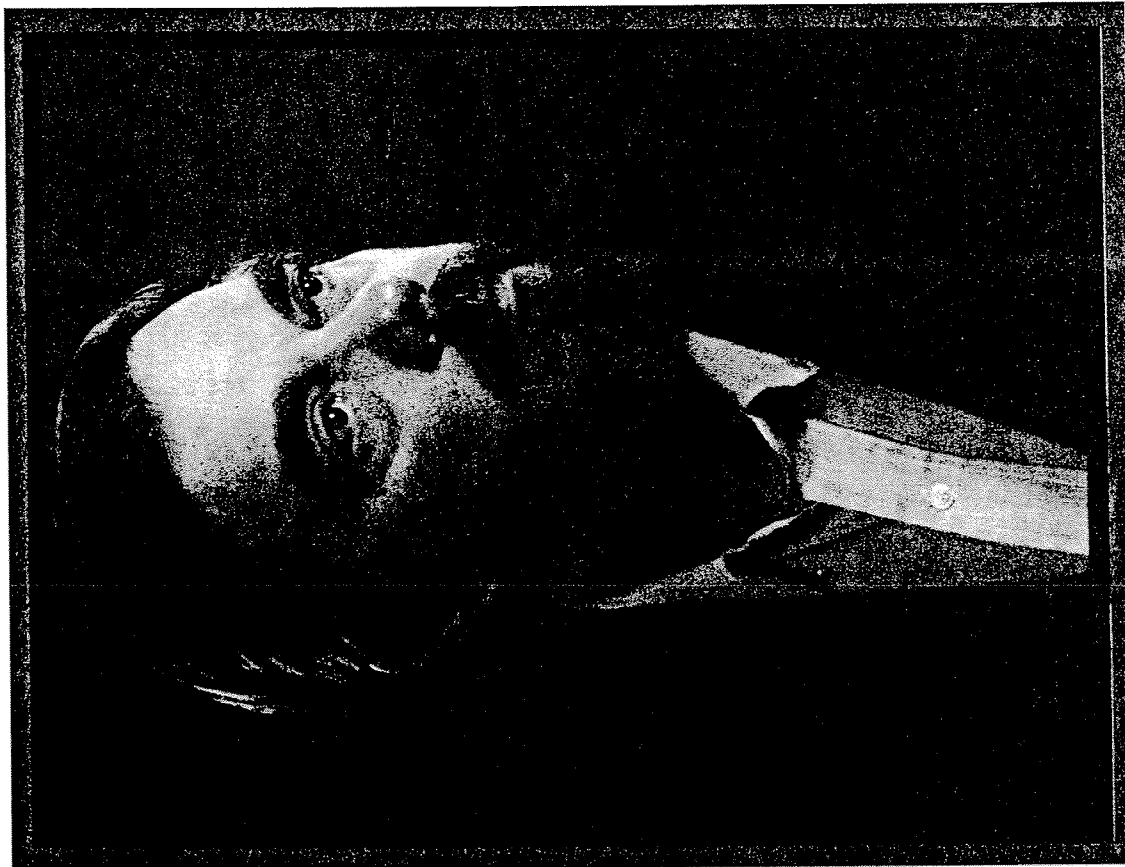


HISTORIANS AND IDEOLOGUES


Essays in Honor of Donald R. Kelley

EDITED BY

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Donald R. Kelley

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31. Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *The First and Second Discourses*, ed. Roger D. Masters; trans. R. D. Masters and Judith R. Masters (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1964), p. 31. In Ovid, *Tristia*, V, Elegy X.37.
32. For the use of number among the ancients to achieve rhetorical significance see Alois Dreizehnter, *Die rhetorische Zahl: Quellenkritische Untersuchungen anband der Zahlen 70 und 700* (Munich: Beck, 1978), pp. 70-81.
33. E.g., Plato, *The Last Days of Socrates*, trans. Hugh Tredennick and Harold Tarrant (New York: Penguin Books, 1993).
34. E.g., A. E. Taylor, *Socrates: The Man and His Thought* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1953).
35. *First Discourse*, p. 46.

I 4

ANTHROPOLOGY AND *Statistik* IN THE *Göttingisches Historisches Magazin* (1787-1794)

MICHAEL C. CARHART

In 1790 Christoph Meiners offered the subscribers of the *Göttingen Historical Magazine* a serial tour of world cultures combining the latest scientific observations of world travelers, innovative methods in anthropology, and his own taxonomy of the human races. In the same year his co-editor Ludwig Timotheus Spittler wrote a history of the poll tax that Göttingers had paid monthly for a generation. Spittler's article also used the latest methods in historical research. Although their topical interests appear to have been diametrically opposed—Meiners was interested in comparative world cultures, Spittler in the minutiae of local history—both consciously created public opinion on topics of current social interest through the writing of history with a latent social agenda. The editors' goal was first to generate interest in a topic and to provide the audience with enough information to discuss that topic intelligently. Second, the editors intended to influence the direction of the same public opinion they had created. Two articles from 1790 illustrate how Meiners and Spittler used essays on apparently unrelated topics to address a single idea then fashionable in European social thought, the idea of equal rights for all.

The *Göttingisches historisches Magazin* was established in 1787 and ran for eight years until the imposition of censorship in the Electorate of Hanover in 1794.¹ In the 1770s and 1780s dozens of journals like the *GHM* were founded, feeding a lay audience with a voracious appetite for the literature of Enlightenment. Meiners himself co-edited two journals in the late 1780s and early 1790s, the other an anti-Kantian serial called *Philosophische Bibliothek* edited with J. G. H. Feder. All of the historical essays in the *GHM* were written by Meiners or Spittler themselves. They did not solicit submissions from friends or colleagues.

Meiners and Spittler had to balance their commitment to the production of scholarship with their duties as teachers. The *GHM* was one way to find

the opening of state and local archives so that the historian might be able to observe the functioning of the government.⁹ The historian's investigations in turn would help the civil servant to understand the big picture and so enable him to perform his tasks more efficiently. The historian's investigations also would help lawmakers draft better, more efficient, and more enlightened legislation. *Statistik* and *Landesgeschichte* were thus directed toward contemporary issues of government in the late eighteenth century. One of Spittler's most influential pieces of statistical local history appeared in the *GHM* in 1790, a history of the poll tax in the region of Hanover which included Göttingen.¹⁰ The essay formally opened debate on one of the most unpopular facts of life in Hanover, a debate that would lead to the repeal of the poll tax in 1793.¹¹

In the summer of 1757 the Electorate of Hanover was overrun by the French army as part of the Seven Years' War fought in Europe and in colonial outposts in the Mediterranean, Africa, Asia, and America. Despite the defeat of the continental territories of George II (1727-60), the king took encouragement that year from victories in India, Niagara, and Nova Scotia. But his Hanoverian subjects suffered terribly. At the end of the war in 1763 Calenberg, financially autonomous from England and the rest of the Electorate, looked for ways to pay off its war debt of nearly two million Reichsthaler.¹²

Like most of the German states in the eighteenth century, the Hanoverian constitution was in some degree parliamentary.¹³ Yet within Hanover, as within Germany generally, there was a great deal of local variety in terms of government and constitution. The Electorate of Hanover itself was amalgamated into a single unit in the second half of the seventeenth century from a number of previously independent territories in northwestern Germany. Each of those previously independent territories retained a degree of autonomy both administratively and in terms of tradition. Six separate regions had their own *Landtag* or parliament, each with its own procedures. One of the two major principalities composing the Electorate (the other being Lüneberg), the principality of Calenberg und Göttingen extended from the city of Hanover in the north to Göttingen in the south and from the Weser to the Harz Mountains. The Calenberg Landtag had the largest membership of the six, with 170 delegates representing the nobility, five representing the clergy, and twenty towns sending representatives. The Calenberg Landtag was unique in that it still voted *curiatim* (by Estate) rather than *virilim* (by individual) as did the other five.¹⁴ The bulk of the Landtag's duties concerned regional finance and taxation. In theory the Landtag decided revenue "*in questione an, quomodo, temporis sive durationis*" (whether it should be paid, by what means, and for how long). In practice the Landtag was limited to *quomodo*. The question of the amount to be

levied was decreed by the *Landesher*, as were most matters of legislation. Lacking *jus contradicendi*, the Landtag could do little more than ratify the decrees of the sovereign. Within these relatively narrow parameters, the Landtag could make some real decisions. Even if the Landtag could not establish how much revenue ought to be appropriated, it did have the responsibility of finding the ways and means of raising it.¹⁵ Thus the Calenberg Landtag had no control over the 1,778,433 Reichstaler debt nor over the regular annual procurement of 464,817 Reichstaler for governmental and military expenses. Its power was limited to establishing a supplemental taxation scheme to pay off the debt. With interest accruing at a rate of four percent annually, which was considered a great burden in the eighteenth century, the Calenberg Landtag approached its duty with urgency.

The funds were owed to two principal accounts, the Hanoverian war chest (*Licent-Ueberschusskasse*), which had to be refilled in anticipation of the next war, and the war debt itself. In 1764 the Calenberg Landtag initially tried to raise the revenue through new and increased taxes on food staples. By raising the tax on a pound of meat from two Pfennig to three Pfennig, the Landtag anticipated raising 23,000 Reichsthaler for the war chest annually.¹⁶ The war debt required more drastic measures. Initially the Landtag imposed additional sales taxes on food staples and textiles which would compel all subjects to contribute. Silk was taxed at ten percent, wool at five percent. The tax on coffee was raised from one Groschen per pound to two, tea from eight to sixteen Groschen, and chocolate from six to twelve. But the basis of the tax was on bread, to be paid on flour at the time of milling. Two-thirds of the revenue was to be generated through the bread tax.¹⁷

The bread tax caused two unexpected problems. A black market in grain developed, and the tax generated less revenue than anticipated. Rather than paying the bread and meat taxes the peasantry began planting potatoes, which remained tax-free. The next year, in 1765, the Landtag toyed with three solutions: better enforcement; the imposition of new taxes; and an appeal to the king. Meanwhile interest on the debt continued to accrue. The delegation of the nobility proposed two taxation "Experiments." Both called for reducing the food taxes to their original levels and imposing a poll tax. The first plan proposed a graduated poll tax, to be paid quarterly, according to a person's income. The population would be classified as in Table 1. Women were classified with their husbands, with widows paying half the amount, and minors under age fourteen paying one-fourth of the amount of their parents. Foot soldiers and the lower officer corps remained tax-exempt. But the plan was untraditional and therefore suspect.¹⁸

The second plan was based on the bread tax of 1764. For good nutrition it was determined that each person required a *Hambien* (about three-and-a-

such a balance. The University of Göttingen was organized in 1734 under a reformed curriculum that emphasized law, history, politics, and the sciences, practical subjects intended to attract young Hanoverian nobles. The journal was closely related to the reformed curriculum, with the new science of *Statistik* (on which more will be said below) being a part of the training for young men bound for careers in the burgeoning German civil service. Through his teaching, therefore, Spittler was shaping his own ideal readers.² The apparently odd pairing of local history and world history in the *GHM* reflected the curriculum at Göttingen. Meiners and Spittler hoped that their divergent topics would attract a varied audience. The magazine was destined not only for the libraries of scholars and universities but for the class of literate Germans composed of civil servants, pastors, and military officers. G. J. D. Scharnhorst, a Hanoverian artillery officer (later Prussian Lieutenant General), followed the *GHM*, republishing Meiners' essay "On Codes of Honor among Different Nations" in his own *Militärischer Journal*.³ Other journals devoted to military affairs advertised in the *GHM*, and the *GHM* itself published military statistics, such as a tabular comparison of the manpower and expense of the Prussian and French armies in the 1780s.⁴ In addition to the historical essays, the editors reprinted a variety of documents pertaining to the political constitutions of the many German states. These included letters from correspondents (many of them anonymous) in various cities on recent political events and issues, demographic and economic tables, and position statements from partisans involved in political and social discussions. Meiners and Spittler were sufficiently well connected that, although the *GHM* appeared only eight times per year, they often scooped weekly and monthly magazines, especially on stories related to the ongoing revolutions in France, Geneva, and America. All of these topics were intended to further the cause of "true Enlightenment." Meiners and Spittler expected their position papers to find their way to the desks of bureaucrats and parliamentarians in Hanover, London, Berlin, and Paris.

Our intention is not only to contribute to true Enlightenment in general or to the increase and expansion of good and useful knowledge but also, to the extent possible, to correct the reigning mode of thought; to expose the hidden merits especially of honorable patriots, great businessmen, and statesmen; to promote embattled causes; and to mitigate deficiencies and abuses as much as is possible in human affairs.⁵

Meiners and Spittler were typical of German scholars in the late eighteenth century, both bright children from civil-servant families. Christoph

Meiners (1747-1810) was the son of the postmaster in Otterndorf, a small town on the North Sea coast between Bremen and Hamburg. After a few years of elementary education at home he was sent to the gymnasium in Bremen and from there he enrolled at the university in Göttingen in 1766. At Göttingen he studied philosophy, history, and philology, and was especially interested in the philosophy of mind within the parameters of Lockean empiricism. He returned home in 1770 upon finishing in Göttingen, and in 1772 he published a short book, *Revision der Philosophie*, which won him an extraordinary position on the Göttingen faculty. He was promoted to professor ordinarius in 1776 with the publication of a history of ancient polytheism and was inducted in the Göttingen Academy of Sciences.⁶

Ludwig Timotheus Spittler (1752-1810) was the son of a pastor in Stuttgart. After finishing at the gymnasium in Stuttgart he went to the University of Tübingen where he studied church history and canon law, completing a thesis on the canons of Laodicea in 1777. He then traveled to Göttingen for further study and to teach as an extraordinary lecturer. There he wrote a history of canon law from late antiquity to the pseudo-Isidorean decretals (1779), which earned him a promotion to professor ordinarius.⁷ Shortly after their respective promotions to the ordinary faculty of the university, both Meiners and Spittler married. Both the timing and the pairing-off of young university men with the daughters of their more senior colleagues were typical of academic and civil-service life in the late eighteenth century. Meiners married the daughter of the political historian Gottfried Achenwall. Spittler's wife had been raised by a minor bureaucrat in the Württemberg government, the same bureaucracy where Spittler would end his career.

I.

Spittler built his academic reputation on two methodological innovations in contemporary historical writing, *Statistik* and *Landesgeschichte*.⁸ *Statistik* literally meant the study of the state; the two terms share a common root. Like its modern counterpart, *Statistik* referred to quantitative methods for acquiring an understanding of contemporary affairs, including demographics, economic information, and regional productivity. *Statistik* was an innovation in *Kameralwissenschaft*, the science of governance, in the late eighteenth century. It was believed that precise information, often in the form of numbers, would enable more efficient governance at both the national and the regional level. In the quest for the details of everyday life the historical subdiscipline of *Landesgeschichte* (local history) was developed. Spittler was one of the first practitioners of *Landesgeschichte* in Germany. He pushed for

Table 1: Graduated Poll Tax, 1765 (proposed)

Tax assessment	Population Classification
3 Groschen	poorer farmers and artisans
12 Groschen	middling farmers, lower civil servants, and pastors, who earned less than 300 Reichsthaler annually
24 Groschen	noble soldiers, members of the privy council, and other civil servants who earned less than 400 Reichsthaler annually
1 Reichsthaler, 12 Groschen	military officers up to lieutenant general
2 Reichsthaler, 24 Groschen	field marshals and lord ministers

half pecks, or a liter per day) of flour per month. Instead of paying the bread tax at the mill, each person would be responsible for the same tax amount of three Groschen, six Pfennig individually. The tobacco tax imposed a year earlier had caused much protest. On the logic of simplifying the tax code the tobacco tax was repealed and replaced by a tax of two Pfennig per person per month. The total poll tax was four Mariengroschen per month, to be paid by each adult individual. Children were taxed at one Groschen per month. The only exemptions were those in the care of the newly founded charitable institutions for the poor and widows. A tax base of 120,000 individuals meant that Calenberg could expect an annual revenue of 130,000 Reichsthaler. The brutal simplicity of this plan was preferred to the more complicated graduated tax, and the Calenberg poll tax went into effect in 1766.

To Spittler, researching in the archives of the *Kammerkasse* and the Landtag with two decades of hindsight, the implications of the poll tax were disastrous. First, the bulk of the revenue was supplied by those who could least afford it.¹⁹ Second, the tax was insulting. It was predicated on bread consumption according to monthly dietary requirements, but already the poor had begun to find other tax-free food, such as potatoes. Now with the tax paid directly, the poor were being taxed "on bread that they never ate."²⁰ The poor became both poorer and malnourished while the rich ate their extra bread tax-free. Domestic servants aggravated the injustice. Employers were responsible for the taxes of their servants, but like their employers, servants generally ate more than the projected one *Himliten* of bread, also tax-free.²¹ Third, on the macroeconomic level, the poll tax, based as it

was on grain consumption, produced an increasing dependence in Calenberg on foreign grain. Although taxed only indirectly, the poor continued to shun grain for cheaper potatoes. The result was a grain shortage. The situation was aggravated in years when potato crops failed, forcing the rural and disenfranchised urban population to look still elsewhere for food staples. Other economic factors aside, Spittler blamed the poll tax as one reason why grain had been imported to Calenberg since the early 1770s.

But Spittler's concern was less with the economic effect of the tax than with "the influence it displayed on the general character of the *Volk*."²² Character, especially national or group character, was a major concern of Germans in the second half of the eighteenth century. Spittler noted that in the twenty-five years since the poll tax had been instituted, not one year had passed without some notable researcher publishing an essay on the effects of the poll tax on the character of the Calenbergers. As his colleague Meiners demonstrated in his anthropological essays that will be discussed below, physical, economic, and political conditions contributed directly to the character of both individuals and nations. Physically the poll tax was causing malnutrition. Economically it caused poverty. Politically it produced a dependence on foreign grain and encouraged dishonesty among the population by leading some to evade the tax.²³ Nevertheless the tax had remained in place because it worked. The debt was steadily reduced, and the peasantry reduced to poverty. "One observed the results of the first years and soon found a sad harmony, which with each subsequent year of the experiment became sadder still."²⁴

The solution Spittler proposed to reverse the decline of the Calenberg economy and moral character was to abandon the principle of economic equality on which the poll tax was based. Even when fixed and poll taxes had been imposed by earlier regimes in the seventeenth century, those taxes had never been based on general equality. "General equality [*Allgemeine Gleichheit*] has never been made the fundamental principle of any German land," he wrote.²⁵ At the very least Calenberg could institute a flat income tax.²⁶ A better solution, though, would be to replace the principle of equality with classification, i.e., with a social taxonomy. He concluded his essay by championing a plan similar to the one proposed by the nobles' Estate in 1765.

Classification was never easy, either in science or in statecraft, but, he argued, "This principle seems to be true: any classification is better than general equality."²⁷ At worst a faulty classification would pit different groups against each other as each party tried to defend its interests. But the voices against that particular classification would be the voices of individual parties. "A general equality is directly opposed to the consensus of the general

public." Spittler assured the Landtag that at least "one voice is against general equality."²⁸

Spittler's essay challenging the Calenberg Landtag to revisit the poll tax complicates the model of Enlightenment communication in the "public sphere" devised thirty years ago by Jürgen Habermas. Habermas's model posited two spheres of communication that failed to communicate with each other. Let me suggest three ways why that model is too schematic to explain the political critique offered by the *GHM*.

First, the *GHM* acted as a bridge between the literate public (public sphere) and the sphere of public authority.²⁹ One problem with Habermas's symmetrical model of the public sphere is that—at least in Germany—there was considerable movement from the one sphere to the other in terms of social mobility. Spittler's classification of tax-payers by occupation and income illustrates that he saw no gap between civil servants and other elite groups such as academics, merchants, military officers, and even well-to-do farmers. In terms of personal presence, the divide between government and private citizen was not clearly discernable, at least not in Hanover where bright sons of privileged non-noble families could study theology, law, or history and work their way up the complex bureaucratic systems that were rapidly developing in the many German states. The careers of Meiners and Spittler illustrate this point, as both were taken into the bureaucratic structure. Meiners signed his works after the mid-1780s with the title "Royal Great British court counsellor" and served as a university administrator in Göttingen for over fifteen years. His privileged position within (or at least endorsed by) the Hanoverian civil service did not, however, enable him to continue the *GHM* beyond the imposition of censorship in 1794. Although I have found no evidence that the journal was suppressed, as was Schlözer's *Staatsanzeigen*, the termination of the journal and the scarcity of surviving copies of the final issue from 1794 suggest that, like so many Hanoverian periodicals, the *GHM* too ran into trouble. However, the suppression of Spittler's literary society in 1793 and his being named as a sympathizer of the French Revolution³⁰ did not disqualify him from being promoted to the privy council of his native Württemberg. The essay on the Calenberg poll tax dealt directly with the issue of secrecy and openness between a government and its subjects. In the introduction Spittler acknowledged that the essay pushed the limits of Hanoverian censorship regulations and that only a fine line separated the public statements of "well-intentioned men" and "dangerous publicity."³¹ But the Calenbergers had a right to know. "These treasuries are the collective treasures of all subjects," he wrote.³² Furthermore there was a need to know. The citizens were already disgruntled and suspicious, they evaded payment of the poll tax any way they could, and in 1790 they were

on the verge of revolt. Spittler believed that understanding bred loyalty. Ignorant people did not pay taxes more readily but the opposite. No regulations against tax fraud could compel compliance as well as understanding of the tax's necessity. Knowledge of the state of the treasury was the only way to restore the public confidence. The goal of the essay was to generate a "public opinion" (*öffentliche Meinung*) concerning the financial policy of the Electorate.

Second, the articles published in the *GHM* were intended not only to influence public opinion (in Habermas's phrase, the judgments of rational private people) but also to influence legislation. Spittler's essay initiated the debate that resulted in the repeal of the poll tax, but in principle the essays in the *GHM* were not limited to local targets within Hanover. Rather the editors expected their essays to reach France and England as well, as Meiners' articles on the Atlantic slave trade indicate.³³ There he reviewed French and English literature on slavery and its abolition, and he engaged not only the books but also the decisions of the Parliament and the National Assembly. The articles in the *GHM*, although written in German, were intended to be read by parliamentarians and bureaucrats across Europe. That Spittler's essay on the poll tax reached its target is shown by the rejoinder published in the *GHM* itself by one of Hanover's most powerful politicians, Ernst Julius von Lenthe.³⁴

Finally, there is a problem with the location of the public sphere. In Germany the critical public was not limited to or centered in the literary readership. Recent scholarship on *ancien régime* France points to the importance of literary conversation in the formation of a critical public in France shortly before the Revolution. The same was not the case in Germany, where much of the critical communication was directly political.³⁵ The topics presented in the *GHM* illustrate this point.

II.

Like Spittler, Meiners used new information and new analytic methods to address issues of contemporary interest to German society. Although his comparative anthropology and world history seems diametrically opposed to the local history of Spittler, it actually assumed many of the same goals and methods. Like *Statistik*, late eighteenth-century anthropology was based on observed facts—not numbers found in archives but facts recorded by world travelers. Although the contours of the globe were largely known by the late eighteenth century, there remained considerable gaps in European knowledge concerning regions both exotic and familiar. Each year several expeditions were dispatched from Europe to the South Pacific, the Ameri-

cas, Arabia, Siberia, and even Europe itself. Naval expeditions whose chief goals were military and commercial generally included a naturalist charged with making scientific observations. The sole aim of many expeditions was scientific. In addition to the prestige associated with world or regional travel, the publication of a report of one's journey could be very lucrative, and the rights to publish travel reports generated more than one lawsuit over eighteenth-century intellectual property. The more glamorous journeys were carried out by nations possessing large navies, chiefly England, France, and Russia. Germans occasionally traveled with them, often famously as in the cases of Dobrizhofer, Cornelius De Pauw, Georg Forster, and in the nineteenth century Alexander von Humboldt. Germans more often organized or participated in expeditions over land, such as Gmelin's decade-long botanical study of Siberia, Reinhold Forster's survey of the German colonies in the Volga region, and the Danish expedition to Arabia, for which the Old Testament scholar J. D. Michaelis set much of the agenda. Christoph Meiners himself contributed to the genre of travel literature with observations he made on vacations to Switzerland and the Harz Mountains near Göttingen.³⁶

But Meiners' real contribution to travel literature was not as a writer but as a reader. A master of digesting, excerpting, and comparing primary sources, Meiners brought to his new project in the 1780s the same scissors-and-paste method he had used on his Greek and Latin sources in the 1770s. He distilled the observed facts from the authorial narrative. He was interested only in what travelers saw, not how they interpreted or passed judgment on it. To Meiners the task of the traveler was simply to report what he saw, to describe it as fully and objectively as possible. Kant, with whom Meiners disagreed on many other levels, drew a sharp division between explorers who traveled and reported what they saw and scholars who sat in libraries reading the published reports.³⁷ Travelers made observations and compiled data. Scholars arranged that data into systematic essays. When Meiners read a travel report, he extracted the travelers' observations and recorded them in his notebooks according to topic. He then constructed his own narrative using the travelers' decontextualized empirical observations as his primary sources.

The narrative Meiners constructed amounted to a comparative history of contemporary world cultures. He called it *Meinertsbengeschichte*, human history, and he considered it to be "a new science." Yet it was part of a movement begun in the 1780s that established the methods that became nineteenth-century *Kulturgeschichte* and anthropology. In addition to a textbook in which he outlined his plan, Meiners' principal forum for human history was the *GHM*.³⁸

One purpose of his essays on race was to explore human nature. Meiners understood human nature in a very tangible way. He was not an Aristotle-

lian in the sense of believing that human beings possessed some common essence that was modified only by accident. He was more of a Leibnizian, holding that internal character, cultural development, and environmental circumstances were so fundamental as to determine human nature. Human beings were whole entities; they could not be divided into component parts and still be meaningful. A human being, when abstracted from his or her cultural and environmental setting, ceased to be human. Therefore Meiners emphasized the importance of culture in his anthropological essays.

In his attempt to explore human nature Meiners wrote three specific kinds of history. He first approached the history of a nation under the rubric of "the human body." The physical history of humanity drew on the ancient tradition that held that climate and environment had a determining influence on a nation's culture. Montesquieu had explored these influences famously in chapters fourteen through eighteen of the *Spirit of the Laws*, and more recently (and exhaustively) William Falconer had done the same.³⁹ A second kind of history documented the history of the human spirit (*die Geschichte des menschlichen Geistes* or *l'histoire de l'esprit humain*). Here his model was A.-Y. Goguet, whose account of the arts, sciences, and law from the Flood to Herodotus appeared a decade after Montesquieu and had a tremendous influence on the understanding of the progress of civil society in the mid-eighteenth century and was still relevant at the end of the century.⁴⁰ And third, Meiners wrote the philosophical history of manners (*mœurs* or *Sitten*) which described the character of a nation.

In addition to integrating three kinds of historical writing Meiners constructed a human racial taxonomy, trying to bring the Linnaean model of scientific classification below the level of *species*. Meiners distinguished between two kinds of people, Black and White, originating in the Altai and Caucasus regions respectively. He divided Black and White into three subsets each, and these he further divided into a detailed taxonomy of humanity made infinitely complex by interracial unions. My purpose here is not to discuss Meiners' racial taxonomy, only to illustrate how he used it in the *GHM*. In 1790 Meiners offered the magazine's subscribers a world tour of human culture in a series of essays. He divided the world into seven racial zones: Germanic, Slavic, Oriental, African, American, North-Asian, and South-Asian. He described the "nature" of each of those peoples using his three-stage hierarchy of culture (body, spirit, character). He went to considerable length to distinguish between the different races inhabiting a given zone, especially when Blacks and Whites lived beside each other. Let me illustrate what his anthropology looked like by using one essay, "On the Nature of Oriental Peoples."⁴¹

The first task of his essay was to define the peoples he labeled "Oriental." These included north Africans and western Asians from the Indus and

southern Siberia to the Mediterranean. He distinguished Orientals from their neighbors, including in the set the upper castes of India but not the lower, and Tataric peoples east of the Caspian Sea but not their Mongolic neighbors. Over the course of time the Oriental peoples had mixed with other racial groups, chiefly Europeans in the Mediterranean basin, Mongols in Asia, and Black Africans.⁴² Despite the geographic distances—Asia and Africa, the Caucasus and Atlas, Lebanon and the highlands east of the Caspian—Meiners maintained that Orientals bore similarities of stature and culture that made them a coherent set and distinguished them from neighboring groups of Mongolic or African origin. Within that set Meiners found that Orientals themselves distinguished between the agriculturists of the fertile flatlands of Asia and Africa and the nomads of the desert.

In the first level of anthropological analysis (the human body) Meiners gave his readers considerable information about the physical nature of Orientals including size, skeletal structure, strength, facial features (the physiognomy discussion had recently been in vogue across Europe), appetites, concepts of beauty, menses, and menopause. Travelers reported Orientals to be more sensitive to physical details (a Bedouin could find one camel in a herd of a thousand and knew at all times how deep below the desert water lay) but less sensitive to aesthetic and moral distinctions than Europeans. Meiners discussed the care of the body—cleanliness, bathing, and disease—and the effect of the warm environment on the mind and power of imagination. He found them to be of colder blood than Europeans and hence less vigorous, which led them not to care for the future, to move and speak slowly, sometimes content to sit in the same place all day.⁴³

At the second level of analysis (the human spirit) Meiners discussed family structure, social mandates of Islam such as the giving of alms and building of roads, baths, and mosques.⁴⁴ He considered the arts and sciences among Oriental peoples. European travelers universally wondered why Orientals had not developed sophisticated mechanical arts. Meiners acknowledged that there was no reason why the Oriental arts and sciences should resemble those of Europe, but he wondered why Orientals seemed to have no desire even for relatively simple technologies that could have made life easier, such as ship-building, printing, and weaponry. They had achieved more in the natural sciences, appropriating innovations introduced by Europeans more readily than their counterparts in east Asia. He noted also the historical role of Oriental science, particularly mathematics.⁴⁵ At this level he also discussed government, law, and the social constitution.

Finally at the third level of analysis (cultural character or *Sittengemälde*) Meiners discussed the moral system of Orientals. He offered many examples of how Orientals "had different concepts of decorum and impropriety, of

honor and shame, from Europeans, and what was permitted and honorable to the one seemed unjust and base to the other."⁴⁶ There was no shame in poverty among Arabs, one traveler reported, and Meiners found that to be the source of Orientals' most common virtue, charity. By the same token Arabs did not feel the same embarrassment as Europeans concerning begging. The social mandate of giving alms induced greed for money. Meiners gave evidence of Orientals' willingness to kill and beg for money no matter what their station. They tended to bury money to hide it. Despite these faults Meiners described them as less avaricious on the whole than Europeans, with fewer desires, especially for food and drink.

At every level Meiners compared Orientals with Europeans. At each point he presented Europeans as better than the other nations of the world. Although one of Meiners' goals was to classify the races of humanity, he made no attempt to present them on their own terms. Meiners very consciously used European categories of comparison. Recognizing that fact is one of the keys to understanding Meiners. His purpose in the seven essays on human nature was to establish the superiority of European culture. That superiority was important to him, but not to justify European colonial domination of foreign lands and peoples. Instead, his elaborate explanation of European superiority was a defense of Enlightenment.

III.

Meiners' essay on the nature of Oriental peoples is not just another example of Orientalism or exoticism in the Enlightenment with subtexts of eroticism or colonial domination. One could certainly apply to the essay on Orientals an analysis in terms of Europe defining itself in the mirror of the Other. That is true of all seven of Meiners' essays on the nature of different peoples inhabiting the globe. But there is a more specific agenda at work in these essays than a vague definition of oneself in terms of what one was not. Like Spittler's essay on the Calenberg poll tax, Meiners' essay attacked a relative novelty in European political discourse, the idea of equality—not equality among nations generally but equality within Europe itself. Meiners and Spittler approached the matter of equality from different points of view, but they gave the reader the same answer. Spittler argued against a de facto equality already extant in the Calenberg tax structure. He called for that equality to be replaced by a hierarchy based on wealth. Meiners argued against a theoretical equality, the notion that all men were created equal. He asserted that for cultural reasons there could be no equality. The human species was composed of different races, and members of those races had

been altered by a variety of environmental and cultural factors. When Meiners heard the term *gleich*, he thought in German categories: *gleich* meant "the same," and as his seven essays on human nature amply demonstrated, people were not the same. The observations of travelers showed that people came in a range of colors, shapes, and sizes; they populated the entire globe, but the influences of environment affected their bodies, minds, and societies. Moreover there appeared to be even deeper genetic qualities that could not be explained by the environment, indicating a difference that went right to the core of the human being. That people were classified within the same species did not imply that they were essentially similar or were interchangeable. What impressed Meiners the most about humanity was its differences.

Having raised the issue of equality and similarity over the course of the essay, Meiners concluded with a comment on social relations between Europeans and Orientals, specifically the question of Jewish emancipation.⁴⁷ Unlike other Oriental groups that had been assimilated into the populations of southern Europe, the Jewish population had remained separate. Whether the Jewish community had kept itself separate or had been kept separate by others was immaterial to Meiners' discussion. Although they had been "Europeanized" to some extent, Meiners found Jews on the whole to be more Oriental than European. That difference was the basis for his rejecting the idea of Jewish emancipation then circulating in political discussions. Despite a number of books and articles recently published in favor of Jewish emancipation and vindicating the Jewish role in European society, Meiners pointed out that on the whole those works had not changed European public opinion even among the most enlightened Estates (*erleuchteten Stände*). If anything, he said, those attempts had increased hatred (*Widerwille*) of the Jews recently, particularly in those states that had guaranteed them protection. For Meiners the question of Jewish emancipation hinged on assimilation. If Jews were allowed to assimilate, and once allowed if they would agree to assimilate, then he believed they ought to be granted the same rights and privileges as Christians. They could not maintain a separate identity and be politically equal.⁴⁸ Failing that, Meiners suggested the Jews would be better advised to build a new Jerusalem and to erect a new empire in their old Fatherland.

If the Jews had the chutzpah (*Mut*) of the ancient Greeks or Saxons or Normans, then they would have long considered wresting their beloved land from the hands of the few wretched robbers still remaining in the Palestine they abandoned.⁴⁹

On the basis of his model of cultural and natural human difference Meiners tried to steer a path between the liberal "friends" of the Jews and the passion that had erupted into anti-Semitic riots in Würzburg, Frankfurt, Hamburg, and elsewhere. But his call for Jewish assimilation was only one part of a much larger program of logical inequality that he built over the course of his seven essays on human nature and throughout the *GHM* more generally. Meiners held that logically human beings were not equal, and any attempt to impose social equality on them would result in chaos and hardship. Spittler showed that one did not have to look far to see the results of equality imposed on a regional population. The poll tax in southern Hanover was social equality in action, with each subject paying the same tax amount regardless of station, wealth, or income. Spittler showed the arbitrariness with which the poll tax was imposed and the hardship it caused the majority of the population, the portion of the population that could afford it least, and the resulting decline in the character of Calenberg. Spittler's purpose was to show the injustice of equality.

For both Meiners and Spittler the question of equality came down to capabilities. Meiners argued the commonplace that rights were necessarily accompanied by duties. Equality of rights required equality of duties. If people were incapable, for whatever reason, of performing the same duties, it followed that they could not have the same rights. Spittler showed how the residents of the relatively enlightened region of Calenberg were incapable of bearing an equal tax burden. Meiners argued on ethnological grounds that Jewish emancipation could come only at the cost of full assimilation into German-Protestant society. Whereas Spittler called for a social taxonomy based on wealth, Meiners imposed a racial taxonomy on humanity to illustrate the distance between different cultural groups.

Differences between France and Germany in terms of both structures of communication and presuppositional beliefs led Isaiah Berlin to posit in Germany a Counter-Enlightenment in opposition to the dominant movement in France.⁵⁰ According to Berlin, the dominant Anglo-French movement was characterized by two fundamental beliefs: that human nature was fundamentally the same in all times and places; and that a logically connected structure of laws governed human affairs just as mechanical laws governed the physical world. In opposition to the ancient tradition of natural law on which the beliefs of the mainstream were based, Berlin identified a Counter-Enlightenment characterized by Vico's idea of cultural incommensurability, Hamann's anti-rationalism, Herder's empathy, and Kant's anti-determinism. But the Enlightenment was even more complex than Berlin's binary model. In Germany especially, each region had its own

expression of Enlightenment. The *GHM* illustrates one aspect of what academics in Göttingen understood Enlightenment to be, which differed markedly from the Enlightened perspectives that emerged in Berlin, Weimar, Hamburg, and Vienna.⁵¹ Nevertheless, according to Berlin's definition, Meiners must be considered a Counter-Enlightenment figure. Like *Vico* (whom in 1790 he did not yet know), Hamann, and Herder, Meiners believed that cultures were incommensurable, each developing according to its own internal motion as modified by external factors such as geography and climate. He believed that human nature developed only in the context of community and culture and thus was not fixed and eternal. He understood that the gulf between his own Europe and ancient and foreign cultures could be bridged only with great effort, through study and empathy. Yet Meiners was no pluralist. Despite the incommensurability of cultures, Meiners did not believe that cultures were incomparable. To the contrary, he believed that one could see the degree of enlightenment that a nation had achieved relatively clearly when one observed the degree to which the human propensity toward superstition and fanaticism of all sorts had been curtailed,⁵² the way women were treated in a society,⁵³ the versatility and complexity of a nation's language,⁵⁴ and the progress of the arts and sciences.⁵⁵ Nor did Meiners suffer from any feelings of inferiority in the face of the French Enlightenment, which Berlin suggested is one cause of the opposition of the Germans to their French counterparts. Enlightenment, like the Republic of Letters, was international. Meiners did not recognize French cultural hegemony. Recent events in France only proved what many Germans had believed about French culture since the mid-eighteenth century, that it was decadent, only a false Enlightenment, and that it was headed toward ruin.⁵⁶ As Meiners stated in many places and his Göttingen colleagues echoed, the educational and scholarly reforms centered around Göttingen were the road to "true Enlightenment." The Göttingers considered themselves to be Enlightened, not Counter-Enlightened, Romantic, or Storm-and-Stressed.

Enlightenment for Meiners and Spittler did not require egalitarianism in any sense of the term. The egalitarian and yet pluralistic society that Berlin envisioned would have been incomprehensible to them. Cultures were different and therefore unequal, and groups within cultures were different as well. Both editors of the *GHM* were committed to a social hierarchy. The development of a civil servant and merchant class is no evidence of a general desire for universal equality or emancipation in Germany. Meiners was very interested in social mobility, but he wanted to maintain a social hierarchy. In an essay "On the Nature of Germanic Peoples" he explained that Germanic societies had always distinguished between four or five social classes.⁵⁷ Between those classes there had always been provision for movement,

both upward and downward. He explained in the late eighteenth century that the expansion of political rights could only be predicated on the expansion of social duties. Until a group, whether family, estate, or nation, was able to assume greater duties, it could not assume more rights. Meiners used "rights" and "privileges" in the medieval sense, as something granted by a social superior, not in a Lockean or natural law sense of God-given rights innate to all by virtue of being human. Meiners opposed emancipation and Jacobinism from a negative point of view: no duties meant no rights. Spittler argued for the maintenance—even reimposition—of social hierarchy from a positive point of view. Inequality itself was liberating; equality was oppressive. An equal tax burden created unequal hardship. To redistribute the hardship required classifying the population according to wealth. The immediate emancipation of all citizens—men, women, Jews, slaves in the Americas—the editors believed would result in chaos and hardship for all. General emancipation was certainly the eventual goal, but Meiners and Spittler believed it could only come about gradually. The gradual change of society through the education of all segments of society eventually would bring about "true Enlightenment." The editors of the *GHM* saw their journal as one small step toward that goal.

NOTES

1. *Göttingisches historisches Magazin*, 8 vols. (Hanover: Helwing, 1787–91). Hereafter *GHM*. The journal was continued as *Neues göttingisches historisches Magazin*, 3 vols. (Hanover: Helwing, 1791–93). Hereafter *NGHM*. The final volume of the new series (vol. 3) is very rare: even the Staats- und Universität Bibliothek in Göttingen does not own it. Although I have found no evidence to document it, I suspect this journal was one of many journals suppressed in 1793–94 in Hanover and throughout Germany.
2. See R. Steven Turner, "University Reformers and Professorial Scholarship in Germany 1760–1806" in *The University in Society*, ed. Lawrence Stone (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974), 2: 495–531. For contemporary views see C. Meiners, *Geschichte der Entstehung und Entwicklung der hohen Schulen unser Ertheils*, 4 vols. (Göttingen: Roewer, 1805); and Ernst Brandes, *Ueber den gegenwärtigen Zustand der Universität Göttingen* (Göttingen: Roewer, 1802).
3. Rudolf Stadelmann, *Scharnhorst: Schicksal und Geistige Welt* (Wiesbaden: Limes, 1952), 122, 125–28.
4. "Tableau comparatif des Armées de France et de Prusse, 1789," *GHM* 6 (1790): 163–65. Helwing press advertised its *Militärische Anzeige* in the *GHM* 3 (1788), after p.576.

5. M[einers], "Vorerinnerung," *GHM* 1 (1787): 4.
6. The only biography of Meiners is the 1810 obituary by C. G. Heyne in *Commentationes societatis regiae scientiarum Göttingensis*, vol. 1 ad A. 1808–11 (Göttingen: H. Dieterich, 1811), which was condensed in the *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, vol. 21 (1885). Various aspects of Meiners' work have been addressed by Britta Rupp-Eisenreich, "Des choses occultes en histoire des sciences humaines: Le destin de la 'science nouvelle' de Christophe Meiners," *L'Ethnographie* 90 (1983): 131–83; and Rupp-Eisenreich, "Christoph Meiners et Joseph-Marie de Gérando: Un chapitre du comparatisme anthropologique," in D. Droixhe and P. P. Gossiaux, eds., *L'Homme des Lumières et la découverte de l'autre: Etudes sur le XVIIIe siècle* (Brussels: Éditions de l'Université de Bruxelles, 1986); Friedrich Lotter, "Christoph Meiners und die Lehre von der unterschiedlichen Wertigkeit der Menschenrassen," in Boockmann and Wellenreuther, eds., *Geschichtswissenschaft in Göttingen: Eine Vorlesungsreihe* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1987), 30–75; Frank W. P. Dougherty, "Christoph Meiners und Johann Friedrich Blumenbach im Streit um den Begriff der Menschenrasse," in Mann and Dumont, eds., *Die Natur des Menschen: Probleme der Physischen Anthropologie und Rassenkunde* (Stuttgart, 1990); Luigi Marino, *Præceptores Germaniae: Göttingen 1770–1820* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1995), 110–21; Sabine Vetter, *Wissenschaftlicher Radukionismus und die Rassenlehre von Christoph Meiners: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der verlorenen Metaphysik in der Anthropologie* (Ph.D. dissertation, Munich, 1996).
7. The best work on Spittler is Joist Grolle, *Landesgeschichte in der Zeit der deutschen Spätaufklärung: Ludwig Timotheus Spittler (1752–1810)* (Göttingen: Muster-Schmidt, 1963). Other shorter studies include Hermann Haering, "Über Ludwig Timotheus Spittler," *Zeitschrift für württembergische Landesgeschichte* 4 (1940): 107–56; Michael Behnen, "Statistik, Politic und Staatengeschichte von Spittler bis Heeren," in Boockmann and Wellenreuther, eds., *Geschichtswissenschaft in Göttingen*, 76–101; Ernst Schubert, "Ludwig Timotheus Spittler und Wilhelm Havemann: Die Anfänge der Landesgeschichte in Göttingen," in Boockmann and Wellenreuther, eds., *Geschichtswissenschaft in Göttingen*, 122–60.
8. On *Statistik* generally see Mohammed Rassem and Justin Stagl, eds., *Statistik und Staatsbeschreibung in der Neuzeit, vornehmlich im 18. Jahrhundert* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1980).
9. L. T. Spittler, *Sämtliche Werke*, 15 vols. (Stuttgart: Cotta, 1827–37), vol. 12, 155; 7, 242. Hereafter Spittler, *SW*, followed by volume and page.
10. Spittler, "Geschichte des Kopfgeldes im Fürstenthum Calenberg," *GHM* 3 (1790): 312–53; reprinted in Spittler, *SW*, 12, 599–630.
11. The initial rebuttal to Spittler's article appeared in the next issue by

- Ernst Julius von Lenthe, "Rechtfertigung und richtige Darstellung der Kopfgeldaufgabe im Fürstenthum Calenberg," *GHM* 7 (1790): 483–532. See below, n.34. Other contributions to the debate included F. L. von Berlepsch, *Pragmatische Geschichte des landeschaftlichen Finanz- und Steuerwesens der Fürstenthümer Calenberg und Göttingen in Hinsicht auf dasjenige, welches noch jetzt einen praktischen Nutzen schafft* (Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1799); A. W. Rehberg, *Die Landstände der Fürstenthümer Calenberg und Grubenhagen in den Jahren 1793 und 1794*; and Rehberg, *Aktenmäßige Darstellung der Sache des Herrn von Berlepsch* (Hanover, 1797), both reprinted in Rehberg's *Sämtliche Schriften*, vol. 2 (Hanover: Hahn, 1831).
12. For the effects of the Seven-Years' War see Hermann Wellenreuther, "Die Bedeutung des siebenjährigen Krieges für die englisch-hanoveranischen Beziehungen" in A. M. Birke and K. Kluxen, eds., *England und Hannover* (Munich: Saur, 1986), 145–75; and Hermann Wellenreuther, "Göttingen und England im achtzehnten Jahrhundert" in *Göttinger Universitätsreden* 75 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1975), 30–63.
13. The term "parliamentarian" is used here as shorthand, not as a technical term. Its eighteenth-century meaning will be explained below. In general see Ernst von Meier, *Hanoversche Verfassungs- und Verwaltungsgeschichte 1680–1866*, 2 vols. (Leipzig: Duncker und Humblot, 1898–99, reprinted Hildesheim: Olms, 1973), vol. 1, 246–88. Meier is heavily indebted to Spittler's *Geschichte des Fürstenthums Hannover seit den Zeiten der Reformation bis zum Ende des siebenzehnten Jahrhunderts*, 2 vols. (Göttingen, 1786, reprinted in Spittler, *SW*, vols. 6–7).
14. Meier, *Hanoversche Verfassungen*, 1, 250.
15. *Ibid.*, 260–74.
16. Spittler, "Geschichte des Kopfgeldes im Fürstenthum Calenberg," 609–10. One Reichsthaler was equal to thirty-six Mariengroschen. One Mariengroschen was equal to eight Pfennig.
17. *Ibid.*, 612.
18. *Ibid.*, 615–17.
19. *Ibid.*, 612, 620.
20. *Ibid.*, 620.
21. *Ibid.*, 621.
22. *Ibid.*, 623.
23. *Ibid.*, 622. By the late 1780s the dissatisfaction of the Hanoverian peasantry had become dangerous. A violent tax revolt erupted in 1793 when the army departed to fight the French in the Netherlands. The anger of the peasantry was Spittler's principal motivation in writing.
24. *Ibid.*, 623.
25. *Ibid.*, 628.

26. In two other regions of Hanover, Lüneburg and Grubenhagen, subjects paid an annual percentage of their annual income, about four percent. Spittler figured that Calenberg could raise the necessary revenue with a three-percent tax. *Ibid.*, 627–28.
27. *Ibid.*, 629.
28. *Ibid.* (Spittler's emphasis.)
29. See the diagram in Jürgen Habermas, *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit* (Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp, 1990), 89; *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, trans. T. Burger (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1989), 30.
30. Spittler, of course, denied any such sympathy, and Meiners, acting as Spittler's dean, defended him on the basis of his anti-egalitarian scholarship. See Grolle, *Landesgeschichte*, 67.
31. Spittler, "Geschichte des Kopfgeldes im Fürstenthum Calenberg," 599. Cf. Kant's statement in "Was ist Aufklärung?" "The citizen cannot refuse to pay the taxes imposed on him; even an impudent complaint against such levies, when they should be paid by him, is punished as an outrage (which could lead to general insubordination). This same individual nevertheless does not act against duty if he, as a scholar, expresses his thoughts publicly on the inappropriateness or even the injustice of such taxes." James Schmidt, ed., *What is Enlightenment? Eighteenth-Century Answers and Twentieth-Century Questions* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 60.
32. Spittler, "Geschichte des Kopfgeldes im Fürstenthum Calenberg," 600.
33. Christoph Meiners, "Ueber die Natur der Afrikanischen Neger, und die davon abhängende Befreyung, oder Einschränkung der Schwarzen," *GHM* 6 (1790): 385–456; Meiners, "Fortgesetzte Betrachtungen über den Sklavenhandel, und die Freylassung der Neger," *NGHM* 2 (1793): 1–58.
34. Ernst Julius von Lenthe, "Rechtfertigung und richtige Darstellung der Kopfgeldaufgabe im Fürstenthum Calenberg," *GHM* 7 (1790): 483–532. Lenthe, from one of Hanover's most influential families, was *geheimer Kriegerat* and a member of the *Kriegskanzlei*. At the time he was serving as Hanoverian ambassador to Berlin. In 1795 he went to London to fill the highest Hanoverian post at the court of George III. Spittler annotated Lenthe's rebuttal in footnotes.
35. Cf. J.G.A. Pocock, *Barbarism and Religion*, vol. II, *Narratives of Civil Government* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 164–65.
36. *Briefe über die Schweiz*, 4 vols. (Berlin: Spener, 1791); *Kleinere Länder- und Reisebeschreibungen*, 3 vols. (Berlin: Haud und Spener, 1794–1801). Other accounts of his travels which he never published remain in the Handschrift Abteil of the Staats- und Universitäts Bibliothek, Göttingen.

37. Immanuel Kant, "Ueber den Gebrauch teleologischer Prinzipien in der Philosophie," *Der Teutsche Merkur* (Jan. 1788), 39–43.
38. Meiners, *Grundriß der Geschichte der Menschheit* (Lemgo: Meyer, 1786; 2nd ed. 1793; reprinted Königstein: Scriptor, 1981). Many of his *GHM* essays were collected at the end of his life as *Untersuchungen über die Verschiedenheiten der Menschennaturen (die verschiedenen Menschenarten) in Asien und in den Südländern, in den Ostrindischen und Südseeinseln, nebst einer historischen Vergleichung der . . . Bewohner diese Continente und Eyllande*, 3 vols. (Tübingen: Cotta, 1811–15).
39. William Falconer, *Remarks on the Influence of Climate, Situation, Nature of Country, Population, Nature of Food, and Way of Life on the Disposition and Temper, Manners and Behaviour, Intellects, Laws and Customs, Form of Government, and Religion, of Mankind* (London: Dilly, 1781).
40. Anton-Yves Goguet, *De l'origine des loix, des arts, et des sciences; et de leurs progrès chez les anciens peuples*, 3 vols. (Paris: Desaint et Saillant, 1758); trans. G. C. Hamberger, *Untersuchungen von dem Ursprung der Gesetze, Künste und Wissenschaften, wie auch ihrem Wächstum bei den alten Völkern* (Lemgo: Meyer, 1760–62).
41. Meiners, "Ueber die Natur der morgenländischen Völker," *GHM* 7 (1790): 385–455.
42. Meiners noted that the ancient authors, supported by even older records, reported that the original inhabitants of Egypt were "genuine blacks" (*ächte Neger*). The Copts, he said, were living testimony of the Black African influence in Egypt, and he pointed out that Oriental Egyptians discriminated against the Copts in the same way the Oriental upper Hindu castes discriminated against the "pariahs." "Ueber die Natur der morgenländischen Völker," 398.
43. *Ibid.*, 401–25. Orientals' customary slowness of movement made dervish dancers seem all the more remarkable, 432.
44. *Ibid.*, 434–45.
45. *Ibid.*, 426–32.
46. *Ibid.*, 452.
47. The recent literature on Jewish emancipation in Germany is large. See Eleanore Sterling, *Judenbass: Die Anfänge des politischen Antisemitismus in Deutschland (1815–1850)* (Frankfurt a.M.: Europäische Verlagsanstalt, 1969); Jacob Katz, *From Prejudice to Destruction: Antisemitism, 1700–1933* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1980); Richard Rürup, "The Tortuous and Thorny Path to Legal Equality: 'Jew Laws' and Emancipatory Legislation in Germany from the Late Eighteenth Century," *Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook* 31 (1986): 3–33; David Sorkin, *The Transformation of German Jewry, 1780–1840* (New York: Oxford

University Press, 1987); Rainer Erb and Werner Bergmann, *Die Nachtseite der Judenemanzipation: Der Widerstand gegen die Integration der Juden in Deutschland, 1780–1860* (Berlin: Metropole, 1989); Paul Lawrence Rose, *Revolutionary Antisemitism in Germany from Kant to Wagner* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990); Werner E. Mosse, "From 'Schutzjuden' to 'Deutsche Staatsbürger Jüdischen Glaubens': The Long and Bumpy Road of Jewish Emancipation in Germany" in Pierre Birnbaum and Ira Katznelson, eds., *Paths of Emancipation: Jews, States, and Citizenship* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), 59–93.

48. Meiners' position was similar to that of Christian Wilhelm Dohm, *Ueber die bürgerliche Verbesserung der Juden* (Berlin: Nicolai, 1781), who argued that the Jews could not become politically equal without moral improvement. Their moral depravity, a result of social and legal isolation, could be overcome through *Bildung* and assimilation. Dohm's and Meiners' understanding of moral depravity being a result of bad government resembles Spittler's statement about the poll tax ruining the character of the Calenbergers.

49. Meiners, "Ueber die Natur der morgenländischen Völker," 455.

50. Isaiah Berlin, "The Counter-Enlightenment," *Dictionary of the History of Ideas*, ed. Philip P. Wiener (New York: Scribner, 1973), vol. 2, 100–112; reprinted in Isaiah Berlin, *Against the Current: Essays in the History of Ideas* (London: Hogarth, 1979); and in Isaiah Berlin, *The Proper Study of Mankind* (New York: Farrar, Strauss, and Giroux, 1998), 243–68.

51. In many ways the Göttingen Enlightenment was closer to the school in Edinburgh than to other German centers. See Fania Oz-Salzburger, *Translating the Enlightenment: Scottish Civic Discourse in Eighteenth-Century Germany* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1995).

52. Meiners, *Historische Vergleichung der Sitten, und Verfassungen, . . . und Lebranstalten des Mittelalters mit denen unsers Jahrhunderts in Rücksicht auf die Vortheile, und Nachtheile der Aufklärung*, vol. 3 (Hanover: Helwing, 1794), final section, "Was ist wahre Aufklärung?"

53. Meiners, *Geschichte des weiblichen Geschlechts*, 4 vols. (Hanover: Helwing, 1788–1800), translated as *History of the Female Sex*, 4 vols. (London: H. Colburn, 1808).

54. Meiners, *Geschichte des Verfalls der Sitten und der Wissenschaften, und Sprache der Römer in den ersten Jahrhunderten nach Christi Geburt* (Vienna and Leipzig: Stahel, 1791).

55. Meiners, *Geschichte des Ursprungs, Fortgangs und Verfalls der Wissenschaften in Griechenland und Rom*, 2 vols. (Lemgo: Meyer, 1781–82).

56. Meiners, *Briefe über die Schweiz*, 2nd ed., Part 2 (Tübingen: Cotta, 1791), 250ff.

57. Meiners, "Ueber die Natur der Germanischen und übrigen Celtischen Völker," *GHM* 8 (1791): 1–48; cf. his "Ueber die Ursachen der Ungleichheit der Stände unter den vornehmsten Europäischen Völkern," *GHM* 8 (1791): 478–512.