

ranked above marriage, the relation between those who, as Aristotle justly says, cannot live without each other; hence, too, that inclination towards all kinds of societies, which down to our own day goes hand in hand with a strong dislike of the spirit of corporations and guilds.—Thirdly, in the formula we employed, stress was laid upon the fact that the subject here occupies its high position in virtue of its being a *rational, i.e.*, a thinking being. This determines the contrast which distinguished the rationalistic Enlightenment of Germany from the materialistic Enlightenment of France, and which helps us to understand why the precursors of the former speak with such contempt of Voltaire, the Encyclopædists, Lamettrie, and the *Système de la Nature* (cf. §§ 285 and 286), while Rousseau (*vid.* § 292, 3) always commands their respect. Only where it is a question of fighting on common ground, against such powers as are hostile to individualism, is it possible for the German Enlightenment to make common cause with that of France. Both struggle against those all-embracing organisms, at the construction of which the preceding period had laboured, and complete the process of disorganisation which has already (§ 274) been pointed out as the distinctive feature of the second period of the modern epoch. It was of set purpose that the expression “rational” and not “thinking” individual was employed in the formula. For the latter might be taken to mean speculative thought, which is identical with its object, while here, in conformity to the subjective character of the particular point of view, must be understood subjective, rational thought, that reason which is called “our own,” or (because it is found also in connection with what is non-speculative) “common,”—in other words, understanding, the strength of which consists in its conceiving of everything in simplicity and freedom from contradiction, and, therefore, in its analysis of everything that is complex. This explains the dislike felt by the men of the Enlightenment for all that they call confused thought or mysticism, contrasting it with their own clearness or definite conceptions. Such a feeling prevented them from drawing a proper distinction between that in which opposites are not yet clearly distinguished (confusion of thought), and that in which they are reconciled again (depth of thought), so that their own sharpness and clearness had afterwards to bear the reproach of dullness. A fourth point in the formula we employed, was that *no exception* was made to the supremacy of

the rational subject. This prevents that narrowing down of the movement, which has been already censured, and which would limit it to one single department, the philosophical or the religious. And it also shows why the leaders saw nothing wrong in the conduct adopted by themselves and their Enlightened contemporaries towards the unthinking multitude, whom they treated as if they were absolutely devoid of rights, nothing wrong in the force which they, the free, employed to compel the enslaved to burst their fetters, nothing wrong even in the opinion expressed by Bahrddt in a now classical formula, where he says that submission to the authority of those who have received the light, is one of the signs of Enlightenment. What has since been called the worship of genius, was never more flourishing than during the age of Enlightenment, though nowadays we usually understand by a genius, something more than an unprejudiced man. It has already been stated, that in our own time the mass of the people thinks as the few thought in that epoch. Any one who is inclined to doubt this, should compare the readiness shown by the high-spirited youths (such as are pictured for us by Jean Paul, or even by Goethe himself in *Wilhelm Meister*) to submit themselves to every apostle of the light, with the way in which nowadays the mob, in order to show its independence of mind, declaims against the Government candidate, and makes choice of some one utterly unknown, simply because he was proposed by an unknown committee. Such is the humble position in which he who has not received the light, stands towards him who is already Enlightened. Closely connected with this, is what has been called the inability to comprehend historical phenomena, or the fact that the Enlightened man could apply no other standard to "darker" times than his own point of view. Goethe rightly calls this the age of self-conceit, and reproaches it with arrogant self-satisfaction. "Thus would I speak if I were Christ," are words which he puts into the mouth of Dr. Bahrddt. Mendelssohn declares that he has made Socrates speak as he would speak nowadays; Nicolai professes to find in the *Critique of Pure Reason* only a confirmation of the ideas he had himself long entertained; and so on. Let this suffice by way of analysis of our formula. Its correctness is confirmed by every characteristic feature of the Enlightenment, and, so far as we are aware, there is no definition that it can-

not be shown to include. A complete and comprehensive account of the Enlightenment in Germany would be foreign to the purpose of this work, and the lines originally laid down in Schlosser's investigations have been followed up with such excellent results in the books mentioned above, that there can be no hesitation in referring readers to works upon the history of culture and of literature. Still, an account of the philosophy of this period must be prefaced by a sketch of the form which the Enlightenment assumed in those two departments of life which have always up till now been represented as conditioning and accompanying philosophical development—the Church and the State, or, as it would be more correct to say in this case, religion and society. This sketch is all the more necessary here, because the movements in these two departments stand in a peculiar reciprocal relation to the development of philosophical ideas, inasmuch as the sustenance they afford one another is mutual. It will, accordingly, form the subject-matter of the succeeding section.

2. We shall begin with an examination of the *religious Enlightenment* in Germany, because, to mention only one reason, the word "enlightened," where it first occurs, is employed to denote the opposite of superstition and religious narrowness. This springs from three different sources. Two of these are purely German—*Pietism*, which began with Spener, and was afterwards specially fostered by the theologians of Halle, and rationalistic *Philosophy*, founded by Leibnitz and then developed chiefly through the influence of the Halle professors, Thomasius and Wolff. The mutual regard that subsisted between Leibnitz and Spener, the (originally) friendly relation between Thomasius and the pietists of Halle might have been repeated between the pietists and Wolff, had not particular circumstances prevented it. Those who look upon the personal need of salvation as a guarantee of the truth of the doctrine they hold, cannot find it hard to appreciate a point of view which makes personal conviction the criterion of truth. Such a fusion of pietism with the philosophy of Wolff as we see in Jac. Siegm. Baumgarten of Halle, and in a very special degree in Franz Albert Schultz of Königsberg, a man equally great as pastor, teacher, and administrator, and in his pupil Martin Knutzen (1713–1751), need not surprise us, for the two movements are alike in their individualism and their subjectivity. For this very reason too, both are bound, sooner or later, to lead to a

non-ecclesiastical or private form of religion, which was always the charge made against them by orthodox thinkers. It has already been pointed out (§ 131) that the difference between the Christian community and the Church lies in the fact that the latter has a creed, *i.e.* a system which has the validity of a statute, while the former confines itself to preaching the message of revelation, from which the system is afterwards developed. Just as, among the Schoolmen of the Middle Ages, ecclesiastically-minded theologians neglected the Bible for individual dogmas, so now the orthodox Protestant theologians, who had reached a new form of Scholasticism, neglected it for dogmatic formularies. On the contrary, it cannot be looked upon as a mere coincidence, that hand in hand with the enthusiasm for the study of the Bible, which pietism rekindled, there goes the tendency to return to the condition of the early Christian community by forming *ecclesiolæ*; or that Spener shows himself lax in regard to pledging oneself to creeds; or that during the supremacy of pietism dogmatic works appeal but seldom to the creeds, upon which, further, no lectures are delivered; or finally, that in the community of the Brotherhood, so closely connected with pietism, they have hardly any validity at all. In short, pietism did almost as much to prepare the way for the loud cry that was soon to be echoed by all the apostles of Enlightenment—"Away with creeds," as did Leibnitz with his efforts after union, and Thomasius with his polemic against the validity of dogmatic formularies. There is a second point in which pietism finds itself at one with the philosophy of Leibnitz and of Wolff; and here the positive assertion is not, as in the former case, made from the side of the orthodox, but from the other. The conviction that purity of doctrine is the one thing needful, had made the advocates of orthodoxy to some extent indifferent towards morality of life; and this indifference was increased by the disputes about good works. In fact, there were instances which proved that (just as the Cartesians took to torturing animals, § 267, 5) defenders of orthodoxy purposely made a parade of loose living, in order to give a practical proof that works were of no account. This was met by the pietists with their demand for the putting off of the old man, and by the philosophy of Wolff with a morality which, though home-made, was earnest. Before long a serious and strictly moral manner of living came to be looked upon as a sign that,

in the language of the orthodox, a man was inclining towards the pietists or the atheists. If we reflect that the men of the Enlightenment before long came to consider morality the main element in religion, if not a substitute for it, we may say that in these two points,—disregard of creeds and regard for a moral life,—pietism and Wolffianism were equally the precursors of the subsequent Enlightenment. But there is a third point, in which pietism is far less decided than German philosophy. This is in all questions affecting evil. Leibnitz had never lost sight of the idea that the individual, as a mirror of the universe, is only a member, and therefore subservient to the good of the whole. It is quite compatible with this relation of subservience, that individuals should serve as examples of corrective justice, and therefore Leibnitz found nothing irrational in the theory of eternal punishment. Wolff, by depriving the individual elements of this reflexive character, did much more to isolate them. Hence he lays greater stress upon the perfection of individuals than upon anything else; and it follows that he can admit no punishment save that which aims at the improvement of the individual, and that he is therefore bound to deny the theory of eternal punishment (§ 290, 7). In doing so he gave utterance to the second negation which was soon to become the Shibboleth of all 'Enlightened' men. "No dogmatic formularies! No eternal punishment!" these are the watchwords for which Nicolai makes his Sebaldus Nothanker endure martyrdom. But this isolation of the individual leads to still further consequences. If each one has to answer for himself, there can be no such thing as guilt that passes beyond the individuals who have actually sinned. All theories which speak of a dominion of evil that extends beyond the individual subject, whether this appears in the expression "original sin," or in the word "devil," or in both, must fail to find favour. Like eternal punishment, to which they are very closely akin, they will have to be rejected, even although this policy at first appears only as a policy of silence. So it was with Wolff and his followers. In this last respect it seems very improbable that the pietists should be the forerunners of the Enlightenment, and yet signs are not wanting that they were. They laid great stress upon the process of conversion in each individual, which differed according to his individuality, and which is sometimes called being born again, sometimes breaking with

the past, and sometimes by some other name. In so doing they weakened the significance of the new birth that resulted from the Sacrament, and from admittance into the membership of the Church. How can baptism any longer be called an outward symbol of the new birth, if the baptised require another such new birth, which is the issue of deadly struggles? And again, if baptism is only a promise that we shall one day be free from the bonds of sin, what significance has exorcism? And so on. We shall be doing pietism no injustice if we say that it at least loosened stones on the same lines on which the Wolffian philosophy afterwards removed them, while the Enlightenment overthrew the whole structure.

Cf. Benno Erdmann : *Martin Knutzen und seine Zeit*. Leipz., 1876.

3. One of the links between pietism and the Enlightenment is GOTTFRIED ARNOLD (1666-1714), who was himself a pietist, although, both before and after his connection with Spener, Jacob Böhme and Gichtel exercised great influence upon him. Thomasius called his *Impartial History of the Church and of Heresy* (1698-1700) the best book after the Bible; and, what is more remarkable, this praise was repeated by Joachim Lange, Francke's most trusted friend. And yet in this book not merely does he show the most decided preference for every form of that religious subjectivity which sets itself up against all ecclesiastical formulæ, but by his frequent hints that the defenders of the latter had not acted quite honourably, he was one of the first to stir up in Germany the outcry against priestcraft and sacerdotal cunning. In his time, and to some extent in the places where he lived,—places which had long been the centres of separatist tendencies,—there sprang up anti-ecclesiastical movements, mutually united by dislike of the Creeds and, in some cases, of the Sacraments as well. Just as Arnold looked back wistfully to the apostolic age, so those who took part in these movements, always appealed to Scripture, which, however, as the famous Berleburg Bible shows, was subjected to a mystical and allegorical method of exegesis. JO. CONR. DIPPEL (1673-1734), who wrote under the name of *Democritus Christianus*, was a man entirely devoid of moral self-control. He began by being an advocate of orthodoxy; then, after he had gained at Strasburg a more thorough acquaintance with Spener's writings, he became inclined towards pietism, and was warmly received by Arnold at Giessen.

In his *Orthodoxia Orthodoxorum*, his *Papismus Protestantium*, his *Fatum fatuum*, and other writings, published in the Geismar collection, he expresses with growing emphasis his hatred of priestcraft. After having lived as a physician in Holland, Denmark, and Sweden, and everywhere suffered persecution, he found refuge in Berleburg, like so many others who had fallen out with the Church. There there appeared, as: *An open Way to Peace with God*, 1747, a collected edition of his works in three volumes, including his autobiography, which had been already published.—JOH. CHR. EDELMANN (1698–1767) was originally an adherent of pietism, to which he had been converted by Buddeus; and therefore throughout life he remained an opponent of the Wolffian philosophy. After allowing himself to be influenced by all the separatist tendencies of his time, to a large extent even by Dippel, a man to whom morally he is far superior, and after co-operating for some time in the Berleburg translation of the Bible, he became acquainted first with Spinoza's *Tractatus theologico-politicus* and then with his *Ethics*, and ultimately adopted his philosophy in its entirety. Even in his *Innocent Truths*, and in his *Moses with uncovered Face*, 1740 (only three "Visions" have been printed, the others are extant in manuscript form) he argues against the theory that there is a God outside of ourselves, and against the worship of the letter. He takes up a more advanced position in his *Divineness of Reason*, 1741, and particularly in his *Necessary Creed not imposed upon Others*, 1746; and in: *Evangel and First Epistle of St. Harenberg*, 1747, the latter being a defence of the *Necessary Creed* against the attack of the prior Harenberg. There he shows us the culminating point of the Enlightening movement that proceeded from pietism, and the genesis of which we see in his *Autobiography* (Berlin, 1849), which has been edited by Klose. Disappointed in his hope of finding any one who had actually been born again, he was next repelled by the theory of eternal punishment. He had never attached any importance to creeds; his method of interpreting the Bible had made him lose his reverence for it, and finally the persecutions to which he was subjected had filled him with an ever deeper hatred of the clergy. As a consequence, he was ultimately led to take up a position of cynically-expressed hostility both to the Scriptures and to the priesthood. It was only in this latter respect that he was followed by the large number of people who are called

his friends and adherents. They belonged to the uneducated, partly to the lower, class of his countrymen; and they were quite unable to grasp the positive side of his system, his "*Pantheistere*," as Harenberg calls it. The scholars of his own day, who might have understood it, are, like the whole age in which they lived, anti-pantheistic in their views, and consequently they take no notice at all of this aspect of Edelmann's writings. At least in Hamburg, where he lived for a long time, Reimarus seems to have ignored him entirely. In Berlin, where he made a much more lengthened stay, Mendelssohn contents himself with making a remark about his outward appearance. Edelmann was an isolated, meteor-like phenomenon; and he was so, because he attempted to combine with the revolutionary spirit that is characteristic of the Enlightenment of the eighteenth century, doctrines that breathe a spirit of quietist resignation. Perhaps Edelmann would have taken less interest in the pantheism of Spinoza's *Ethics*, if it had not been the work of the man who had so sharply criticised the authenticity of the Bible in the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*. However that may be, it is certain that, while he employs the word "Spinozist" as a title of honour, he treats with contempt the names of Wolff, Voltaire, and others, which were most revered among his contemporaries.

4. The road from the Wolffian philosophy to the philosophy of the Enlightenment was shorter than that from pietism. It has already been shown how the substance of Wolff's natural theology was ultimately resolved into belief in the existence of God and in the immortality of the soul; although he also admits that something may be added through supernatural revelation, still the miraculous is limited by him to such a small sphere, and is hampered by so many conditions, that in the end it can hardly be said that he allows it to be possible at all. In the Wolffian school, too, owing to the importance attached to individual opinion, there is a marked decrease of respect for that collective opinion which found expression in the Creeds ("*Nostri docent*"). It is not the Creeds but the Bible to which appeal is made. The Berleburg translation of the Bible and its accompanying commentary, found a counterpart in that prepared at Wertheim. The author of the latter, the Wolffian Lorenz Schmidt, also made a name for himself as the translator of Spinoza's *Ethics* and its refutation by Wolff, as well as of Tindal's book, *Christianity as Old as the*



*Creation.* Subsequently, he lived at Wolfenbüttel ; and after his death Lessing tried to make the world believe that he was the author of the notorious *Fragments*. The "historical method of interpretation," which makes him draw a distinction between what is said in the Old Testament and what is quoted in the New, runs directly counter to the tradition of the Church. Further, many of the statements of Scripture are rationalized and deprived of much of their significance. Alongside of those Wolffians who honestly believed that the Wolffian method would enable them to justify the dogmas of the Church, there appear some who try to use it for an opposite end. The former are represented by Stattler and other Jesuits, who make the Wolffian philosophy a buttress of Catholicism, the latter by Gebhardi, Hatzfeld, and others, who are brought by it into complete agreement with the English deists. A similar division can be traced among the philosophical disciples of Al. Gottl. Baumgarten. Some saw in his indubitable piety a sign to preserve as much dogma as was possible. Others again attached importance mainly to the facts that in his natural theology he admitted no more than Wolff had done, that his theory of the best possible world was inconsistent with the orthodox view of evil, that he always spoke of the miraculous exactly as his master had done, and so on ; consequently they disregarded the distinctive doctrines of Christianity. J. GOTTL. TÖLLNER (1724-1774) used to say that his own opinions were entirely formed and moulded under the influence of Baumgarten. While at Halle, he was intimate with Baumgarten, the theologian, and when he was afterwards a military chaplain at Frankfort-on-the-Oder, he was brought into contact with his brother, the philosopher. As Baumgarten and Meier had done before him, he applied the Wolffian philosophy to Christianity, particularly after being appointed a professor. His *Thoughts on the True Method of Teaching Dogmatic Theology*, 1759, as well as his *Outline of Dogmatic Theology*, 1760, and his solemn declarations about his own position, show clearly that he was one of the more orthodox philosophers. And yet in him we see perfect indifference towards dogmatic formularies ; we see a denial of the vicarious character of Christ's death, and of all supernatural intervention on our behalf ; and we are told "that God makes use of natural revelation also to lead men to blessedness" (1766). Others,—men, however, of less importance,—were brought

through the influence of Baumgarten, to adopt a purely negative attitude towards Christianity. But by far the most famous and most advanced of those who were led through the Wolffian philosophy to a modification of their religious ideas, was HERMANN SAMUEL REIMARUS (22nd Dec., 1694, to 1st March, 1768). After studying at Jena first theology and then philology and philosophy, he spent some time as *Privatdocent* in philosophy at Wittenberg, and travelled through England and Holland. He became rector of the school at Wismar, but was ultimately appointed Professor of Hebrew in the Johanneum at Hamburg, where he also delivered philological and philosophical lectures. Besides an edition of Dio Cassius, which he completed after the death of his father-in-law (Joh. Alb. Fabricius), we have from his pen: *Discussions on the Chief Truths of Natural Religion*, printed in 1754 (and often since); *Doctrine of Reason*, published a year later; and lastly, *Considerations on Instinct in Animals*, 1760, which deals with a subject touched upon slightly in the *Discussions*. It was not until the year 1814 that what had long been suspected, was confirmed beyond the possibility of a doubt, and the world learned for certain that the anonymous *Wolfenbüttel Fragments*, which Lessing had published, are really parts of a larger work by Reimarus, which bears the title, *Apology or Defence for the Rational Worshipper of God*, etc., Hamburg, 1767, and a manuscript copy of which is in the library at Hamburg. Besides the portions of this manuscript published by Lessing, about a fourth of the whole has been printed by W. Klose in Niedner's *Zeitschrift* (1850-52); and Dav. Fr. Strauss prepared an analysis of the rest. The fact that Reimarus professes to have been led to publish his *Discussions* by his strong feeling against the atheism of France and against irreligion, and that further, this work was warmly praised as the best antidote to Spinozism and materialism, and was translated on that showing into Dutch, French, and English, while all the while his *Apology*,—the most powerful scientific attack that had up till then been directed against Christianity,—was lying hidden in his desk, is neither so incomprehensible nor so striking an instance of the irony of fate as many suppose. The view of the world held by Reimarus is thoroughly teleological; and his investigations into external and internal perfection (*Disc.* iii., § 4) show how carefully he had examined the category of adaptation to an end, and to

what an extent he was the precursor of Kant. It is probable that the teleological views of Reimarus were in the first instance derived from his father, for it is no mere coincidence that Brockes, the author of *Earthly Pleasure in God*, was a pupil of Reimarus' father, and one of the few confidential friends who knew of the existence of the *Apology*. These views were strengthened, and received a scientific basis and development through the Wolffian philosophy, which was adopted by Reimarus, with the exception of a few points, such as the pre-established harmony between body and soul. In his *Discussions*, he tries to prove,—without reference to strictly scholastic forms, but merely from “sound reason,” *i.e.*, by the method of reasoning,—that physical perfection (*i.e.*, the manner in which the bodies of animals and men are adapted to the ends they are meant to serve) cannot be explained by anything in matter itself. We are compelled, therefore, to conclude that there is a Being outside of and above the world, who, just because He transcends the world, was unable to impart to the world, which is the work of His hands, the Divine attribute of eternity (iii., 8), and who always acts from the most beneficent motives—above all, with the highest wisdom. It would be out of keeping with this last characteristic, if our soul, which is something different from the body, were to perish (x.). It is clear that these views are antagonistic to Spinozism, which only admits the existence of a God immanent in the world; and Reimarus and Edelmann, when the latter was in Hamburg, had but little in common. Similarly, Lamettrie's writings were bound to prove repellent to a man who was in such earnest about the existence of a wise Providence and of an immortal, immaterial soul (vi., x.). The real end of the world Reimarus always declares to be the well-being, not merely of man, but of every living being. In this he congratulates himself that he is at one with Derham (the inventor of the term “physico-theology”) and Niewentyt; and he tries to prove to Maupertuis that, in spite of all his denial of ends, he himself is a teleologist (iv.). It cannot of course be denied that in all respects man has advantages over the other creatures. Still, the purpose of the all-wise Creator is to produce all possible living beings, and to bring every arrangement into conformity with their well-being, *i.e.*, the largest possible amount of pleasure for *all* his living creatures. To recognise this in detail, or to admire in everything the

wisdom and goodness of God, is religion, according to the view of Reimarus. And what he says (x.) of its benefits, and of the misery of him who is devoid of it, is so warmly expressed that there can be no doubt it comes from the heart. This religious feeling, however, is in no way inconsistent with the negative attitude towards Christianity adopted in the *Apology*, in the first part of which a destructive criticism is directed against the Old Testament, in the second against the New, in the third against the Protestant body of doctrine. From this we see that he himself is one of those whom he mentions in the preface to the *Discussions*, as having "come to feel contempt and inward hatred of their religion" because "they were brought up in a Church in which what is essential is choked by excess of nonsense and superstition." Holding such views, he could not but take exception to some points of Church doctrine, and these points just the most critical. He attached so much importance to the existence of God above and beyond the world, that he declared it an impossibility that the world should possess divine attributes; was it then conceivable that he would admit that the attribute of divinity or Godhead should belong to an individual man, who is merely a part of the world? The real purpose of the world was, in his view, the greatest possible amount of pleasure for all living beings; was it possible that he should accept the theory of eternal punishment? (He himself says that it was this theory that first led him astray.) Lastly, in Reimarus' opinion, religion rested entirely upon the wise ordering of the world. Every interruption of this must either be at variance with the wisdom of God, or, if it is necessary, will be a proof that the foresight of God has not been perfect. Every miracle must therefore be absolutely rejected; and it is not difficult to see that with the miraculous there also disappears almost entirely what is called special Providence. But all these views, which he was bound to reject just because he was so much in earnest with his natural theology, were urged upon his acceptance by Christianity, which, like the orthodox of his time, he completely identifies with the Bible. Against the Bible, accordingly, he had to take up arms. And since for him, as well as for his opponents, the whole Scripture narrative wears the aspect of historical fact, he has no resource but to represent the narrators, or even the hero of those narratives, as impostors, which is what he actually does in the fragment, *On the Object of Jesus*.

Reimarus marks the climax of the Enlightened theology that was the outcome of the philosophy of Wolff, just as Edelmann marks the climax of that which sprang from pietism.

Cf. D. F. Strauss: *Hermann Samuel Reimarus und seine Schutzschrift*. Leipzig, 1862.

5. Besides these two purely German sources of the religious Enlightenment, there must be mentioned a third—the influence of English Deism, which, like the two former, was entirely brought into play through the medium of the University of Halle. The man to whom this connection is really to be traced back, is JACOB SIEGMUND BAUMGARTEN (14th Nov., 1704, to 4th July, 1757), who, although brought up amid pietistic associations, and never quite able to rid himself of them, contributed largely to the spread of the Wolffian philosophy. He readily communicated to his pupils the contents of his library, which was rich in deistic writings, or prompted them to read the books for themselves. How much of this was due to unconscious sympathy with these writings, and how much to a desire to steel men's minds against them,—the sole object which Löscher at Wittenberg had had in view in making known the titles of deistic works, or Thorschmidt and Trinius in preparing their *Freethinker's Lexicon*,—it is impossible to decide in the case of Baumgarten as it is to understand the motives of a Mosheim, a Jöcher, or a Grundig in spreading the fame of the writings of Tindal, Morgan, and Herbert of Chisbury. Suffice it to say that the consequence was, that the younger generation, which had not, like Baumgarten himself, been brought up to respect the doctrine of the Church, gradually grew more and more accustomed to the idea that had been expressed first by Hobbes and afterwards by Locke. This was the idea that, besides its moral precepts, Christianity contained only one article of faith—Jesus is the Christ; subsequently the deists made this mean that He is the restorer of natural religion. Baumgarten's school produced not only Joh. David Michaelis (27th Feb., 1717, to 22nd Aug., 1791), whose influence was so important in Old Testament exegesis, but also JOHANN SALOMO SEMLER (18th Dec., 1725, to 14th March, 1791), whose work marks an epoch in the general development of German theology. Both of these men have left autobiographies. In his two chief works, *Hermeneutics* and the *Inquiries regarding the Canon*, Semler put forward the theory that Catholicism

reconciled the opposition between the Judaic Christianity of Peter and the gnosticism of Paul. This marks him as a pioneer in Church history; and, on the dogmatic side of his subject, it found a parallel in his distinction between religion and theology, *κήρυγμα* and *δόγμα*, private religion and local (ecclesiastical) doctrine. He protested most energetically against a "local" theology being made a standard for all times, professing to see in this a Judaizing and hierarchical tendency. But the distinction just mentioned made it possible for him to combine with that protest the view that in our age, which is not apt at organizing, the "territorial" Church system is the only means of preserving peace. This explains his attack upon Bahrds's *Confession of Faith* and upon the *Wolfenbüttel Fragments*, as well as his defence of the Prussian religious edict, and so on. Lessing, as we see from an essay published after his death, held that this distinction was untenable; and Lessing's attack was repeated in almost identical language by Schulz (1739 to 21st Aug., 1823), the "*Gielsdorfer*" or "*Zopf*," whose advanced position is characterized by individualism to a greater extent than is that of any of those intellectually akin to him. For in his *Demonstration of the vast Difference between Morality and Religion* (Frkf. and Leips., 1786), he gives up the belief in God's existence, while he continues to maintain that in personal immortality. Semler's own contemporaries too, as well as later generations, have refused to believe that he was in earnest in defending the privileges of the national Church. On the other hand, however, this distinction contributed largely to soothe the consciences of those theologians who, like him, softened the views of the English deists so far as to make them compatible with practical service in the Church. This compromise, which soon came to be called Theism or even Rational Christianity, was defended by those much-respected preachers who looked beyond mere distinctions of confession, and devoted their attention chiefly to morality. These were Sack (1703-1783) and Spalding (1714-1804) in Berlin, and Jerusalem (1709-1789) in Brunswick, all of whom regarded natural religion as the essence of Christianity, and everything positive as merely a deliberate addition, which was necessary perhaps for the weak, but which did not affect the strong. Wilh. Abr. Teller, of Berlin (1734-1804), actually "coupled before the altar of humanity," not merely the Lutheran and the Reformed confession but also "Judaism and Christianity."

Mendelssohn was quite right in saying that Christianity of this kind differed in no way from (his) Judaism. The two currents of thought already mentioned reached their fullest development in Edelmann and Reimarus, men of the highest reputation; the corresponding position in the movement that sprang from Deism, is claimed by a man who was anything but reputable, KARL FRIEDRICH BAHRDT (25th Aug., 1741, to 23rd April, 1792). Living when he did, he could not help writing an autobiography (Frkf. 1790, 2 vols., along with a supplement dealing with his imprisonment). From it we see that his orthodoxy had been very superficial, and yet it was in defence of this that he first made a name for himself. After his disgraceful conduct had necessitated his leaving Leipsic, where he was a catechist and an extraordinary professor, he was brought to Erfurt by Klotz of Halle, with whom his very irregularity of life had been the means of effecting a reconciliation. There he became professor of philosophy; but within a few months he quarrelled with his theological colleagues and passed over into the opposite camp, simply, as he himself admits, on account of personal grievances (vol. i., pt. 2, p. 83). In 1768 he published his *Biblical System of Dogmatic Theology*, 2 vols., which went much too far for those who adhered to the old faith, but not nearly far enough for some of his Berlin friends. His *System of Moral Theology*, which appeared about the same time, is a revised version of sermons preached at Leipsic. In Giessen, where he went in 1771 to be professor of theology, mercenary motives led him at first to continue his work of compiling books such as the *Impartial Ecclesiastical History of the New Testament*, although, always under the pressure of outward circumstances, he gave up one dogma after another. Thus, in his *Suggestions for the Enlightenment and Improvement of our Ecclesiastical System*, and the Appendix to it (1770, 1773), he renounced the doctrine of the Atonement. It was in Giessen, too, that there appeared the first (and most moderate) edition of his *God's Latest Revelations in Letters and Narratives* (i.e., a modernized paraphrase of the Epistles and Gospels), Riga, 1772 ff., 4 vols., with which there began that propagation of deistic ideas amongst the illiterate public, to which Bahrdt devoted his extraordinarily prolific literary activity. To fulfil this end and that of making money, he wrote his *Confession of Faith*, 1779, his *Lesser Bible*, and his *Defence of Reason*, 1780,

his *Popular Letters on the Bible*, 1782-91, and his *System of Moral Religion*, 1787. After leaving Giessen, he had held the post of director of the Philanthropin at Marschlins, and then of general superintendent at Dürkheim on the Hardt. From 1779 till his death he lived in or near Halle, without occupying any official position. The hurriedly-composed compendia for lectures which he delivered in Halle on eloquence, metaphysics, and so on, did not interest either the educated or the uneducated, nearly so much as did a great number of controversial works, which roused the wrath of the former and gave intense pleasure to the latter. In these, Bahrdt attacked Michaelis of Göttingen, "Zopf" Schulz, Zimmermann, and above all Semler and the theological faculty at Halle. Two satires against the edict of religion,—in spite of the fact that he disavowed the authorship of them,—and the part he took in a German secret society, resembling the order of Illuminati, and a modification of the order of Freemasons, to the latter of which Bahrdt naturally belonged, led to his imprisonment. He was a year in confinement, and busied himself in writing new books. Soon after his release he died, despised by the better among his contemporaries but highly popular with the multitude. As Bahrdt's literary activity was not confined to the religious sphere, but also dealt with the theory of education, and indeed, in his masonic labours, with the revolution of society, he will be the most suitable figure from whom to pass to the second point that requires to be considered, before going on to speak of those who may be called the philosophers of the period of the Enlightenment.

6. This is the *Social Enlightenment*. The corresponding religious movement had among its representatives those who found satisfaction in the enjoyment of the feeling that they were free and unprejudiced, *i.e.* not slaves, but masters, even although no one (Reimarus is a case in point), or only the small circle of the educated, shared this enjoyment. In the social movement of the period, on the contrary, special importance is attached to that part of our formula (*vid. sub 1*) which says that the individual must (first) be brought into this state of liberty. Accordingly it assumes the form of a vast educational process, in which we have, on the one side, those who have already reached the light and are capable of taking care of themselves, and on the other, the weaklings who are entrusted to their charge. The first place among these 'Enlightening'



educationalists belongs to FREDERICK THE GREAT, inasmuch as through his influence a whole nation was trained; and Kant, who was the first to call the age of the Enlightenment the age of Frederick, gave expression to a truth which is still universally accepted. Born some months after Hume, and some weeks before Rousseau, Frederick speedily became denationalized, partly owing to his father's well-meant, if somewhat foolish, enthusiasm for what was German, partly to his mother's leaning towards what was English, and his own early-aroused fondness for all that was French. So too his pietistic training in religion, combined with the zealous study of Bayle, whom he knew almost by heart, and with the reading of the French philosophers, made him before long a thorough-going materialist. Feeling the hopeless nature of this point of view, he lent an ear for some time to the doctrines of Wolff; but he soon grew weary of the speculative part of that philosophy. He fell back upon the opinions of French thinkers again, and, disgusted with all metaphysics, he figured sometimes with D'Alembert as a sceptic, but usually as a deist like Voltaire, the only difference being, that he was much more decided in his denial of immortality. He did not require to believe in this. For one thing had been impressed upon him by his strict bringing up, and fostered by the Wolffian philosophy,—the moral earnestness which made him find in the fulfilment of his duties the true way of serving God, the true philosophy (*'pratiquons la'* is a common saying of his), and therefore also that feeling of satisfaction which did not require a belief in compensation after death. He was as firmly convinced as was his great father, whose merit hardly any one has recognised so fully as did his greater son, that for himself there was only one duty—to further the well-being of the State, which was the same thing as the well-being of his own house. And it was this worship of duty, strengthened by the study of Locke, of Montesquieu's earlier writings, and of works of a similar tone, that made him say the King was "the first servant of the State," in which famous phrase he laid at least as much emphasis upon "*premier*" as upon "*domestique*." The end to the accomplishment of which he was bound to devote his energies, was in his view the well-being, not of a whole which had been determined by nature, a nation, but of the subjects who had been brought together under his sway by the (diplomatic and military) skill of his ancestors and of himself. Their well-

being meant for him their earthly happiness, for that was the only happiness he knew of. For this purpose the State must be outwardly strong and respected, while at home comfort and intelligence must be generally distributed. The one was essential to the glory, the other to the prosperity, of those who could not attain to either of these without his assistance. The former he achieved as the greatest statesman and warrior of his time, the latter as the man who, in acuteness of intellect, was head and shoulders above his contemporaries. His powers were as patent to himself as they were to every one else, and this explains the absence of opposition to what has been called Enlightened,—and it must be added, Enlightening,—despotism, a quality of which Frederick, more than any one else, was the incarnation. Its principle is, that as all are so incapable of looking after themselves, they must be compelled to be rational and happy. And the right of the man of superior wisdom to exercise this compulsion seemed so much a matter of course to everybody, that when Frederick ordered one of his officials, on pain of dismissal, to indulge in the educative pleasure of visiting the theatre, not a single cry of alarm was raised on behalf of the “silly bigot.” In the progress of this period towards reasonableness and light, much less importance is attached to following understanding, than to the fact that understanding is something belonging to ourselves. Naturally, therefore, he whose function it is to bring men to reason, must himself entertain, and must also spread amongst those whom he teaches, a dislike, or even a hatred of the established order of things—of all by which man finds himself limited when he comes into the world, or as he grows up in it. Among limitations of this kind are nationality and its chief manifestation, language, in which it is embodied. Characteristically enough, Frederick had a contempt for the German tongue; he himself employed the language which in his time was as much the language of the educated world as was the language of the Church in the Middle Ages. Equally characteristic was the attitude he adopted to the one national institution, the Imperial Constitution of the German nation. The more he made his subjects feel that they were Prussians, and his foes that they were Saxons and Austrians,—those who were neither had, as Goethe puts it, no resource left but to become *Fritzisch* (Frederick's men),—the more was the natural order of things sacrificed to what was purely arbitrary. The

same process was repeated on a smaller scale in other spheres. Through no fault of his own, the individual is subject not merely to the limitations of nationality, but also to those of the particular society and class to which he belongs. This explains the feeling of hostility which the men of the Enlightenment,—and therefore Frederick, the most 'Enlightened' of all,—entertained for the spirit that found expression in corporations and guilds. (Only so far as experience had shown it to be the best training school for military bravery, did he foster the nobility; otherwise he knew perfectly well how much he owed to the ancestor of whom he said,—speaking with uncovered head to none other than the nobles in his train,—“Gentlemen, he accomplished a great work.”) In this feeling he found himself at one with the most Enlightened among his subjects. They wished that a man should take rank simply according to the result of his own efforts, and therefore they strongly objected to the nobility, to guilds, and to the clergy, on account of the class feeling characteristic of such institutions. Hence, too, the joy with which these men hailed the promulgation of a legal code that struck at the supremacy of privileges, as well as at the differences between the various provinces of the empire. They, no less than their great leader, saw clearly and without regret that in this code a great many of those laws and privileges “that grow from generation to generation,” were set aside, to make way for the right “that is born along with us;” that the spirit of Thomasius could be traced everywhere; but that further, in exactly the same proportion, decentralization and self-government,—only possible under the reign of privilege,—were set aside in favour of supervision by the State. Accordingly, when men appeared who, in their interest for privilege and self-government or even for the well-being of Germany as distinct from Prussia, could not bestow unqualified praise upon Frederick, their conduct was looked upon as reactionary, no matter how great the respect in which they themselves were held; and it is still regarded in this light by many who know nothing higher than the spirit of the eighteenth century. A case in point is the old-style gentleman, Justus Möser (14th Dec., 1770, to 1794), whose works (collected in ten volumes by Abeken, 1842), especially his unfinished *Osnabrück History* and his *Patriotic Fancies*, show that he did not see in the great Prussian king the saviour of society. For he held that the main-stay of a healthy political

life was not the abstract idea of humanity, with its subdivision of everything into units, but citizenship, with its positive religion and its respect for rank. Another instance was Fr. Karl von Moser (18 Dec., 1723, to 1798), who inherited from his father the well-deserved name of gentleman. Although, in his *Master and Servant*, he had almost adopted the point of view of Enlightened despotism, yet in his book, *On the National Spirit of Germany*, 1765, and his *Record of Patriotism*, 1784-1790, he attacked Frederick as the most dangerous foe of Imperial unity. Although he was the greatest, Frederick was not by any means the only monarch who educated his people. The march of the times strengthened the force of his example. The reforms undertaken from above in Bavaria, Baden, Saxony, Brunswick, Dessau, etc., dwindle into insignificance when compared with those attempted by Frederick's most able rival, Catherine the Second, and by his most enthusiastic imitator, the son of his bitter enemy. Joseph's heart cherished more love than that of Frederick, but he lacked the clear understanding of the man he tried to follow. And thus a tragic fate overtook him, for at the end of his career he was compelled to revoke all his previous ordinances. It was otherwise with Frederick. No single scheme of his failed of its accomplishment. Prussia was respected abroad, and at home was as enlightened and as free from prejudices as he could have wished it to be. And yet there was a tragic element in his life too. He was not indeed, like Joseph, brought to see that it was an impossibility to force freedom upon the slave who loves his chains; but he came to know with sorrow that those who had shaken off their prejudices at his command, remained in bondage *to him*. The forty-six years of the reign of their greatest King furnished perhaps the main reason why the Prussian people were for so many years destitute of enthusiasm, and therefore of capacity, for self-government.

7. Subjects formed an unresisting mass in the hands of those rulers to whose care they had been entrusted by a higher power, acting through the laws of succession. And the same relation was repeated on a smaller scale in the case of children, who were unable to act for themselves, and who were handed over by their natural masters (their parents) to those who were busy with experiments in rational education. Even before Locke's educational principles had been stripped by

Rousseau of their national colouring, only thereby to find an echo that sounded louder than the original cry, JOHANN BERNHARD BASEDOW had come to recognise their importance. Born in Hamburg on Sept. 11th, 1723, he became a student at Leipsic, and devoted his time to the reading of deistic and apologetic works, the former of which he found the more convincing. He was at first a private tutor at Holstein and then a lecturer at the Academy at Sorøe. But he lost this latter post in 1761, owing to his heterodoxy, and became a teacher in the Gymnasium at Altona. His *Philalethia*, 1764, his *Theoretical System of Sound Reason*, 1765, his *Meditations on true Orthodoxy and Toleration*, 1766, and finally, his *Attempt to formulate a Candid and Independent System of Dogmatics*, and his *Private Hymn-book for innocent social Edification*, 1767, made his position at this school also untenable, and for some time he had to hold aloof from public employment. In the works we have mentioned, the statement of Reimarus, to the effect that the well-being of living creatures is the end of the universe, is strictly limited to human well-being; and so prominently is this latter put forward, that even theoretical propositions are regarded as proved, (established by the "duty of belief"), simply because to accept them increases our happiness. For example, Basedow does not prove the immortality of the soul from the simplicity of its nature, but from the fact that immortality would add to its happiness. Very similar views were held by GOTTHELF SAMUEL STEINBART (1738-1807), with this difference, that in his case a more elevated tone is traceable than in Basedow, whose ideas of happiness, like himself, were somewhat coarse. Steinbart's *System of the Theory of Happiness*, 1778, and *Philosophical Discussions on the Theory of Happiness*, 1782-86, led to his receiving the degree of Doctor from the theological faculty of Halle, at the instance of Semler. In Steinbart as well as in Basedow, however, as is proved by its association with immortality, we are not to understand by happiness physical enjoyment, which was the view of it taken by Helvetius. It consists rather in self-approbation; and this explains why both so often substitute for it perfection, and why Basedow considers what produces happiness and what is useful, as one and the same thing. It was not, however, this ennobling of eudæmonism that made Basedow so famous; it was rather his proposals towards educational reform, as well as the practical attempts he made

in the same direction. He hailed Rousseau with enthusiasm, when he met him on the path he himself had already entered upon. (Campe, a kindred spirit, always called Rousseau "his patron saint.") In 1768, in his *Remonstrance to Friends*, etc., he put forward the demand that we should not educate children to be scholars, but to be men; this would be effected if, in the giving of instruction, play were substituted for gloomy seriousness, and if therefore the mind were kept occupied solely with concrete things, instead of being early made familiar with abstract ideas; practical utility must, he urged, always be kept in view, so that, for example, the boy would learn Latin solely through actually using it, and would do so with a view to actually employing it in speaking. The climax of his educational activity was the opening (1774) of the "Philanthropin" in Dessau, to which, with a view of making men, he invited, not merely the children of Christian parents, but the children of men of all creeds (*i.e.*, of Jews as well). Simultaneously with this, there appeared the *Handbook for Parents* and the *Elementary Work*. His want of perseverance and of moral control account for the fact that, as early as 1776, he transferred the conduct of the institution to stronger hands. The restless wandering life which he now began, came to an end on July 25th, 1790, at Magdeburg, while his contemporary, Bahrdt, was lying in prison there. His work survived him. For institutions of a similar character sprang up, and, what was even more important, the principles upon which they were based, were applied in education outside of them. The names of Wolke, Campe, Salzmann, Gutsmuths, and others, are of importance in the history of education, because they once again combined education more with instruction, and because they made a place for practical branches even in the most scholastic of schools. On the whole, however, it must be admitted that failure was the usual result of the attempt to educate children to be "men," *not* scholars, *not* gentlemen, *not* Christians, etc., *i.e.*, to emancipate men from all real ties and associations. (Hence, too, the best book for which we are indebted to these "Philanthropists," represents Robinson Crusoe living contentedly upon his solitary island.) The picture of modern education drawn by Justus Möser, and the specimen of it that Iffland gives upon the stage, can hardly be pure calumny. What Basedow and the other "Philanthropists" attempted to do for the middle classes, was undertaken almost

at the same time on behalf of the peasantry, by two men whose names are not remembered nowadays as they deserve to be. One of these was JOHANN GEORG SCHLOSSER (1739-1799), the friend and brother-in-law of Goethe, whose *Ethical Catechism for Country Folk* has been very often reprinted, sometimes without the author's name being given. Its object is to make the lower classes familiar with the distinction of morality from religion, so current among the educated classes. Foremost of all, was FRIEDRICH EBERHARD VON ROCHOW, feudal superior of Rakehn, and patron of the bishopric of Halberstadt (11th Oct., 1734, to 16th May, 1805). He was the author of the justly celebrated works: *An Attempt to supply a School-book for Country Children*, 1772, and *The Children's Friend, A Reading Book for Country Schools*, 1776; and subsequently he wrote: *A Handbook of a Form of Catechism for the Use of Teachers who have the Will and the Opportunity to Enlighten*, 1783, and *A Catechism of Sound Reason*, 1786. Besides, he made practical endeavours to establish schools in which, instead of the ordinary Christianity of the Creeds, there should be taught "natural knowledge of God and universal Christian virtue," and in which "the Bible should no longer form the primer for children from six to eight years old, but an appropriate reading-book should be introduced." It is characteristic of the age, that Frederick the Great opposed the spread of Rochow's model schools, because he was anxious that invalid non-commissioned officers should be appointed school-masters. Whether, in this conflict between the great educator of his people and the landlord who wished to extend his influence beyond its proper sphere, and rule schools everywhere, the wrong was solely on the side of the former, is a point upon which, to some extent at least, later generations have passed a very different judgment from that current at the time.

8. Both monarchs and school-masters, in their educational efforts, limited their activity to those over whom they had received power, either through divine right or through human delegation; but in that great educational process,—to apply a definition that has already been given of the Enlightenment,—they were joined by those who could lay claim to neither of those titles of authority. These latter took up the work of education entirely on their own responsibility; and as this was, in its essence and nature, a high-handed act which disregarded all limitations, it was not to be expected that they themselves

should limit the sphere of their activity. They wished to be teachers, not of their own subjects, like Frederick and his imitators, not of their own "Philantropin," or landed estate, like Basedow and Rochow, but of the world; and the language they used, was not like that of the author who is addressing men capable of thinking for themselves, and who hopes to convince by argument, but like that of those who try to keep people in leading strings. As it was hardly likely that the world would willingly accept this subordinate position, stratagem had to be employed to compel it to do so, and SECRET SOCIETIES were used to further the Enlightenment. They aimed at extending their ramifications throughout the whole world, and leading it to the truth by lying artifices, and at spreading light by darkness and through all sorts of dark devices. They form a counterpart to the princes who tried to force people to be free, and to the educationalists who blessed children by depriving them of their childhood. The most important, because the most characteristic, of these societies was the order of Illuminati, which attempted to do, not for the religious Enlightenment alone, but for the Enlightenment in general, what the Freemasons had done for deism, particularly in England, and what the Jesuits had done for the Papacy in its decline. Both of these were consciously adopted as models by ADAM WEISHAUP (born Feb. 6th, 1748), professor of ecclesiastical law at Ingolstadt, who, owing to his hostility to the Order of the Jesuits, which continued its activity in spite of its suppression, was led to found upon May 1st, 1776, a rival Order which was to outdo the children of darkness by its exertions on behalf of the light. This light,—a mixture of ideas borrowed partly from Leibnitz, Wolff, Rousseau, and Basedow, and partly from Robinet, Helvetius, and Diderot,—was to be made supreme by means of a secret society (the Perfectibilists, or ILLUMINATI). This society, particularly after the accession of the Baron von Knigge (10th Oct., 1752, to 6th May, 1796), with his rich and varied experience, took the Masonic lodges as a model. Its aim was to free men from all limitations, and therefore, ultimately, from those of nationality and of civil ties, further "*faire valoir la raison*," and therefore to begin a battle against pedantry, intolerance, theology, and constitutional rule. As men in their present condition were quite unfit for this, it was gradually to prepare them for such a movement by stratagem, which could



be learned from the Jesuits. Each individual must accordingly be attacked upon his weak side. The pious man was to be persuaded that this was true Christianity; the prince, that the sole end in view was the overthrow of the power of the Church. No study, therefore, was so highly commended as that of the human heart; knowledge of human nature was regarded as the highest wisdom, because it confers the power of persuading every one to anything. Just when the Order was celebrating its greatest triumphs, when princes like the Dukes of Saxony and Brunswick, when the Coadjutor of Mainz, when Goethe and Herder were extending their sympathies to it, and Weishaupt was in hopes of winning over his own ruler, there came the catastrophe. The revengeful hatred of the ex-Jesuits did no more than help to hasten the crash. In the nature of things it was bound to come, not only because the consistent development of the higher grades by Knigge did not stop at the grades of priests and regents, but went on to the grades of magi and kings, the latter of which could not but excite the distrust of the reigning powers and their adherents, but also, and especially, on account of the differences between the two chief leaders, Weishaupt (Spartacus) and Knigge (Philo). It was inevitable, although it makes a very amusing impression upon us, that each of the two should begin to be afraid that the other was after all a member of a still higher grade, and was throwing dust in his eyes by Jesuitical devices. This dread of being treated like a child is a peculiar feature of proceedings of this sort, which we rightly regard as childish, but which, at that time, could not fail to impose even upon the best, because they showed clearly how universal was the desire to become capable of thinking for oneself, and therefore how incapable of doing so everybody was. When the Bavarian Government prohibited the Order, and followed this up by the publication of "*Some Original Documents of the Order of Illuminati, found after a Search at Landshut, on Oct. 11th and 12th, 1786, in the House of the Privy Councillor Zwack (Cato)*," (Munich, 1787, 2 vols.), Weishaupt, who had fled to Gotha, for the first time made a public statement in regard to his objects. In 1786 there appeared his *Defence of the Illuminati*; and then followed the *Introduction* to this (1787), and *The Improved System of the Illuminati, with all its Arrangements and Grades* (Frkf. and Leips., 1787). He did not do much good by these, and he did

still less by his *Pythagoras, or Considerations on the Secret Art of Diplomacy and Government*, 1790. In his work *On Truth and Moral Perfection* (1793), Weishaupt comes forward as an opponent of Kant's, an attitude he maintained until his death (18th Oct., 1830). In these apologetic writings he made the characteristic feature of the Enlightenment consist in the opposition to everything that disturbs the pleasure and happiness of men; but he lays special stress upon the fact that it is not sensual pleasure that makes men happy, but only the inward peace that lies in the consciousness of being oneself free from prejudices and of helping others to reach the same position.

B. Bauer: *Freimaurer, Jesuiten und Illuminaten in ihrem geschichtlichen Zusammenhange*. Berlin, 1863.

9. Just as the Empirical Psychologists had approximated to Sensationalism and Materialism in respect of the source they drew from and the method they employed, so the leaders of the social and religious Enlightenment in Germany had done in respect of the content of their principles. This was possible because both movements were individualistic, opposed to every theory of an organic whole, and therefore hostile to that view which advocated the absorption of the individual thing by the organic whole, as Spinoza had done. At the same time, such an approximation was made much easier for German than for French thinkers, because their leaders had plainly paved the way for a reconciliation with the opposite point of view—Thomasius by his praise of the eclectic philosophy, Wolff by his substitution of empirical for rational psychology,—while Baumgarten and Meier, in their investigations into the beautiful, had indicated the point that can be opened to the light, only if man be regarded at once as a thinking and as a corporeal being. The reconciliation in this case, however, was merely external; the elements that were combined, remained what they had been before, and we cannot apply the expressions Ideal-realism or Real-idealism, for these naturally suggest an organic combination of the two tendencies, in which the opposition disappears in a higher unity *i.e.*, is at once denied and maintained. The philosophy of the Enlightenment, too, to the consideration of which we must now pass, and which gave definite expression to the principle that had guided the efforts we have been describing, could not

but have that character of syncretism, and therefore of want of system, which places it so far below the philosophy of the following period. Still it cannot be classed either under one or under the other of the movements already discussed; it forms a third, which must be distinguished from both. As this philosophy did not lean solely in one direction or in another, it lost the national character possessed by the other two. (A doctrine such as is put forward in the work *De l'Esprit*, could only have been produced by one born in France, the *Système de la Nature* by one naturalized there; none but a German could have written *Reasonable Thoughts upon God, the World, and the Soul*.) Further, since, owing to its syncretism, it became unsystematic, it ceased to fulfil the requirements which an academic, as well as a philosophical, school imposes upon philosophers. Unlike a university philosophy or that of a particular school, and unlike any form of German or French philosophy, it assumed the character that one of its ablest advocates has attempted to ascribe to it in his principal work. It became *Philosophy for the World*. As a matter of fact, Thomasius had already hinted at something of this kind in his *Philosophia aulica*. But he was still heart and soul a professor, and thus his works all breathe a magisterial or academic tone. Now, however, it was quite otherwise. The men we are about to discuss, were not merely philosophers for the world, they were also men of the world. They are usually called popular philosophers; but the other name, which was proposed by Engel, is more suitable because—to use his own words—“they mean by a *philosopher* a man who brings forward any truth that belongs to philosophy or that is considered philosophically, it matters not what it may be or in what form; and they mean by the *world* the whole mixed public, where one man favours one set of objects, another another, where one man has a liking for one particular tone, another for another.” From the point of view of form, their merit consisted in their tasteful way of putting things, including of course the cultured style of language employed in their investigations; from the point of view of matter, it consisted in the opposition they offered to all that was one-sided.

## THIRD DIVISION.

## Philosophers for the World.

## § 294.

I. AMONG the men who have to be discussed here, there is hardly one who does not quote somewhere or other Pope's saying "The proper study of mankind is man"; and accordingly, in view of the formula laid down in the preceding section, we need not be surprised that they regarded the advocates of religious and social Enlightenment as kindred spirits, and that this feeling was reciprocated. Similarly, it was the supreme position thus assigned to man that justified us, when we were speaking of the Sophists (§ 54), in frequently referring to the Enlightenment of the eighteenth century. And yet we may hesitate before calling these men the Sophists of our era. Not merely because, in spite of all attempts to keep up its dignity, the word "sophist" has an evil sound, but because a comparison of this kind does not lay sufficient stress upon the difference between the man whom Protagoras looks upon as the measure of all things, and the man who in Mendelssohn's view is higher than all things. The man of the eighteenth century, separated by two thousand years from the Sophists, finds himself hemmed in amidst a large number of moral relations and concerns of all sorts, of which the Sophists had absolutely no idea. As the aim of the leaders of the modern movement was to make man independent of all these ties, and to place him upon his own feet, the strength of mind and capacity which they advocate involves a great deal more than the mere ability to make anything out of anything, and thus to turn a bad argument into a triumphant one. It involves more, not merely something different; and therefore all that was said of the Sophists, holds good of these Philosophers for the World, but the converse is not true. Hence we shall find that in their eclecticism these philosophers could not but adopt, just as the Sophists had done, the sceptical element without which no syncretism is possible at all (*vid.* § 104); and we need not be surprised at their often-repeated assertion that the differences between systems are unessential and only affect the form of expression. On the other hand, we shall not find among the Sophists anything to correspond to the polemic of the

popular philosophers against esoteric schools, or to their partly bantering, partly contemptuous treatment of scholars trained at the universities. For it was they who by introducing the system of fees had led to the formation of esoteric schools, and it was they who were the representatives of the educated class, so that we need hardly be surprised to find a Mendelssohn applying the term "Sophists" to those very philosophers of an academic type. Among the Sophists we were able, in spite of the syncretism that was common to all, to distinguish between those of an Eleatic, and those of a Heraclitean type, according as one or the other element was most strongly present. In the same way, among these Philosophers for the World we can draw a distinction between such as were tinged with realism, and such as were tinged with idealism; these shades of difference naturally go along with the predominance of the French or of the German element. Just as the University of Halle had been the point from which all three branches of the religious Enlightenment sprang, so Berlin became the real seat of both these elements. When the French colony there began to flourish, and when the Jewish element also came into play, there was developed a spirit analogous in many respects to the Hellenistic spirit that was cradled in Alexandria (§ 108). Had not "Berlinism" at a later period become a term of reproach, it might have been employed here, as "Alexandrinism" has already been in the analogous case. In Berlin, the main-stay and the centre of the philosophy that proceeded from this spirit, was the Royal Academy. Germans are apt to be ungrateful towards this institution, and to forget that for some decades it did real service to philosophy. They keep repeating that (after these decades) in a prize-essay it ignored the existence of the *Critique of Pure Reason*, which had been published for eleven years, and elected F. Nicolai a fellow in the very year in which he published *Sempronius Gundibert*. It was high time that a Frenchman should teach us to be just towards this institution.

Chr. Bartholmæss : *Histoire philosophique de l'Académie de Prusse*. Paris, 1851. 2 vols.

2. From Maupertuis' "*point de systèmes*," and Merian's declaration that eclecticism was the official philosophy of the Academy, down to Schleiermacher, who (on more substantial

grounds as well) did not wish to have Hegel admitted as a member, all men of penetration have recognised that, owing to his despotic character (§ 12), the epoch-making founder of a philosophical system must necessarily be excluded from the republican institution which is called an Academy. While this is so, a number of circumstances combined in the case of the Berlin Academy to make it the seat of an anti-scholastic popular philosophy. When Frederick the Great revived the decaying institution of Leibnitz as a Royal Academy, and introduced the unheard-of innovation of a section for speculative philosophy, as well as the doubtless novel arrangement that the King should not merely be the patron of the institute but should also read in it papers written by himself, there could be no doubt what form of philosophy was to take up its abode in this creation of a prince who, in spite of his French education, was so thoroughly German—this incarnation of the Enlightenment. It could only be that of which he himself, the hero and philosopher of Sanssouci, was an adherent. Hence it could be no pedantic philosophy of the Schools; it was bound to be one which should appeal to the *bon sens* of good society, and there further the purposes of Enlightenment. It would have been inconsistent with this, had the records of the Academy appeared in the language of the learned, as the *Miscellanea Berolinensia* had done up till now. Rather, the language of the courts, French, was declared to be the official language of the Academy, and in it were published, in the *Histoire de l'Académie Royale*, even those papers which had originally been written in German or in Latin. The first president was a man who had been proscribed from France; and the vice-president and perpetual secretary were two men who belonged to the French colony in Berlin. These facts may be said to be quite as characteristic, as the unfavourable reception accorded to the views that exhibited a pure form of French realism or of German idealism. Wolff saw instinctively that he would not be at home in this society of men of the world, and declined the post of vice-president; Lamettrie, on the other hand, and the well-informed but superficial D'Argens, failed to earn great respect in it, in spite of the favour of the King, who introduced them to the Academy. Indeed, much the same may be said even of a man like Johann Philipp Hein (born 1688), who was certain to be very highly esteemed, not merely because he had already been a member

of the Royal Society, but also because Frederick the Great had made him director of the philosophical section, and above all, because his knowledge of the history of philosophy was not only greater than that of his colleagues, but was really very great, as is shown by his works on Pherecydes, Clitomachus, and Anaxagoras. With his Latinized name, and his papers written in Latin, but translated into French for the benefit of the Academy, he appeared to have too much German learning for this elegant society, and to be anything but at home in the midst of it. On the other hand, it is easy to see why Swiss and Alsatians, *i.e.*, half Germans and half Frenchmen, so soon came to the front. Their supremacy forms, at the same time, the bridge between the predominance of the realist (French) element and the predominance of the idealist (German) element. The former was clearly pronounced immediately after the restoration of the Academy, the latter shortly before the rise of the Critical school. Although the difference between the realist and the idealist forms of popular philosophy justifies us in considering the two separately, yet we must begin by drawing attention to the points in which there is necessarily an agreement between them. As, according to the line of Pope already quoted, man is the only subject that interests the philosopher for its own sake, all others will be discussed only so far as they exist for man or are of importance for him. Hence the Philosophers for the World renounce, as a body and individually, all efforts to know anything of the nature of God; but almost without exception they devote attention to our knowledge of God, to the proofs of His existence, to the soothing effects of religion, and so on, although they sometimes employ the term Providence instead of God. Equally little interest do the popular philosophers take in things and the aggregate of things, regarded by themselves; and a proportionately great interest in their relation to us. This latter point explains the investigations as to whether and how we can be certain of the existence of things; further, what good they do to us, and how they contribute to our happiness; lastly, and more especially,—since here the sensible and the intellectual nature of man, are both taken into account,—as to when they produce in us a feeling of æsthetic satisfaction. The only thing in which the philosopher takes an interest for its own sake, is the individual Ego. Now, as nothing contributes more to the isolation of man as an individual than does the

most subjective part of him, his sensations and feelings, in a word, what is called his heart, attention is particularly directed to this. The prevailing fashion of writing autobiographies, which has been already noted, the contributions to the knowledge of the human heart, which proceed from a kindred interest, the investigations into dreams, into madness and crime, —all are ultimately based upon nothing but the interest in what makes the man into an individual. Now, since the individual is not, like the universal, discovered by thought but by perception, it is natural that, in these studies of man, observation should play the most important part. Hence the connection with Rousseau, with the Empirical Psychologists, and with the Scottish School when it afterwards arose. This interest in individual personality explains also the eagerness with which these philosophers discuss the question of immortality. In this connection, it is characteristic that all theological arguments are expressly excluded. In other words, the purpose of these thinkers is to assure man of his continued existence, simply as a human atom and quite apart from his relation to God, distinct from the Divine government of the world or the Kingdom of Heaven. What wonder if the proofs brought forward are the same as those employed to demonstrate the indestructibility of an atom! It goes without saying, that on the question of eternal punishment these philosophers ranged themselves on the side, not of Leibnitz, but of Wolff (*vid.* § 293, 2). For them the individual as such was the highest end, and any destiny which did not ultimately compass his happiness, was therefore an absurdity.

3. We shall begin, then, with an account of the popular philosophy so far as it was *tinged with realism*. And here our attention is at once demanded by PIERRE LOUIS MOREAU DE MAUPERTUIS (28th Sept., 1698 to 27th July, 1759), who was for many years president of the Berlin Academy. He was one of the first in France to adopt Newton's views, and he was also the occasion of Voltaire's *English Letters*. He first came into notice by taking part in an Arctic expedition that settled the dispute between Cassini and the followers of Newton as to the shape of the earth. In 1745 he took up his residence in Berlin; and it was in the Academy that he first brought forward the *Loi de la moindre action*, which was afterwards developed into greater detail in his *Essai de Cosmologie*, Leyden, 1751, and was zealously defended by Euler



and others. König, who was an adherent of Leibnitz, saw in this law of the conservation of energy simply an application of Leibnitz's *lex melioris*, and this gave rise to a declaration of the Academy, which Voltaire, in his *Diatribes du docteur Akakia*, ridiculed at the expense of Maupertuis, whose reputation has suffered severely in consequence. It is in strict accordance with his own maxim, "No system!" that he combines the teleological point of view with the teaching of Locke and Newton, and that, in order to guard himself against materialism, he approximates to the doctrines of Berkeley. The treatises which he laid before the Academy deal partly with evidence and certainty, partly with the proofs of God's existence; and, therefore, they do not go beyond the sphere of the investigations already indicated as likely to be found in philosophers of this period. His last production of the kind was the tribute he paid to the memory of Montesquieu, whose moderation and avoidance of extremes he particularly commends. His works were published in four volumes at Lyons in 1756. The Newtonian President of the Academy had at first, though only for a short time, at his side as permanent secretary, the jurist Des Jariges, born in 1706 in the French colony at Berlin. He opened the philosophical section with a discourse upon Spinoza, which breathes the individualistic spirit of the century. Perhaps it was the feeling that he was too much of a Wolffian, that led him, as early as 1748, to resign his post and make way for some one more suitable. This was the moderate Wolffian, SAMUEL FORMEY (31st May, 1711, to 8th March, 1797), also one of the French colony at Berlin. He began by being a preacher among his countrymen there, and was afterwards a professor at the Collège Français. As journalist, secretary to the Academy, and author, he showed himself marvellously prolific. His Wolffianism, which appears in a particularly characteristic form in *La belle Wolfienne*, is not merely free from pedantic heaviness, but is frequently relieved by ideas borrowed from Locke and Hume. His treatises presented to the Academy are chiefly of a psychological, or sometimes of an ethical, character. In the latter he maintains the principle of perfection, but in such a way as always to draw attention to the fact that happiness consists in the consciousness of this perfection. His *Ébauche du Système de la Compensation*, 1759, rests upon a Leibnitzian basis; but in many respects it resembles the

theory shortly afterwards developed by Robinet (*vid.* § 285, 5). It is unnecessary to give any detailed account of how he deals with the question of immortality, or of his proofs for the existence of God. In the latter, he makes the ontological argument the basis of all the rest, while this in its turn is founded upon the proposition that we have an innate idea of God, just as all men have an innate consciousness of their own existence.

4. Just as Maupertuis became a centre of attraction for Frenchmen, and Formey for the descendants of the French colony at Berlin, so LEONHARD EULER (15th April, 1707, to 7th Sept., 1783), during the fifteen years of his residence in Berlin, took care that the Academy should be recruited from the ranks of the Swiss. The great mathematician had originally been trained by Joh. Bernoulli. However high the position he assigned to Leibnitz in his own particular subject, he was utterly unable to reconcile himself to his philosophy. This is shown not merely by the fact that, through his influence, a treatise written to confute the *Monadologie* was crowned, but also directly by the interesting paper which Euler laid before the Academy, and in which he argued against the theory of the ideal nature of time and space. Among the Swiss who worked in the section of the Academy devoted to speculative philosophy, the first that calls for mention is NICOLAS DE BÉGUELIN (25th June, 1714, to 3rd Feb., 1789), who, since every philosophical system looks at things only from one side, urged that we should choose from the various systems all that was most surely established. In accordance with this advice, he attempted to put an end to the dispute between the followers of Leibnitz and of Newton by trying to show that the law of gravitation was deducible from the graduated series of monads. Similarly, he proposes in his psychological inquiries to combine the Lockian principle of observation with Leibnitz's deduction from the power of perception. This intermediate position explains why, in the five papers upon the first principles of metaphysics, which are to be found in the records of the Academy, there is so much that is suggestive of Kant. More important than Béguelin was his fellow-countryman, JOHANN BERNHARD MERIAN (28th Sept., 1723 to 1807), who from 1748 onwards resided in Berlin, and who, after Formey's death, became permanent secretary of the Academy, to the interests of which he devoted all his energies. Following his own

maxim, that an Academy could not rightly profess adherence to any philosophy save eclecticism, he insisted upon the study of the history of philosophy, and censured the Scottish philosophers for their neglect of this, although he agreed with them in regard to the importance of introspection. He expresses the relation between Locke and Leibnitz in words almost identical with those employed previously by Bonnet, and subsequently by Kant—"Leibnitz," he says, "transformed sensations into thoughts; Locke transformed ideas into sensations, and this was a mistake." In the same way he demands in ethics a reconciliation between the (English) theory of the moral sense and the (German) view that the dictates of reason are to be obeyed. Just as, in regard to its substance, philosophy was not to be one-sided, but was to combine all views; so, in form, it was to be characterized by elegance, such as Leibnitz, for example, exhibits in his *Theodicée*. For the Kantian philosophy, the triumphs of which, however, he lived long enough to see, he prophesied such a fate as the Wolffian philosophy had met with. There was a third native of Switzerland who took up a very influential position in the Academy very soon after his admission into it. JOHANN GEORG SULZER (5th Oct., 1720 to 25th Feb., 1779) knew nothing of higher studies in his early years, and it was only after he was a preacher that he became acquainted with the philosophy of Wolff. On the advice of Bodmer and Breitingen he made his first appearance before the public with a physico-theological work, *Ethical Essays on the Works of Nature*, 1740, which Formey made much better known by his translation as: *Essais sur la physique appliquée à la morale*. After he had been for some time a tutor at Magdeburg, and afterwards a teacher of mathematics at Berlin, and had published his *Summary of the Sciences*, 1745, and his *Essay on Education*, 1746, he was admitted as a member of the Academy in 1750. The papers which he read there, appeared in German as *Miscellaneous Writings*, in two volumes. Besides these, he wrote: *Practice in Rousing Attention and Reflection*, 3 vols., 1763, and from 1771 onwards: *General Theory of the Fine Arts*, which is his most famous work. His fundamental principle was, that the examination of one's own mind was the chief function of philosophy. As preceding philosophers, particularly Wolff, had not done enough in this direction, he very early began to supply the deficiency. The way in which

Wolff contrasted the faculty of knowledge and the faculty of will, seemed to him to imply an undue disregard of the sensations of what is agreeable and what is disagreeable. Accordingly, he had recourse to Leibnitz's obscure perceptions, and saw in these the first springs of feeling or sensibility, which he distinguishes from the power of knowing. His æsthetic philosophy is based upon his inquiries into the feeling of what is agreeable, as these were laid before the Academy in 1751 and 1752. Like the followers of Wolff, he makes the nature of the beautiful consist in perfection, *i.e.*, plurality in unity; but, at the same time, he is careful to point out that our pleasure in it rests solely upon the feeling of heightened intellectual activity. Thus, in his view, the enjoyment of the beautiful ranks higher than sensual enjoyment, but lower than moral satisfaction, to the latter of which it should therefore be made subservient. He insists very decidedly that æsthetic taste is not nearly so subjective a thing as physical taste; there are objective reasons why one thing is beautiful, and why it is more beautiful than another. (Sulzer here, exactly as Lessing did afterwards, ranks epic higher than dramatic poetry,—a position which neither of them continued to maintain.) While the points in which he agreed with Wolff, accounted for the recognition accorded to Sulzer's æsthetic labours even by adherents of Gottsched, his friendly relations with Bodmer and Breitinger and his consequent maxim to deduce rules from acknowledged (especially English) works of art, instead of laying them down *a priori*, explain why he was so much praised by Gottsched's opponents. For a long time he was looked upon as the highest authority in æsthetics. For the rest, the circumstance that Sulzer read in public in the German language the papers he laid before the Academy, and that he wrote his more important works in German, may be taken to indicate a preponderance of the German element in the Academy, which accounts for the conduct of the Parisians in beginning to make merry over its idiom. The same thing would have happened to Philo, had an Athenian come to Alexandria. Prémontval (1716–1764) made himself the mouthpiece of this reaction against the tendency of the Academy to become German. In the papers he presented to it, and in other writings (*Du Hazard sous l'Empire de la Providence*, 1754; *Diogène de d'Alembert*, 1754; *Vue Philosophique*, 1756, etc.), he was never tired of

urging the followers of Wolff to think, 'not in German or in Latin, but in French—to exchange their ontology for his "psychocracy," the latter of which stood (he averred) in much the same relation to the former as the system of Copernicus did to the popular view. It was too late. The German element is still more pronounced in the Alsatian JOHANN HEINRICH LAMBERT (1728–1777), who, after acquiring a very varied culture as a tutor in Switzerland, and in travels with his pupils, wrote at Augsburg his *Photometria*, 1770, his *Letters on Cosmology*, 1761, and afterwards, at Munich, his *New Organon*, 2 vols., Leips., 1764. A plan to found, through his instrumentality, an Academy at Munich came to nothing, and he was subsequently elected a member of the one at Berlin. Besides his papers for the Academy, he now wrote his *Architectonics*, Riga, 1771, which forms a sequel to the *New Organon*. Although he was more of a self-educated man than any of those who have been mentioned, still in his *Organon* he describes with perfect correctness his indebtedness to Wolff and Locke. Of the results achieved by these two, he forms much the same estimate as Bonnet and Merian had done; and further, in his *Organon* he sets himself to answer the four questions:—Has the understanding the power of recognising truth? (Dianoeology.) How is truth to be distinguished from error? (Alethology.) Does verbal symbolism stand in the way of the recognition of the truth? (Semiotics.) How can we guard ourselves against being deceived by appearances? (Phenomenology.) These two circumstances roused in Kant great expectations, to which he gives expression in his letters to Lambert. It is true, however, that he afterwards retracted his words of praise when, subsequent to the appearance of his own epoch-making dissertation, Lambert's *Architectonics* propounded an ontological system of the old type. All the warmer was the commendation of Bonnet, who found in it a great deal that accorded with his own views. After Lambert's death, Joh. Bernoulli published a selection from his papers (Berlin, 1782).

5. While, under the influence of Sulzer and Lambert, the Berlin Academy showed a stronger tendency to what will afterwards be discussed as an idealistic form of popular philosophy, that form, which, up till their day, had been almost the only one to find defenders, was beginning to look for other places of abode. These may be regarded as offshoots

of the Berlin Academy, in so far as the men who advocated or propagated such views, had either been actual members of that Academy, or were at least connected with it as correspondents and *laureati*. PIERRE PRÉVOST (3rd March, 1751 to 8th April, 1839) belonged to the former class. He was educated in Geneva under Le Sage, a disciple of Newton's; and in 1780, after spending some time in Holland, in England, and in Paris, he became Sulzer's successor in the Academy at Berlin. While there, he conceived such an admiration for Merian, that he may be called his most faithful pupil. It was Merian who first drew his attention to Lambert. In 1784 he was appointed professor of literature at Geneva, and in 1793 he exchanged this chair for that of philosophy. From this period dates that activity through which he exercised such an influence up to the time of his death. Philosophy, which should rest solely upon observation, is the investigation of nature. When it deals with material nature, it is physics; when it deals with intellectual nature, it is metaphysics. The latter science, therefore, rests entirely upon introspection; and it should deal with the three fundamental faculties of the mind—feeling, faculty of knowledge, and will. Directions how to observe correctly were given long ago; and hence the philosopher cannot dispense with the study of the history of philosophy. Of the three schools which he distinguishes—the French, the German, and the Scottish,—he ranks the last-mentioned highest. (This explains, too, why he translated Dugald Stewart.) Condillac he places far below Bonnet, and Kant below Leibnitz and Wolff. In general, however, he attaches much less importance to the German school, than to either of the others. Among his works, we must specially note the *Essais de Philosophie*, 2 vols., 1804, which contain a selection from his lectures. His valuable treatises upon magnetism and upon the influence exercised by symbols in the formation of ideas, were very warmly received, and he gave proof of the grateful recollection he cherished of Berlin, by continuing a contributor to the *Berliner Monatsschrift*. A remarkable and many-sided culture was the chief characteristic of the man, through whom the scientific condition of Geneva experienced a modification no less important than it had done once before, when Chouet transplanted Cartesianism thither.

6. It was men who, though not former members of the

Berlin Academy, were yet connected with it as *laureati*, correspondents, and friends, that were instrumental in carrying out a movement we have now to discuss. They transplanted to the academic atmosphere of a German university this popular philosophy, freed as it was from the dust of the Schools, and devoid of distinctive national colouring. This was an undertaking which, in view of what has been already said (§ 293, 8), it would have been absurd to attempt, had not the university in question been the one which was least purely German, inasmuch as it was founded by the King of England, and which lacked some of the characteristic features of the old universities, inasmuch as, at the foundation, its object was declared to be, to produce statesmen educated as men of the world. What the *Magister* of Leipsic or Wittenberg could not have done without following a suicidal policy, was not impossible for the *Hofrätthe* of Göttingen. The first that calls for mention here is ABRAHAM GOTTHILF KASTNER (1719–1800), who lectured in Göttingen upon philosophy as well as upon mathematics and physics. Originally, when in Leipsic, he was a comparatively strict disciple of Wolff. But in an essay crowned by the Berlin Academy, he made all sympathetic inclinations rest ultimately upon the enjoyment guaranteed to us by the heightening of our own perfection; and here he exhibits that blending of the strict principle of perfection with eudæmonistic tendencies, which may be called the programme of the Göttingen philosophy in the proper sense of that term. Its most characteristic representative was JOHANN GEORG HEINRICH FEDER, (born May 15th, 1740; professor in Göttingen from 1768 to 1797; and then director of the Georgianum at Hanover till his death, May 22nd, 1825). To deduce a practicable system of philosophy from those ideas which are most natural, or which cannot well be disputed, and to do this by adopting a method of reconciliation and eclecticism, to be a disciple neither of Locke, nor of Wolff, nor of Crusius, nor of Kant, but to work out the most various lines of thought, and assimilate them so as to strengthen his individual intellectual activity,—such was, in his own words, the end which he set before himself. His *Outline of the Philosophical Sciences*, written at Coburg, was the first of the series of his writings, many of which have been often republished, and a complete list of which will be found in Pütter's: *Gelehrten-geschichte der Universität Göttingen*. Among these, the following

are specially worthy of mention,—*Institutiones logicæ et metaphysicæ*, Frankf., 1777 (often reprinted); *Investigations into the Human Will*, Göttingen and Lemgo, 1779–93, 4 pts.; and his autobiography, edited by his son: *J. G. H. Feder's Life, Character and Principles*, Leips., 1825. To the last-mentioned are appended general propositions, which contain the main points of Feder's philosophy. According to these, philosophy has only to do with man; everything with which it deals, ultimately depends upon him for its existence, nor is it ever to be forgotten that only *Moderata durant*. Following this principle, Feder adopts a point of view which he calls philosophical realism, and from which it is impossible to discern any difference between Kant and Berkeley; but he admits that the nature of things is known only as modified in, and according to, our knowledge of them. In ethics, while refusing to accept either such a determinism as Spinoza's, or such a freedom from determination as Crusius had maintained, he keeps firm hold of the fact, that we consider ourselves as free, that we accuse and excuse ourselves. The end of action is peace of mind, resting upon the approval of conscience. In political philosophy, his masters were Locke and Rousseau; but he qualified to some extent the revolutionary conclusions of their principles, particularly after the experience of the Reign of Terror. He reached the zenith of his fame in the years immediately succeeding 1780. And the order of the Illuminati considered it a great triumph to have secured the adherence of Feder (Marcus Aurelius). A review of the *Critique of Pure Reason*, written by Garve and revised by Feder, appeared in the *Göttinger Gelehrte Zeitung*. To this Kant published a crushing reply in his *Prolegomena*; and from that moment Feder's reputation speedily declined. His work, *On Space, Time and Causality* was coldly received; his *Library of Philosophy*, edited conjointly with Meiners, soon collapsed, and he was glad to be able to exchange his chair for the post of director of a higher educational institution in Hanover. In spite of all his gentleness, he could never speak of the Critical School without bitterness. His most intimate personal friend was CHRISTOPH MEINERS (1747–1810), who had also received the honour of being laureated by the Berlin Academy. This writer, in his *Revision of Philosophy*, published anonymously (Gött., 1772), expresses the opinion that philosophy should be based upon psychology; and in his *Outline of Psychology*,



1773, his *Elements of Psychology*, 1786, and finally, his *Investigations into the Powers of Thought and Will*, 1806, he treats this fundamental science from the point of view of progress and enlightenment. He adopts a similar attitude towards all kinds of ethical questions in his *Miscellaneous Writings*, Leips., 1775-76, 3 vols., and towards philosophy, forms of religion, and culture in general, in a large number of somewhat superficial historical writings. More important than this prolific writer, but an intimate friend of his and of Feder's, was CHRISTIAN GARVE, a Silesian (7th Jan., 1742, to 1st Dec., 1798). While he was at Frankfort, Baumgarten aroused his interest in philosophy. After his master's death, he studied at Halle, where he devoted his attention chiefly to mathematics, and at Leipsic, where he applied himself to classical literature and the fine arts. He came a great deal into contact with older scholars, such as Gellert and others, and formed a close intimacy with his immediate contemporary Engel. He began to lecture at Leipsic; but before long he gave this up, and from 1772 onwards he lived at Breslau, devoting his time wholly to literary work. It was by translations of English works that he first made a name for himself. A translation of Ferguson's *Moral Philosophy* appeared in 1772; and this was followed in 1773 by one of Burke's *On the Sublime and Beautiful*. At the suggestion of Frederick the Great, he prepared a German rendering of Cicero, *De officiis* (4 vols., 1783, very often republished). In addition to these, he translated Paley's *Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy* (2 vols., Leips., 1787), Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* (4 vols., Breslau, 1794-96), and lastly Aristotle's *Ethics* and *Politics* (published posthumously in 1799, each in 2 vols.). Of his original works we may mention, *On Peasant Character* (Bresl., 1786), *On the Connection between Ethics and Politics* (Bresl., 1788), and *Essays on Various Subjects in Ethics, Literature and Social Life* (Breslau, 1792-1802, 5 vols.). All of these show how well-deserved is the epithet of "fine" thinker, which was usually applied to him. He does not go very far beneath the surface. As he himself admits, this was impossible in his case, as he was always indulging in speculations about himself. But we do find in his writings suggestive reflections upon the subject under discussion, and therefore novel points of view, from which to form a judgment upon it. His books remind us sometimes of Plutarch's *Opera moralia*, sometimes of Lucian's

treatises. To Garve, more than to any one else, may be applied the term "sophist," in the sense in which the word was employed by the later generation of Greeks.

7. We have now to consider that form of popular philosophy which was *tinged with idealism*, and which accordingly had no longer a French tendency, but was *purely German*. That it asserted its superiority over what we have just been discussing—popular philosophy, so far as it was tinged with realism—even in Berlin, its greatest stronghold, was due to the action of the French party in the Academy, who, however, did not anticipate the results of the course they pursued. A prize was offered for a dissertation against the optimism of the school of Leibnitz and Wolff, a subject with the choice of which Sulzer had nothing to do; and this provoked the cutting satire of Mendelssohn and Lessing, *Pope a Metaphysician!* 1755, the authors of which did not long remain unknown, in spite of the fact that it was published anonymously. (That both of them were afterwards elected members of the Academy, shows what a change a few years had produced.) These two, along with F. Nicolai, who was several years their junior, form the centre round which there group themselves all the other "philosophers for the world," whose tendencies were purely German. Their own contemporaries never doubted but that these three, as friends and associates in one work, should be all classed together; but nowadays such an estimate is resented by many admirers of Lessing. They are partly right. For we shall see that, both subjectively and objectively, Lessing takes up a different position from the other two. But only partly right. For, in the first place, they fail to understand the relationship that actually existed between the three, if they suppose that Lessing always gave and that the other two merely received. Many ideas, the development of which has made Lessing famous, can be proved to have been originally suggested to him by Mendelssohn. (Even in regard to language, Lachmann has affirmed, Lessing must have profited by his intercourse with one who had acquired a thorough knowledge of High German, not in his childhood, but when he was possessed of all his powers.) In the second place, they overlook the fact that Lessing died in the year in which Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason* appeared, and that therefore the struggles that went to make up his life, were directed only against expiring principles. Indeed, nothing but the kindness

of fate prevented him from carrying out his intention of falling foul of Goethe's *Werther*, a proceeding which would hardly, as Nicolai thinks, have done so much damage to Goethe's reputation as a similar attack did to that of Klotz. Mendelssohn, on the other hand, immediately after Lessing's death, was led into expressing his opinions upon Kant, upon Spinoza, and against Jacobi. That is, he attempted to judge men who stood partly outside of and partly above the range of eighteenth-century ideas, within which he himself was confined. Nicolai, much more even than Mendelssohn, lived too long for his reputation. Had he died soon after Lessing, while he was in the midst of editing the *Universal German Library*, and before his much-discussed *Travels* had thrown out a challenge to Kant, Fichte, Schelling, Schiller, Goethe, and so on, no one would have been surprised to see him ranked with Mendelssohn and Lessing. He stands midway between the metaphysician and the critic of the popular philosophy, as the editor of the journals devoted to its interests.

8. MOSES MENDELSSOHN, the son of a Jewish scribe and schoolmaster, was born at Dessau on Sept. 6th, 1729. It was not until some time after 1760 that he assumed as a family name the patronymic of Mendelssohn; previous to that, he was always called, even in print, simply Herr Moses; and he signed his letters, Moses, or not seldom, Moses Dessau. Too early for his health, he was introduced by the learned Rabbi Fränkel to the study of the Old Testament (which he afterwards knew by heart), of the Talmud, and of the writings of Maimonides—a training which greatly strengthened his capacity for the fine analysis of ideas. In his fourteenth year he went to Berlin; and there, after a struggle of many years with indescribable difficulties, he learned Latin from a translation of Locke, the philosophy of Wolff from Reinbeck's treatise on the Augsburg Confession, and pure German in his intercourse with members of the Joachimsthaler Gymnasium. It was not until 1750 that things took a more favourable turn for him; he became tutor to a rich Jewish merchant, in whose house he remained till his death—first as book-keeper, and then, after the death of the head of the firm, as managing partner. In 1754 he made the acquaintance of Lessing and, through him, of Nicolai. The influence that these three friends exercised upon each other, was of the most varied description. As early as 1755, up to which time he had

published nothing but Hebrew, he came before the German public with the anonymous *Pope a Metaphysician!* which he wrote in conjunction with Lessing, as well as with his *Letters on Sensation*, and his *Philosophical Dialogues*. In the following year, there appeared his translation of Rousseau's second Dijon prize-essay, with notes. He at first assisted Nicolai with his *Library of the Fine Arts*; and from 1759 onwards, he was, along with Lessing, the most active contributor to the *Letters on Literature*. He learned Greek, and pursued the study of it earnestly in the company of Nicolai, with whom he also went once more carefully through Newton; and in 1763 he won the Academy's prize with his work, *On Evidence*. (Kant was his fellow-competitor on that occasion.) With the *Phædo*, which appeared in 1767 and has been very often reprinted, he attained to the height of his fame, and to a position which but few German authors have succeeded in reaching. We cannot help being surprised that the challenge addressed to Mendelssohn by Lavater in 1769, either to refute Bonnet's defence of Christianity or to become a Christian, was regarded by him not as unreasonable importunity, but as nothing less than a mortal offence. Perhaps he had a foreboding that in his reply that claim to an exclusively privileged position, which is just what makes a man a Jew, would assert itself too strongly, and that, in spite of all his dreams of equality, his isolated position would become apparent. For in that reply, just as, long afterwards, in his *Jerusalem, or Of Religious Power and Judaism* (1783), with all the fulness of conviction he declares his adherence, not to Deism but to Judaism; and he makes the essential nature of the latter consist in the fact that, besides natural law—the commands laid upon the children of Noah,—which was given to all men, that by obedience to it they might attain to blessedness, the Jewish nation alone received the Mosaic law, from obedience to which even the transition to Christianity does not grant a dispensation. It is certain that this incident made him ill, and for the rest of his life even more irritable than he had been before. Nor could it tend much to improve his temper, that, when the Academy chose him as a member along with Garve in 1771, Frederick the Great struck his name out of the list. The *Jewish Ritual*, which appeared in 1778, and the translation of the Pentateuch into pure German, printed in Hebrew letters in 1780, show his zeal for reforms in his own religious com-

munity. When the Prussian laws were being revised, he was asked his opinion upon some points affecting the position of the Jews; and this led him to give expression to the results of his reflections in the preface which he wrote for *The Salvation of the Jews*, by Rabbi Manasse Ben Israel (1782), and in his own book, *Jerusalem*, which has been already mentioned. The *Morning Hours*, which were published in 1785, were originally notes for religious and philosophical lectures which he delivered to his eldest son, his son-in-law, and young Wessely. The appearance of this book led to F. H. Jacobi's publishing a correspondence he had had with Mendelssohn in regard to Spinozism, and Lessing's attitude towards it. In these letters, Mendelssohn, by the superior tone which he had at first assumed towards Jacobi, as well as by his inability to enter into the ideas of Spinoza, had exposed himself too much to be able to look upon their publication with indifference. He wrote a very angry reply, *Mendelssohn to the Friends of Lessing*; and when he was carrying this to the printer, he caught cold, and died on Jan. 4th, 1786. His collected works were published at Ofen in twelve volumes; but there is a much more careful edition in seven volumes by his grandson, Prof. B. Mendelssohn, Leips., 1843. This latter edition also contains the biography of Mendelssohn by his son, the father of the editor, and a treatise upon Mendelssohn's position by Prof. Brandis of Bonn, as well as Mendelssohn's correspondence.

Dr. M. Kayserling: *Moses Mendelssohn. Sein Leben und seine Werke.* Leipz., 1863.

9. Mendelssohn's direct admission, that he has not the least interest in anything that is called history, explains why, in the preface to his *Jerusalem*, he goes so far as to speak almost slightly of his idol Lessing, because that writer allows it to be possible to educate the human race, although as a matter of fact only the individual progresses, while the class, the abstract whole, remains unalterably the same. As he always contrasts history with metaphysics, which is his goddess, it is clear that the metaphysics of a thinker for whom humanity is nothing but a figment of the brain, and for whom the individual alone has any reality, can only be of the variety which in the Middle Ages was called nominalistic, and which has in this work been termed individualistic. This was, first and foremost,

the metaphysics of Leibnitz and Wolff, to which Mendelssohn always professed adherence, an attitude quite in accordance with his repeated declaration that Baumgarten was the greatest metaphysician among living philosophers. But that did not prevent him from borrowing a great deal from the opposite school of thought. That Locke was the first western philosopher whose works he read, and that Lessing had prompted him to study Shaftesbury, were circumstances which did not fail to affect him. In one of his earliest writings he says that we are bound to combine observation, in which the English surpass us, with reason, in which the Germans excel; and in his very last book he attempts to reconcile Hume's view of causality with Wolff's doctrine of the sufficient reason. In him too we can trace that sceptical tendency which has already been noted as a feature of all syncretism; we often find him asserting that the dispute between materialists and idealists is one that concerns phrases much more than matters of fact. And it is quite true that they are at one in regard to what is the main point in Mendelssohn's metaphysics; that is, they agree in holding that reality belongs only to the individual. Mendelssohn, therefore, differs in respect of his metaphysics from Baumgarten and all the other followers of Wolff, inasmuch as he introduces into his system certain realist elements. But there is a further point of difference between them; for, in spite of the praise he bestows upon this queen of science, he still makes metaphysics merely a handmaid to free thought in religion and morality. So angry was he with Baumgarten for being an orthodox Christian, that he actually came to distrust his metaphysical system on the ground that none could be genuine which did not deliver him who held it, from prejudices. (And his sceptical tendency compelled him to regard as prejudice every certainty that one was in possession of the truth. Like all the other men of the Enlightenment, Mendelssohn demands toleration with one single exception—none must be shown to those who are intolerant; and he regards every one as intolerant who declares: "As my view is true, the opposite one cannot be true." Hence Baumgarten, the orthodox Christian, is intolerant.) One consequence of the subordinate position which he assigns to it, is that in Mendelssohn metaphysics loses much of its purely theoretical character. He says in so many words, that it is merely a refinement of speculation to employ metaphysics otherwise

than as a means to further happiness and as a motive to action, and urges that men in their speculations should always let themselves be guided by *sensus communis*. The whole purpose of philosophy, he declares, is really to clothe the teachings of common sense in the form of rational truth. But the chief difference between Mendelssohn and Baumgarten, or any other metaphysician of the old school, lies in the method of philosophizing. Not merely must German be employed, it must be cultivated, and elegant German; Plato's claim to be regarded as a great philosopher rests not only on the doctrines he teaches, but in a much greater degree on his brilliant style. Mendelssohn's ideal is not strict syllogistic reasoning, but the form of cultured dialogue. Hence his fondness for dropping into the epistolary or conversational style, even where some other form had been originally selected. In spite of the stress he lays upon definite ideas, and in spite of the regret he expresses that the imitation of French models has made authors write solely for ladies and neglect solid science, he is fond of drawing attention to the fact that he was not a scholar with a university education, and of assigning to himself a position intermediate between a metaphysician and a man of wit. He writes, he says, neither for any particular school nor for scholastic philosophers generally, but for the world. On what subjects? He has not neglected to discuss a single one of those which we have already mentioned as the only ones that had an interest for these philosophers. And it is in virtue of this completeness that he occupies such a high place among the philosophers of the world of refinement, quite apart from the fact that, like Protagoras among the Sophists, he was the one who was at most pains to remind people what the real question at issue was—man. In the *Letters on Sensation* there is an allusion to the medium between simple and complex, which shows that Mendelssohn had studied the work of Creuz, which had appeared a short time before (§ 292, 7). In these *Letters* he subjects to a thorough examination the feeling of pleasure, which Sulzer had been the first to investigate particularly, and, as a result, he assigns to this feeling,—even earlier than did Tetens, who follows him in this,—a position intermediate between the faculties of knowledge and of desire. The distinction between sensual pleasure, the feeling for beauty, and delight in moral perfection, is brought into connection with the distinction made

by Leibnitz between obscure, clear, and distinct perceptions (§ 288, 2). With these investigations are combined, not merely some that deal with the nature of art, but also an examination of the question of suicide, which shows how much value is here laid upon the individual existence. For the decision of this question, he says, it is quite indifferent whether man is immortal or not. The rational man will prefer a life of the greatest misery to non-existence. In the *Philosophical Dialogues*, which appeared simultaneously, he shows that the harmony between body and soul, which results from the conception of the monads, is represented by Leibnitz as pre-established of God, simply to lead to the truth even those who reject the doctrine of monads, and that in thus modifying his theory Leibnitz borrowed a good deal from Spinoza. He then goes on to compare Spinoza to Curtius, because he flung himself into the gulf on either side of which lay the true view—that of Leibnitz; nor can we wonder at this comparison, in the light of what we have seen of his feeling against pantheism, which abandons individuality. Of the positive merit of pantheism the individualist can have no appreciation. The fact that Mendelssohn here betrays an accurate acquaintance with Spinoza's *Ethics*, and yet in the correspondence with Jacobi expresses himself in the well-known manner with regard to the *Opera posthuma*, compels us to suppose—unless we are willing to assume an utterly unheard-of act of forgetfulness—that he had only read the *Ethics* in the translation. In the last of the *Dialogues*, Leibnitz's principle of the indistinguishable, as well as his distinction between necessary and contingent truths, is defended against Prémontval, who has already been mentioned as eulogizing the French philosophers. When, in 1761, the two works just named re-appeared as the first volume of his philosophical writings, they were supplemented in the second volume by some essays, namely, *Rhapsody on Sensations*, *On the main Principles of the Fine Arts and Sciences*, *On the Sublime and Naïve in the Fine Sciences*. The distinction between involuntary and arbitrary symbols supplies the basis of division for the separation of the fine sciences (poetry and eloquence) from the rest of the arts. These two are distinguished from one another, inasmuch as one aims at pleasing, the other at persuading. Poetry and sculpture represent simultaneously what is sensuously perfect, music and poetry do so successively; and hence the difference in what they



represent, as well as the difficulties in the way of bringing them into combination. Although Mendelssohn's treatise, *On Evidence in Metaphysical Sciences* (1763), owed its existence to the Academy, yet it treats only of subjects which, apart from this, had the highest interest for the author. Two elements are distinguished in evidence—certainty and comprehensibility. With regard to the former, metaphysics is no whit inferior to mathematics. But the inferiority is all the more marked in the latter respect, and is due partly to the fact that the mathematicians have the advantage of well-selected symbols, partly to the fact that their results are practically indifferent, and are therefore accepted more freely. There is still another point of difference between mathematical and metaphysical investigations. The mathematician does not need to care in the least whether the objects of which his propositions hold good (circles, triangles, and so on), have any existence in reality. Metaphysics, on the other hand, after carefully framing and arranging all its notions, has still to solve the most difficult of all problems. It has to make the transition to the kingdom of reality, that is, not merely to show (as mathematics has to do) that a certain predicate naturally belongs to a certain subject, but also to prove that this subject or this predicate is real, or, it may be, has no existence in reality. Descartes has the merit of having made this transition in two points. In the first place, when he argued from thought to the existence of the thinking Ego; in the second place, when he reasoned from the idea of the absolutely perfect being to its real existence. The ontological proof of God's existence, which forms the subject of the whole of the third part of the treatise, finds in Mendelssohn an enthusiastic defender; for he tries to show that, as mere possibility is inconsistent with the idea of the absolutely perfect Being, there is no alternative left but to face the dilemma: "Either God is impossible, or He actually exists." The fourth part is an attempt to do for moral philosophy what the third had done for rational theology, and to prove that its principle—the obligation to strive after our own perfection and the perfection of others—is as certain as mathematical axioms are. None of Mendelssohn's writings, however, was so well received as his *Phædo*. This was partly because the subject discussed, the immortality of the soul, was one in which the men of the Enlightenment were all the more fond of revelling because

they, like Mendelssohn, maintained that the lot of all men after death was bound to be a happy one. But this was not all. The method of treating the subject in this "compromise between translation and original work" proved very attractive, and that just on account of a feature which many would nowadays regard as objectionable. Socrates, in the description of him prefixed to the *Dialogues*, is transformed into an educated citizen of Berlin of the eighteenth century, who regards religious enlightenment as the highest end, and who, on account of his moral excellence, may be excused for sometimes having visions. Just as the consuls of Rome used to be called "burgomasters"—an affectation which people are again beginning to take pleasure in—so men were charmed if any great figure of antiquity were represented exactly like one of themselves. It was just that, "So would I speak, if I were Christ," to which attention has already been drawn (§ 293, 1). This modernizing spirit appeared most prominently in the last of the three *Dialogues*, of which even Mendelssohn himself admits, that in it he has made Socrates speak as he would have spoken in our own day. The impossibility of God having predestined beings to misery, the impossibility of a being whose end is perfection, being checked in the effort to attain it, finally the necessity of a life after death, if a normal relation is to be established between actions and reward—these are the main arguments put forward here on behalf of immortality. Mendelssohn himself admits that they are borrowed from Baumgarten and Reimarus. It has been asserted by many, including Kant, that Mendelssohn's *Jerusalem* is his finest work, and yet it was the signal for a number who had hitherto been his admirers, Hamann for example, openly to declare against him. The first part of this treatise contains the outlines of Mendelssohn's natural law. He is strongly opposed to the view that duties and rights are only brought into existence by the social contract; according to him, the latter has merely the power of transforming imperfect obligations (of conscience) and rights into perfect (compulsory) rights and obligations. As such a transformation can only affect actions, and not thoughts or convictions, he declares in the most decided manner against every Church which, as a moral personality, wished to claim the right of binding its teachers to a creed, of exercising powers of discipline and excommunication, etc. Naturally it follows that the State acts irrationally if, by con-

ferring privileges on the adherents of one religion, it misleads or bribes its subjects into adopting it. It is only against atheism, Epicureanism, and fanaticism that the State has any right to take proceedings; for he who does not allow the existence of God, of Providence, and of a future life, cannot realize the end of civil life, any more than he who believes that there is an opposition between temporal and eternal well-being, and neglects this world for the sake of the other. These three articles of faith embrace the whole of Mendelssohn's natural theology. Further, in the second part of his *Jerusalem* he is at some pains to explain that Judaism does not profess to be a revelation of religion, but merely a revelation of law, that it does not possess a single article of faith nor any creed, but simply prescribes usages for the descendants of Jacob. If we bear these facts in mind, it is easy to understand the action of Hamann, who saw in Mendelssohn's demands an exaltation of Judaism at the expense of Christianity, and expressed this in his *Golgotha and Scheblimini* in a manner that offended Mendelssohn almost as deeply as did Lavater's attempt to convert him. In point of smoothness and refinement of style, the *Morning Hours* perhaps rank highest among Mendelssohn's works. And yet, if they have met with less recognition than the *Phædo*, for example, their fate is not altogether undeserved. In the first place, they appeared three years after the *Critique of Pure Reason*, in fact, not until after Kant's *Prolegomena* had convincingly proved to the whole world that the old style of metaphysics had passed away for ever. Again, the main point, the ontological argument for God's existence, is discussed, in what is evidently a more thorough manner, in the treatise, *On Evidence*. Lastly, his correspondence with Jacobi led him to attempt to devise a modified system of pantheism, which was to be put into the mouth of Lessing; and the more signal the failure of this attempt, the greater the wrong done to the spirit of Lessing, whose admirers were bound to take it ill. In this work, Mendelssohn appears like a man who has been left behind, and who is sullenly watching the onward march of progress. He says modestly that he is quite unable to follow the younger spirits, like Tetens, Lambert, and Kant, the giant who crushes everything before him; and yet in his heart he is glad when the younger Reimarus writes to him that Kant is not really very important.

10. FRIEDRICH NICOLAI (19th March, 1733, to 8th Jan., 1811) was also a self-taught man, though not nearly to such an extent as his friend Moses. After a somewhat unsystematic course of training at the Orphanage at Halle, and a very good one at the Real Schule in Berlin, he became an apprentice in a bookseller's shop at Frankfort-on-the-Oder. Here in his leisure hours he learned English, as well as Greek, which he had begun before but had afterwards given up; and he also read notes taken down at Baumgarten's lectures. At Berlin, where he went with the intention of devoting himself entirely to the pursuit of knowledge, especially in æsthetics, he further enlarged his mind by the study of Wolff. The first thing that he printed was a controversial work upon Milton, published anonymously. Becoming acquainted with Lessing and Mendelssohn, he published, also anonymously, in 1755, his *Letters upon the Present State of the Fine Arts in Germany*. In the very next year, however, we see him enter upon the career where his strength really lies, that of an editor. When, in 1759, he was compelled to take over the charge of his father's bookshop, he resigned to Weisse of Leipsic the editorship of the *Library of the Fine Arts*, which had been begun in 1757, and he then started the *Letters on the most Recent Literature*, which continued to come out until 1765. These were quite distinct from Nicolai's greatest undertaking, the *Universal German Library*, which he edited single-handed for twenty-one years. He himself selected the reviewer for each work, and altered the reviews where he found it necessary; and during all this time he only quarrelled with one of his fellow-workers, Klotz of Halle. It is not without reason that Nicolai, at the age of sixty, points with pride to the change in critical periodicals during the previous thirty years. Of the immense influence exerted by these three reviews during the period of their existence, no small part was due to the efforts of Nicolai; and accordingly what he did for the spread of "sound philosophy," must be measured more by his activity as an editor than by his literary work. And yet it is of the latter alone that those people think, who talk of his verbosity, his platitudes, and so on. There can be no doubt that he is honest when he says that in writing he never thought of fame, but only of the public good; and no doubt that he is straightforward enough when he says of his own literary work, that he wrote like a dog lapping water from the Nile,—others,

like Mendelssohn, Göcking, and Biester had to cut down and correct the manuscript. This will explain why no complete list of his writings need be looked for here. Any one who wishes to be filled with amazement at the many-sidedness of Nicolai's interests, can put together such a list for himself from the fifth, tenth, and fourteenth volumes of Meusel's *Gelehrtes Deutschland*. His "sound philosophy," in the first place, does not profess to be the only one that can make men happy; and he detests any system, such as a Church, which puts forward a claim of that kind. He compares philosophers to men looking through different loopholes into the same room; they must be content to allow those who stand opposite them, to take quite different views of things. Nor, in the second place, is it in any way a philosophy only for the learned; he is fond of boasting that he is a business man, and can thus take a more unprejudiced view of things than men of academic training usually do. Such men he esteemed so lightly that when, in 1799, the philosophical faculty of Helmstadt conferred a degree upon him, he never made any use of the title. As we might expect, he does not expound his sound philosophy in the form of a system, but in romances, and in his description in twelve volumes of a journey of eight weeks through Germany. Closely connected with this anti-academic feeling is his dislike of learned terminology. It is not merely to produce a comical effect—for then he would have done it only in his burlesque novel *Sempronius Gundibert*—that he translates Kant's *a priori* and *a posteriori* by *vonvornig* (from-beforely) and *vonhintenig* (from-afterly). Finally, his philosophy did not proceed from a purely speculative interest. It was intended to be useful to every one. It was to further true happiness, his own as well as that of his fellow-men, and was to guarantee us security in action and peace in our last moments, so that we should fear death as little as we do grey hairs. All these requirements are met by philosophy, where it consists in a constant warfare against prejudices of all kinds, and endeavours, by establishing distinct notions, to put an end to that blind faith which rests upon want of clearness. Nicolai's philosophy accordingly is devoted to the advancement of the religious Enlightenment. His much-read novel, *Sebaldus Nothanker*, is a continuous struggle against the validity of creeds, against eternal punishment, against intolerance, in short, on behalf of the watch-

words of the Enlightenment and its leaders. Pietism, with the developments of which he became acquainted at Halle, found in him an unwearied foe. But the real field which he chose for the exercise of his activity, was the warfare against the order of the Jesuits. His eagerness to track out their secret movements earned for him the nickname of "the man with the good nose for Jesuits," which reminds us of Frederick the Great's "man with the good nose for coffee." Lavater, Sailer, and others were accused by him of wittingly or unwittingly furthering the ends of the Jesuits. It was no small triumph for his friends when it was discovered that the Court Chaplain Stark of Darmstadt, against whom he had directed so many attacks, had really been a Jesuit in disguise. The chief ground of his hatred towards them was the claim they put forward to be the sole possessors of the truth, a claim which found its natural complement in the desire to make proselytes. Not seldom, it is true, he and his friends showed themselves very intolerant against intolerance, and strove to make proselytes against proselytizing. The social no less than the religious Enlightenment won Nicolai's approval. Thus he had a warm appreciation of the great monarchs who strove to educate nations. In particular, this incarnation of the spirit of Berlin, this indomitable patriot, cherished the deepest reverence for Frederick the Great, as may be gathered from the *Anecdotes* which he put together from the stories of the musician Quanz, of the Marquis D'Argens, and of Major Quintus Icilius (Guichard). But he was also a sincere admirer of Catherine the Second, Joseph the Second, and other Enlightened princes; and no less warm was his feeling towards the educational reformers, amongst whom he used particularly to eulogize Herr von Rochow. Lastly, as regards the secret societies of the Enlightenment, Nicolai, like all his contemporaries, took an interest in them; indeed he was a member of the order of Freemasons and of the Illuminati. But, as a matter of fact, mysticism was so much against the grain of his nature that he could not give way to it very far. His opinion of Freemasonry in his work upon the order of Templars, to the effect that it is a mantle that receives all its value from him who wears it, proved that he was not a very enthusiastic brother, and ultimately led to his leaving the lodge. The order of the Illuminati he looks upon as an institution that could only impose upon youths;

and he has a thorough contempt for Cagliostro and all other charlatans of his time. The sphere in which his interest lay from his earliest youth, and in which he aimed at confirming the supremacy of sound philosophy, was the sphere of æsthetics. So great an enemy was he of all that was imaginative, that when, by a strange irony of fate, he came to have visions, he took care to inform the world that these disappeared before leeches properly applied. It was only in sculpture, where the study of Winkelmann and his own observation kept him right, that he rose to the ideal point of view. In poetry he can never quite get beyond the moral purpose. The bad example which *The Sorrows of Werther* might furnish, led him to give another issue to the story, and by his *Joys of Young Werther* (Berlin, 1775), to draw down upon himself the well-merited castigation of Goethe. Nicolai did not take this too much to heart. With the intrepidity characteristic of Berlin, he set his face against all those tendencies which prevented one from being a reasonable man, a capable citizen, a good man of business. The chief tendencies of this kind he considered to be—in poetry, the views which had their advocates in the friends of Schiller and Goethe, and for a long time their organs in the *Horen* and in Schiller's *Musenalmanach*; and in philosophy, transcendentalism, as it originated in Kant, was developed by Reinhold and Fichte, and found expression in the *Jenaer Literaturzeitung*. All of these men he attacked simultaneously in the eleventh volume of his *Travels*, for his nature was not sensitive and nervous like that of his friend Moses, but strong and bitter. The replies which were made to him—Kant's *Essay upon Bookmaking*, Schiller and Goethe's *Xenien*—did not annoy him at all; they led to elaborate rejoinders, as Fichte's cruel work, *The Life and Strange Opinions of F. Nicolai*, afterwards did. In these replies we always hear the same sound common sense, which knows nothing higher than actual individual human beings, and which therefore holds that the most valuable studies of all are physiognomy and biography, while it makes light of those who wish to lay down *a priori* any principle about mankind without having first learned to know men. Concern for the public good, to which Nicolai returns in all his works, was not in his case a mere empty phrase. Not only has he given an accurate description of his native town, but he served it as an exemplary citizen. For, during the French invasion, he bore

the heaviest burdens without a murmur, and in his will he remembered the town very much to its advantage. But the reverence with which this incarnation of the spirit of citizenship inspired even the representatives of the interest of the State, the friendship of a Dohm, the confidence of a Zedlitz—these prove, just like the attitude he adopts to the French Revolution, how intense was the loyalty with which he clung to the State to which he belonged.

Fr. Nicolai : *Ueber meine gelehrte Bildung*. Berlin and Stettin, 1799. F. L. G. v. Göcking : *Fr. Nicolai's Leben und literar. Nachlass*. Berlin, 1820.

11. Among the many younger men who gathered round Mendelssohn and Nicolai after Lessing had left Berlin, the first that calls for mention is JOH. AUGUST EBERHARD, of Halberstadt, (17th August, 1739 to 6th Jan., 1809). By his *New Apology for Socrates* (2 vols., Berlin, 1772; frequently reprinted since) he made a name for himself as an advocate of the theory that blessedness was possible for the heathen; he became preacher at Charlottenburg, and in 1778 professor of philosophy at Halle, where he continued to be held in the greatest respect until his death. His *General Theory of Thought and Sensation*, Berlin, 1776, his *Rational Morality*, 1781, and his *Prolegomena to Natural Theology*, Halle, 1781, although not so important as his first work, still show the same feeling of confidence as the works of his older friends did. This was before the appearance of Kant's *Critique*. His attempt, however, to prove that Kant had really nothing new to teach, called forth a scornful reply, and showed that Eberhard's point of view was an antiquated one. His reputation survived longest in the domain of æsthetics, in which his *Theory of the Fine Arts and Sciences*, Halle, 1783, supplemented afterwards by his *Handbook of Æsthetics*, 4 vols., Halle, 1803-5, went through several editions. His *General History of Philosophy*, Halle, 1788, was also well received. To judge from Schleiermacher's letters to Brinkmann, he must have exercised a very stimulating influence upon those who came into contact with him. The last of his more important writings are *The Original Spirit of Christianity*, 3 vols., Halle, 1807-8, and *Attempt towards a Complete German Synonymic*, 1795-1802, the first six volumes of which are by him (the last six by Maass and Gruber). The latter work, as well as the *Dictionary of Synonyms in the German Language* (Halle,



1802, very frequently reprinted), was with him—and his was not the only case of the kind—a result of the eclectic and reconciliatory view, that the majority of scientific disputes hinge merely upon words.—THOMAS ABBT, of Ulm (25th Nov., 1738, to 3rd Nov., 1766), flashed upon this circle like a brilliant meteor. After studying at Halle theology, philosophy, and mathematics, and at the same time making diligent use of S. J. Baumgarten's library, he was led, largely by the latter influence, to turn his attention to English literature. In 1760 he was appointed an extraordinary professor of philosophy at Frankfort-on-the-Oder, and while holding this position he wrote *On Dying for one's Country*, Berlin, 1761. He then lived for almost a year at Berlin, where he became particularly intimate with Mendelssohn, and succeeded Lessing as a contributor to the *Letters on Literature*. He kept up this connection during his professorship at Rinteln, upon which he entered at the end of 1761, but the duties of which he really discharged only for a year and a half. A longing to exchange his academic career for a practical one first led him to study jurisprudence, and afterwards to travel in Germany, Switzerland, and a part of France, in order to gain a knowledge of towns and customs. After his return, he wrote *The Life of Alexander Baumgarten*, and then published his chief work, *On Merit*, Berlin, 1765. While occupied with a number of other writings, he was offered simultaneously a professorship at Marburg and at Halle, but he refused both in favour of the post of privy councillor and treasurer at Bückeburg. While thus engaged he finished the first volume of his *Selection from Universal History*, Halle, 1766, in which, following Voltaire's example, he attempts to establish one fundamental idea—the disappearance of barbarism. After his unexpectedly early death, his collected works were published in six volumes, as: *Thomas Abbt's Miscellaneous Writings*, Frkf. and Leips., 1783, and following years. These contain both what had been already printed (not, however, his contributions to the *Letters on Literature*, and to the *Universal German Library*), and unpublished papers, as well as his correspondence with Mendelssohn and others. The extraordinary success that Abbt's writings met with, is explained by the fact that he was one of the first to do in Germany what Montaigne had done in France, and Bacon and his imitators in England,—to lay before the public works in which

the labour involved in the thought was concealed by the gracefulness of the style, the scientific basis of the whole by the conversational tone and the mixture of jest and earnest. But in this respect he is far surpassed by a somewhat younger man, who also belongs to the Berlin circle. This was JOHANN JACOB ENGEL (11th Sept., 1741, to 28th Jan., 1802), who carried farthest the cleverly reasoned examination of all possible subjects, which was at that time called philosophy, and from whom, therefore, we have borrowed the name which he bestowed upon it. Educated at the Universities of Rostock, Bützow (particularly under Tetens), and Leipsic, he perfected his style very early by exceedingly thorough classical studies, and translations from ancient and modern languages. He also studied the history of philosophy; but what interested him most was human nature, of which his opportunities at Leipsic gave him the most varied experience. His greatest friend was Garve; their mutual esteem was largely due to the fact that they were always arguing with each other. The small success which Garve met with as *Privatdocent* frightened Engel from adopting this career, and he made his first public appearance as the author of two comedies, *The Grateful Son*, 1770 and, *The Young Noble*, 1772, both of which were well received. The year 1774 he spent at Gotha, in order to be near Seidler's company, in which Eckhof was playing. There he was welcomed in the highest circles; and in 1775 he published the first volume of his *Philosopher for the World*, (2nd vol. 1777, 3rd vol. 1800). This is a collection of essays upon all possible subjects, the greater part of which are by Engel himself, although some are by Mendelssohn, Garve, Eberhard, and others. He received an appointment in the Joachimsthaler Gymnasium at Berlin; and a feature of his teaching there was, that he made his pupils deduce the rules of logic for themselves from the Platonic Dialogues, a method of which an account is given in a paper printed in 1780. For some time, too, he was tutor to the prince who afterwards became King William the Third; and his unfinished *Theory of the Various Kinds of Composition* (1783) was likewise originally an educational manual. The distinguished lecturer was in 1787,—in which year he also became a member of the Academy,—appointed manager of the Royal National Theatre, partly no doubt on account of his *Hints towards a Science of Mimetics* (Berlin, 1785, 2 vols.). In 1794 he resigned this post in order to take up his abode at

Schwerin. Here he finished a drama which he had begun long before, *Oath and Duty*, collected his minor works (1795), and wrote the short sketch, *Herr Lorenz Stark*. The *Mirror of Princes*, in which he set forth what he had taught the royal children, was also written here. In 1798 he was invited back to Berlin. There he lived a very retired life, occupied with papers for the Academy, and the collection of his works; and he died while on a visit to Parchim, his native town. The collected edition of his works, the preparation of which, quite in accordance with his own instructions, was continued after his death by his friend Friedländer, comprises twelve volumes (*J. J. Engel's Schriften*, Berlin, 1801-6, 12 vols.). Engel, in a style which secures for him a place of honour among the prose writers of Germany, philosophized upon all possible subjects in a spirit which he recommends in his *Tobias Witt*, his *Safe Cure*, and other papers: "Let us have no extremes, and let one thing always be connected with another!" Hardly one of the eclectics who attempted to combine English and French theories with German, believing both to be at bottom correct, was so pronounced, or so forcible and tasteful as he was. He was a disciple of Newton, as his papers upon light for the Academy prove; he agreed with Locke and Condillac that all varieties of knowledge ultimately rest upon the senses; and yet he declared himself upon the side of Leibnitz on the question as to individual difference and general notions. He welcomes the figure of the statue employed by Condillac and Bonnet; like the former, too, he maintains the specific importance of the sense of feeling, although he finds that a sufficient distinction has not been made. Feeling, such as is characteristic of the skin as a whole, may be called feeling proper (*Gefühl*), that which is characteristic of the hand may be called touch (*Getaste*). Distinct from both is the feeling of exertion, which is transmitted by the muscles under the skin, and for which Engel proposes the name of effort (*Gestrebe*). If Locke and Hume had made this distinction, they would have seen that the idea of power, just like that of colour, has its origin in a single sense, that is, in effort. Where Engel has occasion to speak of Kant, it is usually to indulge in polemics against him. Sometimes that thinker goes too far for him, sometimes not far enough. The last who calls for mention is Nicolai's most faithful friend and companion, JOHANN ERICH BIESTER (17th Nov., 1749 to 1816),

who, after studying law at Göttingen, as well as classics and the history of literature, lectured for a long time at Bützow. Through Nicolai's influence, he became private secretary to the minister Von Zedlitz; and when he died, he was royal librarian at Berlin. He deserves to be named here because in 1783, along with Gedike, he founded the *Berliner Monatschrift*, of which he was sole editor from 1791. This periodical fulfils in a more ambitious style the purpose for which Engel's *Philosopher for the World* had been intended—to instruct, and to spread the doctrines of the Enlightenment by means of entertaining papers. Biester's numerous connections secured very important contributors to the *Monatsschrift*, not the least important of them being Kant. As is the case with all periodicals of the kind, its reputation subsequently waned. In antipathy to Catholicism and in hatred of the Jesuits, Biester was so completely in accord with Nicolai, that down to this very day they are usually mentioned together in connection with a keen scent for Jesuits. This, however, is apt to make us forget that they were also alike in their conscientious adherence to what they had come to see to be right.

12. While Mendelssohn and Nicolai with pardonable pride gave it to be understood that they were something quite different from men of university education, only the third of the three friends could say of himself that he was *more* than this, for he was the only one of the trio who could boast (and he did it to Klotz) of having deservedly won the master's cap. GOTTHOLD EPHRAIM LESSING was born at Kamenz in the Oberlausitz, on Jan. 22nd, 1729. After an unusually thorough school training at Meissen, he came with a store of classical and mathematical learning to Leipsic, where he set about making himself not merely a sound scholar, but also a polished man of the world. And he succeeded perfectly in both respects. He first won a name for himself as a writer of epigrams, fables, and comedies, as well as by his *Contributions to the History and the Improvement of the Theatre* (1750). Afterwards he was for some years (1751–55) literary critic to the *Berlinische (Vossische) Zeitung* at Berlin, and also edited *The Latest from the Realm of Wit*, as a supplement to the *Berlinische Staats- und Gelehrten-Zeitungen* (1751). After taking his degree at Wittenberg, he published, besides some translations in 1753, two volumes of *Writings*, which partly contained matter already published, and partly critical letters.

One of the latter, which referred to Lange's translation of Horace, drew a protest from the translator, and then Lessing printed, in 1754, his merciless reply: *A Vade mecum for Herr Sam. Gotth. Lange, Pastor in Laublingen*, which completely crushed the poor poetaster. As if to prove to the public that the critic is no mere fault-finder, he published in the third volume of his *Writings* (1754), his "Rescues" of Horace, Cardan, and others, whom he defended against unjust criticisms. In this same year,—the year, too, in which he introduced Nicolai to Mendelssohn,—he began his *Theatrical Review* (1754–58). Of the essays that appeared in this, the following deserve special mention—that upon the tragedies of Seneca, that upon the history of the English stage, and that upon unprinted Italian comedies. In conjunction with Mendelssohn, he wrote and published anonymously (1755) the witty satire upon the Berlin Academy: *Pope a Metaphysician!* Then he exchanged his residence at Berlin for life at Leipsic, and did not return to his friends till 1758. He took but a small share in the work of the *Library of the Fine Arts and Sciences*, published by Nicolai, and he had thus all the more time to spare for the *Letters on Literature*. Besides the numerous contributions supplied to this periodical in 1759 and 1760, he published in 1759 his *Treatise on the Fable*, worked hard at an important essay upon Sophocles, and lived on intimate terms with the most distinguished men in Berlin. Perhaps it was the dread of becoming too closely identified with a particular clique that led him to take a resolution which surprised everybody. In the autumn of 1760, he accepted the post first of private, and then of government secretary to General Tauentzien, at Breslau, in order that he might be brought into relations with an entirely different set of people. What the five years spent in military society were for him, he showed the world in his *Minna von Barnhelm*, which was begun in 1763, and the *Laocoon*, the preliminary work in connection with which was done at Breslau, although the book itself did not appear till 1769. At the same time he made a very careful study of the Church Fathers, as well as of Spinoza. Further, the beginning of a translation of Leibnitz's *Nouveaux Essais*, which Lessing's brother took for the commencement of an original work, may be assigned to the last weeks of his stay at Breslau. Very soon after going to reside there, he had been elected a member of the Berlin

Academy. In the spring of 1765, Lessing was in Berlin once more, busy with the preparation of the *Laocoon*, and for a short time full of hope that he would be appointed to the charge of the Royal Library there. Rejected by Frederick the Great, he accepted a post in connection with the theatre at Hamburg, during his tenure of which he published the *Hamburg Dramaturgy* (1767-69)—a work which marked an epoch in the theory of the drama, as the *Laocoon* had done in that of the formative arts. At the same time there appeared his *Antiquarian Epistles*, 1768, and *How the Ancients represented Death*, 1769, both directed against Klotz of Halle, upon whom they entailed a fate very similar to that which the *Vade mecum* had brought upon Lange. When a publishing and printing enterprise failed, and a projected journey to Italy fell through, and when he could not make up his mind to accept a professorship at Königsberg—only Göttingen, the University of men of the world, might have had charms for him—he acceded in 1770 to a proposal that he should go to Wolfenbüttel as librarian. In that very year the fortunate discovery of a hitherto unknown work by Berengar of Tours, was announced to the world in an essay which proved that this “lover of theology” was as well versed in the knowledge of Church history as the *Hamburg Dramaturgy* had shown him to be in knowledge of antiquity. *Emilia Galotti* (1772) was followed by *Contributions to History and Literature*, which were drawn from the unprinted treasures of the library. A journey to Vienna, undertaken in 1775, and continued with the Prince of Brunswick to Italy, failed to prove as instructive as he had hoped. After an engagement of many years, it at length became possible for him to marry happily; but in little more than a year death carried off his wife. He published some extracts from the *Apology* of Reimarus (*vid. supra*, § 293. 4). (These were the famous seven *Wolfenbüttel Fragments*, of which the first, *On Toleration of the Deists*, and the two last, *On the Story of the Resurrection*, and *On the Object of Jesus and His Apostles*, gave great offence.) And the discussions in which the publication of these involved him, owing to the appearance of replies to which he wrote answers, occupied his mind, and gave him opportunity of showing his great skill as a many-sided and keen controversialist. His essay: *On Demonstration of the Spirit and of Power* (1777), with its supplement, the *Testament Johannis*, presents him to us as

disputing in the most polite fashion with the Director Schumann. On the other hand, his *Rejoinder*, 1778, written in reply to an anonymous author, and his *Parable* (1778), his *Axiomata*, and particularly his *Anti-Göze*,—all three directed against Pastor Göze of Hamburg,—are masterpieces of merciless criticism. But these disputes also filled him with the sense of isolation, which finds distinct expression in one of his letters. The *New Hypothesis in regard to the Evangelists* (written in 1778), the *Talks for Freemasons* (1778, 1780), the dramatic poem, *Nathan the Wise* (1779), and finally, the *Education of the Human Race* (1780), part of which had been already published, develop the positive principles of Lessing's theory of life, without the introduction of any controversial elements. Soon after his death, which took place on Feb. 15th, 1781, an edition of his collected works began to appear. These were published first in thirty (1781-94), and then in thirty-two parts (1825-28). Lachmann, in his edition of thirteen volumes (Berlin, Voss'sche Buchhandlung, 1838-40) gave them in critical order, and with a conscientious respect for Lessing's peculiarities of grammar and orthography. The revised and enlarged edition by Maltzahn (Leips., 1853) does not profess to be so scrupulous in these respects. In 1875 there appeared the (first illustrated) edition of R. Gosche (8 vols., Berlin, Grote), the eighth volume of which contains an interesting biography of Lessing.

Th. W. Danzel: *Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, sein Leben und seine Werke*  
1st vol. Leipz., 1850. 2nd vol. by Guhrauer. Leipz., 1853.

13. Lessing insists, with greater emphasis than either of his Berlin friends, upon the philosopher keeping Enlightenment in view more than anything else, and therefore, upon his reducing everything to distinct notions. Like them, he assigns the highest place to sound reason, which—as he acknowledges to his brother in the course of his theological disputes—he values more highly than theology. One of the reasons why he is inclined to accept the doctrine of transmigration is, that this theory was the oldest, and therefore the first, which occurred to sound understanding. Further, he was far superior to either of his friends in intellectual acuteness, so much so, indeed, that Mendelssohn declared he even felt solely with his intellect; and at the same time he had a great advantage in having been trained from his school-days

in the distinctions of the Wolffian philosophy. The consequence of this was, that a great deal of what the other two regarded as distinct, seemed to him to require further analysis, *i.e.*, to be confused. Accordingly a large proportion of his intellectual activity was expended in attempting to separate what all the world confounded, and thus to re-establish clearness of ideas. At the very outset of his acquaintance with Nicolai, he warns his friend against confusing the indirect result of tragedy, moral elevation, with its direct purpose, the rousing of compassion. That there may be no misapprehension in regard to the latter, he draws a distinction between it and admiration, and says that the hero whom we admire should belong to epic poetry, while to tragedy should belong only the hero whom we pity. In the same way he warns Nicolai against confounding passions with character; and writes to Mendelssohn to beware of mixing up the various kinds of poetry, and further, not to be led away by the similarity of the views of Leibnitz and Spinoza with regard to the relation of body and soul, into forgetting the opposition between them, and so on. This tendency to separate, which is shown in these extracts from his letters, reappears in the writings intended for the public eye. His *Laocoon* is an attack upon the prevalent idea *sit ut pictura poema*. Its chief purpose is to fix the distinction between the speaking or vocal arts, and the shaping or plastic arts; and he carries the process of separation so far as to reject all descriptive poetry, as well as all painting that is allegorical, or even represents a succession. Similarly, in the *Dramaturgy*, one main object is to distinguish the unity of action from the other two supplementary unities; and as a consequence of his line of argument he is led to take the all-important step of breaking with the French drama, or, to be quite accurate, with French tragedy, which he himself had formerly regarded as a model. Finally, in every case, Lessing's theological disputes ultimately rested upon the separation of certain fundamental ideas, which are partly enumerated in the *Axiomata*, written as a reply to Göze. Religion is not the Bible, and is not theology; nor does revelation teach us what it is. Miracles that compel belief, are not the same thing as miraculous narratives. The religion of Christ and the Christian religion are two different things. Modern rational Christianity has lost by the fusion both reason and Christianity. These are constantly recurring



antitheses, directed as much against the "advocates of orthodoxy" as against the friends of "rational Christianity." Lessing disliked nothing so much as indecision. He was unwilling to pronounce too harsh a judgment on Berengar of Tours, who recanted because he "was prepared for arguments, not for death"; but the idea that he concealed his real views, irritated Lessing much.

14. Just as he was at one with his friends in holding that philosophy consists in the transformation of all that is obscure into distinct ideas, so he agreed with them that the real subject of philosophy was man; only, being better read, he was able to remind them that the poet Pope had not been the first to teach this, but that they could learn it from the philosopher Charron. At the same time, hardly any one was so pronounced as Lessing in the opinion that by "man" must be understood the self-sufficing subject. Just as, according to the letter to his mother, he tried at the University to become, not a scholar, but a man, just as he teaches in his *Nathan*, that we should not be Jews or Christians, but men, just as, in a letter to Gleim, he frankly admits that he does not know what love of country means, while elsewhere he says, that "one's country" is an "abstract idea," so in the *Talks for Freemasons*, he expresses his conviction that the salt of the earth consists of those who, free from distinctions of nationality, religion, rank, and fortune, are nothing but men. Accordingly, he declares decidedly against the view that the State is an end in itself. It exists for the sake of men; and the sum of the happiness of individuals is the general well-being. His ideal, therefore,—which he admitted could never be more than an ideal,—is a state of things in which there is no government, because each man governs himself. As in politics, so too in religion and philosophy, he was a pronounced individualist: in religion, when he says that the church stands in the same relation to faith, as a lodge does to freemasonry, and when he contrasts the religion of the heart with that of the head, the Christian of feeling with the dogmatist and theologian; in philosophy, when he declares it to be impossible for a philosopher either to form a school or to belong to one. In his *Rejoinder*, there is a declamatory passage, often quoted, to the effect that to strive after truth is better than to possess it—a statement which finds a counterpart in his preference for the philosophical defence of something which is unphilosophical

(i.e. untrue) as compared with its unphilosophical rejection, and in his view of the continual extension of power as the only happiness, and of the attainment of blessedness as *ennui*. It shows that he ranks the enjoyment of subjective activity (effort) above everything else, and it forms a remarkable contrast to the self-forgetting devotion of Spinoza, whose only concern is, that there should be adequate ideas, not that these should enter into *his* mind. As Lessing, e.g., in the *Letters on Literature*, makes his theory of man depend upon physics, and physics upon ontology, we are entitled to ask what his views on ontology are. In maintaining that there is a graduated series of existences, in which no link is passed over and none omitted, and in which the simple existences are divine in nature but limited in power, and form a harmony,—all of which is found in his *Rational Christianity*,—he exhibits a marked agreement with Leibnitz, of whom he says that, if he had wished to formulate a system, it would not have been that of Wolff. His theory, too, of moral beings, and the infinite number of ideas which they bear about with them, shows so much affinity with Leibnitz that it is not difficult to see why he was anxious to translate the *Nouveaux Essais* immediately on their first appearance. But his intimate acquaintance with views diametrically opposite,—with Bayle, who was a kindred spirit of his own, with Shaftesbury, whom he advised Mendelssohn to read, with Hutcheson, whom he partly translated,—did not fail to exercise an influence upon his own ideas, as is proved, for example, by the remarkable essay, *That Man may have more than Five Senses* (*Works*, Lachmann's ed., vol. xi., p. 458). In this, by his imaginary description of existence before and after this present life, he really transfers into the region of reality Condillac and Bonnet's fiction of a statue; and in spite of all his dislike to the latter, there are many points in which he agrees with the views of his *Palingenesis*.

15. If, however, on account of this combination of heterogeneous elements, and on account of his repeated declaration that truth always lies midway between the extremes, we were to call Lessing an eclectic like Mendelssohn and Nicolai, we should be forgetting that he had good reason for saying that in poetry his place was not that of a poet but of a critic, and in theology, that of the servant who sweeps the dust from the steps of the temple. He was always inclined to adopt the

view that everybody else found fault with. This inclination, which his friends looked upon as mere love of paradox, and which is what led us to call Bayle his kindred spirit, he himself describes in his *Bibliolatriy* as an "antiperistaltic tendency of his mind," in the following terms: "The more convincingly any one tried to demonstrate to me the truth of Christianity, the more doubtful I became. The more boldly and triumphantly another wished to trample it under foot, the more inclined I felt to maintain it intact, in my heart at least." One result of that is, that his greatest achievements are either "rescues"—to those to which he himself gave this name, we may add that of Berengar of Tours—or exposures (of Gottsched, of the French, of Lange, of Klotz, of Göze, etc.), both of which are alike attacks upon what is universally accepted. While his two friends, in their somewhat weakly toleration, see truth in every statement, Lessing always begins by discovering what is erroneous; for no error has he a keener eye than for the want of thoroughness, and that is a fault which everything around him seems to manifest. This explains his isolated position, which reminds one of that occupied by other important thinkers at the conclusion of a period. Nicolaus of Cusa, or Bacon and Hobbes, are cases in point. His immediate friends see in this feeling of discontent simply an "exaggeration which he is fond of setting against exaggeration;" and they regard it as a venial weakness, that he does not exhibit the same enthusiasm as they do for the apostles of Enlightenment. He has no great admiration either for Frederick the Great, who would compel men to be reasonable, or for Febronius, who attacks the rights of the Popes. The educationalists, in Rousseau and Basedow's sense, could not feel edified by his saying that God gave us the soul, but genius we get through education, for the latter half of the proposition is too strongly suggestive of Helvetius. Finally, those who resorted to underhand means in order to educate and enlighten the world, could easily gather from his *Talks for Freemasons* the scorn for freemasonry which a well-known anecdote represents him as expressing. Peculiar as was his attitude to the progressive movement in society, still more peculiar is his attitude to it in religion, when compared with the unreserved approbation which this met with at the hands of his Berlin friends. Nowadays the orthodox, or those inclined towards Catholicism, simply in order to add the

weight of a famous name to their own side, are in the habit of repeating from his letters to his brother,—which are certainly one of the most important sources of information on this point,—the one fact that he there calls the rational Christianity of Spalding, Teller, Semler, and others “dirty water,” or, on the other hand, of telling how often in his *Anti-Göze* he brings forward tradition and the Church Fathers against the purely exegetical basis of dogmas. This is folly. The one party omits to notice, or forgets, that he regards the orthodox theory, too, as simply dirty water which is not thrown away till we get something purer, and that he says in so many words that it is worthless, that it is a good thing to get rid of it, and so on. The others have not noted with sufficient care that he applies the term “fencing arts” to his device of breaking up the phalanx of theologians by appealing to the Catholic doctrine. The fact of the matter is, that, in his view, all the theological movements of the eighteenth century are, without exception, modern, and therefore faulty creations. This is the case with the orthodoxy of Göze and others. It is scarcely fifty years, he says, since the first appearance of this orthodoxy, which is based “upon historical proofs,” or upon what would nowadays be called apologetics. And it is kept alive only by the invention of lying harmonies of the Gospels, in which it is compelled to take refuge because it confuses the letter and the spirit, the Bible and religion. But, according to Lessing, modern rational Christianity is equally far from the truth. Its advocates have torn down the wall of partition between revelation and reason, and they preach a revelation which reveals nothing at all, since it only professes to teach what reason tells; in short, they are bad theologians and still worse philosophers. But even the deism of Eberhard and others, which goes considerably further, he entirely disapproves of, and he attacks all their watchwords vigorously. Instead of their outcry against creeds, and their exhortation to cling to Scripture alone, he puts forward the *regula fidei*, to which he assigns a higher antiquity than to the books of the Bible; reminds them that from the beginning heretics have always based their views upon the Bible; and asserts that, just as the Church has existed without the Bible, so it would be possible for Church tradition and the continuity of Church life to be maintained without Scriptural authority and simply by a form of creed, while, on the other hand, without a tradition of this kind, no man would be able to gather the dogmas of belief from

the Bible. Equally objectionable must it have been to deists of a Unitarian tendency, and particularly to Mendelssohn, that Lessing attempted to prove that the dogma of the Trinity was rational, as he did in the *Education of the Human Race*, and had done at an even earlier period in his *Rational Christianity*. The only consolation that Mendelssohn has, is that his friend was always fond of witticisms. Indeed, even the dogma which, as has been already pointed out (*vid.* § 293, 2), was most repulsive to the men of Enlightenment, the doctrine of eternal punishment, found a defender in Lessing; indirectly through his praise of Leibnitz for seeking to prove it rational, and directly, as we see from his letters to his brother, through the arguments he put forward in favour of it against Mendelssohn and Eberhard. When their differences were so marked, it was impossible for him to make a rallying cry of toleration, in the same sense as the others did. The remark he makes to his brother, to the effect that it was really the old orthodoxy that had been tolerant, while modern theology was intolerant, shows that in his view true toleration was not incompatible with the conviction that one's own point of view is also objectively the highest. Accordingly in his *Education of the Human Race* he ranks Christianity, as the religion of more fully developed humanity, far above Judaism, in which the human race, being yet in its infancy, was reduced to obedience to the one God by means of earthly reward and earthly punishment. It was natural that Mendelssohn should speak of this work with a certain feeling of uneasiness, and that, on the other hand, he should hold fast by *Nathan the Wise*, which was written at the same time, and which he regarded as the greatest achievement of its author. He was quite right in looking upon *Nathan* as Lessing's true confession of faith, for the latter in a letter to his brother expressly says that he put into the mouth of his Nathan the opinions he himself had always held. Would that the opinions of Lessing's Nathan were only as clear as Mendelssohn and a very large number in our own day believe that they are! Lessing must certainly have had some reason for altering the story he borrowed from Boccaccio. Out of a valuable, but ordinary, ring he makes, not one to which a delusion attributed a spell, but one which "*had*" the secret power of giving favour in the eyes of God and man to him who wore it, provided he possessed the firm conviction that it would do so. When Les-

sing, following Boccaccio, has two other rings made and only two, he has not got, as Boccaccio had, three rings exactly alike; two of them lack the secret power of the third. As, however, ultimately none of the three rings, not even the genuine one, manifests this power, there is, if we follow Lessing's own hints in regard to the allegory and take it quite literally, only one way of explaining the failure. The condition upon which success depended, *i.e.* the conviction that (only) *it* had this power, must have been lacking in the case of the possessor of the ring. But if we supplement this moral, as is done in Kuno Fischer's able exposition, by saying that "such a conviction" is conditioned by self-forgetting love and devotion, there always remains the objection that even this would be of no use to two of the brothers, because success depended upon the *two* conditions—the conviction *and* the possession of the genuine ring. Thus, however likely may be Fischer's suggestion, which makes the transition to the exhortation of the "discreet" judge so natural, it fails to solve the problem which Lessing has propounded for us in his allegory, and of the difficulty of which Mendelssohn had literally no idea. The feeling that in all these questions he occupied an entirely different position from those who looked upon him as altogether upon their side, makes Lessing say to Jacobi that he had once (!) spoken to Mendelssohn of his real views, that they could not agree, and that there he had let the matter stand. Again, he writes to Herder in regard to Nicolai, that his "paltry" romances were for many a necessary step upon the ladder which must some time or other be ascended. Both of the men, however, to whom he could speak thus frankly, belonged to the succeeding period, into which Lessing never entered, like Moses into the Promised Land.

Cf. D. F. Strauss: *Lessing's Nathan der Weise*. Berlin, 1864. Kuno Fischer: *Lessing's Nathan der Weise*. Stuttgart, 1864.

16. But he must have got a glimpse into it, when he turned away dissatisfied from what was offered him, not merely by his opponents, but by his own circle as well. In the latter there lived, transformed into the syncretism of elegant popular philosophy, all the ideas that had been brought into circulation by Bayle and Locke on the one hand, and by Leibnitz and Thomasius on the other, along with the various additions made by Hume and Condillac, by Berkeley and the psychologists. But all these ideas were individualistic. This ex-

plains why Lessing's own circle were incapable of appreciating a point of view that requires the subjection, perhaps even the sacrifice, of the individual. It explains why it was impossible for these men to comprehend the spirit already described (§ 264), which in the sixteenth century had established dogma and securely laid the foundations of the modern State, and in the seventeenth had found conscious expression in the philosophy of Spinoza. Finally, it explains why it was impossible for them to form a correct estimate of antiquity and its greatest philosopher, whose guiding principle was, that the whole is prior to the parts (*vid.* § 89, 2). In all these points, Lessing occupies a very different position from his friends, who were satisfied with what seemed to him inadequate. Like them, he had rejected the orthodox system of belief; but he could not help being angry at the proud thinkers of Berlin for calling it a "patchwork of bunglers and half-philosophers." He knows of nothing, he writes to his brother, which has afforded more scope for the exercise and the display of human ingenuity, than has the old system of religion. Similarly, his attitude towards Spinozism differs entirely from that of his friends. We must indeed say that Jacobi is exaggerating when he declares that Lessing was an adherent of Spinoza; but his *Rational Christianity* shows that, in repeating the inconsistent (*vid.* § 292, 1) statement of Leibnitz, that simple existences are emanations of the Godhead, he was much more in earnest than its author had been, and therefore was much more nearly a disciple of Spinoza than he was. So too his essay: *On the Reality of Things outside of God*, proves that he had long got beyond the idea of a God who, in the Leibnitz-Mendelssohn sense, is outside of, apart from, and above the world. In his view, God is outside of the world, but the world is not outside of God, for God is the more comprehensive. It matters little whether Lessing, in saying so, was thinking of Malebranche (*vid.* § 270, 4); it is enough that he is in complete accord with this thinker, who must be regarded as the final stage of preparation for Spinozism. Lastly, in regard to antiquity, his attitude is entirely different from that of his friends. As he had got over the mere linguistic difficulties while he was still a school-boy, he early learned to devote himself lovingly to the study of the classical writers and to revel in the enjoyment of their works; while his Berlin friends only learned Greek when they were quite grown up, and never succeeded in altogether

mastering it. Among the ancients he esteemed no one more highly than Aristotle. He "believes" in him, to quote his own expression. And first of all, he believes in the *Poetics*. But he knows Aristotle too well not to see that this is not an independent work; no one, he says, can understand the *Poetics* unless he is familiar with the *Ethics*. How different is the attitude of Mendelssohn and Nicolai to their much-praised Plato! The former studied him in order to improve his own style; the latter is graciously pleased to shut his eyes to Plato's "fancies" (*i.e.* his Theory of Ideas). In them there was none of that feeling for antiquity which was characteristic of Lessing. Had Lessing been a man merely of the calibre of Nicolai, or even of Engel, he would perhaps have extended further that process of combination which they applied to rationalistic and empirical elements, and have brought together elements which were individualistic and pantheistic, modern and classical. And, on the other hand, had he really been a great philosopher, he would not have brought together these elements in any such fashion, but would have combined them systematically in a higher unity. He could not do the former, because the cast of his mind was too philosophical; he could not do the latter, because it was only the cast of his mind that was philosophical (to adopt his own phrase), he was not a philosopher. For although this is the most important element in a philosopher, it is still only an element. The obstinate persistency which is necessary if one is to systematize philosophy, and which Kant possessed in such a high degree, was entirely absent in the case of Lessing. What he did not succeed in accomplishing at the first rush, he never carried out; and (again like Bayle), he never philosophized in order to form a system, but simply to get light upon particular questions. Thus it is only in regard to particular points that Lessing makes the attempt to pass beyond the views of the eighteenth century—a course of action which, as he himself was fully aware, could not but result in making him unpopular with all parties in his own day. These points, if we except questions relating to art, are entirely confined to the sphere of religion. Just as, in order to explain the differences between the Gospels, he introduced the hypothesis of an original Hebrew gospel, an hypothesis suggested by the Fragmentarians, so he tries to overcome the opposition between the orthodox thinkers, who sacrifice reason to revelation, and the modern theologians, who sacrifice



revelation to reason. He succeeds in doing so by means of the conception of history, of development, or, as he calls it, of the *education of the human race*—a conception which had been entirely lost. In order to lead men to truth by the surest way, God communicates to them that which transcends reason, not absolutely and essentially, but relatively to them; and the process is, that mankind gradually comes to transform the truth of revelation into the truth of reason. (Similarly, a boy can do a sum more easily, if he is told beforehand what the answer is to be.) This road is gradual and circuitous, and yet it is the shortest way. The oneness of God was revealed to the Jews; the promise of earthly reward gradually accustomed them to obedience towards one God; and after a long time, not indeed until after the Captivity, they came to hold this belief quite firmly. In our day the oneness of God is a truth which can be demonstrated by reason. An exactly similar process has gone on in the case of that truth which Christ was the first to place beyond all possibility of doubt,—the doctrine of immortality. Just as earthly hopes had influenced the Jew, so the Christian, by counting on a reward laid up in Heaven, became accustomed to look upon God and immortality as certain; in our day immortality is capable of scientific proof. It would be absurd to doubt that a day will come when, just as the Christian can dispense with earthly promises, so man will no longer require Heaven, but will do what is right simply because it is right. Then a great deal that at present transcends our reason will be quite comprehensible; nor is the doctrine, held by many mystics, about the Kingdom of the Father, which is followed by the kingdom of the Son, and will be followed by the kingdom of the Spirit, by any means so foolish as many suppose. How close at hand Lessing believed this third stage to be, can be gathered from the fact that, in his *Education of the Human Race* (§§ 73–75), he tries to represent the doctrines of the Trinity, of original sin, and of reconciliation through the Son of God, as being in accordance with the requirements of reason. We cannot wonder at his writing to Herder, that now he has suddenly become too orthodox for people. At the same time, he does not profess that his theories in regard to these dogmas are anything more than hypotheses. On the other hand, he regards as an indubitable fact the doctrine of the education of the human race, his form of that belief in Providence which, along with a belief in God and in immortality,

went to make up the creed of his Enlightened friends. This theory, according to which progress is really characteristic only of the race, is inconsistent with his individualism, otherwise so decided. He solves the contradiction, as Cardan had done before him (*vid.* § 242, 3), by making the same individual re-appear at different times, and therefore at different stages of development.

### § 295.

#### CONCLUDING REMARK.

While Lessing's friends, by adopting all the ideas that had come to the surface in the eighteenth century, had recognised the truth that was in them, he himself had exposed their weaknesses and their want of truth. At the same time, these teachings did not remain the possession of a single school, but were communicated to the whole educated world. The consequence was the recurrence, though on a smaller scale, of such a state of affairs as has been already described (*vid.* § 115). On the former occasion the syncretism of Eastern and Western ideas revealed how much truth there was in each, scepticism showed how little there was; and thus the way was prepared for a systematic combination of the two, which should get rid of both by absorbing them. Similarly, the Ciceros and the Ænesidemus of the eighteenth century made possible a point of view that will stand to the syncretistic popular philosophy in the same relation that the Socratic philosophy stood to the Sophistic, and the Patristic philosophy to that of Philo, while to the critical popular philosophy of Lessing it will stand related as to the ideas of an eminently philosophical mind, for it will be the system of a philosopher of the first rank. The founder of this system had made himself at home in all the circles of thought of the eighteenth century. In each of them he had kept pace with the most representative men; and when those who had hitherto played the chief parts, began to rest upon their laurels, he, though older than they, struck out new paths for knowledge with all the vigour of youth. In the very year in which Lessing, the greatest critical genius of Germany, sank exhausted on his deathbed, Kant, the greatest philosopher of Germany, made his first appearance on the world's stage with his *Critique of Pure Reason*, and thus with the system of Critical philosophy.

## THIRD PERIOD OF MODERN PHILOSOPHY.

### PHILOSOPHY OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY : MEDIATION.

K. Fortlage : *Genetische Geschichte der Philosophie seit Kant.* Leipzig, 1852.  
Friedrich Harms : *Die Philosophie seit Kant.* Berlin. 1876.

#### § 296.

#### INTRODUCTION.

I. SINCE the period that is usually designated as that of the *most modern philosophy* occupies the same position in the history of modern philosophy that would be assigned to the latter in the whole history of philosophy, its problem cannot, as can that of the periods already considered, be brought within a single formula. There are required several, which, obviously, must agree in this respect, that they all demand the mediation of opposites. In the *first* place, the preceding development of the philosophy of the eighteenth century has raised the problem of getting beyond the mixture of idealistic and realistic theories to what in contradistinction thereto was above (*vid.* § 293, 8) termed ideal-realism or real-idealism. This superior position, which is at the same time negative and sympathetic, philosophy, as opposed to the two one-sided tendencies, can take only as it attempts to comprehend, in the two-fold sense of the term, those tendencies. This it does when it makes them its object : only by so doing does it rise above them. Precisely in a similar manner had also the philosophy of the Christian era taken its beginning ; namely, by so transcending the Grecian and the Jewish worlds as to assign to each its proper place (*vid.* § 122, 1). Locke's realistic theory of knowledge was easily united with the idealistic theory of Leibnitz by a kind of addition, if one brought the two under the common generic notion of self-observation, and then told how the mind receives impressions

and forms conceptions. In both, popular philosophy and empirical psychology played a very important part. It is an entirely different problem that Kant places before himself when he seeks after the presuppositions and conditions of perception and the formation of conceptions. His transcendental investigations are specifically different from the psychological, or anthropological, investigations of his contemporaries. The former show upon what cognition is grounded, the latter in what it consists; the former explain, the latter exhibit and describe; the relation between the former and the latter is really, as Fichte later formulated it, the same as that between biology and life. Kant lifts philosophy above the opposition of empiricism and rationalism, not by making it a mixture of the two, but by conceiving it as the knowledge of rationalism and empiricism. It is clear that with this entirely new problem which was set before philosophy, a very essential step was taken towards the solution of the problem which was settled as the goal of philosophy in general (*vid.* §§ 2 and 3), viz., that it is the mind's knowledge of itself, a thing as essential to the perfection of philosophy as to that of anthroposophy, which (*vid.* § 259) modern philosophy was held to be.

2. If the problem just now stated to be the first problem of the most modern philosophy is solved, we have, in this solution, just because realism had not yet in the first period of modern philosophy entered into conflict with idealism, a return to that problem; and the most modern philosophy must consequently attempt a fusion of the philosophy of the eighteenth century with that of the seventeenth. By the solution of this *second* problem the most modern philosophy becomes what, indeed, every philosophy should be, a conscious formulation of what, as unconscious impulse, rules the age. Upon the process of disorganization which (*vid.* § 274) was stated to be the distinctive characteristic of the second period of the modern era, there followed the impulse towards *reorganization*; this, or, as it has been otherwise called, the Restoration, is the goal to which everything tends in the period in which we still are. As regards the life of the *State*, this process of reorganization was introduced by the political commotions in America and, especially, in France. Whoever looks upon the French Revolution as a process of disorganization forgets that the disorganization had already begun

before it, and that it was not a mere phrase when with the egoistic cry for *liberté* and *égalité* was united the self-forgetting cry for *salut public*. Rousseau taught that the former, Richelieu, that the latter, should be placed above all else. That, thanks to a Washington, the process of integration in North America ran a normal course, does not forbid our seeing in the French Revolution also a process, not so much of decomposition as of healing, the end of which, although the process has, alas! been again and again interrupted, is in no respect different from what all the revolutionary commotions of the last hundred years have to show,—the bringing of the immutable rights of individuals (whether persons, corporations, or States) into harmony with the sovereign right of the whole (whether it be a State or a union of States). An entirely similar tendency characterises the *religious* life of this period. In opposition to ecclesiasticism, which had come almost to regard piety as not indispensable, and to anti-ecclesiastic insistence upon personal piety or conviction, there appears now a healthier, now a more or less diseased, longing for religious union without ecclesiastical inflexibility. Among the phenomena that arose out of this desire, there must be added to this latest event, the earlier desertion to Catholicism and the formation of religious circles, viz., the union of the Evangelical Confessions, whose purpose is to gain greater dogmatic definiteness than the Reformed Confessions, greater subjective mobility, and greater lay-participation than the Lutherans, and for whose inner justification the fact speaks, that from its establishment dates a more vigorous ecclesiastical and religious life. As far, finally, as concerns the *relation of Church and State*, and the constitution of the former, the changing preponderance which in all European States, at one time the territorial, at another the independent, element, acquired, shows how the age endeavours to possess without one-sidedness, and hence, simultaneously, what the two preceding periods had sought one-sidedly. The philosophy of this period acquires the same mediatory character when (as was said above) without sacrificing the acquisition of the eighteenth century, namely, individualism, it returned to the totalism or universalism of the seventeenth century, and then, by raising itself above pantheism and atheism, struggles towards monotheism, which stands midway between the two, just as certainly as one stands between zero

and infinity (0...1...∞ expresses in a schema the relation of the three tendencies). The philosophy of the period of reorganization will seek therefore to rise above the system of rigid necessity, to which the denial of all teleology led, and likewise above the one-sided teleology which, carried to its consequences, leads to a deification of contingency and caprice, and to strive for a concrete doctrine of freedom, according to which the State is neither the all-devouring Leviathan, nor an unavoidable evil, which is to make itself useless, and is until then ignored by the cultured man,— a doctrine of freedom, too, with which politics and morals, compulsory law and the sanctity of the individual conscience, are possible.

3. As from the solution of the first problem there results a second, just so there presents itself with this latter a *third*. It has been shown (*vid.* § 264) how far in the organizing period of modern times the spirit of antiquity has lived again in a rejuvenated form. In a precisely similar way the spirit of the disorganizing period shows decided analogies with that of the Middle Ages. It is easy to make this assertion appear paradoxical, perhaps even ridiculous, since it connects knights and monks with hoop-petticoats and pigtails (which, however, every one does more than I, who talks of a “mediaeval pigtail”). But this comparison should not deny the differences, the contradictions, in fact, between an age that allowed the State to crumble through guild and corporation interests, and an age that declared war upon guilds and corporations. It asserts only that the latter means going further in what the former began. Their opposition to all uniformity, this sign of the most recent times, places, notwithstanding their divergence, the Middle Ages and the eighteenth century upon a level, much as the knight going forth upon an adventure and the adventurer of the eighteenth century stand upon one. (Both would at the present day be incarcerated by the police officer.) Only because of inner relationship does the Enlightenment hate the Middle Ages. What the individualistic spirit, which gives to that age so poetical a colouring, and the Church, that institution of grace, which opposes nature and hence annuls national boundary lines, had brought to pass in the Middle Ages, is equally affected here by the not less individualistic emphasizing of private judgment, and by an abstract cosmopolitanism. There, as here, an interest

in nature and in the State, resting more or less upon a national basis, was impossible. The utilitarian view of nature which obtained in the eighteenth century is just as teleological and *unphysical* as the mystical view of the Middle Ages; and the ultra-catholic jurists come to the same theory of the State as did Rousseau. As the modern age is heir to antiquity and to the Middle Ages, so this relation is repeated in the modern age in such a way that its first period (one may style it modern antiquity, or the antiquity of the modern age) and its second (the modern Middle Ages) are testator to the third (the modern modern-age, or the modern age of the modern age). Philosophy, naturally, exhibits a counterpart to this. In this third period, more completely than it succeeded in doing in the other periods, has it to solve the problem which was designated (*vid.* § 259) as the problem of modern philosophy. This it will do if it rises above naturalism and the deification of the State, and so likewise above the theosophical hatred of nature and contempt of the State, to a standpoint on which physical and political philosophy, moral philosophy and theology are integral constituent parts of a system. That this elevation to a higher standpoint will here take place in a manner similar to that of the first problem, and that the same holds true also of the second, that is, by making an object of what the mind had previously accomplished, lies in the nature of the case.

4. If the three problems should be completely solved by one and the same system, it would be the alpha and omega of this period, and completely fill it. The fact that he who was above designated as the beginner of this period and as the greatest German philosopher, only began it, makes him the epoch-making philosopher. The further development of philosophy after him consists in the fact that the solutions begun by him were carried further towards completion. This development may the better be compared to what the Socratic schools (*vid.* §§ 67-72) did for the philosophy of Socrates, since, as they scientifically reproduced always one *side* of the master, so here it is the separate *masterpieces* of Kant which were successively the starting-point of a profounder investigation. But the post-Kantian philosophers display an advantageous divergence from the followers of Socrates, in that those who came later did not overturn what the master had laid down, but accepted it, and only extended and carried it

out more rigorously ; so that their relation resembles not so much that between the Cyrenaics and Cynics, as, rather, that between these two schools and Plato, or that between Plato and Aristotle. Naturally the further development begins where the solution demanded was most nearly attained by the epoch-making system ; that is, as will be shown, in the case of the first problem, with the solution of the question put by the eighteenth century : How are Leibnitz and Locke, Berkeley and Hume, to be reconciled ? After this had been answered more satisfactorily than Kant had answered it, by Reinhold and his Critical opponents,—since, as Fichte admirably said (of Reinhold alone), they gave to what Kant had taught in the *Critique of the Theoretical Reason* a solid foundation,—there appears in the foreground the second question—which had been put by the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries,—but upon a Kantian basis, *i.e.* after Kant had already pointed the way to its solution. Fichte and Schelling agree throughout in holding that philosophy must be ideal-realism, and therefore adopt what Reinhold and his opponents had taught, though supplementing it,—the first by seeking a still deeper foundation upon which to base what Kant had taught in his *Critique of Practical Reason* ; the second by seeking a foundation for what Kant had taught in his *Critique of Judgment*. At the same time, however, the antithesis, developed and established by them, of the Science of Knowledge and the System of Identity, makes clear how, upon the basis laid by Kant, the conflict between the Enlightenment of the eighteenth century and Spinozism may be renewed, only to lead to a more lasting peace. The philosopher, finally, who sought to mediate between Fichte and Schelling, namely, Hegel, who at the same time sought to adjust the opposition, which had contemporaneously made its appearance upon a critical basis, between pagan naturalism and mediæval theosophy, is also he through whom and whose school Kant's *Religion within the Limits of Mere Reason*, which had been almost forgotten, received due recognition. From the foregoing statements it is apparent into what divisions the following account will fall. The original form which Kant gave to his system, as well as what his disciples made of it in the mere desire to extend it and secure it against assault, is here treated under the title *Criticism*. Those forms of Criticism which in reality transcend it, because they



give his doctrines a profounder basis, and were in consequence discountenanced by him (*vid.* § 6), will receive their corresponding titles.

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## FIRST DIVISION.

### Criticism.

#### A.—KANT.

#### § 297.

#### LIFE AND WRITINGS.

Borowsky : *Darstellung des Lebens und Charakters Kant's*. Königsb., 1804.  
 Jachmann : *Immanuel Kant geschildert in Briefen an einen Freund*. 1804.  
 Wasiansky : *Immanuel Kant in seinen letzten Lebensjahren*. Königsb., 1804.  
 Schubert : *Immanuel Kant's Biographie*, in the 11th vol. of *Kant's Sämmtl. Werken*. Leipzig, Voss, 1842.  
 Reicke : *Kantiana*. Königsb., 1860.

1. IMMANUEL KANT was born at Königsberg, on the 22nd of April, 1724, of an artisan family that had come from Scotland, and had formerly written its name *Cant*. He attended school and the university in his native town, and studied at the latter, besides mathematics and philosophy, theology, and conducted reviews in these subjects with students. Although, inasmuch as enrolment with one of the higher faculties was required, he had himself registered as a student of divinity, it was never his intention to devote himself entirely to theology. After he had, in the year 1747, by the work : *Thoughts upon the True Estimation of Living Forces*, declared to the world that one defends the honour of reason when one defends it in the various personages of acute-minded men ; that, where there are opposing views, the truth must always be presumed to lie in an intermediate position, etc., and that he had sought to settle in accordance with this principle the dispute between the Cartesians and the Leibnitzians by drawing a distinction between dead and living forces, he left his native town, because of discouraging prospects, and was for several years private tutor in various families. In the year 1755 he habilitated himself as *doctor legens* by defending the prescribed dissertations ; and remained such until the year 1770, there being as yet no extraordinary professors. As

his first work had attempted to reconcile Descartes and Leibnitz, so had his Latin habilitation-thesis, on the Principle of Metaphysical Knowledge, attempted to reconcile Wolff and Crusius; so, finally, had his anonymously published work: *General Natural History and Theory of the Heavens* (1755), attempted to reconcile Newton and Leibnitz, or the mechanical and teleological points of view. If this work displayed, as did some slighter pieces having a physical content, an enthusiasm for mechanism in nature, which makes it clear why Kant was so attracted by Lucretius, so, on the other hand, the following-named works: *On the False Subtlety of the Four Syllogistic Figures* (1762); *Attempt to Introduce the Notion of Negative Quantity into Philosophy* (1763); *Only Possible Proof of the Existence of God* (1763), and the prize essay, *On Evidence*, with which he competed with Mendelssohn (§ 294, 8), show with how great a number of questions he was, at one and the same time, occupied in which an interest had been first aroused by the Middle Ages. In short, it is clear that the subjective conditions for the solution of the *third* problem were given already in this period. For the rest, it appears from the report of the drift of his lectures in the winter-semester of 1765-66, that in this period he occupied essentially the standpoint of an "Enlightener" of the school of Wolff. Indeed, he was then also lecturing on the Compendia of Baumeister, Baumgarten, and Meier. But now modifications of his standpoint became visible, which are exhibited point by point in Kuno Fischer's *Immanuel Kant* (the third and fourth volumes of the work mentioned above, § 259), a work which may here, once for all, be given as on the whole the best monograph on Kant. Anticipations of a newer and higher standpoint are to be found, as indeed the title indicates, in his: *Dreams of a Spiritualist explained by the Dreams of Metaphysic* (1766), and: *On the first Ground of the Distinction of Objects in Space* (1768). This new standpoint, however, appears quite clearly in the work with which he entered upon his office as ordinary professor, but which, having been written in Latin as an academic specimen, and printed in but few copies, received no attention.

2. The dissertation: *De mundi sensibilis et intelligibilis forma et principiis* (1770) forms the limit between the two periods in Kant's life which Rosenkranz properly distinguishes as the heuristic and the speculative-systematic. It

shows us Kant as he was after Hume had "waked him out of his dogmatic slumber," and when he had risen above the opposition the reconciliation of which we called the *first* problem of the most modern philosophy. At the same time ideas began to form in his mind the fusion of which was called the *second* problem. The positiveness with which Kant, after the beginning of the disturbance in North America, placed himself on the side of the Colonies as against the Mother Country, and later, when opposite tendencies prevailed in America, upon the side of those who desired to strengthen the power of the Union as against the individual States; further, his rejoicings at the earliest commotions in France; the severity, again, the horror even, with which he declared himself against the execution of the King,—these go hand in hand with the theory of the State that was then fermenting in his mind. In this theory he was later not so close a follower of Rousseau as at an earlier period, conceding room to the claims of the entirely opposite standpoint, that occupied by (the almost unknown to him) Spinoza and (the very well known to him) Hobbes. The fact that both elements are combined in him explains how such diverse judgments concerning the French Revolution could proceed from his school as those of Rehberg and Fichte. Eleven years the thoughts of the above-mentioned dissertation were maturing, and then, in the course of a few months, they were thrown upon paper, and appeared as the work which marks the birthday of the most modern philosophy, just as, a century and a half earlier, the *Essais Philosophiques* marked that of modern philosophy. This work was the *Critique of Pure Reason* (Riga, Hartknoch, 1781). Connected with this, as having been occasioned apropos of the Garve-Feder review of it, is the: *Prolegomena to Every Future Metaphysic* (Riga, 1783), in the very first lines of which, as if he had divined how men would sin against it up to this very moment, Kant says that it was not written for tyros but for masters, and that even they might learn something entirely new from it. In rapid succession now followed, after so long a silence, the most significant works. There appeared the second edition of the *Critique*, not indeed always improved where changed, yet by no means so spoiled as it has been the fashion to assert. There appeared also: *The Groundwork of the Metaphysics of Morals* (1786); *Metaphysical Foundations of*

*Natural Science* (1787); *Critique of Practical Reason* (1788); all in perfect agreement with the teaching of the *Critique of Pure Reason*. This cannot be said, without qualification, of the *Critique of Judgment* (1790) and *Religion within the Limits of Mere Reason* (1793), which are here, contrary to Rosenkranz's arrangement, considered as belonging to the second period of Kant's activity.

3. Accordingly we date the third, or practical, period from the moment when the reprimand, which the last-named work brought upon him from Wöllner's ministry, impelled him not only to avoid certain subjects in his works, but also in his academic activity to limit himself to a narrower field, by giving up his private lectures. The work, *On Everlasting Peace* (1795); *The Metaphysics of Morals* (1797), which, as a general title, he had prefixed to the *Metaphysical Foundations of the Theory of Right* (which had been reviewed in February, 1797, and must have appeared in 1796), and the *Metaphysical Foundations of the Theory of Virtue*; as well as a large number of short essays in the *Berliner Monatsschrift*, belong to the last period of his life. On the accession of the new sovereign to the throne, the above-mentioned difficulties being removed, there appeared *The Conflict of the Faculties* (1798), and *Anthropology from a Pragmatical Point of View* (1798). Further, there were printed singly during his own life-time his courses of lectures, the *Logic*, edited by Jäsche (1800); the *Physical Geography* (1802) and the *Pedagogics*, edited by Rink; to which were added after his death, which occurred on February 12th, 1804, the lectures on the *Philosophical Theory of Religion and Metaphysics* (1817), edited by Politz; and likewise those on *Anthropology* (1831), edited by Starke. The minor writings of Kant were collected by Tieftrunk and others. On the other hand, a complete edition of his works was long awaited. Then appeared, nearly contemporaneously, the ten-volume edition of Hartenstein (Leipsic, 1838-39, since 1866 in an improved edition) and that of Rosenkranz and Schubert in twelve volumes (Leipsic, 1840-42). The latter contains, besides the above-mentioned biography of Kant, a history of the Kantian philosophy, by Rosenkranz, in the twelfth volume. (Wherever pages are cited in the present work, the reference is to the older Hartenstein edition. Since in that edition the *Critique of Pure Reason* occupies the entire second volume, "ii." always

signifies *Critique of Pure Reason*. There is also a supplement, pp. 636-698, which contains such matter as is found in the first edition only.) Besides these two editions, the *Critique of Pure Reason* is often cited nowadays in the edition of Kirchmann (Berlin, 1868). It was, therefore, a very happy idea of Dr. Kehrbach's to give throughout, in his reprint (which has just been published at Leipsic by Reclam) of the first edition of the *Critique*, the corresponding pages of both the first and second original editions, of the Rosenkranz edition, of the two Hartenstein editions, and of the Kirchmann edition.

### § 298.

#### THE GROUNDWORK OF THE SYSTEM, AND THE TRANSCENDENTAL ÆSTHETIC.

I. To the ordinary dogmatic philosopher—by this term Kant usually means the metaphysician, and hence he very frequently opposes empiricism to dogmatism, just as Wolff opposed the experimental to the dogmatic—the question does not occur, whether there is such a thing as metaphysics, *i.e.*, whether knowledge obtained *a priori*, or independently of all experience, and having real universality and necessity, is possible. But this question cannot be put aside, since Hume has shown that the conception of causality does not arise out of experience, but is added to impressions by the mind; nor can it, furthermore, be derived from the principle of identity, since it contains a synthesis. The sceptical despair of metaphysics into which Hume thereby fell, is, in his case, a consequence of having limited his investigations too narrowly; namely, to the conception of causality. For had he extended them further, he would have found that the whole of mathematics rests upon such superimposed syntheses, and he would therefore have been confronted by the alternative courses, either to deny also the evidence of mathematics, which his sound sense would have kept him from doing, or not unceremoniously to repudiate metaphysics. If from the spark struck out by Hume a clear light is to come, then what he has demonstrated must be the occasion of our investigating how our knowledge comes to make such syntheses. Since these investigations do not take for their subject-matter known

objects, but knowing itself, they must transcend those objects; and since they do not do this as empirical psychology does, which merely tells us what takes place in the act of knowing, but consider what is antecedent to knowledge as its condition or presupposition, Kant gives to the term *transcendental*, long since naturalized in the Scholastic and the later philosophy, this new import: every kind of investigation is so termed which relates to the *conditions* of knowing. Primarily, therefore, only one kind of investigation can be termed transcendental. But then Kant extends this predicate also to the conditions of knowledge themselves, and so it comes about that (*vid. infra*) he is able to speak of a *transcendental* object, which differs from the object falling within knowledge just as the precondition of knowledge does from the content of knowledge. If, in the first place, we here neglect this broader meaning, then all those investigations would be *transcendental* which consider what makes knowledge, hence the power to know (the faculty of knowledge), possible; and if there are, besides this, still other conditions of knowledge, these also would be transcendental; but by no means would what is known be such. The complex of all these investigations may be termed Transcendental Philosophy, and of this philosophy the *Critique of Pure Reason* aims to be an outline. It is called a critique of pure reason, because it is concerned before all things else, with discovering what makes possible knowledge that is free from all that is empirical, and hence is *a priori*. Consequently one must not at all imagine that it will yield, or take the place of, a metaphysics; no! it will be merely a propædeutic to this, for it will answer only the one question: Is metaphysics possible, and how? If the answer to this question proves to be affirmative, then metaphysics may begin just where the *Critique of Pure Reason* leaves off. Since it is established that every species of knowledge is a judgment—of that, indeed, no one since Aristotle has had any doubt (*vid. § 86, 1*)—for the question whether there is *a priori* knowledge or metaphysics, may be substituted as its equivalent the question, Are *a priori* judgments possible? As to analytical judgments, which merely predicate of a subject what is already contained in it—of body (extended being) the being extended, of the straight line the being straight—no man doubts that these are possible. But since these tell us nothing new, do not increase our knowledge, at

the most merely explicate, they are here of no interest to us ; all the more are synthetic judgments, in which the predicate adds something to the subject, as when the having weight is predicated of that which is extended, and the being the shortest line is predicated of the straight line. Whether there is knowledge in which we gain something new, and which is at the same time *a priori*, is the question ; and the problem whose solution constitutes the *Critique of Pure Reason* is therefore best formulated as follows : Are synthetic judgments *a priori* possible ? and if they are, How are they possible ?

2. But this question immediately falls into several. The whole of mathematics, that is to say, consists of such judgments. Neither out of 3 nor out of 4 can I by analysis deduce the fact that together they make 7. In the conception of the straight line there does not lie the truth that it is the shortest, etc. Since the *fact* of mathematics proves its possibility, the question in hand acquires here a more specific character : How is mathematics possible ? Furthermore, pure, *i.e.*, non-empirical, natural science, *physica rationalis*, contains propositions which by their universality and necessity plainly show themselves to be *a priori* propositions, and are, for that reason, synthetic judgments *a priori*, *e.g.*, Every change must have a cause. The fundamental question acquires therefore the narrower meaning, How is pure natural science possible ? Finally, in the sphere of the supersensible exactly analogous propositions are to be found, *e.g.*, The soul must be immortal, etc. ; and even those who do not admit that these propositions are self-evident, at least show nevertheless by their interest in them, that they have put to themselves the question to which these propositions contain the answer. In that fundamental question, therefore, is, thirdly, contained the question : Is a metaphysics of the supersensible possible ? The answer to these three questions forms, then, the content of the First Part, by far the more important, of the *Critique of Pure Reason*, *viz.*, The Theory of Elements. (The second main part, the Theory of Method, which answers the question how all these propositions acquire a scientific form, may be regarded as a kind of appendix.) While the *Prolegomena* brings into special prominence the connection of the three questions with the fundamental question ; and while, just for that reason, the three parts of the Theory of Elements (The Transcendental Æsthetic, Analytic, and Dialectic) appear in

it as completely co-ordinated; the *Critique of Pure Reason* reaches the same goal by another way, in which Kant's relation to Leibnitz and Locke becomes clear, and, at the same time, the designations selected by him for the individual parts are explained. After complaining of Leibnitz and Locke, in almost verbal agreement with Bonnet and Merian, that the one reduced everything to intellect and the other everything to sense, he assigns to human knowledge two stems not merely quantitatively different; sense as the faculty of having perceptions through the medium of receptivity, and thought as the faculty of forming conceptions through that of spontaneity. Transcendental philosophy, as the critical consideration of the power to know, falls, therefore, primarily, into two parts which, with names borrowed from the terminology of Baumgarten (*vid.* § 290, 10), are called Transcendental Æsthetic and Transcendental Logic. But since in thought there must be distinguished a lower, or the understanding, and a higher, or the reason, the Logic subdivides into Analytic and Dialectic, which therefore appear here as subordinate parts of the Logic, itself co-ordinate with the Æsthetic. But the two presentations of the subject agree, in that the Transcendental Æsthetic answers the question, How is mathematics possible? the Transcendental Analytic the question, How is a pure science of nature possible? and the Transcendental Dialectic the question, Is a metaphysics of the supersensible possible? \*

3. The *Transcendental Æsthetic* (ii. pp. 59-87) answers the first part of the main transcendental question, viz., How is mathematics as pure, *i.e.*, non-empirical, science possible? (*Proleg.*, Works, vol. iii. pp. 195-210) by a critical investigation of the activity of sense. Through sense we have perceptions, *i.e.*, such ideas as are distinguished from conceptions by their immediacy and particularity. Upon a closer consideration of these ideas characterized by immediacy and particularity, we discover that there is contained in them what is empirical, *i.e.*, what is given to us without co-operation on our part, and these are our sensations (yellow, fragrant, sour, etc.; pain, pleasure, sorrow, etc.). But, in the second place, the thing given, by virtue of the fact that we unite the manifold, first acquires through us the form of the perception,

\* *Werke*, ii. pp. 1-56. *Proleg.* (*Werke*, iii.), pp. 165-194.



or becomes such. The content of the perception, or its matter, is, therefore, given; its form, on the other hand, is *a priori*: the latter is pure, the former empirical; but both together first constitute the perception; or, rather, an individual presentation is matter that has received form. Since the faculty of sense thus gives the form of unity to sensations, it makes them (makes out of them) perceptions, which, therefore, are not its creation though its work. But sense always unites sensations according to two different norms of combination, or forms, which it bears in itself: these are, space, by virtue of which the combination is co-existence or simultaneity, and time, through which it is a series or a succession. That time and space are not something empirical and given to us from without, but that they are *a priori*, is proved, beforehand, by their necessity, since we are not able to think them away, to abstract from them, which can be done with everything that is empirical. That, further, they are not conceptions abstracted by the understanding is shown by the fact that they do not presuppose many individuals (times, spaces); but, on the contrary, in order to think times and spaces we must have beforehand time and space. That, finally, they lie *only* in us, are something wholly subjective, is shown by the fact that mere space-distinctions, as that between a hand and its reflection in a mirror, cannot be fixed by objective description, but only by having recourse to the distinctions "left" and "right," etc., that is, to references to the perceiving subject, "to relations which," as Kant expresses himself, "refer immediately to perception." (The *punctum saliens* in this proof [*Proleg.*, § 13] is,—If space were something [only or also] objective, the space-distinctions of symmetrical bodies could be [at least *also*] objectively fixed. But now they are to be fixed *solely* by means of the subjective distinctions "left" and "right," hence, etc.) Since by means of the forms of synthesis which lie in us, namely, space and time, we combine the various sensations, yellow, fragrant, sour, into a total which we call a lemon; or the sensations, pain, pleasure, and sorrow, into a series of inner occurrences which we call our empirical Ego, or our soul, those sensations become two perceptions, two particular presentations, or, since the being perceived *by* us is equivalent to appearing *to* us, phenomena. Phenomena, therefore, or perceptions, or particular presentations (all these words have precisely the same meaning; but Kant was not the first

so to employ them, for in Mendelssohn, and even in Bonnet, we find the assertion explicitly made, that a phenomenon is a presentation) have, as was said above, received form, and are, as is now further determined, temporalized and spatialized sensations; and it is mere tautology to say that there are no phenomena that are not temporal. It is, therefore, purposely that the temporalized is put before the spatialized, and only temporal being is predicted of all phenomena without exception. Although, that is to say, time and space are alike in that they are both subjective conditions of our perception, or forms of human perception, yet there exists this difference, that space is primarily the form for the sensation of the outer sense only. (This word, which Locke had already employed instead of *sensation*, as also *inner sense* instead of *reflection* [*vid.* § 280, 3], was converted by Wolffians, Meier, for example, into a technical expression.) Just so, is time primarily the form of the combination of our own states only. Since there are no external sensations that are not accompanied by inner or subjective sensation, time is (indirectly) the form of external perception also, though space is not that of the inner. Since the matter of perception was of an empirical nature, the two forms of perception are, of course, what is pure in perception; hence the frequently occurring expression "pure forms." (For the other expressions, *pure perception*, or *a priori perceptions*, which occur frequently, it would in most instances be better to substitute, *what is pure in perception*, or *what is a priori in every perception*. Only in the rare instances, where Kant is thinking of the fact that mere space itself may in turn be made an object of thought, instances which, later, Reinhold went into more specifically, should such a substitution not be made.) That therefore all phenomena are temporal, those of the external sense spatial also; or, that all phenomena occur in time, these in space also, is clear. It is just as clear, conversely, that time and space, as conditions of perception, have no validity for what is not an object of sensuous perception, or not phenomenal. That which is of this nature Kant terms *noumenon*, or, more commonly, *thing-in-itself*. That things-in-themselves are not temporal nor spatial, but only phenomena are so, is a fact having the same ground as the fact that the invisible is not seen, but only that which strikes the eye. If by the "thing-in-itself" one understands with Kant the

non-phenomenal, or that which never becomes phenomenon, it is self-evident that, in the two examples employed above, the soul, the empirical Ego, is no more a thing-in-itself than the lemon. They are both phenomena; the former of the inner, the latter of the outer, sense. Since they are sensuous, they are, of course, sensible objects, or beings of sense.

4. But if space and time are recognised as the *a priori* forms, lying in us, of all phenomena, by entering which phenomena, or perceptions, first become what they are, it is clear that, since "*a priori*" means *created out of ourselves*, various things can be predicted of phenomena—everything, that is to say, that concerns their space and time determinations. But to these only do all mathematical propositions have reference, geometry relating solely to configurations in space, and arithmetic, since number arises by repetition of the unit, and repetition presupposes succession, resting upon the perception of time. (In the *Dissertation* pure mechanics was coupled with time, but number was taken as derived from time and space. For the rest, since Aristotle, time and number have been assumed to have a close relation.) Mathematical principles, therefore, were not given to us; we create them out of ourselves; they are *a priori* or pure, and we can say with absolute certainty that no phenomenon will ever present itself which contradicts mathematical principles (that is to say, mathematics as pure science is possible), since time and space lie in us. Conversely, however, the fact that we determine *a priori* various things in respect to every phenomenon, proves the correctness of the theory by which alone that fact is explicable. (Kant terms this indirect proof of the correctness of his theory the transcendental discussion of it.) From that it of course follows, as being self-evident, that the validity of mathematical propositions is limited to the realm of phenomena; to things-in-themselves they have no application.

5. If, however, we compare with this Kant's theory of sense as the faculty of receptivity, in which one is justified in expecting to find the closest relationship with realism, we discover that Kant really agrees with Locke in holding that the first elements of all knowledge are passively received impressions made upon the outer and the inner sense. These first elements are, however, with him not yet the material for knowledge, but only a constituent portion of that which Locke

regarded as such. In order for them to become particular presentations (what Locke had called *ideas*), the unity posited by the mind must be added to the sensations. In this, Kant approaches Leibnitz, who saw spontaneity where Locke had assumed only passivity. But he differs from Leibnitz in that he places the self-activity only in that which results from sensation, not in sensation itself. Exactly as here between Leibnitz and Locke, Kant also mediated between Hume and Berkeley. In literal agreement with the latter, he asserts that the distinction between the primary and secondary qualities must be given up (*vid.* § 291, 5), and that even extension lies in us; but just as decidedly does he pronounce against Berkeley and for Hume, when, instead of making the Ego consist in mere self-activity, he, the rather, holds it to have its origin in the circumstance that the (given) sensations constitute a (made) time-series. He himself, therefore, called his doctrine as much realistic as idealistic; it is an empirical realism and a transcendental idealism; it teaches, that is to say, that objects in space really exist, are not mere appearances, but that space (the condition of their existence) lies in us. Only by the latter supposition can we rescue ourselves from the difficulties into which Berkeley fell through the view that space lies without us, and which made him a transcendental realist, though *ipso facto* an empirical idealist.

### § 299.

## THE TRANSCENDENTAL ANALYTIC AND THE METAPHYSICS OF NATURE.

1. The *Transcendental Analytic* aims to answer the second question: How is natural science *a priori* possible? (*Prolegom.*, §§ 14-39; *Wks.*, iii. pp. 211-248.) It accomplishes this by a critical consideration of the activity of the understanding, and begins, in a manner quite analogous to that in which the *Æsthetic* begins, with the question, What, in the case of this activity, constitutes the stuff or matter? This is furnished by sense in the perceptions (phenomena) which it had made out of sensations. If the understanding did not receive phenomena, its thought would be without content, its conceptions empty. Just as, above, sense gave form to the matter given it, by an act of combination that was governed by certain norms,

thus producing phenomena, so these latter, brought together, combined, by the understanding, become a synthesis which is known to us all under the name of the judgment. By this means does mere (empty) thought first receive a content, or become knowledge. To know, therefore, means to think given perceptions; and hence, as thought without perception would be empty, so perceptions without conceptions would be blind. As, in the case of sense and its product, perception, what was pure came to view when all that was empirical was excluded, so here also what is pure, the *a priori*, in every act of knowledge, or in the formation of conceptions, or what may be termed pure conception (as, above, what was pure in perception was termed pure perception) is brought to view by abstracting from the matter of the judgments and then turning attention to the way in which the understanding produces its syntheses. There is presented here an advantage that the *Æsthetic* did not afford, namely, that one has certain previously accomplished results to lean upon. The ordinary school-logic, to which Kant frequently attributes fixed authority, such as the *Elements of Euclid* enjoy, teaches how to treat judgments without reference to their subject and predicate, which, of course, constitute the matter of them; teaches us, therefore, the various ways in which the understanding produces syntheses. If, now, we analyze these more carefully, we discover in them the norms of its synthesizing, or the pure conceptions of the understanding underlying the same. Kant terms these still further: stem-conceptions of the pure understanding, stem-forms of the act of judgment or of pure synthesis, and even pure syntheses; usually, however, categories. Instead of this term, the ordinary Latin translation *predicaments* also occurs. The various judgments give, of course, the *Key to the Discovery* of these (pp. 101-118). Underlying the distinction which logic makes between singular, particular and universal judgments are the three Categories of Quantity, viz., Unity, Plurality and Totality, and underlying positive, negative and infinite judgments are the three Categories of Quality, viz., Reality, Negation and Limitation. In the categorical, hypothetical, and disjunctive judgments analysis discovers the three Categories of Relation, viz., Inherence and Subsistence, Causality and Dependence, Community or Reciprocity. Finally, the assertatory, problematical and apodictic judgments rest upon

the ordinary conceptions of Possibility, Actuality and Necessity, as the three Categories of Modality. There are no predicaments besides these, although the predicables may be termed more proximate determinations of them. If one opens a work on ontology, as, for example, that of Baumgarten, it is discovered that, as force is only a more proximate determination of causality, so all other conceptions given therein may be traced back to one of the twelve given above. Likewise, for the rest, a fully completed system of all predicables would have to exchange the lofty title of Ontology for the more accurate one of an Analytic of the pure Conceptions of the Understanding.

2. Since the categories lie in our understanding exactly as time and space do in our sense-faculty, the most important question is, What right have we to attribute to them objective validity, as we do when we say, for example, "There can never be any experience which would clash with the law of causality"? The justification for this, which Kant calls the *Transcendental Deduction of the pure Conceptions of the Understanding* (ii. pp. 113-153), and which, he himself intimates, is the most difficult part of his *Critique*, is abridged in the *Prolegomena* and the second edition of the *Critique*, but not decidedly improved. In order to understand it, it is indispensable that one should always bear in mind the Transcendental *Æsthetic* and its result. Above all, it must not be forgotten that the phenomena which sense furnishes as material to the understanding are particular *presentations*; that they, and consequently also their combination, fall within consciousness, so that a judgment is nothing other than an event in consciousness. But there are, according to Kant, two cases to be distinguished here: First, two presentations are united only in a single consciousness, an empirical Ego, and their combination consists only in the time-succession in which the two come together, since, as we know, it was shown in the Transcendental *Æsthetic* that the empirical Ego is nothing other than sensations of the inner sense bound together in a time-series. In this case, therefore, the empirical Ego and the time-succession constitute the only bond of union. Kant, now, calls such a judgment a judgment of sense-perception or, more concisely, a sense-perception. As an example of such a judgment may be cited the following: "With me, sadness follows sunshine." If, then, empirical or sense perceptions are perceptions which are united

only in me and only through a *post hoc*, we can understand why Kant attributes to them merely subjective validity. From them, now, he distinguishes, in agreement with the common usage of speech, the judgment of experience, or experience, which has for its content what is of universal validity (*e.g.*, Warmth is a consequence of sunshine), and considers more closely how the two classes of judgments are distinguished and how judgments of experience arise out of judgments of sense-perception. After what was said above, Kant's answer that this takes place by virtue of the fact that the validity for *a* consciousness only ceases, can cause no surprise. This answer leads to a new question, By what is that validity made to cease? By the fact, answers Kant, that into the place of the empirical Ego, which as time-series of sensations was phenomenon and as which I find myself passive, there enters the pure Ego, which is also the condition of the empirical Ego and hence may be called transcendental, which has not for its content, as the empirical Ego has, *how*, but only *that*, I am, because it is not passive self-finding but an active self-making; and by the fact that thus out of the mere finding-together (synopsis, empirical apperception) arises the putting-together (synthesis, pure apperception), by means of which the act of combination falls within the Ego underlying every empirical Ego, *i.e.*, falls now within consciousness as such instead of, as above, within *a* consciousness. This change (as the result of which, no longer, as before, the *I feel* but the *I think*, which always accompanies it and makes it first possible, is the source of the combination), necessarily coincides, of course, with a second, namely, that there is no longer the form of the finding-together (or of the sense-faculty), time-succession, but the form of spontaneous activity, of thought; that is, the category, which unites the members of the judgment. If I no longer (as above) say for *me* but for *all* or in general; if warmth no longer as above follows *upon* but rather *from* the sunshine, I have a judgment that is valid no longer for me, but rather for all, a judgment objectively instead of subjectively valid, or a judgment of experience, which just because it is such, not some individual one but any and every one pronounces. Experience, therefore, is made by the application of the categories. Really made,—that is to say, out of pure and empirical perceptions; and when Kant

says in the first line of the *Critique of Pure Reason* (first edition) that experience is the production of the understanding, this proposition possesses literal correctness. It is similar to the artist, who terms that which is made by him out of a given material his production. But since by the application of the category, instead of the mere time-relation, the subjective validity of the judgment of sense-perception is done away with, it is clear why Kant says that that application objectifies (sense-perception into experience), or that by it the *object* of experience is produced. (In general, it must always be borne in mind that by *objectivity* Kant understands independence of the subject, and hence conformity to law, not being that is external to consciousness.) From what has been said thus far it follows that with the same certainty and for the same reason that it can be said that no perception (*i.e.* temporalized sensations) can ever arise which is not temporal, may it be said that no experience (*i.e.* phenomena united through the categories) can arise which is not subject to the categories. The deduction of the categories is, therefore, stated as follows: What justifies us in applying the categories to all objects of experience, even such as never arise for us, *e.g.*, in affirming *a priori* that no experience can ever clash with the principle of causality? The fact, that only through their application do we have objects of experience at all. Just as in the Transcendental *Æsthetic* the indirect proof of the transcendental criticism of this theory joined itself to the justification of pure mathematics by the fact of the subjectivity of space and time, so Kant, after having shown how, if the categories lie in our understanding, it is self-evident that we by the application of them form universally valid judgments of experience, subjoins the dilemma that we must either deny experience (as distinguished from mere perception) or else assent to a theory which alone explains the possibility of it.

3. The parallelism with the Transcendental *Æsthetic* appears further in the circumstance that, as there, so here also, it is constantly insisted that we must not overstep the natural limits of the investigation. If the employment of the categories is justified only by the fact that without it no experience is possible, of course it is obvious that they may be applied only to that from which experiences can be produced, hence to possible objects of experience. But of such a cha-



racter were the phenomena furnished by sense, which, just because they are furnished by sense, may be called the sensible, or objects of sense. Therefore, precisely as it can be predicated only of phenomena that none of them can ever contravene the laws of arithmetic, so also only of the combination of phenomena is it absolutely certain that nothing therein will come into conflict with the law of causality. The validity of the categories (and hence the use of the understanding) is limited to the sphere of phenomena; it is "immanent" (in the empirical domain), cannot pass beyond it, cannot become "transcendent," as claiming dominion over the non-phenomenal, over noumena, over things-in-themselves. To the same result still another consideration leads. Granting the justification for applying the categories to the matter given by sense, it is still not shown how such an application can be made. The categories are pure, are intellectual, whereas the matter to be brought under them is empirical and sensible. Thus appears to be wanting the likeness in kind which is requisite for every subsumption, unless there appear somewhere a middle term which makes this subsumption possible. As such middle terms Kant designates the transcendental schemata given in the section *On the Schematism of the pure Conceptions of the Understanding* (ii. pp. 157-164). Although it can hardly be doubted that Hume's assertion, that we reason from the *post hoc* to the *propter hoc* was what first turned Kant's attention to time-relations as such middle terms (schemata), still, wholly apart from this subjective cause, the same result follows quite naturally from what has already been said, viz., that time, like the categories, is a universal *a priori* form; on the other hand, it is the form of the sensible, and time-determinations, therefore, have really the intermediate character sought. Obviously, since sense is the faculty that furnishes the sensible material, and the understanding the faculty that furnishes the categories, there must be adduced a third faculty for these schemata. Kant calls this the *productive imagination*, and attributes to it the power of introducing into space definite space-character and giving to time more proximate determinations. From the definition given above of the schemata it follows that there must exist a certain parallelism between them and the categories. The schemata yield quite readily, for the categories of quantity, Number (a time-determination, according to the *Æsthetic*); for

those of relation, the time-determinations, Change, Permanence, Succession, and Co-existence; for those of modality, the time-determinations: Any Time, Now, Ever. It is otherwise with the categories of quality. Time filled, time empty, time filling itself, should be the schemata for reality, negation and limitation; but, since time appears filled to us only through the medium of sensations which we have, there is substituted for the time-filling, the being-felt, and then is enunciated the principle, *sensatio est realitas phenomenon*, which does not exactly harmonize with the others,—*numerus est quantitas phenomenon*, *perdurabile est substantia phenomenon*, *æternitas est necessitas phenomenon*, etc. These investigations, from which it results that, if we apply the conception of substantiality to the sea and the waves, we conceive the former as substance, and the latter as accidents (but not the converse), and cause, in like manner, as only that which precedes, never that which follows, etc., are summed up by Kant himself as follows: The schemata are *a priori* determinations of time according to rule, and refer according to the order of the categories, to the time-series, the time-content, the time-order, and the time-comprehension. But it is now doubly clear that the categories are applicable only to what is temporal, *i.e.*, phenomenal. This limitation not only *ought* to be made but *must* be made. If now, as was said above, the distinction between thought and knowledge be this, that, in the latter, perceptions furnish the content, since, as is now evident, these are by means of the schemata subsumed under the categories, whereby the conceptions, which would otherwise be merely formal, receive real meaning, or become “realized,” it is clear that all knowing is limited to objects of possible experience, to phenomena, to what is sensible. This does *not* mean what empiricism has made out of it, *viz.* knowledge and knowing must limit themselves to being mere experience. But it means, rather, that we have the power to know many things independently of all experience, *i.e.*, *a priori*, and, accordingly, can justly claim that to our knowledge be conceded universality and necessity, though we can have knowledge only of what can also be an object of experience, never of things-in-themselves.

4. But in what has been said there is also really an answer to the second of the questions contained in the main question, whether and how pure or *a priori* natural science, *i.e.* a

metaphysics of nature, or a philosophy of nature, is possible. It is here of prime importance to distinguish between the mere sum of phenomena, which Kant calls the world of sense, and their law-determined arrangement, which he calls nature. These two do not, of course, differ from one another in that one lies more within us than the other. Like all phenomena, the world of sense and nature are both made up of our presentations, and, if the thinking subject were taken away, they would both alike fall away (ii. pp. 649, 650, 684). But they differ by the fact that the world of sense is a lawless aggregate, and nature is an orderly coherence. Order and coherence are introduced into the aggregate of sense when the understanding unites phenomena according to the norms lying within it (the categories). Thereby the understanding does not, indeed, *create* nature, but makes it—out of the originally given sensations, namely, which sense had converted into perceptions or phenomena, and empirical apperception united into sense-perceptions. Therefore, just as the laws to which every phenomenon must conform are created out of the *a priori* forms of sense, so the understanding finds in itself the laws to which nature must conform, an assertion which Kant would fain set over against its opposite, viz., that the understanding must conform to nature, as he would the Copernican theory of the heavens over against the geocentric. It is just for that reason that he criticises the dictum that knowledge does not penetrate into the “inner” of nature. “Observation and analysis penetrate further than is supposed.” Indeed so completely is the understanding coupled by Kant with the knowledge of nature that to him *conception of nature*, and *conception of the understanding*, are synonymous terms. This does not conflict with the earlier reference of knowing to objects of experience. Nature, in fact, is only the system of experiences, just as the world of sense is the sum of pure and empirical perceptions. The understanding, therefore, is able to know nature *a priori*, or creates her laws out of itself, because only through the laws lying in it and applied by it to nature does nature as such exist,—a verdict which has an import as regards the pure science of nature, therefore, quite analogous to that which it has as regards pure mathematics.

5. In the Transcendental *Æsthetic* Kant, after having shown the right of mathematics to pronounce *a priori* its

synthetic judgments, had left it to mathematics to make use of this right in the future as in the past. It is otherwise here. He himself, after having shown the possibility of a natural science *a priori*, gives the main features of such a science, and that in two-fold form. Once in the *Critique of Pure Reason*, where the "*System of the First Principles of the Pure Understanding*" (ii. pp. 165-236) lays down the *a priori* laws to which every Nature must be subject; and again in his *Metaphysical Foundations of Natural Science* (Works, viii. pp. 441-568), of which Kant himself confesses that they properly have connection at this point, and which one of the leading Kantians, Beck (*vid.* § 308, 7), always treats at this point in his expositions of the Kantian Philosophy. If this were always the case, perhaps we should not be still compelled to be always hearing the assertions, that according to Kant, all metaphysics is impossible, and that his Metaphysics of Nature stands in no sort of organic relation with the *Critique of Pure Reason*. Since, according to Kant, the transcendental principles that contain the conditions of all objects become metaphysical when they are referred to a given object, it was entirely proper for him to treat the universal science of nature, which contains the laws without which no nature is thinkable, in his transcendental philosophy; and, on the other hand, to treat the special science of nature, which considers those laws in their application to (according to Kant, empirically given) matter in motion, in a special work, and to designate this science as the Metaphysics of Nature. In both presentations the system of first principles is preceded by the establishment of the principle which, in the *Critique of Pure Reason*, is formulated as follows: Nature as order of phenomena is subject to the conditions of the possibility of experience, hence to the conceptions of the understanding. In this formula is directly enunciated the dependence of the first principles upon the table of categories. Of course this principle has validity likewise in the special science of nature, the Metaphysics of Nature, which for that reason lays down just as many fundamental laws as, in the other case, were laid down first principles, if, indeed, it be not more correct to say, "which it repeats only in a more developed form." But since, in the special science of nature there supervenes upon what is laid down in the Transcendental Philosophy a given empirical matter, the Meta-