

Rheinischer Zeitung or other journals, as public opinion or the voice of the people, declares to these followers of his that the worst testimony against any work is the enthusiasm which it evokes in the masses, and that the watchword should be: Away with formulas. In formulas, it is further declared, particularly in those which speak of freedom, the spirit has its real enemy. He now goes on to describe in the *Literaturzeitung* how the Rhine Parliament has treated the Jewish question, how Ruge asks to have the prohibition issued against the publication of the *Jahrbücher* removed, how Biedermann's *Monatsschrift* conducts itself like a type of windy liberalism. Nauwerk with his phrases and points, Marheineke with his legitimism in science, which seeks to maintain the theories of the last dogmatic systems long since abandoned, Proudhon with his theory, the Würtembergers, because with them that still passed for truth which had been a truth in 1839, are all alike severely ridiculed, because they do not seem to see that truths very quickly alter. At the same time, no regard whatever is paid to the question, who first gave expression to a truth; for not only does Bauer speak slightly of the *Mannheimer Abendblatt*, with its radicalism and its shrieking for freedom of the press, but also of the Berlin correspondent of the *Rheinischer Zeitung*, who was none other than—Edgar Bauer himself two years earlier. He is taken as an example of radical criticism as it still exists, and is estimated by the standard of pure criticism, which is only objective and descriptive, and which desires and wishes nothing else than to know things in their character as vanity. This tendency so to regard things must naturally have appeared "wonderful" to those who subsisted in part on Bauer's formulas. They must have "shivered" at the sight of such a standpoint; or they must have felt themselves under the necessity of denouncing "the presumption of two egoists from whom the nation turns away in disgust." Bruno Bauer answers his earlier admirers in the essay, *What is now the Subject of Criticism?* This essay carries the identification of criticism with the individual person further than ever, and Bauer now explains that criticism drops all presuppositions only when those cease to be held of value which are framed by the masses, those dregs left by the Revolution. This view is distinguished from that held by Feuerbach, who in his deification of the species really deifies the masses. This pure criticism, says one of the last essays,

is not like theological criticism (Strauss), or philosophical criticism (Feuerbach), or historical criticism (Ruge), nor, what amounts to the same thing, like the criticism of theology, philosophy, and history. It rather contemplates the process of destruction, and takes delight in it, if delight is not too passionate an expression for a calm consideration. Once arrived at this point, nothing remains for the pure critical self-consciousness but to seek for this process everywhere; and it must be regarded as almost a necessity that at this stage it is just the great destructive process of the eighteenth century, the French Revolution, which arrested attention. The *Memoirs towards a History of Modern Times since the French Revolution* (1843), written by the two brothers, is intended to be so objective, in contrast to the accounts of Thiers, Dahlmann and others, which are written from a party standpoint, that in it extracts are given only from the *Moniteur*, with the feeling of calm joy that every figure which appears on the scene is valuable only in that it is destroyed. It is this same calm joy which breathes through Bruno Bauer's *History of the Culture, Politics and Enlightenment of the Eighteenth Century* (4 vols., 1843), through his *History of Germany during the French Revolution* (2 vols., 1846), through his *Complete History of the Party Struggles in Germany* (1847), through his *Civil Revolution in Germany* (1849), and finally, through the *Fall of the Frankfort Parliament* (1849). All these show how every phenomenon perishes of its own "inner pauperism"; and we feel, from the way the account is given, that every phenomenon which is welcomed with enthusiasm by the *gros*, is immediately recognised by the critic, who isolates himself more and more, as worthless; and its fall fills him with the proud consciousness: *Impavidum ferient ruinae*.

3. There is nothing unfair in placing Feuerbach and Bruno Bauer side by side as deifiers of themselves, although the former does not go the length of pure criticism but develops in quite a different way. The self, namely, or the Ego which they put on the throne, is itself something twofold. It is sensuous, and it is intellectual; and just as the enlightenment of the eighteenth century,—which, carried out in the spirit of the nineteenth century, is revived in the Science of knowledge, and had now repeated itself once more in the reawakening of the latter in the post-Hegelian spirit,—appeared in the two forms of the French and German Enlightenment, so the same thing

manifests itself in the 'present case. The poverty-stricken Bruno Bauer had from his youth been accustomed to brood over his own inner consciousness; and the lessons which he gave in his boyhood, and the potato field which he himself cultivated in his manhood, became for him what his music-copying had been to Jean Jacques Rousseau. It will therefore not be regarded as an astonishing circumstance that such a man, who knows himself to be lord of all only when he *thinks*, and when he says "criticism" instead of "I," should remind us often of Nicolai, the Brandenburg Minos of the eighteenth century. Feuerbach, again, for whom the enjoyment of anything can alone be called the possession of it, and to whom the Bruckberg porcelain factory supplied what Helvetius got from his occupation as farmer-general, and Baron Holbach from his fortune, ranges himself alongside of those thinkers in deifying enjoyment and happiness. After Feuerbach, in his *Preliminary Theses* (1842), had proclaimed and denounced the Hegelian philosophy, even in its pantheistic form, as theology, he published in the following year his *Philosophy of the Future* (reprinted, *Werke*, p. 269 ff). In this work he pronounces the transformation of theology into anthropology, *i.e.*, his *Essence of Christianity*, to be itself still Christian, theological, and religious, because in it man is conceived of as a rational being, and therefore the sensuous and natural are regarded as elements which have to be overcome. This is the standpoint of irrationality. In contrast to this, the philosophy of the future will say: The body in its totality is my Ego. The sensuous alone is the real, and therefore reason does not decide what is truth. The most important object of the senses is man; and it can be said that the origin of ideas is to be sought for in man only in the sense that we pick up the truth in conversation, *i.e.* from these highest objects of sense. It is not reason, but man as corporeal, that is the measure of all things. He is distinguished from the brute by the universality of his senses, and from the blockhead by the fact that what is immediately obvious to the senses, namely the phenomenal, is not for him the true, but what is discovered by the cultured senses, by the eye of the philosopher. Since, however, man does not attain his true destiny, enjoyment and happiness, in isolation, the motto of the philosophy of the future, which at bottom is simply physiology, is, *Ego* and *Alter ego*, egoism and communism, the former for the head, the latter for the

heart. A brother, Friedrich Feuerbach, popularized these theories still further in the *Outlines of the Religion of the Future* (Zurich, 1843; 2nd Part, Nürnberg, 1844), a book which was largely read by communistic workmen. The difference between Feuerbach and Bruno Bauer noted above, was confirmed by a book written by the then editor of the *Rheinischer Zeitung*, who in his threefold character of Jew, Radical, and newspaper editor, felt himself injured by Bauer. In this book, *The Holy Family of the Bauers*, Marx grants to Strauss and Bruno Bauer that they have gone beyond Hegel, in that they set free what was true in his views from the metaphysical caricature we meet with in him. But while Strauss defines the Spinozistic idea of substance abstractly as nature in contrast to man, and Bauer, on the other hand, had only stuck to self-consciousness as understood by Fichte, and had at the same time entirely identified himself with it, Feuerbach had united both views in the thought of the real man, and had put humanism in the place of pantheism and atheism. That in the principles of this philosophy of the future there was really a contradiction, was too evident to have escaped the notice of Feuerbach, even if the writings of others had not called his attention to it. This contradiction lay in the fact that only the "cultured senses," only the eye of the "philosopher" could, according to Feuerbach, recognise the truth; and that with such a conception of reality the human *species* must necessarily be left out of account; and yet all the while it was regarded as playing an important rôle. Accordingly he himself very soon confesses that in the *Philosophy of the Future* he has not sufficiently shaken off the philosopher, nor sufficiently freed himself from the "rational being" which haunted him. This was first accomplished in *The Essence of Faith in Luther's Sense* (1844), in which Luther's doctrine is described as "a hymn to God and a libel on man"; but it is shown at the same time that in the latter God is conceived of in such a human fashion as necessarily to compel us to draw the conclusion, that every one finds his God in another man. *Homo homini Deus*.

4. Feuerbach seems to have been somewhat taken by surprise,—at least he never replied with such moderation and even humility as on that occasion,—when the work of MAX STIRNER: *The Only One and His Property* (Leipsic, 1844), appeared. (The pseudonymous author, Dr. Schmidt, died a

few years since in Berlin.) This book seeks to show how religious Bauer and Feuerbach still are, even in their latest works. The "self-consciousness" of the one and the "Man" of the other are for them just such highest beings, as "society" is for the communists. From their superstitious standpoint they forget the main thing, the individual. It is not Feuerbach's "Man," which is just such another spectre as the God of the orthodox, but this one Ego that is what is true. Therefore, long live the Egoist! Whoever respects anything, unless his respect has been bought, has a soft place in his head. To set up ideals, but also to set up any kind of community, is to be religious. The communists, therefore, are "common" men. The egoist is the only man. While Max Stirner boasted of the absolute rights of the solitary individual man, an attack was made from a wholly different side by a man who had been thought to be a personal friend of Feuerbach, and to be in entire agreement with his views. GEORG FRIEDRICH DAUMER (born on the 5th of March, 1800, while at school, under the influence of Hegel, and while at the university under that of Schelling, professor for a time at the Nürnberg Gymnasium, then living there as a private teacher and prolific author, died on the 14th of Dec., 1875, in Würzburg), whose *Primitive History of the Spirit of Man* (Berlin, 1827), closely connected with Schelling's theory of freedom, did not do so much to make him celebrated as his connection with Kaspar Hauser, and his anti-Christian books,—which sought to prove that in Christianity we have the highest point reached by that phase of thought which is inimical to nature and man, and the grossest manifestation of which is presented by the worship of Moloch,—published in opposition to the views of Feuerbach and Bruno Bauer, *The Anthropologism and Criticism of the Present* (1844), in which he makes a violent attack upon them, because they deify Man, "the most horrible of horrors," at the expense of the only real absolute, Nature; and because by this anti-naturalistic tendency of theirs they have taken up the same standpoint as that of the Pietism. When, moreover we find in this book that Daumer, who was quite furious with the Pietists for seeing in the cholera an "extraordinary judgment on the godless age," declares that it is an "exceptional" act of revenge on the part of Nature, because Pietism was getting the upper hand, we need scarcely be astonished to find that this enemy of Christians went over to

Catholicism in the year 1859, and published Hymns to the Virgin Mary full of religious enthusiasm. It is not a matter of much moment whether it was Stirner's or Daumer's book which induced Feuerbach to go further. His *Essence of Religion* (Leipsic, 1845) proved that this had taken place. Starting from the idea that Religion is grounded on the feeling of dependence, *i.e.*, of wishing and not being able to accomplish one's wish, he arrives at the conclusion to which he had already given expression in the *Essence of Christianity*, that men's wishes are their gods. The natural man contents himself with wishing only what nature can supply him with, and therefore natural forces suffice for his Divinity. In the same way, the political man is satisfied with the State or with the Emperor; and in the same way philosophical thought sufficed for the Greeks. When man has gone the length of putting himself above all else, and of having unlimited wishes, there appears in the place of those powers an Almighty power which grants everything, *i.e.*, a power which is as fantastic as the wishes which create it. The thought which is here expressed *implicite*, namely, that the more supernatural a religion is, the more absurd it is, was stated more strongly in the lectures which Feuerbach delivered in the year 1848 in Heidelberg, to a very mixed audience, it would seem. These appeared in the eighth volume of his works as *Lectures on the Essence of Religion*. He expressly declares that he puts Nature above Man, that he is an adherent of the religion of Nature; *i.e.*, that he recognises the dependence of all things on the laws of Nature; further, that he is a decided follower of egoism, since he regards as highest of all that which is demanded by the impulse of self-preservation, and by what is of advantage to the individual. As something really new in these lectures, may be mentioned the incidental political utterance that the republic is the goal of history, as well as the statement in the Preface, that he took no share in the Revolution of March, because it originated in belief in theories. He, as a complete unbeliever, could take part only in a revolution which would really be the grave of monarchy and hierarchy, because it knew its time. In what Feuerbach subsequently wrote, there are some propositions upon which he has laid stress with a certain satisfaction, such as: Man is what he eats. The true *vinculum animæ et corporis* is eating and drinking, because it "holds body and soul together," etc. These later writings may all the more

readily be omitted from a sketch of the history of philosophy, inasmuch as Feuerbach himself has openly declared that the peculiarity of the philosophy they contain is, that it is no philosophy.

5. Even if these lectures had contained more that was new, they would not have found such a wide circle of readers as Feuerbach's earlier writings. The reason of this is, that not only had the events of the year 1848 weakened the interest in reading, but because already, in the year 1846, it had been shown in a work that even yet he had not gone far enough. The anonymous work, *The Realm of Understanding and the Individual* (Leipsic, O. Wigand, 1846), had, owing to the name of the publisher, been attributed, when it came out, to some one intimate with Bauer's circle. There seemed, later, to be a strong probability that the author was Dr. Karl Schmidt, a clergyman in Cöthen, who subsequently came into notice through some valuable educational works which he published, and who wrote the book in order to show to what comfortless nonsense this style of thought led. Whoever the author was, the book remains a notable one, because, by means of a skilful mosaic-work in which the separate stones are the very words of the authors themselves, he sums up the result of the movements of the last three *lustra*. After having in the introduction characterized Paganism, Catholicism, and Protestantism, and having included in the last-mentioned a sketch of the movement of modern philosophy down to Hegel, with whom thought was all in all, the question is raised whether thought is not after all nothing. This question is answered by Criticism; and in the *First Part* it, *i.e.* the Realm of Understanding, is considered in its different departments and phases. According to it, the criticism of religion,—as we find it in the ideas of Bruno Bauer in their earlier form, and also in the works of Strauss,—was still orthodox; and it was by means of Bauer's *National Church* that the transition was first made to moral criticism in the form in which it is represented by the two Feuerbachs, who, on their part, made way for the criticism of the infinite self-consciousness which Bauer employs in the *Synoptics*, the *Jewish question*, etc., and with which theological criticism reached its goal. Edgar Bauer represents the criticism of the State, and finally, pure criticism is represented by the *Literaturzeitung*, edited by the two brothers. Now, however, the war which was entered upon against criticism,

or, against the Realm of Understanding, *i.e.*, against thought, begins to show itself. Quotations from the work of Marx and from Feuerbach's *Philosophy of the Future*, make it appear that Max Stirner is the one who really represents the culminating point of the tendency begun by Hegel. In him the self-consciousness of the egoist has the highest place, and to this self-consciousness all abstractions have to yield. What now, if the egoist, described by a *nomen appellativum*, were, just for this reason, an abstraction himself! In the *Second Part*, the *individuum* is opposed to the egoist, and this *individuum* thus constitutes the opposite of any realm of understanding. But in order to be able to do this,—inasmuch as all sciences aim at recognising law, reason, idea, thoughts in short, in reality,—inasmuch further as culture, virtue, morality, all these follies, grant authority to what is universal, and are therefore based on faith, the *individuum* must annihilate all science, and thus become so entirely a pure self, that it is not able to describe itself by any word whatever, but only to point to itself with the finger. Not hating like the egoist, not loving like the communist, the *individuum* does not think and does not will; it stares and laughs, and the only answer it knows to the question, Who and what are you? is, I am myself alone.

§ 342.

CONCLUDING REMARKS.

1. Whether or not the author of the *Realm of Understanding* might have joined in the mocking laughter of his *individuum*, there appeared to be good reason for it. For a glance back at the movements after Hegel's death seems to show that in the first Lustrum his metaphysical restoration, in the second his rehabilitation of dogma, and in the third his maintenance of the idea of moral organisms, had been proved by anti-Hegelians, Hegelians, and ultra-Hegelians to be worthless, and therefore his whole system and all his efforts had proved to be nothing but a brilliant meteor without any substance whatever. That where the carcase was, the eagles should have gathered together, was natural. Thus, during the process of dissolution which has been described, but especially after it seemed to be completed, lengthy works appeared, and are still appearing, which demonstrate the absolute

worthlessness of the Hegelian system, and describe it as a just Nemesis for its overweening pride, that at the present day people no longer concern themselves about it. Perhaps both statements would have found readier credence if so many works of this sort had not appeared. At present, many obstinate-minded persons have concluded from the fact that the Hegelian system was once more being slain, that it was still living, and from the fact that a thick book again appeared, which dealt with it alone, that people are, after all, still talking about it.

2. One of the first who subjected the Hegelian system in all its parts to a very stringent criticism was HERMANN ULRICI (born on the 23rd March, 1806, now Professor in Halle [died in Halle on the 11th Jan., 1884.—Ed.]) who, while his first writings had belonged to the domain of philology and æsthetics (*Characteristics of Antique Historiography* (Berlin, 1833), *History of Greek Poetry* (*Ibid.*, 1835), *On Shakespeare's Dramatic Art* (Halle, 1839, 2nd ed. 1847), gave to the public in his work, *On the Principle and Method of the Hegelian Philosophy* (Halle, 1841), a strictly philosophical book. This work, which originated in academic lectures, gives first a short outline of the system, then passes on to its fundamental principles and method, further criticizes in succession the *Phenomenology of Spirit*, the *Logic*, the *Philosophy of Nature*, and, especially, the *Philosophy of the State*, in connection with which particularly, Hegel's opinion respecting the necessity of evil is discussed. It then passes on to Absolute Spirit, and examines Hegel's *Æsthetics*, his *Philosophy of Religion*, and finally, his conception of philosophy. The very severe, often bitter, criticism, concludes with the remark, that the mere fact that the Hegelian philosophy is pantheism ought not to have led to its rejection, if Hegel had only proved that pantheism was in accordance with reason. Raised as a structure without foundation, it falls to the ground all the more readily, that apart from the false start, "every further advance is gained only by means of pure assertions, open insinuations, and arbitrary abstractions, accompanied by perversions and contradictions of all sorts." It is not easy to understand how a few sentences further on it can be said that "Hegel has the immortal merit, not only of having applied the great legacy of his predecessors, namely, pure thought, as the true fundamental principle of philosophy,

in the most penetrating way, but of having also made the attempt to carry this out in a strictly methodical form throughout the domain of knowledge"——“that therefore it is not Hegel's principle (the substantial part of his philosophy) which is defective, but the way in which he carries it out (the deduction), *i.e.*, the form or method which he adopts as his principle; but that, on the other hand, it is just since Hegel and owing to Hegel, that every attempt at speculation apart from form has become simply impossible.” In the work which follows this, *The Fundamental Principle of Philosophy* (2 vols., Leipsic, 1845-46), the first or critical part, which distributes the history and criticism of the principles of modern philosophy under the headings: Realism, Idealism, Dogmatism, Criticism, Dialecticism, is likewise occupied with Hegel, when Ulrici comes to discuss the formal completion of Dialecticism, —which was developed by Fichte in an idealistic way, by Herbart in a realistic way, and by Schelling in an ideal-realistic way, —and to treat of its reversion to idealism. Ulrici in this connection appeals to his earlier works, which gave an immanent criticism of Hegel's theory, starting from Hegel's own principle. He is all the more convinced of the objective validity of the criticism that similar criticisms with similar results, by J. H. Fichte, Fischer, Trendelenburg, and others had remained unrefuted. In order, however, not to carry owls to Athens, he here means to discuss only the principle itself, and to show that the so-called absolute standpoint maintained by Hegel is one-sided, groundless and untenable. What is most worthy of notice in this criticism is, that Ulrici distinguishes in Hegel two wholly different conceptions which he had of his system. According to the original plan, the *phenomenology* which Hegel designates as the first part of his system, was to have been followed by the Logic or speculative philosophy as a second and last part, which would then have embraced everything. This was still the state of matters when Hegel wrote the *Logic*, in which, just for this reason, he treats of the doctrine of Nature and Spirit. An alteration first took place in the *Encyclopedia* which belongs to the year 1817; and the two real sciences appear alongside of and outside of the *Logic*. The charges which Ulrici brings against the Hegelian system are, that in principle it is purely subjective, since the objective validity of the categories is never proved, that in its development it is formalism, because the Absolute is here nothing but

method, and that in its results it is not so much Pantheism, but rather a deification of man.

3. The review of Hegel by K. Ph. Fischer (*vid. supra*, § 332, 5) mentioned in this work of Ulrici, bears the title *Speculative Characteristics and Criticism of The Hegelian System*, etc. (Erlangen, 1845), and must here be referred to all the more that it was very much praised in other quarters as well. It was called by Wirth for instance, "a crown of thorns for the Hegelian philosophy but in itself the blossom of a positive harmonizing dialectic." The intention of this work is to show that the Hegelian philosophy is "the science of the absolute negativity of the Idea or of the world spirit which destroys while it creates and in destroying is creative, and which Hegel by a process of apotheosis exalts to the position of the Absolute Spirit." Owing to the praiseworthy intention expressed by the author of giving an immanent criticism, it might have been expected that in this he would have followed the example of Ulrici, and gone through the system in the regular order which Hegel himself observed in constructing it. A singular impression is accordingly produced when we find that the criticism begins with that part of his philosophy with which Hegel concludes his system, the History of Philosophy; and because, forsooth, "this is admirably adapted for enabling the reader to understand, to begin with, how Hegel conceives of the present and actual as the only reality and of the Absolute Spirit as a world-spirit which annihilates all individuals." (This is what he calls leaving the reader unprejudiced.) If in reading Ulrici's critique one has often the feeling that Hegel is being treated like a school-boy, Fischer offends one by everywhere scenting out some insidious design. The fact that Hegel lingers so long over China is not to be explained by his bad habit of going into detail at the beginning of the session and then having to hurry later on, but by his preference for despotism, and so on. Furthermore it is rather astonishing, after each single chapter has been described as false in its conclusions, sophistical in its development, to hear him speak of lofty conception, able and brilliant execution, profound grasp of ideas, strength of intuition, etc. The way in which he throws himself into what he writes, which gives a peculiar warmth to the development of his own thoughts, and which may be said to constitute Fischer's strength, is a great hindrance when he comes to give an objective reproduction of

the thoughts of others. This book accordingly, although it has been the most highly praised, is really the weakest which Fischer has written. He becomes unfair because he never gets out of himself, and never enters without reserve into the circle of thoughts in which the other moves. After examining the *History of Philosophy* and the *Phenomenology*, to both of which he makes the objection that in them all forms of consciousness and speculation are sacrificed to the subjective aim of self-glorification, he goes on to criticize the *Logic*. Because Hegel had said this last coincides with Metaphysic, Fischer considers that he is justified in allotting the parts which he—and not Hegel—distinguishes in Metaphysic to the three parts of the Hegelian Logic, and next, after he—and not Hegel—has laid down the doctrine that the theory of Being is meant to be only dialectic cosmology or physics, he thinks he has a right to blame Hegel because categories are here introduced which are not solely physical. In the same way after he—and no one else—has defined the second part of the Hegelian Logic, the doctrine of Being, to be ontology, he finds fault with Hegel because ontology happens to come after cosmology. In the same way the doctrine of the Notion is put alongside of rational theology, and then fault is found with Hegel for identifying human and divine thought. (This want of objectivity comes out in quite a special way when to certain terms employed by Hegel he attaches wholly different meanings from those attached to them by Hegel himself, and then proceeds to open a campaign against him. Even if Hegel makes a mistake in distinguishing identity from sameness or unity without difference, the critic has no right so to understand his words as if he had made no distinction between these expressions. But this is just what he does when he says the Logic ought certainly to have begun with identity. Fischer further asserts that evil is absolute negativity. Hegel, who by absolute negativity understands negativity which is done with and abolished, represents it as the essence of Spirit. It is no immanent criticism when Fischer gets arguments against Hegel from the terminology of the critic, a terminology which besides cannot, like that of Hegel, adduce in its defence the right which belongs to the original inventor and the right of etymology.) Hegel's *Philosophy of Nature* receives the most gentle treatment of all, because in it Hegel approaches most nearly to the views of Schelling. But here too it is plain that

certain settled convictions which Fischer holds lead him to make Hegel say what he has never said. Thus he is quite sure that Hegel entirely transformed the Philosophy of Nature into logic. Because of this he does not think it amiss, where Hegel has said that Nature is the Idea in the form of externality to make him say that nature is the *logical* Idea in the form of externality. He allows himself the same falsification in the criticism of the Hegelian *Philosophy of Spirit* where it is similarly said that, according to Hegel, Spirit is the *logical* Idea in the form of actual being, as if it were not the case that according to Hegel the Idea is logical only where it is *not* in the form of actual being. In no part of his criticism so much as in this, does Fischer show his incapacity for freeing himself even for a moment from opinions which he has once for all formed. The thing which he wished by his arrangement to make his reader "understand to begin with," and which Ruge had demanded from the Hegelian system but had failed to find in it, namely, that the world-spirit which realizes itself in history should take the highest place in it, is for Fischer a matter of certainty. He overlooks the fact that Hegel takes up the history of the world in the doctrine of finite spirit. The fact that in Hegel's doctrine of the State there is no longer any mention of religion and the Church, should never have brought a critic,—who, because Hegel takes up the State *after* the family, had said with a certain justice that in his case the family is absorbed by the State,—the length of saying that Hegel's State absorbs religion and the Church; and yet this is the judgment which Fischer passes. In connection with the doctrine of Absolute Spirit, where he declares further that his views are in essential agreement with those expressed in the *Æsthetic*, it never seems to occur to him that with Hegel God and Absolute Spirit are by no means convertible terms; and he is quite astonished when, in the *Philosophy of Religion*, he comes upon what are not only hints but express declarations by Hegel to the effect that Religion occupies a higher place than life in the State. Since, however, the highest expression of religion ought just to consist in life in moral communities, *i.e.*, in the State, by thus putting religion above the State the possibility of this is destroyed. (As if life in the State based on religious motives would not be a wholly different thing from simple *justitia civilis*.) The result arrived at of course is, that Strauss had a perfectly correct conception of the Hegelian theory; and

that just for this reason the author's earlier work against Strauss was also a thorough refutation of the Hegelian system.

4. It is not necessary to mention the titles of all the works which have set themselves the same task as the two just characterized. The number of these increased to such an extent that not only did the larger public get accustomed to conclude from the tombstones that death and burial had taken place; but even amongst those who had previously called themselves Hegelians the aversion to calling themselves by this name grew upon them more and more, and assertions were openly made that the Hegelian school, and even the doctrine which had been promulgated in it, no longer existed. Years ago the author of these *Outlines*, just because he does not share this view, could compare his position with that of the last of the Mohegans; and he was naturally delighted when, some time after, quite independently of this, a Frenchman assigned him this very position.

SECOND DIVISION.

Attempts at a Reconstruction of Philosophy.

§ 343.

1. The necessity of the dissolution process just described is already evident from its continuity and progressiveness. Any one who wished to find the necessity of the process in the fact that the form taken by the times whose spirit is breathed by the Hegelian philosophy, the Restoration, namely, was severely shaken in the year 1830 and was broken up in the year 1848, might possibly meet with some who do not admit the truth of this latter statement. There are stubborn-minded people who see even in the revolutionary and reactionary movements misdirected expressions of the impulse towards restoration which correspond to what takes place in the living organism which, while still possessing the power of organization, but being momentarily incapable of producing healthy formations, produces fungous growths. Such people would certainly not be taught anything different by the movements in the domain of philosophy. This is true of all those, in short, who, however great the differences between

them, look steadily in the direction of a philosophy of restoration, taking the word in the sense in which it was used above (§ 331), where it was applied to designate the Hegelian system. The aim of the second or positive section is to show how this is true in the case of the most important of the philosophical works known to the author of these *Outlines* which have appeared since Hegel's death and which had not for their conscious principal aim to take part in the battle for or against his system. We now pass on to this section with the request that if this or the other work is passed over, it will not be considered that we intend to reject it. The excuse for so passing over any work is to be found rather in the fact that, for the present writer at least, any adequate study of all these works was impossible, and he did not wish to do at the close of these *Outlines* what he had never done anywhere in them, namely to repeat the judgments of others. To this he would add a second request, that the charge of omission may not be brought against him until the reader has convinced himself, —as the index will easily enable him to do,—that the author whose name cannot be found, or the work which it was expected would be mentioned, is not to be found in some other place in this book. Only where it seemed unavoidable, was any author treated of in detail in more than one place. In most instances any one who took part in the dissolution process of the Hegelian school *and* also in the reconstruction of philosophy, is only mentioned in connection with the former, as in the case of Beneke above (§ 334), or only here. Cases will however be met with where this was not feasible, and even cases in which it was necessary, by means of an asterisk in the index, to call special attention to certain places in this book as being the principal places.

2. The belief that in the *Outlines* before us the systems treated of before Hegel were rightly described as preliminary steps to his system, because he did not reject what they taught and attained nearer to what they strove after, gives us the right in all references to these, as to truth which has been already discovered, of seeing a proof of the fact that the tendency of the time points to a Philosophy of Restoration. Where, on the other hand, systems appear which promise something quite new, whether their originality has a real ground or rests on self-deception, the proof that their spirit is one of restoration in the three points frequently mentioned

will give the right of enrolling them in this set. (This right might appear more doubtful in cases in which the restoration tendency shows itself in separate points only. But we shall claim it in those cases too.) A third case, and one which would occupy an intermediate position between those attempts at repristination and these other attempts at giving a new form to philosophy, would occur if one or several of the systems hitherto considered were to be taken as a starting-point and further developed. Even in this case the statement given expression to above would be made good, if in these attempts it was possible to show the existence of that tendency to restoration. To the three groups just mentioned there falls to be added a fourth, which comprises those works in which we have not so much parts of knowledge united together into an organic whole, but rather in which the intention is to describe how such attempts at connection have been made and in how far they have succeeded. The sketch which now follows is divided into these four groups. The temptation is strong to draw a parallel between them and the phenomena in the domains of politics and religion, and to compare the first with the romantic longing of many a reactionary, the second with the Titanic impulse of many a revolutionary, the third with those well-meaning people who develop further what already exists, and finally the fourth with those who deny to our time the capacity of organizing anything, and advise it to preserve the *status quo* and to try to understand how it originated. Any one who to this comparison might prefer a comparison with the earlier phenomena in the domain of philosophy would have to direct his attention to periods of transition. If he were to go to the dogmatism, scepticism, and syncretism at the close of the ancient world (s. § 95-104), or to John of Salisbury and Amalrich (s. § 175), or to the Renaissance, Mysticism, and World-wisdom (s. § 230-256) or even if he should go to the sensualistic and rationalistic Enlightenment (s. § 285-293), he might meet with many startling resemblances. We begin with the modern Renaissance.

A.—RETURNS TO EARLIER SYSTEMS.

§ 344.

1. The line of development represented by the five names Kant, Reinhold, Fichte, Schelling, Hegel, owing to the fact

that the one who comes later declares himself, at first at all events, to be in complete agreement with the one who precedes him and whom he takes as his master, appears too much of a continuity to make it possible for any one who was alarmed by the mocking laughter in which the Hegelian philosophy seemed to end, to seek refuge with any of those four predecessors of Hegel. The case is different with regard to those voices which may be said to come between those five brilliant stars in so far as they had given warning against the transition from the one to the other, and had shown how the necessity for this could have been avoided. Little attention was paid to them when the call to be logical and to go further echoed so loudly; but now that it has been shown to what this going further has led, they are to appear as warning Eckards and are to be listened to. It is thus we can explain the following which the old man or even the dead man gets, who in the full vigour of his powers had stood quite alone.

2. If we consider, not the period which saw the renewal of these systems, but that in which they originally sprang up, then Fries will call for mention as the most important of the *Semi-Kantians* (§ 305). Little attention was paid to him when he first gave warning against the prejudice in favour of transcendentalism which begins only with Kant, but which is already raising its head in the speculations of Reinhold, and which after him goes on doing this more and more. The limits within which his activity as a teacher was confined, and the disdainful way besides in which Hegel openly spoke of him and Herbart privately at least, had caused Fries to be forgotten outside of Jena. It was only in the circle of the rationalistic theologians that he was held in high esteem, owing to the fact that De Wette closely agreed with him in many points. Then almost simultaneously two of his pupils who, particularly in the matter of religion, present a contrast to each other, came before the public in order to extol the philosophy of their master as the true one. E. S. MIRBT, who died early, proved that he was a man who thought for himself by his works: *What is it to Speculate? and What is Philosophy?* (Jena, 1839); and particularly by his *Kant and his Successors* (Jena, 1841), and by his *Last Words of J. F. Fries to the Studios* (Jena, 1843), he showed that he was a grateful pupil. Beside him,—and, as has been remarked, in a certain sense in contrast to him,—stands E. F. APELT (born 1812, died 1859)

who, after he had shown himself to be an accomplished writer by some polemical monographs: *Ernst Reinhold and the Kantian Philosophy* (Leipsic, 1840), *Anti-Orion, for the Behoof and Good of Herr von Schaden* (1843) published his principal work, *Epochs of the History of Humanity* (Jena, 1845). This was much better received than his *Theory of Induction* (Leipsic, 1854) and his *Metaphysic* (Leipsic, 1857). On the other hand, his works, *Kepler's Astronomical View of the World* (Leipsic, 1849), and the *Reformation of Astronomy* (Jena, 1852), are said to be held in high esteem by astronomers. His *Philosophy of Religion* appeared after his death (Leipsic, 1860). The school received an important accession when MATTHIAS JAKOB SCHLEIDEN (born 5th April, 1804; for a long time Professor in Jena, then in Dresden, and afterwards in Dorpat, now lives privately in Dresden [died in 1881.—Ed.]), who was already celebrated as a botanist, and who was known to be an opponent of the philosophy of nature (compare *The Relation of Schelling and Hegel to Science*, Leipsic, 1844), took part with Apelt, Schlömilch, and Schmidt as editor of *The Transactions of the School of Fries* (Jena, 1847-1849), and then in a monograph of his own recommended Fries to the Scientists as *their* philosopher.

3. Just as the philosophy of Fries had sought to give fixity to criticism by transforming it into anthropology, so, somewhat later on, theories of the universe had appeared which have been described above as offshoots of the *Science of Knowledge* (§ 314). The period of recognition arrives for these too. Fichte's doctrine, in its altered form, was again recalled to people's memories, owing to the fact that his son published his *Posthumous Works* (Bonn, 1834, 3 Parts). He spoke of it at first as if it were the true philosophy, and afterwards as if it were meant to be at least the beginning of this. Fr. Schlegel's later theories,—the excitement caused by which was of such a temporary character as is wont to be the case with a mixed audience,—became the common possession of the learned world, owing first to the publication of his lectures by Windischmann, 1837, and next of his collected works (14 vols., 1846). It is not the repeated editions alone which prove that they were read, particularly in the Catholic world. The recognition too of the worth of Schleiermacher's philosophical theories first took place at this time. Those who attended his lectures, who were not purely theologians, went over for the most part from

him to Hegel, to whom he brought more auditors than he himself anticipated. It was first seen after his death, when his lectures were published, that they contained principles which appear to many to give a promise of protection from the bankruptcy which overtook the absolute philosophy in its culminating point. It is specially the negative assertion that the Absolute is not an object of Knowledge, as well as the positive assertion attached to this, that we can only attempt to reach the Absolute by a kind of heartfelt longing, which, together, are making more friends for this system now that the author is dead than when he was alive.

4. If in connection with Schleiermacher we reflect on the method of his speculations and on the contrasts which intersect each other, it can hardly be called a leap if we pass from him to the two men who were designated above (§ 319, 5, 6) as those who improved the System of Identity. For one of these, Johann Jakob Wagner, who had been misunderstood and was almost forgotten, a palingenesis had already begun. Kölle and Adam, by cheap reprints of his earlier works, by editing his posthumous *Minor Works* (3 vols., Ulm, 1839, ff.), and by *Memoirs* (1849), took care that such an important thinker should not be forgotten who has found in Ditmar, Papius, Heidenreich, Kretzschmann, appreciative pupils. Troxler, it appears, had not been long enough dead to allow of his being stamped as yet as the philosopher of the future. Still, certain voices were already raised which pronounced him to be the greatest, or at least one of the greatest. This was done by Werber in his *Theory of Human Intelligence* (Karls., 1841), and by the younger Fichte too, as is shown above. The psychological turn which philosophy appears to be taking amongst us, is a further reason for believing that Troxler's time will come more evidently than it has done as yet.

5. The efforts of Herbart and Schopenhauer were referred to in § 321 as a critical reaction against the Theory of Knowledge and the System of Identity; and at the same time the reason was assigned why, at the time when both men appeared, they could find no support. It has been already stated above (§ 333, 4) that things have altered in this respect so far as Herbart is concerned, and in the same place the chief representatives of the Herbartian School were mentioned. The entire literature connected with the labours of this school down to the year 1849 is to be found

in the work by Allihn: *The Fundamental Evil of Scientific and Moral Culture*, etc., Halle, 1849; and there has been no pause in its production since then. Scarcely any follower of Herbart will deny that it aims at the restoration of a metaphysical foundation and of a rigid method, and likewise at the restoration of anti-revolutionary politics, in which the idea of a living community is firmly maintained. It is otherwise, to be sure, with its positive relation to dogma, although one can understand how adherents of a system which excludes every form of theology might take up a friendly attitude to theologies of the most varied sorts. Like Herbart, Schopenhauer too had the experience of being taken notice of only when he was an old man, and of not having people see in him, as Herbart had done, merely a representative of the "fashionable" philosophy, or as others asserted, an ordinary Kantian. The statement, that this recognition was extorted in the first instance by an English review article, may be all the more readily disputed by the author of these *Outlines*, since what he published on Schopenhauer had been written before the appearance of that article. The same thing that happened to Herbart in connection with his weakest book, the *Encyclopædia*, happened to Schopenhauer, who attracted more readers by his *Parerga*, than by his Dissertation and his principal work. One of the first in Germany to declare wholly for Schopenhauer was JULIUS FRAUENSTÄDT. In the year 1835 he came before the public with a work entitled *The Freedom of Man* (Berlin, 1838). In this work, which Gabler accompanied with a preface, and in which attention was directed to that great dilemma, the solution of which is the task of philosophy according to § 269, 2, Frauenstädt passed for a Hegelian. The same thing happened when he took part in discussing the Christological question of the day in his work, *The Incarnation of God* (Berlin, 1839), which was written with special reference to Strauss, Schaller, and Göschel. His work, *On the True Relation of Reason to Revelation*, 1848, was read more after he had in periodicals and elsewhere proclaimed himself to be the apostle of the "great Unknown" whom he had discovered. He did this in his *Letters on the Philosophy of Schopenhauer* (Leipsic, 1854). In his *Æsthetic Questions* (Dessau, 1853) too he shows himself to be a decided adherent of Schopenhauer. So long as the latter was alive, Frauenstädt scarcely appeared in any

other character than that of commentator, especially after it had been seen how unmercifully Schopenhauer condemned even the slightest modification of his theories. After Schopenhauer's death, one can see from Frauenstädt's writings, and indeed from the titles of some of them—as for instance those cited above in § 321, 9, and the *Schopenhauer-Lexicon* in two volumes—that their author thinks only of occupying the standpoint of Schopenhauer. The same thing is seen in the many critiques which appeared in journals. The proposal to remove the cause of offence, which Schopenhauer's doctrines had given, by leaving the pessimism out of them, might certainly be called naïve. (It was doubly naïve, because such an alteration would have deprived the contingent of followers of the *blasé* young men in the military and civil professions, who, because they had lost all enjoyment of the pleasures of youth, were delighted to hear that there is nothing more melancholy than the wish to live.) How entirely the basis of the philosophy of Schopenhauer is abandoned by this modification, which was followed afterwards by several others, particularly in the *New Letters on the Philosophy of Schopenhauer* (Leipsic, 1866), is completely demonstrated by E. von Hartmann in his *Neo-Kantianism*, etc. (Berlin, 1877). In this work, the diametrical opposite of Frauenstädt is correctly found in JULIUS BAHNSEN, who in his *Contributions to Characterology* (2 vols., Leipsic, 1867), and in his work, *On the Philosophy of History* (Berlin, 1872) takes Schopenhauer's assertion, that this is the worst possible of worlds, so seriously as positively to revel in its wretchedness. On the other hand, Bahnsen's individualism is a point in which he does not approach so nearly to the views of the man whom both he and Frauenstädt recognise to be their master, as is clearly done by Frauenstädt in his monism. His attention has been likewise rightly called to the fact that his position, with regard to the subjective idealism of Kant, is a wholly different one from that of Schopenhauer. If any one doubt whether, after what has been here said of Frauenstädt and Bahnsen, they should have been treated of in this place instead of in the third section, amongst those who improved on earlier systems, the reply is, that they themselves aim only to show how the true philosophy has been already discovered by Schopenhauer, and that therefore it is not necessary to lay new foundations, but at most to add a finishing touch here and there. DORGUTH

in Magdeburg afterwards approached very near to the theories of Schopenhauer from the standpoint of sensualism. This was done still more by KOSACK, who applied his doctrines to geometry, and by O. LINDNER, who used them in a similar way in connection with Æsthetics. Through Frauenstädt and Lindner the *Berliner Vossische Zeitung* was employed to spread abroad a knowledge of Schopenhauer's merits.

6. Oken and Baader were mentioned in § 325 as the men who had best arranged and prepared for solution the last equation of the most modern philosophy which had to be solved. For the former, who hitherto has had an experience similar to that of Troxler, a period in which his merits will receive more just recognition seems to be approaching. We are justified in expressing such a hope by the fact that foreigners are beginning to appropriate his ideas, and that therefore, according to the old German way, they are certain soon to rise in value. This statement has reference less to such a phenomenon as Jaquemin's *Polarité Universelle* (Paris, 1867), which may be called almost a paraphrase of Oken's philosophy, than to the conquests which Darwinism has made and is daily making amongst us. The very thing which is most deserving of recognition in this theory has been so plainly pointed to by the German philosophy of nature which is at present so much despised, that we are not astonished that the man amongst the German scientists of whom one is accustomed to think first when Darwin is in question should have been the most zealous in trying to get at all events a monument erected to Oken. Compared with him Baader has been more fortunate, for not only have many learned from him, but they have openly confessed it. None of his pupils has devoted himself with such zeal to the task of representing Baader as the philosopher of the present and future as FRANZ HOFFMANN, professor of philosophy in Würzburg. [Hoffmann died in Würzburg, Oct. 22nd, 1881.—Ed.] His treatises on the dialectic of Plato, on Plotinus, on Anaxagoras, as well as his academic addresses on Schiller, Fichte, and others, prove that he is not blind to the merits of others. In the year 1835 he issued the *Speculative Development of the Eternal Self-Generation of God*, which is constructed out of propositions from Baader's works, and is recommended by the master in a prefatory note. This was followed by *On Catholic Theology and Philosophy* (Aschaffenburg, 1836), a

defence of Baader against the malicious calumnies in the *Athanasia*. Closely connected with this is his *Vestibule to the Speculative Theology of Franz von Baader* (Aschaffenh., 1836). The *Outlines of Social Philosophy by Franz Baader* (Würzburg, 1837; 2nd ed., 1865) consists of maxims by Baader himself, very skilfully put together. On the other hand, the valuable introductions with which he has accompanied the separate divisions of Baader's works are entirely the work of Hoffmann. These also appeared in a collected form under the title: *Eight Dissertations on Baader's Doctrines* (Leipsic, 1857). In another work, *Franz von Baader as the Founder of the Philosophy of the Future* (Leipsic, 1856), Hoffmann collects sixteen criticisms which had appeared on Baader's works in journals. He also wrote supplements to the *Dissertations* in various journals. These as well as many valuable criticisms are contained for the most part in the *Philosophical Works* (4 vols., 1868, '69, '72, '77). It is to be hoped that they will soon be followed by others, as the time hitherto taken up with the editing of Baader's works is now again at his command. Although, as his *Outlines of Logic* shows, Hoffmann does not shun working at philosophical studies, still, inclination leads him specially to historical work, for which he is fitted, too, by reading so wide that it may almost be called fabulous. It would be a great loss to science if the works on theosophy and philosophy were not forthcoming, which, as is evident from the preface to his philosophical works, have already taken a crystallized form in his mind in the progress of the work which chiefly occupies him, the exposition of Baader's system. Next to Hoffmann, J. ANT. B. LUTTERBECK, formerly professor of theology and now professor of philology in Giessen [died Dec. 30th, 1883.—Ed.], calls for mention. As early as his work, *On the Necessity of a Regeneration of Philology* (Mainz, 1847), he points to Baader as the principal representative of a Christian philosophy, and gives a complete list of his works. To what lofty historical views his philosophical studies have brought him is shown by his admirable book cited above (§ 108). His work, *On Baader's Philosophical Standpoint*, 1854, as well as the works cited in § 325, 8, are wholly devoted to the recommendation and spreading of Baader's doctrines. He has besides, as joint editor of Baader's works, and particularly by the preparation of a complete index, done himself great credit in

connection with these. J. HAMBERGER, professor in Munich [Hamberger died in Munich on Aug. 5th, 1885.—Ed.], known specially for his thorough knowledge of the Mystics, and particularly of J. Böhme, issued, in addition to the *Cardinal Points* cited above (§ 325), the work *Physica Sacra* (Stuttg., 1869). It is well worth reading, and contains what is quite as much an explanation of the thoughts of others, and particularly of Baader, as a development of his own, on the eternal and heavenly corporeality. He also took part in the editing of Baader's works. Of his independent works, we may mention *God and His Revelation in Nature and History* (Munich, 1839), and *Christianity and Modern Culture* (Erlangen, 1863-67). The former constitutes a sort of commentary to his *Handbook of the Christian Religion for Gymnasiums*; and the second consists of smaller essays written at various times, and which have already partly appeared in print. The essays on Schelling and Baader stand prominently out, to the writing of which one who had been a personal pupil of both men had a very special call. Like Hamberger, the noble Erlangen professor, EMIL AUGUST VON SCHADEN, who died early, took part in the editing of Baader's works. His mind, always in an intellectual ferment, after having first drawn nourishment from Schelling's later works, was latterly more and more attracted towards Baader. The works: *On the Natural Principles of Language* (Nürnberg, 1838); *A System of Positive Logic* (Erlangen, 1841); *Lectures on Academic Life and Study* (Marburg, 1845); *On the Contrast of the Theistic and Pantheistic Standpoints* (Erlangen, 1848), as well as the introduction to Baader's diaries, which he edited, give evidence of a thoroughly earnest Christian spirit, which enables us to understand how the *philosophus Christianus*, as he calls Baader, necessarily attracted him. ERNST VON LASAULX was still less a pupil of Baader's, in the strict sense of the word, than Von Schaden, although many, owing to his family connection with Baader, have supposed that he was; and it is indeed possible to trace the influence of his father-in-law in some of his religious and philosophical treatises. This influence consists specially in the references made by him to the earlier theosophists, and particularly to Meister Eckhart. Lasaulx, by the studies which he made preparatory to an edition of Eckhart's works, rendered Pfeiffer's work easier (*vid.* § 230, 1). FABRI, too, the zealous opponent of

materialism, owes a great deal to Baader. The great and still daily increasing influence, however, which Baader's doctrines are gaining through his school enables us to assert that the current of restoration in philosophical literature has not ceased to flow.

7. This assertion is of course still more warranted, owing to the fact that the two systems which have been described above (§ 326), as the concluding ones, have still adherents and are still gaining adherents. We mention first, accordingly, the panentheism of Krause. The slight notice which his system attracted was in great part deserved by the unfortunate purism which led Krause to substitute German expressions for all foreign words, and these besides were chosen without a particle of taste or feeling for language. It was therefore a kind of irony of destiny that his works were more favourably received in Germany after the thoughts contained in them had been developed in other languages, and had become known apart from their "pure" German dress. HEINRICH AHRENS (born 1808, at first *Privatdocent* in Göttingen, then professor in Brussels, afterwards in Grätz, died in 1876 when professor in Leipsic), made foreigners, especially those belonging to the Romance countries, acquainted with Krause's original doctrines. He did this by lectures in French, out of which grew his *Cours de Philosophie* (2 vols., Paris, 1836-38), but most specially by his *Cours de Droit Naturel*, which has been translated into many languages, and which he published in an improved form as *Natural Law, or The Philosophy of Law* (Vienna, 1852; 6th ed. Vienna, 1870). After his return to the Fatherland he issued *The Organic Theory of the State upon the Basis of Philosophy and Anthropology* (vol. i., Vienna, 1850), which brought about a more extended recognition of the fruitfulness of Krause's doctrines, particularly in the practical sphere. Similar views were developed by K. D. A. RÖDER in Heidelberg, who was gained over not by Krause directly, but by Ahrens (compare *Outlines of Natural Law and of the Philosophy of Law*, 1846; 2nd ed. 1864). HERMANN BARON VON LEONHARDI devoted himself with the greatest zeal to the spread of Krause's views. (He died in 1875 when professor at Prague.) He had published anonymously *Hints towards a Criticism of Hegel* (Munich, 1832); but after the death of Krause he was the soul of the undertaking which aimed to spread in the cheapest possible printed

form Krause's posthumous works. He devoted himself by preference to the study of nature, in connection with which Schimper gave him some fruitful hints. He did not however lose sight of the ethical question, and his *Lectures for Wider Circles* show the zeal with which he devoted himself to his life-work. H. S. LINDEMANN (for a long time *Docent* in Heidelberg, then professor in Solothurn, finally in Munich, where he died in 1855) received a decided impulse from Krause, although he deviated more from him. His *Critical Account of the Life and Theory of Knowledge of K. Chr. Fr. Krause* (Munich, 1839); his *Theory of Man, or Anthropology* (Zürich, 1844); his *Logic* (Solothurn, 1847); his *Sketch of Anthropology* (Erlangen, 1848), as well as separate essays in magazines, excited attention. VICTOR VON STRAUSS, in Bückeberg, by his edition of Krause's *Theory of Music*; H. SCHRÖDER, in Munich, by his edition of his mathematical works, LEUTBECHER, in Erlangen, by his edition of the *Æsthetics*, proved themselves admirers, at all events, of Krause. Those who steal from him without mentioning his name testify to his importance in the present day, more perhaps than the numbers of his adherents. In foreign countries, especially in the Romance lands, Krause is held by many to be the greatest German philosopher.

8. It must be held to be a still stronger proof that the philosophy of restoration is not wholly antiquated, when we see that the system which had, above all others, been so described, namely, the Hegelian system, has, since the death of its founder, not only retained its adherents, but gained new ones. Passing over the works which have been already mentioned as those of the older Hegelians (§ 329, 10), as well as those which have been discussed in connection with the process of the dissolution of the Hegelian school, we may here mention, not in chronological order, but in the order demanded by the arrangement of the system, those works which show that the number of those who sought to develop further the separate philosophical sciences in the direction which had been first taken by Hegel is not small. For brevity's sake they may be called HEGELIANS. This description can be all the more readily employed by the author of the present book, as the word is held by him to be a title of honour rather than a term of reproach; and in employing it he is far from wishing to deny originality to any one who lays store by this

quality. As regards, first of all, the fundamental science, it is to be noted that K. TH. BAYRHOFER, who was well known afterwards for his political activity, began his career as an author with his *Fundamental Problems of Metaphysics* (Marburg, 1836). ROSENKRANZ developed single chapters of the *Logic* in his *Critical Elucidations of the Hegelian System* (Königsberg, 1840), with which was connected later the *Modifications of Logic* (in the fourth volume of his *Studies*, Berlin, 1839; afterwards, Leipsic, 1846 ff). K. WERDER'S *Logic*, which was announced as a commentary and supplement to Hegel's *Logic* (Berlin, 1841), stopped short at the doctrine of quality; *i.e.* it only gave the ninth part of the *Logic*. Simultaneously with Werder, I issued my *Outlines of Logic and Metaphysics* (Halle, 1841: 4th ed., 1864), in which there were divergences from Hegel's views that I did not consider important enough to be called emendations. The first edition at least of the *Outlines* by KUNO FISCHER must be regarded, along with mine, as belonging to the Hegelian school. In its extended form (*System of Logic and Metaphysics, or the Theory of Knowledge*, Heidelberg, 1865), it claims a different place (*vid.* § 345, 12).

9. For the development of the Philosophy of Nature, in which, as was said above (§ 329, 4), so much remained to be accomplished, there was least of all done. Bayrhofer's work: *On Experience and Theory in the Natural Sciences* (Leipsic, 1838), makes demands for these sciences which his own *Contributions to the Philosophy of Nature* (2 vols., Leipsic, 1838), as well as his essays in the *Hallische Jahrbücher*, do not fulfil. Röschlaub's example ought to have made him cautious of applying the ideas of the philosophy of nature to therapeutics. Later, Schaller began to occupy himself with the philosophy of nature; but the reading public got from him only historical works on this subject (*History of the Philosophy of Nature from Bacon of Verulam to our own Day*, 1st vol., Leipsic, 1841; 2nd vol., Halle, 1846; not continued beyond the second volume), or else critical works. Among the latter may be counted his work: *Body and Soul, Elucidations of Implicit Faith and Science* (Weimar, 1855), written with special reference to Karl Vogt and Rudolph Wagner. In addition, the most was accomplished in the direction in which logic and the philosophy of nature come into contact. CONST. FRANTZ'S *Philosophy of Mathematics* (Leipsic, 1842) takes up,

not only mathematical, but also physical questions, and seeks to fill up the gaps in the Hegelian theory from its own principles. The author, as is well known, afterwards devoted himself entirely to the work of a publicist, and as such, in spite of all the enmity produced by his decided views, he takes an honourable place in the judgment of all unprejudiced minds. It is not however only in what he writes about that the Frantz in his later character differs from the Frantz of former days. The foundation of his views is also altered, for it is no longer to the Hegelian doctrine, but to the later doctrines of Schelling that he now appeals. The works of C. LUDW. MENZZER: *The Theory of Air-pressure* (Halberstadt, 1845), and *The Philosophy of Nature*, the first volume (Halberstadt, 1847) containing the theory of gravity, which originated partly through the influence of the writings of Frantz, are not of much importance. HERMANN SCHWARZ'S *Attempt to Construct a Philosophy of Mathematics* (Halle, 1847), seeks to prove that from Hegel's own premises many of the theories of Euler, Lagrange, and others, with which Hegel found fault, can be triumphantly justified. An extremely able book, in which the impulse given by the Hegelian doctrines is admitted, is that of ERNST KAPP, entitled: *Philosophical or General Comparative Geography* (2 vols., Brunswick, 1845-46). Its author had already made a reputation for himself by his educational works; but afterwards, owing to unfortunate political complications, he was lost to Europe and to science. To what a great extent the Hegelian philosophy of nature inspired with respect even those who did not subscribe to it is evident from C. A. WERTHER'S: *The Forces of Inorganic Nature in their Unity and Development* (Dessau, 1852), in which at all events the honour is granted to it of having taken the last step which must necessarily precede a true philosophy of nature. Closely connected with the work just mentioned are: *Force of Life, Soul and Spirit* (Halle, 1860); and, *Man as a Spiritual Individual* (Nordhausen, 1867), which really constitute a single work. In this, it is shown that in the immanent progress of development the physical and mechanical forces are a means of transition to the organic: while these last are represented in the three stages of the vegetative, the animal, and the pneumatic. GEORG BLASSMANN'S *Prolegomena to the Speculative Sciences of Nature* (Leipsic, 1855), too, is in no sense the work of a Hegelian,

and yet he takes his starting-point from Hegel. His main thought, in fact, that a revision of the category of quantity will give the philosophy of nature a positive relation to empiricism, could only have originated in a study of the Hegelian *Logic*; though, on the other hand, it helps us to understand why Oken could be placed above all other philosophers of nature.

10. As regards the Philosophy of Spirit, and, in the first place, Psychology, JOH. ULRICH WIRTH'S *Theory of Somnambulism* (1836) was entirely appropriated by the Hegelian school as its property, and was considered by opponents of the School as belonging to it, without any protest to the contrary on the part of the author. Rosenkranz called his *Psychology, or the Science of Subjective Spirit* (first ed., Königsberg, 1837), simply a commentary on what was contained in the few paragraphs in Hegel's *Encyclopædia*. My own *Outlines of Psychology* (Leipsic, 1840; 5th ed., 1873) takes up exactly the same position with regard to Hegel's teaching on this subject that my *Outlines of Logic* does to his *Logic*. The work which appeared a few years before, *viz. Body and Soul* (Halle, 1837; 2nd ed., 1849), is an amplification of what was contained in the introductory paragraphs of the *Outlines*. (The *Psychological Letters* [Leipsic, 1851; fifth ed., 1875] have had too high an estimate placed upon them, and therefore also too much is expected of them when they are viewed as if intended to give a scientific exposition of the subject. They are meant to be nothing more than an entertaining book which does not teach science, but only communicates the results of science. It is for this reason that even the later editions are only reprints of the first.) MICHELET'S *Anthropology and Psychology* (Berlin, 1840) vindicates for itself the right of taking up a much freer position as regards Hegel than had been done in the *Outlines* by Rosenkranz and myself, and it diverges also much more widely from his views. It was therefore, to say the least, frivolous on EXNER'S part, when, in his *Psychology of the Hegelian School* (2 Parts, Leipsic, 1842-44), he treated things which had been said by one of the three exactly as if they were assertions made by the two others, and when he even quoted them as such. Somewhat later than those just mentioned, SCHALLER came forward as an author in the department of psychology. *Phrenology in its Main Outlines* (Leipsic, 1851) has to do with only a single chapter of the doctrine of the

soul. On the other hand, in the year 1860, the first volume of his *Psychology* (Weimar, 1860) appeared, in which he treats of the psychical life of man. The second, which was to have taken up conscious spirit, has not appeared. The delightful and instructive writings of the celebrated alienist P. JESSEN stand in a very free relation to Hegel's doctrines. He shows, particularly in his little sketch, *The Psychical Life* (1832), but also in his larger work, *Attempt to Lay a Scientific Foundation for Psychology* (Berlin, 1855), how much attention he had bestowed upon them. This must be said to be still more the case with C. PHIL. MÖLLER'S *Anthropological Contribution to the Experience of Psychical Disease*, etc. (Mainz, 1837). How very entire DAUB'S agreement with Hegel was, is proved by his posthumous *Lectures on Philosophical Anthropology* (Berlin, 1838).—Ethics and Politics, which Hegel took up after psychology, are, in addition to the names mentioned above (§ 329, 10), represented by the name of K. M. BESSER, who wrote his *System of Natural Law* shortly before Hegel's death (Halle, 1830). Somewhat later there appeared several works by G. F. GÄRTNER: *De summo juris naturalis problemate* (Bonn, 1838), and *Philosophy of Life* (First Part, "Theory of Law and of the State," Bonn, 1839), which occupy essentially the standpoint of Hegel. My *Philosophical Lectures on the State* (Halle, 1851) occupy entirely the same standpoint. It makes an agreeable impression to meet, as late as the year 1857, with the tribute of recognition which CONSTANTIN RÖSSLER, in his *System of the Theory of the State* (Leipsic, 1857), pays to the master Hegel, who is disowned by so many who live upon him. This impression is all the more agreeable, as we have not in this instance to do with a slavish imitator, but with a man who discerns very clearly his relation to Hegel. The first part of G. L. MICHELET'S *Natural Law or Philosophy of the State* (Berlin, 1866), which, together with the introduction, treats of the law respecting the individual, was followed in the very same year by the second part. Although the history of Natural Law, with which the work opens, arrives at the conclusion that the Hegelian philosophy alone avoids the one-sidedness of previous systems, and gives their due place to the three great principles, liberty, equality, fraternity, the treatment of the subject is very different from what we find in Hegel's *Philosophy of the State*. To begin with, the three books into

which the work is divided do not in the least correspond to the Hegelian division into law, morality, and ethics; for the First Book, which is entitled *Law respecting the Individual*, takes up in its three sections law proper (property, contract, primitive law); morality (in very close agreement with the system of morality mentioned above [§ 329, 10], as the doctrine of virtue, the doctrine of duty, and the doctrine of conscience); and family law (marriage, paternal authority, kinship). The Second Book treats of *Public Law* in three sections. The first section enters into the question of public welfare (political economy, administration of justice, municipal science as the law of association); the second, into that of civic society (the district, the community, the circuit); the third into that of the science of the State (State law, national law, international law). The *General History of Law* makes up the substance of the Third Book; and the three sections of which it is composed take up the law of antiquity (oriental, Greek, Roman), the law of Christian Europe (pre-mediæval, mediæval, and present-day law), and finally American law (in the forms of civic, ecclesiastical, and State law). The work closes with hints that Australia will some day outstrip America. The writer has been unfairly charged with straining after popularity with the masses; any one who wants to secure this will not speak of capital punishment as Michelet does.—If, finally, we pass from the doctrines of subjective and objective spirit to that of absolute spirit, and come first of all to Æsthetics, we may place beside those mentioned in § 329, A. RUGE, with his *Platonic Æsthetics* (Halle, 1832) and his *New Introduction to Æsthetics* (Halle, 1836); but above all FRIEDRICH THEODOR VISCHER (born in 1807 at Ludwigsburg; first *Docent* in Tübingen, then professor in Zürich, from whence he was recalled to Tübingen [Vischer died in Gmunden Sept. 14th, 1887.—Ed.]), with his smaller work, *On the Sublime and the Humorous* (Stuttg., 1837), and his large work, *Æsthetics, or the Science of the Beautiful* (3 vols., Reutlingen, 1846–51). The *Critical Excursions* (Stuttg., 1844, ff.), which appeared later, added certain supplements to these, and partly supplied some rectifications. Even those who do not admit that it is only Pantheism which enables us to comprehend the beautiful, and upon whom the constant thrusts at Theism may produce a jarring impression, will gratefully acknowledge the wealth of information and the stimulus afforded by this

brilliant and able book. The *First Part* contains the metaphysic of the Beautiful, the essence of which is held to consist in appearance, meaning that an individual example is adequate to represent the Idea, and the beautiful is therefore defined as the Idea in the form of limited manifestation. In the analysis of what is contained in this we get the three moments of Idea, picture, and the unity of both; and these are discussed in detail when the simply beautiful comes to be considered. This is followed, in the second section, by the Beautiful as seen in the antagonism of its moments, the different relations of which supply us with the mutually contrasted forms of the beautiful, the sublime, and the humorous. As the objective and subjective sublime unite to form the tragic, so the objective and subjective comic unite to form humour. The return of the beautiful into itself, in which the opposition of the sublime, in which the picture was negated, and of the humorous, in which the Idea was negated, is overcome, prepares the way for the transition to the *Second Part*. This part has received the title, "The Beautiful in its one-sided Existence," because in the first section the objective existence of the beautiful is treated of (the beautiful in Nature, with inclusion of the humanly beautiful, as seen in individuals, as well as of the nationally beautiful, and of the historically beautiful in general) and in the second section its subjective existence (in the form of fancy, both as seen in the individual and in entire periods). The *Third Part* is the most exhaustive; it discusses the joint subjective and objective reality of the beautiful, or Art. This part is divided into two sections, comprising two volumes, and art in general is first considered, and then the separate arts. The constructive arts are specified as being art in an objective form, and music as art in a subjective form. (This part was elaborated by Vischer's friend and colleague, Köstlin.) In the case of all the arts, he first treats of their essence, then of their branches, and, finally, of their history. It is only in connection with that form of art which is both subjective and objective, namely, poetry, that history is introduced in distinguishing between the various kinds. Theatrical art is treated as an appendix to dramatic art. The complete index enables us once more to glance over the wealth of subjects discussed in this justly celebrated book.—A single chapter in æsthetics is treated in a brilliant and interesting way by Rosenkranz, *Æsthetics of*

the Ugly (Königsberg, 1853). Exactly like Vischer, Rosenkranz, when he comes to treat of the sublime and the humorous, recognises it as one of Weisse's merits that he directed attention to this idea. He however differs from both as regards the place to be assigned to it. The blunder with which he charges his predecessors is to be accounted for by the fact that they conceive wrongly of the place of the beautiful, the sublime, and the humorous. It is not the two last which ought to constitute a contrast, but rather the sublime and the agreeable; these make up the two sides of the beautiful, which stands above them and embraces them. The ugly, as the negatively beautiful, stands in contrast to all three; while the common is the negation of the sublime, and the offensive of the agreeable. A wholly different place is assigned to the humorous, which, by taking up the ugly into itself as a moment, and surmounting it, shows us how the beautiful can triumphantly make the ugly pleasing. The ugly, as being the negative contrast to the beautiful, must of course get predicates which are the opposite of those which are applied to the beautiful; and accordingly Rosenkranz discusses first its formlessness, then its incorrectness and want of symmetry, and finally its malformation, on account of which it is caricature. In each of these sections, the most varied modifications which these ideas undergo are considered; and it is shown how these modifications arise, partly out of differences gradually formed, and partly from the fact that it is now the sublime, and now the agreeably beautiful, which is more negated by the ugly. While here it is never lost sight of that the ugly constitutes the presupposition of the humorous, Rosenkranz shows, from the blunders of the works of art which he criticises, how nearly the humorous often approaches to distortion. In an epilogue, the course of the investigation is briefly recapitulated, so that the reader has once more the enjoyment of going along the pleasant road.—THEODOR WILHELM DANZEL (born Jan. 14th, 1818; died May 9th, 1850) started originally from Hegel; but afterwards, owing to his own reflections and to the influence of Weisse, he abandoned Hegel's views, and often very bitterly opposed his teachings on æsthetics. His works: *On Goethe's Spinozism* (Hamburg, 1841), *On the Æsthetics of the Hegelian Philosophy* (Hamburg, 1844), were supplemented by the essay in Fichte's journal: *On the Present Condition of the Philosophy of Art*. The later works,

Godsched and his Time (Leipsic, 1848; 2nd ed., 1855), which was unfortunately not completed by himself, and *Lessing* (Leipsic, 1849), are entirely devoted to the history of literature and culture. In the year 1855, O. Jahn published Danzel's *Collected Essays*. The works of the Hegelian school which have to do with the philosophy of religion have been partly mentioned in the above-named sections, and partly introduced in the account of the dissolution of the School.—As regards, finally, a comprehensive survey of the whole system, and as regards also a knowledge of its process of development, as regards, that is to say, Encyclopædia and the History of Philosophy—which, according to Hegel, are integrating parts of his system—I can only refer, in connection with the former, to Bayrhofer's *Idea of Philosophy* (Marb., 1838), and to the short encyclopædic survey in my *Lectures on Academic Life and Study* (Leipsic, 1858). The history of philosophy, on the other hand, was cultivated with great zeal in the School. For the most part, to be sure, only single portions of it were taken up; so that for a long time the lectures left behind by the master represented the only attempt which had been made to represent the entire history of philosophy according to his principles. First, in the year 1838, appeared the first volume of G. O. Marbach's *Handbook of the History of Philosophy* (first vol., Leipsic, 1838; 2nd vol., 1841; 3rd vol. is wanting). In the year 1848 this was followed by Alb. Schwegler's sketch, which has been very often reprinted: *Outlines of the History of Philosophy* (Stuttg., Frankf., 1848), and with which the present *Outlines* are connected. As was remarked, however, separate parts of the history of philosophy were treated of at quite an early period in the Hegelian school. Thus we have mediæval philosophy by Mussmann (*vid.* § 118), and that of the Greeks by Ed. Zeller (now professor in Heidelberg [at present professor in Berlin.—Ed.]), *vid.* § 16, 4. The author of this last-mentioned work, at least when he began his book, was rightly counted as a member of the Hegelian school, to which he at present, according to his own express declaration, no longer belongs. Then, finally, we have the posthumous sketch by A. Schwegler, *History of Greek Philosophy* (Tübingen, 1859; 2nd ed., 1869). Feuerbach and I began almost simultaneously to work at modern philosophy. Feuerbach afterwards abandoned his design. Kuno Fischer, who in the year

1854 issued the first volume of his widely read book, had concluded it for the time with Kant. In his fifth volume, however, he gives an account of Fichte and his predecessors, and in the first half of the sixth volume the life of Schelling. Mine extends to Hegel's death. In § 259 will be found the full titles of all three. With regard, finally, to the post-Kantian philosophy, C. L. Michelet's *History of the Last Systems of Philosophy in Germany from Kant to Hegel* (2 vols., Berlin, 1837-38) must be mentioned in preference to all others. It has been already referred to above, when the separation of the two sides of the School was under discussion.

B.—ATTEMPTS AT INNOVATION.

§ 345.

1. In the present account, it might be said both of the adherents of the pre-Hegelian systems and of the Hegelians, that they either moved towards the stream of the philosophy of restoration or swam with it. The case is altered when systems appear with the declaration that entirely new paths are to be struck out, and that something is to be presented which has been hitherto entirely unheard of. If the whole history of philosophy has offered no single example of a philosopher who knew nothing at all of his predecessors, and who had not built upon them either while agreeing with them or combating them, it is doubly improbable that in our day, when people as a rule read more readily than they think, this should happen. Accordingly, the few also who came forward after Hegel's death with systems which were intended to be as original at all events as the epoch-making systems of Descartes or Kant in their time, were either writers who wished to mystify the world, or who mystified themselves, or, finally, who had so little acquaintance with philosophy, that they offered as new wisdom doctrines which had long ago been refuted. We may mention some instances of all these three cases.

2. Among those who sought to mystify the world, we may count one, who was at all events, in the highest degree, a notable man, FRIEDRICH ROHMER (12 Feb., 1814, to 11 Jan., 1856), of whose life Bluntschli, who allowed himself to be led for a long time by this political and religious Messiah, has given us a sketch. His anonymous work, written in German

and Latin, which only occupies a few pages, and is entirely Spinozistic in tone: *Speculationis initium et finis* (Munich, 1835), was followed by the writings edited by his brother, in which, however, Friedrich is always extolled as the real author of the ideas set forth: *The Mission of Germany in the Present and Future* (Zürich, 1841), and *The Theory of Political Parties* (Zürich, 1841). In both works the physiological view of the State is laid down as the basis, and it was this indeed which first called the attention of Bluntschli to a man who for a long time played a rôle in Zürich which is doubly astounding when we consider that the Swiss are generally thought to be good men of business. After his return to Germany, Rohmer lived in Munich, writing political brochures against absolutism, ultramontanism, and bureaucracy, and at one time even coquetting with the fourth estate. Even after his death, which was quickly followed by that of his brother, mystification did not cease. The works which appeared in close succession: *Criticism of the Idea of God in the Present Theories of the World* (Nördlingen, 1856), *God and His Creation* (Idem, 1857), *The Natural Way of Man to God* (Idem, 1858), are either by F. Rohmer or his brother, as was surmised on the appearance of the first of these by some uninitiated but attentive readers of his earlier works. If we discount the boasting of the new "Messiah," the first works, with their physiological view of the State and their conservative position in politics, are in such entire accordance with Oken and Schelling, while the posthumous works, on the other hand, with their attempt to mediate between Pantheism and Atheism (moderated = Deism), are in such entire accordance with Hegel and the Hegelians, that we are without doubt justified in ascribing them to the influence of the tendency towards restoration.

3. We meet with some men who are entirely free from the intention to deceive, though less free from self-deception, and who announce to the world that philosophy, in order to teach truth, must strike out wholly different paths from those which have been taken by Kant. MICHAEL PETÖCZ, in his *View of the World; an Attempt to Solve the Highest Problem of Philosophy* (Leipsic, 1838), holds that God, the highest intelligence, reveals the immeasurable wealth of His ideas in souls, which are the only real existences. Of these, the living change those which are not living into their vesture, and by

becoming one with this vesture produce spirits who manifest themselves, each in his own world. Petöcz ought to have remembered better than he did that Boscovich and Leibnitz were his forerunners. HEINRICH VOGEL (*The Philosophy of the Life of Nature as Contrasted with the Speculative Philosophies and Philosophies of Nature which have hitherto Prevalled*, Braunsch., 1845) does not show himself quite so ungrateful to Locke, whom he recognises as the greatest of all philosophers. He too, however, more than he really ought, allows the point of contact between his theory and the earlier empiricism, as well as the earlier philosophy of nature, to fall into the background. This theory rests entirely on immediate and mediate perception, and in it the reciprocal action of subject and object constitutes the metaphysical basis. Chronologically, the works of WEBER and REIFF, which appeared at the same time, fall between the two just mentioned. Weber did not survive the publication of his *Absolute Idealism* (Rinteln, 1840), as he died during the revision of the last sheets. His friend and sole apostle, Hinkel, simultaneously with the appearance of the work of the deceased, announced to the world in his *Speculative Analysis of the Notion of Spirit* (Rinteln, 1840), news of the greatest scientific feat that has ever been accomplished. It consists in the attempt to escape the pantheism of the Hegelian Left by emphasising individuality. Single expressions seem as if they were echoes of Herbart, with whom the author pretends that he became acquainted only after his own work had been completed. If JAC. FRIEDR. REIFF (now professor in Tübingen) [Reiff died July 5th, 1879. —Ed.], in his *Beginning of Philosophy* (Stuttg., 1840), and in the *System of the Determinations of the Will* (Tübingen, 1842), which is closely connected with it, had not come forward with too lofty pretensions, both these works, as well as the treatise, *On some Points of Philosophy* (1843), would have met with a much more friendly reception than they did. His rancour against pantheism, the compliments which, as contrasted with this, were paid to the German Enlightenment, and as a consequence of both the necessary approach to the position of Fichte, did not by any means appear to the readers of his works to be anything so new as they did to their author. Reiff was not very highly thought of outside the circle of those who attended his lectures. For a long time it looked as if Dr. K. CHR. PLANCK (*Privatdocent* in Tübingen) would

take up the position of a follower of Reiff. Already in his *Ages of the World*, the first part of which develops the system of pure realism (Tübingen, 1850), and the second the realm of idealism (*idem.*, 1857), he treats Reiff as the last preliminary step. He thus goes beyond him, so that in consequence Noack, who with a rare versatility leaps from system to system, was able for a time to extol Planck as the man who had completed the philosophy of Reiff. RÖSE too, whose *Method of the Knowledge of the Absolute* (Basel, 1841) seems to have had a stimulating effect on EM. SCHÄRER (*Contributions to the Knowledge of the Essence of Philosophy*, Zürich, 1846), attempted to establish a peculiar standpoint, which he essentially modifies in his *Art of Speculation* (Zürich, 1847), but particularly in the following works: *The Ideas of the Divine Things of our Time*, *The System of Individualistic Philosophy*, and the *History of Humanity*. Finally may be mentioned the attempts at reformation made by J. RICHER in his *Nature and Spirit* (1st, 2nd, and 3rd parts, Leipsic, 1851), which, in spite of the fact that they were very highly approved of in a certain theological quarter, did not meet with general recognition, because the theories which were proved to be tenable in the extended work were far from being so much those of one who was self-taught as they promised to be.

4. Simultaneously with the publication of Feuerbach's *Philosophy of the Future*, and partly owing to the stimulus given by it, there appeared the flood of MATERIALISTIC WORKS which have been since followed by hundreds more, partly written by men whose names had a high reputation in other departments. Only complete ignorance of what already existed in the domain of philosophy could have led to their being looked upon as something new and never heard of before. Cabanis had already said all that people were now offered to read, even to the cynical comparison of thoughts to the excreta of the kidneys. Besides, amongst the really original French materialists of the eighteenth century, one does not meet with such absurdities as are to be found in the writings of the most highly lauded of these dabblers in matter; as, for instance, that crime takes place according to a law of nature, like the falling of a stone, and that therefore it is revolting when a House of Representatives retains capital punishment for murder. (As if, in truth, this resolution were not equally

a manifestation of the law of gravitation, and were therefore not at all revolting.) If it were really true that the philosophy of nature taught men to speak of things of which they understood nothing, then it has nowhere found such zealous adepts as among the exact scientists. Any one in the present day who knows how to handle the microscope well, believes that without going any further, he has a right to decide as to the nature of cause and condition, force and matter, law and truth. The circumstance that the circle of the readers of these books is very large and is daily increasing, that magazines which are calculated to suit the horizon of schoolmasters and peasants are constantly bringing more adherents to materialism, is for many a proof that it is the philosophy of the present or of the future. If this were decisive, then materialism would have already found its match; for the holy Gambrinus can count a still larger number of enthusiastic adherents, and adherents who are more zealous. Up till now, we have no instance in which the raising of the price of a book of Moleschott's or Büchner's has produced revolutions in large towns.—The estimate expressed in these words, which were written in the year 1866, has since been proved unwarranted by the facts; for not only does the mob applaud the "force and matter" philosophy, but men have become converts to it whose philosophical importance is notorious, and is even recognised in these *Outlines*. This is the case with D. FR. STRAUSS. In his *Legacy to the German People* he declares that he has "abandoned the harmless pleasure in artistic figures to which he had surrendered himself in his *Ulrich von Hutten* (Leips., 1858, 2 vols.) and in his *Voltaire* (Leips., 1870), and in other works on culture and history, and is returning to his peculiar mission, unsparing destructive criticism." In *The Old and New Faith*, which went through four editions in the year of its appearance (1872), and the eighth stereotyped edition of which is now before us, Strauss does not object if this "confession of all who stand on the ground of the modern theory of the universe" is called materialistic. If it is considered, besides, that Strauss himself had arrived at this change in his views through the study of Voltaire and the latest writings of Feuerbach, then we have a new proof that the apologies for Lamettrie which have become the fashion are written out of the hearts of the cultured people of the day, just because their thoughts are

entirely of the Holbach-Büchner order. If this really held good in the case of Strauss, he could not have said that the difference between materialism and spiritualism is a vanishingly small one, when we compare it with what exists between them and their common foe, dualism. If we remember, moreover, how the *Système de la Nature* had defined its relation to Berkeley, then it is clear that Strauss, in spite of the change of his views in the direction of materialism, has not abandoned his Pantheistic standpoint, which reminds us of Spinoza, and which brings him into harmony with the spirit of the eighteenth century, at most in a negative sense, namely, in making attacks on religion, etc. To this we have to add, that the materialism which Strauss has adopted, even if it had not fallen upon a soil fertilized by the philosophical ideas of the nineteenth century, must necessarily have borne fruits other than those of the Büchner sort, because it is entirely different from the materialism of Diderot and Holbach. Darwinism, to which Strauss professes himself a convert, in its theory of descent, essentially rests upon ideas which would necessarily have appeared fantastic to the men of the eighteenth century. Malthus again, who, as Darwin himself admits, brought him to adopt the view of the "struggle for existence," has even been reproached by those holding materialistic views with being monkish, a word which for the French materialists was confessedly the strongest term of abuse. Finally, however much Darwin's followers, and he himself afterwards, may have extolled his theory as the best protection against all teleology, his "natural selection" would have been called a child of physico-theology by every materialist of the French school. With regard to the contents of Strauss' work, we find that it is divided into four sections, of which the *first* gives an unconditional negative to the question, Are we still Christians? since all the doctrines contained in the Apostles' Creed, which he takes up singly, no longer find any credence amongst the cultured of our time. The question raised in the *second* section, Have we still a religion? is not answered so unconditionally in the negative, since the consciousness of our dependence on the All and on its inviolable laws may perhaps be called religion. The *third* section, which takes up the question, How are we to understand the world? is the most interesting, because it supplies the positive complement for the previous negations,

and works out the theory of the universe which Strauss asserts is that of all cultured persons. He begins with the cosmogony of Kant and Laplace, discusses the solar system, the formation of the earth, the origin of living things on the earth, *generatio æquivoca*, and spends the most time over Darwinism, which, with all its gaps, has made one of the most important steps in the direction of truth. The conclusion is taken up with a refutation of every kind of teleology. Strauss himself is least satisfied with the *fourth* section, which asks, How are we to order our lives? This section contains the outlines of an ethic which does not amount to a glorifying of force, as is the tendency in Darwinism. The first traces of moral qualities are investigated; the different moral principles are criticised; the right of the sensuous elements to have a place in marriage and the State is maintained; the various forms of the State are considered; and, finally, the questions of the day in reference to the condition of workmen, capital punishment, the relation between Church and State, are discussed. As the result of this investigation, he declares that, in the case of the cultured, elevation by means of the enjoyment of art takes the place of edification by means of worship. The two appendices, which treat of our greatest poets, Lessing, Schiller, Goethe, and of our greatest musicians, Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, accordingly connect themselves quite naturally with this section.

5. It is not only the fact that the materialism of the previous century impressed a Strauss which should insure its getting a respectful consideration, but because it was this materialism which in the last decade brought back many to the study of philosophy, and *in specie* to the study of the doctrines of our greatest philosopher, Kant. We are not thinking here of those who, as Tobias says of himself in his book, *Limits of Philosophy* (Berlin, 1875), which is very well worth reading, were formerly materialists, and were won over from materialism by Kant, for in this case the merit due to materialism is too entirely negative. We are thinking rather of the many instances, which are still on the increase, in which scientists of the first rank boast of their agreement with Kant. It must be looked upon as in itself perfectly natural that those who, like Goethe, are not satisfied with registering phenomena and "simplifying them," but who seek what lies behind these, which is for them the most essential thing,—and every one

who goes further than being a mere *describer* of nature, and becomes an *investigator*, is in this category—should feel themselves attracted to the philosopher according to whom correct thinking must distinguish the essence from the appearance. That this agreement, however, does not make a man a Kantian, has been conclusively proved by Tobias in the work mentioned above. He does this, first by showing how the Kant who wrote the *General Natural History of the Heavens* stood as yet entirely outside of the Critical philosophy; and then again, by showing that the “limited matter” in Zöllner’s justly raised book on comets, that Helmholtz’s connexion of his views with the speculations of Riemann on space, and even that what Du Bois Raymond wrote, both in the preface to his great work, and also in his lecture on the Limits of the Knowledge of Nature, are, in spite of frequent agreement in expression, irreconcilable with Kant’s transcendental idealism. In fact, these men might have quoted the Frenchman Comte as their philosophical authority rather than Kant, or even Comte’s English imitator, J. Stuart Mill. Although the former has few such open admirers in Germany as the late K. Twisten was, or as the geologist Von Cotta still is, yet among the philosophically cultured scientists there are many whose views approximate to his. The fact, that in Germany the words “philosophy” and “science” are coming to be employed as diametrically opposite terms, is one of the many proofs of this. But even if such were not the case, even if all those of whom the men just mentioned may be taken as the representatives were really to be considered as adherents of Kant’s transcendental idealism, the latter would not have to thank Holbach nor Lamettrie for such brilliant conquests. For precisely like the materialism of Strauss, the materialism of these men is saturated with philosophical theorems which present a contrast to the materialism of the eighteenth century. They are saturated partly with ideas which go beyond the entire eighteenth century point of view,—and this is true of all those who, like Strauss, have come under the influence of Darwinism,—and partly with ideas which themselves, to be sure, belong to the eighteenth century, but which ran exactly counter to its materialism. Such a theorem is the law of the conservation of energy, which was originally laid down by Leibnitz and confirmed experimentally by Mayer and Joule, and which remains true to its anti-materialistic origin, inas-

much as it is not consistent with a materialism *à la* Büchner, as Lange has shown (*vid. infra*).

6. As forming a complementary correlate, we may put over against these speculative scientists those who, originally occupying a philosophical standpoint, were not contented with this, and are seeking in the empirical sciences something to supplement it, if not something which will be an entire equivalent for it. How universally diffused the feeling of the need of this step is, is proved by the many lectures or *brochures* on the present vocation of philosophy, the majority of which come to the conclusion that speculation, which has become bankrupt, can help itself only by getting a loan from the empirical sciences. But, as was said, some went still farther. The empirical sciences, they say, are not to supplement but to displace speculation; and this is just the very thing that was admitted by the father of modern speculation, namely, by Kant. This startling discovery was announced, particularly in his later works, by LUDWIG NOACK (professor, and afterwards librarian, in Giessen [died June 15th, 1885.—Ed.]). His first works: *Hegel's Idea of Religion* (Darmst., 1845), *Mythology and Revelation*, etc. (2 parts, Darmst., 1845), caused him to be classed as belonging to the left wing of the Hegelian school; moreover the *Jahrbücher für Speculative Philosophie* (Darmst., 1846–48), edited by him, were the organ of the Berlin Philosophical Society, which consisted of Hegelians. His *Speculative Science of Religion* (Darmst., 1847) occupies pretty much the same standpoint. On the other hand, this is essentially modified in the *Jahrbücher der freien deutschen Academie* (Frankf., 1849), and in the *Mystery of Christianity* (Leips., 1850). In the *Concise Survey of the History of Philosophy* (Weimar, 1853), he appears as an adherent of the doctrine of Reiff and Planck. He became editor of *Psyche*, an anthropological journal, in 1855, and devoted himself to giving critical accounts of the philosophers of modern times. The work, *Schelling and the Philosophy of Romanticism* (Berlin, 1859), betrays its tendency in its title. The work which appeared later, *Joh. Gottl. Fichte Judged according to His Life*, etc. (Leips., 1862), was, like many others, occasioned by Fichte's jubilee. Before it was published, there had already appeared *Kant's Resurrection from his Grave*, etc. (Leips., 1861), and *Kant with or without a Romantic Cue* (1862), the titles of which raise the suspicion that he was trying

to make a sensation. In these works, Noack seeks to prove that Kant's whole aim is to represent empiricism as the only scientific standpoint, and that he is not in earnest in laying down the theory of the transcendental, even when this consists only of postulates.

7. A man who nevertheless afterwards admits that no one is so much the philosopher of empirical science as Kant, rightly expresses himself as opposed to this undervaluing of Kant by Noack. This is FRIEDRICH ALBERT LANGE. Born on Sept. 28th, 1828, in Wald, near Solingen, he became, soon after having completed his studies, a teacher in the *gymnasium* at Cöln, next *privatdocent* in Bonn, and afterwards in Zürich. He was then invited to Marburg as professor of philosophy, where he died on Nov. 21st, 1875. By some works on social science and political economy (*J. Stuart Mill's Views on the Social Question*, etc., Duisburg, 1866, and *The Labour Question*, 3rd ed., Winterthur, 1875), he had already gained the reputation of being, with all his admiration for J. Stuart Mill and Marx, an independent thinker, when his *History of Materialism* (Iserlohn, 1866; second improved edition [1873] in two volumes) appeared. These two volumes were soon followed by a third, but he did not live to see it issued. The work is divided into two books, the *first* of which treats of materialism previous to Kant. It is in four sections; antiquity; period of transition; the seventeenth century; lastly, the eighteenth century. Of these sections, the first and the fourth are the most important, because they contain the greatest number of critical observations. In the *first* it is shown why materialism is as old as philosophy; *i.e.* why the first philosophical attempts necessarily led to the materialism which culminates in Democritus. In his philosophy we find the main principles of modern science,—and not of the science of nature only,—*viz.* the conservation of matter and force, and the nullity of all teleology, plainly expressed. Sensualism, the truth of which was first established in ancient times by Protagoras, must be viewed as the complementary opposite of materialism. For sensation, which remains an insoluble problem for materialism, is taken by sensualism as the starting point, which, just because of this, has so often—as in the case of Protagoras himself—resulted in subjective relativity. The Socratic and Platonic philosophy takes up a position of antagonism to both at once; for by attributing the highest

importance to forms, it constitutes a reaction, not only against materialism, but against all science. But it has not been for all that merely an evil. For man has his attention turned, not simply to the knowledge which is formed out of the senses and the understanding, but also to the poetry which springs from the feelings, and therefore to religion and metaphysics. True, it is a delusion, kept alive by the expression religious "truths," that such poetry in any way enriches knowledge; but it does more than this. It elevates, it supplies an ideal aspiration, and therefore an enthusiasm, without which nothing great is accomplished, in science as well as in other things. In this we have the explanation of the fact, that the epoch-making discoveries were hardly ever made by materialists, but always by men who had received stimulus from æsthetics or religion. This may be shown to be true even in the case of Lucretius, to whose poem, which is directed against the horrors, not only of the Roman religion, but of religion in general, Lange devotes an entire chapter. The *second* section of the first book discusses the relation of the three monotheistic religions to materialism, and shows how the authority of Aristotle made the rise of a healthy empiricism impossible; it became possible only when the scholastic ideas had been undermined by Copernicus, Bruno, Bacon, and Descartes. In the *third* section, Gassendi and Hobbes are treated of with special fulness, as the renovators of materialism. It discusses also their influence in the seventeenth century, owing to which a materialism, mixed up with religious ideas, spread in England, while, on the other hand, in the fatherland of Descartes, the purely mechanical materialism of a Lamettrie and a Von Holbach sprang up. These two forms of materialism are discussed in the *fourth* and last section of the first book. It is here that Lange's peculiar attitude towards materialism comes at length clearly into view. He extols it, because it shows and spreads abroad the purely scientific antipathy to miracles, and to teleological connection. He finds fault with it, because it does not recognise the fact, that, besides the need man feels of having scientific knowledge, he has also to strive towards what is higher, towards what is ideal, and to embody this by means of fancy. In short, materialism fails to see that it lies in the organization of the human spirit to construct certain fictions for itself, without which it would simply fail to reach what is highest. The affinity between

this thought and Kant's idea, that the world of understanding is but an island, and not the whole world, is evident; only it is intelligible that with Lange's æsthetic nature it is particularly in Schiller's lines of thought and expressions that his criticism moves. The "form" of the poet and his "beautiful shapes" are exalted by no thinker of recent times so much as by Lange. It will readily be understood that the *second book*, which treats of the history of materialism since Kant, is especially interesting, and for this reason, if for no other, that in it the theories of the author himself come more prominently into view. In the second edition, this book constitutes the second volume, and is no longer divided into three, but into four sections. In the preface to this volume Lange speaks of J. Stuart Mill's posthumous work on religion in a highly appreciative way. As regards the contents of this book, the order of subjects in the separate sections is as follows: In the first, Kant's position in reference to materialism is explained, and in connection with this, Lange considers the entire significance of this greatest of German philosophers. The truth of his main thought is admitted; namely, that every act of cognition is a product of what lies outside of us and of what is within us, and that therefore the essential reality of things remains unknowable. The author censures Kant for wishing to discover and deduce *a priori* what exists itself *a priori* in us. It is further proved with much acuteness that there are other things besides time and space, etc., which thus exist *a priori* in us, and in fact, that with increasing development various things come to have this character. Lange next takes up the materialists after Kant. Besides Feuerbach, he discusses the views of Moleschott and Büchner. Their merits are fully acknowledged, although his final verdict endorses what is hinted at above *sub* 4; namely, that works of this sort do not deserve to be taken any notice of in an account of the history of philosophy. Attention is repeatedly directed to the fact, that after Kant the earlier "næive" materialism is no longer possible. The latter, too, is more and more making room for a standpoint which may be called relativism, in the form in which it is taken up amongst others by Radenhausen, the author of *Isis* (4 vols., Hamburg, 1863). Well worth noting is what Lange says when he comes to speak of Czolbe, who in a way of his own, which is in a certain measure the opposite of that taken by Kant, goes

beyond materialism. In the *second* section, modern science is discussed much more fully than modern philosophy. In the second edition, this section is enlarged into two, whose wealth of matter may be judged from the headings of the chapters: "Materialism and Exact Investigation," "Force and Matter," "Scientific Cosmogony," "Darwinism and Teleology," "The Position of Man relative to the Animal World," "Brain and Soul," "Scientific Psychology," "The Physiology of the Organs of Sense," and "The World as Presentation." The reproach of dilettantism brought by Liebig against materialism is extended to the majority of the German scientists, in the way of denying to them the possession of the philosophical—*i.e.* the critical—and historical, sense. Mathematics saved the French, and practical logic the English, from the intellectual freaks of the Germans. In science, idealism takes a place, by way of complement, beside materialism, which has its justification within its own limits. The latter is the conservative element, the former the innovating or divining element. In connection with the discussion of the most important cosmical and anthropological questions of the present day, the merit of having excluded the miraculous and arbitrary from nature, and of having destroyed the fear of gods and demons, is repeatedly adjudged to belong to materialism. Its positive assertion, however, that matter is the sole reality, cannot be maintained as true in presence of the results of modern science, whose two most brilliant conquests refute it. The law of the conservation of energy gives the highest place precisely to that which the materialist denies; and the physiology of the senses, which has made such strides since the time of J. Müller, leads to the conclusion that the world of sense, including our body, is a presentation, a joint product, of our organization, and that therefore its real nature is unknown to us. On this point the greatest living physiologist of Germany, Helmholtz, agrees with the greatest German philosopher, Kant. What was formerly the third, but is now the fourth section, which treats of ethical materialism and religion, is, in spite of its brevity, one of the most important. In the second edition it was enriched by some very interesting investigations. Among these may be counted, together with others, the remarks on Strauss' last work, as well as the observations on the peculiar materialism of Ueberweg. Starting from modern political economy, which is based on the dogma of egoism, Lange

proceeds to show that, instead of seeking to find out (relatively) "what form political science would take, supposing men to follow only their egotistical interests," it falls into the error of asserting (absolutely) "since men are egotistical, therefore," etc. This position is consequently a false one, because, along with the ideas which are accompanied by pleasure and pain, the complex result of which we call the Ego, and upon which egotism is based, we find ideas which we call the external world. By means of these we are induced to go outside of ourselves, and they constitute the first foundation for sympathy, and the like. The work then goes on to criticise the abuse which is occasioned in moral statistics by the employment of averages, and finally a statement is made of a more connected kind than is given in any previous part of the book, regarding the standpoint of the author. He so far agrees with Kant, that knowledge is entirely limited to the sphere of sense, but he is of opinion that we can speak of truth only in the sphere of experience. If, accordingly, he further maintains, likewise with Kant, the irrefragable validity of the ideas of the Beautiful and the Good, this is owing to the fact that, according to him, our organization, perhaps for reasons which can be explained in a purely physiological way, is so constructed, that it does not only seek to recognise the true, but aspires after what is worthy. Ideas have thus only this practical character, and therefore Kant arrives at God, freedom, and immortality only by making the mistake of confusing what is and what ought to be, or, Notion and Idea, a confusion which he himself so severely censured others for making. Art and religion, and also metaphysics, have to do with Ideas. It is a mistake, therefore, when they make any assertion about reality, or when they interfere with investigation. We can understand how, on account of the irrefragable certainty of Ideas, the word truth should have been employed in connection with them, and how people should accordingly speak, for instance, of religious truths. Nevertheless, it is a misfortune; for it has helped to make men constantly forget, that every Idea which is formed theoretically, and is thus given expression to as a fact, has at most a constructive or symbolic value. The fact that faith stands on quite other ground than investigation makes it quite as unassailable as a symphony of Beethoven, which cannot be refuted, or as the Sistine Madonna, against which no proof can be brought. That the æsthetic, religious,

and metaphysical aspiration after the absolute, which is never reached in knowledge, has had an effect in stimulating and advancing knowledge, cannot be disputed. Still, the practice of turning what are determinations of value into explanatory reasons cannot be too severely censured. One can more readily forgive the religious man for hating science and the philosopher for mocking at religion, than when the two domains are confounded, when existence is constructed *a priori*, and when dogma is defended on scientific grounds. The best way is to keep the two separate: the poetry, which, as was said, stimulates even scientific investigation; and the scientific investigation, which is limited solely to phenomena, *i.e.* to our ideas of existence, and therefore only to a representation of existence. Accordingly the most distinguished investigators are so much occupied with their subject, that they have no time for negative dogmatics, unlike so many modern materialists.—There are not many books from which so much information and stimulus can be drawn as from this of Lange, which has just been characterized in this scanty synopsis. A peculiar attraction is exercised upon those who think quite differently from him by the fact that, however decidedly his inclination leads him to take up one side, he still, even if it is with evident reluctance, recognises the points in which his opponents have right on their side, and this in spite of the outcry of partisans. Just on this account, it cannot be said that we are demanding what is beyond Lange's powers, much less beyond human powers, if we express the wish that, when he mentioned the blunders made by a speculative philosopher in physics, or those to be found in the lecture on the soul delivered in Carlsruhe by the Leipsic chemist Erdmann, he had maintained the same dignified tone in which he exposes the absurdities of Büchner. (This sentence is repeated exactly as it was printed in 1870, simply in order to add that the new edition of Lange's work has made the wish here expressed unnecessary, because it has been fulfilled.) How much Lange's importance has been recognised is evident, not only from the fact that his successor in office has edited a posthumous work of his, but also because Vaihinger, in his interesting work, *Von Hartmann, Dühring, and Lange* (Iserlohn, 1876), proceeds exactly as if he were a pupil of his.

8. If Lange's idealistic Naturalism is connected in a posi-

tive way with Kant, then the way in which HEINRICH CZOLBE, who died 19th February, 1873, founds his realistic naturalism and sensualism, may also be said to connect him with Kant, though certainly in a negative manner. Although he very early decided to study medicine, philosophical and theological studies have occupied much of his attention. It was Hölderlin's *Hyperion* which, as he acknowledges, first placed the germ of naturalism in his mind. This was next nourished by the study of Strauss, Feuerbach, and Bruno Bauer, and for a short time assumed an entirely materialistic form. The careful study of Lotze's writings (*vid.* § 347), contributed towards enabling him to see that materialism was untenable. He could not, however, rest content with what he calls Lotze's theological turn. On the contrary, he regarded it as a necessary consequence that, just as Lotze conducts a polemic against a special vital force, he should take up a polemical attitude towards the supernatural in general, towards an immortal soul and a God. Whether or not he still occupied the materialistic standpoint in his inaugural dissertation on the principles of physiology (1844), I do not know, as I am not acquainted with it. It is certain that in the writings which followed, the *New Account of Sensualism* (Leips., 1855), and the work which was occasioned by Lotze's criticism, *Origin of Self-consciousness*, but particularly in the much more mature work: *The Limits and Origin of Human Knowledge in opposition to Kant and Hegel* (Jena and Leips., 1865), he decidedly left it behind. Not that he became untrue to the principle of naturalism, the abandonment of all that is supernatural, but he asserts that it is impossible to deduce the phenomena of life from pure matter, as the materialists attempt to do. Without renouncing the application of the mechanical principle, and particularly without renouncing the fundamental principle of naturalism just mentioned, it is none the less necessary to make assumptions other than those made by the materialists. Czolbe, moreover, differs from most naturalistic thinkers in so far as he does not maintain that the advances made in science compel us to give a naturalistic explanation of all existence. On the contrary, all facts are complex, and leave us a free choice between the assumption of the supernatural or the rejection of it. If this reminds us of Kant's *non liquet* in his critique of theoretical philosophy, then Czolbe goes still further with Kant along the same road.

It is the ethical interest which forces us to come to a decision, and in the name of morality he demands that we declare for the side of the alternative which science presents to us. In diametrical opposition to Kant, however, he demands that since the highest happiness is secured by contentment with the natural world, we should give up the discontented striving to get beyond it, which, as being analogous to the theological sin against the Holy Ghost, may be called the sin against the order of the world. The foundation of religion, that is, the assertion of the existence of the supernatural, is immoral. It is a moral duty, a matter of honour, to exclude everything which can lead to the assumption of a supernatural second world. If we follow this command, and in explaining existence, never go beyond the sphere of the mechanical, *i.e.* of rigid causal connection; and if we also consider that,—as is most simply shown by the parallelogram of forces,—cause is never a single thing, but is always the coming together of many causes, and that therefore the effect is always a combined resultant; then we are brought by this to something stable, which is not an effect, but is eternal. This is extension, in the two forms of continuous space which pervades everything and is pervaded by everything, and of the many discrete and mutually impenetrable atoms. These, which are only actually indivisible, have different forms of crystallization; and, by means of their arbitrary movement, attraction and repulsion, the changes in the inorganic world take place. Like the atoms themselves, many more of their combinations date from all eternity, as will be granted by the materialism that has inherited its fancies about cosmogony from the Mosaic account, which have only led to wild dreams of a glowing ball of gas, etc. The earth is eternal and was eternal. (In his first work, Czolbe had sought to replace the æther by very much attenuated air; in the second, he asserts the existence of the æther.) Quite as eternal however as space and atoms, are, secondly, the forms, kinds, species, such as we meet with in the organic world, which are constructed on a regular plan, and which cannot be deduced simply from the attraction of atoms. Czolbe very energetically defends the constancy of the genera; and the eternal existence of the human race is united with the idea of progress in such a way as to show that the capacity for development possessed by the race had a beginning in time, since,

previous to the impulse which was given by individual men of genius, the human race developed quite as little as the animal species. Here, where, together with the existence of matter, Czolbe maintains the existence of the forms which manifest design, he gives full expression to his views on the relation of causal connection and the relation of design, and justifies himself for having called his work a naturalistic teleological application of the principle of Mechanics. In contrast to the ideas developed in the earlier writings, emphasis is laid in the later works on the thought that neither from matter nor from the eternal forms is it possible to explain the fact of the so-called psychical phenomena, *i.e.*, the sensations and feelings from which all others spring. They, too, must be regarded as something original and eternal. As in the case of the equilibrium of large masses, the entrance of a small preponderance liberates an enormous expansive force, so a cerebral process can liberate sensations and feelings which exist in a latent state and in a condition of equilibrium from all eternity. This eternal power of sensation and feeling in such latent conditions is called by Czolbe world-soul; and he accordingly lays this down as a third principle: Since in the case of individual sensation the power of having sensations possessed by the world-soul is set free,—becomes living, *i.e.*, conscious,—we may explain without having recourse to ingenious theories how the eye commands such a range of space, etc. The deduction from sense-perceptions of the further psychical processes, particularly of conception, judgment, reasoning, which was very fully given in the earlier work, in the first section, headed Psychology—the other two sections being entitled, Philosophy of Nature, and Politics—is recapitulated, so far as the most essential points are concerned, in the later work. It is decidedly improved in this recapitulation. In the earlier work, the author often makes the matter such an easy one that we are almost reminded of Condillac's deductions. In the later work, the main difficulties are by no means so lightly passed over, although Czolbe himself admits that his account is of a dilettante character. The most essential difference is, that while consciousness was, in the year 1855, held to be explained when the existence of a rotatory movement in the brain had been admitted—so that some one at the time proposed the question whether a revolving mill-stone was also conscious—now the

world-soul, *i.e.*, those latent sensations and feelings which penetrate the whole of space, is made the foundation of consciousness. In short, by adding the third principle to matter and the equally eternal forms, the deduction gets a much less forced appearance. After Czolbe has drawn attention to the contrast between his views and those of Kant and Hegel, *i.e.*, to his agreement with both, and to the points in which he differs from them, he lays emphasis in some concluding remarks on the scientific, moral, and æsthetic value of his naturalism. He here explains that it is only an accident if naturalistic thinkers adopt revolutionary or democratic views. The fact that division of labour allows every occupation to be carried on in the best possible way, has brought him to the conviction that it is best to let the monarch rule. Quite as little has his naturalism made him blind to the fact that humanity is infinitely indebted to religion, and particularly to the Christian religion; and his atheism does not hinder him from showing respect to all ecclesiastical arrangements. It is true that the attack of Strauss from the idealistic standpoint, and still more that of Renan with his realistic turn of mind, have shown that the days of the Christian religion are numbered, and that the moment is approaching when, just as the individual must bury his parents and stand on his own feet, but in a state of isolation, farewell will be said to fancy's creation of a Father in heaven. "A chilling thought certainly for most; but for the man who has grasped it in all its deep meaning with both the understanding and the heart, it is far less sad than the separation from actual parents." As the ten years which elapsed between the *New Description* and the *Limits* do not give evidence of any pause in the development of Czolbe's mind, his unresting advance is proved by his posthumous work, *Outlines of an Extensional Theory of Knowledge* (1875), which has been edited by Dr. Johnson. A treatise which he himself published on mathematics as the ideal for all knowledge, constitutes the kind of bridge by which this latter work is reached. In this treatise, space, of which time is regarded by him as a fourth dimension, is made to support all sensuous qualities to begin with, and next all sensations, the concentration of which in one point gives conscious individual sensation. An interesting comparison of the three phases of Czolbe's naturalism is given by Vaihinger in the twelfth volume of the *Philosophische Monatshefte* (Leips., 1876).

C.—FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF EARLIER SYSTEMS.

§ 346.

1. Those who took an earlier system as the starting-point of their progressive activity were much more numerous than those who went back to the past because it had accomplished all that was necessary, or than those who turned away from it because it had accomplished nothing. Perhaps of all three the work done by those first mentioned was the most worthy of recognition, and yet it met with the least recognition. For if the older schools still found some adherents, and if most of the newer schools found one adherent at least, as Weber did in Hinkel, and Rohmer in his brother, and so on, none of those about to be characterized succeeded in getting even a single real pupil. In order to get a better general idea of the subject, we shall here separate those who started from one single system, from those who started from a study of many systems. It must be at once admitted, however, that this separation can scarcely be maintained with exactness; and particularly in the case of some who have been here placed in the first group, a doubt may arise as to whether they do not belong far more to the second. Since both groups are introduced here without any reference to their relative merits, an occasional misplacement will do no harm. We begin, accordingly, with those whose starting-point was only, or was at least principally, *one* system which they then go beyond. At the same time, the chronology of the original systems, and not that of the derivative ones, will determine the order to be followed. To be sure, the consequence of this is, that the most recent phenomena will be discussed first, and afterwards those which appeared much earlier. In the last decade in particular, and for the most part after the last edition of these *Outlines* was issued, there appeared the works of the men whom we may call, with Von Hartmann, the NEO-KANTIANs, and who if their views were to be described in detail, would have to be dealt with in this place. The conditional particle just employed announces that an account of these phenomena is just the very thing which will not be attempted here. One reason, among many others, for not giving such an account, is, that it is not within my power to expand this Appendix into a third volume. Such a volume would however have been necessary, if the

whole or even the majority of the men were to be characterized, each of whom brings forward a theory so peculiar to himself that it cannot be discussed together with any other ; and it would be necessary to show, moreover, in the case of each one, that we were justified in placing him among the Neo-Kantians, because with one the "Neo" does not seem to be suitable, and with another the "Kantian." Both terms will be most readily admitted as applicable in the case of one who, twenty years after Weisse had demanded that we ought to place ourselves at the point of view of Kant, went much further, and began the series of those through whom Kant again became the fashionable philosopher. This was OTTO LIEBMANN, at present professor in Strasburg. His maiden work, *Kant and the Epigones* (Stuttg., 1865), gives a description of the four tendencies which are all rooted in Kant's teaching—the idealistic represented by Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel, the realistic represented by Herbart, the empirical represented by Fries, and the transcendental represented by Schopenhauer. He closes his account of each with the exclamation : "We must return to Kant." It is also pointed out in this work, that Kant's assumption of a thing-in-itself beyond space and time is an absurdity, and is the real cause of these four errors. In his second book, *On the Individual Proof for the Freedom of the Will* (Stuttg., 1866), he similarly approaches Kant in many points ; but he asserts that he is not satisfied with the way in which Kant reconciles freedom and necessity. Finally, Liebmann, both in his work *On Objective Vision*, published in 1869, and in his latest work, *On the Analysis of Reality* (Strasburg, 1876), describes his standpoint as that of the criticism whose foundation was laid by Kant, the Newton of speculation—a name to which he is entitled, since he formulated the laws of the intellectual world, just as his teacher and pattern formulated those of the physical world. With express reference to his first work, however, he points out here also, that the theory of the thing-in-itself is the weak point from which Hegelian pantheism and Schopenhauer's pansatanism have been developed. Much more uncertainty than exists in Liebmann's case may perhaps attend the question, whether some who are called Neo-Kantians ought not rather to be counted among those who have been considered in the two last sections. This affects those whose position, in reference to each other and to

himself, Liebmann himself defines. What our opinion is with regard to Lange is shown in the place where we have treated of him. But how is it with Hermann Cohen, who, on account of his *Kant's Theory of Experience* (Berlin, 1871), has been made out by many to be simply a Kant philologist? or, with J. Bona Meyer, who, on account of his brochure, *Kant's Views on Psychology*, as well as his fuller work, *Kant's Psychology*, (Berlin, 1870), has been taken by one for a Kantian with a colouring of the doctrines of Fries, and by another considered to stand wholly outside the Kantian point of view? Are Stadler (*Kant's Teleology*, Berlin, 1874) and Arnoldt (*Kant's Idea of the Highest Good*, Königsb., 1874; and *Kant's Transcendental Ideality of Time and Space*, in the *Altpreuss. Monatsschrift*), really such orthodox Kantians as they have been said to be? How far do the expounders of Kant's theory of knowledge abide by his principles, and how far do they deviate from them; as for instance, Hölder (*An Account of Kant's Theory of Knowledge*, 1874), Paulsen (*Attempt at a History of the Development of Kant's Theory of Knowledge*, Leips., 1875), J. H. Witte (*Contributions towards the Understanding of Kant*, Berlin, 1874; *Introductory Studies to the Knowledge of Existence of which we have no Experience*, Bonn, 1876; *On the Theory of Knowledge and Ethics*, Berlin, 1877); or how with expounders of other single points in his theories, as Laas (*Kant's Analogies of Experience*, Berlin, 1867), who, with his psycho-genetic deduction, stands somewhere between Aug. Comte and J. Stuart Mill; and so with many others? Any one who wished to describe the phenomenon of Neo-Kantianism in such a way as to give a clear conception of what each of its representatives accomplished, or at least sought to accomplish, would have to answer these and such-like questions. Just for this reason, and because a mere string of names and titles of books in place of such an account is of no value, this Outline must leave such an exposition to those who are not hindered by external considerations from using their pens freely.

2. Reinhold's son, CHRIST. ERNST GOTTLIEB JENS REINHOLD (born in 1793 at Jena; died when professor there, on the 17th of September, 1856), likewise connected his views with those of Kant, and still more with those of his father, while at the same time going beyond both. He had already made himself known by his *Theory of Knowledge and Thought*

(1825), and by his *Logic, or General Theory of the Forms of Thought* (1827), and still more by his works on the history of philosophy, before developing his doctrines more fully in his *Theory of The Human Faculty of Knowledge and Metaphysics* (2 vols., 1832-34), in his *Manual of Philosophical and Propædeutic Psychology, together with Outlines of Formal Logic* (1835, 2nd ed., 1839), and finally in his *Outlines of the Sciences of Practical Philosophy* (1837). His views avoid all extremes, and are of a moderate character; but they were taken little notice of outside of Jena. Reinhold himself describes the task which he set before him, as an attempt to go beyond the pantheism which Hegel raised to the summit of its perfection, and thus too to go beyond all the one-sided views which had established themselves in the period before and after Kant. This end, which coincides with genuine ideal-realism, is to be reached by founding his system on a thoroughly-worked-out theory of knowledge. Reinhold here accordingly takes as his starting-point, the becoming conscious of self, and in particular, indeed, the becoming conscious of self as active, *i.e.*, as will. In the exercise of the active force which brings about movements, and by means of it, we first get the idea of extension and duration; our sense of effort gives us the conception of cause, and directly indeed of active cause; and by means of the conception of the effect which is to be produced, it gives us the conception of final cause. If we transfer this conception to the world as a whole, there then arises from it the conception of the primary existence which conditions all things and works with an aim in all things, and which is to be conceived of as an omniscient ruling power, possessed of thought and will.

3. Just as Ernst Reinhold finds the starting-point for his speculations between Kant and his own father, KARL FORTLAGE finds it between Kant and Fichte. He was born on the 12th of Jan., 1806, at Osnabrück, was for a long time *privat-docent* in Heidelberg, and afterwards in Berlin, and is now actively engaged as professor of philosophy at Jena. [Fortlage died Nov. 8, 1881, in Jena.—Ed.] He is one of the most many-sided, and at the same time one of the most thoroughly cultured, philosophers of the present time. According to a statement he makes in his youthful work: *The Gaps in the Hegelian System* (Heidelberg, 1832), he allowed himself to be captivated for a short time by the views of Hegel. He however soon went back to those whose thoughts, as it appeared to

him, Hegel had only improved upon,—and that too in a one-sided way,—namely, to Kant and Fichte. His *Meditations on Plato's Symposium* (Heidelb., 1835); the *Lectures on the History of Poetry* (Tübing., 1839); the *Account and Criticism of the Proofs for the Existence of God* (Heidelb., 1840); *The Musical Systems of the Greeks* (Leips., 1847), present him to us as busied with questions connected with Æsthetics and the philosophy of religion, and show that he was thoroughly versed in these subjects. He then turns his attention to the history of philosophy; *The Genetic History of Philosophy since Kant* (Leips., 1852) contains, besides, what is the best key to Fortlage's peculiar standpoint. After the hints which he had given in this work regarding the most pressing tasks of philosophy, it was not surprising that his next work, which is the fullest he has given to the world, was the *System of Psychology as an Empirical Science* (2 vols., 1855). With this are closely connected the very charming *Eight Psychological Lectures* (Jena, 1869), which are written in a popular style. To these there were added in the same year *Six Philosophical Lectures*, and in the year 1874, *Four Psychological Lectures*. The two first reached a second edition in 1872. Besides this, he is an industrious contributor to the *Vierteljahrsschrift*, to Fichte's *Zeitschrift*, to the Heidelberg and Berlin *Jahrbücher*, to journals of light literature, all of which contain highly valuable treatises from his pen. With the exception of the epoch-making Kant, upon whose shoulders we all stand, Fortlage rates no philosopher so high as Fichte. Since he takes the absolute autonomy for his starting-point, which Kant reaches by analytic and psychological methods, and from which everything is deduced synthetically, beginning at the top and going downwards, he irrevocably transforms philosophy into pantheism. This pantheism, however, is of a transcendental sort; for the Absolute, the identity which rises superior to the contrast of subject and object, does not enter into this contrast, *i.e.*, into the world of appearance or phenomena, and is not immanent in it. The damage done to the Science of Knowledge by Schelling and Hegel, simply consists in their having conceived of pantheism as immanent, since they both put the phenomenal world,—represented in the case of the one by nature, and in that of the other by history,—in the place of the Absolute. Fichte, on the other hand, transfers the standpoint of the spectator entirely from the one

Kantian world to the other, from the world of sense to the moral world, in which the many phenomenal Egos,—Egos of appearance, or individuals,—vanish in presence of the absolute Ego, which, in all individuals alike, addresses itself as Ego, *i.e.*, autonomously. This transcendental pantheism is radical or absolute idealism, and is quite openly expressed in the original *Science of Knowledge*; while in Fichte's later writings it is not in the least altered, but only concealed under the cover of a certain timidity. (For this reason, Fortlage describes as realistic every standpoint which approaches that of immanence, and therefore, too, that of Schopenhauer, because he thinks of the phenomenal ego as absolute.) According to the *Science of Knowledge*, the Godhead is the absolute Ego itself, which therefore can never appear to the relative finite Ego as a Thou, but only as an extension of itself, a freeing of itself from certain limits. Accordingly, we must not speak, as Baader does, as if the relation between God and the Ego was one in which the one stands *above* the other, as the world of truth and the world of appearance, but as if the relation were one in which the one may stand *in place of* the other. The mythology of Theism is surmounted by means of the Science of Knowledge; but so too is Materialism. Both, as the fate of the Hegelian School has shown, crop up as soon as the attempt is made to maintain the immanence of autonomy in place of its transcendence, by doing which we relapse from idealism to realism. That a return to the pure and absolute idealism of the *Science of Knowledge* is necessary, seems to be felt by some of those who combat Hegel's immanent pantheism. There is need of something else, however, and to this the views of those men have pointed who were stimulated by Fichte, but who went their own way, and who may be called Semi-Kantians. To the *a priori* deductions of the *Science of Knowledge* must be added the counter proof, or the mathematical proof, in a psychology which proceeds according to empirical methods. A beginning was made in this direction by Herbart, whose psychology is essentially an attempt to elevate the Science of Knowledge to the rank of an exact science. Even if there is much to object to in Herbart's standpoint,—above all, that he has foisted plurality into the absolute existence, and further, that his practical philosophy is very weak,—still there should be no mistake about his great merit in having opened up wholly

new outlooks for psychology. This merit still belongs to him, even although he has fallen back from the standpoint of the *Science of Knowledge* to that of realism, and just because he stops short at the idea of immanence. Finite existence consists in fact, according to the *Science of Knowledge*, of two factors or potencies, which in their transcendental condition constitute a state of repose or stable equilibrium, but in their immanent condition appear in a state of unrest or unstable equilibrium. These are, the rational factor, or the Ego, and the irrational factor, or the Non-ego. The former is capable of being posited absolutely, while the latter cannot be so posited; and accordingly, in the state of unrest which marks immanence, it is only partly posited, that is in the form of appearance, just as the Ego is only partly annulled, *i.e.*, it also takes the form of appearance. Thus immanence or appearance consists of two semi-existences which, taken together, are not indeed equivalent to pure existence, but can introduce something analogous to it, or something which is a false substitute for it. Since existence in itself is quite the same whether it is divided into two semi-existences or returns into the truth of its absolute calm and perfection, the absolute existence ought not to be brought so close to the phenomenal as to make it possible to think that it may be grasped in any one point of the phenomenal; nor, on the other hand, ought it to be so far hidden away behind the phenomenal, that the factors of the phenomenal come to be out of connection with it. Herbart commits the first blunder, for in his theories we are constantly coming across, complete subjects, absolutes, resting points of speculation. (Fries falls into the opposite mistake, for he renounces all knowledge of anything absolute.) Like Herbart, Schopenhauer and Beneke have also, to be sure, fallen back to Realism; but they have opened out new paths for psychology, the former by laying stress on impulse, that is volition, the latter by emphasizing the mechanism connected with the formation of ideas. The only way of rendering a great service to the Science of Knowledge is to reconstruct according to psychological methods the results which have been synthetically arrived at; and indeed the fact that Kant discovered its premises in a psychological way already points in this direction. If the Ego in its broken state would learn, by pursuing the method of psychological analysis, to rediscover in itself the traces and traits of the

absolute Ego, then the revivifying principle would once more be laid hold of, and by this means philosophy would be able to awake from its dream-like absorption in nature and history, and become alive to what is the truly human reality, a perfected psychology.—In the historical work from which all the foregoing propositions are taken, Fortlage had given expression to the wish which he hoped would be fulfilled; and in his *System of Psychology* he himself seeks to contribute to the fulfilment of it. It may astonish many, that Fortlage, who was so enthusiastic about the *Science of Knowledge*, should have chosen from among the three men whom he had mentioned as the prophets of a new psychology, the very one as guide who had seen in Fichte the real destroyer of philosophy. (*Vid.* § 234, 2.) And yet this approach to Beneke is intelligible. Not only was Schopenhauer's theory of volition found to be compatible with Fichte's doctrine, that impulse rules the phenomenal world, but also Beneke's teaching, according to which the original faculties exist first in the form of effort. If, in order to complete presentation, we now take, not the satisfying of the sense of effort, as Beneke does, but, like Fortlage, take the limitation or resistance as the second factor, then with very slight modifications the "new psychology" may be turned to account in the service of the *Science of Knowledge*. Moreover, Beneke's psychology commended itself to an apostle of the *Science of Knowledge* who placed the natural and rational impulses in one and the same series, while certainly regarding them as different potencies, by the fact that according to it the corporeal is only the spiritual depotentiated. (Since Fortlage applies the name materialism to this way of surmounting dualism—a way with which he agrees—this confirms what was pointed out above, when Beneke's spiritualism was under discussion.) To one, however, who was acquainted with the natural sciences, and who saw how the law of the conservation and transposition of forces in motion was daily opening up new perspectives, this thought must have appeared of much higher importance than Beneke himself had imagined. When, as Fortlage's colleague Snell, in his able exposition of materialism, had done with the process of sensation, impulse was placed in a similar relation to the electric current in the nerves, as that in which heat stands to suddenly arrested movement, such propositions of Fichte's as, presentation is

arrested impulse, and others, also received an entirely new significance. To these material peculiarities of Beneke's psychology was then added the formal one, that it, more than any other psychology, really followed wholly the example of the natural sciences. Fortlage, in short, hails Beneke as the real creator of a true empirical psychology; and he has also raised, in his lectures, a splendid monument of his veneration for his character. This does not mean that he became his follower, but that he learned from him to give simply an analysis of the perceptions given in consciousness, and to let all questions about the metaphysical essence of the soul alone, not because they are unanswerable but because they are premature. Similarly, he also learned to combat the delusion, which prevents the specific character of inner experience being recognised, that psychology becomes a science only when it is made a chapter of physiology. In particular, he succeeds in doing this by taking up the physiological question in the second part, after he is done with the psychological question. Fortlage himself states that the two points with which the psychological investigation is mainly occupied are *impulse*, which analysis finally reaches as being primary and as what lies at the foundation of everything, and *reason* or reflective activity, which determines the ascription of actions to us and our moral personality. What the *Science of Knowledge* lays stress upon as an unavoidable conclusion, namely, that in the mechanism of the impulses we are to see nothing but reason which has not yet risen to self-consciousness, is here to be empirically reached by its being shown how, by means of continuous arrest and transformation (the process of becoming latent), there arise from the original impulse the states of attention, questioning, doubt, etc., up to reflection and knowledge. Of the nine chapters into which the whole investigation is divided, four belong to the first volume. They treat of consciousness (pp. 53-118), of the general qualities of the matter of presentation (pp. 119-238), of the special qualities of the matter of presentation (pp. 239-384), of the relation of consciousness to the matter of presentation (pp. 385-491). The second volume treats of the vegetative impulses (pp. 33-112), of the impulses in the nervous system (pp. 113-218), of psychical activities in the narrower sense (pp. 219-293), of sense-knowledge (pp. 294-389), of will (pp. 390-489). Both parts are preceded by introductions, of

which that to the first calls for special attention, because it contains highly instructive explanations of the psychological and physical conceptions of force, and suggests that in the imponderables we have the intermediate link between physical force and impulse. Besides the difficulty of the subject, the peculiar terminology employed by Fortlage makes the reading of his works difficult. It resembles to a certain degree that employed by Herbart and Beneke, but for the most part it is new. The strictness with which he makes distinctions renders necessary the use of a large number of new expressions, and there are not many readers who will readily remember them. The arrangement of the separate chapters, too, is not such as always to make it easy to take a general view of the whole subject; but any one who in spite of this studies the book, will find that he has learned something from it. Any one who wishes to get a glimpse of the author's standpoint in an easier way, should read the *Eight Lectures*; and, in particular, he will find the last, on materialism and idealism, of great service in this respect. Here, also, as well as in the larger work, Fortlage's anti-monadological tendency is constantly coming into view either in the emphasis he lays upon the unity of spirit, or in the frank assertion of his belief in pantheism, or in the way in which he takes the doctrine of the world-soul under his protection.—While Fortlage places a high value indeed upon the *Science of Knowledge* looked at from the side of its bearings on life (and in particular where he considers its relation to socialism), he extols it in a very special way as the pantheistic theory of the universe, which cannot take the place of religion simply because the method inseparable from it is accessible only to a few. Another thinker, again, lays stress almost exclusively on its ethical importance, which he considers renders Fichte the greatest of all philosophers. KARL BAYER, when he studied under Hegel in Berlin, occupied quite a peculiar position in the circle of his fellow-students, owing to the fact that, having attended Schelling's lectures at Erlangen, he did not treat him as one long since buried. After having won an honourable position in the very varied spheres in which he had shown his activity, he came before the reading public with his work: *To Fichte's Memory* (Leips., 1836), which was speedily followed by *The Idea of Freedom and the Conception of Thought* (Erlangen, 1837). The recognition he received

from L. Feuerbach in the *Hallische Jahrbücher* was deserved, even if it was too much in the style of a panegyric. *Considerations on the Moral Spirit*, etc. (Erlangen, 1839), and the magazine entitled *The Moral World* (Erlangen, 1840), which unfortunately was very soon given up, were published soon after the works mentioned above. In all of these there is evidence of a mind refined by the study of the ancients and tempered by the experience of life, which seeks to restore the forgotten conception of virtue, and to remind a public which was no longer accustomed to think of them, of the postulates of freedom and unselfish love. In seeking to carry out this aim, as will readily be understood, he often follows the same lines as Fichte. As in the case of the latter, so too in that of Bayer, we feel infallibly certain in everything that he writes, that words and life correspond. WILHELM BUSSE reminds us of Fichte in a wholly different sense, or, if you will, in an opposite sense. In his work: *J. G. Fichte and his Relations to the Present State of the German People* (1st vol., Halle, 1849), he attempts to prove from the fact that in Fichte philosophy led to the glorifying of nationality, while philosophy is meant to be a knowledge which goes beyond the limits of a distinct nationality, that philosophy has destroyed itself and has come to an end.

4. Since in these *Outlines* the view has been repeatedly maintained, that Fichte's later doctrines are quite different from the original *Science of Knowledge*, we must decide in the case of every one who confessedly connects his speculations with those of Fichte, whether his starting-point has been the earlier or the later *Science of Knowledge*. To those who thus connect their views with those of Fichte, and who are of opinion that there is no difference whatever between Fichte's earlier and later doctrines, such a decision may seem quite arbitrary; and they may perhaps pronounce it caprice, that Fortlage and the YOUNGER FICHTE (*vid.* § 332, 4) should be here separated from each other, the former as the continuator of the original *Science of Knowledge*, the latter as that of the later. This separation is warranted by the fact that Fortlage regards Fichte's later doctrines as a veiling of the original one, while Fichte junior regards them as an unveiling of it. The works by means of which I. H. Fichte took a share in the dissolution of the Hegelian School have already been mentioned. To them, apart from magazine articles, may be added,

Speculative Theology, which forms the third part of his system (Heidelb., 1846). This was followed, after a long pause, by the *System of Ethics*, 2 vols. (Leips., 1850-53); and after this, Fichte devoted himself entirely to subjects in the domain of psychology. As the basis of psychology, first appeared the *Anthropology* (Leips., 1856), which has already reached a third edition. The main propositions contained in it are repeated as introductory propositions in the *Psychology* (First Part, Leips., 1864, Second Part, *idem*). Before the appearance of this work, Fichte published: *On the Question of the Soul, a Philosophical Confession*, and after its appearance, *The Continued Existence of the Soul, and Man's Place in the World* (Leips., 1867). Soon after, there appeared the *Miscellaneous Writings*, 2 vols. (Leips., 1869), which consisted partly of what had already appeared in print, and partly of unpublished matter. The preface to the first volume of the last-mentioned work, and the first paper, which contains an account of Fichte's philosophical self-culture, are specially welcome, because they supplement the more incidental explanations with regard to his standpoint given in § 332, 4. Fichte expressly defines as the starting-point of his philosophical culture the "standpoint of the *Science of Knowledge* in its later form," which "still had too firm a hold on him" when he wrote his *Knowledge as Knowledge of Self*. At that time, it is true, he was already firmly convinced that philosophy must be based on a theory of knowledge, and that it must be theosophy. Later, however, it became clear to him, particularly owing to a deeper study of Kant, that only a basis of anthropology and psychology makes such a system possible as he aims at constructing, viz., an ethical theism which is panentheism. He himself designates the *Psychology* as the work in which the truth of this standpoint has been established in a perfectly decided way; but he says that the *Anthropology* belongs to the *Psychology* and forms the introduction to it. That the very book which contains what is essentially the key to Fichte's doctrines, and constitutes the basis for the other branches of philosophy, should have appeared last, has had unfortunate results, so far as Fichte is concerned. For, owing to the fact that, in connection with these psychological investigations, attention is constantly being directed to the ethical and religious doctrines which have their basis in psychology, the complaint has frequently been expressed, that he repeats him-

self a great deal. That Fichte, in the course of an active life extending over more than forty years, has not kept to the views which he developed in his first works—which he himself will admit—is to his credit. But it is difficult for him, as it is for everybody else, to admit to himself and to the world that what he has once laid before the public is wrong. Hence the trouble he takes to bring his earlier assertions into harmony with what he discovered at a later period. The consequence is, that the earlier views often get a wholly different meaning, and the reader is at a loss to know whether he has ever understood Fichte. For the historian, scarcely anything remains, in characterizing the principal works, but to follow the chronology. Before the publication of the *Speculative Theology* as the third part of the ontology, fragments of it had appeared in smaller essays, which Fichte either refers to or essentially incorporates in the complete work. The introduction is attached to the theory of knowledge and ontology, and at once states definitely Fichte's relation to his predecessors, particularly to Schelling and Hegel. Their Absolute,—the identity of the subjective and objective,—is really only world-reason. We must pass beyond this to its ground, through which it is explained and ceases to be blind reason. What is last with Hegel, is simply the relative Absolute. It must be taken as a problem, and by getting a basis for it the true Absolute must be discovered; and this is the personal God, and not simply the world-subject. The investigation is divided into three parts, the *first* of which (§ 14-64) develops the Idea of God from the conception of the world, ontologically from the world as the sum of finite existences, cosmologically from the world as a system of specific differences, teleologically from the world as a graduated series of means and ends. The *second* part (§ 65-155) treats of the being of God in and for itself, and the comprehensibility of God, the idea of absolute personality and the divine attributes are discussed in three sections. The *third* part treats of the being of God in relation to the "other" in Him. This is done in three sections, which take up the creation, preservation, and perfecting of the finite world. The theory of the universe of monads must be regarded as, at least, one of the principal points, since Fichte himself agrees that it is to be considered as such. In opposition to Hegel, who allows the finite to be taken up into the infinite, and thus reaches pantheism, Fichte

maintains that, as nothing really comes into being nor passes away, the finite too, since it is not only phenomenal but real, is eternal. Thus the manifestation of the finite, which certainly loses its independent existence, must bring us to recognise in it the really eternal existence of the finite which is not found simply in the Absolute, but in the eternal primitive ways in which the Absolute realizes itself. When, further, these primitive ways in which the Absolute realizes itself are comprised in God as the *real* infinitude, or as nature, from which God creates the world, and over which he is Lord, not as one who comes into being but as eternally existing, and as one who is a personal God, Fichte is conscious of having points of contact with Böhme and Baader. (This now leads him to adopt Baader's distinction between true and false time, true and false space. It is, however, a question whether his views do not thus come into contradiction with what he, in agreement with Weisse, had taught at an earlier period. The inclusion in his system of the world-æther adopted by the physicists, seems to be attended with still more unfortunate results. Fichte, in an odd way, brings forward this æther as the recognised agent, too, in the origin of musical tones.) When, finally, the perfection of the world is placed in the love which takes an active form in the God-man, Fichte expressly points out that it is here simply the conceivability of the God-man which is alleged, and that he is not expressing any opinion whatever on a question which it is the province of the philosophy of history to decide upon. A retrospect of the results of the *Speculative Theology*, lays claim to the honour of having given a metaphysic which solves the problem of the world from the highest standpoint. The *first volume* of the *System of Ethics*, with which Fichte appeared before the public four years after the publication of his *Speculative Theology*, is made up of a critical and historical survey of ethical theories since the middle of the eighteenth century. Of the Germans, Kant, Fichte, Schelling, Hegel, Krause, Schleiermacher, Herbart and Schopenhauer, are fully treated of. So, too, are the theological tendency shown in the theory of the State, and the historical theory of law, as represented amongst others by Schlegel, Baader, Steffens, Savigny, Puchta and Stahl. In the second book, the theories of the English and French schools are discussed. He treats of the Anglo-Scottish moral systems from Hobbes to Wollaston, from Locke to Ferguson,

from Reid to Mackintosh and Hamilton, and finally Jeremy Bentham, following for the most part the accounts of others. He then goes on to the French, and takes up the sensualistic school, spiritualism and the eclectic school, the political authors since Montesquieu, and finally socialism and communism. His standard of judgment as respects the contents is as follows : Does the system start by maintaining that the idea of eternal personality—of genius—is warranted by reason, and does it hold fast to the three ethical ideas which follow from this, those namely of law, of the community as the complement of individual life, and of the immanence of God? Formally considered, it is : Do the conceptions of duty, virtue, and property have justice done to them in the system? Judging by this standard, Fichte thinks that, among the Germans, a high place ought to be assigned to the ethical theories of Krause and Schleiermacher, and a very low one to that of Hegel. The English moral systems are treated with great respect, as is usual in German books. Fichte asserts that, among the French, he agrees most closely with P. Leroux. Proudhon's merit is declared to consist in his having correctly shown, by his scepticism, how the one-sided views which have hitherto been prevalent destroy themselves (treat themselves with irony). In the *second* or descriptive part, Fichte's own theories are discussed, and it is indeed in the *general* part, after ethics has been defined in the introduction as the theory of the original will of man, that we first get an explanation of the system of ethical ideas and human freedom. In the first of these, the three ideas above referred to are brought prominently forward; but in treating of the life in common which rounds off human life, a distinction is made between the two ideas of benevolence and perfection. The idea of freedom is followed out through the different stages of volition up to the point where it appears in the form of character which is in conformity with the highest good. In the *special* part, the doctrines of virtue and duty are discussed, and much more fully than either of these, the doctrine of property. It is shown how the realization of the idea of Law takes place in the relations which are based on private law; how that of the life in common which completes human life is seen in family law, the law of the community, state law, and the law of nations; how that of the indwelling of God takes place in the Church, which exercises its highest function in the mission

which it has of realizing the idea of humanity.—Since both in Fichte's earlier works, and particularly in his Ethics also, genius and the justification of genius play an important rôle, one cannot but feel pleased when he at last explains this idea more precisely than he has done before. This he does in the *Anthropology* and in the *Psychology* which is connected with it, and does it so carefully that we may pronounce genius to be the really fundamental conception and kernel of Fichte's psychological investigations. Since the inner personality is to be thought of as taking a bodily form, while fancy again is the essentially formative power of the soul, the fact that in Fichte's psychology fancy plays the most important rôle does not conflict with what has been stated above. The destiny of man is, that in his outer body he should manifest his inner body, which becomes visible in gesture and physiognomy and cannot be lost, so that the body of the future will consist entirely of gestures. (Since æther is to be the means by which this inner body is to be formed, Fichte has certainly a right to protest against the statement that he does not allow the soul to receive an ætherial body till after death. He cannot say, however, that he has never taught the doctrine of a body composed of æther.) The idea of inner body as the temporal and spatial form of the soul's individuality gives Fichte the chance of expressing his views regarding his relation to Fortlage, and upon the appearances of spirits, and upon what Schopenhauer had said about these. Here particularly, more than anywhere else, Fichte manifests a desire to agree with everybody, even though criticism should suffer somewhat by this proceeding. A great deal of what is said regarding ecstatic states, exercising influence from a distance, and the like, could scarcely withstand criticism. As Ethics leads in the end to the renunciation of self-will, whereby we come into accord with God's will, in the same way Psychology brings us to the point at which anthroposophy becomes theosophy. Not only is the artistic creative fancy aware that it is an inspiration, but psychology too, when perfectly developed, shows us how not only volition and knowledge, but also the feeling of self, leads us to the thought that there lives in and through us something which is more than human; which when renunciation takes place is penetrated by a feeling of the certainty of the eternal self, and in which the love of the personal God which we experience is for us the guarantee of this

personality. Since the foregoing abstract of Fichte's works was made, two other closely connected works have appeared, which make it much easier for us to get an insight into his theory of the universe. These are: *The Theistic View of the World and its Justification* (Leips., 1873); and *Questions and Reflections regarding the approaching Development of German Speculation* (Leips., 1876). (The latter was an epistle to Zeller occasioned by his work referred to in § 287.) To arrive at a decision as between mechanism and teleology, and therefore, too, as between atheism and theism, is regarded as the problem of the present. By the choice of the latter, however, truth is not yet reached; for the naturalistic theism of Schelling, as well as the speculative theism of Weisse, deviate from the truth, because they overlook the peculiar character of our speculations, which make man their centre. From Kant, who was the first to maintain this in its entirety, we must learn that the startingpoint of our speculations is to be found in what is given in experience, and therefore in the world, from which we, by reasoning deductively, reach the First Cause. It will therefore depend on our conception of the world, whether we stop with the idea of the unity of the world, or with that of a world-soul, or that of a transcendental original subject, as ethical theism does. Besides Kant, Leibnitz must be named as the second main pillar upon which the philosophy of the present rests. He must be so regarded, not only because by his individualism he opposes the pantheism of Spinoza, just as Herbart has opposed in recent years the Hegelian pantheism, and not only, further, because by means of teleology he has put mechanism back into its proper limits, and because his idea of harmony points to an intelligent cause of mechanism, but because his doctrine of monads supplies a point of connection for one of the most important doctrines of psychology. According to this doctrine, the human spirit not only contains in its consciousness certain elements which are prior to experience, but is itself a being of an *a priori* nature existing prior to experience, from which by its own act it raises itself to the condition of a conscious subjectivity. Hegel did not sufficiently appreciate these two greatest philosophers of Germany, and therefore he belongs to that Spinozistic period which has now expired. Of the more recent philosophers, a higher place is given to Franz v. Baader than Fichte had hitherto assigned to him.

5. The same intermediate position that was assigned to Fichte's doctrine in its altered form was also assigned to the views of Schleiermacher. Long before the attempt was made to create a school for the deceased master by publishing an edition of his works,—a thing that Schleiermacher had never any desire to do while he was alive,—two men had been stimulated by him, whom we can scarcely be accused of robbing of their originality, if we say that they took the theories of Schleiermacher as their starting-point. The one, HEINRICH RITTER (born Nov. 21st, 1791, in Zerbst; for a long time a professor in Berlin; after 1833, in Kiel; next, for a series of years, in Göttingen, where he died on Feb. 3rd, 1862), had been attracted especially by Schleiermacher's way of treating the history of philosophy. He shows, however, that he had many points of contact with his teacher and friend, by his non-historical works as well, among which may be mentioned, *On the Relation of Philosophy to Life in General* (Berlin, 1835); *On the Knowledge of God in the World* (Hamb., 1836); *On Evil* (Kiel, 1839); and also by his *System of Logic and Metaphysics* (Götting., 1856), and by the *Philosophy of Nature* (Götting., 1864). The other, J. PT. ROMANG, who was first a teacher of philosophy and afterwards a clergyman in Switzerland, wrote: *On Moral Matters, presupposing Determinism to be True* (Bern, 1833), and *On the Freedom of the Will and Determinism* (*Idem*, 1835), in a way which reminded every one of Schleiermacher's doctrine of election. His *System of Natural Theology* (Zürich, 1841), and *The Newest Pantheism* (Bern, 1848), involved him in a dispute with the Ultra-Hegelians.

6. Those who appropriated the ideas of the System of Identity, not in order that they might abide by them, but in order to further work out their consequences, are too numerous to allow of their all being mentioned in a brief sketch, even if one were acquainted with them all. Only types of certain groups of phenomena can be introduced here. After having studied in a thoroughly systematic manner first the theories of Kant and then those of Reinhold and Jacobi, DAVID THEODOR AUGUST SUABEDISSEN (born April 14th, 1773, for a long time teacher of philosophy in Hanau, then tutor to the last Elector of Hesse, from 1822 until his death, May 14th, 1835, professor of philosophy in Marburg) took up late in life the study of Spinoza and the System of Identity, while at

the same time always continuing to occupy himself with the subjective theories of Jacobi and others. His activity as an author was at first shown especially in connection with education. He first applied himself to writing upon philosophy in his great work, *A Study of Man* (3 vols., Cassel, 1815-18), which was followed by the *Introduction to Philosophy* (Marburg, 1827), *Outlines of the Theory of Man* (Marb., 1829), and finally by *Outlines of the Philosophical theory of Religion* (1831). His *Outlines of Metaphysics* was not published till after his death (1836), and makes us regret that so many of his things have not been printed. While with Suabedissen it may be easily shown that his strong pedagogical interest displayed itself in his studies of Spinoza and Schelling, it lay in the nature of the case that we should see something entirely different, where enthusiastic love of Nature and Art is the characteristic of a man's life and has determined his choice of a vocation. KARL GUSTAV CARUS (born Jan. 3rd, 1789, at Leipsic, where he was for a long time *privat-docent* in medicine, came to Dresden in 1815, became royal physician in ordinary in 1827, and died while holding this office, on the 28th of July, 1869), was fifteen years younger than Suabedissen. It was in the first instance owing to his splendid æsthetic and artistic culture, and next owing to the circumstance that comparative anatomy, which he naturalized in Germany, had been previously declared by Schelling to be a desideratum, that he was inclined to adopt the teachings of the latter, and has developed them into that pantheistic poetical conception of the world which makes his writings so attractive. It will be understood how one who was a thoughtful observer of form and a devotee of morphology has received less recognition, at a time when contempt for these is held to be the distinguishing feature of an exact investigator, than he would have received at a time when Meckel was excused even for propounding his theory of transitions. We mention, of course, only those works of Carus which have a philosophical interest: *Lectures on Psychology* (Leips., 1831); *Twelve Letters on Life upon the Earth* (Stuttg., 1841); *Outlines of a New Craniology on a Scientific Basis* (Stuttgart, 1841. With an atlas, 1843); *Psyche: A Contribution to the History of the Development of the Soul* (Pforzheim, 1846); *System of Physiology* (2 vols., 2nd ed., Leips., 1847-49), *Physis: A Contribution to the History of Bodily Life* (Stuttg., 1851), *Symbolism of the*

Human Form (Leips., 1853); *Organum of the Knowledge of Nature and Spirit* (1856); *Nature and Idea* (Vienna, 1861); *Comparative Psychology* (Vienna, 1860); *Recollections and Memoirs* (4 vols., Leips., 1865). The ideas of Schelling took a wholly different form, again, from what they had done in the case of the educationist and tutor of princes, or in that of the scientist who was an artist and the friend of a king, when they laid hold of a man who was living in an isolated position, and who by individual taste and vocation had his attention directed to a study of the religious consciousness, and who was absorbed in it. According to his own confession, it was the beautiful intellectual spring-time awakened by Schelling, which spread its warmth over the youth of the Finlander KARL SEDERHOLM, and won him over to the cause of German culture. He was a clergyman, first in Finland and afterwards in Moscow, and lived for a long time in an entirely solitary position. He published a series of writings the main results of which are presented in the *Eternal Facts, Outlines of a Union of Christianity and Philosophy* (2nd ed., Leips., 1859). The second and third parts of this work appeared under a different title, as *The Spiritual Cosmos: A World Theory of Reconciliation* (Leips., 1859). His rage at Hegel often borders on hate; and he considers Hegel's identity of opposites as the cardinal error of the most recent forms which philosophy has taken, while he applies the primal law of contraries universally; and in accordance with this he first deduces from the eternal one or the Absolute, the contrast of God and the world. As the contrast of Father and Son shows itself in the former, so within the latter we have that of Spirit, which is God, and of Nature, which is not God. He rejects the doctrine of the Trinity held by the Church; and he is in general very indifferent about the triplicity after which modern philosophers make such wild chase.

7. In §§ 321 and 322 the systems were characterized which abandoned the Theory of Knowledge and the System of Identity while partly combating them and partly combining them. Of the former class Herbart's system was there mentioned first. Whether it is because his doctrines form such a strict unity, or whether it is for other reasons, no attempt has as yet been made to further develop them systematically. Even Drobisch, who is indisputably the most important member of the school, has only modified them so far as is wont to happen when

objections are taken up which have been made from a wholly different standpoint. Herbart's ideas were really altered and made productive only when they came into contact with other elements, which furthered them particularly by rousing opposition. THEODOR WAITZ was one of the few who, even when his views had diverged to a large extent from those of Herbart, yet recognised in him the greatest philosopher of modern times; and he was accordingly, even to the last, considered by the school as one of its members. He was born at Gotha in 1821, and made himself known to the philosophical public by his splendid edition of Aristotle's *Organon* (Marb., 1844). After having entered upon a professorship of philosophy at Marburg, he appeared as a writer in the department of thought to which he has since confined his activity as an author, namely that of anthropological psychology. The *Foundation of Psychology* (Hamb., 1846), and the *Manual of Psychology as Natural Science* (Braunsch., 1849), which mutually supplement each other, are the writings which are of the most importance in determining his philosophical standpoint; for his fullest work, *The Anthropology of Uncivilized Peoples* (Leips., 1st vol., 1859, 5th vol. 1st Part, 1865), which was interrupted by his death in 1864, contains, in addition to an enormous amount of material, critical remarks upon others with a negative result, rather than positive statements regarding the disputed questions in anthropology. Although Waitz repeatedly declares that he rests his views upon Herbart's principles, that Herbart's theory is the only one which is compatible with the results of science, and so on; and although, when he speaks of idealism, we might think we were listening to the scolding of Exner, Allihn, or some other follower of Herbart, still the place which he ascribes to psychology is not one which can be reconciled with Herbart's principles. In the present sad condition of philosophical studies, he thinks it ought to be made the foundation of philosophy. That is to say, Waitz simply allows that Beneke was justified in saying what he did against Herbart. Waitz wishes to have psychology designated as science, because it too adopts the fundamental assumption of all science, that everything stands in a relation of rigid causal connection; and because it, just like the other sciences, by an analysis of what is given in experience, reaches an hypothesis from which it further synthetically deduces phenomena. It certainly differs from all other sciences in so far as its stand-

point is constituted, not by the most complicated, but just by the simplest of all processes, sense impressions, from which it goes on to hypothesis, and from that again to the combinations of those simplest processes. The fundamental hypothesis is that of a simple soul not existing in space, which by way of reciprocity reacts against what is external to it, namely the nerves, and thus comes to exist in different states. This hypothesis is logically possible and does for us what neither materialism nor modern idealism is able to do. Of the four sections into which the Manual is divided, the first treats of the essence of the soul and of the universal laws which govern the formation of presentations; the second, of what has to do with the senses; the third, of the heart, *i.e.* of feelings and desires; and the fourth, of intelligence. The conclusion is devoted to the consideration of character. The appendix to the first section is interesting in relation to Waitz's position; as in it he gives expression to his views on Herbart's psychology and examines the applicability of mathematics to psychology.—In the first edition of these *Outlines* it was said of Schopenhauer,—who was described in the section above referred to as the antagonist of Herbart, and as an antagonist who was working towards the realization of a similar aim,—that he had not been long enough dead for continuators of his system to make themselves known. Matters have altered, however, since the time when this was written. E. von Hartmann has made the attempt,—which was speedily rewarded with celebrity,—to represent Schopenhauer's standpoint as one which, on his own principles, stood in need of being supplemented; and he has himself sought to supply this supplement. The more exact account of Von Hartmann is not given here but further on (§ 347, 5), because he repeatedly refers to his agreement with the views expressed in Schelling's positive philosophy; and an account would first have to be given of this, before a judgment could be passed upon what Hartmann has accomplished. On the other hand, since he so expressly declares that the way by which he reached results similar to those reached by Schelling was wholly different from that followed by the latter, this must justify us, even in his eyes, for not treating of him in this section, as one who started from Schelling, but for taking him up in the one following.—With Herbart and Schopenhauer, as the opponents of the System of Identity and the Theory of Knowledge, were connected in our account those who occupied

an intermediate position between these two standpoints. Amongst these, Von Berger occupied a prominent position. As an author, but still more as an academic lecturer, he has exercised a lasting influence upon many; but this influence was of such a kind that they did not stop short at the point he had reached. Owing to the position he took up respecting Hegel, we can easily understand how many of his pupils afterwards became Hegelians. The man in whose works the impulse given by Von Berger may be most distinctly recognised was influenced by other philosophical systems at the same time, and must therefore be treated of later (§ 347, 8). Solger was for a time extolled by the Hegelian School as representing the stage of thought immediately preceding that of Hegel, and Hotho clearly owes some of the things in his views on æsthetics to his devoted and thorough study of Solger. In reference, finally, to Steffens it was already remarked before, that BRANISS cannot be called his pupil in the sense in which we are accustomed to use that word. He was, however, at any rate strongly influenced by him in various ways; and his agreement with Steffens' views regarding the absolute act, in contrast to Hegel's absolute thought, is so close that we cannot avoid supposing that the one first conceived of it, and that the other appropriated it. Which of the two suggested the thought to the other is a point that remains undecided. The *Metaphysic* of Braniss, characterized above, was followed by *The History of Philosophy since Kant* (First Part, Breslau, 1842). Unfortunately, this first part, which gives a survey of the development of philosophy in ancient and mediæval times, was all that was published. Besides the extremely able statement of his views on the separate phases of the history of philosophy,—and his characterization of Epicureanism and Stoicism forms a specially fine part,—we here meet with extremely thoughtful discussions on the immanence and transcendence of God, which prove how carefully Braniss followed the pantheistic movements in the Hegelian School, and how independently he had at the same time developed his own views. *The Scientific Problem of the Present*, etc. (Breslau, 1848), is a hodegetic lecture which was delivered in Breslau. The thought which is followed out in it is, that the Idea of history is essentially the principle which lies at the basis of the culture of our time, and that for this very reason the philosophy of history is the result of the development of modern speculation. He shows, moreover,

what form will be taken by a theory of the universe based on the philosophy of history, for which, in his view, Kant's moral ideal, Fichte's immanent ego, Schelling's absolute identity, and Hegel's absolute contradiction have all equally and to a large extent paved the way. This theory rests on the principle that the absolute is recognised as self-action, and thus as subject and ego, and therefore as a real God. In this way we reach a state, not of dependence upon religion such as we see in the case of the scholastics, but one in which we recognise religion as a friendly helpmate. This method of taking history as the basis of speculation is superior to that of previous systems which make nature the foundation, and which, just because of this, lead us no further than to the conception of God as existing before the world, and not to the conception of Him as existing in a real way outside of the world, which, however, does not at all do away with the immanence of God in the world.

8. Among the systems which sought to escape both pantheism and its opposite, by setting up a concrete monotheism, a special place was given to Schelling's theory of freedom in § 323. It deserves this, for the further reason, that the number of those upon whose development it exercised a demonstrable influence, is much greater than in the case of the other theories. Along with Stahl, who afterwards struck out a wholly different path, the first philosophical work of JACOB SENGLER (born in 1799, professor in Freiburg, [died in Freiburg, Nov. 5th, 1878.—Ed.]) was mentioned in § 323, 3, as the one which attracted attention to Schelling's *Munich Lectures*. This was done in the first volume. The second contains a very full discussion of Baader's theosophy, which Sengler, at a still later time, places in a similar relation to Jacob Böhme, as that in which Molitor stands to the Cabala. Sengler shows himself much more independent in his work, *The Idea of God* (2 vols. Heidelb., 1845, 47), than in the two introductions; and, as will be easily understood, this is manifest in the second part, which takes up in two divisions, the ideas of God and the world, or speculative theology and cosmology, still more than in the first part, which is historical and critical. The first part, in short, by means of a criticism of polytheism, pantheism, and abstract monotheism, clears the ground for concrete monotheism, the requirements of which are, however, not met by Schelling, even in his doctrines in their altered form. The doctrine of the Trinity, as being the

distinction drawn between the essence of God and his nature, can alone supply us with the data for a monotheism of this sort; and so, too, it alone can render possible the construction of a correct theory of the world, in its undeveloped state, its realization and reality, its preservation, redemption, and perfection. After a long pause in Sengler's literary activity, the first part of his *Theory of Knowledge* appeared in the year 1858. K. PHIL. FISCHER was mentioned in § 332, 5, as having likewise been strongly influenced by Schelling's *Munich Lectures*. The influence of these lectures, as well as that of the other heroes of philosophy mentioned in the same place, is recognisable in Fischer's *Idea of the Godhead* (1839), and still, also, in his most celebrated book, *Outlines of the System of Philosophy* (3 parts in 4 volumes, Erlangen; afterwards Erlangen and Frankfurt, 1845-55). In a critical introduction, it is shown how the conception of philosophy has risen through idealism to absolutism. The philosophical system is then divided into three sciences; into the science of objective and subjective logic, which deals with the methods of thought and being, and their conformability to law, and thus contains ontology and dialectic; and into the sciences of the concrete objects of reason, which constitute the philosophy of the real, in which Fischer's earlier *Metaphysics* is also included. This philosophy of the real is in its turn again divided into the philosophy of nature, as the science of the Idea of life, and into the philosophy of spirit. The latter is further separated into the sciences of the Ideas of subjective, objective, and absolute spirit. Logic and the philosophy of nature are treated most briefly: the first volume is devoted to them. The second volume is occupied with anthropology, or the theory of the subjective spirit; the third, with speculative ethics, or science of the subjective spirit; the fourth, with speculative theology, or the philosophy of religion. The leading idea in the philosophy of nature, is that of life; in anthropology, it is that of the soul or subjectivity; in ethics, it is that of morality or personality; and in the philosophy of religion, that of God. Naturally of less scientific importance than this work, which is the fruit of years of labour, is Fischer's well-meant book, *On the Falsehood of Sensualism and Materialism* (Erl., 1853), to which the work directed against me, and written in a very violent tone, *On the Impossibility of making Naturalism a Complementary Part of*

Science (Erlangen, 1854), forms a supplement. (I thought myself entitled to reply very sharply to this book in my *Memorandum* [Halle, 1854].) According to his own declaration, LEOPOLD SCHMID (born June 9th, 1808, at Zürich, died while professor of philosophy in the University of Giessen, 1869) wishes to have his efforts classed with those of Sengler and Fischer. His *Spirit of Catholicism, or First Principles of Irenics* (4 Books, Giessen, 1848, '50), justly attracted a great deal of attention; and his election as Bishop, and the fact that this election was not confirmed, made the author of the work still more famous. The brochure, *A few Words to the Thoughtful in Germany*, 1845, which he published *apropos* of the German-Catholic movement, had given a warning against neglecting the rights of the individual, in the attempt to justify the religious and national interests of man. Later, he expressed the hope that a German Synod might be of service in once more uniting the three sides of religious life, namely, order, freedom, and union in God, which occupy a foremost place in Catholicism, Protestantism, and Dissent, respectively. Finally, in the *Irenics*, he seeks to show that concrete Catholicism, which is equally removed from absolutism and anarchy, is neither intended to be separated from Evangelicism nor blended with it, but that the German spirit demands something in which both are reconciled. Owing to the fact that Baader spoke of him in such a friendly way, some regarded him as a pupil of Baader's. After he had given up lecturing on theology, and confined himself entirely to philosophy, he sought to prove in his work, *Outlines of an Introduction to Philosophy* (Giessen, 1860), that after one period of philosophy had passed away with Schelling and Hegel, a new one was beginning, which demanded a philosophy of action, or a system of energy. A beginning in this direction had been made by Sengler, Fischer, and specially by Fortlage. As these three directed their critical efforts against different philosophers, Fischer against Hegel, Sengler against Baader, Fortlage against Herbart, so, too, each one sought out a department of philosophy and a favourite philosopher: Sengler, the metaphysical parts and Schelling; Fischer, the theory of knowledge and Leibnitz; Fortlage, practical questions and Fichte. By far the greatest part of the work is occupied by the second, or critical book, which contains a full abstract of the works of the three men referred to. The

first book is the most important, if we wish to get an idea of Schmid's own views. It gives a dialectic and systematic sketch of Introduction to Philosophy, in which Schmid first develops the principle of philosophy in such a way as to discuss its relation to itself; and then describes its organization, so that he divides the branches of philosophy into the sciences of philosophical preparation, philosophical development, and philosophical culture. Introduction, logic, and psychology belong to the first; the theory of knowledge, metaphysic, and practical philosophy to the second; æsthetics, philosophy of history, and the history of philosophy to the third. Finally, in the third part of this first book, the spirit of philosophy is considered, according to its process, tendency, and results. The points of view from which he regards his subject are arranged mostly in triads, and stated with great ability, features which distinguish all that Schmid writes, and make also, in this work, the progress through the deep thoughts it contains easy and pleasant. *The Law of Personality* (Giessen, 1862) followed this work, and is in many points closely connected with it. Schmid here crowds together almost too many thoughts into a very small space, so that one often gets the impression that one is reading very witty but disconnected utterances. After having first pointed out that the course taken by all modern science points in the direction of conceiving of the existence of all forms of being—partly relative, and partly absolute—as self-determination, he shows how this, in spiritual natures, takes the form of self-absorption, self-resignation, self-recollection, self-completion. The last-mentioned is reached in concrete total freedom, which, however, is not absolute freedom, but is attained only through intercourse with absolute freedom. The original harmony of the moral law with natural law, by means of which, personality passes through the different stages of the physical, juridical, moral, and perfect person, is therefore the law of personality. Substantiality, individuality, subjectivity, personality, present themselves as the phases through which the spirit of humanity passes, and may be equally recognised in the development of art and science.

Cf. B. Schröter and F. Schwarz: *Leopold Schmid's Leben und Denken.* (Leips., 1871.)

9. Schelling's doctrine of freedom received its most interesting modification from himself in his positive philosophy, as

it is commonly called, although this name is inaccurate for the same reason which made the name philosophy of nature an inaccurate description of the System of Identity. Modification is perhaps too strong a word to describe the further development of the hints given as early as 1809; for in agreement with Sengler and with what I myself had said in my little work, *On Schelling's Negative Philosophy* (Halle, 1851), I consider the standpoint which is taken up by Schelling in his posthumous works to be the same as that upon which the investigations on the subject of freedom were based. What is really a new addition, is the fact that Schelling tells us about the impulse which Hegel's system had given him. It was already remarked above (§ 326, 3), that just on account of this, the last writings of Schelling could not be discussed until we reached this point. Hegel, by transforming the System of Identity into logic, really completed it. He showed, in fact, that the System of Identity was simply logic and nothing more, *i.e.*, that it constructs *a priori* only the conception of all existence,—the What of existence,—and does not at all trouble itself as to whether there is anything real; just in the same way as is done in geometry, which would be quite correct, even were there no real triangles at all. The fault one is compelled to find with Hegel is, that with his philosophy it is a case both of too much and too little. He over-estimates the value of the logic which he has established, when he imagines that from it, dealing as it does with what is rational, with what cannot *not* be thought, he can advance in a logical way to the real, from the *quid sit* to the *quod sit*. On the other hand, he under-estimates his logic when he adds to it a rational physiology and pneumatology, as if rational philosophy did not already contain everything, though of course only γενικῶς in a generic way. The truth is, that the system of philosophy is divided into two parts, of which the one treats of all that must necessarily be thought, which cannot *not* be and cannot be otherwise, and advances from the *primum cogitabile* onwards to the *summum cogitabile*. With it, as the first philosophy, the second is connected, and in such a way that while the former has God for its goal, and therefore looks at everything apart from God in a purely rational way, and according to pure logical necessity,—in the manner of Fichte, whose atheism accordingly has a certain merit,—the second, on the other hand, has God as its principle, and for this reason coin-

cides with philosophical religion or the philosophy of religion. They stand in contrast to each other, both as regards their aim and their method, which, in the case of the first, is that of rational deduction, and in that of the second, an exposition more of the narrative kind, admitting the empirical principle. They are accordingly described by Schelling as negative and positive philosophy; and in connection with this he might have appealed to the fact that mathematicians are accustomed so to designate the two limbs of a curve. (The truth is, that this two-limbed form taken by the system is unavoidable, since in the doctrine of freedom the monopolar line took the place of the original bipolar magnet [*vid.* § 323, 4], and when, besides, we take into consideration Fichte's demand that the system must return to where it began. And Krause and Hegel have proved this in their systems.) The negative philosophy begins then with the theory of principles or potencies, with logic and metaphysics proper. In this theory the subject-object with which the System of Identity started as a ready-made presupposition, and the contents of which were merely indicated by the investigations into freedom, when the desire or hunger for existence, etc., was under discussion, is now in the posthumous lectures on negative philosophy developed in detail according to its most essential moments. Kant himself, and particularly his *Religion within the Limits of Mere Reason*, was held in very high esteem by Schelling at this time (*vid. supra*, § 296, 4). Starting from him and from his assertion that the substance of all that is possible, *i.e.*, of all *a priori* existence, is to be thought of as individual, Schelling seeks first to show why existence must be thought of as substance, and further, what the subject of these separate forms of existence is. In connection with this, he first distinguishes three moments: The bare possibility of being, or the pure subject of being, which, if instead of being we use as formerly the letter A, would be $-A$, then the diametrical opposite of this, something which is only predicate and object ($+A$), and finally, $\pm A$, or subject-object, which has power within itself, and has the highest claim to be considered as existence. All three, however, point beyond themselves to something which supports them, after which, as it was formerly expressed, they hunger, and compared with which they are simply potencies; while this basis, seeing that it is not simply a potency, may be designated as A° . Before arriving

at this, which is the conclusion of the negative philosophy, the relations of the potencies which are necessities of thought, have to be taken up in order. There thus result: first, the principal stages which were formerly described as A^1 , A^2 , and A^3 , within which again are the subordinate stages of nature, so that the entire unaltered philosophy of nature is included within the negative philosophy, and finds itself on the road to God. Exactly the same thing holds good of psychology, about which Schelling, in his lectures on negative philosophy, expresses his views more fully than at any previous time. Since he still holds to the thought which was formerly given expression to, that there is nothing real but the will, the task of psychology is to start from the primal will as it manifests itself as the final result of the (human) soul which forms nature, to take up in order the Promethean act by which it conceived of itself as an independent Ego, and the various stages of knowledge until we reach the active understanding (which was quite correctly conceived of by Aristotle) and the practical reason, but always in such a way as to leave theological points of view entirely out of account. Practical philosophy, too, belongs to the negative philosophy, and within it the State in particular requires to be considered. The State does not limit man, but makes him free; and even in its highest form as monarchy, it is not end, but means; it is not the goal, but the presupposition of progress. Finally, still higher than in the State the ego raises itself in art and in contemplative piety, or mysticism (which is still to be distinguished from religion), as well as in contemplative science, or rational philosophy, which reaches its highest aim in that vision or intuition of God, to which Aristotle attained in his *νοήσεως νόησις*, and which is just the A^0 we have been seeking. This is conceived of in its independent existence, and as a principle, in the following way: The Ego, which, when it arose, became the beginning of a world which excluded God, thus declares itself not to be a principle, and subordinates itself to the God who was shut out, or separated from the world. The negative philosophy has thus led to God in a purely rational way, and simply by means of thought. For this very reason, however, we have discovered only the notion of God. God's existence, which can never be grasped by thought, because it has to do merely with the theoretical fact, has been thus entirely left out of account. Whether

the *summum cogitabile* which it has reached, really exists, does not concern the negative, but the positive philosophy, and the example of the ontological argument as well as that of the Hegelian system, has proved that the attempt to reach existence in a rational or negative way from the notion of existence, must end in failure. Much rather the *positive philosophy* constitutes the diametrical opposite of the negative. It accordingly begins with the opposite of all possibility or potency, namely, with what is preceded by no notion, by nothing that is thinkable, and therefore with what must be, with the notionless, the unthinkable. Spinoza's blind substance corresponds to this conception; and Spinozism, whose influence over men's minds rests upon this, is therefore the beginning of positive philosophy. But it is nothing more than the beginning; for it has to reduce the pantheism in it to a latent state, and to overcome it. It accomplishes this by showing,—in contrast to the ontological argument, which attempts to show how from what is divine we reach existence, —how what exists reaches what is divine. It shows how God makes himself Lord over that form of being which is to be thought of as before Him, and thus negates His blind being, just as innocence is negated in regeneration. This process, by which God becomes God, and which, therefore, may be called the theogonic process, reveals how to being which must be, there presents itself the possibility of being an "other," and how thus an ability to be is set over against it in the second potency; and this ability to be, because it is *and* can, may be called being which ought to be. The God who includes all three potencies is not yet a God in three persons, but is the All-One who embraces the manifold. God escapes the painful position in which Aristotle leaves his merely self-thinking *νοῦς*; for God, like every noble nature, desires to be known by placing the potencies of which he is the unity, in a state of contrast or tension. This is a reversal of unity, which may be called the *unum versum* (universe), in which, accordingly, tension of potencies (separation of forces it was previously called) must necessarily show itself. In the final stage of this, namely, human consciousness, God has His seat and throne, because in it, as in the existing God, the unity of potencies would be once more reached. Along with this process of coming into existence, however, there has also arisen a real hypostasis out of that state in which man had only been a

possibility, namely, out of the Wisdom which God manifested to men who were yet to exist. This hypostasis is the Son, who, so long as man preserves the unity of the potencies, shares with the Father the lordship of the world. The fact that man has still an incomplete history, proves that this unity was not preserved, but that man again put into a state of tension the potencies which were at rest in his consciousness, and thus assisted the separation (Satan), which ought to have remained simply potency, to attain to reality. In consciousness we have the same process repeated as that by which the universe came into existence; and from this we can explain the parallelism between the mythological process and the stages which we see in the potencies of nature. In the mythological process, consciousness appears as successively in subjection to the potencies, which had been potencies not only of the world-process, but also of the theogonic process. The philosophy of mythology accordingly shows that in the mythological process, through which consciousness passes, we are not to see what is simply an empty lie. This process begins with the ending of substantial monotheism, which humanity in its original state did not so much possess as it experienced. This ending of monotheism coincides with the separation of the one humanity into nations, each of which is dominated only by a single moment of the all-one God. In the most perfect mythology, namely, the Greek, the mythological process becomes itself object, and accordingly in the dynasties of the gods which supplant each other, Uranos, Kronos, Zeus, the stages of the pre-Grecian mythology repeat themselves. In the Mysteries, in fact, in which the mystery of all mythology is made plain, the coming of a higher principle is announced, so that Eleusis is not only called Advent, but is Advent; and the doctrine of the Mysteries constitutes the transition from the philosophy of mythology, as the first part, to the philosophy of revelation, as the second part; in short, to positive philosophy. As the former had to explain polytheism, the latter has to explain the monotheism which accordingly appeared in opposition to polytheism as dogma; for monotheism, in asserting that there is only one true God, presupposes that many have been honoured as such. Schelling does not mean here to make any attempt to comprehend the dogmas of the Church, those products of a wretched philosophy, but is concerned with the historical Christ as presented in

the original revelation. In connection with this, no point is of such importance as the *Kenosis* mentioned in the classical passage, Phil. ii. 7. The fall of man so far involves the Son, who governs the world together with the Father and is therefore not independent, that in consequence of it the Father withdraws from the world and lives in it only with reluctance, and the Son conducts the government of the world with an independence which resembles God's (*ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ*). What is most essential in His work is, that He does not use this as a happy find (*ἀρπαγμόν*) and keep firm hold of the government of the world (temptation), but divests Himself of the rank which He held as being in place of God, and conducts the world to God, and in so doing attains to an equality with God which He has won for Himself. In consequence of this, the Father ceases to be in the world against His will; and the Holy Spirit too, which had hitherto been latent, and had spoken only in presentiments, has now come to be actively present. The germ which Christ placed in the world is developing itself in the Church, which has its Petrine-Catholic and Pauline-Protestant period behind it, and its Johannean period before it. As these last words wounded the Catholic consciousness even of the free-thinking Franz von Baader, one is all the more astonished to find that it was precisely among Catholics that Schelling's positive philosophy met with more approval than it did among those belonging to his own creed. Among the former, HUBERT BECKERS calls for mention. He attended Schelling's lectures in Munich, graduated there in 1831, was next made professor in Dillingen, and has held a similar position in Munich since 1847. The fact that the preface by Schelling mentioned in § 332, 3, was written for a translation by Beckers, proved what confidence the master placed in one who was at that time quite a young man; and it drew attention to him. He fell out completely with the Hegelian school when, in the criticism mentioned above (§ 336, 2), he treated Hegel as a garbling plagiarist who had stolen his ideas from Schelling's System of Identity. The extracts from older writings on the life after death, which appeared under the title, *Communications*, etc., in two parts (Augsb., 1835-36), as well as a collective criticism of writings on immortality in the *Jahrbücher für Theol. und Chr. Philos.*, show how deeply Beckers was interested in the question which was being so much agitated at that time. With the exception of a *Pro-*

gramme, which was published in Dillingen, treating of the principal stages of the history of psychology, and of his Munich *Inaugural Address* (Munich, 1847), which is occupied with a discussion of the position and the task of philosophy in the present day, Beckers' printed works have almost exclusive reference directly to the last phase of Schelling's speculations. This is the case with his *Memorial Address on Schelling* (1855), and the treatise, *On Schelling's Negative and Positive Philosophy* (1855), and with the works, *On Schelling and his Relation to the Present* (1857); the *Historical and Critical Commentary* on Schelling's treatise on the *Sources of Eternal Truths* (1858); and that entitled, *On the Significance of Schelling's Metaphysic* (1861), which may be considered his most important book. In these works, Beckers seeks,—by arranging together a number of propositions from Schelling, to which he adds explanatory remarks,—to bring forward a proof that Schelling's services to philosophy may be reduced to the four following points: the definite separation of negative from positive philosophy; the reconciliation of the opposition between reason and experience; the development of the theory of principles or potencies; and the carrying out of rational philosophy to its extreme limits. He naturally dwells longest on the theory of the principles of all being, the potencies. And here it should be acknowledged, that by a comparison between the development of the thought in the lectures on mythology, which were written earlier, and that in the negative philosophy as edited in its final form, the comprehension of this difficult part is rendered easier. After some festival-addresses, issued in the years 1861 and 1862, there appeared in 1864 and 1865 the two treatises, *On the True and Abiding Import of Schelling's Philosophy of Nature*, and *Schelling's Doctrine of Immortality*, which, like those previously mentioned, first appeared in the writings issued by the Munich Academy, but which were afterwards also published separately. In the first of these treatises, which was occasioned by the attacks made on the *Philosophy of Nature* by Mohl of Tübingen, he points out the beneficial influence which Schelling's *Philosophy of Nature* in its older form has already had. He then seeks to prove that the supplementing of the negative philosophy by the positive has a decisive influence upon the philosophy of nature as well, since it leads us to further distinguish a negative and a positive moment in

this also. The investigations into *a priori* empiricism and an empirical a priorism, which had been already made in the treatise on metaphysics, get a prominent place in this work also. The second treatise is especially occupied with Schelling's dialogue, *Clara*, but at the same time brings under review the parts of Schelling's lectures which Beckers had published with his permission, and finally appends some remarks taken from the Stuttgart lectures relative to the purely rational and the positive philosophy. It is here shown how, according to Schelling, the contradiction which lies in man's nature, owing to the fact that he is body, soul, and spirit, is solved in such a way that the one-sided forms of the predominating corporeal and spiritual existence, by passing through three states which follow each other in succession, are equalized in the perfect state of salvation. Of these states, the second, of which we are accustomed to think first when immortality is in question, is treated almost exclusively and in greatest detail. The starting-point is constituted by the state of what ought not to be, a state which is actually present, and which requires that death be the transition to a second life. This second life, relatively to the first, is on the one hand privation, and on the other progress. In the description of it, sleep and second sight are especially taken into consideration as present anticipations of it which we already possess.—As the distinction between negative and positive philosophy was first formulated by Schelling when he taught in Bavaria, it was natural that when a Bavarian professor brought out a system of positive philosophy, every one should expect to find in him an adherent of Schelling's new doctrines. MARTIN DEUTINGER (born in 1815, died in 1865 at Pfäfers, after having been military chaplain in Munich, *Docent* in Freysing, professor in Munich, and then in Dillingen, where he was forbidden to lecture in 1852) is considered by many up to the present day to have stood in this relation to Schelling's doctrines. It is not easy to define his peculiar position. The prefaces and quotations which, in the case of other authors, help us to form a judgment regarding them, are nowhere to be met with in the first six volumes of his *Outlines of a Positive Philosophy* (Regensb., 1843–1849). In the preface to the seventh volume (1852–53), however, he gives expression, though in quite a general way, to his views on the treatment of the history of philosophy. He stops short with

the decline of ancient philosophy, so that he gives no expression of opinion with regard to his immediate predecessors. The reader must accordingly go to the reminiscences which the author attaches to the work, in order to get an idea of the relation in which he stands to previous philosophical effort. The divisions which ordinarily help one to get a general view of a work, render it more difficult in this case. There are so many of them that the table of contents,—which consists simply of the headings of the principal sections and their subdivisions,—takes up seven entire printed sheets, and what with the A, I, a, 1, a, aa, aa, etc., one is at last afraid of not being able to get any general idea of the book at all. If these difficulties are overcome, it will be found that Deutinger's positive philosophy can be compared with Schelling's only to the extent that Deutinger received his first impulse from the System of Identity. He writes, however, entirely in a religious interest, and gives everything a religious turn. The ideas of subject, object, and subject-object, determine the rhythm of his deductions, and he fully explains why, in the sphere of nature, the triads make way for Oken's tetrads. After philosophy has first been shown to be the knowledge of knowledge, or the central knowledge, the *Propædeutic* (vol. i.) is discussed, which, according to the moments above referred to, consists of introduction, encyclopædia, and the doctrine of method. In the second of these three sections, the encyclopædia, it is shown how, corresponding to the triplicity which exists in the object, there are three objects of knowledge; nature, God, and man who is related to both. Of these, the last is the object which lies nearest, and alone falls within the range of speculative scientific knowledge, while the two others lie partly outside of it, God being above it, and nature beneath it. Anthropology thus constitutes the central point and foundation of philosophy. It is itself, however, divided into the theory of thought, the theory of art, and moral philosophy, because man is thought, capability, and action. He further distinguishes in each of these three parts, so that logic, dialectics, and metaphysics; architecture, constructive art, and music and poetry; and, lastly, the subjective basis of moral philosophy, its historical manifestations and its system, require consideration. The working out of all these parts comes first, while the *Doctrine of the Soul* (vol. ii.) supplies the general anthropological basis in the form of somatology,

pneumatology, and psychology. Next, the *Doctrine of Thought* (vol. iii.), the *Doctrine of Art* (vols. iv. v.), and *Moral Philosophy* (vol. vi.), are treated of in detail. The *History of Greek and Roman Philosophy* is added to these in the form of a supplement. Owing to the central position assigned to anthropology, we can understand how Deutinger lays down the statement, "I can think," as an absolutely fixed and certain starting-point, and why he always comes back to the basis of personality and freedom as the principle of all knowledge. The religious turn, again, which he gives to all his investigations leads him not only to conclude the doctrine of the soul with the return of the soul into its First-Cause, and metaphysics with the infinite love, which is the Three in One, but also to show how the doctrine of art (which points to a religious epos, that unites philosophy and poetry), and how moral philosophy, lead to the result that the highest perfection consists in the reception of the spirit of sanctification by means of free love.—If Deutinger leaves us in doubt as to how we are to regard his relation to Schelling's positive philosophy, WILHELM ROSENKRANTZ (died Sept. 27th, 1874, when assessor in the Bavarian ministry of justice) expresses himself very decidedly as to his. He published the first volume of his *Science of Knowledge* in the year 1865, and in 1868 for the second time, with the addition of a second supplementary volume. He acknowledges not only in the preface that he is walking in the footsteps of the *last* great teacher of philosophy in Germany, but in the course of the discussion he frequently declares that he goes beyond Schelling's positive philosophy. This is however not the only difference between the writings of the two men. While Deutinger is too sparing of quotations, Rosenkrantz overwhelms us with them. It often looks as if these *specimina eruditionis* were intended to show how thoroughly a jurist can master philosophical literature. It would have been often better if he had given us less of them, for many of the discussions,—as, for instance, those on Plato's Theory of Ideas and Theory of Number, and others, although, taken by themselves, they are extremely valuable,—conceal the line of thought pursued, much more than they cast light upon it. Since, in the passages quoted, the heroes of scholasticism are very often drawn upon, some have been led to class Rosenkrantz among the Neo-Scholastics. How far he is from belonging to them, is shown by the judgments he

expresses on *Liberatore*, and on other works. The work in its present form contains only the analytic of knowledge, or the theory of human knowledge in general, which is discussed in three principal parts, the first of which takes up the elements of knowledge (§§ 17-80); the second, the origin of knowledge (§§ 81-154); the third, the final ground of knowledge (§§ 155-174). The synthetic of knowledge, or the theory of the special objects of human knowledge, is meant to follow the analytic. This contains the peculiar knowledge sought by philosophy, while the other is only directed towards investigating the principle, *i.e.*, towards finding out *what* the principle is, which is placed before us by the Synthetic *as* the principle. (Since at the close of the Analytic the Divine will is proved to be this principle, it is not going out of the way to call attention to the fact, that the Analytic of Knowledge states a problem which is analogous to that of Schelling's negative philosophy.) Instead of analytic, he often uses the expression theory of speculation, and instead of synthetic, doctrine of construction. Starting from the thought that in every act of knowledge we are to distinguish between subject, object and the existence of the object in the subject (presentation), Rosenkrantz takes up in order the three elements of knowledge, and, in connection with these, distinguishes the presentations which belong to immediate knowledge from those of mediate knowledge. The former are (external and internal) perceptions, the latter reproductive pictures, conceptions, and ideas. He carries on the development of his own views and a criticism of the views of others at the same time, and with few exceptions—as, for instance, those of Günther and Schopenhauer—the judgments passed are mild in tone. The discussions on internal perception (§ 39 ff.) are more important than the full physiological and psychological discussions on the origin of external perceptions, since internal perception shows itself to be self-limitation, and forces us to distinguish three forms of activity (+ activity, -activity, \pm activity), by the co-operation of which self-consciousness arises out of the free self-determination which constitutes the nature of reason. In the accounts which are given of mediate knowledge, the Ideas (§ 50 ff.) are treated with special fulness, as being the most important. By the Ideas are meant the presentations for which no corresponding object can be found in the external perception, and in connection with which we yet find ourselves bound by a certain

necessity to assume the existence of a ground which is independent of our thought (as in the case of the Ideas of the True, the Beautiful, and the Good), or, of an object which completely corresponds to them (God, world, soul). We now come to the decisive point in the proof, namely, that we are forced to suppose the existence of a triplicity of objective elements or principles, in short, causes of being, which go parallel to the elements of knowledge already referred to, and above which stands as a unity the unconditioned existence, in which they are powers, and accordingly can be described as $+P, -P, \pm P$. The last of these causes (not the fourth) is, as Rosenkrantz seeks to show, alone to be thought of as absolute Spirit, which carries the whole world of ideas in itself. Accordingly the three material ideas, the theological, cosmological, and psychological, are deduced and so united with the three formal ideas, that the Truth (and why not also Beauty and Goodness?) of all Ideas, and thus the proofs for the existence of God, etc., come to be discussed. If we pass from the first principal part, from which the foregoing propositions have been taken, to the second, the origin of knowledge, we find that by far the most important part of it is made up of what is said about reason, as the source of the pure notions of the understanding. Along with a criticism of previous theories of the categories, the author gives his own theory. The forms of pure thought in itself are, in the world of thought, cause and effect, substance and accident, and in its intercourse with the external world, space and time. To these there must be added as forms of pure cognition in its relations to the movements of the objective elements, in cognition, ground and consequence; in action, means and end. With these principal and simple categories are connected subsidiary categories, and categories which have been compounded of others. Naturally only the first two, and in no sense the last three, are valid for thought over against which there does not stand any impenetrable externality, *i.e.*, they alone are valid for absolute thought. In connection with the third principal part, special attention may be drawn to the retrospect given of the entire course of the argument, and to the assertion that since up to this point only the *what* of the highest principle has been under discussion, its *that*, however, or its existence (like any other existence) cannot be reached by thought, the transition to the synthetic part is to be made by means of a postulate, which

has then to be realized. At the same time, this grand result has been definitely reached, that nothing else can be a principle except the complete penetration [of existence] by power and will, which we call Divine will, and which reason represents as the only possible principle. Barely three months before his death Rosenkrantz wrote the prefaces to the two volumes of his *Theory of Principles* (Munich, 1875), which is connected with the work just characterized as being the Synthetic promised. In the first part, the principles of theology, and in the second, the principles of science are discussed. The *former* are preceded by an introduction on the theory of principles in general, as well as by an examination of the relation between the philosophical theory of God and positive theology. As a consequence of the results at which he here arrives, when he comes to treat of the principles of theology, constant reference is made to the most important theologians of the Middle Ages and of modern times; and among the latter, he often refers to Protestant theologians. (As a specimen of the strictly systematic arrangement of the topics, which mostly takes the form of a dichotomy, we may cite the fact that when it is desired to indicate exactly in what place the Divine predestination is discussed, we must say: Under II, 3, B, b, β , BB, cc, $\beta\beta$, BBB, bbb, $\gamma\gamma\gamma$, 2.) It is shown that the three powers discovered in the Analytic (+ P, - P, and \neq P) enable us to form an intelligible idea both of the distinctions within God which are taught by the dogma of the Trinity, and also of the distinctive relations of God to what is created, *i.e.* of the attributes of God. The development of the principles of science in the *second* volume leads to a similar result. This begins with a discussion of the relation between empirical and philosophical science, according to which the principal notions which are taken for granted by the former must be deduced from the latter by starting from a higher principle. The Analytic had proved the existence of this principle in the creative thought of the Divine Spirit, and had distinguished within it the activities which are frequently referred to: the determinable + activity, the determining - activity, and the \neq activity which unites both. Since the unconditioned Power separates these three activities and moves beyond the unconditioned existence, they become creative powers, while their reunion outside of God produces new being. The philosophy of nature has to represent the co

operation of the creative powers in seeking to reach their aim, which is the restoration of their unity outside of God, and in this way to construe the process of nature, at least in its principal moments. The first product of the conjunction of these powers is *material substance*, or matter, in which + P gives extension, - P limitation, while \pm P unites both. (It accordingly showed a correct sense of proportion, when Schelling added to the two Kantian forces a third.) The different relation in which they stand to each other (which is in part determined quantitatively), gives us the distinction between different kinds of matter, as this shows itself at first in the permanent, the flowing, and the fleeting. The consideration of matter is followed by that of *force*, by which is to be understood the cause of an alteration in matter. This cause never consists of *one* force, but of the co-operation of *several* forces, and, moreover, of the three fundamental forces, of which the two first were long since recognised as the force of expansion and the force of contraction, while the third, which unites both, was meanwhile neglected. Since the production of the three Ps is limited in space, they become forces by which time and movement are made possible. It is the office of the philosophy of nature to construe the co-operation of the forces in time, both in one and the same body, and also in different bodies. It does the former in the theories of elasticity, heat, and light, the latter where it treats of magnetism, electricity, and chemical processes. To matter and force there remains to be added, as a third subject of the philosophy of nature, *life*, which manifests itself as a whole in the movements and reciprocal action of the celestial bodies, and in separate forms in organic nature, in plants, in animals, and in man. Throughout, the results of the empirical investigation of nature are first described, next the attempts it makes to explain things are criticised, and finally, to this there is added construction. Hints in the direction of a theory of spirit close the few sentences which treat of man. They confirm what must have been surmised after the remarks in the Analytic on the theological, cosmological, and psychological Idea, namely, that Rosenkrantz had intended to conclude his system with the philosophy of spirit. But this has not been published. Even among the writings which he left behind him in MS., and of which Dr. Laurenz Müllner has given an account in the warm eulogium he pronounced upon him (*W. Rosenkrantz' Philoso-*

phie, Vienna, 1877, reprinted from the *Zeitschrift für Philosophie und philosophische Kritik*), there is no trace of this title. On the other hand, we have a work entitled *Nature and History according to the Fundamental Principles of Absolute Idealism*, and a *Philosophy of Love*, from which Müllner has given some extracts. It is to be regretted that the promise which was given at the time, that the whole would be published, could not be fulfilled.

10. In the work by WEISSE, of which it was said above (§ 332, 4) that it put an end to the agreement between him and the younger Fichte, he himself asserted that he received his first impulse from Hegel, and even that he had been a decided adherent of Hegel's doctrines. It is evident, however, from the work referred to that the study of Schelling's later writings, so far as these had appeared when he wrote the *Problem of the Present*, if it did not entirely bring him to the view, at least confirmed him in it, that Hegel's merit consisted in his having developed the system of the categories, or of what cannot *not* be thought, by means of which we get, without further trouble, an insight into the course followed by the history of philosophy. He at the same time finds fault with him for having changed this negative basis of his system into the entire system, which, owing to this, does not get beyond rationalism. Granted that it is one of the merits of his system, that free personality does not appear within his categories, still the fact that for him there exists nothing higher than the complex of the categories makes it impossible for him to solve what is essentially the problem of the present time, namely, the question as to the personality of God. Schelling, by his universality, has already reached a higher standpoint. On the other hand, that of the younger Fichte is its inferior. Rightly understood, the Hegelian system knows no other God but the absolute Idea, and ought to be called acosmism, since it denies all reality to things. This is one of its decided merits, just as it is a decided merit that it took up seriously what is closely connected with this, namely, eternity, when it is conceived of as something before or out of time. This does not, it is true, establish the existence of the divine personality, but it supplies the metaphysical basis for it, namely, necessary thought, negative and formal logic, *without* which the Free cannot be conceived of. Hegel certainly stopped short of the final consequence of his logic, at the

point to which his misapprehension of the notions of space and time (for which he was previously blamed) brought him. This final consequence would have been, that the negative absolute Idea would have risen to the positive Idea of the Godhead, and in this way the entire logic would have become, as it were, an ontological proof for the existence of God. But this Idea, too, is, to begin with, only that of the possible God, and contains the notion of freedom only as a metaphysical conception. In order to arrive at the really personal, existing God, philosophy must first pass through the successive real parts, which thus, as it were, supply the cosmological and teleological proofs for the existence of God. Only the view that what according to Hegel is the entire Godhead, is the *prius* of the Godhead, permits us to see the justification there is for Schelling's idea of the "ground," permits us to appreciate rightly the Christian doctrine of the Trinity, and by separating the eternal spiritual creation from that of this temporal world which is conditioned by evil, absolutely to refute at once pantheism and dualism. Augustine, and still more Jacob Böhme, were, together with Hegel and Schelling, referred to with pleasure in this most interesting work in support of this view. We can see how much mysticism was interesting Weisse at this time, both from his essays on Jacob Böhme, in Fichte's *Zeitschrift*, for the years 1845 and 1846, "who," he said, "is not a speculative philosopher, but a religious seer pointing the way to speculative philosophy," and also from his studies on Luther, the fruits of which are to be found in the theological dissertation *Martinus Lutherus*, etc. (Leips., 1845), and in a further elaboration of the same ideas in the work entitled, *Luther's Christology*, etc. (Leips., 1852). In these writings special emphasis is laid on Luther's opposition to Anselm's theory of satisfaction, and on the strong mystical bias of his mind, and just because of this, the revival of Luther's spirit is held to supply the only conditions under which a living union of the confessions can be accomplished. Some years before the publication of the latter work, there appeared anonymously a book entitled *On the Future of the Evangelical Church, Addresses to the Cultured in the German Nation* (2nd ed., Leips., 1849), which created a great and well-merited impression, but one that quickly passed away. In harmony with what he had said at the close of his *Evangelical History*, Weisse declares, in the *Addresses* also, that he is absolutely

opposed to the limitation of salvation and the possession of salvation to those who believe on the historical Christ. For this reason, also, when he asserts that he is entirely at one with the material principle of the Evangelical Church, he emphasizes the fact that, according to Luther, by the faith which alone justifies, is not to be understood an historical faith in any facts whatever, but the certainty of salvation; and on this account he too, following the example of Luther, goes, not to the past, but to the future. It is specially the more modern theology that sprang from the impulse given by Schleiermacher, which sees in the historical Christ, not the central point of the plan of salvation to which the Old Testament also points, but the beginning of the plan of salvation. This more modern theology has narrowed the Reformers' horizon of vision, instead of extending it; and this comes out particularly when we consider its view of infant baptism. Saving faith, in Luther's sense of the word, is the self-consciousness of personality regenerated in the light of faith; and the Church, or the Kingdom of heaven, is constantly coming into existence by means of this faith, *i. e.*, by the unreserved yielding of oneself up to God. But in order that this community of the saved may become a self-conscious one, and the invisible Church a visible one, it is necessary that the experiences of the human race which finally led to unity with God, a unity which was consciously felt by Christ alone, should be preserved for the individual, and should therefore take a fixed documentary form. As those experiences are historical, and are therefore conditioned by the laws of natural development, we cannot speak of a supernatural inspiration in connection with the record which has been given of them. Real miracles, to which prophecies and acts of healing do not belong, are to be absolutely rejected, and no person of culture maintains that they are possible. It is not, therefore, necessary to abandon the formal principle of the Evangelical Church when it is rightly understood; only the Word of God must not be confounded with the letter of Scripture. True scriptural faith, on the contrary, sets us free from the bondage of the letter into which we are brought by a rigid rule of faith. This rule of faith is the beginning of scientific doctrine, while the Scriptures form its presupposition. The Evangelical symbolical books, on the other hand, constitute the termination of genuine development of doctrine. For this reason, a visible Church

requires a formula of confession, but it requires no symbolical books. The Church in the days of its youth was capable of establishing such a formula, because it stood nearer to the immediate revelation; and our time is capable of doing it because it stands nearer to revelation as purified by criticism, than is the case with the period that intervenes. Weisse seeks to find the data for a new rule of faith constructed entirely from the teachings of Christ, in the three conceptions of the Heavenly Father, the Son of man, and the Kingdom of Heaven. All three are examined in detail, particularly the conception of the son of Adam or the seed of the woman, in which we have united together the self-consciousness of Jesus and the Idea of glorified Humanity, which as thus glorified judges the world. After this he lays down the confession of faith of the German Evangelical Church of the future. A comparison of this formula with the Apostles' Creed, which is very severely criticized, results in establishing the superiority of the former, as consisting in the fact that even those who revere only an ideal Christ, and pantheists, can subscribe to it, always supposing that they have become what they are from the needs of their religious nature. Its superiority is specially seen in the power it possesses of giving an impulse to the construction of a new dogmatic, which can be accomplished only by the help of philosophy. The Church, as a free community of the Kingdom of heaven, can tolerate a doctrine of faith, too, in the form of free science. Weisse gives the outlines of the future evangelical doctrine of faith, in which the doctrine of the Trinity, already developed in the *Fundamental Problem*, is stated in a popular way; and this, together with the double doctrine of creation, make up the first part of the Dogmatics. As this part corresponds to the Article referring to the Heavenly Father, the second part corresponds to that which refers to the Son of man. The impressing of the essential image of the Godhead on the earthly creation is here defined as constituting the real conception of the Incarnation. This incarnation can be understood only when, in addition to the basis in God which is a necessity of thought, we recognise the essential nature of God as resting on freedom; and further, when we regard the human race as fallen, since it is only on account of this that the impressing of the divine image referred to takes place in one individual and not all at once in the whole race. In the

third part, which corresponds to the third Article, special attention is bestowed on eschatological doctrines, which take exactly the same form as they did in Weisse's earlier writings. The regeneration of the Church by the Sacrament, the German Church and the German State of the present day, are the headings of the two last (11th and 12th) addresses. The subject of the first of these is the purifying of the sacrament of the altar, so as to reach a form more nearly related to its original one. In this form it would certainly be accessible only to a narrow circle, to the ecclesiastical or priestly order set apart by ordination, and comprising various offices, whose work would be the mission within the Church, ecclesiastical discipline, teaching, and the government of the Church, while all others kept to the present meagre form. The last address discusses the relation of Church and State. An opponent of the separation of Church and State, Weisse hopes that by the spread of such views as are here developed, an approach may be made to that state of things which we should strive to reach, in which the German federal State and the national Church would mutually support each other. He thinks that the best way to bring this about, is to leave the unions and other societies to do as they like. What was given only in outline in the *Addresses*, is presented in a full and complete manner in Weisse's *Philosophical Dogmatics in Connection with the Philosophy of Christianity* (3 vols. Leips., 1855-62). There is more than this, however, in it; for this most important of Weisse's works, whose extensive and intensive wealth of matter has unfortunately frightened away many readers, contains in addition the result of all the philosophical and theological studies which have occupied him, and the conclusion of them. The results of any of the investigations which were publicly made, are here recapitulated; while, on the other hand, Weisse expresses his views most fully on points about which up to this time he had said nothing. Thus, *e.g.*, the fifth section of the first part contains what is practically the whole philosophy of nature. We come upon supplements without number to what had been already said, but no essential divergences. For this reason, any more thorough examination of the contents of the book is not to be looked for here. It is enough to state, that with the *Introduction*, which took up the conception of religion, revelation, the development of systematic doctrine, and finally the philo-

sophical dogmatics of the Evangelical Church, Weisse connects theology, as forming the *First Part*. Under theology, after having given a philosophical preliminary discussion of the proofs for the existence of God, he examines the Biblical conception of God, the conception of the Divine Trinity—with the same leaning towards Augustine's proof of this doctrine that he had shown in the *Problem of the Present* and the *Lectures*—the Divine attributes (metaphysical, æsthetic, ethical), and finally matter, as the basis of the creation of the world. The *Second Part*—and volume—treats of cosmogony and anthropology, and includes, together with the general doctrine of creation, the question of the creation of the material world. Under the first of these, the Elohist records, the original creation, the system of the world, the creation of life, the rational creature, are discussed, and under the second, the original condition of man, the Fall, the archetype of man, the nature of evil, sin and law. The *Third Part* contains the soteriology. In the first section Weisse discusses the historical genesis of the New Testament idea of salvation; in the second, the ideal Son of man, and the historical Christ (incarnation, paganism, monotheism, the Christ of history); in the third, the community of the saved, or the Christian Church, and the means of grace; and in the fourth, the Last Things.

Cf. R. Seydel: *Verzeichniss sämtlicher gedruckter Schriften Ch. Hermann Weisse's* (in Fichte's *Zeitschr.* Bd. 55).

11. If in Weisse's case, the time during which he was in agreement with Hegel was so short, and the agreement itself so far from being an unqualified one that only very few ever called him an Hegelian, it is quite otherwise in both respects with regard to ROSENKRANZ. His previously mentioned works, his *Studies* (six parts in all, Berlin; afterwards Leipsic), which have been appearing since 1839; his supplement to Hegel's works, which is written with such reverence: *G. Fr. Hegel's Life* (Berlin, 1844); and his *Apology for Hegel* (Berlin, 1858), in reply to Haym, allowed, and still allow, of his being considered an Hegelian of the strictest type; and in any case his relation to the Hegelian School is such that he does not look on this as a term of reproach. Still, particularly since he has had occasion to look further into the inner movement of political life, and to come into