bond, before a better constitution is ready to put in the place of it, is contrary to all politics, agreeing herein with morality, it were absurd to require, that every defect must be supplied or reformed directly and with precipitation: but it may be required of him, who has potency, that the maxim of the necessity of such a supplying, or reforming shall be intimately present with him, in order to remain in a constant approximation to the end (of the best constitution according to laws of right). A state may govern itself in a republican manner, though it, according to the present constitution still possesses despotical sovereignty: till by degrees the nation becomes capable of the influence of the mere idea of the authority of the law (as if it possessed physical power), and is afterwards found qualified for its proper legislation (which is originally founded in right). If even by the vehemence of a revolution generated by a bad constitution a more legal one were wrongfully obtained, it must then be held no longer allowed to lead back the nation to the old constitution, though whilst it lasted every one, who interfered with it either violently or insidiously, would be justly subjected to the punishment due to a rebel. With regard to the external relation of states, a state cannot be desired to relinquish its constitution, though despotic (which is however the stronger relatively to external enemies), so long as it runs the risk of being instantly swallowed up by other states; consequently in every resolution the delay of the execution
execution till a better opportunity must be permitted.*

It may happen, that the moralists, who proceed despotically, failing in the execution, shall commit a number of faults in politics (by measures either taken or recommended precipitantly), and experience must teach them to correct by degrees these faults against nature; instead of which the moralizing politicians, by colouring wrongful principles of state, under the pretext of human nature's not being capable of the good, according to the idea, which reason prescribes, render impossible, as much as they can, the growing better, and eternalize the violation of right.

Instead of the praxis, of which these political men boast, they deal in practices, as they devise ways and means (by humouring the present ruling power, with a view to their own advantage) to give up the nation, and if possible the whole world, to be pillaged; like true jurists (of the profession, not of the legislative), when they soar above their own sphere to the region of politics. For as it is not their

* These are permissive laws of reason, to let the state of a public law charged with injustice remain, till the total circumvolving of every thing, either ripened of itself, or brought to maturity by pacific means; because any one juridical, though but in a small degree rightful, constitution is better than none at all, which latter state (anarchy) is the fate of a precipitate reform. — The wisdom of state, in the present situation of affairs, will therefore make it a duty, to reform suitably to the ideal of public law: but to use revolutions, when nature brings them on of herself, not for the purpose of varnishing a still greater oppression, but as the call of nature, to bring about, by a solid reform, a legal constitution founded in principles of liberty, as the only permanent one.
their business, to reason on legislation itself, but to execute the present commands of the law of the country, every legal constitution extant, and when this is altered by a higher power, the subsequent, must always be the best with them; where every thing then goes on in its proper mechanical order. But when the address, to accommodate themselves to every circumstance (_aptus cuivis_), instils into their minds the fancy of being able to judge of principles of a _constitution of state_, in general, according to conceptions of right (consequently _à priori_, not empirically), and when they vaunt of knowing _men_ (which is indeed to be looked for, as they have to do with many), yet without knowing _man_, and what may be learned from him (to which a higher station of anthropological observation is requisite), and furnished with these conceptions, proceed on the law of state and of nations, as reason dictates it, they cannot make this transition, but with the spirit of chicane, as they pursue their usual procedure (of a mechanism according to coactive laws despotically given) even where the conceptions of reason will have a legal coaction founded but according to principles of liberty, by which only a stable constitution is first possible; which problem the pretended practitioner, passing by that idea in silence, believes to be able to solve empirically, from experience, as the constitutions of state hitherto the most durable, but for the most part contrary to right, were framed. — The maxims, which he uses (though tacitly) for this
purpose, turn pretty nearly upon the following sophistical ones.

1. *Fac et excusa.* Embrace the favourable opportunity of arbitrarily taking possession (either of a right of the state over its own, or over another neighbouring, nation); the justification will be much easier and more elegant after the act, and the violence more easily dressed in specious colours (especially in the first case, where the chief power in the interior is directly the legislative magistrate, who must be obeyed, without reasoning too nicely on the subject), than if one should first think on convincing reasons, and then wait for the objections. This effrontery itself gives a certain appearance of internal conviction of the righteousness of the act, and the god *bonus eventus* is afterwards the best representative of right.

2. *Si fecisti nega.* Whatever thou hast committed thyself, for instance, if thou hast driven thy nation to despair, or to rebellion, deny that it is thy fault; but maintain that it is the refractoriness of the subjects, or if thou hast seized on the territory of a neighbouring nation, lay the blame on the nature of man, who, if he is not prevented by another by force, will certainly anticipate him and take possession of his territory.

3. *Divide et impera.* Thatis, if there are certain privileged chiefs in thy nation, who have chosen thee for their head merely (*primus inter pares*), disunite those from one another, and set them at variance with the nation; then support the latter, and amuse them with idle hopes
hopes of greater liberty, and everything will depend on thy unconditional will. Or, if they are foreign states, the stirring up of dissension among them is a pretty certain mean, under the appearance of assisting the weaker, of subjecting the one after the other.

Indeed nobody is now deceived by these political maxims; for they are all universally known; but the case never occurs where they are blushed at, as if the injustice were too glaring. For, as great powers are never ashamed of the judgment of the multitude, but only of that of one another, as to those principles, however, not their becoming public, but only their miscarrying can touch them with shame (for with regard to the morality of maxims the consension of the whole is complete), so the political honour always remains to them, on which they may count with certainty, namely, that of the augmentation of their potency, whatever be the means of acquisition.*

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* Though a certain vitiosity or pravity (rooted in human nature) of men, who live in the same state, may still be doubted, and, instead of it, the want of a culture not yet advanced far enough (rudeness) may be given with some appearance as the cause of the illegal phenomenon of their cast of mind; it is, in the relation of states towards one another, perfectly obvious and incontrovertible. In the interior of every state it is veiled by the coaction of civil laws, as a great power, to wit, that of the government, potently counteracts the inclination to the mutual violence of the citizens, and thus not only gives a moral varnish (causa non causae), if I may use the expression, but also, by preventing the eruption of illegal inclinations, the unfolding of the moral predisposition to the immediate reverence for right becomes actually much easier.—For every one believes that he would keep sacred and faithfully observe the conception.
From all these serpentine windings of an immoral doctrine of prudence, to produce the state of peace among men from the warlike state of the state of nature, so much at least is evident. That men can, as little in their private relations, as in their public, escape the conception of duty, and dare not found politics publicly upon knacks of prudence, consequently refuse all obedience to the conception of a public law (which is striking, chiefly in that of the law of nations), but ought to do it in itself all due honour, if they should invent a thousand evasions and palliations, in order to evitate it in the praxis, and to attribute to cunning power the authority, to be the origin and the band of all right. —

In order to put an end to this sophistry (if not to the injustice coloured by it), and to bring the false representatives of the mighty ones of the earth to the acknowledgment, that they do not speak in favour of right, but of power, of which they, as if they themselves had conception of duty, if he could expect but the like from every other; which the government in part secures to him; whereby a great step is then taken towards morality (though not yet a moral step), to be attached to this conception of duty on its own account, without looking for a return. —

But as every one, notwithstanding the good opinion he entertains of himself, presupposes a bad mindedness in every other, in this manner they judge of one another mutually. That, as to the fact, neither of them is good for much (the reason, as it cannot be laid to the charge of the nature of man, as a free being, may remain unexamined). However as the reverence for the conception of duty, which man can absolutely not avoid, sanctions in the most solemn manner the theory of the faculty to become suitable to that conception. every one perceives, that he must on his part act conformably to it, whatever others may do.
had a title to give orders in this, assume the tone, it will be expedient to discover the illusion, by which one deceives himself and others, to investigate the chief principle, from which proceeds the design of perpetual peace, and to point out, That all the bad, which hinders it, proceeds from the political moralist’s beginning where the moral politician reasonably ends, and, by thus subordinating the principles to the end (that is, by putting the cart before the horse), he (the former) frustrates his own design, to bring politics to a good understanding with morality.

It is first necessary, in order to render practical philosophy consistent with itself, to decide the question, Whether in problems of practical reason the beginning must be made with its material principle, the end (as object of the arbitrament), or with the formal, that is, that (founded in liberty merely in the external relation) according to which it is said, Act so, that thou can will, that thy maxim become an universal law (whatever be the end).

There is no doubt but the latter principle must precede; for it has, as a principle of right, unconditional necessity, instead of which the former is necessitating but on the presupposition of empirical conditions of the designed end, namely its execution, and, if this end (for instance, perpetual peace), were duty also, this even must have been derived from the formal principle of maxims to act externally: — The first principle now, that of the political moralist (the problem of the law
law of state, of nations, and of the cosmopolitan law), is a mere technical problem, whereas the second, as the principle of the moral politician, to whom it is a moral problem, is extremely different from the other in the procedure, in order to bring to pass everlasting peace, which is not wished for as a physical good merely, but also as a state proceeding from the agnation of duty.

To the resolution of the first, to wit, the problem of the prudence of state, great knowledge of nature is required, in order to employ its mechanism for the said end, and yet all this is uncertain in regard to its result, concerning perpetual peace; let either the one or the other of the three divisions of public law be taken. It is uncertain, whether the nation can be better kept in obedience and at the same time in a flourishing state by severity, or by the baits of vanity, whether by the supreme power of one only, or by the union of several chiefs, perhaps by a nobility of service merely, or by a power of the nation, in the interior, and that for any length of time.

Of all modes of government (the sole genuine republican mode excepted, but which can enter into the mind of none but a moral politician) examples of the contrary are to be met with in history. — Still more uncertain is a law of nations pretended to be erected upon statutes according to ministerial plans, which in fact is but a word void of reality, and rests upon contracts, which in the very act of their conclusion comprise at the same time
the secret reservation of their violation. — Whereas the solution of the second, namely, the problem of the wisdom of state, so to say, obtrudes itself naturally, is evident to every one, mars all subtlety, and thereby leads directly to the end; yet with the warning of prudence, not to bring it about precipitantly by force, but, according to the nature of favourable circumstances, to approach towards it incessantly.

Aspire first after the kingdom of pure practical reason and after its justice, and your end (the blessing, perpetual peace) will fall out of itself. For moral has the peculiarity in itself, with regard to its principles of public law, (consequently with reference to politics cognoscible à priori), that, the less it renders the conduct in order to the designed end dependent on the intended advantage, whether physical or moral, the more does it agree with this in general; because it is directly the universal will given à priori (in a nation, or in the relation of different nations among one another), which only determines what is law, among men; but this union of the will of all, if one proceeds but consequentially, in the execution, may, even according to the mechanism of nature, at the same time be the cause of producing the effect aimed at, and of rendering the conception of right effectual. — Thus it is, for instance, a principle of the moral politics, that a nation ought to unite themselves in a state according to the only conceptions of right, liberty and equality, and this principle is not founded in prudence, but
in duty. Let political moralists reason so-
phistically ever so much to the contrary on
the natural mechanism of a multitude of men
entering into society, which weakens those
principles, and would disappoint their design;
let them endeavour to prove their assertion to
the contrary by examples of badly organized
constitutions of ancient and more modern
times (for instance, democracies without the
system of representation), they merit no at-
tention; especially, as such a pernicious
theory occasions the evil itself it foretells, ac-
cording to which man is thrown into the same
class with the other living machines, to whom
is wanting but the consciousness, that they
are not free, in order to render them in their
own judgment the most miserable of all sub-
lunar beings.

The proverbial, and indeed somewhat hec-
toring, but true position, *Fiat justitia, pereat
mundus*, that is to say, Let justice reign,
though all the villains in the world should
perish, is a vigorous principle of law cutting
off all the crooked ways pointed out either by
cunning, or by power; only, that it be not mis-
taken, and understood as a permission to make
use of one’s right with the greatest strictness
(which would be repugnant to ethical duty),
but as an obligation on those having potency,
neither to refuse nor to lessen the right of any
one against another, either out of disfavour
or compassion; to which is chiefly requisite
an internal constitution of state regulated ac-
cording to pure principles of right, and also
that of its union with other neighbouring or
even distant states for the purpose of a legal making up of their differences (analogous to an universal state). — This position means nothing, but that the political maxims must not arise from the welfare and felicity of every state, to be expected from their observance, therefore not from the end, which each of them makes its object (from volition), as the chief (but empirical) principle of the wisdom of state, but from the pure conception of the duty of right (from what is expressed by ought, whose principle is given à priori by pure reason), let the physical consequences be what they will. Wicked men being made less numerous, will by no means occasion the fall of the world. The moral bad has the property inseparable from its nature, that it in its views (principally in relation to others of the same mind) is contrary to and destructive of itself, and so makes room, though by slow steps, for the (moral) principle of the good.

There is then objectively (in theory) no conflict at all between moral and politics. Whereas subjectively (in the selfish propension of men, but which, since it is not founded in maxims of reason, must not yet be named praxis), it will and may always remain, because it serves for a whetstone to virtue, whose true courage (according to the principle, Tu ne cede malis, sed contra audentior ito) in the present case does not so much consist in our resisting the evils and making the sacrifices here with a firm resolution, as in looking in the face and subduing the cunning of the much more dangerous, false and treacherous, but yet
yet reasoning, bad principle in ourselves, which constantly deceives us by presenting to us the weakness of human nature as a justification of every transgression.

In fact the political moralists may say, That the regent and the nation, or nation and nation do one another no wrong, when they wage war with one another in either a violent or an insidious manner, though they do wrong in general, by refusing all reverence for the conception of right, which only can establish peace everlasting. For as the one transgresses his duty towards the other, who is just as wrongfully minded towards him, no wrong at all happens to either, when they destroy one another, yet so, that there may always remain enough of this race, not to let this play cease till the remotest times, in order that a late posterity may: one day or other take a warning example by them. Providence is hereby justified in the course of the world; for the moral principle in man never extinguishes, reason pragmatically apposite to the execution of the juridical ideas according to that principle, increases constantly by culture always advancing, but with it the culpability of those transgressions too. The creation only seems not to be able to be vindicated by any theodicee, that such a race of corrupted men in general should have been on earth (when we suppose, that the human species neither will nor can be better disposed; but this station of judgment is far too high for us, to presume in a theoretical view, to apply our conceptions (of wisdom): to the Supreme Potency
tency, who is inscrutable for us. — We are inevitably driven to such desperate conclusions, when we do not assume, that the pure principles of right have objective reality, that is, may be put in execution; and the people in the state, and farther states towards one another, must act accordingly; whatever objections empirical politics may make. True politics can therefore take no step, without having previously done homage to moral, and though politics of themselves are a difficult art, there is no art at all in uniting them with moral; for, as soon as they clash, this cuts the knot, which those cannot untie. — The rights of man must be held sacred, let the sacrifice, which the sovereign power may make, be ever so great. One cannot halve here, and devise the medium or adiaphory of a pragmatically conditional right (between right and profit), but all politics must bend the knee to morality, they may hope, however, to attain the degree, though slowly, where they will permanently shine.

Of the Consonance of Politics with Moral according to the transcendent * Conception of Public Law.

When we abstract from all matter of public law (either according to the different empirically

* See the distinction made in this mode of philosophising, between transcendent and transcendental, in the preface to The Principles of Critical Philosophy, by the translator, page xxxvii.
cally given relations of men in the state, or of states among one another), as the teachers of law commonly cogitate it, the form of publicity, whose possibility every claim of right comprises, still remains to us, for without that there were no justice (which can be conceived but as capable of being made publicly known), consequently no right, which is distributed but by it.

Every claim of right must have this capability of publicity, and, as it may be easily judged, whether in an occurring case it has place, that is, whether it may be united or not with the principles of the actor, it can furnish a criterion, to be met with in reason à priori, easily used, to cognize directly in the latter case, as if by an experiment of pure reason, the falsity (contrariety to law) of the said claim (pretensio juris).

After such an abstraction from all that is empirical, contained in the conception of the law of state and of nations (such is the pravity of human nature, which renders coaction necessary), the following position may be denominated the transcendental formule of public law: Relatively to the rights of other men, all actions, whose maxim doth not accord with publicity, are unjust.

This principle is not to be considered as ethical merely (belonging to the doctrine of virtue), but also as juridical (concerning the rights of man). For a maxim, which I dare not vulge, without thereby frustrating at the same time my own design, which, in order that it may prosper, must absolutely be
be concealed, and which I cannot publicly own, without infallibly exciting the resistance of every one, cannot bring on me this necessary and universal, therefore à priori perspectable, opposition of all, but by the injustice, with which it threatens every body. Again, this principle is negative merely, that is, it serves but to cognize by its means, what is not right with regard to others. It is like an axiom, self-evident or indemonstrably certain, and besides easy to be applied, as may be perceived by the following examples of public law;

1. With regard to the law of state (jus civitatis), namely, the internal one, in it occurs the question, which many consider as difficult to be answered, and which the transcendental principle of publicity resolves with the greatest facility, videlicet, Is rebellion a rightful mean for a nation to shake off the oppressive power of a tyrant so named (non titulo sed exercitio talis)? The rights of the nation are violated, and no wrong is done to him (the tyrant) by the dethroning; this is beyond a doubt. It is however not less wrong in the highest degree in the subjects, to seek their rights in this manner, and they can just as little complain of injustice, should they be defeated in this struggle and afterwards obliged to suffer in consequence thereof the most rigorous punishment.

Much may be said on both sides of the question if one choses to decide it by a dogmatical deduction of the titles; but the transcendental principle of publicity of public law may
may save itself the trouble of this prolixity. According to this principle, let the nation, previously to the entering into the civil contract, question itself, Whether it would presume, to make the maxim of the resolution on an occasional revolt publickly known. It is obvious, that, in founding a constitution of state, were it made a condition, to use force in certain occurring cases against the head, the nation must assume to itself a rightful potency over that head. But then he would not be the head, or, if both were made conditions of the establishment of the state, no establishment at all of a state would be possible, which would however be contrary to the design of the nation. The injustice of rebellion is evident, as its maxim, by avowing it publicly, would render its own design impossible. It must therefore necessarily concealed. But this would not be necessary on the side of the head of the state. He may proclaim, that he will inflict the punishment of death on the ringleaders of every rebellion, let these still believe, that he has first transgressed the fundamental law; for when the head is conscious to himself, to possess the irresistible supreme power (which must be supposed in every civil constitution, because he, who has not might enough, to protect every one in the nation against others, has not the right to give him orders), he needs not be under any apprehension, to defeat his own design by his maxim’s being made known; with which principle it is also perfectly coherent, that, should the nation
tion succeed in the rebellion, that head must retire to the station of a subject, and must never stir up a rebellion with a view to recover his power; but he must not have to fear being called to an account for his former government of the state.

2. With regard to the law of nations. — A law of nations can be in question but on the presupposition of some one juridical state, or other (that is, that external conjunction, in which man actually acquires a right); because it, as a public law, involves in its conception the publication of an universal will determining to every one what is his due, and this status juridicus must arise out of some one contract or other, which needs not just be founded upon coactive laws (like those, from which a state springs), but may be a continuing free association, like the above-mentioned of the confederation of different states. For without some one juridical state, which connects actively the different (physical or moral) persons, consequently in the state of nature, there can be no other, than merely a private law. — There now happens a difference between politics and moral (this considered as law), where that criterion of the publicity of maxims may likewise be easily applied, yet only so, That the contract binds the states but with the view, to keep themselves in peace among one another and with other states, but by no means in order to make acquisitions. — The following cases of the antinomy between politics and moral present themselves here, with
which their solution is at the same time combined:

a. When one of these states has promised something to the other, let it be succour, cession of certain lands, or subsidies and such like, the question is, whether, in a case, on which depends the welfare of the state, it can free itself from keeping its word, by pretending to consider itself in a double capacity, first as sovereign, who is not responsible to any body in the state; but next as chief officer of state, who must be accountable to the state; as then the consequence would be, that he would free himself in the second quality from what he had obliged himself to in the first. But if a state (or its head) should let these its maxims become publicly known, every other would naturally either fly it, or unite with others, in order to resist its usurpations, which evinces, that politics notwithstanding all their slishness, would in this way (of publicity) disappoint their very end, consequently that maxim must be wrong.

b. When a neighbouring power, increased to a tremendous greatness (potentia tremendae), occasions apprehension, May it be supposed, that it will, because it can, be disposed to oppress, and does that give a right to the less powerful states, without any previous offence, to attack (conjointly)? — A state, that gave out—its maxim affirmatively in this case, would bring the evil to pass but still more certainly and more quickly. For the greater power would be beforehand with the smaller ones, and, as to the union of the latter, that
is but a weak defence against those, who know how to profit by *divide et impera*. This maxim of politics, publicly declared, balks of necessity its own design, and is by consequence wrong.

c. When a smaller state interrupts by its situation the connexion, necessary to the support and defence of a greater state; is the latter not entitled to subdue the former, and to incorporate it with itself? It is very obvious, that the greater must by no means let such a maxim transpire previously, for either the smaller states would unite themselves betimes, or other potencies would dispute the prey, consequently this maxim renders itself impracticable by its very publicity, a sign, that it is unjust and may be so in a very great degree, for a small object of injustice doth not prevent the injustice proved by it from being very great.

3. With regard to the cosmopolitical law, I pass it over here in silence: because, on account of the analogy between it and the law of nations, its maxims are easily formed and estimated.

The principle of the incompatibility of the maxims of the law of nations with publicity, affords us an excellent criterion, it is true, of the discordancy of politics with moral (as law). But we require still to be informed of the condition, on which their maxims agree with the law of nations. For it cannot be conversely concluded, that the maxims, which bear publicity, are on that account just; because, whoever has the decided superiority
superiority of power, needs not conceal his maxims. — The condition of the possibility of a law of nations in general is, That a juridical state shall first exist. For without this there is no public law, but all law, which may be conceived besides that (in the state of nature), is private law merely. We have seen above, That a federative situation of states, merely with a view to put a stop to war, is the only juridical situation, possible to be united with their liberty. Therefore the harmony of politics with morality is possible in a federal union only (which is given à priori according to principles of law and is necessary), and all politics have the founding of it, in its greatest possible compass, for their proper basis, without which end all their acumen is but insipience and veiled injustice. — These spurious politics have, as well as the best school of Jesuits, their casuistry — the reservatio mentalis: in drawing up public contracts, couched in such expressions, which may be occasionally explained to one's own advantage, as one pleases (for instance, the distinction between status quo de fait and de droit); — the probabilism: to impute bad intentions to others, or also to make probabilities of their possible preponderancy the title to the undermining of other peaceable states; — finally the peccatum philosophicum (peccatum, bagatelle): To hold the swallowing up of a small state, when a much greater one profits by it with a view to the imaginary greater prosperity
rity of mankind, a trifle, or at most a very pardonable fault."

This is aided by the deceitfulness of politics in regard of moral, to make use of either the one or the other branch of it for their own purpose. — Both, philanthropy and reverence for the rights of man, are duty; but that conditional only, this on the contrary unconditional, absolutely commanding duty, which he, who is disposed to give himself up to the agreeable, feeling of benevolence, must be first fully assured not to have transgressed. Politics easily coincide with moral in the first sense (as ethics), in order to deliver up the rights of men to their superiors: But with that in the second sense (as law), to which they must bend the knee, they find it advisable not to engage in a contract, but rather to refuse all reality, and to interpret all duties as mere benevolence; which artifice of politics shunning the light philosophy would easily baffle by means of the publicity of those its maxims, if politicians would but venture to give assistance to this publicity.

In this view I have to propose another transcendental and positive principle of public law, whose formule is, All maxims, which, U 5

*Professor Garve's Treatise on the Conjunction of Moral with Politics, 1783, bears testimony to such maxims. This worthy and learned man owns at the beginning of his work, not to be able to give a satisfactory answer to this question. But yet to approve of it, though indeed with the avowal, not to be able to answer fully the objections made to it, seems to be a greater condescension towards those, who are very much inclined to abuse it, than might be advisable.
in order not to miss their end, stand in need of publicity, agree with law and politics united.

For, if they can obtain their end but by publicity, they must be conformable to the universal end of the public (felicity); to harmonize with which (to make it satisfied with its situation), is the peculiar problem of politics. But if this end shall be attainable but by publicity, that is, by the removal of all distrust from its maxims, these must also agree with the law of the public; for in this only is the union of the ends of all possible. — I must defer the farther amplification and exposition of this principle till another occasion; I shall only add, that it may be perceived to be a transcendental formule, from the removing of all empirical conditions (of felicity), as the matter of the law, and from the mere regard to the form of the universal legality.

To conclude, If it is duty, if at the same time there is a well-founded hope, to realize, though but in an approximation advancing to infinite, the state of a public law, everlasting peace, which succeeds to the treaties or conclusions of peace hitherto-falsely so named (more properly truces), is not a void idea, but a problem which, resolved by degrees, draws constantly nearer to its object, as it is to be hoped that less and less time will be requisite to equal progressions.
THE

CONJECTURAL BEGINNING

OF THE

HISTORY OF MANKIND.
To intersperse conjectures in the progress of a history, in order to fill up chasms in the accounts, is by all means allowable; because the preceding, as the remote cause, and the following, as the effect, may furnish a pretty sure guidance to the discovery of the middle causes, in order to render the transition comprehensible. But, to let a history arise out of conjectures entirely, seems little better than to delineate the plan of a romance. It would not bear the name of even a conjectural history, but of a mere fiction. Yet that, which cannot be ventured on in the process of the history of human actions, may be attempted by conjecture on its first beginning, so far as nature makes it. For this must not be feigned, but may be collected from experience; when it is presupposed, that those actions were neither better nor worse in the first beginning, than we meet with them at present: a presupposition, which is conformable to the analogy with nature, and carries with it nothing hazarded. A history of the first unfolding of liberty from its original predisposition
tion in the nature of man, is therefore quite different from the history of liberty in its progress, which can be founded but upon narratives.

However, as conjectures must not carry their pretensions to assent too high, but must announce themselves as a permitted exercise of the imagination only accompanied with reason, for the unbending and for the health of the mind, but not as a serious occupation; so they cannot vie with that history, which is written on the very same event as an actual account and believed, whose proof rests upon quite other grounds, than mere philosophy of nature. For which reason, and as I set out here on a mere journey of pleasure; I may hope for the favour, to be allowed to make use of a sacred record as a map thereto; and at the same time to fancy, that the flight, which I take on the wings of imagination, though not without a clew connected with experience by reason, will fall on the very same line, which that record contains historically drawn. The reader will please to turn over its leaves (Gen. Chap. 11—vi.) and observe, step by step, whether the way, which philosophy goes according to conceptions, coincide with that which history points out.

If we would not perplex and lose ourselves in a maze of conjectures, the beginning must be made from that, which is not susceptible of a derivation from prior causes of nature by human reason, therefore, with the existence of man; in his full growth, as he must do without maternal assistance: in one pair, in order
order to propagate his species; and but one pair, that the flames of war may not be directly kindled, if men were in the neighbourhood and yet foreign to one another, or also that nature be not accused that she has, by the difference of descent, let the fittest preparation for sociableness, as the greatest end of the human destination, be wanting; for the unity of the family, from which all men are descended, is doubtless the best disposition for that purpose. I put this pair in a place secured from the attack of beasts of prey, and abundantly supplied by nature with all the means of food, therefore as if in a garden, in a climate always mild and temperate. And besides, I contemplate them, only after they have made considerable progress in the address to use their powers, and of course do not begin from the total rudeness of their nature; for, should I undertake to fill up this chasm, which in all likelihood comprehends a great period, there might easily be too many conjectures for the reader but too few probabilities. The first man then could stand and walk; he could speak (Gen. ch. 11. v. 20.)* nay, talk, that

* The instinct to communicate his thoughts must have first prompted man, who is yet alone, to the making known of his existence to other living beings, chiefly those that utter a sound, which he can imitate and which may afterwards serve for a name. A similar effect of this instinct may be perceived in children and in thoughtless people, who, by speaking in the throat, crying, whistling, singing, and other noisy entertainments (and frequently devotion of the same nature) disturb the thinking part of mankind. For I can conceive no other motive to this, than that they wish to publish their existence around them.
that is, speak according to coherent conceptions (v. 23), consequently think. Mere addresses, all of which he must acquire himself (for were they imprinted by the Creator, they would also be transmitted by inheritance, which is however repugnant to experience); but with which I suppose him to be now provided, in order to take into contemplation the unfolding of what is moral in his actions, which necessarily presupposes that address.

Only instinct, this voice of God, to which all animals hearken, must in the beginning guide the novice. This allowed him some things for food, and forbid him others (III. 2. 3). — But it is not necessary to suppose a peculiar, at present lost instinct for this behoof; it may have been the sense of smelling merely, and its affinity with the organs of taste, the known sympathy of this latter however with the organs of digestion, and thus in a manner the faculty of the presension of the fitness or of the unfitness of food, such as one still perceives. One needs not even suppose this sense acuter in the first pair, than it is at present; for it is sufficiently known what difference may be found in the power of perception between the men occupied about their senses merely, and those conversant about their thoughts at the same time, but thereby diverted from their sensations.

As long as the unexperienced man obeyed this call of nature, he found his account in it. But reason soon began to manifest itself, and endeavoured to extend his knowledge of food beyond the limits of, instinct (III. 6.) by compa-
rison of what he had eaten with that which a sense, different from that to which instinct was bound, perhaps the sense of seeing, represented as similar to what he had already eaten. This trial might have accidentally succeeded well enough, though instinct did not advise it, if it did but not contradict. But, it is a property of reason, that it can, with the assistance of the imagination, counterfeit appetites, not only without an instinct directed, but even contrary, to them, which in the beginning take the name of concupiscence, but whereby a whole swarm of unnecessary, nay, even unnatural inclinations is brooded, under the name of luxury. The occasion of becoming disobedient to instinct needed be but a trifle; but the consequence of the first essay, namely, to become conscious to one's self of one's reason as a faculty, that can extend itself beyond the limits, where-in all animals are kept, was of great importance and decisive for the mode of life. Were it but a fruit, whose look, by the likeness to other agreeable fruits which one had tasted before, invites to a trial; if besides the example of an animal were added, to whose nature such a food is suitable, as on the contrary it is hurtful to man, and consequently there is an instinct which opposes it; this might give reason the first occasion to chicane the voice of nature (III. 1), and in spite of its contradiction, to make the first trial of a free choice, which, as the first, in all probability did not fall out agreeably to expectation. How insignificant soever the harm may have been, man's eyes
eyes were now opened (v. 7.). He discovered in himself a faculty, to choose for himself a manner of life, and not to be bound like other animals to a single one. On the instantaneous complacency, which this observed preference might excite in him, anxiety and embarrassment must directly follow; how he, who yet knew nothing according to its hidden qualities and remote effects, should go to work with his new discovered faculty. He stood, as it were, on the brink of an abyss; for, from single objects of his desire, which instinct had hitherto shown him, to him an infinity of them was opened whose choice he did not yet understand at all; and it was now impossible for him to return from this once tried state of liberty to that of thraldom (under the dominion of instinct).

Next to the instinct to nourishment, by which nature supports every individual, the instinct to sex, whereby she takes care of the preservation of every species, is the most eximious. Reason once put in action did not delay to prove its influence on this. Man quickly found, that the stimulation to sex, which rests with animals in a merely transitory, for the most part periodical instinct, with him is capable of prolongation and even of augmentation by the phantasy, which transacts its business with more moderation, but at the same time more durably and more uniformly, the more the object is withdrawn from the senses, and that thereby the disgust, which the satiating of a merely animal appetite carries with it, is avoided. The fig-leaf (v. 7.) was
was the production of a far greater manifestation of reason, than it evinced in the first step of its development. For thereby to render an inclination more intimate and more lasting, by withdrawing its object from the senses, shews the consciousness of some superiority of reason over instinct; and not merely, like the first step, a faculty to serve it to a smaller or to a greater extent. Refusing was the artifice to transport insensibly from the merely animal desire to love, and with this from the feeling of the mere agreeable to the taste for beauty, in the beginning in men only, but then in nature likewise. Modesty, an inclination by good manners and decency (concealing what might excite slighting) to inspire others with reverence for us, as the proper groundwork of all true sociableness, gave besides the first hint for the cultivation of man, as a moral creature. — A small beginning, but which constitutes an epoch, by giving a quite new direction to the cast of mind, is more important, than the whole infinite series of the subsequent enlargements of culture.

The third step of reason, after it had taken part in the first immediately felt wants, was the reflected expectation of the future. This faculty, not merely to enjoy the present moment of life, but to render present to one's self the coming, frequently very distant, time, is the most decisive criterion of the preference of man, to prepare himself for remote ends conformably to his destination, — but at the same time the not to be dried up source of fear and sadness, which the uncertain futurity oc-

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asions,
casions, and which all animals are freed from (v. 15—19). Man, who had to maintain himself and a wife, together with future children, foresaw the constantly increasing painfulness of his labour; the woman foresaw the troubles; to which nature had subjected her sex, and over and above those, which the more powerful man would impose on her. After a life of hardships both foresaw with terror in the back-ground of the picture that, which inevitably happens to all animals, yet without making them uneasy, namely, death; and seemed to rebuke and make a crime of the use of reason, which occasions them all these evils. To live in their posterity, who may perhaps be less unhappy, or even as members of a family alleviate their troubles, was probably the only consolatory prospect, that strengthened their dejected minds (16—20).

The fourth and last step, which reason advanced, totally elevating man above the society with beasts, was, That he (though but obscurely) comprehended, that he is properly the end of nature, and nothing that lives upon the earth can be his competitor for this. The first time he said to the sheep, Nature did not give thee the pelt, thou wearest, for thyself, but for me, stript him of it and put it on himself (v. 21); he perceived a prerogative, that he, by virtue of his nature, has above all animals, which he now considered no more as his copartners in the creation, but as the means and instruments left to his will for the accomplishment of his purposes at pleasure. This representation comprehends (though
(though obscurely) the thought of the opposite position, to wit, that he dares not speak thus to any man, but must consider him as an equal partaker of the gifts of nature: a remote preparative to the restrictions, which reason afterwards imposes on the will with regard to his fellow-man, and which is far more necessary to the establishment of society, than inclination and love.

And thus man entered into an equality with all rational beings, whatever might be their rank, (III. 22.), namely, with regard to the pretension to be himself an end, to be esteemed by every other as such, and to be used by no other as a mean barely to other ends. Herein, and not in reason, as it is considered as an instrument merely to the satisfaction of the diverse inclinations, lies the ground of the so unlimited equality of man, even with superior beings, who may otherwise surpass him beyond all comparison in the gifts of nature, but none of whom has on that account a right to dispose of him according to mere pleasure. Hence this step is at the same time combined with his dismissal from the maternal lap of nature; an alteration, which is indeed honourable, but at the same time very dangerous, as it turned him out of the harmless and secure state of being nursed as a child, in a manner out of a garden, which furnished him with necessaries without his giving himself any trouble (v. 23.), and thrust him out into the wide world, where so many cares, troubles and unknown evils await him. For the future the hardships and miseries of life will
will often draw from him the wish for a paradise, the creature of his imagination, where he may dream or trifle away his existence in tranquil inactivity and constant peace. But restless reason, irresistibly inciting him to the unfolding of the faculties placed in him, is encamped between him and that fancied seat of joy, and does not allow him to return to the state of rudeness and simplicity, from which it has taken him (v. 24). It instigates him to take upon himself patiently the trouble, which he hates, to run after the gewgaws he despises, and to forget even death itself, which he cannot think of without horror, being taken up with all those trifles, whose loss he dreads still more.

Observation.

From this representation of the first history of mankind it follows, That man's leaving paradise, represented to him by reason as the first abode of his species, was nothing but the transition from the rudeness of a merely animal creature to humanity, from the go-cart of instinct to the guidance of reason, in a word, From the guardianship of nature to the state of liberty. Whether man has won or lost by this alteration, cannot be any longer the question, when one considers the destination of his species, that consists in nothing but in the advancing towards perfection, however imperfectly might fall out the first endeavours to reach this aim, even following one another in a long series of their members. — However
However this course, which for the species is a progress from the bad to the better, is not the same for the individual. Before reason awoke there was neither a commandment, nor a prohibition, consequently no transgression; but when it (reason) entered on its office, and, weak as it is, mingled with the animality and its whole force, evils must arise, and, what is worse, with more cultivated reason, vices, which were totally foreign to the state of ignorance, therefore of innocence. The first step then out of this state was on the moral side a fall; on the physical were a multitude of never known evils of life the consequence of this fall, therefore punishment. Thus the history of nature begins from the good, for it is the work of God; the history of liberty from the bad, for it is the work of man. To the individual, who in the use of his liberty looks to himself merely, there was in such an alteration a loss; to nature, who directs its end with man towards the species, it was a gain. Hence the individual has cause to ascribe to his own guilt all the evil, which he suffers, and all the bad that he commits, but at the same time as a member of the whole (of a species) to admire and to praise the wisdom and the conformity-to-end of the arrangement. — In this manner may be made to accord with themselves, and with reason the assertions of the celebrated J. J. Rousseau, so often misinterpreted, and according to appearance colliding with one another. In his publication on the influence of the sciences and in that on the inequality of men he
he shows perfectly right the unavoidable collision of culture with the nature of the human species, as a physical species, in which every individual ought to attain his destination totally; but in his Œmus, his Social Contract, and other writings, he endeavours to solve the more difficult problem, How culture must go on, in order to unfold the predispositions of humanity, as a moral species, suitably to their destination, so that this may no longer collide with that as a species natural. From this collision (as culture, according to true principles of education for the man and for the citizen at the same time, is perhaps not yet properly begun, much less ended) spring all the real evils, which oppress human life, and all the vices that disgrace it;* as the incitements

* In order to produce but a few examples of this collision between the efforts of humanity with a view to its moral destination, on the one side, and the unalterable observance of the laws placed in its nature for the rude and animal state, on the other, take the following.

The epoch of full age or majority, that is, of the instinct, as well as the faculty, to propagate one's species, nature has fixed at about the age of 16 or 17 years: an age, at which the youth in the rude state of nature literally becomes a man; for he then has the faculty to support himself, to propagate his species, and also to maintain it together with his wife. The simplicity of the wants renders this easy for him. Whereas in the cultivated state many means of acquisition belong to the latter, as well in address, as in advantageous external circumstances, so that this epoch, in the civil state, is delayed 10 years at least one with another. Nature, however, has not at the same time altered her period of maturity with the progress of the civil refinement, but follows obstinately her law, which she intended for the maintaining of the human species, as a species of animals. Hence arises now an unavoidable damage to the end of nature by morals, and vice versa. For the man of nature is already in a certain age a man, when the civil man (who does
ments to the latter, which one blames on that account, are good in themselves and conformable
does not yet cease to be a man of nature) is but a youth, 
nay, even but a child, for one may well name him so, 
who, on account of his years (in the civil state) cannot 
support even himself, much less his species, though he has 
for him the instinct and the faculty, consequently the call 
of nature, to propagate it. For nature has surely not placed 
instincts and faculties in living creatures, in order that they 
should combat and suppress them. Therefore the predis-
position to those was not at all designed for the civilized state, 
but merely for the support of the human species as a species 
of animals; and the civilized state falls into an inevitable 
collision with the latter, to which a perfect civil constitu-
tion only (the ultimate aim of culture) can put an end, as 
at present that interval is commonly filled with vices, and 
their consequence, various human miseries.

Another example as a proof of the truth of the position, 
That nature has implanted in us two predispositions for two 
different ends, namely, for humanity as a species of animals, 
and for the very same as a moral species, is the Ars longa, 
via brevis of Hippocrates. Sciences and arts might be car-
ried to a far higher pitch by one head that is organized for 
them, when he has once attained by long exercise and ac-
quired knowledge the proper maturity of judgment, than 
whole generations of the learned might do successively, if 
he lived but with the same juvenile power of mind the 
time, which is granted to all these generations. Now na-
ture has manifestly taken her resolution with regard to 
man's duration of life from another point of view, than 
from that of the furtherance of sciences. For, when the man 
of the most happy understanding is at the point of making 
the greatest discoveries, which he has reason to hope for 
from his address and experience, age advances; his faculties 
grow blunt, and he must leave to a second generation (which 
begin to new from A B C, and must once more journey 
over the whole track, that was already explored), to add 
another step to the progress of culture. The course of the 
human species to the attaining of its whole destination seems 
for that reason incessantly interrupted, and to be in constant 
danger to fall back into the old rudeness; and the Grecian 
philosopher did not complain entirely without reason, that 
it is a pity, that one must die, when one has just begun to 
perspect, how one ought to live.

A third example may be the inequality among men, 
and not that of the gifts of nature or of the goods of fortune, 
but of the universal rights of them, an inequality, of which 
Rousseau complains with great justice, but which is not to be
able-to-end as predispositions of nature, but these predispositions, as they were adjusted to the mere state of nature, suffer damage by advancing culture, and in return endanger it, till perfect art becomes nature again, which is the ultimate aim of the moral destination of the human species.

Conclusion of the History.

The beginning of the following period is, that man passes from the period of ease and of peace to that of labour and of discord, as the prelude to the union in society. Here we must again take a great leap, and put him at once in the possession of domestic animals, and of plants, which he himself can multiply by sowing and planting for his food (IV. 2); though the transition from the savage live of a hunter to the former, and from the unsteady digging of roots or the collecting of fruits in the second state, may have been slow enough. Here now must begin the difference between men hitherto living amicably beside one another, whose consequence was the separation and

be separated from culture, as long as it in a manner proceeds without a plan (which is however unavoidable during a long time), and to which nature had certainly not destined man; as she gave him liberty, and reason to restrict this liberty by nothing but its (reason's) own universal and external legality, which is denominated the civil right or law. Man ought to extricate himself from the ruggedness of his very predispositions of nature, and, raising himself above them, take care nevertheless not to commit a fault against them: an address, which he can expect but late: and after many miscarriage essays, during which interval humanity groans under the evils that it brings upon itself from inexperience.
and dispersion upon the earth of those of a
different mode of life. The life of a herdsman
is not only easy, but, as there can be no want
of pasture in an extensive uninhabited land,
affords the most certain subsistence. Whereas
agriculture, or planting, is very troublesome,
depending on the inconstancy of the weather,
consequently insecure, and requires a perma-
nent abode, property of the soil, and suffi-
cient power to defend it; but the herdsman
hates this property, which limits his liberty
of grazing. As to the former, the husband-
man might seem to envy the herdsman as
more favoured by heaven (v. 4.); in fact, how-
ever, the latter, so long as he remained in his
neighbourhood, was very burdensome to him;
for the grazing cattle did not spare his fields
and plantations. As it was easy for the herds-
man, after the damage which he had occasi-
oned, to remove to a great distance with his
herd, and to avoid all indemnification, be-
cause he leaves nothing behind him, which
he does not find just as well every-where else;
so it was natural for the husbandman to use
force against such encroachments (which the
other did not hold unallowed) and, as the oc-
casion to such could never totally cease, in order
not to lose the fruits of his long labour, finally
carried that force as far as he possibly could,
so that those who lead the life of herdsmen
were obliged to go away. (v. 16.). This sepa-
ration makes the third epoch.

A soil, on whose cultivation and planting
(chiefly with trees) depends the means of sup-
porting life, requires permanent habitations; and
and the defence of them against all outrages stands in need of a number of men to assist one another. Therefore in this way of life men could no longer disperse themselves in families, but were under the necessity of keeping together, and of erecting villages (improperly named cities), in order to defend their property against either wild hunters, or hordes of wandering herdsmen. The first necessaries of life, whose provision required a different mode of life (v. 20.), could now be exchanged for one another. Thence must arise culture, and the beginning of art, of pastime, as well as of industry (v. 21. 22.); as also, what is of the greatest moment, some preparation for a civil constitution and public justice, at first indeed but with regard to the greatest violences, whose avenging was no longer left, as in the savage state, to individuals, but to a legislative potency, which contained the whole, that is, a mode of government, over which itself no exercise of power had place (v. 23. 24.). — From this first and rude predisposition could now develop itself by degrees all human art, of which that of sociableness and civil security is the most salutary, the human species increase itself and, from a centre, like bee-hives, extend everywhere by sending abroad and planting colonies already civilized. With this epoch commenced likewise the inequality among men, this abundant source of so much bad, but of all that is good also, and henceforth increased.

So long as the nomades or nations of herdsmen, who acknowledge God only for their master,
master, swarmed around the inhabitants of
the city and husbandmen, who have a man
(a magistrate) for a master (VI. 4.),* and as
sworn enemies to all landed property bore an
ill will to these and were in return hated by
them; there was continual war between them,
at least incessant danger of it, and hence both
nations might be glad in the interior at least
of the inestimable good, liberty. — (for still
at present nothing but the danger of war mo-
derates despotism; because riches are requi-
site at present to constitute a state a potency,
but without liberty neither the activity nor the
industry, which could produce riches, has
place. Instead of which in a poor nation great
participation in the support of the common-
wealth must be met with; which on the other
hand is not otherwise possible, than when
the citizens feel themselves therein free). —
In process of time however the beginning lux-
ury of the inhabitants of the city, but chiefly
the art of pleasing, whereby the city ladies
eclipse the dirty women of the woods, must
have been a great allurement for those herds-
men. (v. 2.), to enter into a conjunction with
these, and to partake of the splendid misery
of the city. Which then, by the incorporat-
ing of two nations formerly inimical to one
another,

* The Arabian Bedouines still name themselves children
of an ancient Scheech, the founder of their tribe (as Beni
Haled etc.). He is by no means their master, and can exer-
cise no power over them at pleasure. For in a nation of
herdsmen, where nobody has immovable property, which
he must leave behind, every family that is dissatisfied may
easily separate itself from the tribe, in order to join and
strengthen another.
another, with the end of all danger of war inevitably occasioned at the same time the end of all liberty, thus the despotism of mighty tyrants on the one side, with culture yet scarcely begun but soulless luxury in abject servitude, mixed with all the vices of the rude state, on the other, averted the human species from the progress of the cultivation of its predispositions to the good, pointed out to it by nature; and thereby rendered it unworthy of even its existence, as a species destined to rule over the earth, not to enjoy brutishly, and to serve slavishly (v. 17).

Concluding Observation.

The man of reflection, when he computes the evils, which oppress the human species so much, and (as it seems) without hope of its growing better, feels a sorrow that can even become corruption of morals, of which the thoughtless knows nothing, namely, discontentment with Providence, who governs the course of the world on the whole. It is however of the greatest moment, to be contented with Providence, (though he has traced out for us in our terrestrial world a path so difficult): partly in order to resume courage still under the hardships, and partly in order, while we throw the blame on fate, not to lose sight of our own fault, which may perhaps be the only cause of all this evil, and to neglect the remedy in the self-amendment.

One must own, that the greatest evils, which oppress civilized nations, are brought on
on us by war, and indeed not so much by that which is present or past, as by the never remitting and even incessantly increased preparation for the future. To this are employed all the powers of the state, all the fruits of its culture, which might be used for a still greater culture; liberty is in so many places violated, and the maternal care of the state of single members transformed into an inexorable strictness of demands, yet this is justified by the apprehension of outward danger. But, would this culture, would this close conjunction of the ranks of the commonwealth to the mutual furtherance of their prosperity, would the population, nay, even the degree of liberty which, though under very restrictive laws, yet remains, be met with, if that war itself, which is always dreaded, did not extort from the heads of states this reverence for humanity? Only behold China, which from its situation has perhaps one day to fear an unforeseen attack, but no potent enemy, and from which therefore every trace of liberty is effaced. — On the step of culture, then, on which the human species yet stands, war is an indispensable mean to carry it higher; and but after a finished culture (God knows when) would an everdying peace be salutary for us and also by that only possible. Consequently, as to this point, we ourselves are the cause of the evils, of which we complain so bitterly; and the sacred record is perfectly right to represent the incorporating of nations into one society and their complete deliverance from all outward danger, as their culture was scarcely begun.
begun, as a stopping of all further culture and a sinking into incurable corruption.

The second discontentment of men arraigns the order of nature with regard to the shortness of life. One must understand but very ill indeed the estimation of the value of life, if one can still wish, that it should last longer, than it actually does; for that were but a lengthening of a play constantly struggling with mere difficulties. But a childish judgment needs not be blamed for fearing death, without loving life, and, whilst it is difficult for it to pass its existence every single day with tolerable satisfaction, never to have days enough to repeat this complaint. When however one but reflects, how much care of the means to passing away a life so short torments us, how much injustice is exercised with the hope of a future enjoyment, though of so short a duration; one must reasonably believe, that if men could prolong their lives to an age of 800 years and more, the father would scarcely be secure of his life against his son, the one brother against the other, or one friend beside another, and that the vices of a human species living so long would rise to such a heighth, that they would be worthy of no better a fate, than to be drowned in a universal flood (v. 12, 15).

The third wish, or rather, empty longing (for we are conscious to ourselves, that we never can obtain what is wished for) is the shadow, the golden age so much praised by poets, where a deliverance from all imaginary wants, with which luxury loads us, a sufficiency
ciency with the mere wants of nature, a thorough equality of men, an everlasting peace among them, in a word, the pure enjoyment of a life free from care dreamt away in idleness or trifled away in puerile amusements; — an earnest desire, which makes the Crusoes and the voyages to the southsea islands so charming, but in general evinces the weariness, which the thinking man feels in the civilized life, when he seeks its value in enjoyments merely, and takes into the account the counterbalance of laziness, when reason by chance puts him in mind, to give a value to life by actions. The justness of the wish to return to that time of simplicity and innocence is sufficiently shown, when one is animated by the above representation of the original state: man cannot maintain himself therein, because he is not contented with it; still less is he inclined ever to return to it; so that he has always to attribute to himself and to his own choice the present state of troubles.

Advantageous to man and serviceable to instruction and to amendment is then such an exhibition of his history, which points out to him, That he must not charge Providence with the evils that afflict him; that he is not entitled to impute his own transgression to an original crime of his first parents, whereby a propensity in a manner to similar transgressions would be hereditary in the offspring, (for arbitrable actions can carry nothing with them possible to be communicated by inheritance); but that he in all justice has to acknowledge what has happened as committed
by himself, and to lay to his own charge entirely all the evils, which spring from the abuse of his reason, as he may be very conscious to himself, that in similar circumstances he would conduct himself in the same manner, and would make the first use of reason, to misuse it (even contrary to the hint of nature). The physical evils, when that point concerning the moral ones is cleared up, can then, in the balancing of merit and of guilt, hardly yield an odds to our advantage.

And thus the result of a most ancient history of man essayed by philosophy, is, Contentment with Providence and, on the whole, with the course of human affairs, which does not commence from the good and proceed to the bad, but develops itself gradually from the bad to the better; to which progress, then, every one is summoned by nature herself, to contribute on his part to the utmost of his abilities.
AN

INQUIRY

CONCERNING THE

PERSPICUITY OF THE PRINCIPLES

OF

NATURAL THEOLOGY

AND OF

MORAL.

IN ANSWER TO THE QUESTION WHICH THE
ROYAL ACADEMY OF SCIENCES IN BERLIN
PROPOSED IN THE YEAR 1763.

Verum animo satis haec vestigia parva sagaci
runt, per quae possis cognoscere castera tute.

Y 2
They who, from a mistaken zeal for the honour of Divine revelation, either deny the existence, or vilify the authority of natural religion, are not aware, that by disallowing the sense of obligation, they undermine the foundation upon which revelation builds its power of commanding the heart.

Blair, On the Power of Conscience.
INTRODUCTION.

The proposed question is of such a nature, that, when it is properly answered, the higher philosophy must thereby acquire a determinate form. When the method, according to which the greatest possible certainty in this species of cognition can be attained, is established, and the nature of this conviction well introspected, an immutable precept of method instead of the perpetual inconstancy of the opinions and sects of the schools, must unite the men of reflection in the like endeavours; in the same manner as Newton's method in natural philosophy altered the licentiousness of the physical hypotheses to a sure procedure according to experience and to geometry. But what method shall this treatise itself have, in which is to be shown to metaphysics their true degree of certainty, together with the way, by which one arrives at it. If this propounding be metaphysical, its judgment is just as uncertain as has hitherto been the science, which thereby hopes to acquire firmness and stability, and every thing is lost. My treatise shall therefore be totally composed of sure positions of experience and immediate consequences therefrom drawn.
I will rely neither on the doctrines of philosophers whose insecurity is the very occasion of the present problem, nor on definitions, which are so often fallacious. The method I use shall be simple and cautious. Whatever may be found insecure will be of such a nature, as to be used for the explication only, but not for the proof.
AN INQUIRY
CONCERNING THE
PERSPICUITY OF THE PRINCIPLES
OF NATURAL THEOLOGY
AND OF MORAL.

CONTEMPLATION THE FIRST.

UNIVERSAL COMPARISON OF THE MODE OF
ATTAINING CERTAINTY IN THE MATHEMATICAL COGNITION WITH THAT IN THE PHILOSOPHICAL,

1. The Mathematics attain all their Definitions synthetically, but Philosophy analytically.

Every one universal conception may be arrived at in two ways, either by the arbiterable conjunction of conceptions, or by separation from that cognition, which is made perspicuous by anatomizing. The mathematics never frame definitions, but in the first manner.