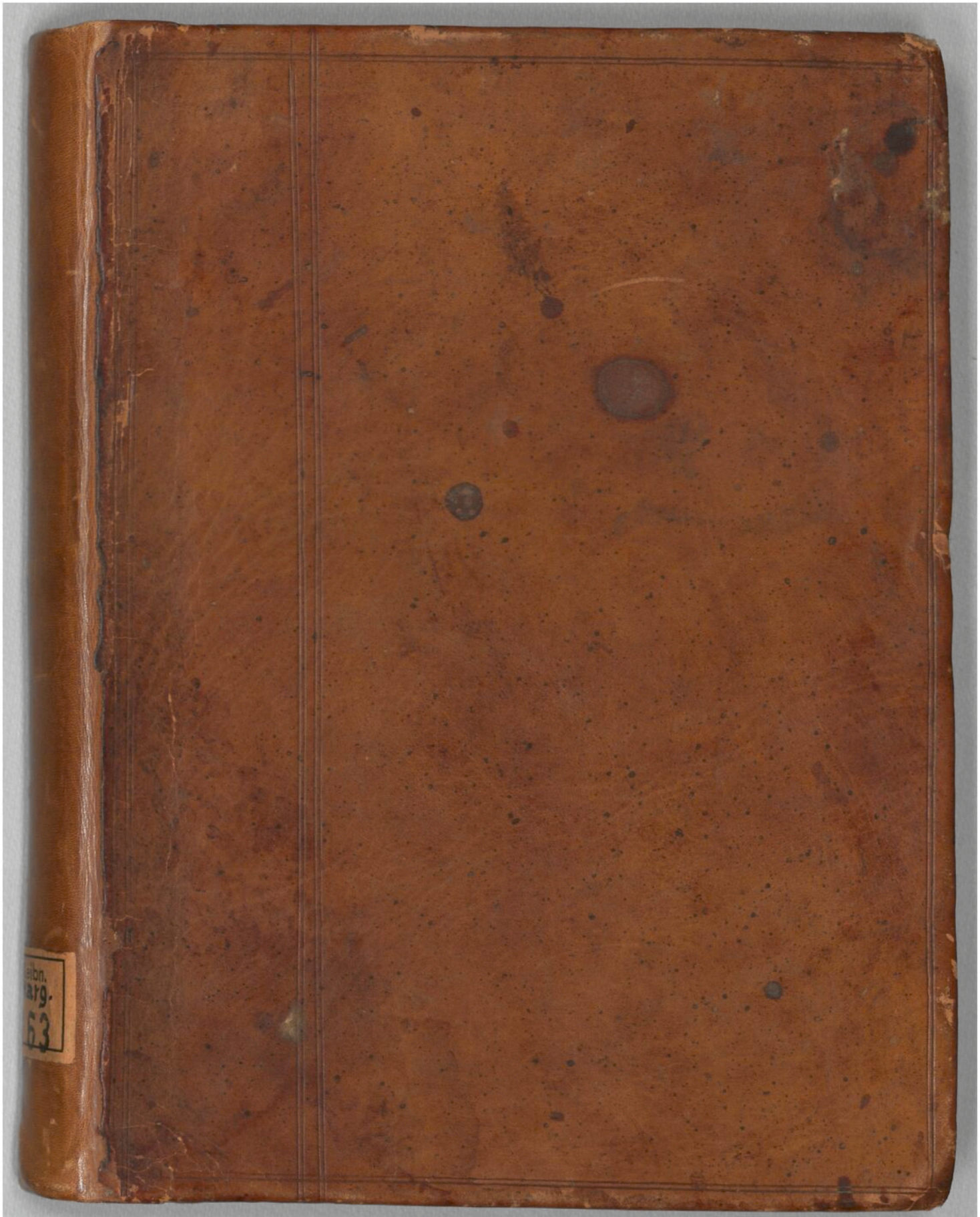


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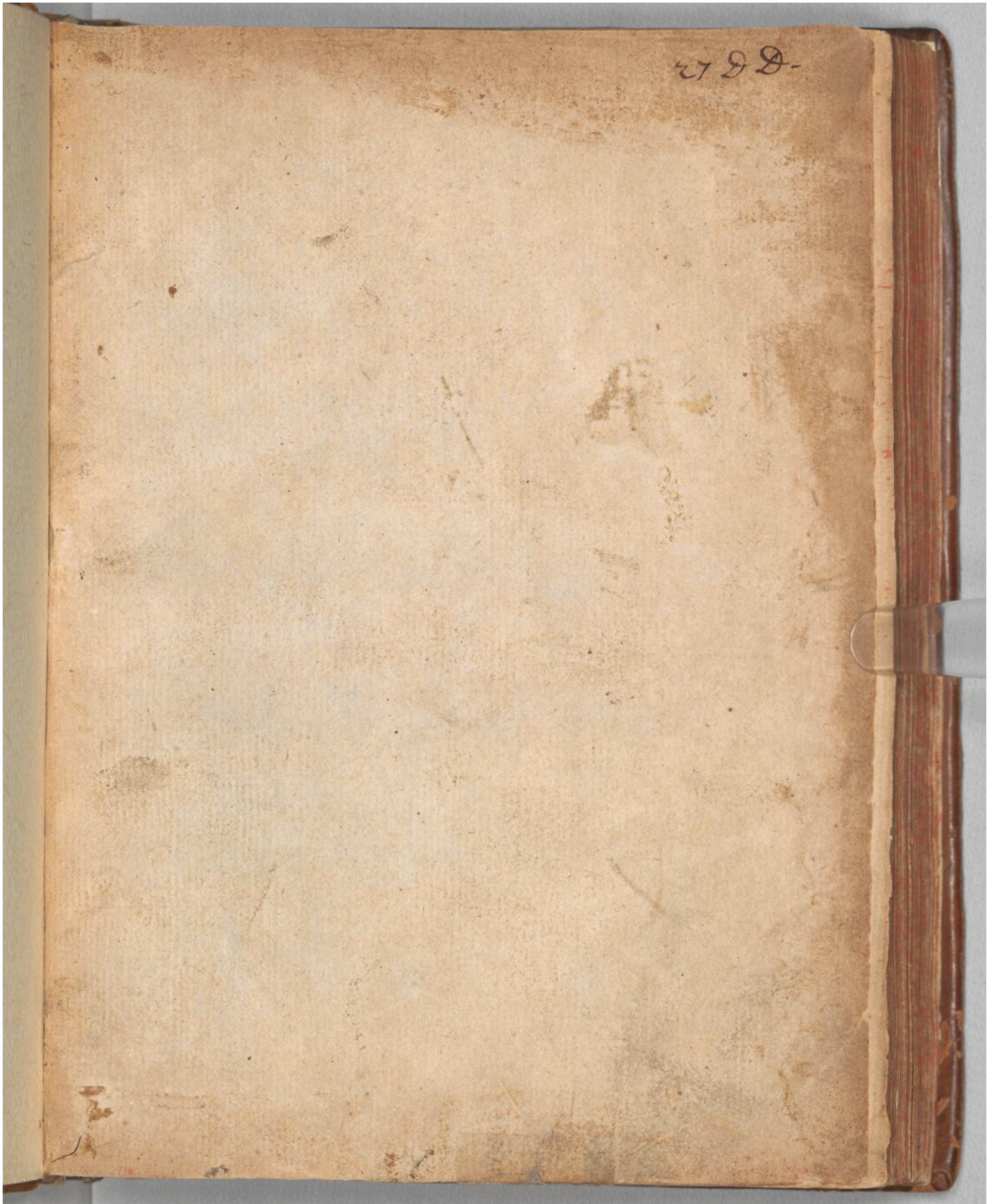
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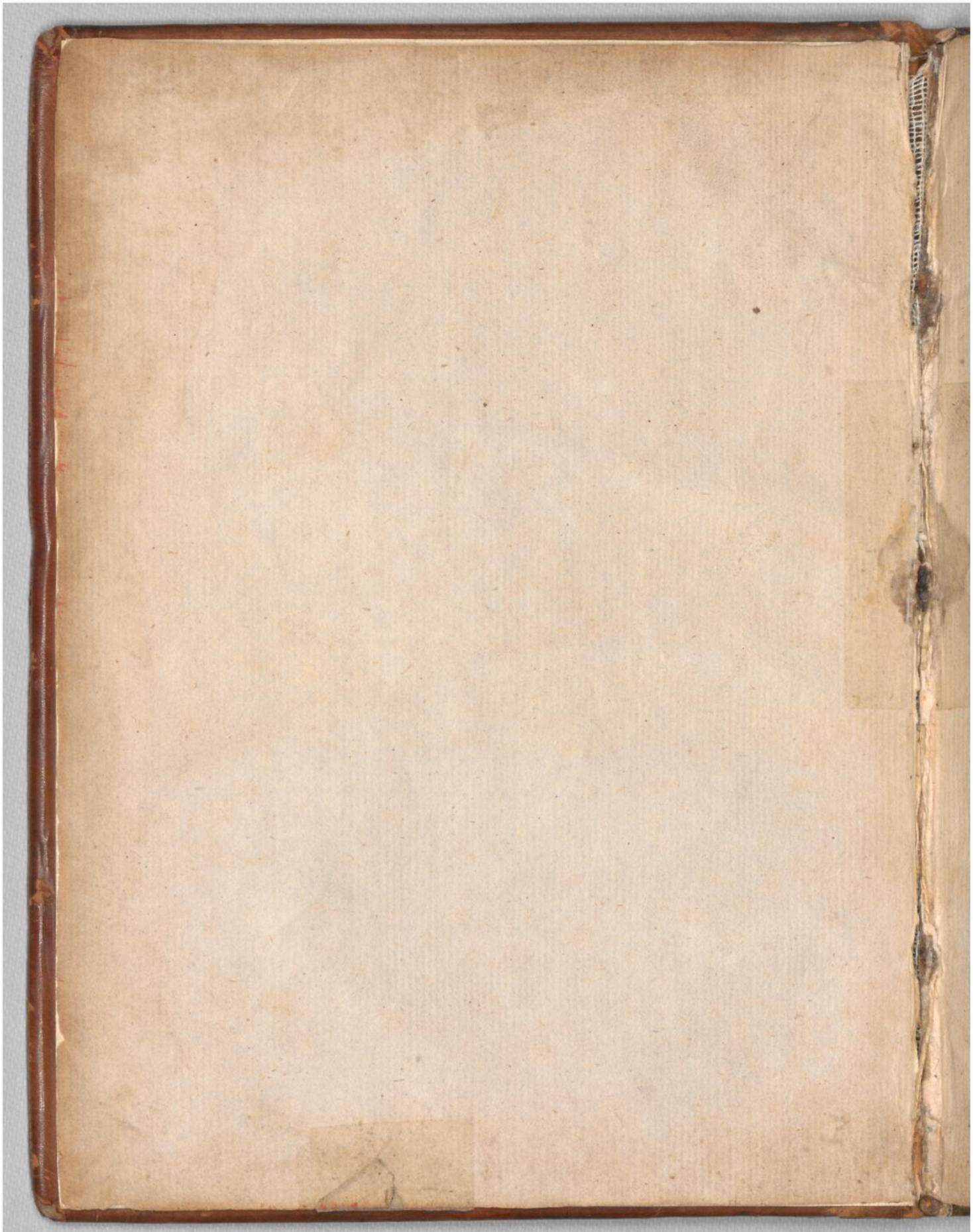
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of Liberty and Necessity a Treatise wherein all
controversie concerning Predestination, Election,
Free-will, grace merits reprobation, &c. is fully
decided and cleared by Tho. Hobbs of Malmsbury
London printed for matthew Gilliflower, Henry
Rogers and Tho. Fox Booksellers in Westminster-Hall
M DC LXXX IV. pagg 317

Est pars tertia libri ita inscripti:

Hobbs's Tripos in three discourses the first: Humane Nature
or the fundamental Elements of policy, being a discovery of the
faculties acts and passions of the soul of Man from their originall
causes deduced to such philosophical principles as are not commonly
known or assented. The second de Corpore politico or the
Elements of Law moral and politicall, with discourses upon
several heads, as the Laws of Nature, Oaths and Covenants, several
kinds of Government, with the Causes and Dissolutions of them.
The third of Liberty and Necessity wherein all contro-
versie concerning predestination, Election, Freewill, Grace,
merits, Reprobation, is fully decided and cleared by the Authors own hand
Oxford Printed and made common by the Author. Now reprinted
by the said Hobbs of Malmsbury. Oxford. Reprinted
for Matthew Gilliflower Henry Rogers and Tho. Fox 1684. S.
the Publisher unknown
pagg 317

Tractatus de Libertate et necessitate in Editione anni 1684
praefationem habet alterius autoris. Ipse Tractatus incipit verbis:
Right Honourable. I had once etc. quae hic exstant p. 21. Mira
omittuntur ibi verba Episcopi, quibus autore Hobbius respondet, ejusdem
Episcopi replica et Hobbii duplica. Italia ut in illa editione sola
Hobbii responsiones ad objectiones Episcopi habentur

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THE QUESTIONS Concerning LIBERTY, NECESSITY, And CHANCE.

Clearly Stated and Debated

Between

Dr. Bramhall Bishop of Derry,

And

Thomas Hobbes of Malmesbury.

London, Printed for *Andrew Crook*, and are to be sold at the Sign of the *Green Dragon* in *St. Pauls Church-yard*, 1656.

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p. 328 nexus Longomon. tantum hypothesicam facit necessitatem &c.

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To the Reader.

YOu shall find in this little Volum the Questions concerning Necessity, Freedom, and Chance, which in all Ages have perplexed the minds of curious Men, largely and clearly discussed, and the Arguments on all sides, drawn from the Authority of Scripture, from the Doctrine of the Schools, from Natural Reason, and from the Consequences pertaining to common Life, truly alleadged, and severely weighed between two persons who both maintain that Men are Free to Do as they Will, and to Forbear as they Will. The things they dissent in are, that the one holdeth, That it is not in a Mans Power now, to choose the Will he shall have anon; That Chance produceth nothing; That all Events and Actions have their Necessary Causes; That the Will of God makes the Necessity of all things. The other on the contrary maintaineth, That not onely the Man is Free to choose what he will Do, but the Will also to choose what it shall Will; That when a Man willeth a good Action, Gods Will concurreth with his, else not;

That the Will may chooſe whether it will Will or not; That many things come to paſs without Neceſſity, by Chance; That though God foreknow a thing ſhall be, yet it is not Neceſſary that that thing ſhall be, in as much as God ſeeth not the future as in its Cauſes, but as preſent. In ſum, they adheare both of them to the Scripture; but one of them is a learned School-Divine, the other a man that doth not much admire that kind of learning.

This is enough to acquaint you withall in the beginning, which alſo ſhall be more particularly explained by and by in the ſtating of the Queſtion, and dividing of the Arguments into their ſeveral heads. The reſt you ſhall underſtand from the perſons themſelves when they enter. Fare ye well.

T. H.

THE OCCASION OF THE CONTROVERSIE.

WHether whatsoever comes to passe proceed from Necessitie, or some things from Chance; has been a Question disputed amongst the old Philosophers long time before the Incarnation of our Saviour, without drawing into argument on either side the almightie power of the Deity. But the third way of bringing things to passe distinct from Necessitie and Chance, namely Freewill, is a thing that never was mentioned amongst them, nor by the Christians in the beginning of Christianity. For St. Paul that disputes that question largely and purposely, never useth the term of Freewill; nor did he hold any Doctrine aquivalent to that which is now called the Doctrine of Freewill; but deriveth all actions from the irresistible Will of God, and nothing from the will of him that runneth or willeth. But for some ages past, the Doctors of the Roman Church have exempted

ted from this dominion of Gods Will, the Will of Man; and brought in a Doctrine that not onely Man, but also his Will is Free, and determined to this or that action, not by the Will of God, nor necessary causes, but by the power of the Will it Self. And though by the reformed Churches instructed by Luther, Calvin and others, this opinion was cast out, yet not many years since it began again to be reduced by Arminius and his followers, and became the readiest way to Ecclesiastical promotion; and by discontenting those that held the contrary, was in some part the cause of the following troubles; which troubles were the occasion of my meeting with the Bishop of Derry at Paris, where we dicoursed together of the Argument now in hand; from which Discourse we carried away each of us his own opinion, and for ought I remember without any offensive words, as blasphemous, atheistical or the like, passing between us; either for that the Bishop was not then in passion, or suppressed his passion, being then in the presence of my Lord of Newcastle.

But afterwards the Bishop sent to his Lordship his opinion concerning the question in writing, and desired him to perswade me to send an answer thereunto likewise in writing. There were some reasons for which I thought it might be inconvenient to let my answer go abroad; yet the many obligations wherein I was obliged to him, prevailed with me to write this answer, which was afterwards not onely without my knowledge, but also against my will, published by one that found means to get a Copy of it surreptitiously. And thus you have the Occasion of this Controversie.

The State of the Question.

THe Question in general is stated by the Bishop himself, (towards the end of Numb. 3.) in these words, Whether all Events, Natural, Civil, Moral, (for we speak not now of the conversion of a sinner, that concernes not this question,) be prædetermined extrinsecally and inevitably, (without their own concurrence,) so as all the actions and events which either are or shall be, cannot but be, nor

nor can be otherwiſe, after any other manner, or in any other place, time, number, meaſure, order, nor to any other end than they are. And all this in reſpect of the ſupream cauſe, or a concourſe of extrinſecall cauſes, determining them to one.

Which though drawn up to his advantage, with as much caution as he would do a Leaſe, yet (excepting that which is not intelligible) I am content to admit. Not intelligible is, Firſt, that the converſion of a ſinner concerns not the Queſtion. *If he mean, that the converſion of a ſinner is from neceſſity, and prædetermined, then he is, for ſo much as the Queſtion concerns Religion, of the ſame mind that I am, and what he can mean elſe by that exception I cannot gueſſe. Secondly, theſe words* without their own concurrence, *are inſignificant, unleſs he mean that the events themſelves ſhould concurre to their production: as that fire doth not neceſſarily burn without the concurrence of burning, as the words properly import: or at leaſt without concurrence of the fuell. Thoſe two clauſes left out, I agree with him in the ſtate of the Queſtion as it is put univerſally. But when the Queſtion is put of the neceſſity of any particular event, as of the* Will to write, *or the like, then it is the ſtating of that particular Queſtion: but it is decided in the deciſion of the Queſtion univerſall.*

He ſtates the ſame Queſtion againe in another place thus, This is the very Queſtion where the water ſticks between us, Whether there be ſuch a Liberty free from neceſſitation and extrinſecall determination to one, or not. *And I allow it alſo for well ſtated ſo.*

Again he ſayes, In a word, ſo great difference there is between Natural and Moral efficacy; as there is between his opinion and mine in this Queſtion. *So that the ſtate of the Queſtion is reduced to this,* Whether there be a Moral efficacy which is not Natural. *I ſay there is not, he ſayes there is.*

Again he writes thus, And therefore as it were ridiculous to ſay, that the object of Sight is the cauſe of Seeing; ſo it is to ſay, that the propoſing of the object by the Underſtanding to the Will, is the cauſe of Willing. *Here alſo the*

Question is brought to this issue, Whether the object of Sight be the cause that it is Seen. *But for these words*, proposing of the object by the Understanding to the Will, *I understand them not.*

Again, he often useth such words as these, The Will willeth; the Will suspendeth its act, (*id est, the Will willeth not*;) the Understanding proposeth; the Understanding understandeth. *Herein also lyeth the whole Question. If they be true, I; if false, He is in the errour.*

Again, the whole question is decided, when this is decided, Whether he that willingly permitterh a thing to be done, when without labour, danger, or diversion of mind, he might have hindered it, do not Will the doing of it.

Again, the whole Question of Free-will *is included in this*, Whether the Will determine it self.

Again, it is included in this, Whether there be an universal Grace, which particular men can take, without a particular Grace to take it.

Lastly, there be two Questions; one, Whether a man be free in such things as are within his power, to do what he Will; *another*, Whether he be free to Will. *Which is as much as to say, (because Will is Appetite) it is one Question*, Whether he be free to eat that has an Appetite; *and another*, Whether he be feee to have an Appetite. *In the former*, Whether a man be free to do what he Will, *I agree with the* Bishop: *In the latter*, Whether he be free to Will, *I dissent from him. And therefore all the places of Scripture, that he alleadgeth to prove that a man hath liberty to do what he Will, are impertinent to the Question. If he has not been able to distinguish between these two Questions, he has not done well to meddle with either: if he has understood them, to bring arguments to prove that a man is free to do if he Will, is to deale uningenuously and fraudulently with his Readers. And thus much for the State of the Question.*

The

The Fountains of Argument in this Question.

THe *Arguments by which this Queſtion is diſputed, are drawn from four Fountaines.* 1. *From* Authorities. 2. *From the* Inconveniences *conſequent to either opinion.* 3. *From the* Attributes *of God.* 4. *From* natural Reaſon.

The Authorities *are of two ſorts,* Divine *and* Humane. Divine *are thoſe which are taken from the holy Scriptures.* Humane *alſo are of two ſorts, one, the Authorities of thoſe men that are generally eſteemed to have been learned, eſpecially in this Queſtion, as the Fathers, Schoolmen, and old Philoſophers: the other, are the Vulgar and moſt commonly receaved opinions in the world.*

His Reaſons and places of Scripture I will anſwer the beſt I am able; but his humane Authorities I ſhall admit and receive, as farre as to Scripture and Reaſon they be conſonant, and no further.

And for the Arguments derived from the Attributes of God, ſo farre forth as thoſe Attributes are argumentative, that is, ſo farre forth as their ſignifications be conceavable, I admit them for Arguments; but where they are given for honour onely, and ſignifie nothing but an intention and endeavour to praiſe and magnifie as much as we can Almighty God, there I hold them not for Arguments, but for Oblations; not for the language, but (as the Scripture calls them) for the calves of our lips; which ſignifie not true nor falſe, or any opinion of our brain, but the reverence and devotion of our hearts: and therefore they are no ſufficient præmiſes to inferre Truth, or convince Falſehood.

The places of Scripture that make for me are theſe. Firſt, Gen. 45. 5. Joſeph *ſayeth to his Brethren that had ſold him,* Be not grieved nor angry with your ſelves, that ye ſold me hither: For God did ſend me before you to preſerve life. *And again verſe* 8. So now it was not you that ſent me hither, but God.

And concerning Pharaoh, *God ſayeth Exod.* 7. 3. I will harden

harden Pharaohs heart. *And concerning* Sihon *King of Heſbon* Moſes *ſayeth Deut.* 2. 30. The Lord thy God hardened his ſpirit, and made his heart obſtinate.

And of Shimei *that did curſe* David, David *himſelf ſayeth* 2 *Sam.* 16. 10. Let him curſe, becauſe the Lord hath ſaid unto him, curſe David. *and* 1 *Kings* 12 15. The King hearkned not to the People, for the curſe was from the Lord.

And Job *diſputing this very Queſtion, ſayeth, Job* 12. 14. God ſhutteth man, and there can be no opening. *and verſ.* 16. The deceaved and the deceaver are his. *and verſe* 17. He maketh the Judges fools. *and verſe* 24. He taketh away the heart of the chief of the people of the Earth, and cauſeth them to wander in a Wilderneſs where there is no way. *and verſe* 25. He maketh them to ſtagger like a drunken man.

And of the King of Aſſyria *God ſaith*, I will give him a charge to take the ſpoile, and to take the prey, and to tread them down like the mire of the ſtreets. *Eſay* 10. 6.

And Jeremiah *ſayth, Jer.* 10 23. O Lord I know that the way of man is not in himſelf, it is not in man that walketh to direct his ſteps.

And to Ezechiel *whom God ſent as a watchman to the houſe of* Iſrael, *God ſaith thus*, When a Righeous man doth turne from his righteouſneſs, and commit iniquity, and I lay a ſtumbling block before him, he ſhall dye; becauſe thou haſt not given him warning, he ſhall dye in his ſin. *Eze.* 3. 20. *Note here, God layes the ſtumbling block, yet he that falleth dyeth in his ſin: which ſhowes that Gods Juſtice in killing, dependeth not on the ſin onely.*

And our Saviour ſaith, John 6. 44. No man can come to me, except the Father which hath ſent me draw him.

And St. Peter *concerning the dilivering of Chriſt to the Jews ſaith thus, Acts* 2. 23. Him being delivered by the determinate counſel and foreknowledge of God, ye have taken, &c.

And again, thoſe Chriſtians to whom Peter *and* John *reſorted, after they were freed from their troubles about the miracle of curing the lame man, prayſing God for the ſame ſay thus:*

Of

Of a truth against the holy Child Jesus whom thou hast anointed, both Herod and Pontius Pilate, with the Gentiles and the people of Israel, were gathered together for to do whatsoever thy hand and thy counsel determined before to be done, *Acts* 4. 27, 28.

And St. Paul, *Rom.* 9. 16. It is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that sheweth mercy. *and verse* 18, 19, 20. Therefore hath he mercy on whom he will have mercy, and whom he will he hardneth. Thou wilt say unto me why doth he yet find fault? For who hath resisted his will? Nay but, O man, who art thou that disputest against God? Shall the thing formed, say to him that formed it, why hast thou made me thus?

And again, 1 *Cor.* 4. 7. Who maketh thee differ from another? and what hast thou that thou hast not received? *and* 1 *Cor.* 12. 6. There are diversities of operations, but it is the same God that worketh all in all. *and Ephes.* 2. 10. We are his workmanship created in Jesus Christ unto good works, which God hath before ordained that we should walk in them. *and Phillip.* 2. 13. It is God that worketh in you both to Will and to Do, of his good pleasure.

To these places may be added all the places that make God the giver of all Graces, that is to say, of all good habits and inclinations; and all the places wherein men are said to be dead in sin: for by all these it is manifest that although a man may live holily if he will, *yet to* will *is the work of God, and not eligible by man.*

A second sort of places there be, that make equally for the Bishop *and* Me; *and they be such as say that a man hath Election, and may do many things* if he will, *and also* if he will *he may leave them undone; but not that God Almighty naturally or supernaturally worketh in us every act of the will, as in my opinion; nor that he worketh it not, as in the* Bishops *opinion; though he use those places as Arguments on his side.*

The places are such as these, Deut. 30. 19 I call Heaven and Earth to record this day against you, that I have set before you life and death, blessing and cursing. Therefore choose life, that both thou and thy seed may live. *and Ecclesiasticus,*

cleſiaſticus 15. 14. God in the beginning made man, and left him in the hand of his Counſell. *and verſe* 16, 17. He hath ſet fire and water before thee, ſtretch forth thy hand to whether thou wilt. Before man is life and death, and whether him liketh ſhall be given him.

And thoſe places which the Biſhop *citeth.* If a wife make a vow, it is left to her husbands choiſe, either to eſtabliſh it, or to make it void, *Numb.* 30. 14. *and Joſh* 24. 15. Chuſe ye this day whom you will ſerve, &c. But I and my houſe will ſerve the Lord. *and* 2 *Sam.* 24. 12. I offer thee three things, chooſe which of them I ſhall do. *and* Before the Child ſhall know to refuſe the evil and chuſe the good. *Eſay* 7. 16. *And beſides theſe very many other places to the ſame effect.*

The third ſort of Texts are thoſe which ſeem to make againſt me. As, Eſay 5. 4. What could have been done more to my Vineyard, that I have not done in it?

And Jer. 19. 5. They have alſo built the high places of Baal, to burn their ſonns with fire for burnt offerings unto Baal; which I commanded not, nor ſpake it, neither came it into my mind.

And Hoſea 13. 9. O Iſrael thy deſtruction is from thy ſelf, but in me is thy help.

And 1 *Tim.* 2. 4. Who will have all men to be ſaved, and to come to the knowledge of truth.

And Eccleſiaſticus 15. 11. 12. Say not thou it is through the Lord I fell away, for thou oughteſt not to do the things that he hateth. Say not thou, he hath cauſed me to erre; for he hath no need of thee ſinfull man. *And many other places to the like purpoſe.*

You ſee how great the apparent contradiction is between the firſt and the third ſort of Texts, which being both Scripture, may and muſt be reconciled and made to ſtand together; which unleſs the rigor of the letter be on one or both ſides, with intelligible and reaſonable interpretations mollified, is impoſſible.

The *Schoolmen to keep the literal ſence of the third ſort of Texts, interpret the firſt ſort thus; the words of Joſeph,* It was not you that ſent me hither, but God, *they interpret in this manner,*

manner, It was you that ſold me into Egipt, God did but permit it; It was God that ſent me and not you; *as if the* ſelling *were not the* ſending. *This is* Suarez; *of whom and the* Biſhop *I would know whether the* ſelling *of* Joſeph *did infallibly and inevitably follow that permiſſion. If it did, then that* ſelling *was neceſſitated beforehand by an eternal permiſſion. If it did not, how can there be attributed to God a foreknowledge of it, when by the* Liberty of humane Will *it might have been fruſtrated? I would know alſo, whether the* ſelling *of* Joſeph *into* Egipt *were a ſin. If it were, why doth* Joſeph *ſay*, Be not grieved nor angry with your ſelves that ye ſold me hither? *Ought not a man to be grieved and angry with himſelf for ſinning? If it were no ſin, then treachery and fratricide is no ſin.*

Again, ſeeing the ſelling *of him conſiſted in theſe acts*, binding, ſpeaking, delivering, *which are all corporeal motions, did God* Will *they ſhould not be, how then could they be done? Or doth he permit barely, and neither* Will *nor* Nill *corporeal and local motions? How then is God the firſt mover and cauſe of all local motion? Did he cauſe the motion, and* Will *the law againſt it, but not the irregularity? How can that be, ſeeing the motion and law being exiſtent, the contrariety of the motion and law is neceſſarily coexiſtent?*

So theſe places, He hardned Pharaohs heart, He made Sihons heart obſtinate, *they interpret thus*, He permitted them to make their own hearts obſtinate. *But ſeeing that mans heart without the grace of God, is uninclinable to good, the* neceſſity *of the hardneſs of heart, both in* Pharaoh *and in* Sihon, *is as eaſily derived from Gods* permiſſion, *that is, from his with-holding his grace, as from his* poſitive decree. *And whereas they ſay, He* Wills *godly and free actions conditionally and conſequently, that is, if the man* will *them, then God* Wills *them, elſe not; and* Wills *not evil actions, but* permits *them; they aſcribe to God nothing at all in the cauſation of any action either good or bad.*

Now to the third ſort of places, that ſeem to contradict the former, let us ſee if they may not be reconciled with a more intelligible and reaſonable interpretation, than that wherewith the Schoolmen interpret the firſt.

It is no extraodinary kind of Language, to call the Commandements and Exhortations and other ſignifications of the Will, *by the name of* Will ; *though the* Will *be an internal act of the ſoul, and Commands are but words and ſignes external of that internal act. So that the* Will *and the* word *are diverſe things; and differ as the* thing ſignified, *and the* ſigne. *And hence it comes to paſſe, that the Word and Commandement of God, namely the holy Scripture, is uſually called by Chriſtians Gods Will, but his revealed Will ; acknowledging the very Will of God, which they call his Counſell and Decree, to be another thing. For the revealed Will of God to* Abraham *was, that* Iſaac *ſhould be ſacrificed ; but it was his Will he ſhould not. And his revealed Will to* Jonas, *that* Niniveh *ſhould be deſtroyed within forty dayes ; but not his Decree and Purpoſe. His Decree and Purpoſe cannot be known beforehand, but may afterwards by the Event ; for from the Event we may inferre his Will. But his revealed Will , which is his Word, muſt be foreknown, becauſe it ought to be the rule of our actions.*

Therefore where it is ſaid that God will have all men to be ſaved, *it is not meant of his Will internal, but of his Commandements or Will revealed ; as if it had been ſaid,* God hath given Commandements, by following of which all men may be ſaved. *So where God ſaies,* O Iſrael how often would I have gathered thee, &c. as a Hen doth her Chickens, but thou wouldeſt not. *It is thus to be underſtood,* How oft have I by my Prophets given thee ſuch counſell, as being followed, thou had'ſt been gathered, &c. *And the like interpretations are to be given to the like places. For it is not chriſtian to think, if God had the purpoſe to ſave all men, that any man could be damned, becauſe it were a ſign of want of power to effect what he would. So theſe words,* What could have been done more to my Vineyard, that I have not done ; *If by them be meant the Almighty power, might receave this anſwer ;* Men might have been kept by it from ſinning. *But when we are to meaſure God by his revealed Will, it is as if he had ſaid,* What directions, what lawes, what threatnings could have been uſed more that I have not uſed. *God doth not will and command*

us

GOTTFRIED WILHELM LEIBNIZ BIBLIOTHEK
NIEDERSÄCHSISCHE LANDESBIBLIOTHEK
Signatur: Leibn. Marg. 163, [22] - 10
PUBLIC DOMAIN

us to enquire what his Will and Purpose is, and accordingly to do it ; for we shall do that whether we will or not ; but to look into his Commandements, that is, as to the Jewes, the Law of Moses ; *and as to other People, the Lawes of their Country.*

O Israel thy destruction is from thy self, but in me is thy help. *Or as some English Translations have it,* O Israel thou hast destroyed thy self, &c. *Is literally true, but maketh nothing against me ; for the man that sins willingly, whatsoever be the cause of his Will, if he be not forgiven, hath destroyed himself, as being his own act.*

Where it is said, They have offered their sons unto Baal, which I commanded not, nor spake it, nor came it into my mind, *These words,* nor came it into my mind, *are by some much insisted on, as if they had done it without the Will of God. For whatsoever is done comes into Gods mind, that is, into his knowledge, which implyes a certainty of the future action, and that certainly an antecedent purpose of God to bring it to passe. It cannot therefore be meant God did not will it, but that he had not the Will to command it. But by the way it is to be noted, that when God speaks to men concerning his Will and other Attributes, he speaks of them as if they were like to those of men, to the end he may be understood. And therefore to the order of his Work, the World, wherein one thing followes another so aptly as no man could order it by Designe, he gives the name of Will and Purpose. For that which we call Designe, which is reasoning, and thought after thought, cannot be properly attributed to God, in whose thoughts there is no* fore *nor* after.

But what shall we answer to the Words in Ecclesiasticus, Say not thou, it is through the Lord I fell away ; say not thou, he hath caused me to erre. *If it had not been,* say not thou, *but* think not thou, *I should have answered that Ecclesiasticus is Apocrypha, and meerly humane authority. But it is very true, that such words as these are not to be said ; first because St.* Paul *forbids it,* Shall the thing formed, *(saith he)* say to him that formed it, why hast thou made me so. *Yet true it is, that he did so make him. Secondly, because we ought to attribute nothing to God but what we conceave to be Honour-*

able, and we judge nothing Honourable *but what we count so amongst our selves; and because accusation of man is not Honourable, therefore such words are not to be used concerning God Almighty. And for the same cause it is not lawful to say that any Action can be done, which God hath purposed shall not be done; for it is a token of want of the power to hinder it. Therefore neither of them is to be said, though one of them must needs be true. Thus you see how disputing of Gods nature which is incomprehensible, driveth men upon one of these two Rocks. And this was the cause I was unwilling to have my Answer to the* Bishops *Doctrine of Liberty published.*

And thus much for comparison of our two opinions with the Scriptures; which whether it favour more his or mine, I leave to be judged by the Reader. And now I come to compare them again by the Inconveniences which may be thought to follow them.

First, the Bishop *sayes, that this very perswasion, that all things come to passe by* Necessity, *is able to overthrow all Societies and Common-wealths in the World. The Lawes saith he are unjust which prohibit that which a man cannot possibly shunne.*

Secondly, that it maketh superfluous and foolish all Consultations, Arts, Armes, Books, Instruments, Teachers, and Medicines, and which is worst, Piety and all other Acts of Devotion. For if the Event be necessary, it will come to pass whatsoever we do, and whether we sleep or wake.

This inference, if there were not as well a necessity of the means as there is of the event, might be allowed for true. But according to my opinion both the event and means are equally necessitated. But supposing the inference true, it makes as much against him that denies, as against him that holds this necessity. For I believe the Bishop *holds for as certain a truth,* what shall be, shall be, *as* what is, is, *or* what has been, has been. *And then the ratiocination of the sick man,* If I shall recover what need I this unsavoury potion; if I shall not recover what good will it do me, *is a good ratiocination. But the* Bishop *holds, that it is necessary he shall recover or not recover. Therefore it follows from an opinion of the* Bishops, *as well as from mine,*

mine, that Medicine is superfluous. But as Medicine is to Health, so is Piety, Consultation, Arts, Armes, Books, Instruments, and Teachers, every one to its several end. Out of the Bishops *opinion it followes as well as from mine, that Medicine is superfluous to Health. Therefore from his opinion as well as from mine, it followeth, (if such ratiocination were not unsound,) that Piety, Consultation, &c. are also superfluous to their respective ends. And for the superfluity of Lawes, whatsoever be the truth of the Question between us, they are not superfluous, because by the punishing of one, or of a few unjust men, they are the cause of justice in a great many.*

But the greatest inconvenience of all that the Bishop *pretends may be drawn from this opinion is,* that God in justice cannot punnish a man with eternal torments for doing that, which it was never in his power to leave undone. *It is true, that seeing the name of punnishment hath relation to the name of Crime, there can be no punishment but for Crimes that might have been left undone; but instead of* punnishment *if he had said* affliction, *may not I say that God may afflict and not for sin? doth he not afflict those Creatures that cannot sin? and sometimes those that can sin, and yet not for sin, as* Job *and the Man in the Gospel that was born blind, for the manifestation of his power which he hath over his Creature, no less, but more than hath the Potter over his Clay, to make of it what he please? But though God have power to afflict a man and not for sin without injustice, shall we think God so cruel as to afflict a man and not for sin with extream and endlesse torment? Is it not cruelty? No more than to do the same for sin, when he that so afflicteth might without trouble have kept him from sinning. But what Infallible evidence hath the* Bishop, *that a man shall be after this life, Eternally in torments and never die? Or how is it certain there is no second death, when the Scripture saith there is? Or where doth the Scripture say that a second death is an endless life? Or do the Doctors onely say it? then perhaps they do but say so, and for reasons best known to themselves. There is no injustice nor cruelty in him that giveth life, to give with it sickness, pain, torments, and death;*

nor

nor in him that giveth life twice, to give the same miseries twice also. And thus much in Answer to the Inconveniences that are pretended to follow the Doctrine of Necessity.

On the other side from this Position, that a man is free to will, it followeth that the Præscience of God is quite taken away. For how can it be known beforehand what man shall have a will to, if that will of his proceed not from necessary causes, but that he have in his power to will or not will? So also those things which are called future contingents, if they come not to passe with certainty, that is to say, from necessary causes, can never be foreknown; so that Gods foreknowing shall sometimes be of things that shall not come to passe, which is as much to say, that his foreknowledge is none; which is a great dishonour to the All-knowing Power.

Though this be all the Inconvenient Doctrine that followeth Freewill for as much as I can now remember; yet the defending of this opinion hath drawn the Bishop and other Patrons of it into many inconvenient and absurd conclusions, and made them make use of an infinite number of Insignificant words; whereof one conclusion is in Suarez, that God doth so concurre with the Will of Man, that if Man will, then God concurres; which is to subject not the will of Man to God, but the will of God to Man. Other inconvenient conclusions I shall then mark out, when I come to my observations upon the Bishops reply. And thus farre concerning the inconveniences that follow both Opinions.

The Attribute of God which he draweth into argument is his Justice, as that God cannot be just in punishing any man for that which he was necessitated to do. To which I have answered before, as being one of the Inconveniences pretended to follow upon the Doctrine of Necessity. On the Contrary, from another of Gods Attributes, which is his Fore-knowledge, I shall evidently derive, that all Actions whatsoever, whether they proceed from the will or from fortune, were necessary from eternity. For whatsoever God Fore-knoweth shall come to passe, cannot but come to passe, that is, it is Impossible it should not come to passe, or otherwise come to passe then it was fore-known. But whatsoever was Impossible should be otherwise, was necessary;

ceſſary; for the definition of Neceſſary is that which cannot poſſibly be otherwiſe. And whereas they that diſtinguiſh between Gods præſcience and his Decree, ſay the Fore-knowledge maketh not the Neceſſity without the Decree; it is little to the purpoſe. It ſufficeth me that whatſoever was fore-known by God, was neceſſary; but all things were Fore-known by God; and therefore all things were neceſſary. And as for the diſtinction of Fore-knowledge from Decree in God Almighty, I comprehend it not. They are Acts coeternall, and therefore one.

And as for the Arguments drawn from natnrall reaſon, they are ſet down at large in the end of my diſcourſe to which the Biſhop maketh his reply; which how well he hath anſwered ſhall appear in due time. For the preſent, the Actions which he thinketh proceed from liberty of will, muſt either be neceſſitated, or proceed from fortune, without any other cauſe; for certainly to Will is Impoſſible without thinking on what he willeth. But it is in no mans Election what he ſhall at any named time hereafter think on. And this I take to be enough to clear the underſtanding of the Reader, that he may be the better able to Judge of the Following Diſputation. I find in thoſe that write of this Argument (eſpecially in the Schoolmen and their Followers) ſo many words ſtrangers to our Language, and ſuch Confuſion and Inanity in the ranging of them, as that a mans mind in the reading of them diſtinguiſheth nothing; And as things were in the beginning (before the Spirit of God was moved upon the Abiſs) Tohu and Bohu, that is to ſay, Confuſion and Emptineſs; ſo are their diſcourſes.

To

To the Right Honourable the Marquis of NEWCASTLE, &c.

SIR,

IF I pretended to compose a compleat treatise upon this subject, I should not refuse those large recruites of reasons and authorities, which offer themselves to serve in this cause, for God and man, Religion and Policy, Church and Common wealth, (*a*) against the blasphemous, desperate, and destructive opinion of fatall destiny. But as (*b*) mine aim, in the first discourse, was onely to presse home those things in writing, which had been agitated between us by word of mouth, (a course much to be preferred before verball conferences, as being freer from passions and tergiversations, less subject to mistakes and misrelations, wherein paralogismes are more quickly detected, impertinencies discovered, and confusion avoided.) So my present intention is onely to vindicate that discourse, and together with it, (*c*) those lights of the Schooles, who were never sleighted, but where they were not understood. How far I have performed it, I leave to the judicious and unpartiall Reader, resting for mine own part well contented with this, that I have satisfied my self.

Par. 1646

Your Lordships most obliged
to love and serve you

I. D.

Animad-

Animadverſions upon the *Biſhops* Epiſtle to my *Lord* of *Newcaſtle*.

(a) AGainſt the Blaſphemous, Deſperate, and Deſtructive Opinion of fatal Deſtiny.

This is but choler, ſuch as ordinarily happeneth unto them who contend againſt greater difficulties than they expected.

(b) My aim in the firſt diſcourſe, was onely to preſs home thoſe things in writing, which had been agitated between us by word of mouth, (a courſe much to be preferred before verball Conferences, as being freer from Paſſions, &c.

He is here, I think miſtaken, for in our verbal Conference there was not one paſſionate word, nor any objecting of Blaſphemy or Atheiſme, nor any other uncivil word, of which in his writing there are abundance.

(c) Thoſe Lights of the Schools who were never ſleighted but where they were not underſtood.

I confeſs I am not apt to admire every thing I underſtand not, nor yet to ſleight it. And though the Biiſhop *ſleight not the School-men ſo much as I do, yet I dare ſay he underſtands their writings as little as I do. For they are in moſt places unintelligible.*

TO THE READER.

CHriſtian Reader, this enſuing Treatiſe was (a) neither penned nor intended for the Preſs, but privately undertaken, that by the ventilation of the Queſtion, truth might be cleared from miſtakes. The ſame was *Mr. Hobbs* his deſire at that time, as appeareth by four paſſages in his Book, wherein he requeſteth and beſeecheth, that it may be kept private. But either through forgetfulneſs or change of judgment, he hath now cauſed, or permitted it to be printed in *England*, without either adjoyning my firſt Diſcourſe, to which he wrote that anſwer, or ſo much as mentioning this

Reply, which he hath had in his hands now these eight years. So wide is the date of his letter, in the year 1652. from the truth, and his manner of dealing with me in this particular from ingenuity, (if the edition were with his own consent.) Howsoever, here is all that passed between us upon this subject, without any addition, or the least variation from the original.

Concerning the nameless Author of the preface, who takes upon him to hang out an Ivy bush before this rare piece of sublimated Stoicisme, to invite passengers to purchase it, as I know not who he is, so I do not much heed it, nor regard either his ignorant censures, or hyperbolical expressions. The Church of *England* is as much above his detraction, as he is beneath this Question. Let him lick up the spittle of *Dionysius* by himself, as his servile flatterers did, and protest, that it is more sweet than Nectar; we envie him not, much good may it do him. His very frontispiece is a sufficient confutation of his whole preface, wherein he tells the world as falsly and ignorantly, as confidently, that *all controversie, concerning Predestination, Election, Free-will, Grace, Merits, Reprobation, &c. is fully decided and cleared.* Thus he accustometh his pen to run over, beyond all limits of truth and discretion, to let us see that his knowledge in Theological Controversies is none at all, and into what miserable times we are fallen, when blind men will be the onely judges of colours. *Quid tanto dignum feret hic promissor hiatu?*

There is yet one thing more, whereof I desire to advertise the Reader. ([b]) Whereas *Mr. Hobbs* mentions my objections to his Book *De Cive*; It is true, that ten years since I gave him about 60. Exceptions, the one half of them Political, the other half Theological, to that Book, and every Exception justified by a number of Reasons, to which he never yet vouchsafed any answer. Nor do I now desire it, for since that, he hath published his Leviathan, *Monstrum horrendum, informe, ingens, cui lumen ademptum*, which affords much more matter of Exception, and I am informed that there are already two, the one of our own Church, the other a stranger, who have shaken in pieces the whole Fabrick

brick of his City, that was but builded in the air, and resolved that huge mass of his seeming Leviathan into a new nothing, and that their labours will speedily be published. But if this information should not prove true, I will not grudge upon his desire, God willing, to demonstrate, that his principles are pernicious both to Piety and Policy, and destructive to all relations of mankind, between Prince and Subject, Father and Child, Master and Servant, Husband and Wife; and that they, who maintain them obstinately, are fitter to live in hollow-trees among wild beasts, than in any Christian or Political Society, so God bless us.

Animadversions upon the *Bishops* Epistle to the Reader.

(1) NEither penned nor intended for the Press, but privately undertaken, that by the ventilation of the Question Truth might be cleared. The same was *Mr. Hobbs* his desire at that time, as appeareth by four passages in his Book, &c.

It is true that it was not my intention to publish any thing in this Question. And the Bishop *might have perceived by not leaving out those four passages, that it was without my knowledge the Book was printed; but it pleased him better to take this little advantage to accuse me of want of ingenuity. He might have perceived also, by the date of my Letter,* 1652. *which was written* 1646. *(which error could be no advantage to me,) that I knew nothing of the printing of it. I confess, that before I receaved the* Bishops *Reply, a French Gentleman of my acquaintance in* Paris, *knowing that I had written something of this subject, but not understanding the language, desired me to give him leave to get it interpreted to him by an english young Man that resorted to him; which I yeilded to. But this young Man taking his opportunitie, and being a nimble writer, took a Copy of it for himself, and printed it here, all but the Postscript, without my knowledge, and (as he knew) against my will; for which he since hath askt me pardon. But that the* Bishop *intended it not for the*

Preſs, is not very probable, becauſe he ſaith he writ it to the end that by the ventilation of the Queſtion, Truth might be cleared from miſtakes ; *which end he had not obtained by keeping it private.*

(b) Whereas *Mr. Hobbs* mentions my objections to his Book *De Cive*, it is true that ten years ſince, I gave him about 60. Exceptions, &c.

I did indeed intend to have anſwered thoſe Exceptions as finding them neither Political nor Theological, nor that he alleadged any Reaſons, by which they were to be juſtified. But ſhortly after intending to write in Engliſh, and publiſh my thoughts concerning Civil Doctrine, *in that Book which I intitled* Leviathan, *I thought his objections would by the clearneſs of my method fall off without an anſwer. Now this* Leviathan *he calleth* Monſtrum horrendum, informe, Ingens, cui lumen ademptum. *Words not farre fetcht, nor more applicable to my* Leviathan, *than to any other writing that ſhould offend him. For allowing him the word* Monſtrum *(becauſe it ſeems he takes it for a monſtrous great Fiſh,) he can neither ſay it is* Informe ; *for even they that approve not the Doctrine allow the Method. Nor that it is* Ingens ; *for it is a Book of no great Bulk. Nor* cui lumen ademptum ; *for he will find very few Readers, that will not think it clearer than his Scholaſtique* Jargon. *And whereas he ſaith there are two of our own Church (as he hears ſay) that are anſwering it ; And that* he himſelf *(if I deſire it)* will demonſtrate that my Principles are pernicious both to Piety and Policy, and deſtructive to all Relations, &c. *My anſwer is, that I deſire not, that he or they ſhould ſo miſpend their time ; but if they will needs do it, I can give them a fit Title for their Book,* Behemoth againſt Leviathan. *He ends his Epiſtle with* ſo God bleſs us. *Which words are good in themſelves, but to no purpoſe here ; but are a Buffonly abuſing of the name of God to Calumny.*

GOTTFRIED WILHELM LEIBNIZ BIBLIOTHEK
NIEDERSÄCHSISCHE LANDESBIBLIOTHEK
Signatur: Leibn. Marg. 163, [32] - 20
PUBLIC DOMAIN

A

VINDICATION

OF TRUE

LIBERTY

FROM

Antecedent and Extrinsecal Necessity.

Johannes Derriensis Johannes Bramhallus Episcopus Derriensis

J. D.

EIther I am free to write this Discourse for Liberty against Necessity, or I am not free. If I be free, I have obteined the cause, and ought not to suffer for the truth. If I be not free, yet I ought not to be blamed, since I do it not out of any voluntary election, but out of an inevitable Necessity. Numb. 1.

To The Lord Marquess of New-castle

T. H.

RIght Honourable, I had once resolved to answer J. D's. *objections to my Book* De Cive *in the first place, as that which concerns me most, and afterwards to examine this discourse of*

of Liberty and Neceſſity, which (becauſe I never had uttered my opinion of it) concerned me the leſs. But ſeeing it was both your Lordſhips, and J. D.*s. deſire, that I ſhould begin with the later , I was contented ſo to do. And here I preſent and ſubmit it to your Lordſhips judgement.*

J. D.

(a) THe firſt day that I did read over *T. H.* his defence of the neceſſity of all things, was *April* 20. 1646. Which proceeded not out of any diſreſpect to him; for if all his diſcourſes had been Geometrical demonſtrations, able not onely to perſwade, but alſo to compel aſſent, all had been one to me, firſt my journey, and afterwards ſome other trifles (which we call buſineſs) having diverted me until then. And then my occaſions permitting me, and an advertiſement from a friend awakening me, I ſet my ſelf to a ſerious examination of it. We commonly ſee thoſe who delight in Paradoxes, if they have line enough, confute themſelves; and their ſpeculatives, and their practicks familiarly enterfere one with another. (b) The very firſt words of *T. H.* his defence trip up the heels of his whole cauſe ; *I had once reſolved* ; To reſolve præſuppoſeth deliberation; but what deliberation can there be of that which is inevitably determined by cauſes, without our ſelves, before we do deliberate ? can a condemned man deliberate whether he ſhould be executed, or not ? It is even to as much purpoſe, as for a man to conſult and ponder with himſelf whether he ſhould draw in his breath , or whether he ſhould increaſe in ſtature. Secondly, (c) *to reſolve* implies a mans dominion over his own actions, and his actual determination of himſelf ; but he who holds an abſolute neceſſity of all things, hath quitted this dominion over himſelf, (& which is worſe) hath quitted it to the ſecond extrinſecal cauſes, in which he makes all his actions to be determined ; one may as well call again Yeſterday, as *reſolve* or newly determine that which is determined to his hand already. (d) I have peruſed this treatiſe, weighed *T. H* his anſwers, conſidered his reaſons, and conclude that he hath miſſed, and miſled the Queſtion, that the

the answers are evasions, that his arguments are paralogisms, that the opinion of absolute and universal Necessity is but a result of some groundless and ill chosen principles, and that the defect is not in himself, but that his cause will admit no better defence; and therefore by his favour I am resolved to adhere to my first opinion. Perhaps another man reading this discourse with other eyes, judgeth it to be pertinent and well founded. How comes this to pass? the treatise is the same, the exteriour causes are the same, yet the resolution is contrary. Do the second causes play fast and loose? do they necessitate me to condemn, and necessitate him to maintain? what is it then? the difference must be in our selves, either in our intellectuals, because the one sees clearer than the other, or in our affections, which betray our unterstandings, and produce an implicite adhærence in the one more than in the other. Howsoever it be, the difference is in our selves. The outward causes alone do not chain me to the one resolution, nor him to the other resolution. But *T. H.* may say, that our several and respective deliberations and affections, are in part the causes of our contrary resolutions, and do concur with the outward causes, to make up one total and adæquate cause, to the necessary production of this effect. If it be so, he hath spun a fair thred, to make all this stir for such a necessity as no man ever denyed or doubted of; when all the causes have actually determined themselves, then the effect is in being; for though there be a priority in nature between the cause and the effect, yet they are together in time. And the old rule is, (c) *whatsoever is, when it is, is necessarily so as it is.* This is no absolute necessity, but onely upon supposition, that a man hath determined his own liberty. When we question whether all occurrences be necessary, we do not question whether they be necessary when they are, nor whether they be necessary *in sensu composito*, after we have resolved and finally determined what to do, but whether they were necessary before they were determined by our selves, by or in the præcedent causes before our selves, or in the exteriour causes without our selves. It is not inconsistent with true

Liberty

Liberty to determine it ſelf, but it is inconſiſtent with true Liberty to be determined by another without it ſelf.

T. H. ſaith further, *that upon your Lorſhips deſire and mine, he was contented to begin with this diſcourſe of Liberty and Neceſſity*, that is, to change his former reſolution. (f) If the chain of neceſſity be no ſtronger, but that it may be ſnapped ſo eaſily in ſunder; if his will was no otherwiſe determined without himſelf, but onely by the ſignification of your Lordſhips deſire and my modeſt intreaty, then we may eaſily conclude, that humane affairs are not alwaies governed by abſolute neceſſity; that a man is Lord of his own actions, if not in chief, yet in mean, ſubordinate to the Lord Paramount of Heaven and Earth; and that all things are not ſo abſolutely determined in the outward and precedent cauſes, but that fair intreaties, and moral perſwaſions may work upon a good nature ſo far, as to prevent that which otherwiſe had been, and to produce that which otherwiſe had not been. He that can reconcile this with an Antecedent Neceſſity of all things, and a Phyſical or Natural determination of all cauſes, ſhall be great *Apollo* to me.

Whereas *T. H.* ſaith that he had never uttered his opinion of this Queſtion, I ſuppoſe he intends in writing; my converſation with him hath not been frequent, yet I remember well, that when this Queſtion was agitated between us two in your LordſhipsChamber by your command, he did then declare himſelf in words, both for the abſolute neceſſity of all events, and for the ground of this neceſſity, the Flux or concatenation of the ſecond cauſes.

Animadverſions upon the *Biſhops* Reply Number, I.

(a) THe firſt day that I did read over T. H. his defence of Neceſſity, &c.

His deferring the reading of my defence of neceſſity, he will not (he ſaith) ſhould be interpreted for diſreſpect. 'Tis well; though I cannot imagine why he ſhould fear to be thought to diſreſpect

ſpect me. He was diverted (*he ſaith*) by trifles called buſineſs. *It ſeems then he acknowledgeth that the will can be diverted by buſineſs. Which though ſaid on the* By, *is contrary I think to the* Mayne, *that the Will is Free ; for free it is not if any thing but it ſelf can divert it.*

(b) The very firſt words of *T. H.* his defence, trip up the heeles of his whole cauſe, &c.

How ſo? I had once (*ſaith he*) Reſolved. To Reſolve præſuppoſeth deliberation. But what deliberation can there be of that which is inevitably determined without our ſelves? *There is no man doubts but a man may deliberate of what himſelf ſhall do, whether the thing be impoſſible or not, in caſe he know not of the impoſſibility ; though he cannot deliberate of what another ſhall do to him. Therefore his examples of the man condemned, of the man that breatheth, and of him that groweth, (becauſe the Queſtion is not what they ſhall do) but what they ſhall ſuffer, are impertinent. This is ſo evident, that I wonder how he that was before ſo witty, as to ſay, my firſt words tript up the heeles of my cauſe, and that having line enough I would confute my ſelf, could preſently be ſo dull, as not to ſee his Argument was too weak to ſupport ſo triumphant a language. And whereas he ſeemeth to be offended with Paradoxes, let him thank the Schoolmen whoſe ſenceleſs writings, have made the greateſt number of important Truths ſeem Paradoxe.*

(c) *This Argument that followeth is no better.* To Reſolve (*ſaith he*) implies a mans dominion over his actions, and his actual determination of himſelf, &c.

If he underſtand what it is to Reſolve, *he knowes that it ſignifies no more then* (*after deliberation*) to Will. *He thinks therefore to* Will *is to have dominion over his own actions and actually to determine his own Will. But no man can determine his own will; for the will is appetite, nor can a man more determine his will than any other appetite; that is, more than he can determine when he ſhall be hungry and when not. When a man is hungry, it is in his choiſe to eat or not eat; this is the liberty of the man; But to be hungry or not hungry (which is that which I hold to proceed from neceſſity) is not in his choiſe. Beſides theſe words* dominion over his own actions, *and* determination

of himself, *so farre as they are significant, make against him. For over whatsoever things there is dominion, those things are not Free, and therefore a mans actions are not Free; And if a man determine himself, the Question will still remain what determined him to determine himself in that manner.*

(d) I have perused this Treatise, weighed *T. H.* his answers, considered his reasons, &c.

This and that which followeth, is talking to himself at randome, till he come to alleadge that which he calleth an old rule, which is this, (e) Whatsoever is, when it is, is necessarily so as it is. This is no absolute necessity, but onely upon supposition that a man hath determined his own liberty, &c.

If the Bishop *think that I hold no other Necessity than that which is expressed in that old foolish rule, he neither understandeth me, nor what the word* Necessary *signifieth. Necessary is that* which is impossible to be otherwise, *or*, that which cannot possibly otherwise come to passe. *Therefore* Necessary, Possible, *and* Impossible, *have no signification in reference to time* past, *or time* present, *but onely* time to come. *His* Necessary, *and his* in sensu composito *signifie nothing; My* Necessary *is a* Necessary *from all Eternity; and yet not inconsistent with true Liberty, which doth not consist in determining it self, but in doing what the Will is determined unto. This* dominion over it self, *and this*, sensus compositus, *and this*, determining it self, *and this*, necessarily is when it is, *are confused and empty words.*

(f) If the chain of Necessity be no stronger, but that it may be snapped so easily in sunder, *&c.* by the signification of your Lordships desire, and my modest intreaty, then we may safely conclude that humane affairs, *&c.*

Whether my Lords *desire, and the* Bishops *modest intreaty were enough to produce a* Will *in me to write an answer to his treatise, without other concurrent causes, I am not sure. Obedience to his* Lordship *did much, & my civility to the* Bishop *did somwhat, & perhaps there were other imaginations of mine own, that contributed their part. But this I am sure of, that altogether they were sufficient to frame my will thereto; and whatsoever is sufficient to*

produce

produce any thing, produceth it as necessarily as the fire necessarily burneth the Fewel that is cast into it. And though the Bishops *modest intreaty had been no part of the cause of my yeilding to it, yet certainly it would have been cause enough to some civil man, to have requited me with fairer Language, than he hath done throughout this Reply.*

T. H.

AND first I assure your Lordship, I find in it no new Argument, neither from Scripture nor from Reason, that I have not often heard before, which is as much, as to say, that I *am not suppriſed.* Numb. 2.

J. D.

(a) THough I be so unhappy, that I can present no novelty to *T. H.* yet I have this comfort, that if he be not suppriſed, then in reason I may expect a more mature answer from him, and where he failes, I may ascribe it to the weakness of his cause, not to want of preparation. But in this case I like *Epictetus* his Councell well, that (b) the Sheep should not brag how much they have eaten, or what an excellent pasture they do go in, but shew it in their Lamb and Wool. Opposite answers and downright Arguments advantage a cause. To tell what we have heard or seen is to no purpose. When a respondent leaves many things untouched, as if they were too hot for his Fingers, and declines the weight of other things, and alters the true state of the Question, it is a shrewd sign either that he hath not weighed all things maturely, or else that he maintains a desperate cause.

Animadversions upon his Reply Numb. II.

(a) THough I be so unhappy that I can present no novelty to T. *H.* yet I have this comfort that if he be not suppriſed, then in reason *I* may expect a more mature answer from him, &c.

Though I were not suppriſed, yet I do not ſee the reaſon for which, he ſaith, he may expect a more mature anſwer from me; or any further anſwer at all. For ſeeing I writ this at his modeſt requeſt, it is no modeſt expectation to loook for as many anſwers as he ſhall be pleaſed to exact.

(b) The Sheep ſhould not bragg how much they have eaten, but ſhew it in their Lamb and Wool.

It is no great bragging, to ſay I was not ſuppriſed; for whoſoever chanceth to read Suarez *his* Opuſcula *where he writeth of* Free-will, *and of the* concourſe of God with Mans Will; *ſhall find the greateſt part, if not all that the* Biſhop *hath urged in this Queſtion. But that which the* Biſhop *hath ſaid of the Reaſons and Authorities which he ſaith (in his Epiſtle) do offer themſelves to ſerve in this cauſe; and many other paſſages of his Book, I ſhall (I think) before I have done with him, make appear to be very bragging, and nothing elſe. And though he ſay it be* Epictetus *his counſell that Sheep ſhould ſhow what they eat, in their Lamb and Wool, It is not likely that* Epictetus *ſhould take a metaphor from Lamb and Wool; for it could not eaſily come into the mind of men that were not acquainted with the paying of Tithes. Or if it had, he would have ſaid Lambs in the Plural, as Lay men uſe to ſpeak. That which followes of my leaving things untoucht, and altering the ſtate of the Queſtion; I remember no ſuch thing, unleſs he require that I ſhould anſwer, not to his Arguments onely, but alſo to his Syllables.*

T. H.

Numb. 3. *THe Præface is an handſome one, but it appears even in that, that he hath miſtaken the Queſtion; for whereas he ſayes thus, if I be free to write this diſcourſe, I have obteined the cauſe, I deny that to be true, for 'tis not enough to his freedome of writing, that he had not written it, unleſs he would himſelf; if he will obtein the cauſe, he muſt prove that before he writ it, it was not neceſſary he ſhould write it afterward. It may be he thinks it all one to ſay, I was free to write it, and it was not neceſſary I ſhould write it. But I think otherwiſe; for he is free to do a thing, that may do it if he have the will to do it, and may forbear if he have the will to forbear. And yet if there be a neceſ-*

ſity

sity that he shall have the will to do it, the action is necessarily to follow; and if there be a necessity, that he shall have the will to forbear, the forbearing also will be necessary. The Question therefore is not, whether a man be a free Agent, that is to say, whether he can write or forbear, speak or be silent, according to his will; but whether the will to write, and the will to forbear, come upon him according to his will, or according to any thing else in his own power. I acknowledge this liberty, that I can do if I will, but to say I can will if I will, I take to be an absurd speech. Wherefore I cannot grant him the cause upon this Preface.

J. D.

TAcitus speaks of a close kind of adversaries, which evermore begin with a mans praise. The Crisis or the Catastrophe of their discourse is when they come to their *but*; As he is a good natured man, *but* he hath a naughty quality; or he is a wise man, *but* he hath committed one of the greatest follies; *So here the Preface is an handsome one, but it appears even in this, that he hath mistaken the Question.* This is to give an Inch, that one may take away an Ell without suspicion; to praise the handsomeness of the Porch, that he may gain credit to the vilifying of the House. Whether of us hath mistaken the Question, I refer to the judicious Reader. (a) Thus much I will maintain, that that is no true necessity, which he calls necessity; nor that liberty, which he calls liberty; nor that the Question, which he makes the Question.

First for liberty, that which he calls liberty, is no true liberty.

For the clearing whereof it behooveth us to know the difference between these three, *Necessity*, *Spontaneity*, and *Liberty*.

Necessity and Spontaneity may sometimes meet together; so may Spontaneity and Liberty; but reall necessity and true liberty can never meet together. Some things are necessary and not voluntary or spontaneous; some things are both necessary and voluntary; some things are voluntary and not free; some things are both voluntary and free; But those things which are truly necessary can never be free, and those things which

are

are truly free can never be neceſſary. Neceſſity conſiſts in an Antecedent determination to one; Spontaneity conſiſts in a conformity of the Appetite, either intellectual or ſenſitive to the object; True Liberty conſiſts in the elective power of the rational Will; That which is determined without my concurrence, may nevertheleſs agree well enough with my fancy or deſires, and obtein my ſubſequent conſent; But that which is determined without my concurrence or conſent, cannot be the object of mine election. I may like that which is inevitably impoſed upon me by another, but if it be inevitably impoſed upon me by extrinſecal cauſes, it is both folly for me to deliberate, and impoſſible for me to chooſe, whether I ſhall undergo it not. Reaſon is the root, the fountain, the original of true liberty, which judgeth and repreſenteth to the will, whether this or that be convenient, whether this or that be more convenient. Judge then what a pretty kind of liberty it is which is maintained by *T. H.* ſuch a liberty as is in little Children before they have the uſe of reaſon, before they can conſult or deliberate of any thing. *Is not this a Childiſh liberty?* and ſuch a liberty as is in brute Beaſts, as Bees and Spiders, which do not learn their faculties as we do our trades, by experience and conſideration; This is a brutiſh liberty, ſuch a liberty as a Bird hath to flie, when her wings are clipped, or to uſe his own compariſon, ſuch a liberty as a lame man, who hath loſt the uſe of his limbs hath to walk; Is not this a ridiculous liberty? Laſtly (which is worſe than all theſe) ſuch a *liberty as a River hath to deſcend down the Channel*; what! will he aſcribe liberty to inanimate Creatures alſo, which have neither reaſon, nor ſpontaneity, nor ſo much as ſenſitive appetite? Such is *T. H.* his liberty.

(b) His Neceſſity is juſt ſuch another, a neceſſity upon ſuppoſition, ariſing from the concourſe of all the cauſes, including the laſt dictate of the underſtanding in reaſonable creatures. The adæquate cauſe and the effect are together in time, and when all the conurrent cauſes are determined, the effect is determined alſo, and is become ſo neceſſary, that it is actually in being; But there is a great difference between

determining,

determining, and being determined. If all the collateral causes concurring to the production of an effect, were antecedently determined, what they must of necessity produce, and when they must produce it, then there is no doubt but the effect is necessary. (c) But if these causes did operate freely, or contingently, if they might have suspended or denied their concurrence, or have concurred after another manner, then the effect was not truly and antecedently necessary, but either free or contingent. This will be yet clearer by considering his own instance of *casting Ambs-Ace*, though it partake more of contingency than of freedome. Supposing the positure of the parties hand who did throw the Dice, supposing the figure of the Table and of the Dice themselves, supposing the measure of force applied, and supposing all other things which did concur to the production of that cast, to be the very same they were, there is no doubt but in this case the cast is necessary. But still this is but a necessity of supposition; for if all these concurrent causes, or some of them were contingent or free, then the cast was not absolutely necessary. To begin with the Caster, He might have denied his concurrence and not have cast at all; He might have suspended his concurrence, and not have cast so soon; He might have doubled or diminished his force in casting, if it had pleased him; He might have thrown the Dice into the other Table. In all these cases what becomes of his *ambs-ace?* The like uncertainties offer themselves for the maker of the Tables, and for the maker of the Dice, and for the keeper of the Tables, and for the kind of Wood, and I know not how many other circumstances. In such a mass of contingencies, it is impossible that the effect should be antecedently necessary. *T. H.* appeales to every mans experience. I am contented. Let every one reflect upon himself, and he shall find no convincing, much less constreining reason, to necessitate him to any one of these particular acts more than another, but onely his own will or arbitrary determination. So *T. H.* his necessity is no absolute, no antecedent, extrinsecal necessity, but meerly a necessity upon supposition.

d Thirdly,

(d) Thirdly, that which *T. H.* makes the Question, is not the Question. The Question is not, saith he, *Whether a man may write if he will, and forbear if he will, but whether the will to write or the will to forbear, come upon him according to his will, or according to any thing else in his own power.* Here is a distinction without a difference. If his will do not come upon him according to his will, than he is not a free, nor yet so much as a voluntary Agent, which is *T. H.* his Liberty. Certainly all the freedome of the Agent, is from the freedom of the will. If the will have no power over it self, the Agent is no more free than a Staff in a mans hand. Secondly, he makes but an empty shew of a power in the will, either to wtite or not to write. e If it be precisely and inevitably determined in all occurrences whatsoever, what a man shall will, and what he shall not will, what he shall write, and what he shall not write, to what purpose is this power? God and Nature never made any thing in vain; but vain and frustraneous is that power which never was and never shall be deduced into Act. Either the Agent is determined before he acteth, what he shall will, and what he shall not will, what he shall act, and what he shall not act, and then he is no more free to act, than he is to will; Or else he is not derermined, and then there is no necessity. No effect can exceed the vertue of its cause; if the action be free to write or to forbear, the power or faculty to will, or nill, must of necessity be more free. *Quod efficit tale illud magis est tale.* If the will be determined, the writing or not writing is likewise determined, and then he should not say, *He may write or he may forbear*, but he must write, or he must forbear. Thirdly, This answer contradicts the sense of all the world, that the wil of man is determined *without his will, or without any thing in his power*; Why do we ask men whether they will do such a thing or not? Why do we represent reasons to them? Why do we pray them? Why do we intreat them? Why do we blame them if their will come not upon them according to their will. *Wilt thou be made clean?* said our Saviour to the *Paralyticke* person, *John* 5. 6. to what purpose, if his will was extinsecally determined? Christ complains, *We have piped unto you and ye have*

have not danced, Matth. 11. 17. How could they help it, if their wills were determined without their wils, to forbear? And Matth. 23. 37. *I would have gathered your Children together, as the Hen gathereth her Chickens under her wings, but ye would not.* How easily might they answer according to *T. H.* his doctrine, Alas blame not us, Our wills are not in our own power or disposition, if they were, we would thankfully embrace so great a favour. Most truly said St. Austin, *Our will should not be a will at all, if it were not in our power.* [f] This is the belief of all mankind, which we have not learned from our Tutors, but is imprinted in our hearts by nature; We need not turn over any obscure books to find out this truth. The Poets chant it in the Theaters, the Shepheards in the mountains, the pastors teach it in their Churches, the Doctors in the Universities, the common people in the markets, and all mankind in the whole world do assent unto it, except an handful of men, who have poisoned their intellectuals with paradoxical principles. Fourthly, this necessity which *T. H.* hath devised, which is grounded upon the necessitation of a mans will without his will, is the worst of all others, and is so far from lessening those difficulties and absurdities which flow from the fatal destiny of the *Stoicks*, that it increaseth them, and rendreth them unanswerable. [g] No man blameth fire for burning whole Cities, No man taxeth poison for destroying men, but those persons who apply them to such wicked ends. If the will of man be not in his own disposition, he is no more a free Agent than the fire or the poyson. Three things are required to make an act or omission culpable; First, that it be in our power to perform it, or forbear it, Secondly, that we be obliged to perform it, or forbear it. respectively. Thirdly, that we omit that which we ought to have done, or do that which we ought to have omitted. [h] No man sins in doing those things which he could not shun, or forbearing those things which never were in his power. *T. H.* may say, that besides the power, men have also an appetite to evil objects, which renders them culpable. It is true, but if this appetite be determined by ano-

ther, not by themſelves, Or if they have not the uſe of reaſon to curb or reſtrain their appetites, they ſin no more than a ſtone deſcending downward, according to its natural appetite, or the brute Beaſts who commit voluntary errours in following their ſenſitive appetites, yet ſin not.

i The Queſtion then is not whether a man be neceſſitated to will or nill, yet free to act or forbear. But ſaving the ambiguous acception of the word, Free, the Queſtion is plainly this, whether all Agents, and all events natural, civil, moral, (for we ſpeak not now of the converſion of a ſinner, that concerns not this Queſtion,) be predetermined extrinſecally and inevitably without their own concurrence in the determination; ſo as all actions and events which either are or ſhall be, cannot but be, nor can be otherwiſe, after any other manner, or in any other place, time, number, meaſure, order, nor to any other end, than they are. And all this in reſpect of the ſupream cauſe, or a concourſe of extrinſecal cauſes determining them to one.

k So my preface remains yet unanſwered. Either I was extrinſecally and inevitably predetermined to write this diſcourſe, without any concurrence of mine in the determination, and without any power in me to change or oppoſe it, or I was not ſo predetermined; If *I* was, then I ought not to be blamed, for no man is juſtly blamed for doing that which never was in his power to ſhun. If I was not ſo predetermined, then mine actions and my will to act, are neither compelled nor neceſſitated by any extrinſecal cauſes, but I elect and chooſe, either to write or to forbear, according to mine own will, and by mine own power. And when I have reſolved, and elected, it is but a neceſſity of ſuppoſition, which may and doth conſiſt with true liberty, not a reall anteeedent neceſſity. The two hornes of this Dilemma are ſo ſtrait, that no mean can be given, nor room to paſſe between them. And the two conſequences are ſo evident, that inſtead of anſwering, he is forced to decline them.

Animad-

GOTTFRIED WILHELM LEIBNIZ BIBLIOTHEK
NIEDERSÄCHSISCHE LANDESBIBLIOTHEK
Signatur: Leibn. Marg. 163, [46] - 34
PUBLIC DOMAIN

Animadversions upon his Reply Numb. III.

THus much I will maintaine, that that is no true necessity, which he calleth Necessity; nor that Liberty, which he calleth Liberty; nor that the Question, which he makes the Question, &c. For the clearing whereof, it behooveth us to know the difference between these three, *Necessity*, *Spontaneity*, and *Liberty*.

I did expect, that for the knowing of the difference between Necessity, Spontaneity, *and* Liberty, *he would have set down their Definitions. For without these, their difference cannot possibly appear; for how can a man know how things differ, unless he first know what they are; which he offers not to shew. He tels us that* Necessity, *and* Spontaneity may meet together, *and* Spontaneity, *and* Liberty; *but* Necessity *and* Liberty *never; and many other things impertinent to the purpose. For which (because of the length) I refer the Reader to the Place. I note onely this, that* Spontaneity *is a word not used in common English; and they that understand Latine, know it means no more, than Appetite, or Will, and is not found but in living Creatures. And seeing he saith that* Necessity *and* Spontaneity *may stand together, I may say also, that* Necessity *and* Will, *may stand together; and then is not the Will* Free *(as he would have it) from Necessitation. There are many other things in that which followeth, which I had rather the Reader would consider in his own words, to which I referre him, than that I should give him greater trouble in reciting them again. For I do not fear it will be thought too hot for my fingers, to shew the vanity of such words as these,* Intellectual appetite, Conformity of the appetite to the object, Rational will, Elective power of the Rational will; *nor understand I how Reason can be the root of true Liberty, if the* Bishop *(as he saith in the beginning) had the liberty to write this discourse. I understand how objects, and the Conveniences and the Inconveniences of them may be represented to a man, by the help of his sences;*

but how Reaſon *repreſenteth any thing to the* Will, *I underſtand no more, than the* Biſhop *underſtands there may be Liberty in Children, in Beaſts, and inanimate Creaturs. For he ſeemeth to wonder how Children may be left at Liberty; how Beaſts impriſoned may be ſet at Liberty; and how a River may have a free courſe; and ſaith, what! will he aſcribe Liberty to inanimate Creatures alſo? And thus he thinks he hath made it clear how* Neceſſity, Spontaneity, *and* Liberty *differ from one another. If the Reader find it ſo, I am contented.*

[b] His Neceſſity is juſt ſuch another, a Neceſſity upon ſuppoſition, ariſing from the concourſe of all the cauſes, including the laſt dictate of the underſtanding in reaſonable Creatures, &c.

The Biſhop *might eaſily have ſeen, that the Neceſſity I hold, is the ſame Neceſſity that he denies; namely a Neceſſity of things future, that is, an antecedent Neceſſity derived from the very beginning of time; and that I put Neceſſity for an Impoſſibility of not being, and that Impoſſibility as well as Poſſibility are never truly ſaid, but of the future. I know as well as he that the cauſe when it is adaquate (as he calleth it) or entire (as I call it) is together in time with the effect. But for all that the Neceſſity may be and is before the effect, as much as any Neceſſity can be. And though he call it a Neceſſity of ſuppoſition, it is no more ſo, than all other Neceſſity is. The fire burneth neceſſarily; but not without ſuppoſition, that there is fewel put to it. And it burneth the fewel (when it is put to it) neceſſarily; but it is by ſuppoſition, that the ordinary courſe of nature is not hindred; For the fire burnt not the three Children in the Furnace.*

[c] But if theſe cauſes did operate Freely, or Contingently, if they might have ſuſpended, or denied their concurrence, or have concurred after another manner, then the effect was not truly and antecedently neceſſary, but either free, or Contingent.

It ſeems by this he underſtandeth not what theſe words Free, *and* Contingent *mean. A little before he wondred I ſhould attribute* Liberty *to inanimate Creatures, and now he puts cauſes amongſt thoſe things that operate* Freely. *By theſe cauſes*

ſes it ſeems he underſtandeth onely men, whereas I ſhewed before that Liberty is uſually aſcribed to Whatſoever Agent is not hindred. And when a man doth any thing Freely, there be many other Agents immediate, that concur to the effect he intendeth, which work not Freely, but neceſſarily; as When the man moveth the Sword Freely, the Sword woundeth neceſſarily, nor can ſuſpend or deny its concurrence; And conſequently if the man move not himſelf, the man cannot deny his concurrence. To Which he cannot reply, unleſs he ſay a man originally can move himſelf, for which he will be able to find no Authority of any that have but taſted of the knowledge of motion. Then for Contingent he underſtandeth not What it meaneth, for it is all one to ſay it is Contingent and ſimply to ſay it is; ſaving that when they ſay ſimply it is, they conſider not how or by what means; but in ſaying it is contingent they tell us they know not whether neceſſarily or not. But the Biſhop thinking Contingent to be that which is not neceſſary, inſtead of arguing againſt our knowledge of the neceſſity of things to come, argueth againſt the neceſſity it ſelf. Again he ſuppoſeth that Free and Contingent cauſes might have ſuſpended or denied their concurrence. From which it followeth that Free cauſes, and Contingent cauſes are not cauſes of themſelves, but concurrent with other cauſes, and therefore can produce nothing but as they are guided by thoſe cauſes with which they concur; for it is ſtrange, he ſhould ſay, they might have concurred after another manner; for I conceave not how when this runneth one way, and that another, that they can be ſaid to concur, that is run together, And this his concurrence of cauſes contingent, maketh (he ſaith) the caſt of Ambs-ace not to have been abſolutely neceſſary. Which cannot be conceaved unleſs it had hindred it; and then it had made ſome other caſt neceſſary, perhaps Deux-ace, which ſerveth me as well. For that which he ſaith of ſuſpending his concurrence, of caſting ſooner or later, of altering the caſters force, and the like accidents ſerve not to take away the neceſſity of Ambs-ace, otherwiſe then by making a neceſſity of Deux-ace, or other caſt that ſhall be thrown.

[d] Thirdly, that which *T. H.* makes the Queſtion, is not the Queſtion, &c.

He

He hath very little reason to say this. He requested me to tell him my opinion in writing concerning Free-will. *Which I did, and did let him know a man was* Free *in those things that were in his power, to* follow his will; *but that he was not* Free *to* Will, *that is, that his will did not follow his will, which I expressed in these words,* the Question is, whether the will to write, or the will to forbear, come upon a man according to his will, or according ta any thing else in his own power. *He that cannot understand the difference between* Free to do if he will, *and* Free to will, *is not fit (as I have said in the Stating of the Question) to hear this Controversie disputed, much less to be a writer in it. His consequence,* if a man be not Free to will, he is not a Free, nor a Voluntary Agent, *and his saying* the Freedome of the Agent is from the Freedome of the Will, *is put here without proof; nor is there any considerable proof of it through the whole Book hereafter offered. For why; he never before had heard (I believe) of any distinction between* Free to do *and* Free to will, *which makes him also say* if the Will have not power over it self, the Agent is no more Free, than a Staff in a mans hand. *As if it were not Freedome enough for a man* to do what he will, *unless his* Will also have power over his Will, *and that his* Will *be not the power it self, but must have another power within it to do all voluntary acts.*

If it be precisely and inevitably determined in all occurrences whatsoever, what a man shall Will, and what he shall not Will, and what he shall write, and what he shall not write, to what purpose is this power, &c.

It is to this purpose, that all those things may be brought to passe, which God hath from Eternity predetermined. It is therefore to no purpose here to say, that God and Nature hath made nothing in vain. But see what weak Arguments he brings next, which though answered in that which is gone before, yet if I answer not again, he will say they are too hot for my fingers. One is, If the Agent be determined what he shall Will, and what he shall Act, Then he is no more Free to Act than he is to Will; *as if the Will being necessitated, the* doing *of* what we Will *were not* Liberty. *Another is, If a*

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man be Free to Act, he is much more Free to Will ; because Quod efficit tale illud magis est tale ; *as if he should say, if I make him angry, then I am more angry ; because* Quod efficit, *&c. The third is,* If the Will be determined, then the writing is determined, *and he ought not to say* he may write, *but* he must write. *Tis true, it followeth that he* must write, *but it doth not follow I ought to say he* must write, *unless he would have me say more than I know, as himself doth often in this Reply.*

After his Arguments, come his difficult Questions. If the Will of man be determined without his Will, or without any thing in his power, why do we ask men whether they will do such a thing or not? *I answer, Because we desire to know, and cannot know but by their telling, nor then neither for the most part.* Why do vve represent reasons to them? Why do vve pray them? Why do we intreat them? *I answer, because thereby we think to make them have the Will they have not.* Why do we blame them? *I answer, because they please us not. I might ask him, whether blaming be any thing else but saying the thing blamed is ill or imperfect. May not we say a Horse is lame, though his lameness came from necessity ; or that a man is a fool or a knave, if he be so, though he could not help it?* To what purpose did our Saviour say to the Paralytique person, Wilt thou be made clean, if his Will vvere extrinsecally determined? *I answer, that it was not because he would know, for he knew it before ; but because he would draw from him a confession of his want.* We have piped unto you, and ye have not danced ; how could they help it? *I answer, they could not help it.* I vvould have gathered your Children as the Hen gathereth her Chickens under her vvings, but ye vvould not. Hovv easily might they answer according to *T. H.* his doctrine, Alas, blame not us, our vvills are not in our ovvn povver? *I answer, they are to be blamed though their Wills be not in their own power. Is not good good, and evill evill though they be not in our power? and shall not I call them so? and is not that Praise and Blame? But it seems the* Bishop *takes* blame *not for the dispraise of a thing, but for a pretext and colour of malice and revenge against him*

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he blameth. And where he sayes our Wills are in our power, he sees not that he speaks absurdly ; for he ought to say, the Will is the Power ; and through ignorance detecteth the same fault in St. Austin, *who saith, our Will should not be a Will at all, if it were not in our power ; that is to say, if it were not in our Will.*

f This is the belief of all mankind, which we have not learned from our Tutors, but is imprinted in our hearts by Nature, &c.

This piece of Eloquence is used by Cicero *in his defence of* Milo, *to prove it lawful for a man to resist force with force, or to keep himself from killing ; which the* Bishop *(thinking himself able to make that which proves one thing prove any thing,) hath translated into English, and brought into this place to prove Free-will. It is true, very few have learned from Tutors, that a man is not free to Will ; nor do they find it much in Books. That they find in Books, that which the Poets chant in their Theaters, and the Shepheards in the Mountains, that which the Pastors teach in the Churches, and the Doctors in the Universities, and that which the common people in the Markets, and all mankind in the Whole World do assent unto, is the same that I assent unto, namely, that a man hath freedome to do if he will ; but whether he hath freedome to Will, is a Question which it seems neither the* Bishop *nor they ever thought on.*

g No man blameth fire for burning Cities, nor taxeth poyson for destroying Men, &c.

Here again he is upon his arguments from Blame, which I have answered before ; and we do as much blame them as we do men ; for we say fire hath done hurt, and the poyson hath killed a man, as well as we say the man hath done unjustly ; but we do not seek to be revenged of the fire and of poyson, because we cannot make them ask forgiveness, as we would make men to do when they hurt us ; so that the blaming of the one and the other, that is, the declaring of the hurt or evill action done by them, is the same in both ; but the malice of man is onely against man.

h No man sins in doing those things which he could not shun.

He may as well say, no man halts which cannot chuse but halt; or stumbles, that cannot chuse but stumble. For what is sin but halting or stumbling in the way of Gods Commandements.

i The Question then is not, whether a man be necessitated to will or nill, yet free to act, or forbear. But saving the ambiguous acceptions of the word Free, the Question is plainly this, &c.

This Question which the Bishop *stateth in this place, I have before set down verbatim and allowed: and it is the same with mine, though he perceave it not. But seeing I did nothing, but at his request set down my opinion, there can be no other Question between us in this controversie, but whether my opinion be the truth or not.*

k So my preface remains yet unanswered, Either I was extrinsecally and inevetably predetermined to write this discourse, &c.

That which he sayes in the preface is that if he be not Free to write this discourse, he ought not to be blamed. But if he be Free he hath obteined the cause.

The first consequence I should have granted him, if he had written it rationally and civilly; the later I deny, and have shown that he ought to have proved that a man is Free to Wil. For that which he sayes, any thing else whatsoever, would think, if it knew it were moved, and did not know what moved it. A woodden Top that is lasht by the Boyes, and runs about sometimes to one Wall, sometimes to another, somtimes spinning, sometimes hitting men on the shins, if it were sensible of its own motion, would think it proceeded from its own Will, unless it felt what lasht it. And is a man any wiser, when he runns to one place for a Benefice, to another for a Bargain, and troubles the world with writing errors, and requiring answers, because he thinks he doth it without other cause than his own Will, and seeth not what are the lashings that cause his Will?

J. D.

Numb. 4. AND so to fall in hand with the Question, without any further proems or prefaces. By Liberty, I do neither understand a liberty from sin, nor a liberty from misery, nor a liberty from servitude, nor a liberty from violence, but I understand a liberty from Necessity or rather from Necessitation, that is, an universal immunity from all inevitability and determination to one, whether it be of *exercise* onely which the Schooles cal a liberty of *contradiction*, and is found in God, and in the good and bad Angels, that is not a liberty to do both good and evill, but a liberty to do or not to do this or that good, this or that evill respectively; or whether it be a liberty of *specification and exercise* also, which the Schooles call liberty of *contrariety*, and is found in men indowed with reason and understanding, that is, a liberty to do and not to do, good and evill, this or that. Thus the coast being cleared, &c.

T. H.

IN the next place he maketh certain distinctions of liberty, and sayes, he means not liberty from sin, nor from servitude, nor from violence, but from Necessity, Necessitation, inevitability, and determination to one; It had been better to define liberty than thus to distinguish, for I understand never the more what he means by liberty. And though he sayes he means liberty from Necessitation, yet I understand not how such a liberty can be, and it is a taking of the Question without proof; for what else is the Question between us but whether such a liberty be possible or not. There are in the same place other distinctions, as a liberty of exercise onely, which he calls a liberty of contradiction, (namely, of doing not good or evill simply, but of doing this or that good, or this or that evill respectively.) And a liberty of specification and exercise also, which he calls a liberty of contrariety, namely, a liberty not onely to do or not to do, good or evill, but also to do or not to do, this or that good or evill. And with these distinctions he sayes, he clears the coast, whereas in truth he darkneth his meaning, not onely

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with the Jargon *of exercise onely, specification also, contradiction, contrariety, but also with pretending distinction where none is; for how is it possible for the liberty of doing or not doing this or that good or evill, to consist (as he sayes it doth in God and Angels) without a liberty of doing or not doing good or evill.*

J. D.

[a] IT is a rule in art, that words which are homonymous, of various and ambiguons significations, ought ever in the first place to be distinguished. No men delight in confused generalities, but either Sophisters or Bunglers. *Vir dolosus versatur in generalibus*, deceitful men do not love to descend to particulars; and when bad Archers shoot, the safest way is to run to the marke. Liberty is sometimes opposed to the slavery of sin and vitious habits, as Rom. 6. 22. *Now being made free from sin.* Sometimes to misery and oppression, Isay 58. 6. *To let the oppressed go free.* Sometimes to servitude, as Levit. 25. 10. *In the year of Jubilee ye shall proclaim liberty throughout the land.* Sometimes to violence, as Psal. 105. 20. *The prince of his people let him go free.* Yet none of all these are the liberty now in question, but a liberty from necessity, that is a determination to one, or rather from necessitation, that is a necessity imposed by another, or an extrinsecal determination. These distinctions, do virtually imply a description of true liberty, which comes neerer the essence of it, than T. *H.* his roving definition, as we shall see in due place. And though he say that *he understands never the more what I mean by liberty*, yet it is plain by his own ingenuous confession, both that he doth understand it, and that this is the very Question where the water sticks between us, whether there be such a liberty free from all necessitation and extrinsecal determination to one. Which being but the stating of the Question, he calls it amiss *the taking of the Question.* It were too much weakness to beg this Question, which is so copious and demonstrable. [b] It is strange to see with what confidence now adayes particular men slieght all the Schoolmen, and Philosophers, and Classick Authors of former ages, as if they were not worthy to

unlooſe the ſhoe-ſtrings of ſome modern Author, or did ſit in darkneſs, and in the ſhaddow of death, until ſome third *Cato* dropped down from Heaven; to whom all men muſt repair, as to the Altar of *Promotheus*, to light their torches. I did never wonder to hear a raw Divine out of the Pulpit declare againſt School Divinity to his equally ignorant Auditors; It is but as the Fox in the Fable, who having loſt his own taile by a miſchance, would have perſwaded all his fellowes to cut off theirs, and throw them away as unprofitable burthens. But it troubles me to ſee a Scholar, one who hath been long admitted into the innermoſt cloſet of Nature, and ſeen the hidden ſecrets of more ſubtil learning, ſo far to forget himſelf, as to ſtile School-learning no better than a plain *Jargon*, that is a ſenſeleſs gibriſh, or a fuſtian language, like the chattering noyſe of *Sabots*. Suppoſe they did ſometimes too much cut truth into ſhreds, or delight in abſtruſe expreſſions, yet certainly, this diſtinction of liberty into liberty of *contrariety* and liberty of *contradiction*, or which is all one, of *exerciſe onely*, or *exerciſe and ſpecification jointly*, which *T. H.* rejects with ſo much ſcorn, is ſo true, ſo neceſſary, ſo generally received, that there is ſcarce that writer of note, either Divine or Philoſopher, who did ever treat upon this ſubject, but he uſeth it.

Good and evill are contraries, or oppoſite kinds of things, therefore to be able to chooſe both good and evill, is a liberty of contrariety or of ſpecification; To chooſe this, and not to chooſe this, are contradictory, or which is all one, an exerciſe or ſuſpenſion of power; Therefore to be able to do or forbear to do the ſame action, or to chooſe or not chooſe the ſame object, without varying of the kind, is a liberty of contradiction, or of exerciſe onely. Now a man is not onely able to do or forbear to do good onely, or evil onely, but he is able both to do and to forbear to do both good and evil. So he hath not onely a liberty of the action, but alſo a liberty of contrary objects; not onely a liberty of exerciſe, but alſo of ſpecification; not onely a liberty of contradiction, but alſo of contrariety. On the other ſide, God and the good Angels, can do or not do

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this or that good, but they cannot do and not do both good and evil. So they have onely a liberty of exercise or contradiction, but not a liberty of specification or contrariety. It appears then plainly, that the liberty of man is more large in the extension of the object, which is both good and evil, than the liberty of God and the good Angels, whose object is onely good. But withal, the liberty of man comes short in the intension of the power. Man is not so free in respect of good onely, as God, or the good Angels, because (not to speak of God whose liberty is quite of another nature) the understandings of the Angels are clearer, their power and dominion over their actions is greater, they have no sensitive appetites to distract them, no Organs to be disturbed; we see then this distinction is cleared from all darkness.

And where *T. H.* demands how it is possible for the liberty of doing, or not doing this or that good or evil, to consist in God and Angels, without a liberty of doing or not doing good or evil. The answer is obvious and easie, *referendo singula singulis*, rendring every act to its right object respectively. God and good Angels have a power to do or not to do this or that good, bad Angels have a power to do or not do this or that evil, so both jointly considered have power respectively to do good or evil. And yet according to the words of my discourse, God, and good and bad Angels being singly considered, have no power to do good or evil, that is, indifferently, as man hath.

Animadversions upon the *Bishops* Reply Number, IV.

HE *intendeth here to make good the distinctions of* Liberty *of* Exercise, *and* Liberty *of* Contradiction; Liberty *of* Contrariety, *and* Liberty *of* Specification *and* Exercise. *And he begins thus.*

a It is a rule in Art, that words which are homonymous, or of various and ambiguous significations, ought ever in the first place to be distinguished, &c. I.

I know not what Art it is that giveth this rule. I am sure it is not the Art of Reason which men call Logique. For Reason teacheth, and the example of those who onely reason methodically, (which are the Mathematicians) that a man when he will demonstrate the truth of what he is to say, must in the first place determine what he will have to be understood by his words; which determination is called definition; whereby the significations of his words are so clearly set down, that there can creep in no ambiguity. And therefore there will be no need of distinctions; and consequently his rule of Art, is a rash precept of some ignorant man, whom he and others have followed.

The Bishop *tells us that Liberty is sometimes opposed to sin, to oppression, to servitude; which is to tell us that they whom he hath read in this point, are inconstant in the meaning of their own words; and therefore they are little beholding to him. And this diversity of significations he calls distinctions. Do men that by the same word in one place mean one thing, and in another another, and never tell us so, distinguish? I think they rather confound. And yet he sayes, that* these distinctions do vertually imply a description of true Liberty, which cometh neerer the essence of it, than *T. H.* his roving definition; *Which definition of mine was this,* Liberty is when there is no external impediment. *So that in his opinion a man shall sooner understand Liberty by reading these words,* Rom. 6. Being made free from sin, *or these words,* Esay 58. To let the oppressed go free, *or by these words,* Levit. 25. You shall proclaim Liberty throughout the Land, *than by these words of mine,* Liberty is the absence of external impediments to motion. *Also he will face me down that I understand what he meanes by his distinctions of liberty of* Contrariety, *of* Contradiction, *of* Exercise onely, *of* Exercise and Specification jointly. *If he mean I understand his meaning, in one sence it is true; for by them he means to shift off the discredit of being able to say nothing to the Question, as they do, that pretending to know the cause of every thing, give for the cause of why the Loadstone draweth to it Iron, Sympathy, & occult quality; making* they cannot tell, *(turned now into Occult) to stand for the reall cause of that most admirable effect. But that those words*

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signifie distinction I constantly deny. It is not enough for a distinction to be forked, it ought to signifie a distinct conception. There is great difference between luade distinctions and cloven feet.

[b] It is strange to see with what confidence now adayes particular men slight all the Schoolmen, and Philosophers, and Classick Authors of former ages, &c.

This word particular m n is put here in my opinion with little judgement, especially by a man that pretendeth to be learned. Does the Bishop *think that he himself is, or that there is any Universal man? It may be he means a private man. Does he then think there is any man not private, besides him that is indued with Soveraign power? But it is most likely he calls me a particular man, because I have not had the authority he has had to teach what doctrine I think fit. But now, I am no more Particular than he; and may with as good a grace despise the Schoolmen, and some of the old Philosophers, as he can despise me, unless he can shew that it is more likely that he should be better able to look into these Questions sufficiently, which require meditation and reflection upon a mans own thoughts, he that hath been obliged most of his time to preach unto the people, and to that end to read those Authors that can best furnish him with what he has to say, and to study for the rhetorick of his expressions, and of the spare time (which to a good Pastor is very little) hath spent no little part in seeking preferment, and encreasing of riches; than I that have done almost nothing else, nor have had much else to do but to meditate upon this and other natural Questions. It troubles him much that I stile School-learning* Jargon. *I do not call all School-learning so, but such as is so, that is, that wch they say in defending of untruths, and especially in the maintenance of Free-will; when they talk of* liberty of Exercise, Specification, Contrariety, Contradiction, Acts Elicite and Exercite, *and the like; Which though he go over again in this place, endeavouring to explain them, are still both here and there but* Jargon, *or that (if he like it better) which the Scripture in the first* Chaos *calleth* Tohu *and* Bohu.

But because he takes it so hainously, that a private man should so hardly censure School-Divinity; I would be glad to know with what patience he can hear Martin Luther, *and* Phillip Melan-

Melancthon *speaking of the same.* Martin Luther *that was the first beginner of our deliverance from the servitude of the Romish Clergy, had these three Articles censured by the University of* Paris. *The first of which was,* School-Theology is a false interpretation of the Scripture, and Sacraments, which hath banished from us true and sinceere Theology. *The second is,* At what time School-Theology, that is, Mock-Theology came up, at the same time the Theology of Christs Crosse went down. *The third is,* It is now almost 300 years since the Church has endured the licentiousnes of School Doctors in corrupting of the Scriptures. *Moreover the same* Luther *in another place of his works saith thus,* School-Theology is nothing else but ignorance of the truth, and a block to stumble at, laid before the Scriptures. *And of* Tho. Aquinas *in particular he saith, that* it was he that did set up the Kingdome of Aristotle, the destroyer of godly Doctrine. *And of the Philosophy whereof St.* Paul *biddeth us beware, he saith it is School-Theology. And* Melancthon *a Divine once much esteemed in our Church, saith of it thus,* Tis known that that profane Scholastique learning, which they will have to be called Divinity, began at Paris; which being admitted, nothing is left sound in the Church, the Gospel is obscured, Faith extinguished, the Doctrine of works received, and instead of Christs People, we are become not so much as the people of the Law, but the people of Aristotles Ethiques. *These were no raw Divines, such as he saith preacht to their equally ignorant Auditors. I could ad to these the slighting of School-Divinity by* Calvin, *and other learned Protestant Doctors; yet were they all but private men, who it seemes to the* Bishop *had forgot themselves as well as I.*

Thus

J. D.

THus the coast being cleared, the next thing to be done, Numb. 5.
is to draw out our forces against the enemy; And because they are divided into two Squadrons, the one of Christians, the other of Heathen Philosophers, it will be best to dispose ours also into two Bodies, the former drawn from Scripture, the later from Reason.

T. H.

THe next thing he doth after the clearing of the coast, is the dividing of his forces, as he calls them, into two Squadrons, one of places of Scripture, the other of Reasons, which Allegory he useth, I suppose, because he addresseth the discourse to your Lordship, who is a Military Man. All that I have to say, touching this is, that I observe a great part of those his forces, do look and march another way, and some of them do fight among themselves.

J. D.

IF T. H. could divide my forces, and commit them together among themselves, it were his onely way to conquer them. But he will find that those imaginary contradictions, which he thinks he hath espied in my discourse, are but fancies, and my supposed impertinences wil prove his own real mistakings.

IN this fift Number there is nothing of his or mine, pertinent to the Question, therefore nothing necessary to be repeated.

J. D.

Proofs of Liberty out of Scripture.

FIrst, whosoever have power of election have true Liber- Numb. 6.
ty, for the proper act of liberty is election. A Sponta- 1.
neity may consist with determination to one, as we see in Children, Fools, mad Men, bruit Beasts, whose fancies

are

are determined to those things which they act Spontaneously, as the Bees make Honey, the Spiders Webs. But none of these have a liberty of election, which is an act of judgement and understanding, and cannot possibly consist with a determination to one. He that is determined by something before himself or without himself, cannot be said to choose or elect, unless it be as the *Junior* of the Mess chooseth in *Cambridge*, whether he will have the least part or nothing. And scarcely so much.

But men have liberty of election. This is plain, *Numb.* 30.14. If a Wife make a vow its left to her Husbands choice, either to establish it or to make it void. And *Josh.* 24. 15. *Choose you this day whom you will serve*, &c. *But I and my house will serve the Lord.* He makes his own choice, and leaves them to the liberty of their election. And 2 *Sam.* 24, 12. *I offer thee three things, choose thee which of them I shall do.* If one of these three things was necessarily determined, and the other two impossible, how was it left to him to choose what should be done? Therefore we have true liberty.

T. H.

AND the first place of Scripture taken from Numb. 30. 14 *is one of them that look another way; The words are, If a Wife make a vow, it is left to her Husbands choice, either to establish it, or make it void; for it prooves no more but that the Husband is a free or voluntary Agent, but not that his choice therein is not necessitated or not determined to what he shall choose by precedent necessary causes.*

J. D.

Arg. 1. MY first Argument from Scripture is thus formed, Whosoever have a liberty or power of election, are not determined to one by præcedent necessary causes.

But men have liberty of election.

The assumption or *minor* proposition is prooved by three places of Scripture, *Numb.* 30. 14. *Josh.* 24. 15. 2 *Sam.* 24. 12. I need not insist upon these, because *T. H.* acknowledgeth, *that it is clearly prooved that there is election in Man.*

But

But he denieth the *major* Propoſition, becauſe (ſaith he) Man *is neceſſitated or determined to what he ſhall chooſe* by præcedent neceſſary cauſes; I take away this anſwer three wayes.

First, by Reaſon. Election is evermore either of things poſſible, or at leaſt of things conceived to be poſſible, that is, efficacious election, when a man hopeth or thinketh of obteining the object. Whatſoever the will chooſeth, it chooſeth under the notion of good, either honeſt or delightful or profitable, but there can be no reall goodneſs apprehended in that which is known to be impoſſible: It is true, there may be ſome wandring pendulous wiſhes of known impoſſibilities, as a man alſo that hath comitted an offence, may wiſh he had not committed it, but to chooſe efficaciouſly an *impoſſibility*, is as impoſſible as an impoſſibility it ſelf. No man can think to obtein that which he knows impoſſible to be obteined; but he who knows that all things are antecedently determined by neceſſary cauſes, knows that it is impoſſible for any thing to be otherwiſe than it is; Therefore to aſcribe unto him a power of election to chooſe this or that indifferently, is to make the ſame thing to be determined to one, and to be not determined to one, which are contradictories. Again, whoſoever hath an elective power, or a liberty to chooſe, hath alſo a liberty or power to refuſe, *Iſa.* 7. 10. *Before the Child ſhall know to refuſe the evil and chooſe the good.* He who chooſeth this rather than that, refuſeth that rather than this. As *Moſes* chooſing to ſuffer affliction with the people of God, did thereby refuſe the pleaſures of ſin. *Heb.* 11. 24. But no man hath any power to refuſe, that which is neceſſarily prædetermined to be, unleſſe it be as the Fox refuſed the Grapes which were beyond his reach. When one thing of two or three is abſolutely determined, the other are made thereby ſimply impoſſible. 1.

[a] Secondly, I proove it by inſtances, and by that univerſal notion, which the world hath of election; what is the difference between an elective and hereditary Kingdom? but that in an elective Kingdom they have power or liberty 2.

to chooſe this or that Man indifferently: But in an hereditary Kingdome they have no ſuch power nor liberty. Where the Law makes a certain Heir, there is a neceſſitation to one; where the Law doth not name a certain Heir, there is no neceſſitation to one, and there they have power or liberty to chooſe. An hæreditary Prince may be as grateful and acceptable to his ſubjects, and as willingly received by them (according to that liberty which is oppoſed to compulſion or violence) as he who is choſen, yet he is not therefore an elective Prince. In *Germany* all the Nobility and Commons may aſſent to the choice of the Emperour, or be well pleaſed with it when it is concluded, yet none of them elect or chooſe the Emperour, but onely thoſe ſix Princes who have a conſultative, deliberative, and determinative power in his Election. And if their votes or ſuffrages be equally divided, three to three, then the King of *Bohemia* hath the caſting voice. So likewiſe in Corporations or Common-wealths, ſometimes the People, ſometimes the Common Councell, have power to name ſo many perſons for ſuch an office, and the Supreme Magiſtrate, or Senate, or leſſer Councel reſpectively, to chooſe one of thoſe. And all this is done with that caution and ſecrecy, by bilſets or other means, that no man knowes which way any man gave his vote, or with whom to be offended. If it were neceſſarily and inevitably predetermined, that this individual perſon and no other ſhall and muſt be choſen, what needed all this circuit and caution, to do that which is not poſſible to be done otherwiſe, which one may do as well as a thouſand, and for doing of which no rational man can be offended, if the electors were neceſſarily predetermined to elect this man and no other. And though *T. H.* was pleaſed to paſſe by my Univerſity inſtance, yet I may not, untill I ſee what he is able to ſay unto it. The Junior of the Meſs in *Cambridge* divides the meat in four parts, the Senior chooſeth firſt, then the ſecond and third in their order. The Junior is determined to one, and hath no choice left, unleſs it be to chooſe whether he will take that part which the reſt have refuſed, or none at all. It may be this part is

more

more agreable to his mind than any of the others would have been, but for all that he cannot be said to choose it, because he is determined to this one. Even such a liberty of election is that which is established by *T. H.* Or rather much worse in two respects. The Junior hath yet a liberty of contradiction left to choose whether he will take that part or not take any part, but he who is precisely predetermined to the choice of this object, hath no liberty to refuse it. Secondly, the Junior by dividing carefully may preserve to himself an equal share, but he who is wholly determined by extrinsecal causes, is left altogether to the mercy and disposition of another.

Thirdly, I proove it by the texts alleadged, *Numb.* 30. 13. If a Wife make a vow, it is left to her Husbands choice, either to establish it or make it void. But if it be predetermined, that he shall establish it, it is not in his power to make it void. If it be predetermined, that he shall make it void, it is not in his power to establish it. And howsoever it be determined, yet being determined, it is not in his power indifferently, either to establish it, or to make it void at his pleasure. So Joshua 24. 15. *Choose you this day whom ye will serve: But I and my house will serve the Lord.* It is too late to choose that *this day*, which was determined otherwise yesterday, *whom ye will serve, whether the Gods Whom your fathers served, or the Gods of the Amorites.* Where there is an election of this or that, these Gods, or those Gods, there must needs be either an indifferency to both objects, or at least a possibility of either. *I and my house will seve the Lord.* If he were extrinsecally predetermined, he should not say I will serve, but I must serve. And 2 Sam. 24. 12. *I offer thee three things choose thee which of them I shall do.* How doth God offer three things to *Davids* choice, if he had predetermined him to one of the three by a concourse of necessary extrinsecal causes? If a soveraign Prince should descend so far as to offer a delinquent his choice, whether he would be fined, or imprisoned, or banished, and had under hand signed the sentence of his banishment, what were it else but plain drollery, or mockery? 3.

This

This is the argument which in *T. H.* his opinion looks another way. If it do, it is as the *Parthians* used to fight, flying. His reason followes next to be considered.

Animadversions upon the *Bishops* Reply Number, V I.

IN this Number he hath brought three places of Scripture to prove Free-Will. The first is, If a Wife make a vow, it is left to her Husbands choice either to establish it, or to make it void. *And* Choose you this day whom you will serve, &c. But I and my house will serve the Lord. *And* I offer thee three things choose thee which of them I shall do. *Which in the Reply he endeavoureth to make good; but needed not, seeing they prove nothing but that a man is Free to do if he will, which I deny not. He ought to prove he is Free to will, which I deny.*

[a] *Secondly,* I prove it by instances, and by that universal notion which the world hath of Election.

His instances are first the difference between an Hereditary Kingdom, and an Elective; and then the difference between the Senior and Junior of the Mess taking their commons; both which prove the liberty of doing what they will, but not a liberty to will; for in the first case the Electors are Free to name whom they will, but not to Will; and in the second the Senior having an appetite, chooseth what he hath an appetite to, but chooseth not his appetite.

T. H.

Numb. 7. *FOr if there come into the Husbands mind greater good by establishing than abrogating such a vow, the establishing will follow necessarily. And if the evill that will follow thereon in the Husbands opinion outweigh the good, the contrary must needs follow. And yet in this following of ones hopes and feares consisteth the nature of Election. So that a man may both choose this, and cannot but choose this. And consequently choosing and necessity are joyned together.*

J. D.

J. D.

THere is nothing said with more shew of reason in this cause by the patrons of necessity, and adversaries of true liberty than this, That the Will doth perpetually and infallibly follow the last dictate of the understanding, or the last judgement of right reason. And in this, and this onely, I confess *T. H.* hath good seconds. Yet the common and approved opinion is contrary. And justly: For,

1. First, this very act of the understanding is an effect of the will, and a testimony of its power and liberty. It is the will, which affecting some particular good, doth ingage and command the understanding to consult and deliberate what means are convenient for atteining that end. And though the Will it self be blind, yet its object is good in general, which is the end of all human actions. Therefore it belongs to the Will, as to the General of an Army to move the other powers of the soul to their acts, and among the rest the understanding also, by applying it and reducing its power into act. So as whatsoever obligation the understanding doth put upon the Will, is by the consent of the Will, and derived from the power of the Will, which was not necessitated to moove the understanding to consult. So the Will is the Lady and Mistris of human actions, the understanding is her trusty counseller, which gives no advise, but when it is required by the Will. And if the first consultation or deliberation be not sufficient, the Will may moove a review, and require the understanding to inform it self better, and take advise of others, from whence many times the judgment of the understanding doth receive alteration.

2. Secondly, for the manner how the understanding doth determine the Will, it is not naturally but morally. The Will is mooved by the understanding, not as by an efficient, having a causal influence into the effect, but onely by proposing and representing the object. And therefore as

as it were ridiculous to say, that the object of the sight is the cause of seeing, so it is to say, that the proposing of the object by the understanding to the will, is the cause of willing; and therefore the understanding hath no place in that course of causes which according to *T. H.* do necessitate the will.

3. Thirdly, the judgement of the understanding is not alwayes *practicè practicum*, nor of such a nature in it self, as to oblige and determine the will to one. Sometimes the understanding proposeth two or three means equally available to the atteining of one and the same end. Sometimes it dictateth, that this or that particular good is eligible or fit to be chosen, but not that it is necessarily eligible, or that it must be chosen. It may judge this or that to be a fit means, but not the onely means to attain the desired end. In these cases no man can doubt, but that the Will may choose, or not choose, this or that indifferently. Yea, though the understanding shall judge one of these means to be more expedient than another, yet for as much as in the less expedient there is found the reason of good, the Will in respect of that dominion which it hath over it self, may accept that which the understanding judgeth to be less expedient, and refuse that which it judgeth to be more expedient.

4. Foutthly, sometimes the will doth not will the end so efficaciously, but that it may be, and often is deterred from the prosecution of it by the difficulty of the means; and notwithstanding the judgement of the understanding, the will may still suspend its own act.

5. Fiftly, supposing but not granting, that the will did necessarily follow the last dictate of the understanding, yet this proves no antecedent necessity, but coexistent with the act; no extrinsecal necessity, the will and the understanding being but two faculties of the same soul; no absolute necessity, but meerly upon supposition. And therefore the same Authors who maintain that the judgement of the understanding doth necessarily determine the will, do yet much more earnestly oppugne *T. H.* his absolute necessity of

of all occurrences. Suppose the Will shall apply the understanding to deliberate and not require a review. Suppose the dictate of the understanding shall be absolute, not this or that indifferently, nor this rather than that comparatively, but this positively, nor this freely, but this necessarily. And suppose the will do will efficaciously, and do not suspend its own act. Then here is a necessity indeed, but neither absolute, nor extrinsecal, nor antecedent, flowing from a concourse of causes without our selves, but a necessity upon supposition, which we do readily grant. So far *T. H.* is wide from the truth, whilest he maintains, either that the apprehension of a greater good doth necessitate the Will, or that this is an absolute necessity.

[b] Lastly, whereas he saith, that *the nature of election doth consist in following our hopes and fears*, I cannot but observe that there is not one word of Art in this whole treatise, which he useth in the right sence; I hope it doth not proceed out of an affectation of singularity, nor out of a contempt of former Writers, nor out of a desire to take in sunder the whole frame of Learning, and new mould it after his own mind. It were to be wished that at least he would give us a new Dictionary, that we might understand his sence. But because this is but touched here sparingly and upon the by, I will forbear it, until I meet with it again in its proper place. 'And for the present it shall suffise to say, that hopes and fears are common to brute Beasts, but election is a rational act, and is proper only to man, who is *Sanctius his animal mentisq; capacius altæ.*

T. H.

THE *second place of Scripture is* Josh. 24. 15. *The third is* 2 Sam. 24. 12. *whereby tis clearly proved, that there is election in man, but not proved that such election was not necessitated by the hopes, and fears, and considerations of good and bad to follow, which depend not on the Will, nor are subject to election. And therefore one answer serves all such places, if they were a thousand.*

H J. D.

J. D.

THis answer being the very same with the former, word for word, which hath already sufficiently been shaken in pieces, doth require no new reply.

Animadversions upon the *Bishops* Reply Numb. VII.

2 THere is no thing said with more show of reason in this cause by the Patrons of Necessity then this, that the Wil doth perpetually and infallibly follow the last dictate of the understanding, or the last judgement of right reason, &c. Yet the common and approved opinion is contrary, and justly; for first this very act of the understanding is an effect of the Will, &c.

I note here first, that the Bishop *is mistaken in saying that I or any other Patron of Necessity, are of opinion that the Will followes alwayes the last judgement of right Reason. For it followeth as well the judgement of an erroneous as of a true reasoning; and the truth in general is that it followeth the last opinion, of the goodness or evilness of the object, be the opinion true or false.*

Secondly I note, that in making the understanding to be an effect of the Will, he thinketh a man may have a will to that which he not so much as thinks on. And in saying, that it is the Will, which affecting some particular good, doth ingage and command the Understanding to consult, &c.

That he not onely thinketh the Will affecteth a particular good, before the man understands it to be good, but also he thinketh that these words doth command the understanding; *and these*; for it belongs to the Will as to the General of an Army to move the other powers of the soul to their acts, *and a great many more that follow which are not sense; but meer confusion & emptiness: as for example,* The understanding doth determine

the

the will, not Naturally, but Morally; *and* The will is moved by the understanding, *is unintelligible.* Moved not as by an Efficient, *is non-sense. And where he saith, that* it is ridiculous to say, the object of the sight is the cause of seeing, *he showeth so clearly that he understandeth nothing at all of Natural Philosophy, that I am sorry I had the ill fortune to be engaged with him in a dispute of this kind. There is nothing that the simplest Country Man could say so absurdly concerning the understanding, as this of the* Bishop, the judgement of the understanding is not alwaies practicè practicum. *A Country Man will acknowledge there is judgement in Men, but will as soon say the judgement of the judgement, as the judgement of the understanding. And if* practicè practicum *had been sense, he might have made a shift to put it into English. Much more followeth of this stuff.*

[b] Lastly, whereas he saith, *that the nature of Election doth consist in following our hopes and fears,* I cannot but observe that there is not one word of Art in this whole treatise which he useth in the right sense. I hope it doth not proceed out of an affectation of singularity, nor out of a contempt of former Writers, &c.

He might have said, there is not a word of Jargon, *nor* Nonsense; *and that it proceedeth from an affectation of truth, and contempt of metaphysical Writers, and a desire to reduce into frame the Learning which they have confounded and disordered.*

T. H.

Supposing, it seemes, I might answer as I have done, that Necessity and Election might stand together, and instance in the actions of Children, Fooles, and brute Beasts, whose fancies I might say, are necessitated and determined to one: before these his proofs out of Scripture he desires to prevent that instance; and therefore sayes, that the actions of children, fooles, mad-men, and beasts are indeed determined, but that they proceed not from election, nor from free; but from spontaneous Agents. As for example, that the Bee when it maketh honey Numb. 8.

does it ſpontaneouſly; And when the Spider makes his webb, he does it ſpontaneouſly, and not by election. Though I never meant to ground any anſwer upon the experience of what children, fools, mad-men, and beaſts do, yet that your Lordſhip may underſtand what can be meant by ſpontaneous, and how it differs from voluntary, I will anſwer that diſtinction and ſhew, that it fighteth againſt its fellow Arguments. Your Lordſhip therefore is to conſider, that all voluntary actions, where the thing that inducetb the will is not fear, are called alſo ſpontaneous, and ſaid to be done by a mans own accord. As when a man giveth money voluntarily to another for Merchandiſe, or out of affection, he is ſaid to do it of his own accord, which in Latin is Sponte, and therefore the action is ſpontaneous. Though to give ones money willingly to a theef to avoid killing, or throw it into the Sea to avoid drowning, where the motive is fear, be not called ſpontaneous. But every ſpontaneous action is not therefore voluntary, for voluntary preſuppoſes ſome precedent deliberation, that is to ſay, ſome conſideration and meditation of what is likely to follow, both upon the doing and abſtaining from the action deliberated of, whereas many actions are done of our own accord, and be therefore ſpontaneous; of which nevertheleſs, as he thinks, we never conſulted, nor deliberated in our ſelves, as when making no queſtion, nor any the leaſt doubt in the world, but that the thing we are about is good, we eat, or walk, or in anger ſtrike or revile, which he thinks ſponnaneous, but not voluntary nor elective actions. And with ſuch kind of actions he ſayes neceſſitation may ſtand, but not with ſuch as are volnntary, and proceed upon election and deliberation Now if I make it appear to you, that even theſe actions which he ſayes proceed from ſpontaneity, and which he aſcribes onely to fooles, children, mad men, and beaſts, proceed from deliberation and election, and that actions inconſiderate, raſh and ſpontaneous are ordinarily found in thoſe that are by themſelves and many more, thought as wiſe or wiſer than ordinary men are. Then his Argument concludeth, that neceſſity and election may ſtand together, which is contrary to that which he intendeth by all the reſt of his Arguments to proove. And firſt your Lordſhips own experience furniſhes you with proof enough,

nough, that Horses, Doggs, and other brute beasts do demurre oftentimes upon the way they are to take. The Horse retiring from some strange figure he sees, and coming on again to avoid the spur. And what else doth man that deliberateth, but one while proceed toward action, another while retire from it, as the hope of greater good draws him, or the fear of greater evill drives him? A Child may be so young as to do all which it does without all deliberation, but that is but till it chance to be hurt by doing somewhat, or till it be of age to understand the rod; for the actions wherein he hath once a check, shall be deliberated on the second time. Fools and mad Men manifestly deliberate no less than the wisest Men, though they make not so good a choise, the images of things, being by diseases altered. For Bees and Spiders, if he had so little to do as to be a spectator of their actions, he would have confessed not only Election, but also Art, Prudence, and Policy in them, very near equal to that of Mankind. Of Bees Aristotle sayes, their life is civil. He is deceived, if he think any spontaneous action after once being checked in it, differs from an action voluntary and elective, for even the setting of a mans foot in the posture of walking, and the action of ordinary eating, was once deliberated, how and when it should be done; And though it afterward become easie and habitual, so as to be done without fore-thought, yet that does not hinder, but that the act is voluntary, and proceeds from election. So also are the rashest actions of cholerick persons voluntary and upon deliberation; for who is there but very young children that has not considered, when and how far he ought or safely may, strike or revile. Seeing then he agrees with me that such actions are nececessitated, and the fancy of those that do them is determined to the actions they do, it follows out of his own doctrine, that the liberty of election does not take away the necessity of electing this or that individual thing. And thus one of his Arguments fights against another

7. D.

WE have partly seen before how T. H. hath coined a new kind of liberty, a new kind of necessity, a new kind of election, and now in this section a new kind of spon-

ſpontaneity, and a new kind of voluntary actions. Although he ſay, that here is nothing new to him, yet I begin to ſuſpect, that either here are many things new to him, or otherwiſe his election is not the reſult of a ſerious mature deliberation. [a] The firſt thing that I offer, is, how often he miſtakes my meaning in this one ſection; firſt, I make voluntary and ſpontaneous actions to be one and the ſame, he ſaith I diſtinguiſh them, ſo as ſpontaneous actions may be neceſſary, but voluntary actions cannot. Secondly, [b] I diſtinguiſh between free acts and voluntary acts. The former are alwayes deliberate, the later may be indeliberate; all free acts are voluntary, but all voluntary acts are not free. But he ſaith I confound them and make them the ſame. [c] Thirdly, he ſaith I aſcribe ſpontaneity onely to Fools, Children, mad Men and Beaſts, But I acknowledge ſpontaneity hath place in rational men, both as it is comprehended in liberty, and as it is diſtinguiſhed from liberty.

[d] Yet I have no reaſon to be offended at it; for he deals no otherwiſe with me than he doth with himſelf. Here he tels us that *voluntary præſuppoſeth deliberation.* But *Numb.* 25. he tells us contrary, *that whatſoever followeth the laſt appetite is voluntary, and where there is but one appetite, that is the laſt.* And that *no action of a man can be ſaid to be without deliberation, though never ſo ſuddain.* So *Numb.* 33. he tels us, that *by ſpontaneity is meant, inconſiderate proceeding, or elſe nothing is meant by it*, yet here he tels us, that *all voluntary actions which proceed not from fear, are ſpontaneous*, whereof many are deliberate, as that wherein he inſtanceth himſelf, *to give money for Merchandiſe.* Thirdly, when I ſaid that Children before they have the uſe of reaſon, act ſpontaneouſly, as when they ſuck the Breaſt, but do not act freely becauſe they have not judgement to deliberate or elect, Here *T. H.* undertakes to proove, that they do deliberate and elect. And yet preſently after confeſſeth again, that *a Child may be ſo young, as to do what it doth without all deliberation.*

Beſides theſe miſtakes and contradictions he hath other errours

errours also in this section. As this, that no actions proceeding from fear are spontaneous. He who throwes his goods into the Sea, to avoid drowning doth it not onely *spontaneously* but even *freely*. He that wills the end, wils the means conducing to that end. It is true that if the action be considered nakedly without all circumstances, no man willingly or spontaneously casts his goods into the Sea. But if we take the action as in this particular case invested with all the circumstances, and in order to the end, that is, the saving of his own life, it is not onely voluntary and spontaneous, but elective and chosen by him, as the most probable means for his own preservation. As there is an Antecedent and a subsequent will, so there is an Antecedent and a subsequent spontaneity: His Grammatical argument, grounded upon the derivation of spontaneous from *sponte*, weighs nothing; we have learned in the rudiments of Logick that conjugates are sometimes in name onely, and not indeed. He who casts his goods into the Sea, may do it of his own accord in order to the end. Secondly, he erres in this also, that nothing is opposed to spontaneity but onely fear. Invincible and Antecedent ignorance doth destroy the nature of spontaneity or voluntariness, by removing that knowledge which should and would have prohibited the action. As a man thinking to shoot a wild Beast in a Bush, shoots his friend, which if he had known, he would not have shot. This man did not kill his friend of his own accord.

For the clearer understanding of these things, and to know what spontaneity is, let us consult a while with the Schools about the distinct order of voluntary or involuntary actions. Some acts proceed wholly from an extrinsecal cause; as the throwing of a stone upwards, a rape, or the drawing of a Christian by plain force to the Idols Temple, these are called violent acts. Secondly, some proceed from an intrinsecal cause, but without any manner of knowledge of the end, as the falling of a stone downwards, these are called natural acts. Thirdly, some proceed from an internal principle, with an imperfect knowledge of the end, where there is an

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appetite

appetite to the object, but no deliberation nor election, as the acts of Fools, Children, Beasts, and the inconsiderate acts of men of judgement. These are called voluntary or spontaneous acts. Fourthly, some proceed from an intrinsecal cause, with a more perfect knowledge of the end, which are elected upon deliberation, These are called free acts. So then the formal reason of liberty is election. The necessary requisite to election is deliberation. Deliberation implyeth the actual use of reason. But deliberation and election cannot possibly subsist, with an extrinsecal prædetermination to one. How should a man deliberate or choose which way to go, who knows that all wayes are shut against him, and made impossible to him, but onely one? This is the genuine sense of these words *Voluntary* and *Spontaneous* in this Question. Though they were taken twenty other waies vulgarly or metaphorically, as we say *spontaneous ulcers*, where there is no appetite at all, yet it were nothing to this controversie, which is not about Words, but about Things; not what the words Voluntary or Free do or may signifie, but whether all things be extrinsecally prædetermined to one.

These grounds being laid for clearing the true sense of the words, the next thing to be examined is, that contradiction which he hath espied in my discourse, or how this Argument fights against his fellows. If I (saith *T. H.*) make it appear, that the spontaneous actions of Fools, Children, mad Men and Beasts, do proceed from election and deliberation, and that inconsiderate and indeliberate actions are found in the wisest men, then this argument concludes, that necessity and election may stand together, which is contrary to his assertion. If this could be made appear as easily as it is spoken, it would concern himself much, who when he should prove, that rational men are not free from necessity, goes about to prove that brute Beasts do deliberate and elect, that is as much as to say, are free from necessity. But it concerns not me at all, it is neither my assertion, nor my opinion, that necessity and election may not meet together in the same subject, violent, natural, spontaneous, and deliberate

deliberate or elective acts may all meet together in the same subject. Bnt this I say, that necessity and election cannot consist together in the same act. He who is determined to one, is not free to choose out of more then one. To begin with his later supposition, *that wise men may do inconsiderate and indeliberate actions*, I do readily admit it. But where did he learn to infer a general conclusion from particular premises? as thus, because wise men do some indeliberate acts, therefore no act they do is free or elective. Secondly, for his former supposition, *That Fools, Children, mad Men, and Beasts do deliberate and elect*, if he could make it good, it is not I who contradict my self, nor fight against mine own assertion, but it is he who endeavours to prove that which I altogether deny. He may well find a contradiction between him and me, otherwise to what end is this dispute? But he shall not be able to find a difference between me and my self: But the truth is, he is not able to proove any such thing; and that brings me to my sixth Consideration.

That neither Horses, nor Bees, nor Spiders, nor Children, nor Fools, nor Mad-men do deliberate or elect. His first instance is in the Horse, or Dog, but more especially the Horse. He told me, that I divided my argument into squadrons, to apply my self to your Lordship, being a Military man; And I apprehend, that for the same reason he gives his first instance of the Horse, with a submission to your own experience. So far well, but otherwise very disadvantageously to his cause. Men use to say of a dull fellow, that he hath no more brains than a Horse. And the Prophet *David* saith, *Be not like the Horse and Mule which have no understanding*. Psal. 32. 9. How do they deliberate without understanding? And Psal. 49. 20. he saith the same of all brute Beasts. *Man being in honour had no understanding, but became like unto the Beasts that perish*. The Horse *demurres upon his way*, Why not? Outward objects, or inward fancies may produce a stay in his course, though he have no judgement, either to deliberate or elect. *He retires from some strange figure which he sees, and comes on again* 6.

to avoid the spur. So he may; and yet be far enough from deliberation. All this proceeds from the sensitive passion of fear, which is a perturbation arising from the expectation of some imminent evil. But he urgeth, what else doth man that deliberateth? Yes very much. The Horse feareth some outward object, but deliberation is a comparing of several means conducing to the same end. Fear is commonly of one, deliberation of more than one; fear is of those things which are not in our power, deliberation of those things which are in our power; fear ariseth many times out of natural antipathies, but in these disconveniences of nature, deliberation hath no place at all. In a word, fear is an enemy to deliberation, and betrayeth the succours of the Soul. If the Horse did deliberate, he should consult with reason, whether it were more expedient for him to go that way or not; He would represent to himself, all the dangers both of going, and staying, and compare the one with the other, and elect that which is *less evil*; He should consider whether it were not better to endure a *little* hazard, than ungratefully and dishonestly to fail in his duty towards his Master, who did breed him, and doth feed him. This the Horse doth not; Neither is it possible for him to do it. Secondly, for Children, *T. H.* confesseth that they may be so young, that they do not deliberate at all; Afterwards as they attein to the use of reason by degrees, so by degeees they become free Agents. Then they do deliberate, before they do not deliberate. The rod may be a means to make them use their reason, when they have power to exercise it, but the rod cannot produce the power before they have it. Thirdly, for Fools and mad Men; It is not to be understood of such mad Men as have their *lucida intervalla*, who are mad and discreet by fitts; when they have the use of reason, they are no mad Men, but may deliberate as well as others; Nor yet of such Fools as are only comparative Fools, that is, less wise than others. Such may deliberate, though not so clearly, nor so judiciously as others; but of meer mad Men, and meer natural Fools, to say that they, who have not the use of

reason,

reason, do deliberate or use reason, implies a contradiction. But his chiefest confidence is in his Bees and Spiders, *of whose actions, (* he saith *) if I had been a spectator, I would have confessed, not only Election, but also Art, Prudence, Policy, very near equal to that of Mankind, whose life, as* Aristotle *saith, is civill.* Truly I have contemplated their actions many times, and have been much taken with their curious works, yet my thoughts did not reflect so much upon them, as upon their maker, who is *sic magnus in magnis*, that he is not, *minor in parvis*; So great in great things, that he is not less in small things. Yes, I have seen those silliest of creatures, and seeing their rare works, I have seen enough to confute all the bold-faced Atheists of this age, and their hellish blasphemies. I see them, but I praised the marvaillous works of God, and admired that great and first intellect, who hath both adapted their organs, and determined their fancies to these particular works. I was not so simple to ascribe those Rarities to their own invention, which I knew to proceed from a meer instinct of Nature. In all other things they are the dullest of creatures. Naturalists write of Bees, that their fancy is imperfect, not distinct from their common sense, spread over their whole body, and only perceiving things present. When *Aristotle* calls them Political or Sociable Creatures, he did not intend it really that they lived a civil life, but according to an Analogy, because they do such things by instinct, as truly Political Creatures do out of judgement. Nor when I read in St. *Ambrose*, of their *Hexagones* or *Sexangular* celles, did I therefore conclude, that they were *Mathematicians*. Nor when I read in *Crespet*, that they invoke God to their aid, when they go out of their Hives, bending their thighs in form of a crosse, and bowing themselves; did I therefore think, that this was an act of religious piety, or that they were capable of *Theological* vertues, whom I see in all other things in which their fancies are not determined, to be the silliest of creatures, strangers not only to right reason, but to all resemblances of it.

Seventhly, concerning those actions which are done 7.

upon precedent and paſſed deliberations ; They are not only ſpontaneous, but free acts. Habits contracted by uſe and experience do help the Will to act with more facility, and more determinately, as the hand of the Artificer is helped by his tools. And precedent deliberations, if they were ſad and ſerious, and prooved by experience to be profitable, do ſave the labour of ſubſequent conſultations, *fruſtra fit per plura, quod fieri poteſt per pauciora*, yet nevertheleſs the actions which are done by vertue of theſe formerly acquired habits are no leſs free, than if the deliberation were coexiſtent whith this particular action. He that hath gained an habit and skill to play ſuch a leſſon, needs not a new deliberation how to play every time that he playes it over and over ; yet I am far from giving credit to him in this, that walking or eating univerſally conſidered are free actions, or proceed from true liberty, not ſo much becauſe they want a particular deliberation before every individual act, as becauſe they are animal motions, and need no deliberation of reaſon, as we ſee in brute beaſts. And nevertheleſs the ſame actions, as they are conſidered individually, and inveſted with their due circumſtances, may be and often are free actions ſubjected to the liberty of the Agent.

8. Laſtly, whereas *T. H.* compareth the firſt motions or raſh attempts of cholerick perſons with ſuch acquired habits, it is a great miſtake. Thoſe raſh attempts are voluntary actions, and may be facilitated ſometimes by acquired habits ; But yet for as much as actions are often altered and varied by the circumſtances of Time, Place and Perſon, ſo as that act which at one time is morally good, at another time may be morally evil. And for as much as a general precedent deliberation how to do this kind of action is not ſufficient to make this or that particular action good or expedient, which being in it ſelf good, yet particular circumſtances may render inconvenient or unprofitable, to ſome perſons, at ſome times, in ſome places. Therefore a precedent general deliberation how to do any act, as for inſtance, how to write, is not ſufficient to make a particular act,

act, as my writing this individual Reply to be freely done, without a particular and subsequent deliberation. A man learns *French* advisedly, that is a free act: The same man in his choler and passion reviles his friend in *French*, without any deliberation; this is a spontaneous act, but it is not a free act; If he had taken time to advise, he would not have reviled his friend. Yet as it is not free, so neither is it so necessary, as the Bees making honey, whose fancy is not only inclined but determined by nature to that act. So every way he failes. And his conclusion, that the liberty of Election, doth not take away the necessity of electing this or that individual thing, is no consequent from my doctrine, but from his own. Neither do my arguments fight one against another, but his private opinions fight both against me and against an undoubted truth. A free Agent endowed with liberty of election, or with an elective power, may nevertheless be necessitated in some individual acts, but those acts wherein he is necessitated, do not flow from his elective power, neither are those acts which flow from his elective power necessitated.

Animadversions upon the *Bishops* Reply Number, VIII.

[a] THe first thing that I offer is, how often he mistakes my meaning in this one Section. First I make Voluntary and Spontaneous actions to be one and the same; He saith I distinguish them, &c.

It is very possible I may have mistaken him; for neither he nor I understand him. If they be one, why did he without need bring in this strange word Spontaneous? Or rather, why did the School men bring it in, if not meerly to shift off the difficulty of maintainining their tenet of Free-Will?

[b] *Secondly he saith,* I distinguish between Free acts and Voluntary acts; but he saith, I confound them and make them the same.

In his Reply Number 2. he saith, that for the clearing of the

the Question, we are to know the difference between these three, Necessity, Spontaneity, and Liberty; and because I thought he knew that it could not be cleared without understanding what is Will, I had reason to think that Spontaneity was his new word for Will. And presently after some things are Necessary, and not Voluntary or Spontaneous; some things are both Necessary and Voluntary. *These words Voluntary and Spontaneous so put together, would make any man beleeve Spontaneous were put as explicative of Voluntary; for it is no Wonder in the eloquence of the School men. Therefore presently after, these words* Spontaneity consists in a conformity of the Appetite, either intellectual or sensitive, *signifie that Spontaneity is a conformity or likeness of the appetite to the object; which to me soundeth as if he had said, that the Appetite is like the Object; Which is as proper as if he had said the Hunger is like the Meat. If this be the* Bishops *meaning, as it is the meaning of the Words, he is a very fine Philosopher. But hereafter I will venture no more to say his meaning is this or that, especially were he useth terms of Art.*

c *Thirdly he saith,* I ascribe spontaneity onely to Fools, Children, mad Men and Beasts. But I acknowledge *Spontaneity* hath place in rataonal men, &c.

I resolve to have no more to do with Spontaneity. But I desire the Reader to take notice, that the common people, on whose arbitration dependeth the signification of Words in comcon use, among the Latines and Greeks did call all actions and motions whereof they did perceive no cause, Spantaneous, and αὐτόματα: *I say, not those actions which had no causes, for all actions have their causes, but those actions whose causes they did not perceive. So that Spontaneous as a general name comprehended many actions and motions of inanimate creatures; as the falling of heavy things downwards, which they thought spantaneous, and that if they were not hindred, they would discend of their* own accord. *It comprehended also all animal motion, as beginning from the Will or Appetite; because the causes of the Will and Appetite being not perceived, they supposed as the* Bishop *doth that they were the causes*

causes of themselves. So that that which in general is called Spontaneous, being applyed to Men and Beasts in special, is called Voluntary. Yet the Will and Appetite, though the very same thing, use to be distinguished in certain occasions. For in the publique conversation of Men, where they are to judge of one anothers Will, and of the regularity and irregularity of one anothers actions, not every Appetite, but the last is esteemed in the publique judgement for the Will. Nor every action proceeding from Appetite, but that onely to which there had preceded or ought to have preceded some deliberation. And this I say is so, when one man is to judge of anothers Will. For every man in himself, knoweth that what he desireth or hath an appetite to, the same he hath a will to, though his will may be changed before he hath obteined his desire. The Bishop *understanding nothing of this, might if it had pleased him, have called it* Jargon. *But he had rather pick out of it some contradictions of my self. And therefore saith,*

[d] Yet I have no reason to be offended at it (*meaning such contradictions*) for he dealeth no otherwise with me than he doth with himself.

It is a contradiction, he saith, that having said that voluntary presupposeth deliberation, *I say in another place*, that whatsoever followeth the last appetite is voluntary, and where there is but one appetite that is the last. *Not observing that* voluntary *presupposeth* deliberation, *when the judgement whether the action be voluntary or not, is not in the Actor but in the Judge, who regardeth not the will of the Actor where there is nothing to be accused in the action of deliberate malice; yet knoweth that though there be but one appetite, the same is truly Will for the time, and the action (if it follow) a voluntary action.*

This also he saith is a contradiction, that having said, no action of a man can be said to be without deliberation, though never so suddain, *I say afterward that* by spontaneity is meant inconsiderate proceeding.

Again he observes not that the action of a man that is not a child, in publique judgement how rash, inconsiderate, and sud-

dain

dain ſoever it be, is to be taken for deliberation, becauſe it is ſuppoſed, he ought to have conſidered and compared his intended action with the Law; when nevertheleſs that ſuddain and indeliberate action was truly voluntary.

Another contradiction which he finds is this, that having undertaken to proove that Children before they have the uſe of reaſon do deliberate and elect, *I ſay by and by after* a Child may be ſo young as to do what he doth without all deliberation. *I yet ſee no contradiction here; for a Child may be ſo young as that the appetite thereof is its firſt appetite, but afterward and often before it come to have the uſe of reaſon, may elect one thing and refuſe another, and conſider the conſequences of what it is about to do. And why not as well as Beaſts, which never have the uſe of reaſon? for they deliberate as men do. For though men and beaſts do differ in many things very much, yet they differ not in the nature of their deliberation. A man can reckon by words of general ſignification, make propoſitions, and ſyllogiſmes, and compute in numbers, magnitudes, proportions, and other things computable; which being done by the advantage of language, and words of general ſignifications, a beaſt that hath not language cannot do, nor a man that hath language, if he miſplace the words, that are his counters. From hence to the end of this Number, he diſcourſeth again of Spontaneity, and how it is in Children, mad Men and Beaſts; which as I before reſolved I will not meddle with; let the Reader think and judge of it as he pleaſeth.*

7. D.

SEcondly, [a] they who might have done, and may do many things which they leave undone; And they who leave undone many things which they might do, are neither compelled nor neceſſitated to do what they do, but have true liberty. But we might do many things which we do not, and we do many things which we might leave undone, as is plain, 1 King. 3. 11. *Becauſe thou haſt asked this thing, and haſt not asked for thy ſelf long life, neither haſt asked riches for thy*

thy ſelf, nor haſt asked the life of thine enemies, &c. God gave *Solomon* his choice. He might have asked riches, but then he not had asked wiſdom, which he did ask. He did ask wiſdom, but he might have asked riches, which yet he did not ask. And Acts 5. 4. *After it was ſold, was it not in thine own power?* It was in his own power to give it, and it was in his own power to retein it. Yet if he did give it, he could not retein it; And if he did retein it, he could not give it. Therefore we may do, what we do not. And we do not, what we might do. That is, we have true liberty from neceſſity.

T. H.

THE *ſecond Argument from Scripture conſiſteth in Hiſtories of men that did one thing, when if they would they might have done another. The places are two, one is in the* 1 Kings 3. 11. *Where the hiſtory ſayes, God was pleaſed that* Salomon *who might, if he would, have asked riches or revenge, did nevertheleſs ask wiſedom at Gods hands. The other is the words of St.* Peter *to* Ananias, Acts 5. 4. After it was ſold, was it not in thine own power?

To which the anſwer is the ſame, with that I anſwered to the former places. That they proove there is election, but do not diſprove the neceſſity which I maintain of what they ſo elect.

T. D.

WE have had the very ſame anſwer twice before. It ſeemeth that he is well pleaſed with it, or elſe he would not draw it in again ſo ſuddenly by head and ſhoulders, to no purpoſe, if he did not conceive it to be a Panchreſton, a ſalve for all ſores, or *Dictamnum*, ſoveraigne Dittany, to make all his adverſaries weapons to drop out of the wounds of his cauſe, only by chewing it, without any application to the ſore. I will not waſte the time to ſhew any further, how the members of his diſtinction do croſſe one another, and one take away another. To make every election to be of one thing impoſed by neceſſity, and of a-

nother thing which is absolutely impossible, is to make election to be no election at all. But I forbear to press that in present. If I may be bold to use his own phrase; His answer looks quite another way from mine Argument. My second reason was this, They who may do, and might have done many things which they leave undone, and who leave undone many things which they might do, are not necessitated, nor precisely, and antecedently determined to what they do.

But we might do many things which we do not, and we do many things which we might leave undone, as appears evidently by the texts alledged. Therefore we are not antecedently and precisely determined, nor necessitated to do all things which he do. What is here of *Election* in this Argument? To what proposition, to what tearm doth *T. H.* apply his answer? He neither affirmes, nor denieth, nor distinguisheth of any thing contained in my argument. Here I must be bold to call upon him for a more pertinent answer.

Animadversions upon the *Bishops* Reply Numb. IX.

THe Bishop *for the proving of Free-Will had alledged this text,* Because thou hast asked this thing, and hast not asked for thy self long life, &c. *And another Acts* 5. After it was sold was it not in thine own power? *Out of which he inferres, there was no necessity that* Solomon *should ask wisedom rather than long life, nor that* Ananias *should tell a lye concerning the price for which he sold his Land. And my answer that they prove Election, but disprove not the necessity of Election, satisfieth him not; because saith he,*

a They who might have done what they left undone, and left undone what they might have done, are not necessitated.

But how doth he know (understanding power properly taken) that Solomon *had a reall power to ask long life? No doubt* Solomon

lomon *knew nothing to the contrary; but yet it was possible that God might have hindred him. For though God gave* Solomon *his choice, that is, the thing which he should choose, it doth not follow, that he did not also give him the act of Election. And for the other text, where it is said, that the price of the Land was in* Ananias *his power, the word Power signifieth no more than the Word Right, that is, the right to do with his own what he pleased, which is not a reall and natural power, but a civil power made by Covenant. And therefore the former answer is sufficient, for that though such places are clear enough to prove Election, they have no strength at all to take away Necessity.*

J. D.

THirdly, if there be no true liberty, but all things come to pass by inevitable necessity, then what are all those interrogations, & objurgations, and reprehensions, & expostulations which we find so frequently in holy Scriptures, (be it spoken with all due respect) but fained and hypocritical exaggerations? *Hast thou eaten of the tree whereof I commanded that thou shouldest not eat?* Gen. 3. 11. And ver. 13. he saith to Eve, *Why hast thou done this?* And to Cain, *Why art thou wroth, and why is thy countenance cast down? And why will ye dye, O house of Israel?* Doth God command openly not to eat, and yet secretly by himself or by the second causes necessitate him to eat? Doth he reprehend him for doing that, which he hath antecedeutly determined that he must do? Doth he propose things under impossible conditions? Or were not this plain mockery and derision? Doth a loving Master chide his Servant because he doth not come at his call, and yet knowes that the poor Servant is chained and fettered, so as he cannot move, by the Masters own order, without the Servants default or consent? They who talk here of a towfold will of God, *secret* and *revealed*, and the one opposite to the other, understand not what they say. These two Wills concerne several persons. The secret Will of God is what he will do himself; The revealed Will of

Numb. 10. *Arg.* 3.

God is what he would have us to do; It may be the secret Will of God to take away the life of the Father, yet it is Gods revealed Will that his Son should wish his life, and pray for his life. Here is no contradiction where the Agents are distinct. But for the same person to command one thing, and yet to necessitate him that is commanded to do another thing; To chide a man for doing that, which he hath determined inevitably and irresistibly that he must do; This were (I am afraid to utter what they are not afraid to assert) the highest dissimulation. Gods chiding prooves mans liberty.

T. H.

TO the third and fifth Arguments, I shall make but one answer.

J. D.

[a] CErtainly distinct Arguments, as the third and fifth are, the one drawn from the truth of God, the other from the justice of God, the one from his objurgations and reprehensions, the other from his judgements after life, did require distinct answers. But the plain truth is, that neither here, nor in his answer to the fifth Argument, nor in this whole Treatise, is there one word of solution or satisfaction to this Argument, or to any part of it. All that looks like an answer is contained, Numb. 12. *That which he does is made just by his doing, Just I say, in him, not alwaies just in us by the example; for a man that shall command a thing openly, and plot secretly the hinderance of the same, if he punish him whom he commanded so, for not doing it, is unjust*: [b] I dare not insist upon it, I hope his meaning is not so bad as the words intimate, and as I apprehend, That is to impute falshood to him that is Truth it self, and to justifie feining and dissimulation in God, as he doth tyranny, by the infiniteness of his power, and the absoluteness of his dominion. And therefore by his leave, I must once again tender him a new summons for a full and clear answer to this

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Argument also. He tels us, that he was not suppriſed. Whether he were or not, is more than I know. But this I ſee plainly, that either he is not provided, or that his cauſe admits no choice of anſwers. The Jews dealt ingenouſly when they met with a difficult knot, which they could not untie, to put it upon *Elias*. Elias *will anſwer it when he comes.*

Animadverſions upon the *Biſhops* Reply Numb. X.

THE Biſhop *argued thus*, Thirdly, if there be no true liberty, but all things come to paſs by inevitable neceſſity, then what are as thoſe interrogations we find ſo frequently in holy Scriptures, (be it ſpoken with all due reſpect) but faigned and hypocritical exaggerations? *Here putting together two repugnant ſuppoſitions either craftily or (be it ſpoken with all due reſpect) ignorantly, he would have men beleeve that I becauſe I hold Neceſſity, I deny Liberty. I hold as much that there is true Liberty, as he doth, and more, for I hold it as from Neceſſity; and that there muſt of Neceſſity be Liberty, but he holds it not from Neceſſity, and ſo makes it poſſible there may be none. His expoſtulations were, Firſt,* Haſt thou eaten of the tree whereof I commanded thee that thou ſhouldeſt not eat? *Seeondly,* Why haſt thou done this? *Thirdly,* Why art thou wroth, and why is thy countenance caſt down? *Fourthly,* Why will ye dye O houſe of Iſrael? *Theſe Arguments requiring the ſame anſwer which ſome other do, I thought fit to remit them to their fellowes. But the* Biſhop *will not allow me that. For he ſaith,*

a Certainly *ſaith he* diſtinct Arguments, as the third and fifth are, &c. did require diſtinct Anſwers.

I am therefore to give an account of the meaning of the aforeſaid objurgations and expoſtulations; Not of the end for which God ſaid Haſt thou eaten of the tree &c. *but how thoſe words may be taken without repugnance to the doctrine of Neceſſity. Theſe words* Haſt thou eaten of the tree whereof I commanded that thou ſhouldeſt not eat, *Convince* Adam *that notwith-*

withstanding God had placed in the Garden a means to keep him perpetually from dying in case he should accommodate his Will to obedience of Gods commandement concerning the tree of knowledg of good and evil, yet Adam was not so much master of his own Will as to do it. Whereby is signified that a mortal man though invited by the promise of immortality cannot govern his own Will, though his Will govern his Actions, which dependance of the Actions on the Will, is that which properly and truly is called Liberty. And the like may be said of the words to Eve, why hast thou done this? and of those to Cain, why art thou wroth? &c. and to Israel, why will ye dye O house of Israel? but the Bishop here will say dye, signifieth not dye, but live eternally in torments. For by such interpretations any man may answer any thing, and whereas he asketh, Doth God reprehend him for doing that which he hath antecedently determined him that he must do? I answer, no; but he convinceth and instructeth him, that though immortality was so easie to obtain, as it might be had for the abstinence from the fruit of one onely tree; yet he could not obtain it but by pardon, and by the sacrafice of Jesus Christ; nor is there here any punishment, but onely a reducing of Adam and Eve to their original mortality, where death was no punishmeut but a gift of God. In which mortality he lived neer a thousand years, and had a numerous issue, and lived without misery, and I beleeve shall at the Resurrection obtain the immortality which then he lost. Nor in all this, is there any plotting secretly, or any mockery or derision, which the Bishop would make men beleeve there is And whereas he saith, that they who talk here of a twofold Will of God, secret and revealed, and the one opposite to the other, understand not what they say. The Protestant Doctors both of our, and other Churches, did use to distinguish between the secret and revealed Will of God; the former they called voluntas bene placiti, which signifieth absolutly his Will, the other voluntas signi, that is, the signification of his Will, in the same sense that I call the one his Will, the other his Commandement, which may sometimes differ. For Gods Commandemeut to Abraham was, that he should sacrafice Isaack, but his Will was, that he should not do it. Gods denunciation

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to Ninive *was, that it should be destroyed within forty daies, but his* Will *was that it should not.*

b I dare not insist upon it, I hope his meaning is not so bad, as the words intimate, and as I apprehend; That is to impute falshood to him that is Truth it self, &c.

What damned Rhetorique and subtile Calumny is this? God (I said) might command a thing openly, and yet hinder the doing of it, without injustice; but if a man should command a thing to be done, and then plot secretly the hinderance of the same, and punish for the not doing of it, it were injustice. This is it which the Bishop *apprehends as an imputation of falshood to God Almighty. And perhaps if the death of a sinner were, as he thinks, an eternal life in extream misery, a man might as far as* Job *hath done, expostulate with God Almighty, not accusing him of injustice, because whatsoever he doth is therefore just because done by him; but of little tenderness and love to mankind, and this expostulation will be equally just or injust, whether the necessity of all things be granted or denyed; for it is manifest that God could have made man impeccable, and can now preserve him from sin, or forgive him if he please; and therefore, if he please not, the expostulation is as reasonable in the cases of* Liberty *as of* Necessity.

J. D.

FOurthly, if either the decree of God, or the foreknowledge of God or the influence of the Starrs, or the concatenation of causes, or the physical, or moral efficacy of objects, or the last dictate of the understanding, do take away true liberty, then *Adam* before his fall had no true liberty. For he was subjected to the same decrees, the same prescience, the same constellations, the same causes, the same objects, the same dictates of the understanding. But, *quicquid ostendes mihi sic, incredulous odi*; The greatest opposers of our liberty, are as earnest maintainers of the liberty of *Adam*. Therefore none of these supposed impediments take away true liberty. Numb. 11. *Arg.* 4.

T. H.

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NIEDERSÄCHSISCHE LANDESBIBLIOTHEK
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PUBLIC DOMAIN

T. H.

THe fourth Argument is to this effect; If the decree of God, or his foreknowledge, or the influence of the Stars, or the concatenation of causes, or the physical or morall efficacy of causes, or the last dictate of the understanding, or whatsoever it be, do take away true liberty, then Adam before his fall had no true liberty, Quicquid ostendes mihi sic incredulous odi. That which I say necessitateth and determineth every action, (that he may no longer doubt of my meaning) is the sum of all those things, which being now existent, conduce and concurre to the production of that action hereafter, whereof if any one thing now were wanting, the effect could not be produced. This concourse of causes, whereof every one is determined to be such as it is by a like concourse of former causes, may well be called (in respect they were all set and ordered by the eternal cause of all things God Almighty) the decree of God.

But that the fore-knowledge of God, shouldbe a cause of any thing, cannot be truly said, seeing fore-knowledge is knowledge, and knowledge dependeth on the existence of the things known, and not they on it.

The influence of the Stars is but a small part of the whole cause, consisting of the concourse of all Agents.

Nor doth the concourse of all causes make one simple chain, or concatenation, but an innumerable number of chains joyned together, not in all parts, but in the first link God Almighty; and consequently the whole cause of an event, does not alwayes depend upon one single chain, but on many together

Natural efficacy of objects does determine voluntary Agents, and necessitates the Will, and consequently the Action; but for moral efficacy, I understand not what he means by it. The last dictate of the judgement concerning the good or bad that may follow on any action, is not properly the whole cause, but the last part of it. And yet may be said to produce the effect necessarily, in such manner as the last feather may be said to break an Horses back, when there were so many laid on before, as there wanted but that to do it.

Now

Now for his Argument, That if the concourse of all the causes necessitate the effect, that then it follows, Adam *had no true liberty. I deny the consequence, for I make not only the effect, but also the election of that particular effect to be necessary, in as much as the Will it self, and each propension of a man during his deliberation is as much necessitated, and depends on a sufficient cause, as any thing else whatsoever. As for example, it is no more necessary that fire should burn, then that a man, or other creature, whose limbs be moved by fancy, should have election, that is, liberty to do what he has a fancy to, though it be not in his will or power to choose his fancy, or choose his election or will.*

This Doctrine, because he saies he hates, I doubt had better been suppressed, as it should have been, if both your Lordship, and he had not pressed me to an answer.

§. D.

[a] THis Argument was sent forth onely as an espie to make a more full discovery, what were the true grounds of *T. H.* his supposed Necessity; which errand being done, and the foundation whereupon he bnilds being found out, which is as I called it a concatenation of causes, and as he calls it a concourse of necessary causes; It would now be a superfluous, and impertineut work in me to undertake the refutation of all those other opinions, which he doth not undertake to defend. And therefore I shall wave them at the present, with these short animadversions.

[b] Concerning the eternal decree of God, he confounds the decree it self with the execution of his decree. And concerning the fore-knowledge of God, he confounds that speculative knowledge, which is called *the knowledge of vision*, which doth not produce the intellective objects, no more then the sensitive vision doth produce the sensible objects, with that other knowledge of God, which is called the *knowledge of approbation*, or *a practical knowledge*, that is, knowledge joyned with an act of the Will, of which Divines do truly say, that it is the cause of things, as the

knowledge of the Artiſt is the cauſe of his work. God made all things by his word, *John.* 1. that is by his wiſdom. Concerning the influence of the Stars, I wiſh he had expreſſed himſelf more clearly; For as I do willingly grant, that thoſe Heavenly Bodies do act upon theſe ſublunary things, not onely by their motion and light, but alſo by an occult vertue, which we call influence, as we ſee by manifold experience in the Loadſtone, and Shell-fiſh, *&c.* So if he intend, that by theſe influences they do naturally or phyſically determine the Will, or have any direct dominion over humane Counſels, either in whole or in part, either more or leſs, he is in an errour. Concerning the concatenation of cauſes, where as he makes not one chain, but an innumerable number of chains, (*I* hope he ſpeaks hyperbolically, and doth not intend that they are actually infinite,) the difference is not material whether one or many, ſo long as they are all joyned together, both in the firſt link, and likewiſe in the effect. It ſerves to no end, but to ſhew what a ſhaddow of liberty *T. H.* doth fancy, or rather what a dream of a ſhaddow. As if one chain were not ſufficient to load poor man, but he muſt be clogged with iunumerable chains. This is juſt ſuch another freedom as the Turkiſh Galli-ſlaves do enjoy. But I admire that *T. H.* who is ſo verſed in this Queſtion, ſhould here confeſs, that he underſtands not the difference between phyſical, or natural, and moral efficacy. And much more that he ſhould affirm, that outward objects do determine voluntary agents by a natural efficacy. No object, no ſecond Agent, Angel or Devill, can determine the Will of man naturally, but God alone, in reſpect of his ſupreme dominion over all things. Then the Will is determined naturally, when God Almighty, beſides his general influence, whereupon all ſecond cauſes do depend, as well for their being as for their acting, doth moreover at ſome times, when it pleaſes him in caſes extraordinary, concurre by a ſpecial influence, and infuſe ſomething into the Will, in the nature of an act, or an habit, whereby the Will is moved, and excited, and applyed to will or chooſe this or that. Then

the

the Will is determined morally, when some object is propo-sed to it with perswasive reasons and arguments to induce it to will. Where the determination is natural, the liberty to suspend its act is taken away from the will, but not so where the determination is moral. In the former case, the Will is determined extrinsecally, in the later case intrinse-cally; The former produceth an absolute necessity, the la-ter onely a necessity of supposition. If the Will do not sus-pend, but assent, then the act is necessary; but because the Will may suspend and not assent, therefore it is not abso-lutely necessary. In the former case the Will is moved ne-cessarily and determinately; In the later freely and indeter-minately. The former excitation is immediate, the later is *mediaté mediante intellectu*, and requires the help of the understanding. In a word, so great a difference there is between natural and moral efficacy, as there is between his opinion and mine in this Question.

There remains onely the last dictate of the understanding, which he maketh to be the last cause that concurreth to the determination of the Will, and to the necessary production of the act, *as the last feather may be said to break an Horses back, when there were so many laid on before, that there want-ed but that to do it.* I have shewed *Numb.* 7. that the last dictate of the understanding, is not alwaies absolute in it self, nor conclusive to the Will, and when it is conclusive, yet it produceth no antecedent nor extrinsecal Necessity; I shall only ad one thing more in present, That by making the last judgement of right reason to be of no more weight then a single feather, he wrongs the understanding as well as he doth the Will; and endeavonrs to deprive the Will of its supreme power of application, and to deprive the under-standing of its supreme power of judicature and definition. Neither corporeal agents and objects, nor yet the sensitive appetite it self, being an inferiour faculty, and affixed to the Organ of the Body, have any direct or immediate dominion or command over the rational Will. It is without the sphear of their activity. All the access which they have unto the Will, is by the means of the understanding, sometimes

cleare, and sometimes disturbed, and of reason either right or mis-informed. Without the help of the understanding, all his second causes were not able of themselves to load the Horses back with so much weight as the least of all his feathers doth amount unto. But we shall meet with his Horse load of feathers again *Numb.* 23.

These things being thus briefly touched, he proceeds to his answer. My argument was this, If any of these or all these causes formerly recited, do take away true liberty, (that is, still intended from necessity) then *Adam* before his fall had no true liberty.

But *Adam* before his fall had true liberty.

He mis-recites the argument, and denies the consequence, which is so clearly proved, that no man living can doubt of it. Because *Adam* was subjected to all the same causes as well as we, the same decree, the same prescience, the same influences, the same concourse of causes, the same efficacy of objects, the same dictates of reason But it is onely a mistake, for it appears plainly by his following discourse, that he intended to deny, not the consequence, but the assumption; For he makes *Adam* to have had no liberty from necessity before his fall, yea he proceeds so far, as to affirm, that all humane wills, his and ours, and each propension of our wills, even during our deliberation, are as much necessitated as any thing else whatsoever; that we have no more power to forbear those actions which we do, than the fire hath power not to burn. Though I honour T. *H.* for his person, and for his learning, yet I must confess ingeniously, I hate this Doctrine from my heart. And I believe both I have reason so to do, and al others who shall seriously ponder the horrid consequences which flow from it. It destroyes liberty, & dishonours the nature of Man. It makes the second causes & outward objects to be the Rackets, and Men to be but the Tennis-Balls of destiny. It makes the first cause, that is, God Almighty, to be the introducer of all evil, and sin into the world, as much as Man, yea more than Man, by as much as the motion of the Watch is more from the Artificer, who did make it and wind it up, than either from the spring, or

or the wheels, or the thred, if God by his ſpecial influence into the ſecond cauſes, did neceſſitate them to operate as they did. And if they being thus determined, did neceſſitate *Adam* inevitably, irreſiſtably, not by an accidental, but by an eſſential ſubordination of cauſes to whatſoever he did, Then one of theſe two abſurdities muſt needs follow, either that *Adam* did not ſin, and that there is no ſuch thing as ſin in the world, becauſe it proceeds naturally, neceſſarily, and eſſentially from God Or that God is more guilty of it, and more the cauſe of evil than Man, becauſe Man is extrinſecally, inevitably determined, but ſo is not God. And in cauſes eſſentially ſubordinate, the cauſe of the cauſe is alwaies the cauſe of the effect. What Tyrant did ever impoſe Lawes that were impoſſible for thoſe to keep, upon whom they were impoſed, and puniſh them for breaking thoſe Laws, which he himſelf had neceſſitated them to break, which it was no more in their power not to break, than it is in the power of the fire not to burn? Excuſe me if I hate this Doctrine with a perfect hatred, which is ſo diſhonourable both to God and Man, which makes Men to blaſpheme of neceſſity, to ſteal of neceſſity, to be hanged of neceſſity, and to be damned of neceſſity. And therefore I muſt ſay and ſay again; *Quicquid oſtendes mihi ſic incredulous odi.* It were better to be an Atheiſt, to believe no God; or to be a Manichee, to believe two Gods, a God of good, and a God of evil; or with the Heathens, to believe thirty thouſand Gods, than thus to charge the true God to be the proper cauſe and the true Author of all the ſins and evills which are in the world.

Animadverſions upon the *Biſhops* Reply Number, XI.

THis Argument was ſent forth only as an eſpie, to make a more full diſcovery, what were the true grounds of *T.H.* his ſuppoſed Neceſſity.

The Argument which he ſendeth forth as an Eſpie, is this,

If

If either the decree of God, or the Fore-knowledge of God, or the Influence of the Stars, or the Concatenation (*which he ſaies falſly I call a Concourſe*) of cauſes, or the Phyſical or Moral Efficacy of objects, or the laſt Dictate of the Underſtanding, do take away true liberty, then *Adam* before his fall had no true liberty. *In anſwer whereunto I ſaid, that all the things now exiſtent, were neceſſary to the production of the effect to come ; that the* Fore-knowledge *of God cauſeth nothing though the* Will *do ; that the influence of the Stars is but a ſmall part of that cauſe which maketh the Neceſſity ; and that this conſequence* If the concourſe of all the cauſes neceſſitate the effect, then *Adam* had no true liberty, *was falſe. But in his words, if theſe do take away true liberty, then* Adam *before his fall had no true liberty, the conſequence is good ; but then I deny that Neceſſity takes away Liberty ; the reaſon whereof which is this,* Liberty is to chooſe what we will, not to chooſe our Will, *no incuication is ſufficient to make the* Biſhop *take notice of, notwithſtanding he be otherwhere ſo witty, and here ſo crafty, as to ſend out Arguments for ſpies. The cauſe why I denied the conſequence was, that I thought the force thereof conſiſted in this, that Neceſſity in the* Biſhops *opinion deſtroyed Liberty.*

[b] Concerning the eternal Decree of God, &c.

Here begins his Reply. From which if we take theſe words, knowledge of Approbation. Practical knowledge, Heavenly Bodies act upon ſublunary things, not onely by their motion, but alſo by an occult vertue, which we call influence. Moral efficacy. General influence. Special influence. Infuſe ſomething into the Will. The Will is moved. The Will is induced to will. The Will ſuſpends its own act; *Which are all Non-ſenſe, unworthy of a Man, nay and if a Beaſt could ſpeak, unworhthy of a Beaſt, and can befal no creature whoſe nature is not depraved by Doctrine, nothing at all remaineth to be anſwered. Perhaps the word* Occult vertue *is not to be taxed as unintelligible, But then I may tax therein the want of ingenuity in him that had rather ſay, that heavenly Bodies do* work by an occult vertue, *then that they* work he knoweth not how; *which he would not confeſs, but endeavours to make* Occult *be taken for a* Cauſe. *The reſt of this*

Reply

GOTTFRIED WILHELM LEIBNIZ BIBLIOTHEK
NIEDERSÄCHSISCHE LANDESBIBLIOTHEK
Signatur: Leibn. Marg. 163, [98] - 86
PUBLIC DOMAIN

Reply is one of those consequences, which I have answered in the beginning, where I compare the inconveniences of both opinions, that is, That either *Adam* did not sin, or his sin proceeded necessarily from God; *which is no stronger a consequence than if out of this,* That a man is lame necessarily, *one should inferre, That* either he is not lame, *or that* his lameness proceeded necessarily from the Will of God. *To the end of this Number there is nothing more of argument. The place is filled up with wondering and railing.*

J. D.

FIftly, If there be no Liberty, there shall be no day of Doom, no last Judgement, no rewards nor punishments after death. A man can never make himself a criminal, if he be not left at liberty to commit a crime. No man can be justly punished for doing that, which was not in his power to shun. To take away Liberty, hazards Heaven, but undoubtedly it leaves no Hell, Numb. 12. *Arg.* 5.

T. H.

THE Arguments of greatest consequence are the third and fift, and fall both into one. Namely, If there be a necessity of all events, that it will follow, that praise and reprehension, reward and punishment, are all vain and unjust. And that if God should openly forbid, and secretly necessitate the same action, punishing men for what they could not avoid, there would be no belief among them of Heaven or Hell.

To oppose hereunto, I must borrow an answer from St. Paul, Rom. 9. ver. 11. *from the* 11. *verse of the Chapter to the* 18. *is laid down the very same objection in these words. When they (meaning* Esau *and* Jacob*) were yet unborn, and had done neither good nor evil, That the purpose of God according to election, not by works, but by him that calleth, might remain firm, it was said to her (*viz. *to* Rebeckah*) that the elder shall serve the younger. And what then shall we say,*

is

is there injustice with God? God forbid. It is not therefore in him that willeth, nor in him that runneth, but in God that sheweth mercy. For the Scripture saith to Pharaoh, *I have stirred thee up, that I may shew my power in thee, and that my Name may be set forth in all the earth, Therefore whom God willeth, he hath mercy on, and whom he willeth he hardeneth. Thus you see the case put by* St. Paul, *is the same with that of* J. D. *and the same objection in these words following, Thou wilt ask me then, why will God yet complain, for who hath resisted his will? To this therefore the Apostle answers, not by denying it was Gods will, or that the decree of God concerning* Esau *was not before he had sinned, or that* Esau *was not necessitated to do what he did, but thus, Who art thou, O Man, that interrogatest God? shall the Work say to the workman, why hast thou made me thus? Hath not the Potter power over the Clay, of the same stuff, to make one vessel to honour, another to dishonour? According therefore to this answer of* St. Paul, *I answer* J. D's *objection, and say, The power of God alone, without other help, is sufficient Justification of any action he doth. That which men make among themselves here by Pacts and Covenants, and call by the name of Justice, and according whereunto men are counted and tearmed rightly just and unjust, is not that by which God Almighties actions are to be measured or called just, no more than his counsails are to be measured by human wisedom That which he does is made just by his doing; Just I say in him, not alwaies just in us by the Example; for a man that shall command a thing openly, and plot secretly the hinderance of the same, if he punish him he so commanded for not doing it, is unjust. So also his Counsails, they be therefore not in vain, because they be his, whether we see the use of them or not. When God afflicted* Job, *he did object no sin to him, but justified that afflicting him by telling him of his power. Hast thou (sayes God) an arm like mine? Where wast thou when I laid the foundations of the earth? and the like. So our Saviour concerning the man that was born blind, said it was not for his sin, nor his parents sin, but that the power of God might be shewn in him. Beasts are subject to death and torment, yet they*

cannot

GOTTFRIED WILHELM LEIBNIZ BIBLIOTHEK
NIEDERSÄCHSISCHE LANDESBIBLIOTHEK
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cannot sin. It was Gods will it should be so. Power irresistible justifieth all actions really and properly in whomsoever it be found. Less power does not. And because such power is in God only, he must needs be just in all his actions. And we, that not comprehending his Counsails, call him to the Bar, commit injustice in it.

I am not ignorant of the usual reply to this answer by distinguishing between Will and Permission. As, that God Almighty does indeed permit sin sometimes, And that he also foreknoweth that the sin he permitteth shall be committed, but does not will it, nor necessitate it. I know also they distinguish the action from the sin of the action, saying, God Almighty does indeed cause the action, whatsoever action it be, but not the sinfulness or irregularity of it, that is, the discordance between the Action and the Law. Such distinctions as these dazel my understanding. I find no difference between the will to have a thing done, and the permission to do it, when he that permitteth it can hinder it, and knowes it will be done unless he hinder it. Nor find I any difference between an action that is against the Law, and the sin of that action. As for example, between the killing of Uriah, and the sin of David in killing Uriah. Nor when one is cause both of the action and of the Law, how another can be cause of the disagreement between them, no more than how one man making a longer and shorter garment, another can make the inequality that is between them. This I know, God cannot sin, because his doing a thing makes it just, and consequently no sin. And because whatsoever can sin, is subject to anothers Law, which God is not. And therefore tis blasphemy to say, God can sin. But to say, that God can so order the world as a sin may be necessarily caused thereby in a man, I do not see how it is any dishonour to him. Howsoever, if such or other distinctions can make it clear that St. Paul did not think Esaus or Pharaohs actions proceeded from the will and purpose of God, or that proceeding from his will could not therefore without injustice be blamed or punished, I will as soon as I understand them turn unto J. D's opinion. For I now hold nothing in all this Question between us, but what seemeth to me not obscurely, but

most

moſt expreſly ſaid in this place by Saint Paul. *And thus much in anſwer to his places of Scripture.*

J. D.

T. *H.* thinks to kill two birds with one ſtone, and ſatisfie two Arguments with one anſwer, whereas in truth he ſatisfieth neither. Firſt, for my third reaſon. [a] Though all he ſay here, were as true as an Oracle. Though puniſhment were an act of dominion, not of Juſtice in God; yet this is no ſufficient cauſe why God ſhould deny his own act, or why he ſhould chide or expoſtulate with men, why they did that which he himſelf did neceſſitate them to do; and whereof he was the actor more than they, they being but as the ſtone, but he the hand that threw it. Notwithſtanding any thing which is pleaded here, this Stoical opinion doth ſtick hypocriſie and diſſimulation cloſe to God, who is Truth it ſelf.

And to my fift Argument, which he changeth and relateth amiſs, as by comparing mine with his, may appear, His chiefeſt anſwer is to oppoſe a difficult place of *St. Paul*, *Rom.* 9. 11. Hath he never heard, that to propoſe a doubt is not to anſwer an Argument, *Nec bene reſpondet qui litem lite reſolvit.* But I will not pay him in his own coin. Wherefore to this place alledged by him, I anſwer, The caſe is not the ſame. The Queſtion moved there, is, how God did keep his promiſe made to Abraham *to be the God of him and of his ſeed*, if the Jews who were the legimate progeny of *Abraham* were deſerted. To which the Apoſtle anſwers ver. 6, 7, 8. That that promiſe was not made to the carnal ſeed of *Abraham*, that is, the Jewes, but to his ſpiritual Sons which were the Heirs of his Faith, that is to the beleeving Chriſtians; which anſwer he explicateth, firſt by the Allegory of *Iſaack* and *Iſhmael*, and after in the place cited of *Eſau* and of *Jacob*. Yet neither doth he ſpeak there ſo much of their perſons as of their poſterities. And though ſome words may be accommodated to Gods predeſtination, which are there uttered, yet it is not the ſcope of

that

that text, to treat of the reprobation of any man to Hell fire. All the posterity of *Esau* were not eternally reprobated, as holy *Job* and many others. But this Question which is now agitated between us, is quite of another nature, how a man can be a criminal who doth nothing but that which he is extrinsecally necessitated to do, or how God in Justice can punish a man with eternal torments for doing that, which it was never in his power to leave undone. That he who did imprint the motion in the heart of man, should punish man, who did only receive the impression from him. So his answer *looks another way.*

But because he grounds so much upon this text, that if it can be cleared he is ready to change his opinion, I will examine all those passages which may seem to favour his cause. First, these words ver. 11. *being not yet borne, neither having done any good or evil*, upon which the whole weight of his argument doth depend, have no reference at all to those words ver. 13. Jacob *have I loved, and* Esau *have I hated*, for those words were first uttered by the Prophet *Malachy*, many ages after *Jacob* and *Esau* were dead, *Mal.* 1. 2. and intended of the posterity of *Esau*, who were not redeemed from captivity, as the *Israelites* were. But they are referred to those other words, ver. 12. *The elder shall serve the younger*, which indeed were spoken before *Jacob* or *Esau* were Born, *Gen.* 5. 23. And though those words of *Malachy* had been used of *Jacob* and *Esau* before they were Born, yet it had advantaged his cause nothing, for hatred in that text doth not signifie any reprobation to the flames of Hell, much less the execution of that decree, or the actual imposition of punishment, nor any act contrary to love. God saw all that he had made, and it was very good. Goodness it self cannot hate that which is good. But hatred there signifies Comparative hatred, or a less degree of love, or at the most a negation of love. As *Gen.* 29. 31. *When the Lord saw that* Leah *was hated*, we may not conclude thence that *Jacob* hated his Wife, The precedent verse doth fully expound the sense, ver. 30. Jacob *loved* Rachel *more than* Leah. So *Mat.* 6. 24. No man can

ſerve two Maſters, for either he will hate the one and love the other. So *Luke* 14. 26. If any man hate not his Father and Mother, &c. he cannot be my Diſciple. St. *Matthew* tells us the ſenſe of it, *Mat.* 10. 37. *He that loveth Father or Mother more than me, is not worthy of me.*

Secondly, thoſe words ver. 15. *I will have mercy on whom I will have mercy*, do prove no more but this, that the preferring of *Jacob* before *Eſau*, and of the Chriſtians before the Jewes, was not a debt from God, either to the one or to the other, but a work of mercy. And what of this? All men confeſs that Gods mercies do exceed mans deſerts, but Gods puniſhments do never exceed mans miſdeeds. As we ſee in the Parable of the Labourers, *Matth.* 20. *Friend I do the no wrong, did not I agree with thee for a penny, Is it not lawful for me to do with mine own as I will? Is thy eye evil becauſe I am good?* Acts of mercy are free, but acts of Juſtice are due.

That which followes ver. 17. comes ſomething nearer the cauſe. *The Scripture ſaith unto* Pharaoh, *for this ſame purpoſe I have raiſed the up*, (that is, I have made thee a King, or I have preſerved thee) *that I might ſhew my power in thee.* But this particle (that) doth not alwaies ſignifie the main end of an action, but ſometimes only a conſequent of it. As *Matt.* 2. 15. He departed into *Egypt*, *that* it might be fulfilled which was ſpoken by the Prophet, out of *Egypt* have I called my Son; without doubt *Joſephs* aim or end of his journey was not to fulfil propheſies, but to ſave the life of the Child. Yet becauſe the fulfilling of the prophecy was a conſequent of *Joſephs* journey, he ſaith, *That it might be fulfilled.* So here, *I have raiſed thee up that I might ſhew my power.* Again, though it ſhould be granted that this particle *that*, did denote the intention of God to deſtroy *Pharaoh* in the Red Sea, yet it was not the antecedent intention of God, which evermore reſpects the good and benefit of the creature, but Gods conſequent intention upon the previſion of *Pharaohs* obſtinacy, that ſince he would not glorifie God in obeying his word, he ſhould glorifie God undergoing his judgements, Hitherto we

find

find no eternal punishments; nor no temporal punishment without just deserts.

It follows ver. 18. *whom he will he hardneth*: Indeed hardness of heart is the greatest judgement that God layes upon a sinner in this life, worse than all the Plagues of *Egypt*. But how doth God harden the heart? not by a natural influence of any evil act or habit into the will, nor by inducing the will with perswasive motives to obstinacy and rebellion, *for God tempteth no man, but every man is tempted when he is drawn away of his own lust and intised.* Jam. 1. 13. Then God is said to harden the heart three wayes, First, negativly, 1.
and not positively, not by imparting wickedness, but by not imparting grace, as the Sun descending to the tropick of *Capricorne*, is said with us to be the cause of Winter, that is, not by imparting cold, but by not imparting heat. It is an act of mercy in God to give his grace freely, but to detein it is no act of injustice. So the Apostle opposeth hardning to shewing of mercy, To harden is as much as not to shew mercy.

Secondly, God is said to harden the heart occasionally 2.
and not causally, by doing good, which incorrigible sinners make an occasion of growing worse and worse, and doing evil; as a Master by often correcting of an untoward Scholar, doth accidentally and occasionally harden his heart, and render him more obdurate, insomuch as he grows even to despise the Rod. Or as an indulgent parent by his patience and gentleness doth incourage an obstinate son to become more rebellious. So, whether we look upon Gods frequent judgements upon *Pharaoh*, or Gods iterated fauours in removing and withdrawing those judgements upon *Pharaohs* request, both of them in their several kinds, were occasions of hardning *Pharaohs* heart, the one making him more presumptuous, the other more desperately rebellious. So that which was good in it was Gods; that which was evil was *Pharaohs*. God gave the occasion, but *Pharaoh* was the true cause of his own obduration. This is clearly confirmed, Exod. 8. 15. *When* Pharaoh *saw that there was respite, he hardned his heart.* And Exod. 9. 34. *When* Pharaoh

raoh *saw, that the Rain and the Hail, and the Thunders were ceased, he sinned yet more, and hardned his heart, he and his servants.* So Psal. 105. 25. *He turned their hearts, so that they hated his people, and dealt subtilly with them:* That is, God blessed the Children of *Israel,* whereupon the *Egyptians* did take occasion to hate them, as is plain. *Exod.* 1. ver. 7, 8, 9, 10. So God hardned *Pharaohs* heart, and *Pharaoh* hardned his own heart. God hardned it by not shewing mercy to *Pharaoh*, as he did to *Nebuckadnezzar*, who was as great a sinner as he, or God hardned it occasionally, but still *Pharaoh* was the true cause of his own obduration, by determining his own will to evil, and confirming himself in his obstinacy. So are all presumptuous sinners, Psal. 95 8. *Harden not your hearts as in the provocation, as in the day of temptation in the Wilderness.*

3. Thirdly, God is said to harden the heart permissively, but not operatively, nor effectively, as he who only lets loose a Greyhound out of the slip, is said to hound him at the Hare. Will you see plainly what St. *Paul* intends by hardening? Read ver. 22. *What if God willing to shew his wrath and to make his power known* (that is, by a consequent will, which in order of nature followes the prevision of sin,) *indured with much long suffering the vessels of wrath fitted to destruction. And that he might make known the riches of his glory on the vessels of mercy, &c.* There is much difference between *indureing* and *impelling*, or inciting the vessels of wrath. He saith of the vessels of mercy, that *God prepared them unto glory.* But of the vessels of wrath, he saith only that they were *fitted to destruction*, that is, not by God, but by themselves. St. *Paul* saith, that God doth *endure the vessels of wrath with much long suffering*, *T. H.* saith, that God wills and effects by the second causes all their actions good and bad, that he necessitateth them, and determineth them irresistibly to do those acts which he condemneth as evill, and for which he punisheth them. *If doing willingly, and enduring, If much long suffering*, and *necessitating*, imply not a contrariety one to another, *reddat mihi minam Diogenes*, Let him that taught me Logick, give me my money again,

But

But *T. H.* saith, that this distinction between the *operative* and *permissive* Will of God, and that other between the action and the irregularity do dazel his understanding. Though he can find no difference between these two, yet others do, *St. Paul* himself did, *Acts* 13. 18. *About the time of forty years suffered he their manners in the Wilderness.* And *Acts* 14. 16. *Who in times past suffered all Nations to walk in their own wayes.* *T. H.* would make suffering to be inciting, their manners to be Gods manners, their wayes to be Gods wayes. And *Acts* 17. 30. *The times of this ignorance God winked at.* It was never heard that one was said to wink or connive at that which was his own act. And 1 *Cor.* 10. 13. *God is faithful, who will not suffer you to be tempted above that you are able.* To tempt is the Devils act, therefore he is called the *Tempter*; God tempts no man to sin, but he suffers them to be tempted. And so suffers that he could hinder Sathan, if he would. But by *T. H.* his doctrine, To tempt to sin, and to suffer one to be tempted to sin, when it is in his power to hinder it, it is all one. And so he transforms God (I write it with horrour) into the Devil, and makes tempting to be Gods own work, and the Devil to be but his instrument. And in that noted place, *Rom.* 2. 4. *Despisest thou the riches of his goodness, and forbearrance, and long-suffering, not knowing that the goodness of God leadeth thee to repentance, but after thy hardness and impenitent heart treasurest up unto thy self wrath against the day of wrath, and revelation of the righteous judgement of God.* Here are as many convincing Arguments in this one text against the opinion of *T. H.* almost as there are words. Here we learn that God is *rich in goodness*, and will not punish his creatures for that which is his own act; Secondly, that he *suffers* and *forbeares sinners long*, and doth not snatch them away by sudden death as they deserve, Thirdly, that the reason of Gods forbearance is to *bring men to repentance.* Fourthly, that *hardness of heart and impenitency* is not causally from God, but from our selves. Fiftly, that it is not the insufficient proposal of the means of their conversion on Gods part, which is the cause of mens perdition;

but

but their own contempt and *deſpiſing* of theſe means. Sixtly, that puniſhment is not an act of abſolute dominion, but an act of *righteous judgement*, whereby God renders to every man according to his own deeds, wrath to them and only to them who *treaſure up wrath unto themſelves* & eternal life to thoſe *who continue patiently in well-doing*. If they deſerve ſuch puniſhment who only neglect the goodneſs and long ſuffering of God, what do they who utterly deny it, and make Gods doing and his ſuffering to be all one? I do beſeech *T. H.* to conſider what a degree of wilfulneſs it is, out of one obſcure text wholly miſunderſtood, to contradict the clear current of the whole Scripture. Of the ſame mind with *St. Paul* was *St. Peter*, 1 Pet. 3. 22. *The long ſuffering of God waited once in the daies of Noah.* And 2 Pet. 3. 15. *Account that the long ſuffering of the Lord is ſalvation.* This is the name God gives himſelf, Exod. 34. 6. *The Lord, the Lord God, mercyful and gracious, long ſuffering, &c.*

[b] Yet I do acknowledge that which *T. H.* ſaith to be commonly true, That he who doth permit any thing to be done, which it is in his power to hinder, knowing that if he do not hinder it, it will be done, doth in ſome ſort will it. I ſay in ſome ſort, that is, either by an antecedent will, or by a conſequent will, either by an operative will, or by a permiſſive will, or he is willing to let it be done, but not willing to do it. Sometimes an antecedent engagement doth cauſe a man to ſuffer that to be done, which otherwiſe he would not ſuffer. So *Darius* ſuffered *Daniel* to be caſt into the Lions den, to make good his raſh decree; So *Herod* ſuffered *John Baptiſt* to be beheaded, to make good his raſh oath; How much more may the immutable rule of juſtice in God, and his fidelity in keeping his word, draw from him the puniſhment of obſtinate ſinners, though antecedently he willeth their converſion? He loveth all his creatures well, but his own Juſtice better. Again, ſometimes a man ſuffereth that to be done, which he doth not will directly in it ſelf, but indirectly for ſome other end, or for the producing of ſome greater good; As a man willeth

that

that a putrid member be cut off from his body, to save the life of the whole. Or as a Judge being desirous to save a malefactors life, and having power to reprieve him, doth yet condemn him for example sake, that by the death of one, he may save the lives of many. Marvel not then if God suffer some creatures to take such courses as tend to their own ruine, so long as their sufferings do make for the greater manifestation of his glory, and for the greater benefit of his faithful servants. This is a most certain truth, that God would not suffer evil to be in the world, unless he knew how to draw good out of evil. Yet this ought not to be understood, as if we made any priority or posteriority of time in the acts of God, but onely of Nature, Nor do we make the antecedent and consequent will to be contrary one to another, because the one respects man pure and uncorrupted, the other respects him as he is lapsed. The objects are the same, but considered after a diverse manner. Nor yet do we make these wills to be distinct in God, for they are the same with the divine essence, which is one. But the distinction is in order to the objects or things willed. Nor, lastly, do we make this permission to be a naked or a meer permission. God causeth all good, pemitteth all evil, disposeth all things, both good and evill.

c *T. H.* demands how God should be the cause of the action and yet not be the cause of the irregularity of the action. I answer, because he concurres to the doing of evill by a general, but not by a speciall influence. As the Earth gives nourishment to all kinds of plants, as well to Hemlock as to Wheat, but the reason why the one yeilds food to our sustenance, the other poison to our destruction, is not from the general nourishment of the Earth, but from the special quality of the root. Even so the general power to act is from God, *In him we live, and move, and have our being*. This is good. But the specification, and determination of this general power to the doing of any evill, is from our selves, and proceeds from the free will of man; This is bad. And to speak properly, the free will of man

is not the efficient cauſe of ſin, as the root of the Hemlock is of poiſon, ſin having no true entity or being in it, as poiſon hath. But rather the deficient cauſe. Now no defect can flow from him who is the higheſt perfection. [d] Wherefore *T. H.* is mightily miſtaken, to make the particular and determinate act of killing *Uriah* to be from God. The general power to act is from God, but the ſpecification of this general and good power to murther, or to any particular evil, is not from God, but from the free will of man. So *T. H.* may ſee clearly if he will, how one may be the cauſe of the Law, and likewiſe of the action in ſome ſort, that is, by general influence; and yet another cauſe concurring by ſpecial influence and determining this general and good power may make it ſelf the true cauſe of the anomy or the irregularity. And therefore he may keep his longer and ſhorter garments for ſome other occaſion. Certainly, they will not fit this ſubject, unleſs he could make general and ſpecial influence to be all one.

But *T. H.* preſſeth yet further, that the caſe is the ſame, and the objection uſed by the Jewes, ver. 19. *Why doth he yet find fault? who hath reſiſted his will*, is the very ſame with my argument; And *St. Pauls* anſwer ver. 20. *O man who art thou that replieſt againſt God? ſhall the thing formed ſay to him that formed it, why haſt thou made me thus? Hath not the Potter power over his Clay, &c*, is the very ſame with his anſwer in this place, drawn from the irreſiſtible power, and abſolute dominion of God, which juſtifieth all his actions. And that the Apoſtle in his anſwer doth not deny, that it was Gods will, nor that Gods decree was before *Eſaus* ſin. To which I reply.

Firſt, that the caſe is not at all the ſame, but quite different, as may appear by theſe particulars; firſt, thoſe words, *before they had done either good or evill*, are not, cannot be refered to thoſe other words, *Eſau have I hated*; Secondly, If they could, yet it is leſs than nothing, becauſe before *Eſau* had actually ſinned, his future ſins were known to God. Thirdly, by the Potters clay, here is not to be underſtood the pure maſs, but the corrupted maſs of mankind. Fourthly, the

the hating here mentioned is only a comparative hatred, that is, a leſs degree of love. Fiftly, the hardening which *St. Paul* ſpeaks of, is not a poſitive, but a negative obduration, or a not imparting of grace. Sixtly, *St. Paul* ſpeaketh not of any poſitive reprobation to eternal puniſhment, much leſs doth he ſpeak of the actual inflicting of puniſhment without ſin, which is the Queſtion between us, and wherein *T. H.* differs from all that I remember to have read, who do all acknowledge that puniſhment is never actually inflicted but for ſin. If the Queſtion be put, why God doth good to one more than to another, or why God imparteth more grace to one than to another, as it is there, the anſwer is juſt and fit, becauſe it is his pleaſure, and it is ſawcineſs in a creature in this caſe to reply, *May not God do what he will with his own, Matth.* 20. 15. No man doubteth but God imparteth grace beyond mans deſert; But if the caſe be put, why God doth puniſh one more than another, or why he throws one into hell fire, and not another, which is the preſent caſe agitated between us; To ſay with *T. H.* that it is becauſe God is Omnipotent, or becauſe his power is irreſiſtible, or meerly becauſe it is his pleaſure, is not only not warranted, but is plainly condemned by *St. Paul* in this place. So many differences there are between thoſe two caſes. It is not therefore againſt God, that I reply, but againſt *T. H.* I do not call my Creator to the Bar, but my fellow creature; I ask no account of Gods counſails, but of mans preſumptions. It is the mode of theſe times to father their own fancies upon God, and when they cannot juſtifie them by reaſon, to plead his Omnipotence, or to cry, *O altitudo*, that the wayes of God are unſearchable. If they may juſtifie their drowſie dreams, becauſe Gods power and dominion is abſolute; much more may we reject ſuch phantaſtical deviſes which are inconſiſtent with the truth, and goodneſs, and juſtice of God, and make him to be a Tyrant, who is the Father of Mercies, and the God af all conſolation. The unſearchableneſs of Gods wayes ſhould be a bridle to reſtrain preſumption, and not a ſanctuary for ſpirits of error.

Secondly, this objection conteined ver. 19. to which the Apoſtle anſwers ver. 20. is not made in the perſon of *Eſau* or *Pharaoh*, as *T. H.* ſuppoſeth, but of the unbelieving Jews, who thought much at that grace and favour which God was pleaſed to vouchſafe unto the Gentiles, to acknowledge them for his people, which honour they would have appropriated to the poſterity of *Abraham*. And the Apoſtles anſwer is not onely drawn from the Soveraign Dominion of God, to impart his grace to whom he pleaſeth, as hath been ſhewed already, but alſo from the obſtinacy and proper fault of the Jews, as appeareth ver. 22. *What if God willing* (that is, by a conſequent will) *to ſhew his wrath, and to make his power known, endureth with much long ſuffering the veſſels of wrath fitted to deſtruction.* They acted, God endured; They were toltrated by God, but fitted to deſtruction by themſelves; for their much wrong doing, here is Gods *much long ſuffering*; And more plainly ver. 31. *Iſrael hath not atteined to the Law of righteouſneſs, wherefore? becauſe they ſought it not by faith, but as it were by the works of the Law.* This reaſon is ſet down yet more emphatically in the next Chapter ver. 3. *They* (that is, *the Iſraelites*) *being ignorant of Gods righteouſneſs* (that is, by faith in Chriſt,) *and going about to eſtabliſh their own righteouſneſs*, (that is, by the works of the Law) *have not ſubmitted themſelves to the righteonſneſs of God.* And yet moſt expreſly Chap. 11. ver. 20. *Becauſe of undelief they were broken off, but thou ſtandeſt by faith.* Neither was there any precedent binding decree of God, to neceſſitate them to unbelief, and conſequently to puniſhment. It was in their own power by their concurrence with Gods grace to prevent theſe judgements, and to recover their former eſtate, ver. 23. *If they* (that is, the unbelidving Jews) *abide not ſtill in unbelief, they ſhall be grafted in.* The Crown and the Sword are immovable, (to uſe St. *Anſelmes* compariſon) but it is we that move & change places Sometimes the Jews were under the Crown, and the Gentiles under the Sword, ſometimes the Jews under the Sword, and the Gentiles under the Crown.

Thirdly, though I confeſs, that human pacts are not the meaſure

measure of Gods Justice, but his justice is his own immutable will, whereby he is ready to give every man that which is his own, as rewards to the good, punishments to the bad, so nevertheless God may oblige himself freely to his creature. He made the Covenant of works with mankind in *Adam*, and therefore he punisheth not man contrary to his own Covenant, but for the transgression of his duty. And Divine justice is not measured by Omnipotence, or by irresistible power, but by Gods will; God can do many things according to his absolute power which he doth not. He could raise up children to *Abraham* of stones, but he never did so. It is a rule in Theology, that God cannot do any thing, which argues any wickedness or imperfection, as God cannot deny himself, 2 *Tim.* 2. 13. He cannot lie, *Tit.* 1. 2. These and the like are fruits of impotence, not of power. So God cannot destroy the righteous with the wicked, *Gen.* 18. 25. He could not destroy *Sodome* whil'st *Lot* was in it, *Gen.* 19 22. not for want of dominion or power, but because it was not agreeable to his Justice, nor to that Law which himself had constituted. The Apostle saith Heb. 6. 10. *God is not unrighteous to forget your work.* As it is a good consequence to say, this is from God, therefore it is righteous, so is this also; This thing is unrighteous, therefore it cannot proceed from God. We see how all creatures by instinct of nature do love their young, as the Hen her Chickens; how they will expose themselves to death for them; And yet all these are but shadowes of that love which is in God towards his Creatures. How impious is it then to conceive, that God did create so many millions of souls to be tormented eternally in hell, without any fault of theirs, except such as he himself did necessitate them unto, meerly to shew his dominion, and because his power is irresistible? The same priviledge which *T. H.* appropriates here to power absolutely irresistible, a friend of his in his Book *de Cive cap.* 6. *pag.* 70. ascribes to power respectively irresistible, or to Soveraign Magistrates, whose power he makes to be as absolute as a mans power is over himself, not to be limitted by any thing but onely by their strength.

ſtrength. The greateſt propugners of Soveraign power think it enough for Princes to challenge an immunity from coercive power, but acknowledge, that the Law hath a directive power over them. But *T. H* will have no limits but their ſtrength. Whatſoever they do by power, they do juſtly.

But, ſaith he, God objected no ſin to *Job*, but juſtified his afflicting him by his power. Firſt, this is an Argument from authority negatively, that is to ſay, worth nothing. Secondly, the afflictions of *Job* were no vindicatory puniſhments to take vengeance of his ſins, (whereof we diſpute) but probatory chaſtiſements to make triall of his graces. Thirdly, *Iob* was not ſo pure, but that God might juſtly have laid greater puniſhments upon him, than thoſe afflictions which he ſuffered. Witneſs his impatience, even to the curſing of the day of his nativity, *Job* 3. 3. Indeed God ſaid to *Job*, *where waſt thou when I laid the faundations of the earth?* Job 38. 4. that is, how canſt thou judge of the things that were done before thou waſt born? or comprehend the ſecret cauſes of my judgements? And Job 42. 9. *Haſt thou an arm like God?* As if he ſhould ſay, why art thou impatient? doeſt thou think thy ſelf able to ſtrive with God? But that God ſhould puniſh *Job* without deſert here is not a word.

Concerning the blind man, mentioned *John* 9. his blindneſs was rather a bleſſing to him than a puniſhment, being the means to raiſe his Soul illuminated, and to bring him to ſee the face of God in Jeſus Chriſt. The ſight of the body is common to us with Ants and Flies, but the ſight of the ſoul with the bleſſed Angels. We read of ſome, who have put out their bodily eyes becauſe they thought they were an impediment to the eye of the Soul. Again, neither he nor his parents were innocent, being conceived and born in ſin and iniquity, *Pſal.* 51. 5. And in many things we offend all, *Jam* 3. 2. But our Saviours meaning is evident by the Diſciples queſtion, ver. 2. They had not ſo ſinned, that he ſhould be born blind. Or they were not more grievous ſinners than other men, to deſerve an examplary judg-

ment

ment more than they; but this corporal blindneſs befel him principally by the extraordinary providence of God, for the manifeſtation of his own glory, in reſtoring him to his ſight. So his inſtance halts on both ſides; neither was this a puniſhment, nor the blind man free from ſin. His third inſtance of the death and torments of Beaſts, is of no more weight than the two former. The death of brute Beaſts is not a puniſhment of ſin, but a debt of nature. And though they be often ſlaughtered for the uſe of man, yet there is a vaſt difference between thoſe light and momentary pangs, and the unſufferable and endleſs pains of hell; between the meer depriving of a creature of remporal life, and the ſubjecting of it to eternal death; I know the Philoſophical ſpeculations of ſome who affirme, that entity is better than non-entity, that it is better to be miſerable, and ſuffer the tormenss of the damned, than to be annihilated, and ceaſe to be altogether. This entity which they ſpeak of, is a Metaphyſical entity abſtracted from the matter, which is better than non-entity, in reſpect of ſome goodneſs, not moral nor natural, but trancendental, which accompanies every being. But in the concrete it is far otherwiſe, where that of our Saviour often takes place, Mat. 26. 24. *Woe unto that man by whom the Son of Man is betrayed, It had been good for that man, that he had not been born.* I add, that there is an Analogical Juſtice and Mercy due, even to the brute Beaſts. *Thou ſhalt not muſle the mouth of the Ox that treadeth out the corn.* And, *a juſt man is merciful to his Beaſt.*

[f] But his greateſt errour is that which I touched before, to make Juſtice to be the proper reſult of Power. Power doth not meaſure and regulate Juſtice, but Juſtice meaſures and regulates Power. The Will of God, and the Eternal Law which is in God himſelf, is properly the rule and meaſure of Juſtice. As all goodneſs whether Natural or Moral, is a participation of divine goodneſs, and all created Rectitude is but a participation of divine Rectitude, ſo all Lawes are but participations of the eternall Law, from whence they derive their power. The rule of Juſtice then is the ſame both in God and us, but it is in God, as in him

that

that doth regulate and measure; in us, as in those who are regulated and measured. As the Will of God is immutable, alwayes willing what is just and right and good; So his justice likewise is immutable. And that individual action which is justly punished as sinful in us, cannot possibly proceed from the special influence and determinative power of a just cause. See then how grossely *T. H.* doth understand that old and true principle, that *the Will of God is the rule of Justice*, as if by willing things in themselves unjust, he did render them just, by reason of his absolute dominion and irresistible power, as fire doth assimilate other things to it self, and convert them into the nature of fire. This were to make the eternal Law a *Lesbian* rule. Sin is defined to be *that which is done, or said, or thought contrary to the eternall Law.* But by this doctrine nothing is done, nor said, nor thought contrary to the Will of God. St. *Anselm* said most truly, *then the will of man is good and just and right, when he wills that which God would have him to will*: but according to this doctrine every man alwayes wills that which God would have him to will. If this be true, we need not pray, *Thy Will be done in earth as it is in heaven*, *T. H.* hath devised a new kind of heaven upon earth. The worst is, it is an heaven without Justice. Justice is a constant and perpetual act of the Will, to give every one his own; But to inflict punishment for those things which the Judge himself did determine and necessitate to be done, is not to give every one his own; right punitive Justice is a relation of equallity and proportion, between the demerit and the punishment; But supposing this opinion of absolute and universal necessity, there is no demerit in the World, we use to say, that right springs from Law and Fact, as in this Syllogism, Every thief ought to be punished, there's the Law; But such an one is a thief, there's the Fact, therefore he ought to be punished, there's the right. But this opinion of *T. H.* grounds the right to be punished, neither upon Law, nor upon Fact, but upon the irresistible power of God. Yea, it overturneth as much, as in it lies all Law; First, the eternall Law, which is the ordination of divine Wisdom, by which

all

all Creatures are directed to that end which is convenient for them ; that is, not to neceſſitate them to eternall flames. Then the Law participated, which is the ordination of right reaſon, inſtituted for the common good, to ſhew unto man, vvhat he ought to do, and what he ought not to do. To vvhat purpoſe is it to ſhevv the right vvay to him vvho is dravvn andhaleda contrary vvay by Adamantine bonds of inevitalbe neceſſity ?

§ Laſtly, hovvſoever *T. H.* cries out, that God cannot ſin, yet in truth he makes him to be the principal and moſt proper cauſe of all ſin. For he makes him to be the cauſe not onely of the Lavv, and of the action, but even of the irregularity it ſelf, and the difference betvveen the Action and the Lavv, vvherein the very eſſence of ſin doth conſiſt. He makes God to determine *Davids* Will, and neceſſitate him to kill *Vriah.* In cauſes phyſically, and eſſentially ſubordiuate, the cauſe of the cauſe is evermore the caſue of the effect. Theſe are thoſe deadly fruits vvhich ſpring from the poiſonous root of the abſolute neceſſity of all things, vvhich *T. H.* ſeeing, and that neither the ſins of *Eſau*, nor *Pharaoh*, nor any vvicked perſon do proceed from the operative, but from the permiſſive Will of God, and that puniſhment is an act of Juſtice, not of dominion onely ; I hope that according to his promiſe he vvill change his opinion.

Animadverſions upon the *Biſhops* Reply Number, XII.

THE Biſhop *had argued in this manner*, If there be no Liberty, there ſhall be no laſt Judgement, no Revvards nor Puniſhments after death. *To this I anſwered, that though God cannot ſin, becauſe what he doth his doing maketh juſt ; and becauſe he is not ſubject to anothers Law, and that therefore it is blaſphemy to ſay, that God can ſin, yet to ſay that God hath ſo ordered the world, that ſin may neceſſarily be committed is not blaſphemy. And I can alſo further ſay, though God be the cauſe of all motion and of all actions, and therefore unleſs ſin be no motion, nor action, it muſt derive a neceſſity from the firſt mover ; nevertheleſs it cannot be ſaid that God is the Author of*

ſin,

ſin, becauſe not he that neceſſitateth an action, but he that doth command and warrant it, is the Author. And if God own an action, though otherwiſe it were ſin, it is now no ſin. The act of the Iſraelites in robbing the Egyptians of their Jewels, without Gods warrant, had been theft. But it was neither theft, couſonage, nor ſin ; ſuppoſing they knew the warrant was from God. The reſt of my anſwer to that inconvenience, was an oppoſing to his inconveniences, the manifeſt Texts of St. Paul, Rom. 9. *The ſubſtance of his Reply to my Anſwer is this.*

[a] Though puniſhment vvere an act of dominion not of Juſtice in God ; yet this is no ſufficient cauſe, vvhy God ſhould deny his ovvn act; or vvhy he ſhould chide or expoſtulate vvith men, vvhy they did that vvhich he himſelf did neceſſitate them to do.

I never ſaid that God denied his act, but that he may expoſtulate with men ; And this may be (I ſhall never ſay directly it is) the reaſon of that his expoſtulation, viz. *to convince them, that their wills were not independent, but were his meer gift ; and that to do, or not to do, is not in him that willeth, but in God that hath mercy on, or hardeneth whom he will. But the* Biſhop *interpreteth* hardening *to be a* permiſſion *of God. Which is to attribute to God in ſuch actions, no more than he might have attributed to any of* Pharaohs *ſervants, the not perſwading their Maſter to let the People goe. And whereas he compares this* permiſſion *to the indulgence of a parent, that by his patience incourageth his ſon to become more rebellious, (which indulgence is a ſin) he maketh God to be like a ſinful man. And indeed it ſeemeth that all they, that hold this Freedome of the Will, conceive of God no otherwiſe than the common ſort of Jewes did, that God was like a man, that he had been ſeen by* Moſes, *and after by the ſeventy Elders,* Exod 9. 10. *Expounding that and other places literally. Again he ſaith, that God is ſaid to harden the heart* permiſſively, *but not* operatively, *which is the ſame diſtinction with his firſt, namely* negatively, *not* poſitively, *and with his ſecond* occaſionally *and not* cauſally ; *ſo that all his three Wayes, how God hardens the heart of wicked men, come to this one of* permiſſion, *which is as much as to ſay, God ſees, looks*

GOTTFRIED WILHELM LEIBNIZ BIBLIOTHEK
NIEDERSÄCHSISCHE LANDESBIBLIOTHEK
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looks on, and doth nothing, nor ever did any thing in the busi-nesse. Thus you see how the Bishop *expounds* St. Paul. *There-fore I will leave the rest of his commentary upon* Rom. 9. *to the judgement of the Reader, to think of the same as he plea-seth.*

[b] Yet I do acknowledge that which T. H saith, *That he who doth permit any thing to be done, which it is in his power to hinder, knowing that if he do not hinder it, it will be done, doth in some sort will it*, I say in some sort, that is, either by an antecedent Will, or by a consequent Will; either by an o-perative Will, or by a permissive Will; or he is willing to let it be done, but not willing to do it.

Whether it be called antecedent *or* consequent, *or* opera-tive *or* permissive, *it is enough for the necessity of the thing, that the heart of* Pharaoh *should be hardened, and if God were not willing to do it, I cannot conceive how it could be done without him.*

[c] *T. H.* demands how God should be the cause of the Action, and yet not be the cause of the irregularity of the Action, I answer because he concurres to the doing of evil, by a general but not by a special influence.

I had thought to passe over this place, because of the non-sense of general *and* special influence, *seeing he saith that God con-curres to the doing of evil, I desire the Reader would take no-tice, that if he blame me for speaking of God as of a necessitating cause, and as it were a principal Agent in the causing of all Actions, he may with as good reason blame himself for making him by* concurrence, *an accessory to the same, and indeed let men hold what they will contrary to the truth, if they write much, the truth will fall into their pens. But he thinks he hath a similitude, which will make this* permissive Will, *a ve-ry clear business.* The earth (*saith he*) gives nourishment to all kinds of plants, as well to Hemlock, as to Wheat; but the reason why the one yeilds food to our sustenance, the other poison to our destruction, is not from the general nourishment of the earth, but from the special quality of the root. *It seemeth by this similitude, he thinketh, that God doth not* operatively, *but* premissively *will that the root of Hemlock*

should poiſon the man that eateth it, but that Wheat ſhould nouriſh him he willeth operatively. *Which is very abſurd; or elſe he muſt confeſs that the venimous effects of wicked men, are willed* operatively.

[d] Wherefore *T. H.* is mightily miſtaken, to make the particular and determinate act of killing *Uriah* to be from God. The general power to act is from God, but the ſpecification of this general and good power, to murther, or to any particular evil, is not from God, but from the free will of man.

But why am I ſo mightily miſtaken? did not God foreknow that Uriah *in particular, ſhould be murthered by* David *in particular, and what God foreknoweth ſhall come to paſs, can that poſſibly not come to paſs? and that which cannot poſſibly not come to paſs, doth not that neceſſarily come to paſs? and is not all neceſſity from God? I cannot ſee this great miſtake.* The general power (*ſaith he*) to act is from God, but the ſpecification to do this act upon *Uriah*, is not from God, but from Eree-will. *Very learnedly. As if there were a power, that were not the power to do ſome particular act; or a power to kill, and yet to kill no body in particular. If the power be to kill, it is to kill that which ſhall be by that power killed, whether it be* Uriah *or any other; and the giving of that power is the application of it to the act; nor doth power ſignifie any thing actually, but thoſe motions and preſent acts from which the act that is not now, but ſhall be hereafter, neceſſarily proceedeth. And therefore this Argument is much like that, which uſed heretofore to be brought for the defence of the divine Right of the* Biſhops *to the Ordination of Miniſters. They derive not (ſay they) the Right of Ordination from tho civill Soveraign, but from Chriſt immediately. And yet they acknowledge that it is unlawful for them to Ordain, if the civil power do forbid them. But how have they right to Ordain, when they cannot do it lawfully? their anſwer is they have the Right, though they may not exerciſe it; as if the Right to Ordain, and the Right to Exerciſe Ordination were not the ſame thing. And as they anſwer concerning Right, which is Legal Power, ſo the* Biſhop *anſwereth concerning Natural Power, that* David *had a general power*

wer to kill Uriah *from God, but not a power of applying this power in special to the killing of* Uriah *from God, but from his own Free-will; that is he had a power to kill* Uriah, *but not to exercise it upon* Uriah, *that is to say, he had a power to kill him, but not to kill him; which is absurd.*

e But if the case be put why God doth punish one more than another, or why he throwes one into Hell fire, and not another, which is the present case between us; to say with *T. H.* that it is because God is Omnipotent, or because his power is irresistible, or meerly because it is his pleasure, is not onely not warranted, but is plainly condemned by St. *Paul* in this place.

I note first that he hath no reason to say, the case agitated between us, is whether the cause why God punisheth one man more than another be his irresistible power, or mans sin. The case agitated between us is, Whether a man can now choose what shall be his Will *anon, or at any time hereafter. Again 'tis not true that he sayes 'tis my opinion that the irresistible power of God, is the cause why he punisheth one more than onother. I say onely that when he doth so, the irresistible power is enough to make it not unjust. But that the cause why God punisheth one more than another, is many times the will he hath to show his power, is affirmed in this place by St Paul,* Shall the thing formed, say to him that formed it, *&c. And by our Saviour in the case of him that was born blind, where he saith,* Neither hath this man sinned nor his parents; but that the works of God may be made manifest. *And by the expostulation of God with* Job. *This endeavour of his to bring the text of St.* Paul *to his purpose, is not onely frustrate, but the cause of many insignificant phrases in his discourse; as this,* it was in their own power by their concurrence with Gods grace, to prevent these judgements, and to recover their former estates, *which is as good sense, as if he should say, that it is in his own power, with the concurrence of the Soveraign Power of England to be what he will. And this, that* God may oblige himself freely to his Creature. *For he that can oblige, can also when he will release; and he that can release himself when he will, is not obliged.*

Besides

Besides this, he is driven to words ill becoming him that is to speak of God Almighty, for he makes him unable to do that which hath been within the ordinary Power of men to do. God (*he saith*) cannot destroy the Righteous with the Wicked, *which nevertheless is a thing ordinarily done by Armies, and* He could not destroy *Sodome* while *Lot* was in it, *which he interpreteth, as if he could not do it lawfully, one text is* Gen. 18. 23, 24, 25. *There is not a word that God could not destroy the Righteous with the Wicked. Onely* Abraham *saith* (*as a man*) *shall not the Judge of all the earth do Right. Another is* Gen. 19, 22. *Haste thee, escape thither*; for I cannot do any thing till thou be come thither. *Which is an ordinary phrase, in such a case where God had determined to burn the City, and save a particular man, and signifieth not any obligation to save* Lot, *more than the rest. Likewise concerning* Job, *who expostulating with God, was answered only with the explication of the infinite power of God, the* Bishop *answereth, that there is never a word of* Jobs *being punished without desert; which answer is impertinent, for I say not that he was punished without desert, but that it was not for his desert that he was afflicted; for punished, he was not at all.*

And concerning the blind Man, John 9. *who was born blind that the power of God might be shown in him; he answers that it was not a punishment, but a blessing. I did not say it was a punishment; certainly it was an affliction. How then doth he call it a blessing? reasonably enough,* because (*saith he*) it was the means to raise his soul illuminated, and to bring him to see the face of God in Jesus Christ. The sight of the Body is common to us with Ants and Flies, but the sight of the soul, with the blessed Angels. *This is very well said; for no man doubts, but some afflictions may be blessings; but I doubt whether the* Bishop, *that sayes he reads of some who have put out their bodily eyes, because they thought they were an impediment to the eye of the soul, think that they did well. To that where I say that brute Beasts are afflicted which cannot sin, he answereth, that* there is a vast difference, between those light and momentary pangs, and the unsufferable and endless pains of Hell. *As if the length or the greatness of the pain,*

pain, made any difference in the justice or injustice of the inflicting it.

f But his greatest error is that which I touched before, to make Justice, to be the proper result of Power.

He would make men beleeve, I hold all things to be just that are done by them, who have power enough to avoid the punishment. This is one of his pretty little policies, by which I find him in many occasions, to take the measure of his own wisdom. I said no more but that the Power which is absolutely irresistible makes him that hath it above all Law, so that nothing he doth can be unjust. But this Power can be no other than the Power divine. Therefore let him preach what he will upon his mistaken text, I shall leave it to the Reader, to consider of it without any further answer.

g *Lastly*, howsoever *T. H.* cries out, that God cannot sin, yet in truth he makes him, to be the principal and most proper cause of all sin, for he makes him to be the cause not onely of the Law, and of the Action, but even of the irregularity it self, &c. wherein the very essence of sin doth consist.

I think there is no man but understands, no not the Bishop *himself, but that where two things are compared, the similitude or dissimilitude, regularity or irregularity that is between them, is made in and by the making of the things themselves that are compared. The* Bishop *therefore that denies God to be the cause of the irregularity, denies him to be the cause both of the Law and of the Action. So that by his doctrine, there shall be a good Law whereof God shall be no cause, and an Action, that is, a local motion that shall depend upon another first Mover, that is not God. The rest of this Number is but railing.*

7. D.

Proofs of Liberty drawn from Reason.

THe first Argument is *Herculeum* or *Baculinum*, drawn from that pleasant passage between *Zeno* and his man; Numb. 13. *Arg.* 1.

The

The servaut had committed some pettilarceny, and the Master was cudgeling him well for it; The servant thinks to creep under his Masters blind side, and pleads for himself; That *the necessity of destiny did compell him to steal.* The Master answers, *the same necessity of destiny compels me to beat thee.* He that denies Liberty is fitter to be refuted with rodds, than with arguments, until he confess that it is free for him that beats him either to continue striking, or to give over, that is, to have true Liberty.

T. H.

OF the Arguments from Reason, the first is, that which he saith, is drawn from Zenos *beating of his man which is therefore called* Argumentum baculinum, *that is to say, a wooden Argument. The story is this,* Zeno *held that all actions were necessary, His man therefore being for some fault beaten, excused himself upon the necessity of it. To avoid this excuse, his Master pleaded likewise the necessity of beating him. So that not he that maintained, but he that derided the necessity of things was beaten, contrary to that he would infer; And the Argument was rather withdrawn than drawn from the story.*

J. D.

WHether the Argument be withdrawn from the story, or the answer withdrawn from the argument, let the Reader judge. *T. H.* mistakes the scope of the reason, the strength whereof doth not lie, neither in the authority of *Zeno*, a rigid Stoick, which is not worth a button in this cause; Nor in the servants being an adversary to Stoical necessity, for it appears not out of the story, that the servant did deride necessity, but rather that he pleaded it in good earnest for his own justification. Now in the success of the fray, we were told even now, that no power doth justifie an action, but onely that which is irresistible. Such was not *Zenos.* And therefore it advantageth neither of their causes,

ſes, neither that of *Zeno*, nor this of *T. H.* What if the ſervant had taken the ſtaff out of his Maſters hand and beaten him ſoundly, would not the ſame argument have ſerved the man as well as it did the Maſter? that the neceſſity of deſtiny did compell him to ſtrike again. Had not *Zeno* ſmarted juſtly for his Paradox? And might not the ſpectators well have taken up the Judges Apothegm, concerning the diſpute between *Corax* and his Scholar, *An ill egg of an ill bird?* But the ſtrength of this argument lies partly in the ignorance of *Zeno*, that great Champion of neceſſity, and the beggarlineſs of his cauſe, which admitted no defence but with a cudgel. No man (ſaith the ſervant) ought to be beaten for doing that which he is compelled inevitably to do, but I am compelled inevitably to ſteal. The major is ſo evident, that it cannot be denied. If a ſtrong man ſhall take a weak mans hand perforce, and do violence with it to a third perſon, he whoſe hand is forced, is innocent, and he onely culpable who compelled him. The minor was *Zenos* own doctrine; what anſwer made the great patron of deſtiny to his ſervant? very learnedly he denied the concluſion, and cudgelled his ſervant, telling him in effect, that though there was no reaſon why he ſhould be beaten, yet there was a neceſſity why he muſt be beaten. And partly, in the evident abſurdity of ſuch an opinion which deſerves not to be confuted with reaſons, but with rods. There are four things, ſaid the Philoſopher, which ought not to be called into queſtion, Firſt, ſuch things whereof it is wickedneſs to doubt; as whether the ſoul be immortal, whether there be a God, ſuch an one ſhould not be confuted with reaſons, but caſt into the Sea, with a milſtone about his neck, as unworthy to breath the air, or to behold the light. Secondly, ſuch things as are above the capacity of reaſon; as among Chriſtians, the myſtery of the holy Trinity. Thirdly, ſuch principles as are evidently true; as that two and two are four in Arithmetick, that the whole is greater than the part in Logick. Fourthly, ſuch things as are obvious to the ſenſes; as whether the ſnow be white. He who denied the heat of the fire, was juſtly ſentenced to be ſcorched with

ſire; and he that denied motion, to be beaten until he recanted. So he who denies all Liberty from neceſſitation, ſhould be ſcourged untill he become an humble ſuppliant to him that whips him, and confeſſe, that he hath power, either to ſtrike, or to hold his hand.

T. H.

IN this Number 13. which is about Zeno *and his man, there is contained nothing neceſſary to the inſtruction of the Reader. Therefore I paſs it over.*

J. D.

Numb. 14. *Arg.* 2. SEcondly, this very perſwaſion, that there is no true Liberty is, able to overthrow all Societies and Common wealths in the World. The Laws are unjuſt which prohibite that which a man cannot poſſibly ſhun; All conſultations are vain, if every thing be either neceſſary or impoſſible. Who ever deliberated, whether the Sun ſhould riſe to morrow, or whether he ſhould ſail over mountains? It is to no more purpoſe to admoniſh men of underſtanding than fools, children, or mad men, if all things be neceſſary. Praiſes and diſpraiſes, rewards and puniſhments, are as vain as they are undeſerved, if there be no liberty. All Councells, Arts, Arms, Books, Inſtruments are ſuperfluous and fooliſh, if there be no liberty: In vain we labour, in vain we ſtudy, in vain we take Phyſick, in vain we have Tutors to inſtruct us; if all things come to paſs alike, whether we ſleep or wake, whether we be idle or induſtrious, by unalterable neceſſity. But it is ſaid, that though future events be certain, yet they are unknown to us. And therefore we prohibite, deliberate, admoniſh, praiſe, diſpraiſe, reward, puniſh, ſtudy, labour, and uſe means. Alas, how ſhould our not knowing of the event be a ſufficient motive to us to uſe the means, ſo long as we believe the event is already certainly determined, and can no more be changed by all our endeavours, than we can ſtay the courſe of Heaven with our

our finger, or add a cubite to our ſtature? Suppoſe it be unknown, yet it is certain. We cannot hope to alter the courſe of things by our labours; Let the neceſſary cauſes do their work, we have no remedy but patience, and ſhrug up the ſhoulders. Either allow liberty, or deſtroy all Societies.

T. H.

THE ſecond Argument is taken from certain inconveniences which he thinks would follow ſuch an opinion. It is true, that ill uſe may be made of it, and therefore your Lordſhip and J. D. *ought at my requeſt to keep private, that I ſay here of it. But the inconveniences are indeed none; and what uſe ſoever be made of truth, yet truth is truth; and now the Queſtion is not what is fit to be preached, but what is true. The firſt inconvenience he ſayes, is this, that Lawes which prohibite any action are then unjuſt. The ſecond, that all conſultations are vain. The third, that admonitions to men of underſtandeng are of no more uſe than to fools, children and mad men. The fourth, that praiſe, diſpraiſe, reward and puniſhment are in vain. The fift, that Councells, Arts, Armes, Books, Inſtruments, Study, Tutours, Medicines are in vain. To which Argument expecting I ſhould anſwer by ſaying, that the ignorance of the event were enough to make us uſe means, he adds (as it were a reply to my anſwer foreſeen) theſe words. Alas, how ſhould our not knowing the event be a ſufficient motive to make us uſe the means? Wherein he ſaith right, but my anſwer is not that which he expecteth. I anſwer.*

Firſt, that the neceſſity of an action doth not make the Law which prohibits it unjuſt. To let paſs, that not the neceſſity, but the will to break the Law maketh the action unjuſt, becauſe the Law regardeth the will, and no other precedent cauſes of action. And to let paſs, that no Law can be poſſibly unjuſt, in as much as every man makes by his conſent the Law he is bound to keep, and which conſequently muſt be juſt, unleſs a man can be unjuſt to himſelf; I ſay, what neceſſary cauſe ſoever preceeds an action, yet if the action be forbidden, he that doth it willingly may juſtly be puniſht. For inſtance, ſuppoſe the Law on

pain of death prohibit ſtealing, and there be a man who by the ſtrength of temptation is neceſſitated to ſteal, and is there upon put to death, does not this puniſhment deterr others from theft? is it not a cauſe that others ſteal not? doth it not frame and make their will to juſtice? To make the Law is therefore to make a cauſe of Juſtice, and to neceſſitate juſtice, and conſequently it is no injuſtice to make ſuch a Law.

The inſtitution of the Law is not to grieve the delinquent for that which is paſſed, and not to be undone, but to make him and others juſt, that elſe would not be ſo. And reſpecteth not the evil act paſt, but the good to come. In ſo much as without this good intention of future, no paſt act of a delinquent could juſtifie his killing in the ſight of God. But you will ſay, how is it juſt to kill one man to amend another, if what were done were neceſſary? To this I anſwer, that men are juſtly killed, not for that their actions are not neceſſitated, but that they are ſpared and preſerved, becauſe they are not noxious; for where there is no Law, there no killing, nor any thing elſe can be unjuſt. And by the right of Nature we deſtroy, without being unjuſt, all that is noxious both beaſts and men. And for beaſts we kill them juſtly, when we do it in order to our own preſervation. And yet J. D. confeſſeth, that their actions, as being onely ſpontaneous and not free, are all neceſſitated and determined to that one thing which they ſhall do. For men, when we make Societies or Commonwealths, we lay down our right to kill, excepting in certain caſes, as murther, theft, or other offenſive actions; So that the right which the Commonwealth hath to put a man to death for crimes, is not created by the Law, but remains from the firſt right of Nature, which every man hath to preſerve himſelf, for that the Law doth not take that right away, in caſe of criminals, who were by Law excepted. Men are not therefore put to death, or puniſhed for that their theft proceedeth from election, but becauſe it was noxious and contrary to mens preſervation, and the punishment conducing to the preſervation of the reſt. In as much as to puniſh thoſe that do voluntary hurt, and none elſe, frameth and maketh mens wills ſuch as men would have them. And thus it is plain, that from the neceſſity

ceſſity of a voluntary action cannot be inferred the injuſtice of the Law that forbiddeth it, or of the Magiſtrate that puniſheth it.

Secondly, I deny that it makes conſultations to be in vain; 'tis the conſultation that cauſeth a man, and neceſſitateth him to chooſe to do one thing rather than another. So that unleſs a man ſay, that cauſe to be in vain, which neceſſitateth the effect, he cannot infer the ſuperfluouſneſs of conſultation out of the neceſſity of the election proceeding from it. But it ſeems he reaſons thus, If I muſts needs do this rather than that, then I ſhall do this rather than that, though I conſult not at all; which is a falſe propoſition, a falſe conſequence, and no better than this. If I ſhall live till to morrow, I ſhall live till to morrow, though I run my ſelf through with a ſword to day. If there be a neceſſity that an action ſhall be done, or that any effect ſhall be brought to paſs, it does not therefore follow, that there is nothing neceſſarily required as a means to bring it to paſs. And therefore when it is determined, that one thing ſhall be choſen before another, tis determined alſo for what cauſe it ſhall be choſen, which cauſe for the moſt part is deliberation or conſultation. And therefore conſultation is not in vain, and indeed the leſs in vain, by how much the election is more neceſſitated.

The ſame anſwer is to be given to the third ſuppoſed inconvenience; Namely, that admonitions are in vain, for admonitions are parts of conſultations. The admonitor being a Counſailer for the time, to him that is admoniſhed.

The fourth pretended inconvenience is, that praiſe and diſpraiſe, reward and puniſhment will be in vain. To which I anſwer, that for praiſe and diſpraiſe, they depend not at all on the neceſſity of the action praiſed or diſpraiſed. For, What is it elſe to praiſe, but to ſay a thing is good? Good, I ſay for me, or for ſome body elſe, or for the State and Commonwealth. And what is it to ſay an action is good, but to ſay, it is as I would wiſh, or as another would have it, or according to the will of the State, that is to ſay, according to Law? Does J. D. think, that no action can pleaſe me or him, or the Commonwealth, that ſhould proceed from neceſſity?

Things

Things may be therefore necessary, and yet praise-worthy, as also necessary, and yet dispraised, and neither of both in vain, because praise and dispraise, and likewise reward and punishment, do by example make and conform the will to good or evill. It was a very great praise in my opinion, that Velleius Paterculus *gives* Cato, *where he sayes, he was good by Nature,* Et quia aliter esse non potuit.

To his fift and sixt inconvenience, that Councells, Arts, Arms, Books, Instruments, Study, Medicines, and the like, would be superfluous, the same answer serves that to the former; That is to say, that this consequence, if the effect shall necessarily come to pass, then it shall come to pass without its cause, is a false one. And those things named, Councells, Arts, Arms, &c. are the causes of those effects.

J. D.

NOthing is more familiar with *T. H.* than to decline an Argument. But I will put it into form for him. The first inconvenience is thus pressed. Those Lawes are unjust and tyrannical, which do prescribe things absolutely impossible in themselves to be done, and punish men for not doing of them. But supposing *T. H.* his opinion of the necessity of all things to be true, all Lawes do prescribe absolute impossibilities to be done, and punish men for not doing of them. The former proposition is so clear that it cannot be denied. Just Lawes are the Ordinances of right Reason, but those Lawes which prescribe absolute impossibilities, are not the Ordinances of right Reason. Just Laws are instituted for the publick good, but those Lawes which prescribe absolute impossibilities, are not instituted for the publick good. Just Lawes do shew unto a man what is to be done, and what is to be shunned; But those Laws which prescribe impossibilities, do not direct a man what he is to do, and what he is to shun. The Minor is as evident; for if his opinion be true, all actions, all transgressions are determined antecedently inevitably to be done by a natural and necessary flux of extrinsecal causes. Yea, even the

will

will of man, and the reaſon it ſelf is thus determined. And therefore whatſoever Lawes do preſcribe any thing to be done, which is not done, or to be left undone which is done, do preſcribe abſolute impoſſibilities, and puniſh men for not doing of impoſſibilities. In all his anſwer there is not one word to this Argument, but onely to the concluſion. He ſaith, that *not the neceſſity, but the will to break the Law makes the action unjuſt.* I ask what makes the will to break the Law, *is it not his neceſſity?* What gets he by this? A perverſe will cauſeth injuſtice, and neceſſity cauſeth a perverſe wilf. He ſaith, *the Law regardeth the will, but not the precedent cauſes of action.* To what propoſition, to what tearm is this anſwer? he neither denies, nor diſtinguiſheth. Firſt, the Queſtion here is not what makes actions to be unjuſt, but what makes Lawes to be unjuſt. So his anſwer is impertinent. It is likewiſe untrue, for Firſt, that will which the Law regards, is not ſuch a will as *T. H.* imagineth. It is a free will, not a determined, neceſſitated will; a rational will, not a brutiſh will. Secondly, the Law doth look upon precedent cauſes as well as the voluntarineſs of the action. If a child before he be ſeven years old, or have the uſe of reaſon, in ſome childiſh quarrell do willingly ſtab another, whereof we have ſeen experience, yet the Law looks not upon it as an act of murther, becauſe there wanted a power to deliberate, and conſequently true liberty. Man-ſlaughter may be as voluntary as murther, and commonly more voluntary, becauſe being done in hot blood, there is the leſs reluctation, yet the Law conſiders, that the former is done out of ſome ſudden paſſion without ſerious deliberation, and the other out of prepenſed malice, and deſire of revenge, and therefore condemns murther as more wilful and more paniſhable than Man-ſlaughter.

[b] He ſaith, *that no Law can poſſibly be unjuſt*; And I ſay, that this is to deny the concluſion, which deſerves no reply; But to give him ſatisfaction, I will follow him in this alſo. If he intended no more, but that unjuſt Lawes are not genuine Lawes, nor bind to active obedience, becauſe they

are

are not the ordinations of right Reason, nor instituted for the common good, nor prescribe that which ought to be done, he said truly, but nothing at all to his purpose. But if he intend (as he doth) that there are no Lawes *de facto*, which are the ordinances of reason erring, instituted for the common hurt, and prescribing that which ought not to be done, he is much mistaken. *Pharaohs* Law to drown the Male Children of the *Israelites*, Exod. 1. 22. *Nebuckadnezzars* Law, that whosoever did not fall down and worship the golden Image which he had set up, should be cast into the fiery furnace, *Dan.* 3. 4 *Darius* his Law, that whosoever should ask a Petition of any God or man, for thirty dayes, save of the King, should be cast into the Den of Lions, *Dan.* 6. 7. *Ahashuerosh* his Law, to destroy the Jewish Nation, root and branch, *Esther* 3. 13. The Pharisees Law, that whosoever confesseth Christ, should be excommunicated, *John* 9. 22. were all unjust Lawes.

c The ground of this errour is as great an errour it self, (Such an art he hath learned of repacking Paradoxes) which is this. That *every man makes by his consent the Law which he is bound to keep*; If this were true, it would preserve them, if not from being unjust, yet from being injurious: But it is not true. The positive Law of God, conteined in the old and new Testament; The Law of Nature, written in our hearts by the finger of God; The Lawes of Conquerors, who come in by the power of the Sword; The Laws of our Ancesters, which were made before we were born, do all oblige us to the observation of them, yet to none of all these did we give our actual consent. Over and above all these exceptions, he builds upon a wrong foundation, that all Magestrates at first, were elective. The first Governours were Fathers of Families; And when those petty Princes could not afford competent protection and security to their subjects, many of them did resign their several and respective interests into the hands of one joint Father of the Country.

And though his ground had been true, that all first Legislators were elective, which is false, yet his superstructure

failes,

fails, for it was done in hope and truſt, that they would make juſt Lawes. If Magiſtrates abuſe this truſt, and deceive the hopes of the people, by making tyrannical Lawes, yet it is without their conſent. A precedent truſt doth not juſtifie the ſubſequent errours and abuſes of a Truſtee. He who is duely elected a Legiſlator, may exerciſe his Legiſlative power unduely. The peoples implicite conſent doth not render the tyrannical Lawes of their Legiſlators to be juſt.

[d] But his chiefeſt anſwer is. that *an action forbidden, thongh it proceed from neceſſary cauſes, yet if it were done willingly, it may be juſtly puniſhed*, which according to his cuſtome he proves by an inſtance; *A man neceſſitated to ſteal by the ſtrength of temptation, yet if he ſteal willingly, is juſtly put to death.* Here are two things and both of them untrue.

Firſt, he fails in his aſſertion. Indeed we ſuffer juſtly for thoſe neceſſities which we our ſelves have contracted by our own fault, but not for extrinſecal, antecedent neceſſities, wch were impoſed upon us without our fault. If that Law do not oblige to puniſhment which is not intimated, becauſe the ſubject is invincibly ignorant of it; How much leſs that Law which preſcribes abſolute impoſſibilities, unleſs perhaps invincible neceſſity be not as ſtrong a plea as invincible ignorance. That which he adds, *if it were done willingly*, though it be of great moment, if it be rightly underſtood, yet in his ſenſe, that is, if a mans *will be not in his own diſpoſition*, and *if his willing do not come upon him according to his will, nor according to any thing elſe in his power*, it weighs not half ſo much as the leaſt feather in all his horſe-load. For if that Law be unjuſt and tyrannical which commands a man to do that which is impoſſible for him to do, then that Law is likewiſe unjuſt and tyrannical, which commands him to wil that which is impoſſible for him to will.

Secondly, his inſtance ſuppoſeth an untruth, and is a plain begging of the Queſtion. No man is extrinſecally, antecedently and irreſiſtibly neceſſitated by temptation to ſteal. The Devil may ſollicite us, but he cannot neceſſitate us. He

hath a faculty of perſwading, but not a power of compelling. *Nos ignem habemus, ſpiritus flammam ciet*, as *Nazianzen*. He blowes the coles, but the fire is our own. *Mordet duntaxat ſeſe in fauces illius objicientem*, as *St. Auſtin*, he bites not until we thruſt our ſelves into his mouth. He may propoſe, he may ſuggeſt, but he cannot move the will effectively. *Reſiſt the Devil, and he will flie from you.* Jam. 4. 7. By faith we are able *to quench all the fiery darts of the wicked*, Eph. 6. 16. And if Sathan, who can both propoſe the object, and chooſe out the fitteſt times and places, to work upon our frailties, and can ſuggeſt reaſons, yet cannot neceſſitate the will (which is moſt certain,) then much leſs can outward objects do it alone. They have no natural efficacy to determine the will. Well may they be occaſions, but they cannot be cauſes of evil. The ſenſitive appetite may engender a proclivity to ſteal, but not a neceſſity to ſteal. And if it ſhould produce a kind of neceſſity, yet it is but Moral, not Natural; Hypothetical, not Abſolute; Coexiſtent, not Antecedent from our ſelves, nor Extrinſecall. This neceſſity, or rather proclivity, was free in its cauſes, we our ſelves by our own negligence in not oppoſing our paſſions when we ſhould, and might, have freely given it a kind of dominion over us. Admit that ſome ſudden paſſions may and do extraordinarily ſurpriſe us; And therefore we ſay, *motus primo primi*, the firſt motions are not alwayes in our power, neither are they free, yet this is but very rarely, and it is our own fault that they do ſurpriſe us. Neither doth the Law puniſh the firſt motion to theft, but the adviſed act of ſtealing. The intention makes the thief. But of this more largely Numb. 25.

[c] He pleads moreover, *that the Law is a cauſe of juſtice*, that *it frames the wills of men to juſtice*, and *that the puniſhment of one doth conduce to the preſervation of many*. All this is moſt true of a juſt Law juſtly executed. But this is no god-a-mercy to *T. H.* his opinion of abſolute neceſſity. If all actions, and all events be predetermined Naturally, Neceſſarily, Extrinſecally, how ſhould the Law frame men morally to good actions? He leaves nothing for the Law to do,

do, but either that which is done already, or that which is impossible to be done. If a man be chained to every individual act which he doth, and from every act which he doth not, by indissolvible bonds of inevitable necessity, how should the Law either deterre him or frame him? If a Dog be chained fast to a post, the sight of a rod cannot draw him from it. Make a thousand Lawes, that the fire shall not burn, yet it will burn. And whatsoever men do (according to *T. H.*) they do it as necessarily, as the fire burneth. Hang up a thousand Theevs, and if a man be determined inevitably to steal, he must steal notwithstanding.

[f] He addes, that *the sufferings imposed by the Law upon delinquents, respect not the evil act past, but the good to come*, and that *the putting of a delinquent to death by the Magistrate for any crime whatsoever, cannot be justified before God, except there be a reall intention to benefit others by his example.* The truth is, the punishing of delinquents by Law, respecteth both the evil act past, and the good to come. The ground of it, is the evil act past, the scope or end of it, is the good to come. The end without the ground cannot justifie the act. A bad intention may make a good action bad; but a good intention cannot make a bad action good. It is not lawful to do evil, that good may come of it, nor to punish an innoceut person for the admonition of others; that is to fall into a certain crime, for fear of an uncertain. Again, though there were no other end of penalties inflicted, neither probatory, nor castigatory, nor exemplary, but only vindicatory, to satisfie the Law out of a zeal of Justice, by giving to every one his own, yet the action is just and warrantable. Killing, as it is considered in it self without all undue circumstances, was never prohibited to the lawful Magistrate, who is the Vicegerent or Lieutenant of God, from whom he derives his power of life and death.

T. H. hath one plea more. As a drowning man catcheth at every Bulrush, so he layes hold on every pretence to save a desperate cause. But first, it is worth our observation to see how oft he changeth shapes in this one particular. [g]

First, he told us, that it was the irresistible power of God that justifies all his actions, though he command one thing openly, and plot another thing secretly, though he be the cause, not onely of the action, but also of the irregularity, though he both give man power to act and determine this power to evil, as well as good; though he punish the Creatures, for doing that which he himself did necessitate them to do. But being pressed with reason, that this is tyrannical; first, to necessitate a man to do his will, and then to punish him for doing of it, he leaves this pretence in the plain field, and flies to a second. That therefore a man is justly punished, for that which he was necessitated to do, because the act was voluntary on his part. This hath more shew of reason than the former, if he did make the will of man to be in his own disposition, but maintaining, that the will is irresistibly determined to will whatsoever it doth will, the injustice and absurdity is the same; First, to necessitate a man to will, and then to punish him for willing. The Dog onely bites the stone which is thrown at him with a strange haud, bnt they make the first cause to punish the instrument, for that which is his own proper act. Wherefore not being satisfied with this, he casts it off, and flies to his third shift. *Men are not punished* (saith he) *therefore, because their theft proceeded from election* (that is, because it was willingly done, for to Elect and Will, saith he, are both one; Is not this to blow hot and cold with the same breath?) *but because it was noxious and contrary to mens preservation.* Thus far he saith true, that every creature by the instinct of nature seeks to preserve it self; cast water into a dusty place, and it contracts it self into little globes, that is, to preserve it self. And those who are noxious in the eye of the Law, are justly punished by them to whom the execution of the Law is committed; but the Law accounts no persons noxious, but those who are noxious by their own fault. It punisheth not a thorn for pricking, because it is the nature of the thorn, and it can do no otherwise, nor a child before it have the use of reason. If one should take mine hand perforce, and give another a box on the ear with it,

it, my hand is noxious, but the Law punisheth the other who is faulty. And therefore he hath reason to propose the question, *how it is just to kill one man to amend another, if he who killed did nothing but what he was necessitated to do.* He might as well demand how it is lawful to murther a company of innocent Infants to make a bath of their lukewarm blood, for curing the Leprosie. It had been a more rational way; first to have demonstrated that it is so, and then to have questioned why it is so. His assertion it self is but a dream, and the reason which he gives of it why it is so, is a dream of a dream.

The sum of it is this; *That where there is no Law, there no killing or any thing else can be unjust; that before the constitution of Commonwealths every man had power to kill another, if he conceived him to be hurtfull to him; that at the constitution of Commonwealths particular men lay down this right in part, and in part reserve it to themselves, as in case of theft, or murther. That the right which the Commonwealth hath to put a malefactor to death is not created by the Law, but remaineth from the first right of Nature, which every man hath to preserve himself; that the killing of men in this case is as the killing of beasts in order to our own preservation.* This may well be called stringing of Paradoxes.

But first, [h] there never was any such time when Mankind was without Governors and Lawes, and Societies. Paternal Government was in the world from the beginning, and the Law of Nature. There might be sometimes a root of such Barbarous Theevish Brigants, in some rocks, or desarts, or odd corners of the World, but it was an abuse and a degeneration from the nature of man, who is a political creature. This savage opinion reflects too much upon the honour of mankind.

Secondly, there never was a time when it was lawfull ordinarily for private men to kill one another for their own preservation. If God would have had men live like wild beasts, as Lions, Bears, or Tygers, he would have armed them with hornes, or tusks, or talons, or pricks; but of all creatures man is born most naked, without any weapon to defend

defend himself, because God had provided a better means of security for him, that is, the Magistrate.

Thirdly, that right which private men have to preserve themselves, though it be with the killing of another, when they are set upon to be murthered or robbed, is not a remainder or a reserve of some greater power which they have resigned, but a priviledge which God hath given them, in case of extream danger and invincible necessity, that when they cannot possibly have recourse to the ordinary remedy, that is, the Magistrate, every man becomes a Magistrate to himself.

Fourthly, nothing can give that which it never had; The people, whilest they were a dispersed rable (which in some odd cases might happen to be) never had justly the power of life and death, and therefore they could not give it by their election. All that they do is to prepare the matter, but it is God Almighty, that infuseth the soul of power.

Fiftly and lastly, I am sorry to hear a man of reason and parts to compare the murthering of men with the slaughtering of brute beasts. The elements are for the Plants, the Plants for the brute Beasts, the brute Beasts for Man. When God enlarged his former grant to man, and gave him liberty to eat the flesh of his creatures for his sustenance, *Gen. 9. 3.* Yet man is expresly excepted, ver. 6. *Who so sheddeth mans blood, by man shall his blood be shed.* And the reason is assigned, *for in the image of God made he man.* Before sin entred into the World, or before any creatures were hurtful, or noxious to man, he had dominion over them, as their Lord and Master. And though the possession of this soveraignty be lost in part, for the sin of man, which made not onely the creatures to rebel, but also the inferiour faculties, to rebel against the superiour, from whence it comes, that one man is hurtful to another, yet the dominion still remains; wherein we may observe how sweetly the providence of God doth temper this cross, that though the strongest creatures have withdrawn their obedience, as Lions and Bears, to shew that man hath lost the execellen-

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cy of his dominion, and the weakeſt creatures, as Flies and Gnats, to ſhew into what a degree of contempt he is fallen, yet ſtill the moſt profitable and uſeful creatures, as Sheep and Oxen, do in ſome degree retain their obedience.

[i] The next branch of his anſwer concernes conſultations, *which* (ſaith he) *are not ſuperfluous, though all things come to paſs neceſſarily, becauſe they are the cauſe which doth neceſſitate the effect, and the means to bring it to paſs.* We were told *Numb.* 11. that the laſt dictate of right reaſon was but as the laſt feather which breaks the Horſes back. It is well, yet that reaſon hath gained ſome command again, and is become at leaſt a Quarter-maſter. Certainly if any thing under God have power to determine the will, it is right reaſon. But I have ſhewed ſufficiently, that reaſon doth not determine the will phyſically, nor abſolutely, much leſs extrinſecally, and antecedently, and therefore it makes nothing for that neceſſity which *T. H.* hath undertaken to prove.

[k] He adds further, that *as the end is neceſſary, ſo are the means; And when it is determined, that one thing ſhall be choſen before another, it is determined alſo for what cauſe it ſhall be ſo choſen.* All which is truth, but not the whole truth; for as God ordaines means for all ends, ſo he adapts and fits the means to their reſpective ends, free means to free ends, contingent means to contingent ends, neceſſary means to neceſſary ends, whereas *T. H.* would have all means, all ends, to be neceſſary. If God hath ſo ordered the World, that a man ought to uſe and may freely uſe thoſe means of God, which he doth neglect, not by vertue of Gods decree, but by his own fault; if a man uſe thoſe means of evil, which he ought not to uſe, and which by Gods decree, he had power to forbear; If God have left to man in part the free managery of human affairs, and to that purpoſe hath endowed him with underſtanding, then conſultations are of uſe, then provident care is needfull, then it concerns him to uſe the means. But if God have ſo ordered this world that a man cannot, if he would, neglect any means of good, which by vertue of Gods decree it is poſſible for him to uſe,

and

and that he cannot possibly use any means of evill, but those which are irresistibly and inevitably imposed upon him by an antecedent decree, then not onely consultations are vain, but that noble facnlty of reason it self is vain: do we think that we can help God Almighty to do his proper work? In vain we trouble our selves, in vain we take care to use those means, which are not in our power to use, or not to use. And this is that which was conteined in my prolepsis or prevention of his answer, though he be pleased both to disorder it, and to silence it. We cannot hope by our labours, to alter the course of things set down by God; let him perform his decree, let the necessary causes do their work. If we be those causes, yet we are not in our own disposition, we must do what we are ordained to do, and more we cannot do. Man hath no remedy but patience, and to shrug up the shoulders. This is the doctrine flowes from this opinion of absolute necessity. Let us suppose the great wheel of the clock which sets all the little wheels a going, to be as the decree of God & that the motion of it were perpetually infallible from an intrinsecal principle, even as Gods decree is Infallible, Eternal, All-sufficient. Let us suppose the lesser wheels to be the second causes, and that they do as certainly follow the motion of the great wheel, without missing or swerving in the least degree, as the second causes do pursue the determination of the first cause. I desire to know in this case what cause there is to call a Councill of Smiths, to consult and order the motion of that which was ordered and determined before to their hands. Are men wiser than God? yet all men know, that the motion of the lesser wheels is a necessary means to make the clock strike.

[1] But he tells me in great sadness. that *my Argument is just like this other; If I shall live till to morrow, I shall live till to morrow, though I run my self through with a sword to day, which saith he, is a false consequence, and a false proposition.* Truly, if by running through, he understands killing, it is a false, or rather a foolish proposition, and implyes a contradiction. To live till to morrow, and to dye to day, are inconsistent. But by his favour, this is not my consequence,

but

but this is his own opinion. He would perſwade us, that it is abſolutely neceſſary that a man ſhall live till to morrow, and yet that *it is poſſible* that he may kill himſelf to day. My Argument is this. If there be a liberty and poſſibility for a man to kill himſelf to day, then it is not abſolutely neceſſary, that he ſhall live till to morrow; but there is ſuch a liberty, therefore no ſuch neceſſity. And the conſequence which I make here is this. If it be abſolutely neceſſary, that a man ſhall live till to morrow, then it is vain and ſuperfluous for him to conſult and deliberate, whether he ſhould dye to day, or not. And this is a true conſequence. The ground of his miſtake is this, that though it be true, that a man may kill himſelf to day, yet upon the ſuppoſition of his abſolute neceſſity it is impoſſible. Such Heterogeneous arguments and inſtances he produceth, which are half builded upon our true grounds, and the other half upon his falſe grounds.

[m] The next branch of my argument concerns Admonitions, to which he gives no new anſwer, and therefore I need not make any new reply; ſaving onely to tell him, that he miſtakes my argument; I ſay not onely, If all things be neceſſary, then admonitions are in vain, but if all things be neceſſary, then it is to no more purpoſe to admoniſh men of underſtanding than fools, children, or mad men. That they do admoniſh the one and not the other, is confeſſedly true; and no reaſon under heaven can be given for it but this, that the former have the uſe of reaſon, and true liberty, with a dominion over their own actions, which children, fools, and mad men have not.

Concerning praiſe and diſpraiſe, he inlargeth himſelf. The ſcope of his diſcourſe is, that *things neceſſary may be praiſe-worthy*. There is no doubt of it, but withal their praiſe reflects upon the free agent, as the praiſe of a ſtatue reflects upon the workman who made it. *To praiſe a thing* (ſaith he) *is to ſay it is good.* [n] True, but this goodneſs is not a Metaphyſical goodneſs, ſo the worſt of things, and whatſoever hath a being, is good. Nor a Natural goodneſs; The praiſe of it paſſeth wholly to the Author of Nature;

God saw all that he had made, and it was very good. But a Moral goodness, or a goodness of actions rather than of things The moral goodness of an action is the conformity of it with right reason. The moral evil of an action, is the deformity of it, and the alineation of it from right reason. It is moral praise and dispraise which we speak of here. To praise any thing morally, is to say, it is morally good, that is, conformable to right reason. The morall dispraise of a thing is to say, it is morally bad, or disagreeing from the rule of right reason. So moral praise is from the good use of liberty, moral dispraise from the bad use of liberty: but if all things be necessary, then moral liberty is quite taken away, and with it all true praise and dispraise. Whereas *T. H.* adds, that *to say a thing is good, is to say, it is as I would wish, or as another would wish, or as the State would have it, or according to the Law of the Land*, he mistakes infinitely. He and another, and the State, may all wish that which is not really good, but only in appearance. We do often wish what is profitatble, or delightful, without regarding so much as we ought what is honest. And though the will of the State where we live, or the Law of the Land do deserve great consideration, yet it is no infallible rule of moral goodness. And therefore to his question, *whether nothing that proceeds from necessity can please me*, I answer, yes. The burning of the fire pleaseth me when I am cold; And I say, it is good fire, or a creature created by God, for my use and for my good: Yet I do not mean to attribute any moral goodness to the fire, nor give any moral praise to it, as if it were in the power of the fire it self, either to communicate its heat, or to suspend it, but I praise first the Creator of the fire, and then him who provided it. As for the praise which *Velleius Paterculus* gives *Cato*, that he was good by nature, *Et quia aliter esse non potuit*, it hath more of the Oratour than either of the Theologian or Philosopher in it. Man in the State of innocency did fall and become evil, what priviledge hath *Cato* more than he? No, by his leave. *Narratur & dij Catonis sæpe mero caluisse virtus.* but the true meaning is, that he was naturally

naturally of a good temper, not so prone to some kinds of vices as others were; This is to praise a thing, not an action, naturally, not morally. *Socrates* was not of so good a natural temper, yet prooved as good a man; the more his praise, by how much the difficulty was the more to conform his disorderly appetite to right reason.

Concerning reward and punishment, he saith not a word, but onely that they frame and conform the will to good, which hath been sufficiently answered. They do so indeed, but if his opinion were true, they could not do so. But because my aim is not onely to answer *T. H.* but also to satisfie my self; ○ Though it be not urged by him, yet I do acknowledge, that I find some improper and analogical rewards and punishments used to brute beasts, as the hunter rewards his dog, the master of the Coy-duck whipps her, when she returns without company. And if it be true, which he affirmeth a little before, that I have confessed, that *the actions of brute beasts are all necessitated and determined to that one thing which they shall do*, the difficulty is increased.

But first, my saying is misalledged. I said, that some kinds of actions which are most excellent in brute beasts, and make the greatest shew of reason, as the Bees working their Honey, and the Spider weaving their Webbs, are yet done without any consultation, or deliberation, by a meer instinct of nature, and by a determination of their fancies to these onely kinds of works. But I did never say, I could not say, that all their individual actions are necessary, and antecedently determined in their causes, as what dayes the Bees shall fly abroad, and what dayes and houres each Bee shall keep in the Hive, how often they shall fetch in Thyme on a day and from whence. These actions and the like, though they be not free, because brute beasts want reason to deliberate, yet they are contingent, and therefore not necessary.

Secondly, I do acknowledge, that as the fancies of some brute creatures are determined by nature, to some rare and exquisite works; So in others, where it finds a natuall propension, Art which is the Imitator of Nature, may frame

and form them according to the will of the Artift, to ſome particular actions and ends, as we ſee in Setting-dogs, and Coy-ducks, and Parrots ; and the principal means whereby they effect this, is by their backs, or by their bellies, by the rod, or by the morſell, which have indeed a ſhaddow, or reſemblance of rewards and puniſhments. But we take the word here properly, not as it is uſed by vulgar people, but as it is uſed by Divines and Philoſophers, for that recompenſe which is due to honeſt and diſhoneſt actions. Where there is no moral liberty, there is neither honeſty nor diſhoneſty, neither true reward nor puniſhment.

Thirdly, P when brute creatures do learn any ſuch qualities, it is not out of judgement, or deliberation, or diſcourſe, by infering or concluding one thing from another, which they are not capable of. Neither are they able to conceive a reaſon of what they do, but meerly out of memory, or out of a ſenſitive fear, or hope. They remember, that when they did after one manner, they were beaten; and when they did after another manner, they were cheriſhed, and accordingly they apply themſelves. But if their individual actions were abſolutely neceſſary, fear or hope could not alter them. Moſt certainly, if there be any defert in it, or any praiſe due unto it, it is to them who did inſtruct them.

Laſtly, concerning Arts, Arms, Books, Inſtruments, Study, Phyſick, and the like, he anſwereth not a word more than what is already ſatisfied. And therefore I am ſilent.

Animadverſions upon the *Biſhops* Reply Numb. XIV.

THe firſt inconvenience is thus preſſed. Thoſe Lawes are unjuſt and tyrannical, which do preſcribe things abſolutely impoſſible in themſelves to be done, and puniſh men for not doing of them.

I have already in the beginning, where I recite the inconveniences

niences that follow the doctrine of necessity, made clear, that the same inconveniences follow not the doctrine of Necessity any more than they follow this truth, whatsoever shall be, shall be, *which all men must confess; The same also followeth upon this,* that whatsoever God foreknowes cannot but come to pass, *in such time and manner as he hath foreknown it. It is therefore evident that these inconveniences are not rationally deduced from those Tenets. Again it is a truth manifest to all men, that it is not in a mans power to day, to choose what Will he shall have to morrow, or an hower, or any time after. Intervening occasions, business, (which the* Bishop *calls trifles) Trifles of which the* Bishop *maketh here a great business to change the Will. No man can say what he will do to morrow, unless he foreknow (which no man can) what shall happen before to morrow. And this being the substance of my opinion, it must needs be that when he deduceth from it, that Counsells, Arts, Armes, Medicines, Teachers, Praise, Prayer, and Piety, are in vain, that his deduction is false, and his ratiocination fallacy. And though I need make no other answer to all that he can object against me, yet I shall here mark out the causes of his several Parologismes.*

Those Lawes (*he saith*) are unjust and tyrannical, which do prescribe things absolutly impossible to be done, and punish men for not doing of them. *In which words this is one absurdity that* a Law can be unjust, *for all Lawes are Divine or Civil, neither of which can be unjust. Of the first there is no doubt. And as for Civil Lawes they are made by every man that is subject to them, because every one of them consenteth to the placing of the Legislative Power. Another is this in the same words, that he supposeth there may be Lawes that are not Tyrannical; for if he that maketh them have the soveraign Power, they may be Regal, but not Tyrannical; if Tyrant signifie not King, as he thinks it doth not. Another is in the same words,* that a Law may prescribe things absolutely impossible in themselves to be done. *When he sayes* impossible in themselves, *he understands not what himself means.* Impossible in themselves *are contradictions onely, as to be, and not to be, at the same time, which the Divines say is not possible to God. All*

other

other things are possible at least in themselves. Raising from the dead, changing the course of nature, making of a new Heaven, and a new Earth, are things possible in themselves; for there is nothing in their nature able to resist the Will of God; and if Laws do not prescribe such things, why should I believe they prescribe other things that are more impossible. Did he ever read in Suarez of any Tyrant that made a Law commanding any man to do, and not to do the same Action, or to be and not to be at the same place, in one and the same moment of time. But out of the doctrine of Necessity, it followeth he sayes, that all Lawes do prescribe absolute impossibilities to be done. Here he has left out in themselves, which is a wilfull Fallacy.

He further sayes that Just Lawes are the Ordinances of right Reason, which is an error that hath cost many thousands of men their lives. Was there ever King that made a Law which in right reason had been better unmade? and shall those Lawes therefore not be obeyed? shall we rather rebell? I think not, though I am not so great a Divine as he. I think rather that the Reason of him that hath the Soveraign Authority, and by whose Sword we look to be protected, both against war from abroad, and injuries at home, whether it be Right or Erronious in it self, ought to stand for Right to us that have submitted our selves thereunto by receiving the protection.

But the Bishop putteth his greatest confidence in this, that whether the things be impossible in themselves, or made impossible by some unseen accident, yet there is no reason that men should be punished for not doing them. It seemes he taketh punishment for a kind of revenge, and can never therefore agree with me that take it for nothing else but for a correction, or for an example, which hath for end the framing and necessitating of the Will to virtue; and that he is no good man, that upon any provocation useth his power, (though a power lawfully obtained) to afflict another man without this end, to reforme the will of him or others. Nor can I comprehend (as having onely humane Idea's) that that punishment which neither intendeth the correction of the offender, nor the correction of others by example, doth proceed from God.

[b] He saith that no Law can possibly be unjust, &c.

Against this he replies that the Law of Pharaoh *to drown the Male Children of the* Israelites; *and of* Nebuckadnezzar *to worship the golden Image; and of* Darius *against praying to any but him in thirty dayes; and of* Ahashueroth *to destroy the* Jewes; *and of the* Pharisees *to excommunicate the confessors of Christ, were all unjust Lawes. The Lawes of these Kings as they were Lawes have relation onely to the men that were their subjects; And the making of them, which was the action of every one of those Kings, who were subjects to another King, namely to God Almighty, had relation to the Law of God. In the first relation there could be no injustice in them; because all Laws made by him to whom the people had given the Legislative Power, are the Acts of every one of that people; and no man can do injustice to himself. But in relation to God, if God have by a Law forbidden it, the making of such Lawes is injustice. Which Law of God was to those Heathen Princes no other but* salus populi, *that is to say the propereſt use of their natural reason, for the preservation of their subjects. If therefore those Lawes were ordained out of wantonness or cruelty, or envy, or for the pleasing of a Favorite, or out of any other sinister end, as it seemes they were, the making of those Lawes was unjust. But if in right Reason they were necessary for the preservation of those people of whom they had undertaken the charge, then was it not unjust. And for the* Pharisees *who had the same written Law of God, that we have, their excommunication of the Christians, proceeding (as it did) from envy, was an Act of malicious injustice. If it had proceeded from misinterpretation of their own Scriptures, it had been a sin of ignorance. Nevertheless, as it was a Law to their subjects (in case they had the Legislative Power, which I doubt of) the Law was not unjust. But the making of it was an unjust action, of which they were to give account to none but God. I fear the* Bishop *will think this discourse too subtile, but the judgement is the Readers.*

[c] The ground of this error, &c. is this. *That* every man makes by his consent the Law which he is bound to keep, &c.

The

The reason why he thinketh this an error, is because the positive Law of God conteined in the Bible is a Law without our assent; the Law of Nature was written in our hearts by the finger of God without our assent; the Lawes of Conquerours who come in by the power of the Sword were made without our assent; and so were the Lawes of our Ancestors which were made before we were born. It is a strange thing that he that understands the non-sense of the Schoolmen, should not be able to perceave so easie a truth as this which he denieth. The Bible is a Law. To whom? To all the World? He knowes it is not. How came it then to be a Law to us? Did God speak it viva voce to us? Have we then any other Warrant for it than the Word of the Prophets? Have we seen the miracles? Have we any other assurance of their certainty than the authority of the Church? and is the authority of the Church any other than the authority of the Commonwealth, or that of the Commonwealth any other than that of the Head of the Commonwealth, or hath the Head of the Commonwealth any other authority than that which hath been given him by the Members? Else, why should not the Bible be Canonical as well in Constantinople as in any other place? They that have the Legislative power make nothing Canon, which they make not Law, nor Law which they make not Canon. And because the Legislative power is from the assent of the subjects, the Bible is made Law by the assent of the subjects. It was not the Bishop of Rome that made the Scripture Law without his own temporal Dominions; nor is it the Clergy that make it Law in their Dioceses and Rectories. Nor can it be a Law of it self without special and supernatural revelation. The Bishop thinks because the Bible is Law, and he is appointed to teach it to the people in his Diocese, that therefore it is Law to whomsoever he teach it; which is somewhat grosse, but not so grosse as to say that Conquerors who come in by the power of the sword, make their Lawes also without our assent. He thinks belike that if a Conquerour can kill me if he please, I am presently obliged without more a doe to obey all his Lawes. May not I rather dye, if I think fit? The Conquerour makes no Law over the Conquered by vertue of his power; but by vertue of

their

their assent that promised obedience for the saving of their lives. But how then is the assent of the Children obtained to the Laws of their Ancestors? This also is from the desire of preserving their lives, which first the Parents might take away, where the Parents be free from all subjection; and where they are not, there the Civil power might do the same, if they doubted of their obedience. The Children therefore when they be grown up to strength enough to do mischief, and to judgement enough to know that other men are kept from doing mischief to them, by fear of the Sword that protecteth them, in that very act of receiving that protection, and not renouncing it openly, do oblige themselves to obey the Lawes of their Protectors; to which, in receaving such protection they have assented. And whereas he saith, the Law of Nature is a Law without our assent, it is absurd; for the Law of Nature is the Assent it self, that all men give to the means of their own preservation.

[d] But his cheifest answer is, that An action forbidden, though it proceed from necessary causes; yet if it were done willingly, may be justly punished, &c.

This the Bishop also understandeth not, and therefore denies it. He would have the Judge condemne no man for a crime if it were necessitated; as if the Judge could know what acts are necessary, unless he knew all that hath anteceded, both visible and invisible, and what both every thing in it self, and altogether can effect. It is enough to the Judge, that the act he condemneth, be voluntary. The punishment whereof may, if not capital, reforme the will of the offender; if capital, the will of others by example. For heat in one boby, doth not more create heat in another, than the terrour of an example creatith fear in another, who otherwise were inclined to commit injustice.

Some few lines before he hath said that I built upon a wrong foundation, namely, That all Magistrates were at first elective, I had forgot to tell you, that I never said nor thought it. And therefore his Reply, as to that point is impertinent.

Not many lines after, for a reason why a man may not be justly punished, when his crime is voluntary, he offereth this,

that

that Law is unjuſt and tyrannical which commands a man to Will, that which is impoſſible for him to Will. *Whereby it appears he is of opinion, that a Law may be made to command the Will. The ſtile of a Law is* Do this, *or* Do not this; *or* If thou Do this, thou ſhalt Suffer this; *but no Law runs thus,* Will this, *or* Will not this; *or* If thou have a Will to this, thou ſhalt Suffer this; *He objecteth further that I begg the queſtion, becauſe no mans Will is neceſſitated. Wherein he miſtakes, for I ſay no more in that place, but that he that doth evill willingly, whether he be neceſſarily willing, or not neceſſarily, may be juſtly puniſhed. And upon this miſtake he runneth over again his former and already anſwered nonſenſe ſaying,* we our ſelves by our own negligence, in not oppoſing our paſſions when we ſhould and might, have freely given them a kind of dominion over us; *and again* motus primo primi, *the firſt motions are not alwayes in our power. Which* motus primo primi, *ſignifies nothing, and* our negligence in not oppoſing our paſſions, *is the ſame with* our want of Will, to oppoſe our Will, *which is abſurd; and that* we have given them a kind of dominion over us, *either ſignifies nothing, or that we have a dominion over our Wills, or our Wills a dominion over us, and conſequently either we or our wills are not Free.*

[e] He pleads moreover that the Law is a cauſe of Juſtice, &c. All this is moſt true, of a juſt Law, juſtly executed.

But I have ſhown that all Lawes are juſt, as Lawes, and therefore not to be accuſed of injuſtice, by thoſe that owe ſubjection to them; and a juſt Law is alwayes juſtly executed. Seeing then that he confeſſeth that all that he replieth to here is true, it followeth that the Reply it ſelf, where it contradicteth me, is falſe.

[f] He addeth that the ſufferings impoſed by the Law upon Delinquents, reſpect not the evil act paſt, but the good to come; and that the putting of a Delinquent to death by the Magiſtrate for any crime whatſoever, cannot be juſtified before God, except there be a reall intention to benefit others by his example.

This he neither confirmeth nor denieth, and yet forbeareth

not

not to discourse upon it to little purpose; and therefore I pass it over.

g First he told us, that it was the irresistible power of God that justifies all his Actions; though he command one thing openly, and plot another thing secretly; though he be the cause not onely of the Action, bnt also of the irregularity, &c.

To all this which hath been pressed before, I have answered also before, but that he sayes I say having commanded one thing openly, he plots another thing secretly, *it is not mine, but one of his own ugly Phrases. And the force it hath proceedeth out of an apprehension he hath, that affliction, is not Gods correction, but his revenge upon the Creatures of his own making; and from a reasonning he useth*, because it is not just in a man, to kill one man for the amendment of another, therefore neither is it so in God; *not remembring that God hath, or shall have killed all the men in the World, both nocent and innocent.*

My assertion (*he saith*) is a Dream, and the sum of it this, *that where there is no Law, there no killing or any thing else can be unjust; that before the constitution of Commonwealths, every man had power to kill another, &c. and adds, That* this may well be called stringing of Paradoxes. *To these my words he replies,*

h There was never any time when Mankind was without Governours, Lawes and Societies.

It is very likely to be true, that since the Creation there never was a time in which Mankind was totally without Society. If a part of it were without Lawes and Governours, some other parts might be Commonwealths. He saw there was Paternal Government in Adam, *which he might do easily, as being no deep consideration. But in those places where there is a Civil Warre at any time, at the same time there is neither Lawes nor Commonwealth, nor Society; but onely a temporal League; which every discontented Souldier may depart from when he pleases, as being entred into by each man for his private interest, without any obligation of conscience. There are therefore almost at all times multitudes of lawless men;*

but this was a little too remote from his understanding to perceave. Again, he denies that ever there was a time, when one private man might lawfully kill another for his own preservation; and has forgotten that these words of his (Number 2.) This is the beleef of all Mankind, which we have not learned from our Tutors, but is imprinted in our hearts by Nature; we need not turn over any obscure Books to find out this truth, &c. *Which are the words of* Cicero *in the defence of* Milo, *and translated by the* Bishop *to the defence of Free-will, were used by* Cicero *to prove this very thing, that it is and hath been alwayes lawful for one private man to kill another for his own preservation. But where he saith it is not lawful* ordinarily, *he should have shown some particular case wherein it is unlawful. For seeing it is a* beleef imprinted in our hearts, *not only I, but many more are apt to think it is the Law of Nature, and consequently Vniversal and Eternal. And where he saith, this right of defence where it is,* is not a remainder of some greater power which they have resigned, but a priviledge which God hath given them in case of extream danger and invincible necessity, &c. *I also say it is a priviledge which God hath given them; but we differ in the manner how; which to me seems this, that God doth not account such killing sin. But the* Bishop *it seems would have it thus, God sends a* Bishop *into the Pulpit to tell the People it is lawful for a man to kill another man when it is necessaay for the preservation of his own life; of which necessity, that is, whether it be* invincible, *or whether the danger be* extreame, *the* Bishop *shall be the Judge after the man is killed, as being a case of conscience. Against the resigning of this our general power of killing our enemies, he argues thus,* Nothing can give that which it never had; the People whilest they were a dispersed rable (which in some odd cases might happen to be) never had justly the power of life and death; and therefore they could not give it by their election, &c. *Needs there much acuteness to understand, what number of men soever there be, though not united into Government, that every one of them in particular having a right to destroy whatsoever he thinketh can annoy him, may not resign the same right, and give it to whom he please, when*

when he thinks it conducible to his preservation? And yet it seemes he has not understood it.

He takes it ill that I compare the murthering of men with the slaughtering of brute beasts; *as also a little before, he sayes* my opinion reflects too much upon the honour of mankind. The Elements (*saith he*) are for the Plants, the Plants for the brute Beasts, and the brute Beasts for Man. *I pray, when a Lyon eats a Man, and a Man eats an Oxe; why is the Oxe more made for the Man, than the Man for the Lion? Yes he saith,* God gave man liberty (*Gen.* 9. 3.) to eat the flesh of the Creatures for his sustenance. *True. But the Lion had the liberty to eat the flesh of man long before. But he will say no; pretending that no man of any Nation, or at any time, could lawfully eat flesh, unless he had this licence of holy Scripture, Which it was impossible for most men to have. But how would he have been offended, if I had said of man as* Pliny *doth,* Quo nullum est animal neque miserius, neque superbius? *The truth is, that man is a Creature of greater power, than other living Creatures are; but his advantages do consist especially in two things, whereof one is the use of speech by which men communicate one with another, and joine their forces together, and by which also they Register their thoughts, that they perish not, but be reserved, and afterwards joined with other thoughts, to produce general Rules for the direction of their actions. There be Beasts that see better, others that hear better, and others that exceed mankind in other senses. Man excelleth beasts onely in making of Rules to himself, that is to say, in remembring, and in reasoning aright upon that which he remembreth. They which do so, deserve an honour above brute beasts. But they which mistaking the use of words, deceive themselves and others, introducing errour, and seducing men from the truth, are so much less to be honoured than brute beasts, as error is more vile than ignorance. So that it is not meerly the nature of man, that makes him worthier than other living Creatures, but the knowledge that he acquires by meditation, and by the right use of reason in making good rules of his future actions. The other advantage a man hath, is the use of his hands for the making of those things*

which

which are instrumental to his well-being. But this advantage is not a matter of so great honour, but that a man may speak negligently of it without offence. And for the dominion that a man hath over beasts, he saith it is lost in part for the sin of man, because the strongest Creatures as Lions, and Bears, have withdrawn their obedience; but the most profitable and useful Creatures, as Sheep and Oxen, do in some degree, retain their obedience. *I would ask the* Bishop *in what consisteth the dominion of man, over a Lion or a Bear. Is it in an obligation of promise, or of debt? That cannot be; for they have no sense of debt or duty. And I think he will not say, that they have received a command to obey him from authority. It resteth therefore that the dominion of man consists in this, that men are too hard for Lions and Bears, because though a Lion or a Bear be stronger than a man, yet the strength, and art, and specially the Leagueing and Societies of men, are a greater power, than the ungoverned strength of unruly Beasts. In this it is that consisteth this dominion of man; and for the same reason when a hungry Lion meeteth an unarmed man in a desert, the Lion hath the dominion over the man, if that of man over Lions, or over Sheeep and Oxen, may be called dominion, which properly it cannot; nor can it be said that Sheep and Oxen do otherwise obey us, than they would do a Lion. And if we have dominion over Sheep and Oxen, we exercise it not as dominion, but as hostility; for we keep them onely to labour, and to be kill'd and devoured by us; so that Lions and Bears would be as good Maters to them as we are. By this short passage of his, concerning* Dominion *and* Obedience, *I have no reason to expect a very shrewd answer from him, to my* Leviathan.

i The next branch of his Answer, concerns Consultations, which (saith he) *are not superfluous, though all things come to pass necessarily, because they are the cause which doth necessitate the effect, and the means to bring it to pass.*

His Reply to this is, that he hath shewed sufficiently, that reason doth not determine the will Physically, &c. *If not Physically, how then? As he hath told us in another place,* Morally. *But what it is to determine a thing Morally, no man living understands. I doubt not but he had therefore the Will to*

write

Write this Reply, because *I had answered his Treatise concerning true Liberty. My answer therefore was* (*at least in part*) *the* cause *of his writing, yet that is the cause of the nimble local motion of his fingers. Is not the cause of local motion Physical? His Will therefore was Physically and Extrinsecally, and Antecedently, and not Morally caused by my writing.*

k He adds further, that *as the end is necessary, so are the means. And when it is determined, that one thing shall be chosen before another, it is determined also for what cause it shall be so chosen.* All which is truth, but not the whole truth, &c.

Is it not enough that it is truth? must I put all the truth I know into two or three lines? No. I should have added, that God doth adapt and fit the means to their respective ends, free means to free ends, contingent means to contingent ends, necessary means to necessary ends. *It may be I would have done so, but for shame.* Free, Contingent, *and* Necessary, *are not words that can be joined to* Means *or* Ends, *but to* Agents *and* Actions; *that is to say, to things that moove, or are moved. A* Free Agent *being that whose motion, or action is not hindered nor stopt. And a* Free Action, *that which is produced by a Free Agent. A* Contingent Agent, *is the same with an* Agent *simply. But because men for the most part think those things are produced without cause, whereof they do not see the cause, they use to call both the Agent and the Action* Contingent, *as attributing it to fortune. And therefore when the causes are Necessary, if they perceive not the necessity, they call those necessary Agents and Actions, in things that have Appetite,* Free; *and in things inanimate,* Contingent. *The rest of his Reply to this point, is very little of it applied to my answer. I note onely that where he sayes, but* if God have so ordered the World, that a man cannot, *if he would,* neglect any means of good, &c. *He would fraudulently insinuate that it is my opinion, that a man is not* Free to Do if he will, and to Abstain if he will. *Whereas from the beginning I have often declared that it is none of my opinion; and that my opinion is only this, that he is not* Free to Will, *or which is all one, he is not Master of his future Will. After much unorderly discourse*

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he comes in with This is the doctrine that flows from this opinion of absolute Necessity ; *which is impertinent ; seeing nothing flows from it more than may be drawn from the confession of an eternal Prescience.*

[l] But he tells me in great sadness, that *my Argument is no better than this; If I shall live till to morrow, I shall live till to morrow, though I run my self thorow with a sword to day, which (saith he) is a false consequence, and a false proposition.* Truly, if by running through, he understand killing, it is a false, or rather a foolish proposition. *He saith right. Let us therefore see how it is not like to his; He sayes*, If it be absolutely necessary that a man shall live till to morrow, then it is vain and superfluous for him to consult, whether he should dye to day or not.

And this (*he sayes*) is a true consequence. *I cannot perceive how it is a better consequence than the former; for if it be absolutely necessary that a man should live till to morrow, (and in health, which may also be supposed) why should he not (if he have the curiosity) have his head cut off to try what pain it is. But the consequence is false, for if there be a necessity of his living, it is necessary also that he shall not have so foolish a curiosity. But he cannot yet distinguish between a seen and unseen necessity, and that is the cause he beleeveth his consequence to be good.*

[m] The next branch of my Argument concerns Admonitions, &c.

Which he saies is this, If all things be necessary, then it is to no more purpose to admonish men of understanding, than fools, children, or madmen, *but* That they do admonish the one and not the other, is confessedly true; and no reason under heaven can be given for it but this, that the former have the use of reason, and true liberty, with a dominion over their own actions, which children, fools, and madmen have not.

The true reason why we admonish men and not children, &c. is because admonition, is nothing else but telling a man, the good and evil consequences of his actions. They who have experience of good and evill, can better perceive the reasonable-

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neſs of ſuch admonition, than they that have not; and ſuch as have like paſſions to thoſe of the Admonitor, do more eaſily conceive, that to be good or bad which the Admonitor ſayeth is ſo, than they who have great paſſions, and ſuch as are contrary to his. The firſt, which is want of experience maketh children and fools unapt, and the ſecond, which is ſtrength of paſſion, maketh madmen unwilling to receive admonition; for children are ignorant, and mad men in an errour concerning what is good or evill for themſelves. This is not to ſay children and mad men want true Liberty, that is, the liberty to do as they will, nor to ſay that men of judgement, or the Admonitor himſelf hath a dominion over his own actions, more than children or mad men, (for their actions are alſo voluntary) or that when he admoniſheth he hath alwayes the uſe of reaſon, though he have the uſe of deliberation, which children, fools, mad men, and beaſts alſo have. There be therefore reaſons under heaven which the Biſhop *knowes not of.*

Whereas I had ſaid, that things neceſſary may be praiſeworthy, *and* to praiſe a thing is to ſay it is good, *He diſtinguiſheth and ſaith,*

[n] True, but this goodneſs is not a Metaphyſical goodneſs, ſo whatſoever hath a being is good, nor a Natural goodneſs; The praiſe of it paſſeth wholly to the Author of Nature, &c. But a Moral goodneſs, or a goodneſs of actions rather than of things. The Moral goodneſs of an action is the conformity of it to right Reaſon, &c.

There hath been in the Schooles derived from Ariſtotles Metaphyſicks *an old Proverb rather than an Axiome*, Ens, Bonum, et verum convertuntur. *From hence the* Biſhop *hath taken this notion of a Metaphyſical goodneſs, and his doctrine, that whatſoever hath a being is good; and by this interpreteth the Words of Gen.* 1. God ſaw all that he had made, and it was very good. *But the reaſon of thoſe words is that* Good *is relative to thoſe that are pleaſed with it, and not of abſolute ſignification to all men. God therefore ſaith that all that he had made was very good, becauſe he was pleaſed with the Creatures of his own making. But if all things were abſolutely good, we ſhould be all pleaſed with their* Being, *which*

we are not, when the actions that depend upon their Being are hurtful to us. And therefore, to speak properly, nothing is good or evil, but in regard of the action that proceedeth from it, and also of the person to whom it doth good or hurt. Satan is evil to us because he seeketh our destruction, but good to God, because he executeth his commandements. And so his Metaphysical goodness *is but an idle tearm, and not the member of a distinction. And as for Natural goodness, and evilness, that also is but the goodness and evilness of Actions, as some Hearbs are good because they nourish, others evil because they poyson us; and one Horse is good because he is gentle strong, and carrieth a man easily, another bad because he resisteth, goeth hard, or otherwise displeaseth us, and that quality of gentleness, if there were no more Lawes amongst men than there is amongst beasts, would be as much a moral good in a horse or other beast as in a man. Tis the Law from whence proceeds the difference between the Moral and the Natural goodness, so that it is well enough said by him, that* Moral goodness is the conformity of an action with right Reason; *and better said than meant; for this* right Reason *which is the Law, is no otherwise certainly Right than by our making it so by our approbation of it, and voluntary subjection to it. For the Law-makers are men and may erre, and think that Law which they make is for the good of the people sometimes when it is not. And yet the actions of subjects, if they be conformable to the Law are Morally good, and yet cease not to be Naturally good, and the praise of them passeth to the Author of Nature, as well as of any other good whatsoever. From whence it appears that Moral praise is not as he sayes* from the good use of liberty, *but from obedience to the Lawes, nor Moral dispraise* from the bad use of liberty, *but from disobedience to the Lawes. And for his consequence* If all things be necessary, then Moral Liberty is quite taken away, and with it all true praise and dispraise, *there is neither truth in it, nor argument offered for it; for there is nothing more necessary than the consequence of* voluntary *actions to the* Will. *And whereas I had said, that to say a thing is good, is to say it is as I, or another would wish,*

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or as the State would have it, or according to the Law of the Land, he answers, that I mistake infinitely. *And his reason is, because* we often wish what is profitable, or delightful, without regarding as we ought, what is honest. *There is no man living that seeth all the consequences of an action from the beginning to the end, whereby to weigh the whole sum of the good, with the whole sum of the evill consequents. We choose no further than we can weigh. That is good to every man which is so farre good as he can see. All the reall good, which we call honest and Morally vertuous, is that which is not repugnant to the Law, Civil or Natural; for the Law is all the right Reason we have, and though he, as often as it disagreeth with his own reason denie it, is the infallible rule of Moral goodness. The reason whereof is this, that because neither mine nor the* Bishops *reason, is right Reason, fit to be a rule of our Moral actions, we have therefore set up over our selves a Soveraign Governour, and agreed that his Lawes shall be unto us, whatsoever they be, in the phace of Right reason, to dictate to us what is really good; in the same manner as men in playing turn up Trump, and as in playing their game their Morality consisteth in not renouncing, so in our civil conversation, our Morality is all conteined in not disobeying of the Lawes.*

To my question, whether nothing could please him that proceeded from Necessity, *he answers, yes. The fire pleaseth him when he is cold, and he sayes it is good fire, but does not praise it Morally. He praiseth (he sayes) first the Creator of the fire, and then him who provided it. He does well; yet he praiseth the fire when he saith it is good, though not Morally. He does not say it is a just fire, or a wise, or a well manered fire obedient to the Lawes, but these Attributes it seems he gives to God, as if justice were not of his nature, but of his manners. And in praising Morally him that provided it, he seemes to say, he would not say the fire was good, if he were not Morally good that did provide it.*

To that which I had answered concerning reward and punishment, he hath replied (he sayes) sufficiently before, and

that that which he discourseth here, is not only to answer me, but also to satisfie himself, and saith,

o Though it be not urged by him, yet I do acknowledge, that I find some improper and analogical rewards and punishments, used to brute beasts, as the Hunter rewards his Dog, &c.

For my part I am too dull to perveave the difference between those rewards used to brute beasts, and those that are used to men. If they be not properly called rewards and punishments let him give them their proper name. It may be he will say he has done it in calling them Annalogical, *yet for any thing that can be understood thereby, he might have called them* Paragogical, *or* Typical, *or* Topical *if he had pleased. He adds further, that Whereas he had said, that the action of Bees and Spiders were done without consultation, by meer instinct of nature, and by a determination of their fancies, I missaleadge him, and say he made their individuall Actions necessary. I have onely this to answer that seeing he sayes, that by instinct of nature their fancies were determined to special kinds of works, I might justly inferre they were determined every one of them to some work, and every work is an individual action, for* a kind of work *in the general is no work. But these their individual actions he saith* are contingent, and therefore not necessary; *which is no good consequence: for if he mean by* contingent *that which has no cause, he speaketh not as a Christian, but maketh a Deity of Fortune, which I verily think he doth not. But if he mean by it, that whereof he knoweth not the cause, the consequence is naught.*

The means whereby Setting-dogs, and Coy-ducks, and Parats are taught to do what they do, is by their backs, by their bellies, by the rod, or by the morsell, which have indeed a shaddow, or resemblance of rewards and punishments. But we take the word here properly, not as it is used by vulgar plople, but as it is used by Divines, and Philosophers, &c. *Does not the* Bishop *know that the Belly hath taught Poets, and Historians, and Divines, and Philosophers. and Artificers their several Arts, as well as Parrats? Do not men do their duty with regard to their backs, to their necks, and to*

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their morſells, as well as Setting-dogs, Coy-ducks and Parrats? Why then are theſe things to us the ſubſtance, and to them but the ſhadow *or* reſemblance *of rewards or puniſhments?*

P When brute creatures do learn any ſuch qualities, it is not out of judgement or deliberation or diſcourſe, by inferring or concluding one thing from another, which they are not capable of, neither are they able to conceive a reaſon of what they do, &c. *but* they remember that when they did after one manner, they were beaten; and when they did after another manner, they were cheriſhed; and accordingly they apply themſelves.

If the Biſhop *had conſidered the cogitations of his own mind, not then when he diſputeth, but then when he followed thoſe buſineſſes which he calleth trifles, he would have found them the very ſame which he here mentioneth, ſaving inſtead of* beating, *(becauſe he is exempt from that) he is to put in* dammage. *For ſetting aſide the diſcourſe of the tongue, in words of general ſignification, the Idea's of our minds are the ſame with thoſe of other living creatures, created from Viſible, Audible, and other ſenſible objects to the eyes and other Organs of ſence, as theirs are. For as the objects of ſenſe are all individual, that is ſingular, ſo are all the fancies proceeding from their operations; and men reaſon not but in words of univerſal ſignification uttered, or tacitely thought on. But perhaps he thinketh remembrance of words to be the Idea's of thoſe things which the words ſignifie; and that all fancies are not effected by the operation of Objects upon the Organs of our ſenſes. But to rectifie him in thoſe points is greater labour (unleſs he had better principles) than I am willing or have at this time leaſure to undergo.*

Laſtly, whereas he ſayes, if their Individual actions were abſolutely neceſſary, Fear or Hope could not alter them. *Thats true. For it is Fear and Hope that makes them neceſſarily what they are.*

T. D.

7. D.

Numb. 15. *Arg.* 3. THirdly, let this opinion be once radicated in the minds of men, that there is no true liberty, and that all things come to pass inevitably, and it will utterly destroy the study of Piety. Who will bewaile his sins with tears? what will become of that Grief, that Zeal, that Indignation, that holy Revenge, which the Apostle speaks of, if men be once throughly perswaded that they could not shun what they did? A man may grieve for that which he could not help, but he will never be brought to bewaile, that as his own fault, which flowed not from his own errour, but from antecedent necessity. Who will be careful or sollicitous to performe obedience, that beleeveth there are inevitable bounds and limits set to all his devotions, which he can neither go beyond, nor come short of? To what end shall he pray God to avert those evils which are inevitable? or to confer those favours which are impossible? We indeed know not what good or evill shall happen to us, but this we know, that if all things be necessary, our devotions and endeavours cannot alter that which must be. In a word, the onely reason why those persons who tread in this path of fatal destiny do sometimes pray, or repent, or serve God, is because the light of nature and the strength of reason, and the evidence of Scripture, do for that present transport them from their ill chosen grounds, and expell those Stoical fancies out of their heads; A compleate Stoick can neither pray, nor repent, nor serve God to any purpose. Either allow liberty, or destroy Church, as well as Commonwealth, Religion as well as Policy.

T. H.

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HIs third *Argument* consisteth in other inconveniences which he saith will follow, namely impiety and negligence of Religious duties, Repentance, and zeal to Gods service. To which I answer, as to the rest, that they follow not. I must confess, if we consider the far greatest part of mankind, not as they should be, but as they are, that is, as men whom either the study of acquiring Wealth, or preferments, or whom the appetite of sensual delights, or the impatience of meditating, or the rash imbracing of wrong principles, have made unapt to discuss the truth of things, that the dispute of this question will rather hurt than help their piety. And therefore, if he had not desired this answer, I would not have written it. Nor do I write it, but in hope your Lordship, and he will keep it private. Nevertheless in very truth, the necessity of events does not of it self draw with it any impiety at all. For piety consisteth onely in two things; One, that we honour God in our hearts, which is, that we think of his power as highly as we can, for to honour any thing is nothing else but to think it to be of great power. The other that we signifie that honour and esteem by our words and actions, which is called cultus, or worship of God. He therefore that thinketh that all things proceed from Gods Eternal Will, and consequently are necessary, does he not think God Omnipotent? does he not esteem of his power as highly as is possible? which is to honour God as much as can be, in his heart. Again, he that thinketh so, is he not more apt by external acts and words to acknowledge it, than he that thinketh otherwise? Yet is this external acknowledgement the same thing which we call Worship. So this opinion fortifieth piety in both kinds, externally and internally, and therefore is far from destroying it. And for Repentance, which is nothing but a glad returning into the right way, after the grief of being out of the way, though the cause that made him go astray were necessary, yet there is no reason why he should not grieve; and again, though the cause why he returned into the way were necessary, there remaines still

ſtill the cauſes of joy. So that the neceſſity of the actions taketh away neither of thoſe parts of repentance, grief for the errour, nor joy for the returning. And for Prayer, whereas he ſaith, that the neceſſity of things deſtroyes prayer, I deny it. For though prayer be none of the cauſes that moove Gods Will, his Will being unchangeable, yet ſince we find in Gods Word, he will not give his bleſſings but to thoſe that ask them, the motive to prayer is the ſame. Prayer is the gift of God, no leſs than the bleſſings. And the prayer is decreed together in the ſame decree wherein the bleſſing is decreed. Tis manifeſt, that thanksgiving is no cauſe of the bleſſing paſt; And that which is paſt is ſure, and neceſſary. Yet even amongſt men, thanks is in uſe as an acknowledgement of the benefit paſt, though we ſhould expect no new benefit for our gratitude. And prayer to God Almighty is but thanksgiving for his bleſſings in general; and though it precede the particular thing we ask, yet it is not a cauſe or means of it, but a ſignification that we expect nothing but from God, in ſuch manner as he, not as we will. And our Saviour by word of mouth bids us pray, Thy will, not our will be done, and by example teaches us the ſame, for he prayed thus, Father, if it be thy will, let this cup paſs, &c. *The end of prayer, as of thanksgiving, is not to move, but to honour God Almighty, in acknowledging that what we ask can be effected by him onely.*

J. D.

I Hope *T. H.* will be perſwaded in time, that it is not the Covetouſneſs, or Ambition, or Senſuaility, or Sloth, or Prejudice of his Readers which renders this doctrine of abſolute neceſſity dangerous, but that it is in its own nature deſtructive to true godlineſs; [a] And though his anſwer conſiſt more of oppoſitions than of ſolutions, yet I will not willingly leave one grain of his matter unweighed. [b] Firſt, he erres in making inward piety to conſiſt meerly in the eſtimation of the judgement. If this were ſo, what hinders but that the Devils ſhonld have as much inward piety as the beſt Chriſtians, for they eſteem Gods power to be infinite,

and

and tremble? Though inward piety do suppose the act of the understanding, yet it consisteth properly in the act of the will, being that branch of Justice which gives to God the honour which is due unto him. Is there no Love due to God, no Faith, no Hope? Secondly, he erres in making inward piety to ascribe no glory to God, but onely the glory of his Power or Omnipotence. What shall become of all other the divine Attributes, and particularly of his Goodness, of his Truth, of his Justice, of his Mercy, which beget a more true and sincere honour in the heart than greatness it self? *Magnos facile laudamus, bonos lubenter.* Thirdly, this opinion of absolute necessity destroyes the truth of God, making him to command one thing openly, and to necessitate another privately; to chide a man for doing that which he hath determined him to do; to profess one thing, and to intend another. It destroyes the goodness of God, making him to be an hater of mankind, and to delight in the torments of his creatures, whereas the very doggs licked the sores of *Lazarus* in pitty and commiseration of him. It destroyes the Justice of God, making him to punish the creatures for that which was his own act, which they had no more power to shun, than the fire hath power not to burn. It destroyes the very power of God, making him to be the true Author of all the defects and evils which are in the world. These are the fruits of Impotence, not of Omnipotence. He who is the effective cause of sin either in himself, or in the Creature, is not Almighty. There needs no other Devil in the world to raise jealousies and suspitions between God and his creatures, or to poyson mankind with an apprehension, that God doth not love them, but onely this opinion, which was the office of the Serpent, *Gen.* 3. 5. Fourthly, for the outward worship of God. [c] How shall a man praise God for his goodness, who believes him to be a greater Tyrant than ever was in the world? who creates millions to burn eternally without their fault, to express his power? How shall a man hear the word of God with that reverence, and devotion, and faith, which is requisite, who believeth that God causeth

his Goſpel to be preached to the much greater part of Chriſtians, not with any intention that they ſhould be converted and ſaved, but meerly to harden their hearts, and to make them inexcuſable? How ſhall a man receive the bleſſed Sacrament with comfort and confidence, as a Seal of Gods love in Chriſt, who believeth, that ſo many millions are poſitively excluded from all fruit and benefit of the paſſions of Chriſt, before they had done either good or evil? How ſhall he prepare himſelf with care and conſcience, who apprehendeth, that Eating and Drinking unworthily is not the cauſe of damnation, but becauſe God would damn a man, therefore he neceſſitates him to eat and drink unworthily? How ſhall a man make a free vow to God, without groſſe ridiculous hypocriſie, who thinks he is able to prrform nothing, but as he is extrinſecally neceſſitated? Fiftly, for Repentance, how ſhall a man condemn and accuſe himſelf for his ſins, who thinks himſelf to be like a Watch which is wound up by God, and that he can go neither longer nor ſhorter, faſter nor ſlower, truer nor falſer, than he is ordered by God? If God ſets him right, he goes right. If God ſet him wrong he goes wrong. How can a man be ſaid to return into the right way, who never was in any other way, but that which God himſelf had chalked out for him? What is his purpoſe to amend, who is deſtitute of all power, but as if a man ſhould purpoſe to fly without wings, or a beggar who hath not a groat in his purſe, purpoſe to build Hoſpitals?

We uſe to ſay, admit one abſurdity, and a thouſand will follow. To maintain this unreaſonable opinion of abſolute neceſſity he is neceſſitated (but it is hypothetically, he might change his opinion if he would) to deal with all ancient Writers, as the *Goths* did with the *Romans*, who deſtroyed all their magnificent works, that there might remain no monument of their greatneſs upon the face of the earth. Therefore he will not leave ſo much as one of their opinions, nor one of their definitions, nay, not one of their tearms of Art ſtanding. [f] Obſerve what a deſcription he hath given us here of Repentance. *It is a glad returning*

into

into the right way, after the grief of being out of the way. It amazed me to find *gladness* to be the first word in the description of Repentance. His repentance is not that repentance, nor his piety that piety, nor his prayer that kind of prayer which the Church of God in all Ages hath acknowledged. Fasting and Sackcloth, and Ashes, and Tears, and *Humi-cubations*, used to be companions of Repentance. Joy may be a consequent of it, not a part of it. § It is a *returning*, but whose act is this returning? Is it Gods alone, or doth the penitent person concur also freely with the grace of God? If it be Gods alone, then it is his repentance, not mans repentance, what need the penitent person trouble himself about it? God will take care of his own work. The Scriptures teach us otherwise, that God expects our concurrence, Revel. 3. 19. *Be zealous and repent, behold I stand at the dore, and knock. If any man hear my voice, and open the dore, I will come into him.* It is a *glad returning into the right Way.* Why dare any man call that a wrong way, which God himself hath determined? He that willeth, and doth that which God would have him to will and to do, is never out of his right way. It followes in his description, *after the grief, &c.* It is true, a man may grieve for that which is necessarily imposed upon him, but he cannot grieve for it as a fault of his own, if it never was in his power to shun it; Suppose a Writing-master, shall hold his Scholars hand in his, and write with it; the Scholars part is only to hold still his hand, whether the Master write well or ill; the Scholar hath no ground, either of joy or sorrow as for himself, no man will interpret it to be his act, but his Masters. It is no fault to be out of the right way, if a man had not liberty to have kept himself in the way.

And so from *Repentance* he skips quite over *New obedience*, to come to Prayer, which is the last Religious duty insisted upon by me here. But according to his use, without either answering or mentioning what I say. Which would have shewed him plainly what kind of prayer I intend, not contemplative prayer in general, as it includes thanksgiving, but that most proper kind of prayer which we call

Petition, which used to be thus defined, to be an *act of Religion by which we desire of God something which we have not, and hope that we shall obtain it by him* Quite contrary to this *T. H.* tells us, [h] that prayer *is not a cause, nor a meanes of Gods blessing, but onely a signification that we expect it from him.* If he had told us onely that prayer is not a meritorious cause of Gods blessings, as the poor man by begging an almes doth not deserve it, I should have gone along with him. But to tell us, that it is not so much as a means to procure Gods blessing, and yet with the same breath, that *God will not give his blessings, but to those who pray*, who shall reconcile him to himself? The Scriptures teach us otherwise, *Whatsoever ye shall ask the Father in my Name, he will give it you*, John 16. 23. *Ask and it shall be given you, seek and ye shall find, knock and it shall be opened unto you*, Matth. 7. 7. *St. Paul* tells the *Corinthians*, 2 *Cor.* 1. 11. that he was *helped by their prayers*, thats not all, that *the gift was bestowed upon him by their means*, So prayer is a *means*: And *St. James* saith chap. 5. 16. *The effectual fervent prayer of a righteous man availeth much.* If it be *effectual*, then it is a cause. To shew this efficacy of prayer, our Saviour useth the comparison of a Father towards his Child, of a Neighbour towards his Neighbour, yea, of an unjust Judge, to shame those who think, that God hath not more compassion than a wicked man. This was signified by *Jacobs* wrestling and prevailing with God. Prayer is like the Tradesmans tools wherewithal he gets his living for himself, and his family. But, saith he, *Gods Will is unchangeable.* What then? He might as well use this against study, Physick, and all second causes, as against Prayer. He shewes even in this, how little they attribute to the endeavours of men. There is a great difference between these two, *mutare voluntatem*, to change the will, which God never doth, in whom there is not the least shadow of turning by change; His will to love and hate, was the same from eternity, which it now is, and ever shall be. His love and hatred are immovable, but we are removed, *Non tellus cymbam tellurem cymba reliquit*, And *velle mutationem*,

to

to will a change, which God often doth. To change the will argues a change in the Agent, but to will a change, only argues a change in the object. It is no inconstancy in a man to love or to hate, as the object is changed. *Præsta mihi omnia eadem & idem sum.* Prayer works not upon God, but us; It renders not him more propitious in himself, but us more capable of mercy. He saith, this, *That God doth not bless us, except we pray, is a motive to prayer.* Why talks he of motives, who acknowledgeth no liberty, nor admits any cause, but absolutely necessary? He saith, *Prayer is the gift of God, no less than the blessing which we pray for, and conteined in the same decrree with the blessing.* It is true, the spirit of prayer is the gift of God, will he conclude from thence, that the good imployment of one talent, or of one gift of God, may not procure another? Our Saviour teacheth us otherwise, *Come thou good and faithfull servant, thou hast been faithful in little, I will make the ruler over much.* Too much light is an enemy to the sight, and too much Law is an enemy to Justice. I could wish we wrangled less about Gods Decrees, until we understood them better. But, saith he, Thanksgiving is no cause of the blessing past, and prayer is but a thanksgiving. He might even as well tell me, that when a beggar craves an almes, and when he gives thanks for it, it is all one. Every thanksgiving is a kind of prayer, but every prayer, and namely Petition, is not a thanks-giving. In the last place he urgeth, that *in our prayers We are bound, to submit our Wills to Gods Will*, who ever made any doubt of this? we must submit to the Preceptive Will of God, or his Commandements; we must submit to the effective Will of God, when he declares his good pleasure by the event or otherwise. But we deny, and deny again, either that God wills things, *ad extra*, without himself necessarily, or that it is his pleasure that all second causes should act necessarily at all times, which is the question, and that which he alledgeth to the contrary comes not near it.

Animad-

Animadversions upon the *Bishops* Reply Numb. XV.

a And though his answer consist more of oppositions than of solutions, yet I will not willingly leave one grain of his matter unweighed.

It is a promise of great exactness, and like to that which is in his Epistle to the Reader, Here is all that passed between us upon this subject, without any addition or the least variation from the original, &c. *Which promises were both needless and made out of gallantry; and therefore he is the less pardonable in case they be not very rigidly observed. I would therefore have the Reader to consider, whether these words of mine,* Our Saviour bids us pray Thy Will, not our Will be done, and by example teaches us the same, for he prayed thus, Father if it be thy Will let this cup pass, &c. *which seem at least to imply that our prayers cannot change the Will of God, nor divert him from his eternal decree, have been weighed by him to a grain according to his promise. Nor hath he kept his other promise any better; For (Number 8.) replying to these words of mine,* If he had so little to do as to be a spectator of the actions of Bees and Spiders, he would have confessed not onely Election, but also Art, Prudence, and Policy in them, &c. *He saith,* Yes, I have seen those silliest of Creatures, and seeing their rare works I have seen enough to confute all the bold-faced Athiests of this age, and their hellish blasphemies. *This passage is added to that which passed between us upon this subject. For it is not in the Copy which I have had by me (as himself confesseth) these eight years. Nor is it in the Body of the Copy he sent to the Presse, but onely in the margent, that is to say, added out of anger against me, whom he would have men think to be one of the bold-faced Athiests of this Age.*

In the rest of this Reply he endeavoureth to prove, that it followeth from my opinion, that there is no use of Piety. My opinion is no more than this that a man cannot so determine to

day,

day, the will which he shall have to the doing of any action to morrow, as that it may not be changed by some external accident or other, as there shall appear more or less advantage to make him persevere in the Will to the same action, or to Will it no more. When a man intendeth to pay a debt at a certain time, if he see that the deteining of the money for a little longer may advantage himself, and seeth no other disadvantage equivalent likely to follow upon the detention, hath his will changed by the advantage, and therefore had not determined his Will himself; but when he foreseeth discredit or perhaps imprisonment, then his Will remaineth the same, and is determined by the thoughts he hath of his Creditor, who is therefore an external cause of the determination of the debtors Will. This is so evident to all men living, though they never studied School-Divinity, that it will be very strange if he draw from it the great impiety he pretends to do. Again my opinion is only this, that whatsoever God foreknowes shall come to pass, it cannot possibly be that that shall not come to pass. But that which cannot possibly not come to pass, that is said by all men to come to pass necessarily; therefore all events that God foreknowes shal come to pass, shall come to pass necessarily. If therefore the Bishop *draw Impiety from this, he falleth into the Impiety of denying Gods Prescience. Let us see now how he reasoneth.*

[b] First, he erres in making inward Piety to consist meerly in the estimation of the judgement. If this were so, what hinders but that the Devils should have as much inward Piety as the best Christians, for they esteem Gods power to be infinite, and tremble?

I said that two things concurr'd to Piety; *one, to esteem his power as highly as is possible. The other, that we signifie that estimation by our Words and actions, that is to say, that we worship him; This later part of Piety he leaveth out; and then it is much more easie to conclude as he doth, that the Devils may have inward Piety. But neither so doth the Conclusion follow; For Goodness is one of Gods Powers, (namely that Power by which he worketh in men, the Hope they have in him) and is relative; and therefore unless*

leſs the Devil think that God will be good to him, he cannot eſteem him for his Goodneſs. It does not therefore follow from any opinion of mine, that the Devil may have as much inward Piety as a Chriſtian. But how does the Biſhop *know how the Devils eſteem Gods Power? and what Devils does he mean? there are in the Scripture two ſorts of things, which are in Engliſh tranſlated Devils, one is, that which is called* Satan, Diabolus, *and* Abaddon, *which ſignifies in Engliſh an* Enemy, *an* Accuſer, *and a Deſtroyer of the Church of God. In which ſenſe, the Devils are but wicked men. How then is he ſure that they eſteem Gods Power to be infinite? for trembling inferrs no more than that they apprehend it to be greater than their own. The other ſort of Devils are called in the Scripture* Dœmonia, *which are the faigned Gods of the Heathen, and are neither bodies nor ſpiritual ſubſtances, but meer fancies, and fictions of terrified hearts, faigned by the Greeks and other Heathen People, and which St.* Paul *calleth* Nothings; *for an Idol ſaith he is Nothing. Does the* Biſhop *mean that theſe Nothings eſteem Gods Power, to be infinite and tremble? there is nothing that has a real being, but God and the World, and the parts of the World; nor has any thing a faigned being but the fictions of mens braines. The World and the parts thereof are corporeal, indued with the dimenſions of Quantity, and with Figure. I ſhould be glad to know in what Claſſis of Entities, (which is a word that Schoolmen uſe) the* Biſhop *ranketh theſe Devils that ſo much eſteem Gods Power and yet not love him, nor hope in him; if he place them not in the rank of thoſe men, who are enemies to the People of God, as the Jewes did.*

c Secondly, he errs in making inward Piety, to aſcribe no glory to God, but onely the glory of his Power, or Omnipotence. What ſhall become of all other the Divine Attributes, and particularly of his Goodneſs, of his Truth, of his Juſtice, of his Mercy, &c.

He ſpeaketh of Gods Goodneſs, and Mercy, as if they were no part of his Power. Is not Goodneſs in him that is good the Power to make himſelf beloved, and is not Mercy Goodneſs? are not therefore theſe Attributes contained in the

Attrbiute

GOTTFRIED WILHELM LEIBNIZ BIBLIOTHEK
NIEDERSÄCHSISCHE LANDESBIBLIOTHEK
Signatur: Leibn. Marg. 163, [172] - 160
PUBLIC DOMAIN

Attribute of his Omnipotence. And Justice in God, is it any thing else but the Power he hath, and exerciseth in distributing blessings and afflictions? Justice is not in God as in man, the observation of the Lawes made by his superiours. Nor is Wisedom in God a logicall examination of the means by the end, as it is in men; but an incomprehensible Attribute given to an incomprehensible nature, for to honour him. It is the Bishop *that erres, in thinking nothing to be Power, but Riches, and High place, wherein to dominere and please himself, and vex those that submit not to his opinions.*

[d] Thirdly, this opinion of absolute Necessity, destroyes the Truth of God, making him to command one thing openly, and to necessitate another privately, &c. It destroyes the goodness of God, making him to be a hater of mankind, &c. It destroyes the Justice of God, making him to punish the creatures for that which was his own act, &c. It destroyes the very Power of God, making him to be the true Author of all the defects and evils, which are in the world.

If the opinion of absolute necessity do all this, then the opinion of Gods Prescience does the same; for God foreknoweth nothing that can possibly not come to pass; but that which cannot possibly not come to pass, cometh to pass of necessity. But how doth necessity destroy the Truth of God by commanding and hindering what he commandeth? Truth consisteth in Affirmation and Negation, not in commanding and hindering; it does not therefore follow if all things be necessary that come to pass, that therefore God hath spoken an untruth; Nor that he professeth one thing and intendeth another. The Scripture which is his word, is not the profession of what he intendeth, but an indication of what those men shall necessarily intend, whom he hath chosen to salvation, and whom he hath determined to destruction. But on the other side, from the Negation of necessity, there followeth necessarily the Negation of Gods Prescience; which is in the Bishop *(if not ignorance) impiety. Or* how destroyeth it the Goodness of God, or maketh him to be an hater of mankind, and to delight in the torments of his creatures, whereas the very doggs licked the sores of *Lazarus*, in pitty and commiseration of him? *I*

cannot imagine when living creatures of all sorts are often in torments, as well as men, that God can be displeased with it, without whose will they neither are nor could be at all tormented. Nor yet is he delighted with it; but health, sickness, ease, torments, life and death are without all passion in him dispenced by him, and he putteth an end to them then when they end, and a beginning when they begin, according to his eternal purpose, which cannot be resisted. That the necessity argueth a delight of God in the torments of his creatures, is even as true as that it was pitty and commiseration in the doggs, that made them lick the sores of Lazarus. Or how doth the opinion of necessity destroy the Justice of God, or make him to punish the creatures for that which was his own act? If all afflictions be punishments, for whose act are all other Creatures punished which cannot sin? Why may not God make the affliction both of those men that he hath elected, and also of those whom he hath reprobated, the necessary causes of the conversion of those he hath elected; their own afflictions serving therein as chastisements, and the afflictions of the rest, as examples? But he may perhaps think it no injustice to punish the creatures that cannot sin, with temporary punishments, when nevertheless it would be injustice to torment the same creatures eternally. This may be somewhat to Meekness and Cruelty, but nothing at all to Justice and Injustice: For in punishing the innocent the injustice is equall, though the punishments be unequal. And what cruelty can be greater than that which may be inferred from this opinion of the Bishop, that God doth torment eternally, and with the extreamest degree of torment, all those men which have sinned, that is to say, all mankind from the creation to the end of the world, which have not believed in Jesus Christ, whereof very few in respect of the multitude of others have so much as heard of his name, and this, when Faith in Christ is the gift of God himself, and the hearts of all men in his hands to frame them to the belief of whatsoever he will have them to believe? He hath no reason therefore for his part to tax any opinion, for ascribing to God either cruelty or injustice. Or how doth it destroy the Power of God, or make him to be the Author

of

of all the defects and evils which are in the world? *First, he seemeth not to understand what* Author *signifies. Author is he which owneth an Action, or giveth a warrant to do it. Doe I say that any man hath in the Scripture, (which is all the warrant we have from God for any Action whatsoever) a Warrant to commit Theft, Murder, or any other sin? Does the opinion of necessity inferre, that there is such a warrant in the Scripture? Perhaps he will say no, but that this opinion makes him the cause of sin. But does not the* Bishop *think him the cause of all Actions? And are not sins of commission Actions? Is Murder no Action? And does not God himself say* Non est malum in civitate quod ego non feci? *And was not murder one of those evils? whether it were or not, I say no more but that God is the cause (not the Author) of all Actions and Motions. Whether sin be the Action, or the Defect, or the Irregularity, I mean not to dispute. Nevertheless I am of opinion, that the distinction of* Causes *into* Efficient *and* Deficient *is* Bohu, *and signifies nothing.*

e How shall a man praise God for his Goodness, who beleeves him to be a greater Tyrant than ever was in the world? who creates millions to burn eternally without their fault, to express his Power.

If Tyrant *signifie (as it did when it came first in use) a King, tis no dishonour to beleeve that God is a greater Tyrant than ever was in the world; for he is the King of all Kings, Emperours and Common Wealths. But if we take the word (as it is now used) to signifie those Kings onely, which they that call them Tyrants are displeased with; that is, that Govern not as they would have them, the* Bishop *is nearer the calling him a Tyrant than I am, making that to be Tyranny, which is but the exercise of an absolute Power; For he holdeth (though he see it not) by consequence, in withdrawing the Will of man from Gods dominion, that every man is a King of himself. And if a man cannot praise God for his Goodness, who creates millions to burn eternally without their fault; how can the* Bishop *praise God for his Goodness, who thinks he hath created millions of millions to burn eternally, when he could have kept them so easily from committing any fault? And to his*

How ſhall a man hear the Word of God with that reverence, and devotion, and faith which is requiſite, who beleeveth that God cauſeth his Goſpel to be preached to the much greater part of Chriſtians, not with any intention, that they ſhould be converted and ſaved, &c. *I anſwer that thoſe men who ſo beleeve have Faith in Jeſus Chriſt, or they have not Faith in him, If they have, then ſhall they by that faith hear the Word of God with that reverence and devotion, and faith which is requiſite to ſalvation. And for them that hath no faith, I do not think he asketh how they ſhall hear the Word of God with that reverence, and devotion, and faith which is requiſite, for he knowes they ſhall not till ſuch time as God ſhall have given them faith. Alſo he miſtakes if he think that I or any other Chriſtian beleeve, that God intendeth by hardening any mans heart, to make that man inexcuſable, but to make his Elect the more careful.*

Likewiſe to his queſtion, How ſhall a man receave the Sacrament with comfort, who beleeveth that ſo many millions are poſitively excluded from the benefit of Chriſts Paſſion, before they had done either good or evil. *I anſwer as before*, by Faith, *if he be of Gods Elect; if not, he ſhall not receave the Sacrament with comfort. I may anſwer alſo that the Faithful man ſhall receave the Sacrament with comfort by the ſame way that the* Biſhop *receaveth it with comfort. For he alſo beleeveth that many millions are excluded from the benefit of Chriſts Paſſion, (whether poſitively or not poſitively is nothing to the purpoſe, nor doth poſitively ſignifie any thing in this place) and that ſo long before they had either done good or evil, as it was known to God before they were born that they were ſo excluded*

To his How ſhall he prepare himſelf with care and conſcience, who apprehendeth that eating and drinking unworthily, is not the cauſe of damnation, but becauſe God would damn a man, therefore he neceſſitates him. *I anſwer that he that eateth and drinketh unworthily, does not beleeve that God neceſſitates him to Eat and Drink unworthily, becauſe he would damn him; for neither does he think he Eats and Drinks unworthily, nor that God intends to damn him;*

for

for he beleeveth no such damnation, nor intendeth any preparation. The beleef of damnation is an Article of Christian faith; so is also preparation to the Sacrament. Tis therefore a vain question, how he that hath no faith shall prepare himself with care and conscience to the receiving of the Sacrament. *But to the question how they shall prepare themselves that shall at all prepare themselves; I answer it shall be by Faith, when God shall give it them.*

To his How shall a man make a free vow to God, who thinks himself able to perform nothing, but as he is extrinsecally necessitated. *I answer, that if he make a vow it is a Free vow, (or else it is no vow) and yet he may know when he hath made that vow, (though not before) that it was extrinsecally nocessitated, for the necessity of vowing before he vowed, hindered not the* Freedome of his *Vow, but made it.*

Lastly, to How shall a man condemn and accuse himself for his sins, who thinks himself to be like a Watch which is wound up by God, &c. *I answer, though he think himself necessitated to what he shall do, yet if he do not think himself necessitated, and wound up to impenitence, there will follow upon his opinion of necessity no imped ment to his repentance. The* Bishop *disputeth not against me, but against som body that holds a man may repent, that beleeves at the same time he cannot repent.*

f Observe what a description he hath given us here of Repentance. *It is a glad returning into the right way, after the grief of being out of the way.* It amazed me to find *gladness* to be the first word in the description of repentance.

I could never be of opinion that Christian repentance could be ascribed to them, that had as yet no intention to forsake their sins and to lead a new life. He that grieves for the evil that hath happened to him for his sins, but hath not a resolution to obey Gods Commandements better for the time to come, griveth for his sufferings but not for his doings, which no Divine I think will call Christian Repentance; but he that resolveth upon ameudment of life, knoweth that there is forgiveness for him in Christ Jesus, whereof a Christian cannot possibly be but glad. Before this gladness there was a grief preparative to

Repentance, but the Repentance it self was not Christian Repentance till this Conversion, till this glad Conversion. Therefore I see no reason why it should amaze him to find gladness to be the first word in the description of Repentance, saving that the light amazeth such as have been long in darkness. And for the Fasting, Sackcloth, and Ashes, they were never parts of Repentance perfected, but signes of the beginning of it. They are external things; Repentance is internal. This Doctrine pertaineth to the establishing of Romish Penance, and being found to conduce to the power of the Clergy, was by them wished to be restored.

g It is a returning, but whose act is this returning? If it be Gods alone, then it is his Repentance, not mans Repentance, what need the penitent person trouble himself about it.

This is ill argued, for why is it Gods Repentance, when he gives man Repentance, more than it is Gods Faith, when he gives man Faith. But he labours to bring in a concurrence of Mans Will with Gods Will; and a power in God to give Repentance, if man will take it; but not the Power to make him take it. This concurrence he thinks is proved by Revel. 3. 19. Be zealous, and repent, behold I stand at the door, and knock. If any man hear my voice, and open the door, I will come in to him. *Here is nothing of concurrence, nor of any thing equivalent to it, nor mention at all of the Will or Purpose, but of the calling, or voice by the Minister. And as God giveth to the Minister a Power of perswading; so he giveth also many times a concurrence of the Auditor with the Minister in being perswaded. Here is therefore somewhat equivalent to a concurrence with the Minister, that is, of man with man, but nothing of the concurrence of man, (whose Will God frameth as he pleaseth,) with God that frameth it. And I wonder how any man can conceive, when God giveth a man a Will to do any thing whatsoever, how that Will when it is not, can concurre with Gods Will to make it selfe be. The next thing he excepteth against is this, that I hold,*

h That prayer is not a cause, nor a means of Gods blessing, but onely a signification that we expect it from him.

First instead of my words a signification that we expect nothing

thing but from him, *he hath put* a signification that we expect it from him. *There is much difference between my words and his in the sense and meaning, for in the one there is honour ascribed to God, and humility in him that prayeth; but in the other presumption in him that prayeth, and a detraction from the honour of God. When I say* Prayer is not a cause nor a meanes, *I take* cause *and* meanes *in one and the same sense, affirming that God is not moved by any thing that we do, but has alwaies one and the same eternal purpose, to do the same things that from eternity he hath foreknown shall be done; and me thinks there can be no doubt made thereof. But the* Bishop *alledgeth* 2 Cor. 1. 11. *That St* Paul *was* helped by their prayers, *and that* the gift was bestowed upon them by their means, *and* James 5. 16. The effectual and fervent prayer of a righteous man availeth much. *In which places the words* meanes, effectual, availeth, *do not signifie any causation; for no man nor creature living can work any effect upon God, in whom there is nothing, that hath not been in him eternally heretofore, nor that shall not be in him eternally hereafter; but do signifie the order in which God hath placed mens prayers, and his own blessings. And not much after the* Bishop *himself saith,* Prayer works not upon God, but us. *Therefore it is no cause of Gods Will, in giving us his blessings, but is properly a signe, not a procuration of his favour. The next thing he replieth to is, that I make prayer to be a kind of thanksgiving, to which he replies,* He might even as wel tell me that when a Beggar craves an Alms, and when he gives thanks for it, it is all one. *Why so? Does not a Beggar move a man by his prayer, and sometime worketh in him a compassion not without pain, and as the Scripture calls it, a yerning of the Bowels, which is not so in God when we pray to him. Our prayer to God is a duty; it is not so to man. Therefore though our prayers to man be distinguished from our thanks, it is not necessary it should be so in our prayers and thanks to God Almighty.*

To the rest of his Reply in this Number 15. *there needs no further Answer.*

T. D.

FOourthly, the order, beauty, and perfection of the world doth require, that in the Universe should be Agents of all sorts, some necessary, some free, some contingent. He that shall make either all things necessary, guided by destiny; or all things free, governed by election; or all things contingent, happening by chance, doth overthrow the beauty and the perfection of the world.

T. H.

Numb. 16. Arg. 4. THE fourth Argument from Reason is this. The Order, Beauty and Perfection of the World, requireth, that in the Universe, should be Agents of all sorts, some necessary, some free, some contingent. He that shall make all things nenessary, or all things free, or all things contingent, doth overthrow the beauty and pefection of the World.

In which Argument I observe, first, a contradiction. For seeing he that maketh any thing in that he maketh it, he maketh it to be necessary, it followeth, that he that maketh all things, maketh all things necessary to be. As if a workman make a garment, the garment must necessarily be. So if God make every thing, every thing must necessarily be. Perhaps the beauty of the World requireth (though we know it not) that some Agents should work without deliberation, which he calls necessary Agents. And some Agents with deliberation, and those, both he and I call free Agents. And that some Agents should work, and we not know how; And those effects we both call contingent; But this hinders not, but that he that electeth may have his election necessarily determined to one by former causes; And that which is contingent, and imputed to Fortune, be nevertheless necessary, and depend on precedent necessary causes. For by contingent, men do not mean that which hath no cause, but which hath not for cause any thing which we perceive. As for Example; when a Travailer meets with a shower, the journey had a cause, and the rain had a cause sufficient enough to produce it, but because the journey caused not the rain, nor the rain the journey, we say, they were contingent one to another. And thus you see, though there be three sorts of events, Necessary, Contingent,

tingent, and Free, yet they may be all neceſſary, without the deſtruction of the beauty or perfection of the Univers.

J. D.

THE firſt thing he obſerves in mine Argument is contradiction, as he calls it, but in truth it is but a deception of the ſight. As one candle ſometimes ſeems to be two, or a rod in the water ſhewes to be two rods, *Quicquid recipitur, recipitur ad modum recipientis.* But what is this contradiction? Becauſe I ſay, *he who maketh all things, doth not make them neceſſary.* What! a contradiction, and but one propoſition? That were ſtrange. I ſay, God hath not made all Agents neceſſary; he ſaith, God hath made all Agents neceſſary. Here is a contradiction indeed, but it is between him and me, not between me and my ſelf But yet though it be not a formal contradiction, yet perhaps it may imply a contradiction *in adjecto.* Wherefore to clear the matter, and diſpell the miſt which he hath raiſed; It is true, that every thing when it is made; it is neceſſary that it be made ſo as it is, that is, by a neceſſity of infallibility, or ſuppoſition, ſuppoſing, that it be ſo made, but this is not that abſolute, antecedent neceſſity, whereof the queſtion is between him and me. As to uſe his own inſtance; Before the Garment be made, the Tailor is free to make it, either of the *Italian*, *Spaniſh*, or *French* faſhion indifferently: But after it is made, it is neceſſary that it be of that faſhion whereof he hath made it, that is by a neceſſity of ſuppoſition. But this doth neither hinder the cauſe from being a free cauſe, nor the effect from being a free effect, but the one did produce freely, and the other was freely produced. So the contradiction is vaniſhed.

In the ſecond part of his anſwer [a] he grants, that there are ſome free Agents, and ſome contingent Agents, and that perhaps the beauty of the World doth require it, but like a ſhrewd Cow, which after ſhe hath given her milk, caſts it down with her foot, in the concluſion he tells us, that nevertheleſs they are all neceſſary. This part of his anſwer is a meer Logomachy, (as a great part of the controverſies in the world are) or a contention about words. What is the mean-

ing of *neceſſary*, and free, and contingent actions. I have ſhewed before what free and neceſſary do properly ſignifie; but he miſrecites it. He ſaith, I make all Agents which want deliberation to be neceſſary, but I acknowledge that many of them are contingent. [b] Neither do I approve his definition of contingents, though he ſay I concurre with him, that they are *ſuch Agents as work we know not how.* For according to this deſcription many neceſſary actions ſhould be contingent, and many contingent actions ſhould be neceſſary. The Loadſtone draweth Iron, the Jet chaff, we know not how, and yet the effect is neceſſary, and ſo it is in all Sympathies and Antipathies or occult qualities. Again, a man walking in the ſtreets, a Tile falls down from an houſe, and breaks his head. We know all the cauſes, we know how this came to paſs. The man walked that way, the pin failed, the Tile fell juſt when he was under it; And yet this is a contingent effect. The man might not have walked that way, and then the Tile had not fallen upon him. Neither yet do I nnderſtand here in this place by contingents, ſuch events as happen beſide the ſcope, or intention of the Agents; as when a man digging to make a grave, finds a Treaſure, though the word be ſometimes ſo taken. But by contingents, I underſtand all things which may be done, and may not be done, may happen or may not happen, by reaſon of the indetermination, or accidental concurrence of the cauſes. And thoſe ſame things which are abſolutely Incontingent are yet Hypothetically neceſſary. As ſuppoſing the paſſenger did walk juſt that way, juſt at that time, and that the pin did faile juſt then, and the Tile fall, it was neceſſary that it ſhould fall upon the Paſſengers head. The ſame defence will keep out his ſhower of rain. But we ſhall meet with his ſhower of rain again, Number 34. Whither I referre the further explication of this point.

Animad-

Animadversions upon the Bishops Reply Number, XVI.

IN this Number he would prove that there must be Free Agents, and Contingent Agents, as well as Necessary Agents, from the Order, Beauty, and Perfection of the World. I that thought that the Order, Beauty, and Perfection of the World required that which was in the World, and not that which the Bishop *had need of for his Argument, could see no force of consequence to inferre that which he calls Free and Contingent. That which is in the World is the Order, Beauty, and Perfection which God hath given the World; and yet there are no Agents in the World, but such as work a seen Necessity, or an unseen Necessity; and when they work an unseen Necessity in creatures inanimate, then are those creatures said to be wrought upon Contingently, and to Work Contingently. And When the Necessity unseen is of the actions of men, then it is commonly called Free, and might be so in other living creatures; for Free and Voluntary are the same thing. But the* Bishop *in his Reply hath insisted most upon this, that I make it a contradiction to say that* He that maketh a thing, doth not make it necessary, *and wonders how a Contradiction can be in one Proposition, and yet within two or three lines after found it might be; and therefore to clear the matter he sayes that such* Necessity *is not* Antecedent, *but a* Necessity of Supposition; *which nevertheless is the same kind of Necessity which he attributeth to the burning of the fire, where there is a necessity that the thing thrown into it shall be burned, though yet it be but burning, or but departing from the hand that throwes it in; and therefore the Necessity is Antecedent. The like is in making a Garment; the Necessity begins from the first motion towards it, which is from Eternity, though the* Taylor *and the* Bishop *are equally unsensible of it. If they saw the whole order and conjunction of Causes, they would say it were as Necessary as any thing else can possibly be; and therefore God that sees that order and conjunction, knowes it is necessary.*

The rest of his Reply is to argue a contradiction in me; for he sayes.

[a] I grant that there are some Free Agents, and some Con-

tingent Agents, and that perhaps the beauty of the World doth require it, but like a shrewd Cow, which after she hath given her milk casts it down with her foot, in the conclusion I tell him that nevertheless they are all necessary.

It is true, that I say some are Free Agents, and some Contingent; nevertheless they may be all necessary. For according to the significations of the words Necessary, Free, and Contingent, the distinction is no more but this; of Necessary Agents, some are Necessary, and some are Agents; and of Agents, some are living creatures, and some are inanimate; which words are improper, but the meaning of them is this; men call necessary Agents such as they know to be necessary, and contingent Agents such inanimate things as they know not whether they work necessarily or no, and by free Agents, men whom they know not whether they work necessarily or no. All which confusion ariseth from that presumptuous men take for granted, that that is not whith they know not.

[b] Neither do I approve his definition of Contingents, that they are such Agents as work we know not how.

The reason is because it would follow that many necessary Actions should be contingent, and many contingent Actions necessary. But that which followeth from it really is no more but this: That many necessary Actions would be such as we know not to be necessary, and many Actions which we know not to be necessary, may yet be necessary, which is a truth. But the Bishop *defineth Contingents thus;* All things which may be done and may not be done, may happen, or may not happen by reason of the Indetermination, or accidental concurrence of the Causes. *By which definition Contingent is nothing, or it is the same that I say it is. For, there is nothing can be done and not be done, nothing can happen and not happen by reason of the Indetermination or accidental concurrence of the causes. It may be done or not done for ought he knowes, and happen or not happen for any determination he perceaveth; and that is my definition. But that the indetermination can make it happen or not happen, is absurd; for indetermination maketh it equally to happen or not to happen; and therefore both; which is a contradiction. Therefore indetermination doth nothing, and whatsoever causes do, is necessary.*

T. D.

J. D.

FIftly take away liberty, and you take away the very nature of evil, and the formal reason of sin. If the hand of the Painter were the law of painting, or the hand of the Writer the law of writing, whatsoever the one did write, or the other paint, must infallibly be good. Seeing therefore, that the first cause is the rule and Law of goodness, if it do necessitate the will, or the person to evil, either by it self immediatly or mediatly by necessary flux of second causes it will no longer be evill. The essence of sin consists in this, that one commit that which he might avoid. If there be no liberty to produce sin, there is no such thing as sin the world. Therefore it appears, both from Scripture and Reason, that there is true Liberty. *Numb. 17. Arg. 5.*

T. H.

TO the fift Argument from reason, which is, that if liberty be taken away, the nature and formall reason of sin is taken away I answer, by denying the consequence. The nature of sin consisteth in this, that the action done proceed from our will, and be against the Law. A Judge in judging whether it be sin or not, which is done against the Law, looks at no higher cause of the action then the will of the doer. Now when I say the action was necessary, I do not say it was done against the will of the doer, but with his will, and so necessarily, because mans will that is, every act of the will, and purpose of man had a sufficient and therefore a necessary cause, and consequently every voluntary action was necessitated. An action therefore may be voluntary and a sin and nevertheless be necessary. And because God may afflict by right derived from his Omnipotency, though sin were not. And the example of punishment on voluntary sinners, is the cause that produceth Justice, and maketh sin less frequent; for God to punish such sinners, as I have shewed before, is no injustice. And thus you have my answer to his objections, both out of Scripture and Reason.

7. D.

SCis tu ſimulare cupreſſum. quid hoc? It was ſhrewd counſail which *Alcibiades* gave to *Themiſtocles*, when he was buſy about his accounts to the State, that he ſhould rather ſtudy how to make no accounts. So it ſeems *T. H.* thinks it a more compendious way to baulk an argument, then to ſatisfie it. And if he can produce a *Rowland* againſt an *Oliver*, if he can urge a reaſon againſt a reaſon, he thinks he hath quitted himſelf fairely. But it will not ſerve his turn. And that he may not complain of miſunderſtanding it, as thoſe who have a politick deafneſs, to hear nothing but what liketh them, I will firſt reduce mine argument into form, and then weigh what he ſaith in anſwer, or rather in oppoſition to it. (*a*) That opinion which takes away the formall reaſon of ſin, and by conſequence, ſin it ſelf, is not to be approoved; this is cleer, becauſe both Reaſon and Religion, Nature, and Scripture do proove, and the whole world confeſſeth, that there is ſin. But this opinion of the neceſſity of all things, by reaſon of a conflux of ſecond cauſes, ordered and determined by the firſt cauſe, doth take away the very formal reaſon of ſin. This is prooved thus. That which makes ſin it ſelf to be good, and juſt, and lawfull, takes away the formall cauſe, and deſtroyes the eſſence of ſin; for if ſin be good, and juſt, and lawfull, it is no more evill, it is no ſin, no anomy. But this opinion of the neceſſity of all things, makes ſin to be very good and juſt, and lawful; for nothing can flow eſſentially by way of Phyſicall determination from the firſt cauſe, which is the Law and Rule of Goodneſs and Juſtice, but that which is good, and juſt, and lawfull; but this opinion makes ſin to proceed eſſentially by way of Phyſicall determination from the firſt cauſe, as appears in *T. H.* his whole diſcourſe. Neither is it material at all, whether it proceed immediatly from the fiſt cauſe, or mediately, ſo as it be by a neceſſary flux of ſecond and determinate cauſes which produce it inevitably. To theſe proofs hee anſwers nothing, but onely by denying the firſt conſequence, as he calls it, and then ſings over his old ſong, *That the nature of ſin conſiſteth in this, that the action proceede from our will, and*

he

be againſt the Law, which in our ſenſe is moſt true, if he underſtand a juſt Law, and a free rationall will. (*b*) But ſuppoſing (as he doth) that the Law injoins things impoſſible in themſelves to be done, then it is an unjuſt and Tyrannical Law, and the tranſgreſſion of it is no ſin, not to do that which never was in our power to do. And ſuppoſing likewiſe (as he doth) that the will is inevitably determined by ſpecial influence from the firſt cauſe, then it is not mans will, but Gods Will, and flows eſſentially from the Law of Goodneſs.

(*c*) That which he addes of a Judge, is altogether impertinent, as to his defence. Neither is a Civil Judge the proper Judge, nor the Law of the Land the proper Rule of Sin. But it makes ſtrongly againſt him; for the Judge goes upon a good ground, and even this which he confeſſeth, that the *Judge looks at no higher cauſe, then the will of the doer*, prooves, that the will of the doer did determine it ſelf freely, and that the malefactor had liberty to have kept the Law, if he would: Certainly, a Judge ought to look at all material circumſtances, and much more at all eſſential cauſes. Whether every ſufficient cauſe be a neceſſary cauſe, will come to be examined more properly, Numb. 31. For the preſent, it ſhall ſuffice to ſay, that liberty flows from the ſufficiency, and contingency from the debility of the cauſe. (*d*) Nature Never intends the generation of a monſter. If all the cauſes concur ſufficiently, a a perfect creature is produced, but by reaſon of the inſufficiency, or debility, or contingent aberration of ſome of the cauſes, ſometimes a Monſter is produced. Yet the cauſes of a Monſter were ſufficient for the production of that which was produced, that is a Monſter, otherwiſe a Monſter had not been produced. What is it then? A Monſter is not produced by vertue of that order which is ſet in Nature, but by the contingent aberration of ſome of the natural cauſes in their concurrence. The order ſet in Nature, is, that every like ſhould beget its like. But ſuppoſing the concurrence of the cauſes to be ſuch as it is, in the generation of a Monſter, the generation of a Monſter is neceſſary; as all the events in the world are when they are, that is, by an hypothetical neceſſity. (*e*) Then he betakes himſelf to his old help, that God may puniſh by right

of omnipotence though there were no ſin. The queſtion is not now what God may do, but what God will do, according to that Covenant which he hath made with man, *Fac hoc & vives*, Do this and thou ſhalt live. Neither doth God puniſh any man contrary to this Covenant, *Hoſea.* 13. 9. *O Iſrael, thy deſtruction is from thy ſelf, but in me is thy help* He that wills not the death of a Sinner, doth much leſs will the death of an innocent Creature. By *death* or *deſtruction* in this diſcourſe, the onely ſeparation of Soul and Body is not intended, which is a debt of nature, and which God, as Lord of Life and Death, may juſtly do, and make it not a puniſhment, but a bleſſing to the party; but we underſtand the ſubjecting of the Creature to eternal torments. Laſtly, he tells of that benefit which redounds to others from Exemplary Juſtice, which is moſt true, but not according to his own grounds, for neither is it Juſtice to puniſh a man for doing that which it was impoſſible always for him not to do; Neither is it lawfull to puniſh an innocent perſon, that good may come of it; And if his opinion of abſolute neceſſity of all things were true, the deſtinies of men could not be altered, either by examples or fear of puniſhment.

Animadverſions upon the Reply.

Numb. XVII.

WHereas he had in his firſt diſcourſe made this conſequence, If you take away Liberty, you take away the very nature of evil, and the formal reaſon of ſin. *I denied that conſequence. It is true, he who taketh away the Liberty of doing, according to the will, taketh away the nature of ſin; but he that denieth the Liberty to Will, does not ſo. But he ſuppoſing I underſtood him not, will needs reduce his argument into form, in this manner.*

(a) That opinion which takes away the formal reaſon of ſin, and by conſequence, Sin it ſelf, is not to be approved. *This is granted.* [But the opinion of neceſſity doth this.] *This I deny, He proves it thus,*

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This opinion makes sin to proceed essentially, by way of Physicall determination from the first cause. But whatsoever proceedes essentially by way of Physicall determination from the first cause, is Good, and Just, and Lawfull. Therefore this opinion of necessity maketh sin to be very Good, Just, and Lawfull. *He might as well have concluded whatsoever man hath been made by God is a good, and just man. He observeth not that sin is not a thing really made. Those things which at first were actions were not then sins, though actions of the same nature with those, which were afterwards sins; nor was then the will to any thing a sin, though it were a will to the same thing, which in willing now we should sin. Actions became sins, then first, when the commandement came: for as St. Paul saith,* Without the Law sin is dead; *and sin being but* a transgression of the Law, *there can be no action made sin but by the Law. Therefore this opinion though it derive actions essentially from God, it derives not sins essentially from him, but relatively, and by the Commandement. And conseqnently the opinion of necessity, taketh not away the nature of sin, but necessitateth that action which the Law hath made sin. And whereas I said the nature of sin consisteth in this, that* it is an action proceeding from our will and against the Law, *he alloweth it for true; and therefore he must allow also, that the formal reason of sin lieth not in the Liberty or necessity of willing, but in the will it self (necessary, or unnecessary) in relation to the Law. And whereas he limits this truth which he allowed, to this, that the* Law be just, *and the will* a Free rational Will, *it serves to no purpose; for I have shown before, that no Law can be unjust. And it seemeth to me, that a rationall Will, if it be not meant of a Will after deliberation, whether he that deliberateth reasoneth aright or not, signifieth nothing. A rational man is rightly said, but a* rational Will *in other sense, then I have mentioned, is insignificant.*

(*b*) [But supposing (as he doth) that the Law injoynes things impossible in themselves to be done, then it is an unjust and Tyrannical Law, and the transgression of it no sin, &c. And supposing likewise (as he doth) that the Will is inevitably determined, by special influence from the first cause, then it is not mans Will, but Gods Will.] *He mistakes me in this.*

this. For I say not the Law injoyns things impossible in themselves; for so I should say it injoyned contradictories. But I say the Law sometimes (the Law-makers not knowing the secret necessities of things to come) injoynes things made impossible by secret and extrinsicall causes from all eternity. From this his error he infers, that the Laws must be unjust and Tyrannical, and the transgression of them no sin. But he who holds that Laws can be unjust and Tyrannical, will easily find pretence enough under any Government in the World to deny obedience to the Laws, unlesse they be such as he himself maketh, or adviseth to be made. He says also, that I suppose the will is inevitably determined by special influence from the first cause. It is true, saving that senselesse word Influence, *which I never used. But his consequence,* then it is not mans Will, but Gods will, *is not true; for it may be the Will both of the one and of the other, and yet not by concurrence, as in a league, but by subjection of the will of man, to the Will of God.*

(c) [That which he adds of a Judge is altogether impertinent, as to his defence: Neither is a Civil Judge the proper Judge, nor the Law of the Land a proper Rule of sin.] *A Judge is to judge of voluntary crimes. He has no commission to look into the secret causes that make it voluntary. And because the Bishop had said, the Law cannot justly punish a crime that proceedeth from necessity, it was no impertinent answer to say,* the Judge lookes at no higher cause then the Will of the Doer. *And even this, as he sayeth, is enough to proove, that* the Will of the Doer did determine it self freely, and that the Malefactor had liberty to have kept the Law if he would. *To which I answer, that it proves indeed, that the Malefactor had Liberty to have kept the Law if he would; but it proveth not, that he had the Liberty to have a Will to keep the Law. Nor doth it prove that the Will of the Doer did determine it self freely; for nothing can prove non-sence. But here you see what the Bishop pursueth in this whole Reply, namely, to prove, that a man hath Liberty to do if he will, which I deny not; and thinks when he hath done that, he hath proved a man hath Liberty to Will, which he calles the Wills determining of it self freely. And whereas he adds,* a Judge ought to look at all essential causes,

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It is answer enough to say, he is bound to look at no more then hee thinks he can see.

(d) [Nature never intends the generation of a Monster. If all the causes concur sufficiently, a perfect creature is produced, but by reason of the insufficiency or debility, or contingent aberration of some of the causes, sometimes a Monster is produced] *He had no sooner said this, but finding his error, he retracteth it, and confesseth that* the causes of a Monster were sufficient for the production of that which was produced, that is, of a Monster; otherwise a Monster had not been produced. *Which is all that I intended by sufficiency of the cause. But whether every sufficient cause be a necessary cause or not, he meaneth to examine in Numb.* 31. *In the meane time, he saith onely, that* Liberty flows from the sufficiency, *and* contingency from the debility of the cause; *and leaves out necessity, as if it came from neither. I must note also, that where he says,* Nature never intends the generation of a Monster, *I understand not whether by nature, he meane the Author of Nature, (in which meaning it derogates from God) or nature it self, as the Universal work of God; and then it is absurd; for the universe as one aggregate of things natural, hath no intention. His Doctrine that followeth, concerning the generation of Monsters, is not worth consideration; therefore I leave it wholy to the Judgement of the Reader.*

(e) Then he betakes himself to his old help, that God may punish by right of omnipotence, though there were no sin. The question is not now, what God may do, but what God will do, according to that Covenant which he hath made with Man, *Fac hoc & vives*, Do this, and thou shalt live.] *Tis plaine (to let passe that he puts Punishment, where I put Affliction, making a true sentence false) that if a man do this he shall live, and he may do this if he will. In this the Bishop and I disagree not. This therefore is not the question; but whether the will to do this, or not to do this, be in a mans own Election. Whereas he adds* He that wills not the death of a sinner, doth much lesse Will the death of an innocent creature. *He had forgot for a while, that both good and evil men are by the Will of God all mortall; but presently corrects himself, and says,*

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he means by Death, Eternal torments, *that is to say, eternal life, but in torments. To which I have answered once before in this Book, and spoken much more amply in another Book, to which the Bishop hath inclination to make an answer, as appeareth by his Epistle to the Reader. That which followeth to the end of this number, hath been urged and answered already divers times; I therefore passe it over.*

J. D.

Numb. 18. BUT the Patrons of necessity being driven out of the plain field with reason, have certain retreats or distinctions, which they flye unto for refuge. First, they distinguish between Stoical necessity and Christian necessity, between which they make a threefold difference.

First, say they, the Stoicks did subject *Jupiter* to destiny, but but we subject destiny to God; I answer, that the Stoical and Christian destiny are one, and the same, *fatum quasi effatum Jovis.* Hear Seneca, *Destiny is the necessity of all things, and actions, depending upon the disposition of Jupiter, &c.* I add, that the Stoicks left a greater liberty to *Jupiter* over destiny, than these Stoicall Christians do to God over his decrees, either for the beginnings of things as *Euripides*, or for the progress of them as *Chrysippus*, or at least of the circumstances of time and place, as all of them generally, So *Virgil*, *Sed trahere & moras ducere, &c.* So *Osyris* in *Apuleius*, promiseth him to prolong his life *Ultra fato constituta tempora*, beyond the times set down by the destinies.

Next, they say, that the Stoicks did hold an eternall flux and necessary connexion of causes, but they believe that God doth act, *præter & contra naturam*, besides and against nature. I answer, that it is not much material, whether they attribute necessity to God, or to the Starrs, or to a connexion of causes, so as they establish necessity. The former reasons do not only condemn the ground or foundation of necessity, but much more necessity it self upon what ground soever. Either they must run into this absurdity, that the effect is determined, the cause remaining undetermined, or els hold such a necessary connexion of causes, as the Stoicks did.

Lastly,

Laſtly, they ſay, the Stoicks did take away liberty and contingence, but they admit it; I anſwer, what liberty or contingence was it they admit, but a titular liberty, and an empty ſhadow of contingence, who do profeſs ſtifly, that all actions and events which either are or ſhall be, cannot but be, nor can be otherwiſe, after any other manner, in any other Place, Time, Number, Order, Meaſure, nor to any other end than they are, and that in reſpect of God, determining them to one; what a poor ridiculous liberty, or contingence is this?

Secondly, they diſtinguiſh between the firſt cauſe, and the ſecond cauſes; they ſay, that in reſpect of the ſecond cauſes many things are free, but in reſpect of the firſt cauſe, all things are neceſſary. This anſwer may be taken away two wayes.

Firſt, ſo contraries ſhall be true together; The ſame thing 1.
at the ſame time ſhall be determined to one, and not determined to one; the ſame thing at the ſame time muſt neceſſarily be, and yet may not be. Perhaps they will ſay, not in the ſame reſpect. But that which ſtrikes at the root of this queſtion is this, If all the cauſes were onely collateral, this exception might have ſome colour, but where all the cauſes being joined together, and ſubordinate one to another, do make but one totall cauſe, if any one cauſe (much more the firſt) in the whole ſeries, or ſubordination of cauſes be neceſſary, it determines the reſt, and without doubt, makes the effect neceſſary; Neceſſity or Liberty is not to be eſteemed from one cauſe, but from all the cauſes joyned together. If one link in a chain be faſt, it faſtens all the reſt.

Secondly, I would have them tell me whether the ſecond 2.
cauſes be predetermined by the firſt cauſe or not; If it be determined, then the effect is neceſſary, even in reſpect of the ſecond cauſes; If the ſecond cauſe be not determined, how is the effect determined, the ſecond cauſe remaining undetermined? Nothing can give that to another which it hath not it ſelf. But ſay they, nevertheleſs the power or faculty remaineth free. True, but not in order to the act, if it be once determined. It is free, *in ſenſu diviſo*, but not *in ſenſu compoſito*, when a man holds a bird faſt in his hand, is ſhe therefore free to flie where ſhe will, becauſe ſhe hath wrings? Or a man

imprisoned or fettered, is he therefore free to walk where he will, because he hath feet and a loco-motive faculty? Judge without prejudice, what a miserable subterfuge is this, which many men confide so much in.

T. H:

Certain distinctions which he supposing may be brought to his arguments are by him removed.

He saith, a man may perhaps answer, that the necessity of things held by him, is not a Stoical necessity, but a Christian necessity, &c. but this distinction I have not used, nor indeed have ever heard before. Nor do I think any man could make Stoical and Christian two kinds of necessities, though they may be two kinds of doctrin. Nor have I drawn my answer to his arguments from the authority of any Sect, but from the nature of the things themselves.

But here I must take notice of certain words of his in this place, as making against his own Tenet, where all the causes, saith he, being joyned together, and subordinate one to another, do make but one totall cause, If any one cause, much more the first, in the whole series of subordination of causes be necessary, it determines the rest, and without doubt maketh the effect necessary. For that which I call the necessary cause of any effect, is the joyning together of all causes subordinate to the first into one totall cause. If any one of those, saith he, especially the first, produce its effect necessarily, then all the rest are determin'd, and the effect also necessary. Now, it is manifest, that the first cause is a necessary cause of all the effects that are next, and immediat to it, and therefore by his own reason, all effects are necessary. Nor is that distinction of necessary, in respect of the first cause, and necessary in respect of second causes mine; It does (as he well noth) imply a contradiction.

T. D.

§. D.

BEcauſe *T. H.* diſavowes theſe two diſtinctions, I have joyned them together in one paragraph. He likes not the diſtinction of neceſſity or deſtiny, into Stoicall and Chriſtian, no more do I. We agree in the concluſion, but our motives are diverſe. My reaſon is, becauſe I acknowledg no ſuch neceſſity, either as the one or as the other, and becauſe I conceive, that thoſe Chriſtian writers, who do juſtly deteſt the naked deſtiny of the Stoicks, as fearing to fall into thoſe groſs abſurdities and pernicious conſequences which flow from thence, do yet privily (though perhaps unwittingly) under another form of expreſſion, introduce it again at the backdoor after they had openly caſt it out at the foredoor: But *T. H.* ruſheth boldly without diſtinctions (which he accounts but Jargon) and without foreſight, upon the groſſeſt deſtiny of all others, that is, that of the Stoicks. He confeſſeth, that *they may be two kinds of doctrine*. May be? Nay, they are without all peradventure. And he himſelf is the firſt who beares the name of a Chriſtian that I have read, that hath raiſed this ſleeping Ghoſt out of its grave, and ſet it out in its true colours. But yet he likes not the names of Stoicall and Chriſtian deſtiny, I do not blame him, though he would not willingly be accounted a Stoick. To admit the thing, and quarrel about the name, is to make our ſelves ridiculous. Why might not I firſt call that kind of deſtiny, which is maintained by Chriſtians, Chriſtian deſtiny? and that other maintained by Stoicks, Stoicall deſtiny? But I am not the inventer of the tearm. If he had been as carefull in reading other mens opinions, as he is confident in ſetting down his own, he might have found not only the thing, but the name it ſelf often uſed. But if the name of *fatum Chriſtianum*, do offend him, Let him call it with Lipſius, *fatum verum*, who divides deſtiny into four kinds; 1. Mathematicall or Aſtrological deſtiny, 2. Natural deſtiny, 3. Stoical or violent deſtiny; and 4. true deſtiny, which he calls ordinarily *noſtrum*, our deſtiny; that is, of Chriſtians, and *fatum pium*, that is godly deſtiny, and defines it juſt as *T. H.* doth his deſtiny, to be a ſeries or order of cauſes depending

upon the divine Counsel, *de const. l. 1. cap. 17. 18. & 19.* Though he be more cautelous than *T. H.* to decline those rocks which some others have made shipwrack upon, Yet the Divines thought he came too neer them, as appears by his Epistle to the Reader, in a later Edition. And by that note in the margent of his twentieth Chapter, *Whatsoever I dispute here, I submit to the judgment of the Wise, and being admonished, I will convert it. One may convince me of error, but not of obstinacy.* So fearfull was he to overshoot himself, and yet he maintained both true liberty, and true contingency. *T. H.* saith, *he hath not sucked his answer from any Sect*; And I say so much the worse; It is better to be the disciple of an old Sect than the ring-leader of a new.

Concerning the other destinction of liberty, in respect of the first cause, and liberty in respect of the second causes, though he will not see that which it concerned him to answer, like those old *Lamiæ*, which could put out their eyes when they list; As namely, that the faculty of willing when it is determined in order to the act (which is all the freedom that he acknowledgeth) is but like the freedom of a bird, when she is first in a mans hand, &c. Yet he hath espied another thing wherein I contradict my self, because I affirm, that if any one cause in the whole series of causes, much more the first cause, be necessary, it determineth the rest. But, saith he; it is manifest, that the first cause is a necessary cause of all the effects that are next. I am glad yet it is not I who contradict my self, but it is some of his *manifest truths* which I contradict. That *the first cause is a necessary cause of all effects*, which I say, is a manifest falshood. Those things which God wills without himself, he wills freely not necessarily. Whatsoever cause acts or works necessarily, doth act or work all that it can do, or all that is in its power; But it is evident, that God doth not all things without himself, which he can do, or which he hath power to do. He could have raised up children unto *Abraham* of the very stones, which were upon the banks of *Jordan*, *Luk.* 3. 8. but he did not. He could have sent twelve Legions of Angels to the succour of Christ, but he did not. *Matth.* 26. 53. God can make *T. H.* live the yeers of *Methuselah*,

thuſelah, but it is not neceſſary that he ſhall do ſo, nor probable that he will do ſo. The productive power of God is infinite, but the whole created world is finite. And therefore God might ſtill produce more, if it pleaſed him. But this it is, when men go on in a confuſed way, and will admit no diſtinctions. If *T. H.* had conſidered the difference between a neceſſary being, and a neceſſary cauſe, or between thoſe actions of God, which are immanent within himſelf, and the tranſient works of God, which are extrinſecall without himſelf, he would never have propoſed ſuch an evident error, for a manifeſt truth. *Qui panca conſiderat, facile pronuntiat.*

Animadverſions upon the Reply
Numb. XVIII.

THE Biſhop ſuppoſing I had taken my opinion from the Authority of the Stoick Philoſophers, not from my own Meditation, falleth into diſpute againſt the Stoicks, whereof I might if I pleaſ'd take no notice, but paſſe over to Number 19. But that he may know I have conſidered their doctrine concerning Fate, I think fit to ſay thus much, that their error conſiſteth not in the opinion of Fate, *but in faigning of a falſe God. When therefore they ſay,* Fatum eſt effatum Jovis, *They ſay no more but that* Fate *is the* word of Jupiter. *If they had ſaid it had been the Word of the true God, I ſhould not have perceived any thing in it to contradict; becauſe I hold as moſt Chriſtians do, that the whole world was made, and is now Governed by the Word of God, which bringeth a neceſſity of all things and actions to depend upon the divine diſpoſition. Nor do I ſee cauſe to find fault with that, (as he does) which is ſaid by* Lipſius, *that* (a) *Fate is a* ſeries or order of cauſes depending upon the Divine counſel, though the Divines thought he came to near them] *(as he thinks I do now) And the reaſon why he was cautelous, was becauſe being a member of the Romiſh Church, he had little confidence in the judgment, and lenity of the Romiſh Clergie; and not becauſe he thought he had over-ſhot himſelf.*

(b) Concerning the other diſtinction of liberty in reſpect of the firſt cauſe, and liberty in reſpect of the ſecond cauſes, though

though he will not see that which it concerned him to answer, &c. as namely, that the faculty of willing, &c.] *I answer, that distinction he alledgeth not to bee mine, but the Stoicks; and therefore I had no reason to take notice of it, for he disputeth not against me but others. And whereas he says, it concerned me to make that answer which he hath set down in the words following, I cannot conceive how it concerneth me, (whatsoever it may do somebody else) to speak absurdly.*

I said that the first cause is a necessary cause of all the effects that are next, and immediate to it; which can not be doubted, and though he deny it, he does not disprove it. For when he says, those things which God wills without himself, he wills freely and not necessarily. *He says rashly, and untruly. Rashly, because there is nothing without God, who is* Infinite, in whom are all things, *and* in whom we live, move, and have our being; *and untruly, because whatsoever God foreknew from eternity, he willed from eternity, and therefore necessarily. But against this he argueth thus.* Whatsoever cause acts, or works necessarily, doth work or act all that it can do, or all that is in its power; but it is evident that God doth not all things which he can do, &c. *In things inanimate, the action is always according to the extent of its power; not taking in the Power of Willing, because they have it not. But in those things that have Wi, the action is according to the Whole Power, will and all. It is true that God doth not all things that he can do if he will, but that he can* Will, *that which he hath not* Willed *from all eternity, I deny; unlesse that he can not only* Wil a change, *but also* change his wil *which all Divines say, is immutable; and then they must needs be necessary effects, that proceed from God. And his Texts,* God could have raised up Children unto Abraham, &c. And sent twelve Legions of Angels &c. *make nothing against the necessity of those actions which from the first cause proceed* immediately.

J. D.

Numb. 19. THirdly, they distinguish between liberty from compulsion, and liberty from necessitation. The Will, say they, is free from compulsion, but not free from necessitation. And this they fortifie with two reasons. First, because it is granted by all Divines, that hypothetical necessity, or necessity upon a supposition,

ſuppoſition, may conſiſt with liberty: Secondly, becauſe God and the good Angels do good neceſſarily, and yet are more free than we. To the firſt reaſon I confeſs; that neceſſity upon a ſuppoſition may ſometimes conſiſt with true liberty, as when it ſignifies onely an infallible certitude of the underſtanding in that which it knows to be, or that it ſhall be; But if the ſuppoſition be not in the Agents power, nor depend upon any thing that is in his power; If there be an exteriour antecedent cauſe which doth neceſſitate the effect, to call this free, is to be mad with reaſon.

To the ſecond reaſon, I confeſs that God and the good Angels are more free than we are, that is, intenſively in the degree of freedom, but not extenſively in the latitude of the object, according to a liberty of exerciſe, but not of ſpecification. A liberty of exerciſe, that is, to do or not to do, may conſiſt well with a neceſſity of ſpecification, or a determination to the doing of good. But a liberty of exerciſe, and a neceſſity of exerciſe; A liberty of ſpecification; and a neceſſity of ſpecification, are not compatible, nor can conſiſt together. He that is antecedently neceſſitated to do evil, is not free to do good. So this inſtance is nothing at all to the purpoſe.

T. H.

BUT the diſtinction of free, into free from compulſion, and free from neceſſitation, I acknowledg; for to be free from compulſion, is to do a thing ſo, as terrour be not the cauſe of his will to do it; for a man is then onely ſaid to be compelled, when fear makes him willing to it, as when a man willingly throws his goods into the Sea to ſave himſelf, or ſubmits to his enemy for fear of being killed. Thus all men that do any thing from love, or revenge, or luſt are free from compulſion, and yet their actions may be as neceſſary as thoſe which are done upon compulſion; for ſometimes other paſſions work as forcibly as fear; But free from neceſſitation I ſay nothing can be; And 'tis that which he undertook to diſproove. This diſtinction, he ſayes, uſeth to be fortified by two reaſons. But they are not mine. The firſt, he ſayes is, That it is granted by all Divines, that an hypothetical neceſſity, or neceſſity upon

ſuppoſition

ſuppoſition, may ſtand with liberty. That you may underſtand this, I will give you an example of hypotheticall neceſſity. If I ſhall live, I ſhall eat, this is an hypotheticall neceſſity. Indeed it is a neceſſary propoſition, that is to ſay, it is neceſſary that that propoſition ſhould be true, whenſoever uttered, but tis not the neceſſity of the thing, nor is it therefore neceſſary, that the man ſhall live, or that the man ſhall eat. I do not uſe to fortifie my diſtinctions with ſuch reaſons. Let him confute them as he will, it contents me. But I would have your Lordſhip take notice hereby, how an eaſy and plain thing, but withal falſe, may be with the grave uſage of ſuch words, as hypotheticall neceſſity, and neceſſity upon ſuppoſition and ſuch like tearms of Schoolmen, obſcur'd and made to ſeem profound learning.

The ſecond reaſon that may confirm the diſtinction of free, from compulſion, and free from neceſſitation, he ſayes is, that God, and good Angels do good neceſſarily, and yet are more free than we. This reaſon, though I had no need of it, yet I think it ſo far forth good, as it is true that God and good Angels do good neceſſarily, and yet are free; but becauſe I find not in the Articles of our Faith nor in the Decrees of our Church ſet down, in what manner I am to conceive God, and good Angels to work, by neceſſity, or in what ſenſe they work freely, I ſuſpend my ſentence in that point, and am content, that there may be a freedom from compulſion, and yet no freedom from neceſſitation, as hath been prooved in that, that a man may be neceſſitated to ſome actions without threats and without fear of danger; But how he can avoid the conſiſting together of freedom and neceſſity, ſuppoſing God and good Angels are freer than men, and yet do good neceſſarily, that we muſt now examin.

I confeſs (ſaith he) that God and good Angels are more free than we, that is intenſively in degree of freedom, not extenſively in the latitude of the object, according to a liberty of exerciſe, not of ſpecification. Again, we have here two diſtinctions, that are no diſtinctions, but made to ſeem ſo by tearms invented, by I know not whom, to cover ignorance, and blind the underſtanding of the Reader. For it cannot be conceived that there is any liberty greater than for a man to do what he will, and to forbear what he will. One heat may be more intenſive than another, but not one liberty than another. He that can do what he will, hath all liberty poſſible,

bly, and he that cannot, has none at all Also liberty (as he says, the Schooles call it) of exercise, which is as I have said before, a liberty to do, or not to do, cannot be without a liberty (which they call of specification) that is to say, a liberty to do or not to do this or that in particular; for how can a man conceive, that he has liberty to do any thing, that hath not liberty to do this or that, or somewhat in particular. If a man be forbidden in Lent to eat this and that, and every other particular kind of flesh, how can he be understood to have a liberty to eat flesh, more than he that hath no license at all?

You may by this again see the vanity of distinctions used in the Schools; And I do not doubt but that the imposing of them by authority of Doctors in the Church, hath been a great cause that men have laboured, though by sedition, and evil courses to shake them off; for nothing is more apt to beget hatred, than the tyrannising over mans reason and understanding, especially when it is done, not by the Scripture, but by pretense of learning, and more judgment than that of other men.

J. D.

HE who will speak with some of our great undertakers, about the grounds of learning, had need either to speak by an Interpreter, or to learn a new Language, (I dare not call it Jargon or Canting) lately devised, not to set forth the truth, but to conceal falshood. He must learn a new Liberty, a new necessity, a new Contingency, a new Sufficiency, a new Spontaneity, a new kind of Deliberation, a new kind of Election, a new Eternity, a new Compulsion, and in conclusion, a new Nothing. (*a*) This proposition, *the will is free*, may be understood in two senses, Either that the will is not compelled, or that the will is not alwayes necessitated; for if it be ordinarily, or at any time free from necessitation, my assertion is true, that there is freedom from necessity. The former sense, that the will is not compelled, is acknowledged by all the world as a truth undeniable, *Voluntas non cogitur*. For, if the will may be compelled, then it may both will and not will the same thing at the same time, under the same notion, but this implies a contradiction. Yet this Author (like the good woman whom her husband sought up the stream when she was

drowned, upon pretenſe that when ſhe was living, ſhe uſed to go contrary courſes to all other people,) he holds, that true compulſion and fear, may make a man will, that which he doth not will, that is, in his ſenſe may compell the will. As when a man willingly throws his goods into the Sea to ſave himſelf, or ſubmits to his enemy for fear of being killed, I anſwer, that *T. H.* miſtakes ſundry wayes in this diſcourſe.

(*b*) Firſt, he erreth in this, to think, that actions proceeding from fear, are properly compulſory actions, which in truth are not only voluntary, but free actions; neither compelled, nor ſo much as Phyſically neceſſitated. Another man, at the ſame time, in the ſame Ship, in the ſame ſtorm, may chooſe, and the ſame individual man otherwiſe adviſed, might chooſe, not to throw his goods over-board. It is the man himſelf, who chooſeth freely this means to preſerve his life. It is true, that if he were not in ſuch a condition, or if he were freed from the grounds of his preſent fears, he would not chooſe neither the caſting of his goods into the Sea, nor the ſubmitting to his enemy But conſidering the preſent exigence of his affairs, reaſon dictates to him, that of two inconveniences, the leſs is to be choſen, as a comparative good. Neither doth he will this courſe, as the end or direct object of his deſires, but as the means to attain his end. And what Fear doth in theſe caſes, Love, Hope, Hatred, &c. may do in other caſes, that is, may occaſion a man to elect thoſe means to obtain his willed end, which otherwiſe he would not elect. As *Jacob* to ſerve ſeven yeers more, rather than not to enjoy his beloved *Rachel*. The Merchant to hazard himſelf upon the rough Seas, in hope of profit. Paſſions may be ſo violent, that they may neceſſitate the will, that is, when they prevent deliberations, but this is rarely, and then the will is not free. But they never properly compell it. That which is compelled, is againſt the will, and that which is againſt the will, is not willed.

(*c*) Secondly, *T. H.* erres in this alſo, where he ſaith, that *a man is then onely ſaid to be compelled when fear makes him willing to an action.* As if force were not more prevalent with a man then fear; we muſt know therefore, that this word *compelled* is taken two wayes, ſometimes improperly, that is, when

a

a man is mooved or occasioned by threats or fear, or any passion, to do that which he would not have done, if those threats, or that passion had not been; Sometimes it is taken properly, when we do any thing against our own inclination, mooved by an external cause, the will not consenting, nor concurring, but resisting as much as it can. As in a rape, or when a Christian is drawn or carried by violence to the Idols Temple. Or as in the case of St. Peter, John 21. 18. *Another shall guide thee, and carry thee whither thou wouldst not.* This is that compulsion which is understood, when we say, the will may be letted, or changed, or necessitated, or that the imperate actions of the will (that is, the actions of the inferiour faculties which are ordinarily moved by the will) may be compelled; but that the immanent actions of the will, that is, to will, to choose, cannot be compelled, because it is the nature of an action properly compelled to be done by an extrinsecal cause, without the concurrence of the will.

(d) Thirdly, the question is not, whether all the actions of a man be free, but whether they be ordinarily free. Suppose some passions are so suddain and violent, that they surprise a man, and betray the succours of the soul, and prevent deliberation, as we see in some *motus primo primi*, or antipathies, how some men will run upon the most dangerous objects, upon the first view of a loathed creature, without any power to contain themselves. Such actions as these, as they are not ordinary, so they are not free, because there is no deliberation nor election. But where deliberation and election are, as when a man throws his goods over-board, to save the Ship, or submits to his enemy, to save his life; there is alwayes true liberty.

Though *T. H.* slight the two reasons which I produce in favour of his cause, yet they who urged them, deserved not to be slighted, unless it were because they were School-men. The former reason is thus framed; A necessity of supposition may consist with true liberty, but that necessity which flowes from the natural and extrinsecall determination of the will, is a necessity of supposition; To this, my answer is in effect; That (e) a necessity of supposition is of two kinds, sometimes the

thing ſuppoſed is in the power of the Agent to do, or not to do: As for a Romiſh Prieſt to vow continence, upon ſuppoſition that he be a Romiſh Prieſt, is neceſſary, but becauſe it was in his power to be a Prieſt, or not to be a Prieſt, therefore his vow is a free act. So ſuppoſing a man to have taken Phyſick, it is neceſſary that he keep at home, yet becauſe it was in his power to take a Medicine or not to take it, therefore his keeping at home is free. Again, ſometimes the thing ſuppoſed is not in the power of the Agent to do, or not to do; ſuppoſing a man to be extrem ſick, it is neceſſary that he keep at home, or ſuppoſing that a man hath a naturall antipathy againſt a Cat, he runs neceſſarily away ſo ſoon as he ſees her. Becauſe this antipathy, & this ſickneſs are not in the power of the party affected, therefore theſe acts are not free. *Jacob* bleſſed his Sons, *Balaam* bleſſed *Iſrael*, theſe two acts being done, are both neceſſary upon ſuppoſition; But it was in *Jacobs* power not to have bleſſed his Sons, So was it not in *Balaams* power, not to have bleſſed *Iſrael*, *Numb.* 22. 38. *Jacobs* will was determined by himſelf, *Balaams* will was Phyſically determined by God. Therefore *Jacobs* benediction proceeded from his own free election; And *Balaams* from Gods determination. So was *Caiphas* his Propheſy, *John* 11. 51. Therefore the Text ſaith, *He ſpake not of himſelf.* To this *T. H.* ſaith nothing, but only declareth by an impertinent inſtance, what *Hypotheticall* ſignifies. And then adviſeth your Lordſhip to take notice how Errours and Ignorance may be cloked under grave Scholaſtick tearms. And I do likewiſe intreat your Lordſhip to take notice, that the greateſt fraud and cheating, lurks commonly under the pretenſe of plain dealing; wee ſee Juglers commonly ſtrip up their ſleeves, and promiſe extraordinary fair dealing before they begin to play their tricks.

Concerning the ſecond argument drawn from the liberty of God, and the good Angels. As I cannot but approove his modeſty, in ſuſpendiug his judgment concerning the manner how God and the good Angels do work neceſſarily or freely, becauſe he finds it not ſet down in the Articles of our Faith, or the Decrees of our Church, eſpecially in this age, which is ſo full of Atheiſme, and of thoſe ſcoffers which St. *Peter* propheſied

phesied of, 2 *Pet.* 3. 3. Who neither believe, that there is God or Angels, or that they have a Soul, but only as salt, to keep their bodies from putrifaction; So I can by no means assent unto him, in that which followes, that is to say, that he hath proved, that Liberty and Necessity of the same kind may consist together, that is, a liberty of exercise with a necessity of exercise; or a liberty of specification, with a necessity of specification. Those actions which he saith are necessitated by passion, are for the most part dictated by reason, either truly, or apparently right, and resolved by the will it self. But it troubles him that I say, that God and the good Angels are more free than men intensively in the degree of freedom, but not extensively in the latitude of the object, according to a liberty of exercise, but not of specification, which he saith, are no distinctions, but tearms invented to cover ignorance. Good words. Doth he onely see? Are all other men stark blind? By his favour, they are true and necessary distinctions; And if he alone do not conceive them, it is because distinctions, as all other things have their fates, according to the capacities or prejudices of their Readers. But he urgeth two reasons, *One heat, saith he, may be more intensive than another, but not one liberty than another.* Why not, I wonder? Nothing is more proper to a man than reason, yet a man is more rational than a child, and one man more rationall than another, that is, in respect of the use and exercise of reason. As there are degrees of understanding, so there are of liberty. The good Angels have cleerer understandings than we, and they are not hindred with passions as we, and by consequence, they have more use of liberty than we. (*f*) His second reason is, *He that can do what he will, hath all liberty, and he that cannot do what he will, hath no liberty.* If this be true, then there are no degrees of liberty indeed. But this which he calls liberty, is rather an Omnipotence than a liberty, to do whatsoever he will. A man is free to shoot, or not to shoot, although he cannot hit the white, whensoever he would. We do good freely, but with more difficulty and reluctation than the good Spirits. The more rational, and the less sensual the will is, the greater is the degree of liberty. His other excep-

tion againſt liberty of exerciſe, and liberty of ſpecification, is a meer miſtake, which grows meerly from not rightly underſtanding what liberty of ſpecification, or contrariety is. A liberty of ſpecification, ſaith he, is a liberty to do, or not to do this, or that, in particular. Upon better advice he will find, that this which he calls a liberty of ſpecification, is a liberty of contradiction, and not of ſpecification, nor of contrariety. To be free to do or not to do, this or that particular good, is a liberty of contradiction, ſo likewiſe to be free to do or not to do this, or that particular evill. But to be free to do both good and evill, is a liberty of contrariety, which extends to contrary objects, or to diverſe kinds of things. So his reaſon to proove, that a liberty of exerciſe cannot be without a liberty of ſpecification, falls flat to the ground. And he may lay aſide his Lenten licenſe for another occaſion. I am aſhamed to inſiſt upon theſe things which are ſo evident, that no man can queſtion them who doth underſtand them.

(g) And here he falls into another invective againſt diſtinctions, and Scholaſtical expreſſions, and the *Doctors of the Church, who by this means tyrannized over the underſtandings of other men.* What a preſumption is this for one private man, who will not allow human liberty to others, to aſſume to himſelf ſuch a licenſe, to control ſo Magiſtrally, and to cenſure of groſs ignorance and tyranniſing over mens judgments, yea, as cauſes of the troubles and tumults which are in the World, the Doctors of the Church in general, who have flouriſhed in all ages and all places, only for a few neceſſary and innocent diſtinctions. Truly ſaid *Plutarch*, that a ſore eye is offended with the light of the Sun; (h) What then, muſt the Logicians lay aſide their firſt and ſecond Intentions? their Abſtracts and Concrets, their Subjects and Predicates, their Modes and Figures, their Method Synthetick and Analytick, their Fallacies of Compoſition and Diviſion, &c? Muſt the moral Philoſopher quite his means and extremes, his *pricipia congenita & acquiſita*, his liberty of contradiction and contrariety, his neceſſity abſolute and hypothetical, &c? Muſt the natural Philoſopher give over his intentional Species, his underſtanding Agent and Patient, his receptive and eductive power of the matter,

matter, his qualities *infinitæ* or *influxæ*; *symbolæ* or *dissymbolæ*, his temperament *ad pondus*, and *ad justitiam*, his parts Homogeneous and Heterogeneous, his Sympathies and Antipathies, his Antiperistasis, &c? Must the Astrologer and the Geographer leave their *Apogæum* and *Perigæum*, their Arctick and Antarctick Poles, their Æquator; Zodiack, Zenith, Meridian, Horison, Zones. &c? Must the Mathematician, the Metaphysician, and the Divine, relinquish all their tearms of Art, and proper idiotismes, because they do not relliſh with *T. H.* his palate? But he will say, they are obscure expressions; What marvel is it, when the things themselves are more obscure? Let him put them into as plain English as he can, and they shall be never a whit the better understood by those who want all grounds of learning. Nothing is clearer than Mathematical demonstration, yet let one who is altogether ignorant in Mathematicks hear it, and he will hold it to be as *T. H.* tearms these distinctions, plain Fustian or Jargon. Every Art or Profession hath its proper mysteries and expressions, which are well known to the Sons of Art, not so to strangers. Let him consult with Military men, with Physitians, with Navigators, and he shall find this true by experience. Let him go on shipboard, and the Mariners will not leave their Sterbord and Larbord, because they please not him, or because he accounts it Gibrish. No, no, it is not the Schoole-Divines, but Innovators and seditious Orators, who are the true causes of the present troubles of Europe. (i) *T. H.* hath forgotten what he said in his book, *De Cive cap.* 12. That it is a seditious opinion to teach, that the knowledge of good and evill belongs to private persons. And cap. 17. that in questions of Faith the Civill Magistrates ought to *consult with the Ecclesiasticall Doctors, to whom Gods blessing is derived by imposition of hands, so as not to be deceived in necessary truths, to whom our Saviour hath promised infallibility.* These are the very men whom he traduceth here. There he ascribes infallibility to them, here he accuseth them of gross superstitious ignorance. There he attributes too much to them, here he attributes too little. Both there and here he takes too much upon him. *The Spirits of the Prophets are subject to the Prophets,* 1 Cor. 14. 32.

Amina-

Animadversions upon the Bish ops Reply. Numb. XIX.

(a) THis proposition, *the Will is Free*, may be understood in two senses; Either that the Will is not compelled, or that the Will is not alwayes necessitated, &c. The former sense, that the Will is not compelled, is acknowledged by all the world, as a truth undeniable. *I never said the Will is* compelled, *but do agree with the rest of the World in granting that it is* not compelled. *It is an absurd speech to say it is compelled, but not to say it is necessitated, or a necessary effect of some cause. When the fire heateth, it doth not compell heate; so likewise when some cause maketh the Will to any thing, it doth not compell it. Many things may compel a man to do an Action in producing the Will; but that is not a compelling of the* Will, *but of the* man. *That which I call necessitation, is the effecting and creating of that Will which was not before, not a compelling of a Will already existent. The necessitation or Creation of the Will, is the same thing with the compulsion of the man, saving that we commonly use the word compulsion, in those Actions which proceed from terrour. And therefore this distinction, is of no use; and that raving which followeth immediately after it, is nothing to the question,* whether the Will be free, *though it be to the question,* whether the man be Free.

(b) [First, he erreth in this, to think that actions proceeding from fear are properly compulsory actions, which in truth are not onely Voluntary, but free actions.] *I never said nor doubted, but such actions were both Voluntary and free; For he that doth any thing for fear, though he say truely, he was compelled to it, yet we deny not that he had Election to do or not to do, and consequently that he was a Voluntary and free Agent. But this hinders not but that the terrour might be a necessary cause of his Election, of that which otherwise he would not have Elected, unlesse some other potent cause made it necessary he should elect the contrary. And therefore in the same ship, in the same storm, one man may be necessitated to throw his goods over-board, and another*

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NIEDERSÄCHSISCHE LANDESBIBLIOTHEK
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another man to keep them within the Ship; and the same man in a like storm be otherwise advised; if all the causes be not like. But that the same invidual man, *as the Bishops says, that chose* to throw his goods over board, *might choose* not to throw his goods over board, *I cannot conceive, unlesse a man can choose* to throw over board, *and* not to throw over board; *or be* so advised *and* otherwise advised *all at once.*

(c) [Secondly, *T.H.* errs in this also, where he saith, that *a man is then only said to be compelled, when fear makes him willing to an Action.* As if force were not more prevalent with a man then fear, &c.] *When I said fear, I think no man can doubt, but the fear of force was understood. I cannot see therfore what quarrel he could justly take at saying, that, a man is compelled by fear, onely; unlesse he think it may be called compulsion when a man by force, seizing on another mans limbs, moveth them as himself, not as the other man pleaseth, but this is not the meaning of compulsion. Neither is the Action so done, the Action of him that suffereth, but of him that useth the force. But this (as if it were a question of the propriety of the English tongue) the Bishop denies, and sayes, when a man is moved by fear, it is* improperly *said he is compelled. But when a man is moved by an external cause, the Will resisting as much as it can, then he says, he is* properly *said to be compelled; as in a Rape, or when a Christian is drawn or carryed by violence to the idols Temple. Insomuch as by this distinction it were very proper English to say, that a stone were compelled when it is thrown, or a man, when he is carried in a Cart. For my part I understand compulsion to be used rightly of living creatures onely, which are moved onely by their own animal motion, in such manner as they would not be moved without the fear. But of this dispute the English and Well-bred Reader, is the proper Judge.*

(d) [Thirdly, the question is not, whether all the actions of a man be free, but whether they be ordinarily free.] *Is it impossible for the Bishop to remember the question, which is* Whether a man be Free to Will? *Did I ever say that no Actions of a man are free? On the contrary I say, that al his Voluntary Actions are Free, even those also to which he is compelled by fear. But it does not therefore follow, but that the Will, from whence those*

Actions and their Election proceed, may have necessary causes; against which he hath never yet said any thing. That which followeth immediately, is not offered as a proof, but as explication how the passions of a man surprise him; therefore I let it passe, noting onely that he expoundeth Motus primo primi *(which I understood not before) by the word Antipathy.*

(e) A necessity of supposition is of two kinds, sometimes a thing supposed is in the power of the Agent, to do or not to do, &c. sometimes a thing supposed is not in the power of the Agent to do or not to do, *&c.*

When the necessity is of the former kind of supposition then, (he says) Freedom may consist with this necessity. In the latter sense hat it cannot. And to use his own instances, to vow continence in a Romish Priest, upon supposition that he is a Romish Priest, is a necessary Act; because it was in his power to be a Priest or not. On the other side supposing a man having a natural Antipathy against a Cat; because this Antipathy is not in the power of the party affected, therefore the running away from the Cat is no Free act.

I deny not but that it is a Free act of the Romish Priest to vow continence, not upon the supposition that he was a Romish Priest, but because he had not done it, unlesse he would; if he had not been a Romish Priest, it had been all one to the Freedom of his Act. Nor is his Priesthood any thing to the Necessitie of his vow, saving that if he would not have vowed he should not have been made a Priest. There was an antecedent necessity in the causes extrinsecal; first that he should have the Wil to be a Priest, and then consequently that he should have the Wil to vow. Against this he alledgeth nothing. Then for his Cat, the mans running from it is a Free Act, as being voluntary, and arising from a false apprehension (which nevertheless he cannot help) of some hurt or other the Cat may do him. And therefore the Act is as free as the Act of him that throweth his goods into the Sea. So likewise the Act of Jacob *in blessing his sons, and the Act of* Balaam *in blessing* Israel, *are equally Free, and equally voluntary, yet equally determined by God, who is the Author of all blessings, and framed the Will of both of them to blesse, and whose Will (as St.* Paul *saith) cannot be resisted. Therefore both their Actions were necessitated equally; and (because they were Voluntary)*

tary) equally Free. As for Caiphas *his prophecy which the Text saith, He spake not of himself, it was necessary; first, because it was by the supernatural gift of God to the High-priests as soveraigns of the Common-wealth of the Jews, to speak to the people as from the mouth of God, that is to say, to prophesie; and secondly, whensoever he did speak not as from God, but as from himself, it was nevertheless necessary he should do so, not that he might not have been silent if he would, but because his will to speak was antecedently determined to what he should speak from all Æternity; which he hath yet brought no argument to contradict.*

He approveth my modesty in suspending my judgement concerning the manner how the good Angells do work, Necessarily, or Freely, because I find it not set down in the Articles of our Faith, nor in the decrees of our Church. But he useth not the same modesty himself. For whereas he can apprehend neither the Nature of God, nor of Angels; nor conceive what kind of thing it is, which in them he calleth Will, he nevertheless takes upon him to attribute to them, Liberty of Exercise, *and to deny them* a Liberty of Specification; *to grant them a* more intensive *Liberty then we have, but not a* more extensive; *using not incongruously in the incomprehensibility of the subject incomprehensible terms, as* Liberty of Exercise, *&* Liberty of Specification; *& degrees of intention in Liberty, as if one liberty, like heat, might be more intensive then another. It is true, that there is greater liberty in a large then in a strait prison, but one of those Liberties is not more intense then the other.*

(*f*) His second reason is, *He that can do what he Will, hath all Liberty; and he that cannot do what he Will, hath no Liberty.*

If this be true, then there are no degrees of Liberty indeed. But this which he calls Liberty, is rather an Omnipotence, then a Liberty.] *'Tis one thing to say, a man hath Liberty to do what he Will, and another thing to say he hath power to do what he Will. A man that is bound would say readily he hath not the Liberty to walk, but he will not say he wants the Power. But the sick man will say he wants the Power to walk, but not the Liberty. This is as I conceive to speak the English tongue; and consequently an English man will not say the Liberty to do what he Will, but the Power to do what he Will, is Omnipotence. And therefore either I or the Bishop understand not English. Whereas*

he adds that I miſtake the meaning of the word, Liberty of ſpecification. I am ſure that in that way wherein I expound them, there is no abſurdity. But if he ſay I underſtand not what the Schoolmen mean by it, I will not contend with him; for I think they know not what they mean themſelves.

(*g*) [And here he falls into another invective againſt diſtinctions, and Scholaſtical expreſſions, and the Doctors of the Church, who by this means tyrannized over the underſtanding of other men. What a preſumption is this, for one private man, &c.] *That he may know I am no enemy to intelligible diſtinctions, I alſo will uſe a diſtinction in the defence of my ſelf againſt this his accuſation. I ſay therefore that ſome diſtinctions are* Scholaſtical onely, *and ſome are* Scholaſtical and ſapiential alſo. *Againſt thoſe that are* Scholaſtical onely, *I do, and may inveigh. But againſt thoſe that are* Scholaſtical and Sapiential alſo, *I do not inveigh. Likewiſe ſome Doctors of the Church (as* Suarez, Johannes à Duns *and their imitators) to breed in men ſuch opinions as the Church of* Rome *thought ſutable to their intereſt, did write ſuch things, as neither other men nor themſelves underſtood. Theſe I confeſſe I have a little ſleighted. Other Doctors of the Church (as* Martin Luther, Philip Melancthon, John Calvin, William Perkins, *and others) that did write their ſenſe clearly, I never ſleighted, but alwayes very much reverenced, and admired. Wherein then lieth my preſumption? if it be becauſe I am a private man, let the Biſhop alſo take heed he contradict not ſome of thoſe whom the World worthily eſteemes, leaſt he alſo (for he is a private man) be taxed of preſumption.*

(*h*) What then, muſt the Logicians lay aſide their firſt and ſecond intentions, their Abſtracts and Concrets, &c. Muſt the Moral Philoſopher quit his means and extreames, his *Principia congenita & aquiſita*, his liberty of contradiction and contrariety, his neceſſity abſolute and Hypothetical, &c. Muſt the Natural Philoſopher give over his intentional ſpecies, &c. Becauſe they do not reliſh with *T.H.* his Palate?] *I confeſſe that among the Logicians,* Barbara, Celarent, Darii, Ferio, &c. *are termes of Art. But if the Biſhop think that* words of firſt and ſecond intention, *that* Abſtract & Concret, *that* Subjects & Predicates, Moods and

& Figures, Method Synthetique & Analytique, *Fallacies of* Composition *and* Division *be te ms of Art, I am not of his opinion. For these are no more terms of Art in Logick, then* Lines, Figures, Squares, Triangles *&c. in the Mathematicks.* Barbara, Celarent, *and the rest that follow are terms of Art invented for the easier Apprehension of youngmen, and are by youngmen understood. But the terms of the School with which I have found fault, have been invented to blind the understanding, and cannot be understood by those, that intend to learn Divinity. And to his question whether the Moral Philosopher must quit his means and extreams, I answer, that though they are not terms of Art, he ought to quite them, when they cannot be understood, and when they can, to use them rightly. And therefore though* means *and* extreams, *be terms intelligible, yet I would have them quit the placing of vertue in the one, and of vice in the other. But for his liberty* of contradiction & contrariety, *his necessity* absolute & Hypothetical *(if any moral Philosopher ever used them) then away with them, they serve for nothing but to seduce young Students. In like manner let the natural Philosopher no more mention his* intentional Species, *his* understanding Agent and Patient, *his* Receptive and Eductive power of the matter, *his* qualities infusæ *or* influxæ, Symbolæ *or* Diffymbolæ, *his Temperament* ad pondus *and* ad justitiam. *He may keep his* parts Homogeneous *and* Heterogeneous; *but his Sympathies and Antipathies, his Antiperistasis and the like, names of excuses, rather then of causes, I would have him fling away. And for the Astrologer (unlesse he means Astronomer) I would have him throw away his whole trade; but if he mean Astronomer, then the terms of* Apogæum, *and* Perigæum, *Artique, Antartique, Æquator, Zodiack, Zenith, Meridian, Horizon, Zones, &c. are no more terms of Art in Astronomy, then a* Saw, *or a* Hatchet *in the Art of a Carpenter. He cites no terms of Art for Geometry, I was afraid he would have put* Lines, *or perhaps* Equality *or* Inequality *for terms of Art. So that now I know not what be those terms he thinks I would cast away in Geometry. And lastly for his Metaphysician, I would have him quit both his terms and his Profession, as being* in truth *(as* Plutarch, *saith in the beginning of the life of* Alexander *the Great) not at all profitable to learning, but made onely for an essay, to the learner;*

and the Divine to use no word in preaching, but such as his Auditors, nor in writing, but such as a common Reader may understand; And all this not for the pleasing of my Palate, but for the promotion of truth.

(i) *T.H.* Hath forgotten what he said in his Book *De Cive, Cap.* 12. that it is *a seditious opinion to teach that the knowledge of good and evill belongs to private persons.* And Cap. 17. that *in questions of Faith, the civill Magistrates ought to consult with the Ecclesiastical Doctors, to whom Gods blessing is derived by imposition of hands, so as not to be deceived in necessary truths, &c.* There he attributes too much to them, here he attributeth too little, both there and here he takes too much upon him. The Spirits of the Prophets are subject to the Prophets.] *He thinks he hath a great advantage against me from my own words in my Book* de Cive, *which he would not have thought if he had understood them. The knowledge of good and evill, is Iudicature, which in Latin is* cognitio causarum *not* Scientia. *Every private man may do his best to attain a knowledge of what is good and evill in the action he is to do; but to judge of what is good and evill in others belongs not to him, but to those whom the Soveraign Power appointeth thereunto. But the Bishop not understanding, or forgetting that* Cognoscere *is to judg, as* Adam *did of Gods commandement, hath cited this place to little purpose. And for the infallibility of the Ecclesiastical Doctors by me attributed to them, it is not that they cannot be deceaved, but that a subject cannot be deceived in obeying them when they are our lawfully constituted Doctors. For the supreme Ecclesiastical Doctor is he that hath the supreme Power; and in obeying him no subject can be deceived; because thy are by God himself commanded to obey him. And what the Ecclesiastical Doctors lawfully constituted do tell us to be necessary in point of Religion, the same is told us by the Soveraign Power. And therefore, though we may be deceaved by them in the beleef of an opinion, we can not be deceived by them in the duty of our Actions. And this is all that I ascribe to the Ecclesiastical Doctors. If they think it too much, let them take upon them lesse. Too little they cannot say it is, who take it, as it is, for a Burthen. And for them who seek it as a wordly preferment, it is too much. I take (he says)*

ſays) too much upon me. Why ſo? Becauſe The Spirits of the Prophets, are ſubject to the Prophets. *This is it that he finds fault with in me, when he ſays I am a private man, that is to ſay no Prophet, that is to ſay no Biſhop. By which it is manifeſt that the Biſhop ſubjecteth not his Spirit but to the Convocation of Biſhops. I admit that every man ought to ſubject his Spirit to the Prophets. But a Prophet is he that ſpeaketh unto us from God; which I acknowledge none to do, but him that hath due Authority ſo to do. And no man hath due Authority ſo to do immediately, but he that hath the ſupream Authority of the Commonwealth; nor mediately but they that ſpeak ſuch things to the people, as he that hath the Supream Authority alloweth of. And as it is truth in this ſenſe, that* The Spirits of the Prophets are ſubject to the Prophets; *So it is alſo true, that we ought not* to believe every Spirit, but to trye the Spirits, whether they are of God; becauſe many falſe Prophets are gone out into the World. 1 *Joh.* 4. 1. *Therefore, I that am a private man may examine the Prophets; which to do I have no other means but to examine whether their Doctrine, be agreeable to the Law; which theirs is not, who divide the Common-Wealth into two Common-Wealths, Civill and Eccleſiaſtical.*

J. D.

NOw, to the diſtinction it ſelf I ſay firſt, that the proper act of liberty is election, and election is oppoſed, not only to coaction, but alſo to coarctation or determination to one. Neceſſitation or determination to one, may conſiſt with ſpontaneity, but not with election or liberty, as hath been ſhewed. The very Stoicks did acknowledge a ſpontaneity. So our adverſaries are not yet gone out of the confines of the Stoicks. Num. 20.

Secondly, to rip up the bottom of this buſineſs. This I take to be the clear reſolution of the Schools; There is a double act of the will, the one more remote, called *Imperatus*, that is, in truth the act of ſome inferiour faculty, ſubject to the command of the will, as to open or ſhut ones eyes; without doubt theſe actions may be compelled. The other act is neerer, called *actus elicitus*, an act drawn out of the will; as to will, to

choose,

chooſe, to elect; this may be ſtopped or hindered by the intervening impediment of the underſtanding, as a ſtone lying on a table is kept from its natural motion, otherwiſe the will ſhould have a kind of Omnipotence; But the will cannot be compelled to an act repugnant to its inclination, as when a ſtone is thrown upwards into the air, for that is both to incline, and not to incline to the ſame object, at the ſame time, which implies a contradiction. Therefore to ſay the will is neceſſitated, is to ſay, the will is compelled ſo far as the will is capable of compulſion. If a ſtrong man holding the hand of a weaker, ſhould therewith kill a third perſon, *hæc quidem vis eſt*, this is violence, the weaker did not willingly perpetrate the fact, becauſe he was compelled. But now ſuppoſe this ſtrong man had the will of the weaker in his power as well as the hand, and ſhould not onely incline, but determine it ſecretly and inſenſibly to commit this act, is not the caſe the ſame? whether one raviſh *Lucretia* by force, as *Tarquine*, or by amatory potions, and Magicall Incantations, not only allure her, but neceſſitate her to ſatisfy his luſt, and incline her effectually, and draw her inevitably, and irreſiſtibly to follow him ſpontaneouſly, *Lucretia* in both theſe conditions is to be pitied; but the latter perſon is more guilty, and deſerves greater puniſhment, who endevours alſo ſo much as in him lies, to make *Lucretia* irriſiſtibly partake of his crime. I dare not apply it, but thus only; Take heed how we defend thoſe ſecret and invincible neceſſitations to evil though ſpontaneous and free from coaction.

Theſe are their faſtneſſes.

T. H.

IN the next place, he bringeth two arguments againſt diſtinguiſhing between being free from compulſion, and free from neceſſitation. The firſt is, that election is oppoſite, not onely to coaction or compulſion, but alſo to neceſſitation or determination to one. This is it he was to proove from the beginning, and therefore bringeth no new argument to proove it. And to thoſe brought formerly, I have already anſwered; And in this place I deny again, that election is oppoſite to either, for when a man is compelled (for example, to ſubject himſelf to an enemy or to dy) he hath ſtill electi-

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on left in him, and a deliberation to bethink which of these two he can better endure; And he that is led to prison by force, hath election and may deliberate whether he will be haled and trained on the ground, or make use of his feet.

Likewise when there is no compulsion, but the strength of temptation to do an evill action, being greater than the motives to abstain, necessarily determine him to the doing of it, yet he deliberates whilest sometimes the motives to do, sometimes the motives to forbear, are working on him, and consequently he electeth which he will. But commonly when we see and know the strength that moves us, we acknowledge Necessity, but when we see not, or mark not the force that moves us, we then think there is none, and that it is not Causes but Liberty that produceth the action. Hence it is that they think he does not choose this, that of necessity chooseth it; but they might as well say, fire does not burn, because it burns of necessity. The second argument is not so much an argument, as a distinction, to shew in what sense it may be said, that voluntary actions are necessitated, and in what sense not. And therefore he alledgeth as from the authority of the Schools, & that which rippeth up the bottome of the question, that there is a double act of the will; The one he says, is actus Imperatus, an act done at the command of the will, by some inferiour faculty of the soul, as to open or shut ones eyes, and this act may be compelled. The other he says, is actus elicitus, an act allured, or an act drawn forth by allurement out of the will, as to will, to choose, to elect: This he says cannot be compelled. Wherein letting pass that Metaphoricall speech of attributing command and subjection to the faculties of the Soul, as if they made a Common-wealth or Family among themselves, and could speak one to another, which is very improper in searching the truth of the question; You may observe first, that to compell a voluntary act, is nothing else, but to will it; for it is all one to say, my will commands the shutting of mine eyes, or the doing of any other action, and to say, I have the will to shut mine eyes. So that actus imperatus here, might as easily have been said in English, a voluntary action, but that they that invented the tearm, understood not any thing it signified. Secondly, you may observe, that actus elicitus, is exemplified by these words, to Will, to Elect, to Choose, which are all one, and so to will is here made

an act of the will; and indeed, as the will is a faculty, or power of a mans ſoul, ſo to will is an act of it, according to that power. But as it is abſurdly ſaid, that to dance is an act allured or drawn by fair means out of the ability to dance; ſo it is alſo to ſay, that to will, is an act allured or drawn out of the power to will, which power is commonly called, the Will. Howſoever it be, the ſumme of his diſtinction is, that a voluntary act may be done on compulſion, that is to ſay, by foul means, but to will that, or any act, cannot be but by allurement or fair means. Now, ſeeing fair Means, Allurements, and Enticements, produce the action which they do produce, as neceſſarily as threatning and foul means, it follows, that to will, may be made as neceſſary as any thing that is done by compulſion. So that the diſtinction of actus imperatus, *and* actus elicitus, *are but words, and of no effect againſt neceſſity.*

J. D.

IN the next place follow two reaſons of mine own againſt the ſame diſtinction, the one taken from the former grounds, that Election cannot conſiſt with determination to one. To this (he ſaith) he hath *anſwered already*. No, truth is founded upon a Rock. He hath been ſo far from prevailing againſt it, that he hath not been able to ſhake it. *(a)* Now again, he tells us, that *Election is not oppoſite to either,* (Neceſſitation or Compulſion) He might even as well tell us, that a ſtone thrown upwards mooves naturally; Or, that a a woman can be raviſhed with her own will. Conſent takes away the Rape. This is the ſtrangeſt liberty that ever was heard of, that a man is compelled to do what he would not, and yet is free to do what he will. And this he tells us upon the old ſcore, that *he, who ſubmits to his enemy for fear of death, chooſeth to ſubmit.* But we have ſeen formerly, that this, which he calls compulſion, is not compulſion properly, nor that natural determination of the will to one, which is oppoſite to true Liberty. He who ſubmits to an enemy for ſaving his life, doth either onely counterfeit, and then there is no will to ſubmit (this diſguiſe is no more than a ſtepping aſide, to avoid a preſent blow) Or elſe he doth ſincerely will a ſubmiſſion, and then the will is changed; There is a vaſt difference between com-

compelling and changing the will. Either God or man may change the will of man, either by varying the condition of things, or by informing the party otherwiſe, but compelled it cannot be, that is, it cannot both will this, and not will this, as it is inveſted with the ſame circumſtances, though, if the act were otherwiſe circumſtantiated, it might nill that freely, which now it wills freely. (b) Wherefore this kind of actions are called mixt actions, that is partly voluntary, partly unvoluntary. That which is compelled in a mans preſent condition or diſtreſs, that is not voluntary nor choſen. That which is choſen, as the remedy of its diſtreſs, that is voluntary. So hypothetically, ſuppoſing a man were not in that diſtreſs, they are involuntary, but abſolutely without any ſuppoſition at all, taking the caſe as it is, they are voluntary. (c) His other inſtance of *a man forced to priſon, that he may chooſe whether he will be haled thither upon the ground, or walk upon his feet* is not true. By his leave, that is not as he pleaſeth, but as it pleaſeth them who have him in their power. If they will drag him, he is not free to walk; And if they give him leave to walk, he is not forced to be dragged. (d) Having laid this foundation, he begins to build upon it, that *other paſſions do neceſſitate as much as fear*; But he erres doubly; firſt, in his foundation, fear doth not determine the rational will naturally and neceſſarily; The laſt and greateſt of the five terrible things is death, yet the fear of death cannot neceſſitate a reſolved mind to do a diſhoneſt action, which is worſe than death. The fear of the fiery furnace could not compel the three Children to worſhip an Idol, nor the fear of the Lions neceſſitate *Daniel* to omit his duty to God; It is our frailty, that we are more afraid of empty ſhadows than of ſubſtantial dangers, becauſe they are neerer our ſenſes, as little Children fear a Mouſe or a Viſard, more than fire or weather. But as a fitte of the ſtone takes away the ſenſe of the gout for the preſent, ſo the greater paſſion doth extinguiſh the leſs. The fear of Gods wrath, and eternal torments doth expel corporal fear, *fear not them who kill the body, but fear him who is able to caſt both body and ſoul into hell*, Luc. 7. 4. (e) *Da veniam Imperator, tu carcerem, ille gehennam minatur*, Excuſe me, O Emperor, thou threateneſt men with

 priſon,

priſon, but he threatens me with hell. (*f*) Secondly, he erres in his ſuperſtruction alſo. There is a great difference, as to this caſe of juſtifying, or not juſtifying an action between force and fear, and other paſſions; Force doth not only leſſen the ſin, but takes it quite away, *Deut.* 22. 26. He who forced a betrothed Damſell was to die; *but unto the Damſel* (ſaith he) *thou ſhalt do nothing, there is in her no fault worthy of death. Tamars* beauty, or *Ammons* love did not render him innocent, but *Ammons* force rendred *Tamar* innocent. But fear is not ſo prevalent as force. Indeed if fear be great, and juſtly grounded, ſuch as may fall upon a conſtant man, though it do not diſpenſe with the tranſgreſſion of the negative Precepts of God or Nature, becauſe they bind to all times, yet it diminiſheth the offence, even againſt them, and pleades for pardon. But it diſpenſeth in many caſes with the trangreſſion of the poſitive Law, either Divine or humane, becauſe it is not probable, that God or the Law, would oblige man to the obſervation of all poſitive Precepts, with ſo great dammage as the loſs of his life. The omiſſion of Circumciſion was no ſin, whilſt the *Iſralites* were travelling through the wilderneſs. By *T. H.* his permiſſion. (*g*) I will propoſe a caſe to him. A Gentleman ſends his ſervant with mony to buy his dinner, ſome Ruffians meet him by the way, and take it from him by force, The ſervant cryed for help, and did what he could to defend himſelf, but all would not ſerve. The ſervant is innocent, if he were to be tried before a Court of Areopagites. Or ſuppoſe the Ruffians did not take it from him by force, but drew their ſwords and threatned to kill him, except he delivered it himſelf, no wiſe man will conceive, that it was either the Maſters intention, or the ſervants duty, to hazard his life, or limbs, for ſaving of ſuch a trifling ſum. But on the other ſide ſuppoſe this ſervant, paſſing by ſome Cabaret, or Tennis-court, where his Camerads were drinking or playing, ſhould ſtay with them, and drink or play away his mony, and afterwards plead as *T. H.* doth here, that he was overcome by the meer ſtrength of temptation, I trow, neither *T. H.* nor any man elſe would admit of this excuſe, but puniſh him for it, becauſe, neither was he neceſſitated by the temptation, and what ſtrength it had was by his

his own fault, in respect of that vitious habit which he had contracted of drinking or gaming, Jam. 1. 14. *Every man is tempted when he is drawn away of his own lust and entised.* Disordered passions of anger, hatred, lust, if they be consequent (as the case is here put by *T. H.*) and flow from deliberation and election, they do not only not diminish the fault, but they aggravate it, and render it much greater.

(*h*) He talks much of the *motives to do, & the motives to forbear*, how they work upon and determine a man, as if a reasonable man were no more than a Tennis-ball, to be tossed to and fro by the Rackets of the second causes; As if the will had no power to moove it self, but were meerly passive, like an artificiall Popingay removed hither and thither by the bolts of the Archers, who shoot on this side and on that. What are motives but reasons or discourses framed by the understanding, and freely mooved by the will? What are the will and the understanding but faculties of the same soul? and what is liberty but a power resulting from them both? To say that the will is determined by these motives, is as much as to say, that the Agent is determined by himself; If there be no necessitation before the judgment of right reason doth dictate to the will, then there is no antecedent, no extrinsecal necessitation at all. (*i*) All the world knows, that when the Agent is determined by himself, then the effect is determined likewise in its cause. But if he determined himself freely, then the effect is free. Motives determine not naturally, but morally; which kind of determination may consist with true liberty. But if *T. H.* his opinion were true, that the will were naturally determined by the Physical and special influence of extrinsecal causes, not onely motives were vain, but reason it self, and deliberation were vain. No, saith he, they are not vain, because they are the means. Yes, if the means be superfluous they are vain; what needed such a circuit of deliberation to advise what is fit to be done, when it is already determined extrinsecally, what must be done.

(*k*) He saith, that *the ignorance of the true causes, and their power is the reason, why we ascribe the effect to liberty; but when we seriously consider the causes of things, we acknowledge a ne-*

ceſſity. No ſuch thing, but juſt the contrary. The more we conſider, and the cleerer we underſtand, the greater is the liberty, and the more the knowledge of our own liberty. The leſs we conſider, and the more incapable that the underſtanding is, the leſſer is the liberty, and the knowledge of it. And where there is no conſideration, nor uſe of reaſon, there is no liberty at all, there is neither moral good nor evil. Some men, by reaſon that their exteriour ſenſes are not totally bound, have a trick to walk in their ſleep. Suppoſe ſuch an one in that caſe ſhould caſt himſelf down a pair of ſtairs, or from a bridge, and break his neck, or drown himſelf, it were a mad Jury that would find this man acceſſary to his own death. Why? becauſe it was not freely done, he had not then the uſe of reaſon.

(l) Laſtly, he tells us, that *the will doth chooſe of neceſſity, as well as the fire burns of neceſſity.* If he intend no more but this, that election is the proper and natural act of the will, as burning is of the fire, or that the elective power is as neceſſarily in a man, as viſibility, he ſpeaks truly, but moſt impertinently; For, the queſtion is not now of the elective power, *in actu primo*, whether it be an eſſential faculty of the ſoul, but whether the act of electing this or that particular object, be free and undetermined by any antecedent and extrinſecal cauſes. But if he intend it in this other ſenſe, that as the fire hath no power to ſuſpend its burning, nor to diſtinguiſh between thoſe combuſtible matters which are put unto it, but burns that which is put unto it neceſſarily, if it be combuſtible; So the will hath no power to refuſe that which it wills, nor to ſuſpend its own appetite, He erres groſſely. The will hath power, either to will or nill, or to ſuſpend, that is neither to will nor nill the ſame object; Yet even the burning of the fire, if it be conſidered as it is inveſted with all particular circumſtances, is not otherwiſe ſo neceſſary an action as *T. H.* imagineth. *(m)* Two things are required to make an effect neceſſary. Firſt, that it be produced by a neceſſary cauſe, ſuch as fire is; Secondly, that it be neceſſarily produced. *Protagoras* an Atheiſt, began his Book thus. *Concerning the Gods, I have nothing to ſay, whether they be, or they be not;* for which his Book was condemned by

by the *Athenians* to be burned. The fire was a neceſſary Agent, but the ſentence or the application of the fire to the Book, was a free act; and therefore the burning of his Book was free. Much more the rational will is free, which is both a voluntary agent, and acts voluntarily.

(n) My ſecond reaſon againſt this diſtinction of Liberty from Compulſion, but not from neceſſitation is new, and demonſtrates cleerly, that to neceſſitate the will by a Phyſical neceſſity, is to compel the will ſo far as the will is capable of Compulſion; and that he, who doth neceſſitate the will to evil, after that manner is the true cauſe of evil, and ought rather to be blamed than the will it ſelf. But *T. H.* for all he ſaith he is not ſurpriſed, can be contented upon better adviſe to ſteal by all this in ſilence; And to hide this tergiverſation from the eyes of the Reader, he makes an empty ſhew of braving againſt that famous and moſt neceſſary diſtinction between the *elicite* and *imperate* acts of the will; firſt, becauſe the terms are *improper*; ſecondly, becauſe they are *obſcure*. What Triviall and Grammatical objections are theſe, to be uſed againſt the univerſal current of Divines and Philoſophers. *Verborum ut Nummorum*, It is in words, as it is in mony. Uſe makes them proper and current; A *Tyrant* at firſt, ſignified a lawful and juſt Prince; Now, uſe hath quite changed the ſenſe of it, to denote either an Uſurper, or an Oppreſſor. The word *præmunire* is now grown a good word in our Engliſh Laws by uſe and tract of time; And yet at firſt it was meerly miſtaken for *a præmonere*. The names of Sunday, Munday, Tueſday, were derived at firſt from thoſe Heatheniſh Deities, the Sun, the Moon, and the warlike God of the Germans; Now we uſe them for diſtinction ſake onely, without any relation to their firſt original. He is too froward that will refuſe a piece of coin that is current throughout the world, becauſe it is not ſtamped after his own fancy. So is he that rejects a good word, becauſe he underſtands not the derivation of it. We ſee forrein words are daily naturalized, and made free Denizons in every Country. But why are the tearms improper? Becauſe, ſaith he, *It attributes command, and ſubjection to the faculties of the ſoul, as if they made a Common-wealth or family among themſelves,*

ſelves, and could ſpeak one to another, Therefore he ſaith, (o) *They who invented this tearm of* Actus Imperatus, *underſtood not any thing what it ſignified.* No, why not? It ſeemeth to me they underſtood it better than thoſe who except againſt it. They knew, there are *mentall tearms*, which are onely conceived in the mind, as well as *vocal tearms*, which are expreſſed with the tongue, They knew that howſoever a Superiour do intimate a direction to his inferiour, it is ſtill a command. *Tarquin* commanded his ſon, by onely ſtriking off the tops of the Poppies, and was by him both underſtood and obeyed. Though there be no formall *Common-wealth* or *family* either in the body, or in the ſoul of man, yet there is a ſubordination in the body of the inferiour members to the head; there is a ſubordination in the ſoul of the inferiour faculties to the rational will. Far be it from a reaſonable man, ſo far to diſhonour his own nature, as to equal fancy with underſtanding, or the ſenſitive appetite with the reaſonable will. A power of command there is without all queſtion, though there be ſome doubt in what faculty this command doth principally reſide, whether in the will or in the underſtanding. The true reſolution is, that the directive command for counſel is in the underſtanding; And the applicative command, or empire, for putting in execution of what is directed, is in the will. The ſame anſwer ſerves for his ſecond impropriety, about the word Elicite. For, ſaith he, *as it is abſurdly ſaid, that to dance is an act allured, or drawn by fair means out of the ability to dance; So it is abſurdly ſaid, that to will or chooſe, is an act drawn out of the power to will.* His objection is yet more improper than their expreſſion. The art of dancing rather reſembles the underſtanding, than the will. That drawing, which the Schools intend, is cleer of another nature from that which he conceives; By *elicitation*, he underſtands, a perſwading or enticing with flattering words, or ſweet alluring inſinuations, to chooſe this or that. But that *elicitation*, which the Schools intend, is a deducing of the power of the will into act; that *drawing*, which they mention, is meerly from the appetibility of the object, or of the end; as a man *draws* a Child after him with the ſight of a fair Apple, or a Shepheard *draws* his ſheep after him with the ſight

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of a green bough: So the end *draws* the will to it, by a Metaphorical motion. What he understands here by an ability to dance, is more than I know, or any man els, until he expresse himself in more proper tearms, whether he understand the *locomotive* faculty alone, or the art, or acquired habit of dancing alone, or both of these jointly. It may be said aptly without any absurdity, that the act of dancing is drawn out *(elicitur)* of the *locomotive* faculty helped by the acquired habit. He who is so scrupulous about the received phrases of the Schools should not have let so many improper expressions have dropped from his pen, as in this very passage he confounds the *compelling of a voluntary action*, with the commanding of a voluntary action, and *willing* with *electing*, which he saith, *are all one*. Yet to will properly respects the end, to elect the means.

(p) His other objection against this distinction of the acts of the will into Elicite and Imperate, is obscurity. *Might it not* (saith he) *have been as easily said in English, a voluntary action.* Yes, it might have been said as easily, but not as truely, nor properly. Whatsoever hath its original from the will, whether immediatly or mediatly, whether it be a proper act of the will it self, as to elect, or an act of the understanding, as to deliberate, or an act of the inferiour faculties, or of the members, is a voluntary action; but neither the act of reason nor of the senses, nor of the sensitive appetite, nor of the members are the proper acts of the will, nor drawn immediatly out of the will it self, but the members and faculties are applyed to their proper and respective acts by the power of the will.

And so he comes to cast up the total sum of my second reason, with the same faith, that the unjust Steward did make his acounts, Luk. 16. *The sum of* J. D's *distinction is* (saith he) *that a voluntary act may be done on compulsion* (just contrary to what I have maintained) *that is to say, by foul means. But to will that, or any act cannot be but by allurement or fair means.* I confess the distinction is mine, because I use it, as the Sun is mine, or the Air is mine, that is common to me, with all who treat of this subject. (q) But his mistakes are so thick, both in relating my mind, and his own, that the Reader may conclude, he is wandered out of his known way. I will do my duty to

ſhew him the right way. Firſt, no acts, which are properly ſaid to be compelled, are voluntary. Secondly, acts of terrour (which he calls foul means) which are ſometimes in a large improper ſenſe called compulſory actions, may be, and for the moſt part are conſiſtent with true liberty. Thirdly, actions proceeding from blandiſhments or ſweet perſwaſions (which he calls fair means) if they be indeliberated as in children, who want the uſe of reaſon, are not preſently free actions. Laſtly, the ſtrength of conſequent, and deliberated deſires doth neither diminiſh guilt, nor excuſe from puniſhment as juſt fears of extream and imminent dangers threatned by extrinſecal agents often do, becauſe the ſtrength of the former proceeds from our own fault, and was freely elected in the cauſes of it; But neither deſires nor fears, which are conſequent and deliberated, do abſolutely neceſſitate the will.

Animadverſions upon the Biſhops Reply Numb. XX.

(a) [NOw again, he tells us, that Election is not oppoſite to either neceſſation or compulſion. He might even as well tell us, that a ſtone thrown upwards moves naturally, or that a Woman can be raviſhed with her own Will. Conſent takes away the Rape, &c.] *If that which I have told him again be falſe, why ſhews he not why it is falſe? Here is not one word of Argument againſt it. To ſay I might have ſaid as well that a ſtone thrown upwards moves naturally is no refutation, but a deniall. I will not diſpute with him whether a ſtone thrown up move naturally, or not. I ſhall onely ſay to thoſe Readers, whoſe Judgements are not defaced with the abuſe of Words, that as a ſtone moveth not upwards of it ſelf, but by the Power of the External Agent, who giveth it a beginning of that motion; So alſo when the ſtone falleth, it is moved downward by the Power of ſome other Agent, which (though it be imperceptible to the eye) is not imperceptible to reaſon. But becauſe this is not proper diſcourſe for the Biſhop, and becauſe I have elſe where diſcourſed thereof expreſſly, I ſhall ſay nothing of it here. And whereas he ſay*

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Conſent takes away the Rape; *It may parhaps be true, and I think it is; but here it not onely inferreth nothing, but was alſo needleſſe, and therefore in a publick writing is an undecent inſtance, though ſometimes not unneceſſary in a Spirituall Court.* *In the next place he wonders how* a man is compelled, and yet Free to do what he wil; *that is to ſay, how a man is made to will, and yet Free to do what he will. If he had ſaid, he wondered how a man can be compelled to will, and yet be Free to do that which he would have done, if he had not been compelled, it had been ſomewhat; as it is it is nothing; again he ſays*, He who ſubmits to an enemy for ſaving his life, doth either onely counterfeit, or elſe his Will is changed, &c. *All which is true; But when he ſays* he doth counterfeit, *he doth not inſinuate* that he may counterfeit Lawfully; *For that would prejudice him hereafter in caſe he ſhould have need of quarter. But how this maketh for him, or againſt me, I perceive not.* There is a vaſt difference (*ſaith he*) between compelling, and changing the Wil. Either God or man may change the Wil of man, either by varying the condition of things, or by informing the party otherwiſe; but compelled it cannot be, &c. *I ſay the ſame, The Wil cannot be compelled; but the man may be, and is then compelled, when his Wil is changed by the fear of force, puniſhment, or other hurt from God or man. And when his Wil is changed, there is a new Wil formed, (whether it be by God or by man,) and that neceſſarily; and conſequently the Actions that flow from that Wil are both voluntary Free, and neceſſary, notwithſtanding that he was compelled to do them. Which maketh not for the Biſhop but for me.*

(*b* [Wherefore this kind of Actions are called mixt Actions, that is partly voluntary, partly unvoluntary, &c: So ſuppoſing a man were not in that diſtreſſe, they are involuntary.] *That ſome Actions are partly voluntary partly involuntary, is not a new, but a falſe opinion. For one and the ſame Action can never be both voluntary and involuntary. If therefore the parts of an Action, be Actions, he ſays no more but that ſome Actions are voluntary ſome involuntary; or that one multitude of Actions may be partly voluntary, partly involuntary. But that one Action ſhould be partly voluntary, partly involuntary is abſurd; And it is the abſurdity of thoſe Authors which he unwarily gave credit*

re. *But to say*, supposing the man had not been in distresse, that then the Action had been involuntary, *is to say, that the throwing of a mans goods into the Sea, supposing he had not been in a storm, had been an involuntary Action; which is also an absurdity; for he would not have done it, and therefore it had been no Action at all, And this absurdity it his own.*

(c) His other instance of *a man forced to prison, that he may choose whether he will be haled thither upon the grownd, or walk upon his feet*, is not true. By his leave that is not as he pleaseth, but as it pleaseth them who have him in their Power.] *It is enough for the use I make of that instance, that when a man in the necessity of going to Prison, though he cannot elect nor deliberate of being Prisoner in the Jail, may nevertheless deliberate sometimes, whether he shall walk, or be haled thither.*

(d) [Having laid this foundation, he begins to build upon it, that *other passions do necessitate as much as fear.* But he errs doubly, &c.] *First, he says, I erre in this that I say, that fear determins the rational Wil naturally and necessarily. And first, I answer, that I never used that term of rational Wil. There is nothing rational but God, Angels, and men. The Wil is none of these. I would not have excepted against this expression, but that every where he speaketh of the Will and other faculties as of men, or Spirits in mens bellies. Secondly, he offereth nothing to prove the contrary. For that which followeth* the last and greatest of five terrible things, is death, yet the fear of death cannot necessitate a resolved mind to a dishonest Action. The fear of the fiery furnace could not compel the three Children to worship an Idol, nor the fear of the Lions necessitate *Daniel* to omit his duty to God, &c. *I grant him that the greatest of five (or of fifteen for he had no more reason for five then fifteen) terrible things doth not alwayes necessitate a man to do a dishonest Action, and that the fear of the fiery Furnace could not compel the three Children, nor the Lions* Daniel *to omit their duty; for somewhat else (namely their confidence in God) did necessitate them to do their duty.* That the fear of Gods wrath doth expel corporal fear, *is well said, and according to the Text he citeth. And proveth strongly that fear of the greater evil may necessitate in a man, a courage to endure the lesser evil.*

(e) Da

(e) Da veniam Imperator, tu carcerem, ille gehennam minatur. *Excuse me, O Emperor thou threatnest men with Prison, but God threatens me with Hel.*] *This Sentence, and that which he saith* Numb. 17. *that neither the civil Judg, is the proper Judge, nor the Law of the Land is the proper Rule of sin, & divers other sayings of his to the same effect, make it impossible for any Nation in the World to preserve themselves from civil Wars. For all men living equally acknowledging that the High and Omnipotent God is to be obey'd before the greatest Emperours; every one may pretend the commandement of God to Justifie his disobedience. And if one man pretendeth that God commands one thing, and another man that he commands the contrary, what equity is there to allow the pretence of one, more then of another? Or what peace can there be if they be all allowed a like? There will therefore necessarily arise discord and civil War, unlesse there be a Judge agreed upon with Authority given to him by every one of them, to show them, and interpret to them the Word of God, which Interpretor is alwayes the Emperour, King, or other Soverain person, who therefore ought to be obeyed. But the Bishop thinks that to shew us and interpret to us the Word of God, belongeth to the* Clergy, *wherein I cannot consent unto him; Excuse me, O Bishop, you threaten me with that you cannot do, but the Emperour threateneth me with death, and is able to do what he threateneth.*

(f) [Secondly, he errs in his superstruction also. There is a great difference, as to this case of Justifying, or not Justifying an Action, between force and fear, &c. Force doth not onely lessen the sin, but takes it quite away, &c.] *I know not to what point of my answer, this Reply of his is to be applyed. I had said* the Actions of men compelled, are nevertheless voluntary. *It seems that he calleth* Compulsion *Force; but I call it a fear of force, or of dammage to be done by force, by which fear a mans will is framed to somewhat, to which he had no will before. Force taketh away the sin, because the Action is not his that is forced, but his that forceth. It is not alwayes so in Compulsion, because in this case a man electeth the* Lesse Evil *under the notion of* Good. *But his instances of the betrothed Damsel that was forced, and of* Tamar, *may for any thing there appeareth in the Text, be Instances of Compulsion, and yet the Damsel and* Tamar

be both innocent. In that which immediately followeth concerning how far fear may extenuate a sin, there is nothing to be answered. I perceive in it, he hath some glimmering of the truth, but not of the grounds thereof. It is true, that just fear dispenceth not with the precepts of God or Nature; for they are not dispensable; but it extenuateth the fault, not by diminishing any thing in the Action, but by being no transgression. For if the fear be allowed the Action it produceth is allowed also. Nor doth it dispense in any case with the Law positive, but by making the Action it self Lawful, for the breaking of a Law is always sin; and it is certain that men are obliged to the observation of all positive Precepts, though with the losse of their lives, unlesse the right that a man hath to preserve himself, make it, in case of a just Fear, to be no Law. The omission of circumcision was no sin, *he says,* whilst the Israelites were travelling through the Wildernesse. *'T is very true, but this has nothing to do with Compulsion. And the cause why it was no sin, was this; they were ready to obey it, whensoever God should give them leasure and rest from travel; whereby they might be cured, or at least when God, that daily spake to their Conductor in the Desert, should appoint him to renew that Sacrament.*

(g) [I will propose a case to him, &c.] *The case is this; a Servant, is robbed of his Masters money by the Highway, but is acquit because he was forced. Another Servant spends his Masters money in a Tavern. Why is he not acquited also seeing he was necessitated?* Would (*he saith he*) T. H. *admit of this excuse? I answer no: But I would do that to him, which should necessitate him to behave himself better another time, or at least necessitate another to behave himself better, by his example.*

(h) He talkes much of *the motives to do, and the motives to forbear*, how they work upon, and determine a man; as if a reasonable man were no more then a Tennis-ball, to be tossed to and fro by the Rackets of the second causes; *&c.*] *May not great things be produced by second causes as well as little? And a Foot-ball as well as a Tennis-ball? But the Bishop can never be driven from this, that the Will hath power to move it self, but says tis all one to say, that* an Agent can determine it self, *and that* the Will is determined by motives extrinsical.

He

He adds, that if there be no neceſſitation before the Judgment of right reaſon doth dictate to the Will, then there is no Antecedent nor Extrinſecal neceſſitation at all. *I ſay indeed the effect is not produced before the laſt dictate of the underſtanding; but I ſay not that the neceſſity was not before; he knows I ſay it is from eternity. When a Cannon is planted againſt a Wall, though the battery be not made till the bullet arrive, yet the neceſſity was preſent all the while the bullet was going to it, if the Wall ſtood ſtill; and if it ſlipt away, the hitting of ſomewhat elſe was neceſſary, and that antecedently.*

(i) [All the World knows, that when the Agent is determined by himſelf, then the effect is determined likewiſe in its cauſe. *Yes, when the Agent is determined by himſelf, then the effect is determined likewiſe in its cauſe, and ſo any thing elſe is what he will have it. But nothing is determined by it ſelf, nor is there any man in the World that hath any Conception anſwerable to thoſe Words. But* Motives *(he ſays)* determine not naturally but Morally. *This alſo is inſignificant, for all Motion is Natural or Supernatural. Moral motion is a meer Word, without any Imagination of the mind correſpondent to it. I have heard men talk of a Motion in a Court of Juſtice; perhaps this is it which he means by Moral Motion. But certainly when the tongue of the Judge, and the hands of the Clerks are thereby moved, the Motion is Natural, and proceed from natural cauſes, which cauſes alſo, were Natural Motions of the tongue of the Advocate. And whereas he adds, that if this were true then* not onely Motives, but reaſon it ſelf, and deliberation were vain, *it hath been ſufficiently anſwered before that therefore they are not vain, becauſe by them is produced the effect. I muſt alſo note that oftentimes in citing my opinion, he puts in inſtead of mine, thoſe terms of his own, which upon all occaſions I complain of for abſurdity; as here he makes me to ſay, that which I did never ſay,* Special influence of extrinſical cauſes.

(k) He ſaith, that *the ignorance of the true cauſes, and their Power, is the reaſon why we aſcribe the effect to Liberty; but when we ſeriouſly conſider the cauſes of things, we acknowledge a neceſſity.* No ſuch thing, but juſt the contrary.] *If he underſtand the Authors which he readeth upon this point no better, then he*

GOTTFRIED WILHELM LEIBNIZ BIBLIOTHEK
NIEDERSÄCHSISCHE LANDESBIBLIOTHEK
Signatur: Leibn. Marg. 163, [231] - 231
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he understands what I have here written, it is no wonder he understandeth not the truth of the question. *I said not*, that when we consider the causes of things, *but* when we see and know the strength that moves us, we acknowledge necessity. No such thing (*says the Bishop*) but just the contrary, the more we consider, and the clearer we understand, the greater is the Liberty, &c. *Is there any doubt if a man could foreknow, as God foreknows that which is hereafter to come to passe, but that he would also see and know the causes which shall bring it to passe, and how they work, and make the effect necessary; for necessary it is whatsoever God foreknoweth. But we that foresee them not, may consider as much as we will, and understand as clearly as we will, but are never the neerer to the knowledge of their necessity; and that I said was the cause why we impute those events to Liberty, and not to causes.*

(*l*) [Lastly, he tels us, that *the Wil doth chose of necessity, as well as the fire burns of necessity.* If he intend no more but this, that Election is the proper and natural Act of the Wil, as burning is of the fire, &c. He speaks truely, but most impertinently; for the question is not now of the Elective power, *in actu primo, &c.*] *Here again he makes me speak non sense; I said* the man chooseth of necessity, *he says, I say* the Will chooseth of necessity; *And why, but because he thinks I ought to speak as he does, and say, as he does here, that* Election is the Act of the Wil. *No, Election is the Act of a man, as power to Elect is the power of a man. Election and Wil are all one Act of a man, and the power to Elect, and the power to Wil one and the same power of a man. But the Bishop is confounded by the use of calling by the name of Wil, the power of willing in the future, as they also were confounded that first brought in this senseless term of* Actus primus. *My meaning is, that the Election I shall have of any thing hereafter, is now as necessary, as that the fire that now is, and continueth, shall burn any combustible matter thrown into it hereafter. Or to use his own terms, the Wil hath no more power to suspend its Willing, then the burning of the fire to suspend its burning. Or rather more properly, the man hath no more power to suspend his Will, then the fire, to suspend his burning; Which is contrary to that, which he would have, namely, that a man should have*

power

power to refuse what he Wils, and to suspend his own appetite; for to refuse what one willeth implyeth a contradiction; the which also is made much more absurd by his expression; for he saith, the Will hath power to refuse what it Wils, and to suspend its own Appetite, whereas the Will, *and* the Willing, *and* the Appetite *is the same thing. He adds that* even the burning of the fire, if it be considered, as it is invested with all particular circumstances, is not so necessary an Action as *T. H.* imagineth. *He doth not sufficiently understand what I imagine. For I imagine, that of the fire which shall burn five hundred years hence, I may truly say now, it shall burn necessarily; and of that which shall not burn then, (for fire may sometimes not burn the combustible matter thrown into it, as in the case of the three Children) that it is necessary it shall not burn.*

(*m*) [Two things are required to make an Effect necessary. First, that it be produced by a necessary cause, &c. Secondly, that it be necessarily produced, &c.] *To this I say nothing but that I understand not how a cause can be necessary, and the Effect not be necessarily produced.*

(*n*) [My second reason against this distinction of Liberty from compulsion, but not from necessitation, is new, and demonstrates cleerly, that to necessitate the Wil by a Physical necessity, is to compel the Wil, so far as the Wil is capable of compulsion; and that he, who doth necessitate the Wil to evil after that manner, is the true cause of evil, &c.] *By this second reason, which he says is new and demonstrates, &c. I cannot find what reason he means; for there are but two, whereof the later is in these Words;* Secondly, to rip up the bottom of this business, this I take to be the clear resolution of the Schools; There is a double Act of the Wil, the one more remote called *Imperatus, &c.* The other Act is nearer, called *Actus Elicitus, &c. But I doubt whether this be it he means or no. For this being the resolution of the Schools, is not new; and being a distinction onely, is no demonstration; though perhaps he may use the word demonstration, as every unlearned man now a days does, to signifie any Argument of his own. As for the distinction it self, because the terms are Latine, and never used by any Author of the Latine tongue, to shew their impertinence, I expounded them in*

English, and left them to the Readers judgement, to find the absurdity of them himself. And the Bishop in this part of his Reply, indeavours to defend them. And first he calls it a Trivial and Grammatical objection, to say they are improper *and* obscure. *Is there any thing lesse beseeming a* Divine, *or a* Philosopher, *then to speak* improperly *and* obscurely, *where the truth is in question. Perhaps it may be tollerable in one that Divineth, but not in him that pretendeth to demonstrate. It is not* the universal current of Divines, and Philosophers, *that giveth Words their Authority, but the generality of them who acknowledge, that they understand them.* Tyrant *and* Præmunire, *though their signification be changed, yet they are understood; and so are the names of the Days.* Sunday, Munday, Tuesday. *And when English Readers not engaged in School Divinity shall find* Imperate & Elicite Acts *as intelligible as those, I will confesse I had no reason to find fault.*

But my braving against that famous, and most necessary distinction, between the Elicite and Imperate Acts of the Wil, he says was onely to hide from the eyes of the Reader a tergiversation in not answering this Argument of his; he who doth necessitate the Wil to evil, is the true cause of evil; But God is not the cause of evil; Therefore he does not necessitate the Wil to evil. *This Argument is not to be found in this* Numb. 20. *to which I here answered; nor had I ever said that the Wil was compelled. But he taking all necessitation for Compulsion, doth now in this place from necessitation simply, bring in this Inference concerning the cause of evill, and thinks he shall force me to say, that God is the cause of sin. I shall say onely what is said in the Scripture,* Non est malum, quod ego non feci. *I shall say what* Micaiah *saith to* Ahab, 1 *Kings* 22. 23. Behold the Lord hath put a lying Spirit into the mouth of all these thy Prophets. *I shall say that that is true, which the Prophet David saith,* 2 *Sam.* 16. 10. Let him curse, because the Lord hath said unto him, curse *David. But that which God himself saith of himself,* 1 *Kings* 12. 15. *The King hearkned not to the people, for the cause was from the Lord, I will not say, least the Bishop exclaim against me, but leave it to be interpreted by those that have authority to interpret the Scriptures. I say further, that to cause sin is not always sin, nor can be sin in him that is not subject*

to

to some higher Power; but to use so unseemly a Phrase as to say that God is the cause of sin, because it soundeth so like to saying that God sinneth, I can never be forced by so weak an argument as this of his. Luther *says* we act necessarily, necessarily by necessity of immutability, not by necessity of constraint, *that is in plain English* necessarily, but not against our wills. Zanchius *says Tract. Theol. cap. 6. Thes. 1.* The freedom of our will doth not consist in this, that there is no necessity of our sinning; but in this, that there is no constraint. Bucer. Lib. de Concordia. Whereas the Catholicks say, man has Free Will, we must understand it of freedom from constraint, and not freedom from necessity. *Calvin. Inst. Cap. 2. §. 6.* And thus shall man be said to have Free Will, not because he hath equall freedom to do good and evill, but because he does the evill he does not by constraint but willingly. Monsr. du Moulin, *in his* Buckler of the Faith, *Article 9* The necessity of sinning is not repugnant to the freedom of the Will. Witness the Devils who are necessarily wicked, and yet sin freely without constraint. *And the* Synod *of Dort.* Liberty is not opposite to all kinds of necessity and determination. It is indeed opposite to the necessity of constraint but standeth well enough with the necessity of infallibility. *I could add more. For all the famous Doctors of the Reformed Churches, and with them St. Augustine are of the same opinion. None of these denied that God is the cause of al Motion & Action, or that God is the cause of al Laws; and yet they were never forced to say that God is the cause of sin.*

(o) *They who invented this term of Actus Imperatus understood not* (he saith) *any thing what it signified.* No? Why not? It seemeth to me they understood it better then those who except against it. They knew there are mentall terms which are only conceived in the mind, as well as vocal terms, which are expressed with the tongue, &c. *In this place the Bishop hath discovered the ground of all his errors in Philosophy, which is this, that he thinketh, when he repeateth the words of a proposition in his mind, that is, when he fancieth the words without speaking them, that then hee conceiveth the things which the words signifie, and this is the most general cause of false opinions. For men can never be deceived in the conceptions of*

things, though they may, and are most often deceived by giving unto them wrong terms or appellations, different from those which are commonly used, and constituted to signifie their conceptions. And therefore they that study to attain the certain knowledge of truth, do use to set down before hand all the terms they are to expresse themselves by, and declare in what sense they shall use them constantly. And by this means, the Reader having an Idea of every thing there named, cannot conceive amisse. But when a man from the hearing of a word hath no Idea of the thing signified, but onely of the sound, and of the Letters whereof the word is made (which is that he here calleth Mentall terms) *it is impossible he should conceive aright, or bring forth any thing but absurdity; as he doth here, when he says, that when* Tarquin *delivered his commands to his Son, by* onely striking off the tops of the Poppies, *he did it by* Mental terms. *As if to strick off the head of a Poppy were Mental term. It is the sound and the Letters that maketh him think* Elicitus *and* Imperatus *somewhat. And it is the same that makes him say (for think it he cannot) that to Wil, or choose, is drawn, or allured, or fetch't out of the power to Wil. For drawing cannot be imagined but of bodys; and therefore to Will, to speak, to write, to dance, to leape, or any way to be moved, cannot be said intelligibly to be* drawn, *much lesse to be drawn out of a Power, that is to say, out of an ability; for whatsoever is drawn out, is drawn out of one place into another. He that can discourse in this manner in Philosophy, cannot probably be thought able to discourse rationally in any thing.*

(p) [His other objection against this distinction of the Acts of the Will into *Elicite* and *Imperate* is obscurity. *Might it not* (saith he) *have been as easily said in English, a voluntary Action?* Yes, it might have been said as easily, but not as truly, nor as properly.] *He says, that* Actus Imperatus *is when* a man opens or shuts his eyes at the command of the Wil. *I say when a man opens and shuts his eyes according to his Wil, that it is a voluntary Action; and I believe we mean one and the same thing. Whether of us speak more properly, or more truly, let the Reader judge.*

(q) [But his mistakes are so thick, &c. I will do my duty to shew him the right way. First, no Acts which are properly

perly ſaid to be compelled, are voluntary. Secondly, Acts of of terrour, &c.] This is nothing but Tohu *and* Bohu.

J. D.

THE reſt are umbrages quickly diſpelled; firſt, the Aſtro- Num. 21.
loger ſteps up, and ſubjects Liberty to the motions of Heaven, to the aſpects and aſcenſions of the Starrs,

—— *Plus etenim fati valet hora benigni.*
Quam ſi nos Veneris commendet Epiſtola Marti.

I ſtand not much upon them who cannot ſee the fiſhes ſwimming beſides them in the rivers, yet believe they ſee thoſe which are in Heaven. Who promiſe great treaſures to others, and beg a groat for themſelves. The Starrs at the moſt do but incline, they cannot neceſſitate.

Secondly, the Phyſitian ſubjects liberty to the complexion and temperature of the body. But yet this comes not home to a neceſſity. *Socrates*, and many others by aſſiduous care have corrected the pernicious propenſions, which flowed from their temperatures.

T. H.

IN the reſt of his diſcourſe he reckoneth up the opinions of certain profeſſions of men, touching the cauſes, wherein the neceſſity of things, which they maintain, conſiſteth. And firſt he ſaith, the Aſtrologer deriveth his neceſſity from the Starrs. Secondly, that the Phyſician attributeth it to the temper of the body. For my part, I am not of their opinion, becauſe neither the Starrs alone, nor the temperature of the Patient alone is able to produce any effect without the concurrence of all other Agents. For, there is hardly any one action, how caſual ſoever it ſeem, to the cauſing whereof concur not whatſoever is in rerum natura. *Which becauſe it is a great Paradox, and depends on many antecedent ſpeculations I do not preſs in this place.*

J. D.

TOwards the later end of my diſcourſe I anſwered ſome ſpecious pretences againſt liberty, The two firſt were of the Aſtrologer and the Phyſician. The one ſubjecting liberty

to the motions and influences of the heavenly bodies; The other to the complexions of men. (*a*) The ſum of my anſwer was, that the Stars and complexions do incline, but not at all neceſſitate the will. To which all judicious Aſtronomers and Phyſicians do aſſent. And *T. H.* himſelf doth not diſſent from it. So as to this part there needs no reply.

(*b*) But whereas he mentions a *great paradox of his own, that there is hardly any one action to the cauſing of which concurres not whatſoever is* in rerum natura, I can but ſmile to ſee with what ambition our great undertakers do affect to be accounted the firſt founders of ſtrange opinions, as if the deviſing of an ill grounded Paradox were as great an honour as the invention of the needle, or the diſcovery of the new World. And to this Paradox in Particular, I meddle not with natural actions, becauſe the ſubject of my diſcourſe is moral liberty; But if he intend not only the kinds of things, but every individuall creature, and not onely in natural but voluntary actions, I deſire to know how *Preſter John*, or the great *Mogol*, or the King of *China*, or any one of ſo many millions of their ſubjects do concur to my writing of this reply. If they do not, among his other ſpeculations concerning this matter, I hope he will give us ſome reſtrictions. It were hard to make all the *Negroes* acceſſary to all the murthers that are committed in Europe.

Animadverſions upon the Biſhops Reply. Numb. XXI.

THere is not much in this part of his Reply, that needeth Animadverſion. But I muſt obſerve where he ſaith.

(*a*) [The ſum of my anſwer was that the Stars and complections do incline, but not at all neceſſitate the Will.] *He anſwereth nothing at all to me, who attribute not the neceſſitation of the Will to the Stars and Complections, but to the aggregate of all things together that are in motion. I do not ſay that the Stars or Complections of themſelves do incline men to Will; but when men are inclined, I muſt ſay that that inclination, was neceſſitated by ſome cauſes or other.*

(*b*) [But

(b) [But whereas he mentions *a great Paradox of his own; that there is hardly any one Action, to the causing of which concurres not whatsoever is* in rerum natura, I can but smile to see with what ambition our great undertakers do affect to be accounted the first founders of strange opinions, &c.] *The Bishop speaks often of Paradoxes which such scorn or detestation, that a simple Reader would take a Paradox either for Felony, or some other hainous crime, or else for some rediculous turpitude; whereas perhaps a Judicious Reader knows what the word signifies: And that a Paradox is an opinion not yet generally received. Christian Religion was once a Paradox; and a great many other opinions which the Bishop now holdeth, were formerly Paradoxes. Insomuch as when a man calleth an opinion Paradox, he doth not say it is untrue, but signifieth his own ignorance; for if he understood it, he would call it either a truth or an errour. He observes not, that but for Paradoxes, we should be now in that savage ignorance which those men are in, that have not, or have not long had Laws and Common-wealth, from whence proceedeth Science and Civility. There was not long since a Scholler, that maintained that if the least thing that had waight should be laid down upon the hardest body that could be, supposing it an Anvill of Diamant, it would at the first accesse make it yeeld. This I thought, and much more the Bishop would have thought a Paradox. But when he told me, that either that would do it, or all the waight of the World would not doe it, because if the whole waight did it, every the least part thereof would do its part; I saw no reason to dissent. In like manner when I say* there is hardly any one Action to the causing of which concurs not whatsoever is *in* rerum natura; *It seems to the Bishop a great Paradox; and if I should say that all Action is the effect of Motion, and that there cannot be a Motion in one part of the World, but the same must also be communicated to all the rest of the World, he would say that this were no lesse a Paradox. But yet if I should say, that if a lesser body, as a concave Sphere or Tun, were filled with air or other liquid matter, and that any one little particle thereof were moved, all the rest would be moved also, he would conceive it to be true, or if not he, a judicious reader would. It is not the greatness of the Tun that altereth the case; and therefore the same would be true also,*

alſo, if the whole World were the Tun; for tis the greatneſs of this Tun that the Biſhop comprehendeth not. But the truth is comprehenſible enough, and may be ſaid without ambition of being the founder of ſtrange opinions. And though a Grave man may ſmile at it, he that is both Grave and wiſe will not.

§. D.

Num. 22. THirdly, the moral Philoſopher tells us how we are haled hither and thither with outward objects. To this I anſwer.

Firſt, that the power, which outward objects have over us, is for the moſt part by our own default, becauſe of thoſe vitious habits which we have contracted. Therefore, though the actions ſeem to have a kind of violence in them, yet they were free and voluntary in their firſt originals. As a paralitick man, to uſe *Ariſtotles* compariſon, ſhedding the liquor deſerves to be puniſhed, for though his act be unwilling, yet his imtemperance was willing, whereby he contracted this infirmity.

Secondly, I anſwer, that concupiſcence, and cuſtome, and bad company, and outward objects do indeed make a proclivity, but not a neceſſity. By Prayers, Tears, Meditations, Vowes, Watchings, Faſtings, Humi-cubations, a man may get a contrary habit, and gain the victory, not onely over outward objects but alſo over his own corruptions, and become the King of the little world of himſelf.

Si metuis, ſi prava cupis, ſi duceris irâ,
Servitii patiere jugum, tolerabis iniquas
Interius leges. Tunc omnia jure tenebis,
Cum poteris rex eſſe tui.

Thirdly, a reſolved mind, which weighs all things judiciouſly, and provides for all occurrences, is not ſo eaſily ſurpriſed with outward objects. Onely *Ulyſſes* wept not at the meeting with his wife and ſon. I would beat thee (ſaid the Philoſopher) but that I am angry. One ſpake loweſt when he was moſt mooved. Another poured out the water when he was thirſty. Another made a Covenant with his eyes. Neither opportunity nor entiſement could prevail with *Joſeph*. Nor the Muſick, nor the

the fire with the three Children. It is not the ſtrength of the wind, but the lightneſs of the chaff, which cauſeth it to be blown away. Outward objects do not impoſe a moral, much leſs a Phyſical neceſſity, they may be dangerous, but cannot be deſtructi e to true liberty.

T. H.

THirdly, he diſputeth againſt the opinion of them that ſay, external objects preſented to men of ſuch and ſuch temperatures, do make their actions neceſſary. And ſayes, the power that ſuch objects have over us, proceed from our own fault; But that is nothing to the purpoſe, if ſuch fault of ours proceedeth from cauſes, not in our own power. And therefore that opinion may hold true for all this anſwer: Further he ſaith, Prayer, Faſting, &c. may alter our habits. 'T is true, but when they do ſo, they are cauſes of the contrary habit, and make it neceſſary; as the former habit had been neceſſary, if Prayer, Faſting, &c. had not been. Beſides we are not mooved, nor diſpoſed to prayer, or any other action but by outward objects, as pious company, godly preachers, or ſomething equivalent. Thirdly, he ſaith, a reſolved mind is not eaſily ſurpriſed. As the mind of Ulyſſes, *who when others wept, he alone wept not. And of the Philoſopher that abſtained from ſtriking, becauſe he found himſelf angry. And of him that poured out the water when he was thirſty; And the like. Such things I confeſs have, or may have been done, and do prove enely that it was not neceſſary for* Ulyſſes *then to weep, nor for the Philoſopher to ſtrike, nor for that other man to drink, but it does not prove that it was not neceſſary for* Ulyſſes *then to abſtain, as he did from weeping, nor the Philoſopher to abſtain as he did from ſtriking; Nor the other man to forbear drinking. And yet that was the thing he ought to have proved.*

Laſtly, he confeſſeth, that the diſpoſition of objects may be dangerous to liberty, but cannot be deſtructive. To which I anſwer, tis impoſſible; For, liberty is never in any other danger than to be loſt. And if it cannot be loſt, which he confeſſeth, I may infer it can be in no danger at all.

J. D.

(a) THe third pretenſe was out of moral Philoſophy miſunderſtood, that outward objects do neceſſitate the will. I ſhall not need to repeat what he hath omitted, but onely to ſatisfie his exceptions; (b) The firſt is, that it is not material, *though the power of outward objects do proceed from our own faults, if ſuch faults of ours proceed not from cauſes in our own power.* Well, but what if they do proceed from cauſes that are in our own power, as in truth they do, then his anſwer is a meer ſubterfuge. If our faults proceed from cauſes that are not, and were not in our own power, then they are not our faults at all. It is not a fault in us not to do thoſe things, which never were in our power to do. But they are the faults of theſe cauſes from whence they do proceed. (c) Next he confeſſeth, that it is in our power by good endeavours, to alter thoſe vitious habits which we had contracted, and to get the contrary habit. *True* (ſaith he) *but then the contrary habit doth neceſſitate the one way, as well as the former habit did the other way.* By which very conſideration it appears, that that which he calls a neceſſity is no more but a proclivity. If it were a true neceſſity, it could not be avoided, nor altered by our endeavours. The truth is Acquired habits do help and aſſiſt the faculty; but they do not neceſſitate the faculty. He who hath gotten to himſelf an habit of temperance, may yet upon occaſion commit an intemperate act. And ſo on the contrary. Acts are not oppoſed to habits, but other habits. (d) He adds, *that we are not mooved to prayer or any other action but by outward objects, as pious company, godly Preachers or ſomething equivalent.* Wherein are two other miſtakes, firſt, to make godly Preachers, and pious company, to be outward *objects*, which are outward *Agents*. Secondly to affirm that the will is not moved but by outward objects. The will is mooved by it ſelf, by the underſtanding, by the ſenſitive paſſions by Angels good and bad, by men, and moſt effectually by acts or habits infuſed by God, whereby the will is excited extraordinarily indeed, but efficaciouſly and determinately. This is more than equivalent with outward objects.

Ano-

Another branch of mine anſwer was, that a reſolved and prepared mind is able to reſiſt both the appetibility of objects, and the unrulineſs of paſſions; As I ſhewed by examples. (e) He anſwers that I prove *Ulyſſes* was not neceſſitated to weep, nor the Philoſopher to ſtrike, but I do not prove that they were not neceſſitated to forbear. He ſaith true. I am not now proving, but anſwering. Yet my anſwer doth ſufficiently prove that which I intend. That the rational will hath power, both to ſleight the moſt appetible objects, and to control the moſt unruly paſſions. When he hath given a clear ſolution to thoſe proofs which I have produced, then it will be time for him to cry for more work.

Laſtly, whereas I ſay, that outward objects may be dangerous, but cannot be deſtructive to true liberty. He catcheth at it, and (f) objects, that *liberty is in no danger, but to be loſt, but I ſay, it cannot be loſt, therefore* (he infers) *that it is in no danger at all.* I anſwer; Firſt, that liberty is in more danger to be abuſed than to be loſt. Many more men do abuſe their wits than loſe them. Secondly, liberty is in danger likewiſe to be weakened or diminiſhed, as when it is clogged by vicious habits contracted by our ſelves, and yet it is not totally loſt. Thirdly, though liberty cannot be totally loſt out of the world, yet it may be totally loſt to this or that particular man, as to the exerciſe of it. Reaſon is the root of liberty, and though nothing be more natural to a man than reaſon, yet many by exceſs of ſtudy, or by continual gurmandizing, or by ſome extravagant paſſion, which they have cheriſhed in themſelves, or by doting too much upon ſome affected object, do become very ſorts, and deprive themſelves of the uſe of reaſon, and conſequently of Liberty. And when the benefit of liberty is not thus univerſally loſt, yet it may be loſt reſpectively to this or that particular occaſion. As he who makes choiſe of a bad wife, hath loſt his former liberty to choſe a good one.

Animadverſions upon the Biſhops Reply Numb. XXII.

(a) [THe third pretence was out of Moral Philoſophy miſunderſtood, that outward objects do neceſſitate the Will.] *I cannot imagine how the queſtion, whether outward objects do neceſſitate or not neceſſitate the Wil, can any way be referred to Moral Philoſophy. The principles of moral Philoſophy are the Laws, wherewith outward objects have little to do, as being for the moſt part inanimate, & which follow alwayes the force of nature without reſpect to moral Laws. Nor can I conceive what purpoſe he had to bring this into his Reply to my anſwer, wherein I attribute nothing in the Action of outward objects to Morallity.*

(b) [His firſt exception is, that it is not material that *the power of outward objects do proceed from our own faults, if ſuch faults of ours proceed not from cauſes in our own power.* Well, but what if they do proceed from cauſes, that are in our own power, as in truth they do, then his anſwer is a meer ſubterfuge. *But how proves he that in truth they do?* Becauſe elſe, *ſaith he*, they are not our faults at all.] *Very well reaſoned. A Horſe is lame from a cauſe that was not in his power, therefore the lameneſs is no fault in the Horſe. But his meaning is, that no injuſtice unleſſe the cauſes were in his own power; as if it were not injuſtice whatſoever is willingly done againſt the Law, whatſoever it be that is the cauſe of the Wil to do it.*

(c) [Next he confeſſeth that it is in our power by good endeavours to alter thoſe vicious habits which we had contracted, and to get the contrary habits.] *There is no ſuch confeſſion in my anſwer. I ſaid*, Prayer, Faſting, &c. May alter our habits. *But I never ſaid that the Will to Pray, Faſt &c. is in our own power. True* (ſaith he) *but then the contrary habit doth neceſſitate the one way, as well as the former habit did the other way.* By which very conſideration it appears, that that which he calls a neceſſity, is no more but a Proclivity. If it were a true neceſſity, it could not be avoided, nor altered by our endeavours.] *Again he miſtakes, for I ſaid that* Prayer, Faſting, &c.

sting, &c. when they alter our habits do necessarily cause the contrary habits; *which is not to say that the habit necessitates but is necessitated. But this is Common with him to make me say that which out of reading, not out of Meditation he useth to say himself. Bot how doth it appear, that Prayer and Fasting &c. make but a Proclivity in men to do what they do for if it were but a Proclivity, then what they do, they do not. Therefore they either necessitate the Will, or the Will followeth not; I contend for the truth of this onely, that when the Will followeth them, they necessitate the will; and when a proclimity followeth they necessitate the proclimity. But the Bishop thinks I maintain that that also is produced necessiarily, which is not produced at all.*

(d) [He adds, *that we are not moved to Prayer, or any other Action, but by outward objects, as pious company, and Godly Preachers, or something equivalent.* Wherein are two other mistakes; first, to make Godly Preachers, and pious company, to be outward *objects*, which are outward *Agents*. Secondly, to affirm that the Will is not moved but by outward objects. The Will is moved by it self, &c.] *The first mistake, he urgeth that I call Preachers, and company objects. Is not the Preacher to the hearer the object of his hearing? No, perhaps he will say it is the voyce which is the object, and that we hear not the Preacher, but his voyce, as before he said the object of sight, was not the cause of sight. I must therefore once more make him smile with a great Paradox which is this, that in all the senses the* Object *is the* Agent; *And that it is, when we hear a Preacher, the Preacher that we hear, and that his* voyce *is the same thing with the* hearing *and a fancy in the hearer, though the motion of the Lips, and other organs of speech be his that speaketh. But of this I have written more largely in a more proper place.*

My second mistake, in affirming that the Will is not moved but by outward objects, *is a mistake of his own. For I said not* the Will is not moved *but* we are not moved, *for I alwayes avoid attributing motion to any thing but Body. The Will is produced, generated, formed, and created in such sort as accidents are effected in a corporeal subject, but moved it cannot be, because it goeth not from place to place. And whereas he saith* the Will is moved by it self, *if he had spoken properly as he ought to do,*

and ſaid, the Will is made or created by it ſelf, he would preſently have acknowledged that it was impoſſible. So that it is not without cauſe men uſe improper Language, when they mean to keep their errours from being detected. And becauſe nothing can move that is not it ſelf moved, it is untruly ſaid that either the Will or any thing elſe is moved by it ſelf, by the underſtanding, by the ſenſitive paſſions, *or* by Acts or habits, *or that Acts or habits are* infuſed *by God, for* infuſion *is motion, and nothing is moved but bodys.*

(e) [He anſwers that I prove *Ulyſſes* was not neceſſitated to weep nor the Philoſopher to ſtrik, but I do not prove that they were not neceſſitated to forbear. He ſaith true; I am not now proving, but anſwering.] *By his favour, though he be anſwering now, he was proving then. And what he anſwers now maketh nothing more toward a proof then was before. For theſe words,* the rational Wil hath Power to ſleight the moſt appetible objects, and to controle, the moſt unruly paſſions, *are no more, (being reduced into proper terms) then this,* the appetite hath power to be without appetite towards moſt appetible objects, and to Will contrary to the moſt unruly Will; *which is Jargon.*

(f) [He objects that *Liberty is in no danger, but to be loſt; but I ſay it cannot be loſt, therefore* (he inferrs) *that it is in no danger at all.* I anſwer, Firſt, that Liberty is in more danger to be abuſed then loſt, &c. Secondly, Liberty is in danger likewiſe to be weakened by vicious habits. Thirdly, it may be totally loſt.] *It is true that a man hath more liberty one time then another, and in one place then another, which is a difference of liberty as to the Body. But as to the liberty of doing what we will, in thoſe things we are able to do, it cannot be greater one time then another. Conſequently outward objects can no wayes endanger liberty further then it deſtroyeth it. And his anſwer that liberty is in more danger to be abuſed then loſt, is not to the queſtion, but a meer ſhift to be thought not ſilenced. And whereas he ſays liberty is diminiſhed by vitious habits, it cannot be underſtood otherwiſe then that vicious habits make a man the leſſe free to do vicious actions; which I believe is not his meaning. And laſtly, whereas he ſays that* Liberty is loſt, when reaſon is loſt, and that they who by

exceſſe

expreſſe of Study, or by continuall gurmandiſing, or by extravagant paſſion, &c. do become ſots, have conſequently loſt their liberty, *is requireth proof; for for any thing that I can obſerve, mad men and fools have the ſame liberty that other men have, in thoſe things that are in their power to do.*

7. D.

FOurthly, the natural Philoſopher doth teach, that the will doth neceſſarily follow the laſt dictate of the underſtanding. It is true indeed the will ſhould follow the direction of the underſtanding, but I am not ſatisfied that it doth evermore follow it. Sometimes this ſaying hath place, *Video meliora proboque, Deteriora ſequor.* As that great Roman ſaid of two Sailers, that the one produced the better reaſons, but the other muſt have the office. So reaſon often lies dejected at the feet of affection. Things neerer to the ſenſes moove more powerfully. Do what a man can, he ſhall ſorrow more for the death of his child, than for the ſin of his ſoul; Yet appreciatively in the eſtimation of judgment, he accounts the offence of God a greater evill than any temporal loſs. Num. 23.

Next, I do not believe that a man is bound to weigh the expedience or inexpedience of every ordinary trivial action to the leaſt grain in the ballance of his underſtanding, or to run up into his Watch-Tower with his perſpective to take notice of every Jack-daw that flies by, for fear of ſome hidden danger. This ſeems to me to be a proſtitution of reaſon to petit obſervations as concerning every rag that a man wears, each drop of drink, each morſel of bread that he eates, each pace that he walks. Thus many ſteps muſt he go, not one more, nor one leſs, under pain of mortal ſin. What is this but a Rack and a Gibbet to the Conſcience? But God leaves many things indifferent, though man be ſo curious he will not. A good Architect will be ſure to provide ſufficient materials for his building, but what particular number of ſtones, or trees, he troubles not his head. And ſuppoſe he ſhould weigh each action thus, yet he doth not, ſo ſtill there is liberty. Thirdly, I conceive it is poſſible in this miſt and weakneſs of human apprehenſion, for two actions to be ſo equally circumſtantiated, that no

no discernable difference can appear between them upon discussion. As suppose a Chirurgion should give two plaisters to his Patient, and bid him apply either of them to his wound, what can induce his reason more to the one than to the other, but that he may refer it to chance whether he will use? But leaving these probable speculations which I submit to better judgments, I answer the Philosopher briefly thus; Admitting that the will did necessarily follow the last dictate of the understanding as certainly in many things it doth. Yet,

First, this is no extrinsecal determination from without, and a mans own resolution is not destructive to his own liberty, but depends upon it. So the person is still free.

Secondly, this determination is not antecedent, but joyned with the Action. The understanding and the will, are not different Agents, but distinct faculties of the same soul. Here is an infallibility, or an hypothetical necessity, as we say, *Quicquid est quando est, necesse est esse*: A necessity of consequence, but not a necessity of consequent. Though an Agent have certainly determined, and so the Action be become infallible, yet if the Agent did determine freely, the Action likewise is free.

T. H.

THE fourth opinion which he rejecteth, is of them that make the will necessarily to follow the last dictate of the understanding but it seems he understands; that Tenet in another sense than I do. For he speaketh as if they that held it did suppose men must dispute the sequel of every action they do, great and small, to the least grain, which it a thing that he thinks with reason to be untrue. But I understand it to signifie, that the will followes the last opinion or judgment immediatly preceding the action, concerning whether it be good to do it or not, whether he hath weighed it long before or not at all. And that I take to be the meaning of them that hold it. As for example, when a man strikes, his will to strike followes necessarily that thought he had of the sequel of his stroke immediately before the lifting of his hand. Now if it be understood in that sense, the last dictate of the understanding does certainly necessitate the action, though not as the whole cause, yet as

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the last cause, as the last feather necessitates the breaking of an horses back, when there are so many laid on before, as there needeth but the addition of that one to make the weight sufficient. That which he alledgeth against this, is first, out of a Poet, who in the person of Medea *sayes,* Video Meliora proboque, Deteriora sequor. *But the saying (as pretty as it is) is not true; for though* Medea *saw many reasons to forbear killing her Children, yet the last dictate of her judgment was, that the present revenge on her husband outweighed them all, and thereupon the wicked action followed necessarily. Then the story of the Roman, that of two competitors, said one had the better reasons, but the other must have the office. This also maketh against him, for the last dictate of his judgment, that had the bestowing of the office was this, that it was better to take a great bribe, than reward a great merit. Thirdly, he objects that things neerer the senses moove more powerfully than reason. What followeth thence but this, That the sense of the present good is commonly more immediate to the Action, than the foresight of the evill consequents to come? Fourthly, whereas he sayes, that do what a man can, he shall sorrow more for the death of his son, than for the sin of his soul; it makes nothing to the last dictate of the understanding, but it argues plainly, that sorrow for sin is not voluntary. And by consequence repentance proceedeth from causes.*

7. D.

THE fourth pretense alledged against Liberty was, that the will doth necessarily follow the last dictate of the understanding, This objection is largely answered before in several places of this Reply, and particularly, *Numb.* 7. In my former discourse, I gave two answers to it: The one certain and undoubted, That (*a*) supposing the last dictate of the understanding did alwayes determine the will, yet this determination being not antecedent in time, nor proceeding from extrinsecal causes, but from the proper resolution of the Agent, who had now freely determined himself, it makes no absolute necessity, but onely hypothetical, upon supposition that the Agent hath determined his own will, after this or that manner. Which being the main answer, *T. H.* is so far from taking it away,

that he takes no notice of it. The other part of mine anſwer was probable; That it is not alwayes certain, that the will doth alwayes actually follow the laſt dictate of the underſtanding, though it alwayes ought to follow it. (*b*) Of which I gave then three reaſons, one was, that actions may be ſo equally circumſtantiated, or the caſe ſo intricate, that reaſon cannot give a poſitive ſentence, but leaves the election to liberty or chance. To this he anſwers not a word. Another of my reaſons was, becauſe reaſon doth not weigh, nor is bound to weigh the convenience or inconvenience of every individual action to the uttermoſt grain in the balance of true judgement. The truth of this reaſon is confeſſed by *T. H.* though he might have had more abetters in this than in the moſt part of his diſcourſe, that nothing is indifferent, that a man cannot ſtroak his beard on one ſide, but it was either neceſſary to do it, or ſinful to omit it, from which confeſſion of his it follows, that in all thoſe actions, wherein reaſon doth not define what is moſt convenient, there the will is free from the determination of the underſtanding, and by conſequence the laſt feather is wanting to break the horſes back. A third reaſon was, becauſe paſſions and affections ſometimes prevail againſt judgment, as I prooved by the example of *Medea* and *Cæſar*, by the neerneſs of the objects to the ſenſes, and by the eſtimation of a temporal loſs more than ſin. Againſt this reaſon, his whole anſwer is addreſſed. And firſt, (*c*) he explaineth the ſenſe of the aſſertion by the compariſon of the laſt feather, wherewith he ſeems to be delighted, ſeeing he uſeth it now the ſecond time. But let him like it as he will, it is improper, for three reaſons; Firſt, the determination of the judgment is no part of the weight, but is the ſentence of the trier. The underſtanding weigheth all Things, Objects, Means, Circumſtances, Convenience, Inconvenience, but it ſelf is not weighed. Secondly, the ſenſitive paſſion in ſome extraordinary caſes, may give a counterfeit weight to the object, if it can detein or divert reaſon from the ballance, but ordinarily the Means, Circumſtances, and Cauſes concurrent they have their whole weight from the underſtanding. So as they do not preſs the horſes back at all until reaſon lay them on. Thirdly, he conceives

that

that as each feather hath a certain natural weight, whereby it concurs not arbitrarily, but neceſſarily towards the over-charging of the horſe; So all objects and cauſes have a naturall efficiency whereby they do Phyſically determin the will, which is a great miſtake. His Objects, his Agents, his Motives, his Paſſions, and all his concurrent cauſes, ordinarily do onely moove the will morally, not determine it naturally. So as it hath in all ordinary actions a free dominion over it ſelf.

His other example of a man that ſtrikes, *whoſe will to ſtrike followeth neceſſarily that thought he had of the ſequell of this ſtroke immediately before the lifting up of his hand)* as it confounds paſſionate, indeliberate thoughts, with the dictates of right reaſon, ſo it is very uncertain; for between the cup and the lip between the lifting up of the hand and the blow, the will may alter, and the judgment alſo. And laſtly, it is impertinent, for that neceſſity of ſtriking proceeds from the free determination of the Agent, and not from the ſpecial influence of any outward determining cauſes. And ſo it is onely a neceſſity upon ſuppoſition.

Concerning *Medeas* choiſe, the ſtrength of the argument doth not lye either in the fact of *Medea*, which is but a fiction, or in the authority of the Poet, who writes things rather to be admired than believed, but in the experience of all men, who find it to be true in themſelves, That ſometimes reaſon doth ſhew unto a man the exorbitancy of his paſſion, that what he deſires is but a pleaſant good, that what he loſeth by ſuch a choiſe is an honeſt good, That that which is honeſt is to be preferred before that which is pleaſant, yet the will purſues that which is pleaſant, and neglects that which is honeſt. St. *Paul* ſaith as much in earneſt as is feined of *Medea*, That *he approved not that which he did, and* that *he did that which he hated*, Rom. 7. 15. The Roman Story is miſtaken; There was no bribe in the caſe but affection. Whereas I urge that thoſe things, which are neerer to the ſenſes do moove more powerfully, he layes hold on it; and without anſwering to that for which I produced it, infers, *That the ſenſe of preſent good is more immediate to the action than the foreſight of evil conſequents.* Which is true, but it is not abſolutely true by any antecedent

neceſſity. Let a man do what he may do, and what he ought to do, and ſenſitive objects will loſe that power which they have by his own fault, and neglect. Antecedent or indeliberate concupiſcence doth ſometimes (but rarely) ſurpriſe a man, and render the action not free. But conſequent and deliberated concupiſcence, which proceeds from the rational will doth render the action more free, not leſs free, and introduceth onely a neceſſity upon ſuppoſition.

Laſtly, he ſaith, that *a mans mourning more for the loſs of his Child than for his ſin, maks nothing to the laſt dictate of the underſtanding.* Yes, very much. Reaſon dictates, that a ſin committed, is a greater evil than the loſs of a Child, and ought more to be lamented for, yet we ſee daily how affection prevailes againſt the dictate of reaſon; That which he inferrs from hence, that *ſorrow for ſin is not voluntary, and by conſequence that repentance proceedeth from cauſes*, is true, as to the latter part of it, but not in his ſenſe. The cauſes from whence repentance doth proceed are Gods grace preventing, and mans will concurring. God prevents freely, man concurs freely. Thoſe inferiour Agents, which ſometimes do concur as ſubordinate to the grace of God, do not, cannot, determine the will naturally. And therefore the former part of his inference, that ſorrow for ſin is not voluntary, is untrue, and altogether groundleſs. That is much more truely, and much more properly ſaid to be voluntary, which proceeds from judgment, and from the rational will, than that which proceeds from paſſion, and from the ſenſitive will. One of the main grounds of all *T. H.* his errours in this queſtion is, that he acknowledgeth no efficacy, but that which is natural. Hence is this wild conſequence, *Repentance hath cauſes*, and therefore *it is not voluntary*. Free effects have free cauſes, neceſſary effects neceſſary cauſes, voluntary effects have ſometimes free, ſometimes neceſſary cauſes.

Animad-

Animadversions upon the Bishops Reply. Numb. XXIII.

(a) [Supposing the last dictate of the understanding did alwayes determine the Wil, yet this determination, being not antecedent in time, nor proceeding from extrinsecall causes, but from the proper resolution of the Agent, who had now freely determined himself, makes no absolute necessity, but onely Hypothetical, &c.] *This is the Bishops answer to the necessity inferred from that, that the Wil necessarily followeth the last dictate of the understanding; which answer he thinks is not sufficiently taken away, because the last act of the understanding is in time together with the Wil it self, and therefore not antecedent. It is true, that the Wil is not produced, but in the same Instant with the last dictate of the understanding; but the necessity of the Wil, and the necessity of the last dictate of the understanding may have been antecedent. For that last dictate of the understanding was produced by causes antecedent, and was then necessary though not yet produced; as when a stone is falling, the necessity of touching the earth is antecedent to the touch it self. For all motion through any determined space, necessarily makes a motion through the next space, unlesse it be hindered by some contrary external motion, and then the stop is as necessary, as the proceeding would have been. The Argument therefore from the last dictate of the understanding sufficiently inferreth an antecedent necessity, as great as the necessity that a stone shall fall when it is already falling. As for his other answer,* that the Wil does not certainly follow the last dictate of the understandig though it alwayes ought to follow it, *he himself says it is but probable; but any man that speaks not by rote, but thinks of what he says, will presently find it false; and that it is impossible to will any thing that appears not first in his understanding to be good for him. And whereas he says, the Wil ought to follow the last dictate of the understanding, unlesse he mean that the man ought to follow it, it is an insignificant speech (for duties are the mans not the Wils duties) and if he means so, then tis false; for a man ought not to follow the dictate of the understanding when it is erroneous.*

(b) [Of

(b) [Of which I gave then three reasons, one was, that actions may be so equally circumstantiated, that reason cannot give a positive sentence, but leaves the election to liberty or chance. To this he answers not a word.] *There was no need of answer, for he hath very often in this discourse contradicted it himself, in that he maketh* Reason to be the true root of liberty, *and* men to have more or lesse liberty as they have more or lesse Reason. *How then can a man leave that to liberty when his Reason can give no sentence? And for his leaving it to chance, if by chance he mean that which hath no causes, he destroyeth Providence, and if he mean that which hath causes, but unknown to us, he leaveth it to necessity. Besides, it is false* that actions may be so equally circumstantiated, that Reason cannot give a positive sentence. *For though in the things to be elected there may be an exact equality, yet there may be circumstances in him that is to elect, to make him resolve upon that of the two which he considereth for the present, and to break of all further deliberation for this cause, that he must not (to use his own instance) by spending time in vain apply neither of the plaisters, which the Chirurgion gives him, to his wound. Another of his reasons was*, because Reason doth not weigh every individual action to the uttermost grain. *True; But does it therefore follow, a man gives no sentence? The Wil therefore may follow the dictate of the judgment, whether the man weigh, or not weigh all that might be weighed. His third reason was*, because Passions and Affections sometime prevail against Judgment. *I confesse they prevail often against* Wisdome, *which is it he means here* by Judgment. *But they prevail not against the* dictate of the understanding, *which he knows is the meaning of* Judgment *in this place. And the Wil of a passionate and peevish fool, doth no lesse follow the dictate of that little understanding he hath, then the Wil of the wisest man followeth his wisedome.*

(c) [He explaineth the sense of the assertion by the comparison of the last feather, wherewith he seems to be delighted, seeing he useth it now the second time. But let him like it as he Wil, it is improper, for three Reasons.] *To me this comparison seemeth very proper, and therefore I made no scruple, (though not much delighted with it, as being no new comparison) to use it again,*

again when there was need again. For in the examination of truth I ſearch rather for perſpicuity, then elegance. But the Biſhop with his School terms is far from perſpicuity. How neer he is to elegence, I ſhall not forget to examine in due time. But why is this compariſon improper? Firſt, becauſe the determination of the Judgment is no part of the weight, *for* the underſtanding weigheth all things, Objects, Means, Circumſtances, Convenience, Inconvenience, but it ſelf is not weighed. *In this compariſon, the Objects, Means, &c. are the weights, the man is the ſcale, the underſtanding of a Convenience, or Inconvenience, is the preſſure of thoſe weights, which incline him, now one way, now another, and that inclination is the Wil. Again the Objects, Means, &c. are the feathers that preſſe the Horſe, the feeling of that preſſure is underſtanding, and his patience or impatience, the Wil to bear them, if not too many, or if too many to lye down under them. Tis therefore to little purpoſe that he ſaith the underſtanding is not weighed. Secondly, he ſays the compariſon is improper,* becauſe ordinarily the Means, Circumſtances, and Cauſes concurrent, have their whole weight from the underſtanding, ſo as they do not preſſe the Horſes back at all, until Reaſon lay them on. *This and that which followeth,* that my Objects, Agents, Motives Paſſions, and all my concurrent Cauſes, ordinarily do onely move the Will *morally*, not determine it naturally, ſo as it hath in all ordinary actions a Free dominion over it ſelf, *is all non ſenſe; for no man can underſtand that the underſtanding maketh any alteration in the Object in* Weight *or* lightneſſe; *nor that* Reaſon lays on Objects upon the underſtanding; *nor that* the Wil is moved, *nor*, that any motion is moral; *nor that* theſe Words the Wil hath a Free dominion over it ſelf, *ſignifie any thing. With the reſt of this Reply I ſhall truſt the Reader, and onely note the laſt Words, where he makes me ſay*, Repentance hath cauſes *and therefore* it is not voluntary; *but I ſaid, repentance hath cauſes, and that it is not voluntary; he chops in*, and therefore *and makes an abſurd conſequence, which he would have the Reader believe was mine, and then confutes it with theſe ſenſeleſſe words.* Free effects have Free cauſes, neceſſary effects neceſſary cauſes, Voluntary effects have ſometimes Free, ſometimes neceſſary

cauſes.

causes. *Can any man but a Schoolman think the Wil is voluntary? But yet the Wil is the cause of voluntary actions.*

J. D.

Num. 24. FIftly, and lastly, the Divine labours to find out a way how liberty may consist with the prescience and decrees of God. But of this I had not very long since occasion to write a full discourse, in answer to a Treatise against the prescience of things contingent. I shall for the present only repeat these two things. First, we ought not to desert a certain truth, because we are not able to comprehend the certain manner. God should be but a poor God, if we were able perfectly to comprehend all his Actions and Attributes.

Secondly, in my poor judgment, which I ever do and ever shall submit to better, the readiest way to reconcile Contingence and Liberty, with the decrees and prescience of God, and most remote from the altercations of these times, is to subject future contingents to the aspect of God, according to that presentiality which they have in eternity. Not that things future, which are not yet existent are co-existent with God, but because the infinite knowledge of God, incircling all times in the point of eternity, doth attain to their future Being, from whence proceeds their objective and intelligible Being. The main impediment which keeps men from subscribing to this way is, because they conceive eternity to be an everlasting succession, and not one indivisible point. But if they consider, that whatsoever is in God is God; That there are no accidents in him, for that which is infinitely perfect cannot be further perfected; That as God is not wise but Wisedom it self, not just but Justice it self, so he is not eternal but Eternity it self; They must needs conclude that therefore this eternity is indivisible, because God is indivisible, and therefore not successive, but altogether an infinite point, comprehending all times within it self.

T. H.

THE last part of this discourse conteineth his opinion about reconciling Liberty with the Prescience, and Decrees of God, otherwise than some Divines have done, against whom he had formerly

merly written a Treatise, out of which he only repeateth two things. One is, that we ought not to desert a certain truth, for not being able to comprehend the certain manner of it. And I say the same, as for example, that he ought not to desert this certain truth; That there are certain and necessary causes, which make every man to will what he willeth, though he do not yet conceive in what manner the will of man is caused. And yet I think the manner of it is not very hard to conceive, seeing that we see daily, that praise, dispraise, reward, punishment, good and evil sequels of mens actions retained in memory do frame and make us to the election of whatsoever it be that we elect. And that the memory of such things proceeds from the senses and sense from the operation of the objects of sense, which are external to us, and governed onely by God Almighty. And by consequence, all actions, even of free and voluntary Agents are necessary.

The other thing he repeateth is, that the best way to reconcile Contingency and Liberty with the prescience and Decrees of God, is to subject future contingents to the aspect of God. The same is also my opinion, but contrary to what he hath all this while laboured to prove. For, hitherto he held liberty and necessity, that is to say, liberty and the decrees of God irreconcilable, unless the aspect of God (which word appeareth now the first time in this discourse) signifie somewhat else besides Gods will and decree, which I cannot understand. But he adds, that we must subject them according to that presentiality which they have in eternity, which he says cannot be done by them that conceive eternity to be an everlasting succession, but onely by them that conceive it an indivisible point. To this I answer, that as soon as I can conceive Eternity to be an indivisible point, or any thing, but an everlasting succession, I will renounce all I have written in this subject. I know St. Thomas Aquinas calls eternity Nunc stans, an ever abiding now (which is easy enough to say, but though I fain would, I never could conceive it. They that can, are more happy than I. But in the mean time he alloweth hereby all men to be of my opinion, save onely those that conceive in their minds a nunc stans, which I think are none. I understand as little how it can be true that God is not just, but Justice it self, not Wise but Wisedom it self, not eternal but Eternity it self. Nor how he concludes thence, that Eternity is a point

indiviſible, and not a ſucceſſion. Nor in what ſenſe it can be ſaid, that an infinite point, &c. wherein is no ſucceſſion, can comprehend all times, though time be ſuoceſſive.

Theſe phraſes I find not in the Scripture. I wonder therefore, what was the deſign of the School-men, to bring them up, unleſs they thought a man could not be a true Chriſtian, unleſs his underſtanſtanding be firſt ſtrangled with ſuch hard ſayings.

And thus much in anſwer to his diſcourſe, wherein I think not onely his ſquadrons, but alſo his reſerves of diſtinctions are defeated. And now your Lordſhip ſhall have my doctrine concerning the ſame queſtion, with my reaſons for it, poſitively and briefly as I can, without any tearms of Art in plain Engliſh.

7. D.

(a) THat poor diſcourſe which I mention, was not written againſt any Divines, but in way of examination of a French Treatiſe, which your Lordſhips Brother did me the honour to ſhew me at *York*; *(b)* My aſſertion is muſt true, that we ought not to deſert a certain truth, becauſe we are not able to comprehend the certain manner. Such a truth is that which I maintain, that the will of man in ordinary actions is free from extrinſecal determination. A truth demonſtrable in reaſon, received and believed by all the world. And therefore though I be not able to comprehend or expreſs exactly the certain manner how it conſiſts together with Gods Eternall Preſcience, and Decrees, which exceed my weak capacity, yet I ought to adhere to that truth, which is manifeſt. But *T. H.* his opinion of the abſolute neceſſity of all events, by reaſon of their antecedent determination in their extrinſecal and neceſſary cauſes, is no ſuch certain Truth, but an innovation, a ſtrange paradox, without probable grounds, rejected by all Authours, yea, by all the world. Neither, is the manner how the ſecond cauſes do operate ſo oſcure, or ſo tranſcendent above the reach of reaſon, as the Eternal Decrees of God are. And therefore in both theſe reſpects he cannot challenge the ſame priviledge. I am in poſſeſſion of an old truth derived by inheritance or ſucceſſion from mine anceſtors. And therefore, though I were not able to clear every quirk in Law, yet I might

I might justly hold my possession until a better title were shewed for another. He is no old Possessor, but a new Pretender, and is bound to make good his claime by evident proofs, not by weak and inconsequent suppositions, or inducements, such as those are which he useth here, of *praises, dispraises, rewards, punishments, the memory of good and evil sequels, and events,* which may incline the will, but neither can nor do necessitate the will. Nor by uncertain and accidental inferences such as this, *The memory of praises, dispraises, rewards, punishments, good and evil sequels do make us* (he should say dispose us) *to elect what we elect; but the memory of these things is from the sense, and the sense from the operation of the external objects, and the Agency of external objects is onely from God, therefore all actions, even of free and voluntary Agents, are necessary.* (c) To pass by all the other great imperfections, which are to be found in this Sorite. It is just like that old Sophistical piece: He that drinks well sleeps well, he that sleeps well thinks no hurt, he that thinks no hurt lives well, therefore he that drinks well lives well.

(d) In the very last passage of my discourse, I proposed mine own private opinion, how it might be made appear, that the Eternal Prescience and Decrees of God are consistent with true liberty and contingency. And this I set down, in as plain terms as I could, or as so profound a speculation would permit, which is almost wholly misunderstood by *T. H.* and many of my words wrested to a wrong sense. As first, where I speak of the aspect of God, that is his view, his knowledge, by which the most free and contingent actions were manifest to him from eternity, Heb. 4. 11. *All things are naked and open to his eyes,* and this not discursively, but intuitively, not by external species, but by his internal Essence; He confounds this with the Wil, and the Decrees of God: Though he found not the word *Aspect* before in this discourse, he might have found prescience. (e) Secondly, he chargeth me that hither to I have maintained, that *Liberty and the Decrees of God, are irrecilable.* If I have said any such thing, my heart never went along with my pen. No, but his reason why he chargeth me on this manner, is becaus I have maintained, that *Liberty and*

the absolute necessity of all things are irreconciliable. That is true indeed. What then? *W'y* (saith he) *Necessity and Gods Decrees are all one.* How all one? that were strange indeed. Necessity may be a consequent of Gods Decrees, it cannot be the Decree it self. (*f*) But to cut his argument short. God hath decreed all effects which come to pass in time, yet not all after the same manner, but according to the distinct natures, capacities and conditions of his creatures, which he doth not destroy by his Decree; Some he acteth, with some he cooperateth by special influence, and some he onely permitteth. Yet this is no idle or bare permission, seeing he doth concur both by way of general influence, giving power to act, and also by disposing all events necessary, free, and contingent to his own glory. (*g*) Thirdly, he chargeth me, that *I allow all men to be of his opinion, save onely those that conceive in their minds a* Nunc stans, *or how eternity is an indivisible point, rather than an everlasting succession.* But I have given no such allowance. I know, there are many other wayes proposed by Divines, for reconciling the Eternal Prescience, and Decrees of God, with the Liberty and Contingency of second causes, some of which may please other judgments better than this of mine. Howsoever, though a man could comprehend none of all these wayes, yet remember what I said, that a certain truth ought not to be rejected, because we are not able, in respect of our weakness, to understand the certain manner, or reason of it. I know, the Load-stone hath an attractive power to draw the Iron to it; And yet I know not how it comes to have such a power.

But the chiefest difficulty which offers it self in this Section is, whether Eternity be an indivisible point (as I maintain it) or an everlasting succession, as he would have it. According to his constant use, he gives no answer to what was urged by me, but pleads against it from his own incapacity. *I never could conceive, saith he, how eternity should be an indivisible point.* I believe, that neither we nor any man else can comprehend it so cleerly, as we do these inferiour things. The neerer that any thing comes to the essence of God, the more remote it is from our apprehension. But shall we therefore make potentialities,

and

and ſucceſſive duration, and former and later, or a part without a part (as they ſay) to be in God? Becauſe we are not able to underſtand cleerly the Divine perfection, we muſt not therefore attribute any imperfection to him.

(h) He ſaith moreover, that *he underſtands as little how it can be true which I ſay, that God is not juſt but Juſtice it ſelf, not eternal but Eternity it ſelf.* It ſeems howſoever he be verſed in this queſtion, that he hath not troubled his head overmuch with reading School-Divines, or Metaphyſicians, if he make faculties or qualities to be in God, really diſtinct from his eſſence. God is a moſt ſimple or pure act, which can admit no compoſition of ſubſtance and accidents. Doth he think that the moſt perfect Eſſence of God cannot act ſufficiently without faculties and qualities? The infinite perfection of the Divine eſſence, excludes all paſſive or receptive powers, and cannot be perfected more than it is by any accidents. The attributes of God, are not divers vertues, or qualities in him, as they are in the creatures, but really one and the ſame with the Divine Eſſence, and among themſelves. They are attributed to God to ſupply the defect of our capacity, who are not able to underſtand that which is to be known of God, under one name, or one act of the underſtanding.

Furthermore he ſaith, that *he underſtands not how I conclude from hence, that Eternity is an indiviſible point, and not a ſucceſſion.* (i) I will help him. The Divine Subſtance is indiviſible; But Eternity is the Divine Subſtance. The Major is evident, becauſe God is *actus ſimpliciſſimus*, a moſt ſimple act, wherein there is no manner of compoſition, neither of matter and form, nor of ſubject and accidents, nor of parts, &c. and by conſequence no diviſibility. The minor hath been cleerly demonſtrated in mine anſwer to his laſt doubt, and is confeſſed by all men, that whatſoever is in God, is God.

Laſtly he ſaith. He conceives not *how it can be ſaid, that an infinite point, wherein is no ſucceſſion, can comprehend all time which is ſucceſſive.* I anſwer, that it doth not comprehend it formally as time is ſucceſſive, but eminently and virtually, as Eternity is infinite. To day all Eternity is coexiſtent with this day. To morrow all Eternity will be coexiſtent with to mor-

row, and so in like manner with all the parts of time, being it self without parts. He saith, *He finds not these phrases in the Scripture.* No, but he may find the thing in the Scripture, that God is infinite in all his attributes, and not capable of any imperfection.

And so to shew his antipathy against the School-men, that he hath no liberty or power to contain himself, when he meets with any of their phrases or tenets, he falls into another paroxisme or fit of inveighing against them; And so concludes his answer with a *plaudite* to himself, because he had defeated both my squadrons of arguments, and reserves of distinctions,

Dicitè Io Pæan, & Io bis dicite Pæan.

But because his eye-sight was weak, and their backs were towards him, he quite mistook the matter. Those whom he saw routed and running away were his own scattered forces.

Animadversions upon the Bishops Reply, Numb. XXIV.

(a) [THat poor discourse which I mention, was not written against any Divines, but in way of examination of a French Treatise, &c. *This is in Reply to those Words of mine,* this discourse containeth his opinion about reconciling Liberty with the Prescience, and Decrees of God, otherwise then some Divines have done, against whom he had formerly written a Treatise.] *If the French Treatise were according to his mind, what need was there that the examination should be written? If it were not to his mind, it was in confutation of him, that is to say, written against the Author of it, unless perhaps the Bishop thinks that he writes not against a man, unless he charge him with blasphemy and Atheism, as he does me.*

(b) [My assertion is most true that we ought not to desert a certain truth, because we are not able to comprehend the certain manner.] *To this I answered that it was true, and, as he alledged it for a reason why he should not be of my opinion, so I alledged*

alledged it for a reason why I should not be of his, but now in his Reply, he saith that his opinion is a truth demonstrable in reason, received and believed by all the World. And therefore though he be not able to comprehend or expresse exactly the certain manner, how this Liberty of Wil consists with Gods eternal Prescience, and Decrees, yet he ought to adhere to that truth, which is manifest. *But why should he adhere to it, unlesse it be manifest to himself? And if it be manifest to himself, why does he deny that he is able to comprehend it? And if he be not able to comprehend it, how knows he that it is demonstrable? Or why says he that so confidently, which he does not know? Me thinks that which I have said, (namely,* that that which God foreknows shall be hereafter, cannot but be hereafter, and at the same time that he foreknew it should be. But that which cannot but be, is necessary. Therefore what God foreknows shall be necessarily, and at the time foreknown.) *This I say looketh somewhat liker to a demonstration than any thing that he hath hitherto brought to prove Free Wil. Another reason, why I should be of his opinion, is that he is* in possession of an old truth derived to him by inheritance or succession from his Ancestors. *To which I answer, first, that I am in possession of a truth derived to me from the light of reason. Secondly, that whereas he knoweth not, whether it be the truth that he possesseth or not, because he confesseth he knows not how it can consist with Gods Prescience and Decrees, I have sufficiently shewn that my opinion of necessity not onely agrees with, but necessirily followeth from the eternal Prescience and Decrees of God. Besides it is an unhansome thing for a man to derive his opinion concerning truth by succession from his Ancestors; For our Ancestors, the first Christians derived not therefore their truth from the Gentils because they were their Ancestors.*

(c) [To passe by all the other great imperfections, which are to be found in this *Sorite*, it is just like that old Sophistical piece: he that drinks well sleeps well; he that sleeps well thinks no hurt; he that thinks no hurt lives well; therefore he that drinks well, lives well. *My argument was thus,* Election is alwayes from the Memory of good and evil sequels; Memory is alway from the Sense; and Sense alwayes from the Action

Action of external bodys; and all Action from God; therefore all Actions even of Free and Voluntary Agents are from God, and consequently necessary. *Let the Bishop compare now his scurrilous Argumentation with this of mine, and tell me, whether he that sleeps well, doth all his life time think no hurt.*

(d) [In the very last passage of my discourse, I proposed my own private opinion, how it might be made appear, that the eternal Prescience and Decrees of God are consistent with true liberty and contingency, &c.] *If he had meant by Liberty, as other men do the Liberty of Action, that is, of things which are in his power, to doe which he will, it had been an easie matter to reconcile it with the Prescience and Decrees of God; But meaning the Liberty of Wil, it was impossible. So likewise if by contingency he had meant simply* comming to passe, *it had been reconcilable with the Decrees of God; but meaning* comming to passe without necessity, *it was impossible. And therefore, though it be true he says, that* he set it down in as plain terms as he could, *yet it was impossible to set it down in plain terms. Nor ought he to charge me with* misunderstanding him, *and* wresting his words to a wrong sense. *For the truth is, I did not understand them at all, nor thought he understood them himself; but was willing to give them the best imterpretation they would bear; which he calls wresting them to a wrong sense. And first, I understood not what he meant by the Aspect of God. For if he had meant his foreknowledge, (which word he had often used before) What needed he in this one place onely to call it* Aspect? *Or what need he here call it his* View? *Or say that all things are open to the eyes of God, not* discursively, *but* intuitively, *which is to expound* Eyes *in that Text, Hebr. 4. 11. not figuratively but litterally, nevertheless excluding* external Species, *which the School-men say are the cause of seeing. But it wat well done to exclude such insignificant speeches, upon every occasion whatsoever. And though I do not hold the foreknowledge of God to consist in* Discourse, *yet I shall be never driven to say it is by* Intuition, *as long as I know that even a man hath foreknowledge of all those things which he intendeth himself to do, not by discourse but by knowing his own purpose, saving that man hath a superiour power over him that can change his purpose, which God hath not. And whereas he says, I confound*

this

this Aſpect with the Wil and Decrees of God, he accuſeth me wrongfully. For how could I ſo confound it, when I underſtood not what it meant?

(e) [Secondly, he chargeth me, that hitherto I have maintained, that *Liberty and the Decrees of God are irreconcileable; and the reaſon why I do ſo is* becauſe he maintained, that Liberty, and the abſolute neceſſity of all things, are irreconcileable.] *If Liberty cannot ſtand with neceſſity, it cannot ſtand with the Decrees of God; of which Decrees, neceſſity is a Conſequent; I needed not to ſay, nor did ſay, that Neceſſity and Gods Decrees are all one, though if I had ſaid it, it had not been without Authority of learned men, in whoſe writings are often found this ſentence,* Voluntas Dei, Neceſſitas rerum.

(f) [But to cut his Argument ſhort. God hath Decreed all effects which come to paſſe in time, yet not all after the ſame manner, but according to the diſtinct natures, capacities and conditions of his creatures, which he doth not deſtroy by his Decree; Some he acteth. *Hitherto true; then he addeth,* with ſome he cooperateth by ſpecial influence, and ſome he onely permitteth. Yet this is no idle or bare permiſſion.] *This is falſe. For nothing operateth by its own original power, but God himſelf: Man operateth not but by ſpecial power, (I ſay ſpecial power not ſpecial influence) derived from God. Nor is it by Gods permiſſion onely as I have often already ſhown, and as the Biſhop here contradicting his former words confeſſeth; for* to permit onely, *and* barely to permit *ſignifie the ſame thing; And that which he ſays that God* concurs by way of general influence, *is Jargon. For every concurrence is one ſingular and individual concurrence; and nothing in the World is general; but the ſignification of words and other ſigns.*

(g) [Thirdly, he chargeth me, that *I allow all men to be of his opinion ſave onely thoſe that conceive in their minds a* Nunc ſtans *or how eternity is an indiviſible point, rather then an everlaſting ſucceſſion.* But I have given no ſuch allowance.] *Surely if the reaſon, wherefore my opinion is falſe, proceed from this, that I conceive not eternity to be* Nunc ſtans, *but an everlaſting ſucceſſion, I am allowed to hold my opinion till I can conceive eternity otherwiſe; at leaſt he allows men not till then to be of his opinion;*

for he hath ſaid, that the main impediment which keeps men from ſubſcribing to that way of his, is becauſe they conceive eternity, to be an everlaſting ſucceſſion, and not one indiviſible point. *As for the many other wayes which he ſays are* propoſed by Divines for reconciling the eternal Preſcience and Decrees of God with the Liberty and Contingency of ſecond cauſes, *if they mean ſuch Liberty and Contingency as the Biſhop meaneth, they are propoſed in vain; for Truth and Errour can never be reconciled. But* however, (*ſaith he*) though a man could comprehend none of all theſe wayes, yet we muſt remember, that a certain Truth ought not to be rejected, becauſe we are not able to underſtand the reaſon of it. For he knows (*he ſays* the load-ſtone hath an attractive power to draw the Iron to it, and yet he knoweth not how it cometh to have ſuch a power. *I know the load-ſtone hath no ſuch attractive power; and yet I know that the Iron cometh to it, or it to the Iron; and therefore wonder not that the Biſhop knoweth not how it cometh to have that power. In the next place he ſayeth I bring nothing to prove that Eternity is not an indiviſible point, but my own incapacity* that I cannot conceive it. *The truth is, I cannot diſpute neither for, nor againſt (as he can do) the poſitions I underſtand not. Nor do I underſtand what derogation it can be to the Divine perfection, to attribute to it Potentiality, that is (in Engliſh) Power, and ſucceſſive Duration; for ſuch Attributes are often given to it in the Scripture.*

(h) [He ſaith moreover, that *he underſtands as little how it can be true which I ſay, that God is not juſt, but juſtice it ſelf, nor Eternal, but Eternity it ſelf.* It ſeems howſoever he be verſed in this queſtion, that he hath not troubled his head over much with reading School-Divines, or Metaphyſicians.] *They are unſeemly words to be ſaid of God, (I will not ſay) blaſphemous and atheiſtical, which are the attributes he gives to my opinions becauſe I do not think them ſpoken out of an evil mind, but out of Errour, they are I ſay unſeemly words to be ſaid of God, that he is not juſt, that he is not Eternal, and (as he alſo ſaid) that he is not Wiſe, and cannot be excuſed by any following* But, *eſpecially* when the But *is followed by that which is not to be underſtood. Can any man underſtand how juſtice is juſt, or Wiſdome Wiſe? and whereas*

Juſtice

Justice is an Accident, one of the Moral vertues, and Wisdome another, how God is an Accident or Moral vertue? Tis more then the School-men or Metaphysicians can understand; whose writings have troubled my head more then they should have done, if I had known that amongst so many senseless disputs, there had been so few lucide internalls. But I have considered since, where men will undertake to reason out of natural Philosophy, of the Incomprehensible Nature of God, that it is impossible they should speak intelligibly, or in other Language then Metaphysique; wherein they may contradict themselves, and not perceave it; as he does here, when he says, the Attributes of God are not diverse Vertues or Qualities in him, as they are in the Creatures, but really one and the same with the Divine Essence, and amongst themselves, and attributed to God to supply the defect of our capacity. *Attributes are names and therefore it is a contradiction, to say they are really one and the same with the Divine Essence. But if he mean the Vertues signified by the Attributes, as Justice, Wisedome, Eternity, Divinity, &c. So also they are Vertues, and not one Vertue, (which is still a contradiction,) and we give those Attributes to God, not to shew that we apprehend how they are in him, but to signifie how we think it best to honour him.*

(i) [*In the next place he will help me to understand (he says) how Eternity is an indivisible point.* The Divine substance is indivisible; But Eternity is the Divine substance. The Major is evident, because God is *actus simplicissimus*; The Minor hath been clearly demonstrated in my answer to his last doubt; and is confessed by all men, that whatsoever is attributed to God is God.] *The Major is so far from being evident, that* actus simplicissimus *signifieth nothing. The Minor, is said by some men, thought by no man; for whatsoever is thought, is understood; And all that he hath else where and here dilated upon it, is as perfect non-sense, as any man ever writ on purpose to make merry with. And so is that whereby he answers to my objection that a point cannot comprehend all time, which is successive; Namely, his distinction. That* a point doth not comprehend, all Time *formally*, as Time is successive; but *eminently* and *Virtually*, as Eternity is infinite. *And this*, To day all Eternity

is coexistent with this day, and to morrow all Eternity will be coexistent with to morrow. *It is well that his Eternity is now come from a* Nunc stans *to be a* Nunc fluens, *flowing from this day to the next, and so on. This kind of Language is never found in the Scripture; No, but the thing (saith he) is found there; Namely, that God is infinite in all his Attributes. I would he could shew me the place where God is said to be infinite in all his Attributes. There be places enough to shew that God is infinite in Power, in Wisdome, Mercy, &c. but neither is he said to be infinite in Names, (which is the English of Attributes) nor that he is an indivisible Point, nor that a Point doth comprehend Time eminently and Vertually; Nor that to day all Eternity, is coexistent which to day, &c. And thus much in answer to his Reply upon my answer. That which remaineth, is my Reply upon his answer to my positive Doctrine on this subject.*

T. H.

My opinion about Liberty and Necessity.

Num.25. *First, I conceive that when it cometh into a mans mind, to do or not to do some certain action, if he have no time to deliberate, the doing or abstaining necessarily followeth the present thought he had of the good or evil consequence thereof to himself. As for example, in suddain anger the action shall follow the thought of revenge, in suddain fear the thought of escape. Also when a man hath time to deliberate, but deliberates not, because never any thing appeared that could make him doubt of the consequence, the action followes his opinion of the goodness or harm of it. These actions I call voluntary. He, if I understand him aright, calls them Spontaneous, I call them voluntary, because those actions that follow immediatly the last appetite are voluntary. And here where there is one onely appetite, that one is the last.*

Besides, I see tis reasonable to punish a rash action; which could not be justly done by man, unless the same were voluntary: For no action of a man can be said to be without deliberation, though never so suddain, because tis supposed he had time to deliberate all the precedent time of his life, whether he should do that kind of action or not. And hence it is, that he that killeth in a suddain passion of

of anger, shall nevertheless be justly put to death, because all the time wherein he was able to consider, whether to kill were good or evill, shall be held for one continual deliberation, and consequently the killing shall be judged to proceed from election.

J. D.

THis part of *T. H.* his discourse hangs together like a sick mans dreams. (*a*) Even now he tells us, that *a man may have time to deliberate, yet not deliberate*; By and by he saith, that *no action of a man, though never so suddain, can be said to be without deliberation.* He tells us Numb. 33. that *the scope* of this section is *to shew what is spontaneous.* Howbeit he sheweth onely what is voluntary; (*b*) So making voluntary and spontaneous to be all one, whereas before he had told us, that *every spontaneous action is not voluntary, because indeliberate. Nor every voluntary action spontaneous, if it proceed from fear.* (*c*) Now he tells us, that *those actions, which follow the last appetite, are voluntary, and where there is one onely appetite, that is the last.* But before he told us, that *voluntary presupposeth some precedent deliberation and Meditation of what is likely to follow, both upon the doing and abstaining from the action.* (*d*) He defines Liberty, Numb. 29. to be *the absence of all extrinsecal impediments to action.* And yet in his whole discourse he laboureth to make good, that whatsoever is not done, is therefore not done, because the Agent was necessitated by extrinsecal causes not to do it. Are not extrinsecal causes, which determine him not to do it, extrinsecal impediments to action? So no man shall be free to do any thing, but that which he doth actually. He defines a free Agent to be *him, who hath not made an end of deliberating*, Numb. 28. And yet defines liberty to be *an absence of outward impediments.* There may be outward impediments, even whilst he is deliberating. As a man deliberates whether he shall play at Tennis, and at the same time the door of the Tennis-court is fast locked against him. And after a man hath ceased to deliberate, there may be no outward impediments, as when a man resolves not to play at Tennis, because he finds himself ill disposed, or because he will not hazard his mony. So the same person, at

the ſame time, ſhould be free & not free, not free and free. And as he is not firm to his own grounds, ſo he confounds al things, the *mind* and the *will*, the *eſtimative faculty* and the *underſtanding*, *imagination* with *deliberation*, the end with the means, humane *wil* with the *ſenſitive appetite*, *rational hope or fear*, with *irrational paſſions*, *inclinations* with *intentions*, A *beginning of Being* with a *beginning of working*, *Sufficiency* with *efficiency*. So as the greateſt difficulty is to find out what he aimes at. So as I had once reſolved not to anſwer this part of his diſcourſe, yet upon better adviſe, I will take a brief ſurvey of it alſo; and ſhew how far I aſſent unto, or diſſent from that which I conceive to be his meaning.

And firſt, concerning ſuddain paſſions, as Anger or the like; (*e*) That which he ſaith, that *the action doth neceſſarily follow the thought*, is thus far true, that thoſe actions, which are altogether undeliberated and do proceed from ſuddain and violent paſſions, or *motus primo primi*, which ſurpriſe a man, and give him no time to adviſe with reaſon, are not properly and actually in themſelves free, but rather neceſſary actions, as when a man runs away from a Cat or a Cuſtard, out of a ſecret antipathy.

(*f*) Secondly, as for thoſe actions *wherein actual deliberation ſeems not neceſſary, becauſe never any thing appeared that could make a man doubt of the conſequence.* I do confeſs, that actions done by vertue of a precedent deliberation, without any actual deliberation in the preſent, when the act is done, may notwithſtanding be truly, both voluntary and free acts, yea, in ſome caſes, and in ſome ſenſe more free, than if they were actually deliberated of in preſent. As one who hath acquired by former deliberation and experience, an habit to play upon the Virginals, needs not deliberate what man, or what Jack he muſt touch, nor what finger of his hand he muſt move to play ſuch a leſſon; Yea, if his mind ſhould be fixed, or intent to every motion of his hand, or every touch of a ſtring, it would hinder his play, and render the action more troubleſome to him. Wherefore I believe, that not onely his playing in general, but every motion of his hand, though it be not preſently deliberated of, is a free act, by reaſon of his precedent deli-

beration. So then (saving improprieties of speech, as calling that voluntary which is free, and limiting the will to the last appetite, and other mistakes, as that no act can be said to be without deliberation) we agree also for the greater part in this second observation.

(g) Thirdly, whereas he saith, that some *suddain acts proceeding from violent passions, which surprise a man, are justly punished*, I grant they are so sometimes, but not for his reason, because they have been formerly actually deliberated of, but because they were virtually deliberated of, or because it is our faults, that they were not actually deliberated of, whether it was a fault of pure negation, that is, of not doing our duty onely, or a fault of bad disposition also, by reason of some vitious habit, which we had contracted by our former actions. To do a necessary act is never a fault, nor justly punishable, when the necessity is inevitably imposed upon us by extrinsecal causes. As if a Child before he had the use of reason shall kill a man in his passion, yet because he wanted malice to incite him to it, and reason to restrain him from it, he shall not dye for it in the strict rules of particular Justice, unless there be some mixture of publick Justice in the case.

(h) But if the necessity be contracted by our selves, and by our own faults, it is justly punishable. As he who by his wanton thoughts in the day-time, doth procure his own nocturnal pollution. A man cannot deliberate in his sleep, yet it is accounted a sinful act, and consequently, a free act, that is not actually free in its self, but virtually free in its causes, and though it be not expresly willed and chosen, yet it is tacitely and implicitely willed and chosen, when that is willed and chosen from whence it was necessarily produced. By the Levitical Law, if a man digged a pit, and left it uncovered, so that his neighbours Oxe, or his Asse, did fall into it, he was bound to make reparation, not because he did chose to leave it uncovered on purpose that such a mischance might happen, but because he did freely omit, that which he ought to have done, from whence this dammage proceeded to his neighbour. Lastly, there is great difference between the first motions, which sometimes are not in our power, and subsequent acts of killing

or

or ſtealing, or the like, which alwayes are in our power, if we have the uſe of reaſon, or elſe it is our own fault, that they are not in our power. Yet to ſuch haſty acts done in hot blood, the Law is not ſo ſevere, as to thoſe which are done upon long deliberation, and prepenſed malice, unleſs (as I ſaid) there be ſome mixture of publick Juſtice in it. He that ſteals an Horſe deliberately may be more puniſhable by the Law, than he that kills the owner by Chance-medley. Yet the death of the owner was more noxious (to uſe his phraſe) and more dammageable to the family, than the ſtealth of the Horſe. So far was *T. H.* miſtaken in that alſo, that the right to kill men, doth proceed meerly from their being noxious, *Numb.* 14.

Animadverſions upon the Biſhops Anſwer to my opinion about Liberty and Neceſſity.

Numb. XXV.

(a) [EVen now he tells us, that *a man may have time to deliberate, yet not deliberate.* By and by he ſaith, that *no action of a man, though never ſo ſudden, can be ſaid to be without deliberation.*] *He thinks he hath here catcht me in a contradiction. But he is miſtaken; and the cauſe is, that he obſerved not that there may be a difference between deliberation, and that which ſhall be conſtrued for deliberation by a Judge. For a man may do a raſh act ſuddenly without deliberation; yet becauſe he ought to have deliberated, and had time enough to deliberate whether the action were Lawful or not, it ſhall not be ſaid by the Judge that it was without deliberation, who ſuppoſeth that after the Law known, all the time following was time of deliberation. It is therefore no contradiction to ſay* a man deliberates not, *and that* he ſhall be ſaid to deliberate, *by him that is the Judge of voluntary actions.*

(b) [*Again, where he ſays,* he maketh Voluntary and Spon-

Spontaneous to be al one, *whereas before he had told us that* every Spontaneous Action is not Voluntary, because indeliberate, Nor every Voluntary Action Spontaneous, if it proceed from fear.] *He thinks he hath espied another contradiction. It is no wonder if speaking of* Spontaneous *which signifieth nothing else in Latin (for English it is not) but that which is done deliberately or indeliberately without compulsion, I seem to the Bishop who hath never given any definition of that word, not to use it as he would have me. And tis easy for him to give it any signification he please as the occasion shall serve, to charge me with contradiction. In what sense I have used that word once, in the same I have used it alwayes, calling that Spontaneous which is without co-action, or compulsion by terrour.*

(c) [Now he tells us, that *those actions which follow the last Appetite are Voluntary, and where there is one onely Appetite that's the last.* But before he told us, that *Voluntary presupposeth some precedent deliberation and meditation of what is likely to follow, both upon the doing, and abstaining from the Action.*] *This is a third contradiction he supposeth he hath found; but is again mistaken. For when men are to judge of actions, whether they be Voluntary or not, they cannot call that action Voluntary, which followed not the last Appetite. But the same men, though there were no deliberation shall judge there was, because it ought to have been, and that from the time that the Law was known to the time of the action it self. And therefore both are true, that Voluntary may be without, and yet presupposed in the Law, not to be without deliberation.*

(d) [He defines Liberty, *Numb.* 29. to be *the absence of all extrinsical impediments to action.* And yet in his whole discourse, he laboureth to make good, that whatsoever is not done, is therefore not done, because the Agent was necessitated by extrinsecal causes, not to do it. Are not extrinsecal causes which determine him not to do it, extrinsecal impediments to Action?] *This definition of Liberty, that* it is the absence of all extrinsecal impediments to action, *he thinkes he hath sufficiently confuted by asking whether the extrinsecal causes which determine a man not to do an action, be not extrinsecal impediments to action. It seems by his question he makes no doubt*

but they are; but is deceived by a too shallow consideration, of what the word Impediment *signifieth. For* Impediment *or* hinderance *signifieth an opposition to* endeavour. *And therefore if a man be necessitated by extrinsecal causes not to endeavour an action, those causes do not oppose his endeavour to do it, because he has no such endeavour to be opposed; and consequently extrinsecal causes that take away endeavour, are not to be called impediments; nor can any man be said to be hindred from doing that which he had no purpose at all to do. So that this objection of his proceedeth only from this, that he understandeth not sufficiently, the English Tongue. From the same proceedeth also, that he thinketh it a contradiction, to call a Free Agent him* that hath not yet made an end of deliberating, *and to call liberty* an absence of outward impediments. *For (saith he)* there may be outward impediments, even while he is deliberating. *Wherein he is deceived. For though he may deliberate of that which is impossible for him to do, as in the example he alledgeth of him that deliberateth, whether he shall play at Tennis, not knowing that the door of the Tennis-Court in shut against him; yet it is no impediment to him that the door is shut, till he have a will to play, which he hath not till he hath done deliberating whether he shall play or not. That which followeth of my confounding* mind *and* will; *the* estimative faculty, *and the* understanding; *the* imagination *and* deliberation; *the* end *and the* means; *the* humane will *and the* sensitive appetite; rational hope *or* fear, *and* irrational passions; inclinations *and* intentions, *a* beginning of being, *and a* beginning of working; sufficiency *and* efficiency, *I do not find in any thing that I have written, any impropriety in the use of these or any other English words; nor do I doubt but an English Reader, who hath not lost himself in School Divinity, will very easily conceive what I have said But this I am sure, that I never confounded* beginning of being, *with* beginning of working, *nor* sufficiency *with* efficiency, *nor ever used these words* Sensitive Appetite, Rational hope, *or* Rational fear, *or* Irrationall Passions. *It is therefore impossible I should oonfound them. But the Bishop is either mistaken, or else he makes no scruple to say that which he knows to be false, when he thinks it will serve his turne.*

(e) [That

(e) [That which he saith, that *the action doth necessarily follow the thought*, is thus far true, that those actions which are altogether undeliberated, and do proceed from violent passions, &c. are not properly, and actually in themselves free, but rather necessary actions; as when a man runs away from a Cat or a custard] *Thus far he says is true. But when he calls sudden passions* motus primo primi, *I cannot tell whether he says true or not, because I do not understand him, nor find how he makes his meaning ever the clearer by his example of a Cat and a Custard; because I know not what he means by a secret Antipathie. For what that Antipathy is he explaineth not by calling it secret, but rather confesseth he knows not how to explain it. And because he saith it is* thus far true, *I expect he should tell me also how far it is false.*

(f) [Secondly, as for those actions, wherein actual deliberation seems not necessary, *because never any thing appeared that could make a man doubt of the consequence*, I do confesse, that Actions done by vertue of a precedent deliberation, without any actual deliberation for the present, may notwithstanding be truely, voluntary and free Acts.] *In this he agrees with me. But where he adds*, yea, in some cases, and in some sense more free, then if they were actually deliberated of in present, *I do not agree with him. And for the instance he bringeth to prove it, in the man that playeth on an instrument with his hand it maketh nothing for him; for it proveth onely that the Habit maketh the motion of his hand, more ready and quick; but it proveth not that it maketh it more voluntary, but rather lesse, because the rest of the motions follow the first, by an easinesse acquired from long custome; in which motion the Wil doth not accompany all the strokes of the hand, but gives a beginning to them onely in the first. Here is nothing as I expected of how far that which I had said, namely, that the action doth necessarily follow the thought, is false, unlesse it be* improprieties of speech, as calling that voluntary which is free, and limitting the will to the last appetite; and other mistakes, as, that no act can be said to be without deliberation. *For improprieties of speech, I will not contend with one, that can use* motus primo primi, practice practicum, actus elicitus, *and many other phrases of the same kind. But so say that*

Free actions are voluntary; and that the Wil, which cauſeth a voluntary acti n is the laſt appetite, and that that appetite, was immediately followed by the action; and that no action of a man can be ſaid in the judgement of the Law, to be without deliberation, are no miſtakes for any thing that he hath proved to the contrary.

(g) [Thirdly, whereas he ſaith, that *ſome ſudden acts, proceeeeding from violent paſſions, which ſurpriſe a man are juſtly puniſhed*, I grant they are ſo ſometimes, but not for his reaſon, &c.] *My reaſon was*, becauſe he had time to deliberate from the inſtant that he knew the Law, to the inſtant of his action, and ought to have deliberated, *that therefore he may be juſtly puniſhed. The Biſhop grants they are juſtly puniſhed, and his reaſon is*, becauſe they were vertually deliberated of, *or* becauſe it is our fault they were not actually deliberated of. *How a man does deliberate, and yet not actually deliberate, I underſtand not. If vertual deliberation, be not actual deliberation, it is no deliberation. But he calleth vertual deliberation, that which ought to have been, and was not, and ſays the ſame that he condemnes in me. And his other reaſon, namely, becauſe it is our fault that we deliberated not, is the ſame that I ſaid, that we ought to have deliberated, and did not. So that his reprehenſion here, is a reprehenſion of himſelf proceeding from that the cuſtome of School Language hath made him forget the Language of his Country. And to that which he adds*, that a neceſſary act is never a fault, nor juſtly puniſhable, when the neceſſity is inevitably impoſed upon us by extrinſecal cauſes, *I have ſufficiently anſwered before in divers places, ſhewing that a fault may be neceſſary from extrinſecal cauſes, and yet voluntary; and that voluntary faults are juſtly puniſhable.*

(h) [But if the neceſſity be contracted by our ſelves, it is juſtly puniſhable. As he who by his wanton thoughts in the day time, doth procure his own nocturnal pollution.] *This inſtance becauſe it maketh not againſt any thing, I have held, and partly alſo, becauſe it is a ſtinking paſſage, (for ſurely if as he that aſcribing eyes to the underſtanding allowes me to ſay, it hath a noſe, it ſtinketh to the noſe of the underſtanding, This ſentence I paſſe over, obſerving onely the canting terms*, not actually free

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in it ſelf, *but* vertually free in its cauſes. *In the reſt of his anſwer to this Number* 25. *I find nothing alledged in confutation of any thing I have ſaid, ſaving that his laſt words are, that* T. H. is miſtaken, in that alſo, that the right to kill men, doth proceed meerly from their being noxious, *Numb.* 14. *But to that I have in the ſame Numb.* 14. *already anſwered. I muſt not paſſe over, that a little before, he hath theſe words.* If a Child before he have the uſe of reaſon ſhall kill a man in his paſſion, yet becauſe he wanted malice to incite him to it, and reaſon to reſtrain him from it, he ſhall not dye for it, in the ſtrict rules of particular Juſtice, unleſſe there be ſome mixture of publique Juſtice in the caſe. *The Biſhop would make but an ill Judge of innocent Children, (for ſuch are they that for want of age have not uſe enough of reaſon to abſtain from killing) for the want of reaſon proceeding from want of age, does therefore take away the puniſhment becauſe it taketh away the crime, and makes them innocent. But he introduceth another Juſtice which he calleth* publick, *whereas he called the other* particular; *and by this publick Juſtice, he ſaith the Child though innocent may be put to death. I hope we ſhall never have the adminiſtration of publick Juſtice, in ſuch hands as his, or in the hands of ſuch as ſhall take counſel from him. But the diſtinction he makes is not by himſelf underſtood. There are publick cauſes and private cauſes, private are thoſe, where the parties to the cauſe, are both private men. Publick are thoſe, where one of the parties is the Commen-wealth, or the perſon that repreſenteth it, and the cauſe criminal. But there is no diſtinction of Juſtice into Publick, and Private. We may reade of men that having Soverain Power, did ſometimes put an Innocent to death, either upon a vow, as* Jepthah *did, in ſacrificing his Daughter; or when it hath been thought fit, that an innocent perſon ſhould be put to death to ſave a great number of people. But to put to death a Child not for reaſon of State, which he improperly calls Publick Juſtice, but for killing a man, and at the ſame time to acknowledge ſuch killing to be no crime, I think was never heard of.*

T. H.

T. H.

Num. 26. *SEcondly, I conceive when a man deliberates whether he ſhall do a thing or not do a thing, that he does nothing elſe but conſider, whether it be better for himſelf to do it, or not to do it. And to conſider an action, is to imagine the conſequences of it, both good and evil, from whence is to be inferred, that deliberation is nothing but alternate imagination, of the good and evil ſequells of an action, or (which is the ſame thing) alternate hope and fear, or alternate appetite to do, or acquit the action of which he deliberateth.*

J. D.

(a) IF I did not know what deliberation was, I ſhould be little relieved in my knowledge by this deſcription. Sometimes he makes it to be a conſideration, or an act of the underſtanding, ſometimes an imagination, or an act of the fancy, ſometimes he makes it to be an alternation of paſſions, hope & fear. Sometimes he makes it concern the end, ſometimes to concern the means. So he makes it I know not what. The truth is this in brief. *Deliberation is an inquiry made by reaſon, whether this or that definitely conſidered be a good and fit means, or indefinitely what are good and fit means to be choſen for attaining ſome wiſhed end.*

Animadverſions upon the Anſwer to Numb. XXVI.

(a) [IF I did not know what Deliberation was, I ſhould be little relieved in my knowledge by this deſcription. Sometimes he makes it to be a conſideration, or an act of the underſtanding, ſometimes an imagination, or an act of the fancy, &c. So he makes it I know not what.] *If the Biſhop had obſerved what he does himſelf, when he Deliberates, reaſons, underſtands, or imagins, he would have known what to make of all that I have ſaid in this Number. He would have known that conſideration, underſtanding, reaſon, and all the paſſions of the mind; are imaginations. That to conſider a thing, is to imagine it; that*

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to underſtand a thing is to imagine it; that to hope and fear are to imagine the things hoped for and feared. The difference between them is, that when we imagine the conſequence of any thing, we are ſaid to conſider that thing; and when we have imagined any thing from a ſign, and eſpecially from thoſe ſigns, we call names, we are ſaid to underſtand his meaning that maketh the ſign; and when we reaſon, we imagine the conſequence of affirmations, and negations joyned together; and when we hope or fear, we imagine things good or hurtful to our ſelves; inſomuch as all theſe are but imaginations, diverſly named, from different circumſtances, as any man may perceive as eaſily as he can look into his own thoughts. But to him that thinketh not himſelf upon the things whereof, but upon the words wherewith he ſpeaketh, and taketh thoſe words on truſt from puſled Schoolmen, it is not onely hard, but impoſſible to be known. And this is the reaſon that maketh him ſay, I make Deliberation he knows not what. But how is deliberation defined by him. It is (ſaith he) an inquiry made by reaſon, whether this or that definitely conſidered, be a good and fit means; or indefinitely, what are good and fit means to be choſen for attaining ſome wiſhed end, *If it were not his cuſtome to ſay, the underſtanding underſtandeth, the Wil willeth, and ſo of the reſt of the faculties I ſhould have believed that when he ſays deliberation is an inquiry made by reaſon, he meaneth an inquiry made by the man that reaſoneth; for ſo it will be ſenſe: But the reaſon which a man uſeth in deliberation, being the ſame thing that is called Deliberation, his Definition, that Deliberation is an inquiry made by reaſon, is no more then if he had ſaid; Deliberation is an inquiry, made by Deliberation; a Definition good enough to be made by a School-man. Nor is the reſt of the Definition altogether as it ſhould be; for there is no ſuch thing as an* indefinite conſideration of what are good and fit means; *but a man imagining firſt one thing, then another, conſidereth them ſucceſſively and ſingly each one, whether it conduceth to his ends or not.*

T. H.

THirdly, I conceive, that in all deliberations, that is to ſay, in all alternate ſucceſſion of contrary appetites, the laſt is that which we cal the Wil, & is immediatly before the doing of the action,

on, or next before the doing of it become impossible. All other appetites to do and to quit, that come upon a man during his deliberation, are usually called intentions, and inclinations, but not wills, there being but one will, which also in this case may be called last will, though the intention change often.

7. D.

(a) STill here is nothing but confusion, he confounds the faculty of the will, with the act of volition; he makes the wil to be the last part of deliberation; he makes the intention, wh ich is a most proper and elicite act of the will, *or a willing of the end, as it is to be attained by certain means*, to be no willing at all, but onely some antecedaneous *inclination* or propension. He might as well say, that the uncertain agitation of the needle hither and thither, to find out the Pole, & the resting or fixing of it self directly towards the Pole, were both the same thing. But the grossest mistake is, that he will acknowledge no act of a mans will, to be his will, but onely the last act, which he calls the last will. If the first were no will, how comes this to be the last will? According to this doctrine, the will of a man should be as unchangeable as the Will of God, at least so long as there is a possibility to effect it. (b) According to this doctrine concupiscence with consent should be no sin, for that which is not truely willed is not a sin; Or rather should not be at all, unless either the act followed, or were rendred impossible by some intervening circumstances. According to this Doctrine no man can say, this is my will, because he knowes not yet, whether it shall be his last appeal. The truth is, there be many acts of the will, both in respect of the means, and of the end. But that act, which makes a mans actions to be truely free, is Election, which is the *deliberate chosing or refusing, of this or that means, or the acceptation of one means before another, where divers are represented by the understanding.*

Animad-

Animadversions upon the Answer to Numb. XXVII.

(a) [Still here is nothing but confusion, he confounds the faculty of the Wil, with the act of Volition; he makes the Wil to be the last part of Deliberation; he makes the intention, which is a most proper and elicite act of the Wil to be no Willing at all, but onely some *antecedaneous* (*he might as well have said antecedent*) inclination.] *To confound the faculty of the Wil, with the Wil, were to confound a* Wil, *with* no Wil; *for the faculty of the Wil is no Wil; the Act onely which he calls* Volition *is the Wil. As a man that sleepeth hath the* Power *of* seeing, *and* seeth not, *nor hath for that time any* sight; *so also he hath the* power *of Willing, but* Willeth *nothing, nor hath for that time any* Wil. *I must therefore have departed very much from my own Principles, if I have confounded the* faculty *of the* Wil, *with the* Act *of* Volition. *He should have done well to have shown where I confounded them. It is true, I make the Wil to be the last part of Deliberation. But it is that Wil, which maketh the Action voluntary; and therefore needs must be the last; But for the preceding variations of the Wil, to do and not to do, though they be so many several Wills, contrary to, and destroying one another, they usually are called* Intentions; *And therefore they are nothing to the Wil (of which we dispute) that maketh an Action voluntary. And though a man have in every long deliberation a great many* Wills *and* Nills, *they use to be called inclinations, and the last onely Wil, which is immediately followed by the voluntary Action. But nevertheless both he that hath those intentions, and God that seeth them, reckoneth them for so many Wills.*

(b [According to this Doctrine, concupiscence with consent, should be no sin, for that which is not truely Willed, is not a sin.] *This is no consequent to my Doctrine, for I hold that they are in the sight of God, so many contents so many willings, which would have been followed by Actions, if the Actions had been in their power. It had been fitter for a man in whom is required gravity, and sanctity more then ordinary, to have chosen some other kind of instance. But what meaneth he by* concupiscence with con-

sent ? *Can there be concupiscence without consent ? It is the consent it self. There may be also a Lawful concupiscence with consent. For concupiscence makes not the sin, but the unlawfulness of satisfying such concupiscence ; and not the consent, but the Wil and design to prosecute that which a man knoweth to be unlawful. An appetite to another mans bread is concupiscence ; and though it be with consent to eat, tis no sin ; but the design to take it from the other, notwithstanding that he may fail in his design, that's the sin. And this instance might have served his turn, as well as the other ; and for consent (if he had understood the truth) he might have put design.*

T. H.

Num. 28. *Fourthly, that those actions, which man is said to do upon deliberation, are said to be voluntary, and done upon choise and election. So that voluntary action, and action proceeding from election, is the same thing. And that of a voluntary Agent, tis all one to say he is free, and to say, he hath not made an end of deliberating.*

J. D.

(a) THis short Section might pass without an animadversion but for two things. The one is, that he confounds a voluntary act with a free act. A free act is onely that which proceeds from the free election of the rational will after deliberation, but every act that proceeds from the sensitive appetite of man or beast, without deliberation or election, is truely voluntary. (b) The other thing observable is his conclusion, that *it is all one to say, a man is free, and to say, he hath not made an end of deliberating.* Which confession of his, overturns his whole structure of absolute necessity; for if every Agent be necessitated to act what he doth act by a necessary and natural flux of extrinsecal causes, then he is no more free before he deliberates, or whilest he deliberates, than he is after ; but by *T. H.* his confession here, he is more free, whilest he deliberates, than he is after ; And so after all his flourishes, for an absolute or extrinsecal necessity, he is glad to sit himself down, and rest contented with an hypothetical necessity, which no man

man ever denied or doubted of ; aſcribing the neceſſitation of a man in free acts to his own deliberation, and in indeliberate acts to his laſt thought, *Numb.* 25. What is this to a natural and ſpecial influence of extrinſecal cauſes? (c) Again, *Liberty* (ſaith he) is *an abſence of extrinſecal impediments*, but deliberation doth produce no new extrinſecal impediment; therefore (let him choſe which part he will) either he is free after deliberation, by his own Doctrine, or he was not free before. Our own deliberation, and the direction of our own underſtanding, and the election of our own will, do produce an hypothetical neceſſity, that the event be ſuch as the underſtanding hath directed, and the will elected. But for as much as the underſtanding might have directed otherwiſe, and the will have elected otherwiſe, this is far from an abſolute neceſſity. Neither doth liberty reſpect onely future acts, but preſent acts alſo. Otherwiſe God did not freely create the world. In the ſame inſtant wherein the will elects it is free, according to a priority of Nature, though not of time, to elect otherwiſe. And ſo in a divided ſenſe, the will is free, even whileſt it acts, though in a compounded ſeuſe it be not free. Certainly, deliberation doth conſtitute, not deſtroy liberty.

Animadverſions upon the Anſwer to Numb. XXVIII.

(a) [THis ſhort ſection might paſſe, but for two things; one is, that he confounds a voluntary act with a free act.] *I do indeed take all voluntary acts to be free, and all free acts to be voluntary, but withal that all acts, whether free or voluntary, if they be acts, were neceſſary before they were acts. But where is the errour?* A free act (*ſaith he*) is onely that which proceeds from the free election of the rational Wil, after deliberation; but every act that proceeds from the ſenſitive appetite of man or beaſt without Deliberation or Election, is truely voluntary. *So that my errour lies in this that I diſtinguiſh not between a rational Wil, and a ſenſitive appetite in the*

ſame man. As if the Appetite *and* Wil *in man or beaſt were not the ſame thing, or that ſenſual men and beaſts did not deliberate, and chuſe one thing before another, in the ſame manner, that wiſe men do. Nor can it be ſaid of Wills, that one is rational, the other ſenſitive; but of men. And if it be granted that deliberation is alwayes (as it is not) there were no cauſe to call men rationall more then beaſts. For it is manifeſt by continual experience, that beaſts do Deliberate.*

(b) The other thing obſerveable is his concluſion, that it *is all one to ſay, a man is free, and to ſay, he hath not made an end of deliberating.* Which confeſſion of his, overturns his whole ſtructure of abſolute neceſſity. *Why ſo?* Becauſe *(ſaith he)* if every Agent be neceſſitated to act what he doth act by extrinſical cauſes, then he is no more free before he Deliberates, or whilſt he Deliberates, then he is after. *But this is a falſe conſequence; he ſhould have inferred thus,* then he is no leſſe neceſſitated, before he Deliberates, then he is after; *Which is true, and yet nevertheleſſe he is more free. But taking neceſſity to be inconſiſtent with Liberty (which is the queſtion between us) inſtead of* neceſſitated *he puts in not free. And therefore to ſay,* a man is free till he hath made an end of Deliberating, *is no contradiction to abſolute and antecedent neceſſity. And whereas he adds preſently after, that I aſcribe the neceſſitation of a man in free acts to his own deliberation, and in indeliberate acts to his laſt thoughts, he miſtakes the matter; for I aſcribe all neceſſity, to the univerſal Series or Order of cauſes, depending on the firſt cauſe eternal. Which the Biſhop underſtandeth, as if I had ſaid in his Phraſe to* a ſpecial influence *of extrinſecal cauſes, that is, underſtandeth it not at all.*

(c) [Again, *Liberty* (ſaith he) *is an abſence of extrinſecal impediments*, but Deliberation doth produce no new extrinſecall impediment; therefore either he is free after Deliberation, or he was not free before.] *I cannot perceive in theſe words any more force of inference, then of ſo many other words whatſoever put together at adventure. But be his meaning what he Wil, I ſay not that deliberation, porduceth any impediments, (for there are no impediments, but to the Action, whilſt we are endeavouring to do it, which is not till we have done deliberating.) But during*

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the Deliberation, there arise thoughts in him that deliberateth, concerning the consequence of the action whereof he deliberateth, which cause the action following, which are not impediments to that which was not done, but the causes of that which was done: That which followeth in this Number, is not intelligible, by reason of the insignificance of these words understanding directeth; Will electeth, hypothetical necessity, *which are but Jargon, and his* divided sense, *and* compounded sense, *non-sense. And this also* Liberty respecteth not future acts onely, but present acts also, *is unintelligible. For how can a man have Liberty to do, or not to do that which is at the same instant already done. For where he addeth* otherwise God did not freely create the World, *it proves nothing, because he had the Liberty to create it, before it was created. Besides, it is a porphaneing of the name of God, to make instances of his incomprehensible working, in a question as this is meerly natural.*

T. H.

FIftly, *I conceive liberty to be rightly defined in this manner.* Num. 29.
Liberty is the absence of all the impediments to action, that are not contained in the nature, and in the intrinsecal quality of the Agent. As for example, the water is said to descend freely, or to have liberty to descend by the Chanel of the River, because there is no impediment that way, but not across, because the banks are impediments. And though water cannot ascend, yet men never say it wants the liberty to ascend, but the faculty or power, because the impediment is in the nature of the water and intrinsecall. So also we say, he that is tied wants the liberty to go, because the impediment is not in him, but in his bonds, whereas we say not so of him that is sick or lame, because the impediment is in himself.

J. D.

(a) HOw that should be a right definition of liberty which comprehends neither the Genus nor the Difference, neither the Matter nor the Form of liberty, which doth not so much as accidentally describe liberty by its marks and tokens. How a real faculty or the Elective power should be defined by a negation, or by an absence, is past my understanding, and con-

trary to all the rules of right Reaſon, which I have learned. Negatives cannot explicate the nature of things defined. By this definition, a ſtone hath liberty to aſcend into the aire, becauſe there is no outward impediment to hinder it, and ſo a violent act may be a free act. Juſt like his definit on are his inſtances of the liberty of the water to deſcend down the Channell, and a ſick or a lame mans liberty to go. The later is an impotence and not a power or a liberty. The former is ſo far from being a free act, that it is ſcarce a natural act. Certainly, the proper natural motion of water, as of all heavy bodies, is to deſcend directly downwards towards the center, as we ſee in rain, which falls down perpendicularly. Though this be far from a free act, which proceeds from a rational appetite, yet it is a natural act, and proceeds from a natural appetite, and hath its reaſon within in it ſelf. So hath not the current of the river in its Channel, which muſt not be aſcribed to the proper nature of the water, but either to the general order of the univerſe, for the better being and preſervation of the creatures (otherwiſe the waters ſhould not moove in Seas and Rivers as they do, but cover the face of the earth, and poſſeſs their proper place between the aire and the earth, according to the degree of their gravity.) Or to an extrinſecal principle, whilſt one particle of water thruſteth and forceth forward another, and ſo comes a current, or at leaſt ſo comes the current to be more impetuous, to which motion the poſition of the earth doth contribute much, both by reſtraining that fluid body with its banks from diſperſing it ſelf, and alſo, by affording way for a fair and eaſy deſcent by its proclivity. He tells us ſadly that *the Water wants liberty to go over the banks, becauſe there is an extrinſecal impediment, But to aſcend up the channel it wants not liberty, but power.* Why? Liberty is a power, if it want power to aſcend, it wants liberty to aſcend. But he makes the reaſon why the water aſcends not up the channel, to be intrinſecal and the reaſon why it aſcends not over the banks to be extrinſecal, as if there were not a riſing of the ground up the channel, as well as up the banks, though it be not ſo diſcernable, nor alwayes ſo ſudden. The natural appetite of the water is as much againſt the aſcending over the banks, as the aſcending up the channel.

channel. And the extrinſecal impediment is as great in aſcending up the channel as over the banks, or rather greater, becauſe there it muſt moove, not onely againſt the riſing ſoil, but alſo againſt the ſucceeding waters, which preſs forward the former. Either the River wants liberty for both, or elſe it wants liberty for neither.

But to leave his metaphorical faculties, and his Catachreſtical Liberty. How far is his diſcourſe wide from the true moral liberty, which is in queſtion between us. His former deſcription of a free Agent, that is, *he who hath not made an end of deliberating*, though it was wide from the mark, yet it came much neerer the truth than this difinition of Liberty, unleſs perhaps he think that the water hath done deliberating, whether it will go over the banks, but hath not done deliberating, whether it will go up the channel.

Animadverſions upon the Anſwer to Numb. XXIX.

(a) [HOw that ſhould be a right definition of Liberty, which comprehends neither the Genus nor the Difference, neither the Matter, nor the Form, of Liberty, &c. How a reall faculty, or the elective power ſhould be defined by a negation, or by an abſence; is paſt my underſtanding; and contrary to all the rules of right reaſon, which I have learned.] *A right definition is, that which determineth the ſignification of the word defined, to the end that in the diſcourſe where it is uſed, the meaning of it may be conſtant and without equivocation. This is the meaſure of a definition and intelligible to an Engliſh Reader. But the Biſhop that meaſures it by the Genus and the Difference, thinks (it ſeems) though he write Engliſh, he writes not to an Engliſh Reader, unleſſe he alſo be a School-man. I confeſſe the rule is good that we ought to define (when it can be done) by uſing firſt ſome more general term, and then by reſtraining, the ſignification of that general term till it be the ſame with that of the word defined. And this general term, the School calls* Genus, *and the reſtraint* Difference; *This I ſay is a good rule where it can be done;*

done; for some words are so general that they cannot admit a more general in their definition. But why, this ought to be a Law of definition, I doubt it would trouble him to find the reason; and therefore I referr him, (he shall give me leave sometimes to cite, as well as he) to the 14. and 15. Articles of the 6 Chapter, of my Book De Corpore. But it is to little purpose that he requires in a definition, so exactly the Genus and the Difference, seeing he does not know them when they are there. For in this my definition of Liberty the Genus is absence of impediments to action; and the difference or Restriction is, that they be not contained in the nature of the Agent. The Bishop therefore though he talk of Genus and Difference, understands not what they are, but requires the matter and Form, of the thing in the Definition. Matter is body, that is to say corporeal substance, and subject to dimension, such as are the Elements, and the things compounded of the Elements. But it is impossible that Matter should be part of a Definition, whose parts are onely words, or to put the name of Matter, into the Definition of Liberty, which is immaterial. How a reall faculty can be defined, by an absence, is (saith he) past my understanding. Unlesse he mean by reall Faculty, a very Faculty, I know not how a Faculty is reall. If he mean so, then a very absence, is as reall, as a very Faculty. And if the Word defined signifie an absence, or Negation, I hope he would not have me define it, by a presence, or affirmation. Such a Word is Liberty, for it signifieth Freedome from impediments, which is all one with the absence of impediments as I have defined it. And if this be contrary to all the rules of right reason, (that is to say of Logick) that he hath learned, I should advise him to read some other Logick, then he hath yet read, or consider better those he did read, when he was a young man, and could lesse understand them. He adds that by this Definition, a stone hath Liberty to ascend into the aire, because there is no outward impediment to hinder it. How knows he, whether there be impediments to hinder it or not? Certainly if a stone were thrown upwards, it would either go upwards eternally, or it must be stopped by some outward impediment, or it must stop it self. He hath confessed that nothing can moove it self, I doubt not therefore but he will confesse also that it cannot stop it self. But stopped we see it is; it is therefore stopped by impediments external. He hath

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in this part of his Answer ventured a little too far, in speaking of Definition, and of Impediments, and Motion, and bewrayed too much his ignorance in Logick and Philosophy; and talketh so absurdly of the current of Rivers, and of the motion of the Seas, and of the weight of Water, that it cannot be corrected otherwise then by blotting it all out.

T. H.

SIxtly, *I conceive, nothing taketh beginning from it self, but from the action of some other immediate Agent without it self. And that therefore when first a man had an appetite or will, to something, to which immediately before he had no appetite nor will, the cause of his will is not the will it self, but something else, not in his own disposing. So that whereas it is out of controversie that of voluntary actions the will is a necessary cause; and by this which is said the will is also caused by other things whereof it disposeth not, it followeth that voluntary actions have all of them necessary causes, and therefore are necessitated.* Num. 30.

H. D.

THis sixt point doth not consist in explicating of tearms, as the former, but in two proofs, that voluntary actions are necessitated. The former proof stands thus, *Nothing takes beginning from it self, but from some Agent without it self, which is not in its own disposing, therefore, &c. concedo omnia.* (a) I grant all he saith, The will doth not take beginning from it self. Whether he understand by *will* the faculty of the will, which is a power of the reasonable soul, it takes not beginning from it self, but from God, who created and infused the Soul into man, and endowed it with this power: Or whether he understand by *will*, the act of willing, it takes not beginning from it self, but from the faculty, or from the power of willing, which is in the Soul. This is certain, finite and participated things cannot be from themselves, nor be produced by themselves. What would he conclude from hence? that therefore the act of willing takes not its beginning from the faculty of the will? Or that the faculty is alwayes determined antecedently, extrinsecally to will that which it doth will? He may as

ſoon draw water out of a pumice, as draw any ſuch concluſion out of theſe premiſſes. Secondly, for his *taking a beginning*, Either he underſtands *a beginning of being*, or a *beginning of working and acting*. If he underſtand a beginning of being, he ſaith moſt truly, that nothing hath a beginning of being in time from it ſelf, But this is nothiug to his purpoſe. The queſtion is not between us whether the Soul of man, or the will of man be eternal, But if he underſtand *a beginning of working or mooving actually*, it is a groſs errour. All men know that when a ſtone deſcends, or fire aſcends, or when water, that hath been heated returns to its former temper, the beginning or reaſon is intrinſecal, and one and the ſame thing doth moove and is mooved in a diverſe reſpect. It mooves in reſpect of the form, and it is mooved in reſpect of the matter. Much more man, who hath a perfect knowledge and prenotion of the end, is moſt properly ſaid to moove himſelf. Yet I do not deny but that there are other beginnings of humane actions, which do concur with the will, ſome outward, as the firſt cauſe by general influence, which is evermore requiſite, Angels or men by perſwading, evill ſpirits by tempting, the object or end by its appetibility, the underſtanding by directing So paſſions and acquired habits. But I deny that any of theſe do neceſſitate or can neceſſitate the will of man by determining it Phyſically to one, except God alone, who doth it rarely in extraordinary caſes. And where there is no antecedent determination to one, there is no abſolute neceſſity but true Liberty.

(*b*) His ſecond argument is *ex conceſſis, It is out of controverſie* (ſaith he) *that of voluntary actions the will is a neceſſary cauſe.* The argument may be thus reduced. Neceſſary cauſes produce neceſſary effects, but the Will is a neceſſary cauſe of voluntary actions. I might deny his major; Neceſſary cauſes do not alwayes produce neceſſary effects except they be alſo neceſſarily produced, as I have ſhewed before in the burning of *Protagoras* his book. But I anſwer cleerly to the minor, that the will is not a neceſſary cauſe of what it wills in particular actions It is without *controverſie* indeed, for it is without all probability. That it wills when it wills, is neceſſary, but that it wills this or that, now or then, is free. More expreſly, the act of the will

may

may be considered three wayes; Either in respect of its nature, or in respect of its exercise, or in respect of its object. First, for the nature of the act; That which the will wills is necessarily voluntary, because the will cannot be compelled. And in this sense, *it is out of controversie, that the will is a necessary cause of voluntary actions.* Secondly, for the exercise of its acts, that is not necessary. The will may either will or suspend its act. Thirdly, for the object that is not necessary but free, the will is not extrinsecally determined to its objects. As for example, The Cardinalls meet in the conclave to chose a Pope, whom they chose he is necessarily Pope. But it is not necessary that they shall chose this or that day. Before they were assembled they might defer their assembling, when they are assembled, they may suspend their election for a day or a week. Lastly, for the person whom they will choose, it is freely in their own power, otherwise if the election were not free, it were void, and no election at all. So that which takes its beginning from the will, is necessarily voluntary, but it is not necessary that the will shall will this or that in particular, as it was necessary, that the person freely elected should be Pope, but it was not necessary, either that the election should be at this time, or that this man should be elected. And therefore voluntary acts in particular, have not necessary causes, that is, they are not necessitated.

Animadversions upon the Answer to Numb. XXX.

I *Had said, that nothing taketh beginning from it self, and that the cause of the Will is not the Will it self, but something else which it disposeth not of. Answering to this he endeavours to shew us the cause of the* Will.

(a) [I grant *(saith he)* that the Will doth not take beginning from it self, for that the faculty of the Will, takes beginning from God, who created the soul, and powred it into man, and endowed it with this power; *and for that* the act of willing takes not beginning from it self, but from the faculty, or from

the power of willing, which is in the ſoul. This is certain, finite and participated things cannot be from themſelves, nor be produced by themſelves. What would he conclude from hence? That therefore the Act of willing, takes not its beginning, from the faculty of the Wil?] *It is well that he grants finite things (as for his participated, it ſignifies nothing here) cannot be produced by themſelves. For out of this I can conclude that the Act of willing is not produced by the faculty of willing. He that hath the faculty of willing, hath the faculty of willing ſomething in particular. And at the ſame time he hath the faculty of nilling the ſame. If therefore the faculty of willing be the cauſe he willeth any thing whatſoever, for the ſame reaſon the faculty of nilling, will be the cauſe at the ſame time of nilling it, and ſo he ſhall will and nill the ſame thing at the ſame time, which is abſurd. It ſeems the Biſhop had forgot that* Matter *and* Power *are indifferent to contrary* Forms *and contrary* Acts. *It is ſomewhat beſides the Matter that determineth it to a certain form; and ſomewhat beſides the Power, that produceth a certain Act; and thence it is, that is inferred this that he granteth, that nothing can be produced by it ſelf, which nevertheleſſe he preſently contradicteth, in ſaying, that,* all men know when a ſtone deſcends, the beginning is intrinſecal, *and that* the ſtone *mooves* in reſpect of the *Form*; and *is moved* in reſpect of the *Matter. Which is as much to ſay that the Form moveth the Matter, or that the ſtone moveth it ſelf, which before he denied. When a ſtone aſcends, the beginning of the ſtones motion, was in it ſelf, that is to ſay intrinſecal, becauſe it is not the ſtones motion, till the ſtone begins to be moved; but the motion that cauſed it to begin to aſcend, was a precedent and extrinſecal motion of the hand, or other engine that threw it upward. And ſo when it deſcends, the beginning of the ſtones motion is in the ſtone; but nevertheleſſe, there is a former motion in the ambient Body, aire or water, that cauſeth it to deſcend. But becauſe no man can ſee it, moſt men think there is none; though Reaſon, wherewith the Biſhop, (as relying onely upon the Authority of Books) troubleth not himſelf, convince that there is.*

(b) [His ſecond Argument is, ex conceſſis; *It is out of controverſy, that of voluntary Actions, the Wil is a neceſſary cauſe.* The Argument may be thus reduced. Neceſſary cauſes produce

duce neceſſary effects; but the Wil is a neceſſary cauſe of voluntary Actions. I might deny his Major; neceſſary cauſes do not alwayes produce neceſſary effects, except they be alſo neceſſarily produced.] *He has reduced the Argument to nonſenſe, by ſaying neceſſary cauſes produce not neceſſary effects. For neceſſary effects, unleſſe he mean ſuch effects as ſhall neceſſarily be produced, is inſignificant. Let him conſider therefore with what grace he can ſay, neceſſary cauſes do not alwayes produce their effects, except thoſe effects be alſo neceſſarily produced. But his anſwer is chiefly to the Minor, and denies that the Wil is not a neceſſary cauſe of what it wills in particular Actions. That it wills, when it wills (ſaith he) is neceſſary, but that it wills this or that, is free. Is it poſſible for any man to conceive that he that willeth can will any thing but this or that particular thing? It is therefore manifeſt that either the Wil is a neceſſary cauſe of this or that or any other particular Action, or not the neceſſary cauſe of any voluntary Action at all. For univerſal Actions there be none. In that which followeth, he undertaketh to make his doctrine more expreſſly underſtood by conſidering the Act of the will three ways.* In reſpect of its nature, in reſpect of its Exerciſe; *and in* reſpect of its object. *For the nature of the Act (he ſaith) that* That which the will wills is neceſſarily volunrary, and *that in this ſenſe*, he grants it is out of controverſy, that the will is a neceſſary cauſe of voluntary Actions. *Inſtead of* that which the will wills, *to make it ſenſe, read that which the man wills, and then if the mans will be as he confeſſeth a neceſſary cauſe of voluntary Actions, it is no leſſe a neceſſary cauſe that they are Actions, then that they are voluntary. For the Exerciſe of the Act, he ſaith that* the will may either will, or ſuſpend its Act, *This is the old canting which hath already been ſufficiently detected: But to make it ſomewhat let us reade it thus, the man that willeth, may either will or ſuſpend his will, and thus it is intelligible but falſe; for how can he that willeth, at the ſame time ſuſpend his will? And for the object he ſays, that* it is not neceſſary but Free, *&c. His reaſon is becauſe he ſays it was not neceſſary (for example) in chooſing a Pope, to chooſe him this or that day, or to chuſe this or that man. would be glad to know by what Argument he can prove the Election not to have been neceſſitated; For*

it is not enough for him to say, I perceive no necessity in it; nor to say they might have chosen another, because he knows not whether they might or not; nor to say if he had not been freely elected, the Election had been void or none. For though that be true, it does not follow that the Election was not necessary; for there is no repugnance, to necessity, either in Election, or in Freedome. And whereas he concludeth, therefore voluntary Acts in particular are not necessitated; *I would have been glad he had set down what voluntary Acts there are, not particular, which by his restriction of voluntary Acts he grants to be necessitated.*

T. H.

Num. 31. *SEventhly, I hold that to be a sufficient cause to which nothing is wanting that is needful to the producing of the effect. The same is also a necessary cause, for if it be possible, that a sufficient cause shall not bring forth the effect, then there wanted somewhat which was needful to the producing of it, and so the cause was not sufficient. But if it be impossible that a sufficient cause should not produce the effect, then is a sufficient cause a necessary cause, (for that is said to produce an effect necessarily, that cannot but produce it) Hence it is manifest, that whatsoever is produced, is produced necessarily, for whatsoever is produced hath had a sufficient cause to produce it, or else it had not been. And therefore also voluntary actions are necessitated.*

J. D.

THis section contains a third Argument to proove that all effects are necessary; for clearing whereof it is needfull to consider how a cause may be said to be sufficient or insufficient.

First, several causes singly considered may be insufficient, and the same taken conjointly be sufficient to produce an effect. As (*a*) two Horses jointly are sufficient to draw a Coach, which either of them singly is insufficient to do. Now to make the effect, that is the drawing of the Coach necessary, it is not onely required, that the two Horses be sufficient to draw it, but also that their conjunction be necessary, and their habitude such as they may draw it. If the owner of one of these Horses will not suffer him to draw, If the Smith have

shod

ſhod the other in the quick, and lamed him; If the Horſe have caſt a ſhoe, or be a reſty jade, and will not draw but when he liſt, then the effect is not neceſſarily produced, but contingently more or leſs, as the concurrence of the cauſes is more or leſs contingent.

(*b*) Secondly, a cauſe may be ſaid to be ſufficient, either becauſe it produceth that effect which is intended, as in the generation of a man, or elſe, becauſe it is ſufficient to produce that which is produced, as in the generation of a Monſter. The former is properly called a ſufficient cauſe, the later a weak and inſufficient cauſe. Now, if the debility of the cauſe be not neceſſary, but contingent, then the effect is not neceſſary, but contingent. It is a rule in Logick, that the concluſion alwayes follows the weaker part. If the premiſes be but probable, the concluſion cannot be demonſtrative. It holds as well in cauſes as in propoſitions. No effect can exceed the vertue of its cauſe. If the ability or debility of the cauſes be contingent, the effect cannot be neceſſary. 2.

Thirdly, that which concerns this queſtion of Liberty from neceſſity moſt neerly is. That (*c*) a cauſe is ſaid to be ſufficient in reſpect of the ability of it to act, not in reſpect of its will to act. The concurrence of the will is needful to the production of a free effect. But the cauſe may be ſufficient, though the will do not concur. As God is ſufficient to produce a thouſand worlds, but it doth not follow from thence; either that he hath produced them, or that he will produce them. The blood of Chriſt is a ſufficient ranſome for all mankind, but it doth not follow therefore, that all mankind ſhall be actually ſaved by vertue of his Blood. A man may be a ſufficient Tutour, though he will not teach every Scholler, and a ſufficient Phyſitian, though he will not adminiſter to every patient. For as much therefore as the concurrence of the will is needful to the production of every free effect, and yet the cauſe may be ſufficient, *in ſenſu diviſo*, although the will do not concur, it followes evidently, that the cauſe may be ſufficient, and yet ſomething, which is needful to the production of the effect, may be wanting, and that every ſufficient cauſe is not a neceſſary cauſe. 3.

Laſtly,

Laſtly, if any man be diſpoſed to wrangle againſt ſo clear light, and ſay, that though the free Agent be ſufficient *in ſenſu diviſo*, yet, he is not ſufficient, *in ſenſu compoſito*, to produce the effect without the concurrence of the will, he ſaith true, but firſt, he bewrayes the weakneſs and the fallacy of the former argument, which is a meer trifling between ſufficiency in a divided ſenſe, and ſufficiency in a compounded ſenſe. And ſeeing the concurrence of the will is not predetermined, there is no antecedent neceſſity before it do concur; and when it hath concurred, the neceſſity is but hypothetical, which may conſiſt with liberty.

Animadverſions upon the Anſwer to Numb. XXXI.

IN this place he diſputeth againſt my definition of a ſufficient cauſe, *namely, that cauſe* to which nothing is wanting needfull to the producing of the effect. *I thought this definition could have been miſliked by no man that had Engliſh enough, to know that* a ſufficient cauſe, and cauſe enough *ſignifieth the ſame thing. And no man will ſay that that is* cauſe enough *to produce an effect, to which any thing is wanting needful to the producing of it. But the Biſhop thinks, if he ſet down what he underſtands by ſufficient, it would ſerve to confute my definition. And therefore ſays;*

(a) [Two Horſes joyntly are ſufficient to draw a Coach, which either of them ſingly is inſufficient to do; Now to make the effect, that is, the drawing of the Coach neceſſary, it is not onely required that the two Horſes be ſufficient to draw it, but alſo that it be neceſſary they ſhall be joyned, and that the owner of the Horſes will let them draw, and that the Smith hath not lamed them, and they be not reſty, and liſt not to draw, but when they liſt, otherwiſe the effect is contingent.] *It ſeems the Biſhop thinks two Horſes may be ſufficient to draw a Coach, though they will not draw, or though they be lame, or though they be never put to draw; and I think they can never produce the effect of drawing, without thoſe needful circumſtances of being*

ſtrong,

ſtrong, obedient, and having the Coach ſome way or other faſtened to them. He calls it a ſufficient cauſe of drawing, that they be Coach horſes, though they be lame, or will not draw. But I ſay they are not ſufficient abſolutely; but conditionally, if they be not lame, nor reſty. Let the reader judge, whether my ſufficient cauſe or his may properly be called cauſe enough.

(*b*) [Secondly, a cauſe may be ſaid to be ſufficient, either becauſe it produceth that effect which is intended, as in the generation of a man, or elſe, becauſe it is ſufficient to produce that which is produced, as in the generation of a Monſter; the former is properly called a ſufficient cauſe, the latter a weak and inſufficient cauſe.] *In theſe few lines he hath ſaid the cauſe of the generation of a Monſter is ſufficient to produce a Monſter, and that it is inſufficient to produce a Monſter. How ſoon may a man forget his words that doth not underſtand them. This term of* inſufficient *cauſe, which alſo the School calls* Deficient *that they may rime to efficient, is not intelligible, but a word deviſed like Hocus Pocus, to juggle a difficulty out of ſight. That which is ſufficient to produce a Monſter, is not therefore to be called an inſufficient cauſe to produce a man, no more then that which is ſufficient to produce a man, is to be called an inſufficient cauſe to produce a Monſter.*

(*c*) [Thirdly, a cauſe is ſaid to be ſufficient in reſpect of the ability of it to act, not in reſpect of its will to act, &c. As God is ſufficient to produce a thouſand Worlds.] *He underſtands little, when men ſay, God is ſufficient to produce many worlds, if he underſtand not the meaning to be, that he is ſufficient to produce them if he will. Without this ſuppoſition,* If he will, *a man is not ſufficient to produce any voluntary action, not ſo much as to walk, though he be in health, and at Liberty. The will is as much a ſufficient cauſe without the ſtrength to do, as the ſtrength without the Will. To that which he adds, that my Definition is* a meer trifling between a ſufficiency in a divided ſenſe, and a ſufficiency in a compounded ſenſe, *I can make no anſwer, becauſe I underſtand no more, what he means by* ſufficiency in a divided ſenſe, *and* ſufficiency in a compounded ſenſe, *then if he had ſaid* ſufficiency in a divided non-ſenſe, *and* ſufficiency in a compounded non-ſenſe.

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T. H.

Num. 32. *Laſly, I hold that the ordinary definition of a free Agent, namely that a free Agent is, that, which when all things are preſent, which are needful to produce the effect, can nevertheleſs not produce it, implies a contradiction, and is non-ſenſe, being as much as to ſay, the cauſe may be* ſufficient, *that is,* neceſſary, *and yet the effect not follow.*

J. D.

THis laſt point is but a Corollary, or an Inference from the former doctrine, that *every ſufficient cauſe produceth its effect neceſſarily*, which pillar being taken away the ſuperſtructure muſt needs fall to the ground, having nothing left to ſupport it. *Laſtly, I hold* (ſaith he) *what he is able to proove is ſomething.* So much reaſon, ſo much truſt; but what he *holds* concerns himſelf not others. But what holds he? *I hold* (ſaith he) *that the ordinary definition of a free Agent implies a contradiction, and is non-ſenſe.* That which he calls the *ordinary definition* of liberty is the very definition which is given by the much greater part of Philoſophers and School-men. And doth he think that all theſe ſpake non-ſenſe? or had no more judgment than to contradict themſelves in a definition? He might much better ſuſpect himſelf, than cenſure ſo many. Let us ſee the definition it ſelf: *A free Agent is that, which when all things are preſent, that are needful to produce the effect, can nevertheleſs not produce it.* I acknowledge the old definition of Liberty, with little variation. But I cannot ſee this *non-ſenſe*, nor diſcover this *contradiction.* For (*a*) in theſe words *all things needfull*, or *all things requiſite*, the actual determination of the will is not included. But by *all things needful or requiſite*, all neceſſary power either operative or elective, all neceſſary inſtruments and adjuments extrinſecall and intrinſecall, and all conditions are intended. As he that hath pen and ink, and paper, a table, a desk, and leiſure, the art of writing, and the free uſe of his hand, hath all things requiſite to write if he will, and yet he may forbear, if he will. Or as he that hath men and mony, and arms, and munition, and ſhips, and a juſt cauſe, hath all things

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things requisite for war, yet he may make peace, if he will. Or as the King proclaimed in the Gospel, Matth. 22. 4. *I have prepared my dinner, my oxen and my fatlings are killed, all things are ready, come unto the marriage.* According to *T. H.* his doctrine, the guests might have told him, that he said not truly, for their own wills were not ready. (*b*) And indeed if the will were (as he conceives it is) necessitated extrinsecally to every act of willing, if it had no power to forbear willing what it doth will, nor to will what it doth not will, then if the will were wanting, something requisite to the producing of the effect was wanting. But now when Science and conscience, reason and Religion, our own and other mens experience doth teach us, that the will hath a dominion over its own acts to will, or nill without extrinsecal necessitation, if the power to will be present *in actu primo*, determinable by our selves, then there is no necessary power wanting in this respect to the producing of the effect.

Secondly, these words *to act or not to act, to work or not to work, to produce or not to produce*, have reference to the effect, not as a thing which is already done, or doing, but as a thing to be done. They imply not the actual production but the producibility of the effect. But when once the will hath actually concurred with all other causes and conditions, and circumstances, then the effect is no more possible, or producible, but it is in being, and actually produced. Thus he takes away the subject of the question. The question is whether effects producible be free from necessity. He shuffles out *effects producible*, and thrusts in their places *effects produced*, or which are in the act of *production*. Wherefore I conclude, that it is neither *non-sense* nor *contradiction* to say, that a free Agent, when all things requisite to produce the effect are present, may nevertheless not produce it.

Animadverſions upon the Anſwer to Numb. XXXII.

THe queſtion is here whether theſe words, a free Agent is that, which when all things needfull to the production of the effect are preſent, can nevertheleſs not produce it, imply a contradiction, *as I ſay it does. To make it appear no contradiction, he ſaith*

(a) [In theſe words, *all things needful* or *all things requiſite*, the actual determination of the Will is not included,] *as if the Will were not needful nor requiſite to the producing of a voluntary Action. For to the production of any Act whatſoever, there is needful, not onely thoſe things which proceed from the Agent, but alſo thoſe that conſiſt in the diſpoſition of the patient? And to uſe his own inſtance, it is neceſſary to writing, not onely that there be pen, ink, paper, &c. but alſo a will to write. He that hath the former hath all things requiſite to write if he will, but not all things neceſſary to writing. And ſo in his other inſtances, he that hath men and money, &c. (without that which he putteth in for a requiſite) hath all things requiſite to make War if he Will, but not ſimply to make War. And he in the Goſpel that had prepared his Dinner, had all things requiſite for his gueſts if they came, but not all things requiſite to make them come. And therefore* all things requiſite, *is a term ill defined by him.*

(b) [And indeed if the will were (as he conceives it is) neceſſitated extrinſecally to every act of willing, if it had no power to forbear willing, what it doth will, nor to will what it does not will, then if the will were wanting, ſomething requiſite to the produceing of the effect were wanting. But now when Science and Conſcience, Reaſon and Religion, our own and other mens experience doth reach us, that the Will hath a Dominion over its own Acts to Will, or Nill, without extrinſecal neceſſitation, if the power to will be preſent *in actu primo*, determinable by our ſelves, then there is no neceſſary power wanting in this reſpect to the producing of the effect.] *Theſe words,*

words, the will hath power to forbear willing what it doth will, *and these*, the Wil hath a Dominion over its own Acts, *and these*, the power to Will is presen*t in actu primo*, determinable by our selves, *are as wild as ever were any spoken with in the Walls of* Bedlam; *and if Science, Conscience, Reason and Religion, teach us to speak thus, they make us mad. And that which followeth is false* to Act or not to Act, to work or not to work, to produce or not to produce, have reference to the effect, not as a thing which is already done, or doing, but as a thing to be done. *For*, to act, to work, to produce, *are the same thing with* to be doing. *It is not the act but the power that hath reference to the future, for act and power differ in nothing but in this, that the former, signifieth the time present, the latter, the time to come. And whereas he adds, that I shuffle out effects produeible, and thrust into their places effects produced, I must take it for an untruth, till he cite the place wherein I have done so.*

T. H.

For my first five points where it is explicated; First, what Spontaneity is, Secondly, what Deliberation is, Thirdly, what Will, Propension and Appetite is, Fourthly, what a free Agent is, Fiftly, what Liberty is, There can be no other proof offered, but every mans own experience, by reflecting on himself, and remembring what he useth to have in his mind, that is, what he himself meaneth, when he saith, an action is spontaneous, A man deliberates, such is his will, That Agent, or that action is free. Now, he that so reflecteth on himself cannot but be satisfied, that deliberation *is the considering of the good and evil sequells of the action to come, That by* Spontaneity, *is meant inconsiderate proceeding, (for else nothing is meant by it.) That* will *is the last act of our Deliberation. That a* free Agent, *is he that can do, if he will, and forbear, if he will. And that* Liberty *is the absence of externall impediments; But to those that out of custome speak not what they conceive, but what they hear, and are not able, or will not take the pains to consider what they think, when they hear such words, no argument can be sufficient, because experince, and matter of fact is not verified by other mens Arguments, but by every mans own sense, and memory. For example, how can it be prooved, that* Num. 33.

to love a thing, and to think it good are all one, to a man that does not mark his own meaning by those words. Or how can it be prooved that Eternity is not nunc Stans, *to a man that sayes these words by custome, and never considers how he can conceive the thing it self in his mind. Also the sixt point, that a man cannot imagine any thing to begin without a cause, can no other way be made known but by trying how he can imagine it. But if he try, he shall find as much reason (if there be no cause of the thing) to conceive, it should begin at one time as another, that is, he hath equall reason to think, it should begin at all times, which is impossible. And therefore he must think there was some special cause, why it began then rather than sooner or later, or else, that it began never, but was Eternal.*

§. D.

NOw at length he comes to his main proofs; He that hath so confidently censured the whole current of Schoolmen and Philosophers of *non-sense*, had need to produce strong evidence for himself. So he calls his reasons, Numb. 36. *demonstrative proofs*. All demonstrations are either from the cause or the effect, not from private notions and conceptions, which we have in our minds. That which he calls a demonstration deserves not the name of an intimation. He argues thus; *That which a man conceives in his mind, by these words Spontaneity, Deliberation, &c. that they are.* This is his proposition which I deny. (a) The true natures of things are not to be judged by the private *ideas*, or conceptions of men, but by their causes and formal reasons. Ask an ordinary person what *upwards* signifies, and whether our Antipodes have their heads upwards or downwards; And he will not stick to tell you, that if his head be upwards, theirs must needs be downwards. And this is becaufe he knows not the formal reason thereof; that the Heavens incircle the earth, and what is towards Heaven is upwards. This same erroneous notion of *upwards* and *downwards* before the true reason was fully discovered, abused more than ordinary capacities, as appears by their arguments of *penduli homines*, and *pendulæ arbores*. Again, what do men conceive ordinaryly by this word *empty*, as when they say an empty vessel,

or

or by this word *Body*, as when they ſay, there is no body in that room, they intend not to exclude the aire, either out of the veſſel, or out of the room. Yet reaſon tells us, that the veſſel is not truly empty, and that the aire is a true body. I might give an hundred ſuch like inſtances. He, who leaves the conduct of his underſtanding to follow vulgar notions, ſhall plunge himſelf into a thouſand errours, like him who leaves a certain guide to follow an *ignis fatuus*, or a Will with the wiſpe. So his propoſition is falſe. (*b*) His reaſon, *That matter of fact is not verified by other mens Arguments, but by every mans own ſenſe and memory*, is likewiſe maimed on both ſides, whether we hear ſuch words, or not, is matter of fact, and ſenſe is the proper judge of it. But what theſe words do, or ought truely to ſignifie, is not to be judged by ſenſe but by reaſon. Secondly, reaſon may, and doth oftentimes correct ſenſe, even about its proper object. Senſe tells us that the Sun is no bigger than a good Ball, but reaſon demonſtrates, that it is many times greater than the whole Globe of the earth. As to his inſtance. *How can it be proved, that to love a thing, and to think it good is al one to a man that doth not mark his own meaning by theſe words*. I confeſs, it cannot be proved, for it is not true. Beauty and likeneſs, and love do conciliate love as much as goodneſs, *Cos amoris amor*. *Love* is a paſſion of the will, but to judge of goodneſs is an act of the underſtanding. A Father may love an ungracious Child, and yet not eſteem him good. A man loves his own houſe better than another mans, yet he cannot but eſteem many others better than his own. His other inſtance, *How can it be proved that eternity is not* nunc ſtans, *to a man that ſays theſe words by cuſtome, and never conſiders how he can conceive the thing it ſelf in his minde*, is juſt like the former, not to be proved by reaſon, but by fancy, which is the way he takes. And it is not unlike the counſel, which one gave to a *Novice* about the choiſe of his wife, to advice with the Bels, as he fancied ſo they ſounded, either take her, or leave her.

(*c*) Then for his aſſumption it is as defective as his propoſition, That *by theſe words ſpontaneity*, &c. *men do underſtand as he conceives*. No rational man doth conceive a *ſpontaneous* action, and an *indeliberate* action to be all one, every *indelibe-*

rate

rate action is not *ſpontaneous*. The fire conſiders not whether it ſhould burn, yet the burning of it is not *ſpontaneous*. Neither is every *ſpontaneous* action indeliberate, a man may deliberate what he will eat, and yet eat it *ſpontaneouſly*. (*d*) Neither doth *deliberation* properly ſignifie the *conſidering of the good and evil ſequels of an action to come*. But the conſidering whether this be a good and fit means, or the beſt, and fitteſt means for obtaining ſuch an end. The Phyſician doth not deliberate whether he ſhould cure his Patient, but by what means he ſhould cure him. Deliberation is of the means not of the end. (*e*) Much leſs doth any man conceive with *T. H.* that deliberation is an *imagination*, or an act of fancy not of reaſon, common to men of diſcretion with mad men, and natural fools and children, and bruit beaſts. (*f*) Thirdly, neither doth any underſtanding man conceive, or can conceive, that the *will is an act of our deliberation*. The underſtanding and the will are two diſtinct faculties, or that *onely the laſt appeti e is to be called our will*. So no man ſhould be able to ſay this is my will, becauſe he knows not whether he ſhall perſevere in it or not. (*g*) Concerning the fourth point we agree that *he is a free Agent that can do, if he will, and forbear if he will*. But I wonder how this dropped from his pen, what is now become of his abſolute neceſſity of all things, if a man be free to do and to forbear any thing? Will he make himſelf guilty of the *non-ſenſe* of the School-men; and run with them into contradictions for company? It may be he will ſay he can do if he will, and forbear if he will, but he cannot will if he will. This will not ſerve his turn, for if the cauſe of a free action, that is, the will to be determined, then the effect, or the action it ſelf is likewiſe determined, a determined cauſe cannot produce an undetermined effect, either the Agent can will, and forbear to will, or elſe he cannot do, and forbear to do. (*h*) But we differ wholy about the fifth point. He who conceives *liberty* aright, conceives both a *liberty in the ſubject* to will, or not to will, and a *liberty to the object* to will this, or that, and a *liberty from impediments*. T.H. by a new way of his own cuts off the *liberty of the ſubject*, as if a ſtone was free to aſcend, or deſcend, becauſe it hath no outward impediment. And the *liberty towards the object*, as if the

the Needle touched with the Load-ſtone were free to point, either towards the North, or towards the South, becauſe there is not a Barricado in its way to hinder it; yea, he cuts off the *liberty from inward impediments* alſo: As if an Hawk were at liberty to fly when her wings are plucked, but not when they are tied. And ſo he makes *liberty from extrinſecal impediments* to be compleat liberty; ſo he aſcribes *liberty* to bruit beaſts, and *liberty* to Rivers, and by conſequence makes Beaſts and Rivers to be capeable of ſin and puniſhment. Aſſuredly, *Xerxes*, who cauſed the Helleſpont to be beaten with ſo many ſtripes, was of this opinion. Laſtly, *T. H.* his reaſon that *it is cuſtome, or want of ability, or negligence which makes a man conceive otherwiſe*, is but a begging of that which he ſhould prove. Other men conſider as ſeriouſly as himſelf, with as much judgement as himſelf, with leſs prejudice than himſelf, and yet they can apprehend no ſuch ſenſe of theſe words Would he have other men feign that they ſee fiery Dragons in the Air, becauſe he affirms confidently that he ſees them, and wonders why others are ſo blind as not to ſee them?

(*i*) The reaſon for the ſixth point is like the former, a phantaſtical, or imaginative reaſon. *How can a man imagine any thing to begin without a cauſe, or if it ſhould begin without a cauſe, why it ſhould begin at this time rather than at that time?* He ſaith truely, nothing can *begin* without a cauſe, that is *to be*, but it may *begin to act* of it ſelf without any other cauſe. Nothing can begin without a cauſe, but many things may begin, and do begin without neceſſary cauſes. A free cauſe may as well chooſe his time when he will begin, as a neceſſary cauſe be determined extrinſecally when it muſt begin. And although free effects cannot be foretold, becauſe they are not certainly predetermined in their cauſes, yet when the free cauſes do determine themſelves, they are of as great certainty as the other. As when I ſee a Bell ringing I can conceive the cauſe of it as well why it rings now, as I know the interpoſition of the earth to be the cauſe of the Eclipſe of the Moon, or the moſt certain occurrent in the nature of things.

(*k*) And now that I have anſwered *T. H.* his Arguments drawn from the private conceptions of men concerning the

ſenſe of words, I deſire him ſeriouſly without prejudice to examine himſelf, and thoſe natural notions which he finds in himſelf, not of words, but of things, theſe are from nature, thoſe are by impoſition, whether he doth not find by experience that he doth many things which he might have left undone if he would, and omits many things which he might have done if he would, whether he doth not ſomethings out of meer animoſity, and will, without either regard to the direction of right reaſon, or ſerious reſpect of what is honeſt, or profitable, onely to ſhew that he will have a dominion over his own actions, as we ſee ordinarily in Children, and wiſe men find at ſometimes in themſelves by experience. And I apprehend this very defence of neceſſity againſt liberty to be partly of that kind. Whether he is not angry with thoſe who draw him from his ſtudy, or croſs him in his deſires; if they be neceſſitated to do it, why ſhould he be angry with them, any more than he is angry with a ſharp winter, or a rainy day that keeps him at home againſt his antecedent wil. Whether he doth not ſometime blame himſelf, and ſay, *O what a fool was I to do thus and thus*, or wiſh to himſelf, *O that I had been wiſe*, or, *O that I had not done ſuch an act*. If he have no dominion over his actions, if he be irreſiſtibly neceſſitated to all things that he doth, he might as well wiſh, *O that I had not breached*, or blame himſelf for growing old, *O what a fool was I to grow old.*

Animadverſions upon the Anſwer to Numb. XXXIII.

I *Have ſaid in the beginning of this Number, that to define what ſpontaneity is, what deliberation is, what Will, Propenſion, Appetite, a free Agent, and Liberty is, and to prove they are well defined, there can be no other proof offered, but every mans own experience and memory of what he meaneth by ſuch words. For definitions being the beginning of all demonſtration, cannot themſelves be demonſtrated, that is, proved to another man; All that can be done, is either to put him in mind, what thoſe words ſignifie commonly in the matter whereof they treat, or if the words be unuſual*

usual to make, the Definitions of them true by mutual consent in their signification. And though this be manifestly true, yet there is nothing of it amongst the School-men, whose use to argue not by rule, but as Fencers teach to handle weapons, by quickness only of the hand and eye. The Bishop therefore boggles at this kind of proof, and says,

(a) The true natures of things, are not to be judged by the private *Ideas*, or conceptions of men, but by their causes and formall reasons. Aske an ordinary person, what upwards signifies &c.] *But what will he answer if I should aske him how he will judge of the causes of things, whereof he hath no Idea or conception in his own mind? It is therefore impossible to give a true definition of any word, without the Idea, of the thing which that word signifieth, or not according to that Idea, or conception. Here again he discovereth the true cause, why he and other School-men so often speak absurdly. For they speak without conception of the things, and by rote, one receiving what he saith from another by tradition, from some pusld Divine or Philosopher, that to decline a difficulty, speakes in such manner, as not to be understood. And whereas he bidds us aske an ordinary person, what* upwards *signifieth, I dare Answer for that ordinary person, he will tell us as significantly as any Scholler, and say it is towards Heaven, and as soon as he knows the earth is round makes no scruple to believe there are Antipodes, being wiser in that point then were those, which he saith, to have been of more then ordinary capacities. Again, ordinary men understand not he saith the words,* empty *and* Body; *yes, but they do just as well as learned men. When they hear named an empty vessel, the learned as well as the unlearned mean and understand the same thing, namely, that there is nothing in it that can be seen; and whether it be truely empty, the Plough-man, and the School man know a like. I might give he says an hundred such like instances. Thats true; a man may give a thousand foolish and impertinent instances of men ignorant in such questions of Philosophy concerning Emptiness, Body, Upwards, and Downwards and the like; But the question is not whether such and such tenets be true, but whether such and such words can be well defined, without thinking upon the things they signifiet as the Bishop thinks they may, When he concludeth with*

these words, So his propoſition is falſe.

(*b*) [His reaſon, *that matter of fact is not verified by other mens Arguments, but by every mans own ſenſe and memory*, is likewiſe maimed on both ſides. Whether we hear ſuch words, or not, is matter of fact, and ſenſe is the proper Judge of it; but what theſe words do, or ought truely to ſignifie, is not to be judged by ſenſe, but by reaſon.] *A man is borne with a capacity after due time and experience to reason truely; to which capacity of nature, if there be added no Diſcipline at all, yet, as far as he reaſoneth he will reaſon truely, though by a right Diſcipline, he may reaſon truely in more numerous and various matters. But he that hath lighted on deceiving or deceived maſters, that teach for truth, all that hath been dictated to them by their own intereſt, or hath been cried up by other ſuch teachers before them, have for the moſt part their natural reaſon, as far as concerneth the truth of Doctrine quite defaced or very much weakened, becoming changelings through the inchantments of words not underſtood. This cometh into my mind from this ſaying of the Biſhop, that matter of fact, is not verified by ſenſe and memory, but by Arguments. How is it poſſible that without Diſcipline a man ſhould come to think that the teſtimony of a witneſs, which is the onely verifier of matter of fact ſhould conſiſt, not in ſenſe and memory, ſo as he may ſay he ſaw and remembers the thing done, but in Arguments or Sillegiſmes? Or how can an unlearned man be brought to think the words he ſpeaks, ought to ſignifie, (when he ſpeaks ſincerely) any thing elſe, but that which himſelf meant by them? Or how can any man without learning take the queſtion* whether the Sun be no bigger then a ball, or bigger then the Earth, *to be a queſtion of fact? Nor do I think that any man is ſo ſimple as not to find that to be good which he loveth, good I ſay ſo far forth, as it maketh him to love it; or is there any unlearned man, ſo ſtupid as to think Eternity is this preſent inſtant of time ſtanding ſtill, and the ſame Eternity to be the very next inſtant after, and conſequently that there be ſo many eternities as there can be inſtants of time ſuppoſed? No, there is Scholaſtick learning required in ſome meaſure to make one mad.*

(*c*) [Then for his aſſumption, it is as defective as his propoſition, That *by theſe words ſpontaneity, &c. Men do underſtand*

ſtand as he conceives, &c. No rational man doth conceive *a ſpontaneous* Action and an *indeliberate* Action to be all one; Every *indeliberate* Action is not *ſpontaneous, &c.* Nor every *ſpontaneous* Action *indeliberate.*] *This I get by ſtriving to make ſenſe of that which he ſtrives to make non-ſenſe. I never thought the word ſpontaneity Engliſh. Yet becauſe he uſed it, I made ſuch meaning of it as it would bear, and ſaid* it meant inconſiderate proceeding or nothing. *And for this my too much officiouſneſſe I receive the reward of being thought by him not to be a rational man. I know that in the Latine of all Authors but School-men.* Actio ſpontanea *ſignifies that Action, whereof there is no apparent cauſe derived further then from the Agent it ſelf, and is in all things that have ſenſe, the ſame with voluntary whether deliberated or not deliberated. And therefore where he diſtinguiſhed it from voluntary, I thought he might mean indeliberate; but let it ſignifie what it will, provided it be intelligible, it would make againſt him.*

(d) [Neither doth deliberation properly ſignifie *the conſidering of the good and evil ſequells, of an Action to come*; but the conſidering whether this be a good and fit means, or the beſt, and fitteſt means for obtaining ſuch an end] *If the Biſhops Words proceeded not from hearing and reading of others, but from his own thoughts, he could never have reprehended this Definition of Deliberation eſpecially in the manner he doth it; for he ſays it is the conſidering whether this or that be a good and fit means, for obtaining ſuch an end; as if conſidering whether a means be good or not, were not all one, with conſidering whether the ſequel of uſing thoſe means be good or evil.*

(e) [Much leſſe doth any man conceive with *T. H.* that *deliberation is an Act of Fancie*, not of Reaſon, common to men of diſcretion with mad men, natural fools, children, and brute beaſts] *I do indeed conceive that deliberation is an Act of* Imagination *or* Fancie, *nay more, that* Reaſon *and* Underſtanding *alſo, are Acts of the Imagination, that is to ſay, they are* Imaginations. *I find it ſo by conſidering my own Ratiocination; and he might find it ſo in his, if he did conſider his own thoughts, and not ſpeak as he does by rote; by rote I ſay when he diſputes; not by rote, when he is about thoſe triflles, he calleth buſineſſes; then*

When he ſpeaks he thinks of (that is to ſay he Imagins) his buſineſs; but here he thinks onely upon the words of other men that have gone before him in this queſtion, tranſcribing their concluſions and arguments, not his own thoughts.

(f) [Thirdly, neither doth any underſtanding man conceive, or can conceive, either *that the Will is an Act of our Deliberation*, the Underſtanding and the Will are two diſtinct faculties; or that *onely the laſt appetite, is to be called our Will.*] *Though the underſtanding and the Will were two diſtinct faculties, yet followeth it not that the Will and the Deliberation are two diſtinct faculties; for the whole Deliberation is nothing elſe, but ſo many Wills, alternatively changed, according as a man underſtandeth or fancieth, the good and evil ſequels of the thing concerning which he deliberateth whether he ſhall purſue it, or of the means whether they conduce or not to that end whatſoever it be he ſeeketh to obtain. So that in deliberation there be many wills, whereof not any is the cauſe of a voluntary Action but the laſt, as I have ſaid before anſwering this objection in another place.*

(g) Concerning the fourth point we agree that *he is a free Agent, that can do if he Will, and forbear if he Will.* But I wonder how this dropped from his Pen? &c. It may be he will ſay he can do if he will, and forbear if he will, but he cannot will if he will. *He has no reaſon to wonder how this dropped from my Pen. He found it in my Anſwer. Numb.* 3. *and has been all this while about to confute it, ſo long indeed that he had forgot I ſaid it. And now again brings another Argument to prove a man is free to Will, which is this*; either the Agent can Will, and forbear to Will, or elſe he cannot do, and forbear to do. *There is no doubt a man can Will one thing or other, and forbear to will it. For men if they be awake are alwayes willing one thing or other. But put the caſe a man has a Will to day to do a certain Action to morrow, is he ſure to have the ſame Will to morrow when he is to do it? Is he free to day to chuſe to morrows Will? This is it thats now in queſtion, and this Argument maketh nothing for the affirmative or negative.*

(h) [But we differ wholy about the fifth point. He who conceives *Liberty* aright, conceives both a *Liberty in the ſubject* to Will or not to Will, and a *Liberty to the object* to Will this,

this, or that, and a *Liberty from impediments.* T. H. by a new way of his own cuts of the *Liberty of the ſubject*, as if a ſtone were free to aſcend, or deſcend, becauſe it hath no outward impediment; And the *Liberty towards the object*, as if the needle touched with the Load-ſtone were free to point either towards the North or towards the South, becauſe there is not a Baricado in its way.] *How does it appear that he who conceives Liberty aright, conceives a Liberty in the ſubject to Will or not to Will, unleſſe he mean Liberty to do if he Will, or not to do if he Will not, which was never denied? Or how does it follow that a ſtone is as free to aſcend, as deſcend, unleſſe he prove there is no outward impediment to its aſcent. Which cannot be proved; for the contrary is true. Or how proveth he, that there is no outward impediment to keep that point of the Load-ſtone which placeth it ſelf toward the North, from turning to the South? His ignorance of the cauſes external is not a ſufficient argument that there are none. And whereas he ſaith, that according to my definition of Liberty,* a Hauk were at Liberty to fly when her wings are pluckt, but not when they are tyed. *I anſwer, that ſhe is not at Liberty to fly when her wings are tyed; but to ſay, when her wings are pluckt, that ſhe wanted the Liberty to fly, were to ſpeak improperly and abſurdly; for in that caſe, men that ſpeak Engliſh uſe to ſay ſhe cannot fly. And for his reprehenſion of my attributing Liberty to* brute beaſts, *and* rivers, *I would be glad to know whether it be improper language to ſay a bird or beaſt, may be ſet at Liberty from the cage wherein they were impriſoned, or to ſay that a river which was ſtopped, hath recovered its free courſe, and how it follows, that a beaſt or river recovering this freedome, muſt needs therefore* be capable of ſin and puniſhment.

(*i*) [The reaſon for the ſixt point, is like the former, a Phantaſtical or Imaginative reaſon. *How can a man imagine any thing to begin without a cauſe; or if it ſhould begin without a cauſe, why it ſhould begin at this time, rather then at that time?* He ſaith truely, nothing can *begin* without a cauſe, that is *to be*, but it may, *begin to Act* of it ſelf without any other cauſe. Nothing can *begin* without a cauſe, but many things may *begin* without anceſſiary cauſe] *He granteth nothing can* begin *without a cauſe, & he hath granted formerly that nothing can cauſe it ſelf.*

And

And now he saith it may begin to Act of it self. The action therefore begins to be *without any cause which he said nothing could do, contradicting what he had said but in the line before. And for that that he saith, that* many things may begin not without cause, but without a necessary cause. *It hath been argued before; and all causes have been proved, (if entire and sufficient causes) to be necessary, and that which he repeateth here, namely, that* a free cause may choose his time when he will begin to work, *and that* although free effects, cannot be foretold, because they are not certainly predetermined in their causes, yet when the free causes do determine themselves, they are of as great certainty as the other, *it has been made appear sufficiently before, that it is but Jargon, the words* free cause, *and* determining themselves *being insignificant, and having nothing in the mind of man answerable to them.*

(k) [And now that I have answered *T. H.* his arguments drawn from the private conceptions of men concerning the sense of words, I desire him seriously to examine himself, &c.] *One of his interrogatories is, this,* whether I find not by experience that I do many things which I might have left undone if I would. *This question was needless, because all the way I have granted him that men have Liberty to do many things if they will, which they left undone, because they had not the Will to do them. Another interrogatory is this,* whether I do not some things without regard to the direction of right reason, or serious respect of what is honest or profitable. *This question was in vain, unless he think himself my Confessour. Another is,* whether I writ not this defence against Liberty, onely to show I will have a Dominion over my own actions. *To this I answer, no; but to show I have no Dominion over my will, and this also at his request; But all these questions serve in this place for nothing else, but to deliver him of a jest he was in labour with all, and therefore his last question is,* whether I do not sometimes say; Oh what a fool was I to do thus and thus; *or* Oh that I had been wise, *or* Oh what a fool was I to grow old. *Subtil questions, and full of Episcopal gravity, I would he had left out charging me with* blasphemous, desperate, destructive, and Atheistecal *opinions. I should then have pardoned him, his calling me* fool, *both because*

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I do many things foolishly, and because in this question disputed between us, I think he will appear a greater fool then I.

T. H.

For the seventh point, that all events have necessary causes, it is there proved in that they have sufficient causes. Num. 34. *Further, Let us in this place also suppose any event never so casual at for example, the throwing Ambs-ace upon a paire of Dice, and see if it must not have been necessary before it was thrown; for, seeing it was thrown, it had a beginning, and consequently a sufficient cause to produce it, consisting partly in the Dice, partly in the outward things, as the posture of the parties hand, the measure of force applied by the caster, the posture of the parts of the Table, and the like; In sum, there was nothing wanting that was necessarily requisite to the producing of that particular cast, and consequently, that cast was necessarily thrown. For if it had not been thrown, there had wanted somewhat requisite to the throwing of it, and so the cause had not been sufficient. In the like manner it may be proved that every other accident, how contingent soever it seem, or how voluntary soever it be, is produced necessarily; which is that* J. D. *disputes against. The same also may be proved in this manner, Let the case be put for example) of the weather,* Tis necessary that to morrow it shall rain, or not rain. *If therefore it be not necessary it shall rain, it is necessary it shall not rain. Otherwise it is not necessary that the proposition,* It shall rain, or it shall not rain, *should be true. I know there are some that say, it may necessarily be true, that one of the two shall come to pass, but not singly that it shall rain, or it shall not rain. Which is as much as to say, One of them is necessary, yet neither of them is necessary; And therefore to seem to avoid, that absurdity they make a distinction that neither of them is true* determinatè *but* indeterminatè; *Which distinction, either signifies no more than this, One of them is true, but we know not which, and so the necessity remains, though we know it not: Or if the meaning of the distinction be not that, it has no meaning. And they might as well have said, One of them is true* Tytyrice, *but neither of them* Tupatulice.

J. D.

(a) His former proof, that all sufficient causes are necessary causes is answered before, *Numb.* 31. (b) And his two instances of casting Ambs-ace, and raining to morrow, are altogether impertinent to the question now agitated between us, for two reasons. First, our present controversie is concerning free actions, which proceed from the liberty of mans will, both his instances are of contingent actions, which proceed from the indetermination, or contingent concurrence of naturall causes. First, that there are free actions, which proceed meerly from election, without any outward necessitation is a truth so evident, as that there is a Sun in the Heavens, and he that doubteth of it may as well doubt whether there be a shell without the Nut, or a stone within the Olive. A man proportions his time each day, and allots so much to his Devotions, so much to his Study, so much to his Diet, so much to his Recreations, so much to necessary, or civil visits, so much to his rest, he who will seek for I know not what causes of all this without himself, except that good God who hath given him a reasonable Soul, may as well seek for a cause of the Egyptian *Pyramides* among the Crocodiles of *Nilus*. (c) Secondly, for mixt actions which proceed from the concurrence of free and natural Agents, though they be not free, yet they are not necessary, as to keep my former instance, a man walking though a street of a Citie to do his occasions, a Tile falls from an House and breaks his head, the breaking of his head was not necessary, for he did freely choose to go that way without any necessitation, neither was it free, for he did not deliberate of that accident, therefore it was contingent, and by undoubted consequence there are contingent actions in the World which are not free. Most certainly by the concurrence of free causes, as God, the good and bad Angels, and men, with natural Agents sometimes on purpose, and sometimes by accident many events happen, which otherwise had never hapned; many effects are produced which otherwise had never been produced. And admitting such things to be contingent not necessary, all their consequent effects, not onely immediate, but mediate must likewise be contingent,

tingent, that is to say, such as do not proceed from a continued connexion and succession of necessary causes, which is directly contrary to *T. H.* his opinion.

(d) Thirdly, for the actions of bruit beasts, though they be not free, though they have not the use of reason to restrain their appetites from that which is sensitively good, by the consideration of what is rationally good, or what is honest, and though their fancies be determined by nature to some kinds of work, yet to think that every individual action of theirs, and each animal motion of theirs, even to the least murmure, or gesture is bound by the chain of unalterable necessity to the extrinsecal causes or objects, I see no ground for it. Christ saith *one of these Sparrows doth not fall to the ground without your Heavenly Father*, that is without an influence of power from him, or exempted from his disposition, he doth not say which your Heavenly Father casteth not down. Lastly, for the natural actions of inanimate Creatures, wherein there is not the least concurrence of any free, or voluntary Agents, the question is yet more doubtful; for many things are called contingent in respect of us, because we know not the cause of them, which really and in themselves are not contingent, but necessary. Also many things are contingent in respect of one single cause, either actually hindred, or in possibility to be hindred, which are necessary in respect of the joynt concurrence of all collateral causes. *(e)* But whether there be a necessary connexion of all natural causes from the beginning, so as they must all have concurred as they have done, and in the same degree of power, and have been deficient as they have been in all events whatsoever, would require a further examination if it were pertinent to this question of liberty; but it is not. It is sufficient to my purpose to have shewed that all elective actions are free from absolute necessity. And more-over, that the concurrence of voluntary and free Agents with natural causes, both upon purpose and accidentally hath helped them to produce many effects, which otherwise they had not produced, and hindred them from producing many effects, which otherwise they had produced. And that if this intervention of voluntary and free Agents had been more frequent than it hath been, (as without

doubt it might have been) many natural events had been otherwiſe than they are. And therefore he might have ſpared his inſtances of caſting *Ambs-ace* and raining to morrow. And firſt for his caſting *Ambs-ace*. If it be thrown by a fair Gameſter with indifferent Dice, it is a mixt action, the caſting of the Dice is free, but the caſting of *Ambs-ace* is contingent. a man may deliberate whether he will caſt the Dice, or not, but it were folly to deliberate whether he will caſt *Ambs-ace*, or not, becauſe it is not in his power, unleſs he be a cheater that can cogge the Dice, or the Dice be falſe Dice, and then the contingency, or the degree of contingency ceaſeth, accordingly as the Caſter hath more, or leſs cunning, or as the figure or making of the Dice doth incline them to *Ambs-ace* more than to another caſt, or neceſſitate them to this caſt and no other. Howſoever ſo far as the caſt is free, or contingent, ſo far it is not neceſſary. And where neceſſity begins there liberty and contingency do ceaſe to be: Likewiſe his other inſtance of raining, or not raining to morrow, is not of a free elective act, nor alwayes of a contingent act. In ſome Countries as they have their *ſtati venti* their certain winds at ſet ſeaſons, ſo they have their certain and ſet rains. The *Æthiopian* rains are ſuppoſed to be the cauſe of the certain inundation of *Nilus*. In ſome eaſtern Countries they have rain onely twice a year, and thoſe conſtant, which the Scriptures call *the former and the later rain*. In ſuch places not onely the cauſes do act determinately and neceſſarily, but alſo the determination or neceſſity of the event is fore-known to the inhabitants. In our Climate the natural cauſes cœleſtial and ſublunary do not produce rain ſo neceſſarily at ſet times, neither can we ſay ſo certainly and infallibly, it will rain to morrow, or it will not rain to morrow. Nevertheleſſe, it may ſo happen that the cauſes are ſo diſpoſed and determined, even in our climate, that this propoſition, it will rain to morrow, or it will not rain to morrow, may be neceſſary in it ſelf, and the Prognoſticks or tokens may be ſuch in the ſky, in our own bodies, in the creatures, animate and inanimate, as weather-glaſſes, *&c.* that it may become probably true to us that it will rain to morrow, or it will not rain to morrow. But ordinarily it is a contingent propoſition

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to us, whether it be contingent also in it self, that is, whether the concurrence of the causes were absolutely necessary, whether the vapours, or matter of the rain may not yet be dispersed, or otherwise consumed, or driven beyond our coast, is a speculation which no way concerns this question. So we see one reason why his two instances are altogether impertinent, because they are of actions which are not free, nor elective, nor such as proceed from the liberty of mans will.

Secondly, our dispute is about absolute necessity, his proofs extend onely to Hypothetical necessity. Our question is; whether the concurrence and determination of the causes were necessary before they did concur, or were determined. He proves that the effect is necessary after the causes have concurred, and are determined The freest actions of God, or man, are necessary by such a necessity of supposition, and the most contingent events that are, as I have shewed plainly, *Numb.*3. where his instance of *Ambs-ace* is more fully answered. So his proof looks another way from his proposition. His proposition is, that *the casting of* Ambs-ace *was necessary before it was thrown.* His proof is that it was necessary *when it was thrown*; examine all his causes over and over, and they will not afford him one grain of antecedent necessity. The first cause is in the *Dice:* True, if they be false Dice there may be something in it, but then his contingency is destroyed. If they be square Dice, they have no more inclination to *Ambs-ace*, than to Cinque and Quater, or any other cast. His second cause is *the posture of the parties hand*: But what necessity was there that he should put his hand into such a posture? None at all. The third cause is *the measure of the force applied by the caster.* Now for the credit of his cause let him but name, I will not say a convincing reason, nor so much as a probable reason, but even any pretence of reason, how the Caster was necessitated from without himself to apply just so much force, and neither more nor lesse. If he cannot, his cause is desperate, and he may hold his peace for ever. His last cause is *the posture of the Table.* But tell us in good earnest what necessity there was why the Caster must throw into that Table rather than the other, or that the Dice must fall just upon that part of the Table, *before the cast*

was thrown: He that makes these to be necessary causes, I do not wonder if he make all effects necessary effects. If any one of these *causes* be contingent, it is sufficient to render the cast contingent; and now that they are all so contingent, yet he will needs have the effect to be necessary. And so it is when the cast is thrown, but not before the cast was thrown, which he undertook to prove. Who can blame him for being so angry with the School-men, and their distinctions of necessity into absolute and hypothetical, seeing they touch his freehold so nearly?

But though his instance of raining to morrow be impertinent, as being no free action, yet because he triumphs so much in his argument, I will not stick to go a little out of my way to meet a friend. For I confess, the validity of the reason had been the same, if he had made it of a *free action*, as thus: Either I shall finish this reply to morrow, or I shall not finish this reply to morrow, is a necessary proposition. But because he shall not complain of any disadvantage in the alteration of his terms; I will for once adventure upon his shower of rain. And first, I readily admit his major that this proposition (either it will rain to morrow, or it will not rain to morrow, is necessarily true, for of two contradictory propositions, the one must of necessity be true, because no third can be given. But his minor, that *it could not be necessarily true, except one of the Members were necessarily true*, is most false. And so is his proof likewise, that *if neither the one nor the other of the Members be necessarily true, it cannot be affirmed that either the one, or the other is true.* A conjunct proposition may have both parts false, and yet the proposition be true, as if the Sun shine, it is day, is a true proposition at midnight. And *T. H.* confesseth as much, *Numb.* 19. *If I shall live I shall eat, is a necessary proposition, that is to say, it is necessary that that proposition should be true whensoever uttered. But it is not the necessity of the thing, nor is it therefore necessary that the man shall live, or that the man shall eat.* And so *T. H.* proceeds, *I do not use to fortifie my distinctions with such reasons.* But it seemeth he hath forgotten himself, and is contented with such poor fortifications. And though both parts of a disjunctive proposition cannot be false, because

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if it be a right disjunction, the Members are repugnant, whereof one part is infallibly true, yet vary but the proposition a little to abate the edge of the disjunctions, and you shall finde that which *T. H.* saith to be true, that *it is not the necessity of the thing* which makes the proposition to be true. As for example vary it thus: *I know that either it will rain to morrow, or that it will not rain to morrow* is a true proposition: But it is not true that I know it will rain to morrow, neither is it true that I know it will not rain to morrow; wherefore the certain truth of the proposition doth not prove, that either of the Members is determinately true in present. Truth is a conformity of the understanding to the thing known, whereof speech is an interpreter. If the understanding agree not with the thing it is an errour, if the words agree not with the understanding it is a lie. Now the thing known is known either in it self, or in its causes. If it be known in it self, as it is, then we expresse our apprehension of it in words of the present tence, as *the Sun is risen.* If it be known in its cause, we expresse our selves in words of the future tense, as *to morrow will be an Eclipse of the Moon.* But if we neither know it in its self, nor in its causes, then there may be a foundation of truth, but there is no such determinate truth of it, that we can reduce it into a true proposition, we cannot say it doth rain to morrow, or it doth not rain to morrow. That were not onely false but absurd, we cannot positively say it will rain to morrow, because we do not know it in its causes, either how they are determined, or that they are determined, wherefore the certitude and evidence of the disjunctive proposition is neither founded upon that which will be actually to morrow, for it is granted that we do not know that; nor yet upon the determination of the causes, for then we would not say indifferently, either it will rain, or it will not rain, but positively it will rain, or positively it will not rain. But it is grounded upon an undeniable principle, that of two contradictory propositions, the one must necessarily be true. (*f*) And therefore to say, either this, or that will infallibly be, but it is not yet determined whether this, or that shall be, is no such senseless assertion that it deserved a *Tyrice Tupatulice*, but an evident truth which no man that hath his eyes in his head can doubt of.

(*g*) If

(g) If all this will not satisfie him, I will give one of his own kind of proofs; that is an instance. That which necessitates all things according to *T. H.* is the decree of God, or that order which is set to all things by the eternal cause (*Numb.* 11.) Now God himself, who made this necessitating decree, was not subjected to it in the making thereof, neither was there any former order to oblige the first cause necessarily to make such a decree; therefore this decree being an act *ad extra* was freely made by God without any necessitation. Yet nevertheless, this disjunctive proposition is necessarily true. *Either God did make such a decree, or he did not make such a decree.* Again, though *T. H.* his opinion were true that all events are necessary, and that the whole Christian world are deceived, who believe that some events are free from necessity, yet he will not deny, but if it had been the good pleasure of God, he might have made some causes free from necessity, seeing that it neither argues any imperfection, nor implies any contradiction. Supposing therefore that God had made some second causes free from any such antecedent determination to one, yet the former disjunction would be necessarily true. Either this free undetermined cause will act after this manner, or it will not act after this manner. Wherefore the necessary truth of such a disjunctive proposition doth not prove, that either of the members of the disjunction singly considered, is determinately true in present, but onely that the one of them will be determinately true to morrow.

Animadversions upon the Answer to Numb. XXXIV.

(a) [His former proof; that all sufficient causes, are necessary causes, is answered before *Numb.* 31.] *When he shall have read my Animadversions upon that Answer of his he will think otherwise whatsoever he will confesse.*

(b) [And his two instances of casting Ambs-ace, and of raining to morrow, are altogether impertinent to the question, for two reasons. *His first reason is*, because (*he saith*) our present

ſent controverſy is concerning free actions, which proceed from the Liberty of mans Will, and both his inſtances are of contingent actions, which proceed from the indetermination, or contingent concurrence, of natural cauſes] *He knows that this part of my diſcourſe which beginneth at* Numb. 25. *is no diſpute with him at all, but a bare ſetting down of my opinion concerning the natural neceſſity of all things; which is oppoſite, not onely to the Liberty of Will; but alſo to all contingence that is not neceſſary. And therefore theſe inſtances were not impertinent to my purpoſe; and if they be impertinent to his opinion of the Liberty of mans Will, he does impertinently to meddle with them. And yet for all he pretends here, that the queſtion is onely about Liberty of the Will. Yet in his firſt diſcourſe Number the* 16. *he maintains that* the order, beauty, and perfection of the world doth require, that in the Univerſe ſhould be Agents of all ſorts, ſome neceſſary, ſome Free, ſome contingent. *And my purpoſe here is to ſhew by thoſe inſtances, that thoſe things which we ſteem moſt contingent are nevertheleſſe neceſſary. Beſides, the controverſy is not whether free actions, which proceed from the Liberty of mans Will be neceſſary or not; for I know no action, which proceedeth from the Liberty of mans Will. But the queſtion is, whether thoſe actions which proceed from the mans Will, be neceſſary. The mans Will is ſomething; but the Liberty of his Will is nothing. Again, the queſtion is not, whether contingent actions, which proceed from the indetermination or contingent concurrence of natural cauſes, (for there is nothing that can proceed from indetermination,) but whether contingent actions be neceſſary before they be done, or whether the concurrence of natural cauſes, when they happen to concur, were not neceſſitated ſo to happen; or whether whatſoever chanceth be not neceſſitated ſo to chance. And that they are ſo neceſſitated, I have proved already with ſuch arguments as the Biſhop, for ought I ſee cannot anſwer. For to ſay (as he doth) that* there are free actions which proceed meerly from Election, without any outward neceſſitation, is a truth ſo evident, as that there is a Sun in the Heavens, *is no proof. 'Tis indeed as cleer as the Sun, that there are free actions proceeding from Election; but that there is Election without any outward neceſſitation, is dark enough.*

(c) [Secondly, for mixt actions, which proceed from the

concurrence of free and natural Agents, though they be not free, yet they are not neceſſary, &c.] *For proof of this, he inſtanceth in a Tile that falling from an houſe, breaks a mans head, neither neceſſarily, nor freely, and therefore contingently. Not neceſſarily,* for *(ſaith he) he did freely chooſe to go that way without any neceſſitation. Which is as much as taking the queſtion it ſelf for a proof. For what is elſe the queſtion, but whether a man be neceſſitated to chooſe what he chooſeth? Again (ſaith he) it was not Free, becauſe he did not deliberate whether his head ſhould be broken or not; and concludes,* therefore it was contingent, and by undoubted conſequence, there are contingent actions in the world, which are not free. *This is true and denied by none; but he ſhould have proved, that ſuch contingent actions are not antecedently neceſſary by a concurrence of natural cauſes, (though a little before he granteth they are.) For whatſoever is produced by concurrence of natural cauſes, was antecedently determined in the cauſe of ſuch concurrence, though as he calls it contingent concurrence, not perceiving that* concurrence, *and contingent concurrence, are all one, and ſuppoſe a continued connection, and ſucceſſion of cauſes, which make the effect neceſſarily future. So that hitherto he hath proved no other contingence, then that which is neceſſary.*

(d) [Thirdly, for the actions of brute beaſts, &c. To think each animal motion of theirs is bound by the chain of unalterable neceſſity, I ſee no ground for it.] *It maketh nothing againſt the truth, that he ſees no ground for it. I have pointed out the ground in my former diſcourſe, and am not bound to find him eyes. He himſelf immediately citeth a place of Scripture that proveth it, where Chriſt ſaith, one of theſe ſparrows doth not fall to the ground, without your heavenly father; which place if there were no more, were a ſufficient ground for the aſſertion of the neceſſity of all thoſe changes of animal motion, in birds and other living creatures, which ſeem to us ſo uncertain. But when a man is dizzy with influence of power, elicite acts, permiſſive will, Hypothetical neceſſity, and the like unintelligible terms, the ground goes from him. By and by after he confeſſeth that* many things are called contingent in reſpect of us, becauſe we know not the cauſe o them, which really and in themſelves are not contingent, bu

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neceſſary, *and errs therein the other way; for he ſays in effect that many things are, which are not; for it is all one to ſay they are not contingent, and they are not. He ſhould have ſaid there be many things, the neceſſity of whoſe contingence, we cannot or do not know.*

(e) [But whether there be a neceſſary connection of all natural cauſes from the beginning, ſo as they muſt all have concurred as they have done, &c. Would require a further examination, if it were pertinent to this queſtion of Liberty; but it is not. It is ſufficient to my purpoſe to have ſhewed, &c.] *If there be a neceſſary connection of all natural cauſes from the beginning, then there is no doubt but that all things happen neceſſarily, which is that, that I have all this while maintained. But whether there be or no, he ſays, it requires a further examination. Hitherto therefore, he knows not whether it be true or no, and conſequently all his arguments hitherto have been of no effect, nor hath he ſhewed any thing to prove (what he purpoſed) that elective Actions are not neceſſitated. And whereas a little before he ſays, that to my Arguments, to prove that ſufficient cauſes are neceſſary, he hath already anſwered, it ſeemeth he diſtruſteth his own anſwer, and anſwers again to the two inſtances of* caſting Ambs-ace, *and* raining or not raining to morrow; *but brings no other Argument to prove the caſt thrown not to be neceſſarily thrown, but this, that he does not deliberate whether he ſhall throw that caſt or not. Which Argument may perhaps prove that the caſting of it proceedeth not from free will, but proves not any thing againſt the antecedent neceſſity of it. And to prove that it is not neceſſary, that it ſhould rain or not rain to morrow, after telling us that the Æthiopian rains cauſe the inundation of Nilus; that in ſome Eaſtern Countries they have rain onely twice a year, which the Scripture (he ſaith) calleth* the former and the latter rain. *(I thought he had known it by the experience of ſome Travellers, but I ſee he onely gathereth it from that Phraſe in Scripture of* former and latter rain.) *I ſay after he has told us this, to prove that it is not neceſſary it ſhould rain or not rain to morrow, he ſaith that* in our Climate, the natural cauſes celeſtial and ſublunary do not produce rain ſo neceſſarily at ſet times, as in the Eaſtern Countries; neither can we ſay ſo certainly and infallibly, it will rain to morrow, or it will not rain to morrow. *By this Argument, a*

man may take the height of the Bishops Logick. In our Climate the natural causes do not produce rain so necessarily at set times as in some Eastern Countries. Therefore they do not produce rain necessarily in our Climate, then when they do produce it. *And again* we cannot say so certainly and infallibly, it will rain to morrow, or it will not rain to morrow, therefore it is not necessary either that it should rain, or that it should not rain to morrow; *as if nothing were necessary the necessity whereof we know not. Another reason he saith, why my instances are impertinent, is because* they extend onely to an Hypothetical necessity, *that is, that the necessity is not in the antecedent causes, and thereupon challengeth me for the credit of my cause, to name some reason,* how the caster was necessitated from without himself to apply just so much force *to the cast,* and neither more nor lesse; *or* what necessity there was why the caster must throw into that Table rather then the other, *or* that the Dice must fall just upon that part of the Table, before the cast was thrown. *Here again from our ignorance of the particular causes that concurring make the necessity, he inferreth that there was no such necessity at all; which indeed is that which hath in all this question deceived him and all other men, that attribute events to fortune. But I suppose he will not deny that event to be necessary where all the causes of the cast, and their concurrence, and the cause of that concurrence are foreknown, and might be told him, though I cannot tell him. Seeing therefore God foreknows them all, the cast was necessary, and that from antecedent causes from eternity, which is no Hypothetical necessity.*

And whereas my argument to prove, that raining to morrow, if it shall then rain, and not raining to morrow if it shall then not rain, *was therefore necessary because* otherwise this disjuntive proposition, it shall rain or not rain to morrow, is not necessary, *he answereth that* a conjunct proposition, may have both parts false and yet the proposition be true, as if the Sun shine it is day, is a true proposition at midnight. *What has a conjunct proposition to do with this in question, which is disjunctive? Or what be the parts of this proposition,* if the Sun shine it is day? *It is not made of two propositions, as a disjunctive is; but is one simple proposition, namely this, the shining of the Sun is day. Either*

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he has no Logick at all, or thinks they have no reason at all that are his readers. But he has a trick he saith to abate the edge of the disjunction, by varying the proposition thus, I know that it will rain to morrow, or that it will not rain to morrow, is a true proposition; *and yet saith he*, it is neither true, that I know it will rain to morrow; neither is it true, that I know it will not rain to morrow. *What childish deceit, or childish ignorance is this, when he is to prove that neither of the members is determinately true in a disjunctive proposition, to bring for instance a proposition not disjunctive? It had been disjunctive if it had gone thus, I know that it will rain to morrow, or I know that it will not rain to morrow; but then he had certainly known determinately one of the two.*

(f) [And therefore to say either this or that will infallibly be, but it is not yet determined whether this or that shall be, is no such senseleſſe assertion, that it deserved a *Tity ricè Tupatulicè.*] *But it is a senseleſſe assertion (whatsoever it deserve) to say that this proposition, it shall rain or not rain is true* indeterminedly, *and neither of them true* determinedly; *and little better as he hath now qualified it*, That it will infallibly be, though it be not yet determined whether it shall be or no.

(g) [If all this will not satisfie him, I will give him one of his own kinds of proof, that is an instance. That which necessitates all things according to *T. H.* is the decree of God, &c. *His instance is*, that God himself made this necessitating decree, and therefore this decree being an act *ad extra* was freely made by God, without any necessitation.] *I do believe the Bishop himself believeth that all the Decrees of God have been from all eternity, and therefore he will not stand to this that Gods Decrees were ever made; for whatsoever hath been made, hath had a beginning. Besides Gods Decree is his Will; and the Bishop hath said formerly that the Will of God is God, the Justice of God, God, &c. If therefore God made a Decree (according to the Bishops opinion) God made himself. By which we may see what fine stuffe it is that proceedeth from disputing of Incomprehensibles. Again he says*, if it had been the good pleasure of God, he might have made some causes free from necessity, seeing that it neither argues any imperfection, nor implies any contradiction. *If God had made either causes or effects free from necessity, he had*

made them free from his own Præscience, which had been imperfection. Perhaps he will say, that in these words of his, the decree being an act ad extra was freely made by God, I take no notice of that act ad extra, as being too hot for my fingers. Therefore now I take notice of it, and say, that it is neither Latin, nor English, nor Sense.

T. H.

Num. 35. *THe last thing, in which also consisteth the whole controversy, Namely, that there is no such thing as an Agent, which when all things requisite to action are present, can nevertheless forbear to produce it, or (which is all one) that there is no such thing as freedom from necessity, is easily inferred from that which hath been before alledged. For, if it be an Agent, it can work. And if it work, there is nothing wanting of what is requisite to produce the action, and consequently, the cause of the action is sufficient. And if sufficient, then also necessary, as hath been proved before.*

T. D.

I Wonder that T. H. should confess, that the whole weight of this controversy doth rest upon this proposition. *That there is no such thing as an Agent, which when all things requisite to action are present, can nevertheless forbear to act*; And yet bring nothing but such poor Bull-rushes to support it. (a) *If it be an Agent* (saith he) *it can work*, what of this? *A posse ad esse non valet argumentum*, from *can work*, to *will work*, is a weak inference. And from *will work*, to doth work upon absolute necessity, is another gross inconsequence. He proceeds thus, *If it work, there is nothing wanting of what is requisite to produce the action.* True, there wants nothing to produce that which is produced, but there may want much to produce that which was intended, One horse may pull his heart out, and yet not draw the Coach whither it should be, if he want the help or concurrence of his fellows. *And consequently* (saith he) *the cause of the action is sufficient.* Yes sufficient to do what it doth, though perhaps with much prejudice to it self, but not alwayes sufficient to do what it should do, or what it would do. As he that begets a Monster should beget a man, and would beget a man,

man, if he could. The last link of his argument follows; (b) *And if sufficient, then also necessary*. Stay there; by his leave there is no necessary connexion between sufficiency and efficiency, otherwise God himself should not be All-sufficient. Thus his Argument is vanished. But I will deal more favourably with him, and grant him all that, which he labours so much in vain to prove, That every effect in the world hath sufficient causes: Yea more, that supposing the determination of the free and contingent causes, every effect in the world is necessary. (c) But all this will not advantage his cause the black of a bean, for still it amounts but to an hypothetical necessity, and differs as much from that absolute necessity, which he maintains, as a Gentleman, who travels for his pleasure, differs from a banished man, or a free Subject from a slave.

Animadversions upon the Answer to Numb. XXXV.

(a) [*IF it be an Agent* (saith he) *it can work*, what of this? *A posse ad esse non valet argumentum*, from can work to will work is a weak inference. And from will work, to doth work upon absolute necessity, is another grosse inconsequence.] *Here he has gotten a just advantage, for I should have said*, if it be an Agent it worketh, *not* it can work. *But it is an advantage, which profiteth little to his cause; for if I repeate my argument again in this manner*, that which is an Agent worketh; that which worketh wanteth nothing requisite to produce the action, or the effect it produceth; and consequently is thereof a sufficient cause; and if a sufficient cause, then also a necessary cause, *his answer will be nothing to the purpose. For whereas to these words*, that which worketh wanteth nothing requisite to produce the action or the effect it produceth, *he answereth*, it is true, but there may want much to produce that which was intended, *it is not contrary to any thing that I have said. For I never maintained that whatsoever a man intendeth is necessarily performed; but this, whatsoever a man performeth is necessarily performed, and what he intendeth, necessarily intended and that,*

from

from causes antecedent. And therefore to say as he doth, that the cause is sufficient to do what it doth, but not always sufficient to do what a man should or would do, is to say the same that I do. For I say not that the cause that bringeth forth a Monster, is sufficient to bring forth a man, but that every cause is sufficient to produce onely the effect it produceth. And if sufficient, then also necessary.

(b) [*And if sufficient, then also necessary*; stay there, by his leave there is no necessary connection between sufficiency, and efficiency, otherwise God himself should not be All sufficient.] *All sufficiency signifieth no more, when it is attributed to God then Omnipotence, and Omnipotence signifieth no more then the Power to do all things that he will. But to the production of any thing that is produced, the Will of God is as requisite, as the rest of his Power and sufficiency. And consequently, his all sufficiency signifieth not a sufficiency or Power to do those thing he will not. But he will deal he says so favourably with me, as to grant me all this, which I labour he saith so much in vain to prove, and adds,*

(c) [But all this will not advantage his cause the black of a Bean, for still it amounts but to an Hypothetical necessity.] *If it prove no more; it proves no necessity at all; for by Hypothetical necessity he means the necessity of this proposition, the effect is, then when it is, whereas necessity is onely said truely of somewhat in future. For necessary is that which cannot possibly be otherwise, and possibility is alwayes understood of some future time. But seeing he granteth so favourably, that sufficient causes are necessary causes, I shall easily conclude from it, that whatsoever those causes do cause, are necessary antecedently. For if the necessity of the thing produced, when produced, be in the same instant of time, with the existence of its immediate cause, then also that immediate cause was in the same instant with the cause by which it was immediately produced; the same may be said of the cause of this cause, and so backward eternally; from whence it will follow that all the connection of the causes of any effect from the beginning of the World, were altogether existent in one and the same instant and consequently all the time from the beginning of the World or from Eternity to this day is but one instant, or a* Nunc stans, *which he knows, by this time is not so.*

T. H.

T. H.

AND thus you see how the inconveniences, which he ob- Num. 36.
jecteth must follow upon the holding of necessity, are avoided, and the necessity it self demonstratively proved. To which I could add, if I thought it good Logick, the inconvenience of denying necessity, as that it destroyes both the Decrees and Prescience of God Almighty; for whatsoever God hath purposed to bring to pass by man as an instrument, or foreseeth shall come to passe, A man, if he have Liberty, such as he affirmeth from necessitation, might frustrate; and make not to come to pass. And God should either not foreknow it, and not Decree it, or he should foreknow such things shall be as shall never be, and decree that which shall never come to pass.

J. D.

THus he hath laboured in vain to satisfie my reasons, and to prove his own assertion. But for demonstration there is nothing like it among his Arguments. Now he saith, (*a*) he could add other Arguments, if he thought it good Logick. There is no impediment in Logick, why a man may not press his Adversary with those absurdities which flow from his opinion, *Argumentum ducens ad impossibile*, or, *ad absurdum*, is a good form of reasoning. But there is another reason of his forbearance, though he be loth to express it. ---- *Hæret lateri lethalis arundo.* The Arguments drawn from the attributes of God do stick so close in the sides of his cause, that he hath no mind to treat of that subject. By the way take notice of his own confession, that *he could add other reasons, if he thought it good Logick.* If it were predetermined in the outward causes, that he must make this very defence and no other, how could it be in his power to add or substract any thing. Just as if a blind-man should say in earnest, I could see, if I had mine eyes: Truth often breaks out, whilst men seek to smother it. (*b*) But let us view his Argument: If a man have liberty from necessitation, he may frustrate the Decrees of God, and make his prescience false. First, for the Decrees of God. This is his Decree, that man should be a free Agent; If he did consider God as a most

ſimple Act without priority, or poſteriority of time, or any compoſition, He would not conceive of his Decrees, as of the Laws of the *Medes* and *Perſians*, long ſince enacted, and paſſed before we were born, but as coexiſtent with our ſelves, and with the acts which we do, by vertue of thoſe Decrees. Decrees and Attributes are but notions to help the weakneſs of our underſtanding to conceive of God. The Decrees of God, are God himſelf, and therefore juſtly ſaid to be before the foundation of the world was laid. And yet coexiſtent with our ſelves, becauſe of the Infinite and Eternal being of God. The ſumme is this, The Decree of God, or God himſelf Eternally conſtitutes or ordaines all effects which come to paſs in time, according to the diſtinct natures or capacities of his creatures. An Eternal Ordination, is neither paſt nor to come, but alwayes preſent. So free actions do proceed, as well from the Eternal Decree of God, as neceſſary; and from that order which he hath ſet in the world.

As the Decree of God is Eternal, ſo is his Knowledge. And therefore to ſpeak truely and properly, there is neither fore-knowledge nor after-knowledge in him. The Knowledge of God comprehends all times in a point by reaſon of the eminence and vertue of its infinite perfection. And yet I confeſs, that this is called fore-knowledge, in reſpect of us. But this fore-knowledge doth produce no abſolute neceſſity. Things are not therefore, becauſe they are fore-known, but therefore they are fore-known, becauſe they ſhall come to paſs. If any thing ſhould come to paſs otherwiſe than it doth, yet Gods knowledge could not be irritated by it, for then he did not know that it ſhould come to paſs, as now it doth. Becauſe every knowledge of viſion neceſſarily preſuppoſeth its object. God did know, that *Judas* ſhould betray Chriſt; but *Judas* was not neceſſitated to be a traitor by Gods knowledge. If *Judas* had not betrayed Chriſt, then God had not fore-known that *Judas* ſhould betray him. The caſe is this; A watch-man ſtanding on the ſteeples-top, (as it is the uſe in *Germany*, gives notice to them below (who ſee no ſuch things) that company are coming, and how many; His prediction is moſt certain, for he ſees them. What a vain collection were it for one below

to

to say, what if they do not come, then a certain prediction may fail. It may be urged, that there is a difference between these two cases. In this case the coming is present to the Watch-man, but that which God fore-knows is future. God knows what shall be; The Watch-man onely knows what is. I answer, that this makes no difference at all in the case, by reason of that disparity which is between Gods knowledge and ours. As that coming is present to the Watch-man, which is future to them who are below: So all those things, which are future to us, are present to God, because his Infinite and Eternal knowledge doth reach to the future being of all Agents and events. Thus much is plainly acknowledged by *T. H.* Numb. 11. *That fore-knowledge is knowledge, and knowledge depends on the existence of the things known, and not they on it.* To conclude, the prescience of God doth not make things more necessary, than the production of the things themselves; But if the Agents were free Agents, the production of the things doth not make the events to be absolutely necessary, but onely upon supposition that the causes were so determined. Gods prescience proveth a necessity of infallibility, but not of antecedent extrinsecall determination to one. If any event should not come to pass, God did never foreknow that it would come to pass. For every knowledge necessarily presupposeth its object.

Animadversions upon the Answer to Numb. XXXVI.

(a) [HE could add he saith other Arguments, if he thought it good Logick, &c. There is no impediment in Logick, why a man may not presse his adversary with those absurdities which flow from his opinion.] *Here he miss recites my words, which are* I could add, if I thought it good Logick, the inconvenience of denying necessity, as that it destroys both the Decrees, and Prescience of God Almighty. *But he makes me say I could add other Arguments; then inferrs, that there is no impediment in Logick, why a man may not presse his adversary with the absurdities that flow from his opinion, because*

Argumentum ducèns ad impoſſibile, *is a good form of reaſoning; making no difference, between* abſurdities *which are impoſſibilities, and* inconveniences, *which are not onely poſſible but frequent. And though it be a good form of reaſoning to argue from abſurdities, yet it is no good form of reaſoning, to argue from inconveniences; for inconvenience may ſtand well enough with truth.*

(*b*) [But let us view his Argument; *If a man have Liberty from neceſſitation, he may fruſtrate the Decrees of God, and make his Præſcience falſe.* This is his Decree, that man ſhould be a free Agent. If he did conſider God as a moſt ſimple Act without priority or poſteriority of time, or any compoſition, he would not conceive of his Decrees, as long ſince enacted, but as coexiſtent with our ſelves.] *Here again, he would have me conceive eternity to be* Nunc ſtans, *that is an inſtant of time, and that inſtant of time to be God, which neither he nor I can conceive, nor can without impiety ſay, as he doth here, that the Decrees of God are God; In which conſiſteth all the reſt of his Anſwer to this Number, ſaving that he putteth in ſometimes, that the foreknowledge of God produceth not neceſſity, which is granted him; but that any thing can be foreknown, which ſhall not neceſſarily come to paſſe, which was not granted, he proveth no otherwiſe then by his aſſertion,* that every inſtant of time is God; *which is denyed him.*

T. H.

Num. 37. THis is all that hath come into my mind touching this queſtion, ſince I laſt conſidered it. *And I humbly beſeech your Lordſhip to communicate it onely to* J. D. *And ſo praying God to proſper your Lordſhip in all your deſigns, I take leave, and am my moſt Noble and obliging Lord.*

Your moſt humble Servant
T. H.

J. D.

HE is very careful to have this diſcourſe kept ſecret, as appears in this Section, and in the 14. and 15. Sections, If his anſwer

anſwer had been kept private, I had ſaved the labour of a Reply. But hearing that it was communicated, I thought my ſelf obliged to vindicate, both the truth and my ſelf. I do not blame him to be cautious, for in truth, this aſſertion is of deſperate conſequence, and deſtructive to piety, policy, and morality. (a) If he had deſired to have kept it ſecret, the way had been to have kept it ſecret himſelf. It will not ſuffice to ſay as Numb. 14. that *Truth is Truth*; This the common plea of all men. Neither is it ſufficient for him to ſay, as Numb. 15. That *it was deſired by me*, long before that he had diſcovered his opinion by word of mouth. And my deſire was to let ſome of my noble friends ſee the weakneſs of his grounds, and the pernicious conſequences of that opinion. (b) But if he think that this ventilation of the queſtion between us two may do hurt, truely I hope not. The edge of his diſcourſe is ſo abated, that it cannot eaſily hurt any rational man, who is not too much poſſeſſed with prejudice.

Animadverſions upon the Anſwer to Numb. XXXVII.

IN this place I ſaid nothing, but that I would have my L. *of* N. *to communicate it onely to the Biſhop. And in his anſwer he ſays.*

(a) [If I had deſired to have it kept ſecret, the way had been to have kept it ſecret my ſelf.] *My deſire was it ſhould not be communicated by my* L. *of* N. *to all men indifferently. But I barred not my ſelf from ſhowing it privately to my friends; though to publiſh it was never my intention, till now provoked by the uncivill triumphing of the Biſhop, in his own errours to my diſadvantage.*

(b) [But if he think that this ventilation of the queſtion may do hurt, truely I hope not. The edge of his diſcourſe is ſo abated, that it cannot eaſily hurt any rational man, who is not too much poſſeſſed with prejudice.] *It is confidently ſaid, but not very pertinently to the hurt I thought might proceed from a diſcourſe of this nature. For I never thought it could do hurt to a*

rational man, but onely to such men as cannot reason in those points which are of difficult contemplation; for a rational man will say with himself, they whom God will bring to a blessed and happy end, those he will put into an humble, pious, and Righteous way; and of those whom he will destroy, he will harden the hearts; and thereupon examining himself, whether he be in such a way or not, the examination it self would (if elected) be a necessary cause of working out his salvation with fear and trembling. But the men who I thought might take hurt thereby, are such as reason erroneously, saying with themselves, if I shall be saved, I shall be saved whether I walk uprightly or no, and consequently thereunto shall behave themselves negligently, and pursue the pleasant way of the sins they are in love with. Which inconvenience is not abated by this discourse of the Bishop, because they understand not the grounds he goeth on, of Nunc stans, motus primo primi, Elicite Acts, Imperate Acts, *and a great many other such unintelligible words.*

T. H.

Num. 38. **P***ostscript. Arguments seldom work on men of wit and learning, when they have once ingaged themselves in a contrary opinion. If any thing do it, it is the shewing of them the causes of their errours, which is this; Pious men attribute to God Almighty for honour sake, whatsoever they see is honourable in the World, as seeing, hearing, willing, knowing, Justice, Wisedom, &c. But deny him such poor things as eyes, ears, brains, and other organs, without which, we worms, neither have, nor can conceive such faculties to be; and so far they do well. But when they dispute of Gods actions Philosophically, then they consider them again, as if he had such faculties, and in that manner, as we have them. This is not well; and thence it is they fall into so many difficulties. We ought not to dispute of Gods Nature, he is no fit subject of our Philosophy. True Religion consisteth in obedience to Christ's Lieutenants, and in giving God such honour, both in attributes and actions, as they in their several Lieutenancies shall ordain.*

J. D.

J. D.

THough Sophiſtical captions do ſeldom work *on men of wit and learning*, becauſe *by conſtant uſe they have their ſenſes exerciſed to diſcern both good and evill*, Heb. 5. 14. Yet (*a*) ſolide and ſubſtantial reaſons work ſooner upon them than upon weaker judgments. The more exact the balance is, the ſooner it diſcovers the reall weight that is put into it. Eſpecially if the proofs be propoſed without paſſion or oppoſition. Let Sophiſters and ſeditious Orators apply themſelves to the many headed multitude, becauſe they deſpair of ſucceſs with *men of wit and learning*. Thoſe whoſe gold is true, are not afraid to have it tryed by the touch. Since the former way hath not ſucceeded, *T. H.* hath another to ſhew, as the cauſes of our errours, which he hopes will prove more ſucceſsful. When he ſees he can do no good by fight, he ſeeks to circumvent us, under colour of curteſy, *Fiſtula dulce canit volucrem dum decipit auceps*. As they, who behold themſelves in a glaſs, take the right hand for the left, and the left for the right, (*T. H.* knows the compariſon) ſo we take our own errours to be truths, and other mens truths to be errours. (*b*) If we be in an errour in this, it is ſuch an errour as we ſucked from nature it ſelf, ſuch an errour as is confirmed in us by reaſon and experience, ſuch an errour as God himſelf in his ſacred Word hath revealed, ſuch an errour as the Fathers and Doctors of the Church in all ages have delivered, Such an errour wherein we have the concurrence of all the beſt Philoſophers, both Natural and Moral, ſuch an errour as bringeth to God, the glory of Juſtice, and Wiſedom, and Goodneſs, and Truth, ſuch an errour as renders men more devout, more pious, more induſtrious, more humble, more penitent for their ſins. Would he have us reſign up all theſe advantages to dance blindfold after his pipe. No, he perſwades us too much to our loſs. But let us ſee what is the imaginary cauſe of our imaginary errour. Forſooth, becauſe we attribute to God whatſoever is honourable in the World, as ſeeing, hearing, willing, knowing, Juſtice, Wiſedom, but deny him ſuch poor things, as eyes, ears, brains, and ſo far he ſaith we do well. He hath reaſon, for ſince we are not able

to

to conceive of God as he is, the readieſt way we have, is by remooving all that imperfection from God, which is in the creatures. So we call him Infinite, Immortal, Independent. Or by attributing to him all thoſe perfections, which are in the creatures after a moſt eminent manner, ſo we call him Beſt, Greateſt, moſt Wiſe, moſt Juſt, moſt Holy. (c) But ſaith he, *When they diſpute of Gods actions Philoſophically, then they conſider them again, as if he had ſuch faculties, and in the manner as we have them.*

And is this the cauſe of our errour? That were ſtrange indeed, for they who diſpute Philoſophically of God, do neither aſcribe faculties to him in that manner that we have them, Nor yet do they attribute any proper faculties at all to God. Gods Underſtanding, and his Will is his very Eſſence, which for the eminency of its infinite perfection, doth perform all thoſe things alone, in a moſt tranſcendent manner, which reaſonable creatures do perform imperfectly, by diſtinct faculties Thus to diſpute of God with modeſty, and reverence, and to clear the Deity from the imputation of tyranny, injuſtice, and diſſimulation, which none do throw upon God with more preſumption, than thoſe who are the Patrons of abſolute neceſſity, is both comely and Chriſtian.

It is not the deſire to diſcover the original of a ſuppoſed errour, which drawes them ordinarily into theſe exclamations againſt thoſe who diſpute of the Deity. For ſome of themſelves dare anatomiſe God, and publiſh his Eternal Decrees with as much confidence, as if they had been all their lives of his cabinet councel. But it is for fear, leſt thoſe pernicious conſequences, which flow from that doctrine eſſentially, and reflect in ſo high a degree upon the ſupreme goodneſs ſhould be laid open to the view of the world; Juſt as the Turks do, firſt eſtabliſh a falſe Religion of their own deviſing, and then forbid all men upon pain of death to diſpute upon Religion; Or as the Prieſts of *Moloch* the Abhommination of the Ammonites) did, make a noiſe with their timbrells all the while the poor Infants were paſſing through the fire in *Tophet*, to keep their pitiful cries from the ears of their Parents: So (d) they make a noiſe with their declamations againſt thoſe, who dare

diſpute

diſpute of the Nature of God, that is, who dare ſet forth his Juſtice, and his goodneſs, and his truth, and his Philanthropy, onely to deaf the ears, and dim the eyes of the Chriſtian world, leſt they ſhould hear the lamentable ejulations and howlings, or ſee that rueful ſpectacle of millions of ſouls tormented for evermore(e) in the flames of the true *Tophet*, that is Hell, onely for that which according to *T. H.* his doctrine was never in their power to ſhun, but which they were ordered and inevitably neceſſitated to do, onely to expreſs the omnipotence and dominion, and to ſatisfie the pleaſure of him, who is in truth the *Father of all mercies, and the God of all conſolation.* (f) This is life eternal (ſaith our Saviour) to know the *onely true God* and *Jeſus Chriſt*, whom he hath ſent, Joh. 17. 3. *Pure Religion and undefiled before God, and the Father, is this, to viſite the fatherleſs and widows in their affliction, and to keep himſelf unſpotted from the world*, ſaith *S. James*, Jam. 1.27. *Fear God and keep his Commandments, for this is the whole duty of man*, ſaith *Salomon*, Eccleſ. 12. 13. But *T. H.* hath found out a more compendious way to heaven: *True Religion* (ſaith he) *conſiſteth in obedience to Chriſts Lieutenants, and giving God ſuch honour both in attributes and actions, as they in their ſeveral Lieutenancies ſhall ordain.* That is to ſay, be of the Religion of every Chriſtian Country where you come. To make the Civill Magiſtrate to be Chriſts Lieutenant upon earth, for matters of Religion; And to make him to be Supreme Judge in all controverſies, whom all muſt obey, is a Doctrine ſo ſtrange, and ſuch an uncouth phraſe to Chriſtian ears, that I ſhould have miſſed his meaning, but that I conſulted with his Book, *De Civ. c.* 15. *Sect.* 16. and c. 17. *Sect.* 28. What if the Magiſtrate ſhall be no Chriſtian himſelf? What if he ſhall command contrary to the Law of God, or Nature, *Muſt we obey him rather than God?* Act. 14. 19. Is the Civill Magiſtrate become now the onely *ground and pillar of Truth?* I demand then why *T. H.* is of a different mind from his Soveraign, and from the Laws of the Land concerning the Attributes of God and his Decrees? This is a new Paradox, and concerns not this queſtion of liberty, and neceſſity? Wherefore I forbear to proſecute it fur-

 ther,

ther, and so conclude my reply with the words of the Christian Poet.

Iussum est Cæsaris ore Galieni
~~Cæsaris jussum est ore Galieni~~
Princeps quod colit ut colimus omnes.
Æternum colemus ~~Principem~~ patrem dierum,
Factorem Dominumq; Galieni.

Animadversions upon the Answer to the Postscript Numb. XXXVIII.

HE taketh it ill that I say that Arguments do seldome work on men of wit and learning, when they have once engaged themselves in a contrary opinion. Nevertheless it is not onely certain by experience, but also there is reason for it, and that grounded upon the natural disposition of mankind. For it is natural to all men to defend those opinions, which they have once publickly engaged themselves to maintain, because to have that detected for errour, which they have publickly maintained for truth, is never without some dishonour more or lesse; and to find in themselves that they have spent a great deal of time and labour, in deceiving themselves, is so uncomfortable a thing, as it is no wonder, if they imploy their Wit and learning, if they have any, to make good their errours. And therefore where he saith,

(a) [Solid and substantial reasons work sooner upon them, then upon weaker judgments. *And that* the more exact the ballance is, the sooner it discovers the real weight that is put into it.] *I confess the more solid a mans Wit is, the better will solid reasons work upon him. But if he add to it that which he calls learning, that is to say, much reading of other mens Doctrines, without weighing them with his own thoughts, then their judgements become weaker, and the ballance lesse exact. And whereas he saith, that they whose Gold is true are not afraid to have it tryed by the touch, he speaketh as if I had been afraid to have my Doctrine tryed by the touch of men of wit and learning; wherein he is not much mistaken, meaning by men of learning (as I said before)*

such

such as had read other men, but not themselves. For by reading others, men commonly obstruct the way to their own exact and natural judgement, and use their wit both to deceive themselves with Fallacies, & to requite those who endeavour (at their own intreaty) to instruct them, with revilings.

b, [If we be in an errour, it is such an errour as is sucked from nature; as is confirmed by Reason, by Experience and by Scripture; as the Fathers and Doctors of the Church of all ages have delivered; an errour wherein we have the concurrence of all the best Philosophers, an errour that bringeth to God the Glory of Justice, &c. that renders men more devout, more pious, more humble, more industrious, more penitent for their sins.] *All this is but said; and what heretofore hath been offered in proof for it, hath been sufficiently refuted, and the contrary proved; namely, that it is an errour contrary to the nature of the Will; repugnant to reason and experience; repugnant to the Scripture; repugnant to the Doctrine of St.* Paul, *and 'tis pitty that the Fathers and Doctors of the Church have not followed St.* Paul *therein; an errour not maintained by the best Philosophers, (for they are not the best Philosophers, which the Bishop thinketh so) an errour that taketh from God the Glory of his Prescience, nor bringeth to him the glory of his other Attributes; an errour that maketh men, by imagining they can repent when they will, neglect their duties; and that maketh men unthankful for Gods graces, by thinking them to proceed from the natural ability of their own Will.*

(*c*) But saith he *when they dispute of Gods Actions Philosophically, then they consider them again, as if he had such faculties, and in such manner as we have them.* And is this the cause of our errour? That were strange indeed; for they who dispute Philosophically of God, do neither ascribe faculties to him, in that manner that we have them, Nor yet do they attribute any proper faculties at all to God. Gods understanding and his will is his very essence, &c. *Me thinks he should have known at these years that to dispute Philosophically is to dispute by naturall reason, and from principles evident by the light of nature, and to dispute of the faculties and proprieties of the subject whereof they treat. It is therefore unskilfully said by him, that they who dispute*

Philoſophically of God, aſcribe unto him no proper faculties. If no proper faculties, I would fain know of him what improper faculties he aſcribes to God. I gueſſe he will make the underſtanding and the Will, and his other Attributes to be in God improper faculties, becauſe he cannot properly call them faculties, that is to ſay he knows not how to make it good that they are faculties, and yet he will have theſe words, Gods Underſtanding and his Will are his very Eſſence, *to paſſe for an Axiome of Philoſophy; And Whereas I had ſaid, we ought not to diſpute of Gods nature, and that he is not the ſubject of our Philoſophy, he denyes it not, but ſays I ſay it,*

(d) [With a purpoſe to make a noiſe with declaiming againſt thoſe, who dare diſpute of the nature of God, that is, who dare ſet forth his Juſtice; and his goodneſs, &c. *The Biſhop will have much a do to make good, that to diſpute of the nature of God, is al one with ſetting forth his Juſtice, and his goodneſs. He taketh no notice of theſe words of mine, pious men attribute to God Almighty for honours ſake, whatſoever they ſee is honourable in the World; and yet this is ſetting forth Gods Juſtice, Goodneſs, &c. without diſputing of Gods nature.*

(e) [In the flames of the true Tophet, that is Hell.] *The true Tophet was a place not far from the Walls of Jeruſalem, and conſequently on the Earth; I cannot imagine what he will ſay to this in his Anſwer to my Leviathan, if there he find the ſame, unleſſe he ſay that in this place by the* true Tophet, *he meant a not true Tophet.*

(f) [This is life eternal (*ſaith our Saviour*) to know the onely true God, and Jeſus Chriſt, &c.] *This which followeth to the end of his Anſwer and of the Book, is a reprehenſion of me, for ſaying that* true Religion conſiſteth in obedience to Chriſts Lieutenants. *If it be Lawful for Chriſtians to inſtitute amongſt themſelves a Common wealth, and Magiſtrates, whereby they may be able to live in peace one with another, and unite themſelves in defence againſt a forraign enemy, it will certainly be neceſſary to make to themſelves ſome ſupreme Judge in all controverſies to whom they ought all to give obedience, and this is no ſuch ſtrange Doctrine, nor ſo uncouth a Phraſe to Chriſtian ears, as the Biſhop makes it, whatſoever it be to them, that would make themſelves Judges of the ſupreme Judge himſelf. No, but (ſaith he) Chriſt*

is

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is the supreme Judge, and we are not to obey men rather than God. Is there any Christian man, that does not acknowledge that we are to be judged by Christ, or that we ought not to obey him rather then any man, that shall be his Lieutenant upon earth? The question therefore is, not of who is to be obeyed, but of what be his commands. If the Scripture contain his commands, then may every Christian know by them what they are; and what has the Bishop to do with what God say to me when I read them, more then I have to do with what Gods says to him when he reads them, unlesse he have Authority given him by him whom Christ hath constituted his Lieutenant? This Lieutenant upon earth I say is the supreme civil Magistrate, to whom belongeth the care and charge of seeing that no Doctrine may be taught the people, but such as may consist with the generall Peace of them all, and with the obedience that is due to the civil Soveraign. In whom would the Bishop have the Authority reside of prohibiting seditious opinions when they are taught (as they are often) in Divinity Books, and from the Pulpit? I could hardly guesse, but that I remember that there have been Books written to intitle the Bishops to a Divine right, underived from the civil Soveraign. But because he maketh it so haynous a matter, that the supreme civil Magistrate should be Christs Lieutenant upon earth, let us suppose that a Bishop, or a Synode of Bishops should be set up (which I hope never shall) for our civil Soveraign; then that which he objecteth here; I could object in the same words against himself. For I could say in his own words, This is life eternal to know the onely true God, and Jesus Christ, Joh. 17. 3. Pure Religion, and undefiled before God is this, to visit the Fatherless, &c. James 1. 27. Fear God and keep his Commandments, Eccles. 12. 13. But the Bishop hath found a more compendious way to Heaven, namely that true Religion consisteth in obedience to Christs Lieutenants that is (now by supposition) to the Bishops; That is to say, that every Christian of what nation soever, coming into the Country which the Bishops governe, should be of their Religion. He would make the civil Magistrate to be Christs Lieutenant upon earth for matters of Religion, and supreme Judge in all controversies, and say they ought to be obeyed by al, how strange soever and uncouth it seem to him now, the Soveraignity being in others. And I may say to him, what

if the Magistrate himself, I mean by supposition the Bishops should be wicked men? What if they should command as much contrary to the Law of God or nature as every any Christian King did (which is very possible) must we obey them rather then God? Is the civill Magistrate become now the onely ground and pillar of truth? No.

Synedri jussum est voce Episcoporum
Ipsum quod colit ut colamus omnes.
Æternum colemus Principem dierum
Factorem Dominumq; Episcoporum.

And thus the Bishop may see, there is little difference between his Ode and my Parode to it, and that both of them are of equal force to conclude nothing.

The Bishop knows that the Kings of England since the time of Henry the 8. have been declared by Act of Parliament supream Governors of the Church of England, in all causes both civil and Ecclesiastical, that is to say in all matters both Ecclesiastical and civil, and consequently of this Church, Supreme head on Earth, though perhaps he will not allow that name of Head. I should wonder therefore whom the Bishop would have to be Christs Lieutenant here in England for matters of Religion, if not the supreme Governor and Head of the Church of England, whether Man or Woman whosoever he be, that hath the Soveraign Power but that I know he challenges it to the Bishops and thinks that King Henry the 8. took the Ecclesiastical Power away from the Pope, to settle it not in himself but them. But he ought to have known that what jurisdiction, or Power of Ordaining Ministers, the Popes had here in the time of the Kings Predecessours til Henry the 8. they derived it all from the Kings Power, though they did not acknowledge it, and the Kings connived at it, either not knowing their own right, or not daring to challenge it, till such time as the behaviour of the Romane Clergie had undeceived the people which otherwise would have sided with them. Nor was it unlawful for the King to take from them, the Authority he had given them as being Pope enough in his own Kingdome, without depending on a forraign one, nor is it to be called Schisme unless it be Schisme also in the head of a

Family

Family to discharge as often as he shall see cause, the School-Masters he entertaineth to teach his Children. If the Bishop and Dr. Hammond *when they did write in defence of the Church of* England *against imputation of Schisme, quitting their own pretences of jurisdiction and* Jus divinum, *had gone upon these principles of mine, they had not been so shrewdly handled as they have been by an English Papist, that wrote against them. And now I have done answering to his Arguments, I shall here in the end of all take that Liberty of censuring his whole Book, which he hath taken, in the beginning, of censuring mine. I have saith he,* Numb. 1. *perused* T.H. *his answers, considered his reasons, and conclude he hath missed, and mistaid the question, that his answers are evasions, that his Arguments are Paralogismes, and that the opinion of absolute and universal necessity is but a result of some groundless, and ill chosen Principles. And now it is my turn to censure. And first, for the strength of his discourse, and knowledge of the point in question, I think it much inferiour, to that which might have been written by any man living, that had no other learning besides the ability to write his mind; but as well perhaps as the same man would have done it if to the ability of writing his mind, he had added the study of School-Divinity. Secondly, for the manners of it (for to a publick writing there belongeth good manners) it consisteth in railing and exclaiming and scurrilous jesting, with now and then an unclean, and mean instance. And lastly for his elocution, the vertue whereof lieth not in the flux of words but in perspicuity, it is the same Language with that of the Kingdome of Darkness. One shall find in it, especially where he should speak most closely to the question, such words as these;* Divided sense, Compounded sense, Hypothetical necessity, Liberty of Exercise, Liberty of specification, Liberty of contradiction, Liberty of contrariety, Knowledge of approbation, Practical knowledge, General influence, Special influence, Instinct, Qualities infused, Efficatious election, Moral efficacy, Moral motion, Metaphorical motion, Practice practicum, Motus primo primi; Actus eliciti, Actus imperati, Permissive will, Consequent will, Negative obduration, Deficient cause, Simple act, Nunc stans, *& other like words of non-sense divided, besides many propositions such as these,* The Will is the Mistris of humane Actions, The understanding

ſtanding is her counſeller, The Will chuſeth, The Will willeth, The Will ſuſpends its own Act, The Underſtanding underſtandeth (*I wonder how he miſt ſaying, The Underſtanding ſuſpendeth its own Act*) The Will applies the underſtanding to deliberate; The Will requires of the Underſtanding a riview, The Wil determines it ſelf, A change may be Willed without changing of the Will, Man concurrs with God in cauſing his own Will, The Will cauſeth willing, Motives determine the Will not naturally but morally, The ſame Action may be both future and not future, God is not Juſt but Juſtice, not eternal but eternity, Eternity is Nunc ſtans, Eternity is an infinite point which comprehendeth al time not formally but eminently. Al eternity is coexiſtent with to day, *and the ſame coexiſtent with to morrow, and many other like ſpeeches of* non-ſenſe compounded; *Which the truth can never ſtand in need of. Perhaps the Biſhop will ſay theſe Terms and Phraſes are intelligible enough; for he hath ſaid in his Reply to* Numb. 24. *that his opinion is demonſtrable in reaſon, though he be not able to comprehend, how it conſiſteth together with Gods eternal Preſcience, and though it exceed his weak capacitie, yet he ought to adhere to that truth which is manifeſt. ſo that to him, that truth is manifeſt, and demonſtrable by reaſon, which is beyond his capacity, ſo that words beyond capacity are with him intelligible enough.*

But the Reader is to be Judge of that. I could add many other paſſages that diſcover both his little Logick (as taking the inſignificant words above recited for Terms of Art) and his no Philoſophy, in diſtinguiſhing between moral and natural motion, and by calling ſome motions Metaphorical, and by his then other at the cauſes of ſight, and of the deſcent of heavy bodies, and his talk of the inclination of the Load-ſtone, and diverſe other places of his Book.

But to make an end I ſhall briefly draw up the ſum of what we have both ſaid. That which I have maintained is, that no man hath his future Will in his own preſent power. That it may be changed by others, and by th change o things without him; and when it is changed, it is not changed, nor determined to any thing by it ſelf; and th t wh n it is undetermined it is no Will; becauſe every one that willeth willeth ſomething in particular; That deliberation is

common

common to men with beasts, as being alternate appetite, and not ratiocination, and the last act or appetite therein, and which is immediately followed by the action, the onely Will that can be taken notice of by others, and which onely maketh an action in publick judgment voluntary; That to be free is no more then to do if a man will, and if he will to forbear, and consequently that this freedome is the freedome of the man and not of the Will; That the Will is not free, but subject to change by the operation of external causes; That all external causes depend necessarily on the first eternal cause God Almighty, who worketh in us both to Will and to do, by the mediation of second causes; That seeing neither man nor any thing else can work upon it self, it is impossible that any man in the framing of his own Will should concur with God, either as an Actor or as an Instrument; That there is nothing brought to passe by fortune as by a cause, nor any thing without a cause or concurrence of causes sufficient to bring it so to passe, and that every such cause, and their concurrence do proceed from the providence, good pleasure, and working of God, and consequently though I do with others call many events Contingent, *and say they* happen, *yet because they had every of them their several sufficient causes, and those causes again their former causes, I say they* happen *necessarily; And though we perceive not what they are, yet there are of the most Contingent events as necessary causes as of those events whose causes we perceive, or else they could not possibly be foreknown, as they are by him that foreknoweth all things. On the contrary the Bishop maintaineth; That the Will is free from necessitation, and in order thereto that the judgment of the understanding is not alwayes* practice practicum, *nor of such a nature in it self as to oblige and determine the Will to one, though it be true that Spontaneity and determination to one may consist together; That the Will determineth it self, and that external things when they change the Will do work upon it, not naturally but morally, not by natural motion but by moral and Metaphorical motion; That when the Will is determined naturally, it is not by Gods general influence, whereon depend all second causes, but by special influence, God concurring and powring something into the Will; That the Will when it suspends not its Act, makes the Act necessary, but because it may suspend and not assent it is not absolutely necessary; That sinful acts proceed not from*

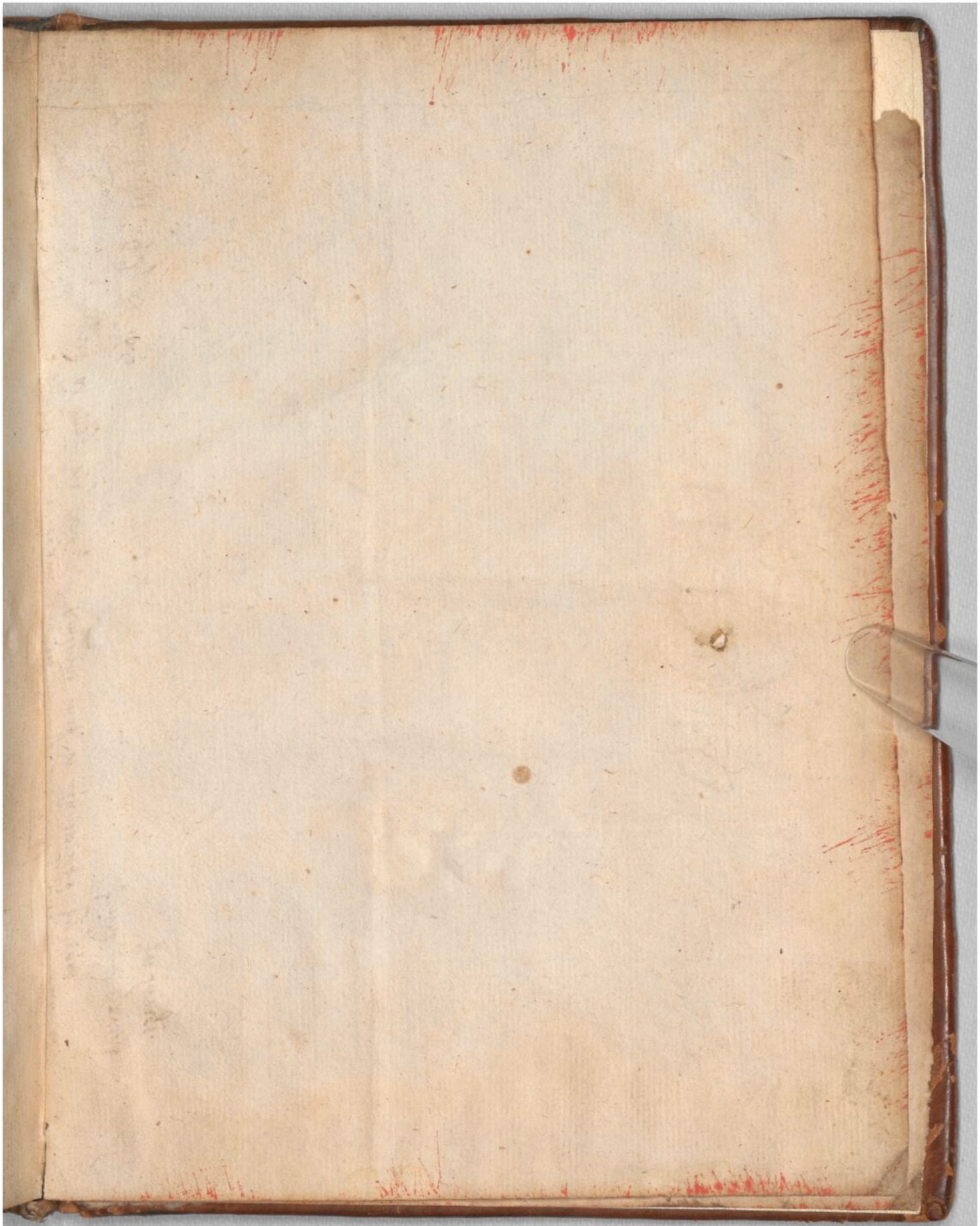
Gods Will, but are willed by him by a permissive Will not an operative Will, and hardeneth the heart of man by a negative obduration; That mans Will is in his own power, but his motus primo primi not in his own power, nor necessary save onely by a Hypothetical necessity; That the Will to change is not always a change of Wil; That not all things which are produced are produced from sufficient, but some things from deficient causes; That if the Power of the Will be present in actu primo, then there is nothing wanting to the production of the effect; That a cause may be sufficient for the production of an effect though it want something necessary to the production thereof, because the Will may be wanting; That a necessary cause doth not always necessarily produce its effect, but onely then when the effect is necessarily produced. He proveth also, that the Will is free, by that universal notion which the World hath of election; For when of the six electors the votes are divided equally, the King of Bohemia hath a casting voyce; That the Prescience of God supposeth no necessity of the future existence of the things foreknown, because God is not eternal but eternity, and eternity is as standing Now, without succession of time, and therefore God foresees all things intuitively by the presentiallity they have in Nunc stans, which comprehendeth in it all time past, present, and to come, not formally but eminently and vertually; That the Will is free even then when it acteth, but that is in a compounded, not in a divided sense; That to be made, and to be eternal, do consist together because Gods Decrees are made and are nevertheless eternal; That the order, beauty, and perfection of the World doth require that in the universe there should be Agents of all sorts, some necessary, some free, some contingent; That though it be true that to morrow it shall rain or not rain, yet neither of them is true determinatè; That the Doctrine of necessity is a blasphemous desperate and destructive doctrine; That it were better to be an Atheist that then to hold it, & he that maintaineth it is fitter to be refuted with Rodds then with Arguments [And now whether this his Doctrine or mine be the more intelligible, more rational, or more comformable to Gords Word, I leave it to the Judgment of the Reader.

But whatsoever be the truth of the disputed Question the Reader may

may peradventure think I have not used the Bishop with that respect I ought, or without disadvantage of my cause I might have done; for which I am to make a short Apologie. A little before the last Parliament of the late King, when every man spake freely against the then present Government, I thought it worth my study to consider the grounds and consequences of such behaviour, and whether it were conformable or contrary to reason and to the Word of God; and after some time, I did put in order and publish my thoughts thereof, first in Latine, and then again the same in English, where I endeavoured to prove both by reason and Scripture, That they who have once submitted themselves to any Soveraign Governour, either by express acknowledgment of his power, or by receiving protection from his Laws, are obliged to be true and faithful to him, and to acknowledge no other supreme power but him in any matter, or question whatsoever, either civill or Ecclesiastical. In which Books of mine I pursued my subject, without taking notice of any particular man that held any opinion contrary to that which I then writ; onely in general I maintained that the office of the Clergy in respect of the supreme civil power, was not Magisterial, but Ministerial; and that their teaching of the People was founded upon no other Authority then that of the civil Soveraign; and all this without any word tending to the disgrace either of Episcopacy or of Presbytery. Nevertheless I find since, that divers of them, whereof the Bishop of Derry is one, have taken offence especially at two things, one, that I make the supremacy in matters of Religion to reside in the civil Soveraign; the other, that being no Clergy-man I deliver Doctrines, and ground them upon Words of the Scripture, which Doctrines they being by profession Divines have never taught. And in this their displeasure divers of them in their Books and Sermons, without answering any of my Arguments, have not onely exclaimed against my Doctrine but reviled me and endeavoured to make me hateful for those things, for which (if they knew their own and the Publick good) they ought to have given me thanks. There is also one of them that taking offence at me for blaming in part the Discipline instituted heretofore, and regulated by the Authority of the Pope in the Universities, not onely ranks me amongst those men that would have the Revenue of the Universities diminished, and sayes plainly I

have no Religion, but also thinks me so simple and ignorant of the World, as to believe that our Universities maintain Popery. And this is the Author of the Book called Vindiciæ Academiarum. *If either of the Universities had thought it self injured, I believe it could have Authorised or appointed some member of theirs (whereof there be many abler men then he) to have made their vindication. But this Vindex (as little Doggs, to please their Masters use to bark, in token of their sedulity, indifferently at strangers till they be rated off) unprovoked by me, hath fallen upon me without bidding. I have been publiquely injured by many of whom I took no notice, supposing that that humour would spend it self, but seeing it last, and grow higher in this writing I now answer, I thought it necessary at last to make of some of them, and first of this Bishop, an Example.*

FINIS.



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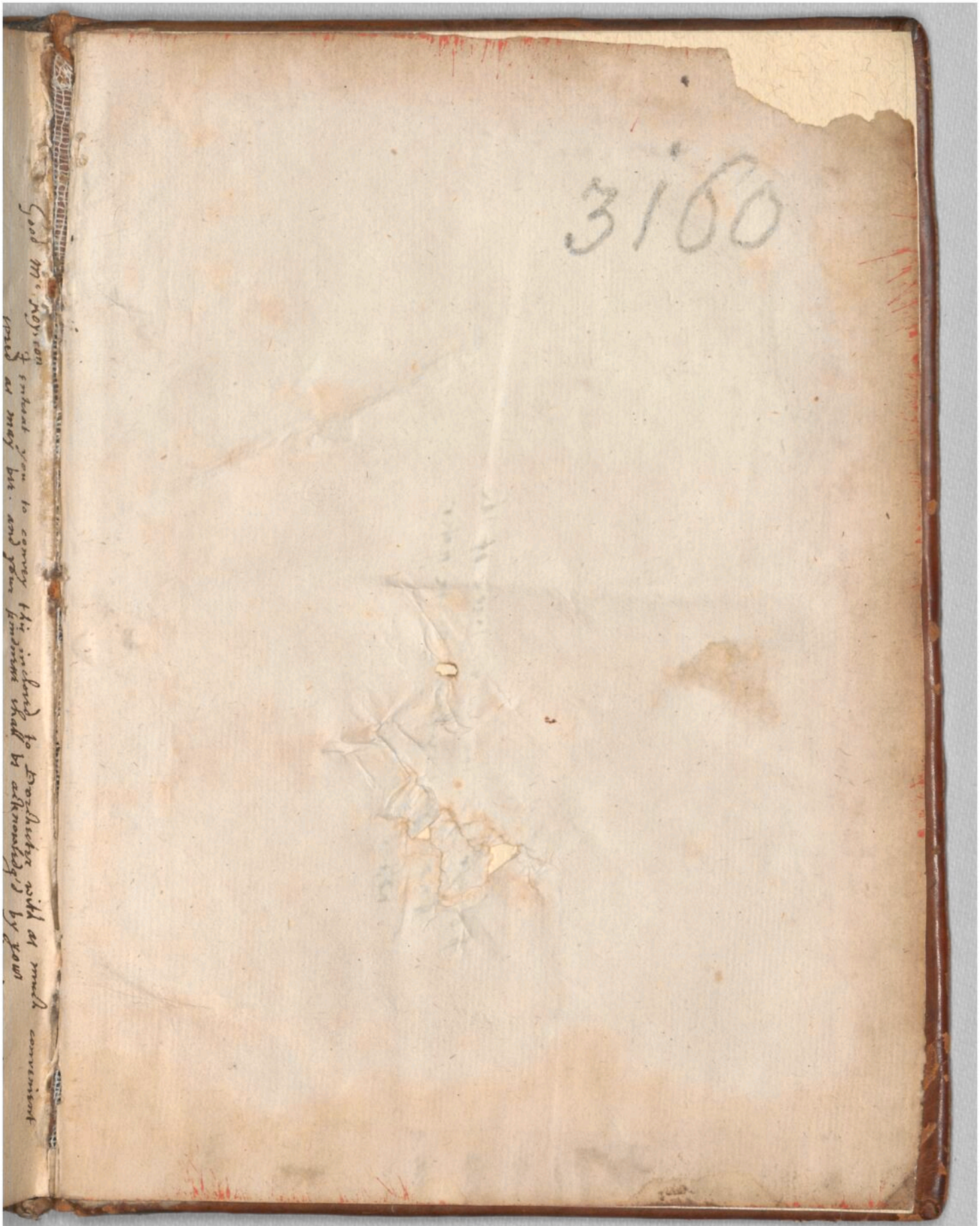
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Good Mr. Boyson

I entreat you to convey this inclosed to Dorchester with as much conveniency
speed as may be. and your kindness shall be acknowledged by your
friend and servant
Fr: Savage.

Cambridge, July 23 1650

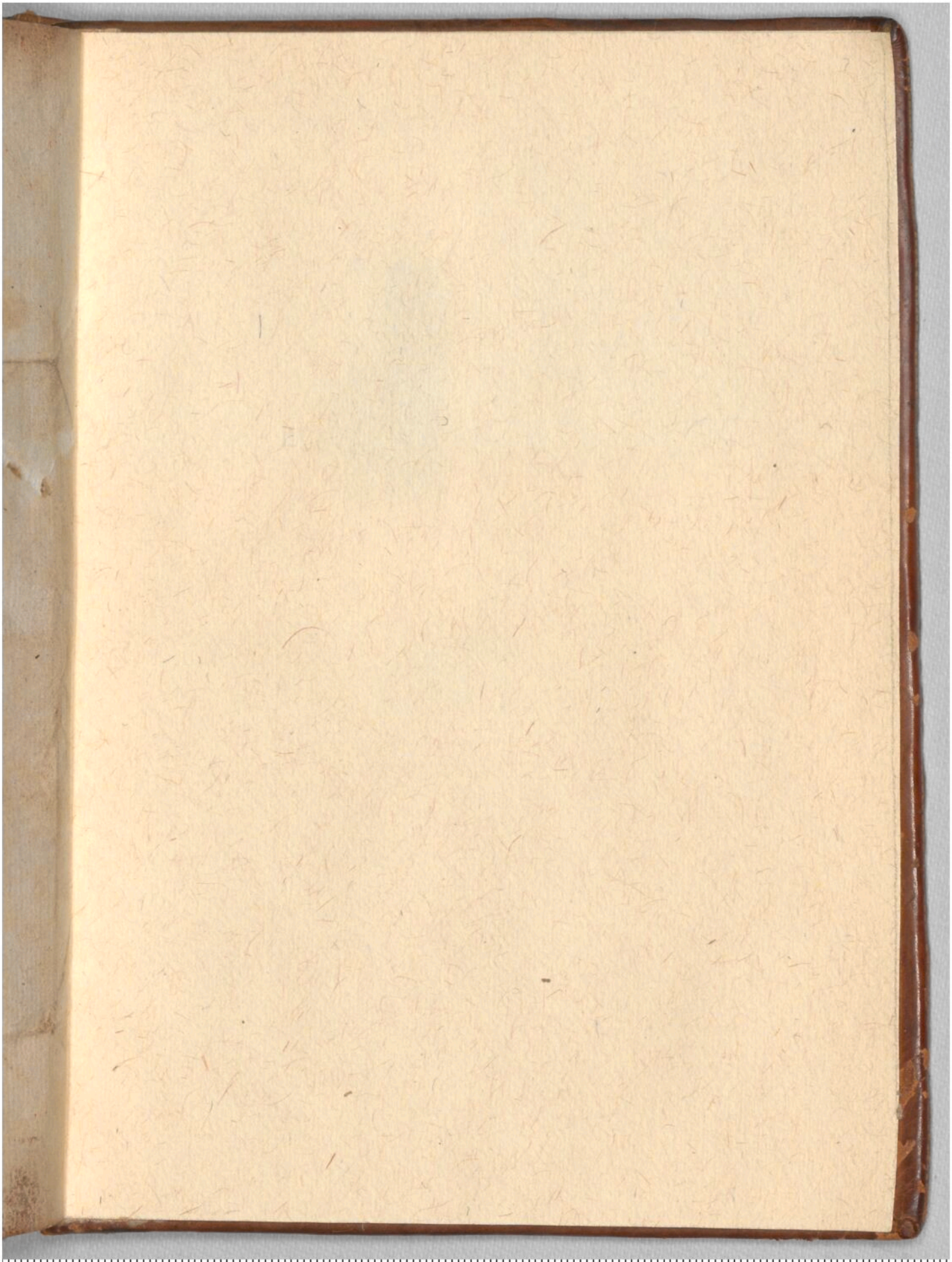


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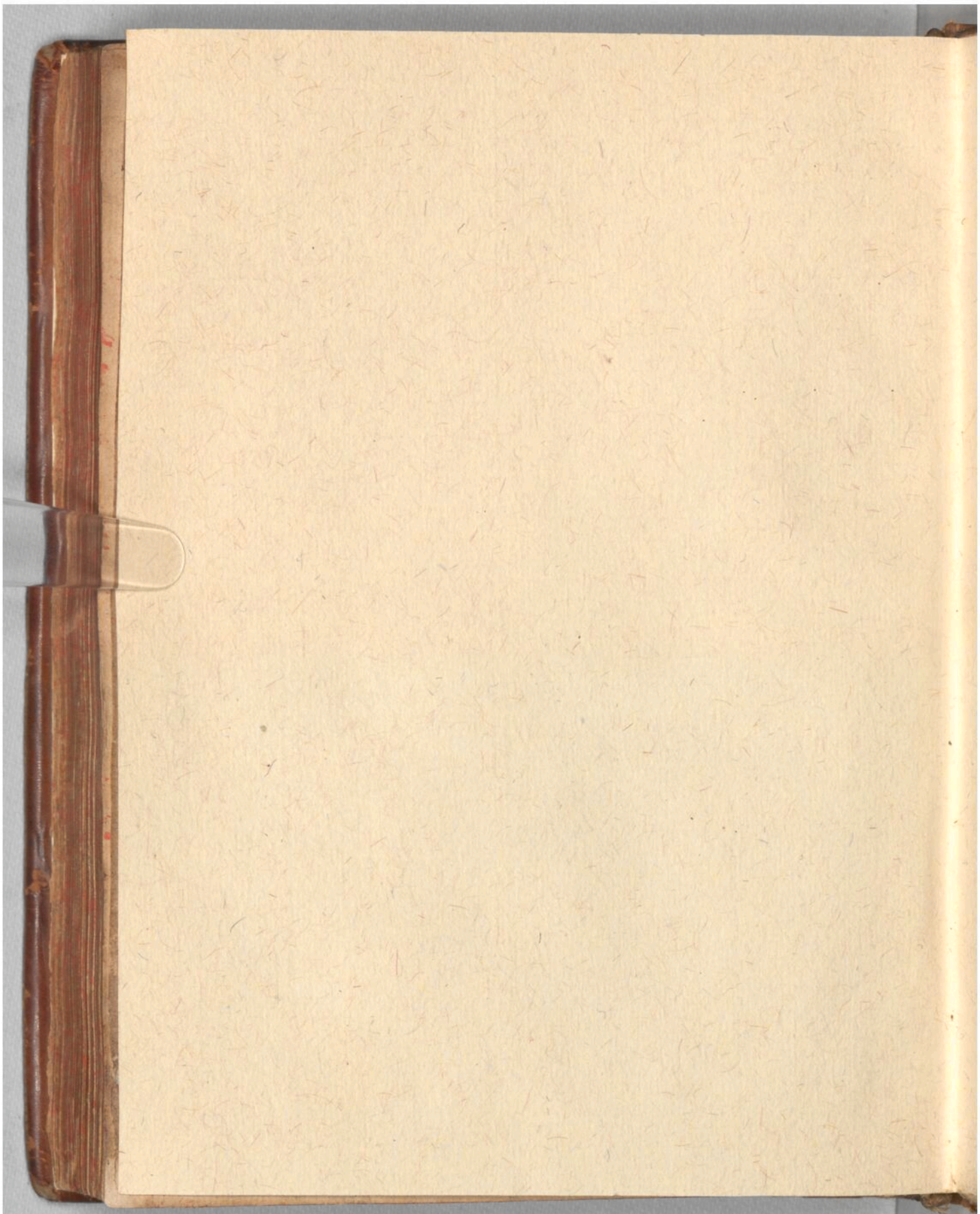
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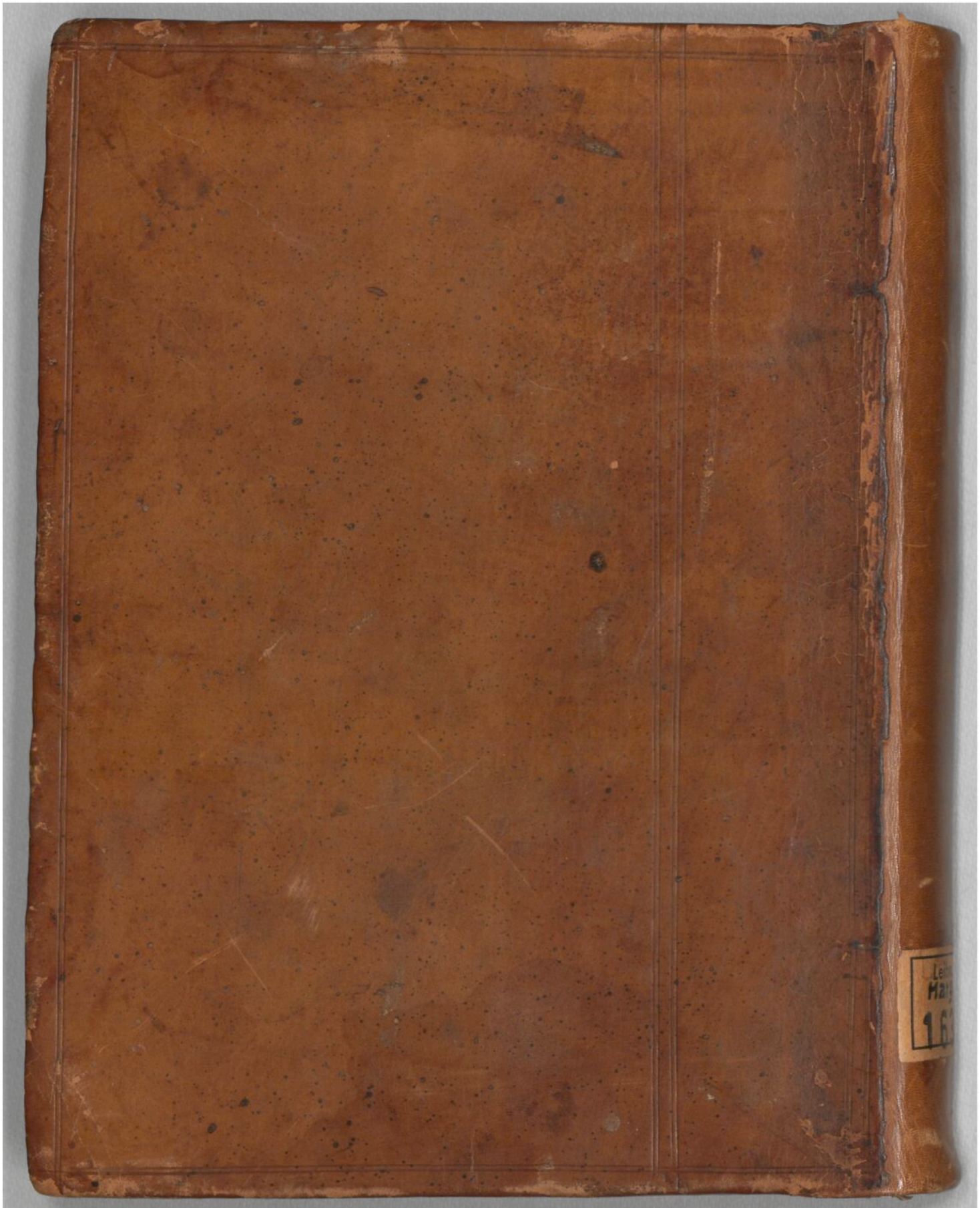
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