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ART. I.—*The Works of Francis Bacon*, Lord Chancellor of England. A new edition, with a life of the author, by Basil Montagu, Esq. in three Vols. Philadelphia: Carey and Hart. 1842.

IT is with unspeakable delight, that we hail the republication in this country, of Montagu's edition of Bacon's works. It is indicative of an improving literary taste, that the enterprising publishers could venture to publish so costly a work, of a kind so entirely different from the great mass of the literature of the day. And we cannot let the occasion pass, of again reverting to the Baconian philosophy. In two former numbers (July, 1840 and April, 1843,) of this periodical, we pointed out its method of investigation, its starting-points, its processes and its foundations. We will now take a general survey of its objects, and its spirit, and the power and influence which it has given to England, and is likely to exert over the human race.

In every age of the world, since the human family has been so numerous as to be divided into separate communities, some one nation has exerted a predominant influence over the rest. This appears to be the economy of civilization. The Grecian Republics, (for they all were but one nation,) and Rome, in their successive order in history, have, of all the nations of antiquity, exerted the most

tion of my labours, I have not only been called to meet calumny and persecution, but my public services have been disturbed, and my person exposed, by the violence of wicked men. I have been repeatedly interrupted, when preaching, by Universalist ministers. But God has been my shield and my defence.

“Universalists may attempt to divert public attention from the merits of their system by the cry of persecution. But it will not avail them. They have challenged investigation, and called the religious world dishonest, because they let their doctrine alone. I have only responded to their call. They may charge me with misrepresenting their faith and their arguments. But my labour will speak for itself. And to deny the truth of my remarks in relation to the moral results of their faith, will be unwise. The more severe and startling exhibitions of the fruits of universalism ARE FROM THE PENS OF THOSE WHO ARE STILL ENGAGED IN THE ADVOCACY OF THAT DOCTRINE.

“May God bless this effort to expose error, to stay the progress of crime, and to recover those ‘out of the snare of the devil, who are taken captive by him at his will!’”

Friedrich Wilhelm Schubert.

ART. III.—*Immanuel Kant's Biographie. Zum Grossen Theil nach handschriftlichen Nachrichten dargestellt, Von Friedrich Wilhelm Schubert. Mit Bildniss, Facsimile und Medaillen-Abbildung. Leipzig: Leopold Voss. 1842. 8vo.*

IN calling attention once more to the father of Modern German philosophy, it is not our intention to attempt any new exposition of his system, which has been sufficiently done on a former occasion; still less to recommend his speculations to the confidence of our readers; but only to deduce from the latest authorities some interesting particulars of his personal history. To this may be subjoined some notice of the controversies waged in the metaphysical world, upon the publication of his system. We feel justified in devoting our space to such a subject, in consideration of the unparalleled influence exerted by his alleged discoveries, of which the results are distinctly seen in the philosophical theories which have succeeded and supplanted those of Kant.

Immanuel Kant was born at Königsberg, on the twenty-second day of April, 1724. His grandfather was from Scotland, and his father, John George Cant, for so the name was written, was a master-saddler of good name but slender means, in the city just named. His mother, Anna Regina Reuter, was a woman of strong mind, and religious after the type of the more ancient Lutherans. In the old family-bible there was the following inscription, bearing the date of her wedding-day: "The Lord our God keep us in perpetual love and unity according to his good pleasure; give us of the dew of heaven and the sweetness of the earth, until he shall bring us together to the marriage-supper of the Lamb; for the sake of Jesus Christ his Son. Amen." In his father's house, a large family was educated on truly Christian principles, as he was wont himself to acknowledge, at a period when worldly wisdom had led him far away from the sound instructions of his youth. "If the religious ideas of that time," says he, "and the conceptions which they had of what were called virtue and piety were not clear or satisfactory, they nevertheless possessed what was the main thing. They enjoyed the highest portion man can have, in that repose, that cheerfulness, that inward peace which no suffering could destroy. Men may decry Pietism as they will; those who possessed it in sincerity, manifested it in a venerable manner. No straits, no persecution, destroyed their equanimity, no conflict availed to excite them to wrath and hatred. A single word would often awaken reverence in the mere bystander. I well remember, on a time when a feud arose between the saddlers and the harness-makers as to their respective rights, in the progress of which my father was a sufferer, that this quarrel was discussed by my parents in the family with such forbearance and kindness, and with so firm a reliance on Providence, that the impression made on me as a child was indelible." In the walks which the mother used to take with her little son, she directed his views to the wonders of creation, and discoursed of the power of the Almighty; and on these occasions she discovered in him an acuteness of observation, a liveliness of curiosity, and a facility of apprehension, which were extraordinary. She was induced by this to take counsel of her spiritual adviser, the Rev. Francis Albert Schultz, afterwards Consistorial Counsellor, but then instructor in a suburban hospital-school. He proposed to her to devote the youth to

the study of theology. In conformity with this recommendation he was placed in the Collegium Fridericianum, which about this time came under the care of Dr. Schultz. The Institution was under an evangelical influence, and Kant was accustomed to avow that his moral principles received from the spirit and example of his teachers a firmness which it never lost, in any change of opinion. His kind preceptor contributed in a delicate manner to the temporal relief of the family, and gratified them still more by his auguries respecting the promising boy. The young student remained seven years in this school, under the best masters. From Heydenreich, in particular, he imbibed a special love for the Latin classics, so that even in later years he could recite long passages from the poets, philosophers, orators and historians. The celebrated Ruhnken, afterwards of Leyden, was one of his fellow students, and of their correspondence in after years some parts have been published. In one of his letters from Holland, Ruhnken gently upbraids Kant for writing in German rather than in Latin, and for his predilection for the English philosophers. Kypke and Trummer were also schoolmates of Kant; they both rose to eminence.

In 1737 Kant was called to mourn over his invaluable mother. He never spoke of her, even in his old age, without manifest emotion. After this event, the circumstances of his father became still more straitened, but a worthy shoemaker, named Richter, his maternal uncle, assumed the charge of his education, and continued his aid as long as there were any university expenses to be met.

In the autumn of 1740, Kant connected himself with the university of Königsberg, with the view of studying theology. According to the custom then prevalent in Prussia, he delivered one or two trial sermons in country churches; but the weakness of his voice, and probably a secret distaste for the profession, filled him with discouragement. Before entering on studies which were strictly professional, he applied himself, as was usual, to certain preliminary sciences; and those which he selected were Mathematics and Philosophy. Philology indeed had hitherto been his favourite pursuit, but this was not well taught at the university. In Knutzen, Professor Extraordinary of Logic and Metaphysics, he found a teacher who stimulated his researches in the highest degree. He not only listened to his lectures with the profoundest attention, but spent hours

in private discourses on the more important topics. It was through the means of Knutzen that he first became acquainted with the works of Sir Isaac Newton, and the extensive library of the professor was freely opened to him. It would convey little advantage or entertainment to write the names of the numerous professors whose instructions were enjoyed by Kant at the University. In pursuance of his parents' plan he made some beginning in theology, and here he again received no small aid from his excellent patron Dr. Schultz. It should seem that the pious feelings of this good man found no response in the soul of his scholar, who was rather repelled by the pietism which prevailed in the theological department, to addict himself more zealously to mathematical and philosophical studies. This tendency was further encouraged by the belief that the Königsberg Consistory would not sustain the examination of any who were not of the evangelical stamp.

In 1746 his father died, and the straitness of his circumstances made him look about for some place as a teacher. It was with extreme regret that he left the schools, libraries and scholars of his native city, but he found himself under the necessity of becoming a private tutor, at Judschen near Gumbinnen, in the house of a reformed pastor, named Andersch. He afterwards filled the same place, in two families of rank, at Arensdorf and Rautenberg.

In 1755 Kant took his doctor's degree, maintaining a thesis '*de igne*,' which is included in his Latin works. At the same time he entered upon the duties of a Privatdocent, in which he spent fifteen years of his life. He began his academical instructions with lectures on Mathematics and Physics, using as a basis the works of Wolff and Eberhard. For ten years he commonly began with these topics, and followed with the metaphysical and moral course. In Logic he followed Baumeister, and afterwards Meier; in Metaphysics, Baumeister and Baumgarten. In addition to his text-books, his usual preparation for lectures was a mere brief, or rather catch-words written on little slips of paper. With this help, he allowed himself to expatiate with freedom, enriching his discourses with manifold examples from history, science, travels, and even the news of the day, and enlivening them with the occasional play of wit. Seldom had any lectures been more popular. His auditorium was overflowing, and he was importuned to add new subjects to his course. Every moment of his life was employed,

and his zeal and activity as an instructor were such as have probably never been surpassed. He was now becoming an author, and contributed articles to the journals, and produced a work on the Natural History of the Heavens.

In 1756, his teacher Knutzen died, and Kant made application for the chair extraordinary of Mathematics, Logic and Metaphysics, thus left vacant: he was unsuccessful. Two years after, died Dr. Kypke, ordinary professor of Logic and Metaphysics; and Kant announced himself as a candidate. During the pendency of this appointment a little incident took place which shews the spirit which still survived among the older clergy. Dr. Schultz, already named, was desirous that his former pupil should obtain the place. But they had been more and more separated in their way of thinking, and Schultz was too conscientious to lend his influence to any man from whose religious sentiments detriment could be feared to the university. Sending therefore for Kant, the old man addressed him with solemnity, "Do you fear God from the heart?" Kant was at that period able to give him such an answer, as removed his scruples; he was however unsuccessful in his application, and the chair was filled by Dr. Buck. Twelve years more he was destined to remain in the ranks of subordinate instructors. Between 1760 and 1769, he so far enlarged his scope, as to lecture on Natural Theology, on the Philosophy of Religion, on Anthropology and on Physical Geography. He also gave special discourses on the arguments for the Being of a God, on the Sublime and Beautiful; on almost all these subjects making his opinions public by means of printed works. A lively impression of these lectures may be derived from the report of the celebrated Herder; who, though an avowed antagonist of the Königsberg philosopher, never failed to do justice to the acuteness and strength of his preceptor. Herder studied at Königsberg from 1762 to 1764. He heard Kant upon Logic, Metaphysic, Ethics, Mathematics and Physical Geography. One of his fellow-students, at this time, was Bock, afterwards known as the translator of the Georgics. Writing to Herder's widow, Bock observes: "Kant allowed him to attend all his lectures gratis. He grasped every word and every idea of the great philosopher, with intense interest, and when he came home reduced them to writing. He often favoured me with a sight of these manuscripts, and he used to talk these subjects over in a retired summerhouse, belonging to an

unfrequented public garden. On a certain fine morning, when Kant, led on by his subject, spoke with peculiar loftiness and poetic inspiration, and introduced passages from his favourite poets, Pope and Haller, this great genius burst forth with some of his boldest hypotheses upon Time and Eternity. Herder was visibly affected, and to such a degree, that on going home he clothed in verse the ideas of his teacher, in praise of Haller. These he next morning handed to Kant, who was so struck with the masterly and poetic reproduction of his own thoughts, that he read them with enthusiastic praise in his auditorium."

We must refer to this period the intercourse of Kant with John George Hamann. Their attachment seems to have arisen from their common taste for classical and English literature; but their temperament and their creed were so diverse, that it was not formed to be perpetual. Meanwhile the number of Kant's hearers increased. Not only young men, but gentlemen of mature years, attended on his instructions, and men of eminence took up their residence at Königsberg, for the express purpose of hearing him. In 1765, he received the situation of under-librarian to the library of the castle. During many of these years he lived in the house of Kanter, the bookseller, whom he sometimes assisted in his weekly publications, and by whose kindness he was kept acquainted with all the literature of the day. In 1768, Kanter erected a large new bookstore, which he adorned with twelve busts of old classic authors, and with portraits of Frederick the Great, Moses Mendelssohn, Rammler, Hoppel, Willamov and Schaffner; and to this number Kant was now added. He was, during this period, honoured with invitations to several important chairs in other universities of Germany. In 1770, his long-cherished wish was gratified, and he became ordinary professor of Logic and Metaphysics, in place of Dr. Buck, who was transferred to the chair of Mathematics. The emolument was about three hundred dollars, of our money. Kant's inaugural exercise was a disputation 'de mundo sensibili,' which is chiefly memorable as containing the germ of his Critique of Pure Reason. And here it may be remarked, that this period of fifteen years, preceding his being ordinary professor, was that in which his system was taking shape; as is evident from the glimpses which occur in his works on other subjects, anticipating to some extent his maturer views. The mathematical and physical treatises

which he published are elaborate and voluminous, and have been much lauded by his countrymen, though little read out of Germany. His essay on Negative Quantities, published in 1763, is regarded by his biographer, Rosenkrantz, as one of his most valuable contributions to metaphysics. It was in 1763, that he first ventured on any criticism of the popular arguments for the Being of God, and we find in these strictures the germ of his future theory, when he declares that the true ground of the necessary conviction of a God, is the impossibility of thinking the contrary.

Having now, at the age of forty-six years, come into possession of the chair of philosophy, Kant was more than ever confirmed in his determination, never to leave his native city. He now lessened the number of his lectures, limiting himself to thirteen public hours in the week. Both in summer and winter he began, four days in the week, at seven o'clock, and lectured until nine, and on the remaining days until ten. It was made a part of his duty, to give a course on 'Paedagogik,' or the theory of Education. He accordingly transferred to other hours his instructions in Aesthetics, Mathematics, and Physical Geography, and resigned his office as librarian. His ordinary lectures were now upon Logic, Metaphysics, Natural Law, Ethics, and Natural Theology. During nine years, he is said never to have omitted a lecture. His lectures, at extraordinary hours, on Geography, and Anthropology, drew numerous hearers, as they pre-supposed no acquaintance with his more abstruse principles. They were frequented not merely by university-men, but by gentlemen of mature age, and of elevated station. As he advanced, his mode of lecturing became more and more free, and he exchanged his elaborate manuscripts, for brief and fragmentary notes. In answer to the objection which was even then made to the obscurity of his language, he used to reply, "that he wrote exclusively for professed thinkers, for whom the advantage of brevity was secured by a scientific nomenclature; and, moreover, that the self-complacency of readers was flattered by an occasional obscurity, which served to quicken their acuteness." Some of his courses were so numerously attended, that it was necessary to enlarge the accommodations. His voice was naturally so weak, that the slightest noise prevented his being heard. But such was the extraordinary respect in which he was held, that the moment of his appearance in the cathedra was one of profound and unu-

sual stillness. He sat when he lectured, and it was his manner to fix his eyes on some hearer in his vicinity, and to judge from his countenance how far the discourse was understood. The slightest peculiarity of mien or apparel in such a one, even the loss of a button, is said to have disturbed the professor's attention. His emolument varied from four hundred and forty to four hundred and fifty rix dollars, with the addition of a royal bounty, after 1789, of two hundred and twenty rix dollars.

This is the period to which we must refer the construction of Kant's system. As early as 1770, in his dissertation 'De mundi sensibilis atque intelligibilis forma et principiis,' we meet with those doctrines concerning time and space, which may be regarded as the key to his theory of the Understanding. As the earliest statement of this, we subjoin his theses. I. Of Time. 1. *Idea temporis non oritur sed supponitur a sensibus.* 2. *Idea temporis est singularis, non generalis.* 3. *Idea temporis est intuitus non sensualis, sed purus.* 4. *Tempus est quantum continuum.* 5. *Tempus non est objectivum aliquid et reale, nec substantia, nec accidens, nec relatio, sed subjectiva conditio, per naturam mentis humanae necessaria, quaelibet sensibilia, certa lege, sibi coordinandi.* 6. *Quanquam autem tempus in se et absolute positum sit ens imaginarium, tamen, quatenus ad immutabilem legem sensibilium qua talium pertinet, est conceptus verissimus, et, per omnia possibile sensuum objecta, in infinitum patens, intuitivae repraesentationis conditio.* II. Of space. 1. *Conceptus spatii non abstrahitur a sensationibus externis.* 2. *Conceptus spatii est singularis repraesentatio, omnia in se comprehendens, non sub se continens, notio abstracta et communis. Quae enim dicis spatia plura, non sunt, nisi ejusdem immensi spatii partes, etc.* 3. *Conceptus spatii itaque est intuitus purus—sensationibus non conflatus, sed omnis sensationis externae forma fundamentalis.* 4. *Spatium non est aliquid objectivi et realis, nec substantia, nec accidens, nec relatio, sed subjectivum et ideale e natura mentis stabili lege proficiscens, veluti schema, omnia omnino externe sensa sibi coordinandi.* 5. *Quanquam conceptus spatii, ut objectivi alicujus et realis entis vel affectionis, sit imaginarius, nihilo tamen secius, respective ad sensibilia quaecunque, non solum est verissimus, sed et omnis veritatis in sensualitate externa fundamentum.*

In 1781 appeared the 'Critique of Pure Reason,' the

first work on speculative philosophy, in the German language, and one which was destined thenceforward to revolutionize the German mind. A whole article would be insufficient to give a draught of its contents: nor is it our purpose to offer any epitome, since the reader may be referred to the article by Professor Stapfer, published by us in 1828. It would convey little real information if we were to give the titles of the numerous works, pro et contra, which were drawn forth by this extraordinary system. The first review appeared in the Göttingen Literary Indicator, in 1782. It was in reply to the charge of Cartesianism and Berkleyanism, advanced in this and other reviews, that Kant, in 1782, published his 'Prolegomena to all Metaphysics.' His private correspondence reveals the dissatisfaction felt by his philosophical friends Hamann, Herder and Jacobi. "Kant himself" said Jacobi, "I venerate as a man of extraordinary genius. His system is the utmost possible carrying out of the Cartesian *cogito ergo sum*; a proposition which I would gladly invert; and therefore I have my hopes that this revolution will be the last of the Cartesian doctrine."

Kraus and Hippel, the most intimate friends of Hamann, during his latter years at Königsberg, stood in the same relation to Kant. The latter purchased a house in 1783, which he occupied to the end of his life and which bears the inscription: "Immanuel Kant lived and taught here, from 1783 to 1804." On Sundays, he always dined with his friend Motherby, the merchant. On every other day, he invited one or two persons to dinner, increasing the number to four or five on special occasions. These were the seasons of his principal recreations. Between him and Kraus the connexion was most interesting. "Of all men I have ever known" said Kant, "I find none with such talents as Kraus, to comprehend everything and acquire everything, and at the same time to stand first in everything: he is altogether a man by himself." In return Kraus shows his attachment, by saying in regard to an excursion, "If I were to go away in the holidays, my friend Kant would have no dinner-companion, which is always with me a strong argument against travelling." They contrived in all companies to sit together, and Kraus made good use of his pen in defence of his friend and preceptor.

Of the 'Critique of Practical Reason' we find no necessity for adding anything to remarks long since made by us; (volume for 1828, p. 331.) It comports better with our

purely biographical sketch, to pass to the closing period of fourteen years, from 1790 to 1804. It is the period during which the Kantian doctrines obtained their first great diffusion. Their spread appears to have had little reference to distinctions of sect. Catholics no less than Protestants adopted them with zeal. In Würzburg, Professor Reuss made a beginning in 1788; he was followed by Dorsch of Mayence in 1789, and by Schmitt in Heidelberg. In Ingolstadt, Professor Grafenstein read lectures on Kant's system, in 1790, as in 1791 did Emes and Muth at Erfurt, Damm at Bamberg, and Weber at Dillingen. As for the Protestant faculties, the beginning was made at Halle by Jacob and Beck. They were followed at Jena by Hufeland and Schütz; in Erlangen by Breyer and Abicht; in Leipzig by Heydenreich and Born; in Göttingen by Bouterweck, Bürger and Stäudlin; in Marburg by Bering; in Giessen by Snell; and in Altorf by Will. By this list of names, more readily than in any other way, the amazing propagation of the system may be indicated. The influence on individual minds was such as is almost incredible; which it would be easy to show from the letters of such men as Fichte and Erhard. The latter, writing as none but a German ever wrote, speaks thus: "All the enjoyment I ever felt in my life, is nothing in comparison with the thrill which penetrated my whole soul as I perused certain parts of the Critique of Practical Reason. Tears of excessive rapture were often showered upon the book, and the very remembrance of these blissful days, moistened my eyes, and elevated my mind, when at a later period, adverse circumstances and a melancholy temperament had shut me out from every cheerful view of life."

In 1790 the 'Critique of Judgment' appeared. "You ask me," writes Erhard to Körner, "what I am now reading and studying. Nothing less than Kant. His Critique of Judgment fascinates me by its new, luminous, spiritual contents, and has wrought in me the greatest longing, to go more deeply into his philosophy. I have a notion that Kant is not so insurmountable a mountain, and I shall certainly make myself more thoroughly acquainted with him." The influence of Kant upon Schiller, may best be learned from the words of the poet, at the time when he was editor of the 'Horen': "Accept the assurance of my liveliest gratitude for the benignant light which you have kindled in my soul—a gratitude which, like the gift on which it is

founded, is boundless and imperishable." Philosophers, such as Reuss, Baggesen, Kiesewetter, Thibaut, went on pilgrimages to Königsberg; and Baggesen did not hesitate to apply to Kant the impious title of Messiah the second. The judgment of a great physical philosopher, such as William von Humboldt, will not fail to gratify the inquisitive student in such a connexion. In one of his letters he thus expresses himself: "Kant undertook and accomplished perhaps the greatest work, which the world has received from the philosophic reason of an individual. He proved and sifted the sum of philosophical endeavours, in a manner which forced him to confront the philosophies of all times and all nations; he measured, limited and levelled the ground of these, destroyed the illusory structures with which it had been covered, and, after the completion of this labour, established principles in which philosophical analysis harmonizes with the common sense of mankind, so long misled and stunned by foregoing systems. In the truest sense of the words, he carried back philosophy into the depths of the human bosom. All that marks the great thinker was possessed by him in full measure, and he united in himself qualities which are usually incompatible, profundity and acuteness; a dialectic never perhaps exceeded, whereby the mind was never betrayed into the research of truth unattainable by such a method; and philosophical genius, extending in every direction the threads of a widely spreading web of thought, and connecting all by the unity of the idea, without which no philosophical system is possible. Schiller has justly remarked, in reference to the traces of a feeling heart which occur in his writings, that the high calling of the philosopher demands both properties, thought and sensibility. But if we contemplate him as pursuing, in a single direction, the one path which his genius indicated, we shall begin to comprehend the extraordinary power of the man, in its extent. He was indifferent to nothing, either in nature or in the domain of science: all was drawn within his circle. In Kant, grandeur and power of fancy stand in immediate connexion with penetration and depth of thought. How much or how little of the Kantian philosophy may have survived to this day, or may hereafter survive, I do not feel competent to determine; but if any man would estimate the glory which Kant has conferred on his nation, and the profit which he has bestowed on speculative science, three things are undeniable.

Much, namely, that he has demolished, will never arise again ; much that he has reared, will never go down ; and, which is the most important, he has introduced a reform, the like of which is not furnished by the history of philosophy. Hence, on the appearance of his Critique of Pure Reason, the feeble semblance of speculative philosophy awoke to an activity which we may hope will long animate the German mind. As he did not teach so much philosophy, as how to philosophize, he communicated little of absolute discovery, but rather kindled the torch of individual investigation, and thus gave occasion to systems and schools, varying in a greater or less degree from his own ; and it is characteristic of the lofty freedom of his genius, that he was competent to awaken philosophies, perfect in their liberty, and pursuing each its own chosen path."

It was scarcely possible for such a mind as that of Goethe to become thoroughly Kantianized ; as he confesses ; yet he declares the Critique of the Judgment to have marked an epoch in his life, as harmonizing in a philosophic unity his "widest and most disparate employments, whether aesthetic or teleological." Jean Paul Richter did not escape the contagion. In 1788 he writes to his clerical friend Vogel : "In heaven's name buy me two books, 'Kant's Elements of the Philosophy of Morals,' and Kant's 'Critique of Practical Reason.' Kant is not merely a great luminary, but one entire radiant solar system all at once."

The new opinions, thus simultaneously pervading the different states of Germany, transcended its confines. In Holland, Paul Van Hemert of Amsterdam led the way in 1792. A literary society was there formed, composed exclusively of Kantians. In France, the revolutionary tumults left little room for metaphysics : de Villars published a sketch of the system, in 1799. In England some attempts were made to introduce transcendental philosophy, with such success as might have been expected. Mr. DeQuincy would have us believe that the unfavourable result is due to the incapacity of the agents. "The persons who originally introduced the Kantian philosophy to the notice of the English public, or rather attempted to do so, were two Germans—Dr. Willich and (not long after) Dr. Nitsch. Dr. Willich, I think, has been gone to Hades for these last dozen years; certainly his works have : and Dr. Nitsch, though not gone to Hades, is gone (I understand) to Germany ; which answers my purpose as well ; for it is not

likely that a few words uttered in London will contrive to find out a man buried in the throng of thirty million Germans. *Quoad hoc*, therefore, Dr. Nitsch may be considered no less defunct than Dr. Willich; and I can run no risk of wounding any body's feelings; if I should pronounce both doctors very eminent blockheads." The only respectable publications in England, proposing to call attention to Kant's system, have been an article by Dr. Thomas Brown, in the *Edinburgh Review*; Professor Dugald Stewart's notices, which were founded on no nearer acquaintance with Kant than could be gathered from Dégérando; Madame de Stael's *Germany*, originally published in London; Coleridge's scattered observations; the Article 'Kant' in the *Encyclopedia Londinensis*, and the brief hints of De Quincey, the English Opium-eater. For we cannot take into consideration the jargon of Wirgman.

The teaching of Kant occasioned just alarm among the friends of scriptural orthodoxy, and even drew upon him the censure of the government, though not in a public manner. For in 1794, he received a cabinet order, in which it was enjoined upon him by royal authority to forbear for the future all observations on religion, whether natural or revealed, either in lectures or through the press; an injunction which he sacredly observed to the day of the King's death. It is probable that the work which gave most offence was his 'Religion within the bounds of Pure Reason:' and it is well known by all who ever looked into his writings, that, without formally abandoning Christianity, Kant endeavoured to establish principles utterly irreconcilable with its fundamental doctrines. All the theological and philosophical instructors of the University of Königsberg were forbidden to read lectures upon the offensive work, and newly inducted professors were brought under a similar engagement.

Kant was now entering upon the seventy-first year of his age; and, after a life of unbounded popularity, he was greatly affected by the obloquy which his religious opinions now began to draw upon him, and especially by the censure of the court, with which he had been an object of special favour. It preyed upon his spirits and his health, and wrought a perceptible change in his manners. He ceased to appear in public assemblies, and after the year 1794 sought entertainment almost entirely within his own doors. The infirmities of age gained rapidly upon him. He soon

abandoned all private instructions, lecturing once a day, alternately on Logic and Metaphysics. He applied himself *sarcinas colligere*, such was his expression, and was busied in preparing for the press his Anthropology, and his unfinished work on the Metaphysics of Morals. He declined the rectorship of the university, which fell to his turn in 1796, but prepared for publication his work on Law. At the same time he was labouring upon his Theory of Virtue and the second part of the Metaphysics of Morals, which were published in 1797. His infirmities of body and mind continued to increase, and he ceased to deliver any public lectures. The commencement of his last course was celebrated on the 14th of June 1797, with great enthusiasm by the assembled students of the institution of which he had been the most distinguished ornament for forty-two years. The sufferings which he endured were the more embarrassing, as he had all his life maintained that health was in every man's power, and he still struggled against his infirmities, and wrote a treatise on the "power of the mind, by its mere purpose, to overmaster its morbid feelings." This was dedicated to the celebrated physician Hufeland, with whom he lived on terms of affectionate intimacy.

By the demise of Frederick William II., Kant felt himself absolved from his obligation to refrain from theological discussion; accordingly he published his work on the 'Conflict of the Faculties,' in 1798. The same year he closed the series of his own works with his Anthropology, of which two thousand copies were rapidly sold; stating in the preface, that he was prevented by the infirmities of age from giving to the public a similar manual on Physical Geography.

His next labour was the revision of his manuscripts, with the aid of several favourite pupils. Jäsche was entrusted with the editing of the Logic, while Rink took charge of the Physical Geography and 'Paedagogik.' But the venerable sage was sinking. In 1802 his memory was so much impaired, that he found it difficult to maintain a train of thought, and even hesitated in naming the most familiar objects. He still kept up his practice of making perpetual notes, on little memorandum-cards. He was by no means blind to the symptoms of this decay; but would often say, "Gentlemen, I am old and feeble, and you must treat me as you would a child." Till the year 1802, he persevered in his practice of never lying down from five o'clock in the

morning until 10 at night ; but now his limbs began to fail him, and life itself became a burden. His sleep was disturbed by frightful dreams, and the detail of his distresses and weaknesses, as given by his biographer, is painful in the extreme. Seldom, indeed, have we perused the account of a more melancholy close of life ; especially as we do not learn that the humiliating anguish was mitigated by any of the hopes derived from revelation. He died on the night of Sunday, the 12th of February, 1804, in the 80th year of his age.

The bodily frame of Kant was frail and diminutive. He was scarcely five feet high, of small bones, slender muscles, and contracted chest. His head and countenance were fine, his eyes soft and vivacious in their expression. His pupils often mention the beaming of his clear blue eye, and the peculiar penetration of his glance. His hair was auburn, and even to his latest years he retained a brilliant freshness of complexion. Notwithstanding the weakness of his frame, he succeeded, by extreme care, in accomplishing herculean labours, and this, for a large portion of his life, without positive disease ; exercising himself constantly, according to his darling theory, in destroying the first symptoms of disease, by violently refusing attention to them. In disposition, Kant possessed a softness which might have been mistaken for weakness ; being almost feminine in his sympathies, and slow to apprehend the bad traits of those around him. With his colleagues he was invariably courteous and obliging. To students, especially to indigent young men of merit, he loved to offer the hand of encouragement.

We have mentioned his punctuality in respect to university duties. His lectures were an hour in length, and were often so far extemporaneous as to betray the rise of new ideas and the process of new speculations and conclusions, as he went along. It is believed that on these occasions the riches of his mind was displayed far more than in any thing which he published. Even in his table-talk he often poured forth a lavish flood of eloquent discourse, the more effective from his uninterrupted serenity, his child-like simplicity, and the reverence manifested by all around him. During his years of strength, cheerfulness and hope so predominated in his disposition, that he was regarded by all who knew him, as one of the happiest of men.

Kant professed to honour the Bible as the best guide for

the public mind, and vehemently condemned such as sought to weaken its influence upon the common people ; it is to be feared that of proper faith in its divine authority he was altogether devoid. Of Eloquence, he held a low estimate, believing it to be a deceitful art. In literature, he was peculiarly fond of satire ; no man more relished such works as Don Quixote, Hudibras, and Lichtenberg's Illustrations of Hogarth. His favourite Latin authors were, first Juvenal, then Horace and Lucretius. In German poetry, his circle did not reach much beyond Haller, Wieland, Lessing, and Bürger. The master-pieces of Goethe and Schiller appeared when he was absorbed in greater cares. He adhered through life to his admiration of a few foreign writers, Locke, Pope, Hume, Hutcheson, Montaigne and Rousseau.

We cannot think it will be uninteresting to give some glimpses of his private ways, and the habits of his study. His life was like clockwork. Winter and summer he rose precisely at five o'clock ; his servant, Lampe, who lived with him thirty years, having orders to pull him out of bed, in case of any delay. Towards the close of this period, he once appealed to his veteran attendant, during a dinner-party, to testify whether he had ever lain half an hour later. On rising, he smoked a pipe of tobacco, and drank two cups of very weak tea, but without eating. He then applied himself to labour, until his lecture-hour, which was usually seven or eight o'clock ; returning to his toils after the lecture, and studying until half past twelve, when he dressed for dinner. On Sundays and holidays he spent the whole forenoon at the desk. As he took but one meal in the day, it was his custom at this hour to banish every thought of labour. His food was simple, but well-prepared, and his wines were of choice purity. He disliked hurry in eating, and often quoted with approbation the Roman phrase *coenam ducere*. The tone of conversation at table was familiar, and he even encouraged this by the free use of little provincialisms in his language. In the afternoon, he never failed to walk for an hour ; in early years, with some one of his colleagues or pupils, but after the year 1785, always alone, in consequence of the injury which his lungs sustained from conversing as he walked. No change of weather caused any difference in this exercise. On returning to his house, he attended to little domestic matters, and then read the journals ; which, from his strong curiosity for news, sometimes broke in upon his forenoons. Then he

paced his floor, meditating upon the lectures of the next day, or such other literary work as he had on hand, or jotted down memoranda on his little cards. He retired to rest about ten. Except the wine which he used at dinner, his only beverage was water; beer he abhorred, holding it to be the slow poison of Germany.

In the care of his person, Kant was punctilious beyond the wont of German literati. His daily ablutions were all but those of a Mussulman. His dress was neat, and he wore a sword as long as the mode of the eighteenth century endured. The three-cornered hat he never laid aside. Being a bachelor, he occupied a moderately-sized house of two stories, containing no other inmates except the servants. Here, with a certain degree of elegance, there was the greatest simplicity of arrangement.

Kant was no traveller. He died where he was born, and during a long life seldom passed the gates of his native city; nor did he ever go out of the province of East Prussia. With a number of valuable friends, he lived on terms of close intimacy, frequently meeting them at their own houses or at his own. Such were the merchants Green and Motherby, both Englishmen, Hay, Jacobi, Toussaint, and the booksellers Kanter and Nicolovius. He also cultivated the society of Hippel, Scheffner, Ruffman, the banker, General Meyer, Count Henkel, and the duke of Holstein-Beck. In these hours of relaxation, all his abstractions were forgotten, and it seemed to be his aim to make himself perfectly intelligible. Even children were won by his genial warmth and gentleness, and welcomed him to every house which he visited. In his own house, he made it a rule never to sit down to table without at least two guests; and these were times of unembarrassed relaxation, for they often remained at table three hours. Visits of ceremony or of curiosity always set him upon thorns. The history of one day is very much the history of all; the even tenor of his life knew but little change; and he grew old amidst the very scenes and habits of his youth.

It was not to be expected that a revolution so fundamental as that which ensued upon the diffusion of the Kantian philosophy, should be effected without opposition. Of that opposition, we have a word or two to say. The first and most violent attack upon the system proceeded, as was natural, from the Wolfians, and from Halle, as the citadel of Wolfianism. Eberhard, a popular writer, and not above

suspicion himself in regard to orthodoxy, established in 1788 a philosophical magazine, in avowed opposition to Kant. In 1790, Kant replied to Eberhard, and particularly to the charge that his theory was to be substantially found in Leibnitz. This reply went rapidly through two editions. Eberhard, however, was by no means daunted; he established a new journal at Berlin, the 'Philosophical Archives,' and sustained it during the years 1792 and 1793. His chief co-workers were Schwab, Brastberger and Maas. He also published philosophical epistles. In these works, the controversy turned chiefly on the speculative proof of the Being of God, in regard to which Kant's demonstration was denied the claim of originality, in favour of Basedow; the insufficiency of Kant's Categories to the structure of a sound Ontology; the relation of virtue to happiness; and the necessity of regarding the latter, which the Wolfians asserted. The opponents of Kant found the era favourable for charging his views with a destructive tendency, as connected with the French Revolution.

A second source of opposition was found in the more extended ranks of popular or superficial metaphysicians. In the estimation of these the opinions of Kant were intolerable. That time and space should be nothing, but forms of our subjective perception; and that our knowledge compasses only phenomena, and not the veritable things themselves; that the teleological argument for God's existence should be exploded; these tenets naturally struck them as absurd and dangerous; and there were not wanting some who stigmatized Kant as an Atheist. Similar objections were made to the system of disinterested virtue, and of obedience out of mere reverence to law, and compliance with the 'categorical imperative.' The new terminology was also repulsive. The more elegant scholars revolted against such barbarisms as Amphiboly, Antimony, Katharticon, Noumen, Epigenesis. The rigid and complicated systematic structure awakened similar opposition.

From this class arose a host of controvertists. Mendelsohn published his elegant defence of the ontological argument for the divine existence; and was thereby involved in a dispute with Jacob of Halle. Wit and sarcasm were enlisted in the service, and the very titles of the works evince the temper of their controversy. For example: 'Critical Pro-nomade to the goal of Reason, in the Elysian Fields, by the ghost of desperate Metaphysick;'—'Critique of Fair

Reason ; by a negro ; Morocco, 1810.'—'The Ghost of Despairing Metaphysic ; a critical drama, for the thorough analysis of the Spirit of Life.' The wit of these productions must have lain in something beyond the title-page. The opposition of the popular philosophy was brought out with far more effect, in the gay writings of Nicolai, of Berlin, in his 'Allgemeine Deutsche Bibliothek,' in his metaphysical romances, and in his discourses before the Berlin Academy of Sciences. These satirical and polemical publications gratified the public taste, and were extensively popular.

A third and more important source of opposition revealed itself in the religious world, both in its theological and its philosophical portions. Notwithstanding the endeavours of Kant to keep within the confines of church-orthodoxy, his speculations were in a high degree offensive to all the sounder theologians. Nowhere in Germany had Protestantism sunk more deeply into the hearts of the people, than in the kingdom of Wurtemberg. Let it be observed that this was the country of Schiller, of Stäudlin, of Schelling, of Paulus, of Hegel and of Strauss ; all of whom were alumni of the university of Tübingen. The venerable Storr illustrated this seminary with his evangelical instructions. He was followed by Flatt, who entered the lists against Kant, in several well-known publications. Every university was in some degree agitated by the controversy. It reached to the examinations of candidates for the ministry : and, at length, as we have already said, called forth the edict of 1794. Among the Roman Catholics, there were many in the monasteries whose scholastic training had eminently fitted for entering into the subtleties of Kant. Several great men in the universities avowed themselves his disciples. But as the leaven spread, the restraints of superiors became more rigorous : the studies of monks were more closely guarded ; and in 1791 the Capuchins ordained in the provinces of the Upper Rhine, that no works tainted with this philosophy should be printed among their order. Stattler, of Munich, wrote a work entitled *Anti-Kant*, in which he reviled the philosopher in unmeasured terms ; and Adam Weishaupt, the father of the Illuminati, once a professor at Ingolstadt, issued a series of works on the same side.

There is in every country and there has been especially in Germany a class of philosophers, whose tendency towards mysticism has kept them aloof from the cold rationalistic or skeptical systems. Such men there were, even

among the friends and pupils of Kant, and some of these were his most formidable opponents. Such was the profound, passionate and laconic Hamann, who composed a 'Metacritique of the Purism of Pure Reason.' Such was Herder, a no less celebrated man, one of the great names of the period; who in his 'Metacritique of Pure Reason,' and in other works, waxed fiercer and fiercer, and directed all the fireworks of his exuberant genius against his old master. Such was Jacobi, the philosopher of Feeling, who owned no basis for Philosophy but Faith, and who shrunk with apprehension from the monumental coldness of the Critical speculations. All these great authors considered religion as consisting very much in a felt communion with God; and were unwilling to exchange this for the frigid morality of Kant.

Notwithstanding these formidable classes of antagonists, the Kantian philosophy, considered as Transcendental, may be said to have triumphed. Not that there now exists on earth a strictly Kantian school; but that the successive surges of philosophies, which dash and break and die upon the German shore, all derive their impetus and direction from the swell of this Northern tide; while of the Leibnitz-Wolfian systems there has been no succession. It may be doubted whether there ever lived a philosopher, who in his own lifetime operated on so wide a circle, and whose particular teachings became obsolete so soon after his death. Plato, Aristotle, Bacon, Descartes, and Leibnitz, did not live to measure their own power, but it was a power which lasted for ages. In the case of Kant, his mission seems to have been to set others at work; and could he rise and see the doings of his successors; he would scarcely recognise a lineament of his own in the theories of Schelling, Baader, Daub and Hegel.

In conclusion we may be allowed to observe, that we have not the slightest expectation that the system of Kant, or any modification of it, will ever prevail in Great Britain or America. After all the zealous and often able attempts which have been made, it is only the extremest appendages of the structure which have been reproduced among us. A few phrases of the transcendental philosophy have been caught up, and this not so much by systematic students of science, as by popular *littérateurs*; but of the fundamental principles of the system, not one has incorporated itself into our theories, or even commended itself to

our apprehension. And when we consider the influence exerted, in every change, and without a single known exception, by the Critical Philosophy upon the doctrines of Christianity, we rejoice and are thankful that the barrier of our national stubbornness is so insuperable.

Thomas Smyth

- ART. IV.—1. *Presbytery and not Prelacy the Scriptural and Primitive Polity, proved from the testimonies of Scripture, the Fathers, the Schoolmen, the Reformers, and the English and Oriental Churches. Also, the Antiquity of Presbytery, including an account of the ancient Culdees and of St. Patrick.* By Thomas Smyth, Author of Lectures on the Apostolical Succession, Ecclesiastical Republicanism, Ecclesiastical Catechism, etc. Boston: Crocker & Brewster. 1843. 8vo. pp. 568.
2. *Ecclesiastical Republicanism, or the Republicanism, Liberality and Catholicity of Presbytery, in contrast with Prelacy and Popery.* By Thomas Smyth, Author of Lectures, etc. Boston: Crocker & Brewster. 1840. 12mo. pp. 323.

WE have here two new volumes by the indefatigable author of the Lectures on Apostolical Succession. The more elaborate and important of the two is constructed on the same general method with its predecessor, but with the advantage of appearing in a more digested, systematic form. In either case, the circumstance which first strikes the reader is the number and variety of authors quoted. None but a well stocked and selected library could furnish the material of such a volume. It is in this richness of material that the value of the work chiefly consists. That it should do so, would seem indeed to have been the author's purpose. It is important that this should be distinctly understood, in order that justice may be done both to him and his productions. Had his aim been simply to produce an original argument, the multitude of his citations would be a serious blemish. But, unless we misconceive his plan, it is a little peculiar. We have lately had occasion to expose the want of congruity between the high claims of episcopacy as a homogeneous system and the endless diversity of the grounds on which it is maintained. What