

These, therefore, and the experience which rests upon them,—and accordingly the knowledge of ourselves as particular individuals,—are inadequate, confused, constrained, *i.e.* the work of the imagination (ii., *pr.* 16, 26 *Coroll.*, *dem.* 28). The same is true of every passion; it is a confused act of thought, an idea of a perturbation of the body. It is characteristic of this constrained or first kind of knowledge (*De int. em.* iv., *Eth.* ii., 40, *Schol.* 2) that it breaks up everything into fragments (*Ep.* 29), and therefore regards everything separately (*seorsim*), that is, as something contingent, which may also exist in a different form (ii., *pr.* 44). Further, it looks at nothing from the point of view of eternity, but only from that of duration (ii., *pr.* 45, *Schol.*). To put it generally, it regards nothing as it is in itself, but everything in its relation to us. Hence arise both the confused notions of an end and the equally confused universal ideas, which unite to produce the meaningless expressions, good and evil, beautiful and ugly (ii. 10, *Schol.* 1. i. *Append.*). The majority of mankind exercise only this limited kind of apprehension; and every one finds it difficult to rid himself of it entirely. It is accordingly said to be that which regards things *ex communi naturæ ordine* (ii., *pr.* 29, *Coroll.*).

12. With the man who is thus constrained, Spinoza contrasts him who is spiritually free and strong. Nothing fills such a one with the slavish astonishment that accompanies ignorance or half-knowledge. He knows things, and therefore assents to them or wills them. In the higher knowledge which is characteristic of this freedom, Spinoza distinguishes two grades. He accordingly always calls it *cognitio secundi et tertii generis*. In the earlier *Tract. brev.* the names *fides* and *cognitio*, as opposed to *opinio*, occur for these; and all three are compared with the religious conceptions *peccatum*, *lex*, and *gratia* (*Suppl.* p. 180). The lower of these two stages knows by reasoning, the higher by direct intuition. The former, therefore, deals with what is conditioned and deduced, the latter with what is unconditioned. The three *genera cognitionis* correspond to the successive stages: *communis naturæ ordo*, *natura naturata*, *natura naturans*. Unlike imagination, the two latter kinds of knowledge,—which are distinguished from each other as *ratio* and *cognitio intuitiva*, but are often also included under the common name of *ratio*,—regard everything in its eternal and necessary connection.

For them, there is no possibility of a thing existing under a different form. They stand to everything in an attitude of assent, *i.e.*, of freedom. Nor have they to do with the individual and with individual distinctions. They are concerned with the universally valid,—which forms the *notiones communes*, or *fundamenta rationis* (ii., *pr.* 44, *Coroll.* 2, *dem.*) or *ratio-cinii nostri* (ii., *pr.* 40, *Schol.*),—and therefore with regular connection. Accordingly, the dictum that nothing proceeds out of nothing, in virtue of which we may say that everything without exception is conditioned, is numbered among the *notiones communes* (*Ep.* 28). These are something quite different from the universals or general ideas above rejected. If we keep firm hold of the fact that to conceive is to approve, or to will for oneself, we can easily understand how Spinoza, in spite of his fatalism, can still assert that,—in fact can even show the way in which,—man may attain to ever greater freedom and rid himself of all passivity. So soon as he understands it, conceives it in its necessity, he ceases to wish for anything else; in fact, through the increase in his power of apprehension, his former passivity or suffering has become the occasion of an increase of power, that is, has become pleasure. (It is interesting to compare with this the way in which Jacob Böhme made the pardoned sinner find enjoyment even in his sins, *vid. supra*, § 234, 5.) The more our knowing, our clear knowledge, becomes desire, *i.e.*, feeling or affection, the more is it in a position to overcome the other affections in, accordance with the law already stated. The more it grows, the more do tranquillity (*acquiescentia*) and intellectual power (*fortitudo, virtus*) increase. Blessedness, the highest and enduring joy, does not come as the reward of this *virtus*, but consists in this *virtus* (v., *p.* 42). Now, since everything is known in its necessity only if it is known as a necessary consequence of the infinite, divine being, this joy is impossible without the idea of God, and therefore (*cf. supra, sub* 10, the definition of love) this knowledge is necessarily love to God (v., *pr.* 32, *Coroll.*). That this *amor intellectualis* is nothing else than love of truth, is expressly stated in the *Tract. brev.* (*Suppl.* p. 116). Just as we do not love the truth that it may love us in return, so we do not love God for this object. Indeed, to wish Him to love us, would mean, since God can love no individual being, to wish that He was not God (v., *pr.* 19). God, then, does not love us, but we love Him, if we have knowledge.

But since together we form the *intellectus infinitus*, which knows God and therefore loves Him, it may be said that our love is a part of the love with which God loves Himself, that He loves men with the love with which He loves Himself, and lastly, that our devotion to God is His glory and honour (v., 36, c. *Cor. et Schol.*). The adequate ideas, as component parts of the *intellectus infinitus*, are eternal; only the fragments of them pass away. Accordingly the greater the number of adequate ideas which go to make up a man's mind,—which in turn will depend upon the perfection with which his body is organized,—the larger will be the part of him that is eternal, the less reason will he have to be afraid of death (v., 38, 39). (Those who find in these last sentences a personal God, personal immortality, and ever so much besides, must not forget that, according to Spinoza's express declaration, God has neither understanding nor will. According to him, a God who loved men in return for their love, would be no God. Further, he looks upon personality and duration as mere figments of the imagination, the existence of which he has certainly no wish to prolong for ever. Lastly, he makes religion and blessedness consist solely in the self-forgetful devotion by which man becomes a tool in the hands of God, that is thrown away and replaced by another when it has become useless. *Cf. Tract. brev.*, p. 178. In this other, the ideas which had gone to make up my mind, still continue to exist.)

13. It was only in Holland that Spinozism found an immediate response. From the circle of friends in Amsterdam, who have already been spoken of, the acquaintance with Spinoza's doctrines spread so quickly, through the circulation of the *Ethics* in manuscript, that many printed works which are usually regarded as precursors of the *Ethics*, really draw their inspiration from that book. This is the case, for instance, with the writings of Wilh. Deurhoff (1650–1717) of Amsterdam, whose collected works appeared in 1715. It is difficult to decide whether Bredenburg (*Enarratio tractatus theologico-politici, etc.*, 1675), and the Socinian Franz Kuper (*Arcana atheismi revelata, etc.*, 1676), concealed their agreement with Spinoza under the mask of attacks upon him. Some maintain that they did; and that devices of this sort were sometimes resorted to, especially after the appearance of Spinoza's *Opera posthuma*, is proved beyond a doubt by the testimony of a work by a decided adherent of Spinoza, which

has now become very rare. In 1684 there was published, professedly by Kühnhardt at Hamburg, but really in Holland, *Principia pantosophiæ* in three books. The third part is unfinished; but the first, which gives as an introduction an outline of logic, bears the title: *Specimen artis ratiocinandi naturalis et artificialis ad pantosophiæ principia manuducens*; and it has for a motto: *Quod volunt fata non tollunt vota*. The author does not give his name. Placcius (*Theat. anon.*, p. 324), however, says that the engraving accompanying the work (which is not in my copy) proves that the writer was ABRAHAM JOHANN KUFFELÆR, *Jur. utr. Doct.* at Utrecht. Bayle gives him the same name, and so does Baumgarten, in whose *Nachr. v. e. Hall. Bibl. Pt. 1*, a short summary of the contents of the book is given. In later times the author's name is usually written Cuffeler. Besides his enthusiasm for Spinoza, of which he makes no secret (e.g. i., p. 103), his book has another interesting feature. The theory of God has, he says, been fully discussed in that "*libro aureo*," Spinoza's *Ethics*; and he promises to treat the theory of nature in this work on similar principles, in order to lay the foundation of a complete theory of human nature. Only a small part of this promise is fulfilled. The whole of the second book is taken up with an outline of arithmetic and algebra for the benefit of the non-mathematical reader. The third, which treats of physical philosophy, breaks off after discussing the theory of falling and of floating bodies. The principle on which most stress is laid is, that the essential character of bodies consists in extension, but their real existence in motion. The sum-total of motions, therefore, which the Cartesians never determine more exactly, can very easily be strictly determined: it exactly amounts to the sum-total of real bodies. Equal motions in opposite directions are called rest. All motions, as for example the increased speed of falling bodies, are easily explained by the disturbance of equilibrium. In this, the chief part is played by the air which follows in their wake, especially the finer element of ether, which remains even in the so-called *vacuum* of the barometer (*baroscopium*). Still more influential than these laymen were some clergymen, who combined Spinozism with religious mysticism—not a very hard thing to do. Amongst these was Friedrich von Leenhof (1647–1712), whose *Heaven and Earth* appeared in 1703, and produced many writings in reply. Still more important was

Partiaan van Hattem (1641–1706), of Bergen op Zoom, whose followers formed the numerous sect of the Hattemists. It can easily be proved that he had read the *Ethics* of Spinoza, at first in manuscript copies. His theories gave rise to a vast amount of controversy. But the opponents of Spinoza were far more numerous than his adherents. Spinozism was attacked as the enemy of religion and as atheism, not merely from the theological side, but also with the weapons of philosophy. The names of Velthuysen (*Tractatus de cultu naturali et origine moralitatis*, 1680), Poiret (*De Deo, anima et malo*, 1685), Wittich (*Anti-Spinoza, etc.*, 1690), Dom. Fr. Lami (*Le nouvel Athéisme Renversé, etc.*, 1696), Jacquelot (*Dissertation sur l'Existence de Dieu, etc.*, Paris, 1696), Jens (*Examen philosophicum sextæ definit. Ethic. Bened. de Spinoza, etc.*, Dort, 1698), prove that opponents and adherents of Descartes and Malebranche combined to attack Spinozism. The appearance of a number of controversial writings shows that notice began to be taken of Spinoza in Germany also. The titles of these were collected by Jänichen in a work of his own, in the beginning of the eighteenth century. The circumstance that Spinoza became known in Germany chiefly through Leibnitz, who put forward a rival system, accounts for the fact that Spinozism did not flourish in this country. Those who were inclined to adopt his views, at least took pains to conceal it. This was what Friedrich Wilhelm Stosch did in his *Harmonia philosophiæ moralis et religionis christianæ*, 1792, which was printed professedly in Amsterdam, but really in Guben.

§ 273.

1. Just as Descartes had done (*vid.* § 269, 2), only in the opposite direction, Spinoza passed from the principle of his philosophy to something which abrogated it. Even in the sense of the word determined in § 259 as a unity of formal and objective existence, that principle was, that God is the only Substance. It is just this that forces Spinoza to give it up. In order to conceive of substance as the only true existence, every negation, and therefore every determination, must be excluded. But the result of this is, that what is excluded from it becomes something which does not exist in it, and which is therefore no longer *in alio*. Determined existence then must be *in se*, or of the nature of substance. It is not merely hard,

as Spinoza admits, but utterly impossible *not* to take the modifications for independently existing things. They themselves change for the mind that regards them, and therefore it changes them. Just as everywhere what is excluded takes its place by the side of that which excludes it, so here definite or determined existence places itself *beside* infinite existence. Similarly Parmenides had been compelled to allow the non-Being to stand side by side with the Being, from which it was excluded.

2. Spinoza tried, as Parmenides had done, to save his pantheism by making the view of existence as one and infinite the only correct and rational view, and representing the view that gave it many aspects as mere opinion (*cf.* § 36, 3) or imagination. But since he explains imagination from the fact that there are many minds and many fragmentary ideas, he is really moving constantly in a circle: imagination makes ideas fragmentary, and is itself the consequence of their being fragmentary. He cannot get rid of the plurality of independent existences; and in order to conceal the contradiction into which he thus falls, he separates his pantheism and individualism ("monism" and "pluralism") by the word *quatenus*, which Herbart has humorously called the charm that made everything possible with Spinoza.

3. As these two different ways of regarding existence are found side by side, those who make Spinoza a pattern of formal consistency, *i.e.* of perfect agreement, have no other resource than to regard only the one side as his real view, and to ignore the other, whether as an inconsistency or as a concession to those who differ from him in opinion. The latter course was adopted almost invariably with the anti-pantheistic propositions until a comparatively recent time. Some fifty or sixty years ago, Thomas attempted the opposite solution of the difficulty. He tried to make out and to maintain that Spinoza was really an atomist, and that his pantheism (that is, almost the whole of the first book of the *Ethics*) either was not seriously meant or was written only to please the pantheistic Cartesians. This paradoxical view has at all events had one good effect. It made men begin to examine more closely what was the real nature of Spinoza's consistency, which had been praised so highly since the days of Jacobi. The result has been to show that Spinoza was consistent, not in standing by what he had once said, but in deducing from this all possible conse-

quences, even such as were opposed to the point from which he started. Descartes' ultimate conclusion, that God alone was substance, provided a theme for Spinoza. Spinoza in turn, starting from this point, was driven to the view that individual existences were of the nature of substance; and thus he provided a theme for the thinkers of the succeeding period. And they treated Spinoza exactly as he had treated Descartes—they ignored everything but his ultimate conclusion.

SECOND PERIOD OF MODERN PHILOSOPHY.

PHILOSOPHY OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY : INDIVIDUALISM.

§ 274.

THE preceding period was the period of organization. Busied with this, men forgot that it was of the nature of mind always to pass from universality into the particular subjects, and to quicken itself and them by this mutual sustenance. Such neglect brought its own punishment with it. The other aspect of the whole was now brought into undue prominence, and in all spheres of intellectual life subjectivity and individualism raised their heads. The reverence for ecclesiastical dogma had to give way before the assertion of personal conviction, and of the no less personal need of salvation. And in this movement the men of the Enlightenment and the Pietists had more than one point in common, including an interest in heretics. In the State the example shown by the successors of the great queen and the still greater minister (§ 262) taught rulers and statesmen to be guided more by egoism than by a regard for the general well-being. This practical maxim, as might have been expected, spread downwards from above, until, simultaneously on the throne and among the dregs of the people, the cry arose, "After us the deluge." Lastly, the movement showed itself in the constitution of the Church. The individual congregations grew too strong for the national Church, and everywhere distrust was roused against the territorial system. Hand-in-hand with this went the leaning from the Lutheran to the Reformed communion. So strongly is this contrasted with the principle that guided the organization already described, that we may fairly call this period the period of *disorganization*.

§ 275.

Individualism was the only philosophical formula to which a representative man in such a period could give expression. This has now to develop the aspect of truth unwillingly admitted by Spinoza, and, in conscious opposition to pantheism, to defend to the uttermost the substantial existence of individual objects. Individual objects, however, with Descartes and Spinoza were of two kinds, which, having opposite predicates attached to them, were mutually exclusive. Individualism accordingly will develop itself in two diametrically opposite directions, which may be called realistic and idealistic, after the names that individual objects had last received (*res* and *idea*). By these must be understood here only individualist (anti-pantheistic) systems, which in their turn are mutually opposed. Considerations of convenience make it advisable to begin with the realistic series.

FIRST DIVISION.**Realistic Systems.**

§ 276.

The tendency of realism is to bring into prominence individual beings as such, but also to exalt what is material in them at the expense of what is spiritual. In this movement a negative and a positive element may be distinguished. But the two are so completely separate, that at first the human spirit is brought to the humble acknowledgment of its own insufficiency, without those who produce this result always being conscious that the humiliation of what is intellectual can only lead to the triumph of what is corporeal. The SCEPTICS and MYSTICS of this period, even those in whom the superhuman interest appears most strongly, prepared the way for the thinkers who, while maintaining that the mind was unable to find the truth within itself, added that the external world, and not God, provided the means for supplying the deficiency. In fact, indications which point to this view are found in almost every writer of these two schools.

§ 277.

A.—THE SCEPTICS.

1. The self-sufficiency of the mind, which Descartes and Spinoza had acknowledged by saying that it created its own ideas like an "automaton," had been questioned by some even of the contemporaries of these two philosophers. The earliest of these was FRANÇOIS DE LA MOTHE LE VAYER (1588–1672), a man of education and knowledge of the world, as became one who had been tutor in a royal family. Among his numerous works (first collected 1654–56, 2 vols. fol.; last edition, Dresden, 1756–59, 14 vols. 8vo), he wrote some in which various peoples and various epochs were compared. Just as had been the case with Montaigne, these ethnological studies strengthened his sceptical tendencies. Nowhere does he give more decided expression to these than in the *Cinq Dialogues*, published in 1673, after his death, as the work of one Orosius Tubero. The untrustworthiness of the senses, and therefore still more of the reason, which is entirely dependent on the senses, must lead, he here teaches, to a renunciation of all knowledge. This renunciation can only be helpful to religious faith. It is in the will, by which one subjects oneself to the mysteries of religion, that the merit of faith consists.

2. Although their nationality and calling in life were very different, still there are points of likeness between Le Vayer and the English writer JOSEPH GLANVIL (1636–1680). The sceptical ideas of the latter are developed in his works, *The Vanity of Dogmatizing* (London, 1661), and *Scepsis Scientifica* (London, 1665), where, among other things, the validity of the idea of cause is attacked. With this sceptical attitude he combines a supernatural theology, defended in his *Philosophia pia* (1671), and his *Essays on Several Subjects in Philosophy and Religion* (1676, 4to); and also a great preference for anti-scholastic, experimental natural science. The latter he shows especially in his *Plus ultra, Or the Progress and Advancement of Learning*, etc. (1668). As the title of this book indicates, he is a disciple of Bacon. He notices Descartes too, but not to express agreement with him. Against him, as well as against Hobbes, he calls in the aid of Montaigne and Charron.

3. The third who deserves mention, is a German contemporary of Glanvil, HIERONYMUS HIRNHAIM (1637–1679), abbot of the Premonstrant monastery at Prague. His book, *De typho generis humani*, etc., Prague, 1676, 4to, does not betray any acquaintance with Descartes. In contempt for knowledge he surpasses even Glanvil, and he takes particular delight in bringing into prominence the contradiction between the dogmas of belief and the axioms of reason, in order to point the moral that the mind, unable to find the truth within itself, should seek help in the Divine revelation. As a general rule, however, a passive attitude is recommended, since the mind can only conceive what it has previously felt, *i.e.* received. Hirnhaim also shares Glanvil's liking for natural science, but his physics are not modern, and belong rather to the latter period of the Middle Ages. His world-soul and the *ideæ seminales* which it contains, as well as the *Archæi* which work in things, remind us strongly of Paracelsus. Nor can this be wondered at, if we bear in mind that the Paracelsian physician and philosopher, J. Marcus Marci (1595–1665), exercised great influence over him. This thinker taught at the University of Prague, and his work, *Idearum operatricium idea*, had been published in Prague three years before Hirnhaim's birth.

Cf. Barach : *Hieronymus Hirnhaim*, etc., Vienna, 1864. G. E. Guhrauer : *Marcus Marci und seine philosophischen Schriften*, in Fichte's *Zeitschrift*, vol. xxi., 1852.

4. Of much more importance is the theologian DANIEL HUET (8 Feb., 1630, to 26 Jan., 1721), renowned for his vast learning. He was quite conscious of his antagonism to Descartes and Spinoza. For a while he was inclined towards Cartesianism, but he seems to have been turned away from it by the influence of Isaac Vossius. Just as the father (Gerhard Vossius) may have been the first to suggest the Biblical euhemerism that makes Huet in his *Demonstratio evangelica* see in the history of almost all the Greek gods and goddesses simply the story of Moses and his sister, so the son may have been the cause of Huet's subsequent hostility to Descartes. His chief philosophical works were: *Censura philosophiæ Cartesianæ* (Paris, 1689); *Quæstiones Alnetanæ de concordia rationis et fidei* (Caën, 1690); and *Traité philosophique de la Faiblesse de l'Esprit Humain* (Amst., 1723), written in 1690 in French, and

then translated by Huet himself into Latin, but not published till after his death. These show how his aversion to Descartes and Spinoza, which had grown into positive anger against them, is combined with a scepticism which brings a charge of untrustworthiness against the senses and still more against the reason, whose chief instrument,—the syllogism,—is said to rest simply upon evasions. He therefore goes on to demand that we should make ourselves subject to revelation, upon which even the credibility of the axioms of reason ultimately depends. Only because in the dogma of the Trinity, trinity and unity are not ascribed to the same subject (Substance), does the principle of identity hold good; and not conversely. But in proportion as he emphasizes the insufficiency of reason, Huet approximates to sensationalist and even materialistic opinions. It is an established axiom with him, that nothing can be in the understanding that has not already been in the senses; and he is fond of repeating that it is the impressions on the brain that force the mind to form its ideas of things.

Cf. Chr. Bartholmèss: *Huet, évêque d'Avranches, ou le scepticisme théologique.* Paris, 1850.

5. Decidedly the foremost place among the Sceptics of this period belongs to PIERRE BAYLE (18 Nov., 1647, to 27 Nov., 1706). He was early familiar with the works of Montaigne and Le Vayer; and in Geneva, whither he had betaken himself when he found his security in France endangered by his apostasy (1670) from Catholicism, which he had embraced too hurriedly, he became acquainted with Cartesianism. This he expounded in his lectures, while he was a professor at Sedan. There are clear traces of scepticism in his *Letter on Comets* (i.e. the dread of comets), written while he was at Sedan, but not published till 1682, at Rotterdam; it is quite openly professed in his *Dictionnaire Historique et Critique* (first ed. 1695-97, 2 vols, fol.; second ed., greatly enlarged, 1702: the best edition is that of Des Maizeaux, 1740, 4 vols. fol.). Bayle's other writings are to be found in *Œuvres de P. Bayle*, etc., the Hague, 3 vols. fol. (3rd vol. in two parts). The most complete justification for our ranking Bayle among the individualist philosophers is the manner in which he treats Spinoza. The advocate of toleration is hardly recognisable in this part of his work, so strong a re-

semblance do his invectives bear to those of the fanatic Huet. Spinozism is called a most monstrous opinion, which surpasses all conceivable absurdities, and so on. Atomism, on the other hand, which he rightly recognises as the view most diametrically opposed to pantheism, enjoys a much more kindly treatment. The other differences between the views of atomists, *e.g.* between the followers of Descartes and those of Gassendi, seem to be of no importance so long as they unite in opposition to what he censures as the worst of Spinoza's blunders, *viz.* the idea that individual objects are merely modifications of a single substance. In spite of his hostility to pantheism, however, Bayle did not come back to the point from which Descartes had started, that is, to the unassailable certainty of one's own existence, and the positive knowledge resulting therefrom. Rather, his scepticism shows a decided tendency to question both. We are said to be far surer of the external world than we are of ourselves; in fact, since we are re-created at every instant, we do not know at all whether we are still (the same), and so on. Just as uncertain as the certainty of our own existence is the canon deduced from this, which the Cartesians held to be the criterion of truth. This it assuredly is not, for the dogmas of religious belief, which certainly contain truth, contradict the most evident axioms of reason; and heresies, Manichæism, for example, conform much more to the requirements of reason than Christianity does. This is no disadvantage to the latter, for since faith rests upon revelation, and demands the surrender of the reason, it becomes more meritorious the more difficult it is. Bayle rejects most decidedly the arrogance that would doubt the honesty of the man who asserts that he believes what is contrary to his reason. How should not such a contradiction be possible, when reason, like caustic remedies, is only successful in refuting errors, and is bound to inflict damage where it attempts to demonstrate religious truth, just as those remedies are when they touch healthy flesh? It is bound to do so, for it undertakes the task of representing as necessary whatever it demonstrates; and accordingly in considering the order of salvation it transforms God's free work into something necessary, just as Spinozism does. A man of such immense learning as Bayle could not but attach great value to experience, as that by which material is accumulated. His preference was rather for historical matter than for nature. Still,

he had a certain amount of interest in natural science. But he cared far more for ethics than for physics. As might be expected from the individualist point of view which he adopts, he makes individual conviction and individual conscience the real principle of moral action. When, however, he begins to determine more exactly what is meant by conscience, he is often led to give great prominence to the element of universality in it, so that his moral philosophy is a compromise between subjectivity and objectivity. The former comes to the front when he maintains that a false conviction, if it be innocent, forms as complete a justification of an action as a true one would do, and when he makes no distinction between the erring conscience and that whose demands are true. . On the other hand, the latter makes its presence felt when he asserts that the conscience of all agrees in certain demands, and when he calls it universal reason, or compares moral philosophy with logic, the latter of which forbids all that is contrary to one's intellectual conscience. Only in one point is he absolutely consistent, that is, in the complete separation of moral philosophy from dogma, the doctrinal side of religion. Not only is he continually arguing against those who deny morality to the heathen, but he carries his opposition to a theological basis of ethics so far that he falls into self-contradiction. He declares it to be quite possible for a state to consist entirely of atheists, and he says that the worst Christian may be the best citizen. So far, this is quite consistent with the separation of moral philosophy from religious creed. But when he goes further, and hints that zealous Christians must necessarily disregard the well-being of their state, and when he shows that this well-being demands and pre-supposes all sorts of things that the Christian considers to be wrong, he clearly asserts that civic virtue is not consistent with every creed, inasmuch as it is inconsistent with Christianity. This anticipates the subsequent declaration of Mandeville (*vid.* § 284, 2). But Bayle blunts the point of it by the mischievous remark that we need not distress ourselves about states composed solely of Christians. The number of those who really live as the gospel directs will always be very small. Those who, in spite of their profession of Christianity, are ambitious, interested, and so on, will everywhere form the majority.

Cf. Ludw. Feuerbach: *Pierre Bayle nach seinen für die Geschichte der Philosophie und Menschheit interessantesten Momenten.* Augsburg, 1838.

§ 278.

B.—THE MYSTICS.

1. The Mysticism of this period leads to the same result as its Scepticism, a coincidence which will be better understood if we note the union of mystic and sceptical elements in a single individual, *e.g.* in Hirnhaim. The mystics reproached the mind with its poverty and helplessness, and in doing so they aimed, even more than did the sceptics, at furthering the interests of the supernatural. Then came the demand to accept truth from the Godhead that reveals it, and by-and-by the hint to accept it from the phenomenal world as well. As soon, however, as the mind has become accustomed to the humble *rôle* of a mendicant, complete subjection to its benefactor may be looked for. This is not possible so long as, owing to their contradictory predicates, those individual existences which are spiritual and those which are material are mutually exclusive, and therefore both equally justified. Some change must be made before any relation of superiority and inferiority is possible. This may be brought about either by attaching to minds a predicate which will bring them nearer to bodies, or by giving to bodies a predicate which will make them more like minds. The former alternative leads more directly to the purpose in view—the subjection of the ideal world to the real; the latter may also be perverted to serve an end directly at variance with its original one. Of the two contemporaries and friends who accomplished what we have just indicated, More, who conceives of spirits as being also extended beings, in a very special degree paved the way for Realism; while Cudworth, who makes the component parts of the physical world *quasi*-thinking beings, exercised an appreciable influence upon Leibnitz, *i.e.* upon the development of Idealism.

2. HENRY MORE (12th Oct., 1614, to 1st Sept., 1687) was at first led by somewhat unsystematic philosophical studies at Cambridge to a peculiar form of pantheism. From this he was emancipated by the study of the Neo-Platonists, of German theology, and of other mystic writings; and lastly, by Cartesianism. Cartesianism, however, he found perfectly satisfactory only for a short period. It became more and more apparent to him that, in the true philosophy, Cartesianism forms only one side and Platonism the other; and that the two

are mutually complementary, like body and soul. This true philosophy he believes to have been laid down in the original Jewish Cabalah, which stretches back far beyond Moses, and to have been transplanted by means of Moses (Moschos) to the Greeks,—Pythagoras, Plato, and others. He gives a full account of the fortunes and the contents of this true Cabalah in a number of writings (collected in *Henrici Mori Cantabrigiensis Opera omnia, tum quæ latine tum quæ anglice scripta sunt, nunc vero latinitate donata, instigatu et impensis generosissimi juvenis Joannis Cockshuti*, Lond., 1679, 3 vols. fol.). His most important proposition is, that all substances are extended, but extended in such a way that minds are under a fourth dimension, in virtue of which they are not, like bodies, confined within the limits of impenetrability. Accordingly those who maintain that mind is nowhere (Nullibilists), and those who teach that it exists altogether in every part (Holenmerians), are equally wrong. Rather, like a globe illuminated from within, mind admits of gradual distinctions. Its innermost and brightest portion is connected with one organ; the outer and darker region with others. When impressions are made from without, the parts of the soul on the circumference connected with the organs of sense, prompt the inner or central parts to the production of thoughts. (Only of God can it be said that He is everywhere and nowhere, that He is everywhere altogether and equally, that He is altogether centre, and so on.) As regards bodies, these cannot contract and expand, because the fourth dimension does not affect them. They are impenetrable. Therefore with them all influence is exerted merely on the surface, and Descartes is quite right when he treats the theory of bodies as mechanics. The point in which his physical philosophy requires to be corrected is, that not merely organic bodies but all bodies are interpenetrated by minds. In the lowest stages these are called germs (*formæ seminales*); in the higher, souls. Further, the universe too is interpenetrated by a quickening spirit of this kind, the spirit of nature or of the world. This, which is itself unconscious and unreflecting, serves as an instrument in the hands of God, and furnishes the key to the phenomena of sympathy and antipathy, of animal instincts, and so on.

3. RALPH CUDWORTH (1617 to 26th Jan., 1688) studied at the University of Cambridge from his fourteenth year, and taught there from his twenty-eighth. Besides some smaller writings

on theological subjects he published an *opus magnum*: *The True Intellectual System of the Universe. The first part, wherein all the reason and philosophy of Atheism is confuted, and its impossibility demonstrated.* London, printed for Richard Royston, 1678, fol. Mosheim, who translated this work into Latin (*Systema intellectuale*, Jen., 1733), included in his second edition Cudworth's posthumous work, *Discourse of Moral Good and Evil*. Materialistic doctrines, especially those of Hobbes, led Cudworth to investigate carefully the nature of Atheism, under which term he includes the opinions of all those who admit the existence only of what is material (corporealists). Of the four classes to which he reduces them all, the most important seem to him to be the Atomism of Democritus, which deduces everything from existences that are simply extended, and the Hylozoism of Strato, according to which the primitive particles are endowed with life. The latter view, which is a denial of mere Atomism, may very well be combined with theology. It is indeed really the only one that can save theologians from the fanatical opinion that God with His wonder-working power interferes directly everywhere. The modified Hylozoism which Cudworth adopts attributes to every component part of the physical world a plastic nature, what chemists call "Archäus," the essence of which may be called thought, provided that by this is understood nothing conscious. Similarly, every larger whole—a planet as well as the body of a man or an animal—has its own principle of life. Those who are afraid of admitting that the whole universe has a plastic nature of this kind cannot at least avoid allowing one to each planetary system. We must not, however, think of these principles of life as something divine. In fact, it is a mistake to consider the life of planets, and so on, a very high one. It is rather the lowest form, and may be compared to our dreams or to the instinctive action of animals. According to Cudworth, there is a great deal of truth to be extracted from the positive assertions of Hylozoism, but this is counterbalanced by the weakness of its negative statements, especially its objections against the proofs of the existence of God. He himself undertakes the defence of all these proofs—of the teleological against Descartes' denial of final causes, and in a special degree of the ontological. In the latter he finds, just as the authors of the second set of objections against Descartes had done

(*vid.* 267, 2), only one defect. We must begin by proving that a being whose existence is necessary is possible, and then we may go on to deduce existence from the idea we have of such a being; that is, either God is impossible, or He really exists. Further, from the fact that there are eternal verities, it must be concluded, according to Cudworth, that there is an eternal understanding in which these are found, and in which the reason of individual human beings participates. All knowledge then is really a process of illumination by God, just as historically all philosophy originates in the divinely revealed Cabalah, which was transmitted from the Jews to the Greeks. Lastly, Cudworth disposes of those objections against the existence of God which are deduced from the presence of evil in the world. We could certainly imagine a world in which the individual would be better; but it is quite another question whether this would not be more than counterbalanced by the loss of perfection to the whole. In any case, however, want of perfection is not to be attributed to the will of God, but to the limitation which is inseparable from the nature of the finite.

4. As was the case among the Sceptics, so among the Mystics the foremost place belongs to a Frenchman. PIERRE POIRET (15th Aug., 1646, to 21st May, 1719) was at first an adherent of Descartes, but was afterwards alienated from him by the writings of Tauler, Thomas à Kempis, and particularly of Mdlle. Bourignon. Subsequently he became filled with aversion, especially towards Spinoza. To this feeling he gives expression in the second edition of his *Cogitationes rationales de Deo, anima et malo*, which originally (1677) had had quite a Cartesian tone. The *Œconomie Divine* (Amst., 1682, 7 vols. 12mo) is chiefly devoted to the exposition of his theological doctrines, which have long exercised great influence, particularly in Germany. For his philosophical opinions his most important work is: *De eruditione solida superficialiaria et falsa*, etc. (Amst., 1692, 12mo). In his *Fides et ratio collata* (Amst., 1708, 12mo), he appears in the same relation to Locke as that in which Malebranche had stood to Spinoza,—roused to wrath by the logical results of his own views. Poiret, like More, compares the mind to a globe of light whose outer surface is the medium of external and lower knowledge, and whose centre is the medium of inner and higher knowledge. The former is the active understanding or reason, through

which we possess ideas and mathematics, the triumph of the reason. It has only to do with shadows of reality, and as soon as it attempts to exercise dominion in the sphere of the real, as in the mathematical physics of the Cartesians, it merely lays hold on the dead corpse of nature instead of on its living body, and finds only lifeless mechanism and fatalism instead of intelligible order and freedom. A much higher place belongs to the passive, purely receptive understanding. This, however, is itself subdivided into two: receptivity either for the influence of the world of sense, or for that of God. Even the former stands much higher than reason does, for by its instrumentality we are affected by something that is real, by it we come to a knowledge of existence, and not of shadows merely. Receptivity for the Divine revelation, of course, takes the highest place. Through this man rises to be a theologian, just as through the use of the reason he sinks into a philosopher. It was therefore a complete reversal of the truth to do as Descartes did, and make the evidence of reason the cardinal point of all knowledge. The most certain fact of all is God, and we must accordingly begin with Him. He is much more certain to us than our own existence is. Then follows the existence of material things. The erroneous method of the Cartesians made men doubt what was most certain of all, God, and also, as is proved by the example of Malebranche, the existence of bodies.

§ 279.

C.—EMPIRICISM.

Even where the Sceptics and Mystics did not, like Poiret, actually rank sense-perception above knowledge derived from the mind itself, even where they did not, like Le Vayer, More, and Huet, adopt the axiom, *Nihil est in intellectu quod non ante fuerit in sensu*,—they still paved the way for Empiricism. As soon as mind has been placed in a purely receptive relation towards one thing, the Godhead, it follows at once that it is not inconsistent with its nature to receive help from without. And, considering the anti-pantheistic tendency of these doctrines, it is not credible that the Godhead will long maintain this position of sole benefactor. Bayle was not the only one who saw where the real contrast to Pantheism lay. Sensationalism and blind subjection to faith had appeared side by

side in Huet and Poiret (as frequently in modern times). It only required the advent of religious enlightenment to make the former come forward in all its singleness, and announce to the mind that it must let the external world say what is true, and order what is just and good. The speculative aspect of this point of view is represented by LOCKE, its practical side by the ENGLISH SYSTEMS OF MORALS.

§ 280.

LOCKE.

Lord King: *The Life of John Locke, etc.* New edition, Lond., 1830. 2 vols.
[H. R. Fox Bourne: *Life of John Locke.* Lond., 1876. 2 vols.—Tr.]

1. JOHN LOCKE was born on 29th Aug., 1632, at Wrington in Somersetshire. At Oxford, where however he was chiefly occupied with medical studies, he was first repelled from philosophy by the doctrines of the Schoolmen, and then brought back to it by the study of Descartes. For a while he was attached to the English embassy at Berlin, and afterwards he lived for a short time in France. Next, only however so long as his patron, Lord Shaftesbury, was in power, he was invested with a civil post of considerable importance. Subsequently he retired to Holland, the refuge of all religious or political malcontents. Here in 1685 he composed in Latin his "Letter on Toleration," which appeared anonymously along with two others in 1689, and which had been written in an English form as early as 1667 (*Epistola de Tolerantia, etc.* Gouda, 1689, 12mo). There too his chief work, of which the plan had been formed as early as 1670, and a scheme put in writing in 1671, was completed, and an extract from it published in Leclerc's *Bibliothèque Universelle*. It did not appear in its final shape until Locke had returned to England with William of Orange, when it was brought out as *An Essay concerning Human Understanding, in four books*. London, 1690. (The French translation prepared by Coste, Amsterd., 1700, is fuller than the first English editions, inasmuch as it contains additions from Locke's own hand. The later ones contain these additions, retranslated into English.) Besides this *opus magnum*, which has been translated into very many languages, Locke wrote on the most various subjects,—on the form of government, on raising the value of money, on education, on the reasonableness of Chris-

tianity, all of which treatises are found in his collected works. The London octavo edition of these in ten volumes has been very often reprinted. On Oct. 28th, 1704, Locke died in the house of Cudworth's son-in-law, Masham.

2. As Descartes had done before him, and as Kant was to do after him, Locke maintained that before a philosophical inquiry can be set on foot, it must first be made clear whether it falls within the compass of our understanding, and how far the power of our understanding extends. This inquiry he himself compares with the attempt to look at one's own eye; and he impresses upon us the fact that it does not concern the nature of mind, but contents itself with noting what takes place in the understanding, when knowledge is acquired. Locke agrees with Descartes in applying the word "idea" to everything which falls within our consciousness; and the task to which he chiefly applies himself, is to discover how the human mind in general attains to ideas. The *First Book* arrives at the negative result, that the view according to which ideas or their combinations, axioms, are innate, is untenable. If there were such innate ideas, they would be found in every one, and therefore in children and savage races. But the example of the former proves that the theoretical axioms, that are regarded as innate, the so-called laws of thought, are not universally valid. Besides, their abstract character shows that they are the product of an advanced stage of civilization. Similarly, the case of savages proves that there is no single practical axiom which is universally valid. The same is true of the component parts of axioms, individual ideas; there are none which are innate. All the *ideæ innatæ* of Descartes (§ 267, 6) are accordingly denied, and only the *ideæ adventitiæ* admitted. The understanding is, in its natural condition, like a blank sheet of paper.

3. This negative result is supplemented by the *Second Book*, which shows that this white paper is written upon by experience, *i.e.* by a perfectly passive reception of impressions. If what we perceive in this way is an object external to ourselves, we call this perception through the external sense or this external experience, sensation. But if we perceive by internal sense something that goes on within ourselves, we call this internal experience reflection, in regard to which it must not be forgotten that it is just as much a passive process as sensation is. Whether what is reflected in our under-

standing is something external or something internal, we ourselves in the process of reflection always perform the part of the smoothly polished glass in the *camera obscura*. (To-day Locke would have said, of Daguerre's silver plate.) There are therefore ideas of sensation and of reflection. The power of an object to call forth an idea in our understanding we call its quality. If the idea that is called forth resembles that condition of the object by which it was called forth, it is a primary quality. Thus extension and impenetrability are primary qualities, because our idea of extended existence has its counterpart in a real separation between the particles, and the resistance that we feel has its counterpart in an analogous configuration of the parts. On the other hand, in most cases in which we speak of the sensible qualities of things, it is quite otherwise. These qualities (agreeable, for example, or blue) really tell only of a certain relation to our organ of sense; the capacity of the object in virtue of which it produces in us the sensation of blue, is no more like this sensation than the capacity of the sun in virtue of which it softens wax, is like softness. Instead of merely speaking in this case, as would be perhaps more correct, of a power the body has to be viewed as blue, we ascribe to it the quality blue. This does not matter, provided we always bear in mind the distinction between these secondary qualities and the primary ones. The latter lie in things, the former lie in ourselves. (Descartes had made exactly the same distinction in separating *modi rerum* from *modi cogitandi*: vid. § 267, 6. Malebranche had gone still further: vid. *supra* § 270, 3.) The ideas of sensation are therefore a result of the qualities of things outside ourselves; the ideas of reflection are the results of the conditions in which we ourselves are. Of these two sorts of ideas, and of them alone, all our knowledge consists, and therefore the sphere of understanding is limited to them and their combinations. Exactly as it is impossible to make a picture visible to one who has been born blind, so even God Himself cannot reveal to us any knowledge that pre-supposes a sixth sense. Just as the innumerable multitude of words are combinations of only five and twenty letters, so the number of primitive or simple ideas, out of which all knowledge is ultimately combined, is not very large. In order to exhibit the complete alphabet of these, it is advisable first to enumerate those ideas for which we are indebted to a single sense (like colour,

sound, and so on), and then those which are introduced into us by the combination of several senses (extension, for example, which when measured is called space); further, those which are due to reflection pure and simple (thought, will, duration, which when measured is called time); and, lastly, those which arise from a combination of sensation and reflection (power, unity, and so on). Just as syllables and words are formed from letters, so from these simple ideas, which are the basis of all kinds of knowledge, are formed by combination complex ideas, which Locke reduces to the three classes—modes, substances, and relations. Since simple ideas result from processes independent of ourselves, there must always correspond to them something real; they are ectypes. On the other hand, complex ideas as images of our mind are archetypes (the Schoolmen said *entia rationis*); they have nothing real to correspond to them. To this latter class belong all universal conceptions, and therefore everything that can be denoted by words (not proper names) and made clear by definitions (not by being exhibited). Locke here adopts entirely the principles of mediæval Nominalism, *i.e.* he is an individualist. A vast number of errors are due to people forgetting that a word always denotes something general, not something actual. Accordingly he considers it necessary to insert the *Third Book*, which deals simply with language. Intelligibility is the end of language, the hearer always combining the same ideas in the same manner as the speaker does. Closely connected with the (anti-pantheistic) assertion that only individual objects have any real existence, is the zeal with which Locke always combats the doctrine of Descartes and Spinoza, that infinity is a positive and finitude a negative conception. In his view, just the opposite is the case.

4. One only of the complex ideas stands in a different relation from all the rest. This is the conception of substance. Whether it be because we are accustomed to find many qualities together, or whether there is some other cause at work, we are compelled to supply a support for the aggregation of these qualities. Although neither external nor internal experience gives us this conception, and although we have no distinct idea of it, still we are bound to say that it is something real. The idea of substance, therefore, although complex, is still an ectype or copy; not indeed

an adequate one, as the idea of extension is, for we do not know *what* it is that corresponds to our idea, we are only certain *that* there is something that does so correspond. For this reason we cannot divide substances according to their nature, but only according to their qualities, and thus they fall into cogitative and those which are not cogitative. The former class must not be called immaterial, as they were by the Cartesians; for it is possible, indeed their passivity makes it very probable, that they too are material. Equally incorrect is the other assertion of the Cartesians in regard to minds, that their essence consists in thought. Then of necessity minds would always think, a hypothesis which experience disproves. Thought as a separable quality may without logical contradiction belong to a corporeal existence.

5. Now if ideas are still further combined (as words into sentences), the idea of their agreement or disagreement produces knowledge. If the relation of the *ideata* corresponds to the relation of the ideas, the knowledge is real; otherwise it is verbal. (Exactly the distinction already made by Occam, *vid.* § 216, 5.) According as the agreement or disagreement is directly perceived, or comes into consciousness through the intervention of some medium, the knowledge is intuitive or demonstrative. Besides these two there is another kind, which, like them, is distinguished from belief and opinion. This is sensible knowledge, or the perception of what exists outside of ourselves. Our knowledge of things is of this sort, our knowledge of ourselves intuitive, and our knowledge of God demonstrative. For the conception of God is merely composed of ideas that represent qualities of minds, and that have been extended by the introduction of the idea of infinity. If the component parts of any piece of knowledge are universal conceptions, it is a universal principle. But it is too often forgotten that such a principle has always been preceded by a knowledge of particulars, from which it has been formed by abstraction: thus we know that this circle is this circle, before we know that everything resembles itself. The use of universal propositions should neither be exaggerated nor undervalued. An important distinction in regard to them must be noted. Some of them add nothing to our knowledge,—identical propositions, for example, where the subject and the predicate are the same, or propositions that predicate of the subject a part of what is contained in it (the

triangle is a triangle, the triangle is three-sided). Others, on the contrary, by drawing conclusions from the nature of the subject, and making these into predicates, do tell us something new (*e.g.* the exterior angle is greater than either of the two interior and opposite angles). (This distinction between "trifling" and "instructive" propositions afterwards plays an important part with Kant and his successors, as the distinction between identical, analytical, and synthetical judgments. *Vid. infra* § 296 ff.)

6. Finally, Locke gives a division of the whole of knowledge. *Φυσική*, or natural philosophy, has to do with things; *πρακτική*, or moral philosophy, has to do with the means by which the good and the useful are attained; lastly, *σημειωτική* treats of symbols, and has rightly been named *λογική*, since words occupy the first place in it. Locke has not elaborated all of these branches of knowledge equally, nor any one of them completely. His *Elements of Natural Philosophy* gives a description of the most important phenomena of the universe. Logic is discussed, not only in his chief work, but also in the treatise, *Of the Conduct of the Understanding*. In regard to moral philosophy, his friends were quite justified in asking him to formulate a system. For here, as in mathematics, it is the relations between conceptions we have ourselves formed that are treated of; and Locke had therefore frequently asserted that ethics might be made just as much a demonstrative science as mathematics is. But instead of giving us something of this kind, he was satisfied with quite casual remarks, from which we can see that he admits no will except such as proceeds from want, and is therefore identical with impulse. Perhaps it was the difficulty of combining this conception of will with the freedom (not of will, but) of man, for which Locke warmly contends, that prevented him from laying down a real principle of ethics. Suffice it to say, that he gives no decided opinion, not even in regard to the source of moral obligation; for he often appeals to Divine authority, and then again emphasises the fact that God never requires anything that is against our interests. The outward sign of the morality of an action he asserts to be the approval of disinterested onlookers. The life in moral associations, in the family, in the State, in the Church, is subjected to a more careful examination than personal morality was. In all cases, however, what he looks at is the form which this life had

assumed in his native country. In his *Thoughts on Education*, which he published in 1690 (*Works*, vol. ix.), he has always a cultivated English family in view. His two *Treatises on Government* (1689), really the beginning and end of a larger work which he intended to produce, are, as he himself admits, an examination of the State from the point of view of a Whig filled with enthusiasm for William the Third. Lastly, his *Letters on Toleration* (English version in the 6th volume of the London edition), as well as his treatise on *The Reasonableness of Christianity* (*ibid.*, vol. vii.), state the opinions of a freethinking member of the Church of England. In spite of their national colouring, these writings, after this colouring had disappeared, exercised great influence, even outside of England, and they must accordingly be mentioned here. Especially characteristic of him is the strictness with which he would draw the line between these various spheres. He tries to secure the family against the interference of the Church as well as of the State. This explains his objection to education in public schools, which in England are institutions of the Church as well as of the State. Education should be directed by a tutor at home. The main thing to be aimed at is practical capacity, and therefore less study of languages and more of facts is required. Modern languages are to be learned earlier than ancient ones, and both are to be taught by actual practice. The grammar of a language is not to be learned till one can speak it. The adaptation of method to the boy's character, the demand for gymnastic exercises, the transformation of work into play, and so on, are recommendations which, after Rousseau stripped them of their English dress (*vid.* § 292, 3), appeared to the world like a new gospel. Exactly in the same way he wishes to have the life of the State separate and distinct both from family life and from the Church. The whole of his first *Treatise* is a continuous polemic against Sir Robert Filmer (1604-1647), whose *Patriarcha*, not published till long after his death (1680), but extensively circulated in manuscript, was held in high estimation by the Tories. In Filmer's book the State was represented as an extension of the family, and monarchy as an institution consecrated by Divine sanction. In his second *Treatise*, Locke expounds such a constitution as had been created by William's ascent of the throne, and not republican theories, as Filmer's contemporaries, Milton (1608 to 8th Nov., 1674) and Algernon Sidney

(1622–1683) had done. In his view the State is a contract concluded for the security of property. The parties renounce their natural right of appropriating everything and of punishing him who lays hands on their property, and submit themselves to the community, which gives expression to its will by the majority. They do this, of course, only on the understanding that the general good will be kept in view in directing the life of the State. The most important point in this treatise, especially owing to the importance which was afterwards attached to it, is the theory of the powers of government. Locke distinguishes three,—the legislative, the executive (administrative and judicial), and the federative. The two latter, in which the State exercises its sovereignty at home and abroad, have, as might be expected, one and the same instrument. In the monarchy this is the prince, who also shares in the legislative function, but to such a limited extent that the centre of gravity lies in the representatives of the people, partly elected and partly hereditary. Where the manner of representation becomes absurd, owing to altered circumstances,—such as the decay of a town that is represented or the rise of one that is unrepresented,—Locke gives us to understand that the monarch may exercise his prerogative and alter the electoral law. For the rest, we can see from the whole of his account how his experiences, partly personal, under the last of the Stuarts, had made him distrustful of the exercise of the prerogative. He always comes back to the point that the legislative power is the supreme power in the State, and that in all cases of dispute the ultimate decision must rest with the people. Unlimited monarchy he does not regard as a form of constitution at all. Only those who are bound by laws form a State, and therefore the unlimited monarch is outside of the State. The “appeal to Heaven,” *i.e.* the attempt to hazard the issue of war, is frequently introduced as the last resort under the arbitrary rule of a tyrant. Finally, as regards the Church; this is a free communion of those who seek the good of their souls in a common worship of God. Since the State has only to aim at bodily well-being, and has no power to affect men’s dispositions, it ought to be tolerant towards all Churches. This obligation meets with a limitation only where the doctrines of a Church or the disposition of an individual endanger the well-being of the State. The State need not bear either with those who can perjure

themselves, or with atheists, who cannot take an oath at all. Religion itself can only suffer by the State's adopting an attitude of partiality to it. The truer it is, the less does it need the help of the State. Experience, too, teaches us that Christianity has always flourished best where the State tolerated the most various religions. It is true that it was at that time also most free from human elements, and stood closest to rational, biblical Christianity. In regard to the account of this, given in the work already mentioned (*Reasonableness*, etc.), it is very strange that Locke denies that he was acquainted with the *Leviathan* of Hobbes. The affinity between his doctrines and that book is not made less by this denial; it is only made more enigmatical. Like Hobbes, he does not wish the teaching of the Bible to be interpreted, but to be taken literally. The total result is, that by Adam's fall physical well-being and physical immortality, which is accidental to man, were lost; that the condition for the recovery of the latter is simply the belief that Jesus is the Messiah; but that the condition under which rewards will be distributed at the last day is obedience to His commands. The latter agree exactly with natural morality; but God's revelation of them has served a good purpose. Without such help it would have been very difficult, even for those with the highest intellectual gifts, and utterly impossible for those less gifted, to convince themselves of the truth of moral precepts. At the same time, as is proved by pagan ethical philosophy, which teaches that we should love virtue for its own sake, we should have lacked one of the strongest impulses to a moral life, the hope of reward and the fear of punishment, which the Christian religion employs in its service. For the rest, Locke does not deny that miracles have been performed to convince us of the truth of the Divine revelation; hence his protest against Toland's appeal to his authority (*vid.* § 285, 1). Before this even, at the very beginning of the work we have been discussing, he declared against those who see in Christ only a revival of natural religion. Our Lord did not indeed teach anything that was contrary to reason, but He certainly taught what the reason would never have discovered, had it been left to itself; e.g. that He is the Messiah, i.e. the whole amount of what we have to believe, just because we cannot find it for ourselves.

7. Locke's views on education appealed to a wider audience

when Rousseau appeared as their advocate; and similarly his political theories found an apostle in Charles de Sécondat, Baron de la Brède et de MONTESQUIEU (18th Jan., 1689, to 10th Feb., 1755). He had come forward as an author, while still a young man (1721); and his *Lettres Persanes* contain an able but bitter criticism of the civil and ecclesiastical condition of France. He next sketched the plan of his chief work, at which he laboured for twenty years. From the historical studies into which he was led, arose his *Considérations sur les causes de la grandeur et de la décadence des Romains* (1734). But, while he owes a good deal to his study of the ancients, of Machiavelli (*vid.* § 253), and of Bodin (*vid.* § 254, 2), he was still more influenced by a residence of several years in England, and by the study of the political writings of Locke as well as of some other English authors, who are to be named immediately. They, on the other hand, are indebted to him for the currency given to their ideas outside of their native country. The work appeared in 1748 under the title, *De l'Esprit des Loix*, and was reprinted some twenty times within a period of eighteen months. It contains his theory,—*i.e.* really Locke's theory modified,—in thirty-one books, the connection between which is not always very close. To meet the attacks made upon it, he subsequently wrote a *Défense de l'Esprit des Loix*. After his death there appeared a second edition, enlarged by additions which Montesquieu himself had composed, and in which he had worked up what professional friends communicated to him in letters as supplementary to his theories. In this form the work has passed into the collected editions of his writings. In the Zweibrücken edition (1784, 8 vols. 8vo), the chief work with its defence fills the first five volumes.—By the spirit of laws, which forms the subject of his inquiry, Montesquieu understands not so much the laws themselves as their connection with all the natural and historical characteristics of the people among whom they are observed. He attaches so much importance to this, that he will not admit any standard of the excellence of a law except that it should conform to the nature of the people. He regards it as a very rare occurrence if laws which are good among one people, maintain that character in different surroundings. In conscious opposition to Spinoza and Hobbes, he declares against the opinion that law and justice do not arise until after the State has been formed. He holds that laws of

justice and equity are prior to all formation of States. He sees the real origin of these in certain natural needs which compel men to seek peace and union. Owing to the varied character of the earth's surface, there are many such communities which have arisen naturally. Positive laws supplement natural laws, and put an end to war between them and within their borders. Thus arises a threefold right: the right of nations, which holds nations together; political right, which holds governors and governed together; and, lastly, civil right, which is the bond between the individual elements of the people. If the sovereign power is in the hands of the whole of the people or of a part of it, the form of government is republican (in the former case democratic, in the latter aristocratic). If it is exercised by one individual, but in such a way that it is regulated by laws, the State is monarchical; a despotism, on the contrary, is where a single individual bends all to his will, just as his humours or his good pleasure may prompt. In the democracy, the people are in one aspect sovereign, in another, subject; the principle by which it subsists is (civic) virtue (in the case of aristocracy, moderation). Without this no democracy can endure. In a monarchy, the real spring of action is honour; in a despotism, it is terror. Accordingly in a democracy and in a despotism every man is on an equality with his neighbour (in the former case equally important, in the latter equally unimportant). On the other hand, a monarchy without nobles and other divisions of rank is an impossibility; any attempt to get rid of these two leads to a despotism. Small states are naturally republics, very large states despotisms, and moderately sized ones monarchies. (A federative republic may also cover a wide area, and may consist of republics like the Netherlands or Switzerland, or of monarchies like the German empire.) Besides the size of a state, account must also be taken of the climate, the character of the soil, and so on. Much that would be an absurdity in Europe, is a necessity in Asia (cf. books xvii., xviii.). Although Montesquieu's point of view does not admit of his definitely expressing a preference for one form of constitution over the others, still he does not deny that he has an exclusive enthusiasm for the Romans among ancient nations, and for the English among modern ones. This latter feeling has brought him into substantial agreement with Locke on a great many points. More especially he has been led in

the famous eleventh book, which treats of political freedom in its relation to the constitution, to give to his description of the English constitution almost the form of an *a priori* construction (cap. vi., cf. book xix., cap. xxvii.). Consequently, those who for the last hundred years have drawn their constitutional theories from him, have all been accustomed to look upon England as the ideal of political freedom. After first defining political freedom as the power to do what one ought to desire, he lays down as its chief condition the right relation between the three powers of government. Here he at first completely adopts Locke's position. *La puissance législative, la puissance exécutrice des choses qui dépendent du droit des gens, and la puissance exécutrice de celles qui dépendent du droit civil* are just what legislative, federative, and executive power were with Locke. But while with Locke judicial activity constituted only one part of the executive power, which included administrative activity as well, the French lawyer, who saw in the judicial authorities of his native country the last bulwark against despotism, attaches much greater importance to the judicial function. He even goes so far as to say that henceforth he will understand by the executive power that which makes war and peace, and sends ambassadors (*i.e.* Locke's federative power), and will rank the judicial as a third variety side by side with this and the legislative. Everything is lost, in his view, if these three powers are combined in one person or in one collegiate body; for that is oriental despotism. Everything, on the other hand, is won, in his view, if the judges are entirely different persons from those who lay down or carry out the laws. Accordingly in a monarchy he is willing to allow the prince a large share in legislation; but the point to which he always returns is, that the judges must be completely independent both of the executive and of the legislative power. To be sure, he also limits the activity of the judges entirely to the question of fact, and then to the (purely mechanical) application of the written law. With him it is no question of *finding* a decision. The objection was raised, that the separation of these powers would lead to a crippling of all three, and therefore to a stoppage of the machine of the State. It is noteworthy that the only answer he can make, is the assurance that since the machine *must* go, the powers will ultimately act together. Except the conditions given in nature, and except the constitution, there

is hardly anything of such importance for the life of the State as religion. After the covert attacks on Christianity in the *Lettres Persanes*, it might perhaps be generally expected that, as in Machiavelli, the Christian religion would be compared unfavourably with others. This expectation would prove groundless. Whether it is that Montesquieu modified his views as he grew older, or whether it is that he was determined by the practical consideration that heathendom is a thing of the past, suffice it to say, that he gives the Christian religion the preference above all others.

§ 281.

THE ENGLISH SYSTEMS OF MORALS.

Schleiermacher: *Grundlinien einer Kritik der bisherigen Sittenlehre*. Berlin, 1803. Fr. Vorländer: *Geschichte der philosophischen Moral, Rechts- und Staatslehre der Franzosen und Engländer*. Marburg, 1833.

1. In the first book of his *Essay*, Locke had placed speculative and practical principles on the same plane. In regard to the former, however, he had supplemented the negative result that they are not innate, by the positive statement that they are presented to us by the external world. Exactly the same process must be looked for in the case of the latter: the mind cannot draw the principles of action from within itself, they must come to it from without, and not, as mediæval philosophy had taught, through revelation, but from the external world. This positive addition to Locke's negative assertion was made by some thinkers who are connected with him, not merely by nationality, but also by the fact that they owe to him their first impulse towards philosophy. With one exception (Clarke), they have confined themselves entirely to the practical aspect of the question. But since the theoretical speculations of Clarke have exercised much less influence than his views upon ethics, and since his position in regard to the latter is very like the position of one of the others, his teaching may be discussed among the systems of moral philosophy, in spite of the objections that have been made against such a classification.

2. SAMUEL CLARKE (11th Oct., 1675, to 17th May, 1727), while still an undergraduate, conceived a dislike to Cartesianism, which was prevalent in Cambridge. In his twenty-first year

he published a translation of Rohault's *Physics* (vid. § 268, 3), accompanied by notes in the spirit of Newton. (Subsequently he became so closely associated with the latter that, with the author's approval, he translated the *Optics* into Latin.) Theological treatises and sermons, which were favourably received, led to his being entrusted with the apologetic lectures of the Boyle foundation for the year 1704, and—quite an exceptional occurrence—for the following year as well. The two courses were printed and published under the title: *A Discourse concerning the Being and Attributes of God, the Obligation of Natural Religion, and the Truth and Certainty of the Christian Revelation*, etc. London, 2 vols., 1705-6. (Often reprinted and translated.) Besides this *opus magnum*, must be mentioned his correspondence with Dodwell on immortality, with a Cambridge scholar and Collins on freedom, and with Leibnitz on space, time, and other subjects. Except the letter to Dodwell, they are all translated into French in Des Maizeaux, *Recueil de diverses pièces*, etc., 2 vols.; Amst. (2nd ed., 1740). The originals will be found in the collected edition of his works, London, 4 vols. fol., 1732-42. —Clarke's hostility to Spinozism, characteristic of this whole period, is especially prominent in the *first* part of his principal work, where he indulges in a more violent polemic against Spinoza than against any atheist. The mistaken idea, which Clarke shares with Bayle, that Spinoza transformed the sum of all things into God, is not the only reason why, in spite of all the ability displayed on this very point, he succeeded only in raising a temporary sensation, and not in producing a lasting effect. This is rather to be explained by an inconsistency into which the author has been betrayed. He very often insists that everything must be arrived at by deduction, that philosophical and mathematical method coincide, that nothing is proved unless its opposite is self-contradictory, and so on. These precepts he follows so faithfully, that Zimmermann, in the essay to be referred to below, rightly makes him a follower of Spinoza, and declares that of the twelve propositions, in the establishment of which his work consists, the first seven might quite well have been endorsed by Spinoza. For they assert and prove deductively that from all eternity there exists a single Being, who is unchangeable, independent, necessary, and infinite. But then he suddenly passes from deduction to induction, and argues from the irrefragable fact

that each one of us is a spirit and is free, back to the spirituality and freedom of God. Further, he treats as valid the teleological method, although it is quite inconsistent with the mathematical one. In short, he appears first as an adherent of Empiricism, and then as an intellectual kinsman of Leibnitz, between whose views in regard to evil and his own there is practically a literal agreement. The fact that the two opponents of pantheism are at one in this respect, does not, however, prevent them from disputing on another point. The contrast to Leibnitz, the idealistic upholder of individualism, which was what justified us in ranking Clarke here (cf. § 275), comes out especially in the correspondence between the two. In this contest, too, a want of consistency has broken the point of Clarke's argument. At the very outset he concedes to Leibnitz, what he had already said in his chief work, that we dare not with Locke admit the possibility of the soul's being material. But since—and this was just what had led Locke to make that statement—matter alone can be passive, Clarke appears the less logical of the two when he strives to disprove the contention of Leibnitz that the soul itself is the author of all its ideas, even of sensations (*vid.* § 288, 5). Similarly in the struggle against pantheism he appears the less successful of the two, because he is not so thoroughgoing an individualist as Leibnitz, who denies that there are two *minima particula* exactly alike. In particular, however, a man who, against the assertion of Leibnitz, that space is not real, maintains the view of Newton that it stands in the same relation to God as the sensorium does to our soul, surely does not stray far from the doctrines that Malebranche and Spinoza taught in regard to extension, *i.e.* from pantheism. What Clarke says in the *second* volume of his *Discourse* is much more consistent, and has accordingly exercised a more enduring influence. This remark applies to the earlier portion, which discusses the obligations of natural religion; for, as the book proceeds, it becomes a theological defence of the dogmas of Christianity, and is in no way remarkable. As Spinoza had been the chief object of Clarke's attacks in his account of the being of God, so in his ethical philosophy it is Hobbes. The assertion of the latter, that the conceptions of good and evil arise through human ordinance, is represented as self-contradictory. At the same time the absolute independence of moral conceptions

(their *perseitas* in the phraseology of the Thomists) is maintained against those who, like the Scotists and Descartes, make it depend upon God's good pleasure that what is virtue is not vice, and conversely. So surely as God has created all things, so surely is He bound to admit certain relations between the things which He has created; just as the triangle we construct owes its existence to us, but compels us to admit the existence of its properties. Those relations that are inseparable from the nature of the thing, and therefore eternal, have validity in and for themselves. Any one who would deny *in praxi*, e.g. that we are dependent upon God or that all men are equal, would act just as irrationally as if he would deny *in thesi* that twice two is four. The only difference is, that impossibility stands in the way of the latter denial, while the freedom of the will makes it possible for us to refuse reverence to God and the justice of equal measure to our fellow men. The practical recognition of a real relation makes an action fit, its opposite makes it unfit; and in this fitness or unfitness the morality or immorality of the action consists. Both are therefore raised above all caprice, human and Divine; and while dogmas of belief may be made credible by miracles and doubtful by greater miracles, even the greatest miracle can never make it doubtful that we have to act in accordance with the natural relations of things.

Cf. R. Zimmermann: *Samuel Clarke's Leben und Lehre*. Vienna, 1870.

3. In a very similar sense, and often in exactly the same words, as Clarke, WILLIAM WOLLASTON (26th March, 1659, to 29th Oct., 1724), his older contemporary, expresses himself in his work, *The Religion of Nature* (Lond., 1 vol. 4to), which appeared (unfinished) only a short time before his death. The book has often been reprinted, and a French translation of it was published as early as 1724. By natural religion he understands, as Clarke had done, what we should call natural morality. With Locke he denies innate practical principles; what are called so are, for the most part, the result of education. Clarke had indicated, and Wollaston expressly states, that every action is a practical declaration, *i.e.* contains a principle. If this principle is untrue, as where I, by using something that does not belong to me, claim it as my own, the action is morally bad; an action of the opposite character is morally good. Lastly, one, neither the completion nor the omission of

which denies a principle that is true, is morally indifferent. Of course, in judging of its character we are bound to consider, not merely one side or the other of the object of the action, but the whole of its relations; and therefore an action will only contain a true principle when it is quite in accordance with the whole nature of the object of the action. The moral law may accordingly be completely summed up in the formula: We should follow nature, or treat everything as that which it is. (It is instructive here to think of the time when Fichte will demand that we leave nothing as it is. *Vid.* § 313, 2.) Like Clarke, Wollaston urges the mind to act as things prescribe; and so, like Clarke, he requires an exact knowledge of the external world. He is not, however, content with this, but points also to the reward which such action is to have. This reward consists in happiness, the balance of pleasure over pain. And as a matter of fact, that, as a result of obedient submission to things, we should be affected by them in a way that does not partake of the character of opposition, appears quite as natural as that nature should bring forth food for the being that submits himself entirely to her, and thorns and thistles for him who exalts himself above her. It is only when Wollaston conceives of this following of nature as a following of one's own nature, and of this nature of one's own as reasonableness, that he finds the necessity arise of calling God to his aid, to win for him what has now become accidental, the favour of the external world.

4. In making this (idealistic) assertion, however, Wollaston has deserted the ground held by Locke, and has fallen into self-contradiction, just as Clarke did when he denied the possibility of the mind being material. Clarke, as we have seen above, demanded that mind should be passive, and at the same time denied to it what, as Locke had learned from the Aristotelians of the Middle Ages, is essential to all passivity. Here, again, we see that Wollaston makes the essence of mind lie in reason; and yet he requires from it that, instead of dictating laws, it should allow them to be dictated to itself, by that of which it knows, not through the reason but through the senses. To escape from this contradiction is all the more necessary, because both have adopted Locke's fundamental principle, that the first elements of all intellectual possession are won through the senses, *i.e.* that the mind obtains its contents simply by passive conduct. In this way, the begin-

ning and the end of their systems teach that the mind is passive, while the central part maintains that it is independently active. Clarke had defined freedom as pure activity, and he and Wollaston had contended for it most vigorously; so much so indeed, that their ethical philosophy admitted none save the imperative form of the doctrine of duty. But freedom is quite inconsistent with such a beginning and such an end. Natural determinations are bound to take the place of self-determination of the mind. This implies that ethics is bound to become a natural history of moral action, the theory of the virtues.

5. Hardly any one was better suited for taking the first step in this direction than Anthony Ashley Cooper, Earl of SHAFTESBURY (26th Feb., 1670, to 1713). The classical bent of his studies had given him an almost Hellenic sense of the beautiful, but at the same time also a pagan cast of mind, which found vent in many covert attacks, not so much against religion generally, as against Christianity. His youthful *Inquiry concerning Virtue and Merit* was published against his will by Toland, not, it is asserted, without being somewhat altered. There is no doubt that when Shaftesbury himself published it afterwards, it differed in many points from the first edition. This was followed by a treatise upon *Fanaticism*, occasioned by certain Government measures which it was proposed to adopt against some manifestations of religious fanaticism that had appeared among the emigrant French Huguenots. The tone of banter in this treatise, which was directed against such interference, had given offence, and in order to justify it, he next published his *Essay on the Freedom of Wit and Humour*. Here occurs the declaration, often repeated afterwards, that ridicule is the best criterion of truth. These essays, along with several others, notably the one entitled *The Moralists, a Philosophical Rhapsody*, were published in a collected form in three volumes as, *Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times*, etc. As early as 1727 this work had passed through four editions, and it has been translated into many foreign languages. After his death there appeared, *Letters Written by a Nobleman to a Young Man at the University*, directed (1706-10) to a youth in whom he took a great interest (Ainsworth).—Shaftesbury's chief interest lay in religious and ethical questions, and he expressly defines philosophy as the study of happiness. His first strik-

ing characteristic is his strenuous endeavour to establish the independence and self-sufficiency of morality. He argues with equal fierceness against Hobbes, who makes what is right or wrong depend upon the State, and against the theologians, who make it depend upon the Divine will. If theology and morality are to be inseparably associated, it would perhaps be better to make theology rest upon morality, than conversely. While Locke had called it one of the advantages of the Christian religion that it employed the hope of reward and the fear of punishment as incentives to virtue, Shaftesbury sees in this the destruction at once of religion and of morality. Starting from the fact that joy and sorrow are the primary affections, he goes on to define what produces joy as good, and what produces sorrow as evil, while what produces neither is indifferent. The end of all action he declares to be happiness, the largest possible amount of satisfactions or goods. Actions that lead to happiness are good; bad actions are the opposite of these. In order to form a correct idea of what happiness is, we must make a more careful examination of human affections. Since every man is something by himself, but at the same time a part of a larger whole, his affections are, in the first place, towards his own well-being, or are self-interested, self-love, and, in the second place, they are towards the whole, or are social. To give undue prominence to one or other of these would be morally ugly or bad. Moral beauty, like all beauty, consists in a harmonious relation between the two opposite elements. In morality, as in everything else, we decide what is beautiful by the aid of an innate sense or instinct, which corresponds to a musical ear in music, and a sense of colour in painting. This moral sense says to us that a particular action is beautiful, exactly as the musical ear decides that something is not discord. But just as in the case of the arts the natural ear (and so on) is not sufficient, but requires to be supplemented by cultivation, from which musical taste is developed, so the "moral artist" requires a refined taste, which is gained by practice. This will be a safer guide than the natural moral sense, especially in complicated cases. This taste condemns the conduct of the egoist as emphatically as it does the bearing of those who are usually called "too good." Only when one or other set of affections becomes unduly prominent, can strife arise between them. Except in such an event, the good of the

whole implies also the good of the individual, and conversely. It is like the harmony which the whole world presents to us. There too, if we consider an individual apart, much that is evil meets our view; but if we look at the whole, this evil vanishes, indeed appears as a discord necessary to secure the beauty of the whole. (Both in this optimism and in his moral distinctions we can always recognise the language of the artistically minded æsthetician.)

Cf. Spicker: *Die Philosophie des Grafen von Shaftesbury*. Freiburg, i. Br. 1872. Georg von Gizycki: *Die Philosophie Shaftesbury's*. Leipzig and Heidelberg. 1876.

6. As a matter of fact, however, Shaftesbury only took the first steps towards fulfilling the demand of ethical empiricism, and representing moral philosophy as the natural history of moral action. Since the moral taste was acquired by practice, *i.e.* by self-exertion, the connoisseur of the virtues, as Shaftesbury pictures him, is still to far too large an extent his own creation. And, further, it was unavoidable that such a large element of self-determination should be left, since the two opposite kinds of affections were equally justifiable; that is, nature failed to decide between them. Where the acquired moral taste gives way to the natural moral sense, and the latter goes over completely and entirely to the side of one kind of affections, we are bound to admit that, in spite of the greater one-sidedness, an advance has been made from the position of Shaftesbury. This step was taken by FRANCIS HUTCHESON (8th Aug., 1694, to 8th Aug., 1746). Born in Ireland, but of Scottish parents, he lived in Glasgow, first as a student, and from 1729 onwards as a professor. With the exception of his *Compendium logices* and his *Synopsis metaphysicæ, ontologiam et pneumatologiam complectens* (Glasgow, 1714), all his works deal with æsthetical and ethical questions. Amongst these are his *Inquiry into the Original of our Ideas of Beauty and Virtue* (Lond., 1720); his *Essay on the Nature of Passions and Affections* (Lond., 1728); lastly, his *Philosophiæ moralis institutio compendiaria* (Rotterd., 1745), and the more detailed work, *A System of Moral Philosophy, in three books*, etc. (2 vols., 4to). The last mentioned was not published till after his death; it has been often reprinted. The main ideas are as follows: Since moral philosophy has for its function to show how man can attain by his natural powers to the highest happiness and perfection, it must rest

upon the observation of the capacities and affections that exist within us. What such observation shows to be the simplest elements may be called ideas of the internal senses. Senses is used in the plural, because the sense of honour is different from the sense of beauty, or the sense of the suffering of others. These ideas had been greatly neglected by Locke in favour of those of the external senses, *i.e.* the practical or moral ideas had been neglected in favour of the intellectual ones. In this inquiry we find, at the very outset, the great distinction between blind and passing impulses, on the one hand, and, on the other, those enduring and calm affections which rest upon ideas. Since happiness too is an enduring condition, the latter are much more important for it than the former. But within them, in turn, we find the great distinction, determined by their object, between selfish and benevolent affections. The two kinds are mutually exclusive, for disinterestedness is an essential characteristic of the latter. Now experience teaches us, that where we ourselves or others act in accordance with the disinterested affections, we cannot withhold our approval. This is due to the fact that an innate moral sense, whose voice may be drowned, but can never make a mistake, urges us to act in accordance with benevolence. The internal satisfaction, which such action secures, is the highest happiness, and this is not, as the advocates of egoism teach, the end, but the consequence of virtuous action. Our nature, accordingly, urges us to live, not for ourselves, but for others; and where we follow this voice of nature, we act virtuously. After treating of these general principles in the *First Book*, he goes on in the *Second* to discuss natural rights and duties without regard to civil government; and, lastly, in the *Third*, to take up those rights in the form they assume in a civic community.

7. By transplanting to Scotland the ideas that Locke and Shaftesbury had awakened in England, Hutcheson produced there a great movement both in theology and in philosophy. In the former the "Moderates" were his friends, and for the most part his scholars; while, as regards the latter, of the two men to be discussed in the next section, one was a sincere admirer, the other a former pupil. But it is not Hume and Adam Smith alone who owe him a great deal. Hutcheson is intimately connected with what is now called specially the "Scottish School," the tendency which received its first impulse,

not in Glasgow or Edinburgh, but in Aberdeen : George Turnbull, the teacher of Thomas Reid (*vid.* § 292, 4), not merely knew and esteemed him, but also borrowed from him very essential points, which were thus transmitted from him to Reid. In fact, if we go farther back, we must recognise Shaftesbury as their real author.

Cf. McCosh : *The Scottish Philosophy*. Lond., Macmillan & Co., 1875.

§ 282.

HUME AND ADAM SMITH.

The Life of David Hume, written by himself; published by Adam Smith, with a Supplement. London, 1777. *An Account of the Life and Writings of the late Adam Smith*, by Dugald Stewart, in *Essays on Philosophical Subjects*. Lond., 1795. [J. H. Burton: *Life of Hume*, 2 vols., Edinb., 1846.—Ed.]

1. In one point the incompleteness of Locke's empiricism, by involving him in difficulties and contradictions, made itself so strongly felt, that an attempt to avoid them became inevitable. From the fact that the mind is passive in regard to simple ideas, he had quite correctly concluded that only these represent anything real; complex ideas, on the contrary, are mere creatures of thought. Of one complex idea he makes an exception; he says that the conception of substance has something real to correspond to it. This conception, as Locke himself points out, contains in germ the conception of causality, and a stricter logical inquiry may easily show that it really contains all the relations which we are accustomed to class together under the name of necessity. These then, according to Locke, are the work of our understanding. When, however, he says at the same time that reality belongs to them, *i.e.* that they regulate the external world, what he exhorts the understanding to do becomes self-contradictory. For he bids it make itself subject to a world regulated by laws which the understanding itself makes. This inconsistency was avoided by the scepticism of Hume, whose advance beyond Locke consists in his maintaining, without any inconsistent exception, the principle his predecessor laid down, that complex ideas are not copies of anything, and in his drawing from this the conclusion that there is therefore nothing of the nature of substance in the internal world, and no necessary connection in the external world. In that case, however, there can be no real knowledge of either.

2. DAVID HUME (Home) was born in Edinburgh on April 26th, 1711. He studied a short time at the University of his native town, and subsequently filled a situation in a Bristol office. After a four years' residence in France, he published what is by far his most important philosophical work: *A Treatise on Human Nature, being an Attempt to Introduce the Experimental Method of Reasoning into Moral Subjects*, Lond., 1738, 3 vols. (reprinted in two vols. in 1817, London, Allmann). In 1874 Messrs. Green and Grose republished this treatise in two vols. (London, Longmans, Green & Co.), along with an admirable introduction written by the former. The book attracted no attention, and even at this day there are professed philosophers in England itself who have never read it. On account of its want of success, Hume himself afterwards compared this account of his "system of philosophy," as he rightly calls it, to a still-born child. After he had gained the ear of his fellow countrymen by a series of less ambitious efforts, dealing partly with politics, partly with æsthetics, and partly with economic science (*Essays and Treatises on Various Subjects*, vol. i., Edin., 1741), he ventured, in the succeeding volumes of his *Essays* (Lond., 1748-52), again to lay before the world his still-born system. Scientifically this was much less satisfactory, but for that very reason met with greater success. The first volume of his early work (*On Understanding*) furnished the materials for the *Inquiry concerning Human Understanding*, where easy reasoning, spiced with anecdotes, takes the place of acute analysis, and where the important inquiries regarding the Ego, which helped to produce the later Scottish school (Reid, *vid.* § 292, 4-6), are entirely omitted. The whole of the second volume (*On Passions*) is compressed into the scanty abridgement, *A Dissertation on the Passions*, where he puts forward as assertions what he had demonstrated in his early work. Lastly, the third volume (*On Morals*) is now represented by *An Inquiry Concerning the Principles of Morals*, with its four appendices. Although Hume calls this his best work, still, if we apply a strictly scientific standard, it does not appear in a very favourable light as compared with the thorough-going researches of the *Treatise*. But he had formed a correct estimate of his audience when he undertook to recast his book. (The five volumes of *Essays and Treatises* were subsequently reprinted in four [London, 1760], and still later in two volumes, *e.g.* in

the edition of 1784, London, Cadell.) For his historical works, too, Hume had to win an audience. He wrote the history of England backwards, beginning with the Stuarts, and then taking up the Tudors, leaving the early history to the very end (1754-62). Hume's merits as a philosopher brought him more honour abroad than in his own country. During his life he was held in high repute in France, and after his death was particularly esteemed in Germany. His last work was his autobiography, in which he jests with death. After his decease, which occurred on Aug. 26th, 1776, there appeared his *Dialogues concerning Natural Religion*, Lond., 1779; and *Essay on Suicide*, Lond., 1783, the genuineness of which is questioned by many. His philosophical works were published under the title: *The Philosophical Works of David Hume, Esq., now first Collected*. Edin., 1829, 4 vols. 8vo.

3. Hume's individualism leads him not merely to employ as an indubitable axiom the nominalist principle that only the particular exists, but also to hail as one of the greatest discoveries Berkeley's assertion that even every universal idea is really only the idea of a particular thing (*vid.* § 291, 5). His antipathy to Spinoza is correspondingly strong. Bacon and Locke he regards as the greatest philosophers; especially the latter, since he showed that all sciences must be preceded by an inquiry into the functions of the human mind. Like Locke, Hume maintains that the first elements of all knowledge, simple perceptions, are received by us passively. But he draws a distinction between their rise and their echo or survival, and accordingly divides perceptions into impressions and ideas. The latter necessarily presuppose the former, but since the distinction is only one of degree, an idea may be transformed into an impression by being strengthened. To have impressions is to feel, to have ideas is to think. Thought, again, is distinguished into memory and imagination, the former of which contains those ideas which are more lively and which are involuntary, the latter those which are less lively and which are called up at pleasure. Further, Hume retains Locke's two sources of ideas. But he takes a short step beyond this, for he shows that since all activity perceived by reflection is called forth by impressions of the external world, the impressions and ideas of sensation, as the primary ones, must precede those of reflection, which are merely secondary. Taken strictly, the former are the objects

of the latter: I perceive myself when I perceive that I feel something. Similarly he agrees with Locke in holding that complex ideas are formed from simple ideas by the help of the understanding or, rather, of the imagination; but he goes more thoroughly into the relations and laws through which, and according to which, such connections are possible. Likeness, contiguity, and causal connection are with him the foundations of all associations of ideas. Lastly, Hume also agrees with Locke in distinguishing demonstrative or verbal truth from real truth. The former (*e.g.* mathematical truth) is concerned simply with the agreement between two ideas combined in an (affirmative) sentence. The latter, on the contrary, depends upon agreement with an impression; where our certainty in regard to anything real has not arisen through an impression, it is not to be relied upon. Judgments that express a verbal truth rest upon the principle of contradiction, since their predicate can be found by analysing the subject, and their opposite is inconceivable. (Kant's analytical judgments *a priori*. *Vid.* § 298, 1.) But in the case of judgments that express a real truth, it is otherwise than with these rational forms of knowledge; for something that is not contained in the subject is added to it as a predicate, and the opposite is conceivable. Unfortunately it proves, according to Hume, that the two sciences which profess to contain real truths rest upon a very slender foundation. For the science of nature and the science of mind, which are both built up upon experiences, work with images of the understanding, which have nothing real to correspond to them.

4. The attack upon psychology is only found in the earlier work. In the *Inquiry* it is entirely omitted. No one who has read only the latter can rightly understand Reid's subsequent polemic against Hume. Psychology deals with the ideas of reflection, *i.e.* the ideas of certain conditions of ourselves, of seeing, hearing, pleasure, pain, thought, will, and so on. But we do not stop here. We go on to add to these the idea of something which sustains these conditions, of a substance in which they inhere, and which we call self or Ego. Substance, however, and inherence are not impressions, such as pain is, for example; the idea only arises because there has been a repeated recurrence in us of several ideas in the same relation towards one another and at the same time. It does not arise when we first observe this association, but it does arise when we

observe it for the hundredth time. The distinction between the first and the hundredth time is, however, not a real distinction. It only consists in our being familiar with the latter, but not with the former. The whole idea of substance, accordingly, has its root merely in the subjective condition of habit, and has no real meaning. For this reason there is no sense in such questions as whether our thought is inherent in a material or in an immaterial substance. The whole idea of a substratum which we call self or Ego, is an illusion. What is given is a succession of impressions and ideas, which we, in spite of their plurality, bind together into a permanent unity by a fiction of the imagination, simply because the same series very frequently recurs. That a view which denies all substantial existence to the Ego, naturally results in the theories developed, in the *Essay on Suicide*, against personal immortality, is quite clear. It is therefore of little importance whether Hume was its author or not. It is certainly not impossible that he was.

5. Hume's attacks upon natural science have become much better known. Unlike those upon psychology, they occur in the later as well as in the earlier treatise. Just as we add to ideas of reflection the conception of substance, so we add to those that depend upon sensation, a second form of necessary connection, the conception of cause. This, too, is not given to us as an impression, but only arises when two ideas invariably and repeatedly succeed one another; that is, it depends upon customary succession. The conception of cause, then, is likewise the result of custom, and has its origin in the imagination, which, however, does not work here so freely as in the case of fictions. For where we have been accustomed to see one impression following another, we are compelled to regard that which comes first as a cause, and confidently to expect that the other will follow. Such a conviction, resting as it does, not upon real connection, but only upon individual custom, is called by Hume belief or sometimes moral certainty. Experience teaches us that animals also expect effects, and accordingly Hume has no hesitation in ascribing to them the capacity for belief. All our knowledge of facts, and especially of the connection between them, which forms the substance of natural science, is therefore no real knowledge, but belief. Every demonstration which is not concerned with figures or numbers, and which claims to im-

part real knowledge, is worthless sophistry. These assertions have been called sceptical, and Hume makes no objection; only he does not wish his doubt to be confused either with the Pyrrhonic or with the Cartesian. His is merely the modest attempt to limit the understanding to the sphere in which it can accomplish something. If we recollect that Hume never doubted, what was regarded beyond everything else as doubtful by the sceptics of antiquity, the existence of what we perceive, we shall acknowledge that Kant was right in citing his principles as principles of pure empiricism. As the inquiries into the conception of substance found their natural complement in the negative assertions of the *Essay on Suicide*, so the examination of the conception of cause is followed by the no less negative assertions made in regard to natural religion in his *Dialogues* on this subject. All the proofs of the existence of God depend upon the conception of cause. This takes away from natural religion the character of knowledge. Still more so does the circumstance that from an effect, which has a finite character, and which is, besides, never adequately known, it deduces the existence of an infinite cause.

6. Hume lays much more stress upon the inquiries in regard to practical activity, especially moral philosophy, than upon those that deal with what is speculative. After defining the will as the consciousness (or feeling) that we originate a movement, he first clears the ground by warning us not to confuse the voluntary with freedom. The process of willing and acting is perfectly regular and mechanical. Its laws can be laid down with as much exactness as those of motion and light. The advocates of freedom themselves really admit the existence of this determinism against which they make an outcry. They do so theoretically, when they allow that there are motives, *i.e.* causes of willing; practically, when they punish a criminal, which would be an act of folly if his action were not a necessary consequence of his nature. But although there is no freedom to will or not to will, moral judgment is not thereby excluded: what is ugly displeases, what is beautiful pleases, although neither can help it. In the first place, the mechanical process spoken of must be more closely examined. We must begin by denying the foolish notion that the reason can ever induce us to will anything. The reason, as a purely theoretical association of ideas, merely teaches whether something is

true or untrue, and such knowledge never moves any one to anything. The so-called experience, that reason yet often overcomes our passions, rests upon erroneous observations. The only motives of all exercise of will, the passions, are divided into two chief classes, violent and calm. If, as very often happens, a calm passion, *e.g.* the longing for a future good, subdues a violent one, we are accustomed to call the power of this voice reason. Hume, however, does not question the fact that reasoning can call the calm passion into play; only in that case we must admit that the passion alone exercises any direct influence. Accordingly our next task is to get a natural history of the passions, which may serve as the basis of moral philosophy. He does not say much about the division of the passions into calm and violent; a much more important part is played by that into direct and indirect. Both in his first work and in the subsequent abridged version, the direct passions are treated a little unfairly. In fact, in the former the indirect are, somewhat strangely, treated of before the direct. From the primary impressions, pleasure and pain, proceed as immediate effects the propense and averse motions of the mind; and from these again, through their relation to the cause of the impressions, according as it is present or absent, proceed joy and sorrow, hope and fear. These direct passions are the basis of the much more complex indirect passions, where, besides the cause that produces satisfaction, there always comes into play another object, to which that cause belongs. If this object is one's own self, joy and sorrow assume the form of pride and humiliation; if it is some other thinking being, they appear as love and hate. Although called forth by a similar cause, the two pairs form a contrast, so that it is really inaccurate to speak of self-love, for love is joy in some one else. In his principal work, Hume makes a very strict examination of these four passions, and shows how transitions which experience and experiment present to us, are to be explained by association of ideas, and further by, to some extent very complex, relations of ideas and impressions.

7. This rather physiological examination of the will is followed by the ethical one. Hume, who often contrasts the two as "natural" and "moral," dedicates to the latter, as was mentioned above, the third part of his chief work. Here, too, he begins with a polemic against those who, like Clarke and Wollaston, make reason sit in judgment on an action. Reason decides

in regard to (verbal and real) truth, but this has nothing to do with praiseworthiness; no one would think of praising or censuring the fact that twice two is four, or that heat follows sunshine. The confusion of those conceptions is also reflected in the statements of the workers in this field, for they pass quite suddenly from *is* to *ought*. Morals, like criticism, rests upon a moral feeling; and accordingly Shaftesbury and Hutcheson deserve credit, the former for comparing virtue with beauty, and the latter for deducing moral judgments from a moral sense. As a matter of fact, moral judgments rest only upon the feeling of pleasure or displeasure which an action excites in him who beholds it. Moral judgments are thus transferred from the actor to the spectator. This transference, at which Locke had only hinted, is the novel and characteristic feature that distinguishes Hume's ethical system from its predecessors, with which it has otherwise many points of connection. The possibility that the actions of others should fill us with pleasure, depends, according to Hume, upon that peculiar capacity for imparting and receiving which connects us with everything, especially with the human race, and which may be called sympathy, since we cannot see suffering, etc., without ourselves sharing in it. For, by the help of the imagination, we always transfer ourselves into the position of that which, and especially of him whom, we see, and call an action virtuous which would fill us with pride if it were our own. It is a condition of such a moral judgment that we regard the action, not as an independent process, but as a sign of a disposition or a character; the person who judges, adopts as his standard what, in the natural history of the passions, had proved to be good and evil. This may be summed up in the formula: The manifestation of a disposition that tends to the profit whether of individuals or of all men, merits approbation; not a disposition that tends to one's own profit, for to seek this fills no one with pride. *What* is useful, that is, the end of the action, is determined, as has been shown above, not by reason, but by passion. Reason, however, teaches what are the means for attaining ends; and thus it co-operates, though only indirectly, in the moral judgment, since that which leads to what is praiseworthy, is itself praiseworthy. Here, however, Hume is on common ground with Clarke and Wollaston, and so it may be said of him that he combines in himself all that

his predecessors had taught. Finally, we must mention his division of the virtues into natural and artificial. By the former he understands those that tend towards what is a good, or is useful, for man as an individual. Accordingly, he includes among them the feeling of sympathy, since this produces enjoyment; that which leads us to consider something praiseworthy, is itself praiseworthy. On the other hand, he excludes justice from the natural virtues; it only arises in society, and is therefore conventional, though not arbitrary. The selfish interest, since it would itself suffer without a process of division and of mutual support, leads to the community, towards which, besides, we are already urged by the natural inclination of the sexes. The experience that the community cannot exist on any other terms, brings about the rise of property, and of respect for present possession and for a promise, once it has been given. The view, therefore, that makes society rest upon a contract, is a complete misrepresentation of the true state of affairs. Society becomes a State through the formation of a government. It can quite well exist without this, and doubtless did exist without it, until danger from another society led to a dictatorship. The State, therefore, was in the first instance certainly monarchical. Since the State is an institution that exists for the purpose of protecting its members, there are relations where the government has no right to interfere. It is not correct to say, that the form the State assumes is a matter of indifference. A constitution that has a hereditary monarch, a nobility without dependants, and a people voting by representatives, is the best, not merely for England, but for every country.

Cf. Jodl: *Leben und Philosophie David Hume's*. Halle, 1872.

8. Hume's fellow countryman, ADAM SMITH, the renowned father of modern political economy, really occupies the same position as his predecessor. Born, a posthumous child, on Jan. 5th, 1723, he studied three years at the University of Glasgow and seven years at Oxford. Afterwards he delivered lectures on rhetoric in Edinburgh. In 1751 he was appointed a professor at Glasgow, and lectured first on logic and subsequently on moral philosophy. While holding this position he published his *Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1759). In 1763 he resigned his chair, and accompanied the young Duke of Buccleuch on his travels in France. The next ten years he spent in

retirement at Kirkcaldy, his native town (1766-76). From his seclusion he published his world-renowned work, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, 1776. He was then appointed to a post of considerable importance in the civil service. This brought him to London for some years, and finally to Edinburgh, where he died in July, 1790. After his death there appeared his *Essays on Philosophical Subjects* (Lond., 1795), the only manuscripts which he did not burn. What Hume had hinted at by his treatment of these subjects, Adam Smith expresses quite definitely. Moral judgment, in the first instance, is only concerned with the action of others, and the verdicts of conscience are only an echo of the judgments that others pass upon ourselves. Just as a perfectly solitary being would not know whether he was beautiful or not, so he would not know whether he was moral. Accordingly, Smith, like Hume, makes sympathy or fellow-feeling the basis of the whole of moral philosophy, so that without it there would be no moral judgment at all. As, however, he always maintains that this sympathy is mutual, he shows how through it there arises, not merely compassion for the sufferer, but also an effort on the part of the sufferer to put himself upon the same level as the onlooker, that is, to master his suffering. We saw that Hume, by accepting, in addition to actions praiseworthy in themselves, those which serve a praiseworthy end, had approached on this point the position of Clarke and Wollaston, of which he was in other respects a strenuous opponent. Adam Smith does the same thing with full consciousness, and to a much larger extent. For, in the actions which we find praiseworthy because we sympathise with them, he distinguishes between what he calls propriety and what he calls merit. The former is nearly related to Clarke's "fitness," for by it is to be understood a proper relation to motive or the cause of the action. Thus, violent grief at the loss of one's father is a proper (suitable) demeanour; on the contrary, to cry out when one feels insignificant bodily pain is improper. Just as the relation to the cause determines the propriety, so the relation to the end determines the merit. If the end of the action is benevolent, it appears to us worthy of reward; in the opposite case, deserving of punishment. The result of his very exact analysis of the conditions under which we approve of an action, may be reduced, according to him, to the following four points: We sympathise with the motives

of the person who acts ; we sympathise with the gratitude of those who receive benefit from the action ; we note an agreement of the action with the rules by which sympathy is generally regulated ; and, lastly, the action appears to us as a part of a system of mutual promotion of happiness, and therefore as organic or beautiful. At the same time, very careful consideration is devoted to those casual circumstances which, as experience proves, go to modify the moral judgment, a successful result, for example, and so on. Many of his observations show a profound knowledge of human nature, while many are extremely paradoxical. The earliest traces of the thoughts that form the subject of his most famous work are also to be found in Hume. Still more important for the development of these was his acquaintance with Quesnay and Turgot, and with the teaching of other French economists, especially of Gournay. Nor must we omit to mention various English treatises which his own work has consigned to oblivion, such as those of Petty, J. Steuart, and others. His indebtedness to these thinkers, however, does not detract from the originality of his ideas, and still less from the consistency and the masterly style with which he has elaborated them.

9. Not a few have been puzzled by the fact that the *Inquiry* contains so little of the brotherly love or fellow-feeling of the *Theory*, that it became the Bible of the egoistic Manchester school of political economy. The solution is easier than has been imagined, if we keep in view the relation of the two treatises to their original source, the Glasgow lectures on moral philosophy. There Adam Smith had remained faithful to the tradition of the Schoolmen, which had been handed down from Aristotle, and according to which practical philosophy was divided into ethics, economics, and politics. He differs from Aristotle, however, in one respect : he discussed industry, not so much in its limitation to the household, as rather in its national significance. And he has thus been led to depart from the Aristotelian tradition, inasmuch as with him economics is not the bridge that leads to politics, but rather political philosophy is the mediator between ethics and economics. Accordingly, in his courses of lectures, he made his researches into the nature of justice (legal and political philosophy) immediately follow those into the praiseworthy in general (ethics), and concluded with what is demanded by

the well-being of individuals and of the whole (expediency). Each of these fundamental conceptions was sharply distinguished from the other two, in order that it might be apprehended with as much clearness as possible. The plan followed in the lectures was followed also in the works subsequently printed. Smith's original intention was to pass from ethics, his views of which were published in the *Theory*, to politics, where Montesquieu was to serve as his model. This idea was given up, and expediency was treated of before justice. In the fifth book of the economical *Inquiry*, however, he goes into some questions that belong to legal and political philosophy. With this exception, Adam Smith never laid before the reading public any of that part of his system which reconciles ethics and industry. This exception, however, is sufficient to defend him from the reproach of having dispensed with all moral considerations in political economy. Any one who maintains that he did, must hold—as Say, for example, actually does—that the Fifth Book, with what is said there in regard to military force and to education, is an excrescence. Buckle showed truer insight in saying, that Adam Smith gives a picture, not of the form which political economy ought to take, but only of that which it *would* take under the anything but impartial guidance of selfishness.

Cf. Aug. Oncken: *Adam Smith und Immanuel Kant*. First Part. Leipzig, 1877.

§ 283.

BROWN, CONDILLAC, BONNET.

1. A second point in regard to which Locke only went half way, requires correction as much as did the inconsistency involved in saying that necessary connection is determined by the mind, and yet controls the external world. Clearly the mind retained far too much activity for a blank sheet of paper, to which Locke is so fond of comparing it. Not merely is it the instrument by which the ideas we receive are combined, but of these ideas themselves a very large proportion, those of reflection, are simply counterparts of mental activity. It is true that the mind is a mere mirror, so far as it has the ideas, and in this respect, therefore, it is perfectly passive. But inasmuch as what it reflects are its own activities, it is not passive. This twofold inconsistency must be got rid of.

To effect this, we must say that complex ideas arise without the active interference of the mind, and must do away with the second source of simple ideas, which presupposes the activity of the mind itself. Hume evidently inclines to adopt both of these courses. The former, inasmuch as he lays such great stress upon the laws of association of ideas, by which the part played by the mind is reduced to compulsory obedience; the latter, when he draws attention to the dependence of ideas of reflection upon those of sensation, and therefore designates the former as secondary. While Hume never gets beyond mere tentative efforts, three men succeeded in ridding their philosophy of both inconsistencies. These were the Irishman Peter Brown, the Frenchman Condillac, and the Swiss Bonnet. The first of them, even before Hume's day, corrected the one error, that as to the double nature of the sources of all ideas; the second, shortly after Hume's death, went further, and made complex ideas arise according to laws independent of the mind; the third carried on the work of the other two.

2. PETER BROWN, who died as Bishop of Cork in 1735, had first made a reputation as an orthodox theologian by a treatise against Toland. Subsequently he came forward as an opponent of Locke in two anonymous works (*The Procedure, Extent, and Limits of Human Understanding*, 2nd ed., London, 1729; and *Things Divine and Supernatural conceived by Analogy*, etc., London, 1733). He showed that the principle, *Nihil est in intellectu quod non ante fuerit in sensu*, in itself perfectly correct, must necessarily lead to the view that impressions made upon the senses are the only elements of all knowledge. To suppose that there are primary ideas of reflection is a mistake, because the consciousness of our own conditions is always perfectly immediate, and is not reached through ideas; and further, because it always occurs only as accompanying the ideas of the external world, and therefore presupposes them. The mind is really a *tabula rasa*, which only attains to ideas through the influence of the external world, and cannot therefore determine anything at all *a priori* in regard to the external world. We must, accordingly, distinguish the following forms of knowledge: the first and most certain, through ideas, which is concerned with the external world; the second and next most certain, which consists in the immediate consciousness of our own conditions. The

two may be included under the title of intuitive knowledge. From this must be distinguished deduced or mediate knowledge, within which we may make four subdivisions: demonstrative certainty, moral certainty, certainty based upon sight, and certainty based upon evidence. Since all four ultimately rest upon sensible impressions, there is of course no knowledge of the supersensible. We have no clear idea of our own thought, much less then of the thought of an absolutely immaterial being, who has never been brought within the range of our experience. For this reason, when we speak of processes of thought we always employ expressions adopted from the material world. To remedy this defect, we transfer to the supersensible, by the help of analogy, relations of which we have knowledge through the things of sense, as when we call God father. This is not a metaphor, for we are certain that there really exists in God something analogous to fatherhood. We are certain of that, but this "Divine analogy" cannot be called knowledge.

3. The Catholic Abbé, ETIENNE BONNOT DE CONDILLAC, went much farther in the path which the Protestant bishop had begun. Born in 1715 at Grenoble, he made Frenchmen familiar with the doctrines of Locke by his *Essai sur l'Origine des Connaissances Humaines* (1746, 2 vols.), to which Voltaire drew the attention of his countrymen. Afterwards, in his *Traité des Systèmes* (1749, 2 vols.), he argued strongly against Spinoza, and found fault with Leibnitz for not making experience the source of all knowledge. Finally, in his *Traité des Sensations* (1754, 2 vols.), he laid before the world the points on which, partly through the study of Berkeley (§ 291, 4), he had come to dissent from Locke. The *Traité des Animaux*, too, contains some matter that is of importance for his philosophy. Some weeks before his death, which occurred on Aug. 3rd, 1780, his *Logique* appeared. After his death his works were collected (*Œuvres complètes de Condillac*, etc., Paris, *an* VI. [1798], 23 vols.). His posthumous and unfinished work, *La Langue des Calculs*, published in the same year, is said by Aug. Comte, who ranks him very high as a thinker, to be the best he ever wrote. The following are the chief points of his teaching:

4. Although before the Fall and after death the human soul was, and will be, independent of the body, still at present it is so bound up with it that it can neither possess nor accomplish.

anything without its help. In order to show that there is nothing in the soul, except the ideas which it receives through the impressions of the external world upon the senses, Condillac starts from a fiction, which others subsequently claimed the merit of being the first to invent. He imagines a statue which is endowed with the five senses in succession, and in the first instance merely with the sense of smell. He tries to show that even this sense is sufficient to produce in man the most essential ideas from which all his knowledge is formed. He then goes on to show what would happen when the man, who has hitherto been all nose, receives the sense of taste, of hearing, and so on. How easily he manages everything, is clear from the fact that it is at once assumed as self-evident that the simultaneous existence of an impression and of the copy of an earlier impression (the perfume of roses actually felt and the perfume of lilies previously felt), is a comparison, and therefore a judgment. The most interesting point in these inquiries, which are rambling and full of repetitions, is the contrast in which he places the sense of touch to all the other senses. It is through it that we first reach, he says, the idea of objectivity; the four others give us nothing but the sense of being ourselves affected, or of our own condition. It is only by being compelled to place what we feel, the solid, outside of ourselves that we are led to regard colour and so on as belonging to the things. The fact that we so far excel the animals in our sense of touch, largely explains our superiority over them. The ideas "good" and "bad," too, he supposes to be quite easily deducible from sensations. It is a contradiction to have a sensation without a feeling of pleasure, or the reverse. Hence results at once what is longed for or good, and what is abhorred or evil.

5. Condillac always said that the second point in which the Lockian system required correction, was the theory of association of ideas. If two ideas have some common point in which they meet, whether it be time, or whether it be likeness, they are capable of association. If such a combination of ideas repeats itself frequently, it becomes so much of a custom with us, that we are compelled of necessity to associate the one with the other. This is the origin of complex ideas. We do not make them. They make themselves. Nothing, however, does so much to facilitate the repetition of combinations that have already taken place,

or to render possible the rise of new ones, as the use of signs to represent these combinations. This is true even of involuntary signs, like the outcry at a mishap, but to a much larger extent of voluntary ones, words, the use of which leads the hearer to connect the complex idea denoted by one word with that denoted by another, even when up to this time he has never perceived such a connection. If this process of connection be called comprehension, it becomes quite coincident with language. That the lower animals have practically no language, is for them just as much a defect in regard to the combinations of ideas as we saw that their imperfect sense of touch is in regard to the elements of these associations. On the other hand, with man it is chiefly language that is instrumental in handing down to coming generations every combination of ideas fixed by a word, and in preventing imitation, in which all learning consists, from being limited in human beings to such a narrow sphere as it is among the lower animals. But because, even in the most complicated of all complex ideas, the prime elements, as we have seen, are sensations, impressions, the sum and substance of Condillac's theory of knowledge may be expressed in the formula: *Penser est sentir.*

6. Quite independently of Condillac, CHARLES BONNET of Geneva (13th March, 1720, to 20th May, 1790) reached very similar results. Indeed, he even hit upon the idea of a statue which is gradually endowed with the senses, before he learned that five years earlier the same conception had occurred to Condillac. Then, however, he read his predecessor's book, and made some changes. He no longer worked, as he had previously done, with the sense of sight, but with the sense of smell. He had early gained a reputation in the learned world by minor works, and then by his *Traité d'Insectologie* (2 vols., Paris, 1745; *Œuvres*, tom. i.). The consequence was, that before he was thirty the French Academy (of which he was afterwards an honorary member), made him a correspondent. But his eyes were weakened by using the microscope, and he was compelled to devote himself to speculation on more general questions. This was the case in his *Recherches sur l'Usage des Feuilles* (Leyden, 1754, 4to; *Œuvres*, tom. iv.), and to a still greater extent in his *Essai de Psychologie*, published anonymously (London, 1755; *Œuvres*, tom. xvii.). These were followed by *Essai Analytique sur les Facultés de*

l'Âme (Copenh., 1760, 4to; *Œuvres*, tom. xiii., xiv.), to which the *Considérations sur les Corps Organisés* (2 vols., Amst., 1762; *Œuvres*, tom. v., vi.) form a physiological supplement. Then there appeared the two much admired works, *Contemplation de la Nature* (2 vols., Amst., 1764, 8vo; *Œuvres*, tom. vii.–ix.) and *Palingénésie Philosophique*, along with *Recherches Philosophiques sur les Preuves du Christianisme* (2 vols., Geneva, 1769; *Œuvres*, tom. xv., xvi.). All these writings have been often reprinted and translated into other languages. They are contained in the collected edition: *Collection complète des Œuvres de Charles Bonnet*. Neuchatel, 1779. 18 vols. 8vo. (I do not know the quarto edition.)

Cf. J. Trembley: *Mémoire pour servir à l'histoire de la vie et des ouvrages de M. Bonnet*. 1794. (German translation, Halle, 1795.)

7. In spite of his decided superiority to his predecessor, whom he justly censures for often slurring over difficulties, Bonnet was at first held in less repute among his contemporaries than was Condillac, and it was not till after some decades that the position of affairs was reversed. This is to be explained mainly by the greater one-sidedness of the latter, who draws his support solely from Locke, *i.e.* solely from realistic doctrines. Bonnet, on the other hand, in spite of his great admiration for Newton and Montesquieu, does not neglect the study of Leibnitz and Berkeley (*vid.* §§ 288, 291, 4–7). Even in his *Psychologie* we find him declaring that the one school materialized and the other spiritualized everything, and that it would be a wiser course to avoid these extremes,—a principle which those who read it first, regarded as not thorough-going enough, but which a later generation hailed gladly as its own confession of faith. Everything that Bonnet subsequently worked out in more detail, is contained in outline in the *Psychologue*, to which he refers in all his later writings, generally to express agreement with it, often to improve it, but always as if it were written by some one else. Its special aim is to represent determinism or the “system of necessity,” of which he is a supporter, as the only position scientifically tenable, and as one quite free from danger to religion. A view, according to which virtue is not so much merit as undeserved good fortune, teaches that we can be nothing and can accomplish nothing except it be given us from above. Further, he holds that the doctrine that there is no *æquilibrium arbitrii*, but that the

will necessarily follows the stronger motive, is the only one that can supply the *data* for a philosophy of morals and a theory of education ; it helps us to understand why the fear of punishment is the safeguard of states ; and it is supported by the Christian religion, which leads men to virtue by promising them happiness, *i.e.* by the motive of self-love. Religion, he says, has nothing at all to fear from philosophy, but must be on its guard against theology, which ruins it. After discussing determinism, he goes on to work out in special detail the principle that man is not, as the Cartesians would have us believe, a soul pure and simple, but that he is an "*être mixte*," and consists of soul and body. It is not on religious grounds that materialism must be rejected, for since God could endow a material soul with immortality, the victory of materialism would in no way endanger religion ; it is on scientific grounds, *i.e.* for reasons founded on experience ; for there can be no doubt that there is no other knowledge than that which rests upon observation and experience. Now from experience we have the indubitable fact that the soul in the Ego has a consciousness of unity and simplicity that a composite existence like a body never can have. Similarly, experience teaches us that when my senses are affected from without, my soul has ideas, and that when I perform an act of will, my limbs move. We must therefore accept as a fact a union of body and soul. The nature of this union is, however, unknown to us, and we can therefore come to no decisive conclusion in regard to the three theories that Leibnitz enumerates (*vid.* § 288, 4). As regards the relation between these two experiences, it is the first mentioned that has the precedence : it is only in consequence of some influence from without that I can will to make a movement, and therefore *l'activité est soumise à la sensibilité*. This degrades the soul to some extent, but does not degrade man, for man is not soul (pure and simple). The connection between body and soul is not a chance one (brought about for example, as Condillac holds, by the Fall), but is essential and eternal ; and the Christian doctrine of the resurrection is thoroughly rational.

8. The chief purpose of the *Essai Analytique* is to show how the soul, whose essence consists not so much in thought as in capacity for thinking (*cogitabilité*), reaches ideas and actual thought. Condillac's imaginary statue is called in to aid in the discussion of this subject, but the task is performed

in a far more thorough manner, and quite without perfunctoriness. When the organs of sense on the surface of the body are affected, the sensation is transferred to a certain part of the brain, whether by a nerve-principle analogous to the electric fluid or to the luminiferous medium, or by a modification of the molecular condition of nerve-substance or of its finest fibres, or, lastly, by both at once. In this part of the brain the most various nerve-fibres (of sight, hearing, and so on) lie so close together, that they can communicate their motions to one another by the help of connecting mediums (*chaînon*s). This is the seat of the soul, which here is led by the oscillation of the nerve-fibres to form ideas or have perceptions, and similarly from here (in a way that we do not understand), when it wishes to effect anything, sets in motion the fibres of the brain, each of which is a highly complicated piece of mechanism. Since the senses are the only ways by which an impression can be conveyed to the brain, the soul is quite inactive and devoid of ideas until some sensation has been experienced; with every new sense that comes to it, the number of ideas is increased and their combinations multiplied. By the aid of the imaginary statue Bonnet represents a soul in which only a single idea (the perfume of roses) is produced by the sense of smell, and then by the help of facts given in experience he watches carefully what the most probable processes in the nervous system would be. One of the most important questions which at once presents itself is, How does it happen that, as experience teaches us, a recurring sensation is felt as such, and not as a novel one? Everything points to a permanent alteration in the molecular condition of the nerve; the result of which is, that the nerve already employed is distinguished from one that has never been used. This, however, also gives the first datum for the solution of one of the most important psychological problems, that of custom. Memory is only a particular variety of this, for experience leads us to regard it as a condition of the brain rather than of the soul. Further, it is a fact of experience that a fresh sensation is felt either as recurrent, or as identical with a previous one, or, as distinguished from it. This makes it probable that among the brain-fibres intended for similar sensations (*e.g.* of light) there are some susceptible only to certain modifications of this sensation, others to others (the different colours, in our example), and that these communicate with one another.

(Similarly there are special fibres for the different sounds.) Starting from this supposition, Bonnet goes on to inquire by a most careful process of analysis, to what ideas a soul will come that receives impressions through the sense of smell alone, and receives of these only two varieties. It has perceived, and perceives again, the perfume of roses and the perfume of violets. His inquiry into these primitive and simple sensations is immediately connected with his inquiry into the earliest acts of the soul, which are produced by sensations. He begins with attention, of which he frequently remarks that he is the first to give an accurate explanation. It is a psychical act, by which motion is communicated from within first to the central brain-fibres, and then to the whole nerve. Here, too, established facts compel us to assume as a law, that a nerve thus set in motion retains the tendency of this motion, and, further, that it can impart the motion it has received to other nerves. Now the laws so far discovered suffice to explain, or to reveal the mechanism of the associations of ideas, on which Bonnet lays as much stress as Condillac. This mechanism finds its counterpart in the domain of psychical activity in the mechanism of the passions, the first principle of which is this : Self-love is the first motive of all desire, and therefore the perception of the agreeable is a condition of desiring at all. The associations of ideas become much more complex when, in addition to increasing the number of the impressions, and therefore of the ideas, we represent these as springing from more than one single sense. By the association of smells with sounds, the latter may be made to serve as signs for the former. This means the discovery of the most important form of associations of ideas, and of the principal means of increasing their number,—language, which has as much importance for Bonnet as for Condillac. Now for the first time, there is a possibility of ideas in the full sense of the term, *i.e.* of signs that stand for a number of similar things. The act of forming such ideas Bonnet calls reflection ; and although he therefore often follows Locke in calling sensation and reflection the sources of knowledge, still there is no contradiction in his maintaining that our most abstract ideas (*les plus spiritualisées, si je puis employer ce mot*) are deducible from *idées sensibles*, as their natural source. He does not make an exception even of the idea of God, and he looks for the primary elements of this in sensations. Reflection and

language modify, not merely ideas, the sum of which now becomes intellect, but also desire, which now for the first time becomes actual, deliberate will. A very interesting feature in the inquiries into complex and abstract ideas is Bonnet's distinction between *essence réelle* and *nominelle*, the former of which also appears as *chose en soi*, and the latter as *ce que la chose paraît être*. We see here how the spirit of philosophy is gradually preparing to make this distinction the point on which the view taken of the world hinges. There remains, however, this great distinction between Bonnet's *essence réelle* and Kant's Thing-in-itself, that, while the former like the latter is unknowable, it is supposed to stand in such a relation to the phenomenal, that the two can never contradict one another. Accordingly, Bonnet can call the nature of the 'soul' unknowable, and yet say decidedly that it cannot be material (manifold), since it appears as one in the Ego (cf. *Ess. Anal.*, ch. xv., § 242 ff). By the union of reflection with memory the physical (or quasi-) personality, which the lower animals too possess, inasmuch as they recollect their own conditions, becomes an Ego, *i.e.* an intellectual or real personality, such as belongs only to mankind. Since the associations of ideas are only possible owing to intercommunication between the brain-fibres, we may call the intermediate fibres intellectual, just as we speak of fibres of sight and of hearing. But, in any case, the exact mechanism of thinking and willing is so conditioned by the constitution of the brain, that Bonnet, while always maintaining that he is not a materialist, often insists that, if we transferred Montesquieu's soul to the brain of a Huron, we should have, not Montesquieu, but a Huron.

9. It is only incidentally that Bonnet's psychological works make mention of the thoughts, to the further development of which his *Physiology* (as he himself often calls his *Considerations*, etc.), and his *Palingenesis* are devoted. In the former he appears as a decided opponent both of spontaneous generation and of the theory of successive acts of creation. According to him, the only correct view is that the universe was completed at its first formation, whether this be conceived of as a process of envelopment or otherwise. The germs which the earth has contained since its last violent change develop themselves sooner or later, and none of them will be lost. Spallanzani's and Haller's investigations confirm the belief that there is no absolute beginning of things, but simply evolu-

tion. All existence forms a graduated scale, in which no step is passed over, and no step is missing. The *lex continui*, which Leibnitz rightly maintains, admits of no exception. Besides the intermediate existences that we know, there are certainly many that are unknown to us. Man forms the highest stage of which we have knowledge, but it would be unjustifiable arrogance to regard him as the absolutely highest. In fact, a great deal goes to indicate that men, like all other inhabitants of the earth, are not in the butterfly, but only in the chrysalis stage. We saw that the soul had assigned it as its abode, that part of the brain in which the finest ends of all the nerves of sensation come nearest to one another, and which contains the connecting links between them; and the fact is, that the soul does not dwell here in a state of nakedness, but is connected with a garment that covers it, an ethereal body, so that man remains an *être mixte*, even when his brain decays and he is not yet clad in a new body. This absolutely imperishable, ethereal body, which covers the souls of animals just as it covers the souls of men, serves to explain the fact that, although memory is, as we saw, simply a condition of the brain, yet man will have after death a recollection of his former state of existence. This would be inconceivable, if it were simply the naked soul that separated itself from the brain. Now, however, we see that it takes with it a body that, from constant intercourse with the finest fibres of the brain, has absorbed into itself traces of what passed in them. Imagine this soul, along with its ethereal covering, introduced anew into a coarser body, which, however, has more than five gates for the entrance of external impressions. That would be an advance in which man never attains to being spirit pure and simple,—a doubtful advantage at the best,—but always remains *être mixte*; and to assume its existence contradicts neither reason nor the doctrine of the resurrection. Naturally the law of continuity requires that we should make an exactly analogous admission in regard to the lower animals; so that the animals that now stand highest, like elephants and apes, will move into the place which we occupy at present. These views on a future life Bonnet follows up with his defence of Christianity, written with much warmth. It occupies more than a fourth part of the *Palingenesis*, and has besides been also published separately, and often translated; as, for example, by Lavater, who sent his translation to Mendelssohn.

with the demand, either to confute this defence, or to become a Christian. The most interesting part is the explanation of miracles and prophecies. These are referred, the former to unknown, the latter to known, natural laws, by means of which God carries out the intention of speaking to us. (Here, too, Bonnet declines to decide between idealism and its opposite. The idealist does not deny the fact that we refer our sensations to objects outside of ourselves. But this fact is sufficient to justify us in reasoning to an ultimate cause of our own and all existence.) The most essential points of natural theology, as well as the credibility of the Apostles, the authenticity of their writings, the antinomies (Bonnet introduces this word with an explanation) in their evidences, and so on, are discussed, after the fashion of apologists of that day and of this, without their being brought into connection with what is characteristic of Bonnet. On the other hand, the groundwork of this apology is in perfect harmony with the oft-repeated principle, that happiness is the highest end of created beings, and *in specie* of man. To happiness belongs the firm conviction of a future life. If this cannot be attained otherwise than by a direct revelation from God, reason can raise no objection against the reality of such a revelation. The certainty is therefore founded upon the impulse to happiness, and is accordingly moral certainty. It is interesting to compare with this Basedow's duty of belief (§ 293, 7), and Kant's moral faith (§ 300, 10).

10. Locke's realism soon spread into Italy, in the form it had received from Condillac and Bonnet. The doctrines of the English thinker had been put into circulation somewhat hesitatingly in the South by GENOVESI, and very decidedly in the North by Father SOAVE, when Condillac himself began to give currency to his own modifications of them. His stay in Parma (1758-68) made his philosophy supreme in the Collegio Alberoni at Piacenza, and in the University at Parma, which had been re-opened. From the former came the two most important Italian sensationalists, connected by friendship and by a community of birthplace. The younger, who however was the first to appear as an author, Melchior GIOJA (1767-1829), goes little beyond Condillac, and draws from his doctrines chiefly practical conclusions which deal with statistics, punishment, education of the young, and so on. The elder of the two friends, who has left a tribute to the memory of the

younger, is Giov. Domenico ROMAGNOSI (1761–1835). He shows almost more affinity with Bonnet than with Condillac. Many of his writings treat of the problem of knowledge. (For example, *Che cosa è la mente sana?* 1827.—*Suprema economia del umano sapere*, 1828.—*Vedute fondamentale sull' arte logica*, 1832.) Others, as is natural in the case of a practical jurist, treat of penal and natural law, constitutional monarchy, and so on. Others, again, take up such subjects as instruction and civilization. He often betrays a tendency, particularly in his later writings, to reconcile the sensationalist point of view with the one diametrically opposed to it.—Not so important as Gioja and Romagnosi are the sensationalists Cicognara, Borelli, Costa, and Bufoloni, who are in their turn associated with still less important thinkers.

Cf. Louis Ferri: *Essai sur l'histoire de la philosophie en Italie au dix-neuvième siècle*. Paris, 2 vols. 1869.

§ 284.

MANDEVILLE AND HELVETIUS.

I. Locke had developed doctrines which (along with the inconsistency of which he had been guilty) were superseded by Hume and Condillac; and a similar process is now to take place in regard to the systems of philosophy that rest upon a Lockian basis, including those of Hume and Adam Smith. To say that this basis is one of realistic individualism, is no new assertion; these thinkers themselves admit that it is so. The effort to imagine man as he was before any historical influences (*e.g.* that of Christianity) had wrought upon him, the more and more decided endeavour to transform ethics into a natural history of the passions, an attempt the result of which is to make physical processes the primary motives of action, the unanimous assertion that enjoyment, sought also by the lower animals, is the end of action, and finally the fact that Hume regards as natural only those virtues which have something to correspond to them in the lower animals,—all this shows a disposition adverse to what is ideal and spiritual. Similarly, they all display a hatred of Spinozism; and the nominalist principle, that truth belongs only to the individual, is with them a firmly established axiom. On both of these points, however, all those whom we have hitherto discussed were frequently inconsistent. Not to mention the want of

thoroughness which, as we saw, was characteristic of Clarke and Wollaston, even Hutcheson and Hume fall into self-contradiction. For the former does not hesitate to combine the realistic conception of happiness with the purely ideal conception of perfection, while the latter makes the artificial virtue of justice, which has nothing to correspond to it among the lower animals, if not the basis, at all events the support of the State, an institution whose existence is necessary. To a still greater extent do they come into conflict with their individualist principles. That the individual, natural man is entirely self-seeking, is the doctrine not merely of the Christian religion, but of every one who, like Rochefoucauld for instance, keeps his eyes open; and Hume admits that it is so. But how does that agree with the sympathy of which he and Adam Smith speak? However we may try to avoid the difficulty, this sympathy remains a spirit of community, *i.e.* a power which, while it has not an individualistic character, exercises a commanding influence in all individuals, and is therefore real. The fact that British moral philosophy contains so many ideal and so many social elements, explains why it has a certain attraction even for those who take a diametrically opposite view. Nevertheless, the combination of doctrines that are quite heterogeneous, remains an inconsistency. However unpleasant a spectacle it may be, the point at which this combination is dissolved, will accordingly mark a forward stride in the development of Realism.

2. This step was taken by the physician, BERNARD DE MANDEVILLE, in his fable of *The Grumbling Hive, or Knaves Turned Honest*. He was born in Holland in 1670, and was educated there; but his family were of French origin, and he himself was early naturalized in England. His book was published as early as 1714, but it failed to attract attention till he republished it nine years later as *The Fable of the Bees*, accompanied by an elaborate commentary (Lond., 1723-28, 2 vols.). With express reference to Shaftesbury, who is twitted with holding the pagan principle that man is by nature good, the commentary goes on to work out in detail the view that the natural impulses of man are at variance with reason and Christianity, that man is by nature selfish, unsocial, and an enemy of his fellow-men, and knows nothing of the sympathy and self-sacrifice that reason and Christianity demand. Similarly, the *Fable* shows that it is an entirely false

and Utopian idea to suppose that the chief requirement for the well-being of the State is virtue and morality in individuals. On the contrary, where all were honest, disinterested, and so on, trade and manufactures would languish ; in fact, the State would go to ruin. Neither the pleasure of individuals nor the prosperity of society is promoted by reasonableness and Christian virtue. This, however, he concludes, proves nothing. Christian doctrine demands that we crucify the flesh ; and in the same way it does not wish us to be too prosperous in our earthly relations. The opponents of Mandeville were not prevented by this moral application, which reminds us in many respects of Bayle, from condemning his teaching as vicious. It had a different effect upon those who were not afraid of deducing all the logical consequences of the realism that Locke and Shaftesbury represented. The impossibility of combining the ideal struggle after perfection with the sensual enjoyment of the individual on the one side, and with the material well-being of the community on the other, had been vividly pictured by Mandeville ; and this suggested the thought that if the two latter could get rid of their common foe, the arrangement would be the best possible. Accordingly the attempt was actually made to find in natural pleasure, stripped of every ideal element, the end of all action, and to promise that such action would be followed by the material well-being of all. France,—the country in which the principle quoted in § 274 made itself heard simultaneously on the throne and far beneath,—welcomed the theory of selfishness warmly, and in so doing showed how true was the remark of the woman who said that this was the great secret of the world.

3. CLAUDE ADRIEN HELVETIUS (Jan., 1715, to Dec., 1771) conceived an admiration for Locke's *Essay*, while still but a schoolboy ; Mandeville's writings too, according to Malesherbes, exercised a great influence upon him. Another fact of importance was his connection with Voltaire, who was twenty years his senior. Of the large income which the post of a farmer-general ensured him from his twenty-third year until he voluntarily resigned it, as well as of the fortune he accumulated during this period, he made the noblest use. In fact, a general characteristic of this apostle of egoism was a goodness of heart that amounted to weakness. He wrote a didactic poem, *Le Bonheur*, in four cantos, which is very

stilted, although it has been highly praised by Voltaire. Besides this, he published a work, *De l'Esprit* (Paris, 4to, 1754), which, in spite of, or perhaps just on account of, the combined attacks of Jesuits and Jansenists, aroused intense interest, appeared in many editions, was often translated, and was eagerly read throughout Europe, especially at the courts. The treatise *De l'Homme* forms a sequel to this. It applies the principles of the earlier work especially to education, and did not appear till after the death of the author. In the Zweibrücken edition of the collected works of Helvetius (1774, 7. vols. 12mo), it occupies the last three volumes.

4. Helvetius declines to answer the question whether the soul has a material existence, because it is beside the purpose of his inquiry. This is only to deal with what we call intellect (*esprit*), when we say of an individual that he has intellect or is intellectual. What is this? Simply the sum-total of ideas, which, if they are novel or of public importance, make us say "genius" instead of "intellect." Since all ideas, as being copies of impressions, come to us from without, and since people are almost equally susceptible to them, the undeniable intellectual difference between individuals depends simply upon external circumstances, *i.e.* upon chance. About the most important element in this is education. But since circumstances do more to educate us than our instructors do, education and chance are very often employed by Helvetius as almost synonymous. It is therefore very important for the development of the intellect to begin education as early as possible. One of the most weighty among the external circumstances that go to mould the intellect, is civil life. Where intellectual and political oppression is the rule, as in the France of his own day, the intellect is bound to suffer. The more and more the deplorable distinctions of privilege and fortune are done away with, the rarer will men of outstanding genius become, but the larger will be the number of men who are happy.

5. By happiness Helvetius understands the largest possible amount of physical pleasure. Since there is no other universality than the sum-total of the individuals, one's own satisfaction contributes to the general satisfaction, inasmuch as it forms a part of it. Egoism is therefore the rule of all action. We are impelled to this by nature, for the motive of action is self-love, which reigns in the world of mind, as weight reigns in the world of matter. In fact, it is the fundamental element

in all that the intellect does, for the intellect only attains to knowledge through attention, and we turn our attention to a thing simply to get rid of *ennui*. All learning accordingly rests merely on self-love. In practical life this truth is, of course, even more evident. If our moralists were not fools who write for a Utopia, or hypocrites who do not say what they really think, they would long ago have given up their edifying homilies, and have shown that in promoting the advantage of others we do what is advantageous for ourselves. None but a blind man or a liar will refuse to admit that the grandfather loves his grandson, only because he sees in him the foe of his own foe (the son who is waiting for the inheritance). The State shows those moralists the right path to follow; for instead of exhortations it holds out threats of punishment and hopes of reward. Nor does it show merely the motive, it shows also the end of all action. This end is what conduces to the well-being of all. Accordingly, there are no virtues save those which are political. All others, religious virtues for example, are only virtues of prejudice.

6. It does not require a great deal of trouble to show that in the works of Helvetius there is hardly a noteworthy idea that has not been borrowed from some one else. Hume had taught that the mind consists merely of impressions and of copies of these impressions; Montesquieu, that differences of character are determined by circumstances, and especially by the laws of the State. That the spring of all action is self-love, had been the doctrine of Maupertuis (*vid.* § 294, 3) in his *Essai de Philosophie Morale*, Dresden, 1752. The very same view was held by St. Lambert (16th Dec., 1717, to 9th Feb., 1803), who occupies a position almost identical with that of Helvetius, and whose *Catéchisme Universel*, though it was not published till 1798, was written at the same time as Helvetius' treatise, *De l'Esprit*; and lastly, it was expressed by all Helvetius' friends in the social circles in which they moved. Accordingly Hume, in a letter to Adam Smith, praises the book simply on account of the excellence of its style. And still there is nothing unfair in Helvetius' book having become an object of hatred or of admiration to a larger extent than the books of the others we have mentioned. Its merit lies just in what makes its point of view so distasteful to us. Here the individualist interest is not ennobled by the introduction of religious interests, as in Maupertuis, nor of

social interests, as in St. Lambert. By the perfect frankness with which he makes the satisfaction of the sensible subject the principle of his philosophy, he places himself in the same attitude to the defenders of egoism, "rightly understood," as Mandeville did to the English and Scottish moralists. He goes further than they did, though this was not difficult after what they had done. A very similar position is adopted by Count Chassebœuf, who has become better known under the assumed name of VOLNEY, and has treated his master's doctrines poetically in the once highly-admired *Ruines* (1791).

D.—THE SENSATIONALIST ENLIGHTENMENT.

§ 285.

F. C. Schlosser: *Geschichte des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts*, etc. Vol. i., 2nd Part; Vol. ii., 2nd Part. H. Hettner: *Literaturgeschichte des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts*. Brunswick, 1856. Vol. i. and Vol. ii.

1. Before the most extreme consequences of realism could be deduced, and at the same time recognised as the long-felt secret of all cultured men, it was necessary that there should be cleared away a vast number of ideas which were fostered by the system of education then in vogue, and which prevailing custom made it hard to get rid of. Where reverence for the Church, even though it be merely outward, is regarded as a mark of respectability, where the word non-Christian is dreaded as a term of reproach, where it is acknowledged that the power that controls all phenomena is a spiritual power, and that the individual spirit is not subject to bondage nor fated to pass away, it is impossible to give successful expression to the demand which realistic individualism seeks to fulfil—to see truth only in the world of material things. The unsettling first of specifically Christian beliefs and then of religious convictions in general, especially of the ideas of God, freedom, and immortality, is the function performed by the Sensationalist Enlightenment of the eighteenth century. This movement began in England, and can be shown to be intimately connected with Locke and the ethical systems already discussed. Deism, which Herbert of Chisbury had brought into existence some time before, received quite a new impulse from JOHN TOLAND (1670–1722). He was one of the first to call himself a freethinker. He had expounded his political radicalism in his *Life of Milton* and in his

Amyntor, a defence of this biography; his advanced religious opinions are seen in his anonymous treatise, *Christianity not Mysterious*, Lond., 1696, which, in spite of Locke's protests, appealed to the teaching of that thinker. The latter book was followed by a number of works in which he explains his views. These had a materialistic tendency, and he proposes for them the name of "pantheism," a word which he was the first to bring into use. Among these writings were his *Letters to Serena*, London, 1704, intended for the Queen of Prussia; his *Adæsidæmon*, The Hague, 1709; and lastly his *Pantheisticon*, Cosmopoli, 1710. (Cf. Gerh. Berthold: *John Toland und der Monismus der Gegenwart*, Heidelb., 1876.)—Closely related to him is ANTHONY COLLINS (1676–1727), whose opinions were entirely moulded by Locke. In 1707 he had written *An Essay concerning the Use of the Reason*. The controversies raised by Sacheverell provoked from Collins his *Priestcraft in Perfection*, 1709. This was followed by his *Discourse of Free Thinking*, etc., London, 1713, which, in spite of the replies by Ibbot, Whiston, Bentley, and others, was very favourably received, although it did not go so far as did William Lyons, in his *Infallibility of Human Judgment*, London, 1713. After eleven years of silence, the discussions raised by Whiston in regard to the allegorical interpretation of Scripture, led him to publish: *Discourse of the Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Religion*, London, 1724, which found a sequel in: *The Scheme of Literal Prophecy*, etc., London, 1726.—THOMAS WOOLSTON (1669–1729) contributed to these controversies a large number of treatises. Amongst these the greatest attention was attracted by the *Discourses on the Miracles of Our Saviour* (1727–30), which he himself calls invectives against the letter, but glorifications of its ideal meaning. The most famous among the many replies was that of Sherlock. In turn, this reply called into the field a new champion of deism, PETER ANNET (died 1768), who, however, is not nearly so important as MATTHEW TINDAL (1656 to 16th Aug., 1733). The latter, who had gone over to Catholicism in 1685, and renounced it two years later, published anonymously his *Christianity as Old as the Creation*, etc., London, 1730, the book which has been called the Deist's Bible. In this, all positive religions are represented as distortions, Christianity as a restoration, of natural religion, and natural religion itself as simply the practice of morality, *i.e.* the fulfil-

ment of the duties that lead to happiness. Happiness is health of body and pleasure of sense. By our struggle after our own happiness we do honour to God, who is self-sufficing, and whom superstition dishonours by representing Him as if He needed our service.—Tindal's work was carried on and supplemented by the writings of that remarkable, self-taught man, THOMAS CHUBB (29th Sept., 1679, to 1747), first introduced to the world by Whiston, who published Chubb's essay: *The Supremacy of the Father Asserted*, London, 1715. This was succeeded by: *A Collection of Tracts on Various Subjects*, London, 1730. His most remarkable work, however, was: *The True Gospel of Jesus Christ*, London, 1738. After his death there appeared: *The Posthumous Works of Mr Thomas Chubb*, London, 1748, 2 vols.—Chubb shows us the form that deism assumed in the artisan class. His contemporary, HENRY SAINT JOHN, VISCOUNT BOLINGBROKE (1st Oct., 1698, to 15th Dec., 1751), stood at the opposite extreme. A strict Puritan education had inspired him with a hatred of positive religion, similar to that which the leaders of the Enlightenment in France, to be treated of immediately, had imbibed in the Jesuit colleges. Even from his writings on the study of history, published during his life-time, and still more from the essays that appeared after his death (*The Philosophical Works of the Right Honourable Henry St. John, Lord Viscount Bolingbroke, etc.*, published by David Mallet, Esq., London, 1754. 5 vols.), it is abundantly clear that he wishes to maintain religion as a means to political ends, especially among the lower classes, and therefore censures the deists, but that, on the other hand, he regards all dogmas as simply the products of a vain philosophy and a cunning priesthood. With him, the place of religion was taken by a sensationalist theory of happiness, such as continued to be the religion of many men of the world after him. The influence of deism continued to extend through its becoming practically the religion of the Freemason lodges. The opposition between the Masonic fraternity and the order of the Jesuits was due, as many of themselves were aware, to the fact that both were equally anxious to lead the world to what each considered "the light," and that to some extent they employed the same means to do so.

Cf. Lechler: *Geschichte des englischen Deismus*. Stuttg. and Tübingen, 1841. [Leslie Stephen: *History of English Thought in the 18th Century*. 2 vols. 1876.—Tr.]

2. It was in France that this view of life found its proper soil, and there therefore that it bore its richest fruits. A number of circumstances, not the least important among which was that association of immorality with formal attachment to the Church, which characterized the latter years of the reign of Louis XIV., and which soon afterwards made it possible for a Dubois to attain the dignity of cardinal, help us to understand why deism, when transplanted to France, is more hostile to Christianity than to any other form of positive religion. (One only needs to recall the outbreaks even of Montesquieu in his *Lettres Persanes*.) We must further take account of the circumstance already referred to, that the best schools of the time were in the hands of the Jesuits, and that the demand, uttered in the name of Christianity, to give no heed to doubts, was bound to exercise upon many of those educated there an influence similar to that exercised on Bolingbroke by his Puritan training.—It is no exaggeration of the importance of VOLTAIRE, that in France up to the present day any one who adopts the point of view of anti-Christian enlightenment, is called a Voltairian. He is really the incarnation of this view of life. Born in Paris on 21st Nov., 1694, François Marie AROUET received his early education in a Jesuit college, where, however, he was taught on lines admirably adapted to produce an ideal of frivolity. When quite a young man, he shone in the most brilliant circles of Paris; but, through a number of bitter experiences, he contracted a hatred of the Government, the Church, and the aristocracy of his native land. In this frame of mind he betook himself to England, where (1726–29) he moved entirely in the society of the deists who have just been discussed. (Before this period he had added to his own name that of VOLTAIRE, formed by an anagram from “Arouet *l. j.*” The *de* that connected the two appeared afterwards as a mark of nobility, when the name Arouet disappeared.) After his return, he published his *Philosophical Letters*, which had become well known in England in manuscript form, and were, in fact, first printed in English. There he draws the attention of his countrymen to the empiricism of Locke as opposed to the innate ideas of the Cartesians, to the enlightened deism of Bolingbroke as opposed to Catholicism and Jesuitism, and to the constitution of England as opposed to the absolute monarchy of France. The *Letters* were burned by the public executioner; but this did not make him shrink from the struggle

against limitations and prejudices. He continued it till the day of his death, and it has made his assumed name the most famous of the eighteenth century, one before which crowned heads trembled and bowed in homage. (Only the French court refused to receive him, much to his vexation.) At first he lived with the learned Marchioness du Châtelet at Cirey, in Lorraine, then he spent some time in Berlin, at the court of Frederick the Great, and finally retired to his country seat of Ferney, near Geneva, where he gathered a sort of court about himself. On May 30th, 1778, he died in Paris, "suffocated" by his triumphs. Down to the present day he is regarded by some as a god, by others as a devil. His works have been republished innumerable times. The Geneva quarto edition (1768) occupies thirty volumes, and there are fifteen volumes of correspondence besides. The edition in forty volumes that appeared at Kehl and Basle, was corrected by himself. The seventy volume Kehl edition (1785-89), which was edited by Beaumarchais and Condorcet, contains a biography of Voltaire, written by the latter. One of the best editions is Beuchot's (Paris, 1829-34, 72 vols.). Besides the *Philosophical Letters*, the most important of his writings from a philosophical point of view are: *Examen important de Mylord Bolingbroke*, 1736, : *Elemens de Philosophie de Newton*, 1738, : *Dictionnaire Philosophique*, 1764, : *Le Philosophe Ignorant*, 1767. Voltaire's hatred of Christianity, amounting ultimately to positive fanaticism, has led many to regard him as an atheist, and to deny that he had any religion at all. This is quite an untenable view ; he is a deist in the sense of the English freethinkers ; he is perfectly serious when he opposes more advanced and purely atheistical efforts as strenuously as he does the doctrines of the Christian faith ; and he did not betray his principles when, to the horror of his admirers, he declared against the *Système de la Nature*. It is impossible to say that he is driven to take up this position by his heart, for one often feels that it is with great reluctance that Voltaire admits the existence of God. But his intellect compels him to adopt this view. He indeed denies the *consensus gentium* in regard to this doctrine ; but he holds that the existence of God can be proved cosmologically, since we ourselves, and all matter in motion, must have a cause ; teleologically too, for nature everywhere exhibits order adapted to an end, is art through and through, and is accordingly incapable of being understood

by those who deny final causes. Nor did Voltaire afterwards renounce his belief in the adaptation of the world to an end, even when he threw over his own optimism, and taunted Shaftesbury and Leibnitz on account of theirs. These two proofs are strengthened by the most striking one of all, the moral proof. For, without God, no hope and fear, no remorse of conscience is possible, and therefore no morality. Bayle is wrong in holding that a State of atheists could exist; if there were no God, we should be compelled to invent one. This, however, is not necessary, for all nature proclaims that a God exists. The stress laid upon the moral proof confirms Voltaire's often-repeated assertion, that his metaphysics has its root entirely in his moral philosophy; and the same thing is apparent from the fact that his ethics throws light upon what remains obscure from the purely speculative point of view. The nature of God and of the human soul, Voltaire holds to be unknowable, and yet he does not hesitate to invariably predicate justice of God, because there is a practical necessity that He should be just; similarly, he maintains the freedom of the human spirit so strongly, that this always prevents him from asserting that it is material. Here, however, just as in the case of optimism, advancing years produced a change. When the consciousness of youthful strength departed, the energetic assertion of freedom departed too. On the other hand, he held firmly and unchangingly to the opinion that in all men there are certain irrefragable ideas of right and justice, even although this clearly led him towards the doctrine of innate ideas. It is these, too, that always force upon him again the conviction of immortality, although theoretical principles, and often his own wishes as well, declare against it. That all inquiries into these subjects lead ultimately to scepticism, he often declared, and for this very reason he was fond of calling himself *philosophe ignorant*. He denied nothing, but undermined everything.

Cf. Bungener: *Voltaire et son temps*, 2 vols. Paris, 1852. Dav. Fr. Strauss: *Voltaire*. Leipzig, 1817.

3. The men who are usually called ENCYCLOPÆDISTS, went much further than he did, but always along the way that he as their "patriarch" had prepared for them. They received their name from the fact that they addressed the public through the medium of the world-renowned *Encyclopédie*, or *Diction-*

naire Raisonné, etc. (1751–1766 in 17 volumes, which were supplemented by other 11 volumes of plates with descriptions by Diderot, 1766–1772). As the moving spirit of this undertaking has afterwards to be discussed more particularly (*vid.* § 286), we must here make mention of the second editor, Jean le Rond D'ALEMBERT (16th Nov., 1717, to 29th Oct., 1783), a man whose want of courage simply enhances the excellence of his character and makes him a genuine representative of the scepticism that went somewhat beyond Voltaire, so far as that scepticism ventured to express itself in the *Encyclopædia*. The *Discours Préliminaire*, which he wrote as an introduction to the book, is really founded upon Bacon's survey of the sciences (*vid.* § 249), but is at the same time an independent work, a great part of which, as a matter of fact, is Diderot's. What is characteristic of d'Alembert appears much more strongly in his *Essai sur les Elémens de Philosophie*, a work which was undertaken at the request of Frederick the Great, and which contains an encyclopædic review of all the sciences. As regards moral philosophy, he came forward as a champion of selfishness, but sought to prove that this found its chief account in furthering the general good. When Diderot became more and more inclined to materialism, and the attacks upon the *Encyclopædia* multiplied, d'Alembert retired from the work, as Rousseau had already done (*vid.* § 292), and followed his profession as Secretary of the *Académie Française*, a post which he held from 1772. The sceptical *Que sais-je ?* became more and more his maxim. His works first appeared in 18 vols in Paris, 1805, and were afterwards published by Didot, Paris, 1821, in sixteen parts, distributed in five volumes. These editions, however, do not contain his writings on mathematical subjects, which had been brought out previously in eight quarto volumes (Paris, 1761–80). Others who assisted in the production of the *Encyclopædia* were Daubenton, Marmontel, Leblond, Lemonnier, Duclos, Jaucourt, and so on. Many of them went far beyond the scepticism of d'Alembert, but did not venture to express this openly in the *Encyclopædia*. Such was the case especially with Diderot. In the article "*Encyclopédie*," he has described the artifices one had to employ in order to say the boldest things with security; and he does so in much the same words as Chaumeix had used in reproaching the Encyclopædists with want of honesty. The effect of the *Encyclopædia*, of which thirty thousand copies were printed in the first instance, and of

which there were four foreign translations as early as 1774, was immense. With high and low it became a text-book and an adviser, and served on the one hand to spread among all, knowledge that had hitherto been the exclusive property of certain professional circles, but, on the other hand, to undermine the already severely shaken reverence for established institutions. The effect of the former process was to produce that outward similarity of opinions and points of view which is called widely diffused culture; the result of the latter was, that in a short time everywhere, from the court down to the grocery stores, what had hitherto been looked upon as sacred and unassailable, was regarded as antiquated prejudice.

4. Two years before the appearance of the first volume of the *Encyclopædia*, Georges Louis Leclerc, Monsieur (afterwards Comte) de BUFFON (17th Sept., 1707, to 16th April, 1788) had begun to publish his gigantic work: *Histoire Naturelle Générale et Particulière*. The thirty-sixth volume of this appeared in the last year of his life, and seven other supplementary volumes were afterwards issued (1789). The circle of readers of this work was identical with that in which the *Encyclopædia* was so popular; for not merely was he brought into relations with its editors through his friend and colleague Daubenton, but it was an open secret that his ideas were pretty much the same as theirs, and that it was only as a precautionary measure that, especially since his dispute with the Sorbonne, he said "creator" where he would have much preferred to say "power of nature." (This anti-religious tendency is one of the many contrasts between him and Linnæus—between the greatest foe of system and the greatest system-maker among students of nature.) Buffon's theory of organic molecules, which allowed the reader, as it were, to observe nature in her silent process of creation, gave to many whom the reading of the *Encyclopædia* had deprived of what their hearts clung to, a sort of support by the worship of nature to which it invited them. Besides, the author of the *Natural History* was acknowledged to have a better style than any writer of his time, and his book was read, just as Bossuet's *Universal History* had been, as providing a pattern of the most elegant French. It is, therefore, easy to understand that a tendency to extreme naturalism always kept extending the sphere of its influence. A very important element in this movement was the salons of Paris, which became for the

Enlightenment in France very much what the lodges of Freemasons had become for English deism. Their influence was not limited to Paris, nor even to France. For the courts of Europe were kept informed, often by agents of their own, of what was said and done in the salon of Mme. Tencin, the unnatural mother who had caused her illegitimate son d'Alembert to be exposed, of Mme. Geoffrin, of du Deffand, of Mlle. l'Espinasse, of Mme. d'Epinay, of Mlle. Quinauld, of Messieurs de Holbach and Helvetius, and of others. Further, manuscript works hostile to religion, to the State, and to morality, which had been read aloud in these salons, were circulated in copies at the courts. In short, we can see how right C. F. Schlosser was in laying so much stress upon the significance of these salons for the history of thought, an example which has been followed by all who since his day have written upon the eighteenth century.

5. Among the works described here, that of J. B. ROBINET (1735, to 24th Jan., 1820), *De la Nature*, occupies quite a peculiar position. The first four parts, which go to make up the first volume, appeared at Amsterdam in 1761, and were not merely several times reprinted in France, but were so much sought after that a second edition was necessary as early as 1763. This was enlarged by a second volume, containing the fifth part, which exceeds the first four in bulk and contains a criticism of the idea of God. (I am not aware whether the sixth part, which Robinet announces, ever appeared.) The *First Part* is an attack on optimism and pessimism alike, inasmuch as it makes the law of compensation, in virtue of which the rise and fall in the oscillation of a pendulum are equal to each other, a universal law of the world. In the whole, as in the individual, good is always counterbalanced by an equivalent amount of evil, death corresponds to birth, slow decay to slow growth. Unless, which would be impossible, God willed to commit an absurdity, He could not have made a world with a less amount of evil in it. In this balance of truth and error, etc., consists the beauty and harmony of the world. But it is quite easy to combine with it a graduated series of existences. The more perfect is that in which both factors show themselves in a higher degree. At the same time, emphasis is always laid upon the point that in nature the really permanent element is not the individuals but the classes. In the *Second Part*, he goes on to speak of the *génération uniforme*

des êtres, and there a great affinity to Buffon's organic molecules is traceable. In the spermatozoa discovered by Leuwenhoeck he sees combinations of the primitive germs, the animated atoms, which are themselves endowed with the nature of the beings they go to compose. The means by which these are brought together, is the distinction of sexes, which is manifest even in the simple germ. Not merely animals and plants, but metals also, are begotten, just as the stars too are begotten, grow, and decay. Here the inquiry breaks off somewhat abruptly, and passes on in the *Third Part* to the moral instinct. Hutcheson is praised as the thinker who first made a sense the basis of morality, Hume as the one who determined more exactly what corresponds to this sense. Both, however, had forgotten that every sense must have an organ, and that we must therefore assume special brain fibres for moral beauty and repulsiveness, just as for colours and sounds. These are probably more intimately connected with the higher senses, since only what we see and hear, not what we smell and taste, raises moral approval or disapproval. As the higher senses are refined and ennobled by the arts, so is the moral sense by society. The *Fourth Part*, which treats of the *physique des esprits*, states the laws according to which, in the germ as well as in the higher development, internal and external processes go hand-in-hand; and teaches that the nature of the soul must not be made to consist in thought, but in that principle from which, on development, thought is produced. Whether this is a material principle or not, is unknown to us. The *Fifth Part*, which was written later, supplements and corrects the idea of God held by Locke, whose philosophy, Robinet declares, stands in the same relation to that of Descartes and Malebranche as history does to a romance. As we have no idea of the infinite, all attributes predicated of God are instances of anthropomorphism. If we would be rid of this, we must refuse to predicate of God, not merely finitude, but also goodness, wisdom, thought, and so on, since all of these are merely human, and cannot be conceived of without a body. The only resource left is to assign to God purely negative attributes, *i.e.* to acknowledge that we do not understand Him. Even the term "spirit" we can apply to God only in the sense that He is not corporeal; it is quite illegitimate to do as Locke did, and draw all kinds of positive conclusions in regard to God, from the constitution of our own

spirit or mind. The first cause, whose existence we are bound to take for granted, is absolutely unknown to us. Thus, although he pushes the theory that all mental phenomena are physically conditioned, so far as to assume that there are moral fibres of the brain, that is, farther than almost any one else did, Robinet does not do away with the unknown cause of the universe. Compared with what we shall have to consider immediately, this has been called half-heartedness. The explanation is, that he observed organic processes, as well as physical phenomena, much more carefully than most of his contemporaries did, and therefore often saw a great gap where they hardly noticed any difference. Robinet is more thorough and more serious than most of those to whom he was intellectually allied; but because with him "*esprit*" falls into the background before the solidity of his investigations, he has been forgotten as a pedant or a coward. And yet, after Condillac and Diderot, this thinker, who stood midway between the two, was possibly the shrewdest intellect that France produced at this time.

E.—MATERIALISM.

§ 286.

DIDEROT, LAMETTRIE, HOLBACH.

I. DENIS DIDEROT (5th Oct., 1713 to 30th July, 1784), when a boy, had a great wish to enter the Church; he was trained to be a lawyer; and he ultimately found that his true profession was that of an independent author. We have nothing to do with what he achieved as a dramatist and as a novelist. His philosophical training he owes to the reading of English philosophers; among his countrymen, Bayle exercised the greatest influence upon him. At first he maintained himself by translations from the English. The transition to original work is marked by his free rendering of Shaftesbury's *Virtue and Merit*, which appeared in 1745. At this time he was a sincere theist, and did not doubt the possibility of a revelation. He occupied a different position two years later, when he wrote his *Promenade d'un Sceptique*. This was confiscated before it was printed, and was published for the first time after his death in the fourth volume of the *Mémoires, Correspondance, et Ouvrages inédits de Diderot* (Paris, 1830, 4 vols.).

With him, however, doubt appears only as the point from which he passes first to what he himself calls deism, in contrast to theism, and finally to downright atheism and materialism. The *Pensées Philosophiques*, which appeared in 1748, and were burned by order of the Parliament, the *Lettre sur les Aveugles*, 1749, that *Sur les Sourds et Muets*, 1751, and lastly the *Interprétation de la Nature*, 1753, show how quickly these three stages succeeded one another. The articles in the *Encyclopædia*, of which he was sole editor from the seventh volume onwards, continued to be written from the deistic point of view, although their author had passed beyond it. They are all the less reliable as indications of Diderot's own opinions, from the fact that the printer, through fear of prosecution, made alterations in the manuscript on his own responsibility. Diderot's atheism comes out most openly in the *Interprétation de la Nature* and in the *Conversation with d'Alembert*, which first became known in the *Mémoires* referred to above, and its sequel, *d'Alembert's Dream*. Here he develops his theory (Buffon's) of living molecules, the union and separation of which produce the material transformation or life of the universe; here is found his reduction of all psychology to physiology of the nerves; here, too, his arguments against freedom and immortality, if by the latter is understood anything more than survival in the memory of others and in reputation; and here his gibes against those who assume the existence of a personal God, and do not believe that the great musical instrument we call the world, plays itself. Naturally Diderot's change of opinions in speculative philosophy was accompanied by an analogous change in regard to practical philosophy. The connection between morality and religion, which is maintained in his first work, is soon broken; and the spring of action is found to lie simply in human nature, especially as manifested in the passions, without which nothing great is accomplished. These, however, he believes to have the character of unselfishness and to make, not for their own, but for the general good. Ultimately, as his materialism becomes more advanced and consistent, all determinations of merit become more lax, virtues and vices are transformed into fortunate and unfortunate predispositions, and so on. It must, however, be admitted that it is just at this point that Diderot holds most closely by his original opinions, and does not proceed to the most extreme deductions. For instance, he

speaks strongly against Helvetius and angrily against Lamettrie. In fact, as Rosenkranz well puts it in his admirable monograph, he never escapes from the contradiction that he is a realist in metaphysics and an idealist in ethics. Diderot wrote nothing original on legal and political philosophy, for the socialistic *Code de la Nature*, which is usually found in editions of his collected works, is not by him, but by the Abbé Morelly. But scattered expressions show us what his opinions on despotism were, and how he classed priests and princes together.—An edition (very incomplete) of Diderot's works appeared in London as early as 1783. Afterwards his friend and pupil Nageon prepared a much more complete one (Paris, 1798; 15 vols.), in which, however, the editor has taken some liberties with the text. Still more complete, and more faithful and better arranged besides, is the Paris edition of 1821 (22 vols.). But this also requires to be supplemented by the *Correspondance Philosophique et Critique de Grimm et Diderot* (Paris, 1829; 15 vols.), and the four volumes of *Mémoires* already referred to.

Cf. Karl Rosenkranz: *Diderot's Leben und Werke*. 2 vols. Leipzig, 1868.

2. It was, according to his own statement, through Diderot that the physician JULIEN OFFRAY DE LAMETTRIE (25th Dec., 1709, to 11th Nov., 1751) was first encouraged to become an author. His *Histoire Naturelle de l'Âme*, 1745, (certainly his most solid work), along with a satirical piece of writing against his colleagues, brought about his expulsion from France, as his *L'Homme Machine* (Leyden, 1748) did from Holland. He was then summoned to Berlin by Frederick the Great; and there, in the capacity of reader to the king, and,—as Voltaire wittily said,—court-atheist, he composed a large number of works (*Traité de la Vie Heureuse*, 1748; *L'Homme Plante*, 1748; *Reflexions sur l'Origine des Animaux*, 1750; *L'Art de Jouir*, 1751, and others). After his death, which resulted from mistaken treatment (by himself) of an attack of indigestion, these were partly reprinted in his *Œuvres Philosophiques*, London (i.e. Berlin), 1751, 4to, and subsequently, to mention only one other edition, Berlin, 1775, 3 vols. In all of these he teaches the most thorough-going atheism and materialism, and calls religion the disturber of the peace, which keeps individuals from enjoyment and society from unity. A State of atheists pure and simple would not merely be possible, as

Bayle surmised; it would be the happiest of all. What is called mind, is a part of the body, namely the brain, which, on account of its finer muscles, gives birth to finer products than the extremities. When it ceases to be active, "*la farce est jouée!*" and the fact that it is destined to pass away, is an exhortation to us to take our pleasure while we can. Wisdom and science were probably invented only because we failed to understand the ends of our organization. The boldness with which Lamettrie proclaims that sensual enjoyment is the only motive of action, repels us strongly, inasmuch as with him it amounted to a justification of his own conduct. This, and the superficial character of his works, did not however prevent his books from being very favourably received, for they were in harmony with the feeling of the time. Frederick the Great even composed a eulogy upon him, which was read before the Academy at Berlin.

3. Nothing but the circumstance that Diderot's *Conversation with d'Alembert* was in circulation only in manuscript, can account for the sensation created by the appearance of the *Système de la Nature*, London, 1770. Every one knew that it was not really written by Mirabaud, whose name appeared on the title-page, and who had died ten years previously as secretary to the *Académie Française*. Since the publication of Grimm's literary correspondence, no doubt has existed that the author of the book was Baron von Holbach. At the same time, Diderot's posthumous works show that a great deal was borrowed word for word from him. And since Holbach may have borrowed just as much from Lagrange, Naigeon, etc., it is impossible to decide how far he was merely editor, or how far these men were merely his co-adjutors in the work. PAUL HEINRICH DIETRICH, BARON VON HOLBACH was born at Heidesheim in the Pfalz in 1721 (or 1723); he was educated in Paris, and died there 21st Feb., 1789. That he was a remarkable man, is plain from the fact that Diderot, Grimm, and the Encyclopædists entertained such a respect for him, and that their antagonist, Rousseau, took him for the model of his Herr von Wolmar. His other works are forgotten. The chief ideas elaborated in the one just mentioned are as follows: Nothing exists except matter and motion, which is inseparable from the nature of matter, and is therefore not something communicated to it. The sum of all things or of all that exists is called nature, and forms a whole, since every-

thing receives and communicates notion, or stands in causal connection. In nature there is neither purpose, nor order, nor anything of the kind, but simply necessity. Accordingly we never have to ask "To what end?" but merely "Why?" and "How?" Motion is transmitted through the tendency of things to remain in the state in which they are, as well as by the powers of attraction and of repulsion which certain things possess. These three conditions of motion are usually called by physicists resistance, attraction, and repulsion; by moralists, self-love, love, and hate. The two are exactly the same, and the difference between moral and physical arises only because the difference between visible motions of a larger sum of molecules and invisible molecular motion (*e.g.* in fermentation), is conceived of as qualitative, and the internal motion of the molecules of the brain is thus taken for something specifically different from our other motions. In this way men come to double themselves, to look upon themselves as a unity of two substances, one of which—the soul—really shows at once its utter nullity, inasmuch as it admits of nothing but negative predicates. As a matter of fact, what we call the soul is only a part of the body; it is the brain, the molecular motion of which produces what we call thought and will, combinations, that is, of the sensations produced by external impressions. It is impossible to decide whether the susceptibility to sensation is a property of all matter, so that every material particle would feel if the obstacle to this were removed (as takes place, *e.g.*, through animalization), or whether the susceptibility to sensation is bound up with the union and mixture of certain kinds of matter. Suffice it to say, that all so-called psychical processes, like the passions, which are the only motives to action, are simply a consequence of temperament, of the mixture of fluid and solid parts. As all the passions are modifications of love and hate, they are no more mental than the phenomena of falling and of contact; but they are supposed to be so, because in the one case the corporeal movements are not so visible as in the other.—As a matter of course, when man had once begun to look upon himself as a being of a twofold nature, he was bound to extend the same idea to the whole of which he is a part. He was led to this particularly by the sense of a new evil and the dread of anything of the kind. Thus arose the idea of a God distinct from the world, an idea which explains

nothing, consoles no one, makes every one anxious, and whose utter nullity is also proclaimed by the fact that it consists of pure negations. There is nothing more self-contradictory than theology, which attributes to God metaphysical qualities that remove Him as far as possible from man, and moral qualities that bring Him down to the level of a human being. True knowledge, which is the property of but a few, substitutes the force of motion for the Godhead, and the laws of nature for Divine qualities and Providence. Nor is it to be supposed that the idea of God is an innocent mistake, or perhaps even one that is necessary to keep the uneducated under control. To foster mistakes in order to keep any one under control, means simply to administer poison in order to prevent a man from misusing his strength. Deism, *i.e.* superstition, is therefore anything but harmless, for it brings with it other foolish notions, some of which are theoretically untenable, others practically pernicious. Of the former class is the dogma of freedom. This was invented because God had been invested with moral qualities, and it was necessary to justify Him in face of the existence of evil. It forgets that a world into which a new movement was introduced, would be a new world; and that therefore any one who could really do anything would be the creator of such a world, and accordingly almighty. Of the latter class is the dogma of a life beyond the grave. By drawing men away from their life here, it makes them incapable of living for the world to which they belong. Materialism has the merit of consistency, which must also be allowed to Berkeley's theory (*vid.* § 291, 5, 6), its exact opposite; and it has the further advantage of according with sound common sense and of exercising immediate beneficial effects. It frees the individual from the torturing fear of a God, and from the no less torturing reproaches of conscience and longings, both of which are entirely foreign to him who knows that everything that happens is necessary. It teaches him to enjoy present happiness, for it does not sacrifice pleasure to a chimæra. Further, there result from it the most important conclusions for the relations between individuals, and for the regulation of these: Man is to be improved, not by moral homilies, but by being made more healthy; the physician takes the place of the pastor of souls. It further teaches that interest is the sole motive to action, and shows the way in which men are to be guided—only prove to them that

it is for their advantage to do what they are asked. As it is clearly for the advantage of every one to be at peace (religion teaches men to live at enmity with one another), society will be in the best possible condition, and punishments will always become rarer where every one seeks his own advantage. These latter are inflicted, not because the criminal is free and responsible, but for the same reason that we dam up rivers, although they are neither the one nor the other.

4. The physician PIERRE JEAN GEORGE CABANIS (1758 to 5th May, 1808) occupies almost the same position with respect to the *Système de la Nature* as Buffon took up towards the Encyclopædists. His *Rapports du Physique et du Moral de l'Homme* appeared first in the *Mémoires des Instituts*, and afterwards, in 1812, as an independent work. They have been often reprinted. The chief difference between him and Holbach, apart from the great superiority that his thorough knowledge of natural science gives him, consists in his substituting not so much mechanical as chemical and organic processes for psychical ones. The brain, like the stomach, performs functions of digestion and secretion, but the nourishment it takes is impressions, and its excrements are thoughts. His maxim is, "*Les nerfs—voilà tout l'homme.*" (From a letter published after his death, we can see that at a later period he himself did not find this theory satisfactory.)—Views similar to those of Cabanis were elaborated by Antoine Louis Claude, Comte Destutt de Tracy (20th July, 1754, to 10th March, 1836), especially in his *Elémens d'Idéologie* (1801–1815; 5 vols.).

5. By reducing all mental processes to refinements of bodily ones, realism had reached a point where it (*vid.* § 259) was on the verge of ceasing to be philosophy. As a matter of fact, the works which were published with a view to outbidding the *Système de la Nature*, such as *Le Bon Sens, ou Idées Naturelles opposées aux Idées Surnaturelles*, 1772 (by Holbach himself), *Le Militaire Philosophe*, *La Théologie Portative* (by Nageon), and so on, works in which this "philosophical" age abounded, do not deserve to be called philosophical. Even an enthusiastic admirer of Holbach, like Grimm, said of the first of these that it was an exposition of atheism for chambermaids and barbers. In short, the time had arrived when men were no longer content to repeat the phrase that Diderot had had on his lips when he died, "The first step to philosophy is unbelief"; they had come to think that this was the whole of philosophy.

The development of this line of thought, however, had shown how the opposite of pantheism, when consistently carried through, was bound ultimately to become a denial of that to which alone pantheism had allowed validity, in other words, to become atheism. The development of the idealistic systems of this period will show a similar result.

SECOND DIVISION.

Idealistic Systems.

Ed. Zeller: *Geschichte der deutschen Philosophie seit Leibnitz.* Munich, 1873.

§ 287.

JUST as the realism of the eighteenth century culminated in the materialistic enlightenment of France, so the series of idealistic systems culminates in the rationalistic enlightenment of Germany. These movements cannot but present points of resemblance, since both of them look at the world from an individualist point of view; but this must not blind us to the fact that they spring from diametrically opposite systems. Nor ought we to allow the opposition between them to mislead us into expecting to find everywhere perfect correlation and entire correspondence between the two sides. On the very face of it, there is a wide and obvious difference in their development. For realism at first manifested itself only in timid attempts; such systems as were propounded were merely tentative and of no real importance; it was not until comparatively late that the names of pioneers like Locke, Hume, and Condillac came into prominence. Idealism, on the other hand, made its appearance quite suddenly, in the system of a man who developed his theory in conscious opposition, not merely to the sceptics and mystics, but also to Locke and the English moralists, and who therefore may be said to have wrought along a line that covers the work of the whole of these thinkers. In fact, he carried his idealism to a point corresponding to that stage in the development of realism which is occupied by Condillac. There is another and more important difference. In the materialistic French enlightenment we see nothing more than the development of the germs that are traceable in Locke; it takes no notice at all, or at

best only an unfriendly notice, of opposing theories (Leibnitz's, Berkeley's). It is quite otherwise with the rationalism of the German enlightenment. However much this owes to Leibnitz, he is not its only parent; few of its representatives are to be regarded as merely continuing to work out what he had suggested. The great majority of them drew their inspiration from Englishmen and Frenchmen, almost as much as from Leibnitz and Wolff. Their theories have accordingly a more eclectic and a less consistent appearance. On the other hand, they have the advantage of greater variety, and are freer from all limitations, including that of nationality. The French enlightenment never had the cosmopolitan character of the German one. This second difference in the development of the two lines of thought is not, like the first, a work of chance, the result of external circumstances. It follows from the essential nature of realism and idealism. In the former, individualism and the absolute supremacy of what is corporeal lead to the common end that all knowledge consists ultimately in impressions and perceptions (an individual thing is only apprehended by perception)—that is, to empiricism. In the latter, the deification of what is mental leads to mind being conceived of as the only source of all knowledge, that is, to rationalism or *a priori* philosophy. On the other hand, as the only reality (the mental) is here regarded as something which is individual, but which is discovered empirically, and not through thought, there is room for a possibility which has no parallel in realism. It becomes possible for an empirical idealism (Berkeley) to arise alongside of rational idealism (Leibnitz); it becomes possible for Wolff to treat psychology as *both* rational *and* empirical, and for his successors to take up towards Locke an attitude analogous at once to that adopted by Leibnitz and to that adopted by Berkeley.

A.—LEIBNITZ.

C. E. Guhrauer: *Gottfried Wilhelm Freiherr von Leibnitz*. Breslau, 1842. 2 vols.

§ 288.

I. GOTTFRIED WILHELM LEIBNITZ (or Leibniz) was born in Leipsic on June 21st (July 3rd), 1646. In 1661 he entered the University of his native town, as a student of law. Although he was at that time very young, his early passion

for reading had given him an intimate knowledge of the classics, a thorough grounding in logic, and a considerable familiarity with Scholasticism. Seldom, if ever, did such a well-read student come up to the University; and no great philosopher ever continued to be so eager for reading and so dependent upon it as did Leibnitz. Descartes, before reading a book, always thought out what its title suggested, and that in such a thorough manner that, before beginning it, he had come to a decided opinion on the subject of which it treated. Spinoza read very little, and always got his ideas from himself, without any suggestion from without. Leibnitz differed from both. Even if he had not told us, we should have known that his best ideas came to him when he was reading. Any one who is fond of discovering plagiarisms would have an easy task with Leibnitz. Sherzer increased his affection for the philosophy of the Schoolmen; J. Thomasius interested him in the history of philosophy, and his bachelor's dissertation: *De principio individui*, of the date 30th March, 1663, shows him to be a well-schooled adherent of nominalism. This was followed, especially after he had studied at Jena under Erhardt Weigel, by a period in which Bacon and Hobbes in a special degree, as well as Keppler, Galilei, Gassendi, and (though to a less extent than the others) Descartes won him over to the mathematico-mechanical view of nature, and made him an adherent of the atomic theory and a foe of final causes. The study of Taurellus, too, must belong to a very early period, and was probably resumed afterwards at Altorf. Of the dissertations that he wrote in order to obtain the Academic degree, one appeared in an enlarged form as: *De arte combinatoria*, 1660, 4to. It shows that he had been a diligent student of Lully. He was driven by a clique from his native town, and at the same time from the academic career he had previously intended to follow. A brilliant dissertation (*De casibus perplexis*) secured him the degree of Doctor of Laws at Altorf. Under the patronage of Boineburg, he now entered the service of the Elector of Mainz, where his activity, even in the sphere of literature, was chiefly directed to legal reforms and problems of civil law. He also opened up correspondence with scientific celebrities like Hobbes, Spinoza, and others. A letter to Arnauld, with reference to the *Philosophia eucharistica* (vid. supra § 267, 5), seems intended to prepare a friendly reception for the writer. For immediately afterwards he undertook

the journey to Paris, which was to prove such an important point in his career. He did not, indeed, succeed in his intention of distracting the mind of Louis XIV. from German affairs by getting him to undertake an expedition to Egypt, and his subsequent idea of interesting the King in his plans for a system of universal symbols also failed. But he remained in Paris for some years; and it was there, according to his own statement, that he first learned mathematics. It was there, too, that he first made a thorough study of Descartes—so thorough that he copied out some of his unprinted treatises. He turned his attention to Spinoza as well as to Descartes; and to more than his printed works, for Tschirnhausen asked permission from Spinoza to communicate to him the manuscript of the *Ethics*. For a short time these theories took such a hold upon him that his essay, *De vita beata*, assumed the form of a mosaic of Cartesian statements, and he was able to say in after life, that he had for a moment been inclined towards Spinozism. It was only for a short time; for the extracts from Plato, made at the same time, were possibly made just that he might always have the countervailing influence ready to hand. This latter purpose would be equally well served by his recollections of the Scholastic forms, which he had for some time thrown aside. It has been suggested that we ought to regard the essay, *De vita beata*, as an extract of exactly similar character. But I should only accept this view if it were proved to me that Leibnitz was in the habit of rendering such extracts into German, French, and Latin, (as was the case with the essay in question), and of making several clean copies of them. To convince me of that, will be no easy matter. During this period, Leibnitz spent some months in England. With that exception, he remained in Paris in spite of invitations from Denmark and Hanover; and there, in 1676, he made his discovery of the differential calculus. At length he yielded to the pressure from Hanover, and entered the Hanoverian service as librarian, privy councillor, and member of the Treasury. He combined literary labours with practical work. His *Cæsarinus Furstnerus de jure suprematus*, 1677, is connected with the work he had to undertake in civil law; and the superintendence of the mines, which was part of his duty, led to his writing his *Protogæa*. Under the Catholic Duke, Johann Friedrich, as well as afterwards under his Lutheran successor, Ernst

August, Leibnitz displayed great activity in endeavouring to reconcile the various Christian confessions. To further these conciliatory efforts, he wrote the essay which, when found among his papers, was afterwards published as *Systema theologicum*, to prove that he was a Catholic (1820). His letters to Bossuet and others were directed to the same end. It was also the first occasion of his *Correspondence with Arnauld* of the years 1686–90, though philosophy afterwards came to be the chief subject of discussion. These letters to Arnauld were long supposed to be lost, but they were published in 1846 by Grotefend. It is very easy to trace in them the gradual growth of Leibnitz's theory. The first papers that announced it to a wider circle of readers, are to be found in the *Journal des Savans*. There, in particular, appeared in 1695 the *Système nouveau* (my edition, No. 35, pp. 124 *seq.*), and the explanations that followed it. In 1684 Leibnitz's connection with Berlin and his journeys thither begin, for in that year his pupil, the Princess of Hanover, married the Elector of Brandenburg, afterwards King of Prussia. A more important journey was the one which he undertook to Italy, in order to make some searches in the records. This kept him away from Hanover for three years, and resulted in the formation of close connections with Vienna, Florence, Rome, Venice, etc. In 1691 Leibnitz was also appointed librarian to the (Catholic) Duke Anton Ulrich at Wolfenbüttel. This encyclopædia of all knowledge found it possible to get through an unparalleled amount of business. After the death of the Elector Ernst August (1698) his connection with Berlin became much closer. He was at once a sort of diplomatic agent at Berlin, and president of the newly-founded Academy there. He also again entered into relations with the Imperial court. When the war of the Spanish succession began, he aided Austria with his pen, just as he wrote on behalf of Prussia, when it was elevated into a kingdom, and again when the dispute arose about inheriting the principality of Orange, and lastly when Frederick laid claim to Neuchatel. Further, it was at this time that his most important works were written. In 1704 he composed his *Nouveaux essais*, *i.e.* new essays on the subject of the human understanding. These he did not publish, because in the interval Locke, against whom they were directed, had died. To the same year belong the discourses written for the Queen

of Prussia, which were subsequently combined into the *Theodicée* (1710). The death of the Queen loosened the bond with Berlin. His journeys thither became rarer and rarer, and in 1711 ceased altogether. Henceforward, however, Vienna had a great attraction for him. Peter the Great appointed him a Russian privy councillor of justice, and, immediately afterwards, in 1712, he obtained the long-coveted post of an imperial privy councillorship. It was probably not till this time that he was made a Baron (cf. Bergmann, *Sitzungsbericht der Wiener Akademie*, 20th Jan. 1858). Till the end of September, 1714, he lived at Vienna. There his *Monadologie* was written, in 1714, for the great Prince Eugen, and probably also the *Principes de la Nature et de la Grâce*. At the same time he was busy trying to found an Academy. During his stay at Vienna his oldest patroness died, the widow of Ernst August and the mother of the deceased Queen of Prussia. Her death was followed by that of Anne of England, so that on his return he found that the Elector had left Hanover. His own wish, and that of many patriotic Englishmen, was that he should follow the new King to England; but this idea met with a reception which left no doubt of his altered position at court. At the end, his life was embittered by controversies with Clarke and other followers of Newton; and when it came to a close, on Nov. 14th, 1716, not a single one of the court dignitaries who were invited to his funeral put in an appearance. Hitherto unprinted matter by Leibnitz was published by Feller in his *Otium Hannoveranum*, etc., Leipsic, 1718; by Kortholt in *Viri illustr. G. G. Leibnitii Epistola ad diversos*, etc., Leipsic, 1734 and following years, 4 vols.; and by Raspe, in *Œuvres philosophiques de feu M. Leibnitz*, etc., Amst. and Leipsic, 1765, 4to. Afterwards, what had been already printed, and had appeared chiefly in sundry periodicals, was collected by the Frenchman Lud. Dutens, in *Goth. Guil. Leibnitii Opera omnia*, Genev., 1768, 6 vols. 4to, from which, however, the posthumous works just mentioned were excluded. In 1805, Feder published his *Commercii epistolici Leibnitiani specimina*, Hanover, 1805, which contain much that is of interest. Next Guhrauer brought out: *Leibnitz's deutsche Schriften*. Berlin, 1838, 2 vols. Such articles in these collections as seemed to have a philosophical interest, as well as twenty-three hitherto unprinted essays, are contained in my chronologically arranged edition of Leibnitz's (philosophical) works: *G. G.*

Leibnitii Opera philosophica, etc. Berlin, 1840, 2 vols., 4to. It is from this edition that I quote here. Unfortunately it was not until after I had published it that Sextro discovered the copies of Leibnitz's letters to Arnauld, which went astray in Paris, and which were published by Grotendorf in 1846. These are included in the collected edition prepared by G. H. Pertz, which began to appear in 1845: *Leibnitz's gesammelte Werke herausgegeben von Pertz*. (The first series contains the historical works [4 vols.], the second the philosophical [1 vol.], the third the mathematical [7 vols.].) In 1859 Count A. Foucher de Careil, who had previously published: *Lettres et opuscules inédits de Leibniz*, Paris, 1854-57, 2 vols., began to bring out: *Œuvres de Leibniz*, etc., Paris, Didot. The sixth volume appeared in 1864. But the work is not likely to go further. The most correct edition promised to be that which was begun under the guidance of Onno Klopp (*G. W. Leibniz's Werke*, First series, 1, 2, 3, 4, Hanover, 1865; 5, 1866). It then came to a stand-still until 1872, when the publishers again began to print. In that year vol. 6 appeared, and in the next 7, 8, 9, containing the correspondence with the Princess Sophie. Even if it should continue to be issued, it is apparently not to go beyond the first series (historico-political). In 1875 there appeared: *Die philosophischen Schriften von Gottfr. Wilh. Leibniz, herausgegeben von C. J. Gerhardt*. First volume, Berlin, 1875. It is to be hoped that no misfortune may overtake this promising edition. [Six volumes in all of this edition have appeared up to date.—Ed.]

2. Leibnitz's often-repeated assertion that Cartesianism is only the ante-room of true philosophy, implies that it is necessary to go beyond it. Not less frequently does he describe Spinozism as a development of Cartesianism, and at the same time as a justly disparaged theory. Thus the question arises, Where must we leave Descartes, if we are not to approach too near Spinoza? Leibnitz finds this point in the Cartesian way of conceiving the idea of substance, the logical conclusion of which is that there is only *one* substance (*Exam. de Malebr.*, p. 691); and accordingly he declares that a correct idea of substance is the key to philosophy. His own view is, that the nature of substance consists in self-active power, in virtue of which it contains within itself the reason of all its changes, or is "pregnant with its own future," and in individuality, which presupposes infinite plurality. It is no wonder that he is

astonished at being accused of holding the same opinions as Spinoza, whose Substance excluded all plurality, and was besides an inactive universality (*à Bourguet*, pp. 722, 720). He is never tired of commending the substantiality, *i.e.* self-activity, of individual things as the only remedy against every form of pantheism—that of Averröes, the Mystics, Spinoza, etc. These infinitely numerous simple substances, unities, powers, etc., which from 1697 he calls “monads,” a name possibly borrowed from Giordano Bruno, do not come into being and do not decay (*Syst. Nouv.*, p. 125). They can only be created or destroyed, and besides them nothing exists. Leibnitz himself was for some time favourably inclined towards the atomism of Democritus, Epicurus, and Gassendi, and it was therefore all the more necessary that he should make clear to himself and his readers the difference between his monads and the atoms of these philosophers. When he boasts that his theory contains more than atomism, which is, so to speak, a beginning or introduction to it (*Lettres*, p. 699), he does so because he does not deny the teaching of the atomists, but partly accepts it, and partly goes beyond and supplements it. Like them, he maintains that the ultimate individual things are impenetrable; his “windowless” monads correspond to their “hard” atoms; both theories say that each individual substance is separated from every other, nothing can enter into it, and nothing can come out of it (*Monadol.*, p. 705); its activity, therefore, as “immanent,” is contrasted with all “transition.” Leibnitz is as emphatic as the atomists in maintaining the indivisibility of his monads; but while the atoms, as being extended, remain divisible at least in thought, the monads, like mathematical points, are actually indivisible, and they are distinguished from the latter by being not merely modalities, but something real. They are, therefore, metaphysical points (*Syst. Nouv.*, p. 126. *Monadol.*, p. 705). But Leibnitz goes on to attribute to the monads predicates so far removed from the atoms, that he is able to say his theory has succeeded in combining the materialism of the atomists with the idealism of Plato (*à Bayle*, p. 156). The monads have the property, not only of reality (*acte*), but of self-realization (*activité*): just as an elastic body when compressed contains its expansion in the form of impulse, so the monad contains its own future state. This activity is inseparable from its nature, and accordingly the monad is always active (*D. prim.*

phil. emend., p. 122; *Syst. Nouv.*, p. 125; *Princ. de la Nat.*, p. 714; *De ipsa nat.*, p. 157). Further, while the atoms were limited portions of existence, each monad contains, like Spinoza's substance which was *omne esse*, the whole infinity of existence within itself, is a concentrated universe, and would accordingly lose nothing if all the other monads perished, and gain nothing if they could exercise influence upon it (*à Bourguet*, p. 720; *à Bayle*, p. 187). As an absolutely separated, self-sufficient microcosm, the monad produces automatically within itself all that concerns it; and an all-seeing eye could read in its present condition its whole past and future, *i.e.*, could read in it all existence (*Monadol.*, p. 706). The process by which all existence is contained in the single monad, Leibnitz has described in very different ways, and in very different words. It is especially in his correspondence with Arnould that he tries to explain it. Just as the centre of a circle is the meeting-place of all the *radii*, and therefore contains all the central angles, so the monad contains everything or expresses (*exprime*) everything. He puts the matter in the same way against Bayle (p. 187). Instead of speaking of it as a process in virtue of which all existence is contained (not really, but ideally, to use Hegel's language) in the monad,—a process which is often described by saying that the monad is potentially everything,—Leibnitz sometimes employs the expression "mirror" (Hegel says, "appear"), and says therefore that the monads mirror everything. It must not, however, be forgotten that everything exists in each monad as the immanent activity of the monad itself, and the monad is therefore a living mirror of all existence (*Princ. d. l. Nat.*, p. 714). The commonest expression, which will be the more familiar owing to the fact that of all monads our own soul is the one we know best, is the expression "represent" (*Vorstellen*). This, however, as he repeatedly explains, does not mean "represent to oneself," for *apperceptio* is a higher stage than *perceptio*, which latter word he often interchanges with *représenter* or, as above, with *exprimer*. Since "to represent" means merely to contain *idealiter* or *potentia*, we may say in Leibnitz's phraseology that the acorn *represents* the oak; and we need not be surprised if with him percipient activity, and development or creative power mean the same thing, or, if he calls life a *principium perceptivum* (*ad Wagn.*, p. 466). Our soul, when it slumbers, has a *perception* of the world, but not an *apperception* of it (*Princ. d. l. Nat.*,

p. 715). If we call everything that manifests a percipient activity a "soul," we may call the monads by this name. But it is better to say they are soul-like beings, or still better, forms, meaning individual forms, so that we may contrast them as formal atoms with the material atoms of Democritus (*Syst. Nouv.*, p. 124). This much is certain—the monads have not nearly so much analogy with the atoms of Democritus as they have with souls, in fact with spirits, and even with God Himself. From God, however, the monads are distinguished by their activity being limited and therefore constrained; and that not by anything outside of them, but by their own nature, for everything, even when it depends for its existence on something else, is limited, so far as it is limited, by its own nature. While, therefore, the monad expresses or represents everything, or the infinite, it does so in a finite way (*ad Des Bosses*, p. 740; *à Bayle*, p. 187). God, as Leibnitz writes to Bayle on Dec. 5th, 1702, contains the universe *eminenter*, the monads, on the other hand, do so *virtualiter*. While God represents or mirrors the infinite in an infinite way, *i.e.* completely and adequately, because He is pure activity (*actus purus*), a two-fold element is distinguishable in the monad,—activity and its limitation, *i.e.* passivity or constraint. It was this that suggested the comparison with an elastic body. These two elements are described in different ways, according to the various philosophical schools to which those belong whom Leibnitz is addressing. Borrowing from Descartes and Spinoza, he says that the passive element in the monad lies in its confused perceptions (*Monadol.*, p. 709). Since it strives to pass from these to more distinct perceptions, it is part of its nature to have *perception et appetit* (*e.g.* *à Bourguet*, p. 720). For the benefit of readers trained in the philosophy of the Schoolmen, it is notable that in the course of his letters to Des Bosses, the translator of his *Théodicée*, the two elements of activity and passivity are called *forma substantialis* or *entelechia*, and *materia (prima)*. From the latter, God Himself has not the power to free the monads. They may therefore be called material souls, an expression which corresponds to the name formal atoms, already applied to them (*Syst. Nouv.*, p. 125). Leibnitz did not require to state expressly that *materia prima* was exactly the same as *perceptions confuses* (*e.g.* *à Montmort*, p. 725), and that God was *actus purus*. There could have been no doubt upon the point, since God has no confused per-

ceptions, and is neither material nor passive. Since it is thus possible to distinguish two elements in the monad, Leibnitz often says that the atomic theory is insufficient. We must go back to the much-abused substantial forms, and combine these, as a supplement, with the atoms. He calls this a supplementing of the physics of the atomists by a metaphysical principle, possibly because he remembers that Bacon (*ibid.* § 249, 3) had assigned the material principle to physics and the forms to metaphysics. If final causes also be regarded as belonging to metaphysics, it is easy to understand Leibnitz's writing in his correspondence with Arnauld (*Disc. de Metaph.*, p. 22, ed. Grotef.), that his theory combined that of efficient causes with teleology. In each monad the infinity of existence manifests itself in a definite, finite way, and therefore activity and passivity appear united in a definite way. Accordingly, no one monad is exactly like another. There are no two things absolutely similar (*indiscernibilia*). Each monad mirrors existence in its own particular way and from its own peculiar point of view (*Syst. Nouv.*, p. 127). This variety cannot be admitted by the atomists, inasmuch as they assign to the atoms nothing but the property of being material. Nor would it exist at all, if the monad were pure activity. It is therefore caused simply by the limitation of the activity of the monad, and individual difference and peculiarity have their root in confused perceptions. Since the monads are in this way mutually exclusive, the *materia prima* is naturally the *vis passiva resistendi* (*De ipsa nat.*, p. 157). But this is not all. Every monad mirrors or concentrates in itself the infinity of existence, *i.e.* the same thing; each, however, does so in a different way. Thus, in spite of the variety, there exists an agreement which Leibnitz calls "accord," "concomitance," and at a later period always "harmony." Accordingly, although there can be neither influence nor mutual interaction between the monads, the sharp-seeing eye, already referred to, could not merely read in each monad (backwards and forwards) what was in it, but also (side-ways) what is, was, and will be in all monads. Just as mirrors placed round a market-place never contradict one another, although the reflection in each is different, so it is with the living mirrors of the world. This harmony, variety in unity, has thus its condition in the limitations of the monads, their confused perceptions, or their *materia (prima)*. This forms the connection between them. Without it, the monads would

indeed be gods, but would be isolated, would stand outside the universe, as if they had deserted it (*Monad.*, p. 709, *Théod.* p. 537, *Princ. de Vie*, p. 432). Harmony, as being unity in difference, is a manifestation of the great law of nature, which likewise results from the idea of the monad, that *lex continui* which Leibnitz laments to see too much neglected in the sciences. The law may be expressed as follows : " There are no absolute differences, but merely relative and gradual ones." It follows from this, that the first principles (*differentiæ*) of things are themselves separated only by gradual distinctions, and mirror the universe more or less clearly. This law of continuity, which often makes Leibnitz declare that things are everywhere as they are with us, excludes as an absurdity every abrupt transition (*saltus*), as well as every gap (*hiatus, vacuum*), and substitutes development for change. It does so in the case of the individual. No motion can arise except as a consequence of a motion that has gone before, no idea except as a result of a preceding idea. It does so also in the case of the whole. Here it requires us to conceive of all oppositions as relative, of rest as infinitesimal motion, of the parabola and the circle as ellipses with an infinitely great or an infinitely small space between the foci, of what is coherent as fluid, of what is fluid as coherent, of birth as evolution, of death as involution. Further, we must assume that there is nowhere a *vacuum formarum*, and we must believe that there are beings intermediate between animals and plants, genii that belong to a higher order than men, and so on (*à Bayle*, pp. 104, 105; *Nouv. Syst.*, p. 125; *Nouv. Ess.*, p. 392; *Princ. de Vie*, p. 432; *To Wagner*, p. 467). The monads, therefore, form a continuous and quite gradually ascending series, from the lowest, which stands nearest to nothing, to the highest, so that no two occur which occupy exactly the same place. What Thomas Aquinas had said of pure intelligences (§ 203, 5), is extended by Leibnitz to every monad; it is unique of its kind, and the number of grades in the series is infinite (*Princ. d. l. Nat.*, p. 715). In spite of this, Leibnitz lays down certain main divisions, depending upon the principal varieties of representative activity which we can distinguish by introspection. We are justified in drawing conclusions with regard to the other monads from this introspection, because the lower is always contained in the higher, and there is no condition beneath the human which would not fall

within human experience, and therefore be capable of being recognised by men. There are within us, in the first place, perceptions which are so obscure that we cannot distinguish them either from one another or from ourselves, as, for example, those which occur in deep sleep or in unconsciousness produced by turning rapidly round and round; in the second place, those which are clear compared with the foregoing, as, for example, the sensation of green, but which are still indistinct or confused because we cannot describe them to one who has been born blind, and because we do not even know that the green we see is a mixture of blue and yellow; in the last place, those which are distinct, and which we can communicate to others by defining them. (These distinctions occur in Descartes, and in the *Art de Penser*.) Similarly, we can distinguish, in the first place, monads that never get beyond the lowest grade of perceptions, and these may be called sleeping or bare monads; in the second place, those which attain to clear perceptions, and such would be souls; in the last place, those which, besides obscure and clear (but confused) perceptions, have also distinct ones, and such we call spirits (*Medit. de cogn.*, p. 75; *Monad.*, p. 706). Of course, within these main divisions there are an infinite number of grades. Leibnitz, for example, never doubts of the existence of superhuman genii, into which men are perhaps transformed after death (*Princ. de Vie*, p. 431; *To Wagner*, p. 466). If we pass up from stage to stage, all grades of monads ultimately point to one, in which all that is material, *i.e.*, all that is confused, disappears, because it perceives everything with perfect clearness, and is present directly in everything alike (*Princ. d. l. Nat.*, p. 717). This primitive, highest monad is God (*à Montmort*, p. 725; *ad Bierling*, p. 678). As we have said that He is free from what was previously recognised as the bond between the monads, He must, of course, be described as without, beside, and above the world (*De rer. orig.*, p. 147; *To Clarke*, p. 749); and He must certainly not be conceived of as an (immanent) soul of the world, or as a world-Ego. With Him must be contrasted, not, as has been supposed, matter, but nothingness. Matter is something between the two; indeed, Leibnitz (thinking perhaps of Campanella, perhaps, too, as is more likely, of Descartes) calls it a product of both (*Sur l'Espr. Univ.*, p. 182). God is the cause and creator of the monads, and, since harmony resulted from their essential

nature, the cause why this harmony exists. In its relation to God, harmony becomes something predetermined by God, and the expression *Système de l'Harmonie PRÉÉTABLIE* has been since 1696 the recognised name for the system of Leibnitz.

3. It is only of the existence of the monads and of their harmony that God (generally at least) is said to be the cause. Their essence (*essentia*) and even their possibility (conceivability) is an eternal verity which, like all eternal verities, has its abode in the Divine wisdom as the *regio idearum*, but is no more dependent upon the Divine will than this abode itself is. Even if nothing at all existed, the monads would still be possible. According to the familiar Aristotelian principle, they can be brought into existence only by a being that already exists. Further, this must not be one whose existence like theirs is an extension of possibility, but God, whose existence is due to His own possibility. The transition from the possibility of the monads to their actual existence may be called, with reference to Leibnitz's own terminology, a transition from his *metaphysics* to his *physics*. His essay of 1697, *De rerum originatione radicali* (pp. 147 *seq.*), is particularly important on this point. Here, as elsewhere, Leibnitz makes use of what he calls sometimes *principium rationis sufficientis*, sometimes *principium melioris*. In this case he expresses it as follows: "All that is possible has a claim to existence in proportion to its perfection." In other places he puts it more shortly: "Nothing happens without a cause (*i.e.*, an end)." All the infinite number of conceivable monads and combinations of monads press forward to come into existence; and absolutely no change takes place in their essential nature when they are brought from the *regio idearum* into actual existence (*à Clarke*, p. 763). Now comes to pass what happens in the analogous case where motive powers are at work on a single body in different directions. The result in this latter instance is the direction in which the maximum of motion is exercised; in the other process, which is at once metaphysical and mechanical, it is the greatest possible sum of reality or of perfection. (This comparison of perfection with reality warns us against taking Leibnitz's theory in a more ethical sense than it was intended to have. If, as late as 1714, he writes to Wolff, who had asked him for a definition of perfection: *Perfectio est gradus realitatis positivæ, vel quod eodem redit in*

telligibilitatis affirmativæ, and if he subsequently puts perfection on the same level as universality and regularity, because an exception is something negative, and only a rule is really an *observabile*, it is quite clear that Leibnitz approaches very near the purely logical conception of perfection entertained by Descartes and Spinoza [cf. § 272, 3.] Since that mechanical process goes forward within the knowledge of God, this comes to the same thing as saying that God compares the possible combinations and chooses the most perfect one. In this it may, indeed must, happen that less perfect things are chosen, instead of one thing which, taken by itself, would be perfect, but whose existence can only be purchased by a multitude of imperfections. In the same way, perfectly similar things are conceivable; but they never actually exist. For, if both were made actual, there would be no reason why one should be in one place and the other in another; and if only one of them were made actual, there would be no reason why that one should be chosen; and therefore God makes neither of them actual, and there never exist two things absolutely alike (*Ibid.*, pp. 755, 756). Not everything which is conceivable (*possible*), is for that reason compatible with everything else (*compossible*) (*à Bourguet*, pp. 718, 719). It was through confusing these two ideas that Averroës and Spinoza reached the erroneous principle that all that is possible becomes actual. This is true only of what is *compossible*. The sum of all that is *compossible*, and therefore exists, we call the world. That it must be unique is obvious (*Théod.*, p. 506). Equally obvious is it that it is the best. It is not the best because God has chosen it, but God has chosen it because it is the best. That the sum of all existing monads, each of which is pregnant with its own future, also contains within itself all its future conditions; that there can be no omission or gap in the sum, the real world, any more than in the ideal world; that, for this very reason, everything happens from (not metaphysical, but moral) necessity, since its opposite is conceivable, but incompatible, *i.e.* impossible,—all of this goes without saying. If we pass now from the general idea of the world to that of its elements, the first question that arises is, How does Leibnitz conceive of corporeal things? Of course, as there is nothing real except the monads, body must consist of them. A body, therefore, or even the whole mass of bodies (*materia secunda*), is an aggregate of substances. It is, then, no more substance than is