

CHAPTER II.

Of Reproduction in general.

WE shall now examine more closely this property, which is common to the animal and vegetable, this faculty of producing beings similar to themselves, this successive chain of individuals which constitutes the real existence of the species: And, without limiting our research to the generation of man, or of any particular animal, let us contemplate the general phenomena of reproduction; let us collect facts, and enumerate the various methods employed by Nature for the renovation and transmission of organized existences.

The first, and apparently the most simple, method, is to assemble in one body an infinite number of similar organic bodies, and to compose its substance in such a manner, that every part shall contain a germ or embryo of the same species, and which might become a whole of the same kind with that of which it constitutes a part*.

* The intelligent reader will perceive that this sentence, though not very obvious, contains the principle upon which the subsequent theory of generation adopted by the author is founded. It means no more than that the bodies of animals and of vegetables are composed of an infinite number of organic particles, perfectly similar, both in figure and substance, to the whole animal or plant, of which they are constituent parts.

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OF REPRODUCTION, &c. 17

This apparatus appears, at first sight, to suppose a profusion of expence. Such magnificence, however, is not uncommon in Nature. It is discernible even in the more common and inferior species, as in worms, polypi, elms, willows, and many other plants and insects, every part of which contains a whole, and, in order to become a plant or an insect, requires only to be unfolded or expanded. Considering organized bodies under this point of view, an individual is a whole uniformly constructed in all parts, a collection of an infinite number of particles every way similar, an assemblage of germs or minute individuals of the same species, which, in certain circumstances, are capable of being expanded, and of becoming new beings like those from which they were originally separated.

This idea, when traced to the bottom, discovers a relation between animals, vegetables, and minerals, which we would not have suspected. Salts, and some other minerals, consist of parts similar to one another, and to the whole. A grain of sea-salt, as we distinctly perceive by the microscope, is a cube composed of an infinite number of smaller cubes*, which, as we discover

* Hæc tam parvæ quam magnæ figuræ (salium) ex magno solum numero minorum particularum, quæ eandem figuram habent, sunt constatæ, sicuti mihi sæpe licuit, observare, cum aquam marinam aut communem in qua sal commune liquatum erat, intueor per microscopium, quod ex ea prodeunt elegantes, parvæ, ac quadrangulares figuræ adeo exiguæ, ut mille earum

ver by a larger magnifier, are themselves composed of still smaller cubes. The primitive and constituent particles of this salt must, therefore, unquestionably consist of cubes so minute, that they will for ever escape our observation. Plants and animals, which possess the power of multiplying by all their parts, are organized bodies composed of similar organic bodies, the primitive and constituent particles of which are also organic and similar. Of these we discern the accumulated quantity; but we can only recognise the constituent particles by reason and analogy.

From this view, we are led to conclude, that there exists in nature an infinity of *organic living particles**, of the same substance with organized beings. A similar structure we have already remarked in more inanimated matter, which is composed of an infinite number of minute particles that have an exact resemblance to the whole body. And, as the accumulation perhaps of millions of cubes are necessary to the

myriades magnitudinem arenæ crassioris ne sequent. Quæ salis minutæ particule, quam primum oculis conspicio, magnitudine ab omnibus lateribus crescant, suam tamen elegantem superficiem quadrangularem retinentes, sere Figuræ hæc salinis cavitatibus donatæ sunt, &c. ; See Læwenhoek, Arc. Nat. tom. I. p. 3.

* To avoid the introduction of terms which might not be generally understood, it is necessary to inform the reader, that the phrases *corpora organica vivunt, partes organicae vivunt, et molecule organicae vivunt*, which occur so often in this volume, and form the basis of our author's theory, are uniformly, in the version, expressed by the words *organic particles*.

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formation of a single grain of sea-salt that is perceptible by our senses, an equal number of similar organic particles are requisite to produce one of those numberless germs contained in an elm, or in a polypus. A cube of sea-salt must be dissolved before we can discover, by means of crystallization, the minute cubes of which it is composed: In the same manner, the parts of an elm or of a polypus must be separated, before we can recognise, by means of vegetation, or expansion, the small elms or polypi contained in the different parts of these bodies.

The difficulty of assenting to this idea proceeds from the well known prejudice, that we can only judge of the compound by the simple; that, to discover the organic structure of any being, it must first be reduced to its simple and unorganic parts; and that hence it is more easy to conceive how a cube must necessarily be composed of other cubes, than how a polypus can be composed of other polypi. But, if we examine attentively what is meant by simple and compound, we shall find, that in this, as in every thing else, the plan of Nature is very different from the grossness and imperfection of our conceptions.

Our senses, it is well known, convey not to us exact representations of external objects. When we want to calculate, to judge, to compare, to weigh, to measure, &c. we are obliged to have recourse to foreign aid, to rules, to principles,

ciples, to usages, to instruments, &c. All these adminicles are efforts of human genius, and belong more or less to the abstraction of our ideas. This abstraction, with regard to us, constitutes the simplicity of things; and the difficulty of reducing them to this abstraction is the compound. Extension, for example, being a general and abstract property of matter, is not much compounded. In order, however, to judge concerning it, we have imagined some extensions to have no thickness, others to have neither thickness nor breadth, and points, which are extensions without being extended. All these abstractions have been invented as supports to the understanding; and the few definitions employed in geometry have given rise to numberless prejudices and false conceptions. Whatever is reducible under any of these definitions is called simple; and such things as cannot be easily reduced to this standard are considered as complex. Thus, a triangle, a square, a circle, a cube, and also those curves of which we know the geometrical properties, are regarded as simple. But every thing which we cannot reduce under these figures, or abstract rules, appears to us to be complex. We never reflect, that all these geometrical figures exist no where but in our own imaginations, or that, if they are ever found in Nature, it is only because she exhibits every possible form; and the appearance of simple figures, as an exact cube, or an equilateral pyramid, is, perhaps,

perhaps, more difficult and rare to be found in Nature, than the complex forms of plants or of animals. It is in this manner that we perpetually consider the abstract as simple, and the real as complex. But, in nature, no abstract exists; nothing is simple; every object is compounded. We are unable to penetrate into the intimate structure of bodies. We cannot, therefore, determine what objects are more or less complex, unless by the greater or less relation they have to ourselves, and to the rest of the universe. For this reason we regard the animal as being more complex than the vegetable, and the vegetable than the mineral. With respect to us, this notion is just; but we know not whether the animal, vegetable, or mineral, be, in reality, the most complex or the most simple; and we are ignorant whether the production of a globe or a cube requires a greater effort of Nature than that of a germ, or an organic particle. If we were to indulge in conjectures upon this subject, we might imagine that the most common and numerous objects are the most simple. But this would make animals more simple than plants or minerals; because the former exceed the latter in number of species.

But, without dwelling longer on this subject, it is sufficient to have shown, that all our notions concerning simple and compound, are abstract ideas; that they cannot be applied to the complex operations of nature; that, when we

attempt to reduce all bodies into elements of a cubical, prismatic, globular, or any other regular figure, we substitute our own imaginations in opposition to real existences; and that the forms of the constituent particles of different bodies are absolutely unknown to us; and, of course, we may believe or suppose that organized beings are composed of similar organic particles, as well as that a cube consists of other cubes. We have no other method of judging but by experience. We know that a cube of sea-salt is composed of many lesser cubes, and that an elm consists of a great number of minute elms; because if we take a piece of a branch, of a root, of the wood separated from the trunk, or a seed, from all these a new tree is produced. The polypus, and some other species of animals, may likewise be multiplied by cuttings separated from any part of their bodies; and, as our rule of judging in both cases is the same, why should we form a different opinion concerning them?

The above reasoning renders it extremely probable, that there really exists in Nature an infinite number of small organized beings, every way similar to those large organized bodies which make such a conspicuous figure in this world; that these small organized beings are composed of living organic particles, which are common both to animals and vegetables, and are their primary and incorruptible elements; that an assemblage of these particles constitutes an animal

animal or a plant; and, consequently, that reproduction or generation is nothing but a change of form, effected solely by the addition of similar particles; and the death, or resolution of organized bodies, is only a separation of the same particles. Of the truth of this doctrine not a doubt will remain, after the proofs delivered in the following chapters are perused. Besides, if we reflect on the growth of trees, and consider what an immense mass is produced from so small an origin, we must be persuaded that this increase of matter is effected by the simple addition of organic particles which are similar to one another and to the whole. The seed first produces a small tree, which it contained in miniature within its coats. At the top of this small tree a bud is formed, which contains the tree that is to spring the next season; and this bud is an organized body similar to the small tree of the preceding year. The small tree of the second year, in the same manner, produces a bud which contains a tree for the third year; and this process uniformly goes on as long as the tree continues to vegetate: Buds are likewise formed at the extremity of each branch, which contain, in miniature, trees similar to that of the first year. It is evident, therefore, that trees are composed of minute organized bodies similar to themselves, and that the whole individual is formed by a numerous assemblage of minute and similar individuals.

But, it may be demanded, were not all these minute, and similarly organized bodies, contained in the seed? and may not the order of their unfolding be traced from that source? for it is apparent, that the first bud was surmounted by a similar bud, which was not expanded till the second year, and the third bud was not unfolded till the third year; and, consequently, the seed may be said to have really contained the whole buds which would be formed for 100 years, or till the dissolution of the plant: It is also apparent, that this seed contained not only all the small organized bodies which must in time have constituted the individual tree itself, but likewise all the seeds, and all the individuals which would successively arise, till the final destruction of the species.

This, indeed, is a capital difficulty: We shall therefore examine it with the greater attention. It is true, that the seed produced a small tree the first year, solely by the unfolding of the bud or germ which it contained, and that this small tree existed in miniature in the bud. But it is not equally certain that the bud of the second year, and those of the succeeding years, nor that all the small organic bodies, and the seeds which must have been formed till the end of the world, or the destruction of the species, were contained in the first seed. This opinion supposes an infinite progression, and makes every individual a source of eternal generations. The

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first seed, for instance, must have included all the plants of its species which have existed, or ever will exist; and the first man must have contained in his loins all the men who have appeared, or ever will appear, on the face of the earth. Every seed, and every animal, according to this doctrine, must have included in its own body an infinite posterity. If we yield to reasonings of this kind, we must lose sight of truth in the labyrinths of infinity; and, in place of solving, or of throwing light upon the question, we will involve it in tenfold obscurity. It is removing the object beyond the reach of our vision, and then complaining that it cannot be seen.

Let us investigate the nature of the ideas of infinite progression and expansion. How do we acquire them? In what do they instruct us? We derive the idea of infinity from the idea of what is limited. It is in this manner we obtain the ideas of infinite succession, and geometrical infinity: Every individual is a unit; several individuals make a limited number; and a whole species is to us an infinite multitude. From the same data by which we have demonstrated the nonentity of geometrical infinity, we might prove, that infinite succession, or propagation, rests on no firmer basis; that it is only an abstract idea, a mere deduction from the idea of finite objects, by lopping off the limits which necessarily terminate every magnitude*; and, of course, that

* See this fully demonstrated in my preface to the French translation of Newton's *Fluxions*, p. 7.

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every opinion which infallibly leads to the idea of actual existence, upon no better authority than what is derived from geometrical or numerical infinity, ought to be rejected.

The partizans of this opinion are now reduced to the necessity of acknowledging, that their infinity of succession and of multiplication is only an indeterminate or indefinite number. But, say they, the first seed, of an elm, for example, which weighs not a grain, actually contains all the organic particles requisite for the formation of this tree, and of all the individuals of the same species which shall ever appear. Is this a solution of the difficulty? Is it not cutting the knot, in place of untying it?

When in reply to the question, how beings are multiplied? it is answered, that the multiplication was completed in the creation of the first individuals, is not this both an acknowledgment of ignorance, and a renouncing of all desire of farther improvement? We ask how one being produces its like? and we receive for answer, that the whole was created at once. A strange solution; for, whether one only or a thousand generations had passed, the same difficulty remains, and, instead of removing it, the supposition of an indefinite number of germs, all existing and contained in a single germ, increases and renders it altogether incomprehensible.

I allow, that it is much easier to find fault, than to investigate truth, and that the question concerning

concerning reproduction is perhaps of such a subtle nature, as not to admit of a full and satisfactory explication. But we ought at least to inquire whether it be altogether inscrutable; and, in the course of this inquiry, we will discover all that can be known, and the reason why we can know no more.

Questions or inquiries are of two kinds; the first regard primary causes, the other particular effects. If, for example, it be asked why matter is impenetrable? we must either return no answer, or reply by saying, that matter is impenetrable, because it is impenetrable. The same answer must be made, if we inquire into the cause of gravity, of extension, of the inertia of bodies, or of any general quality of matter. Such is the nature of all general and abstract qualities, that, having no mode of comparing them with other objects in which they do not exist, we are totally incapable of reasoning concerning them; and therefore all inquiries of this kind, as they exceed the powers of human intellect, are perfectly useless.

But, on the other hand, if the reason of particular effects be demanded, we are always in a condition to give a distinct answer, whenever we can show that these effects are produced by one of the general causes; and the question is equally solved, whether the particular effect proceeds immediately from a general cause, or from a chain

chain of successive effects, provided we have a clear conception of the dependence of these effects upon each other, and of their mutual relations.

But, when a particular effect appears not to have any dependence upon more general effects, or has no analogy to those already known, we are then totally unable to give any explication of such effect; because we have no similar object with which it can be compared. We cannot explain a general cause, because it equally exists in every object; and, on the contrary, we can give no account of a single or isolated effect; because the same quality exists not in any other subject. To explain a general cause, we must discover one still more general; but a single and detached effect may be illustrated by the discovery of an analogous effect, which experience or accident may exhibit.

There is still another kind of question, which may be called a question of fact. For example, why do trees, dogs, &c. exist? All questions of this kind are perfectly insolvable; for those who solve them by final causes consider not that they mistake the effect for the cause: The relation of particular objects to ourselves has no connection with their origin. Moral affinity or fitness can never become a physical reason.

Questions in which we employ the word *Why*, ought to be carefully distinguished from those

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in which we employ *How*, and still more from those in which we ought to use the words *how much* or *how many*. *Why* always relates to the cause of the effect, or to the effect itself; *how* relates to the manner in which the effect happens; and *how much* relates to the measure or quantity of the effect.

These distinctions being established, let us now examine the question concerning the reproduction of beings. If it be demanded *why* animals and vegetables continue their species? we clearly perceive that this is a question of fact, and therefore it is useless and insolvable. But, if it be asked *how* animals and vegetables are reproduced? we are enabled to solve the question, by giving the history of the generation of every species of animal, and of the reproduction of every species of plant: After tracing, however, every possible method of propagation, and making the most exact observations, we have learned the facts only, but have not discovered the causes: And, as the means Nature employs in multiplying and containing the species, seem to have no relation to the effects produced, we are still under the necessity of asking, by what secret cause she enables beings to propagate their kinds?

This question is very different from the first and second. It admits of nice scrutiny, and even allows us to employ the powers of imagination. It is, therefore, by no means insolvable; for

for it belongs not to a general cause. Neither is it solely a question of fact: And if we can conceive a method of reproduction, depending on primary causes, or which, at least, is not repugnant to them, we ought to be satisfied with it; and the more relation it has to the other effects of Nature, it will rest upon a firmer basis.

By the nature of the question, then, we are permitted to form hypotheses, and to choose that which appears to have the greatest analogy to the other phenomena of nature. But we ought to reject every hypothesis which supposes the thing to be already accomplished; such, for example, as that which supposes the first germ to contain all the germs of the same species, or that every reproduction is a new creation, an immediate effect of the will of the Deity; for all hypotheses of this kind are mere matters of fact, concerning which it is impossible to reason. We must likewise reject every hypothesis which is founded on final causes, such as, that reproduction is ordained in order to replace the living for the dead; that the earth may always be covered with vegetables and peopled with animals; that men may be supplied with abundance of nourishment, &c.; for such hypotheses, in place of explaining the effect by physical causes, stand on no other foundation than arbitrary relations and moral affinities. We ought, at the same time, to despise those general axioms and physical problems so frequently and so injudiciously employed

employed as principles by some philosophers, such as, 'Nulla fecundatio extra corpus'; every living creature proceeds from an egg; generation always supposes sexes, &c. These maxims must not be taken in an absolute sense; they signify no more than that the thing happens more commonly in this manner than in any other.

Let us then endeavour to find an hypothesis that will be liable to none of these defects or incumbrances; and, if we shall not succeed in explaining the mechanism employed by Nature for the reproduction of beings, we shall, at least, be able to approach nearer to the truth than we have hitherto reached.

In the same manner as we make moulds by which we can bestow on the external parts of bodies whatever figure we please, let us suppose, that Nature can form moulds by which she bestows on bodies both an external and internal figure; would not this be one method by which reproduction might be effected?

Let us first consider whether this supposition be well founded; let us examine whether it contains any thing that is absurd or contradictory; and then we shall discover what consequences may be drawn from it. Though our senses reach not beyond the external parts of bodies, we have clear ideas of their different figures and external affections, and we can imitate Nature, by representing external figures in different

different ways, as by painting, by sculpture, and by moulds. But, though our senses be limited to external qualities, we know that bodies possess internal qualities, some of which are general, as gravity. This quality or power acts not in proportion to the surfaces, but to the masses, or the quantities of matter. Thus there are in Nature powers, and even of the most active kind, which penetrate the internal parts of matter. We are unable to form distinct ideas of such qualities; because, not being external, they fall not under the cognisance of our senses. But we can compare their effects, and may draw analogies from them, in order to account for the effects of similar qualities.

If our eyes, instead of representing to us the surfaces of bodies only, were so constructed as to perceive their internal parts alone, we should then have clear ideas of the latter, without knowing any thing of the former. Upon this supposition, moulds for the internal constitution, which I have supposed to be employed by Nature, would be equally obvious and easy to conceive as moulds for the external figures of bodies; and we should then be in a condition to imitate the internal parts of bodies, as we now imitate the external. These internal moulds, though beyond our reach, may be in the possession of Nature, as she endows bodies with gravity, which penetrates every particle of matter. The supposition of internal moulds being
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thus founded on analogy, let us next examine whether it involves any contradiction.

It may be alledged, that the expression, *internal mould*, includes two opposite and contradictory ideas; for the idea of a *mould* relates only to the surface; but the idea of internal, as here employed, has a relation to the whole mass; and therefore we might, with equal propriety, talk of a massy surface as of an internal mould.

I allow, that, when ideas are attempted to be represented which have never been expressed, we are sometimes obliged to use terms that are apparently contradictory. To avoid this inconvenience, philosophers have been accustomed to employ unusual terms, instead of those which have a received signification. But this artifice is of no use, when we can show, that the seeming contradiction lies in the words, and not in the idea. A simple idea, however, cannot include a contradiction; *i. e.* whenever we can form an idea of a thing, if this idea be simple, it cannot be complex; it can include no other idea; and, of course, it can contain nothing that is opposite or contradictory.

Simple ideas are not only the first apprehensions received by the senses, but the first comparisons which we form of these apprehensions: For the first apprehension is always the result of comparison. The idea of the largeness or distance of an object necessarily implies a comparison with bulk or distance in general. Thus,

when an idea includes nothing more than comparison, it ought to be regarded as simple; and, consequently, it can contain nothing contradictory. The idea of an internal mould is of this species. There is in nature a quality known by the name of gravity, which penetrates the internal parts of bodies. I understand the idea of an internal mould to be relative to gravity; and, therefore, as it includes only a comparison, it can imply no contradiction.

Let us now trace the consequences which may be drawn from this supposition; let us likewise investigate such facts as may correspond with it; and the more analogies we can collect, the supposition will be rendered the more probable. We shall begin with unfolding the idea of internal moulds; and then explain how it may lead us to conceive the mode of reproduction.

Nature, in general, appears to have a greater bias towards life than death: She seems anxious to organize bodies as much as possible. Of this the multiplication of germs, which may be infinitely increased, is a convincing proof; and it may be safely affirmed, that, if all matter is not organized, it is only because organized beings destroy one another; for we can increase at pleasure the number of animals and vegetables; but we cannot augment the quantity of stones or of dead matter; which seems to indicate, that the most ordinary and familiar operation of Nature

ture is the production of organized bodies; and here her power knows no limitation.

To render this idea more plain, we shall calculate what may be produced by a single germ. The seed of an elm, which weighs not above the hundredth part of an ounce, will, in 100 years, form a tree, of which the mass will amount to ten cubic fathoms. But, at the tenth year, this elm will have produced 1000 seeds, each of which, in 100 years more, will consist of ten cubic fathoms. Thus, in the space of 110 years, more than 10,000 cubic fathoms of organized matter are produced. Ten years after, we shall have ten million of fathoms, without including the annual increase of 10,000 which would amount to 100,000 more; and in ten years more, the number of cubic fathoms would be 10,000,000,000,000. Hence, in 130 years, a single germ would produce a mass of organized matter equal to 1000 cubic leagues; for a cubic league contains only about 10,000,000,000 cubic fathoms. Ten years after, this mass would be increased to a thousand times a thousand leagues, or one million of cubic leagues; and in ten more it would amount to 1,000,000,000,000 cubic leagues; so that, in the space of 150 years, the whole globe might be converted into organized matter of a single species. Nature would know no bounds in the production of organized bodies, if her progress were not obstructed by matter

which is not susceptible of organization; and this is a full demonstration that she has no tendency to increase brute matter; that her sole object is the multiplication of organized beings; and that, in this operation, she never stops but when irresistible obstacles occur. What we have remarked concerning the seed of an elm may be extended to any other germ; and it would be easy to show, that, by hatching all the eggs which are produced by hens for a course of 30 years, the number of fowls would be so great as to cover the whole surface of the earth.

Calculations of this kind evince the tendency of Nature towards the production of organized bodies, and the facility with which she performs the operation. But I will not stop here. Instead of dividing matter into *organized* and *brute matter*, the general division ought to be into *living* and *dead matter*. That *brute matter* is nothing but matter produced by the *death* of animals and vegetables, might be proved from the enormous quantities of shells, and other relics of living bodies, which constitute the principal parts of stones, marbles, clays, marls, earths, turfs, and other substances that are commonly reckoned *brute matter*, but are, in reality, composed of decayed animals and vegetables. This doctrine will be farther illustrated by the subsequent remarks, which appear to be well founded.

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The great facility and activity of Nature in the production of organized bodies, the existence of infinite numbers of organic particles which constitute life, have been already shown. We now proceed to inquire into the principal causes of death and destruction. In general, beings which have a power of converting matter into their own substances, or of assimilating the parts of other beings, are the greatest destroyers. Fire, for example, which converts almost every species of matter into its own substance, is the greatest source of destruction that we are acquainted with. Animals seem to partake of the nature of flame; their internal heat is a species of fire approaching to flame. Accordingly, animals are the greatest destroyers; and they assimilate and convert into their own substance all bodies which can serve them for nourishment. But, though these two causes of destruction be considerable, and their effects tend perpetually to the destruction of organized bodies, the cause of reproduction is infinitely more active and powerful. It even seems to derive, from destruction itself, fresh powers of multiplying; for assimilation, which is one cause of death, is, at the same time, a necessary mean of producing life.

The destruction of organized bodies, as has been remarked, is only a separation of the organic particles of which they are composed. These particles continue separate till they be again

united by some active power. But what is this power? It is the power, possessed by animals and vegetables, of assimilating the matter of their food; and is not this the same, or nearly connected with the same power which is the cause of reproduction?

C H A P. III.

Of Nutrition and Growth.

AN animal body is a kind of internal mould, in which the nutritive matter is so assimilated to the whole, that, without changing the order or proportion of the parts, each part receives an augmentation. This increase of bulk has, by some philosophers, been called an expansion or unfolding of the parts; because they fancied they had accounted for the phenomenon, by telling us, that the form of an animal in embryo was the same as at full maturity, and that, therefore, it was easy to conceive how its parts should be proportionally unfolded and augmented by the addition of accessory matter.

But, how can we have a clear idea of this augmentation or expansion, if we consider not the bodies of animals, and each of their parts, as so many internal moulds which receive the accessory matter in the order that results from their position and structure? This expansion cannot be effected solely by an addition to the surfaces, but, on the contrary, by an intus-susception, or by penetrating the whole mass; for the size of