

INTELLIGENCE INVESTIGATION

Leibniz and the American Revolution

Leibniz to Franklin On ‘Happiness’

by David Shavin

In 1766, ten years before the Declaration of Independence, Benjamin Franklin met and discussed, with the German scientific republican Rudolph Erich Raspe, the Leibnizian idea of forming a nation based upon “life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.” In 1765, Raspe had just edited and published the first edition ever of Leibniz’s suppressed manuscript, *New Essays on Human Understanding*, in which Leibniz had systematically torn apart the colonialist apology of John Locke’s *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*.

Locke had based man’s freedom upon the sanctity of property relations, a materialist and barbarian philosophy that Locke personally embedded in his authorship of the feudal, and pro-slavery, 1669 “Fundamental Constitutions for the Government of Carolina.” Leibniz, on the other hand, had asserted the characteristically human capacity for formulating ideas, as the key, causal element in fashioning human institutions.

In 1776, Franklin was the leader of the committee of five, which had Thomas Jefferson commit to paper: “We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Gov-



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Scientist and statesman Benjamin Franklin steered the trans-Atlantic conspiracy to found a republic based on Leibnizian “Happiness.”

ernments are instituted among men”

The Founding Fathers did not confuse “happiness” with pleasant entertainment, a “good time,” or material possessions. Happiness, or felicity, was and is the composition of the universe by the Cre-

ator, such that the physical, objective conditions of existence—life¹—are uniquely addressed and solved by the free exercise of man’s subjective, playful, agapic capacities—i.e., liberty. It would not be Leibniz’s “best of all possible worlds,” had the Creator flubbed it, and created a universe where the freedom of man was not uniquely necessary for life. “Life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness,” is not a laundry list of rights. They are, and were for Benjamin Franklin, an encapsulization of Leibniz’s political philosophy.

How a bunch of *unhappy* ideologues ever managed to sucker Americans into hearing Leibniz’s “life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness” as Locke’s actual laundry-list—“life, liberty, and property”—is a type of tale upon which civilizations have been won or lost. That Franklin actually met with the men who broke the tyranny of the suppression of Leibniz’s manuscripts, a tyranny run personally, for fifty years, by the Hanoverian Kings George I, George II, and George III of Great Britain, is a story that needs to be told. For, were a people to discover that they actually had a legitimate father, and an actual mission for human civilization, then, instead of acting like bastards, they might come to know happiness in the fulfillment of their world-historic mission.

I. Leibniz’s *New Essays* vs. John Locke

Leibniz had legitimate concerns over the mental health of England, both philosophical and theological. He would famously express these in the Leibniz-Clarke letters of 1715-1716—“Natural religion itself seems to be declining very much” in England—in which Clarke acted as stand-in for the man selected back in the 1680’s to counter Leibniz, Isaac Newton. Leibniz had successfully negotiated the Act of Settlement of 1701, which arranged for the court of his patroness, Sophie, Duchess of Hanover, to succeed to the throne of England.² A few years earlier, in 1690, John Locke’s *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* had epitomized the deliberately short-sighted and materialistic views of the faction that had taken power in England in the so-called “Glorious Revolution” of 1688/9. This “Venetian Party” in England established the Bank of England in 1694, and took aim at the republican institutions of America, such as the charter of the Massachusetts Bay Colony.

In Locke’s essay, the senses rule; what man can be sure of, is what he sees, hears, smells, tastes, or touches; and the mind can err only, if it does any more than passively process these impressions. Of course, any victim who cannot locate any better uses for his mind, might as well surrender his country and culture right then and there. Such a mind cannot carry out sustained deliberations over the proper development of culture, over the proper creation of credit, or over anything else that involves the species’ love for future generations—generations which, of course, cannot be seen, heard, smelled, tasted, or touched.

Initially, Leibniz communicated to Locke several pages of comments regarding his *Essay*.³ Locke, however,

desperately wished to avoid any open discussion of his ideological work, and, in private letters to William Molyneux beginning April 1697, offered only disparaging comments about Leibniz’s actions.⁴ After Leibniz had secured a beachhead in England, with the 1701 Act of Settlement, he turned his attention to a sustained treatment of the quality of thought threatening the English-speaking world.

Beginning in the summer of 1703, Leibniz used Locke’s conceits regarding the human mind, to compose a dialogue between himself (Theophilus) and Locke (Philethetes), over the issues of the human mind and human freedom. Working in-between many other projects, Leibniz substantially finished his *New Essays on Human Understanding* by the summer of 1704. Another of Leibniz’s projects at that time was the education of Princess Caroline of Ansbach, who was shortly to wed the Duchess Sophie’s grandson, the future King George II of England. This is the same Caroline, for whom Leibniz would engage in battle in the 1715-1716 Leibniz/Clarke letters. Her early, 1704-1705 education on Leibniz’s critique of Locke, would alter world history, as we happily shall discover. Leibniz indicated (in a letter to Locke’s patroness, Lady Masham) his intention to have these issues openly worked out. However, in November 1704, shortly after Leibniz had finished his revisions of the manuscript, Locke died. This particular avenue for dealing openly with the problems in England was put aside, and the *New Essays* remained unpublished in Leibniz’s lifetime. However, Sophie, the designated successor to England’s Queen Anne, and Caroline, the future Queen of England in 1727, were both students of the manuscript (as was, most likely, Sophie’s daughter, Queen Sophie Charlotte of Prussia).

Leibniz’s Strategic Triangle *Versus* the Venetians

In 1708, Locke’s faction published, posthumously, his bitter comments about Leibniz, who recognized this for what it was. When queried by a friendly diplomat about Locke’s remarks, Leibniz would only say, privately: “I am not surprised by it: we differed rather too much in principles.” The attacks upon Leibniz by the Venetian Party in England would grow ever more intense, the closer it came to the Hanover house taking over England. Most egregious were the 1711-1714 degradations of the Royal Society of London, where the “evidentiary hearings” and “findings” of their supposedly objective investigation into the work of both Leibniz and Newton on the development of the calculus, were largely run by Newton himself, who then secretly authored the “impartial”

report. (Perhaps, Newton thought this to be a better way to avoid an open confrontation with Leibniz over actual ideas, than the much more drastic course taken by his old friend, Locke.) Newton's behavior does, however, illustrate that ideologues who do protest overly much about their objectivity, are the first ones to be suspected of bias. This scientific show trial was the public side of a very intense, private campaign to keep Leibniz out of *political* power in England. The pressure was brought to bear on the weakest link of the Hanover house, Sophie's son, Georg Ludwig, soon to be King George I.⁵

From the 1701 Act of Settlement to the 1714 Hanover accession to the British throne, Leibniz was more and more at the center of European strategic confrontations. He was the declared "Solon" of Peter the Great of Russia, and he made bold inroads into attempting to civilize the Austro-Hungarian Empire—along with other operations in Berlin, Rome, Spain, and France. He came very close to healing European civilization of two centuries of Venetian-contrived brawls between Protestants and Catholics. An important part of this diplomacy is captured in Leibniz's universal justification to man of the ways of God, his *Theodicy*. While Newton spent the years 1711-1714, anonymously composing the public declarations of his superiority over Leibniz,⁶ Czar Peter had made Leibniz the "Russian Privy Counsellor of Justice" (1711); the new Austro-Hungarian Emperor, Charles VI, had agreed (February 1712) that Leibniz would become the Imperial Privy Counsellor; and (January 1713) the Emperor had had his new Imperial Privy Counsellor come to Vienna to develop an Austrian Society of Sciences. By June 1713, Leibniz could write to Sophie, the designated next Queen of England, about an alliance between an England under Sophie, and Russia and the Austro-Hungarian Empire, all managed by Leibniz!⁷

This was a potential strategic disaster for the Venetian Party in England. They have their Minister to Prussia, Mr. Bonet, undercut Leibniz in Berlin, spreading rumors that Leibniz is an anti-Prussian "Hanover spy." Simultaneously, the same Venetian Party attacks him in Hanover as too "Prussian." They rely upon Sophie's son, Georg Ludwig, to try to block the appointment of Leibniz as Imperial Privy Counsellor. Georg Ludwig sends his ambassador, one D.E. Huldeburg, to warn the Austro-Hungarian dowager Empress, Amalia, that she must make the Emperor heed his warning, that Leibniz was "not in the least a suitable person for the office." Howev-

Philosopher-scientist G.W. Leibniz (right) arranged for his protégé Sophie, Duchess of Hanover, to succeed to the English throne. When the House of Hanover took the throne after Sophie's death, Leibniz faced opposition from Venetian Party ideologues John Locke (below, right) and Isaac Newton (below, left). He battled the materialist philosophy of Locke in his "New Essays on Human Understanding," that of Newton in the "Leibniz-Clarke Correspondence."



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er, the Emperor went ahead and made Leibniz's appointment official. Since the warning was issued on the same day, Feb. 25, 1713, as the pronouncement of the Royal Society of London, that they had weighed the evidence, and found that Leibniz had cheated Newton, it tends to throw light upon both actions. The Venetian Party feared the same thing in both cases—Leibniz's method of thinking, whether it be physical analysis, or strategic statecraft. Leibniz's associate, Johann Bernoulli, reported the news to Leibniz, saying that "he was accused before a tribunal consisting of the participants and witnesses themselves," and that Bernoulli disliked "this hardly civilized way of doing things."

When, in August 1714, the Hanover house finally ascended the throne of England, Sophie had been dead for two months. Georg Ludwig, the new King George I, disposed of Leibniz, in a hardly civilized manner (in many ways, not too dissimilar from how his former wife was handled). Leibniz, the long-time chief Minister and strategist for Hanover, the man who organized the Hanoverian succession to the throne of England, would normally have been expected to take the lead in the new government in London. As John Ker wrote (Aug. 25,

1714) to Leibniz in Vienna: "It will be much for the King's Service, and the Happiness of Great Britain, that you instantly leave Vienna, and make Haste to Hanover [Y]ou are fully entitled more than any Man in the World to be his chief Counsellor before he goes to England" ⁸ However, Georg Ludwig pulled out of Hanover three days before Leibniz arrived there from Vienna. Caroline, the new Princess of Wales, the future Queen in George II's reign, whose first studies with Leibniz had been during his composition of his *New Essays*, had Leibniz stay with her, planning to take him with her across the Channel. Over the next three months, Leibniz was given various excuses from the court in London, and then, in a letter from King George I's Prime Minister, von Bernstorff, he was explicitly instructed to stay away.

Meanwhile, Caroline could delay no longer, and had to go to London without Leibniz, setting the stage for the 1715-1716 battle for her soul and her happiness, represented in the Leibniz/Clarke letters. In a May 15, 1715 letter, Leibniz tried to explain to Caroline why she found the level of deliberation in London so mediocre. He wrote that Locke was less of a philosopher than he had once thought. The "good faith" that Leibniz had characteristically offered one and all, had been all used up by the Locke/Newton crowd. Caroline intervened on the situation, by choosing to have Leibniz's *Theodicy* translated into English and distributed. This work, which went quite deeply into unpacking the workings of the Creator in nature, in mankind, and in the soul, had done much to organize several European courts over the previous five years. However, in London, Caroline was told that the translation should be handled by the King's chaplain, one Samuel Clarke. And Clarke was (like his close associate, Newton) deeply anti-Trinitarian, and certainly not one who thought that men should inquire into how God does what He does. On behalf of Caroline, Leibniz examined Clarke's writings, whence come Leibniz's thoughts on the decline of religion in England:

Natural religion itself seems to be declining [in England] very much. Many will have human souls to be material: others make God himself a corporeal Being. Mr. Locke, and his followers, are uncertain, at least, whether the soul is not material, and naturally perishable. Sir Isaac Newton says, that space is an organ, which God makes us of to perceive things by. But if God stands in need of any organ to perceive things by, it will follow, that they do not depend altogether upon him, nor were produced by him. Sir Isaac

With the death of the Electress Sophie, Leibniz was banned from political leadership of the Hanoverian dynasty. Sophie's son Georg Ludwig (right) became King George I of England, her grandson, King George II (below, left). Leibniz's influence was felt through the Queen Consort of George II, Leibniz's student Caroline of Ansbach (below, right). Colonial America would organize the Revolution against Sophie's great-grandson, King George III.



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Newton, and his followers, have also a very odd opinion concerning the work of God. According to their doctrine, God Almighty needs to wind up his watch from time to time: otherwise it would cease to move. He had not, it seems, sufficient foresight to make it a perpetual motion. . . . I hold, that when God works miracles, he does not do it in order to supply the wants of nature, but those of grace. Whoever thinks otherwise, must needs have a very mean notion of the wisdom and power of God.⁹

God did not create a universe that was so deficient as to require miracles in order to persist. God's miracles are acts of grace, not unlike his creation of the universe itself!

In May of 1716, Caroline reported to Leibniz that Clarke and (the Venetian superspy) Antonio Conti, the two sometimes accompanied by Isaac Newton, spent many hours together on her case, arguing to her on behalf of the void. Then, in Hanover on July 27, Leibniz actually met with King George I, and Caroline writes that she hopes her father-in-law will bring Leibniz back to London with him. Leibniz, meanwhile, writes the fifth of his six letters to Clarke, which included his doubt as to whether Clarke had ever bothered to read Leibniz's *Theodicy*, or had ever understood any of his philosophy.

At least, Caroline would now know that the assignment of Clarke to handle her project of publishing Leibniz in English, had not been made in “good faith”—and she could make her decisions accordingly.

Beginning September 1714, and for the last two years of his life, Leibniz was attacked from every quarter. His salary was stopped by Prussia, the first place that he had established a scientific Academy. The Austro-Hungarian Empire followed suit, by suspending his salary there. When Leibniz died in November 1716, the funeral was arranged for four weeks hence, time for proper ceremonies. Although King George was nearby, vacationing at his hunting lodge, he refused to attend; all the temporal powers, taking the hint, also stayed away.

Caroline’s ‘Göttingen University’ Project

However, King George I was, in fact, intensely interested in Leibniz—for he took possession of the *New Essays Concerning Human Understanding*, along with all of the vast amount of Leibniz’s private writings! Leibniz’s nephew, F.S. Loeffler, arrived two weeks before the funeral, but was not allowed to get his uncle’s writings. Three generations of Loefflers would be in a continuous lawsuit over Leibniz’s works. (It was never argued that the Leibniz heirs should get the works he composed for the House of Hanover, but only his private works.) For fifty years, Leibniz’s grave was unmarked, his works were suppressed, and his proponents were largely on the defensive. In fact, when Benjamin Franklin came to Germany in 1766, the lawsuit was still unsettled, and Leibniz’s works were officially under the control of King George III. The fight to free his works, and to free the American colonies, was one broad effort. And the story behind the 1765 publication of Leibniz’s *New Essays*, and Franklin’s 1766 meetings with Caroline’s associate, the Baron Gerlach Adolf von Münchhausen, and his collaborators Rudolph Erich Raspe and Abraham Kästner, is one that speaks to a deliberate and intentional offensive, that reached fruition with the 1776 Declaration of Independence and the 1781 victory at Yorktown.

After Caroline became Queen of England in 1727, one of her major initiatives was to create a new university. In 1734, the rector of Leipzig’s St. Thomas School, J.M. Gesner, was chosen to pull together a curriculum for the future Göttingen University. Of some note, Leipzig was a center for Leibniz’s supporters, and Gesner worked closely there with J.S. Bach (Gesner’s wife was godmother to one of Bach’s children).¹⁰ Most importantly, Caroline’s advisor for overseeing the creation of Göttingen, the Baron von Münchhausen, was the Royal Commission-

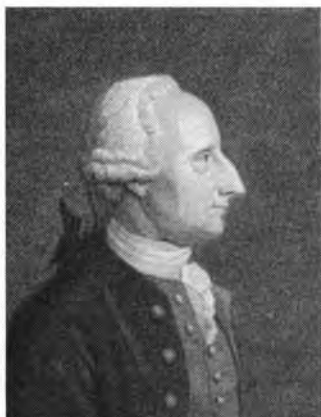
er who attended the 1737 inauguration of the University. After Caroline’s death, Münchhausen would play the key role in bringing back to life the *New Essays*.

II. Scientists: Leibniz, Kästner, Franklin

Abraham Kästner, Münchhausen’s collaborator, was a mathematician and scientist, the founder of “anti-Euclidean” geometry, who was the teacher of both Carl Friedrich Gauss and Gotthold Ephraim Lessing. Kästner grew up in Leipzig and attended the University there. In the 1740’s, he continued research and writing on Kepler and Leibniz at Leipzig. Two of his students there, the cousins, Christlob Mylius and Gotthold Lessing, joined Kästner in their defense of, and advocacy for, Leibniz. After Kästner and Mylius studied Franklin’s electrical experiments in 1752, Kästner would arrange for Mylius to go to America to visit Franklin.

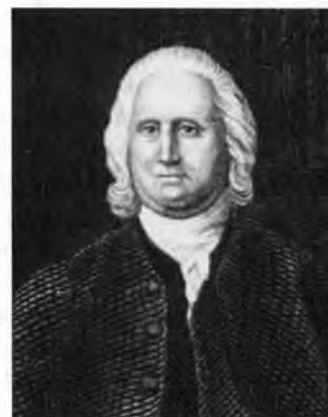
Kästner, Mylius, and Lessing were involved in a major fight to defend Leibniz’s method, in the 1746-1748 period, when the Newtonian ideologues, Maupertuis and Voltaire, attempted to suppress the use of Leibniz’s notion of substance coherent with a living universe, the Leibnizian “monad.” It was at this time, that Kästner turned to the work of Franklin’s anti-Newtonian American collaborator, Cadwallader Colden, who had published a treatise in 1745, *Explication of the First Causes of Action in Matter, and the Cause of Gravitation*, which argued against Newton’s void, his empty space with mysterious actions occurring at a distance. Colden developed the notion of an elastic aether in his physics. Kästner studied the work, translated it into German, and provided a critical essay for its 1748 publication in Leipzig.¹¹

This work had occupied Colden’s thoughts since at least 1715, when he had visited London from Philadelphia, met with the astronomer Halley, and heard the controversies around Newton and Leibniz. Colden was never happy about the empty vacuum of Newtonian space, and attempted to describe the properties of non-visible, but very real, space. In 1718, he became a protégé of New York Governor Robert Hunter, who, in 1722, wrote Colden: “I am pleased with your former thoughts on ye Elasticity of ye air. I wish you would confirm them by Experiments.”¹² Colden and Franklin had access to James Logan’s thoughts and writings in the 1720’s and 1730’s, both on the Leibniz-Newton controversy, and on the superiority of an analysis of an “elastic aether” over the supposition of an empty void. Finally, Franklin



The Battle over Leibniz's Scientific Method:

Mathematician Abraham Kästner (left), the founder of "anti-Euclidean" geometry, studied Kepler and Leibniz in the 1740's, and was the inspiration for the pro-American faction centered at Queen Caroline's Göttingen University. Among his students were the dramatist Gotthold Lessing (below, left), the founder with Moses Mendelssohn of the German Classical period, and the scientist Carl Friedrich Gauss (below, center). Kästner translated the anti-Newtonian experimental works of the American Cadwallader Colden (right), a collaborator of Franklin and James Logan, into German.



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Meanwhile, the Berlin Academy of Sciences, founded by Leibniz, was taken over by the Venetian network of Voltaire, Maupertuis, and Algarotti, who launched a withchhunt against Leibniz's ideas. Their leading spokesman was the mathematician Leonhard Euler (right).



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obtained the *Leibniz-Clarke Correspondence* for his Library Company of Philadelphia, no later than 1741, and was working with Colden by 1743.¹³

Colden's 1745 treatise jarred the axioms in Philadelphia before reaching Kästner in Leipzig. In 1746, Franklin distributed Colden's *Action in Matter*, to his Philadelphia network, a group that was closely following Franklin's electrical experiments. However, Franklin had to report to Colden that everyone was having trouble comprehending the work fully. "Mr. Logan, from whom I expected most, when I desired his Opinion, said just the same [as the others]; only added, that the Doctrine of Gravity's being the Effect of Elasticity was originally Bernouilli's, but he believ'd you had not seen Bernouilli." (The Bernoulli family of Swiss scientists were, by and large, collaborators and followers of Leibniz.) Not long afterward, in Leipzig, Kästner said that he was commanded to study Colden's work, and "that the many new, good and just thoughts contain'd in it, made him willingly undertake the Task enjoin'd him."¹⁴

By 1752, Franklin's electrical experiments had caught the attention of Kästner and Mylius. In early 1752, Kästner's German version of Colden's book was sent to him in

New York. On May 20, 1752, Colden writes to Franklin:

I have received a Copy of the Translation of my first piece into High Dutch with Animadversions on it at the end of it printed at Hambourg and Leipsic 1748 but I do not understand one word of them. I find my name often in company with those of very great ones Newton, Leibnitz, and Wolfius[,] and Leibnitz's Monades often mentioned [—] a New Doctrine which perhaps you have seen and is of great repute in Germany. The animadversions end—"Magnis tamen excidit ausis" which being in Latin I understand."¹⁵

Evidently, Colden could pick out of the German, which he didn't read, frequent references to Leibniz's monads.

Franklin, saying that he knew a little German, offered to read Kästner's essay on Colden's work, but Colden had already arranged for a translator: "I have at last got the remarks on the First causes of Action in Matter well translated by Mr. Hartwick a Lutheran Minister who is well acquainted with the German systems of Philosophy."¹⁶ It is quite possible that this J.C. Hartwick's acquaintance with "the German systems of Philosophy" came directly from his study of Leibniz amongst Käst-

ner's circles in Leipzig and Göttingen. What is known is that Hartwick's sponsor, another Lutheran minister, the more famous Henry M. Muhlenberg, had himself studied at the University of Göttingen when it was first established, graduating in 1738 [SEE "Leibniz, Halle, and the American Revolution," page 33, this issue]. Hartwick graduated from Göttingen in 1739, and then studied with Muhlenberg for a period at the University of Halle. He owned works by two of Leibniz's collaborators, Christiaan Huyghens and Pierre Bayle.

Meanwhile, Kästner and Mylius had been working through Franklin's electrical experiments, including the idea that tiny sparks of static electricity were the same phenomenon as lightning bolts. Although Franklin's *Experiments and Observations* had been published in English in April 1751, it was not until the French publication of February 1752, that his lightning rod experiment was conducted for the first time.¹⁷ When the French King Louis XV read Franklin's work, and expressed interest in having the experiments described therein actually conducted, the Duc d'Ayen arranged for the Franklin experiments to be conducted on his estate, where they created a sensation. (This Duc d'Ayen, upon the death of his father in 1766, succeeded to the title of Duc de Noailles. He was to be the key pro-America figure in the French court at the time of the American Revolution, the sponsor of Beaumarchais and collaborator of Franklin. The Marquis de Lafayette would later marry the Duc de Noailles' grand-daughter Adrienne. Small world!)

Following this premiere, the lightning-rod experiment was repeated in Europe throughout the year. Mylius's letter on Franklin's work appears, along with other reports, in London's "Philosophical Transactions" (December 1752), which Franklin read soon thereafter. In 1753, Kästner arranged for the Leipzig scientific community to sponsor a trip to America for Mylius to meet with Franklin. However, he never arrived in America, having died along the way, during a stopover in London.

Franklin and Colden vs. Newton

What Kästner had in mind for Mylius in his discussions in America may not be known precisely. However, the poem that he composed for Mylius, along with the copy of Kepler's *Harmonici Mundi* that he gave Mylius for the trip, certainly suggest their side of the discussion. Kästner wrote that Kepler had written of the deeper coherency of the musical and astronomical forms, and that Mylius's "tender ear perceives" and his "deeper thoughts explore" these harmonies. Kästner thought of this underlying, Keplerian harmony—that of the subjective hearing of man, and of the creation and ordering of the solar sys-

tem—the way Leibniz thought of it, as the type of felicity, or happiness, that characterizes a loving God.

Some measure of the American side might also be taken from the discussions of Franklin and Colden at the time. In the same October 1752 letter, in which Colden secured Muehlenberg's friend to translate Kästner's remarks, Colden tells Franklin,

The remarks [16 pages by Kästner–DS] and Answer [3 pages by Colden–DS] are chiefly on the Metaphysical parts of my System. . . . I hope from your Friendship that you will give me your sentiments without reserve and I beg that you will take some pains because I have some distant prospect of being able to explain the phaenomena of Electricity from my Principles with your assistance. If this can be don I am perswaded that the greatest improvement will thereby be made in the most usefull parts of Physics. I conceive that Fermentations of all sorts arise from Electricity and that the life and vegetation of Animals and Vegetables arise from Fermentation. If so the knowlege of Electricity must give great light in Medecine and Agriculture. . . . I wish you would attempt some experiments to know whether the Electrical fluid can be drawn from fermenting liquors or Mixtures. I propose to try but what may fail with me may succeed with you, you have such sagacity in contriving proper experiments for any purpose you have in view.

Earlier in this letter, Colden had explained some of the problems with Newton. Along with the aether,

. . . some more perfect knowledge of the Air than we have is likewise necessary and the cause of the cohesion of the parts of bodies which last has been lately the subject of my Meditations. . . . Sir Isaac Newton accounts for the cohesion of the parts of bodies from the stronger attraction in little bodies than in great bodies but if this were the cause, the parts of bodies must run together into mutual contact if some other power do not keep them separated. What I call Aether is essentially different from . . . that Elastic fluid which I think produces Electrical phaenomena. Sir Isaac Newton was far from having clear conceptions of what I call Aether, though he perceived from the Phaenomena that some such medium must necessarily exist between the several bodies in the Universe and within them between their component parts.¹⁸

That winter, Franklin concluded a paper on whirlwinds and vortices in nature, with these remarks: "Here you have my Method of Accounting for the principal Phaenomena, which I submit to your candid Examination. If my Hypothesis is not the Truth itself, it is at least as naked: For I have not with some of our learned Moderns disguis'd my Nonsense in Greek, cloth'd it in Algebra, or adorn'd it with Fluxions." Evidently, this indictment of Newtonian fluxions was too strong for editors for the next 200 years, as the last sentence was simply omitted from all printed versions!¹⁹ Colden and Franklin

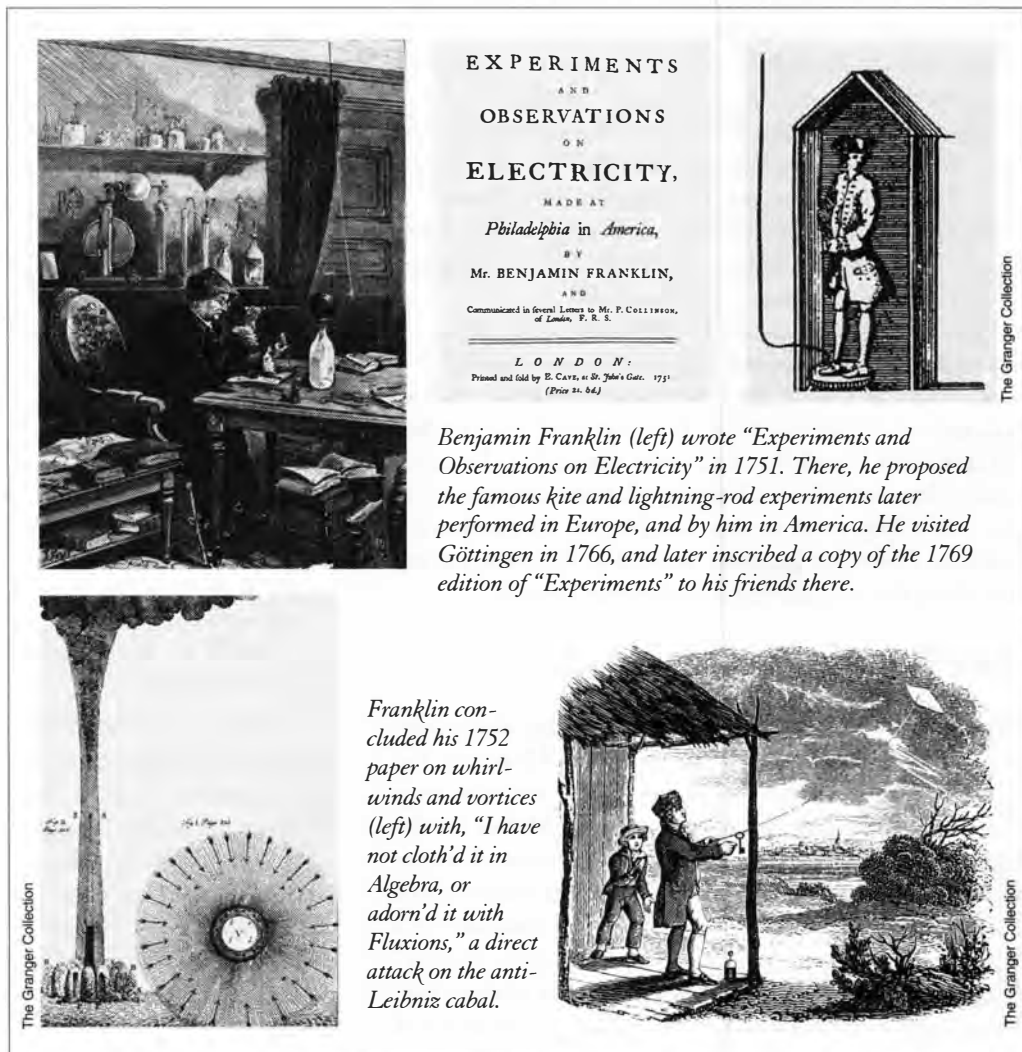
were at the peak of their investigations of the elastic aether, and prepared to free America of Newton's mind-constraining axioms, when Mylius was to arrive. Mylius had not only studied Franklin's experiments, but he had also worked under Kästner on a paper on the properties of the atmosphere, back in the period that Colden's work had been studied and published.

One of the same Newtonians that Kästner's group had to contend with, Leonhard Euler, was evidently quite concerned with Kästner's American dialogue. Euler had been a talented youth, trained by the Bernoullis, who later degraded himself by his attacks on Leibniz. He wrote that Colden's arguments were "destitute of all foundation. . . . [They were] attempts to attack the best Establish'd propositions of the late Sr. Isaac Newton" Euler's verdict, sent to London in November 1752, was meant to poison the environment there against Franklin's allies; and it speaks to the highly charged environment that Mylius walked into. Enemies of Kästner and of Franklin—that is, of Leibniz—may not have taken it as a casual matter, that Kästner was linking up with Franklin at this juncture. Colden, it seems, was capable of "analysis at a distance"—after reporting these matters to Franklin, he characterized Euler: "He writes much like a Pedant highly conceited of himself."²⁰

On Feb. 28, 1753, Franklin responded to Colden's request to edit his remarks back to Kästner: "I return you herewith Professor Kanster's Remarks. As far as I am able to judge, the Translation is just, and your Answer a good one. I am pleas'd with the Omission of that part of a Paragraph relating to the German and Pen-silvanian Electricians, and have corrected the Copy as you direct." Otherwise, Franklin says

to Colden not to be too obsequious, as Kästner "himself freely says, 'that the many new, good and just Thoughts contain'd in it, made him willingly undertake the Task enjoin'd him.' " Franklin thinks it enough for Colden to say: "After all, Mr. Colden must think himself obliged to the Professor, for exposing the Difficulties his Treatise lies under in the Opinion of others, as thereby an Opportunity is given of explaining his Doctrine more fully to their Satisfaction."²¹

Franklin concludes: "We are preparing here to make accurate Observations on the approaching Transit of Mercury over the Sun. . . . I congratulate you on your Discovery of a new Motion in the Earth's Axis: You will, I see, render your Name immortal.²² I believe I have not before told you, that I have procur'd a Subscription here of £1500 to fit out a Vessel in Search of a N[orth]west Passage: she sails in a few Days, and is called the Argo, commanded by Mr. Swaine, who was in the last Expedition in the California, Author of a Journal of that Voyage



Benjamin Franklin (left) wrote "Experiments and Observations on Electricity" in 1751. There, he proposed the famous kite and lightning-rod experiments later performed in Europe, and by him in America. He visited Göttingen in 1766, and later inscribed a copy of the 1769 edition of "Experiments" to his friends there.

Franklin concluded his 1752 paper on whirlwinds and vortices (left) with, "I have not cloth'd it in Algebra, or adorn'd it with Fluxions," a direct attack on the anti-Leibniz cabal.

in two Volumes. We think the Attempt laudable, whatever may be the Success: if he fails, *Magnis tamen excidit ausis.*” Here, Franklin concludes with the same Latin quote Kästner used in his comments on Colden.

Thus, in brief, the collaboration of the Franklin and Kästner circles from 1745 to 1754 involved the following:

- The 1746-1748 deliberations in Philadelphia and Leipzig over the physics of an “elastic aether”;
- The 1749-1751 proposals from Franklin on experiments into the interaction of light moving through the aether, with both the static electric sparks and the lightning bolts being seemingly instantaneous actions, but actually analyzable for enhancing human powers;
- The 1752 proof of principle at the estate of the (future) Duc de Noailles, and the repetitions of the lightning-rod experiments by Mylius, then in Berlin; and
- The early 1754 trip by Mylius, attempting to establish a personal collaboration between Kästner in Leipzig and Franklin in Philadelphia.

A dozen years later, when Franklin finally met up with Kästner in Göttingen, he would be able to discuss the subjects that Mylius never could. However, in 1753-1754, Franklin was organizing an expedition to search for a Northwest Passage, and was about to launch the Albany Plan of Union, an early effort to unify the colonies. Mylius’s cousin, Lessing, showed great courage in defending Leibniz (and, indirectly, his cousin), against Euler’s group at the Berlin Academy of Science.²³ Kästner left Leipzig in 1756 to become a professor at Göttingen. His worked-out pedagogy from that period (the *Angangsgründe der Arithmetik und Geometrie, ebenen und sphärischen Trigonometrie und Perspektiv*) was obviously motivated by his new assignment in Göttingen. One of his earliest students there to benefit from his teaching would have been the young Rudolph Erich Raspe.

III. The Liberation of *Leibniz’s New Essays*

Rudolph Erich Raspe, born in 1737, the same year as the founding of Caroline’s Göttingen University, studied Leibniz’s works from 1755 to 1760 at Göttingen and Leipzig.²⁴ In 1757, he was probably inspired when Lessing visited Leipzig; for, although Raspe’s senior by only eight years, Lessing, along with his close collaborator Mendelssohn, had just outwitted and embarrassed the

organized anti-Leibniz cabal of Maupertuis and Euler that had taken over the Berlin Academy. The idea that the intellectual witchhunt against Leibniz could be beaten, was evidently a live and exciting prospect for Raspe. The lives of Raspe and Lessing would intersect over the next three decades.

Raspe began working with Kästner during this period, and from 1759 to 1762, they worked over many of the unpublished manuscripts of Leibniz, located in the Royal Library in Hanover. Münchhausen was probably the one responsible for placing Raspe in his first employment in 1760, working in the manuscript department of that same Royal Library. Raspe would travel the eighty miles between Hanover and Göttingen quite regularly, conveying his precious copies of the manuscripts to his associates.²⁵

The Hanover Court Councillor Jung, who, as the chief librarian at the Royal Library, had to account to (the new) King George III, was evidently rather nervous about these developments. When Raspe announced in the Leipzig *Nova Acta Eruditorum* in 1762, that there would be an edition of Leibniz’s philosophical and mathematical works never seen before, Jung would not allow it. It took pressure from Baron von Münchhausen to exact an arrangement, whereby Raspe could carry out the project, though with some sort of plausible deniability for Jung. Raspe would take the manuscripts home with him, to work on them there after hours, and Jung would keep official distance from the project. Münchhausen’s ability to maneuver inside the British Empire, and to crack open a little bit of the iron grip of the Venetian Party over Leibniz’s works, is perhaps to be compared to some of Franklin’s successes. The historic volume was published in 1765, and included six works, featuring (in Leibniz’s original French) the *Nouveaux Essais sur l’Entendement Humain*. Kästner’s Preface highlighted the scientific importance of Leibniz’s works [SEE Translation, p. 79, this issue].²⁶

The ‘Optimism’ Offensive of 1765-1767

The Raspe/Kästner 1765 publication of Leibniz can be said to have launched a cultural offensive “heard ’round the world”—a decade before the famous “shot heard ’round the world” reverberated from Concord and Lexington. Between 1765 and 1767, Leibniz’s followers engineered an amazing culture of optimism, centered around the first complete publication of Shakespeare in German, and Moses Mendelssohn’s *Phaedon*, a Leibnizian treatment of Plato’s “Phaedo” dialogue.²⁷ Wieland’s translation of the complete edition of Shakespeare’s plays, completed in 1766, brought a level of excitement, intellectual

challenge, and statecraft to the public stages of Germany—a new level of responsibility was being publicly articulated for a somewhat downtrodden population. Wieland’s publisher, Friedrich Nicolai, brought out Mendelssohn’s *Phaedon* the following year. Mendelssohn succeeded in engaging a tremendously expanded audience—until then largely devoid of Platonic philosophizing—with a Leibnizian treatment of mortality. Death became a subject that could deepen and strengthen how mortals composed their lives, should they take up the challenge of bending their mind and soul to the subject.

Benjamin Franklin stepped into the middle of this republican ferment on his trip to Germany in the summer of 1766. A fragment of a 1767 letter between two who would be Franklin’s best collaborators in France, highlights the republican spirit bursting out. Caron de Beaumarchais, who would be the catalyst for the French court in supporting the Americans with munitions and vital supplies, wrote to the Duc de Noailles, who would lead the pro-American faction amongst the old nobility of France:

I have loved [politics] with a passion. Readings, writings, travels, observations, I did everything I could for it. The powers’ respective rights, the pretensions of the princes which always upset the mass of mankind, the interaction of governments on one another, those were interests meant for the soul. More than anyone else, perhaps, I have felt crossed by my need to take a large view of things, while I am the least of men. I have sometimes felt like protesting, in my unjust humor, against fate which did not place me in a position more appropriate to what I felt I was suited for. Especially when I considered that the mission given by kings and ministers to their agents certainly do not impress on them, like the ancient apostleship, a sort of grace which would make enlightened and sublime men out of the puniest brains.²⁸

Franklin, the Stamp Act, and London’s Attack on Raspe

Franklin arrived in Germany, fresh from an historic victory before the Parliament in London, where his testimony (Feb. 13, 1766) was crucial in bringing down the imperial Stamp Act, authored by the former Prime Minister, George Grenville. Simultaneous with his testimony in Parliament, Franklin had published, in *The London Chronicle*, a letter from “Pacifcus,” advising the British: “If the Duke d’Alva had treated the people of the Netherlands with gentleness and humanity, they would never have revolted. Thank God, we have no Duke d’Alva in England.”²⁹ However, the actual “Duke of Alvas,” Grenville’s imperial faction in London, had thought that,

with the 1763 defeat of France in the Seven Years’ War (French and Indian War), they could put the stamp on a military power system, financed by tax-farming their colonies. Franklin inspired the less ideologically driven in Parliament, that it was not in their best interests to use their power in an imperial fashion. The Parliament voted to repeal the Stamp Act, and the colonies praised Franklin.

A matter of days before Franklin’s intervention into the Parliament, and in the midst of an intense showdown between Britain’s stated imperial policy and Franklin’s more mature pathway for handling the colonies, London’s *Monthly Review* launched an attack upon Raspe for his publication of Leibniz’s *New Essays*, censuring the work as being a harsh assault upon John Locke.³⁰ While the article probably did reflect the degree of anger coming from George III’s Privy Council, that someone had the audacity to publish that long-buried manuscript, it also was an ill-timed freakout. It very well might have put Franklin onto the track of Raspe, leading to his decision to visit Hanover that summer.³¹

Meanwhile, in Hanover that spring of 1766, Raspe composed poems called “Frühlingsgedanken” (“Thoughts of Spring”), occasioned by the marriage of his sister to Lessing’s friend, Herr Völger of Brunswick. The period of his discussions with Franklin also found him writing a play (*Hermin und Gunilde*) that was reviewed in the same issue of Nicolai’s literary journal, as Lessing’s book-length essay, *Laocoön*. Raspe was also translating another play (*Suleiman II*) into German, which was favorably reviewed in Lessing’s journal, *Dramaturgie*. Finally, Raspe had plunged into Shakespeare’s works, excited that he had found something comparable to Homer’s dramatic method. So, the Raspe with whom Franklin met, had been sponsored by Münchhausen, educated by Kästner and Lessing, and was a collaborator of Mendelssohn’s publisher, Nicolai. And, to put the point on it, the arch-enemy of both Lessing and Mendelssohn, J.G. Jacobi—a sort of Romantic fundamentalist—provided his measure of Raspe at this time: “What I disliked about him was the cocksure manner he had in company.” Clearly, Raspe had “American” written all over him!

Franklin Meets Raspe and Kästner

Franklin visited Raspe first in Hanover, accompanied by Sir John Pringle. Two days before his June 15, 1766 departure for Germany, Franklin informed his wife Deborah, “I purpose to leave him [Pringle] at Pymont, and visit some of the principal Cities nearest to it, and call for him again when the Time of our Return draws

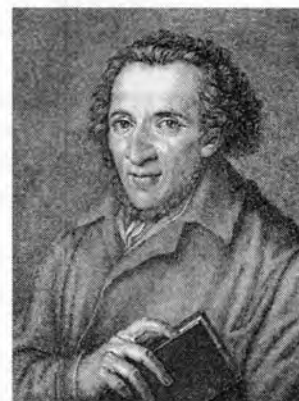
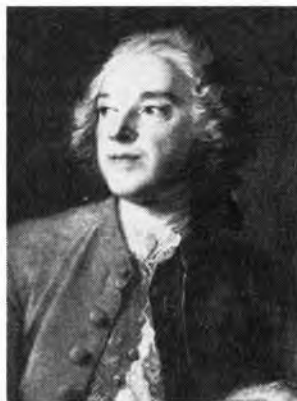
nigh.”³² One infers from this, minimally, that (the newly titled) Sir John had given him the idea that he meant to accompany Franklin only to the spa at Pyrmont. (The much more aggressive inference would be that Franklin knew that Pringle intended to accompany him throughout Germany, and Franklin meant to abandon him at the spa!) It is to be suspected that Pringle accompanied Franklin not in full good faith. A decade later, Pringle would be at the center of King George III’s rage against Raspe.

After a fortnight at the spa in Pyrmont, Franklin arrived in Hanover on July 7, with Pringle alongside. He met with Raspe and Münchhausen over the next ten days or so. It is known that they took Franklin on at least one tour of the Royal Library (July 9), where the bulk of the Leibniz documents had been stored since King George I’s seizure of the documents exactly fifty years earlier. Among those vast documents lay a Socratic dialogue composed by Leibniz, titled “Pacidius to Philaethes.” (Leibniz would later use two of its four characters when he composed his *New Essays*—“Theophilus” as Leibniz, and “Philaethes” as Locke). The dialogue opens with a description that could have been that of the meeting of Franklin and Raspe—except that Leibniz had written the scene ninety years before. In the dialogue, Theophilus (the Franklin figure) is described as having been very successful and honored in business in the first part of his life, but had now

decided to dedicate the rest of his life to peace of mind and worship of the Divine. A man with a kind of inner sense of solid piety, he was consumed with the study of the common good [*communis boni*], on whose increase he had often



Above: Franklin’s 1766 appearance before Parliament won a victory over the Stamp Act. Below: On the Continent, the political offensive continued with publication of “Phaedon” by Moses Mendelssohn (right) and of Leibniz’s “New Essays” by Kästner’s student, R.E. Raspe (center). In Paris, playwright Caron de Beaumarchais (left) prepared French support for the American cause.



pinned his hope, and on which he had stinted neither wealth nor labor.³³

Pacidius (here, the Raspe figure) continues: “I had a close friendship with him, and enjoyed his company. At that time, by chance, we were having a long conversation about the State [Republica]”

How close Leibniz’s scene came to the actual event, we can only surmise. However, there can be no doubt that Leibniz’s contention with Locke over human nature, and human governance, was of intimate concern to both Raspe and Franklin. The subsequent developments leave no doubt about this. They must also have discussed the freakout in London over the publication of Leibniz’s *New Essays*, as they planned for Raspe to compose, and Franklin to get published, a rejoinder to the strenuous

defense of Locke in the London *Monthly Review*. Franklin, who read French, undoubtedly studied the text with Raspe, taking a copy of the Leibniz with him.

Before leaving Hanover, Franklin was shown the electrical apparatus of a Professor Hartmann. Münchhausen's letter, describing Franklin to their friends in Göttingen as being expert in "physical Economy and Agriculture," also gives some idea as to his impression of his discussions with Franklin.³⁴

Then Franklin reached Göttingen, and was able to meet with Kästner in person. Kästner had complained in the Preface to Leibniz's *New Essays*, about the need for English thinkers to read Leibniz's treatment of Locke, as the passive worship of Locke was cheapening thought. Franklin's arrival must have seemed a godsend. On July 19, Göttingen celebrated Franklin's visit there with an evening "Science Festival," including more electrical experimentation. Kästner had attempted a dialogue with Franklin thirteen years earlier, when he arranged for his collaborator on Franklin's electrical experiments, Mylius, to make his ill-fated trip to America. Now, Kästner had prepared a special paper on the nature of electricity, and it was presented as the highlight of the evening.³⁵ Franklin would remember this evening three years later, when he presented a copy of the new 1769 edition of his book, *Experiments and Observations on Electricity, made at Philadelphia in America*, with the inscription: "To the Royal Academy of Sciences at Göttingen as a small Token of his Respect and Duty, This Book is humbly presented by the Author."

Some of the discussions in Göttingen were reflected in Professor Gottfried Achenwall's publication, "Some Observations on North America from Oral Information by Dr. Franklin."³⁶ Achenwall and friends were interested in Franklin's 1751 "Observations concerning the Increase of Mankind," and the possibilities for the development of America. Franklin briefed them on the consequences of the recent British imperial attempt upon the colonies. Achenwall related:

[A]ll the colonies were of one mind, and so [in 1765] they decided on a general congress, to avert the storm. Such a congress of delegates from all the North American colonies had never been voluntarily called before, and the common decision not to accept the stamp taxes and to work for their repeal by united strength, was a significant agreement. . . . The general agreement of the colonies as shown in relation to the Stamp Act, is the more noteworthy, as the colonies have generally been jealous of one another³⁷

Achenwall was clearly struck by Franklin's emphasis upon the new political geometry, as a result of the imperial overstepping by Britain.

Otherwise, while in Göttingen, Franklin stayed at the home of Professor J.D. Michaelis, the publisher of the Leibniz-Ludolf correspondence on philology eleven years earlier.³⁸ Franklin's glass harmonica was performed upon by the mathematics professor A.L.F. Meister, which occasioned notice in the local papers. Other direct beneficiaries of Franklin's presence at Göttingen included the Danish minister, A.P.G. von Bernstorff, a collaborator of Moses Mendelssohn who would be involved in the League of Armed Neutrality; the natural law advocate and published champion of America, J.J. Möser, who would be jailed for five years by Duke Karl Eugen of Württemberg; and the student Christoph Daniel Ebeling, who would promote the cause of America his whole life, working with the likes of Lessing and Mathew Carey.³⁹

Franklin expended considerable effort to get as many as possible of the books that his Leibnizian friends in Hanover and Göttingen had recommended to him. He left funds for Raspe to purchase whatever books Franklin could not obtain first-hand on his trip through Germany. Although the list of books is not known, it seems certain that Franklin carried Raspe's historic edition of Leibniz with him.

Franklin and Pringle passed through Cassel, on their way to Frankfurt and Mainz; Trier and Cologne were visited on the return trip to London. Upon arriving in London, Franklin was intent upon consolidating the victory over the Stamp Act, by securing a policy of real economic development for America. A week after his mid-August return, he wrote to his son: "I can now only add, that I will endeavour to accomplish all that you and our friends [in the "Illinois Company"] desire relating to the settlement westward."

The Hardening of Enemies

Exploring the possibility of an intelligent alternative for England, Franklin met with Lord Shelburne about the internal development of America—and specifically, about a project to develop the rich area of Illinois. To his son, William, he wrote on September 27, that Shelburne had read William's "Illinois Company" plan. But Shelburne reported to Franklin:

[I]t did not quadrature with the sentiments of people here; . . . that their objections to it were, the distance, which would make it of little use to this country [Britain], as the expense on the carriage of goods would oblige the people to manufacture for themselves; that it would for the same reason be difficult both to defend it and to govern it; *that it might lay the foundation of a power in the heart of America*, which in time might be troublesome to the other colonies, and prejudicial to our government over them⁴⁰

Who were the “people here” with such entrenched imperial sentiments toward America? While Franklin had been in Germany, William Pitt had taken over the Prime Ministership for George III, as the previous (Rockingham) Ministry had manifestly failed to crack the colonists. The British leadership reacted to Franklin’s Stamp Act victory, as they had reacted to Leibniz, and to Raspe’s publication—by circling the wagons and getting nastier. Pitt’s policy toward the colonies, as summed up by Shelburne, had been articulated in a work called a “Plan for the West.”⁴¹ Its author, the 2nd Viscount Barrington, drafted it shortly after the repeal of the Stamp Act, and had since become War Secretary in the new Pitt government. It adequately conveyed the next stage of British policy toward the colonies. The British might have temporarily lost the Stamp Act battle; however, the colonies would be bottled up, and the financial looting would proceed, only temporarily delayed. Shelburne continued to play the “soft cop,” however, telling Franklin how much he approved of his plans—but, unfortunately, “they” (Pitt, Barrington, *et al.*) wouldn’t allow for the colonization of Illinois, or for the “foundation of a power in the heart of America.”⁴²

Through the winter of 1766/7, the Pitt government gave out that the colonies were the source of Britain’s problems, and had to be dealt with. Franklin’s “Reply to Coffee-House Orators,” published April 9, 1767 in *The London Chronicle*, sounded forth with an impressive voice:

Athens had her orators. They did her sometimes a great deal of good, at other times a great deal of harm; the latter particularly when they prevailed in advising the Sicilian war, under the burthen and losses of which war that flourishing state sunk, and never again recovered itself.⁴³ To the haranguers of the populace among the ancients, succeed among the moderns [—] your writers of political pamphlets and news-papers, and your coffee-house talkers.

It is remarkable that soldiers by profession, men truly and unquestionably brave, seldom advise war but in cases of extream necessity. While mere rhetoricians, tongue-pads and scribes, timid by nature, or from their little bodily exercise deficient in those spirits that give real courage, are ever bawling for war on the most trifling occasions, and seem the most blood-thirsty of mankind . . .

Every step is now taking to enrage us against America. Pamphlets and news-papers flie about, and coffee-houses ring with lying reports of its being in rebellion. Force is call’d for. Fleets and troops should be sent. . . . The principal people should be brought here and hang’d, &c . . .

[W]hen the wolf is determined on a quarrel with the lamb, up stream or down stream ’tis all one; pretences are easily found or made, reason and justice are out of the question.⁴⁴

Franklin’s very public intervention, besides being a

timely message for any modern country that would ape British imperial methods, makes clear his judgment at the time, of the unravelling situation since his return from Germany.

The newly hardened policy in London can also be seen in the treatment given to a new essay by Raspe on the Leibniz/Locke dispute. On Sept. 9, 1766, Franklin first wrote to Raspe after returning from his Hanover visit: “I received your obliging Favour of Augt. 28. with the Paper enclos’d for the Monthly Review, which I shall communicate to the Managers of that Work, and imagine I shall prevail with them to do you better Justice.”⁴⁵ This is the work that Franklin and Raspe had discussed that summer to counter the January 1766 attack on Raspe, when they had agreed for Raspe to write a follow-up for Franklin to use. However, Franklin was not able to achieve a “better Justice,” running into the same problems as with the Illinois project. A decision that fall by those who controlled the *Monthly Review*, consigned Raspe’s paper to the waste bin, and the work has never been located since.

The January 1767 *Monthly Review* did note the fact that Raspe *had* made a reply to their attack. As the editor of *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, Leonard W. Labaree, relates it, they published a cryptic comment, “acknowledging Raspe’s communication, expressing regret at his displeasure, and stating that the passages that had displeased him had not referred to his publication ‘but to another work, the natural produce of our own country.’”⁴⁶ This transparent nonsense could not have been meant to be taken seriously. It had been their review of Raspe’s publication of Leibniz, that had occasioned their uproar over a public challenge of Locke. Undoubtedly, there was also some “natural produce” in London working with Raspe and Franklin; but, regardless, the gatekeepers of public discussion in London were making clear that there would be no more systematic treatment of Locke or his philosophy. The mention of the name, “Leibniz”—(the “L” [“LaRouche”] -word of the Eighteenth century)—in England, was clearly bad form. Publishing the *New Essays* in the original French had already gone over the line. Meeting and strategizing with the American hero of the Stamp Act battle, was past the point of no return. The score with Raspe would be settled later, and by other methods. Of course, Raspe’s follow-up letters to the *Monthly Review* would also not be worthy of publication or comment.

What was so important about Franklin’s extended stay with Raspe in Hanover? And why would the British imperialist faction display such an obsessive, feral instinct against the meeting, and the unleashing of Leibniz’s ideas? The defeat of their deeply rooted commitment to

greed and backwardness, would require a certain quality of mind and morality—one capable of rooting out the enslavement to the Lockean “sense-certainty” axioms, that is, to the “animal” quality in humans. The ten days, or so, that Franklin spent in and around Leibniz’s works, in discussions with Raspe and Münchhausen, were unique. The profound enrichment that can only come about from the systematic examination of the axiomatics of one’s thinking, both the strengths and the fracture points, is the type of work necessary for forging the leadership of so singular an accomplishment as the creation of that “Beacon of Hope and Temple of Liberty,” the sovereign United States of America.⁴⁷

Locke represented the mental infection of enlightened greed. Many arguments in the colonies, in the period from the 1764 Stamp Act to the Congressional debates of 1774, did indeed largely function within the constraints of Locke’s axiomatics—as Locke had designed them to do. For example, Jefferson was still employing the formulation “life, liberty, and property” as of the 1774 debates. The fear of breaking from the power of the British Empire, and of assuming “among the Powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature’s God entitle them,” did much to constrain argumentation in that period. Many of the appeals were intended to adjust British policy towards a more enlightened self-interest on the part of the colonial administrator.

The “pursuit of happiness” coup was inextricably linked to Franklin’s personal intervention upon his return to Philadelphia in the spring of 1775. The different attacks upon Franklin and Raspe from 1766-1775, not only indicate the focus of the rage of the Venetian Party in England, but also the unique forging of Franklin’s metal. The rage was centered around the breakout of the dreaded “Leibniz” factor. By way of contrast, Cadwallader Colden did not make it through these years, parting ways with Franklin, and ending up a Royalist. Who knows how he might have developed, if he had had the extensive deliberations with Kästner’s representative, Mylius, offered Franklin back in 1754?

IV. The Later Career of Rudolph Erich Raspe

Raspe’s metal was also forged in this period, and his travails would intersect those of Franklin. The following detour through some episodes of his life, is intended to provide an example of what it meant to have assimilated

Leibniz’s philosophy of “optimism”—to look at the actual evils of the world, and to know one is capable of mastering them. Other graduates of the republican “cultural offensive” of 1765-67—including such luminaries as Moses Mendelssohn, Gotthold Lessing, the Duc de Noailles, Caron de Beaumarchais, Ignaz von Born, and Wolfgang Mozart—would overshadow Raspe; but his story is more than enough to make the point, and long overdue.

Raspe’s career, following his historic edition of Leibniz and his meetings with Franklin, was most colorful, being practically a roadmap of a pro-American scientist in Europe during the tumultuous 1766-1791 period.⁴⁸ Within a couple of months of their Hanover meeting, he provided the books to Franklin, who had agreed to provide Raspe with seeds from America, a Mohawk grammar, and a copy of the “Pensilvania Laws.” Franklin also provided him an introduction to some of his scientific associates in England, giving Raspe’s book on geology and minerals to one, his sampling of fossils to another. Franklin’s scientific networks in England, several of whom constituted the Lunar Society, would be critical in providing support for Raspe later, when he became a fugitive from the oligarchs. [SEE “Franklin’s ‘Lunar Society’ and the Industrial Revolution,” p. 74, this issue.]

Responding to Raspe’s interest in working with him in England or America, Franklin sent him a “Map of the British Northern Colonies.” Writing three weeks before his late-September 1766 meeting with Shelburne on the future of the colonies, Franklin was still optimistic about the treatment of Raspe in Hanover:

It would be a great Pleasure to me to see you here or in America, or in any Place where I could see you happy; but I would not have you hasty in Resolutions of Removing. Merit like yours continually increasing by fresh Acquisitions of useful Knowledge, cannot much longer remain unnoticed and without due Encouragement where you are. . . . Be so kind as to present my respectful Compliments to the good Baron Munichausen, and assure him that I have the most grateful remembrance of the Civilities I receiv’d from his Excellency at Hanover, and thro’ his Recommendation at Göttingen. . . . I never think of the Time I spent so agreeably at Hanover, without wishing it could have been longer. Remember me also affectionately to the Professors at Göttingen, whose Learning and Politeness impress’d me with the highest Esteem for them: I wish every kind of Prosperity to them and their University.⁴⁹

Raspe chose to continue his work in Hanover and Cassel. Next, he was engaged by another of Franklin’s admirers in Hanover, General Count von Walmoden (the illegitimate son of King George II), who desired that

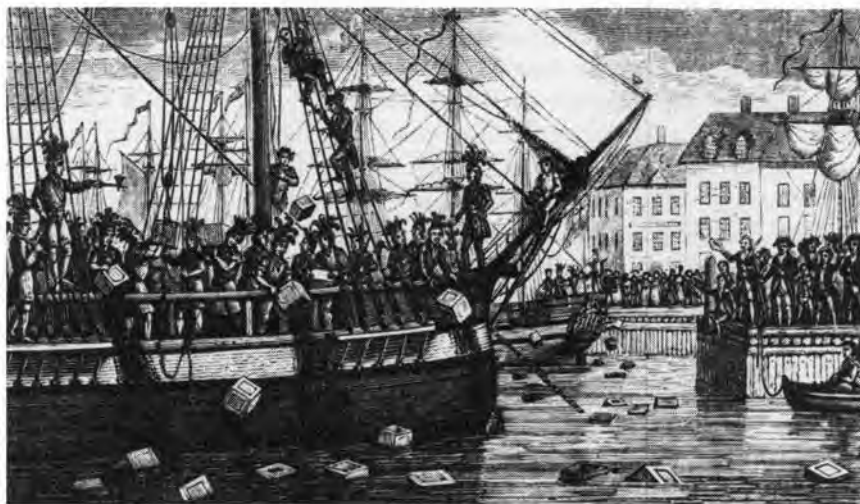
Raspe organized his collections into a pedagogical museum for the general public. Raspe made sure that the collection included one of Franklin's glass harmonicas. Raspe's "public education" mode of organizing the collections impressed Walmoden, who in 1767 recommended him to Frederick, the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, to be the curator of his antiquities. This post included holding the Chair of Antiquity at the famous Collegium Carolinum.

Ominously, Lessing had just turned down the same post, thinking that the terms were "fetters"—and he was more than a little suspicious of the Landgrave. Raspe, however, accepted the position, seeing the opportunity to fight for "a true liberal Education" program, against what he called the "scolastic pedantry or French dam'ed Gallantry." Lessing's well-grounded suspicions were due to his appraisal of the Landgrave Frederick, whose initial claim to fame was tied up in his marriage to Mary, daughter of the deceased Queen Caroline. Frederick suffered from the "French" tastes of the period, however—tastes which included an extravagance for grand entertainments, à la Versailles, and a callousness toward his wife. His preferred method of dealing with the resulting debts incurred, was to rent out his subjects as mercenaries. He would soon become famous as the biggest supplier of cannon fodder, that is, Hessian mercenaries, for the British Empire's attempted suppression of the American Revolution.

The republican cultural offensive of 1765-1767 was targeted by an alliance of holy feudalists and cynical Enlightenment types. By late 1766, it had been decided in London, that the long-delayed treatment of Locke by Leibniz, would not be approved or allowed. The unsuccessful efforts of Franklin and Raspe with the *Monthly Review*, were a marker for this policy. In Germany, the attack upon Raspe, already initiated by the Romantic fundamentalist, J.G. Jacobi, was joined by a dutiful fun-



Both England's George III (left) and his relative Frederick II, Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel (right), moved to contain Raspe's activities. Frederick would later supply most of the Hessian mercenaries for Britain during the Revolution. Below: The December 1773 Boston Tea Party: The oligarchy's response threatened Franklin in England.



damentalist, C.A. Klotz. In attacking Nicolai's promotion of Lessing's *Laocoön* and of Raspe's work, Klotz attempted to inveigle Lessing and Raspe (along with Heyne) into prolonged and complicated literary wars.

By the spring of 1769, Raspe had wholly reorganized the vast museum of the Landgrave, but Frederick took offense at Raspe's name appearing in parts of the collection's catalogue. Clearly, Frederick assumed that his servants were his servants, and intellectual accomplishments could be transferred to him as easily as his subjects' bodies could be rented out as mercenaries. It is from this period that Raspe is said to have begun to experience financial problems, and to incur debts to loan-sharks. This was a situation that the Landgrave could, and did, exploit.⁵⁰

Raspe stayed on in an increasingly difficult situation. For the first half of 1772, he worked with Jacob Mauvillon, another "American" republican, in starting up a local paper, the *Cassel Spectator*, which lasted only six months. Mauvillon was the Professor of the Art of Fortification

Construction in Cassel. (Later, in 1776, when an anti-American tract appeared, Mauvillon attacked the tract's author, accusing him of writing propaganda for the British Lord North, in return for fifty guineas.) During this last period in Cassel, Raspe listed his credentials as: "Fellow of Royal Society, of Dutch Society of Sciences, of German and Historical Institutes at Göttingen; Corresponding member of Göttingen Philosophical Society; Managing Secretary of the New Cassel Society for Agriculture and the Useful Arts."

In January 1774, Raspe's co-conspirator Franklin was called before the British Privy Council to be humiliated as a thief and a terrorist. By 1773, the British had made their India Tea Company the leading edge in enforcing a colonial trading policy. Franklin was on the receiving end of the hardline faction in London, who had been amazed by the audacity of the Sons of Liberty, in dumping the tea into the Boston harbor. Throughout 1774, his last year in England, Franklin's position was compromised, and he was liable to arrest from standing charges before the Court of Chancery. By the fall of 1774, developments among the "American" faction intensified throughout Europe, in conjunction with the substantial developments with the Congress in Philadelphia. A principled fight against Britain's increasingly imperial policy could no longer be averted.

Coincident with the attacks upon Franklin, in September 1774, the Landgrave Frederick ordered Raspe to go to Venice, to promote his trading company, the Carlshafen Company, to the Venetians. Raspe departed Cassel, but instead headed to Berlin and met with Frederick the Great!⁵¹ While it is almost certain that Raspe would have objected, on its merits, to the Landgrave turning so openly to Venice, his actions can only be unravelled in the context of the impending revolution. But, in the written records and accounts of this period of Raspe's life, most of the strategic political developments have been buried under the financial charges made against him, charges that he was in debt to usurers and that he stole from the Landgrave's collection.⁵²

In March 1775, the Landgrave issued an arrest warrant against Raspe. The timing completely coheres with the actions against Franklin. Throughout that winter, while Franklin was facing charges in London, Lords Howe and Chatham (that is, Pitt), tried to engage Franklin in "backchannel" negotiations, to avoid the conflict with the colonies. However, in February 1775, the hardline faction had convinced George III to go for total confrontation.⁵³ Franklin departs Britain in March, rather than wait to be arrested. In both Cassel and London, the sword had been held over the heads of Raspe and Franklin all winter, and then dropped in February and March.

Raspe, then, requests asylum from Frederick the Great in Berlin, and is refused. By April, around the time of the battles of Concord and Lexington, he escapes his detention and flees to Holland, making his way to England and to Franklin's networks there. Sir John Pringle, now the head of London's Royal Society, reports Raspe to the Landgrave's representative, who is in London negotiating with the British for mercenaries. Pringle's report also indicates that Raspe is being supported by Franklin's Lunar Society friends. Given the revolutionary developments, Pringle had to prove himself to the Crown, regardless of whether he had been in his dealings with Franklin, a witting, but incompetent Royal agent, or an unwitting participant.

On Dec. 7, 1775, Pringle hastily convened a special private meeting of the Royal Society, where Raspe was expelled from membership—evidently, the only time a member was expelled, explicitly and solely for reasons of "character"! Raspe's biographer explains that, "Some of the Fellows understood that His Majesty himself had had a hand in the day's business"⁵⁴ Raspe's next move displayed some of that impertinent "character": He proposed that the Royal Society's printer publish his next work, titled *Unphilosophical Transactions of the British Savants!* He was turned down. Evidently, although he may not have had the sort of character desired by the Royal Society, he certainly was one. Meanwhile, Raspe's ally Franklin was back in America, in much happier deliberations. There, he writes to his agent, Charles Dumas, that the Congress' discussions in Philadelphia have benefitted greatly from a work by another Leibniz follower, Emmerich de Vattel's *Law of Nations*.⁵⁵ Vattel's text is an extensive development of the conception of happiness as the purpose of the nation.

Raspe claimed that his extradition back to Cassel had actually been demanded as a condition of the February 1776 agreement for the use of Hessian mercenaries to fight the British war. The Landgrave had driven a hard bargain, obtaining extra payments for any of his rented soldiers who were killed, and, hence, not returned. The Landgrave bragged to Voltaire about his concern for his subjects in this arrangement. Frederick the Great, who could be as calculating as anyone, said of the Landgrave's arrangement: "The sordid passion for gain is the only motive for his vile procedure!" In 1777, Franklin would fabricate a public letter, basing it upon the Landgrave's contract with Britain. In typical Franklin-esque fashion, the letter purports to come from a German prince, sent to the commander of his mercenaries in America, where he disputes the British casualty count. He claims that more had been killed and wounded; hence, he was to get more "blood money." He further suggests that his com-

mander allow the wounded to die, as the prince didn't need cripples to return home. Instead, he could use the money, as he had contracted debts in Italy . . . and, besides, he wanted a fancier opera production that season! Franklin's literary creation contributed substantially to European deliberations for support of the American Revolution.⁵⁶

Raspe and the European Republicans

With war having been declared, England evidently now had a sudden requirement for some competency among its scientists. Pringle was pushed aside for a new head of the Royal Society, Sir Joseph Banks, who had been the lead scientist for Captain Cook's 1769-71 circumnavigation of the globe. And Raspe, although expelled from the Royal Society, was not extradited to Cassel. Instead, he was hired, in a wartime economy, to translate German treatises on geology and mineralogy—matters of some importance for building up a country for war or for peace. His major translation was that of the correspondence on mineralogy, between his friend J.J. Ferber and the notable mineralogist/geologist, Ignaz von Born.⁵⁷ (A decade later, Raspe would put out a translation of Born's book on metallurgy.) Raspe's preface to the correspondence pointed out the importance of mineralogy for industry: "Let us think of Messrs. Wedgwood and Bentley's, or other china manufactories; of the metallic furnaces, and that infinite number of possible combinations." Raspe's work for the rest of his life was centered around England's Lunar Society scientists and industrialists, including Josiah Wedgwood, Thomas Arkwright, James Watt, Erasmus Darwin, Joseph Priestley, and, in particular, Matthew Boulton, the manufacturer of steam engines. However, before covering the story of Raspe's extensive work with Boulton, two remaining issues need to be reported, the first of which was the intense hostility against Raspe for his role in liberating Leibniz's writings.

In 1778, when Raspe had ventured a modest jab at the Landgrave, in the footnotes of a work, the Landgrave was provoked to issue a major attack on the fugitive in the *Heidesheimer Korrespondenz*. Raspe was called a coward, a lecher, a writer of worthless books, one who accepts bribes from foreign powers, and, in particular, the betrayer of the Landgrave to Frederick the Great. Whatever else this last charge might have meant—and given Raspe's contact with the King, there may be truth to it—it seems clear that the Landgrave was doing something of strategic significance in the fall of 1774, which he had to hide from Frederick. Hence, any action that the Landgrave took toward Raspe at that point, would have to be examined from the standpoint of Raspe's ongoing strate-

gic significance against those who controlled the mercenary-supplying Landgrave.

This same over-sensitivity to Raspe was evidenced in the 1779-1780 period, when he was championed by some of the anti-war faction in English politics, drawing King George III directly into the fray. In 1779, two individuals, Robert Hinchliffe (promoted by the Whigs against Lord North's government) and Dr. Michael Lort (Regius Professor of Greek at Cambridge), attempted to have Raspe deliver lectures at Cambridge. The lectures were to be on the history of the useful arts, and on the progress of science from Roger Bacon to the present. One Reverend William Cole, an informant to the King and Walpole, then named the two, Hinchliffe and Lort, as "Republicans" in revolt against the King. Cole suggested to Walpole that he had it on authority, that King George III himself was behind the freezing out of Raspe. The Raspe lectures were prohibited. Indeed, the subject of Raspe continued to be a sensitive matter for both King George III and the Landgrave Frederick, and intensely so for at least the period of the American Revolution.

The other issue concerns the depth and breadth of Raspe's concerns, stamping him in the tradition of the new "American" type of men, notably, Franklin and Beaumarchais (and characterized by Beaumarchais' famous literary character, Figaro). These men were aristocrats, not of bloodlines, but of intellect, morality, action and daring. A few examples suffice here. First, immediately following Britain's defeat at Yorktown, Raspe launched a cultural offensive in England. His translation of Lessing's *Nathan the Wise*, in late 1781, introduced the work to English readers not long after Lessing had finished it.⁵⁸ Not surprisingly, British authorities did not take kindly to the play's ecumenical message, gentle humor, and pointed dramatization of the evils arising from those trapped in the fixed axioms of feudalism and bloodlines. The *Monthly Review*—the same crowd that weighed in against Raspe and Leibniz back in 1766—called the work "unworthy of notice"; while the *Critical Review* called it "a heap of unintelligible jargon . . . infinitely beneath all criticism . . ."

Having published the Lessing translation, Raspe kept on the offensive, plunging forward. He placed his next proposal as an advertisement, in a November 1781 edition of that same *Monthly Review* magazine: "Proposals for a literary excursion to Egypt, for the purpose of collecting and decyphering its numerous hieroglyphical monuments, and of recovering the remaining Annals of that justly celebrated country, under the conduct of R.E. Raspe." Although there were no takers, a generation later, the historic decipherment of the Rosetta Stone's hieroglyphics was accomplished by France's François Cham-

pollion.⁵⁹ The study of Egypt's contribution to universal history would be popularized by Friedrich Schiller in his lecture, "The Mission of Moses."

The Adventures of Baron von Münchhausen

Finally, in 1785, Raspe dashed off the one work for which he has any notoriety today, a short collection called *The Adventures of Baron von Münchhausen*. Years earlier, Raspe had heard Hieronymus von Münchhausen, the nephew of Raspe's political collaborator, Gerlach Adolf von Münchhausen, spin wild tales of his youth, fighting for the Russians against the Turks in the 1730's. Evidently, Hieronymus would lead the listener on with greatly exaggerated, and patently nonsensical, yarns—told with a straight face. Raspe's decision, in 1785, to publish his version, was almost undoubtedly part of an intervention against the Venetian-sponsored (and British-supported) insanity, propelling Russia, and their ally Austria, again into a disastrous war against the Turks.

The Venetian/British policy, during the American Revolution, importantly included the attempt to change the subject, by setting the European powers against each other. For example, the 1778 War of the Bavarian Succession, between Prussia and Austria, was meant to draw France into such wasteful distractions. The push for this policy intensified with Russia's involvement in forming the League of Armed Neutrality in 1780, and the American and French victory in 1781. Major pressure was exerted upon Russia, and Catherine the Great, to induce them to plunge into warfare against the Turks.

Much effort was made to defeat these Venetian tricks. Raspe's colleague, Ignaz von Born, and his collaborator Wolfgang Mozart, had weighed in heavily, and successfully, in Joseph II's Vienna in June 1782, publicly ridiculing the Venetian/Russian attempts to whip up Austria against the Turks, with the staging of Mozart's new ecumenical opera, *The Abduction from the Seraglio*.⁶⁰ Raspe's little 1785 work was unexpectedly quite popular, going through many editions before the trap finally snapped upon Austria's Joseph II in 1788, and the Turkish war destroyed him. There were, in short order, many editions, several English, two German, one French, and even one from Boston, Massachusetts.⁶¹ Raspe had dashed off this work of fiction while attending to his obligations at Matthew Boulton's machine works.

Raspe and the Lunar Society

When Franklin and Raspe first met back in 1766, Franklin had been involved in discussions with Matthew Boulton over the development of his steam engine. The

year before, Franklin had brought Dr. William Small to Boulton, and Small worked as the industrial manager of Boulton's manufacturing plant.⁶² Then, on Feb. 22, 1766, the same day the Parliament repealed the Stamp Act, Boulton wrote to Franklin about the steam engine that he and Small had crafted:

The addition you have made to my happiness in being the cause of my acquaintance with the amiable and ingenious Dr. Small deserves more than thanks. . . . Query,—which of the steam valves do you like best? Is it better to introduce the jet of cold water at the bottom of the receiver . . . or at the top? Each has its advantages and disadvantages. My thoughts about the secondary or mechanical contrivances of the engine are too numerous to trouble you with in this letter, and yet I have not been lucky enough to hit upon any that are objectionless . . . [I]f any thought occurs to your fertile genius which you think may be useful, or preserve me from error in the execution of this engine, you'll be so kind as to communicate it to me.⁶³

In 1774, the partnership of Small, Boulton & Watt, was established, and they had a steam engine working that year. By 1777, Boulton's steam engines began to be a significant factor in the pumping of water out of Britain's tin and copper mines—vital for the development of mining and, hence, industry. Boulton knew that he was not simply developing a product line, but was revolutionizing how production would be carried out. When asked what he sold, he would utter his famous line: "I sell here, Sir, what all the world desires to have—POWER."

Raspe worked directly with Boulton for the last dozen years of his life, beginning no later than November 1782. However, it is hard to believe, given their common associates around Franklin and his Lunar Society friends, that they had not been in collaboration earlier than this. One day in 1779, for example, when Raspe was examining mummies in the Egyptian section of the British Museum, Boulton was next door in the Greek section, sketching ancient Greek vases and medallions! Regardless, by November 1782, Raspe had contacted Boulton regarding his mines. Not only was Raspe an expert in geology and minerals, but he had grown up around the Harz Mountain mines (whose overseer in the early 1680's, Gottfried Leibniz, had worked on the problem of developing machinery to pump standing water out of them). Raspe's father, Christian Theophilus Raspe, had lived in these Harz Mountains and worked in the Hanoverian state department of mines and forests.

Raspe's joining the Boulton mining operations was not a given. Boulton's operation was of national strategic importance, and everything that he did was examined for its security implications. He certainly knew about the

troubles that Raspe had had with the Landgrave of Hesse. Boulton had to satisfy himself about the situation sufficiently, so as to not leave himself open to attacks upon his operation by the anti-industrial faction in England. Boulton then employed Raspe as the scientific consultant for the Cornish mining industry, and soon, the head of the Assay Office for the area. One of Raspe's many proposals, was to use the unusually hard tungsten that he located, for the hardening of steel, such that anchors could be cast in one operation.

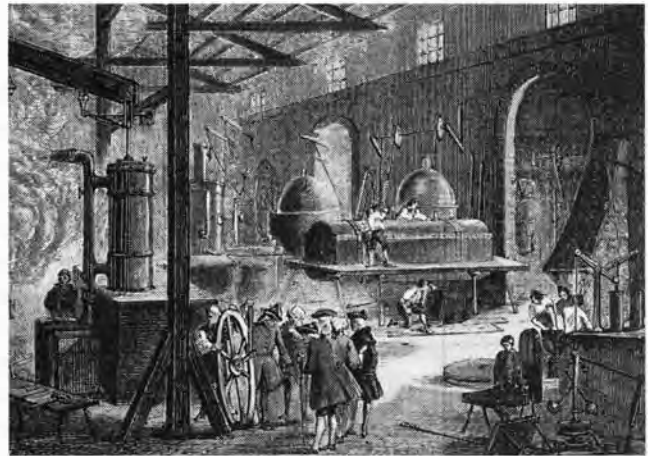
Raspe maintained his Continental connections. In October 1783, his report on the use of the steam engines in the Cornish metal industry was published in the Berlin magazine of James Bernoulli, a member of Raspe's extended political family.⁶⁴ In 1784, he prepared a paper, "Fire, Smoke, and Acids," for the Imperial Academy at St. Petersburg. Simultaneously, he worked in London on a project for replicating statuary for the museum of the Czarina, Catherine the Great. By 1785, he certainly had enough contact within Russia, and knowledge of the impending foolishness of Russia in pursuing a war against Turkey, to motivate his composing *The Adventures of Baron von Münchhausen* that summer.

In his last dozen years, Raspe seems to have been a litmus test in various regions of England, as to whether the feudalists or the pro-development forces in the area had the upper hand. For example, commissioned to perform a mineralogical survey of the Scottish Highlands, and to do for them what he had accomplished for Cornwall, Raspe worked long and hard hours, in difficult weather conditions.⁶⁵ Political fights would occur over whether the area was to be developed, or looted. In the midst of this, we have here one final example of the unabated, irrational hatred of Raspe by the British oligarchy, as follows.

In the Scottish Highlands, Raspe was hosted by Sir John Sinclair, who used and relied upon Raspe's report on the mining prospects. Sinclair never claimed any problem with it or him, and, in fact, voted up a resolution of thanks for Raspe at the Highland Society. Sinclair then wrote up the findings in a *Statistical Account* that he published, as the first President of the Agricultural Society. However, years later, after Sinclair was dead, his daughter would relate a story that Raspe ran a scam upon her poor father. Later, the Romantic, pro-feudal novelist Sir Walter Scott would take the matter one step further,



Raspe sought safety working for Franklin's Lunar Society network in England. Above: "Lunar men" Dr. William Small (left) and Matthew Boulton (right). Below: Inside Boulton's Soho Engineering Works, Birmingham.



weaving the daughter's gossip into a villainous character in his novel *The Antiquary*. There, Raspe appears as the character Hermann Dousterswivel, a wandering German mining prospector in the Scottish Highlands, who defrauds his host. The underlying rage against Raspe for his singular role in freeing Leibniz's manuscript from its prison, would express itself in just such uncontrollable excretions.

Republican or Rebel?

In the summer and fall of 1791, when the possibilities of a republican victory in France by Lafayette and his collaborator Bailly,⁶⁶ were being overwhelmed by mob mentality, Raspe would offer the following appraisals. Writing to Boulton, in recommendation of the Swedish painter Carl von Breda, Raspe had fun: "He does not speculate upon Fire Engines, Mills, Machinery, Buckle or Button-making, nor upon the New Jerusalem, the abolition of the Slave Trade, French Republicanism or

Cotton Mills, in which some of his discontented and expatriated countrymen have lately distinguished themselves, if not successfully, yet notoriously” And, more explicitly, Raspe wrote that France had become a place

where the Reformers and Constitution-Menders go forward as Ropemakers—the wrong way—where by robbing and plundering, they have undone publick Credit instead of creating it, and where Shilling and Sixpenny Assignats and unfounded Paper, unsupported by national honesty and Credit will, I apprehend, for many years to come, keep them from coining anything like Silver or Gold, and from stamping their puffed patriotism on anything but Waste paper and base Bell-metal.⁶⁷

Raspe, among other things, thought revolution should enhance public credit, not undo it.

His old collaborator Benjamin Franklin made similar anti-Jacobin comments, even earlier into the French troubles. Shortly after the violence of the summer and fall of 1789, beginning with the storming of the Bastille, he wrote in serious jest to the French scientist, J.B. LeRoy:

Are you still living? Or have the mob of Paris mistaken the head of a monopolizer of knowledge, for a monopolizer of corn, and paraded it about the streets upon a pole? Great part of the news we have had from Paris, for near a year past, has been very afflicting. . . . The voice of Philosophy I apprehend can hardly be heard among those tumults. . . . Our new Constitution is now established, and has an appearance that promises permanency.⁶⁸

Franklin died a few months later, in April 1790. Raspe and Franklin had shared 24 years of collaborative mission.

Raspe died in 1794, age 56, while on a trip to develop the copper mines of western Ireland, where he fell prey, in an impoverished, disease-ridden area, to what was probably an epidemic of spotted fever. In 1785, his life-long concern for public education, pedagogical museums, and the like, combined with his talent with materials and chemicals, had drawn him to the London studio of James Tassie. There, Tassie had developed a vitreous compound that was ideal for making multiple reproductions of statuary and such artwork, so that some balance of quality control and mass production could be attained. Raspe organized a catalogue for Tassie’s collection of art reproductions, which involved organizing the various items in topical fashion, and writing short descriptions of each artwork. In the dedication to the man who sponsored the catalogue, Raspe expressed his conception of the project:

I sincerely congratulate you on this disposition of your mind and heart, for in public as well as in private life, it will always attend you as a friendly genius; and like the Daemon of Socrates, which the profane could not form an idea of, suggest to you both the agreeable knowledge and the more important enjoyment and practice of whatever is true, right, just, and beautiful.

Whether with steam engines or artworks, bending nature for the general welfare of the population’s physical and cultural development, was a single subject for Raspe.

V. Franklin’s Post-1766 Organizing

Franklin had attempted for years in Britain to appeal to enlightened self-interest, arguing that more developed colonies could only benefit Britain in the long run. That worked to some extent in the 1766 defeat of the Stamp Act. However, Franklin seems to have expanded his conception of the matter, or at least what he was willing to argue for publicly, by developing in more breadth and depth, the idea of happiness. Thus, in his “Introduction to a Plan for Benefitting the New Zealanders,” there is an open appeal to the better angel of the English nature, even as late as 1771:

Britain is now the first Maritime Power in the world, Her Ships are innumerable, capable by their Form, Size, and Strength, of sailing all Seas. . . . The Inhabitants of those Countries, our *Fellow-Men*, have Canoes only; not knowing Iron, they cannot build Ships: They . . . cannot therefore come to us. . . . From these circumstances, does not some duty seem to arise from us to them? Does not Providence, by these distinguishing Favours, seem to call on us, to do something ourselves for the common Interests of Humanity?

Those who think it their Duty to ask Bread and other Blessings daily from Heaven, should they not think it equally a duty to communicate of those blessings when they have received them; and show their Gratitude to their Great Benefactor, by the only means in their power, promoting the happiness of his other Children? . . . [How greatly] may Englishmen deserve such Honour, by communicating the knowledge and use, not of Corn only, but of all the other enjoyments Earth can produce, and which they are now in possession of. *Communiter bona profundero, Deum est.* [To shower good things over all, is Divine.]

Many Voyages have been undertaken with views of

profit or of plunder, or to gratify resentment; to procure some advantage to ourselves, or do some mischief to others: but a voyage is now proposed, to visit a distant people on the other side of the Globe; not to cheat them, not to rob them, not to seize their lands, or enslave their persons; but merely to do them good, and enable them as far as in our power lies, to live as comfortably as ourselves.

It seems a laudable wish, that all the Nations of the Earth were connected by a knowledge of each other, and a mutual exchange of benefits: But a Commercial Nation particularly should wish for a general Civilization of Mankind, since Trade is always carried on to much greater extent with People who have the Arts and Conveniences of Life, than it can be with naked Savages. We may therefore hope, in this undertaking, to be of some service to our Country, as well as to those poor people, who, however distant from us, are in truth related to us, and whose Interests do, in some degree, concern every one who can say, "Homo sum," &c.⁶⁹

Franklin's mature conceptions elevated the debates in America up through 1775, and were clearly stamped upon his June 1776 committee of five which created the Declaration of Independence. The Leibnizian concept of Happiness could not be clearer. But what of the secondary issue of property? What does one render to Caesar, and what to God? How does one apportion, in the physical world, the finite magnitudes involved, in the pursuit of one's lifetime mission? How does one use material resources and the finite span of mortal life, to do the public good? The calculus involved in this, could best be developed by Leibniz's method and his followers, and certainly not that of Newton (or of Jeremy Bentham).

Perhaps Franklin's most explicit view on this came late in 1783. It is in some respects, but not all, remarkably akin to the development of this idea by his co-thinker, Moses Mendelssohn, published a few months earlier, in his work, *Jerusalem, or On Religious Power and*

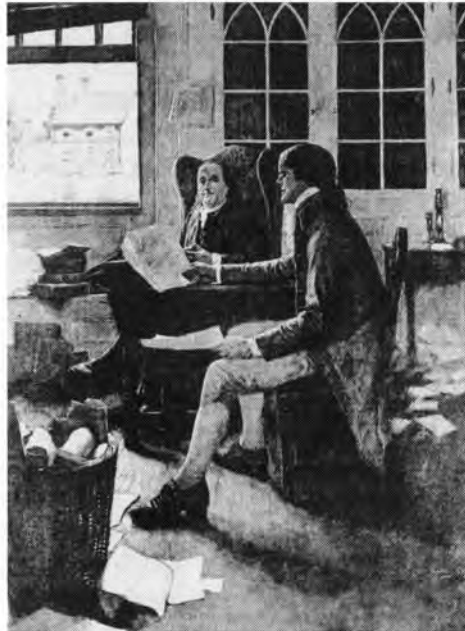
Judaism. There, Mendelssohn reflects his discussion with the pro-American faction in the Prussian court in Berlin, including the Royal Councillor von Dohm, and the Assistant Councillor, Ernst Klein. Mendelssohn argued that it was the individual who had the sole right to what he produces or improves, and that such is his private property. However, this sole right was simply one side of his duty, which requires that he not cease his productive identity, but rather continue his productive activity, as a human, with what he has so far produced—hence, to use his product to do the public good. He must figure out how to deploy what he has produced. Someone else cannot preempt one's sovereign duty to do the public good—not because it is one's right to have comfortable space, or some such nonsense, but because one actually does have to accomplish the public good. That was the only reason that one got involved in the business of producing and improving, where the matter of private property arose. As Mendelssohn wrote,

Man cannot be happy without

"Happiness" vs. "Property" debated in the colonies: Richard Bland (far right) took arguments against British rule from both Vattel and Locke. Later, James Wilson (right) said: "happiness . . . is the first law of every government."



Above: Emmerich von Vattel. His 1758 "Law of Nations," founded on Leibniz, was reprinted in the colonies in 1774. Right: Benjamin Franklin reviews Declaration of Independence draft with Thomas Jefferson.



beneficence, whether it be passive, through receiving it, or active, through extending it. He cannot attain perfection except through mutual assistance, through reciprocity of service, through active and passive connection with his fellowman.⁷⁰

Hence, man must not stop short of the activity of producing and improving his species and the world. Where greed sets in, producing and improving has ceased, rights and duties do not exist; there is no need to worry about institutions in the law of the jungle. Instead, man is obliged to use all of his possessions for the benefit of his species, beyond what is minimally necessary for individual survival.

In December 1783, Franklin was in Paris, where he wrote to Robert Morris, the indefatigable fundraiser for the Revolution, who had repeatedly shown his willingness to sacrifice. Franklin maintains,

All Property, indeed, except the Savage's temporary Cabin, his Bow, his Matchcoat, and other little Acquisitions, absolutely necessary for his Subsistence, seems to me to be the Creature of public Convention. Hence the Public has the Right of Regulating Descents, and all other Conveyances of Property, and even of limiting the Quantity and the Uses of it. All the Property that is necessary to a Man, for the Conservation of the Individual and the Propagation of the Species, is his natural Right, which none can justly deprive him of: But all Property superfluous to such purposes is the Property of the Publick, who, by their Laws, have created it, and who may therefore by other Laws dispose of it, whenever the Welfare of the Publick shall demand such Disposition. He that does not like civil Society on these Terms, let him retire and live among Savages. He can have no right to the benefits of Society, who will not pay his Club towards the Support of it.⁷¹

Both Mendelssohn and Franklin had spent decades in working through the dangers and evils of Hobbes and Locke, through the inherent absurdities of a human being who purports to use reason, to reason himself out of reason, and into the mode of a beast. Both owed a debt to Leibniz, for even the capacity to address the question of property, and such mortal matters, the way a human being (a "*mensch*") would. Both had mature enough conceptions of property to be able to frame constitutions fit for human societies.

The Happy Deliberations in the Colonies

In the American colonies, the debate ensued in earnest, once the British Stamp Act made the direction of British imperial policy clear to one and all. In Williamsburg,

Virginia, Richard Bland's 1766 "An Inquiry into the Rights of the British Colonies" equally refers to Vattel's *Law of Nations* and Locke's *On Civil Government*, to frame his arguments. More developed, and more delineated, is James Wilson's pamphlet, "Considerations on the Nature and Extent of the Legislative Authority of the British Parliament," written in 1770, though not published until 1774. There, he argues:

[A]ll lawful government is founded in the consent of those who are subject to it: such consent was given with a view to ensure and to increase the happiness of the governed, above what they would enjoy in an independent and unconnected state of nature. The consequence is, that the happiness of the society is the first law of every government. [Footnote: The right of sovereignty is that of commanding finally — but in order to procure real felicity; for if this end is not obtained, sovereignty ceases to be a legitimate authority. 2. Burl. 32, 33.] This rule is founded on the law of nature: it must control every political maxim: it must regulate the legislature itself.⁷²

Wilson asserts happiness to be the judge of what Blackstone would have as the sovereignty of the British Parliament. His discussion of the colonies has a test: "Will it ensure and increase the happiness of the American colonies, that the British Parliament should possess a supreme, irresistible, uncontrolled authority over them? Is such an authority consistent with their liberty? Have they any security that it will be employed for their good?"⁷³

In 1773, the British Parliament answered this question by handing to the East India Company a monopoly upon the American tea trade. When the Sons of Liberty used the East India Company's tea to turn the Boston harbor into a teapot, Parliament destroyed the republican Massachusetts Charter, by passage of the Coercive Acts. Wilson's pamphlet was printed in time for the assembling of Congress in Philadelphia, September 1774. The delegates read Thomas Jefferson's "A Summary of the Rights of British America," a work that reminds the King that the colonists were "establishing new societies, under such laws and regulations as to them shall seem most likely to promote public happiness."

Also in 1774, in Europe, Franklin's associate, Charles Dumas, had a reprint made of Emmerich von Vattel's 1758 *The Law of Nations*, to further this 1774 debate and education process.⁷⁴ In the planning period between the 1773 Boston Tea Party and the September 1774 Congress, there would have been time to arrange for the publication and distribution of Vattel's work, and this is the likely explanation of Dumas' action.

The developments in that autumn of 1774 in Philadelphia prepared the “shot heard round the world” the following spring. Franklin’s arrival in Philadelphia must have put to flight some of the remaining axioms of Locke amongst the deliberations. Then, late in 1775, Arthur Lee (along with Dumas, the first pair of European agents hired by Congress) was delegated to meet and plan with Beaumarchais. Lee’s offer of long-term treaties of commerce with France, was included in Beaumarchais’ memorial to the French King, Louis XVI. Shortly thereafter, on March 12, 1776, the memorial of Louis XVI’s minister, Vergennes, created Beaumarchais’ private firm to arm and equip the Americans. The British blocked the American ports, in defense of the dominance of the East India Company, and on April 6, 1776, Congress opened the ports for trade to the world. George Wythe insisted, “We must declare ourselves a free people,” in order to conclude treaties with foreign powers. No more squirming for rights within the British Empire.

When, in June 1776, Franklin’s drafting committee began their work on the Declaration of Independence, ten years of informed discussion of Leibniz’s principle of “Happiness” as a superior organizing principle for government, had prepared minds. The prose of the Declaration is largely Jefferson’s; but the content, in particular the “pursuit of happiness” clause, was the sense of the Congress’s deliberations for at least the previous two years.

Secondary indications of this, from Jefferson’s rather defensive exchanges many years later (after Franklin had departed the scene), include:

- Jefferson would refer to Franklin’s description of his (Jefferson’s) role as like, “the draughtsman of papers to be reviewed by a public body.”

- When John Adams, as an old man, made the crusty comment: “There is not an idea in it but what had been hackneyed in Congress for two years before [referring to 1774–DS],” Jefferson responded, that such statements, as that of Adams, “may all be true. [However, . . .] I did not consider it as any part of my charge to invent new ideas altogether and to offer no sentiment which had ever been expressed before.”
- In his last year, Jefferson wrote to his critic, Richard Lee, somewhat disingenuously, that the essential thing was “not to find out new principles, or new arguments, never before thought of, not merely to say things which had never been said before; but to place before mankind the common sense of the subject, in terms so plain and firm as to command their assent. . . . All its authority rests then on the harmonizing sentiments of the day”



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By July 1776, Franklin had organized strong support in France (left), and Condorcet (above) hailed the American example. Below: The Battle of Lexington—the “shot heard ‘round the world.”



The Granger Collection

The 'Declaration' Reverberates in Europe

Even before Silas Deane, American representative in Paris, could get a copy of the Declaration, copies were circulating in London, Edinburgh, Dublin, Leyden, Copenhagen, Warsaw, and Florence—and in Basel, Switzerland, Isaak Iselin had made a German translation. Later, Mirabeau's 1782 *Des lettres de cachet et des prisons d'état*, noted: "The sublime manifesto of the United States of America was very generally applauded." The Marquis de Condorcet, Franklin's collaborator in Paris, went even further: It is not enough that such rights "should be written in the books of philosophers and in the hearts of virtuous men; it is necessary that ignorant or weak men should read them in the example of a great people. America has given us this example. The act which declares its independence is a simple and sublime exposition of those rights so sacred and so long forgotten."⁷⁵

The exposition of those inalienable rights centered around the "simple and sublime" triune idea: "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." That idea would be fought for, and died for; and that idea would develop, in the debates over the Constitution, the organizing principle of the government, the positive obligation to the "General Welfare" of the population. The articulated proof of Leibniz's conception of man's mind, over Locke's conception of man's mind as a "blank slate," is properly seen in the subsequent success of the "America" hypothesis, that human nature was eminently worth investing in, developing, and transforming.

So, then, consider how low one must stoop to argue, as one contemporary historian does, that, "Even Jefferson's use of 'the pursuit of happiness' as the third term in the triumvirate of basic rights, instead of Locke's term 'estate,' was not . . . necessarily a departure in meaning. Stylistically, 'pursuit of happiness' is unquestionably better, and it may have been no more than an instinct for a graceful phrase that caused the substitution." The author gives sophistry a bad name. For the moment, let us leave this sophist anonymous, but ask: Would anyone allow such a sophist to train the policy-makers of this republic?

There is a bit of history before we get to our anonymous sophist. First, as part of the British invasion, Ambrose Serle, the secretary of Lord Howe, launched an attack on the Declaration on July 13, 1776: "A more impudent, false and atrocious Proclamation was never fabricated by the Hands of Man." Then, in London, Lord North commissioned one John Lind, to compose a pamphlet, "An Answer to the Declaration of the American Congress." Lind reiterated the line that Locke, New-

ton, and George III had all taken toward Leibniz and his ideas, writing: "Of the preamble, I have taken little or no notice. The truth is, little or none does it deserve." For Lind, the possibility that the Creator was good, and that it were a happy or felicitous Creator who would endow man with the type of liberty that was necessary for solving the ever-new physical problems of survival—this was not worth any sustained attention, and was certainly outside the bounds of governance.

Lind argues that the innate evil of man's nature—a view common to Thomas Hobbes and John Locke—meant that someone must be unhappy, that governments must sacrifice lives or liberties, or both. No government could possibly exist, except for some arrangement among tribes of "original sinners." The Americans, Lind asserted, in their Declaration based upon "inalienable rights," have "put the axe to the root of all government," since in all past or even possible governments, "some one or other of these rights pretended to be unalienable, is actually alienated." Lind's associate, Jeremy Bentham, offered his "Short Review of the Declaration" (evidently finding pleasure in parroting Lind's argument): "[T]o secure these rights, they [the signers of the Declaration] are content that Governments should be instituted. They perceive not, or will not seem to perceive, that nothing which can be called government ever was, or ever could be, in any instance, exercised, but at the expence of one or other of those rights."⁷⁶

Lord North, Lind, and Bentham certainly were aware that an argument had been put on the table, which the imperial faction in Britain had gone to great lengths to suppress. They were then in the sixtieth year of the personal suppression of Leibniz's writings by the Hanoverian Kings of England.

Confederate 'Property' vs. Happiness

The case is not so clear concerning the awareness of Richard Henry Lee, who charged that Jefferson had copied the "Declaration of Independence" from Locke's *Treatise on Government*. One of the Virginia Lees, he received his law education in England. While he was active in support of the Revolution, he later aggressively opposed the Constitution. (And Richard may not have been as big a headache for the Founding Fathers as were his relatives, the traitor, Charles Lee, who gave Howe secret plans to defeat the Americans, and Arthur Lee, who did his best to sabotage Franklin's delegation in Paris, and then sow confusion in the Congress back home.) But it is to Richard Lee that the honor goes of publicly identifying Locke as the source of the Declaration.

The Nineteenth-century South Carolina secessionist



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The conflict over slavery continued the fight between Leibniz and Locke. Pro-slavery spokesmen like Rufus Choate (bottom, left) decried the Declaration's "Life, Liberty, and Happiness"; the Kansas pro-slavery Constitution, like that of the later Confederacy, asserted the primacy of property. Left: Abraham Lincoln argues against extending slavery to Kansas in the Lincoln-Douglas debates. Below: Mob enters Kansas to vote up slavery.



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politician J.H. Hammond, brought his peculiar form of reasoning and insight, into the thinking of the Founding Fathers:

Our forefathers, when they proclaimed this truth to be self-evident, were not in the best mood to become philosophers, however well calculated to approve themselves the best of patriots. They were much excited, nay, rather angry. . . . The phrase was simply a finely sounding one, significant of that sentimental French philosophy, then so current, which was destined to bear such sanguinary consequences.⁷⁷

Variouly Congressman, Governor, and Senator of South Carolina, from the nullification period of 1830, to the actual 1860 secession, Hammond was also famous for declaring that "Cotton is king." He had the distinction to be Senator, when South Carolina bolted from the United States, and triggered a few "sanguinary consequences" of their own.

Abraham Lincoln and friends organized a new political party to address this drift from the mission of the Declaration of Independence, and the consequent Constitution. Rufus Choate, former Senator and elder figure among the Whigs, articulated the position of those who objected to Lincoln taking the Declaration seriously, as if

ideas have causal results in the world. Lincoln's former fellow Whigs, including Choate, had bowed to the oligarchy for so long, that they had forgotten which country they lived in. Choate argued that the Declaration was a useless abstraction:

Is it man as he ought to be or man as he is, that we must live with? . . . Do you assume that all men . . . uniformly obey reason? . . . Where on earth is such a fool's paradise as that to be found? . . . [Such foolishness is the Republican party's] mission to inaugurate freedom and put down oligarchy, its constitution the glittering and sounding generalities of the Declaration of Independence.⁷⁸

Lincoln had engaged this battle against Choate quite openly, for example in his speech to the first Republican state convention of Illinois.⁷⁹ He attacked the Boston-based Choate, saying:

[A]t the birthplace of freedom—in the shadow of Bunker Hill and of the "cradle of liberty," at the home of the

Adamses and Warren and Otis—Choate, from our side of the house [Whig-DS], dares to fritter away the birthday promise of liberty, by proclaiming the Declaration to be "a string of glittering generalities"; and the Southern Whigs, working hand in hand with pro-slavery Democrats, are making Choate's theories practical.⁸⁰

Southern Whigs, pro-slavery Democrats, and Choate's faction among the Northern Whigs, were not simply theoretically opposed to what the Founding Fathers did. When Kansas was seized by the pro-slavery mob, their new state constitution asserted: "The right of property is before and higher than any constitutional sanction." Now, this is pretty primitive. It is one thing to write a constitution that asserts that the political body is based upon slavery; but, the Kansas pro-slavery Constitution didn't even rise to that level of literate evil. It is difficult to figure what such folks mean by the word, "constitution," if the important matters are settled before anything is constituted. In more normal English, it might read: "We've taken over, and power rules property; so, if we're going to have a piece of paper, it is not going to stand in the way of reality." At least, the framers of the Confederate Constitution knew how to write a coherent-

ly evil document, when they replaced “pursuit of happiness” with the word “property.”⁸¹

So, how does a modern sophist deal with this messy problem of the Declaration’s “pursuit of happiness”? Perhaps the Founding Fathers meant “property,” but confused us, because they liked to prettify their language? Thus, we have, again:

Even Jefferson’s use of “the pursuit of happiness” as the third term in the triumvirate of basic rights, instead of Locke’s term “estate,” was not . . . necessarily a departure in meaning. Stylistically, “pursuit of happiness” is unquestionably better, and it may have been no more than an instinct for a graceful phrase that caused the substitution.⁸²

This claptrap was circulated by the Bobbs-Merrill “American Heritage Series” in the 1950’s, as the standard line for modern American education. The sophist in question was Harvard University Professor of Science of Government Carl J. Friedrich, a colleague of William Yandell Elliott in the 1950’s training of Henry Kissinger, Zbigniew Brzezinski, and Samuel Huntington.⁸³ His students are now in their fifth decade of polluting the constituted mission of the United States republic. And so, to answer the question posed earlier: No, Friedrich should not have been training policy-makers of this republic.

Leibniz’s Simple Truths of History

When Raspe and Münchhausen brought Franklin into the Hanover library, where they had worked to liberate Leibniz’s works, there was one particular Leibniz piece, a 1676 dialogue, which was quoted earlier in this article. There, the character “Theophilus” was much like Franklin, discussing the common good and the Republic, with the character similar to Raspe, “Pacidius”:

[H]e was consumed with the study of the common good [communis boni], on whose increase he had often pinned his hope, and on which he had stinted neither wealth nor labor. I had a close friendship with him, and enjoyed his company. At that time, by chance, we were having a long conversation about the State [Republica] . . .

The immediate continuation of Leibniz’s sentence, not presented before, is:

. . . and the unreliable records of histories, which corrupt the simplicity of deeds with fictitious accounts of their causes, as he was brilliantly showing to have happened in business transactions he had been involved in. . . . What you say, Theophilus, about civil history being corrupted by people who think up hidden causes for conspicuous events, is something that becomes even more dangerous in natural history . . .

Let us consider this at some length. This dialogue by Leibniz, titled “A Dialogue of Motion,” was about physics and competent epistemological investigations. He chose to attack the systemic, ideological problems that cropped up in investigating the world, by composing a character, Theophilus, who had had some experience in the business world attacking such. He had become “a wealthy and honored businessman,” evidently because he was somewhat brilliant in business, from keeping his mind on “the simplicity of deeds,” and being able to distinguish such, from the overwhelming tendency of people in business to corrupt them “with fictitious accounts.” What people actually do and accomplish in the world, is one thing. What people frequently are compelled to believe, or to construct as images about them, is another. Hence, the expression, “watch his feet, not his mouth.”

Next, Leibniz has Theophilus applying this developed capacity from analysis of business affairs, to the histories of states, distinguishing such extant histories, from “the simplicity of deeds” that could possibly account for the actual state’s existence. This capacity, so identified, was crucial for their discussion of the ways of increasing the common good. Leibniz’s felicitous compositional choice extends this same quality of Theophilus, in business and in strategic analysis, now to science. It is to be brought to bear in attacking the ideological flaws in the (Cartesian, mechanist) physics of a mutual friend. In physics, also, what must be going on, is a different question from the many, many rationalizations which people offer, that are products of the axiomatic assumptions that they chose not to examine.

What is the “simplicity of deeds” with regard to the declared mission of the United States? Sometimes a cigar is just a cigar, and the pursuit of happiness is just the pursuit of happiness—and the interesting therapeutic problem is to isolate and discover the systemic, ideological obsessions that can’t be happy with that.

As Theophilus, Leibniz, and Franklin, so Lyndon LaRouche has shown a certain talent for “analysis situs” methods in areas of business, statecraft, physics, and epistemology.⁸⁴ He has developed, in terms of potential relative-population density, a measure for dealing with questions about the “simplicity of deeds” of nations, including about the founding of the United States (or about the Italian Renaissance, the collapse of Rome, etc.).

A method of analysis that starts out looking for what explains the generation of the situation, and so assumes that there was a lawful generation, is one that is already confident that the composition of the universe by the Creator was a happy one. The Creator did not simply throw us into existence, without clues as to our mission, and merely leave us to use our subjective processes to

entertain ourselves for the duration of that existence. Hence, the subjective freedom of thought must necessarily be developed, in order that the physical existence of free human beings may be made possible. The love, or *agapē*, required for the sustained application of one's thought processes, can be enhanced by recreating for

oneself what Leibniz would call "the simplicity of deeds" of Socrates, of Jesus, or of Joan of Arc—and we would add, of Gottfried Leibniz and Benjamin Franklin.

Bend your talents toward such historic tasks, and you will know happiness.



1. Of some note, "life" in the original draft was actually written as "the preservation of life"
2. This fascinating strategic coup of Leibniz is developed in H. Graham Lowry's *How the Nation Was Won: America's Untold Story. Vol. I: 1630-1754* (Washington, D.C.: Executive Intelligence Review, 1987).
3. The best presentation of the joint Locke-Newton anti-republican policies and actions can be found in Philip Valenti's "The Anti-Newtonian Roots of the American Revolution," *Executive Intelligence Review*, Dec. 1, 1995 (Vol. 22, No. 48), pp. 12-31.
4. Locke may well also have been agitated over Leibniz's habit of rooting out intellectual frauds, as Leibniz was then in the midst of a scientific challenge to Locke's underling Newton. The public challenge, issued by Leibniz's collaborator, Johann Bernoulli, on the brachistochrone—or "least time"—problem, had made it clear that real scientific and mental development was an eminently public matter.
5. Georg Ludwig's wife, Sophie Dorothea, had been under "house arrest" since 1694, under most bizarre circumstances, never to see her husband or her children again. She had tried to escape from Georg Ludwig; and the man who tried to aid her, Königsmarck, was murdered by four courtiers, his body placed in a sack loaded with stones, to "swim with the fishes." Whatever her fears were of her husband, they seemed to go far beyond the mere matter of his having a mistress. Her pleas to her own father, prior to her attempt to flee, had gone unaddressed, for fear of disturbing political arrangements. Georg Ludwig's son, George II, and also his daughter-in-law, Caroline, would consequently never be close to him. Undoubtedly, the file that was compiled on Georg Ludwig would be an easy avenue for pressure upon, and control over, him.
6. What is one to conclude, when charges of cheating are decided by cheating?
7. I have relied upon E.J. Aiton, *Leibniz: A Biography* (Bristol and Boston: Adam Hilger, Ltd., 1985) for significant portions of the facts of Leibniz's life.
8. *Memoirs of John Ker of Kersland* (London: John Ker, 1727), quoted in Philip Valenti, unpublished, 1978.
9. *G.W. Leibniz and Samuel Clarke: Correspondence*, ed. by Roger Ariew (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, 2000). The first of the six letters by Leibniz in this correspondence of a course of about a year.
10. For example, the *Acta Eruditorum*, published in Leipzig, was established by Leibniz in 1682 to publish his, and his circle's, scientific work. Leibniz's half-brother, Johann Friedrich, and his brother-in-law, F.S. Loeffler, had taught in Leipzig. Based out of Leipzig, three generations of the Loeffler family fought for Leibniz's works. See my article on the Leibniz core around Bach's Leipzig: "Thinking Through Singing: The Strategic Significance of J.S. Bach's *A Musical Offering*," *Fidelio*, Winter 2000 (Vol. IX, No. 4).
11. See Valenti, "Anti-Newtonian Roots," *op. cit.*, for an excellent presentation of Colden's work, along with the work of Franklin's Philadelphia mentor James Logan. However, Valenti was not aware of Kästner's interest in the work.
12. *Cadwallader Colden Papers, Vol. I*, in *New York Historical Society Papers*, 1917, Preface and p. 140.
13. See Valenti, "Anti-Newtonian Roots," *op. cit.*
14. This is Franklin's account of Kästner's words. Feb. 28, 1753 letter to Colden, in *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, ed. by Leonard W. Labaree (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1969), Vol. 13, p. 425.
15. *Papers, op. cit.*, Vol. 4, p. 314. The Latin is from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, loosely translated as: "At least he dared greatly, although he failed." Minimal punctuation added, shown in brackets.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 354.
17. Franklin wrote several reports to Collinson on his research on electricity in 1749 and 1750; however, the London Royal Society treated them with disdain. Included among the results of his experiments was the proposal to test the hypothesis that lightning was the same phenomenon as the electric sparks generated in the laboratory, by experimenting with kites and lightning-rods. Franklin did not carry out his famous kite experiment until the summer of 1752, a year after the *Experiments and Observations* was published; he subsequently received reports of the lightning-rod experiments carried out in France in the spring of 1752.
18. *Papers, op. cit.*, Vol. 4, pp. 374-375.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 442.
20. Nov. 19, 1753, Colden letter to Franklin. Quoted in Valenti, *op. cit.* Valenti points out that Franklin's London associate, Peter Collinson, reported to Colden, March 13, 1755, that, "The state of the case seems to be this—that every one [in London] is so satisfied with Sir Isaac's [theory] that they have no curiosity to examine yours [I]n Germany or France it would not want for perusal." This certainly sounds like a politically repressed and frightened environment. If the premature demise of Mylius in 1754 was not an assassination, the mere unaddressed suspicions of a foul end to Mylius, would have had the same repressive effect.
21. *Papers, op. cit.*, Vol. 4, pp. 446-447.
22. Colden had made observations showing the axis of the ecliptic differed by a few seconds of an angle between winter and summer solstices.
23. Lessing, and his new ally Moses Mendelssohn, both in their mid-twenties, composed and distributed a work satirizing the prize essay competition run by the Berlin Academy's Maupertuis and Euler, thus succeeding in exposing them as fools in their attacks upon Leibniz. See G.E. Lessing and Moses Mendelssohn, "Pope a Metaphysician! An Anonymous Pamphlet in Defense of Leibniz," *Fidelio*, Winter 1999 (Vol. VIII, No. 4).
24. Most of the following on Raspe's career is drawn from John Carswell's *The Romantic Rogue: Being the Singular Life and Adventures of Rudolph Eric Raspe* (New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., 1950).
25. The Göttingen philologist, Christian Gottlob Heyne, father-in-law of one of Raspe's good friends, shared the joys of working on Leibniz with Raspe and Kästner during this period. Heyne had already benefitted from an earlier "Leibniz publishing" event,

- when in 1755, a Göttingen colleague, Professor A.B. Michaelis, brought out the Leibniz-Ludolf Correspondence, which was centered upon philological studies (see “Leibniz, Halle, and the American Revolution,” footnote 4, page 33, this issue).
26. The other five works in the volume were: “Examen du Sentiment du Pere Malebranche que nous voyons tout en Dieu,” “Dialogues de Connexion inter Res et Verba,” “Difficultates quaedam Logicae,” “Discours Touchant la Methode de la Certitude et l’Art d’inventer,” and “Historia et Commendatio Characteristicae Universalis quae simul sit Ars Inveniendi.”
 27. See David Shavin, “Philosophical Vignettes from the Political Life of Moses Mendelssohn,” *Fidelio*, Summer 1999 (Vol. VIII, No. 2). An additional sign of this improved environment: After twenty years of attacks upon Leibniz at the very Berlin Academy of Science that he had founded, the Academy chose, in 1767, to give an award for the best eulogy of Leibniz! The winner, Jean Sylvain Bailly, launched a career in astronomy and republicanism, working with Franklin and the Marquis de LaFayette; see Pierre Beaudry, “Jean Sylvain Bailly: The French Revolution’s Benjamin Franklin,” *Executive Intelligence Review*, Jan. 26, 2001 (Vol. 28, No. 4).
 28. *For the Good of Mankind: Pierre-Augustin Caron de Beaumarchais’ Political Correspondence Relative to the American Revolution*, ed. and trans. by Antoinette Shewmake (Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 1987), pp. 12-13. De Noailles would die under the guillotine during the Terror.
 29. *Papers, op. cit.*, Vol. 13, p. 163. Franklin’s Pacificus, and his other literary voices, managed to combine a gentleness with a sharpness, most effectively, in a manner reminiscent to this author’s ear of his German contemporary Moses Mendelssohn.
 30. *The Monthly Review*, January 1766, Vol. XXXIII, Appendix, pp. 497-505.
 31. Franklin had been in England for most of the previous decade, but only got to the Continent once before. Whether he had already intended to go to Leibniz’s library in Hanover, or not, the public freakout against Raspe might well have triggered or consolidated his intentions. Further, that Franklin’s old literary acquaintance, Kästner, had written the introduction to the Leibniz volume, might have provided that much more incentive.
 32. *Papers, op. cit.*, Vol. 13, p. 316.
 33. “Pacidius to Philaethes: A First Philosophy of Motion,” in *The Labyrinth of the Continuum*, ed. and trans. by Richard T.W. Arthur (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), pp. 131-133.
 34. July 13, 1766: “Franklin, der Doctor juris und Insonderheit in der Oeconomie physique und der Agricultur grosse Kenntnis hat.”
 35. The event was described in the Sept. 13, 1766 *Göttingische Anzeigen von gelehrten Sachen*.
 36. *Hannoversches Magazin*, Feb. 27-April 20, 1767. For an English translation, see *Papers, op. cit.*, Vol. 13, pp. 346-377.
 37. *Papers, op. cit.*, Vol. 13, pp. 375-376.
 38. See footnote 25.
 39. Franklin was the sponsor of Mathew Carey, and Ebeling was an agent in Europe for the circulation of Carey’s works. It is not clear whether Franklin ever met Lessing. What is known, is that Lessing was visiting Kästner at Göttingen no later than August 2, two weeks after the Göttingen “Science Festival,” and that his host, Michaelis, was Franklin’s host. Minimally, Lessing would have had ample opportunity to hear first-hand of the events and deliberations from Kästner and others. Curiously, Lessing had been in Pymont earlier, in June, at the same spa where Franklin had also been in late June. Kästner’s Aug. 2, 1766 poem for the occasion reads (in translation):

To conquer blindness by his gentle songs,
Amphion passing foreign lands was seen.
O Lessing! If Amphion’s art were yours,
For our confused minds wouldst thou sing.
 40. *Papers, op. cit.*, Vol. 13, pp. 424-425. Emphasis added.
 41. *Papers, ibid.*, p. 425, note 2.
 42. Curiously, Barrington’s brother, Daines Barrington, had been assigned an equally sensitive matter a year earlier. He was to investigate for the Royal Society whether the eight-year-old genius, Mozart, then visiting London, was possibly an adult dwarf! That is, the human mind could not have such potentiality—nor could, for that matter, Illinois or the American continent.
 43. Gorgias was the orator who inflamed Alcibiades in 417-415 B.C., sending Athens into renewed bloodshed and ruin. See Plato’s dialogues, *Gorgias* and *Alcibiades*. Franklin, insightfully, compares the pause, and possible peace, in the midst of the Peloponnesian War, to the just concluded 1756-63 French and Indian War. Athens succumbed to the oratory, plunging to her destruction.
 44. “Reply to Coffee House Orators,” in *Benjamin Franklin: Writings*, ed. by J.A. Leo Lemay (New York: Library of America, 1987), pp. 590-594.
 45. *Papers, op. cit.*, Vol. 13, p. 406.
 46. *Ibid.*, p. 406-407, note 5.
 47. Of course, Franklin did not need to discuss Leibniz’s extended treatment of Locke, with Raspe and Münchhausen, in order “to do good”—he had spent most of his previous sixty years doing just that. The story of the influence of Cotton Mather’s *Essays To Do Good* upon the teenage Franklin, and of his subsequent good actions—including, the organization of his Junto, his establishment of fire stations, lending libraries, military defense, academies, schools for public education of Indians and Blacks, etc.—has been reported elsewhere. Notable are Lowry’s coverage of the Mathers; Trout’s presentation of the literate Commonwealth cultural tradition; and Valenti’s tracking of the coherence between the scientific and the political policies, of both the Leibniz/Logan/Franklin republican circles, and the contrary Locke/Newton colonial circles. Further, Trout has demonstrated that the Congressional delegations in Philadelphia, just prior to the Declaration of Independence, found that the *Law of Nations* by the Leibnizian, Vattel, was crucial to their deliberations. See Lowry, *op. cit.*; Valenti, *op. cit.*; and Robert Trout, “Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness: How the *Natural Law* Concepts of G.W. Leibniz Inspired America’s Founding Fathers,” *Fidelio*, Spring 1997 (Vol. VI, No. 1), and “The Aesthetical Education of America,” *Fidelio*, Winter 1999 (Vol. VIII, No. 4).
 48. See footnote 24.
 49. *Papers, op. cit.*, Vol. 13, p. 406.
 50. It seems likely that Franklin attempted to provide Raspe with alternatives at this point. The English admirers of Raspe secured his membership in the Royal Society in 1769, and, in 1770, there was discussion with Franklin about Raspe leaving Cassel.
 51. A simultaneous incident with Beaumarchais may help unlock what was going on here. Beaumarchais suddenly departed from his mission to London, and showed up in Vienna, where he was placed under house arrest. This arrangement allowed him to meet comfortably—daily for several weeks—with his counterpart in the Austrian Court, Joseph von Sonnenfels. Was this coordinated with the Raspe-Frederick meeting?
 52. Given that the Landgrave would soon lead the world in the renting of subjects as mercenaries, it were likely that his finances were

- in much shakier shape than anything that he charged Raspe with! A couple of years earlier, the indebtedness of an ally of the Landgrave, the Duke Karl-Eugen of Stuttgart, sent him off to Venice to attempt to gamble his way out of the hands of his usurer, Voltaire. The incident was later famously developed by one of the Duke's political prisoners, Friedrich Schiller, in his novella, *The Ghost-seer*.
53. Dr. William Small, Franklin's collaborator since 1763, whose partnership with Matthew Boulton had just succeeded in manufacturing working steam engines, died suddenly and unexpectedly on Feb. 25, 1775. As Anton Chaitkin points out, it is a highly suspicious death that has drawn no investigation. See Chaitkin's report on the Lunar Society grouping, "The Franklin School Starts Modern England," *The New Federalist*, May 1, 1997, available at http://members.tripod.com/~american_almanac/chaitkin.htm
 54. Carswell, *op. cit.*, p. 104.
 55. See Trout, "Life, Liberty," *op. cit.*
 56. It might also have contributed to Schiller's impulse, a few years later, to choose this same theme for his play, *The Robbers*.
 57. Born had, among other things, extracted silver from ores by amalgamation, and, in general, had improved mining by chemical procedures applied to ores. He was the closest thing to a "Benjamin Franklin" in Austria, and tried to create a Franklin-type of non-mystical lodge, centered around scientific developments. He became the model for Sarastro in Mozart's opera, *The Magic Flute*. See David Shavin, "Mozart and the American Revolutionary Upsurge," *Fidelio*, Winter 1992, (Vol. 1, No. 4)."
 58. According to Carswell, it is most likely that the Berlin book publisher August Mylius had sent Lessing's play to Raspe. August might have obtained some satisfaction, as it was his relative, Christlob, who had died in London 27 years earlier. Carswell, *op. cit.*, p. 139.
 59. Muriel Mirak Weissbach, "How Champollion Deciphered the Rosetta Stone," *Fidelio*, Fall 1999 (Vol. VIII, No. 3).
 60. See Shavin, "Mozart and the American Revolutionary Upsurge," *op. cit.*
 61. The German edition of 1788 was put out by an old associate of Raspe, Georg Lichtenberg, who had also studied under Kästner, and had been at the 1766 Franklin celebration in Göttingen. Lichtenberg also set up the first Franklin lightning rod in Göttingen, and was a collaborator of Moses Mendelssohn and a teacher of the Humboldts.
 62. Small had been an important influence on the young Thomas Jefferson. He was a mathematics and science professor at William and Mary, where he played in a string quartet with the student Thomas Jefferson. The other two members of the quartet were George Wythe, an activist in the debates over the happiness of nations, and Francis Fauquier, the Governor. See Chaitkin, *op. cit.*
 63. *Papers*, *op. cit.*, Vol. 13, pp. 166-168.
 64. This Bernoulli was a sort of political cousin. Raspe's old Cassel collaborator, Mauvillon, worked with C.W. von Dohm in pro-American operations during the Revolution. In 1781, Dohm, with his collaborator Moses Mendelssohn, chose Bernoulli to translate into French their work on the ecumenical basis for citizenship, "On the Civil Improvement of the Jews." Now, in 1783, Raspe was publishing in Bernoulli's journal. Of course, if "cousins," then it was all in the Leibniz family.
 65. Coincidentally, Raspe stayed in the same room in Inverary as the republican poet Robert Burns, who, two years earlier, had recorded the Highlands "pre-development" conditions, on the window-pane: "There's naething here but Highland pride / And Highland scab and hunger; / If Providence has sent me here, / 'Twas surely in an anger."
 66. The same fellow who, in the cultural offensive of 1765-1767, had won the Berlin Academy prize in 1767, for his Eulogy on Leibniz. See footnote 27.
 67. Carswell, *ibid.*, pp. 244-245.
 68. *Franklin on Franklin*, ed. by Paul M. Zall (Lexington, Kentucky: University Press of Kentucky, 2000), p. 285.
 69. Aug. 29, 1771, in *Writings*, *op. cit.*, pp. 671-673. The plan came six weeks after Captain Cook had returned to England from his first trip to New Zealand. Joseph Banks, the scientist on that voyage, was Franklin's frequent dinner partner, and had undoubtedly briefed him on the expedition. On Cook's upcoming 1772-75 expedition, the subject of Franklin's proposal, was the young Georg Forster, who was clearly inspired by Franklin's mission. In later years, Forster would popularize in verse the image of Franklin's electrical sparks as a Promethean image of freedom—the image developed first by Schiller's "Gotterfunken" in his "Ode to Joy," and then by Beethoven in his Ninth Symphony.
 70. Moses Mendelssohn, *Jerusalem, or On Religious Power and Judaism*, quoted in Alexander Altmann, *Moses Mendelssohn, a Biographical Study* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1973), p. 524.
 71. Franklin to Robert Morris, Dec. 25, 1783. *Writings*, *op. cit.*, pp. 1081-1082.
 72. Quoted in Carl L. Becker, *The Declaration of Independence* (New York: Vintage Books, 1960), pp. 108-109.
 73. *Ibid.*
 74. Charles W.F. Dumas contacted Franklin in the spring of 1768. A republican activist, he would be established as a European agent of Congress's Committee of Secret Correspondence within days of its establishment, Nov. 29, 1775.
 75. Quoted in Becker, *op. cit.*, pp. 230-231.
 76. *Ibid.*, pp. 228-229. Since Lind seems to have composed his work in tandem with Bentham, in might be that Bentham wasn't finding pleasure in parroting Lind, but in parroting himself. Either way, we can be sure that Bentham was pleasuring himself.
 77. *Ibid.*, p. 245.
 78. Choate letter to E.W. Farley, Aug. 9, 1856, quoted in Becker, *ibid.*, p. 244.
 79. Illinois, of course, was the precise area that was slated never to be developed, per British imperial policy of 90 years earlier.
 80. Lincoln to first Republican state convention of Illinois, May 29, 1856, quoted in *The Essential Abraham Lincoln*, ed. by J.G. Hunt (Avenel, N.J.: Portland House, 1993), p. 99.
 81. See Edward Spannaus, "The Fascist Legal Theories of the Conservative Revolution," *The New Federalist*, Sept. 25, 1995 (Vol. IX, No. 37).
 82. Carl J. Friedrich, Eaton Professor of Science of Government, Harvard University, and Robert G. McGloskey, Professor of Government, Harvard University, *From the Declaration of Independence to the Constitution* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1954), p. xxxix.
 83. See Lyndon H. LaRouche, Jr., *Zbigniew Brzezinski and September 11th* (Washington, D.C.: LaRouche in 2004, 2001). Friedrich is the one who, in 1957, led the opposition to Huntington and his too bold argument for naked military power. Friedrich's 1962 rapprochement with Huntington at Columbia University, recruited him back to Harvard. Perhaps Friedrich's "instinct for a graceful phrase" helped him pave over their differences in style.
 84. One early rule of thumb from LaRouche's days as a management consultant, if memory serves correctly, goes something like this: If something is wrong with the firm, but things appear okay on the surface, see if the bookkeeper is sleeping with the boss.