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of this masterly investigation, the words wherewith Pasteur himself feelingly alludes to the difficulties and dangers of the experimenter's art came home to me with especial force: "J'ai tant de fois éprouvé que dans cet art difficile de l'expérimentation les plus habiles bronchent à chaque pas, et que l'interprétation des faits n'est pas moins périlleuse."

ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE LOGIC OF SCIENCE.

BY C. S. PEIRCE,
ASSISTANT IN THE UNITED STATES COAST SURVEY.

THIRD PAPER.—THE DOCTRINE OF CHANCES.

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It is a common observation that a science first begins to be exact when it is quantitatively treated. What are called the exact sciences are no others than the mathematical ones. Chemists reasoned vaguely until Lavoisier showed them how to apply the balance to the verification of their theories, when chemistry leaped suddenly into the position of the most perfect of the classificatory sciences. It has thus become so precise and certain that we usually think of it along with optics, thermotics, and electrics. But these are studies of general laws, while chemistry considers merely the relations and classification of certain objects; and belongs, in reality, in the same category as systematic botany and zoology. Compare it with these last, however, and the advantage that it derives from its quantitative treatment is very evident.

The rudest numerical scales, such as that by which the mineralogists distinguish the different degrees of hardness, are found useful. The mere counting of pistils and stamens sufficed to bring botany out of total chaos into some kind of form. It is not, however, so much from counting as from measuring, not so much from the conception of number as from that of continuous quantity, that the advantage of mathematical treatment comes. Number, after all, only serves to pin us down to a precision in our thoughts which, however beneficial, can seldom lead to lofty conceptions, and frequently descends to pettiness. Of those two faculties of which Bacon speaks, that which marks differences and that which notes resemblances, the employment of number can only aid the lesser one; and the excessive use of it must tend to narrow the powers of the mind. But the conception of continuous quantity has a great office to fulfill, independently of any attempt at precision. Far from tending to the exaggeration of differences, it is the direct instrument of the finest generalizations. When

1 Comptes Rendus, lxxxiii., p. 177.

maturalist wishes to study a species, he collects a considerable numer of specimens more or less similar. In contemplating them, he pserves certain ones which are more or less alike in some particular respect. They all have, for instance, a certain S-shaped marking. He observes that they are not precisely alike, in this respect; the S is not precisely the same shape, but the differences are such as to and him to believe that forms could be found intermediate, between my two of those he possesses. He, now, finds other forms apparently aite dissimilar-say a marking in the form of a C-and the question whether he can find intermediate ones which will connect these latter with the others. This he often succeeds in doing in cases where it rould at first be thought impossible; whereas, he sometimes finds these which differ, at first glance, much less, to be separated in Nature by the non-occurrence of intermediaries. In this way, he builds up fom the study of Nature a new general conception of the character in pestion. He obtains, for example, an idea of a leaf which includes arry part of the flower, and an idea of a vertebra which includes the sulf. I surely need not say much to show what a logical engine here is here. It is the essence of the method of the naturalist. How eapplies it first to one character, and then to another, and finally attains a notion of a species of animals, the differences between whose rembers, however great, are confined within limits, is a matter thich does not here concern us. The whole method of classification must be considered later; but, at present, I only desire to point out but it is by taking advantage of the idea of continuity, or the passage som one form to another by insensible degrees, that the naturalist alds his conceptions. Now, the naturalists are the great builders deenceptions; there is no other branch of science where so much of is work is done as in theirs; and we must, in great measure, take them for our teachers in this important part of logic. And it will be find everywhere that the idea of continuity is a powerful aid to the brazion of true and fruitful conceptions. By means of it, the greatst differences are broken down and resolved into differences of degree, nd the incessant application of it is of the greatest value in broadenig our conceptions. I propose to make a great use of this idea in be present series of papers; and the particular series of important blacies, which, arising from a neglect of it, have desolated philosopy, must further on be closely studied. At present, I simply call the wder's attention to the utility of this conception.

In studies of numbers, the idea of continuity is so indispensable, that it is perpetually introduced even where there is no continuity in that, as where we say that there are in the United States 10.7 inhibitants per square mile, or that in New York 14.72 persons live in the average house. Another example is that daw of the distribu-

This mode of thought is so familiarly associated with all exact numerical consideration that the phrase appropriate to it is imitated by shallow writers in order to produce

606

tion of errors which Quetelet, Galton, and others, have applied with so much success to the study of biological and social matters. This application of continuity to cases where it does not really exist illustrates, also, another point which will hereafter demand a separate study, namely, the great utility which fictions sometimes have in science.

The theory of probabilities is simply the science of logic quantitatively treated. There are two conceivable certainties with reference to any hypothesis, the certainty of its truth and the certainty of its falsity. The numbers one and zero are appropriated, in this calculus. to marking these extremes of knowledge; while fractions having values intermediate between them indicate, as we may vaguely say, the degrees in which the evidence leans toward one or the other, The general problem of probabilities is, from a given state of facts, to determine the numerical probability of a possible fact. This is the same as to inquire how much the given facts are worth, considered as evidence to prove the possible fact. Thus the problem of probabilities is simply the general problem of logic.

Probability is a continuous quantity, so that great advantages may be expected from this mode of studying logic. Some writers have gone so far as to maintain that, by means of the calculus of chances, every solid inference may be represented by legitimate arithmetical operations upon the numbers given in the premises. If this be, indeed, true, the great problem of logic, how it is that the observation of one fact can give us knowledge of another independent fact, is reduced to a mere question of arithmetic. It seems proper to examine this pretension before undertaking any more recondite solution of the paradox.

But, unfortunately, writers on probabilities are not agreed in regard to this result. This branch of mathematics is the only one, I believe, in which good writers frequently get results entirely erroneous. In elementary geometry the reasoning is frequently fallacious, but erroneous conclusions are avoided; but it may be doubted if there is a single extensive treatise on probabilities in existence which does not contain solutions absolutely indefensible. This is partly owing to the want of any regular method of procedure; for the subject involves too many subtilties to make it easy to put its problems into equations without such an aid. But, beyond this, the fundamental principles of its calculus are more or less in dispute. In regard to that class of questions to which it is chiefly applied for practical purposes, there is comparatively little doubt; but in regard to others to which it has been sought to extend it, opinion is somewhat un-

the appearance of exactitude where none exists. Certain newspapers which affect a learned tone talk of "the average man," when they simply mean most men, and have no idea of striking an average.

This last class of difficulties can only be entirely overcome by sking the idea of probability perfectly clear in our minds in the ny set forth in our last paper.

III.

To get a clear idea of what we mean by probability, we have to usider what real and sensible difference there is between one degree probability and another.

The character of probability belongs primarily, without doubt, to stain inferences. Locke explains it as follows: After remarking at the mathematician positively knows that the sum of the three geles of a triangle is equal to two right angles because he appreands the geometrical proof, he thus continues: "But another man monever took the pains to observe the demonstration, hearing a athematician, a man of credit, affirm the three angles of a triangle abe equal to two right ones, assents to it; i. e., receives it for true. which case the foundation of his assent is the probability of the ing, the proof being such as, for the most part, carries truth with the man on whose testimony he receives it not being wont to anything contrary to, or besides his knowledge, especially in atters of this kind." The celebrated "Essay concerning Humane iderstanding" contains many passages which, like this one, make hearst steps in profound analyses which are not further developed. iwas shown in the first of these papers that the validity of an herence does not depend on any tendency of the mind to accept it, merer strong such tendency may be; but consists in the real fact it, when premises like those of the argument in question are true, andusions related to them like that of this argument are also true. tras remarked that in a logical mind an argument is always consired as a member of a genus of arguments all constructed in the me way, and such that, when their premises are real facts, their radusions are so also. If the argument is demonstrative, then this idways so; if it is only probable, then it is for the most part so. Locke says, the probable argument is "such as for the most part mies truth with it."

According to this, that real and sensible difference between one demof probability and another, in which the meaning of the distincis lies, is that in the frequent employment of two different modes inference, one will carry truth with it oftener than the other. It issident that this is the only difference there is in the existing fact. Iring certain premises, a man draws a certain conclusion, and as far this inference alone is concerned the only possible practical quesis whether that conclusion is true or not, and between existence dinon-existence there is no middle term. "Being only is and nothis altogether not," said Parmenides; and this is in strict accordwith the analysis of the conception of reality given in the last

paper. For we found that the distinction of reality and fiction depends on the supposition that sufficient investigation would cause one opinion to be universally received and all others to be rejected. That presupposition involved in the very conceptions of reality and figment involves a complete sundering of the two. It is the heaven-and-hell idea in the domain of thought. But, in the long run, there is a real fact which corresponds to the idea of probability, and it is that a given mode of inference sometimes proves successful and sometimes not, and that in a ratio ultimately fixed. As we go on drawing inference after inference of the given kind, during the first ten or hundred cases the ratio of successes may be expected to show considerable fluctuations; but when we come into the thousands and millions, these fluctuations become less and less; and if we continue long enough, the ratio will approximate toward a fixed limit. We may therefore define the probability of a mode of argument as the proportion of cases in which it carries truth with it.

The inference from the premise, A; to the conclusion, B, depends, as we have seen, on the guiding principle, that if a fact of the class A is true, a fact of the class B is true. The probability consists of the fraction whose numerator is the number of times in which both A and B are true, and whose denominator is the total number of times in which A is true, whether B is so or not. Instead of speaking of this as the probability of the inference, there is not the slighest objection to calling it the probability that, if A happens, B happens. But to speak of the probability of the event B, without naming the condition, really has no meaning at all. It is true that when it is perfectly obvious what condition is meant, the ellipsis may be permitted. But we should avoid contracting the habit of using language in this way (universal as the habit is), because it gives rise to a vague way of thinking, as if the action of causation might either determine an event to happen or determine it not to happen, or leave it more or less free to happen or not, so as to give rise to an inherent chance in regard to its occurrence. It is quite clear to me that some of the worst and most persistent errors in the use of the doctrine of chances have arisen from this vicious mode of expression.1

17.

But there remains an important point to be cleared up. According to what has been said, the idea of probability essentially belongs to a kind of inference which is repeated indefinitely. An individual inference must be either true or false, and can show no effect of probability; and, therefore, in reference to a single case considered in

I The conception of probability here set forth is substantially that first developed by Mr. Venn, in his "Logic of Chance." Of course, a vague apprehension of the idea had always existed, but the problem was to make it perfectly clear, and to him belongs the credit of first doing this.

elf, probability can have no meaning. Yet if a man had to choose streen drawing a card from a pack containing twenty-five red cards ela black one, or from a pack containing twenty-five black cards da red one, and if the drawing of a red card were destined to ansport him to eternal felicity, and that of a black one to consign to everlasting woe, it would be folly to deny that he ought to preathe pack containing the larger proportion of red cards, although, muthe nature of the risk, it could not be repeated. It is not easy preconcile this with our analysis of the conception of chance. But appose he should choose the red pack, and should draw the wrong ad, what consolation would he have? He might say that he had and in accordance with reason, but that would only show that his ason was absolutely worthless. And if he should choose the right rd, how could he regard it as anything but a happy accident? He sald not say that if he had drawn from the other pack, he might medrawn the wrong one, because an hypothetical proposition such s,"if A, then B," means nothing with reference to a single case. inth consists in the existence of a real fact corresponding to the true sposition. Corresponding to the proposition, "if A, then B," there ar be the fact that whenever such an event as A happens such an But in the case supposed, which has no parallel sar as this man is concerned, there would be no real fact whose istence could give any truth to the statement that, if he had drawn m the other pack, he might have drawn a black card. Indeed, in the validity of an inference consists in the truth of the hypothetiproposition that if the premises be true the conclusion will also atme, and since the only real fact which can correspond to such a reposition is that whenever the antecedent is true the consequent is value, it follows that there can be no sense in reasoning in an isolated

These considerations appear, at first sight, to dispose of the diffimy mentioned. Yet the case of the other side is not yet exhaust-Although probability will probably manifest its effect in, say, a basand risks, by a certain proportion between the numbers of sucases and failures, yet this, as we have seen, is only to say that it asinly will, at length, do so. Now the number of risks, the numand probable inferences, which a man draws in his whole life, is a the one, and he cannot be absolutely certain that the mean result accord with the probabilities at all. Taking all his risks collecrely, then, it cannot be certain that they will not fail, and his case banot differ, except in degree, from the one last supposed. It is an abitable result of the theory of probabilities that every gambler, kontinues long enough, must ultimately be ruined. Suppose he athe martingale, which some believe infallible, and which is, as I ainformed, disallowed in the gambling-houses. In this method of ing, he first bets say \$1; if he loses it he bets \$2; if he loses that

he bets \$4; if he loses that he bets \$8; if he then gains he has lost atend to all races of beings with whom we can come into immediate 1+2+4=7, and he has gained \$1 more; and no matter how many bets he loses, the first one he gains will make him \$1 richer than he was in the beginning. In that way, he will probably gain at first; but, at last, the time will come when the run of luck is so against him that he will not have money enough to double, and must therefore let his bet go. This will probably happen before he has won as much as he had in the first place, so that this run against him will leave him poorer than he began; some time or other it will be sure to happen. It is true that there is always a possibility of his winning any sum the bank can pay, and we thus come upon a celebrated paradox that, though he is certain to be ruined, the value of his expectation calculated according to the usual rules (which omit this consideration) is large. But, whether a gambler plays in this way or any other, the same thing is true, namely, that if plays long enough he will be sure some time to have such a run against him as to exhaust his entire fortune. The same thing is true of an insurance company. Let the directors take the utmost pains to be independent of great conflagrations and pestilences, their actuaries can tell them that, according to the doctrine of chances, the time must come, at last, when their losses will bring them to a stop. They may tide over such a crisis by extraordinary means, but then they will start again in a weakened state, and the same thing will happen again all the sooner. An actuary might be inclined to deny this, because he knows that the expectation of his company is large, or perhaps (neglecting the interest upon money) is infinite. But calculations of expectations leave out of account the circumstance now under consideration, which reverses the whole thing. However, I must not be understood as saying that insurance is on this account unsound, more than other kinds of business. All human affairs rest upon probabilities, and the same ses himself, rush forward at once, the fort will be taken. In other thing is true everywhere. If man were immortal he could be per fectly sure of seeing the day when everything in which he had trusted should betray his trust, and, in short, of coming eventually to hopeless misery. He would break down, at last, as every great fortune, greian enough, that he cannot be logical so long, as he is concerned as every dynasty, as every civilization does. In place of this we have death.

must happen to some man. At the same time, death makes the number of our risks, of our inferences, finite, and so makes their mean result uncertain. The very idea of probability and of reasoning rests on the assumption that this number is indefinitely great. We are thus landed in the same difficulty as before, and I can see but one solution of it. It seems to me that we are driven to this, that logicality inexorably requires that our interests shall not be limited. They must not stop at our own fate, but must embrace the whole community. This community, again, must not be limited, but must

amediate intellectual relation. It must reach, however vaguely, beand this geological epoch, beyond all bounds. He who would not scrifice his own soul to save the whole world, is, as it seems to me, logical in all his inferences, collectively. Logic is rooted in the mial principle.

To be logical men should not be selfish; and, in point of fact, they m not so selfish as they are thought. The willful prosecution of 36's desires is a different thing from selfishness. The miser is not slish; his money does him no good, and he cares for what shall beame of it after his death. We are constantly speaking of our posassions on the Pacific, and of our destiny as a republic, where no smonal interests are involved, in a way which shows that we have ider ones. We discuss with anxiety the possible exhaustion of coal some hundreds of years, or the cooling-off of the sun in some illions, and show in the most popular of all religious tenets that we a conceive the possibility of a man's descending into hell for the alration of his fellows.

Now, it is not necessary for logicality that a man should himself acapable of the heroism of self-sacrifice. It is sufficient that he build recognize the possibility of it, should perceive that only that w's inferences who has it are really logical, and should consequentregard his own as being only so far valid as they would be accepted the hero. So far as he thus refers his inferences to that standard, becomes identified with such a mind.

This makes logicality attainable enough. Sometimes we can permally attain to heroism. The soldier who runs to scale a wall hows that he will probably be shot, but that is not all he cares for. halso knows that if all the regiment, with whom in feeling he idenwe can only imitate the virtue. The man whom we have supmed as having to draw from the two packs, who if he is not a locan will draw from the red pack from mere habit, will see, if he is sly with his own fate, but that that man who should care equally for that was to happen in all possible cases of the sort could act logi-But what, without death, would happen to every man, with death will, and would draw from the pack with the most red cards, and has, though incapable himself of such sublimity, our logician would pitate the effect of that man's courage in order to share his logicality. But all this requires a conceived identification of one's interests th those of an unlimited community. Now, there exist no reasons, Ma later discussion will show that there can be no reasons, for taking that the human race, or any intellectual race, will exist for-On the other hand, there can be no reason against it; and,

If do not here admit an absolutely unknowable. Evidence could show us what and probably be the case after any given lapse of time; and though a subsequent time fortunately, as the whole requirement is that we should have certain sentiments, there is nothing in the facts to forbid our having a hope,

It may seem strange that I should put forward three sentiments, namely, interest in an indefinite community, recognition of the possi. bility of this interest being made supreme, and hope in the unlimited continuance of intellectual activity, as indispensable requirements of to escape doubt, which, as it terminates in action, must begin in emoreties of y's by the number of y's. Such a method would, of course, on reason is that other methods of escaping doubt fail on account of the social impulse, why should we wonder to find social sentiment presupposed in reasoning? As for the other two sentiments which I find necessary, they are so only as supports and accessories of that It interests me to notice that these three sentiments seem to be prefty in what proportion of the times in which premises of that class are much the same as that famous trio of Charity, Faith, and Hope, which, Te, the appropriate conclusions are also true. In other words, it is in the estimation of St. Paul, are the finest and greatest of spiritual senumber of cases of the occurrence of both the events A and B, diof science, but the latter is certainly the highest existing authority in regard to the dispositions of heart which a man ought to have.

nected with another class of things, their y's, I term relative number. Of the two classes of things to which a relative number refers, that pasted in a man. On the other hand, it plainly would not do to add

of the number of arguments of a certain genus which carry truth with them to the total number of arguments of that genus, and the rules for the calculation of probabilities are very easily derived from this? consideration. They may all be given here, since they are extremely

Count the number of passengers for each trip; add all these numbers, and divide by the number of trips. There are cases in which this rule may be simplified. Suppose we wish to know the number of given the relative number of g's per y; also the relative number of g's per y; also the relative number of g's per y; **c**över it.

inhabitants to a dwelling in New York. The same person cannot habit two dwellings. If he divide his time between two dwellings or calm and cheerful wish, that the community may last beyond any prought to be counted a half-inhabitant of each. In this case we are only to divide the total number of the inhabitants of New York ythe number of their dwellings, without the necessity of counting sparately those which inhabit each one. A similar proceeding will pply wherever each individual relate belongs to one individual cor-Take exclusively. If we want the number of x's per y, and no x belogic. Yet, when we consider that logic depends on a mere struggle sags to more than one y, we have only to divide the whole number il if applied to finding the average number of street-car passengers rtrip. We could not divide the total number of travelers by the mber of trips, since many of them would have made many passages. To find the probability that from a given class of premises, A, a men class of conclusions, B, follow, it is simply necessary to ascernied by the total number of cases of the occurrence of the event A.

Rule II. Addition of Relative Numbers.—Given two relative umbers having the same correlate, say the number of x's per y, which the number of z's per y; it is required to find the number of x's Such average statistical numbers as the number of inhabitants per values together per y. If there is nothing which is at once an x and square mile, the average number of deaths per week, the number of with the same y, the sum of the two given numbers would give the convictions per indictment, or, generally speaking, the number of z's spired number. Suppose, for example, that we had given the avernumber of friends that men have, and the average number of mies, the sum of these two is the average number of persons inone of which it is a number may be called its relate, and that one waverage number of persons having constitutional diseases to the range number over military age, and to the average number ex-Probability is a kind of relative number; namely, it is the ratio spied by each special cause from military service, in order to get average number exempt in any way, since many are exempt in woor more ways at once.

This rule applies directly to probabilities. Given the probability two different and mutually exclusive events will happen under the simple, and it is sometimes convenient to know something of the ele-By that if A then B, and also the probability that if A then C, RULE I. Direct Calculation.—To calculate, directly, any relative to the sum of these two probabilities is the probability that if A number, say for instance the number of passengers in the average trip the either B or C, so long as there is no event which belongs at we to the two classes B and C.

> RULE III. Multiplication of Relative Numbers.—Suppose that we of z's per x of y; or, to take a concrete example, suppose that we egiven, first, the average number of children in families living in

New York; and, second, the average number of teeth in the head of give the average number of children's teeth in a New York family, But this mode of reckoning will only apply in general under two restrictions. In the first place, it would not be true if the same child could belong to different families, for in that case those children who belonged to several different families might have an exceptionally large or small number of teeth, which would affect the average num. ber of children's teeth in a family more than it would affect the average number of teeth in a child's head. In the second place, the rule would not be true if different children could share the same teeth, the average number of children's teeth being in that case evidently some thing different from the average number of teeth belonging to a child.

In order to apply this rule to probabilities, we must proceed as follows: Suppose that we have given the probability that the conclusion B follows from the premise A, B and A representing as usual certain classes of propositions. Suppose that we also knew the probability of an inference in which B should be the premise, and a proposition of a third kind, C, the conclusion. Here, then, we have the materials for the application of this rule. We have, first, the relative number of B's per A. We next should have the relative number of C's per B following from A. But the classes of propositions being so selected that the probability of C following from any B in general is just the same as the probability of C's following from one of those B's which is deducible from an A, the two probabilities may be multiplied together, in order to give the probability of C following from A. The same restrictions exist as before. It might happen that the probability that and to suits—is smaller than the calculation would make it to be; so B follows from A was affected by certain propositions of the class B following from several different propositions of the class A. But, practically speaking, all these restrictions are of very little conse quence, and it is usually recognized as a principle universally true that the probability that, if A is true, B is, multiplied by the probability that, if B is true, C is, gives the probability that, if A is true,

There is a rule supplementary to this, of which great use is made. · It is not universally valid, and the greatest caution has to be exercised in making use of it—a double care, first, never to use it when it will involve serious error; and, second, never to fail to take advantage of it in cases in which it can be employed. This rule depends upon the fact & that in very many cases the probability that C is true if B is, is substantil be sound might be made the basis of a theory of reasoning. tially the same as the probability that C is true if A is. Suppose, for sing, as I believe it is, absolutely absurd, the consideration of it example, we have the average number of males among the children born in New York; suppose that we also have the average number of children born in the winter months among those born in New York Now, we may assume without doubt, at least as a closely approximate proposition (and no very nice calculation would be in place in

gard to probabilities), that the proportion of males among all the a New York child—then the product of these two numbers would sildren born in New York is the same as the proportion of males born nummer in New York, and, therefore, if the names of all the chilm born during a year were put into an urn, we might multiply the subability that any name drawn would be the name of a male child the probability that it would be the name of a child born in mmer, in order to obtain the probability that it would be the ume of a male child born in summer. The questions of proba-Buy, in the treatises upon the subject, have usually been such as rete to balls drawn from urns, and games of cards, and so on, in nich the question of the independence of events, as it is called-that sto say, the question of whether the probability of C, under the mothesis B, is the same as its probability under the hypothesis has been very simple; but, in the application of probabilities to a ordinary questions of life, it is often an exceedingly nice quesm whether two events may be considered as independent with sufment accuracy or not. In all calculations about cards it is assumed the cards are thoroughly shuffled, which makes one deal quite inmendent of another. In point of fact the cards seldom are, in pracre, shuffled sufficiently to make this true; thus, in a game of whist, awhich the cards have fallen in suits of four of the same suit, and m so gathered up, they will lie more or less in sets of four of the me suit, and this will be true even after they are shuffled. At least wae traces of this arrangement will remain, in consequence of which number of "short suits," as they are called—that is to say, the umber of hands in which the cards are very unequally divided in reat, when there is a misdeal, where the cards, being thrown about stable, get very thoroughly shuffled, it is a common saying that in whands next dealt out there are generally short suits. A few years 30 s friend of mine, who plays whist a great deal, was so good as to and the number of spades dealt to him in 165 hands, in which the rds had been, if anything, shuffled better than usual. According to abulation, there should have been 85 of these hands in which my and held either three or four spades, but in point of fact there were showing the influence of imperfect shuffling.

According to the view here taken, these are the only fundamental the for the calculation of chances. An additional one, derived from different conception of probability, is given in some treatises, which erves to bring us to the true theory; and it is for the sake of this Exussion, which must be postponed to the next number, that I have bught the doctrine of chances to the reader's attention at this early