ance with the civil power, Hobbes did not hesitate to abase the ecclesiastical power before the State, the whole strength of which resides in unity, and he made war upon the Church as well as upon democracy.

Gassendi was a Frenchman, a native of Provence, an ecclesiastic.* As his first writings are posterior to those of Bacon, and as he often cites the English philosopher, it must be admitted that Bacon has, at least, seconded the natural direction of his mind and of his studies. Although he belongs to the seventeenth century and to modern philosophy, it may be said that he is a wreck of the sixteenth; for it is antiquity rather than his own century that inspires and guides him. Tennemann said with reason that he was the most learned among philosophers, and the most philosophic among the learned. Thus he wrote only in Latin, and scarcely ever in French. His life was devoted to the renewal of the philosophy of Epicurus; he took great care, however, even in the title† of his book, to declare that he rejected from it every thing that was contrary to Christianity. But how could he succeed in this? Principles, processes, results, every thing in Epicurus is sensualism, materialism, atheism. Was this inconsistency? Was it ecclesiastical prudence? It is of little consequence: the thought of Gassendi must not be sought for in these reserves. It is found in the ardor with which he combated the nascent idealism of Descartes. He could not prevent himself, whatever may have been his moderation, from exclaiming against Descartes in very lively expressions, half serious, half sportive; he frequently addresses him: *O mens! O spirit!* To which Descartes responds: *O matter! O Caro!* He was so zealous a partisan of the philosophy of Hobbes, that his friend and his pupil, Sorbière, informs us that some months before his death, having received the work of Hobbes, *De corpore politico*, he kissed it with respect, and exclaimed that it was a very small work, but that it was full of precious sweets, *medulla scatet.** He also greatly prized the *De Cive.*†

tained in it; whereupon I asked him why he published such doctrines. After a half-pleasant and half-serious conversation, he replied: 'The fact is, I wish to return to England.'"

* Born in 1592, in Provence, professor in the College of France in Paris, died in 1655. *Petri Gassendi Opera*, Lugd., 1658, 6 vol. in-fol.

† *Syntagma philosophiæ Epicuri, cum refutationibus dogmatum quæ contra fidem christianam ab eo asserta sunt; præfigitur Sorberii dissert, de vita et moribus P. Gassendi.* Hag. Com., 1655–1659; several times reprinted. He had before published, Lugduni, 1649, *Epicuri philosophia, Animadversiones in decimum librum Diogenis Laertii*, 3 vol. in-fol.

To Gassendi, that is, to the scholar of the sensualistic school, must be added several philosophers of the same kind who are not his pupils, but who, like him, explored antiquity to the profit of sensualism. I will name two Frenchmen, the one Guillemert de Berigard or Beauregard, a professor in Italy, who was born at Moulins in 1578, and who died at Padua in 1667: he renewed the physics of the Ionians;‡ the other Jean Chrysostome Magnen, born at Luxeuil, a professor in Pavia, and a great partisan of the doctrine of Democritus.§

I ought also to call your attention to the success of the philosophy of Gassendi in France. Doubtless the high clergy, Port-Royal, the Oratoire, the *élite* of literature, the great minds of the century of Louis XIV.‖ were, for the most part, Cartesians; but Gassendi spread his ideas throughout a small circle of pupils and zealous partisans, among whom, with his biographer Sorbière, we may distinguish the traveller Bernier, Chapelle, Cyrano, and our great Molière.¶ This was the foundation of that society of free-thinkers of the Temple from which Voltaire drew his first inspira-

* Preface of Sorbière.

† See, on the head of the *De Cive*, the letter of Gassendi to Sorbière.

‡ *Circuli pisani*, Undine, 1643–1647, reprinted at Padua in 1661.

§ *Democritus reviviscens*, Ticini, 1646; often reprinted.

‖ *Fragments of Cartesian Philosophy*, passim.

¶ Grimarest testifies that Molière observed for some time during his youth the teachings of Gassendi, and that he translated, partly into verse and partly into prose, the epicurean poem of Lucretius. He places in the mouth of Eliante, in the *Misanthrope*, a charming imitation of several verses of Lucretius, on the illusion of lovers who see nothing but beauty in the beloved object. Grimarest informs us that in time Molière left Descartes and continued faithful to Gassendi.

tions, before he had found in the conversation of Bolingbroke, and in his Voyage to England, Epicurean philosophy under a regular and scientific form. Locke was the true master of Voltaire.* He was the metaphysician of the sensualistic school; he was its most elevated and purest expression in the seventeenth century.

In order to obtain a just idea of the philosophy of Locke,† it is necessary to read in the first pages of his work the passage where he refers to the occasion upon which it was written. Locke relates that in a conversation in which he took part, a question, foreign to philosophy, produced a discussion wherein the most opposite opinions were advanced, without resolving the difficulty. On reflection he suspected that its cause was especially in the use of notions whose nature, reach, and limits had not been recognized; and generalizing this observation, he concluded that, since after all we think and philosophize only with the human mind, it is this human mind that it behooves us first to know. Hence the *Essay on the Human Understanding*, wherein Locke determines its nature and its powers, the exact extent and limits of our cognitions. This great and simple thought is the whole philosophy of Locke; herein is the originality of this philosophy; hereby it has rendered an immortal service to the human mind. But it is enough to render a single and memorable service to the human mind; the greatest man may therein exhaust himself, and Locke, after having opened the road of true philosophy, tottered himself upon it, and wandered insensibly into a narrow and exclusive path.

Locke assigns two sources of human knowledge, sensation and reflection. Reflection is applied to the operations of the understanding, and is limited to making them known to us such as they are. These operations are comparison, reasoning, abstraction,

* See, on the philosophy of Voltaire, Vol. 3 of this 2d Series, Lecture 13, and especially 1st Series, Vol. 3, Lecture 1, p. 38; 2d Lecture, p. 80; 4th and 5th Lectures, p. 201.

† On Locke, his life, writings, philosophy, and influence, see 1st Series, Vol. 3. Lecture 1, and Vol. 3, almost entire, of this Series.

composition, association, all the faculties which separate or combine the elements which are derived from sensation, but add nothing to it; there is not one that has the power of conveying to the understanding any contingent whatever of notions proper to it. All our knowledge, then, has its first and last root in sensation. Such is the theory of Locke brought back to its principle. The principle once laid down, you easily guess the consequences. The natural sagacity of Locke has in vain attempted to retain them; they escape him on all sides and connect him with that chain of sensualistic philosophers, the first link of which is Hobbes. Locke is Hobbes with all necessary differences. He does not often quote him, he often reproduces him. His chapter on the influence of language, in all respects, resembles an analogous chapter of Hobbes. Hobbes and the whole sensualistic school assimilate more or less the soul to the body; this you know. Locke did not go so far; but with Occam and Scot* he pretends that it is very difficult to prove, except by revelation, that the subject of the operations of the understanding is spirit and not matter; and he supposes that God could have endowed matter with the faculty of thinking. Locke was religious, it is true; but Leibnitz showed that the Christianity of Locke inclined to Socinianism,† a doctrine that has always been poor enough in regard to God and the soul. Finally, if Locke possesses the liberality so deficient in Hobbes, it remains to be known which of the two is wanting in consistency.

Such is the sensualistic school of the seventeenth century in its historical development. It terminated in Locke, who closes the seventeenth century and opens the eighteenth. His sensualism shall hereafter be the subject of our inquiry. Now let us examine the parallel development of the idealism of the seventeenth century.

* See Lecture 9.

† "Inclinasse eum ad socinianos quorum paupertina semper fuit de Deo et mente philosophia." *Epist. ad Bierling.*, Correspondence of Kortholt. Vol. iv. p. 15.

The founder of the modern idealistic school is Descartes.* But Descartes, as well as Bacon, does not begin by an exclusive doctrine; he falls into it unconsciously, or rather he conducts to it. Like Bacon, he begins with the sagest principles, which belong to no school, and which are the soul of entire modern philosophy. He is far from having neglected studies, whose object is exterior nature. Remember that Descartes was one of the greatest natural philosophers of his age, that he spent his life in making experiments; but he was above all a great geometrician and an observer of human nature.

Descartes seeks the fixed and certain point of departure, whereupon philosophy may rest. He finds that thought may question every thing, every thing save itself. In short, although we should doubt all things,† we could not doubt that we doubt: now, to doubt is to think; whence it follows that we doubt not that we think, and that thought cannot deny itself, for it could do it only by itself. We have here a circle, out of which it is impossible for skepticism to go. This is, then, the firm and certain point of departure sought by Descartes; and as thought is attested to us through consciousness, behold consciousness taken as the point of departure and the foundation of all philosophical research.

Follow out the consequences of this principle. I think, and since I cannot doubt that I think, I cannot doubt that I exist in so far as I think. Thus I think, therefore I exist,‡ and existence

* Born in 1596, died in 1650. The only complete edition of his works is that published in Paris, 1824–1826, eleven vols. in-8. The first work of Descartes is the *Discours de la méthode pour bien conduire sa raison et chercher la vérité dans les sciences; plus la dioptrique, les météores et la géométrie, qui sont des essais de cette méthode*, in-4, 1637.—*Meditationes de prima philosophia*, 1641, in-4.—*Principia philosophiæ*, 1644, in-4. The French translation is preceded by a French preface by Descartes.—*Traité des passions*, in-12, 1650.

† On the nature of Cartesian doubt, see our writings *passim*, and especially the *Defence of the University and of Philosophy*, p. 221.

‡ Of the true sense of the Cartesian enthymeme, 1st Series, Vol. 1, p. 27, Vol. 4, p. 67 and p. 512, Vol. 5, p. 213

is given me in thought. This is the first consequence; behold the second:

What is the character of thought? it is that of being invisible, intangible, imponderable, without dimensions, simple. Now, if the conclusion from the attribute to the subject is good, thought being admitted as the fundamental attribute of the subject that I am, the simplicity of the one implies the simplicity of the other, that is, of the *me* or of the soul; and from the second step, Cartesian philosophy naturally and invincibly arrives at the spirituality of the soul,* which all other philosophers attained only after many circuits and much uncertainty.

But does this thought, which is to me existence since it is that in which I can alone perceive it, does this thought always and infallibly attain to truth? Doubtless I have no other means of knowing truth than my thought; but I must admit that, in more than one case, this thought is at fault, that it does not always go as far as I could wish, and that imperfection is one of its manifest characteristics. Now this notion of the imperfect, of the limited, of the finite, of the contingent, elevates me directly to that of the perfect, of the absolute, of the illimited, of the infinite, of the necessary; it is a fact that I have not and cannot have one without the other. I have, then, this idea of the perfect and of the infinite, but who am I, I who have such an idea? A being whose attribute is finite, limited, imperfect thought. On the one hand, I have the idea of the infinite and of the perfect, and on the other I am imperfect and finite. Hence the demonstration of the existence of a perfect being; for if the idea of the perfect and of the infinite did not suppose the real and substantial existence of a perfect and infinite being, it is only because it was I who had formed this idea. But if I had formed it, I could destroy it, I could at least modify it. Now, I can neither destroy it nor modify it; I have not then formed it; it is then in me without belonging to me: it is related to a model

* Ibid.

foreign to myself and which is peculiar to it, namely, God; so that from the fact alone that I have the idea of God, it follows that God exists.*

Behold then the existence of the soul and the existence of God proved by the authority of thought alone. Behold the existence of the soul and the existence of God established, and yet there has been no question concerning the existence of the exterior world. Descartes concludes that we have a more direct certainty of the existence of the soul and of the existence of God than of the existence of bodies.

In the mean time, this great natural philosopher, far from denying the existence of bodies, seeks its demonstration; but seeking it only in thought, he cannot easily find it. In the complex phenomenon of thought, Descartes encounters sensation; he does not deny it; nor does he deny that this phenomenon, foreign to the will, must have a cause, and a foreign, exterior cause. Thus far Cartesian philosophy reaches; but if there is incontestably a cause of our sensations, what is this cause? Is it spiritual or material, deceitful or true? The senses say nothing about it. Descartes would hesitate then, if the senses alone could decide; and he asks if by chance he could not make the supposition of an evil genius, who behind all these appearances might be the true author of this phantasmagoria. But Descartes is in possession of the existence of God; God is with him perfection itself: now, perfection comprehends, among other attributes, both wisdom and veracity. If then God is true, it cannot be that he who is in the last analysis the author of these appearances which seduce us to believe in the real existence of the exterior world, has shown us these appearances only as a snare and as a deception. It is not then a snare, a deception; that which appears to exist does then exist, and God is our warrant for the legitimacy of our natural persuasion.

* On the demonstration of the existence of God by the idea of him, see 1st Series, Vol. 4, Lect. 12, pp. 63–68, and Vol. 5, Lect. 6, p. 213.

Without examining whether there is or whether there is not a paralogism in the process which makes the certainty of the existence of the world rest upon the divine veracity,* let us limit ourselves to observing, that if Descartes has given proof of good sense and depth by not placing the existence of the soul and the existence of God at the mercy of an argumentation, and by drawing these two convictions from the primitive decisions of thought, he has committed a grave fault, an evident anachronism in the history of consciousness, by not placing upon the same line, the conviction of the existence of the exterior world. According to Descartes, man could believe in the existence of the world only after a complicated train of reasoning, the basis of which should be the veracity of God. In fact, it is not so, and the belief in the existence of the world is infinitely nearer the point of departure of the thought; it is more immediate and more profound. Now, the existence of the exterior world once placed after the existence of the soul and the existence of God, the door is open to idealism. Follow Descartes in his two immediate disciples, Spinoza and Malebranche, and you will recognize the fruits of the master's principles.† With them, God is every thing; the world and man nothing, or scarcely any thing. I say man as well as the world, and for this reason: struck particularly, in consciousness, with the phenomenon of thought, Descartes neglected that of free and voluntary agency. He does not, doubtless, deny liberty, he often speaks of it,‡ but he does not apply himself to giving an exact and profound analysis of it; he often confounds the will and desire,§ phenomena entirely distinct, for desire is passive and impersonal, the will is the type itself of ac-

* See the reply to this accusation, 1st Series, Vol. 4, Lect. 22, p. 514.

† The resemblances which attach Spinoza and Malebranche to Descartes are here shown; but it was also necessary to take account of their differences and essential differences. This is what was done in the *Mémoire sur les* Rapports du Cartesianisme et du Spinozisme, *Fragments de philosophie Cartesienne*, 429–470.

‡ *Fragments de la philosophie Cartesienne*, p. 466.

§ Ibid., p. 465.

tivity and of personality, the most eminent characteristic of man. The confounding of desire and the will debased, therefore, and enfeebled the notion of human personality in Cartesianism, while at the same time a manifest anachronism compromised that of the world. The notion alone of God, of a perfect, necessary and absolute being, was always in it, inviolable and sacred. It was quite natural that, in the progress of the school, this sublime notion remaining always the same during the continual dissipation of the notion of the exterior world and of the notion of the will and of human personality, it is quite natural, I say, that the first should absorb the other two:* this is the common vice of the philosophy of Spinoza and of Malebranche.

Instead of accusing Spinoza† of atheism, the opposite reproach might be cast upon him. Spinoza sets out with the perfect and infinite being of Descartes; he shows that before the infinite being every thing else has but a phenomenal existence; that a substance being that which possesses existence of itself,‡ and the finite being that which shares existence without possessing it of itself, a finite substance implies two contradictory notions. Thus, in the philosophy of Spinoza, man and nature are mere phenomena, simple attributes of sole and absolute substance, but attributes that are coeternal with their substance; for, as there are no phenomena without a subject, no imperfect without perfect, no finite without infinite, and as man and nature suppose God, so there is no substance without phenomena, no perfect without imperfect, no infinite without finite; and God implies also humanity and nature. The evil here is in the preponderance of the relation

* On this predominance of the idea of God in the Cartesian philosophy and on the general spirit of the seventeenth century, see *The Thoughts of Pascal*, preface, p. 46, the last pages of *Jaqueline Pascal*, and the *Fragments of Cartesian Philosophy*, p. 469.

† Born at Amsterdam in 1632, died at Haye in 1677. Opp. ed. Paulus, Jen., 1802-1803, 2 vol. in-8.

‡ This false definition of the substance is the source, too little known, of Spinozism. Now, Descartes did not definitely admit it. *Fragments of Cartesian Philosophy*, p. 467.

of the phenomenon to the being, of the attribute to the substance, over the relation of the effect to the cause. When man has not been conceived as a free and voluntary cause, but as a desire often impotent, and as a thought always imperfect and finite, God, or the supreme model of humanity, can be but a substance and not a cause, the immutable substance of the universe, and not its productive and creative cause. In Cartesianism, the notion of substance played a greater part than that of cause; this notion of substance grown entirely predominant constitutes Spinozism.*

* *Philosophical Fragments*, the article entitled: Spinoza, and the Synagogue of the Portuguese Jews at Amsterdam. "In confounding desire with will, Spinoza has destroyed the true character of human personality, and, in general, too much obscured personality in existence. With him, God, being in itself, the eternal, the infinite, overwhelms too much the finite, the relative, and that humanity without which the most profound and most holy attributes of God are unintelligible and inaccessible. Far from being an atheist, of which he is accused, Spinoza possesses so strongly the sentiment of God, that he loses the sentiment of man. This temporary and limited existence, every thing that is finite seems to him unworthy of the name of existence, and for him there is no true being but the eternal being. This book, bristling as it is, in the manner of the times, with geometrical formula, so dry and so repulsive in its style, is at foundation a mystic hymn, a transport, a yearning of the soul towards him who alone can legitimately say: I am that I am. Spinoza calumniated, excommunicated, and persecuted by the Jews as having abandoned their faith, is essentially a Jew, much more so than he believed himself to be. The God of the Jews is a terrible God. No living creature has value in his eyes, and the soul of man is to him as the grass of the fields and the blood of the beasts of burden. (Ecclesiastes.) It belonged to another epoch of the world, to lights different from those of Judaism, to establish the boundary between the finite and the infinite, to separate the soul from all other objects, to tear it from nature to which it was, as it were, enslaved, and by a mediation and a sublime redemption, to place it in just relation with God. Spinoza was ignorant of this mediation. For him the finite remained on one side and the infinite on the other; the infinite producing the finite only to destroy it, without reason and without aim. Yes, Spinoza was a Jew, and when he prayed to Jehovah, he prayed sincerely in the spirit of the Jewish religion. His life was the symbol of his system. Adoring the eternal, ever in the presence of the infinite, he disdained this passing world; he knew neither pleasure, nor action, nor glory, for he did not suspect his own. Young, he desired to know love; but he knew it not, because he did not inspire it. Poor and suffering, his life was spent in waiting for and meditating upon death. He lived in a suburb of this city, where gaining, as a polisher of glass, the little bread and milk necessary for his subsistence, hated, repu-

The point of departure of Malebranche* is the Cartesian theory that human thought cannot recognize itself as imperfect, and as relative, without conceiving God, perfect and absolute being; now as there is not a single thought which is not accompanied by the feeling of imperfection in itself, it follows that there is not a thought which is not accompanied by the conception of God, which communicates to it a force and superior authority. Thus the idea of God is contemporaneous with all our ideas, and the basis of their legitimacy; and, for example, the idea which we form of exterior bodies and of the world, would be vain, if this idea was not given in that of God. Hence the famous principle of Malebranche, that we see every thing, and the material world itself, in God; which means that our vision and conception of the world is accompanied by a conception of God, of infinite and perfect being, that adds its authority to the uncertain evidence of our senses and our thought. On the other hand, Malebranche does not destroy the notion of cause as Spinoza has done; he maintains it in God, but he degrades it in man; he makes the liberty of man very feeble and the action of God infinite. Hence the theory of God as the author and principle of our desires, of our acts, and of our thoughts; hence the theory of occasional

diated by the men of his communion; suspected by all others, detested by all the clergy of Europe whom he wished to subject to the State, escaping persecutions and outrages only by concealment, humble and silent, of a gentleness and patience that were proof to every thing, passing along in this world without wishing to stop in it, never dreaming of producing any effect upon it, or of leaving any trace upon it. Spinoza was an Indian mouni, a Persian soufi, an enthusiastic monk; and the author whom this pretended atheist most resembles, is the unknown author of the *Imitation of Jesus Christ.*"

* Born at Paris in 1638, died in 1715. His principal works are: *Examination of Truth*, Paris, 1674, a single volume in-12; there were six editions of it published in France during the life of Malebranche; the last is of 1712, 2 vol. in-4, and 4 vol. in-12; *Christian Conversations*, 1677; *Of Nature and of Grace*, 1681; *Christian Meditations*, 1683; *Discourses on Metaphysics and Religion*, 1688; *Conversation between a Christian philosopher and a Chinese philosopher*, 1708; *Reflections on Physical Predetermination*, 1715.

causes,* found almost at the same time by Geulinx.† The last term of this system is the absorption of man in God.

Such is the state in which sensualism and idealism, the school of Bacon and that of Descartes, were found at the close of the seventeenth century. It remains for me to speak of their struggle and of its results.

* On Malebranche, see the *Introduction* to the works of P. André, the *Preface to the Thoughts of Pascal*, p. xxxii., and in the *Fragments of Cartesian Philosophy*, the correspondence of Malebranche and Leibnitz, as well as that of Malebranche and of Mairan on the system of Spinoza.

† Of Antwerp, born in 1625, died in 1669. Among other works: *Logica fundamentis suis, a quibus hactenus collapsa fuerat, restituta*, Lugd. Bat., 1662. Γνῶθι σεαυτόν, *sive Ethica*, Amstelod., 1665. *Metaphysica vera*, etc., Amstelod. 1691