

5649

THE LITERATURE OF THE WORLD.

THE

A M E R I C A N E C L E C T I C :

OR

**Selections from the Periodical Literature of all
Foreign Countries.**

CONDUCTED

BY ABSALOM PETERS, D.D., AND J. HOLMES AGNEW,
Editors of the American Biblical Repository,

AIDED BY A NUMBER OF LITERARY AND PROFESSIONAL GENTLEMEN.

VOLUME III.

JANUARY, MARCH, AND MAY, 1842.

NEW-YORK :

PUBLISHED BY PLATT & PETERS, BRICK-CHURCH CHAPEL, 36 PARK ROW,
FRONTING THE CITY HALL.

BOSTON :

WHIPPLE & DAMRELL, No. 9 CORNHILL.

LONDON: WILEY & PUTNAM, 35 PATERNOSTER ROW.

1842.

ENTERED according to Act of Congress, in the year 1841, by
PLATT & PETERS,
in the Clerk's Office, of the District Court of the Southern District of New-York.

PIERCY & REED, PRINTERS, 9 SPRUCE-STREET.

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THE
AMERICAN ECLECTIC.

JANUARY, 1842.

VOL. III., NO. VII.

ARTICLE I.

THE CATHOLIC TONE OF SEVERAL RECENT POETICAL WORKS, IN ENGLAND
AND AMERICA.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

THE history of literature in all lands proves the power which poets possess to diffuse their own sentiments into those of the public, and to fix the public eye on themselves. "It is," as one has well expressed it, "the power of an ardent, bold, creative nature over spirits that cannot follow its march, but still bow to the dominion which attends it—the power of a high-reaching, imaginative intellect over a passive one, yielded to the beautiful illusion which is thrown around it." Dim and distant deeds and virtues, whether real or imagined, of which the common mind possesses but a dull conception or a drowsy remembrance, are thus, by the power of poetry, rendered irresistibly fascinating. And poetry, we readily admit, is allied to religion, and may become the language of high religious feeling, as it is of emotion generally. But it is not, on that account, itself religion. It is also often leagued with superstition. It is the language of imagination, in its wildest, most daring, most unauthorized flights, as well as in its legitimate exercise under the control of an enlightened understanding and a pure heart :

" And, as imagination bodies forth
The forms of things unknown, the poet's pen
Turns them to shape, and gives to airy nothing
A local habitation and a name."

This it does among the dreamy superstitions of heathen Mythology, and of Romanism, as well as amid the imagery which is associated with the grander and higher mysteries of revealed truth.

Of this easy alliance of poetry with superstition, with dreams and fancies, as well as with religion, the writer of the following article does

* Grenville Mellen. American Bib. Repos. July, 1840.
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lating libraries scarcely furnish us with any thing but their vile trash of sickly novels and leprous magazines, literature must indeed have lost all its influence on the progress of society, if we cannot, from such a fact, freely infer that Italy is rising from its moral degradation as fast as we are sinking lower and lower into corruption and vice.

After this, should we boast of the present, admitting even that the balance be now in our favor, with such prospects of the future before us? Shall we console ourselves with the fond notion, that whilst the continental nations theorize on moral virtues, the Briton needs only the guidance of his unerring instinct? Shall we, when we read "Jack Sheppard," and translations from "Paul de Kock," or whilst we applaud the ribaldries at the "Adelphi," console ourselves with our hypocritic "Omnia munda mundis?" Shall we say, with the old man at the Olympian games, that the Athenians can talk plausibly about virtue, but that we, the Lacedemonians, alone practise it? Shall we ever look upon a foreigner without calling him a Frenchman, and suppressing with difficulty our unchristian feelings of dislike, mistrust and inveterate rancor? Shall we say of every Italian that happens not to carry a stiletto, not to be able to sing, and to look up in our face whilst he speaks, that "we could not have thought him an Italian?" Must he take it as a compliment that we declare him to be an exception from the mass of his countrymen, and as an honor that we adopt him as our own countryman? Shall he, when asked what countryman he is, endeavor to remove sinister impressions by giving us the proverbially deprecating answer of the Lucchese show-boys: "In tutto il mondo ci sono dei buoni e dei cattivi. Son di Lucca per servirla?"

ARTICLE V.

NATIONALITY AND COSMOPOLITISM.

A Translation from the *Deutsche Vierteljahrs Schrift*.

By the Junior Editor.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

THOSE who are familiar with the leading writers of Germany will find no difficulty in detecting the authorship of the following article. The sturdy nationality of its sentiments, the spirit it breathes towards the French, the characteristics of its style,—all point to a name with which our readers are already acquainted. In a former number of this work (No. V. Vol. II. p. 269) we ventured to ascribe the essay on "German Periodicals," which we then published, to the practised and energetic pen of Menzel. To the same writer we are indebted for the present ar-

ticle. A brief sketch of his literary career will be found in the note introductory to the essay to which we have just referred.

The following pages revive a discussion which excited, at the beginning of the present century, universal interest. That a secret society, composed of *Illuminati*, had existed in Germany from 1776 to 1787, that this society, prior to its suppression, had become an object of apprehension to the government and to the uninitiated generally, were facts about which there was no dispute. But the precise character of this organization, the nature of its designs and the extent of its machinations were involved in great uncertainty. In 1797, Prof. Robison published his "Proofs of a Conspiracy against all the Religions and Governments of Europe;"—a work which produced, in spite of its faults of execution, a profound and painful sensation wherever it was read. It was immediately followed by the third and fourth volumes of the Abbé Barruel's "Memoirs illustrating the History of Jacobinism," which reiterated the charges made by Robison against the *Illuminati*, and sustained them with far greater ability. In opposition to these writers, and, indeed, to the general sentiment of Europe, the defence of the *Illuminati* was undertaken by M. Mounier,—“a man,” in the language of Burke, “of talents and of virtue,” and President of the first National Assembly. He admitted that the practices of the *Illuminati* had been illegal and dangerous, and that consequently their suppression was reasonable and just. But he claimed that the *principles* of the association were not particularly objectionable; that those communicated in the lower degrees especially were quite harmless. The revolutionary and anti-Christian designs imputed to the members, he scouted as impracticable and absurd. As to any appreciable influence exerted by them on the French Revolution,—it was unknown to him, though a prominent actor in that great convulsion, and unsupported by proof. It is unnecessary to extend this notice of the various publications which have attempted to elucidate the plans and proceedings of the *Illuminati*. The principal facts bearing upon the discussion are contained in those already mentioned.

In a case of so much conflict of testimony and opinion, it were hardly to be expected that the verdict of the public should be harmonious. Many have yielded their convictions to the evidence adduced by Robison and the Abbé Barruel; others agree entirely with the conclusions of M. Mounier. A third class,—including ourselves,—are in doubt as to the real merits of the question. They believe that the principles and practices of the *Illuminati* were exceedingly corrupt and dangerous; but how far their designs extended, and what was the ultimate purpose of their machinations, they are unable to decide. To persons of this description, if not to others, the opinion of a writer like Menzel cannot be otherwise than welcome. Himself a German, and intimately acquainted with the history of the Germans, he has many facilities for arriving at the truth which are denied to us. Indeed few men are better qualified by previous study and present position to speak on this subject.—Jr. Ed.

To the remarks which we propose to make, respecting the controversy which has recently arisen in the domain of philosophy and politics, a historical sketch may serve as an introduction. Our busy age has for-

gotten, it seems, many instructive reminiscences of earlier days ; to revive them, therefore, must be appropriate to our circumstances.

In the last century there sprang up, among the so-called philosophers, a wonderful enthusiasm for humanity ; but they meant by this term at first only *the people*. The wide difference, the antithesis between these two ideas, they did not perceive. They wished to restore the dignity of man by emancipating the classes which had been previously oppressed, the *tiers état*, *the people proper*, and by abolishing the privileges of the clergy and the aristocracy. They made domestic politics their point of departure ; and there they remained at first. They desired the newly constituted governments (in France and North America) to ratify, first of all, the universal rights of man, and then the particular rights of the citizen. This enthusiasm for humanity, therefore, was available only for the people, and it exerted all its influence on domestic policy. Humanity was made prominent, in order that the future governments of the new states might always keep in mind the respect which they owed to men, or to the governed. To the rights of nations, to external affairs, to the political relations of one nation to another, no attention whatever was paid. Those nations which promulgated the universal rights of men (the Americans and the French) had enough to do, in the first instance, at home ; they aimed, therefore, only at a reformation of their intestine policy. Least of all did it occur to them to understand by this philanthropic philosophy, *Cosmopolitanism*, the melting together of all nations, the destruction of nationalities. The North Americans were so far from this, that in their free republic,—the constitution of which carried the rights of men to their utmost limit,—they retained the slavery of the colored race. The leaders of the party in France, Montesquieu, Rousseau, Voltaire,—each of whom in a different manner roused the minds of men, and prepared the way for a mighty convulsion,—were fiery advocates of humanity ; but before every thing else they were Frenchmen, and their national patriotism is indisputable.

It was in Germany that this enthusiasm for universal humanity first received, under the name of *Cosmopolitanism*, an entirely new signification ; since it was here placed in opposition to patriotism, and the merging of individual nations in universal humanity was advocated. A considerable party in Germany meditated not only the emancipation of the lower classes, the overthrow of the hierarchy, the monarchy and the aristocracy, as in France ; but they went much farther, and dreamed of melting all nations and races into one free, equal, unpartitioned humanity. Our passion for system carries all ideas to their utmost consequences ; and the circumstances of the age were then so unfavorable to patriotism in Germany, that among those cosmopolites no trace of a national feeling was preserved ; and it did not once occur to them to be ashamed of the denial of all the pride which they subsequently learned to recognize in such abundance among the French. In France the passion for freedom was intimately connected with national pride ; in Germany, however, it began with a contempt of this feeling. In France, under the ægis of humanity, it fought for the interest and the glory of the nation ; in Germany it took

its position without its own nation, against which it even declared war in the name of a purely ideal, universal humanity.

This party was organized in the so-called Association of the Illuminati, which originated in Bavaria,—where it was founded by Weishaupt, after the model of the Society of the Jesuits,—and prevailed extensively in Catholic Southern Germany; but soon, through the agency of the celebrated Baron von Knigge, it spread among the Protestants of Northern Germany. By far the greater part of the atheistic and immoral works, which have been scattered over Germany since 1770, came from the manufactory of the Illuminati. The toleration of Frederic the Great and Joseph II. was of essential service to them. They seized upon literature with great eagerness that they might publish, with more or less disguise, whatever they wished;—thus preparing the minds of men for their sentiments, and opening the way for a mighty renovation of the world. Their principal weapons were witty sneers at religion, a deceptive flexibility, the incitement of the passions and the commendation of their so-called *free morals*. In addition to this they assiduously endeavored to influence appointments in church and state, and also the instruction of schools and high-schools.

They succeeded effectually in their plans at the commencement of 1780, when the Emperor Joseph had his controversy with the Pope. This secret society was exceedingly busy in making use of the disagreement between the church and the state. Its members pressed forward from all sides, and were received into pay as publicists against the papal chair. They published a hundred works, which, under the pretence of praising the hierarchy, were regarded as favoring the design of the association, which was the destruction of Christianity. They were dying through loyalty—these Illuminati—while they were taking the imperial majesty under their wing, in opposition to the assumptions of the high priesthood;—the same Illuminati, who soon after burnt the imperial crown, the sceptre, the escutcheon and the banner of the empire on a funeral pile, and danced, with French *Sans-culottes*, on the soil of Germany around the tree of liberty. Their servility was a mask; and far from doing the Emperor a service, they only betrayed his cause, and contributed not a little to the victory which was gained, not by him, but by the papal party.

While it is true that this German sect borrowed much from France, and flooded our country, in particular, with translations of irreligious and immoral books of the school of Voltaire, they, on their part, exerted an influence upon France. Baron Holbach, a Palatine, established at Paris a large society of French philosophers and poets, which usually met at his house. To them he imparted the German consistency. This soon developed, in connection with the old French frivolity, that new systematic fanaticism, borrowed from Germany, which subsequently became a prominent characteristic of the French revolution. This society,—the so-called Holbach Club,—made the dissemination of atheistic and obscene writings an extensive business; and the Illuminati of Germany and Holbach devoted considerable sums to their preparation. The celebrated *Système de la Nature*, which issued from this club, may serve as an index

to show how far the German passion for system already swayed the levity of the French.

It was natural that these two parties in Germany and France, thus related to each other, should approximate still nearer, and finally coalesce. On the part of the German Illuminati, the French were repelled by no national pride; on the contrary, the German philosophers surrendered themselves to their French brethren with disinterested cosmopolitanism, and were ready to offer their fatherland on the altar of the pretended cause of humanity. Such a disposition would naturally induce the French to establish a good understanding with them, and to employ them as instruments in accomplishing their own ends.

The celebrated Count Mirabeau,—who subsequently played so important a part in the French revolution,—was in Berlin and Brunswick, some years before that event, as a secret agent or spy. At the latter place he was initiated into the system of the Illuminati by Mauvillon; and immediately his plan was formed. By means of the Illuminati, the revolutionary party of France might obtain considerable influence in Germany; while a suitable transfer of the constitution of the Illuminati to the freemasonry of France would communicate to that imperfectly organized association a firmness and strength, which had been hitherto wanting. Just at this epoch the Illuminati were discovered in Germany; and, being persecuted at home, they looked to France as their refuge, and threw themselves with alacrity into the arms of the French. From two different points were they assailed. The Emperor Joseph II. no longer protected them; their mask was torn away. Their association in Bavaria had been detected, and a part of their secret papers had been seized and made public. All the members were obliged to flee from the kingdom. In addition to this the voice of the moderate and conservative freemasons in Northern Germany was raised against them. Indignant that freemasonry should have been abused by the Illuminati, the great congress of German freemasons at Wilhelmsbad declared itself unequivocally against them; and the lodge at the Three Globes of Berlin expelled from their ranks every one who belonged to the Illuminati. Nicolai, the famous bookseller of Berlin, who had been a zealous member of the association, now publicly denied that he had been such. In these circumstances the new alliance of the Illuminati with the French was very opportune.

The third Grand Master of the Illuminati, Bode of Weimar, (Weisshaupt and von Knigge had withdrawn,) and his Pylades, the Dutch Colonel von Busche, betook themselves to Paris as plenipotentiaries extraordinary, in order, as was said, to *illuminate* France. In one of the central lodges of French masonry, the system of the German Illuminati was developed;—the abrogation of Christianity, the abolition of kings and the aristocracy, the restoration of perfect freedom and equality in a universal republic, the establishment of a new religion which should recognize no other god than human reason, and no other worship than the worship of nature, in the fullest enjoyment of all her bounties. Such a system must necessarily inflame the passions of the revolutionary party in France,—which was concealed as yet in secret associations, without hav-

ing made any overt demonstration,—and particularly flatter the lower classes, of whose aid they wished to avail themselves. In addition to this the constitution of the society of the Illuminati was so compulsory upon its members, so circumspect in reference to the uninitiated and the newly received, that it must at once have made sure of the French who were drawn into the secret.

Illuminatism was immediately engrafted on French masonry, and imparted, in the form of higher degrees, to all who were supposed to be worthy of confidence. The Grand Master of French masonry at that time was the well known Duke of Orleans, Egalité, the father of the present king of the French. Having fallen out with the court, he surrendered himself to the revolutionary party, hoping by their assistance to obtain the crown, while in reality he was only the tool of the republicans. By him the plans of Mirabeau were carried into execution; and soon the “illuminated” French stepped forth, under the name of Jacobins, a formidable power.

It is self-evident that Illuminatism could never have played so important a part, if other causes had not been preparing a great political revolution in France. Those who look for the reason of the Revolution in the philosophy of the eighteenth century are mistaken. It was not philosophy but necessity that roused the people. The French Revolution was not produced by Voltaire, Rousseau, Condorcet, Holbach, but by Lewis XV., the Marchioness de Pompadour, the Countess du Barry, by bad ministers, and those lamentable mistakes of the court and aristocracy which issued in the national bankruptcy. Philosophy found the fire already kindled, and merely poured on the oil. It eagerly availed itself of the favorable opportunity to secure a foothold amid the general anarchy, which it could not have gained under the old order of things. It intended to use the Revolution for its own ends; but it became, nevertheless, only an instrument to bring about that event.

Among the many Germans who went to Paris, and threw themselves into the whirlpool of the revolution,—to develop, with the help of the French Jacobins, the idea of the Illuminati, and to extend the universal republic over the whole earth,—no one was so active and consistent as the Prussian Baron Cloots; who was forthwith chosen into the National Convention, and became the strongest pillar of the party of the Illuminati. The Revolution had no sooner broken out than its national character was disclosed. The interest of France so effectually monopolized all sympathy, that men had scarcely time to connect with it the idea of a general emancipation of humanity. Meanwhile the French permitted the German enthusiasts, who had been such faithful auxiliaries from the first, to have their own way; and policy required, as soon as all the kings rose against the new republic, that they should be threatened with a revolution of all nations, and that a good understanding should be maintained with the disaffected of all countries, especially with the German Illuminati.

In consequence of this friendly intercourse, the Illuminati remaining in Germany, who were connected with the revolutionary party, performed a most important service, when the French army first advanced upon the

Rhine. A secret circular required the whole order in Germany to assist the French; and it is well known with what alacrity the Illuminati in Mentz obeyed the summons. In a few hours they delivered the place, the strongest bulwark of the Empire, to the French. 'These are good brethren,' it was thought in Paris; and the National Convention sent patents of honorary citizenship, in the name of the French republic, to all the German *notabilités* whom they wished to reward or to gain.

But this good understanding between our Illuminati and the French National Convention was of short duration. The Germans were not willing to become the tools of a French national policy; they desired to liberate humanity in general, and the French must have no pre-eminence. Their philosophy aimed at cosmopolitanism, a universal republic, in which no nation should have the ascendancy, nor even be distinguished from the rest. After the betrayal of Mentz their great importance was acknowledged, and their influence at Paris became more commanding. Gobel had risen to be the first ecclesiastic of the capital, and consequently of the kingdom; and as such he had solemnly abjured the Christian religion, and substituted in its place that of the Illuminati. Cloots was President of the Jacobin club at Paris, and consequently of all the clubs in France; and he wished to complete the introduction of the system of the Illuminati. He openly proposed to abolish national distinctions. There should be Frenchmen no longer; there should be only men.

Cloots desired nothing else than what the Illuminati had always wished, and what had been conceded at Paris before and at the commencement of the Revolution,—the equality of all men, the abrogation of all distinctions between nations as well as classes. It was a legitimate consequence, therefore, as Cloots publicly proposed, to prohibit every Frenchman from styling himself *François* thenceforward, and on the contrary to give the name *universal* to every citizen of the new republic,—which was destined to spread in all directions and finally embrace the whole earth. He had renounced without reservation his German fatherland and his German name. Philosophy had demanded this sacrifice at his hands; and the same philosophy now prevailed in France. Why then should he not require the French to renounce their narrow-hearted prejudices? He did require it, and the consequence was that an immediate and terrible reaction of the French national pride and national interest annihilated the influence of German Illuminatism; and brought all the Germans, who were compromitted by it, under the knife of the guillotine.

The poor philosopher who had sacrificed with such extreme disinterestedness every thing to an idea, who had disowned his country, his rank, his nativity, who had surrendered his wealth and renounced his habits of ease and luxury, who had fraternized with dirty, half naked *prolétaires*, must experience the ingratitude of having the very men, for whom he had done all this, not only take away his life, but traduce his memory! They beheaded him and his German friends as worthless foreigners, as spies of the German powers and of the English. They reproached them with having disgraced the Revolution by intentional excesses, thus injuring the cause of all good Frenchmen.

But an apology may be offered for the French, in relation to this physical and moral judicial murder of the philosophical martyrs which Germany sent to them. They were so fortunate as to be still living in a state of philosophical innocence. National pride and patriotism were so thoroughly mixed with their blood, that they could not reason themselves away from them, like the Germans. They could readily appreciate the noble spirit which sacrifices every thing for one's own country; but this surrender of the Germans to a foreign nation they could not comprehend; and because they could not comprehend it, they ascribed it to dishonest motives. Who was right?

Events rushed by these questions of right, which were interesting only to a few philosophers. The energy of nature was greater than that of philosophy. Nature had made Frenchmen to be Frenchmen, and such they now proved themselves; they gave themselves no further concern about their German brethren, whose aid had ceased to be indispensable. They shook off all the trumpery of Illuminatism, which the Germans had been urging on them for several years. Atheism was abjured, and their discarded God restored; cosmopolitanism was also renounced, the claims of universal humanity were postponed, and the nation stood again in the foreground.

To the terror and amazement of all cosmopolites and enthusiasts for humanity, the Revolution,—which was expected to issue in the triumph of cosmopolitanism,—eventuated in the ascendancy of the opposite principle. Soon it ceased to be said: "All for liberty;" it was only: "All for the nation." The French relinquished the freedom, which they had recently purchased at the price of so much blood, for the glory of the nation. Far from carrying emancipation and equality to all nations, and melting all into one universal republic, in the consciousness of their superiority as *the great nation*, and with the purest selfishness, they placed themselves in direct hostility to every other people.

So great a mortification philosophy could not endure. Cosmopolitanism, reduced *ad absurdum*, disappeared in France and everywhere else. The aggressions of the French upon Europe produced a reaction of the same principle which actuated them. Against their nationality were arrayed the nationalities of all Europe, now roused from their previous slumber, alarmed and deeply aggrieved, soon emboldened however, and finally burning for revenge.

It was thus that the old Illuminatism and cosmopolitanism, at the beginning of the present century, vanished from the theatre of the world's history. The Illuminati, having lost their zeal, had generally become the humble servants of Napoleon's despotism, as being alike suited to the immorality, which they had all along taught and practised, and to their anti-patriotic degeneracy. But a spirit of an entirely different sort took possession of the noble of all nations, and appropriated to itself also the susceptibilities of the young. In respect to the true interests of the nation, men were not enlightened everywhere, least of all in Germany, for they were strangers in their own fatherland. Artificially divided interests, and a foreign civilization had introduced this almost childlike ignorance

of their own domestic concerns. But their want of knowledge was supplied by feeling and ambition.

During the era of Napoleon, the entire literature of Germany did not afford a single work, which exhibited a distinct and full perception of our interests, with a national policy accompanied by thorough knowledge. Southwestern Germany formed an alliance with France; Austria and Prussia pursued, till near the close of the dynasty of Napoleon, a separate policy,—which very rarely moreover appealed to the public. The most intelligent and skillful statesmen were destitute of patriotism; the best patriots were no statesmen. The censorship of Napoleon did the rest. Only a very few pamphlets sent forth a patriotic cry,—those, for example, which conducted to the honors of martyrdom. Little, however, as the German people were instructed by patriotic political writings in respect to their interests and their national honor, the latter was nevertheless vigorously assailed. They had an enemy, a foreign oppressor, on their soil. They were robbed, insulted, deeply injured in all their public and private interests. They heard this enemy, however, constantly boasting of his nationality. This must remind them at length of their own.

Literature also, at least indirectly, kindled the national feeling. In the department of poetry, the German mind had luckily emancipated itself at the close of the preceding century, from the influence of the barely intelligible, and studied French classic style. Great poets had arisen. Of their number, Schiller in particular had imparted new life to the German people and the German youth. These old poets adhered more or less closely to cosmopolitanism; but they were still the pride of their nation, and developed the personal consciousness of the Germans in opposition to other nations. If we look at our great poets from this position, we shall often meet with contradictory appearances. Schiller writes to his friend Körner very much in the style of the Illuminati, and in the very words which the anti-patriotic young school of our day employs: "It is a miserable, pitiful ideal to write for one nation. To a philosophical spirit, these restrictions are altogether insupportable; they cannot abide with a form of humanity so changeable, fortuitous and capricious, with a mere fragment,—and what more is the mightiest nation?" And yet it was this same Schiller, who, as is well known, "called every nation contemptible that gladly stakes not every thing on its honor." And this Körner, to whom Schiller wrote, was the father of the celebrated Theodore Körner, who drew his inspiration pre-eminently from Schiller, and, seizing his lyre and his sword, died for his country, distinguished alike as a poet and a hero. Striking as are these contradictions, they were not then perceived. From this example we see how hazardous it is for parties to appeal to passages of the poets of that by-gone period. The dispute between cosmopolitanism and patriotism was not clearly apprehended by these great men. The generation which immediately followed them,—the so-called romantic school,—understood it better. That which particularly characterized this new school, was not so much the romantic, the mediæval, the traditional, the chivalrous, the catholic, as the national, as the revival of all the great historical reminiscences of our people. At any

rate, it was by means of the last, that they obtained a strong hold upon their epoch. They gave utterance to the innermost feelings of the people. They furnished nutriment to the deeply wounded pride of the nation, by exciting recollections of the greatness, the power and the glory of their fathers. They roused from despondency by pointing back to the old popular heroes, and to their struggles for liberty. They opposed the prevalence of French fashions, by a revival of the old modes and customs. They resisted the frivolity of the era of Napoleon, by commending the old German modesty and virtue. The learned sustained the patriotic exertions of the poets. They ransacked libraries, and rescued the old national poems from the dust. They inspired the studious youth with a love for such patriotic investigations; and quietly prepared the way for a reaction, before there was any hope that external political relations would favor it.

In proportion as the politics of Austria and Prussia became harmonious, and both perceived that their deliverance depended only on a general rising of the German nation, the efforts, which the poets and scholars had already commenced, were encouraged at Vienna and Berlin. The beneficial changes in the internal policy of the Prussian states accorded well with this tendency to nationality; these showed that the principle of nationality would be more fruitful of domestic improvement than the principle of cosmopolitanism, which was not in a condition to effect similar seasonable reforms. The national patriotism, roused by adversity, found a response in all classes of the nation; whilst the old Illuminatism was only an affair of scholars and the educated, to which the German people had always been strangers.

The Austrian proclamation of 1809, the Tyrolese insurrection, and the attempts of Schill and the Duke of Brunswick disclosed more unequivocally what had been effected in the German nation. Napoleon, although then victorious, did not by any means infer that the threatening movement was effectually arrested. He endeavored, therefore, to make provision against a new explosion of the national indignation, which he dreaded far more than that of the Spaniards. To Austria he became allied by marriage, and Prussia he tried to outflank and annihilate by the Russian campaign. If he had become the master of Russia, the reaction in Germany would have been long delayed. He was defeated, however, and Germany threw off the yoke.

This patriotic enthusiasm went hand in hand with religious enthusiasm. Indeed German patriotism, being deeply rooted in the soul, has always, when truly developed, something religious about it. But now there was a reaction likewise against French impiety, which was not so much a remnant of the revolutionary period, as the offspring of the all-demoralizing despotism of Napoleon. The deliverance of Europe from the tyranny of the world's conqueror was attended, moreover, by circumstances so extraordinary, that men ascribed it, with reason, not solely to the weapons of the nation, but also to the interposition of divine Providence. Thus the principle of national Christianity became decidedly predominant,—the direct opposite of that atheistic cosmopolitanism which the old Illuminati had advocated.

It would lead us too far to contrast the hopes which our patriots then cherished respecting the regeneration of Germany, with what has been actually achieved. The history of Germany, moreover, since the great campaign, is too well known to cotemporaries to make it necessary for us to recall it to their remembrance, as we have done in relation to the earlier, and comparatively forgotten period. Although some expectations have not been realized; although, for example, Strasburg, a French fortress on the soil and territory of Germany, in the midst of a German population, preserves an offensive position against this country; although the navigation of the Rhine is not free, and our trade and manufactures are still tributary to the Dutch and English, and a German navigation act is not even remotely contemplated; although the states composing the interior of Germany are closed against each other, and the old-fashioned free will has reappeared in Hesse and Brunswick; although Russia has gained a disproportionate influence in our affairs;—still these things can neither efface from history the fact of the great union of all Germany in 1813, nor annihilate the idea for which we then contended. Good feeling was generally prevalent, actuating alike the high and the low. A just weighing of circumstances, a thoughtful securing of the future, and a comprehensive intelligence,—these alone were wanting. The *corpus Germaniæ* has always been a very complex organism. After so many concussions, therefore, the best reconstruction was not immediately to be expected. Patriotism should not be hasty and disorderly, but patient and temperate. Holding fast the idea of nationality, it should employ, with true German discretion, our long peace,—which, compared with earlier times, notwithstanding many inconveniences, has been exceedingly fortunate and propitious,—in filling up the loopholes of our sagacity. Since the feeling of the nation has exerted itself so energetically in times of necessity, the understanding of the nation should develop itself in times of repose. Although the fulfilment of many reasonable hopes has been postponed, even this delay was necessary to open the eyes of patriotism to many delusions, and to cast many foolish longings into oblivion. Enthusiasts have manifestly compromised themselves by the haste with which they have sought to smooth and polish German multiformity, and, regardless alike of nature and of history, to carry out a system of unity in accordance with fancies which are sometimes exceedingly partial and contracted.

The Germans were so much the rather called upon to inform themselves, in this time of peace, respecting their national interests, and particularly,—as the nations around us have been very careful to protect themselves,—respecting the defence of these interests against foreign influences. The principle of nationality has taken root everywhere. Not only does it still live in Poland; it has even become active in Italy. It is rousing the Greeks,—a nation which has been dead for centuries,—and it is also arresting attention in Hungary. But more than all do the French burn for the recovery of their national honor, and for the respect of the tri-colored flag. This disposition of our neighbors has a bearing on our national interests; and indifference to these interests, still more contempt

of them, on the part of reflecting men, cannot be otherwise than ill-timed and inappropriate.

But this indifference and this contempt have actually existed. In the very state which has more cultivation than any other, and from which the great upheaving of 1813 proceeded, a philosophy has arisen that repels patriotism, as it were magnetically, and is calling back to life that cosmopolitanism which has been forgotten for a whole generation. Having insinuated itself imperceptibly, it was at once followed by all the opinions and tendencies of the epoch of the Illuminati,—a reaction that constantly spread wider and wider. Patriotism was supplanted by cosmopolitanism; the Christian sentiment, by a decisive anti-Christian tendency; good morals, by a new frivolity. Suddenly and unexpectedly every thing which had been experienced at the end of the previous century, was acted over again; and the accordance of the tendencies of that period with those of the present day is indeed surprising. The left side of the Hegel school has introduced into German literature, and the heads of our young students, the whole of the old system of the Illuminati. It has proclaimed a new war upon Christianity, with more confidence and hope than ever. It has arrogantly predicted its future triumph; it has announced the close of the era of Christianity; and the pretended discoveries of Dr. Strauss,—which, without containing any thing new, are placed by the side of the discoveries of Copernicus and Guttenberg,—have already drawn the government of one state (Zürich) into this delusion. This party, like the old Illuminati, have unequivocally denied the existence of a God out of and above us, advocating at the same time an absolute freedom of man, and his identity with the Godhead. The deified humanity of Hegel, the free community of the spirit are nothing else than *le peuple-Dieu* of Baron Cloots. With this deification of humanity, and altogether in the same style, cosmopolitanism is proclaimed again in direct and coarse antagonism to patriotism. Nationality is characterized as illiberality; patriotism, as a lower passion, a brutish impulse of the blood. A melting down of all national distinctions is anticipated; and national literature must be merged in a literature of the world.

And now too, as in the time of the old Illuminati, coupled with an irreligious literature which is designed expressly to eradicate Christianity, there is also an immoral literature, which endeavors to seduce by voluptuous representations, and proclaims the unrestrained indulgence of the passions. This was confessedly one of the mightiest levers of the party of Voltaire and Holbach in France, and of the Illuminati in Germany; and just as our country was flooded by the immoral writings of the French classic school, is it now overrun by those of the romantic school. The *rehabilitation* of the flesh, so much talked about within the last few years, is nothing new. The same thing was advocated by hundreds of works in the last century.

On the other hand the young radicals, who have made the disturbance at Frankfort, and sent forth stupid pamphlets from Paris, Strasburg and Switzerland, have fallen into all the illusions which prevailed among the Illuminati of Mentz. They have desired an unconditional annexation to

France. German patriotism, they say, should be simply the instrument of stable principle. National jealousies are artificially nourished; and hence it is that the nations do not unite in a common and successful struggle for liberty. Among all the nations, the French alone are worthy to plant the banner of European freedom, and conquer under it. With them, therefore, we must unite; and with French cannon must we subdue our fatherland. These principles of young Europe, any one sees, are precisely the same as those which the old Cosmopolites held, and on which the alliance between the German Illuminati and the French Jacobins, already mentioned, was built.

The return of all these old things is but little suited, we repeat, to the real wants of our country in its present condition. It would be far better for our national interests, if German philosophy and politics were unincumbered with these old-fashioned notions. One can allow himself to be pleased with *renaissance* and *rococo* at the coffee-house; but when introduced into philosophy and politics, they have something suspicious. At a period of the world's history, in which no nation is so loudly summoned to inform itself as to its interest in the great European conflict as the Germans, it appears preposterous in the highest degree, that, in the very heart of Germany; the principle of nationality should be either unknown to science, or openly assailed by it, and patriotic feeling scorned and derided.

The new Illuminati who have unconsciously, and yet with such startling consistency, struck into all the paths of their predecessors, are really exerting a powerful influence on the present time. Their doctrines have gained the ascendancy in the chairs of philosophy, and for these doctrines all the educated youth of Germany are wooed. The new generation is to be trained exclusively in this creed. On the other hand, French sympathies are more and more cherished. If peace shall continue, it is conceivable, and even probable, that Germany will again *sweat off* this new Illuminatism without serious difficulty. But should events, having a direct bearing on the weal or wo of our country, hereafter occur, it certainly cannot be a matter of indifference, how men of education and scholarship, especially the younger generation, shall stand affected; and a disposition, so utterly averse to patriotism as was that of the epoch of the old Illuminati, might be as prejudicial as that was to our fatherland. And hence it may not be superfluous to remind our new Illuminati, that what they are now dreaming has been all dreamed over once before; and that the idea to which they are now clinging with so much tenacity, has already issued in a miserable bankruptcy.

We have already remarked that the cosmopolitanism, which the French held up to view during their great Revolution, was only a mask behind which they concealed their national politics. The same is true at the present day. That young Europe,—which has established itself at Paris, and is courting proselytes in all the countries of Europe,—is only a tool of young France; and this young France is far from aiming at the emancipation of all nations, or of humanity; but she burns only with a desire to carry again her national power and glory to the elevation, to which

they were raised under Napoleon. The Germans, Italians and Poles, who are caught in this net,—what are they but poor flies? What a delusion,—for Germans especially!—to permit themselves to be so deceived as to promote that foreign national policy, forgetting entirely their own!

The true history of Illuminatism, and its relation to the Jacobins of France,—with which we have preceded our remarks,—relieves us of the labor of pointing out the emptiness of all the hopes, which have been recently built on an alliance between the German *Friends of Light and Freedom* and the French. If the French of the present day are pleased with the good-will of our German enthusiasts, if they encourage them by their *propaganda*, they do it, as did the earlier French, only for their own advantage, only to stretch out once more their hands over Europe, and, in some lucky contingency, to reconquer the left bank of the Rhine. But if any one should venture a request that they would not act with a sole reference to their national interests, but care also for the freedom of other nations, they would take it as much amiss as they formerly did. If we suppose the Revolution of 1830 to have been as extensive as that of 1789, that Frankfort were played into the hands of the French in 1833, by German traitors, as was Mentz in 1792, the only reward,—if some German fugitive, like Dr. Wirth, should wish to place the interests of Germany on an equality with those of France (as he actually did at Hambach), or, like Cloots, should postpone the national politics of France to the objects of cosmopolitanism,—would be the guillotine. All who are now infected with the Gallomania may see themselves mirrored in the history of 1793.

We hear it often said that the French of the present day are unlike their fathers; that they desire nothing but an intimate union with the Germans, for the sake of overmastering, by a joint effort, the colossus of the North. They would love us as brethren, and respect our rights. And there are some sentimental *Friends of Light and Freedom* in Germany, who suffer themselves to be affected by this sort of flattery. The truth is, that France will endeavor to prevent the development of the germs which lie buried in Germany at whatever price. She never can be for us; her greatness depends on our weakness and divisions. She still covets the left bank of the Rhine, without being able as yet to wrest it from us. This she can only effect when the favorable opportunity shall present itself, by a renewal of the policy of Erfurt, the French-Russian alliance of 1808. We have no need of prophecy,—we want nothing but history, a simple knowledge of the nations, their permanent interests and their natural dispositions,—to see what lies in the lap of the future, and what sooner or later must inevitably come forth. And in such a contingency, some dream of a philo-Germanic anti-Russian policy of France! Verily, their delusion is wonderful!

If the Germans have occasion to imitate, or to appropriate to themselves any thing which belongs to the French, it is simply their patriotism. All Frenchmen, into whatever parties they may be divided in respect to their domestic policy, are perfectly united in respect to their foreign policy. They are agreed in maintaining their national independence, in seeing no French village in the hands of strangers, in having their nation respected

abroad, in preserving and extending their national renown. These characteristics of our neighbors are worthy of imitation.

It is with honest pride that France looks back upon all that she has done during the last fifty years to preserve her external independence. Her patriots are decorated with imperishable laurels; almost all her princes, statesmen, generals, philosophers and poets,—whatever else may be said against them,—almost all serve their country with their talents, and this they do with their virtues not only, but with their vices even; almost all are emulous to make their nation great and independent. On the long aberrations of her domestic policy, France looks back with sorrow. Her most intelligent patriots deeply lament the religious declension, and the open immorality which have introduced into all branches of the government, and into private life itself, a pernicious and abiding derangement. In this particular they envy the English and the Germans; among whom the virtues of peace have not yet disappeared.

If France is ever to become our pattern, what has she that is worthy of imitation? Assuredly it is her noble patriotism,—which embraces all parties, and is constantly harnessed against all the world,—and not her domestic demoralization. But our modern Illuminati would transfer, not the former, but the latter to Germany. So far from making us patriots, such as the French are, they have sworn a deadly hostility to patriotism; and they fight it with a persistency which amounts almost to insanity. But the domestic evils with which France is cursed, and which are bitterly lamented by all good Frenchmen,—her infidelity and immorality, her hatred of Christianity and her religion of egoism,—these they would inflict upon us! Is not the effort preposterous in the extreme?

The very things which they would take from us have hitherto been the greatest honor of the Germans,—that love of pure morality, and that deep-seated religiousness which characterize the entire German race. It was by means of these virtues that Europe, reduced to putrescence under the domination of the Romans, was restored to a vigorous life. It has been by means of these virtues that the German people have lived through every storm hitherto; and, when they seemed upon the brink of destruction, have renewed their youth. On account of these virtues has it been that the Roman nations have always envied us; and of them the French of the present day speak with as much respect as did the ancient Gauls and Romans. And is it imagined that the schemes of universal humanity are to be advanced by destroying, in the name of cosmopolitanism, those old national virtues, which were the germ of European civilization, and of whatever is truly noble in modern humanity? Our good constitution will bid defiance to this new temptation, as it has done to all which have preceded it. But why must we be subjected to the trial? It is a miserable preparation for a crop, and certainly no suitable training of the young for what is before them. Europe has not yet passed beyond the period of crises and convulsions. Germany therefore must hold herself ready. First of all, she should develop her practical understanding; she should look keenly around on the present; she should learn to estimate aright her external relations, her dangers, her advantages, her capacities, and not sur-

render herself to vain and profitless phantasies. She should strengthen her sinews by patriotism, not relax them by unmeaning reveries.

There are two classes of honest and right-thinking men in Germany, who, from misapprehension alone, have fallen in with these philosophical teachers of error. Some believe that in this way a beneficial movement and a tendency to freedom will be preserved, and stagnation prevented. Others suppose that the spiritual life will be advanced in opposition to the coarseness and vulgarity of material interests. Both are deceived.

Freedom without national independence is a nonentity. Among large states the freedom of the small states needs a guaranty. The freedom of the cosmopolite can exist only in favorable circumstances; it is an exception, as in the case of the unsettled wanderer and of the philosophical hermit. That nation can only possess true political freedom, which, being sufficiently large, is united internally and independent externally. An effort for freedom, which looks away from nationality, which does not and will not recognize patriotism, is directly hostile to it, is altogether misdirected. However noble and disinterested in itself enthusiasm for a principle may be, it is unfortunate, when, without knowing what it does, combining with the enemies of the nation, it destroys the germ of patriotism,—the only thing which is prolific and hopeful. The man who supposes that he may sell his country for the sake of liberty, is like the gambler who shaves himself bare, and then sells his hair—to win a comb!

Men are accustomed to commend philosophy,—by which term we now understand that of Hegel exclusively,—because of the protection it affords to our spiritual interests, our higher scientific cultivation, against the barbarism which threatens to rush upon us in the train of material interests. In the mean time it is a striking fact, that the young poets, who complain of the tyranny of the spiritual principle in Christianity, and are endeavoring to deliver the flesh from its long captivity, are neither assailed, nor disowned by the young Hegel school; but, on the contrary, are taken under its wing, and treated as good allies. But grant that this philosophy would conduct the spiritual principle of life to victory. The inquiry must arise: “Of what use is its admission into a soul which renounces all the conditions of nature and history?” The new philosophy has created for itself an absolute spirit, a mere logical abstraction; which, first of all, has either no connection with the mind, or makes war upon it, or throws it away as a lost form, in order to employ in its stead a very suitable artistic image; which further renounces Christianity,—whose development in the history of the world it treats as closed, superseded, dead; which, finally, will not only discard the natural bond which holds together the members of a nation, but destroys national distinction, and establishes a community of cosmopolites, a community of the pretended *free spirit*.

Can a philosophy, which deprives the Germans of their minds, which robs them of Christianity,—that richest of spiritual blessings,—still more, that will not own them as a nation;—can such a philosophy be of any practical use to us? Indeed, as opposed to it,—assailing as it does our spiritual interests in such a way as to annihilate the most precious of our spiritual possessions,—as opposed to such a philosophy, the ordinary endeavor

ors to promote material interests are to be rated immeasurably high, even though we admit that the effort is attended with some neglect of the spiritual. The man who advances the welfare, the physical and economical prosperity of the nation, really accomplishes more without philosophy, than philosophy herself. That philosophy is of little value, from which the nation can derive no wisdom, no counsel, no elucidation of its interests, no guiding idea for its practical business. It stands in the air, a dead scholasticism, sundered from the life of the people, foreign and hostile to all our general interests. If it exert any influence on the people, it is only to estrange them from themselves, to rob them of their inborn propensities and virtues, to poison the youth, and to subserve that foreign policy which is always ready to take advantage of our self-forgetfulness. The Grecian philosophy, the mother of all later philosophers, cannot be accused of any such hostility to national interests. She was merely the loftiest inspiration of nationality. She never ceased to instruct the nation respecting itself, and to encourage it to preserve and augment its beautiful inheritance. Why has our philosophy broken asunder the ligaments which should bind it to the nation ?

An incomplete national philosophy,—somewhat in the sense that the Mosaic economy was an incomplete national theology,—no reasonable man in our day will desire ; but the most comprehensive philosophy must recognize, not only all nationalities, but also, before every other, our own. If philosophy obtains the clearest and profoundest insight into all earthly things, and ventures to arrogate to herself the highest legislation, still must she concede, and oblige others to concede, the importance and value of nationality. She must sanction the most natural, the purest, the noblest feeling that lives in the people, and the act by which it is expressed.

But to reject the idea of cosmopolitanism, and the disposition in which it is rooted, unconditionally, would be wrong. It is not only a Christian sentiment,—for the Christian religion commands us to look upon all men as the children of God, and as our brethren,—it is also, in a certain sense, a national sentiment ; and the Germans have always been ready to acknowledge the excellencies of other nations,—indeed they are remarkable for an inborn feeling of approbation, which has been too seldom found elsewhere. To endeavor to eradicate so beautiful and noble a trait of our character were barbarous, and, indeed, impossible. But it is no less improper to restore the phantom of universal humanity, and destroy nationality in defiance of nature and history. Experience has shown that when a nation has become sufficiently magnanimous to sacrifice itself to this phantom, it is only for the good of some other nation less magnanimous, and indeed altogether selfish, which seizes the occasion to promote its own advantage, but never that of abstract universal humanity,—a thing which never has existed, and never will exist. Hence the importance of assigning to the efforts of cosmopolitanism their natural boundary, and of pointing out the road on which it can pursue a worthy end, and one that will be useful to humanity.

This end is the reciprocal respect of nations, their mutual co-operation in the advancement of material and intellectual culture, an intelligent con-

federacy of nations, but not a merging of them in universal humanity, with a destruction of all their peculiarities. Men are divided into nations according to their origin, their position, the climate which they inhabit, their language and intellectual development;—for nature herself has stamped upon them a distinguishing impress. Each contributes something from its peculiarities to the modification of the whole, which no other could have furnished. They supply one another's deficiencies. And they are so firmly rooted in nature and history, that to make them uniform were altogether impossible. If it could ever occur, it would be only by the victory of one imperfect nationality over all the rest; as the old Roman and the Chinese have vainly attempted. But this would not be the victory of cosmopolitanism; on the contrary, it would only be the victory of nationality,—of one over all besides.

Genuine cosmopolitanism,—for which the purest and noblest spirits have been enthusiastic,—can be secured, neither by the destruction of all nationalities, nor by the dictation of a single power; but only by the harmonious agreement of different states, by their respecting each other, and abstaining from all interference with each other. It is only when every nation fulfils its appropriate destiny, and exhibits in its sphere one phasis of humanity,—at the same time offering no hinderance to other nations in their development, but affectionately helping them forward,—that it promotes the aim of the whole.

As nations have duties to discharge towards one another, so have they duties to perform towards themselves. On the latter we lay the greater stress, as they have been so often, particularly in later times, misapprehended.

If Germany is to pay interest to humanity, we must make sure, in the first place, of the capital. History shows us that the service, which we have performed for humanity, has always been in proportion to our ability. What would have come down to us from the old world, had it not been regenerated by German blood, and German virtues? How happy has been the influence of Germany on Europe, whenever it has been sufficiently powerful! And even in other parts of the world, this blessing is repeated. All Roman colonies have been unsuccessful; those of France have regularly failed; those of Spain and Portugal still linger amid successive alternations of lethargy and anarchical convulsions. It is only where German blood predominates,—in North America, the East Indies, the Cape, New Holland,—that every thing moves forward prosperously. We ourselves, in the old fatherland,—amid terrific and ruinous contests, under a foreign dynasty, politically and ecclesiastically rent asunder,—have still preserved our peculiar advantages, and nursed the germ of good, as no other nation, which has encountered such storms, has ever done. Germany, since the Reformation, has suffered more from partitions, from foreign invasions, from frequent and protracted wars, than Italy, France and Spain during the same period; and yet, through the industry and morality of her citizens, she has always recovered; and now she has attained to a degree of prosperity, which will be sought in vain in Roman countries. Let any one call to mind all that has swept over little Saxony. Long

ago would it have become a desert, like Calabria, had not German persistence cast the fresh young seed into the bloody furrows of war. All that the hierarchy, despotism, the most destructive internal dissensions, the loss of large provinces, the domination of foreign princes and nations, the miseries of unceasing wars, restrictions upon commerce, the stagnation of all the juices of life can do to ruin a people;—all these may be found among us. And yet we are not ruined; but from beneath, out of an industrious and moral domestic life, an ever fresh energy has emanated to replace the withered top, and at every possible point, like a young forest among the old stumps, has sprung up, luxuriant and healthful.

When a nation, after passing through the severest trials for three hundred years, maintains such a vigorous life, it would seem to be entitled to an important position in the circle of nations, and to have a conservative significance in the history of humanity. What this people would have been, if it had lived through three centuries of prosperity, instead of adversity, can be imagined. There can be no doubt, however, that our misfortunes are owing, in a great measure, to our ignorance of ourselves, our misapprehension and neglect of our true interests,—in a word to the fact, that, surrendering our nationality, we have combined with strangers to tear in pieces our own fatherland. If now the Germans, amid all the illusions of their party leaders, completely despoiled of all national understandings during a whole century, have still, by means of their native excellencies of character, succeeded in keeping the position which they now occupy,—even this should teach us at least the value, and the deep significance of their nationality, and restore us to that self-consciousness, which we have been so long without, and from which, if once developed, blessings must accrue to us, as numerous as the evils which its loss has inflicted for three centuries.

It is strange that the recognition of nationality should be so difficult for the Germans, inasmuch as they honor other states, chiefly on account of their national pride. If the French place their nationality above every other, it is regarded in Germany as something perfectly natural; nay, it is commended and admired. On every occasion, the French repeat that the left bank of the Rhine must be theirs, the Rhine is the natural boundary of France. This is received in Germany as something which is quite natural to the French. But if it should once be said among us, that Elsass belongs to Germany, that the Vosges are the natural boundary of Germany, this would be received with disapprobation, not only in France, but at home. The most extravagant pretensions of our neighbors, and all the vagaries of their national vanity are commended by numberless German writers and journalists; all their phrases are applauded, and transferred to our literature. If a German, however, defends, in the most temperate manner, a minimum of our rights, if he timidly lifts his voice against foreign aggression, every body exclaims against this old-fashioned patriotism, this pitiful affectation, these contracted views which are behind the age. If the French look after their interests in Belgium, it is approved in Germany and published in a hundred journals, and men rub their hands for joy. But if any German direct his attention to our interests in Bel-

gium, it is either not understood, or maliciously overlooked; for our journalism appears to have taken its cue from the French, and, regardless of all history and nature, it is assumed that old German Flanders has hitherto been French, and of necessity belongs, directly or indirectly, to France. Hence men have naturally discovered that the Dutch have been declaiming against the French; but they have forgotten what Belgians with German sympathies, and Germans with Belgian sympathies have written against France from the stand-point of German nationality. We adduce these examples from our own times, because they are peculiarly striking.

Such a disposition in the German press leaves us but little hope of realizing the wish already expressed. Our national understanding appears to be willing to acquiesce in an adjournment to a distant day. But if we cannot charm it back, we may at least bewail its absence, and occasionally remember the urgency of our wants.

We will not dwell on the benefits which Germany might secure, were she to regain her complete national understanding; for we do not like to leap over actual occurrences, to console ourselves with dreams. We are satisfied with looking at the disadvantages which threaten us, in case we sink back, lower than ever, into the old mischievous policy of the last century, into the sentiments and opinions of the epoch of the Illuminati, which we have already described. Our press imagines that we are advancing; but in reality every thing is going backwards to a period of self-forgetfulness, that is even now at our doors.

The future of Germany depends mainly on the bond which holds together our three great political systems,—the Austrian, the Prussian and the Constitutional. Should this remain unbroken, Germany will be in a position to defy every future European storm, even though she should be obliged,—as must inevitably occur, sooner or later,—to take the field in the West and the East at the same time. But if this bond shall be loosened, the German body will be dissolved; and a part of it will again become the prey of our neighbors,—the same who have wrested so much from us already. But in what does this bond consist? In what else than nationality, and the common interest of the states which circumscribe this nationality? But if this common interest is left out of view, if two, or if one of the three systems shall abandon the confederacy, to unite with strangers in a war upon the third or upon the other two, the entire German body will receive a dangerous blow. This is mechanically necessary, and historically certain. So long as Germany held together she was impregnable, and victorious in every direction. But when she took arms against herself, she lost again in every direction. In the contest of the Guelphs and Ghibelines, she lost Arelat and Italy; in the contest of the Catholics and Protestants she lost Switzerland, Holland, Elsass, Savoy, Livonia and Lorraine. When Austria and the Empire were abandoned by Prussia at the peace of Basle, she lost the entire left bank of the Rhine. When Prussia was not sustained by Austria and the Empire in 1801, when Austria again was not sustained by Prussia and the Empire in 1809, immense losses were incurred. But when the three constituents of Germany became harmoni-

ous in 1813, they were immediately victorious; and had this harmony continued a little longer, they would have recovered all that they had lost. And just as surely as every division among the three systems has proved detrimental to Germany hitherto, just so surely will this be the case hereafter; and hence it is important to keep this ligament, which binds them together, constantly in view, and with it to occupy the mind;—of which there is such a superabundance in Germany that paper itself, interminable as it is, can scarcely keep it busy. Indeed there is enough to think about. Other nations are intriguing incessantly to loosen this ligament. Old mistakes and old prejudices are still powerful among us. Personalities and casualties are not to be estimated. The disposition to combine with other countries to secure a specific end, at the expense of our own country, is so far from being eradicated in Germany, that even now, within a few years of the great war of freedom, it governs the press. The alliances, with which the princes of the Rhenish confederacy were but just now so harshly upbraided, are again proposed by demagogues; and France, though recently overthrown in a frenzied contest, already controls good-natured Germany by her language, her fashions, her literature and the frivolous tendencies of the age of Voltaire and the Illuminati. If now we reflect upon all these things, a new disorganization of the German body certainly appears to be within the domain of possibilities; and attention may well be directed to this subject.

Twenty years ago patriotism trembled in view of the difficulty of thoroughly reconciling and adjusting the interests of the German dynasties; and strong expectations were built on the power of public opinion, the disposition of the people. But now that the sovereigns have continued so long estranged from each other, patriotism is in a condition to distrust public opinion. The press at least is decidedly unfavorable to it.

We do not wish to be unjust. The establishment of the Customs' Union is an event which has strongly enlisted public sympathy; and the patriotism, whose countenance does not brighten in view of it, must be very morose and skeptical. There has been too little intelligence, however, connected with this public sympathy. Hardly any one reflects how easily we could have obtained access to the sea, if Hardenberg had not lost East Friesland by his diplomacy. Still less do we reflect how astonishing it is that our coasts, and the mouths of our rivers have been taken from us. We have none of that comprehensiveness of view, which is connected with a creative power of mind, and from which the efficient means of reaching a great end must issue. In respect to the means, it is doubtful whether future times will be able to imagine themselves back amid the illusions of the present age. Every mechanic takes hold of a lever at the remotest end. Belgium is the remotest end; but men will not see it. Belgium, Holland, the Hanse cities, Denmark are so many concurrent keys which the Customs' Union, like a skilful organ player, might make use of; but men will not see it. In the twentieth century, the consumer will everywhere give law to production, to manufactures, to trade, to the rights of the sea; but this, in the nineteenth century, men will not comprehend.

Men do indeed busy themselves about these questions ; but reflection does not overtask itself. The most instructive precedents are scarcely heeded. Have we ever bestowed that degree of attention, which is worthy of the subject, and of our national honor, on the Russian memorandum which was sent to the German courts,—the Austrian and Prussian excepted,—in 1834 ? We have more important things to do ! We must transplant ourselves back to the middle ages ; and while we have scarcely a meagre half dozen of sensible pamphlets relative to the maritime question, we can count up half a thousand controversial works, for or against the papacy. Do you call this going forward or backward ? The Cologne affair is a bad symptom ; the bare possibility of its occurrence shows how little harmony there is in the national power, the national will and the national understanding.

But there is much more to be done ; with all possible speed, Christianity must be eradicated. As if there were nothing more urgent for the Germans to do, and to reflect upon, we have returned to the old frenzy of the Illuminati of the last century, as to a pastime, an amusement. The presumption of learned vagabonds, the craving for distinction, at whatever price, in every protracted interval of peace, are readily appreciated. It only excites our wonder that the repetition of this folly should have found so loud an echo, should have called forth such a countless number of pens.

There are many practical inquiries, an answer to which were very desirable. For example, what is the relation of Germany to the oriental question ? what can be done to advance German interests on the Danube ; what by colonization ; and what in young Hellas ? what guaranties does Germany need against that power, which has become so colossal within the last century, and which is still advancing ? how can the industrious bee of German commerce obtain the honey, which might be extracted in such profusion from the secluded blossoms of Hungary ? how can the commercial systems of Northern and Southern Germany be conciliated, and amalgamated for their mutual advantage ? what impulse would the trade of Southern Germany receive, what influence,—commanding and at the same time secure,—would the Germans obtain in Italy, if the free harbors of the Adriatic, and perhaps also of the Mediterranean, were accessible ? what is the best policy for Germany in respect to Switzerland ? what is the value of reciprocity and equality between our universities, and those of Zurich ; as the latter must receive more influence than it imparts ? what benefits are promised by the approximation of the Confederacy and the Customs' Union ? what should be done to quicken the German element in Belgium, to deliver the German majority from the yoke which the French minority has imposed upon them ? how much more important is it to obtain possession of the North Sea farther to the west than to the east, inasmuch as all the eastern harbors, sooner or later, must become accessible ? how shall Holland be made to understand that her existence depends upon the prosperity and might of Germany ? how much power lies in the recollection that it was only by destroying each other that Belgium, Holland, the Hanse cities, and Denmark transferred the dominion of the sea from the Germans to the English ? how can the Hanse

cities be drawn away from their narrow, pitiful, retrospective policy,—in which Holland participates,—to a liberal, prospective policy? how can we convince them that the Customs' Union carries with it, not an unimportant, but a great principle; that it cannot pause half way, at an inland manufacturing policy, but must effect that which the German maritime cities particularly need; that, consequently, it will take nothing away from coasts,—already much impoverished in comparison with earlier times,—but will impart to them just what they want? what is to be done to relieve the Prussian coasts, so ungratefully and severely oppressed with the Eastern embargo? how shall we not only rejoice with Streckfuss in the guaranties of Prussian affairs, but also gradually repair some of the mistakes which Hardenberg committed? how may national interests be immediately advanced, so as to banish discomfort from Germany? what shall be done to prevent those conflicts of right, which, as in Hanover, disquiet and embitter the people, without being of the least service to the throne or to the thrones? what shall be done to restrain the annual and extensive emigration of our countrymen, that all this energy may become tributary, not to foreign parts of the world, but to the advancement of German national interests?

We might extend this list of inquiries still farther; but we have said enough to show that the answer of such questions would be more practical and important, than the spread of the Hegelian philosophy,—with which our recent literature is now principally taken up, and with which the revival of the old Gallomania is associated. Both conduct us far away from all patriotic inquiries.

In only one discussion, touching the interests of the fatherland, have our modern *Illuminati*,—in imitation of their elder brethren,—taken part. The Cologne dispute presented the same opportunity which was offered to their predecessors by the controversy of Joseph II. with the Pope. Is it a hasty, unjust, invidious accusation, to express the suspicion that this party is now making use of the contest with the hierarchy, only as a mask, behind which they may assail, with the greater security, Christianity itself? Do the adherents of the creed of Strauss, and of the younger Hegelians, demean themselves differently, in reference to the controversy of Frederick William III. with Gregory XVI., from the *Illuminati*, at the time of the controversy of Joseph II. with Pius VI.? And will the state now gain more from the assistance of such advocates, than it did then? We fear that an anti-national and anti-Christian advocacy will not be very useful, either to Prussian interests in particular, or to German interests in general. The Bible is the weapon of the Protestant, and patriotism the weapon of the citizen; but with the Bible and patriotism they will have nothing to do. In the bottom of their hearts they reject Luther and the Prussian ritual, just as much as they do the Pope, because they reject Christ; they cannot rightfully defend the German nation against the ultramontane influence, because they are professed Cosmopolites, and claim for the chair of Hegel the same universal authority, which Catholic Christendom, for many centuries, has conceded to the chair of Peter. We regard the working of this philosophy in the Cologne controversy as disorderly, offensive and

delusory. It takes away the stand-point from which men should survey the question. They defend, not what should be defended, but something entirely different,—their own bad cause. They discredit Protestantism, while they appear to take it under their protection. They understand by the principle of Protestantism, not what Luther understood by it,—the word of God and a life of faith, and love and purity,—but their pretended *free inquiry*; and by this they mean the annihilation of Christianity. Hence their writings, professedly in defence of the Prussian state, all squint towards a different corner; and thus the public are deceived. Görres was perfectly right in ridiculing opponents who numbered such false brethren in their ranks. Having the Bible, it is a formal mistake to flee to the philosophy of Hegel, for the defence of the principle of Protestantism. What must the citizen and the peasant think of this? Of what use is this atheistic rubbish?

In view of all this, the true course is not to pour oil on the flame, but rather to extinguish this destructive firebrand. There is no necessity for a renewal of the old dispute between the Protestants and the Catholics,—a dispute which formerly cost us such immense sacrifices, that they have not yet been repaired. But still more unprofitable is it to envenom this controversy with atheistic tendencies, and to convert it into a war against Christianity. It is the common interest of the Germans to preserve their ancient harmony in matters of religion, and not rather to allow themselves to be exasperated against each other. We must take our stand on the nation, in order to perceive the advantage, the urgent necessity of concord. In respect to the Cologne affair, we can only wish that it may be ended as soon as possible, and that no more may be said about it. From the continuance of this dispute, nothing can be gained, but much may be lost.

We think we have now shown that Illuminatism, reappearing under a new name in all its ancient activity, cannot be helpful, but must be injurious to German interests; and it were well for us to abstain from educating our youth in this system. Or shall not the melancholy experiment, which we have already made, perform at least this one service,—that of keeping us from another of the same character? Have we so many students of history, and shall we draw no lessons from history? Enough. We think that we have held up a mirror to the fourth decade of the nineteenth century.