sprung. Here then the same relations have
different causes; but
still the relations are the same: And as their discovery
is not in both
cases attended with a notion of immorality, it follows,
that that notion
does not arise from such a discovery.

But to chuse an instance, still more resembling; I would
fain ask any
one, why incest in the human species is criminal, and
why the very same
action, and the same relations in animals have not the
smallest moral
turpitude and deformity? If it be answered, that this
action is innocent
in animals, because they have not reason sufficient to
discover its
turpitude; but that man, being endowed with that faculty
which ought to

restrain him to his duty, the same action instantly becomes criminal to him; should this be said, I would reply, that this is evidently arguing in a circle. For before reason can perceive this turpitude, the turpitude must exist; and consequently is independent of the decisions of our reason, and is their object more properly than their effect. According to this system, then, every animal, that has sense, and appetite, and will; that is, every animal must be susceptible of all the same virtues and vices, for which we ascribe praise and blame to human creatures. All the difference is, that our superior reason may serve to discover the vice or virtue, and by that means may augment the blame or praise: But still this discovery supposes a separate being in these moral distinctions, and a being, which depends only on the will and appetite, and which, both in thought and reality, may be distinguished from the reason. Animals are susceptible of the same relations, with respect to each other, as the human species, and therefore would also be susceptible of the same morality, if the essence of morality consisted in these relations. Their want of a sufficient degree of reason may hinder them from perceiving the duties and obligations of morality, but can never hinder these duties from existing; since they must antecedently exist, in order to their being perceived. Reason must find them, and can never produce them. This argument deserves to be weighed, as being, in my opinion, entirely decisive.

Nor does this reasoning only prove, that morality

consists not in any relations, that are the objects of science; but if examined, will prove with equal certainty, that it consists not in any matter of fact, which can be discovered by the understanding. This is the second part of our argument; and if it can be made evident, we may conclude, that morality is not an object of reason. But can there be any difficulty in proving, that vice and virtue are not matters of fact, whose existence we can infer by reason? Take any action allowed to be vicious: Wilful murder, for instance. Examine it in all lights, and see if you can find that matter of fact, or real existence, which you call vice. In which-ever way you take it, you find only certain passions, motives, volitions and thoughts. There is no other matter of fact in the case. The vice entirely escapes you, as long as you consider the object. You never can find it, till you turn your reflection into your own breast, and find a sentiment of disapprobation, which arises in you, towards this action. Here is a matter of fact; but it is the object of feeling, not of reason. It lies in yourself, not in the object. So that when you pronounce any action or character to be vicious, you mean nothing, but that from the constitution of your nature you have a feeling or sentiment of blame from the contemplation of it. Vice and virtue, therefore, may be compared to sounds, colours, heat and cold, which, according to modern philosophy, are not qualities in objects, but perceptions in the mind: And this discovery in morals, like that other

in physics, is to be regarded as a considerable advancement of the speculative sciences; though, like that too, it has little or no influence on practice. Nothing can be more real, or concern us more, than our own sentiments of pleasure and uneasiness; and if these be favourable to virtue, and unfavourable to vice, no more can be requisite to the regulation of our conduct and behaviour.

I cannot forbear adding to these reasonings an observation, which may, perhaps, be found of some importance. In every system of morality, which I have hitherto met with, I have always remarked, that the author proceeds for some time in the ordinary way of reasoning, and establishes the being of a God, or makes observations concerning human affairs; when of a sudden I am surprized to find, that instead of the usual copulations of propositions, is, and is not, I meet with no proposition that is not connected with an ought, or an ought not. This change is imperceptible; but is, however, of the last consequence. For as this ought, or ought not, expresses some new relation or affirmation, it is necessary that it should be observed and explained; and at the same time that a reason should be given, for what seems altogether inconceivable, how this new relation can be a deduction from others, which are entirely different from it. But as authors do not commonly use this precaution, I shall presume to recommend it to the readers; and am persuaded, that this small attention would subvert all the vulgar systems of morality, and let us see, that the distinction of vice and virtue

is not founded
merely on the relations of objects, nor is perceived by
reason.

SECT. II MORAL DISTINCTIONS DERIVED FROM A MORAL SENSE

Thus the course of the argument leads us to conclude,
that since vice
and virtue are not discoverable merely by reason, or the
comparison
of ideas, it must be by means of some impression or
sentiment they
occasion, that we are able to mark the difference
betwixt them. Our
decisions concerning moral rectitude and depravity are
evidently
perceptions; and as all perceptions are either
impressions or ideas, the
exclusion of the one is a convincing argument for the
other. Morality,
therefore, is more properly felt than judged of; though
this feeling or
sentiment is commonly so soft and gentle, that we are
apt to confound
it with an idea, according to our common custom of
taking all things for
the same, which have any near resemblance to each other.

The next question is, Of what nature are these
impressions, and after
what manner do they operate upon us? Here we cannot
remain long in
suspense, but must pronounce the impression arising from
virtue, to
be agreeable, and that proceeding from vice to be uneasy.
Every moments
experience must convince us of this. There is no
spectacle so fair and
beautiful as a noble and generous action; nor any which
gives us more
abhorrence than one that is cruel and treacherous. No

enjoyment equals
the satisfaction we receive from the company of those we
love and
esteem; as the greatest of all punishments is to be
obliged to pass our
lives with those we hate or contemn. A very play or
romance may afford
us instances of this pleasure, which virtue conveys to
us; and pain,
which arises from vice.

Now since the distinguishing impressions, by which moral
good or evil is
known, are nothing but particular pains or pleasures; it
follows,
that in all enquiries concerning these moral
distinctions, it will be
sufficient to shew the principles, which make us feel a
satisfaction or
uneasiness from the survey of any character, in order to
satisfy us
why the character is laudable or blameable. An action,
or sentiment,
or character is virtuous or vicious; why? because its
view causes
a pleasure or uneasiness of a particular kind. In giving
a reason,
therefore, for the pleasure or uneasiness, we
sufficiently explain the
vice or virtue. To have the sense of virtue, is nothing
but to feel a
satisfaction of a particular kind from the contemplation
of a character.
The very feeling constitutes our praise or admiration.
We go no farther;
nor do we enquire into the cause of the satisfaction. We
do not infer
a character to be virtuous, because it pleases: But in
feeling that it
pleases after such a particular manner, we in effect
feel that it is
virtuous. The case is the same as in our judgments
concerning all kinds
of beauty, and tastes, and sensations. Our approbation
is implied in the

immediate pleasure they convey to us.

I have objected to the system, which establishes eternal rational measures of right and wrong, that it is impossible to shew, in the actions of reasonable creatures, any relations, which are not found in external objects; and therefore, if morality always attended these relations, it were possible for inanimate matter to become virtuous or vicious. Now it may, in like manner, be objected to the present system, that if virtue and vice be determined by pleasure and pain, these qualities must, in every case, arise from the sensations; and consequently any object, whether animate or inanimate, rational or irrational, might become morally good or evil, provided it can excite a satisfaction or uneasiness. But though this objection seems to be the very same, it has by no means the same force, in the one case as in the other. For, first, tis evident, that under the term pleasure, we comprehend sensations, which are very different from each other, and which have only such a distant resemblance, as is requisite to make them be expressed by the same abstract term. A good composition of music and a bottle of good wine equally produce pleasure; and what is more, their goodness is determined merely by the pleasure. But shall we say upon that account, that the wine is harmonious, or the music of a good flavour? In like manner an inanimate object, and the character or sentiments of any person may, both of them, give satisfaction; but as the satisfaction is different, this keeps our sentiments

concerning them
from being confounded, and makes us ascribe virtue to
the one, and not
to the other. Nor is every sentiment of pleasure or
pain, which arises
from characters and actions, of that peculiar kind,
which makes us
praise or condemn. The good qualities of an enemy are
hurtful to us; but
may still command our esteem and respect. It is only
when a character
is considered in general, without reference to our
particular interest,
that it causes such a feeling or sentiment, as
denominates it morally
good or evil. It is true, those sentiments, from
interest and morals,
are apt to be confounded, and naturally run into one
another. It seldom
happens, that we do not think an enemy vicious, and can
distinguish
betwixt his opposition to our interest and real villainy
or baseness.
But this hinders not, but that the sentiments are, in
themselves,
distinct; and a man of temper and judgment may preserve
himself from
these illusions. In like manner, though it is certain a
musical voice is
nothing but one that naturally gives a particular kind
of pleasure; yet
it is difficult for a man to be sensible, that the voice
of an enemy is
agreeable, or to allow it to be musical. But a person of
a fine ear, who
has the command of himself, can separate these feelings,
and give praise
to what deserves it.

SECONDLY, We may call to remembrance the preceding
system of the
passions, in order to remark a still more considerable
difference
among our pains and pleasures. Pride and humility, love
and hatred are

excited, when there is any thing presented to us, that both bears a relation to the object of the passion, and produces a separate sensation related to the sensation of the passion. Now virtue and vice are attended with these circumstances. They must necessarily be placed either in ourselves or others, and excite either pleasure or uneasiness; and therefore must give rise to one of these four passions; which clearly distinguishes them from the pleasure and pain arising from inanimate objects, that often bear no relation to us: And this is, perhaps, the most considerable effect that virtue and vice have upon the human mind.

It may now be asked in general, concerning this pain or pleasure, that distinguishes moral good and evil, FROM WHAT PRINCIPLES IS IT DERIVED, AND WHENCE DOES IT ARISE IN THE HUMAN MIND? To this I reply, first, that it is absurd to imagine, that in every particular instance, these sentiments are produced by an original quality and primary constitution. For as the number of our duties is, in a manner, infinite, it is impossible that our original instincts should extend to each of them, and from our very first infancy impress on the human mind all that multitude of precepts, which are contained in the compleatest system of ethics. Such a method of proceeding is not conformable to the usual maxims, by which nature is conducted, where a few principles produce all that variety we observe in the universe, and every thing is carried on in the easiest and most simple manner. It is necessary,

therefore, to
abridge these primary impulses, and find some more
general principles,
upon which all our notions of morals are founded.

But in the second place, should it be asked, Whether we
ought to search
for these principles in nature, or whether we must look
for them in some
other origin? I would reply, that our answer to this
question depends
upon the definition of the word, Nature, than which
there is none more
ambiguous and equivocal. If nature be opposed to
miracles, not only the
distinction betwixt vice and virtue is natural, but also
every event,
which has ever happened in the world, EXCEPTING THOSE
MIRACLES, ON WHICH
OUR RELIGION IS FOUNDED. In saying, then, that the
sentiments of vice
and virtue are natural in this sense, we make no very
extraordinary
discovery.

But nature may also be opposed to rare and unusual; and
in this sense
of the word, which is the common one, there may often
arise disputes
concerning what is natural or unnatural; and one may in
general affirm,
that we are not possessed of any very precise standard,
by which these
disputes can be decided. Frequent and rare depend upon
the number of
examples we have observed; and as this number may
gradually encrease
or diminish, it will be impossible to fix any exact
boundaries betwixt
them. We may only affirm on this head, that if ever
there was any thing,
which could be called natural in this sense, the
sentiments of morality
certainly may; since there never was any nation of the
world, nor any

single person in any nation, who was utterly deprived of them, and who never, in any instance, shewed the least approbation or dislike of manners. These sentiments are so rooted in our constitution and temper, that without entirely confounding the human mind by disease or madness, it is impossible to extirpate and destroy them.

But nature may also be opposed to artifice, as well as to what is rare and unusual; and in this sense it may be disputed, whether the notions of virtue be natural or not. We readily forget, that the designs, and projects, and views of men are principles as necessary in their operation as heat and cold, moist and dry: But taking them to be free and entirely our own, it is usual for us to set them in opposition to the other principles of nature should it, therefore, be demanded, whether the sense of virtue be natural or artificial, I am of opinion, that it is impossible for me at present to give any precise answer to this question. Perhaps it will appear afterwards, that our sense of some virtues is artificial, and that of others natural. The discussion of this question will be more proper, when we enter upon an exact detail of each particular vice and virtue.

[Footnote 14. In the following discourse natural is also opposed sometimes to civil, sometimes to moral. The opposition will always discover the sense, in which it is taken.]

Mean while it may not be amiss to observe from these

definitions of natural and unnatural, that nothing can be more unphilosophical than those systems, which assert, that virtue is the same with what is natural, and vice with what is unnatural. For in the first sense of the word, Nature, as opposed to miracles, both vice and virtue are equally natural; and in the second sense, as opposed to what is unusual, perhaps virtue will be found to be the most unnatural. At least it must be owned, that heroic virtue, being as unusual, is as little natural as the most brutal barbarity. As to the third sense of the word, it is certain, that both vice and virtue are equally artificial, and out of nature. For however it may be disputed, whether the notion of a merit or demerit in certain actions be natural or artificial, it is evident, that the actions themselves are artificial, and are performed with a certain design and intention; otherwise they could never be ranked under any of these denominations. It is impossible, therefore, that the character of natural and unnatural can ever, in any sense, mark the boundaries of vice and virtue.

Thus we are still brought back to our first position, that virtue is distinguished by the pleasure, and vice by the pain, that any action, sentiment or character gives us by the mere view and contemplation. This decision is very commodious; because it reduces us to this simple question, Why any action or sentiment upon the general view or survey, gives a certain satisfaction or uneasiness, in order to shew the

origin of its moral rectitude or depravity, without looking for any incomprehensible relations and qualities, which never did exist in nature, nor even in our imagination, by any clear and distinct conception. I flatter myself I have executed a great part of my present design by a state of the question, which appears to me so free from ambiguity and obscurity.

PART II OF JUSTICE AND INJUSTICE

SECT. I JUSTICE, WHETHER A NATURAL OR ARTIFICIAL VIRTUE?

I have already hinted, that our sense of every kind of virtue is not natural; but that there are some virtues, that produce pleasure and approbation by means of an artifice or contrivance, which arises from the circumstances and necessity of mankind. Of this kind I assert justice to be; and shall endeavour to defend this opinion by a short, and, I hope, convincing argument, before I examine the nature of the artifice, from which the sense of that virtue is derived.

It is evident, that when we praise any actions, we regard only the motives that produced them, and consider the actions as signs or indications of certain principles in the mind and temper. The external

performance has no merit. We must look within to find the moral quality. This we cannot do directly; and therefore fix our attention on actions, as on external signs. But these actions are still considered as signs; and the ultimate object of our praise and approbation is the motive, that produced them.

After the same manner, when we require any action, or blame a person for not performing it, we always suppose, that one in that situation should be influenced by the proper motive of that action, and we esteem it vicious in him to be regardless of it. If we find, upon enquiry, that the virtuous motive was still powerful over his breast, though checked in its operation by some circumstances unknown to us, we retract our blame, and have the same esteem for him, as if he had actually performed the action, which we require of him.

It appears, therefore, that all virtuous actions derive their merit only from virtuous motives, and are considered merely as signs of those motives. From this principle I conclude, that the first virtuous motive, which bestows a merit on any action, can never be a regard to the virtue of that action, but must be some other natural motive or principle. To suppose, that the mere regard to the virtue of the action may be the first motive, which produced the action, and rendered it virtuous, is to reason in a circle. Before we can have such a regard, the action must be really virtuous; and this virtue must be derived from some virtuous motive: And consequently the virtuous motive must be

different from the regard to the virtue of the action. A virtuous motive is requisite to render an action virtuous. An action must be virtuous, before we can have a regard to its virtue. Some virtuous motive, therefore, must be antecedent to that regard.

Nor is this merely a metaphysical subtilty; but enters into all our reasonings in common life, though perhaps we may not be able to place it in such distinct philosophical terms. We blame a father for neglecting his child. Why? because it shews a want of natural affection, which is the duty of every parent. Were not natural affection a duty, the care of children coued not be a duty; and it were impossible we coued have the duty in our eye in the attention we give to our offspring. In this case, therefore, all men suppose a motive to the action distinct from a sense of duty.

Here is a man, that does many benevolent actions; relieves the distressed, comforts the afflicted, and extends his bounty even to the greatest strangers. No character can be more amiable and virtuous. We regard these actions as proofs of the greatest humanity. This humanity bestows a merit on the actions. A regard to this merit is, therefore, a secondary consideration, and derived from the antecedent principle of humanity, which is meritorious and laudable.

In short, it may be established as an undoubted maxim,
THAT NO ACTION
CAN BE VIRTUOUS, OR MORALLY GOOD, UNLESS THERE BE IN
HUMAN NATURE SOME

MOTIVE TO PRODUCE IT, DISTINCT FROM THE SENSE OF ITS MORALITY.

But may not the sense of morality or duty produce an action, without any other motive? I answer, It may: But this is no objection to the present doctrine. When any virtuous motive or principle is common in human nature, a person, who feels his heart devoid of that motive, may hate himself upon that account, and may perform the action without the motive, from a certain sense of duty, in order to acquire by practice, that virtuous principle, or at least, to disguise to himself, as much as possible, his want of it. A man that really feels no gratitude in his temper, is still pleased to perform grateful actions, and thinks he has, by that means, fulfilled his duty. Actions are at first only considered as signs of motives: But it is usual, in this case, as in all others, to fix our attention on the signs, and neglect, in some measure, the thing signified. But though, on some occasions, a person may perform an action merely out of regard to its moral obligation, yet still this supposes in human nature some distinct principles, which are capable of producing the action, and whose moral beauty renders the action meritorious.

Now to apply all this to the present case; I suppose a person to have lent me a sum of money, on condition that it be restored in a few days; and also suppose, that after the expiration of the term agreed on, he demands the sum: I ask, What reason or motive have I to restore the money? It will, perhaps, be said, that my regard to

justice, and
abhorrence of villainy and knavery, are sufficient
reasons for me, if
I have the least grain of honesty, or sense of duty and
obligation. And
this answer, no doubt, is just and satisfactory to man
in his civilized
state, and when trained up according to a certain
discipline and
education. But in his rude and more natural condition,
if you are
pleased to call such a condition natural, this answer
would be rejected
as perfectly unintelligible and sophistical. For one in
that situation
would immediately ask you, WHEREIN CONSISTS THIS HONESTY
AND JUSTICE,
WHICH YOU FIND IN RESTORING A LOAN, AND ABSTAINING FROM
THE PROPERTY
OF OTHERS? It does not surely lie in the external
action. It must,
therefore be placed in the motive, from which the
external action is
derived. This motive can never be a regard to the
honesty of the action.
For it is a plain fallacy to say, that a virtuous motive
is requisite
to render an action honest, and at the same time that a
regard to the
honesty is the motive of the action. We can never have a
regard to the
virtue of an action, unless the action be antecedently
virtuous. No
action can be virtuous, but so far as it proceeds from a
virtuous
motive. A virtuous motive, therefore, must precede the
regard to the
virtue, and it is impossible, that the virtuous motive
and the regard to
the virtue can be the same.

It is requisite, then, to find some motive to acts of
justice and
honesty, distinct from our regard to the honesty; and in
this lies the

great difficulty. For should we say, that a concern for our private interest or reputation is the legitimate motive to all honest actions; it would follow, that wherever that concern ceases, honesty can no longer have place. But it is certain, that self-love, when it acts at its liberty, instead of engaging us to honest actions, is the source of all injustice and violence; nor can a man ever correct those vices, without correcting and restraining the natural movements of that appetite.

But should it be affirmed, that the reason or motive of such actions is the regard to publick interest, to which nothing is more contrary than examples of injustice and dishonesty; should this be said, I would propose the three following considerations, as worthy of our attention. First, public interest is not naturally attached to the observation of the rules of justice; but is only connected with it, after an artificial convention for the establishment of these rules, as shall be shewn more at large hereafter. Secondly, if we suppose, that the loan was secret, and that it is necessary for the interest of the person, that the money be restored in the same manner (as when the lender would conceal his riches) in that case the example ceases, and the public is no longer interested in the actions of the borrower; though I suppose there is no moralist, who will affirm, that the duty and obligation ceases. Thirdly, experience sufficiently proves, that men, in the ordinary conduct of life, look not so far as the public interest, when

they pay their
creditors, perform their promises, and abstain from
theft, and robbery,
and injustice of every kind. That is a motive too remote
and too sublime
to affect the generality of mankind, and operate with
any force in
actions so contrary to private interest as are
frequently those of
justice and common honesty.

In general, it may be affirmed, that there is no such
passion in human
minds, as the love of mankind, merely as such,
independent of personal
qualities, of services, or of relation to ourself. It is
true, there is
no human, and indeed no sensible, creature, whose
happiness or misery
does not, in some measure, affect us when brought near
to us, and
represented in lively colours: But this proceeds merely
from sympathy,
and is no proof of such an universal affection to
mankind, since this
concern extends itself beyond our own species. An
affection betwixt the
sexes is a passion evidently implanted in human nature;
and this passion
not only appears in its peculiar symptoms, but also in
inflaming every
other principle of affection, and raising a stronger
love from beauty,
wit, kindness, than what would otherwise flow from them.
Were there an
universal love among all human creatures, it would
appear after the same
manner. Any degree of a good quality would cause a
stronger affection
than the same degree of a bad quality would cause
hatred; contrary to
what we find by experience. Men's tempers are different,
and some have a
propensity to the tender, and others to the rougher,
affections: But

in the main, we may affirm, that man in general, or human nature, is nothing but the object both of love and hatred, and requires some other cause, which by a double relation of impressions and ideas, may excite these passions. In vain would we endeavour to elude this hypothesis.

There are no phaenomena that point out any such kind affection to men, independent of their merit, and every other circumstance. We love company in general; but it is as we love any other amusement. An Englishman in Italy is a friend: A Euro paeian in China; and perhaps a man would be beloved as such, were we to meet him in the moon. But this proceeds only from the relation to ourselves; which in these cases gathers force by being confined to a few persons.

If public benevolence, therefore, or a regard to the interests of mankind, cannot be the original motive to justice, much less can private benevolence, or a regard to the interests of the party concerned, be this motive. For what if he be my enemy, and has given me just cause to hate him? What if he be a vicious man, and deserves the hatred of all mankind? What if he be a miser, and can make no use of what I would deprive him of? What if he be a profligate debauchee, and would rather receive harm than benefit from large possessions? What if I be in necessity, and have urgent motives to acquire something to my family? In all these cases, the original motive to justice would fail; and consequently the justice itself, and along with it all property, tight, and obligation.

A rich man lies under a moral obligation to communicate to those in necessity a share of his superfluities. Were private benevolence the original motive to justice, a man would not be obliged to leave others in the possession of more than he is obliged to give them. At least the difference would be very inconsiderable. Men generally fix their affections more on what they are possessed of, than on what they never enjoyed: For this reason, it would be greater cruelty to dispossess a man of any thing, than not to give it him. But who will assert, that this is the only foundation of justice?

Besides, we must consider, that the chief reason, why men attach themselves so much to their possessions is, that they consider them as their property, and as secured to them inviolably by the laws of society. But this is a secondary consideration, and dependent on the preceding notions of justice and property.

A man's property is supposed to be fenced against every mortal, in every possible case. But private benevolence is, and ought to be, weaker in some persons, than in others: And in many, or indeed in most persons, must absolutely fail. Private benevolence, therefore, is not the original motive of justice.

From all this it follows, that we have no real or universal motive for observing the laws of equity, but the very equity and merit of that observance; and as no action can be equitable or meritorious, where

it cannot arise from some separate motive, there is here an evident sophistry and reasoning in a circle. Unless, therefore, we will allow, that nature has established a sophistry, and rendered it necessary and unavoidable, we must allow, that the sense of justice and injustice is not derived from nature, but arises artificially, though necessarily from education, and human conventions.

I shall add, as a corollary to this reasoning, that since no action can be laudable or blameable, without some motives or impelling passions, distinct from the sense of morals, these distinct passions must have a great influence on that sense. It is according to their general force in human nature, that we blame or praise. In judging of the beauty of animal bodies, we always carry in our eye the oeconomy of a certain species; and where the limbs and features observe that proportion, which is common to the species, we pronounce them handsome and beautiful. In like manner we always consider the natural and usual force of the passions, when we determine concerning vice and virtue; and if the passions depart very much from the common measures on either side, they are always disapproved as vicious. A man naturally loves his children better than his nephews, his nephews better than his cousins, his cousins better than strangers, where every thing else is equal. Hence arise our common measures of duty, in preferring the one to the other. Our sense of duty always follows the common and natural course of our passions.

To avoid giving offence, I must here observe, that when I deny justice to be a natural virtue, I make use of the word, natural, only as opposed to artificial. In another sense of the word; as no principle of the human mind is more natural than a sense of virtue; so no virtue is more natural than justice. Mankind is an inventive species; and where an invention is obvious and absolutely necessary, it may as properly be said to be natural as any thing that proceeds immediately from original principles, without the intervention of thought or reflection. Though the rules of justice be artificial, they are not arbitrary. Nor is the expression improper to call them Laws of Nature; if by natural we understand what is common to any species, or even if we confine it to mean what is inseparable from the species.

SECT. II OF THE ORIGIN OF JUSTICE AND PROPERTY

We now proceed to examine two questions, viz, CONCERNING THE MANNER, IN WHICH THE RULES OF JUSTICE ARE ESTABLISHED BY THE ARTIFICE OF MEN; and CONCERNING THE REASONS, WHICH DETERMINE US TO ATTRIBUTE TO THE OBSERVANCE OR NEGLECT OF THESE RULES A MORAL BEAUTY AND DEFORMITY. These questions will appear afterwards to be distinct. We shall begin with the former.

Of all the animals, with which this globe is peopled, there is none

towards whom nature seems, at first sight, to have exercised more cruelty than towards man, in the numberless wants and necessities, with which she has loaded him, and in the slender means, which she affords to the relieving these necessities. In other creatures these two particulars generally compensate each other. If we consider the lion as a voracious and carnivorous animal, we shall easily discover him to be very necessitous; but if we turn our eye to his make and temper, his agility, his courage, his arms, and his force, we shall find, that his advantages hold proportion with his wants. The sheep and ox are deprived of all these advantages; but their appetites are moderate, and their food is of easy purchase. In man alone, this unnatural conjunction of infirmity, and of necessity, may be observed in its greatest perfection. Not only the food, which is required for his sustenance, flies his search and approach, or at least requires his labour to be produced, but he must be possessed of cloaths and lodging, to defend him against the injuries of the weather; though to consider him only in himself, he is provided neither with arms, nor force, nor other natural abilities, which are in any degree answerable to so many necessities.

It is by society alone he is able to supply his defects, and raise himself up to an equality with his fellow-creatures, and even acquire a superiority above them. By society all his infirmities are compensated; and though in that situation his wants multiply every moment upon him,

yet his abilities are still more augmented, and leave him in every respect more satisfied and happy, than it is possible for him, in his savage and solitary condition, ever to become. When every individual person labours a-part, and only for himself, his force is too small to execute any considerable work; his labour being employed in supplying all his different necessities, he never attains a perfection in any particular art; and as his force and success are not at all times equal, the least failure in either of these particulars must be attended with inevitable ruin and misery. Society provides a remedy for these three inconveniences. By the conjunction of forces, our power is augmented: By the partition of employments, our ability encreases: And by mutual succour we are less exposed to fortune and accidents. It is by this additional force, ability, and security, that society becomes advantageous.

But in order to form society, it is requisite not only that it be advantageous, but also that men be sensible of these advantages; and it is impossible, in their wild uncultivated state, that by study and reflection alone, they should ever be able to attain this knowledge. Most fortunately, therefore, there is conjoined to those necessities, whose remedies are remote and obscure, another necessity, which having a present and more obvious remedy, may justly be regarded as the first and original principle of human society. This necessity is no other than that natural appetite betwixt the sexes, which unites

them together, and preserves their union, till a new tie takes place in their concern for their common offspring. This new concern becomes also a principle of union betwixt the parents and offspring, and forms a more numerous society; where the parents govern by the advantage of their superior strength and wisdom, and at the same time are restrained in the exercise of their authority by that natural affection, which they bear their children. In a little time, custom and habit operating on the tender minds of the children, makes them sensible of the advantages, which they may reap from society, as well as fashions them by degrees for it, by rubbing off those rough corners and untoward affections, which prevent their coalition.

For it must be confest, that however the circumstances of human nature may render an union necessary, and however those passions of lust and natural affection may seem to render it unavoidable; yet there are other particulars in our natural temper, and in our outward circumstances, which are very incommodious, and are even contrary to the requisite conjunction. Among the former, we may justly esteem our selfishness to be the most considerable. I am sensible, that generally speaking, the representations of this quality have been carried much too far; and that the descriptions, which certain philosophers delight so much to form of mankind in this particular, are as wide of nature as any accounts of monsters, which we meet with in fables and romances. So far from

thinking, that men have no affection for any thing
beyond themselves,
I am of opinion, that though it be rare to meet with
one, who loves any
single person better than himself; yet it is as rare to
meet with one,
in whom all the kind affections, taken together, do not
overbalance all
the selfish. Consult common experience: Do you not see,
that though
the whole expence of the family be generally under the
direction of the
master of it, yet there are few that do not bestow the
largest part of
their fortunes on the pleasures of their wives, and the
education of
their children, reserving the smallest portion for their
own proper use
and entertainment. This is what we may observe
concerning such as have
those endearing ties; and may presume, that the case
would be the same
with others, were they placed in a like situation.

But though this generosity must be acknowledged to the
honour of human
nature, we may at the same time remark, that so noble an
affection,
instead of fitting men for large societies, is almost as
contrary
to them, as the most narrow selfishness. For while each
person loves
himself better than any other single person, and in his
love to others
bears the greatest affection to his relations and
acquaintance, this
must necessarily produce an oppositon of passions, and a
consequent
opposition of actions; which cannot but be dangerous to
the
new-established union.

It is however worth while to remark, that this
contrariety of passions
would be attended with but small danger, did it not

concur with
a peculiarity in our outward circumstances, which
affords it an
opportunity of exerting itself. There are different
species of goods,
which we are possessed of; the internal satisfaction of
our minds, the
external advantages of our body, and the enjoyment of
such possessions
as we have acquired by our industry and good fortune. We
are perfectly
secure in the enjoyment of the first. The second may be
ravished from
us, but can be of no advantage to him who deprives us of
them. The last
only are both exposed to the violence of others, and may
be transferred
without suffering any loss or alteration; while at the
same time, there
is not a sufficient quantity of them to supply every
one's desires and
necessities. As the improvement, therefore, of these
goods is the chief
advantage of society, so the instability of their
possession, along with
their scarcity, is the chief impediment.

In vain should we expect to find, in uncultivated
nature, a remedy to
this inconvenience; or hope for any inartificial
principle of the
human mind, which might controul those partial
affections, and make us
overcome the temptations arising from our circumstances.
The idea of
justice can never serve to this purpose, or be taken for
a natural
principle, capable of inspiring men with an equitable
conduct towards
each other. That virtue, as it is now understood, would
never have
been dreamed of among rude and savage men. For the
notion of injury or
injustice implies an immorality or vice committed
against some

other person: And as every immorality is derived from some defect or unsoundness of the passions, and as this defect must be judged of, in a great measure, from the ordinary course of nature in the constitution of the mind; it will be easy to know, whether we be guilty of any immorality, with regard to others, by considering the natural, and usual force of those several affections, which are directed towards them.

Now it appears, that in the original frame of our mind, our strongest attention is confined to ourselves; our next is extended to our relations and acquaintance; and it is only the weakest which reaches to strangers and indifferent persons. This partiality, then, and unequal affection, must not only have an influence on our behaviour and conduct in society, but even on our ideas of vice and virtue; so as to make us regard any remarkable transgression of such a degree of partiality, either by too great an enlargement, or contraction of the affections, as vicious and immoral. This we may observe in our common judgments concerning actions, where we blame a person, who either centers all his affections in his family, or is so regardless of them, as, in any opposition of interest, to give the preference to a stranger, or mere chance acquaintance. From all which it follows, that our natural uncultivated ideas of morality, instead of providing a remedy for the partiality of our affections, do rather conform themselves to that partiality, and give it an additional force and influence.

The remedy, then, is not derived from nature, but from artifice; or more e properly speaking, nature provides a remedy in the judgment and understanding, for what is irregular and incommodious in the affections. For when men, from their early education in society, have become sensible of the infinite advantages that result from it, and have besides acquired a new affection to company and conversation; and when they have observed, that the principal disturbance in society arises from those goods, which we call external, and from their looseness and easy transition from one person to another; they must seek for a remedy by putting these goods, as far as possible, on the same footing with the fixed and constant advantages of the mind and body. This can be done after no other manner, than by a convention entered into by all the members of the society to bestow stability on the possession of those external goods, and leave every one in the peaceable enjoyment of what he may acquire by his fortune and industry. By this means, every one knows what he may safely possess; and the passions are restrained in their partial and contradictory motions. Nor is such a restraint contrary to these passions; for if so, it could never be entered into, nor maintained; but it is only contrary to their heedless and impetuous movement. Instead of departing from our own interest, or from that of our nearest friends, by abstaining from the possessions of others, we cannot better consult both these interests, than by such a convention; because it is by that means we maintain society, which

is so necessary
to their well-being and subsistence, as well as to our
own.

This convention is not of the nature of a promise: For
even promises
themselves, as we shall see afterwards, arise from human
conventions. It
is only a general sense of common interest; which sense
all the members
of the society express to one another, and which induces
them to
regulate their conduct by certain rules. I observe, that
it will be for
my interest to leave another in the possession of his
goods, provided he
will act in the same manner with regard to me. He is
sensible of a like
interest in the regulation of his conduct. When this
common sense of
interest is mutually expressed, and is known to both, it
produces a
suitable resolution and behaviour. And this may properly
enough
be called a convention or agreement betwixt us, though
without the
interposition of a promise; since the actions of each of
us have a
reference to those of the other, and are performed upon
the supposition,
that something is to be performed on the other part. Two
men, who pull
the oars of a boat, do it by an agreement or convention,
though they
have never given promises to each other. Nor is the rule
concerning the
stability of possession the less derived from human
conventions, that it
arises gradually, and acquires force by a slow
progression, and by our
repeated experience of the inconveniences of
transgressing it. On the
contrary, this experience assures us still more, that
the sense of
interest has become common to all our fellows, and gives

us a confidence
of the future regularity of their conduct: And it is
only on the
expectation of this, that our moderation and abstinence
are founded.

In like manner are languages gradually established by
human conventions
without any promise. In like manner do gold and silver
become the common
measures of exchange, and are esteemed sufficient
payment for what is of
a hundred times their value.

After this convention, concerning abstinence from the
possessions of
others, is entered into, and every one has acquired a
stability in his
possessions, there immediately arise the ideas of
justice and injustice;

as also those of property, right, and obligation. The
latter are
altogether unintelligible without first understanding
the former.

Our property is nothing but those goods, whose constant
possession is
established by the laws of society; that is, by the laws
of justice.

Those, therefore, who make use of the words property, or
right, or
obligation, before they have explained the origin of
justice, or

even make use of them in that explication, are guilty of
a very gross
fallacy, and can never reason upon any solid foundation.

A man's
property is some object related to him. This relation is
not natural,

but moral, and founded on justice. It is very
preposterous, therefore,

to imagine, that we can have any idea of property,
without fully

comprehending the nature of justice, and shewing its
origin in the

artifice and contrivance of man. The origin of justice
explains that of

property. The same artifice gives rise to both. As our first and most natural sentiment of morals is founded on the nature of our passions, and gives the preference to ourselves and friends, above strangers; it is impossible there can be naturally any such thing as a fixed right or property, while the opposite passions of men impel them in contrary directions, and are not restrained by any convention or agreement.

No one can doubt, that the convention for the distinction of property, and for the stability of possession, is of all circumstances the most necessary to the establishment of human society, and that after the agreement for the fixing and observing of this rule, there remains little or nothing to be done towards settling a perfect harmony and concord. All the other passions, besides this of interest, are either easily restrained, or are not of such pernicious consequence, when indulged. Vanity is rather to be esteemed a social passion, and a bond of union among men. Pity and love are to be considered in the same light. And as to envy and revenge, though pernicious, they operate only by intervals, and are directed against particular persons, whom we consider as our superiors or enemies. This avidity alone, of acquiring goods and possessions for ourselves and our nearest friends, is insatiable, perpetual, universal, and directly destructive of society. There scarce is any one, who is not actuated by it; and there is no one, who has not reason to fear from it, when it acts without any restraint,

and gives way to its first and most natural movements. So that upon the whole, we are to esteem the difficulties in the establishment of society, to be greater or less, according to those we encounter in regulating and restraining this passion.

It is certain, that no affection of the human mind has both a sufficient force, and a proper direction to counterbalance the love of gain, and render men fit members of society, by making them abstain from the possessions of others. Benevolence to strangers is too weak for this purpose; and as to the other passions, they rather inflame this avidity, when we observe, that the larger our possessions are, the more ability we have of gratifying all our appetites. There is no passion, therefore, capable of controlling the interested affection, but the very affection itself, by an alteration of its direction. Now this alteration must necessarily take place upon the least reflection; since it is evident, that the passion is much better satisfied by its restraint, than by its liberty, and that in preserving society, we make much greater advances in the acquiring possessions, than in the solitary and forlorn condition, which must follow upon violence and an universal licence. The question, therefore, concerning the wickedness or goodness of human nature, enters not in the least into that other question concerning the origin of society; nor is there any thing to be considered but the degrees of men's sagacity or folly. For whether the passion of self-interest be esteemed vicious or virtuous, it is all

a case; since
itself alone restrains it: So that if it be virtuous,
men become social
by their virtue; if vicious, their vice has the same
effect.

Now as it is by establishing the rule for the stability
of possession,
that this passion restrains itself; if that rule be very
abstruse,
and of difficult invention; society must be esteemed, in
a manner,
accidental, and the effect of many ages. But if it be
found, that
nothing can be more simple and obvious than that rule;
that every
parent, in order to preserve peace among his children,
must establish
it; and that these first rudiments of justice must every
day be
improved, as the society enlarges: If all this appear
evident, as it
certainly must, we may conclude, that it is utterly
impossible for men
to remain any considerable time in that savage
condition, which precedes
society; but that his very first state and situation may
justly be
esteemed social. This, however, hinders not, but that
philosophers may,
if they please, extend their reasoning to the supposed
state of nature;
provided they allow it to be a mere philosophical
fiction, which never
had, and never could have any reality. Human nature
being composed
of two principal parts, which are requisite in all its
actions, the
affections and understanding; it is certain, that the
blind motions of
the former, without the direction of the latter,
incapacitate men for
society: And it may be allowed us to consider separately
the effects,
that result from the separate operations of these two

component parts of
the mind. The same liberty may be permitted to moral,
which is allowed
to natural philosophers; and it is very usual with the
latter to
consider any motion as compounded and consisting of two
parts separate
from each other, though at the same time they
acknowledge it to be in
itself un-compounded and inseparable.

This state of nature, therefore, is to be regarded as a
mere fiction,
not unlike that of the golden age, which poets have
invented; only with
this difference, that the former is described as full of
war, violence
and injustice; whereas the latter is pointed out to us,
as the most
charming and most peaceable condition, that can possibly
be imagined.

The seasons, in that first age of nature, were so
temperate, if we
may believe the poets, that there was no necessity for
men to provide
themselves with cloaths and houses as a security against
the violence
of heat and cold. The rivers flowed with wine and milk:
The oaks yielded
honey; and nature spontaneously produced her greatest
delicacies.

Nor were these the chief advantages of that happy age.
The storms and
tempests were not alone removed from nature; but those
more furious
tempests were unknown to human breasts, which now cause
such uproar, and
engender such confusion. Avarice, ambition, cruelty,
selfishness, were
never heard of: Cordial affection, compassion, sympathy,
were the
only movements, with which the human mind was yet
acquainted. Even
the distinction of mine and thine was banished from that
happy race

of mortals, and carryed with them the very notions of property and obligation, justice and injustice.

This, no doubt, is to be regarded as an idle fiction; but yet deserves our attention, because nothing can more evidently shew the origin of those virtues, which are the subjects of our present enquiry. I have already observed, that justice takes its rise from human conventions; and that these are intended as a remedy to some inconveniences, which proceed from the concurrence of certain qualities of the human mind with the situation of external objects. The qualities of the mind are selfishness and limited generosity: And the situation of external objects is their easy change, joined to their scarcity in comparison of the wants and desires of men. But however philosophers may have been bewildered in those speculations, poets have been guided more infallibly, by a certain taste or common instinct, which in most kinds of reasoning goes farther than any of that art and philosophy, with which we have been yet acquainted. They easily perceived, if every man had a tender regard for another, or if nature supplied abundantly all our wants and desires, that the jealousy of interest, which justice supposes, could no longer have place; nor would there be any occasion for those distinctions and limits of property and possession, which at present are in use among mankind. Encrease to a sufficient degree the benevolence of men, or the bounty of nature, and you render justice useless, by supplying its place with much nobler

virtues, and more
valuable blessings. The selfishness of men is animated
by the few
possessions we have, in proportion to our wants; and it
is to restrain
this selfishness, that men have been obliged to separate
themselves from
the community, and to distinguish betwixt their own
goods and those of
others.

Nor need we have recourse to the fictions of poets to
learn this; but
beside the reason of the thing, may discover the same
truth by common
experience and observation. It is easy to remark, that a
cordial
affection renders all things common among friends; and
that married
people in particular mutually lose their property, and
are unacquainted
with the mine and thine, which are so necessary, and yet
cause such
disturbance in human society. The same effect arises
from any alteration
in the circumstances of mankind; as when there is such a
plenty of any
thing as satisfies all the desires of men: In which case
the distinction
of property is entirely lost, and every thing remains in
common. This
we may observe with regard to air and water, though the
most valuable of
all external objects; and may easily conclude, that if
men were supplied
with every thing in the same abundance, or if every one
had the same
affection and tender regard for every one as for
himself; justice and
injustice would be equally unknown among mankind.

Here then is a proposition, which, I think, may be
regarded as certain,
that it is only from the selfishness and confined
generosity of men,

along with the scanty provision nature has made for his wants, that justice derives its origin. If we look backward we shall find, that this proposition bestows an additional force on some of those observations, which we have already made on this subject.

First, we may conclude from it, that a regard to public interest, or a strong extensive benevolence, is not our first and original motive for the observation of the rules of justice; since it is allowed, that if men were endowed with such a benevolence, these rules would never have been dreamt of.

Secondly, we may conclude from the same principle, that the sense of justice is not founded on reason, or on the discovery of certain connexions and relations of ideas, which are eternal, immutable, and universally obligatory. For since it is confest, that such an alteration as that above-mentioned, in the temper and circumstances of mankind, would entirely alter our duties and obligations, it is necessary upon the common system, that the sense of virtue is derived from reason, to shew the change which this must produce in the relations and ideas. But it is evident, that the only cause, why the extensive generosity of man, and the perfect abundance of every thing, would destroy the very idea of justice, is because they render it useless; and that, on the other hand, his confined benevolence, and his necessitous condition, give rise to that virtue, only by making it requisite to the publick interest, and to that of every individual. Twas therefore a concern for

our own, and
the publick interest, which made us establish the laws
of justice; and
nothing can be more certain, than that it is not any
relation of ideas,
which gives us this concern, but our impressions and
sentiments, without
which every thing in nature is perfectly indifferent to
us, and can
never in the least affect us. The sense of justice,
therefore, is not
founded on our ideas, but on our impressions.

Thirdly, we may farther confirm the foregoing
proposition, THAT THOSE
IMPRESSIONS, WHICH GIVE RISE TO THIS SENSE OF JUSTICE,
ARE NOT NATURAL
TO THE MIND OF MAN, BUT ARISE FROM ARTIFICE AND HUMAN
CONVENTIONS. For
since any considerable alteration of temper and
circumstances destroys
equally justice and injustice; and since such an
alteration has an
effect only by changing our own and the publick
interest; it follows,
that the first establishment of the rules of justice
depends on these
different interests. But if men pursued the publick
interest naturally,
and with a hearty affection, they would never have
dreamed of
restraining each other by these rules; and if they
pursued their own
interest, without any precaution, they would run head-
long into every
kind of injustice and violence. These rules, therefore,
are artificial,
and seek their end in an oblique and indirect manner;
nor is the
interest, which gives rise to them, of a kind that coued
be pursued by
the natural and inartificial passions of men.

To make this more evident, consider, that though the
rules of justice

are established merely by interest, their connexion with interest is somewhat singular, and is different from what may be observed on other occasions. A single act of justice is frequently contrary to public interest; and were it to stand alone, without being followed by other acts, may, in itself, be very prejudicial to society. When a man of merit, of a beneficent disposition, restores a great fortune to a miser, or a seditious bigot, he has acted justly and laudably, but the public is a real sufferer. Nor is every single act of justice, considered apart, more conducive to private interest, than to public; and it is easily conceived how a man may impoverish himself by a signal instance of integrity, and have reason to wish, that with regard to that single act, the laws of justice were for a moment suspended in the universe. But however single acts of justice may be contrary, either to public or private interest, it is certain, that the whole plan or scheme is highly conducive, or indeed absolutely requisite, both to the support of society, and the well-being of every individual. It is impossible to separate the good from the ill. Property must be stable, and must be fixed by general rules. Though in one instance the public be a sufferer, this momentary ill is amply compensated by the steady prosecution of the rule, and by the peace and order, which it establishes in society. And even every individual person must find himself a gainer, on ballancing the account; since, without justice society must immediately dissolve, and every one must fall into that savage and solitary

condition, which is infinitely worse than the worst situation that can possibly be supposed in society. When therefore men have had experience enough to observe, that whatever may be the consequence of any single act of justice, performed by a single person, yet the whole system of actions, concurred in by the whole society, is infinitely advantageous to the whole, and to every part; it is not long before justice and property take place. Every member of society is sensible of this interest: Every one expresses this sense to his fellows, along with the resolution he has taken of squaring his actions by it, on condition that others will do the same. No more is requisite to induce any one of them to perform an act of justice, who has the first opportunity. This becomes an example to others. And thus justice establishes itself by a kind of convention or agreement; that is, by a sense of interest, supposed to be common to all, and where every single act is performed in expectation that others are to perform the like. Without such a convention, no one would ever have dreamed, that there was such a virtue as justice, or have been induced to conform his actions to it. Taking any single act, my justice may be pernicious in every respect; and it is only upon the supposition that others are to imitate my example, that I can be induced to embrace that virtue; since nothing but this combination can render justice advantageous, or afford me any motives to conform my self to its rules.

We come now to the second question we proposed, viz. Why we annex the idea of virtue to justice, and of vice to injustice. This question will not detain us long after the principles, which we have already established, All we can say of it at present will be dispatched in a few words: And for farther satisfaction, the reader must wait till we come to the third part of this book. The natural obligation to justice, viz, interest, has been fully explained; but as to the moral obligation, or the sentiment of right and wrong, it will first be requisite to examine the natural virtues, before we can give a full and satisfactory account of it. After men have found by experience, that their selfishness and confined generosity, acting at their liberty, totally incapacitate them for society; and at the same time have observed, that society is necessary to the satisfaction of those very passions, they are naturally induced to lay themselves under the restraint of such rules, as may render their commerce more safe and commodious. To the imposition then, and observance of these rules, both in general, and in every particular instance, they are at first induced only by a regard to interest; and this motive, on the first formation of society, is sufficiently strong and forcible. But when society has become numerous, and has encreased to a tribe or nation, this interest is more remote; nor do men so readily perceive, that disorder and confusion follow upon every breach of these rules, as in a more narrow and contracted society. But though in our own actions we may frequently lose sight of that interest,

which we have in
maintaining order, and may follow a lesser and more
present interest,
we never fail to observe the prejudice we receive,
either mediately or
immediately, from the injustice of others; as not being
in that case
either blinded by passion, or byassed by any contrary
temptation.
Nay when the injustice is so distant from us, as no way
to affect our
interest, it still displeases us; because we consider it
as prejudicial
to human society, and pernicious to every one that
approaches the person
guilty of it. We partake of their uneasiness by
sympathy; and as every
thing, which gives uneasiness in human actions, upon the
general survey,
is called Vice, and whatever produces satisfaction, in
the same manner,
is denominated Virtue; this is the reason why the sense
of moral good
and evil follows upon justice and injustice. And though
this sense,
in the present case, be derived only from contemplating
the actions
of others, yet we fail not to extend it even to our own
actions. The
general rule reaches beyond those instances, from which
it arose; while
at the same time we naturally sympathize with others in
the sentiments
they entertain of us. Thus self-interest is the original
motive to the
establishment of justice: but a sympathy with public
interest is the
source of the moral approbation, which attends that
virtue.

Though this progress of the sentiments be natural, and
even necessary,
it is certain, that it is here forwarded by the artifice
of politicians,
who, in order to govern men more easily, and preserve

peace in human society, have endeavoured to produce an esteem for justice, and an abhorrence of injustice. This, no doubt, must have its effect; but nothing can be more evident, than that the matter has been carried too far by certain writers on morals, who seem to have employed their utmost efforts to extirpate all sense of virtue from among mankind. Any artifice of politicians may assist nature in the producing of those sentiments, which she suggests to us, and may even on some occasions, produce alone an approbation or esteem for any particular action; but it is impossible it should be the sole cause of the distinction we make betwixt vice and virtue. For if nature did not aid us in this particular, it would be in vain for politicians to talk of honourable or dishonourable, praiseworthy or blameable. These words would be perfectly unintelligible, and would no more have any idea annexed to them, than if they were of a tongue perfectly unknown to us. The utmost politicians can perform, is, to extend the natural sentiments beyond their original bounds; but still nature must furnish the materials, and give us some notion of moral distinctions.

As publick praise and blame encrease our esteem for justice; so private education and instruction contribute to the same effect. For as parents easily observe, that a man is the more useful, both to himself and others, the greater degree of probity and honour he is endowed with; and that those principles have greater force, when custom and education

assist interest and reflection: For these reasons they are induced to inculcate on their children, from their earliest infancy, the principles of probity, and teach them to regard the observance of those rules, by which society is maintained, as worthy and honourable, and their violation as base and infamous. By this means the sentiments of honour may take root in their tender minds, and acquire such firmness and solidity, that they may fall little short of those principles, which are the most essential to our natures, and the most deeply radicated in our internal constitution.

What farther contributes to encrease their solidity, is the interest of our reputation, after the opinion, that a merit or demerit attends justice or injustice, is once firmly established among mankind. There is nothing, which touches us more nearly than our reputation, and nothing on which our reputation more depends than our conduct, with relation to the property of others. For this reason, every one, who has any regard to his character, or who intends to live on good terms with mankind, must fix an inviolable law to himself, never, by any temptation, to be induced to violate those principles, which are essential to a man of probity and honour.

I shall make only one observation before I leave this subject, viz, that though I assert, that in the state of nature, or that imaginary state, which preceded society, there be neither justice nor injustice, yet I assert not, that it was allowable, in such a state, to

violate the property of others. I only maintain, that there was no such thing as property; and consequently could be no such thing as justice or injustice. I shall have occasion to make a similar reflection with regard to promises, when I come to treat of them; and I hope this reflection, when duly weighed, will suffice to remove all odium from the foregoing opinions, with regard to justice and injustice.

SECT. III OF THE RULES WHICH DETERMINE PROPERTY

Though the establishment of the rule, concerning the stability of possession, be not only useful, but even absolutely necessary to human society, it can never serve to any purpose, while it remains in such general terms. Some method must be shewn, by which we may distinguish what particular goods are to be assigned to each particular person, while the rest of mankind are excluded from their possession and enjoyment. Our next business, then, must be to discover the reasons which modify this general rule, and fit it to the common use and practice of the world.

It is obvious, that those reasons are not derived from any utility or advantage, which either the particular person or the public may reap from his enjoyment of any particular goods, beyond what would result from the possession of them by any other person. Twere

better, no doubt,
that every one were possessed of what is most suitable
to him, and
proper for his use: But besides, that this relation of
fitness may be
common to several at once, it is liable to so many
controversies, and
men are so partial and passionate in judging of these
controversies,
that such a loose and uncertain rule would be absolutely
incompatible
with the peace of human society. The convention
concerning the stability
of possession is entered into, in order to cut off all
occasions of
discord and contention; and this end would never be
attained, were
we allowed to apply this rule differently in every
particular case,
according to every particular utility, which might be
discovered in such
an application. Justice, in her decisions, never regards
the fitness or
unfitness of objects to particular persons, but conducts
herself by more
extensive views. Whether a man be generous, or a miser,
he is equally
well received by her, and obtains with the same facility
a decision in
his favours, even for what is entirely useless to him.

It follows therefore, that the general rule, that
possession must be
stable, is not applied by particular judgments, but by
other general
rules, which must extend to the whole society, and be
inflexible
either by spite or favour. To illustrate this, I propose
the following
instance. I first consider men in their savage and
solitary condition;
and suppose, that being sensible of the misery of that
state, and
foreseeing the advantages that would result from
society, they seek each

other's company, and make an offer of mutual protection and assistance. I also suppose, that they are endowed with such sagacity as immediately to perceive, that the chief impediment to this project of society and partnership lies in the avidity and selfishness of their natural temper; to remedy which, they enter into a convention for the stability of possession, and for mutual restraint and forbearance. I am sensible, that this method of proceeding is not altogether natural; but besides that I here only suppose those reflections to be formed at once, which in fact arise insensibly and by degrees; besides this, I say, it is very possible, that several persons, being by different accidents separated from the societies, to which they formerly belonged, may be obliged to form a new society among themselves; in which case they are entirely in the situation above-mentioned.

It is evident, then, that their first difficulty, in this situation, after the general convention for the establishment of society, and for the constancy of possession, is, how to separate their possessions, and assign to each his particular portion, which he must for the future inalterably enjoy. This difficulty will not detain them long; but it must immediately occur to them, as the most natural expedient, that every one continue to enjoy what he is at present master of, and that property or constant possession be conjoined to the immediate possession. Such is the effect of custom, that it not only reconciles us to any thing we have long enjoyed, but even gives us

an affection for
it, and makes us prefer it to other objects, which may
be more valuable,
but are less known to us. What has long lain under our
eye, and has
often been employed to our advantage, that we are always
the most
unwilling to part with; but can easily live without
possessions,
which we never have enjoyed, and are not accustomed to.
It is evident,
therefore, that men would easily acquiesce in this
expedient, that every
one continue to enjoy what he is at present possessed
of; and this is
the reason, why they would so naturally agree in
preferring it.

[Footnote 15. No questions in philosophy are more
difficult, than when a number of causes present
themselves
for the same phaenomenon, to determine which is the
principal and predominant. There seldom is any very
precise
argument to fix our choice, and men must be
contented to be
guided by a kind of taste or fancy, arising from
analogy,
and a comparison of familiar instances. Thus, in
the present
case, there are, no doubt, motives of public
interest for
most of the rules, which determine property; but
still I
suspect, that these rules are principally fixed by
the
imagination, or the more frivolous properties of
our thought
and conception. I shall continue to explain these
causes,
leaving it to the reader's choice, whether he will
prefer
those derived from publick utility, or those

derived from
the imagination. We shall begin with the right of
the
present possessor.

It is a quality, which I have already observed in
human
nature, that when two objects appear in a close
relation to
each other, the mind is apt to ascribe to them any
additional relation, in order to compleat the
union; and
this inclination is so strong, as often to make us
run into
errors (such as that of the conjunction of thought
and
matter) if we find that they can serve to that
purpose. Many
of our impressions are incapable of place or local
position;
and yet those very impressions we suppose to have a
local
conjunction with the impressions of sight and
touch, merely
because they are conjoined by causation, and are
already
united in the imagination. Since, therefore, we can
feign a
new relation, and even an absurd one, in order to
compleat
any union, it will easily be imagined, that if
there be any
relations, which depend on the mind, it will
readily conjoin
them to any preceding relation, and unite, by a new
bond,
such objects as have already an union in the fancy.
Thus for
instance, we never fail, in our arrangement of
bodies, to
place those which are resembling in contiguity to
each
other, or at least in correspondent points of view;
because
we feel a satisfaction in joining the relation of

contiguity
to that of resemblance, or the resemblance of
situation to
that of qualities. And this is easily accounted for
from the
known properties of human nature. When the mind is
determined to join certain objects, but
undetermined in its
choice of the particular objects, It naturally
turns its eye
to such as are related together. They are already
united in
the mind: They present themselves at the same time
to the
conception; and instead of requiring any new reason
for
their conjunction, it would require a very powerful
reason
to make us over-look this natural affinity. This we
shall
have occasion to explain more fully afterwards,
when we come
to treat of beauty. In the mean time, we may
content
ourselves with observing, that the same love of
order and
uniformity, which arranges the books in a library,
and the
chairs in a parlour, contribute to the formation of
society,
and to the well-being of mankind, by modifying the
general
rule concerning the stability of possession. And as
property
forms a relation betwixt a person and an object, it
is
natural to found it on some preceding relation; and
as
property is nothing but a constant possession,
secured by
the laws of society, it is natural to add it to the
present
possession, which is a relation that resembles it.
For this
also has its influence. If it be natural to conjoin

all

sorts of relations, it is more so, to conjoin such relations

as are resembling, and are related together.]

But we may observe, that though the rule of the assignment of property to the present possessor be natural, and by that means useful, yet its utility extends not beyond the first formation of society; nor would any thing be more pernicious, than the constant observance of it; by which restitution would be excluded, and every injustice would be authorized and rewarded. We must, therefore, seek for some other circumstance, that may give rise to property after society is once established; and of this kind, I find four most considerable, viz. Occupation, Prescription, Accession, and Succession. We shall briefly examine each of these, beginning with Occupation.

The possession of all external goods is changeable and uncertain; which is one of the most considerable impediments to the establishment of society, and is the reason why, by universal agreement, express or tacite, men restrain themselves by what we now call the rules of justice and equity. The misery of the condition, which precedes this restraint, is the cause why we submit to that remedy as quickly as possible; and this affords us an easy reason, why we annex the idea of property to the first possession, or to occupation. Men are unwilling to leave property in suspense, even for the shortest time, or open the least door to violence and disorder. To which we may add, that the

first possession
always engages the attention most; and did we neglect
it, there would be
no colour of reason for assigning property to any
succeeding possession.

[Footnote 16. Some philosophers account for the
right of
occupation, by saying, that every one has a
property in his
own labour; and when he joins that labour to any
thing, it
gives him the property of the whole: But, 1. There
are
several kinds of occupation, where we cannot be
said to join
our labour to the object we acquire: As when we
possess a
meadow by grazing our cattle upon it. 2. This
accounts for
the matter by means of accession; which is taking a
needless
circuit. 3. We cannot be said to join our labour to
any
thing but in a figurative sense. Properly speaking,
we only
make an alteration on it by our labour. This forms
a
relation betwixt us and the object; and thence
arises the
property, according to the preceding principles.]

There remains nothing, but to determine exactly, what is
meant by
possession; and this is not so easy as may at first
sight be imagined.
We are said to be in possession of any thing, not only
when we
immediately touch it, but also when we are so situated
with respect
to it, as to have it in our power to use it; and may
move, alter,
or destroy it, according to our present pleasure or
advantage. This

relation, then, is a species of cause and effect; and as property is nothing but a stable possession, derived from the rules of justice, or the conventions of men, it is to be considered as the same species of relation. But here we may observe, that as the power of using any object becomes more or less certain, according as the interruptions we may meet with are more or less probable; and as this probability may increase by insensible degrees; it is in many cases impossible to determine when possession begins or ends; nor is there any certain standard, by which we can decide such controversies. A wild boar, that falls into our snares, is deemed to be in our possession, if it be impossible for him to escape. But what do we mean by impossible? How do we separate this impossibility from an improbability? And how distinguish that exactly from a probability? Mark the precise limits of the one and the other, and shew the standard, by which we may decide all disputes that may arise, and, as we find by experience, frequently do arise upon this subject.

[Footnote 17. If we seek a solution of these difficulties in reason and public interest, we never shall find satisfaction; and If we look for it in the imagination, it is evident, that the qualities, which operate upon that faculty, run so insensibly and gradually into each other, that it is impossible to give them any precise bounds or termination. The difficulties on this head must

encrease,
when we consider, that our judgment alters very
sensibly,
according to the subject, and that the same power
and
proximity will be deemed possession in one case,
which is
not esteemed such in another. A person, who has
hunted a
hare to the last degree of weariness, would look
upon it as
an injustice for another to rush in before him, and
seize
his prey. But the same person advancing to pluck an
apple,
that hangs within his reach, has no reason to
complain, if
another, more alert, passes him, and takes
possession. What
is the reason of this difference, but that
immobility, not
being natural to the hare, but the effect of
industry, forms
in that case a strong relation with the hunter,
which is
wanting in the other?

Here then it appears, that a certain and infallible
power of
enjoyment, without touch or some other sensible
relation,
often produces not property: And I farther observe,
that a
sensible relation, without any present power, is
sometimes
sufficient to give a title to any object. The sight
of a
thing is seldom a considerable relation, and is
only
regarded as such, when the object is hidden, or
very
obscure; in which case we find, that the view alone
conveys
a property; according to that maxim, THAT EVEN A
WHOLE

CONTINENT BELONGS TO THE NATION, WHICH FIRST
DISCOVERED IT.

It is however remarkable that both in the case of
discovery
and that of possession, the first discoverer and
possessor
must join to the relation an intention of rendering
himself
proprietor, otherwise the relation will not have
Its effect;
and that because the connexion in our fancy betwixt
the
property and the relation is not so great, but that
it
requires to be helped by such an intention.

From all these circumstances, it is easy to see how
perplexed many questions may become concerning the
acquisition of property by occupation; and the
least effort
of thought may present us with instances, which are
not
susceptible of any reasonable decision. If we
prefer
examples, which are real, to such as are feigned,
we may
consider the following one, which is to be met with
In
almost every writer, that has treated of the laws
of nature.
Two Grecian colonies, leaving their native country,
in
search of new feats, were informed that a city near
them was
deserted by its inhabitants. To know the truth of
this
report, they dispatched at once two messengers, one
from
each colony; who finding on their approach, that
their
information was true, begun a race together with an
intention to take possession of the city, each of
them for
his countrymen. One of these messengers, finding
that he was

not an equal match for the other, launched his
spear at the
gates of the city, and was so fortunate as to fix
it there
before the arrival of his companion. This produced
a dispute
betwixt the two colonies, which of them was the
proprietor
of the empty city and this dispute still subsists
among
philosophers. For my part I find the dispute
impossible to
be decided, and that because the whole question
hangs upon
the fancy, which in this case is not possessed of
any
precise or determinate standard, upon which it can
give
sentence. To make this evident, let us consider,
that if
these two persons had been simply members of the
colonies,
and not messengers or deputies, their actions would
not have
been of any consequence; since in that case their
relation
to the colonies would have been but feeble and
imperfect.
Add to this, that nothing determined them to run to
the
gates rather than the walls, or any other part of
the city,
but that the gates, being the most obvious and
remarkable
part, satisfy the fancy best in taking them for the
whole;
as we find by the poets, who frequently draw their
images
and metaphors from them. Besides we may consider,
that the
touch or contact of the one messenger is not
properly
possession, no more than the piercing the gates
with a
spear; but only forms a relation; and there is a

relation,
in the other case, equally obvious, tho' not,
perhaps, of
equal force. Which of these relations, then,
conveys a right
and property, or whether any of them be sufficient
for that
effect, I leave to the decision of such as are
wiser than
myself.]

But such disputes may not only arise concerning the real
existence of
property and possession, but also concerning their
extent; and these
disputes are often susceptible of no decision, or can be
decided by no
other faculty than the imagination. A person who lands
on the shore of
a small island, that is desert and uncultivated, is
deemed its possessor
from the very first moment, and acquires the property of
the whole;
because the object is there bounded and circumscribed in
the fancy, and
at the same time is proportioned to the new possessor.
The same person
landing on a desert island, as large as Great Britain,
extends his
property no farther than his immediate possession;
though a numerous
colony are esteemed the proprietors of the whole from
the instant of
their debarkment.

But it often happens, that the title of first possession
becomes obscure
through time; and that it is impossible to determine
many controversies,
which may arise concerning it. In that case long
possession or
prescription naturally takes place, and gives a person a
sufficient
property in any thing he enjoys. The nature of human

society admits not
of any great accuracy; nor can we always remount to the
first origin of
things, in order to determine their present condition.
Any considerable
space of time sets objects at such a distance, that they
seem, in a
manner, to lose their reality, and have as little
influence on the mind,
as if they never had been in being. A man's title, that
is clear and
certain at present, will seem obscure and doubtful fifty
years hence,
even though the facts, on which it is founded, should be
proved with
the greatest evidence and certainty. The same facts have
not the same
influence after so long an interval of time. And this
may be received as
a convincing argument for our preceding doctrine with
regard to property
and justice. Possession during a long tract of time
conveys a title to
any object. But as it is certain, that, however every
thing be produced
in time, there is nothing real that is produced by time;
it follows,
that property being produced by time, is not any thing
real in the
objects, but is the off-spring of the sentiments, on
which alone time is
found to have any influence.

[Footnote 18. Present possession is plainly a
relation
betwixt a person and an object; but is not
sufficient to
counter-balance the relation of first possession,
unless
the former be long and uninterrupted: In which case
the
relation is increased on the side of the present
possession,
by the extent of time, and diminished on that of

first

possession, by the distance, This change in the relation produces a consequent change in the property.]

We acquire the property of objects by accession, when they are connected in an intimate manner with objects that are already our property, and at the same time are inferior to them. Thus the fruits of our garden, the offspring of our cattle, and the work of our slaves, are all of them esteemed our property, even before possession. Where objects are connected together in the imagination, they are apt to be put on the same footing, and are commonly supposed to be endowed with the same qualities. We readily pass from one to the other, and make no difference in our judgments concerning them; especially if the latter be inferior to the former.

[Footnote 19. This source of property can never be explained but from the imaginations; and one may affirm, that the causes are here unmixed. We shall proceed to explain them more particularly, and illustrate them by examples from common life and experience.

It has been observed above, that the mind has a natural propensity to join relations, especially resembling ones, and finds a kind of fitness and uniformity in such an union. From this propensity are derived these laws of

nature, that
upon the first formation of society, property
always follows
the present possession; and afterwards, that it
arises from
first or from long possession. Now we may easily
observe,
that relation is not confined merely to one degree;
but that
from an object, that is related to us, we acquire a
relation
to every other object, which is related to it, and
so on,
till the thought loses the chain by too long a
progress,
However the relation may weaken by each remove, it
is not
immediately destroyed; but frequently connects two
objects
by means of an intermediate one, which is related
to both.
And this principle is of such force as to give rise
to the
right of accession, and causes us to acquire the
property
not only of such objects as we are immediately
possessed of;
but also of such as are closely connected with
them.

Suppose a German, a Frenchman, and a Spaniard to
come into a
room, where there are placed upon the table three
bottles of
wine, Rhenish, Burgundy and Port; and suppose they
shoued
fall a quarrelling about the division of them; a
person, who
was chosen for umpire would naturally, to shew his
impartiality, give every one the product of his own
country:
And this from a principle, which, in some measure,
is the
source of those laws of nature, that ascribe
property to

occupation, prescription and accession.

In all these Cases, and particularly that of accession, there is first a natural union betwixt the Idea of the person and that of the object, and afterwards a new and moral union produced by that right or property, which we ascribe to the person. But here there occurs a difficulty, which merits our attention, and may afford us an opportunity of putting to tryal that singular method of reasoning, which has been employed on the present subject. I have already observed that the imagination passes with greater facility from little to great, than from great to little, and that the transition of ideas is always easier and smoother in the former case than in the latter. Now as the right of accession arises from the easy transition of ideas, by which related objects are connected together, it should naturally be imagined, that the right of accession must encrease in strength, in proportion as the transition of ideas is performed with greater facility. It may, therefore, be thought, that when we have acquired the property of any small object, we shall readily consider any great object related to it as an accession, and as belonging to the proprietor of the small one; since the transition is in that case very easy from the small object to the great one, and

shoud connect them together in the closest manner.
But In

fact the case is always found to be otherwise, The
empire of

Great Britain seems to draw along with it the
dominion of

the Orkneys, the Hebrides, the isle of Man, and the
Isle of

Wight; but the authority over those lesser islands
does not

naturally imply any title to Great Britain. In
short, a

small object naturally follows a great one as its
accession;

but a great one Is never supposed to belong to the
proprietor of a small one related to it, merely on
account

of that property and relation. Yet in this latter
case the

transition of ideas is smoother from the proprietor
to the

small object, which is his property, and from the
small

object to the great one, than in the former case
from the

proprietor to the great object, and from the great
one to

the small. It may therefore be thought, that these
phaenomena are objections to the foregoing

hypothesis, THAT

THE ASCRIBING OF PROPERTY TO ACCESSION IS NOTHING
BUT AN

AFFECT OF THE RELATIONS OF IDEAS, AND OF THE SMOOTH
TRANSITION OF THE IMAGINATION.

It will be easy to solve this objection, if we
consider the

agility and unsteadiness of the imagination, with
the

different views, in which it is continually placing
its

objects. When we attribute to a person a property
in two

objects, we do not always pass from the person to
one

object, and from that to the other related to it.
The objects being here to be considered as the property of the person, we are apt to join them together, and place them in the same light. Suppose, therefore, a great and a small object to be related together; if a person be strongly related to the great object, he will likewise be strongly related to both the objects, considered together, because he is related to the most considerable part. On the contrary, if he be only related to the small object, he will not be strongly related to both, considered together, since his relation lies only with the most trivial part, which is not apt to strike us in any great degree, when we consider the whole. And this is the reason, why small objects become accessions to great ones, and not great to small.

It is the general opinion of philosophers and civilians, that the sea is incapable of becoming the property of any nation; and that because it is impossible to take possession of it, or form any such distinct relation with it, as may be the foundation of property. Where this reason ceases, property immediately takes place. Thus the most strenuous advocates for the liberty of the seas universally allow, that friths and bays naturally belong as an accession to the proprietors of the surrounding continent. These

have
properly no more bond or union with the land, than
the
pacific ocean would have; but having an union in
the fancy,
and being at the same time inferior, they are of
course
regarded as an accession.

The property of rivers, by the laws of most
nations, and by
the natural turn of our thought, is attributed to
the
proprietors of their banks, excepting such vast
rivers as
the Rhine or the Danube, which seem too large to
the
imagination to follow as an accession the property
of the
neighbouring fields. Yet even these rivers are
considered as
the property of that nation, thro' whose dominions
they run;
the idea of a nation being of a suitable bulk to
correspond
with them, and bear them such a relation in the
fancy.

The accessions, which are made to lands bordering
upon
rivers, follow the land, say the civilians,
provided it be
made by what they call alluvion, that is,
Insensibly and
Imperceptibly; which are circumstances that
mightily assist
the imagination in the conjunction. Where there is
any
considerable portion torn at once from one bank,
and joined
to another, it becomes not his property, whose land
it falls
on, till it unite with the land, and till the trees
or
plants have spread their roots into both. Before

that, the
imagination does not sufficiently join them.

There are other cases, which somewhat resemble this
of
accession, but which, at the bottom, are
considerably
different, and merit our attention. Of this kind is
the
conjunction of the properties of different persons,
after
such a manner as not to admit of separation. The
question
is, to whom the united mass must belong.

Where this conjunction is of such a nature as to
admit of
division, but not of separation, the decision is
natural and
easy. The whole mass must be supposed to be common
betwixt
the proprietors of the several parts, and
afterwards must be
divided according to the proportions of these
parts. But
here I cannot forbear taking notice of a remarkable
subtilty
of the Roman law, in distinguishing betwixt
confusion and
commixtion. Confusion is an union of two bodies,
such as
different liquors, where the parts become entirely
undistinguishable. Commixtion is the blending of
two bodies,
such as two bushels of corn, where the parts remain
separate
in an obvious and visible manner. As in the latter
case the
imagination discovers not so entire an union as in
the
former, but is able to trace and preserve a
distinct idea of
the property of each; this is the reason, why the
civil law,
tho' it established an entire community in the case

of

confusion, and after that a proportional division, yet in the case of commixtion, supposes each of the proprietors to maintain a distinct right; however necessity may at last force them to submit to the same division.

QUOD SI FRUMENTUM TITII FRUMENTO TUO MISTUM FUERIT: SIIQUIDEM EX VOLUNTATE VESTRA, COMMUNE EST: QUIA SINGULA CORPORA, ID EST, SINGULA GRANA, QUAE CUJUSQUE PRO PRIA FUERUNT, EX CONSENSU VESTRO COMMUNICATA SUNT. QUOD SI CASU ID MISTUM FUERIT, VEL TITIUS ID MISCUERIT SINE TUA VOLUNTATE, NON VIDETUR ID COMMUNE ESSE; QUIA SINGULA CORPORA IN SUA SUBSTANTIA DURANT. SED NEC MAGIS ISTIS CASIBUS COMMUNE SIT FRUMENTUM QUAM GREX INTELLIGITUR ESSE CORN MUNIS, SI PECORA TITII TUIS PECORIBUS MISTA FUERINT. SED SI AB ALTERUTRO VESTRUM TOTUM ID FRUMENTUM RETINEATUR, IN REM QUIDEM ACTIO PRO MODO FRUMENTI CUJUSQUE CORN PETIT. ARBITRIO AUTEM JUDICIS, UT IPSE AESTIMET QUALE CUJUSQUE FRUMENTUM FUERIT.

Inst. Lib. II Tit. i. Sect 28.

(In the case that your grain was mixed with that of Titius, if it was done voluntarily on the part of both of you, it is common property, inasmuch as the individual items, i.e., the single grains, which were the peculiar property of either of you, were combined with your joint consent. If, however, the

mixture was accidental, or if Titius mixed it without your consent, it does not appear that it is common property, Inasmuch as the several components retain their original identity. Rather, in circumstances of this sort the grain does not become common property, any more than a herd of cattle is regarded as common property, If Titius beasts should have become mixed up with yours.

However, if all of the aforesaid corn is kept by either of you, this gives rise to a suit to determine the ownership of property, in respect of the amount of corn belonging to each. It is in the discretion of the judge to determine which is the corn belonging to either party.]

Where the properties of two persons are united after such a manner as neither to admit of division nor separation, as when one builds a house on another's ground, in that case, the whole must belong to one of the proprietors: And here I assert, that it naturally is conceived to belong to the proprietor of the most considerable part. For however the compound object may have a relation to two different persons, and carry our view at once to both of them, yet as the most considerable part principally engages our attention, and by the strict union draws the inferior along it; for this reason, the whole bears a relation to

the

proprietor of that part, and is regarded as his property.

The only difficulty is, what we shall be pleased to call the most considerable part, and most attractive to the imagination.

This quality depends on several different circumstances,

which have little connexion with each other. One part of a

compound object may become more considerable than another,

either because it is more constant and durable; because it

is of greater value; because it is more obvious and remarkable; because it is of greater extent; or

because its

existence is more separate and independent. It will be easy

to conceive, that, as these circumstances may be conjoined

and opposed in all the different ways, and according to all

the different degrees, which can be imagined, there will

result many cases, where the reasons on both sides are so

equally balanced, that it is impossible for us to give any

satisfactory decision. Here then is the proper business of

municipal laws, to fix what the principles of human nature

have left undetermined.

The superficies yields to the soil, says the civil law: The

writing to the paper: The canvas to the picture.

These

decisions do not well agree together, and are a proof of the

contrariety of those principles, from which they are

derived.

But of all the questions of this kind the most curious is that, which for so many ages divided the disciples of Proculus and Sabinus. Suppose a person should make a cup from the metal of another, or a ship from his wood, and suppose the proprietor of the metal or wood should demand his goods, the question is, whether he acquires a title to the cup or ship. Sabinus maintained the affirmative, and asserted that the substance or matter is the foundation of all the qualities; that it is incorruptible and immortal, and therefore superior to the form, which is casual and dependent. On the other hand, Proculus observed, that the form is the most obvious and remarkable part, and that from it bodies are denominated of this or that particular species. To which he might have added, that the matter or substance is in most bodies so fluctuating and uncertain, that it is utterly impossible to trace it in all its changes. For my part, I know not from what principles such a controversy can be certainly determined. I shall therefore content my self with observing, that the decision of Trebonian seems to me pretty ingenious; that the cup belongs to the proprietor of the metal, because it can be brought back to its first form: But that the ship belongs

to the
author of its form for a contrary reason. But
however
ingenious this reason may seem, it plainly depends
upon the
fancy, which by the possibility of such a
reduction, finds a
closer connexion and relation betwixt a cup and the
proprietor of its metal, than betwixt a ship and
the
proprietor of its wood, where the substance is more
fixed
and unalterable.]

The right of succession is a very natural one, from the
presumed
consent of the parent or near relation, and from the
general interest
of mankind, which requires, that men's possessions
should pass to those,
who are dearest to them, in order to render them more
industrious and
frugal. Perhaps these causes are seconded by the
influence of relation,
or the association of ideas, by which we are naturally
directed to
consider the son after the parent's decease, and ascribe
to him a title
to his father's possessions. Those goods must become the
property of
some body: But of whom is the question. Here it is
evident the persons
children naturally present themselves to the mind; and
being already
connected to those possessions by means of their
deceased parent, we are
apt to connect them still farther by the relation of
property. Of this
there are many parallel instances.

[Footnote 20 In examining the different titles to
authority
in government, we shall meet with many reasons to

convince

us, that the right of succession depends, in a great measure on the imagination. Mean while I shall rest contented with observing one example, which belongs to the present subject.

Suppose that a person die without children, and that a dispute arises among his relations concerning his inheritance; it is evident, that if his riches be deriv'd partly from his father, partly from his mother, the most

natural way of determining such a dispute, is, to divide his

possessions, and assign each part to the family, from whence

it is deriv'd. Now as the person is suppos'd to have been

once the full and entire proprietor of those goods; I ask,

what is it makes us find a certain equity and natural reason

in this partition, except it be the imagination?

His

affection to these families does not depend upon

his

possessions; for which reason his consent can never

be

presum'd precisely for such a partition. And as to

the

public interest, it seems not to be in the least concern'd

on the one side or the other.]

SECT. IV OF THE TRANSFERENCE OF PROPERTY BY CONSENT

However useful, or even necessary, the stability of possession may be to human society, it is attended with very considerable

inconveniencies.

The relation of fitness or suitableness ought never to enter into consideration, in distributing the properties of mankind; but we must govern ourselves by rules, which are more general in their application, and more free from doubt and uncertainty. Of this kind is present possession upon the first establishment of society; and afterwards occupation, prescription, accession, and succession. As these depend very much on chance, they must frequently prove contradictory both to men's wants and desires; and persons and possessions must often be very ill adjusted. This is a grand inconvenience, which calls for a remedy. To apply one directly, and allow every man to seize by violence what he judges to be fit for him, would destroy society; and therefore the rules of justice seek some medium betwixt a rigid stability, and this changeable and uncertain adjustment. But there is no medium better than that obvious one, that possession and property should always be stable, except when the proprietor consents to bestow them on some other person. This rule can have no ill consequence, in occasioning wars and dissensions; since the proprietor's consent, who alone is concerned, is taken along in the alienation: And it may serve to many good purposes in adjusting property to persons. Different parts of the earth produce different commodities; and not only so, but different men both are by nature fitted for different employments, and attain to greater perfection in any one, when they confine themselves to it alone. All

this requires a mutual exchange and commerce; for which reason the translation of property by consent is founded on a law of nature, as well as its stability without such a consent.

So far is determined by a plain utility and interest. But perhaps it is from more trivial reasons, that delivery, or a sensible transference of the object is commonly required by civil laws, and also by the laws of nature, according to most authors, as a requisite circumstance in the translation of property. The property of an object, when taken for something real, without any reference to morality, or the sentiments of the mind, is a quality perfectly insensible, and even inconceivable; nor can we form any distinct notion, either of its stability or translation. This imperfection of our ideas is less sensibly felt with regard to its stability, as it engages less our attention, and is easily past over by the mind, without any scrupulous examination. But as the translation of property from one person to another is a more remarkable event, the defect of our ideas becomes more sensible on that occasion, and obliges us to turn ourselves on every side in search of some remedy. Now as nothing more enlivens any idea than a present impression, and a relation betwixt that impression and the idea; it is natural for us to seek some false light from this quarter. In order to aid the imagination in conceiving the transference of property, we take the sensible object, and actually transfer its possession to the person, on whom we would bestow the property. The supposed resemblance of the

actions, and the presence of this sensible delivery, deceive the mind, and make it fancy, that it conceives the mysterious transition of the property. And that this explication of the matter is just, appears hence, that men have invented a symbolical delivery, to satisfy the fancy, where the real one is impracticable. Thus the giving the keys of a granary is understood to be the delivery of the corn contained in it: The giving of stone and earth represents the delivery of a manor. This is a kind of superstitious practice in civil laws, and in the laws of nature, resembling the Roman catholic superstitions in religion. As the Roman catholics represent the inconceivable mysteries of the Christian religion, and render them more present to the mind, by a taper, or habit, or grimace, which is supposed to resemble them; so lawyers and moralists have run into like inventions for the same reason, and have endeavoured by those means to satisfy themselves concerning the transference of property by consent.

SECT. V OF THE OBLIGATION OF PROMISES

That the rule of morality, which enjoins the performance of promises, is not natural, will sufficiently appear from these two propositions, which I proceed to prove, viz, that a promise would not be intelligible, before human conventions had established it; and that even if it were

intelligible, it would not be attended with any moral obligation.

I say, first, that a promise is not intelligible naturally, nor antecedent to human conventions; and that a man, unacquainted with society, could never enter into any engagements with another, even though they could perceive each other's thoughts by intuition. If promises be natural and intelligible, there must be some act of the mind attending these words, I promise; and on this act of the mind must the obligation depend. Let us, therefore, run over all the faculties of the soul, and see which of them is exerted in our promises.

The act of the mind, exprest by a promise, is not a resolution to perform any thing: For that alone never imposes any obligation. Nor is it a desire of such a performance: For we may bind ourselves without such a desire, or even with an aversion, declared and avowed. Neither is it the willing of that action, which we promise to perform: For a promise always regards some future time, and the will has an influence only on present actions. It follows, therefore, that since the act of the mind, which enters into a promise, and produces its obligation, is neither the resolving, desiring, nor willing any particular performance, it must necessarily be the willing of that obligation, which arises from the promise. Nor is this only a conclusion of philosophy; but is entirely conformable to our common ways of thinking and of expressing ourselves, when we say that we are bound by our own consent, and that

the obligation arises from our mere will and pleasure. The only question then is, whether there be not a manifest absurdity in supposing this act of the mind, and such an absurdity as no man could fall into, whose ideas are not confounded with prejudice and the fallacious use of language.

All morality depends upon our sentiments; and when any action, or quality of the mind, pleases us after a certain manner, we say it is virtuous; and when the neglect, or nonperformance of it, displeases us after a like manner, we say that we lie under an obligation to perform it. A change of the obligation supposes a change of the sentiment; and a creation of a new obligation supposes some new sentiment to arise. But it is certain we can naturally no more change our own sentiments, than the motions of the heavens; nor by a single act of our will, that is, by a promise, render any action agreeable or disagreeable, moral or immoral; which, without that act, would have produced contrary impressions, or have been endowed with different qualities. It would be absurd, therefore, to will any new obligation, that is, any new sentiment of pain or pleasure; nor is it possible, that men could naturally fall into so gross an absurdity. A promise, therefore, is naturally something altogether unintelligible, nor is there any act of the mind belonging to it.

[Footnote 21 Were morality discoverable by reason, and not

by sentiment, it would be still more evident, that promises
cou'd make no alteration upon it. Morality is suppos'd to
consist in relation. Every new imposition of morality,
therefore, must arise from some new relation of objects; and
consequently the will could not produce immediately any
change in morals, but cou'd have that effect only by
producing a change upon the objects. But as the moral
obligation of a promise is the pure effect of the will,
without the least change in any part of the universe; it
follows, that promises have no natural obligation.

Shou'd it be said, that this act of the will being in effect
a new object, produces new relations and new duties; I wou'd
answer, that this is a pure sophism, which may be detected
by a very moderate share of accuracy and exactness. To will
a new obligation, is to will a new relation of objects; and
therefore, if this new relation of objects were form'd by
the volition itself, we should in effect will the volition;
which is plainly absurd and impossible. The will has here no
object to which it cou'd tend; but must return upon itself
in infinitum. The new obligation depends upon new relations.
The new relations depend upon a new volition. The new
volition has for object a new obligation, and consequently
new relations, and consequently a new volition;

which

volition again has in view a new obligation,
relation and
volition, without any termination. It is
impossible,
therefore, we could ever will a new obligation; and
consequently it is impossible the will could ever
accompany
a promise, or produce a new obligation of
morality.]

But, secondly, if there was any act of the mind
belonging to it, it
could not naturally produce any obligation. This appears
evidently
from the foregoing reasoning. A promise creates a new
obligation. A new
obligation supposes new sentiments to arise. The will
never creates new
sentiments. There could not naturally, therefore, arise
any obligation
from a promise, even supposing the mind could fall into
the absurdity of
willing that obligation.

The same truth may be proved still more evidently by
that reasoning,
which proved justice in general to be an artificial
virtue. No action
can be required of us as our duty, unless there be
implanted in human
nature some actuating passion or motive, capable of
producing the
action. This motive cannot be the sense of duty. A sense
of duty
supposes an antecedent obligation: And where an action
is not required
by any natural passion, it cannot be required by any
natural obligation;
since it may be omitted without proving any defect or
imperfection
in the mind and temper, and consequently without any
vice. Now it is
evident we have no motive leading us to the performance
of promises,

distinct from a sense of duty. If we thought, that promises had no moral obligation, we never should feel any inclination to observe them. This is not the case with the natural virtues. Though there was no obligation to relieve the miserable, our humanity would lead us to it; and when we omit that duty, the immorality of the omission arises from its being a proof, that we want the natural sentiments of humanity. A father knows it to be his duty to take care of his children: But he has also a natural inclination to it. And if no human creature had that indination, no one could lie under any such obligation. But as there is naturally no inclination to observe promises, distinct from a sense of their obligation; it follows, that fidelity is no natural virtue, and that promises have no force, antecedent to human conventions.

If any one dissent from this, he must give a regular proof of these two propositions, viz. THAT THERE IS A PECULIAR ACT OF THE MIND, ANNEXT TO PROMISES; AND THAT CONSEQUENT TO THIS ACT OF THE MIND, THERE ARISES AN INCLINATION TO PERFORM, DISTINCT FROM A SENSE OF DUTY. I presume, that it is impossible to prove either of these two points; and therefore I venture to conclude that promises are human inventions, founded on the necessities and interests of society.

In order to discover these necessities and interests, we must consider the same qualities of human nature, which we have already found to give rise to the preceding laws of society. Men being naturally selfish, or endowed only with a confined generosity, they are not

easily induced to perform any action for the interest of strangers, except with a view to some reciprocal advantage, which they had no hope of obtaining but by such a performance. Now as it frequently happens, that these mutual performances cannot be finished at the same instant, it is necessary, that one party be contented to remain in uncertainty, and depend upon the gratitude of the other for a return of kindness. But so much corruption is there among men, that, generally speaking, this becomes but a slender security; and as the benefactor is here supposed to bestow his favours with a view to self-interest, this both takes off from the obligation, and sets an example to selfishness, which is the true mother of ingratitude. Were we, therefore, to follow the natural course of our passions and inclinations, we should perform but few actions for the advantage of others, from distinterested views; because we are naturally very limited in our kindness and affection: And we should perform as few of that kind, out of a regard to interest; because we cannot depend upon their gratitude. Here then is the mutual commerce of good offices in a manner lost among mankind, and every one reduced to his own skill and industry for his well-being and subsistence. The invention of the law of nature, concerning the stability of possession, has already rendered men tolerable to each other; that of the transference of property and possession by consent has begun to render them mutually advantageous: But still these laws of nature, however strictly observed, are not

sufficient to render them so serviceable to each other,
as by nature
they are fitted to become. Though possession be stable,
men may often
reap but small advantage from it, while they are
possessed of a greater
quantity of any species of goods than they have occasion
for, and at the
same time suffer by the want of others. The transference
of property,
which is the proper remedy for this inconvenience,
cannot remedy it
entirely; because it can only take place with regard to
such objects as
are present and individual, but not to such as are
absent or general.
One cannot transfer the property of a particular house,
twenty leagues
distant; because the consent cannot be attended with
delivery, which is
a requisite circumstance. Neither can one transfer the
property of ten
bushels of corn, or five hogsheads of wine, by the mere
expression
and consent; because these are only general terms, and
have no direct
relation to any particular heap of corn, or barrels of
wine. Besides,
the commerce of mankind is not confined to the barter of
commodities,
but may extend to services and actions, which we may
exchange to our
mutual interest and advantage. Your corn is ripe to-day;
mine will be
so tomorrow. It is profitable for us both, that I should
labour with
you to-day, and that you should aid me to-morrow. I have
no kindness for
you, and know you have as little for me. I will not,
therefore, take
any pains upon your account; and should I labour with
you upon my own
account, in expectation of a return, I know I should be
disappointed,
and that I should in vain depend upon your gratitude.

Here then I
leave you to labour alone: You treat me in the same
manner. The seasons
change; and both of us lose our harvests for want of
mutual confidence
and security.

All this is the effect of the natural and inherent
principles and
passions of human nature; and as these passions and
principles are
inalterable, it may be thought, that our conduct, which
depends on them,
must be so too, and that it would be in vain, either for
moralists or
politicians, to tamper with us, or attempt to change the
usual course of
our actions, with a view to public interest. And indeed,
did the success
of their designs depend upon their success in correcting
the selfishness
and ingratitude of men, they would never make any
progress, unless aided
by omnipotence, which is alone able to new-mould the
human mind, and
change its character in such fundamental articles. All
they can pretend
to, is, to give a new direction to those natural
passions, and teach us
that we can better satisfy our appetites in an oblique
and artificial
manner, than by their headlong and impetuous motion.
Hence I learn to do
a service to another, without bearing him any real
kindness; because I
foresee, that he will return my service, in expectation
of another of
the same kind, and in order to maintain the same
correspondence of good
offices with me or with others. And accordingly, after I
have served
him, and he is in possession of the advantage arising
from my action,
he is induced to perform his part, as foreseeing the
consequences of his

refusal.

But though this self-interested commerce of man begins to take place, and to predominate in society, it does not entirely abolish the more generous and noble intercourse of friendship and good offices. I may still do services to such persons as I love, and am more particularly acquainted with, without any prospect of advantage; and they may make me a return in the same manner, without any view but that of recompensing my past services. In order, therefore, to distinguish those two different sorts of commerce, the interested and the disinterested, there is a certain form of words invented for the former, by which we bind ourselves to the performance of any action. This form of words constitutes what we call a promise, which is the sanction of the interested commerce of mankind. When a man says he promises any thing, he in effect expresses a resolution of performing it; and along with that, by making use of this form of words, subjects himself to the penalty of never being trusted again in case of failure. A resolution is the natural act of the mind, which promises express: But were there no more than a resolution in the case, promises would only declare our former motives, and would not create any new motive or obligation. They are the conventions of men, which create a new motive, when experience has taught us, that human affairs would be conducted much more for mutual advantage, were there certain symbols or signs instituted, by which we might give each, other security of our

conduct in any particular incident, After these signs are instituted, whoever uses them is immediately bound by his interest to execute his engagements, and must never expect to be trusted any more, if he refuse to perform what he promised.

Nor is that knowledge, which is requisite to make mankind sensible of this interest in the institution and observance of promises, to be esteemed superior to the capacity of human nature, however savage and uncultivated. There needs but a very little practice of the world, to make us perceive all these consequences and advantages. The shortest experience of society discovers them to every mortal; and when each individual perceives the same sense of interest in all his fellows, he immediately performs his part of any contract, as being assured, that they will not be wanting in theirs. All of them, by concert, enter into a scheme of actions, calculated for common benefit, and agree to be true to their word; nor is there any thing requisite to form this concert or convention, but that every one have a sense of interest in the faithful fulfilling of engagements, and express that sense to other members of the society. This immediately causes that interest to operate upon them; and interest is the first obligation to the performance of promises.

Afterwards a sentiment of morals concurs with interest, and becomes a new obligation upon mankind. This sentiment of morality, in the performance of promises, arises from the same principles

as that in the
abstinence from the property of others. Public interest,
education, and
the artifices of politicians, have the same effect in
both cases. The
difficulties, that occur to us, in supposing a moral
obligation
to attend promises, we either surmount or elude. For
instance; the
expression of a resolution is not commonly supposed to
be obligatory;
and we cannot readily conceive how the making use of a
certain form of
words should be able to cause any material difference.
Here, therefore,
we feign a new act of the mind, which we call the
willing an obligation;
and on this we suppose the morality to depend. But we
have proved
already, that there is no such act of the mind, and
consequently that
promises impose no natural obligation.

To confirm this, we may subjoin some other reflections
concerning
that will, which is supposed to enter into a promise,
and to cause its
obligation. It is evident, that the will alone is never
supposed to
cause the obligation, but must be expressed by words or
signs, in order
to impose a tie upon any man. The expression being once
brought in as
subservient to the will, soon becomes the principal part
of the promise;
nor will a man be less bound by his word, though he
secretly give a
different direction to his intention, and with-hold
himself both from
a resolution, and from willing an obligation. But though
the expression
makes on most occasions the whole of the promise, yet it
does not always
so; and one, who should make use of any expression, of
which he knows

not the meaning, and which he uses without any intention of binding himself, would not certainly be bound by it. Nay, though he knows its meaning, yet if he uses it in jest only, and with such signs as shew evidently he has no serious intention of binding himself, he would not lie under any obligation of performance; but it is necessary, that the words be a perfect expression of the will, without any contrary signs. Nay, even this we must not carry so far as to imagine, that one, whom, by our quickness of understanding, we conjecture, from certain signs, to have an intention of deceiving us, is not bound by his expression or verbal promise, if we accept of it; but must limit this conclusion to those cases, where the signs are of a different kind from those of deceit. All these contradictions are easily accounted for, if the obligation of promises be merely a human invention for the convenience of society; but will never be explained, if it be something real and natural, arising from any action of the mind or body.

I shall farther observe, that since every new promise imposes a new obligation of morality on the person who promises, and since this new obligation arises from his will; it is one of the most mysterious and incomprehensible operations that can possibly be imagined, and may even be compared to TRANSUBSTANTIATION, or HOLY ORDERS [I mean so far, as holy orders are suppos'd to produce the indelible character. In other respects they are only a legal qualification.], where a certain form of words, along with a certain intention, changes entirely

the nature of an external object, and even of a human nature. But though these mysteries be so far alike, it is very remarkable, that they differ widely in other particulars, and that this difference may be regarded as a strong proof of the difference of their origins. As the obligation of promises is an invention for the interest of society, it is warped into as many different forms as that interest requires, and even runs into direct contradictions, rather than lose sight of its object. But as those other monstrous doctrines are mere priestly inventions, and have no public interest in view, they are less disturbed in their progress by new obstacles; and it must be owned, that, after the first absurdity, they follow more directly the current of reason and good sense. Theologians clearly perceived, that the external form of words, being mere sound, require an intention to make them have any efficacy; and that this intention being once considered as a requisite circumstance, its absence must equally prevent the effect, whether avowed or concealed, whether sincere or deceitful. Accordingly they have commonly determined, that the intention of the priest makes the sacrament, and that when he secretly withdraws his intention, he is highly criminal in himself; but still destroys the baptism, or communion, or holy orders. The terrible consequences of this doctrine were not able to hinder its taking place; as the inconvenience of a similar doctrine, with regard to promises, have prevented that doctrine from establishing itself. Men are always

more concerned about the present life than the future;
and are apt to
think the smallest evil, which regards the former, more
important than
the greatest, which regards the latter.

We may draw the same conclusion, concerning the origin
of promises, from
the force, which is supposed to invalidate all
contracts, and to free us
from their obligation. Such a principle is a proof, that
promises have
no natural obligation, and are mere artificial
contrivances for the
convenience and advantage of society. If we consider
aright of the
matter, force is not essentially different from any
other motive of hope
or fear, which may induce us to engage our word, and lay
ourselves under
any obligation. A man, dangerously wounded, who promises
a competent
sum to a surgeon to cure him, would certainly be bound
to performance;
though the case be not so much different from that of
one, who promises
a sum to a robber, as to produce so great a difference
in our sentiments
of morality, if these sentiments were not built entirely
on public
interest and convenience.

SECT. VI SOME FARTHER REFLECTIONS CONCERNING JUSTICE AND INJUSTICE

We have now run over the three fundamental laws of
nature, that of the
stability of possession, of its transference by consent,
and of the
performance of promises. It is on the strict t
observance of those three

laws, that the peace and security of human society entirely depend; nor is there any possibility of establishing a good correspondence among men, where these are neglected. Society is absolutely necessary for the well-being of men; and these are as necessary to the support of society. Whatever restraint they may impose on the passions of men, they are the real offspring of those passions, and are only a more artful and more refined way of satisfying them. Nothing is more vigilant and inventive than our passions; and nothing is more obvious, than the convention for the observance of these rules. Nature has, therefore, trusted this affair entirely to the conduct of men, and has not placed in the mind any peculiar original principles, to determine us to a set of actions, into which the other principles of our frame and constitution were sufficient to lead us. And to convince us the more fully of this truth, we may here stop a moment, and from a review of the preceding reasonings may draw some new arguments, to prove that those laws, however necessary, are entirely artificial, and of human invention; and consequently that justice is an artificial, and not a natural virtue.

(1) The first argument I shall make use of is derived from the vulgar definition of justice. Justice is commonly defined to be a constant and perpetual will of giving every one his due. In this definition it is supposed, that there are such things as right and property, independent of justice, and antecedent to it; and that they would have subsisted,

though men had never dreamt of practising such a virtue. I have already observed, in a cursory manner, the fallacy of this opinion, and shall here continue to open up a little more distinctly my sentiments on that subject.

I shall begin with observing, that this quality, which we shall call property, is like many of the imaginary qualities of the peripatetic philosophy, and vanishes upon a more accurate inspection into the subject, when considered a-part from our moral sentiments. It is evident property does not consist in any of the sensible qualities of the object. For these may continue invariably the same, while the property changes. Property, therefore, must consist in some relation of the object. But it is not in its relation with regard to other external and inanimate objects. For these may also continue invariably the same, while the property changes. This quality, therefore, consists in the relations of objects to intelligent and rational beings. But it is not the external and corporeal relation, which forms the essence of property. For that relation may be the same betwixt inanimate objects, or with regard to brute creatures; though in those cases it forms no property. It is, therefore, in some internal relation, that the property consists; that is, in some influence, which the external relations of the object have on the mind and actions. Thus the external relation, which we call occupation or first possession, is not of itself imagined to be the property of the object, but only to cause its

property. Now it is evident, this external relation causes nothing in external objects, and has only an influence on the mind, by giving us a sense of duty in abstaining from that object, and in restoring it to the first possessor. These actions are properly what we call justice; and consequently it is on that virtue that the nature of property depends, and not the virtue on the property.

If any one, therefore, would assert, that justice is a natural virtue, and injustice a natural vice, he must assert, that abstracting from the notions of property, and right and obligation, a certain conduct and train of actions, in certain external relations of objects, has naturally a moral beauty or deformity, and causes an original pleasure or uneasiness. Thus the restoring a man's goods to him is considered as virtuous, not because nature has annexed a certain sentiment of pleasure to such a conduct, with regard to the property of others, but because she has annexed that sentiment to such a conduct, with regard to those external objects, of which others have had the first or long possession, or which they have received by the consent of those, who have had first or long possession. If nature has given us no such sentiment, there is not, naturally, nor antecedent to human conventions, any such thing as property. Now, though it seems sufficiently evident, in this dry and accurate consideration of the present subject, that nature has annexed no pleasure or sentiment of approbation to such a conduct; yet that I

may leave as little room for doubt as possible, I shall subjoin a few more arguments to confirm my opinion.

First, If nature had given us a pleasure of this kind, it would have been as evident and discernible as on every other occasion; nor should we have found any difficulty to perceive, that the consideration of such actions, in such a situation, gives a certain pleasure and sentiment of approbation. We should not have been obliged to have recourse to notions of property in the definition of justice, and at the same time make use of the notions of justice in the definition of property. This deceitful method of reasoning is a plain proof, that there are contained in the subject some obscurities and difficulties, which we are not able to surmount, and which we desire to evade by this artifice.

Secondly, Those rules, by which properties, rights, and obligations are determined, have in them no marks of a natural origin but many of artifice and contrivance. They are too numerous to have proceeded from nature: They are changeable by human laws: And have all of them a direct and evident tendency to public good, and the support, of civil society. This last circumstance is remarkable upon two accounts. First, because, though the cause of the establishment of these laws had been a regard for the public good, as much as the public good is their natural tendency, they would still have been artificial, as being purposely contrived and directed to a certain end. Secondly, because, if men had been endowed with such a strong regard for public good,

they would never have restrained themselves by these rules; so that the laws of justice arise from natural principles in a manner still more oblique and artificial. It is self-love which is their real origin; and as the self-love of one person is naturally contrary to that of another, these several interested passions are obliged to adjust themselves after such a manner as to concur in some system of conduct and behaviour. This system, therefore, comprehending the interest of each individual, is of course advantageous to the public; though it be not intended for that purpose by the inventors.

(2) In the second place we may observe, that all kinds of vice and virtue run insensibly into each other, and may approach by such imperceptible degrees as will make it very difficult, if not absolutely impossible, to determine when the one ends, and the other begins; and from this observation we may derive a new argument for the foregoing principle. For whatever may be the case, with regard to all kinds of vice and virtue, it is certain, that rights, and obligations, and property, admit of no such insensible gradation, but that a man either has a full and perfect property, or none at all; and is either entirely obliged to perform any action, or lies under no manner of obligation. However civil laws may talk of a perfect dominion, and of an imperfect, it is easy to observe, that this arises from a fiction, which has no foundation in reason, and can never enter into our notions of natural

justice and equity. A man that hires a horse, though but for a day, has as full a right to make use of it for that time, as he whom we call its proprietor has to make use of it any other day; and it was evident, that however the use may be bounded in time or degree, the right itself is not susceptible of any such gradation, but is absolute and entire, so far as it extends. Accordingly we may observe, that this right both arises and perishes in an instant; and that a man entirely acquires the property of any object by occupation, or the consent of the proprietor; and loses it by his own consent; without any of that insensible gradation, which is remarkable in other qualities and relations, Since, therefore, this is the case with regard to property, and rights, and obligations, I ask, how it stands with regard to justice and injustice? After whatever manner you answer this question, you run into inextricable difficulties. If you reply, that justice and injustice admit of degree, and run insensibly into each other, you expressly contradict the foregoing position, that obligation and property are not susceptible of such a gradation. These depend entirely upon justice and injustice, and follow them in all their variations. Where the justice is entire, the property is also entire: Where the justice is imperfect, the property must also be imperfect And vice versa, if the property admit of no such variations, they must also be incompatible with justice. If you assent, therefore, to this last proposition, and assert, that justice and injustice are not susceptible of degrees, you in

effect assert,
that they are not naturally either vicious or virtuous;
since vice
and virtue, moral good and evil, and indeed all natural
qualities,
run insensibly into each other, and are, on many
occasions,
undistinguishable.

And here it may be worth while to observe, that though
abstract
reasoning, and the general maxims of philosophy and law
establish this
position, that property, and right, and obligation admit
not of
degrees, yet in our common and negligent way of
thinking, we find great
difficulty to entertain that opinion, and do even
secretly embrace the
contrary principle. An object must either be in the
possession of
one person or another. An action must either be
performed or not The
necessity there is of choosing one side in these
dilemmas, and the
impossibility there often is of finding any just medium,
oblige us,
when we reflect on the matter, to acknowledge, that all
property and
obligations are entire. But on the other hand, when we
consider the
origin of property and obligation, and find that they
depend on public
utility, and sometimes on the propensities of the
imagination, which are
seldom entire on any side; we are naturally inclined to
imagine, that
these moral relations admit of an insensible gradation.
Hence it is,
that in references, where the consent of the parties
leave the referees
entire masters of the subject, they commonly discover so
much equity and
justice on both sides, as induces them to strike a
medium, and divide

the difference betwixt the parties. Civil judges, who have not this liberty, but are obliged to give a decisive sentence on some one side, are often at a loss how to determine, and are necessitated to proceed on the most frivolous reasons in the world. Half rights and obligations, which seem so natural in common life, are perfect absurdities in their tribunal; for which reason they are often obliged to take half arguments for whole ones, in order to terminate the affair one way or other.

(3) The third argument of this kind I shall make use of may be explained thus. If we consider the ordinary course of human actions, we shall find, that the mind restrains not itself by any general and universal rules; but acts on most occasions as it is determined by its present motives and inclination. As each action is a particular individual event, it must proceed from particular principles, and from our immediate situation within ourselves, and with respect to the rest of the universe. If on some occasions we extend our motives beyond those very circumstances, which gave rise to them, and form something like general rules for our conduct, it is easy to observe, that these rules are not perfectly inflexible, but allow of many exceptions. Since, therefore, this is the ordinary course of human actions, we may conclude, that the laws of justice, being universal and perfectly inflexible, can never be derived from nature, nor be the immediate offspring of any natural motive or inclination. No action can be either

morally good or evil, unless there be some natural passion or motive to impel us to it, or deter us from it; and it is evident, that die morality must be susceptible of all the same variations, which are natural to the passion. Here are two persons, who dispute for an estate; of whom one is rich, a fool, and a batchelor; the other poor, a man of sense, and has a numerous family: The first is my enemy; the second my friend. Whether I be actuated in this affair by a view to public or private interest, by friendship or enmity, I must be induced to do my utmost to procure the estate to the latter. Nor would any consideration of the right and property of the persons be able to restrain me, were I actuated only by natural motives, without any combination or convention with others. For as all property depends on morality; and as all morality depends on the ordinary course of our passions and actions; and as these again are only directed by particular motives; it is evident, such a partial conduct must be suitable to the strictest morality, and coued never be a violation of property. Were men, therefore, to take the liberty of acting with regard to the laws of society, as they do in every other affair, they would conduct themselves, on most occasions, by particular judgments, and would take into consideration the characters and circumstances of the persons, as well as the general nature of the question. But it is easy to observe, that this would produce an infinite confusion in human society, and that the avidity and partiality of men would quickly bring disorder into the world, if not

restrained by some
general and inflexible principles. Twas, therefore, with
a view to this
inconvenience, that men have established those
principles, and have
agreed to restrain themselves by general rules, which
are unchangeable
by spite and favour, and by particular views of private
or public
interest. These rules, then, are artificially invented
for a certain
purpose, and are contrary to the common principles of
human nature,
which accommodate themselves to circumstances, and have
no stated
invariable method of operation.

Nor do I perceive how I can easily be mistaken in this
matter. I see
evidently, that when any man imposes on himself general
inflexible
rules in his conduct with others, he considers certain
objects as
their property, which he supposes to be sacred and
inviolable. But
no proposition can be more evident, than that property
is perfectly
unintelligible without first supposing justice and
injustice; and that
these virtues and vices are as unintelligible, unless we
have motives,
independent of the morality, to impel us to just
actions, and deter us
from unjust ones. Let those motives, therefore, be what
they will, they
must accommodate themselves to circumstances, and must
admit of all the
variations, which human affairs, in their incessant
revolutions, are
susceptible of. They are consequently a very improper
foundation for
such rigid inflexible rules as the laws of nature; and
it is evident
these laws can only be derived from human conventions,
when men have

perceived the disorders that result from following their natural and variable principles.

Upon the whole, then, we are to consider this distinction betwixt justice and injustice, as having two different foundations, viz, that of interest, when men observe, that it is impossible to live in society without restraining themselves by certain rules; and that of morality, when this interest is once observed and men receive a pleasure from the view of such actions as tend to the peace of society, and an uneasiness from such as are contrary to it. It is the voluntary convention and artifice of men, which makes the first interest take place; and therefore those laws of justice are so far to be considered as artifrial. After that interest is once established and acknowledged, the sense of morality in the observance of these rules follows naturally, and of itself; though it is certain, that it is also augmented by a new artifice, and that the public instructions of politicians, and the private education of parents, contribute to the giving us a sense of honour and duty in the strict regulation of our actions with regard to the properties of others.

SECT. VII OF THE ORIGIN OF GOVERNMENT

Nothing is more certain, than that men are, in a great measure, governed by interest, and that even when they extend their

concern beyond themselves, it is not to any great distance; nor is it usual for them, in common life, to look farther than their nearest friends and acquaintance. It is no less certain, that it is impossible for men to consult, their interest in so effectual a manner, as by an universal and inflexible observance of the rules of justice, by which alone they can preserve society, and keep themselves from falling into that wretched and savage condition, which is commonly represented as the state of nature. And as this interest, which all men have in the upholding of society, and the observation of the rules of justice, is great, so is it palpable and evident, even to the most rude and uncultivated of human race; and it is almost impossible for any one, who has had experience of society, to be mistaken in this particular. Since, therefore, men are so sincerely attached to their interest, and their interest is so much concerned in the observance of justice, and this interest is so certain and avowed; it may be asked, how any disorder can ever arise in society, and what principle there is in human nature so powerful as to overcome so strong a passion, or so violent as to obscure so clear a knowledge?

It has been observed, in treating of the passions, that men are mightily governed by the imagination, and proportion their affections more to the light, under which any object appears to them, than to its real and intrinsic value. What strikes upon them with a strong and lively idea

commonly prevails above what lies in a more obscure light; and it must be a great superiority of value, that is able to compensate this advantage. Now as every thing, that is contiguous to us, either in space or time, strikes upon us with such an idea, it has a proportional effect on the will and passions, and commonly operates with more force than any object, that lies in a more distant and obscure light. Though we may be fully convinced, that the latter object excels the former, we are not able to regulate our actions by this judgment; but yield to the sollicitations of our passions, which always plead in favour of whatever is near and contiguous.

This is the reason why men so often act in contradiction to their known interest; and in particular why they prefer any trivial advantage, that is present, to the maintenance of order in society, which so much depends on the observance of justice. The consequences of every breach of equity seem to lie very remote, and are not able to counter-balance any immediate advantage, that may be reaped from it. They are, however, never the less real for being remote; and as all men are, in some degree, subject to the same weakness, it necessarily happens, that the violations of equity must become very frequent in society, and the commerce of men, by that means, be rendered very dangerous and uncertain. You have the same propension, that I have, in favour of what is contiguous above what is remote. You are, therefore, naturally carried to commit acts of injustice as well as me. Your

example both
pushes me forward in this way by imitation, and also
affords me a new
reason for any breach of equity, by shewing me, that I
should be the
cully of my integrity, if I alone should impose on
myself a severe
restraint amidst the licentiousness of others.

This quality, therefore, of human nature, not only is
very dangerous
to society, but also seems, on a cursory view, to be
incapable of any
remedy. The remedy can only come from the consent of
men; and if men be
incapable of themselves to prefer remote to contiguous,
they will never
consent to any thing, which would oblige them to such a
choice, and
contradict, in so sensible a manner, their natural
principles and
propensities. Whoever chuses the means, chuses also the
end; and if it
be impossible for us to prefer what is remote, it is
equally impossible
for us to submit to any necessity, which would oblige us
to such a
method of acting.

But here it is observable, that this infirmity of human
nature becomes
a remedy to itself, and that we provide against our
negligence about
remote objects, merely because we are naturally inclined
to that
negligence. When we consider any objects at a distance,
all their minute
distinctions vanish, and we always give the preference
to whatever is in
itself preferable, without considering its situation and
circumstances.
This gives rise to what in an improper sense we call
reason, which is
a principle, that is often contradictory to those
propensities that

display themselves upon the approach of the object. In reflecting on any action, which I am to perform a twelve-month hence, I always resolve to prefer the greater good, whether at that time it will be more contiguous or remote; nor does any difference in that particular make a difference in my present intentions and resolutions. My distance from the final determination makes all those minute differences vanish, nor am I affected by any thing, but the general and more discernible qualities of good and evil. But on my nearer approach, those circumstances, which I at first over-looked, begin to appear, and have an influence on my conduct and affections. A new inclination to the present good springs up, and makes it difficult for me to adhere inflexibly to my first purpose and resolution. This natural infirmity I may very much regret, and I may endeavour, by all possible means, to free myself from it. I may have recourse to study and reflection within myself; to the advice of friends; to frequent meditation, and repeated resolution: And having experienced how ineffectual all these are, I may embrace with pleasure any other expedient, by which I may impose a restraint upon myself, and guard against this weakness.

The only difficulty, therefore, is to find out this expedient, by which men cure their natural weakness, and lay themselves under the necessity of observing the laws of justice and equity, notwithstanding their violent propension to prefer contiguous to remote. It is evident such a remedy can never be effectual without correcting this

propensity; and as it is impossible to change or correct any thing material in our nature, the utmost we can do is to change our circumstances and situation, and render the observance of the laws of justice our nearest interest, and their violation our most remote. But this being impracticable with respect to all mankind, it can only take place with respect to a few, whom we thus immediately interest in the execution of justice. There are the persons, whom we call civil magistrates, kings and their ministers, our governors and rulers, who being indifferent persons to the greatest part of the state, have no interest, or but a remote one, in any act of injustice; and being satisfied with their present condition, and with their part in society, have an immediate interest in every execution of justice, which is so necessary to the upholding of society. Here then is the origin of civil government and society. Men are not able radically to cure, either in themselves or others, that narrowness of soul, which makes them prefer the present to the remote. They cannot change their natures. All they can do is to change their situation, and render the observance of justice the immediate interest of some particular persons, and its violation their more remote. These persons, then, are not only induced to observe those rules in their own conduct, but also to constrain others to a like regularity, and enforce the dictates of equity through the whole society. And if it be necessary, they may also interest others more immediately in the execution of justice, and

create a number of officers, civil and military, to assist them in their government.

But this execution of justice, though the principal, is not the only advantage of government. As violent passion hinders men from seeing distinctly the interest they have in an equitable behaviour towards others; so it hinders them from seeing that equity itself, and gives them a remarkable partiality in their own favours. This inconvenience is corrected in the same manner as that above-mentioned. The same persons, who execute the laws of justice, will also decide all controversies concerning them; and being indifferent to the greatest part of the society, will decide them more equitably than every one would in his own case.

By means of these two advantages, in the execution and decision of justice, men acquire a security against each others weakness and passion, as well as against their own, and under the shelter of their governors, begin to taste at ease the sweets of society and mutual assistance. But government extends farther its beneficial influence; and not contented to protect men in those conventions they make for their mutual interest, it often obliges them to make such conventions, and forces them to seek their own advantage, by a concurrence in some common end or purpose. There is no quality in human nature, which causes more fatal errors in our conduct, than that which leads us to prefer whatever is present to the distant and remote, and makes us

desire objects more according to their situation than their intrinsic value. Two neighbours may agree to drain a meadow, which they possess in common; because it is easy for them to know each others mind; and each must perceive, that the immediate consequence of his failing in his part, is, the abandoning the whole project. But it is very difficult, and indeed impossible, that a thousand persons should agree in any such action; it being difficult for them to concert so complicated a design, and still more difficult for them to execute it; while each seeks a pretext to free himself of the trouble and expence, and would lay the whole burden on others. Political society easily remedies both these inconveniences. Magistrates find an immediate interest in the interest of any considerable part of their subjects. They need consult no body but themselves to form any scheme for the promoting of that interest. And as the failure of any one piece in the execution is connected, though not immediately, with the failure of the whole, they prevent that failure, because they find no interest in it, either immediate or remote. Thus bridges are built; harbours opened; ramparts raised; canals formed; fleets equiped; and armies disciplined every where, by the care of government, which, though composed of men subject to all human infirmities, becomes, by one of the finest and most subtle inventions imaginable, a composition, which is, in some measure, exempted from all these infirmities.

SECT. VIII OF THE SOURCE OF ALLEGIANCE

Though government be an invention very advantageous, and even in some circumstances absolutely necessary to mankind; it is not necessary in all circumstances, nor is it impossible for men to preserve society for some time, without having recourse to such an invention. Men, it is true, are always much inclined to prefer present interest to distant and remote; nor is it easy for them to resist the temptation of any advantage, that they may immediately enjoy, in apprehension of an evil that lies at a distance from them: But still this weakness is less conspicuous where the possessions, and the pleasures of life are few, and of little value, as they always are in the infancy of society. An Indian is but little tempted to dispossess another of his hut, or to steal his bow, as being already provided of the same advantages; and as to any superior fortune, which may attend one above another in hunting and fishing, it is only casual and temporary, and will have but small tendency to disturb society. And so far am I from thinking with some philosophers, that men are utterly incapable of society without government, that I assert the first rudiments of government to arise from quarrels, not among men of the same society, but among those of different societies. A less degree of riches will suffice to this latter effect, than is requisite for the former. Men fear nothing from public war and violence but the resistance they meet with,

which, because
they share it in common, seems less terrible; and
because it comes from
strangers, seems less pernicious in its consequences,
than when they are
exposed singly against one whose commerce is
advantageous to them, and
without whose society it is impossible they can subsist.
Now foreign war
to a society without government necessarily produces
civil war. Throw
any considerable goods among men, they instantly fall a
quarrelling,
while each strives to get possession of what pleases
him, without regard
to the consequences. In a foreign war the most
considerable of all
goods, life and limbs, are at stake; and as every one
shuns dangerous
ports, seizes the best arms, seeks excuse for the
slightest wounds, the
laws, which may be well enough observed while men were
calm, can now no
longer take place, when they are in such commotion.

This we find verified in the American tribes, where men
live in concord
and amity among themselves without any established
government and never
pay submission to any of their fellows, except in time
of war, when
their captain enjoys a shadow of authority, which he
loses after
their return from the field, and the establishment of
peace with the
neighbouring tribes. This authority, however, instructs
them in the
advantages of government, and teaches them to have
recourse to it,
when either by the pillage of war, by commerce, or by
any fortuitous
inventions, their riches and possessions have become so
considerable as
to make them forget, on every emergence, the interest
they have in the

preservation of peace and justice. Hence we may give a plausible reason, among others, why all governments are at first monarchical, without any mixture and variety; and why republics arise only from the abuses of monarchy and despotic power. Camps are the true mothers of cities; and as war cannot be administered, by reason of the suddenness of every exigency, without some authority in a single person, the same kind of authority naturally takes place in that civil government, which succeeds the military. And this reason I take to be more natural, than the common one derived from patriarchal government, or the authority of a father, which is said first to take place in one family, and to accustom the members of it to the government of a single person. The state of society without government is one of the most natural states of men, and must submit with the conjunction of many families, and long after the first generation. Nothing but an encrease of riches and possessions could oblige men to quit it; and so barbarous and uninstructed are all societies on their first formation, that many years must elapse before these can encrease to such a degree, as to disturb men in the enjoyment of peace and concord. But though it be possible for men to maintain a small uncultivated society without government, it is impossible they should maintain a society of any kind without justice, and the observance of those three fundamental laws concerning the stability of possession, its translation by consent, and the performance of promises. These are, therefore, antecedent to government, and are

supposed to
impose an obligation before the duty of allegiance to
civil magistrates
has once been thought of. Nay, I shall go farther, and
assert, that
government, upon its first establishment, would
naturally be supposed.
to derive its obligation from those laws of nature, and,
in particular,
from that concerning the performance of promises. When
men have once
perceived the necessity of government to maintain peace,
and
execute justice, they would naturally assemble together,
would chuse
magistrates, determine power, and promise them
obedience. As a promise
is supposed to be a bond or security already in use, and
attended with
a moral obligation, it is to be considered as the
original sanction of
government, and as the source of the first obligation to
obedience. This
reasoning appears so natural, that it has become the
foundation of our
fashionable system of politics, and is in a manner the
creed of a party
amongst us, who pride themselves, with reason, on the
soundness of their
philosophy, and their liberty of thought. All men, say
they, are born
free and equal: Government and superiority can only be
established by
consent: The consent of men, in establishing government,
imposes on them
a new obligation, unknown to the laws of nature. Men,
therefore, are
bound to obey their magistrates, only because they
promise it; and if
they had not given their word, either expressly or
tacitly, to preserve
allegiance, it would never have become a part of their
moral duty. This
conclusion, however, when carried so far as to
comprehend government in

all its ages and situations, is entirely erroneous; and I maintain, that though the duty of allegiance be at first grafted on the obligation of promises, and be for some time supported by that obligation, yet it quickly takes root of itself, and has an original obligation and authority, independent of all contracts. This is a principle of moment, which we must examine with care and attention, before we proceed any farther.

It is reasonable for those philosophers, who assert justice to be a natural virtue, and antecedent to human conventions, to resolve all civil allegiance into the obligation of a promise, and assert that it is our own consent alone, which binds us to any submission to magistracy. For as all government is plainly an invention of men, and the origin of most governments is known in history, it is necessary to mount higher, in order to find the source of our political duties, if we would assert them to have any natural obligation of morality. These philosophers, therefore, quickly observe, that society is as antient as the human species, and those three fundamental laws of nature as antient as society: So that taking advantage of the antiquity, and obscure origin of these laws, they first deny them to be artificial and voluntary inventions of men, and then seek to ingraft on them those other duties, which are more plainly artificial. But being once undeceived in this particular, and having found that natural, as well as civil justice, derives its origin from human conventions, we shall

quickly perceive,
how fruitless it is to resolve the one into the other,
and seek, in
the laws of nature, a stronger foundation for our
political duties than
interest, and human conventions; while these laws
themselves are built
on the very same foundation. On which ever side we turn
this subject,
we shall find, that these two kinds of duty are exactly
on the same
footing, and have the same source both of their first
invention and
moral obligation. They are contrived to remedy like
inconveniences, and
acquire their moral sanction in the same manner, from
their remedying
those inconveniences. These are two points, which we
shall endeavour to
prove as distinctly as possible.

We have already shewn, that men invented the three
fundamental laws
of nature, when they observed the necessity of society
to their
mutual subsistence, and found, that it was impossible to
maintain
any correspondence together, without some restraint on
their natural
appetites. The same self-love, therefore, which renders
men so
incommodious to each other, taking a new and more
convenient direction,
produces the rules of justice, and is the first motive
of their
observance. But when men have observed, that though the
rules of justice
be sufficient to maintain any society, yet it is
impossible for them,
of themselves, to observe those rules, in large and
polished societies;
they establish government, as a new invention to attain
their ends, and
preserve the old, or procure new advantages, by a more
strict execution

of justice. So far, therefore, our civil duties are connected with our natural, that the former are invented chiefly for the sake of the latter; and that the principal object of government is to constrain men to observe the laws of nature. In this respect, however, that law of nature, concerning the performance of promises, is only comprized along with the rest; and its exact observance is to be considered as an effect of the institution of government, and not the obedience to government as an effect of the obligation of a promise. Though the object of our civil duties be the enforcing of our natural, yet the first [First in time, not in dignity or force.] motive of the invention, as well as performance of both, is nothing but self-interest: and since there is a separate interest in the obedience to government, from that in the performance of promises, we must also allow of a separate obligation. To obey the civil magistrate is requisite to preserve order and concord in society. To perform promises is requisite to beget mutual trust and confidence in the common offices of life. The ends, as well as the means, are perfectly distinct; nor is the one subordinate to the other.

To make this more evident, let us consider, that men will often bind themselves by promises to the performance of what it would have been their interest to perform, independent of these promises; as when they would give others a fuller security, by super-adding a new obligation of interest to that which they formerly lay under. The interest in

the performance of promises, besides its moral obligation, is general, avowed, and of the last consequence in life. Other interests may be more particular and doubtful; and we are apt to entertain a greater suspicion, that men may indulge their humour, or passion, in acting contrary to them. Here, therefore, promises come naturally in play, and are often required for fuller satisfaction and security. But supposing those other interests to be as general and avowed as the interest in the performance of a promise, they will be regarded as on the same footing, and men will begin to repose the same confidence in them. Now this is exactly the case with regard to our civil duties, or obedience to the magistrate; without which no government could subsist, nor any peace or order be maintained in large societies, where there are so many possessions on the one hand, and so many wants, real or imaginary, on the other. Our civil duties, therefore, must soon detach themselves from our promises, and acquire a separate force and influence. The interest in both is of the very same kind: It is general, avowed, and prevails in all times and places. There is, then, no pretext of reason for founding the one upon the other; while each of them has a foundation peculiar to itself. We might as well resolve the obligation to abstain from the possessions of others, into the obligation of a promise, as that of allegiance. The interests are not more distinct in the one case than the other. A regard to property is not more necessary to natural society, than obedience is to civil society or government; nor is

the former
society more necessary to the being of mankind, than the
latter to their
well-being and happiness. In short, if the performance
of promises be
advantageous, so is obedience to government: If the
former interest be
general, so is the latter: If the one interest be
obvious and avowed, so
is the other. And as these two rules are founded on like
obligations of
interest, each of them must have a peculiar authority,
independent of
the other.

But it is not only the natural obligations of interest,
which are
distinct in promises and allegiance; but also the moral
obligations of
honour and conscience: Nor does the merit or demerit of
the one depend
in the least upon that of the other. And indeed, if we
consider the
close connexion there is betwixt the natural and moral
obligations, we
shall find this conclusion to be entirely unavoidable.
Our interest
is always engaged on the side of obedience to
magistracy; and there is
nothing but a great present advantage, that can lead us
to rebellion, by
making us over-look the remote interest, which we have
in the preserving
of peace and order in society. But though a present
interest may thus
blind us with regard to our own actions, it takes not
place with regard
to those of others; nor hinders them from appearing in
their true
colours, as highly prejudicial to public interest, and
to our own in
particular. This naturally gives us an uneasiness, in
considering such
seditious and disloyal actions, and makes us attach to
them the idea of

vice and moral deformity. It is the same principle, which causes us to disapprove of all kinds of private injustice, and in particular of the breach of promises. We blame all treachery and breach of faith; because we consider, that the freedom and extent of human commerce depend entirely on a fidelity with regard to promises. We blame all disloyalty to magistrates; because we perceive, that the execution of justice, in the stability of possession, its translation by consent, and the performance of promises, is impossible, without submission to government. As there are here two interests entirely distinct from each other, they must give rise to two moral obligations, equally separate and independent. Though there was no such thing as a promise in the world, government would still be necessary in all large and civilized societies; and if promises had only their own proper obligation, without the separate sanction of government, they would have but little efficacy in such societies. This separates the boundaries of our public and private duties, and shews that the latter are more dependant on the former, than the former on the latter. Education, and the artifice of politicians, concur to bestow a farther morality on loyalty, and to brand all rebellion with a greater degree of guilt and infamy. Nor is it a wonder, that politicians should be very industrious in inculcating such notions, where their interest is so particularly concerned.

Lest those arguments should not appear entirely conclusive (as I think

they are) I shall have recourse to authority, and shall prove, from the universal consent of mankind, that the obligation of submission to government is not derived from any promise of the subjects. Nor need any one wonder, that though I have all along endeavoured to establish my system on pure reason, and have scarce ever cited the judgment even of philosophers or historians on any article, I should now appeal to popular authority, and oppose the sentiments of the rabble to any philosophical reasoning. For it must be observed, that the opinions of men, in this case, carry with them a peculiar authority, and are, in a great measure, infallible. The distinction of moral good and evil is founded on the pleasure or pain, which results from the view of any sentiment, or character; and as that pleasure or pain cannot be unknown to the person who feels it, it follows [Footnote 22], that there is just so much vice or virtue in any character, as every one places in it, and that it is impossible in this particular we can ever be mistaken. And though our judgments concerning the origin of any vice or virtue, be not so certain as those concerning their degrees; yet, since the question in this case regards not any philosophical origin of an obligation, but a plain matter of fact, it is not easily conceived how we can fall into an error. A man, who acknowledges himself to be bound to another, for a certain sum, must certainly know whether it be by his own bond, or that of his father; whether it be of his mere good-will, or for money lent him; and under what conditions, and for what purposes he

has bound
himself. In like manner, it being certain, that there is
a moral
obligation to submit to government, because every one
thinks so; it must
be as certain, that this obligation arises not from a
promise; since no
one, whose judgment has not been led astray by too
strict adherence to
a system of philosophy, has ever yet dreamt of ascribing
it to that
origin. Neither magistrates nor subjects have formed
this idea of our
civil duties.

[Footnote 22 This proposition must hold strictly
true, with
regard to every quality, that is determin'd merely
by
sentiment. In what sense we can talk either of a
right or a
wrong taste in morals, eloquence, or beauty, shall
be
considerd afterwards. In the mean time, it may be
observ'd,
that there is such an uniformity in the GENERAL
sentiments
of mankind, as to render such questions of but
small
importance.]

We find, that magistrates are so far from deriving their
authority, and
the obligation to obedience in their subjects, from the
foundation of
a promise or original contract, that they conceal, as
far as possible,
from their people, especially from the vulgar, that they
have their
origin from thence. Were this the sanction of
government, our rulers
would never receive it tacitly, which is the utmost that
can be
pretended; since what is given tacitly and insensibly

can never have such influence on mankind, as what is performed expressly and openly. A tacit promise is, where the will is signified by other more diffuse signs than those of speech; but a will there must certainly be in the case, and that can never escape the person's notice, who exerted it, however silent or tacit. But were you to ask the far greatest part of the nation, whether they had ever consented to the authority of their rulers, or promised to obey them, they would be inclined to think very strangely of you; and would certainly reply, that the affair depended not on their consent, but that they were born to such an obedience. In consequence of this opinion, we frequently see them imagine such persons to be their natural rulers, as are at that time deprived of all power and authority, and whom no man, however foolish, would voluntarily chuse; and this merely because they are in that line, which ruled before, and in that degree of it, which used to succeed; though perhaps in so distant a period, that scarce any man alive could ever have given any promise of obedience. Has a government, then, no authority over such as these, because they never consented to it, and would esteem the very attempt of such a free choice a piece of arrogance and impiety? We find by experience, that it punishes them very freely for what it calls treason and rebellion, which, it seems, according to this system, reduces itself to common injustice. If you say, that by dwelling in its dominions, they in effect consented to the established government; I

answer, that this can only be, where they think the affair depends on their choice, which few or none, beside those philosophers, have ever yet imagined. It never was pleaded as an excuse for a rebel, that the first act he performed, after he came to years of discretion, was to levy war against the sovereign of the state; and that while he was a child he could not bind himself by his own consent, and having become a man, showed plainly, by the first act he performed, that he had no design to impose on himself any obligation to obedience. We find, on the contrary, that civil laws punish this crime at the same age as any other, which is criminal, of itself, without our consent; that is, when the person is come to the full use of reason: Whereas to this crime they ought in justice to allow some intermediate time, in which a tacit consent at least might be supposed. To which we may add, that a man living under an absolute government, would owe it no allegiance; since, by its very nature, it depends not on consent. But as that is as natural and common a government as any, it must certainly occasion some obligation; and it is plain from experience, that men, who are subjected to it, do always think so. This is a clear proof, that we do not commonly esteem our allegiance to be derived from our consent or promise; and a farther proof is, that when our promise is upon any account expressly engaged, we always distinguish exactly betwixt the two obligations, and believe the one to add more force to the other, than in a repetition of the same promise. Where no promise is

given, a man
looks not on his faith as broken in private matters,
upon account of
rebellion; but keeps those two duties of honour and
allegiance perfectly
distinct and separate. As the uniting of them was
thought by these
philosophers a very subtle invention, this is a
convincing proof, that
it is not a true one; since no man can either give a
promise, or be
restrained by its sanction and obligation unknown to
himself.

SECT. IX OF THE MEASURES OF ALLEGIANCE

Those political writers, who have had recourse to a
promise, or original
contract, as the source of our allegiance to government,
intended to
establish a principle, which is perfectly just and
reasonable; though
the reasoning, upon which they endeavoured to establish
it, was
fallacious and sophistical. They would prove, that our
submission to
government admits of exceptions, and that an egregious
tyranny in the
rulers is sufficient to free the subjects from all ties
of allegiance.
Since men enter into society, say they, and submit
themselves to
government, by their free and voluntary consent, they
must have in view
certain advantages, which they propose to reap from it,
and for which
they are contented to resign their native liberty. There
is, therefore,
something mutual engaged on the part of the magistrate,
viz, protection
and security; and it is only by the hopes he affords of

these advantages, that he can ever persuade men to submit to him. But when instead of protection and security, they meet with tyranny and oppression, they are freed from their promises, (as happens in all conditional contracts) and return to that state of liberty, which preceded the institution of government. Men would never be so foolish as to enter into such engagements as should turn entirely to the advantage of others, without any view of bettering their own condition. Whoever proposes to draw any profit from our submission, must engage himself, either expressly or tacitly, to make us reap some advantage from his authority; nor ought he to expect, that without the performance of his part we will ever continue in obedience.

I repeat it: This conclusion is just, though the principles be erroneous; and I flatter myself, that I can establish the same conclusion on more reasonable principles. I shall not take such a compass, in establishing our political duties, as to assert, that men perceive the advantages of government; that they institute government with a view to those advantages; that this institution requires a promise of obedience; which imposes a moral obligation to a certain degree, but being conditional, ceases to be binding, whenever the other contracting party performs not his part of the engagement. I perceive, that a promise itself arises entirely from human conventions, and is invented with a view to a certain interest. I seek, therefore, some such

interest more immediately connected with government, and which may be at once the original motive to its institution, and the source of our obedience to it. This interest I find to consist in the security and protection, which we enjoy in political society, and which we can never attain, when perfectly free and independent. As interest, therefore, is the immediate sanction of government, the one can have no longer being than the other; and whenever the civil magistrate carries his oppression so far as to render his authority perfectly intolerable, we are no longer bound to submit to it. The cause ceases; the effect must cease also.

So far the conclusion is immediate and direct, concerning the natural obligation which we have to allegiance. As to the moral obligation, we may observe, that the maxim would here be false, that when the cause ceases, the effect must cease also. For there is a principle of human nature, which we have frequently taken notice of, that men are mightily addicted to general rules, and that we often carry our maxims beyond those reasons, which first induced us to establish them. Where cases are similar in many circumstances, we are apt to put them on the same footing, without considering, that they differ in the most material circumstances, and that the resemblance is more apparent than real. It may, therefore, be thought, that in the case of allegiance our moral obligation of duty will not cease, even though the natural obligation of interest, which is its cause, has ceased; and that men

may be bound by
conscience to submit to a tyrannical government against
their own and
the public interest. And indeed, to the force of this
argument I so far
submit, as to acknowledge, that general rules commonly
extend beyond
the principles, on which they are founded; and that we
seldom make any
exception to them, unless that exception have the
qualities of a general
rule, and be founded on very numerous and common
instances. Now this I
assert to be entirely the present case. When men submit
to the authority
of others, it is to procure themselves some security
against the
wickedness and injustice of men, who are perpetually
carried, by their
unruly passions, and by their present and immediate
interest, to the
violation of all the laws of society. But as this
imperfection is
inherent in human nature, we know that it must attend
men in all their
states and conditions; and that these, whom we chuse for
rulers, do not
immediately become of a superior nature to the rest of
mankind, upon
account of their superior power and authority. What we
expect from them
depends not on a change of their nature but of their
situation, when
they acquire a more immediate interest in the
preservation of order and
the execution of justice. But besides that this interest
is only more
immediate in the execution of justice among their
subjects; besides
this, I say, we may often expect, from the irregularity
of human nature,
that they will neglect even this immediate interest, and
be transported
by their passions into all the excesses of cruelty and
ambition.. Our

general knowledge of human nature, our observation of the past history of mankind, our experience of present times; all these causes must induce us to open the door to exceptions, and must make us conclude, that we may resist the more violent effects of supreme power, without any crime or injustice.

Accordingly we may observe, that this is both the general practice and principle of mankind, and that no nation, that could find any remedy, ever yet suffered the cruel ravages of a tyrant, or were blamed for their resistance. Those who took up arms against Dionysius or Nero, or Philip the second, have the favour of every reader in the perusal of their history: and nothing but the most violent perversion of common sense can ever lead us to condemn them. It is certain, therefore, that in all our notions of morals we never entertain such an absurdity as that of passive obedience, but make allowances for resistance in the more flagrant instances of tyranny and oppression. The general opinion of mankind has some authority in all cases; but in this of morals it is perfectly infallible. Nor is it less infallible, because men cannot distinctly explain the principles, on which it is founded. Few persons can carry on this train of reasoning:

Government is a mere human invention for the interest of society. Where the tyranny of the governor removes this interest, it also removes the natural obligation to obedience. The moral obligation is founded on the natural, and therefore must cease where that ceases;

especially where
the subject is such as makes us foresee very many
occasions wherein the
natural obligation may cease, and causes us to form a
kind of general
rule for the regulation of our conduct in such
occurrences.

But though this train of reasoning be too subtile for
the vulgar, it is
certain, that all men have an implicit notion of it, and
are sensible,
that they owe obedience to government merely on account
of the public
interest; and at the same time, that human nature is so
subject to
frailties and passions, as may easily pervert this
institution, and
change their governors into tyrants and public enemies.
If the sense of
common interest were not our original motive to
obedience, I would fain
ask, what other principle is there in human nature
capable of subduing
the natural ambition of men, and forcing them to such a
submission?
Imitation and custom are not sufficient. For the
question still recurs,
what motive first produces those instances of
submission, which we
imitate, and that train of actions, which produces the
custom? There
evidently is no other principle than public interest;
and if interest
first produces obedience to government, the obligation
to obedience
must cease, whenever the interest ceases, in any great
degree, and in a
considerable number of instances.

SECT. X OF THE OBJECTS OF ALLEGIANCE

But though, on some occasions, it may be justifiable, both in sound politics and morality, to resist supreme power, it is certain, that in the ordinary course of human affairs nothing can be more pernicious and criminal; and that besides the convulsions, which always attend revolutions, such a practice tends directly to the subversion of all government, and the causing an universal anarchy and confusion among mankind. As numerous and civilized societies cannot subsist without government, so government is entirely useless without an exact obedience. We ought always to weigh the advantages, which we reap from authority, against the disadvantages; and by this means we shall become more scrupulous of putting in practice the doctrine of resistance. The common rule requires submission; and it is only in cases of grievous tyranny and oppression, that the exception can take place.

Since then such a blind submission is commonly due to magistracy, the next question is, to whom it is due, and whom we are to regard as our lawful magistrates? In order to answer this question, let us recollect what we have already established concerning the origin of government and political society. When men have once experienced the impossibility of preserving any steady order in society, while every one is his own master, and violates or observes the laws of society, according to his present interest or pleasure, they naturally run into the invention of government, and put it out of their own power, as far as

possible, to transgress the laws of society. Government, therefore, arises from the same voluntary conversation of men; and it is evident, that the same convention, which establishes government, will also determine the persons who are to govern, and will remove all doubt and ambiguity in this particular. And the voluntary consent of men must here have the greater efficacy, that the authority of the magistrate does at first stand upon the foundation of a promise of the subjects, by which they bind themselves to obedience; as in every other contract or engagement. The same promise, then, which binds them to obedience, ties them down to a particular person, and makes him the object of their allegiance.

But when government has been established on this footing for some considerable time, and the separate interest, which we have in submission, has produced a separate sentiment of morality, the case is entirely altered, and a promise is no longer able to determine the particular magistrate since it is no longer considered as the foundation of government. We naturally suppose ourselves born to submission; and imagine, that such particular persons have a right to command, as we on our part are bound to obey. These notions of right and obligation are derived from nothing but the advantage we reap from government, which gives us a repugnance to practise resistance ourselves, and makes us displeased with any instance of it in others. But here it is remarkable, that in this new state of affairs, the original sanction

of government,
which is interest, is not admitted to determine the
persons, whom we are
to obey, as the original sanction did at first, when
affairs were on
the footing of a promise. A promise fixes and determines
the persons,
without any uncertainty: But it is evident, that if men
were to regulate
their conduct in this particular, by the view of a
peculiar interest,
either public or private, they would involve themselves
in endless
confusion, and would render all government, in a great
measure,
ineffectual. The private interest of every one is
different; and though
the public interest in itself be always one and the
same, yet it becomes
the source of as great dissensions, by reason of the
different opinions
of particular persons concerning it. The same interest,
therefore,
which causes us to submit to magistracy, makes us
renounce itself in
the choice of our magistrates, and binds us down to a
certain form of
government, and to particular persons, without allowing
us to aspire to
the utmost perfection in either. The case is here the
same as in that
law of nature concerning the stability of possession. It
is highly
advantageous, and even absolutely necessary to society,
that possession
should be stable; and this leads us to the establishment
of such a rule:
But we find, that were we to follow the same advantage,
in assigning
particular possessions to particular persons, we should
disappoint
our end, and perpetuate the confusion, which that rule
is intended to
prevent. We must, therefore, proceed by general rules,
and regulate

ourselves by general interests, in modifying the law of nature concerning the stability of possession. Nor need we fear, that our attachment to this law will diminish upon account of the seeming frivolousness of those interests, by which it is determined. The impulse of the mind is derived from a very strong interest; and those other more minute interests serve only to direct the motion, without adding any thing to it, or diminishing from it. It is the same case with government. Nothing is more advantageous to society than such an invention; and this interest is sufficient to make us embrace it with ardour and alacrity; though we are obliged afterwards to regulate and direct our devotion to government by several considerations, which are not of the same importance, and to chuse our magistrates without having in view any particular advantage from the choice.

The first of those principles I shall take notice of, as a foundation of the right of magistracy, is that which gives authority to all the most established governments of the world without exception: I mean, long possession in any one form of government, or succession of princes. It is certain, that if we remount to the first origin of every nation, we shall find, that there scarce is any race of kings, or form of a commonwealth, that is not primarily founded on usurpation and rebellion, and whose title is not at first worse than doubtful and uncertain. Time alone gives solidity to their right; and operating gradually on the minds of men, reconciles them to any authority, and

makes it seem just
and reasonable. Nothing causes any sentiment to have a
greater influence
upon us than custom, or turns our imagination more
strongly to any
object. When we have been long accustomed to obey any
set of men,
that general instinct or tendency, which we have to
suppose a moral
obligation attending loyalty, takes easily this
direction, and chuses
that set of men for its objects. It is interest which
gives the general
instinct; but it is custom which gives the particular
direction.

And here it is observable, that the same length of time
has a different
influence on our sentiments of morality, according to
its different
influence on the mind. We naturally judge of every thing
by comparison;
and since in considering the fate of kingdoms and
republics, we embrace
a long extent of time, a small duration has not in this
case a like
influence on our sentiments, as when we consider any
other object. One
thinks he acquires a right to a horse, or a suit of
cloaths, in a very
short time; but a century is scarce sufficient to
establish any
new government, or remove all scruples in the minds of
the subjects
concerning it. Add to this, that a shorter period of
time will suffice
to give a prince a title to any additional power he may
usurp, than will
serve to fix his right, where the whole is an
usurpation. The kings of
France have not been possessed of absolute power for
above two reigns;
and yet nothing will appear more extravagant to
Frenchmen than to
talk of their liberties. If we consider what has been

said concerning
accession, we shall easily account for this phaenomenon.

When there is no form of government established by long
possession,
the present possession is sufficient to supply its
place, and may
be regarded as the second source of all public
authority. Right
to authority is nothing but the constant possession of
authority,
maintained by the laws of society and the interests of
mankind; and
nothing can be more natural than to join this constant
possession to the
present one, according to the principles above-
mentioned. If the same
principles did not take place with regard to the
property of private
persons, it was because these principles were counter-
ballanced by
very strong considerations of interest; when we
observed, that all
restitution would by that means be prevented, and every
violence be
authorized and protected. And though the same motives
may seem to
have force, with regard to public authority, yet they
are opposed by a
contrary interest; which consists in the preservation of
peace, and the
avoiding of all changes, which, however they may be
easily produced in
private affairs, are unavoidably attended with bloodshed
and confusion,
where the public is interested.

Any one, who finding the impossibility of accounting for
the right of
the present possessor, by any received system of ethics,
should resolve
to deny absolutely that right, and assert, that it is
not authorized
by morality, would be justly thought to maintain a very
extravagant

paradox, and to shock the common sense and judgment of mankind. No maxim is more conformable, both to prudence and morals, than to submit quietly to the government, which we find established in the country where we happen to live, without enquiring too curiously into its origin and first establishment. Few governments will bear being examined so rigorously. How many kingdoms are there at present in the world, and how many more do we find in history, whose governors have no better foundation for their authority than that of present possession? To confine ourselves to the Roman and Grecian empire; is it not evident, that the long succession of emperors, from the dissolution of the Roman liberty, to the final extinction of that empire by the Turks, could not so much as pretend to any other title to the empire? The election of the senate was a mere form, which always followed the choice of the legions; and these were almost always divided in the different provinces, and nothing but the sword was able to terminate the difference. It was by the sword, therefore, that every emperor acquired, as well as defended his right; and we must either say, that all the known world, for so many ages, had no government, and owed no allegiance to any one, or must allow, that the right of the stronger, in public affairs, is to be received as legitimate, and authorized by morality, when not opposed by any other title.

The right of conquest may be considered as a third source of the title of sovereigns. This right resembles very much that

of present possession; but has rather a superior force, being seconded by the notions of glory and honour, which we ascribe to conquerors, instead of the sentiments of hatred and detestation, which attend usurpers. Men naturally favour those they love; and therefore are more apt to ascribe a right to successful violence, betwixt one sovereign and another, than to the successful rebellion of a subject against his sovereign.

[Footnote 23 It is not here asserted, that present possession or conquest are sufficient to give a title against long possession and positive laws but only that they have some force, and will be able to call the ballance where the titles are otherwise equal, and will even be sufficient sometimes to sanctify the weaker title. What degree of force they have is difficult to determine. I believe all moderate men will allow, that they have great force in all disputes concerning the rights of princes.]

When neither long possession, nor present possession, nor conquest take place, as when the first sovereign, who founded any monarchy, dies; in that case, the right of succession naturally prevails in their stead, and men are commonly induced to place the son of their late monarch on the throne, and suppose him to inherit his father's authority. The presumed consent of the father, the imitation of the succession to private families, the interest, which the state has in

chusing the
person, who is most powerful, and has the most numerous
followers; all
these reasons lead men to prefer the son of their late
monarch to any
other person.

[Footnote 24 To prevent mistakes I must observe,
that this
case of succession is not the same with that of
hereditary
monarchies, where custom has fix'd the right of
succession.
These depend upon the principle of long possession
above
explain'd.]

These reasons have some weight; but I am persuaded, that
to one, who
considers impartially of the matter, it will appear,
that there concur
some principles of the imagination, along with those
views of interest.
The royal authority seems to be connected with the young
prince even in
his father's life-time, by the natural transition of the
thought; and
still more after his death: So that nothing is more
natural than to
compleat this union by a new relation, and by putting
him actually in
possession of what seems so naturally to belong to him.

To confirm this we may weigh the following phaenomena,
which are pretty
curious in their kind. In elective monarchies the right
of succession
has no place by the laws and settled custom; and yet its
influence is
so natural, that it is impossible entirely to exclude it
from the
imagination, and render the subjects indifferent to the
son of their
deceased monarch. Hence in some governments of this

kind, the choice commonly falls on one or other of the royal family; and in some governments they are all excluded. Those contrary phaenomena proceed from the same principle. Where the royal family is excluded, it is from a refinement in politics, which makes people sensible of their propensity to chuse a sovereign in that family, and gives them a jealousy of their liberty, lest their new monarch, aided by this propensity, should establish his family, and destroy the freedom of elections for the future.

The history of Artaxerxes, and the younger Cyrus, may furnish us with some reflections to the same purpose. Cyrus pretended a right to the throne above his elder brother, because he was born after his father's accession. I do not pretend, that this reason was valid. I would only infer from it, that he would never have made use of such a pretext, were it not for the qualities of the imagination above-mentioned, by which we are naturally inclined to unite by a new relation whatever objects we find already united. Artaxerxes had an advantage above his brother, as being the eldest son, and the first in succession: But Cyrus was more closely related to the royal authority, as being begot after his father was invested with it.

Should it here be pretended, that the view of convenience may be the source of all the right of succession, and that men gladly take advantage of any rule, by which they can fix the successor of their late

sovereign, and prevent that anarchy and confusion, which attends all new elections? To this I would answer, that I readily allow, that this motive may contribute something to the effect; but at the same time I assert, that without another principle, it is impossible such a motive should take place. The interest of a nation requires, that the succession to the crown should be fixed one way or other; but it is the same thing to its interest in what way it be fixed: So that if the relation of blood had not an effect independent of public interest, it would never have been regarded, without a positive law; and it would have been impossible, that so many positive laws of different nations could ever have concurred precisely in the same views and intentions.

This leads us to consider the fifth source of authority, viz. positive laws; when the legislature establishes a certain form of government and succession of princes. At first sight it may be thought, that this must resolve into some of the preceding titles of authority. The legislative power, whence the positive law is derived, must either be established by original contract, long possession, present possession, conquest, or succession; and consequently the positive law must derive its force from some of those principles. But here it is remarkable, that though a positive law can only derive its force from these principles, yet it acquires not all the force of the principle from whence it is derived, but loses considerably in the transition; as it is natural to imagine.

For instance; a government is established for many centuries on a certain system of laws, forms, and methods of succession. The legislative power, established by this long succession, changes all on a sudden the whole system of government, and introduces a new constitution in its stead. I believe few of the subjects will think themselves bound to comply with this alteration, unless it have an evident tendency to the public good: But men think themselves still at liberty to return to the antient government. Hence the notion of fundamental laws; which are supposed to be inalterable by the will of the sovereign: And of this nature the Salic law is understood to be in France. How far these fundamental laws extend is not determined in any government; nor is it possible it ever should. There is such an indefensible gradation from the most material laws to the most trivial, and from the most antient laws to the most modern, that it will be impossible to set bounds to the legislative power, and determine how far it may innovate in the principles of government. That is the work more of imagination and passion than of reason.

Whoever considers the history of the several nations of the world; their revolutions, conquests, increase, and diminution; the manner in which their particular governments are established, and the successive right transmitted from one person to another, will soon learn to treat very lightly all disputes concerning the rights of princes, and will be convinced, that a strict adherence to any general rules,

and the rigid
loyalty to particular persons and families, on which
some people set so
high a value, are virtues that hold less of reason, than
of bigotry
and superstition. In this particular, the study of
history confirms the
reasonings of true philosophy; which, shewing us the
original qualities
of human nature, teaches us to regard the controversies
in politics as
incapable of any decision in most cases, and as entirely
subordinate
to the interests of peace and liberty. Where the public
good does not
evidently demand a change; it is certain, that the
concurrence of all
those titles, original contract, long possession,
present possession,
succession, and positive laws, forms the strongest title
to sovereignty,
and is justly regarded as sacred and inviolable. But
when these titles
are mingled and opposed in different degrees, they often
occasion
perplexity; and are less capable of solution from the
arguments of
lawyers and philosophers, than from the swords of the
soldiery. Who
shall tell me, for instance, whether Germanicus, or
Drufus, ought to
have succeeded Tiberius, had he died while they were
both alive, without
naming any of them for his successor? Ought the right of
adoption to be
received as equivalent to that of blood in a nation,
where it had the
same effect in private families, and had already, in two
instances,
taken place in the public? Ought Germanicus to be
esteemed the eldest
son, because he was born before Drufus; or the younger,
because he was
adopted after the birth of his brother? Ought the right
of the elder to

be regarded in a nation, where the eldest brother had no advantage in the succession to private families? Ought the Roman empire at that time to be esteemed hereditary, because of two examples; or ought it, even so early, to be regarded as belonging to the stronger, or the present possessor, as being founded on so recent an usurpation? Upon whatever principles we may pretend to answer these and such like questions, I am afraid we shall never be able to satisfy an impartial enquirer, who adopts no party in political controversies, and will be satisfied with nothing but sound reason and philosophy.

But here an English reader will be apt to enquire concerning that famous revolution, which has had such a happy influence on our constitution, and has been attended with such mighty consequences. We have already remarked, that in the case of enormous tyranny and oppression, it is lawful to take arms even against supreme power; and that as government is a mere human invention for mutual advantage and security, it no longer imposes any obligation, either natural or moral, when once it ceases to have that tendency. But though this general principle be authorized by common sense, and the practice of all ages, it is certainly impossible for the laws, or even for philosophy, to establish any particular rules, by which we may know when resistance is lawful; and decide all controversies, which may arise on that subject. This may not only happen with regard to supreme power; but it is possible, even in some constitutions, where the legislative authority

is not lodged in
one person, that there may be a magistrate so eminent
and powerful, as
to oblige the laws to keep silence in this particular.
Nor would this
silence be an effect only of their respect, but also of
their prudence;
since it is certain, that in the vast variety of
circumstances,
which occur in all governments, an exercise of power, in
so great
a magistrate, may at one time be beneficial to the
public, which at
another time would be pernicious and tyrannical. But
notwithstanding
this silence of the laws in limited monarchies, it is
certain, that the
people still retain the right of resistance; since it is
impossible,
even in the most despotic governments, to deprive them
of it. The same
necessity of self-preservation, and the same motive of
public good,
give them the same liberty in the one case as in the
other. And we may
farther observe, that in such mixed governments, the
cases, wherein
resistance is lawful, must occur much oftener, and
greater indulgence
be given to the subjects to defend themselves by force
of arms, than in
arbitrary governments. Not only where the chief
magistrate enters into
measures, in themselves, extremely pernicious to the
public, but even
when he would encroach on the other parts of the
constitution, and
extend his power beyond the legal bounds, it is
allowable to resist and
dethrone him; though such resistance and violence may,
in the general
tenor of the laws, be deemed unlawful and rebellious.
For besides that
nothing is more essential to public interest, than the
preservation of

public liberty; it is evident, that if such a mixed government be once supposed to be established, every part or member of the constitution must have a right of self-defence, and of maintaining its antient bounds against the enoachment of every other authority. As matter would have been created in vain, were it deprived of a power of resistance, without which no part of it coued preserve a distinct existence, and the whole might be crowded up into a single point: So it is a gross absurdity to suppose, in any government, a right without a remedy, or allow, that the supreme power is shared with the people, without allowing, that it is lawful for them to defend their share against every invader. Those, therefore, who would seem to respect our free government, and yet deny the right of resistance, have renounced all pretensions to common sense, and do not merit a serious answer.

It does not belong to my present purpose to shew, that these general principles are applicable to the late revolution; and that all the rights and privileges, which ought to be sacred to a free nation, were at that time threatened with the utmost danger. I am better pleased to leave this controverted subject, if it really admits of controversy; and to indulge myself in some philosophical reflections, which naturally arise from that important event.

First, We may observe, that should the lords and commons in our constitution, without any reason from public interest, either depose the king in being, or after his death exclude the prince,

who, by laws and settled custom, ought to succeed, no one would esteem their proceedings legal, or think themselves bound to comply with them. But should the king, by his unjust practices, or his attempts for a tyrannical and despotic power, justly forfeit his legal, it then not only becomes morally lawful and suitable to the nature of political society to dethrone him; but what is more, we are apt likewise to think, that the remaining members of the constitution acquire a right of excluding his next heir, and of chusing whom they please for his successor. This is founded on a very singular quality of our thought and imagination. When a king forfeits his authority, his heir ought naturally to remain in the same situation, as if the king were removed by death; unless by mixing himself in the tyranny, he forfeit it for himself. But though this may seem reasonable, we easily comply with the contrary opinion. The deposition of a king, in such a government as ours, is certainly an act beyond all common authority, and an illegal assuming a power for public good, which, in the ordinary course of government, can belong to no member of the constitution. When the public good is so great and so evident as to justify the action, the commendable use of this licence causes us naturally to attribute to the parliament a right of using farther licences; and the antient bounds of the laws being once transgressed with approbation, we are not apt to be so strict in confining ourselves precisely within their limits. The mind naturally

runs on with any train of action, which it has begun; nor do we commonly make any scruple concerning our duty, after the first action of any kind, which we perform. Thus at the revolution, no one who thought the deposition of the father justifiable, esteemed themselves to be confined to his infant son; though had that unhappy monarch died innocent at that time, and had his son, by any accident, been conveyed beyond seas, there is no doubt but a regency would have been appointed till he should come to age, and could be restored to his dominions. As the slightest properties of the imagination have an effect on the judgments of the people, it shews the wisdom of the laws and of the parliament to take advantage of such properties, and to chuse the magistrates either in or out of a line, according as the vulgar will most naturally attribute authority and right to them.

Secondly, Though the accession of the Prince of Orange to the throne might at first give occasion to many disputes, and his title be contested, it ought not now to appear doubtful, but must have acquired a sufficient authority from those three princes, who have succeeded him upon the same title. Nothing is more usual, though nothing may, at first sight, appear more unreasonable, than this way of thinking. Princes often seem to acquire a right from their successors, as well as from their ancestors; and a king, who during his life-time might justly be deemed an usurper, will be regarded by posterity as a lawful prince, because he has had the good fortune to settle his family

on the throne,
and entirely change the antient form of government.
Julius Caesar is
regarded as the first Roman emperor; while Sylla and
Marius, whose
titles were really the same as his, are treated as
tyrants and usurpers.
Time and custom give authority to all forms of
government, and all
successions of princes; and that power, which at first
was founded only
on injustice and violence, becomes in time legal and
obligatory.
Nor does the mind rest there; but returning back upon
its footsteps,
transfers to their predecessors and ancestors that
right, which it
naturally ascribes to the posterity, as being related
together, and
united in the imagination. The present king of France
makes Hugh Capet
a more lawful prince than Cromwell; as the established
liberty of the
Dutch is no inconsiderable apology for their obstinate
resistance to
Philip the second.

SECT. XI OF THE LAWS OF NATIONS

When civil government has been established over the
greatest part of
mankind, and different societies have been formed
contiguous to each
other, there arises a new set of duties among the
neighbouring states,
suitable to the nature of that commerce, which they
carry on with each
other. Political writers tell us, that in every kind of
intercourse,
a body politic is to be considered as one person; and
indeed this

assertion is so far just, that different nations, as well as private persons, require mutual assistance; at the same time that their selfishness and ambition are perpetual sources of war and discord. But though nations in this particular resemble individuals, yet as they are very different in other respects, no wonder they regulate themselves by different maxims, and give rise to a new set of rules, which we call the laws of nations. Under this head we may comprize the sacredness of the persons of ambassadors, the declaration of war, the abstaining from poisoned arms, with other duties of that kind, which are evidently calculated for the commerce, that is peculiar to different societies.

But though these rules be super-added to the laws of nature, the former do not entirely abolish the latter; and one may safely affirm, that the three fundamental rules of justice, the stability of possession, its transference by consent, and the performance of promises, are duties of princes, as well as of subjects. The same interest produces the same effect in both cases. Where possession has no stability, there must be perpetual war. Where property is not transferred by consent, there can be no commerce. Where promises are not observed, there can be no leagues nor alliances. The advantages, therefore, of peace, commerce, and mutual succour, make us extend to different kingdoms the same notions of justice, which take place among individuals.

There is a maxim very current in the world, which few politicians are

willing to avow, but which has been authorized by the practice of all ages, that there is a system of morals calculated for princes, much more free than that which ought to govern private persons. It is evident this is not to be understood of the lesser extent of public duties and obligations; nor will any one be so extravagant as to assert, that the most solemn treaties ought to have no force among princes. For as princes do actually form treaties among themselves, they must propose some advantage from the execution of them; and the prospect of such advantage for the future must engage them to perform their part, and must establish that law of nature. The meaning, therefore, of this political maxim is, that though the morality of princes has the same extent, yet it has not the same force as that of private persons, and may lawfully be transgressed from a more trivial motive. However shocking such a proposition may appear to certain philosophers, it will be easy to defend it upon those principles, by which we have accounted for the origin of justice and equity.

When men have found by experience, that it is impossible to subsist without society, and that it is impossible to maintain society, while they give free course to their appetites; so urgent an interest quickly restrains their actions, and imposes an obligation to observe those rules, which we call the laws of justice. This obligation of interest rests not here; but by the necessary course of the passions and sentiments, gives rise to the moral obligation of duty;

while we approve
of such actions as tend to the peace of society, and
disapprove of such
as tend to its disturbance. The same natural obligation
of interest
takes place among independent kingdoms, and gives rise
to the same
morality; so that no one of ever so corrupt morals will
approve of a
prince, who voluntarily, and of his own accord, breaks
his word,
or violates any treaty. But here we may observe, that
though the
intercourse of different states be advantageous, and
even sometimes
necessary, yet it is nor so necessary nor advantageous
as that among
individuals, without which it is utterly impossible for
human nature
ever to subsist. Since, therefore, the natural
obligation to justice,
among different states, is not so strong as among
individuals, the moral
obligation, which arises from it, must partake of its
weakness; and we
must necessarily give a greater indulgence to a prince
or minister, who
deceives another; than to a private gentleman, who
breaks his word of
honour.

Should it be asked, what proportion these two species of
morality bear
to each other? I would answer, that this is a question,
to which we can
never give any precise answer; nor is it possible to
reduce to numbers
the proportion, which we ought to fix betwixt them. One
may safely
affirm, that this proportion finds itself, without any
art or study
of men; as we may observe on many other occasions. The
practice of the
world goes farther in teaching us the degrees of our
duty, than the most

subtile philosophy, which was ever yet invented. And this may serve as a convincing proof, that all men have an implicit notion of the foundation of those moral rules concerning natural and civil justice, and are sensible, that they arise merely from human conventions, and from the interest, which we have in the preservation of peace and order. For otherwise the diminution of the interest would never produce a relaxation of the morality, and reconcile us more easily to any transgression of justice among princes and republics, than in the private commerce of one subject with another.

SECT. XII OF CHASTITY AND MODESTY

If any difficulty attend this system concerning the laws of nature and nations, it will be with regard to the universal approbation or blame, which follows their observance or transgression, and which some may not think sufficiently explained from the general interests of society.

To remove, as far as possible, all scruples of this kind, I shall here consider another set of duties, viz, the modesty and chastity which belong to the fair sex: And I doubt not but these virtues will be found to be still more conspicuous instances of the operation of those principles, which I have insisted on.

There are some philosophers, who attack the female virtues with great vehemence, and fancy they have gone very far in

detecting popular errors, when they can show, that there is no foundation in nature for all that exterior modesty, which we require in the expressions, and dress, and behaviour of the fair sex. I believe I may spare myself the trouble of insisting on so obvious a subject, and may proceed, without farther preparation, to examine after what manner such notions arise from education, from the voluntary conventions of men, and from the interest of society.

Whoever considers the length and feebleness of human infancy, with the concern which both sexes naturally have for their offspring, will easily perceive, that there must be an union of male and female for the education of the young, and that this union must be of considerable duration. But in order to induce the men to impose on themselves this restraint, and undergo cheerfully all the fatigues and expences, to which it subjects them, they must believe, that the children are their own, and that their natural instinct is not directed to a wrong object, when they give a loose to love and tenderness. Now if we examine the structure of the human body, we shall find, that this security is very difficult to be attained on our part; and that since, in the copulation of the sexes, the principle of generation goes from the man to the woman, an error may easily take place on the side of the former, though it be utterly impossible with regard to the latter. From this trivial and anatomical observation is derived that vast difference betwixt the

education and duties of the two sexes.

Were a philosopher to examine the matter a priori, he would reason after the following manner. Men are induced to labour for the maintenance and education of their children, by the persuasion that they are really their own; and therefore it is reasonable, and even necessary, to give them some security in this particular. This security cannot consist entirely in the imposing of severe punishments on any transgressions of conjugal fidelity on the part of the wife; since these public punishments cannot be inflicted without legal proof, which it is difficult to meet with in this subject. What restraint, therefore, shall we impose on women, in order to counter-balance so strong a temptation as they have to infidelity? There seems to be no restraint possible, but in the punishment of bad fame or reputation; a punishment, which has a mighty influence on the human mind, and at the same time is inflicted by the world upon surmizes, and conjectures, and proofs, that would never be received in any court of judicature. In order, therefore, to impose a due restraint on the female sex, we must attach a peculiar degree of shame to their infidelity, above what arises merely from its injustice, and must bestow proportionable praises on their chastity.

But though this be a very strong motive to fidelity, our philosopher would quickly discover, that it would not alone be sufficient to that purpose. All human creatures, especially of the female sex, are apt

to over-look remote motives in favour of any present temptation:
The temptation is here the strongest imaginable: Its approaches are insensible and seducing: And a woman easily finds, or flatters herself she shall find, certain means of securing her reputation, and preventing all the pernicious consequences of her pleasures. It is necessary, therefore, that, beside the infamy attending such licences, there should be some preceding backwardness or dread, which may prevent their first approaches, and may give the female sex a repugnance to all expressions, and postures, and liberties, that have an immediate relation to that enjoyment.

Such would be the reasonings of our speculative philosopher: But I am persuaded, that if he had not a perfect knowledge of human nature, he would be apt to regard them as mere chimerical speculations, and would consider the infamy attending infidelity, and backwardness to all its approaches, as principles that were rather to be wished than hoped for in the world. For what means, would he say, of persuading mankind, that the transgressions of conjugal duty are more infamous than any other kind of injustice, when it is evident they are more excusable, upon account of the greatness of the temptation? And what possibility of giving a backwardness to the approaches of a pleasure, to which nature has inspired so strong a propensity; and a propensity that it is absolutely necessary in the end to comply with, for the support of the species?

But speculative reasonings, which cost so much pains to philosophers, are often formed by the world naturally, and without reflection: As difficulties, which seem unsurmountable in theory, are easily got over in practice. Those, who have an interest in the fidelity of women, naturally disapprove of their infidelity, and all the approaches to it. Those, who have no interest, are carried along with the stream.

Education takes possession of the ductile minds of the fair sex in their infancy. And when a general rule of this kind is once established, men are apt to extend it beyond those principles, from which it first arose.

Thus batchelors, however debauched, cannot chuse but be shocked with any instance of lewdness or impudence in women. And though all these maxims have a plain reference to generation, yet women past child-bearing have no more privilege in this respect, than those who are in the flower of their youth and beauty. Men have undoubtedly an implicit notion, that all those ideas of modesty and decency have a regard to generation; since they impose not the same laws, with the same force, on the male sex, where that reason takes nor place. The exception is there obvious and extensive, and founded on a remarkable difference, which produces a clear separation and disjunction of ideas. But as the case is not the same with regard to the different ages of women, for this reason, though men know, that these notions are founded on the public interest, yet the general rule carries us beyond the original principle, and makes us

extend the notions of modesty over the whole sex, from their earliest infancy to their extremest old-age and infirmity.

Courage, which is the point of honour among men, derives its merit, in a great measure, from artifice, as well as the chastity of women; though it has also some foundation in nature, as we shall see afterwards.

As to the obligations which the male sex lie under, with regard to chastity, we may observe, that according to the general notions of the world, they bear nearly the same proportion to the obligations of women, as the obligations of the law of nations do to those of the law of nature. It is contrary to the interest of civil society, that men should have an entire liberty of indulging their appetites in venereal enjoyment: But as this interest is weaker than in the case of the female sex, the moral obligation, arising from it, must be proportionably weaker. And to prove this we need only appeal to the practice and sentiments of all nations and ages.

PART III OF THE OTHER VIRTUES AND VICES

SECT. I OF THE ORIGIN OF THE NATURAL VIRTUES AND VICES

We come now to the examination of such virtues and vices as are entirely

natural, and have no dependance on the artifice and contrivance of men. The examination of these will conclude this system of morals.

The chief spring or actuating principle of the human mind is pleasure or pain; and when these sensations are removed, both from our thought and feeling, we are, in a great measure, incapable of passion or action, of desire or volition. The most immediate effects of pleasure and pain are the propense and averse motions of the mind; which are diversified into volition, into desire and aversion, grief and joy, hope and fear, according as the pleasure or pain changes its situation, and becomes probable or improbable, certain or uncertain, or is considered as out of our power for the present moment. But when along with this, the objects, that cause pleasure or pain, acquire a relation to ourselves or others; they still continue to excite desire and aversion, grief and joy: But cause, at the same time, the indirect passions of pride or humility, love or hatred, which in this case have a double relation of impressions and ideas to the pain or pleasure.

We have already observed, that moral distinctions depend entirely on certain peculiar sentiments of pain and pleasure, and that whatever mental quality in ourselves or others gives us a satisfaction, by the survey or reflection, is of course virtuous; as every thing of this nature, that gives uneasiness, is vicious. Now since every quality in ourselves or others, which gives pleasure, always causes pride or love;

as every one, that produces uneasiness, excites humility or hatred: It follows, that these two particulars are to be considered as equivalent, with regard to our mental qualities, virtue and the power of producing love or pride, vice and the power of producing humility or hatred. In every case, therefore, we must judge of the one by the other; and may pronounce any quality of the mind virtuous, which causes love or pride; and any one vicious, which causes hatred or humility.

If any action be either virtuous or vicious, it is only as a sign of some quality or character. It must depend upon durable principles of the mind, which extend over the whole conduct, and enter into the personal character. Actions themselves, not proceeding from any constant principle, have no influence on love or hatred, pride or humility; and consequently are never considered in morality.

This reflection is self-evident, and deserves to be attended to, as being of the utmost importance in the present subject. We are never to consider any single action in our enquiries concerning the origin of morals; but only the quality or character from which the action proceeded. These alone are durable enough to affect our sentiments concerning the person. Actions are, indeed, better indications of a character than words, or even wishes and sentiments; but it is only so far as they are such indications, that they are attended with love or hatred, praise or blame.

To discover the true origin of morals, and of that love

or hatred, which
arises from mental qualities, we must take the matter
pretty deep, and
compare some principles, which have been already
examined and explained.

We may begin with considering a-new the nature and force
of sympathy.

The minds of all men are similar in their feelings and
operations; nor
can any one be actuated by any affection, of which all
others are not,
in some degree, susceptible. As in strings equally wound
up, the motion
of one communicates itself to the rest; so all the
affections readily
pass from one person to another, and beget correspondent
movements in
every human creature. When I see the effects of passion
in the voice and
gesture of any person, my mind immediately passes from
these effects
to their causes, and forms such a lively idea of the
passion, as is
presently converted into the passion itself. In like
manner, when I
perceive the causes of any emotion, my mind is conveyed
to the effects,
and is actuated with a like emotion. Were I present at
any of the more
terrible operations of surgery, it is certain, that even
before it
begun, the preparation of the instruments, the laying of
the bandages
in order, the heating of the irons, with all the signs
of anxiety and
concern in the patient and assistants, would have a
great effect upon my
mind, and excite the strongest sentiments of pity and
terror. No
passion of another discovers itself immediately to the
mind. We are only
sensible of its causes or effects. From these we infer
the passion: And
consequently these give rise to our sympathy.

Our sense of beauty depends very much on this principle; and where any object has a tendency to produce pleasure in its possessor, it is always regarded as beautiful; as every object, that has a tendency to produce pain, is disagreeable and deformed. Thus the conveniency of a house, the fertility of a field, the strength of a horse, the capacity, security, and swift-sailing of a vessel, form the principal beauty of these several objects. Here the object, which is denominated beautiful, pleases only by its tendency to produce a certain effect. That effect is the pleasure or advantage of some other person. Now the pleasure of a stranger, for whom we have no friendship, pleases us only by sympathy. To this principle, therefore, is owing the beauty, which we find in every thing that is useful. How considerable a part this is of beauty can easily appear upon reflection. Wherever an object has a tendency to produce pleasure in the possessor, or in other words, is the proper cause of pleasure, it is sure to please the spectator, by a delicate sympathy with the possessor. Most of the works of art are esteemed beautiful, in proportion to their fitness for the use of man, and even many of the productions of nature derive their beauty from that source. Handsome and beautiful, on most occasions, is not an absolute but a relative quality, and pleases us by nothing but its tendency to produce an end that is agreeable.

[Footnote 25 Decentior equus cujus astricta sunt

ilia; sed
idem velocior. Pulcher aspectu sit athleta, cujus
lacertos
exercitatio expressit; idem certamini paratior.
Nunquam vero
species ab utilitate dividitur. Sed hoc quidem
discernere,
modici iudicii est. Quinct. lib. 8. (A horse with
narrow
flanks looks more comely; It also moves faster. An
athlete
whose muscles have been developed by training
presents a
handsome appearance; he is also better prepared for
the
contest. Attractive appearance is invariably
associated with
efficient functioning. Yet it takes no outstanding
powers of
judgement to make this distinction.)]

The same principle produces, in many instances, our
sentiments of
morals, as well as those of beauty. No virtue is more
esteemed than
justice, and no vice more detested than injustice; nor
are there any
qualities, which go farther to the fixing the character,
either as
amiable or odious. Now justice is a moral virtue, merely
because it has
that tendency to the good of mankind; and, indeed, is
nothing but
an artificial invention to that purpose. The same may be
said of
allegiance, of the laws of nations, of modesty, and of
good-manners. All
these are mere human contrivances for the interest of
society. And since
there is a very strong sentiment of morals, which in all
nations, and
all ages, has attended them, we must allow, that the
reflecting on the
tendency of characters and mental qualities, is
sufficient to give us

the sentiments of approbation and blame. Now as the means to an end can only be agreeable, where the end is agreeable; and as the good of society, where our own interest is not concerned, or that of our friends, pleases only by sympathy: It follows, that sympathy is the source of the esteem, which we pay to all the artificial virtues.

Thus it appears, that sympathy is a very powerful principle in human nature, that it has a great influence on our taste of beauty, and that it produces our sentiment of morals in all the artificial virtues. From thence we may presume, that it also gives rise to many of the other virtues; and that qualities acquire our approbation, because of their tendency to the good of mankind. This presumption must become a certainty, when we find that most of those qualities, which we naturally approve of, have actually that tendency, and render a man a proper member of society: While the qualities, which we naturally disapprove of, have a contrary tendency, and render any intercourse with the person dangerous or disagreeable. For having found, that such tendencies have force enough to produce the strongest sentiment of morals, we can never reasonably, in these cases, look for any other cause of approbation or blame; it being an inviolable maxim in philosophy, that where any particular cause is sufficient for an effect, we ought to rest satisfied with it, and ought not to multiply causes without necessity. We have happily attained experiments in the artificial virtues, where the

tendency of qualities to the good of society, is the sole cause of our approbation, without any suspicion of the concurrence of another principle. From thence we learn the force of that principle. And where that principle may take place, and the quality approved of is really beneficial to society, a true philosopher will never require any other principle to account for the strongest approbation and esteem.

That many of the natural virtues have this tendency to the good of society, no one can doubt of. Meekness, beneficence, charity, generosity, clemency, moderation, equity bear the greatest figure among the moral qualities, and are commonly denominated the social virtues, to mark their tendency to the good of society. This goes so far, that some philosophers have represented all moral distinctions as the effect of artifice and education, when skilful politicians endeavoured to restrain the turbulent passions of men, and make them operate to the public good, by the notions of honour and shame. This system, however, is nor consistent with experience. For, first, there are other virtues and vices beside those which have this tendency to the public advantage and loss. Secondly, had not men a natural sentiment of approbation and blame, it could never be excited by politicians; nor would the words laudable and praise-worthy, blameable and odious be any more intelligible, than if they were a language perfectly known to us, as we have already observed. But though this system be erroneous, it may teach

us, that moral distinctions arise, in a great measure, from the tendency of qualities and characters to the interests of society, and that it is our concern for that interest, which makes us approve or disapprove of them. Now we have no such extensive concern for society but from sympathy; and consequently it is that principle, which takes us so far out of ourselves, as to give us the same pleasure or uneasiness in the characters of others, as if they had a tendency to our own advantage or loss.

The only difference betwixt the natural virtues and justice lies in this, that the good, which results from the former, arises from every single act, and is the object of some natural passion: Whereas a single act of justice, considered in itself, may often be contrary to the public good; and it is only the concurrence of mankind, in a general scheme or system of action, which is advantageous. When I relieve persons in distress, my natural humanity is my motive; and so far as my succour extends, so far have I promoted the happiness of my fellow-creatures. But if we examine all the questions, that come before any tribunal of justice, we shall find, that, considering each case apart, it would as often be an instance of humanity to decide contrary to the laws of justice as conformable them. Judges take from a poor man to give to a rich; they bestow on the dissolute the labour of the industrious; and put into the hands of the vicious the means of harming both themselves and others. The whole scheme, however,

of law and justice is advantageous to the society; and it was with a view to this advantage, that men, by their voluntary conventions, established it. After it is once established by these conventions, it is naturally attended with a strong sentiment of morals; which can proceed from nothing but our sympathy with the interests of society. We need no other explication of that esteem, which attends such of the natural virtues, as have a tendency to the public good. I must farther add, that there are several circumstances, which render this hypothesis much more probable with regard to the natural than the artificial virtues. It is certain that the imagination is more affected by what is particular, than by what is general; and that the sentiments are always moved with difficulty, where their objects are, in any degree, loose and undetermined: Now every particular act of justice is not beneficial to society, but the whole scheme or system: And it may not, perhaps, be any individual person for whom we are concerned, who receives benefit from justice, but the whole society alike. On the contrary, every particular act of generosity, or relief of the industrious and indigent, is beneficial; and is beneficial to a particular person, who is not undeserving of it. It is more natural, therefore, to think, that the tendencies of the latter virtue will affect our sentiments, and command our approbation, than those of the former; and therefore, since we find, that the approbation of the former arises from their tendencies, we may

ascribe, with better reason, the same cause to the approbation of the latter. In any number of similar effects, if a cause can be discovered for one, we ought to extend that cause to all the other effects, which can be accounted for by it: But much more, if these other effects be attended with peculiar circumstances, which facilitate the operation of that cause.

Before I proceed farther, I must observe two remarkable circumstances in this affair, which may seem objections to the present system. The first may be thus explained. When any quality, or character, has a tendency to the good of mankind, we are pleased with it, and approve of it; because it presents the lively idea of pleasure; which idea affects us by sympathy, and is itself a kind of pleasure. But as this sympathy is very variable, it may be thought that our sentiments of morals must admit of all the same variations. We sympathize more with persons contiguous to us, than with persons remote from us: With our acquaintance, than with strangers: With our countrymen, than with foreigners. But notwithstanding this variation of our sympathy, we give the same approbation to the same moral qualities in China as in England. They appear equally virtuous, and recommend themselves equally to the esteem of a judicious spectator. The sympathy varies without a variation in our esteem. Our esteem, therefore, proceeds not from sympathy.

To this I answer: The approbation of moral qualities most certainly

is not derived from reason, or any comparison of ideas;
but proceeds
entirely from a moral taste, and from certain sentiments
of pleasure
or disgust, which arise upon the contemplation and view
of particular
qualities or characters. Now it is evident, that those
sentiments,
whence-ever they are derived, must vary according to the
distance or
contiguity of the objects; nor can I feel the same
lively pleasure from
the virtues of a person, who lived in Greece two
thousand years ago,
that I feel from the virtues of a familiar friend and
acquaintance. Yet
I do not say, that I esteem the one more than the other:
And therefore,
if the variation of the sentiment, without a variation
of the esteem,
be an objection, it must have equal force against every
other system, as
against that of sympathy. But to consider the matter a-
right, it has no
force at all; and it is the easiest matter in the world
to account
for it. Our situation, with regard both to persons and
things, is in
continual fluctuation; and a man, that lies at a
distance from us,
may, in a little time, become a familiar acquaintance.
Besides, every
particular man has a peculiar position with regard to
others; and it is
impossible we could ever converse together on any
reasonable terms, were
each of us to consider characters and persons, only as
they appear
from his peculiar point of view. In order, therefore, to
prevent those
continual contradictions, and arrive at a more stable
judgment of
things, we fix on some steady and general points of
view; and always,
in our thoughts, place ourselves in them, whatever may

be our present situation. In like manner, external beauty is determined merely by pleasure; and it is evident, a beautiful countenance cannot give so much pleasure, when seen at the distance of twenty paces, as when it is brought nearer us. We say not, however, that it appears to us less beautiful: Because we know what effect it will have in such a position, and by that reflection we correct its momentary appearance.

In general, all sentiments of blame or praise are variable, according to our situation of nearness or remoteness, with regard to the person blamed or praised, and according to the present disposition of our mind. But these variations we regard not in our general decision, but still apply the terms expressive of our liking or dislike, in the same manner, as if we remained in one point of view. Experience soon teaches us this method of correcting our sentiments, or at least, of correcting our language, where the sentiments are more stubborn and inalterable. Our servant, if diligent and faithful, may excite stronger sentiments of love and kindness than Marcus Brutus, as represented in history; but we say not upon that account, that the former character is more laudable than the latter. We know, that were we to approach equally near to that renowned patriot, he would command a much higher degree of affection and admiration. Such corrections are common with regard to all the senses; and indeed it were impossible we could ever make use of language, or communicate our sentiments to one another, did we not

correct the
momentary appearances of things, and overlook our
present situation.

It is therefore from the influence of characters and
qualities, upon
those who have an intercourse with any person, that we
blame or praise
him. We consider not whether the persons, affected by
the qualities,
be our acquaintance or strangers, countrymen or
foreigners. Nay, we
over-look our own interest in those general judgments;
and blame not a
man for opposing us in any of our pretensions, when his
own interest
is particularly concerned. We make allowance for a
certain degree of
selfishness in men; because we know it to be inseparable
from human
nature, and inherent in our frame and constitution. By
this reflection
we correct those sentiments of blame, which so naturally
arise upon any
opposition.

But however the general principle of our blame or praise
may be
corrected by those other principles, it is certain, they
are not
altogether efficacious, nor do our passions often
correspond entirely
to the present theory. It is seldom men heartily love
what lies at
a distance from them, and what no way redounds to their
particular
benefit; as it is no less rare to meet with persons, who
can pardon
another any opposition he makes to their interest,
however justifiable
that opposition may be by the general rules of morality.
Here we are
contented with saying, that reason requires such an
Impartial conduct,
but that it is seldom we can bring ourselves to it, and

that our passions do not readily follow the determination of our judgment. This language will be easily understood, if we consider what we formerly said concerning that reason, which is able to oppose our passion; and which we have found to be nothing but a general calm determination of the passions, founded on some distant view or reflection. When we form our judgments of persons, merely from the tendency of their characters to our own benefit, or to that of our friends, we find so many contradictions to our sentiments in society and conversation, and such an uncertainty from the incessant changes of our situation, that we seek some other standard of merit and demerit, which may not admit of so great variation. Being thus loosened from our first station, we cannot afterwards fix ourselves so commodiously by any means as by a sympathy with those, who have any commerce with the person we consider. This is far from being as lively as when our own interest is concerned, or that of our particular friends; nor has it such an influence on our love and hatred: But being equally conformable to our calm and general principles, it is said to have an equal authority over our reason, and to command our judgment and opinion. We blame equally a bad action, which we read of in history, with one performed in our neighbourhood the other day: The meaning of which is, that we know from reflection, that the former action would excite as strong sentiments of disapprobation as the latter, were it placed in the same position.

I now proceed to the second remarkable circumstance, which I proposed to take notice of. Where a person is possessed of a character, that in its natural tendency is beneficial to society, we esteem him virtuous, and are delighted with the view of his character, even though particular accidents prevent its operation, and incapacitate him from being serviceable to his friends and country. Virtue in rags is still virtue; and the love, which it procures, attends a man into a dungeon or desert, where the virtue can no longer be exerted in action, and is lost to all the world. Now this may be esteemed an objection to the present system. Sympathy interests us in the good of mankind; and if sympathy were the source of our esteem for virtue, that sentiment of approbation could only take place, where the virtue actually attained its end, and was beneficial to mankind. Where it fails of its end, it is only an imperfect means; and therefore can never acquire any merit from that end. The goodness of an end can bestow a merit on such means alone as are compleat, and actually produce the end.

To this we may reply, that where any object, in all its parts, is fitted to attain any agreeable end, it naturally gives us pleasure, and is esteemed beautiful, even though some external circumstances be wanting to render it altogether effectual. It is sufficient if every thing be compleat in the object itself. A house, that is contrived with great judgment for all the commodities of life, pleases us upon that account; though perhaps we are sensible, that noone will ever

dwell in it. A
fertile soil, and a happy climate, delight us by a
reflection on the
happiness which they would afford the inhabitants,
though at present the
country be desert and uninhabited. A man, whose limbs
and shape promise
strength and activity, is esteemed handsome, though
condemned to
perpetual imprisonment. The imagination has a set of
passions belonging
to it, upon which our sentiments of beauty much depend.
These passions
are moved by degrees of liveliness and strength, which
are inferior to
belief, and independent of the real existence of their
objects. Where a
character is, in every respect, fitted to be beneficial
to society,
the imagination passes easily from the cause to the
effect, without
considering that there are some circumstances wanting to
render the
cause a complete one. General rules create a species of
probability,
which sometimes influences the judgment, and always the
imagination.

It is true, when the cause is compleat, and a good
disposition is
attended with good fortune, which renders it really
beneficial to
society, it gives a stronger pleasure to the spectator,
and is attended
with a more lively sympathy. We are more affected by it;
and yet we do
not say that it is more virtuous, or that we esteem it
more. We know,
that an alteration of fortune may render the benevolent
disposition
entirely impotent; and therefore we separate, as much as
possible, the
fortune from the disposition. The case is the same, as
when we correct
the different sentiments of virtue, which proceed from

its different
distances from ourselves. The passions do not always
follow our
corrections; but these corrections serve sufficiently to
regulate our
abstract notions, and are alone regarded, when we
pronounce in general
concerning the degrees of vice and virtue.

It is observed by critics, that all words or sentences,
which are
difficult to the pronunciation, are disagreeable to the
ear. There is no
difference, whether a man hear them pronounced, or read
them silently
to himself. When I run over a book with my eye, I
Imagine I hear it all;
and also, by the force of imagination, enter into the
uneasiness, which
the delivery of it would give the speaker. The
uneasiness is not real;
but as such a composition of words has a natural
tendency to produce
it, this is sufficient to affect the mind with a painful
sentiment, and
render the discourse harsh and disagreeable. It is a
similar case, where
any real quality is, by accidental circumstances,
rendered impotent, and
is deprived of its natural influence on society.

Upon these principles we may easily remove any
contradiction, which may
appear to be betwixt the extensive sympathy, on which
our sentiments
of virtue depend, and that limited generosity which I
have frequently
observed to be natural to men, and which justice and
property suppose,
according to the precedent reasoning. My sympathy with
another may
give me the sentiment of pain and disapprobation, when
any object is
presented, that has a tendency to give him uneasiness;
though I may not

be willing to sacrifice any thing of my own interest, or cross any of my passions, for his satisfaction. A house may displease me by being ill-contrived for the convenience of the owner; and yet I may refuse to give a shilling towards the rebuilding of it. Sentiments must touch the heart, to make them controul our passions: But they need not extend beyond the imagination, to make them influence our taste. When a building seems clumsy and tottering to the eye, it is ugly and disagreeable; though we be fully assured of the solidity of the workmanship. It is a kind of fear, which causes this sentiment of disapprobation; but the passion is not the same with that which we feel, when obliged to stand under a wall, that we really think tottering and insecure. The seeming tendencies of objects affect the mind: And the emotions they excite are of a like species with those, which proceed from the real consequences of objects, but their feeling is different. Nay, these emotions are so different in their feeling, that they may often be contrary, without destroying each other; as when the fortifications of a city belonging to an enemy are esteemed beautiful upon account of their strength, though we could wish that they were entirely destroyed. The imagination adheres to the general views of things, and distinguishes the feelings they produce, from those which arise from our particular and momentary situation.

If we examine the panegyrics that are commonly made of great men, we shall find, that most of the qualities, which are

attributed to them,
may be divided into two kinds, viz. such as make them
perform their
part in society; and such as render them serviceable to
themselves, and
enable them to promote their own interest. Their
prudence, temperance,
frugality, industry, assiduity, enterprize, dexterity,
are celebrated,
as well as their generosity and humanity. If we ever
give an indulgence
to any quality, that disables a man from making a figure
in life, it is
to that of indolence, which is not supposed to deprive
one of his parts
and capacity, but only suspends their exercise; and that
without any
inconvenience to the person himself, since it is, in
some measure, from
his own choice. Yet indolence is always allowed to be a
fault, and a
very great one, if extreme: Nor do a man's friends ever
acknowledge him
to be subject to it, but in order to save his character
in more material
articles. He could make a figure, say they, if he
pleased to give
application: His understanding is sound, his conception
quick, and his
memory tenacious; but he hates business, and is
indifferent about his
fortune. And this a man sometimes may make even a
subject of vanity;
though with the air of confessing a fault: Because he
may think, that
his incapacity for business implies much more noble
qualities; such as
a philosophical spirit, a fine taste, a delicate wit, or
a relish for
pleasure and society. But take any other case: Suppose a
quality, that
without being an indication of any other good qualities,
incapacitates
a man always for business, and is destructive to his
interest; such as

a blundering understanding, and a wrong judgment of every thing in life; inconstancy and irresolution; or a want of address in the management of men and business: These are all allowed to be imperfections in a character; and many men would rather acknowledge the greatest crimes, than have it suspected, that they are, in any degree, subject to them.

It is very happy, in our philosophical researches, when we find the same phaenomenon diversified by a variety of circumstances; and by discovering what is common among them, can the better assure ourselves of the truth of any hypothesis we may make use of to explain it. Were nothing esteemed virtue but what were beneficial to society, I am persuaded, that the foregoing explication of the moral sense ought still to be received, and that upon sufficient evidence: But this evidence must grow upon us, when we find other kinds of virtue, which will not admit of any explication except from that hypothesis. Here is a man, who is not remarkably defective in his social qualities; but what principally recommends him is his dexterity in business, by which he has extricated himself from the greatest difficulties, and conducted the most delicate affairs with a singular address and prudence. I find an esteem for him immediately to arise in me: His company is a satisfaction to me; and before I have any farther acquaintance with him, I would rather do him a service than another, whose character is in every other respect equal, but is deficient in that particular. In this case, the

qualities that please me are all considered as useful to the person, and as having a tendency to promote his interest and satisfaction. They are only regarded as means to an end, and please me in proportion to their fitness for that end. The end, therefore, must be agreeable to me. But what makes the end agreeable? The person is a stranger: I am no way interested in him, nor lie under any obligation to him: His happiness concerns not me, farther than the happiness of every human, and indeed of every sensible creature: That is, it affects me only by sympathy. From that principle, whenever I discover his happiness and good, whether in its causes or effects, I enter so deeply into it, that it gives me a sensible emotion. The appearance of qualities, that have a tendency to promote it, have an agreeable effect upon my imagination, and command my love and esteem.

This theory may serve to explain, why the same qualities, in all cases, produce both pride and love, humility and hatred; and the same man is always virtuous or vicious, accomplished or despicable to others, who is so to himself. A person, in whom we discover any passion or habit, which originally is only incommodious to himself, becomes always disagreeable to us, merely on its account; as on the other hand, one whose character is only dangerous and disagreeable to others, can never be satisfied with himself, as long as he is sensible of that disadvantage. Nor is this observable only with regard to characters and manners, but may be remarked even in the most minute circumstances. A

violent cough in
another gives us uneasiness; though in itself it does
not in the least
affect us. A man will be mortified, if you tell him he
has a stinking
breath; though it is evidently no annoyance to himself.
Our fancy easily
changes its situation; and either surveying ourselves as
we appear to
others, or considering others as they feel themselves,
we enter, by that
means, into sentiments, which no way belong to us, and
in which nothing
but sympathy is able to interest us. And this sympathy
we sometimes
carry so far, as even to be displeased with a quality
commodious to us,
merely because it displeases others, and makes us
disagreeable in
their eyes; though perhaps we never can have any
interest in rendering
ourselves agreeable to them.

There have been many systems of morality advanced by
philosophers in
all ages; but if they are strictly examined, they may be
reduced to
two, which alone merit our attention. Moral good and
evil are certainly
distinguished by our sentiments, not by reason: But
these sentiments
may arise either from the mere species or appearance of
characters and
passions, or from reflections on their tendency to the
happiness of
mankind, and of particular persons. My opinion is, that
both these
causes are intermixed in our judgments of morals; after
the same manner
as they are in our decisions concerning most kinds of
external beauty:
Though I am also of opinion, that reflections on the
tendencies of
actions have by far the greatest influence, and
determine all the great

lines of our duty. There are, however, instances, in cases of less moment, wherein this immediate taste or sentiment produces our approbation. Wit, and a certain easy and disengaged behaviour, are qualities immediately agreeable to others, and command their love and esteem. Some of these qualities produce satisfaction in others by particular original principles of human nature, which cannot be accounted for: Others may be resolved into principles, which are more general. This will best appear upon a particular enquiry.

As some qualities acquire their merit from their being immediately agreeable to others, without any tendency to public interest; so some are denominated virtuous from their being immediately agreeable to the person himself, who possesses them. Each of the passions and operations of the mind has a particular feeling, which must be either agreeable or disagreeable. The first is virtuous, the second vicious. This particular feeling constitutes the very nature of the passion; and therefore needs not be accounted for.

But however directly the distinction of vice and virtue may seem to flow from the immediate pleasure or uneasiness, which particular qualities cause to ourselves or others; it is easy to observe, that it has also a considerable dependence on the principle of sympathy so often insisted on. We approve of a person, who is possessed of qualities immediately agreeable to those, with whom he has any commerce; though perhaps we

ourselves never reaped any pleasure from them. We also approve of one, who is possessed of qualities, that are immediately agreeable to himself; though they be of no service to any mortal. To account for this we must have recourse to the foregoing principles.

Thus, to take a general review of the present hypothesis: Every quality of the mind is denominated virtuous, which gives pleasure by the mere survey; as every quality, which produces pain, is called vicious. This pleasure and this pain may arise from four different sources. For we reap a pleasure from the view of a character, which is naturally fitted to be useful to others, or to the person himself, or which is agreeable to others, or to the person himself. One may, perhaps, be surprized. that amidst all these interests and pleasures, we should forget our own, which touch us so nearly on every other occasion. But we shall easily satisfy ourselves on this head, when we consider, that every particular person's pleasure and interest being different, it is impossible men could ever agree in their sentiments and judgments, unless they chose some common point of view, from which they might survey their object, and which might cause it to appear the same to all of them. Now in judging of characters, the only interest or pleasure, which appears the same to every spectator, is that of the person himself, whose character is examined; or that of persons, who have a connexion with him. And though such interests and pleasures touch us more faintly than our own, yet being more constant and universal, they counter-

ballance the latter
even in practice, and are alone admitted in speculation
as the standard
of virtue and morality. They alone produce that
particular feeling or
sentiment, on which moral distinctions depend.

As to the good or ill desert of virtue or vice, it is an
evident
consequence of the sentiments of pleasure or uneasiness.
These
sentiments produce love or hatred; and love or hatred,
by the original
constitution of human passion, is attended with
benevolence or anger;
that is, with a desire of making happy the person we
love, and miserable
the person we hate. We have treated of this more fully
on another
occasion.

SECT. II OF GREATNESS OF MIND

It may now be proper to illustrate this general system
of morals, by
applying it to particular instances of virtue and vice,
and shewing how
their merit or demerit arises from the four sources here
explained. We
shall begin with examining the passions of pride and
humility, and
shall consider the vice or virtue that lies in their
excesses or just
proportion. An excessive pride or overweening conceit of
ourselves is
always esteemed vicious, and is universally hated; as
modesty, or a just
sense of our weakness, is esteemed virtuous, and
procures the good-will
of every-one. Of the four sources of moral distinctions,
this is to

be ascribed to the third; viz, the immediate agreeableness and disagreeableness of a quality to others, without any reflections on the tendency of that quality.

In order to prove this, we must have recourse to two principles, which are very conspicuous in human nature. The first of these is the sympathy, and communication of sentiments and passions above-mentioned.

So close and intimate is the correspondence of human souls, that no sooner any person approaches me, than he diffuses on me all his opinions, and draws along my judgment in a greater or lesser degree. And though, on many occasions, my sympathy with him goes not so far as entirely to change my sentiments, and way of thinking; yet it seldom is so weak as not to disturb the easy course of my thought, and give an authority to that opinion, which is recommended to me by his assent and approbation. Nor is it any way material upon what subject he and I employ our thoughts. Whether we judge of an indifferent person, or of my own character, my sympathy gives equal force to his decision: And even his sentiments of his own merit make me consider him in the same light, in which he regards himself.

This principle of sympathy is of so powerful and insinuating a nature, that it enters into most of our sentiments and passions, and often takes place under the appearance of its contrary. For it is remarkable, that when a person opposes me in any thing, which I am strongly bent upon, and rouses up my passion by contradiction, I have always

a degree of sympathy with him, nor does my commotion proceed from any other origin. We may here observe an evident conflict or rencounter of opposite principles and passions. On the one side there is that passion or sentiment, which is natural to me; and it is observable, that the stronger this passion is, the greater is the commotion. There must also be some passion or sentiment on the other side; and this passion can proceed from nothing but sympathy. The sentiments of others can never affect us, but by becoming, in some measure, our own; in which case they operate upon us, by opposing and encreasing our passions, in the very same manner, as if they had been originally derived from our own temper and disposition. While they remain concealed in the minds of others, they can never have an influence upon us: And even when they are known, if they went no farther than the imagination, or conception; that faculty is so accustomed to objects of every different kind, that a mere idea, though contrary to our sentiments and inclinations, would never alone be able to affect us.

The second principle I shall take notice of is that of comparison, or the variation of our judgments concerning objects, according to the proportion they bear to those with which we compare them. We judge more, of objects by comparison, than by their intrinsic worth and value; and regard every thing as mean, when set in opposition to what is superior of the same kind. But no comparison is more obvious than that with

ourselves; and hence it is that on all occasions it takes place, and mixes with most of our passions. This kind of comparison is directly contrary to sympathy in its operation, as we have observed in treating of compassion and malice. [Book II. Part II. Sect. VIII.] IN ALL KINDS OF COMPARISON AN OBJECT MAKES US ALWAYS RECEIVE FROM ANOTHER, TO WHICH IT IS COMPARED, A SENSATION CONTRARY TO WHAT ARISES FROM ITSELF IN ITS DIRECT AND IMMEDIATE SURVEY. THE DIRECT SURVEY OF ANOTHER'S PLEASURE NATURALLY GIVES US PLEASURE; AND THEREFORE PRODUCES PAIN, WHEN COMPARED WITH OUR OWN. HIS PAIN, CONSIDERED IN ITSELF, IS PAINFUL; BUT AUGMENTS THE IDEA OF OUR OWN HAPPINESS, AND GIVES US PLEASURE.

Since then those principles of sympathy, and a comparison with ourselves, are directly contrary, it may be worth while to consider, what general rules can be formed, beside the particular temper of the person, for the prevalence of the one or the other. Suppose I am now in safety at land, and would willingly reap some pleasure from this consideration: I must think on the miserable condition of those who are at sea in a storm, and must endeavour to render this idea as strong and lively as possible, in order to make me more sensible of my own happiness. But whatever pains I may take, the comparison will never have an equal efficacy, as if I were really on the shore [Footnote 26], and saw a ship at a distance tossed by a tempest, and in danger every moment of perishing on a rock or sand-bank. But suppose this idea to become still more lively. Suppose the ship to be driven so near

me, that I can
perceive distinctly the horror, painted on the
countenance of the seamen
and passengers, hear their lamentable cries, see the
dearest friends
give their last adieu, or embrace with a resolution to
perish in each
others arms: No man has so savage a heart as to reap any
pleasure from
such a spectacle, or withstand the motions of the
tenderest compassion
and sympathy. It is evident, therefore, there is a
medium in this case;
and that if the idea be too feint, it has no influence
by comparison;
and on the other hand, if it be too strong, it operates
on us entirely
by sympathy, which is the contrary to comparison.
Sympathy being the
conversion of an idea into an impression, demands a
greater force and
vivacity in the idea than is requisite to comparison.

[Footnote 26. Suave mari magno turbantibus aequora
ventis E
terra magnum alterius spectare laborem; Non quia
vexari
quenquam eat jucunda voluptas, Sed quibus ipse
malls caress
gula cernere sauv' est. LUCRET.]

(There is something pleasant in watching, from dry
land, the
great difficulties another man is undergoing out on
the high
sea, with the winds lashing the waters. This is not
because
one derives delight from any man's distress, but
because it
is pleasurable to perceive from what troubles one
is oneself
free.)]

All this is easily applied to the present subject. We

sink very much in
our own eyes, when in the presence of a great man, or
one of a superior
genius; and this humility makes a considerable
ingredient in that
respect, which we pay our superiors, according to our
foregoing
reasonings on that passion [Book II. Part II. Sect. X.].
Sometimes even
envy and hatred arise from the comparison; but in the
greatest part of
men, it rests at respect and esteem. As sympathy has
such a powerful
influence on the human mind, it causes pride to have, in
some measure,
the same effect as merit; and by making us enter into
those elevated
sentiments, which the proud man entertains of himself,
presents that
comparison, which is so mortifying and disagreeable. Our
judgment
does not entirely accompany him in the flattering
conceit, in which
he pleases himself; but still is so shaken as to receive
the idea it
presents, and to give it an influence above the loose
conceptions of
the imagination. A man, who, in an idle humour, would
form a notion of a
person of a merit very much superior to his own, would
not be mortified
by that fiction: But when a man, whom we are really
persuaded to be
of inferior merit, is presented to us; if we observe in
him any
extraordinary degree of pride and self-conceit; the firm
persuasion he
has of his own merit, takes hold of the imagination, and
diminishes us
in our own eyes, in the same manner, as if he were
really possessed of
all the good qualities which he so liberally attributes
to himself. Our
idea is here precisely in that medium, which is
requisite to make it

operate on us by comparison. Were it accompanied with belief, and did the person appear to have the same merit, which he assumes to himself, it would have a contrary effect, and would operate on us by sympathy. The influence of that principle would then be superior to that of comparison, contrary to what happens where the person's merit seems below his pretensions.

The necessary consequence of these principles is, that pride, or an over-weening conceit of ourselves, must be vicious; since it causes uneasiness in all men, and presents them every moment with a disagreeable comparison. It is a trite observation in philosophy, and even in common life and conversation, that it is our own pride, which makes us so much displeas'd with the pride of other people; and that vanity becomes insupportable to us merely because we are vain. The gay naturally associate themselves with the gay, and the amorous with the amorous: But the proud never can endure the proud, and rather seek the company of those who are of an opposite disposition. As we are, all of us, proud in some degree, pride is universally blamed and condemn'd by all mankind; as having a natural tendency to cause uneasiness in others by means of comparison. And this effect must follow the more naturally, that those, who have an ill-grounded conceit of themselves, are for ever making those comparisons, nor have they any other method of supporting their vanity. A man of sense and merit is pleas'd with himself, independent of all foreign considerations: But a fool

must always find
some person, that is more foolish, in order to keep
himself in good
humour with his own parts and understanding.

But though an over-weaning conceit of our own merit be
vicious and
disagreeable, nothing can be more laudable, than to have
a value for
ourselves, where we really have qualities that are
valuable. The utility
and advantage of any quality to ourselves is a source of
virtue, as well
as its agreeableness to others; and it is certain, that
nothing is more
useful to us in the conduct of life, than a due degree
of pride, which
makes us sensible of our own merit, and gives us a
confidence and
assurance in all our projects and enterprizes. Whatever
capacity any
one may be endowed with, it is entirely useless to him,
if he be not
acquainted with it, and form not designs suitable to it.
It is requisite
on all occasions to know our own force; and were it
allowable to err on
either side, it would be more advantageous to over-rate
our merit, than
to form ideas of it, below its just standard. Fortune
commonly favours
the bold and enterprizing; and nothing inspires us with
more boldness
than a good opinion of ourselves.

Add to this, that though pride, or self-applause, be
sometimes
disagreeable to others, it is always agreeable to
ourselves; as on the
other hand, modesty, though it gives pleasure to every
one, who observes
it, produces often uneasiness in the person endowed with
it. Now it has
been observed, that our own sensations determine the
vice and virtue of

any quality, as well as those sensations, which it may excite in others.

Thus self-satisfaction and vanity may not only be allowable, but requisite in a character. It is, however, certain, that good-breeding and decency require that we should avoid all signs and expressions, which tend directly to show that passion. We have, all of us, a wonderful partiality for ourselves, and were we always to give vent to our sentiments in this particular, we should mutually cause the greatest indignation in each other, not only by the immediate presence of so disagreeable a subject of comparison, but also by the contrariety of our judgments. In like manner, therefore, as we establish the laws of nature, in order to secure property in society, and prevent the opposition of self-interest; we establish the rules of good-breeding, in order to prevent the opposition of men's pride, and render conversation agreeable and inoffensive. Nothing is more disagreeable than a man's over-weening conceit of himself: Every one almost has a strong propensity to this vice: No one can well distinguish in himself betwixt the vice and virtue, or be certain, that his esteem of his own merit is well-founded: For these reasons, all direct expressions of this passion are condemned; nor do we make any exception to this rule in favour of men of sense and merit. They are not allowed to do themselves justice openly, in words, no more than other people; and even if they show a reserve and secret doubt in doing themselves justice in their own

thoughts, they will be more applauded. That impertinent, and almost universal propensity of men, to over-value themselves, has given us such a prejudice against self-applause, that we are apt to condemn it, by a general rule, wherever we meet with it; and it is with some difficulty we give a privilege to men of sense, even in their most secret thoughts. At least, it must be owned, that some disguise in this particular is absolutely requisite; and that if we harbour pride in our breasts, we must carry a fair outside, and have the appearance of modesty and mutual deference in all our conduct and behaviour. We must, on every occasion, be ready to prefer others to ourselves; to treat them with a kind of deference, even though they be our equals; to seem always the lowest and least in the company, where we are not very much distinguished above them: And if we observe these rules in our conduct, men will have more indulgence for our secret sentiments, when we discover them in an oblique manner.

I believe no one, who has any practice of the world, and can penetrate into the inward sentiments of men, will assert, that the humility, which good-breeding and decency require of us, goes beyond the outside, or that a thorough sincerity in this particular is esteemed a real part of our duty. On the contrary, we may observe, that a genuine and hearty pride, or self-esteem, if well concealed and well founded, is essential to the character of a man of honour, and that there is no quality of the mind, which is more indispensibly requisite to procure

the esteem
and approbation of mankind. There are certain deferences
and mutual
submissions, which custom requires of the different
ranks of men towards
each other; and whoever exceeds in this particular, if
through interest,
is accused of meanness; if through ignorance, of
simplicity. It is
necessary, therefore, to know our rank and station in
the world, whether
it be fixed by our birth, fortune, employments, talents
or reputation.
It is necessary to feel the sentiment and passion of
pride in conformity
to it, and to regulate our actions accordingly. And
should it be said,
that prudence may suffice to regulate our actions in
this particular,
without any real pride, I would observe, that here the
object of
prudence is to conform our actions to the general usage
and custom; and,
that it is impossible those tacit airs of superiority
should ever have
been established and authorized by custom, unless men
were generally
proud, and unless that passion were generally approved,
when
well-grounded.

If we pass from common life and conversation to history,
this reasoning
acquires new force, when we observe, that all those
great actions and
sentiments, which have become the admiration of mankind,
are founded on
nothing but pride and self-esteem. Go, says Alexander
the Great to his
soldiers, when they refused to follow him to the Indies,
go tell your
countrymen, that you left Alexander corn pleating the
conquest of the
world. This passage was always particularly admired by
the prince of

Conde, as we learn from St Evremond.

"ALEXANDER," said that prince, "abandoned by his soldiers, among barbarians, not yet fully subdued, felt in himself such a dignity of right and of empire, that he coued not believe it possible any one coued refuse to obey him. Whether in Europe or in Asia, among Greeks or Persians, all was indifferent to him: Wherever he found men, he fancied he found subjects."

In general we may observe, that whatever we call heroic virtue, and admire under the character of greatness and elevation of mind, is either nothing but a steady and wellestablished pride and self-esteem, or partakes largely of that passion. Courage, intrepidity, ambition, love of glory, magnanimity, and all the other shining virtues of that kind, have plainly a strong mixture of self-esteem in them, and derive a great part of their merit from that origin. Accordingly we find, that many religious declaimers decry those virtues as purely pagan and natural, and represent to us the excellency of the Christian religion, which places humility in the rank of virtues, and corrects the judgment of the world, and even of philosophers, who so generally admire all the efforts of pride and ambition. Whether this virtue of humility has been rightly understood, I shall not pretend to determine. I am content with the concession, that the world naturally esteems a well-regulated pride, which secretly animates our conduct, without breaking out into such indecent expressions of vanity, as many offend the

vanity of others.

The merit of pride or self-esteem is derived from two circumstances, viz, its utility and its agreeableness to ourselves; by which it capacitates us for business, and, at the same time, gives us an immediate satisfaction. When it goes beyond its just bounds, it loses the first advantage, and even becomes prejudicial; which is the reason why we condemn an extravagant pride and ambition, however regulated by the decorums of good-breeding and politeness. But as such a passion is still agreeable, and conveys an elevated and sublime sensation to the person, who is actuated by it, the sympathy with that satisfaction diminishes considerably the blame, which naturally attends its dangerous influence on his conduct and behaviour. Accordingly we may observe, that an excessive courage and magnanimity, especially when it displays itself under the frowns of fortune, contributes in a great measure, to the character of a hero, and will render a person the admiration of posterity; at the same time, that it ruins his affairs, and leads him into dangers and difficulties, with which otherwise he would never have been acquainted.

Heroism, or military glory, is much admired by the generality of mankind. They consider it as the most sublime kind of merit. Men of cool reflection are not so sanguine in their praises of it. The infinite confusions and disorder, which it has caused in the world, diminish much of its merit in their eyes. When they would oppose the

popular notions
on this head, they always paint out the evils, which
this supposed
virtue has produced in human society; the subversion of
empires, the
devastation of provinces, the sack of cities. As long as
these are
present to us, we are more inclined to hate than admire
the ambition
of heroes. But when we fix our view on the person
himself, who is the
author of all this mischief, there is something so
dazzling in his
character, the mere contemplation of it so elevates the
mind, that we
cannot refuse it our admiration. The pain, which we
receive from its
tendency to the prejudice of society, is over-powered by
a stronger and
more immediate sympathy.

Thus our explication of the merit or demerit, which
attends the
degrees of pride or self-esteem, may serve as a strong
argument for the
preceding hypothesis, by shewing the effects of those
principles
above explained in all the variations of our judgments
concerning that
passion. Nor will this reasoning be advantageous to us
only by shewing,
that the distinction of vice and virtue arises from the
four principles
of the advantage and of the pleasure of the person
himself, and of
others: But may also afford us a strong proof of some
under-parts of
that hypothesis.

No one, who duly considers of this matter, will make any
scruple of
allowing, that any piece of in-breeding, or any
expression of pride
and haughtiness, is displeasing to us, merely because it
shocks our

own pride, and leads us by sympathy into a comparison, which causes the disagreeable passion of humility. Now as an insolence of this kind is blamed even in a person who has always been civil to ourselves in particular; nay, in one, whose name is only known to us in history; it follows, that our disapprobation proceeds from a sympathy with others, and from the reflection, that such a character is highly displeasing and odious to every one, who converses or has any intercourse with the person possesser of it. We sympathize with those people in their uneasiness; and as their uneasiness proceeds in part from a sympathy with the person who insults them, we may here observe a double rebound of the sympathy; which is a principle very similar to what we have observed. [Book II. Part II. Sect. V.]

SECT. III OF GOODNESS AND BENEVOLENCE

Having thus explained the origin of that praise and approbation, which attends every thing we call great in human affections; we now proceed to give an account of their goodness, and shew whence its merit is derived.

When experience has once given us a competent knowledge of human affairs, and has taught us the proportion they bear to human passion, we perceive, that the generosity of men is very limited, and that it seldom extends beyond their friends and family, or, at most, beyond their

native country. Being thus acquainted with the nature of man, we expect not any impossibilities from him; but confine our view to that narrow circle, in which any person moves, in order to form a judgment of his moral character. When the natural tendency of his passions leads him to be serviceable and useful within his sphere, we approve of his character, and love his person, by a sympathy with the sentiments of those, who have a more particular connexion with him. We are quickly obliged to forget our own interest in our judgments of this kind, by reason of the perpetual contradictions, we meet with in society and conversation, from persons that are not placed in the same situation, and have not the same interest with ourselves. The only point of view, in which our sentiments concur with those of others, is, when we consider the tendency of any passion to the advantage or harm of those, who have any immediate connexion or intercourse with the person possessed of it. And though this advantage or harm be often very remote from ourselves, yet sometimes it is very near us, and interests us strongly by sympathy. This concern we readily extend to other cases, that are resembling; and when these are very remote, our sympathy is proportionably weaker, and our praise or blame fainter and more doubtful. The case is here the same as in our judgments concerning external bodies. All objects seem to diminish by their distance: But though the appearance of objects to our senses be the original standard, by which we judge of them, yet we do not say, that they

actually
diminish by the distance; but correcting the appearance
by reflection,
arrive at a more constant and established judgment
concerning them.
In like manner, though sympathy be much fainter than our
concern for
ourselves, and a sympathy with persons remote from us
much fainter
than that with persons near and contiguous; yet we
neglect all these
differences in our calm judgments concerning the
characters of
men. Besides, that we ourselves often change our
situation in this
particular, we every day meet with persons, who are in a
different
situation from ourselves, and who could never converse
with us on any
reasonable terms, were we to remain constantly in that
situation and
point of view, which is peculiar to us. The intercourse
of sentiments,
therefore, in society and conversation, makes us form
some general
inalterable standard, by which we may approve or
disapprove of
characters and manners. And though the heart does not
always take part
with those general notions, or regulate its love and
hatred by them, yet
are they sufficient for discourse, and serve all our
purposes in company,
in the pulpit, on the theatre, and in the schools.

From these principles we may easily account for that
merit, which
is commonly ascribed to generosity, humanity,
compassion, gratitude,
friendship, fidelity, zeal, disinterestedness,
liberality, and all those
other qualities, which form the character of good and
benevolent. A
propensity to the tender passions makes a man agreeable
and useful

in all the parts of life; and gives a just direction to all his other qualities, which otherwise may become prejudicial to society. Courage and ambition, when not regulated by benevolence, are fit only to make a tyrant and public robber. It is the same case with judgment and capacity, and all the qualities of that kind. They are indifferent in themselves to the interests of society, and have a tendency to the good or ill of mankind, according as they are directed by these other passions.

As Love is immediately agreeable to the person, who is actuated by it, and hatred immediately disagreeable; this may also be a considerable reason, why we praise all the passions that partake of the former, and blame all those that have any considerable share of the latter. It is certain we are infinitely touched with a tender sentiment, as well as with a great one. The tears naturally start in our eyes at the conception of it; nor can we forbear giving a loose to the same tenderness towards the person who exerts it. All this seems to me a proof, that our approbation has, in those cases, an origin different from the prospect of utility and advantage, either to ourselves or others. To which we may add, that men naturally, without reflection, approve of that character, which is most like their own. The man of a mild disposition and tender affections, in forming a notion of the most perfect virtue, mixes in it more of benevolence and humanity, than the man of courage and enterprize, who naturally looks

upon a certain elevation of mind as the most accomplished character. This must evidently proceed from an immediate sympathy, which men have with characters similar to their own. They enter with more warmth into such sentiments, and feel more sensibly the pleasure, which arises from them.

It is remarkable, that nothing touches a man of humanity more than any instance of extraordinary delicacy in love or friendship, where a person is attentive to the smallest concerns of his friend, and is willing to sacrifice to them the most considerable interest of his own. Such delicacies have little influence on society; because they make us regard the greatest trifles: But they are the more engaging, the more minute the concern is, and are a proof of the highest merit in any one, who is capable of them. The passions are so contagious, that they pass with the greatest facility from one person to another, and produce correspondent movements in all human breasts. Where friendship appears in very signal instances, my heart catches the same passion, and is warmed by those warm sentiments, that display themselves before me. Such agreeable movements must give me an affection to every one that excites them. This is the case with every thing that is agreeable in any person. The transition from pleasure to love is easy: But the transition must here be still more easy; since the agreeable sentiment, which is excited by sympathy, is love itself; and there is nothing required but to change the object.

Hence the peculiar merit of benevolence in all its shapes and appearances. Hence even its weaknesses are virtuous and amiable; and a person, whose grief upon the loss of a friend were excessive, would be esteemed upon that account. His tenderness bestows a merit, as it does a pleasure, on his melancholy.

We are not, however, to imagine, that all the angry passions are vicious, though they are disagreeable. There is a certain indulgence due to human nature in this respect. Anger and hatred are passions inherent in Our very frame and constitutions. The want of them, on some occasions, may even be a proof of weakness and imbecillity. And where they appear only in a low degree, we not only excuse them because they are natural; but even bestow our applauses on them, because they are inferior to what appears in the greatest part of mankind.

Where these angry passions rise up to cruelty, they form the most detested of all vices. All the pity and concern which we have for the miserable sufferers by this vice, turns against the person guilty of it, and produces a stronger hatred than we are sensible of on any other occasion. Even when the vice of inhumanity rises not to this extreme degree, our sentiments concerning it are very much influenced by reflections on the harm that results from it. And we may observe in general, that if we can find any quality in a person, which renders him incommodious to those, who live and converse with him,

we always allow it to be a fault or blemish, without any farther examination. On the other hand, when we enumerate the good qualities of any person, we always mention those parts of his character, which render him a safe companion, an easy friend, a gentle master, an agreeable husband, or an indulgent father. We consider him with all his relations in society; and love or hate him, according as he affects those, who have any immediate intercourse with him. And it is a most certain rule, that if there be no relation of life, in which I could not wish to stand to a particular person, his character must so far be allowed to be perfect. If he be as little wanting to himself as to others, his character is entirely perfect. This is the ultimate test of merit and virtue.

SECT. IV OF NATURAL ABILITIES

No distinction is more usual in all systems of ethics, than that betwixt natural abilities and moral virtues; where the former are placed on the same footing with bodily endowments, and are supposed to have no merit or moral worth annexed to them. Whoever considers the matter accurately, will find, that a dispute upon this head would be merely a dispute of words, and that though these qualities are not altogether of the same kind, yet they agree in the most material circumstances. They are both of them equally mental qualities: And both of them equally produce

pleasure; and have of course an equal tendency to procure the love and esteem of mankind. There are few, who are not as jealous of their character, with regard to sense and knowledge, as to honour and courage; and much more than with regard to temperance and sobriety. Men are even afraid of passing for goodnatured; lest that should be taken for want of understanding: And often boast of more debauches than they have been really engaged in, to give themselves airs of fire and spirit. In short, the figure a man makes in the world, the reception he meets with in company, the esteem paid him by his acquaintance; all these advantages depend almost as much upon his good sense and judgment, as upon any other part of his character. Let a man have the best intentions in the world, and be the farthest from all injustice and violence, he will never be able to make himself be much regarded without a moderate share, at least, of parts and understanding. Since then natural abilities, though, perhaps, inferior, yet are on the same footing, both as to their causes and effects, with those qualities which we call moral virtues, why should we make any distinction betwixt them?

Though we refuse to natural abilities the title of virtues, we must allow, that they procure the love and esteem of mankind; that they give a new lustre to the other virtues; and that a man possessed of them is much more intitled to our good-will and services, than one entirely void of them. It may, indeed, be pretended that the sentiment of

approbation, which those qualities produce, besides its being inferior, is also somewhat different from that, which attends the other virtues. But this, in my opinion, is not a sufficient reason for excluding them from the catalogue of virtues. Each of the virtues, even benevolence, justice, gratitude, integrity, excites a different sentiment or feeling in the spectator. The characters of Caesar and Cato, as drawn by Sallust, are both of them virtuous, in the strictest sense of the word; but in a different way: Nor are the sentiments entirely the same, which arise from them. The one produces love; the other esteem: The one is amiable; the other awful: We could wish to meet with the one character in a friend; the other character we would be ambitious of in ourselves. In like manner, the approbation which attends natural abilities, may be somewhat different to the feeling from that, which arises from the other virtues, without making them entirely of a different species. And indeed we may observe, that the natural abilities, no more than the other virtues, produce not, all of them, the same kind of approbation. Good sense and genius beget esteem: Wit and humour excite love.

[Footnote 27 Love and esteem are at the bottom the same passions, and arise from like causes. The qualities, that produce both, are agreeable, and give pleasure. But where this pleasure is severe and serious; or where its object is great, and makes a strong impression; or where it

produces

any degree of humility and awe: In all these cases, the

passion, which arises from the pleasure, is more properly

denominated esteem than love. Benevolence attends both: But

is connected with love in a more eminent degree.]

Those, who represent the distinction betwixt natural abilities and

moral virtues as very material, may say, that the former are entirely

involuntary, and have therefore no merit attending them, as having no

dependance on liberty and free-will. But to this I answer, first, that

many of those qualities, which all moralists, especially the antients,

comprehend under the title of moral virtues, are equally involuntary and

necessary, with the qualities of the judgment and imagination. Of this

nature are constancy, fortitude, magnanimity; and, in short, all the

qualities which form the great man. I might say the same, in some

degree, of the others; it being almost impossible for the mind to

change its character in any considerable article, or cure itself of a

passionate or splenetic temper, when they are natural to it. The greater

degree there is of these blameable qualities, the more vicious they

become, and yet they are the less voluntary. Secondly, I would have

anyone give me a reason, why virtue and vice may not be involuntary, as

well as beauty and deformity. These moral distinctions arise from the

natural distinctions of pain and pleasure; and when we receive those

feelings from the general consideration of any quality or character,

we denominate it vicious or virtuous. Now I believe no one will assert, that a quality can never produce pleasure or pain to the person who considers it, unless it be perfectly voluntary in the person who possesses it. Thirdly, As to free-will, we have shewn that it has no place with regard to the actions, no more than the qualities of men. It is not a just consequence, that what is voluntary is free. Our actions are more voluntary than our judgments; but we have not more liberty in the one than in the other.

But though this distinction betwixt voluntary and involuntary be not sufficient to justify the distinction betwixt natural abilities and moral virtues, yet the former distinction will afford us a plausible reason, why moralists have invented the latter. Men have observed, that though natural abilities and moral qualities be in the main on the same footing, there is, however, this difference betwixt them, that the former are almost invariable by any art or industry; while the latter, or at least, the actions, that proceed from them, may be changed by the motives of rewards and punishments, praise and blame. Hence legislators, and divines, and moralists, have principally applied themselves to the regulating these voluntary actions, and have endeavoured to produce additional motives, for being virtuous in that particular. They knew, that to punish a man for folly, or exhort him to be prudent and sagacious, would have but little effect; though the same punishments and exhortations, with regard to justice and injustice,

might have a considerable influence. But as men, in common life and conversation, do not carry those ends in view, but naturally praise or blame whatever pleases or displeases them, they do not seem much to regard this distinction, but consider prudence under the character of virtue as well as benevolence, and penetration as well as justice. Nay, we find, that all moralists, whose judgment is not perverted by a strict adherence to a system, enter into the same way of thinking; and that the antient moralists in particular made no scruple of placing prudence at the head of the cardinal virtues. There is a sentiment of esteem and approbation, which may be excited, in some degree, by any faculty of the mind, in its perfect state and condition; and to account for this sentiment is the business of Philosophers. It belongs to Grammarians to examine what qualities are entitled to the denomination of virtue; nor will they find, upon trial, that this is so easy a task, as at first sight they may be apt to imagine.

The principal reason why natural abilities are esteemed, is because of their tendency to be useful to the person, who is possessed of them. It is impossible to execute any design with success, where it is not conducted with prudence and discretion; nor will the goodness of our intentions alone suffice to procure us a happy issue to our enterprizes. Men are superior to beasts principally by the superiority of their reason; and they are the degrees of the same faculty, which set such an

infinite difference betwixt one man and another. All the advantages of art are owing to human reason; and where fortune is not very capricious, the most considerable part of these advantages must fall to the share of the prudent and sagacious.

When it is asked, whether a quick or a slow apprehension be most valuable? whether one, that at first view penetrates into a subject, but can perform nothing upon study; or a contrary character, which must work out every thing by dint of application? whether a clear head, or a copious invention? whether a profound genius, or a sure judgment? in short, what character, or peculiar understanding, is more excellent than another? It is evident we can answer none of these questions, without considering which of those qualities capacitates a man best for the world, and carries him farthest in any of his undertakings.

There are many other qualities of the mind, whose merit is derived from the same origin, industry, perseverance, patience, activity, vigilance, application, constancy, with other virtues of that kind, which it will be easy to recollect, are esteemed valuable upon no other account, than their advantage in the conduct of life. It is the same case with temperance, frugality, economy, resolution: As on the other hand, prodigality, luxury, irresolution, uncertainty, are vicious, merely because they draw ruin upon us, and incapacitate us for business and action.

As wisdom and good-sense are valued, because they are useful to the person possessed of them; so wit and eloquence are valued, because they are immediately agreeable to others. On the other hand, good humour is loved and esteemed, because it is immediately agreeable to the person himself. It is evident, that the conversation of a man of wit is very satisfactory; as a chearful good-humoured companion diffuses a joy over the whole company, from a sympathy with his gaiety. These qualities, therefore, being agreeable, they naturally beget love and esteem, and answer to all the characters of virtue.

It is difficult to tell, on many occasions, what it is that renders one man's conversation so agreeable and entertaining, and another's so insipid and distasteful. As conversation is a transcript of the mind as well as books, the same qualities, which render the one valuable, must give us an esteem for the other. This we shall consider afterwards. In the mean time it may be affirmed in general, that all the merit a man may derive from his conversation (which, no doubt, may be very considerable) arises from nothing but the pleasure it conveys to those who are present.

In this view, cleanliness is also to be regarded as a virtue; since it naturally renders us agreeable to others, and is a very considerable source of love and affection. No one will deny, that a negligence in this particular is a fault; and as faults are nothing but smaller vices, and this fault can have no other origin than the uneasy

sensation, which
it excites in others, we may in this instance, seemingly
so trivial,
dearly discover the origin of the moral distinction of
vice and virtue
in other instances.

Besides all those qualities, which render a person
lovely or valuable,
there is also a certain JE-NE-SCAI-QUOI of agreeable and
handsome, that
concurr to the same effect. In this case, as well as in
that of wit and
eloquence, we must have recourse to a certain sense,
which acts without
reflection, and regards not the tendencies of qualities
and characters.
Some moralists account for all the sentiments of virtue
by this sense.
Their hypothesis is very plausible. Nothing but a
particular enquiry can
give the preference to any other hypothesis. When we
find, that almost
all the virtues have such particular tendencies; and
also find, that
these tendencies are sufficient alone to give a strong
sentiment of
approbation: We cannot doubt, after this, that qualities
are approved
of, in proportion to the advantage, which results from
them.

The decorum or indecorum of a quality, with regard to
the age, or
character, or station, contributes also to its praise or
blame. This
decorum depends, in a great measure, upon experience. It
is usual to
see men lose their levity, as they advance in years.
Such a degree
of gravity, therefore, and such years, are connected
together in our
thoughts. When we observe them separated in any person's
character, this
imposes a kind of violence on our imagination, and is

disagreeable.

That faculty of the soul, which, of all others, is of the least consequence to the character, and has the least virtue or vice in its several degrees, at the same time, that it admits of a great variety of degrees, is the memory. Unless it rise up to that stupendous height as to surprize us, or sink so low as, in some measure, to affect the judgment, we commonly take no notice of its variations, nor ever mention them to the praise or dispraise of any person. It is so far from being a virtue to have a good memory, that men generally affect to complain of a bad one; and endeavouring to persuade the world, that what they say is entirely of their own invention, sacrifice it to the praise of genius and judgment. Yet to consider the matter abstractedly, it would be difficult to give a reason, why the faculty of recalling past ideas with truth and clearness, should not have as much merit in it, as the faculty of placing our present ideas, in such an order, as to form true propositions and opinions. The reason of the difference certainly must be, that the memory is exerted without any sensation of pleasure or pain; and in all its middling degrees serves almost equally well in business and affairs. But the least variations in the judgment are sensibly felt in their consequences; while at the same time that faculty is never exerted in any eminent degree, without an extraordinary delight and satisfaction. The sympathy with this utility and pleasure bestows a merit on the understanding; and the absence of it makes

us consider the memory as a faculty very indifferent to blame or praise.

Before I leave this subject of natural abilities, I must observe, that, perhaps, one source of the esteem and affection, which attends them, is derived from the importance and weight, which they bestow on the person possessed of them. He becomes of greater consequence in life. His resolutions and actions affect a greater number of his fellow-creatures. Both his friendship and enmity are of moment. And it is easy to observe, that whoever is elevated, after this manner, above the rest of mankind, must excite in us the sentiments of esteem and approbation. Whatever is important engages our attention, fixes our thought, and is contemplated with satisfaction. The histories of kingdoms are more interesting than domestic stories: The histories of great empires more than those of small cities and principalities: And the histories of wars and revolutions more than those of peace and order. We sympathize with the persons that suffer, in all the various sentiments which belong to their fortunes. The mind is occupied by the multitude of the objects, and by the strong passions, that display themselves. And this occupation or agitation of the mind is commonly agreeable and amusing. The same theory accounts for the esteem and regard we pay to men of extraordinary parts and abilities. The good and ill of multitudes are connected with their actions. Whatever they undertake is important, and challenges our attention. Nothing is to be over-looked and despised, that regards them.

And where any person can excite these sentiments, he soon acquires our esteem; unless other circumstances of his character render him odious and disagreeable.

SECT. V SOME FARTHER REFLECTIONS CONCERNING THE NATURAL VIRTUES

It has been observed, in treating of the passions, that pride and humility, love and hatred, are excited by any advantages or disadvantages of the mind, body, or fortune; and that these advantages or disadvantages have that effect by producing a separate impression of pain or pleasure. The pain or pleasure, which arises from the general survey or view of any action or quality of the mind, constitutes its vice or virtue, and gives rise to our approbation or blame, which is nothing but a fainter and more imperceptible love or hatred. We have assigned four different sources of this pain and pleasure; and in order to justify more fully that hypothesis, it may here be proper to observe, that the advantages or disadvantages of the body and of fortune, produce a pain or pleasure from the very same principles. The tendency of any object to be useful to the person possess d of it, or to others; to convey pleasure to him or to others; all these circumstances convey an immediate pleasure to the person, who considers the object, and command his love and approbation.

To begin with the advantages of the body; we may observe a phaenomenon, which might appear somewhat trivial and ludicrous, if any thing could be trivial, which fortified a conclusion of such importance, or ludicrous, which was employed in a philosophical reasoning. It is a general remark, that those we call good women's men, who have either signalized themselves by their amorous exploits, or whose make of body promises any extraordinary vigour of that kind, are well received by the fair sex, and naturally engage the affections even of those, whose virtue prevents any design of ever giving employment to those talents. Here it is evident, that the ability of such a person to give enjoyment, is the real source of that love and esteem he meets with among the females; at the same time that the women, who love and esteem him, have no prospect of receiving that enjoyment themselves, and can only be affected by means of their sympathy with one, that has a commerce of love with him. This instance is singular, and merits our attention.

Another source of the pleasure we receive from considering bodily advantages, is their utility to the person himself, who is possessed of them. It is certain, that a considerable part of the beauty of men, as well as of other animals, consists in such a conformation of members, as we find by experience to be attended with strength and agility, and to capacitate the creature for any action or exercise. Broad shoulders, a lank belly, firm joints, taper legs; all these are beautiful in our species because they are signs of force and vigour,

which being advantages we naturally sympathize with, they convey to the beholder a share of that satisfaction they produce in the possessor.

So far as to the utility, which may attend any quality of the body. As to the immediate pleasure, it is certain, that an air of health, as well as of strength and agility, makes a considerable part of beauty; and that a sickly air in another is always disagreeable, upon account of that idea of pain and uneasiness, which it conveys to us. On the other hand, we are pleased with the regularity of our own features, though it be neither useful to ourselves nor others; and it is necessary at a distance, to make it convey to us any satisfaction. We commonly consider ourselves as we appear in the eyes of others, and sympathize with the advantageous sentiments they entertain with regard to us.

How far the advantages of fortune produce esteem and approbation from the same principles, we may satisfy ourselves by reflecting on our precedent reasoning on that subject. We have observed, that our approbation of those, who are possess d of the advantages of fortune, may be ascribed to three different causes. First, To that immediate pleasure, which a rich man gives us, by the view of the beautiful cloaths, equipage, gardens, or houses, which he possesses. Secondly, To the advantage, which we hope to reap from him by his generosity and liberality. Thirdly, To the pleasure and advantage, which he himself

reaps from his possessions, and which produce an agreeable sympathy in us. Whether we ascribe our esteem of the rich and great to one or all of these causes, we may clearly see the traces of those principles, which give rise to the sense of vice and virtue. I believe most people, at first sight, will be inclined to ascribe our esteem of the rich to self-interest, and the prospect of advantage. But as it is certain, that our esteem or deference extends beyond any prospect of advantage to ourselves, it is evident, that that sentiment must proceed from a sympathy with those, who are dependent on the person we esteem and respect, and who have an immediate connexion with him. We consider him as a person capable of contributing to the happiness or enjoyment of his fellow-creatures, whose sentiments, with regard to him, we naturally embrace. And this consideration will serve to justify my hypothesis in preferring the third principle to the other two, and ascribing our esteem of the rich to a sympathy with the pleasure and advantage, which they themselves receive from their possessions. For as even the other two principles cannot operate to a due extent, or account for all the phaenomena, without having recourse to a sympathy of one kind or other; it is much more natural to chuse that sympathy, which is immediate and direct, than that which is remote and indirect. To which we may add, that where the riches or power are very great, and render the person considerable and important in the world, the esteem attending them, may, in part, be ascribed to another source, distinct from

these three,
viz. their interesting the mind by a prospect of the
multitude, and
importance of their consequences: Though, in order to
account for the
operation of this principle, we must also have recourse
to sympathy; as
we have observed in the preceding section.

It may not be amiss, on this occasion, to remark the
flexibility of our
sentiments, and the several changes they so readily
receive from
the objects, with which they are conjoined. All the
sentiments of
approbation, which attend any particular species of
objects, have a
great resemblance to each other, though derived from
different sources;
and, on the other hand, those sentiments, when directed
to different
objects, are different to the feeling, though derived
from the same
source. Thus the beauty of all visible objects causes a
pleasure pretty
much the same, though it be sometimes derived from the
mere species and
appearance of the objects; sometimes from sympathy, and
an idea of their
utility. In like manner, whenever we survey the actions
and characters
of men, without any particular interest in them, the
pleasure, or pain,
which arises from the survey (with some minute
differences) is, in the
main, of the same kind, though perhaps there be a great
diversity in the
causes, from which it is derived. On the other hand, a
convenient house,
and a virtuous character, cause not the same feeling of
approbation;
even though the source of our approbation be the same,
and flow
from sympathy and an idea of their utility. There is
something very

inexplicable in this variation of our feelings; but it is what we have experience of with regard to all our passions and sentiments.

SECT. VI CONCLUSION OF THIS BOOK

Thus upon the whole I am hopeful, that nothing is wanting to an accurate proof of this system of ethics. We are certain, that sympathy is a very powerful principle in human nature. We are also certain, that it has a great influence on our sense of beauty, when we regard external objects, as well as when we judge of morals. We find, that it has force sufficient to give us the strongest sentiments of approbation, when it operates alone, without the concurrence of any other principle; as in the cases of justice, allegiance, chastity, and good-manners. We may observe, that all the circumstances requisite for its operation are found in most of the virtues; which have, for the most part, a tendency to the good of society, or to that of the person possessed of them. If we compare all these circumstances, we shall not doubt, that sympathy is the chief source of moral distinctions; especially when we reflect, that no objection can be raised against this hypothesis in one case, which will not extend to all cases. Justice is certainly approved of for no other reason, than because it has a tendency to the public good: And the public good is indifferent to us, except so far as sympathy interests

us in it. We may presume the like with regard to all the other virtues, which have a like tendency to the public good. They must derive all their merit from our sympathy with those, who reap any advantage from them: As the virtues, which have a tendency to the good of the person possessed of them, derive their merit from our sympathy with him.

Most people will readily allow, that the useful qualities of the mind are virtuous, because of their utility. This way of thinking is so natural, and occurs on so many occasions, that few will make any scruple of admitting it. Now this being once admitted, the force of sympathy must necessarily be acknowledged. Virtue is considered as means to an end. Means to an end are only valued so far as the end is valued. But the happiness of strangers affects us by sympathy alone. To that principle, therefore, we are to ascribe the sentiment of approbation, which arises from the survey of all those virtues, that are useful to society, or to the person possessed of them. These form the most considerable part of morality.

Were it proper in such a subject to bribe the reader's assent, or employ any thing but solid argument, we are here abundantly supplied with topics to engage the affections. All lovers of virtue (and such we all are in speculation, however we may degenerate in practice) must certainly be pleased to see moral distinctions derived from so noble a source, which gives us a just notion both of the generosity and capacity

of human nature. It requires but very little knowledge of human affairs to perceive, that a sense of morals is a principle inherent in the soul, and one of the most powerful that enters into the composition. But this sense must certainly acquire new force, when reflecting on itself, it approves of those principles, from whence it is derived, and finds nothing but what is great and good in its rise and origin. Those who resolve the sense of morals into original instincts of the human mind, may defend the cause of virtue with sufficient authority; but want the advantage, which those possess, who account for that sense by an extensive sympathy with mankind. According to their system, not only virtue must be approved of, but also the sense of virtue: And not only that sense, but also the principles, from whence it is derived. So that nothing is presented on any side, but what is laudable and good.

This observation may be extended to justice, and the other virtues of that kind. Though justice be artificial, the sense of its morality is natural. It is the combination of men, in a system of conduct, which renders any act of justice beneficial to society. But when once it has that tendency, we naturally approve of it; and if we did not so, it is impossible any combination or convention could ever produce that sentiment.

Most of the inventions of men are subject to change. They depend upon humour and caprice. They have a vogue for a time, and then sink into

oblivion. It may, perhaps, be apprehended, that if justice were allowed to be a human invention, it must be placed on the same footing. But the cases are widely different. The interest, on which justice is founded, is the greatest imaginable, and extends to all times and places. It cannot possibly be served by any other invention. It is obvious, and discovers itself on the very first formation of society. All these causes render the rules of justice stedfast and immutable; at least, as immutable as human nature. And if they were founded on original instincts, could they have any greater stability?

The same system may help us to form a just notion of the happiness, as well as of the dignity of virtue, and may interest every principle of our nature in the embracing and cherishing that noble quality. Who indeed does not feel an accession of alacrity in his pursuits of knowledge and ability of every kind, when he considers, that besides the advantage, which immediately result from these acquisitions, they also give him a new lustre in the eyes of mankind, and are universally attended with esteem and approbation? And who can think any advantages of fortune a sufficient compensation for the least breach of the social virtues, when he considers, that not only his character with regard to others, but also his peace and inward satisfaction entirely depend upon his strict observance of them; and that a mind will never be able to bear its own survey, that has been wanting in its part to mankind and society? But I forbear insisting on this subject. Such

reflections
require a work a-part, very different from the genius of
the present.
The anatomist ought never to emulate the painter; nor in
his accurate
dissections and portraitures of the smaller parts of the
human body,
pretend to give his figures any graceful and engaging
attitude or
expression. There is even something hideous, or at least
minute in the
views of things, which he presents; and it is necessary
the objects
should be set more at a distance, and be more covered up
from sight, to
make them engaging to the eye and imagination. An
anatomist, however,
is admirably fitted to give advice to a painter; and it
is even
impracticable to excel in the latter art, without the
assistance of the
former. We must have an exact knowledge of the parts,
their situation
and connexion, before we can design with any elegance or
correctness.
And thus the most abstract speculations concerning human
nature, however
cold and unentertaining, become subservient to practical
morality; and
may render this latter science more correct in its
precepts, and more
persuasive in its exhortations.

APPENDIX

There is nothing I would more willingly lay hold of,
than an opportunity
of confessing my errors; and should esteem such a return
to truth and
reason to be more honourable than the most unerring
judgment. A man,

who is free from mistakes, can pretend to no praises, except from the justness of his understanding: But a man, who corrects his mistakes, shews at once the justness of his understanding, and the candour and ingenuity of his temper. I have not yet been so fortunate as to discover any very considerable mistakes in the reasonings delivered in the preceding volumes, except on one article: But I have found by experience, that some of my expressions have not been so well chosen, as to guard against all mistakes in the readers; and it is chiefly to remedy this defect, I have subjoined the following appendix.

We can never be induced to believe any matter of fact, except where its cause, or its effect, is present to us; but what the nature is of that belief, which arises from the relation of cause and effect, few have had the curiosity to ask themselves. In my opinion, this dilemma is inevitable. Either the belief is some new idea, such as that of reality or existence, which we join to the simple conception of an object, or it is merely a peculiar feeling or sentiment. That it is not a new idea, annexed to the simple conception, may be evinced from these two arguments. First, We have no abstract idea of existence, distinguishable and separable from the idea of particular objects. It is impossible, therefore, that this idea of existence can be annexed to the idea of any object, or form the difference betwixt a simple conception and belief. Secondly, The mind has the command over all its ideas, and can separate,

unite, mix, and vary them, as it pleases; so that if belief consisted merely in a new idea, annexed to the conception, it would be in a man's power to believe what he pleased. We may, therefore, conclude, that belief consists merely in a certain feeling or sentiment; in something, that depends not on the will, but must arise from certain determinate causes and principles, of which we are not masters. When we are convinced of any matter of fact, we do nothing but conceive it, along with a certain feeling, different from what attends the mere reveries of the imagination. And when we express our incredulity concerning any fact, we mean, that the arguments for the fact produce not that feeling. Did not the belief consist in a sentiment different from our mere conception, whatever objects were presented by the wildest imagination, would be on an equal footing with the most established truths founded on history and experience. There is nothing but the feeling, or sentiment, to distinguish the one from the other.

This, therefore, being regarded as an undoubted truth, that belief is nothing but a peculiar feeling, different from the simple conception, the next question, that naturally occurs, is, what is the nature of this feeling, or sentiment, and whether it be analogous to any other sentiment of the human mind? This question is important. For if it be not analogous to any other sentiment, we must despair of explaining its causes, and must consider it as an original principle of the human mind. If it be analogous, we may hope to explain its causes

from analogy,
and trace it up to more general principles. Now that
there is a greater
firmness and solidity in the conceptions, which are the
objects of
conviction and assurance, than in the loose and indolent
reveries of
a castle-builder, every one will readily own. They
strike upon us with
more force; they are more present to us; the mind has a
firmer hold of
them, and is more actuated and moved by them. It
acquiesces in them;
and, in a manner, fixes and reposes itself on them. In
short, they
approach nearer to the impressions, which are
immediately present to us;
and are therefore analogous to many other operations of
the mind.

There is not, in my opinion, any possibility of evading
this conclusion,
but by asserting, that belief, beside the simple
conception, consists in
some impression or feeling, distinguishable from the
conception. It does
not modify the conception, and render it more present
and intense: It
is only annexed to it, after the same manner that will
and desire
are annexed to particular conceptions of good and
pleasure. But the
following considerations will, I hope, be sufficient to
remove this
hypothesis. First, It is directly contrary to
experience, and our
immediate consciousness. All men have ever allowed
reasoning to be
merely an operation of our thoughts or ideas; and
however those ideas
may be varied to the feeling, there is nothing ever
enters into our
conclusions but ideas, or our fainter conceptions. For
instance; I hear
at present a person's voice, whom I am acquainted with;

and this sound
comes from the next room. This impression of my senses
immediately
conveys my thoughts to the person, along with all the
surrounding
objects. I paint them out to myself as existent at
present, with the
same qualities and relations, that I formerly knew them
possessed of.
These ideas take faster hold of my mind, than the ideas
of an enchanted
castle. They are different to the feeling; but there is
no distinct or
separate impression attending them. It is the same case
when I recollect
the several incidents of a journey, or the events of any
history. Every
particular fact is there the object of belief. Its idea
is modified
differently from the loose reveries of a castle-builder:
But no distinct
impression attends every distinct idea, or conception of
matter of fact.
This is the subject of plain experience. If ever this
experience can
be disputed on any occasion, it is when the mind has
been agitated with
doubts and difficulties; and afterwards, upon taking the
object in a new
point of view, or being presented with a new argument,
fixes and reposes
itself in one settled conclusion and belief. In this
case there is a
feeling distinct and separate from the conception. The
passage from
doubt and agitation to tranquility and repose, conveys a
satisfaction
and pleasure to the mind. But take any other case.
Suppose I see the
legs and thighs of a person in motion, while some
interposed object
conceals the rest of his body. Here it is certain, the
imagination
spreads out the whole figure. I give him a head and
shoulders, and

breast and neck. These members I conceive and believe him to be possessed of. Nothing can be more evident, than that this whole operation is performed by the thought or imagination alone. The transition is immediate. The ideas presently strike us. Their customary connexion with the present impression, varies them and modifies them in a certain manner, but produces no act of the mind, distinct from this peculiarity of conception. Let any one examine his own mind, and he will evidently find this to be the truth.

Secondly, Whatever may be the case, with regard to this distinct impression, it must be allowed, that the mind has a firmer hold, or more steady conception of what it takes to be matter of fact, than of fictions. Why then look any farther, or multiply suppositions without necessity?

Thirdly, We can explain the causes of the firm conception, but not those of any separate impression. And not only so, but the causes of the firm conception exhaust the whole subject, and nothing is left to produce any other effect. An inference concerning a matter of fact is nothing but the idea of an object, that is frequently conjoined, or is associated with a present impression. This is the whole of it. Every part is requisite to explain, from analogy, the more steady conception; and nothing remains capable of producing any distinct impression.

Fourthly, The effects of belief, in influencing the passions and

imagination, can all be explained from the firm conception; and there is no occasion to have recourse to any other principle. These arguments, with many others, enumerated in the foregoing volumes, sufficiently prove, that belief only modifies the idea or conception; and renders it different to the feeling, without producing any distinct impression. Thus upon a general view of the subject, there appear to be two questions of importance, which we may venture to recommend to the consideration of philosophers, Whether there be any thing to distinguish belief from the simple conception beside the feeling of sentiment? And, Whether this feeling be any thing but a firmer conception, or a faster hold, that we take of the object?

If, upon impartial enquiry, the same conclusion, that I have formed, be assented to by philosophers, the next business is to examine the analogy, which there is betwixt belief, and other acts of the mind, and find the cause of the firmness and strength of conception: And this I do not esteem a difficult task. The transition from a present impression, always enlivens and strengthens any idea. When any object is presented, the idea of its usual attendant immediately strikes us, as something real and solid. It is felt, rather than conceived, and approaches the impression, from which it is derived, in its force and influence. This I have proved at large. I cannot add any new arguments.

I had entertained some hopes, that however deficient our theory of the intellectual world might be, it would be free from those

contradictions,
and absurdities, which seem to attend every explication,
that human
reason can give of the material world. But upon a more
strict review of
the section concerning personal identity, I find myself
involved in
such a labyrinth, that, I must confess, I neither know
how to correct
my former opinions, nor how to render them consistent.
If this be not a
good general reason for scepticism, it is at least a
sufficient one (if
I were not already abundantly supplied) for me to
entertain a diffidence
and modesty in all my decisions. I shall propose the
arguments on both
sides, beginning with those that induced me to deny the
strict and
proper identity and simplicity of a self or thinking
being.

When we talk of self or substance, we must have an idea
annexed to
these terms, otherwise they are altogether
unintelligible. Every idea is
derived from preceding impressions; and we have no
impression of self
or substance, as something simple and individual. We
have, therefore, no
idea of them in that sense.

Whatever is distinct, is distinguishable; and whatever
is
distinguishable, is separable by the thought or
imagination. All
perceptions are distinct. They are, therefore,
distinguishable, and
separable, and may be conceived as separately existent,
and may exist
separately, without any contradiction or absurdity.

When I view this table and that chimney, nothing is
present to me but
particular perceptions, which are of a like nature with

all the other perceptions. This is the doctrine of philosophers. But this table, which is present to me, and the chimney, may and do exist separately. This is the doctrine of the vulgar, and implies no contradiction. There is no contradiction, therefore, in extending the same doctrine to all the perceptions.

In general, the following reasoning seems satisfactory. All ideas are borrowed from preceding perceptions. Our ideas of objects, therefore, are derived from that source. Consequently no proposition can be intelligible or consistent with regard to objects, which is not so with regard to perceptions. But it is intelligible and consistent to say, that objects exist distinct and independent, without any common simple substance or subject of inhesion. This proposition, therefore, can never be absurd with regard to perceptions.

When I turn my reflection on myself, I never can perceive this self without some one or more perceptions; nor can I ever perceive any thing but the perceptions. It is the composition of these, therefore, which forms the self. We can conceive a thinking being to have either many or few perceptions. Suppose the mind to be reduced even below the life of an oyster. Suppose it to have only one perception, as of thirst or hunger. Consider it in that situation. Do you conceive any thing but merely that perception? Have you any notion of self or substance? If not, the addition of other perceptions can never give you that notion.

The annihilation, which some people suppose to follow upon death, and which entirely destroys this self, is nothing but an extinction of all particular perceptions; love and hatred, pain and pleasure, thought and sensation. These therefore must be the same with self; since the one cannot survive the other.

Is self the same with substance? If it be, how can that question have place, concerning the subsistence of self, under a change of substance? If they be distinct, what is the difference betwixt them? For my part, I have a notion of neither, when conceived distinct from particular perceptions.

Philosophers begin to be reconciled to the principle, that we have no idea of external substance, distinct from the ideas of particular qualities. This must pave the way for a like principle with regard to the mind, that we have no notion of it, distinct from the particular perceptions.

So far I seem to be attended with sufficient evidence. But having thus loosened all our particular perceptions, when I proceed to explain the principle of connexion, which binds them together, and makes us attribute to them a real simplicity and identity; I am sensible, that my account is very defective, and that nothing but the seeming evidence of the precedent reasonings coued have induced me to receive it. If perceptions are distinct existences, they form a whole only by being

connected together. But no connexions among distinct existences are ever discoverable by human understanding. We only feel a connexion or determination of the thought, to pass from one object to another. It follows, therefore, that the thought alone finds personal identity, when reflecting on the train of past perceptions, that compose a mind, the ideas of them are felt to be connected together, and naturally introduce each other. However extraordinary this conclusion may seem, it need not surprize us. Most philosophers seem inclined to think, that personal identity arises from consciousness; and consciousness is nothing but a reflected thought or perception. The present philosophy, therefore, has so far a promising aspect. But all my hopes vanish, when I come to explain the principles, that unite our successive perceptions in our thought or consciousness. I cannot discover any theory, which gives me satisfaction on this head.

In short there are two principles, which I cannot render consistent; nor is it in my power to renounce either of them, viz, that all our distinct perceptions are distinct existences, and that the mind never perceives any real connexion among distinct existences. Did our perceptions either inhere in something simple and individual, or did the mind perceive some real connexion among them, there would be no difficulty in the case. For my part, I must plead the privilege of a sceptic, and confess, that this difficulty is too hard for my understanding. I pretend not, however, to pronounce it absolutely insuperable. Others, perhaps, or

myself,
upon more mature reflections, may discover some
hypothesis, that will
reconcile those contradictions.

I shall also take this opportunity of confessing two
other errors of
less importance, which more mature reflection has
discovered to me in my
reasoning. The first may be found in Vol. I. page 106.
where I say, that
the distance betwixt two bodies is known, among other
things, by the
angles, which the rays of light flowing from the bodies
make with each
other. It is certain, that these angles are not known to
the mind, and
consequently can never discover the distance. The second
error may be
found in Vol. I. page 144 where I say, that two ideas of
the same object
can only be different by their different degrees of
force and vivacity.
I believe there are other differences among ideas, which
cannot properly
be comprehended under these terms. Had I said, that two
ideas of the
same object can only be different by their different
feeling, I should
have been nearer the truth.

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