

THE

L I F E

OF

J. G. ZIMMERMAN,

COUNSELLOR OF STATE, AND FIRST PHYSICIAN TO HIS MAJESTY
THE KING OF GREAT BRITAIN, AT HANOVER: KNIGHT
OF THE ORDER OF WLADOMIR: AND MEMBER
OF SEVERAL ACADEMIES.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH OF

M. TISSOT:

LATELY PUBLISHED AT LAUSANNE

IL VE' CUT ASSEZ POUR SA GLOIRE,
MAIS TROP PEU POUR L'HUMANITE'.



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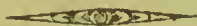
L I F E
O F
Z I M M E R M A N .

HISTORY seldom speaks of any, but those who have taken an active part in the succession of events, which it is her province to record; and who are often very little men in very great stations: scarcely does she deign to name others, infinitely superior; if, in private situations, without places, dignity, decoration, or avowed influence on publick affairs, their only claim to the attention of Posterity arises from their genius, their knowledge and their virtues. The ingratitude of this silence has long been confessed. It is of more importance to be acquainted with men than with facts; and it has been acknowledged that the most useful and most interesting part of History is that, which, delineating all the features of illustrious characters, offers them to us as objects of emulation, and examples to be imitated. What general History did not, and perhaps could not do, has been supplied by writing the lives of individuals. Biography is the supplement to History, and it is often read with more pleasure. This useful branch

of Literature has, it is true, been abused, by the publication of a croud of Lives and Memoirs, the subjects of which were, of themselves, doomed to the profoundest obscurity: but this evil is trifling; the History survives its Hero but a short time, and both are soon forgotten. Biography, however, is liable to a more heavy reproach; that of never, or at least but very seldom, giving us an account of such men as have been distinguished by the rigid exercise of virtue, in every circumstance of their life, public and private; who, possessing the lasting and universal esteem of their fellow-citizens, have always had their welfare in view; and who have never failed to bestow happiness on all within the influence of their power. It is not beyond the bounds of possibility, to render the history of such men agreeable and interesting, as well as instructive; and the encouragement of Virtue is certainly as important and necessary as that of Talents.

IF ever the life of an honest, and justly-celebrated man, deserved attention, it is surely at a period, when Humanity, disgraced and disgusted by a number of flagitious wretches, from whom our eyes are turned with horror, anxiously seeks for an object on which it can repose with complacency. Such, undoubtedly, was the late Doctor ZIMMERMAN. But I mean to write his life, not his panegyrick: the latter might inspire distrust, and lessen that interest which I wish to excite. It is not by seeing his bright side alone that any man can be known; and by depriving our readers of

their right of decision, we run no little risk of making them indifferent as to our Hero. I will represent my friend to the world, such as I have known him for the space of forty years; and if I allow myself to praise, I shall likewise take the liberty of censuring. Would it be fair, that the Historian should not have the same right of judging for himself, as his readers? which would be the case, if he were confined to the simple relation of facts. Who, indeed, is there, that can be supposed more capable of drawing proper conclusions, than he who has most sedulously studied and compared the circumstances he relates?



JOHN GEORGE ZIMMERMAN was born at Brug, a Town in the German part of the Canton of Berne, on the 8th of December, 1728. The family of his father, the Senator, J. ZIMMERMAN, was one of those, often found in the small cities of Switzerland, and, doubtless, equally to be met with throughout the rest of Europe; who, without any of the titles obtained in Monarchies, sometimes by merit, not seldom by money, but oftener by favour, had been distinguished for several ages by their integrity, their worth, their kindness to their fellow-citizens, and the honourable manner in which they had filled the most elevated offices of their native place. His mother, of the name of PACHE, was the daughter of a celebrated Counsellor of Morges, in the French part of the same Canton, who had been an Advocate in the Parliament of

Paris. I notice this circumstance, because it explains why the Subject of these Memoirs, though born in a Province where nothing but German is spoken, educated at a German University, and having passed but a very short time in France, yet spoke and wrote both the German and French languages with equal facility and elegance.

HE remained at home, under the tuition of very able preceptors, till the age of fourteen; when he was sent to Berne; where, after having gone through the regular course of study, in the *Belles Lettres*, Rhetorick, and History, he entered the School of Philosophy; the Professor, in that branch of science, a zealous disciple of WOLF, unacquainted with any other philosophy, than the metaphysics of his master, employed a whole year in the explanation of a small part of them. This method, it may easily be imagined, served but to inspire an active genius with disgust for a science, which is not only of great utility to every one, who wishes to be a complete student, but is, likewise, attractive, if properly unfolded; for our advancement in the science, becomes, in a manner, palpable to us; and it is not a little pleasing, to be able, by degrees, to class our ideas; and to acquire new ones, on subjects, the first consideration of which served only to alarm us. It was not, therefore, to this Professor that ZIMMERMAN thought himself indebted for whatever true Philosophy he might have acquired at Berne, and this was no small portion; but rather to two Divines of that place, distinguished by their

genius and knowledge. In 1746, during the course of his studies at Berne, he passed a few months with his maternal relations, at Morges, just after I had left that place for Montpellier. On my return, four years afterwards, his genius, his wit, his gaiety, the amiableness of his conversation, were still the pleasing topics of discourse; and, in 1751, when I read his excellent *Dissertation on Irritability*, I had already become acquainted with, and enamoured of, the Author; a predisposition which contributes, more than is imagined, to the approbation of any Doctrine, even when it is not incontrovertibly demonstrated, as is the case in this work of ZIMMERMAN.

His philosophical course of studies would have been completed in 1747: But just at that time he had the misfortune to lose a most tender and estimable mother; his father had died soon after his first being at Berne. Thus was he left without any person whom he could consult as to the choice of his future employment in life: a distressing circumstance, so far as it denotes an irksome and insolated situation, but which, in some cases, is of advantage, on account of the liberty of choice it leaves, and the consequent probability of success. He determined, without hesitation, in favour of the medical profession: and the name of HALLER, the glory of Berne, did not allow him to think of completing his studies elsewhere than at *Gottingen*. He arrived there the 12th of September, 1747; and received his degree on the 14th of August,

1751. HALLER received him as a Son, took him into his own house, directed his studies, and became as it were his Father, his Mentor, his Preceptor, and his Friend. All the branches of the Medical Art became familiar to him. He attended the practical lessons of RICHTER and BRENDÉL; the former, a pupil of BOERHAAVE, was strenuously attached to his principles, which will always be found the surest guides at the bed of sickness; notwithstanding the contempt, more affected than felt, of some physicians, who, ambitious of being the founders of systems, have sought to discredit the doctrines of this great man, to bring their own into vogue. BRENDÉL, who, to a good understanding united an intimate knowledge of every branch of physic, visited many patients, and had many new and sometimes very happy ideas, by which his lectures could not fail of being both useful and interesting; although, perhaps, a spirit of systematizing has more than once led him astray.

ZIMMERMAN did not, however, confine himself to the study of medicine; he studied both mathematics and physics; and not only attained the English language, but applied himself to the pursuit of English literature, which he cultivated with much pleasure during his whole life. *Pope*, and *Thomson* were as familiar to him as *Homer*, *Virgil* and the best French poets. He was much occupied with M. Achenval on *The Knowledge of the European States*.* From some passages in his letters to me, I

* *De Notitiâ Statuum Europæ.*

am led to believe that these lectures partook both of the science of Politicks, properly so called, and that which has of late made so much noise, under the denomination of *Statisticks*.

THE four years which he passed at Gottingen, were thus spent in the most useful researches and acquirements. To these he dedicated himself with the greatest ardour, and was encouraged and supported in his perseverance by that internal sentiment which seemed to predict to him what he one day would be. In one of his letters, written from Gottingen, in 1748, he says: "The life I lead here, is that of a man who would fain live after his death." This life, however, is not such as contributes to health—That of ZIMMERMAN soon became affected, and he had a slight attack of the Hypochondria.

PART of the last year of his stay, was devoted to a Work, which became the basis of his celebrity.

THE continual motion of the heart, which, from the first moment of animation, to that of dissolution, never ceases to be alternately contracted and dilated, with a regularity uninterrupted, except by certain passions and diseases, has been looked upon, by the observers of Nature, as one of her most curious and beautiful phænomena. All the Physicians who had treated of the animal œconomy, had endeavoured to explain it. Many suggestions had been started; many causes alledged; but none were satisfactory,

because none were true. The discovery of the real cause was reserved for the illustrious HALLER. GLISSON, an eminent English anatomist, had remarked in some parts of the human body the singular property of contraction on being touched, even when sensation had no part in this effect; and this property he distinguished by the name of *Irritability*. HALLER conceived that, if the fibres of the heart possessed this property, as some observations seemed to indicate, this was, without doubt, the cause of its alternate motion; and he established this doctrine in the first edition of his *Primæ Lineæ Physiologiæ*, which appeared in 1747. But it was then only a conjectural system, which must be either proved or destroyed by experiments; and ZIMMERMAN undertook the prosecution of this enquiry. HALLER, in fact, gave him the outlines of the plan he was to pursue, of the object he was particularly to attend to, and the mode he was to follow in the investigation; he afforded some experiments, and attended others; but it is no less true that the greatest part of the labour, the revision, the reduction into order, the perspicuity, and in a great measure the consequences deduced from these experiments, fell to the share of ZIMMERMAN; who arranged the result of his Researches and Reflections in a Thesis,* which is to be considered as the Elementary Treatise on this subject; to which may be ascribed all the changes which have

* *Dissertatio Physiologica de Irritabilitate; quam publicè defendit Joh. Georgius Zimmerman. Gottingen, 4^{to}, 1751.*

since been effected in the theory of physick ; and on the appearance of which the name of ZIMMERMAN became known throughout Europe.

NEVER was any new discovery presented in so clear, and so comprehensive a manner. The whole doctrine of Irritability is contained in this composition. It distinguishes what parts of the body possess, and what are destitute of this quality ; and determines the exact proportion of its force in those parts where it is found to exist. It details the experiments which had been made on the sensibility of different parts ; and it is in this dissertation that we first find, what repeated numberless observations have since confirmed, and the knowledge whereof has proved of such beneficial use, that some parts to which an extreme degree of sensibility had been attributed, were, on the contrary, entirely divested of it. It defines exactly what Irritability is ; and distinguishes it from the other properties of the animal fibre ; experiments made on all the parts of the body, are submitted to the reader, and the result of the whole is communicated ; with the consequences and deductions examined and compared with what had before been said of this property. In short, there appears throughout the whole work a regularity, a precision, a clearness of exposition, a simplicity and purity of diction, which evince the soundest judgment and most accurate investigation. There are few books which give so much instruction, in so pleasing a manner.

ALTHOUGH the doctrine of Irritability was brought forward with a multitude of proofs, which precluded the possibility of its being denied, except by those who are resolved to admit of no novelty, considering that as a tacit confession of their former ignorance, it found a great number of adversaries. Could it, indeed, be expected that the old physiologists should quietly abandon their mode of explaining the animal functions, on which they had so long grounded their reasonings; and that they should adopt, without opposition, a theory perfectly new, and the admission whereof must necessarily destroy the greatest part of those, which were the bases of their doctrines? Men are often found who are never weary of learning, but it is very seldom that we meet with any who have the courage to unlearn. A swarm of pamphlets, therefore, presently appeared; the result of the arguments contained in which, was, "We were unacquainted with Irritability; therefore Irritability does not exist." ZIMMERMAN was wise enough to pay no attention to them, and to avoid entering into any dispute. Satisfied with having advanced undoubted facts, he left to Time and to the force of Truth, the care of establishing the belief of this property of the fibre, which his experiments had shewn; and which even the daily observation of the animal functions so continually demonstrates, that it now seems wonderful the principle should have so long remained unknown. I do not believe there is, at this day, one physician in Europe who pretends to call it in question.

ON leaving Gottingen, where he had many fellow-students of the most distinguished merit, he went into Holland, where he passed some months; and afterwards paid a visit to Paris; from whence he returned to Berne, in 1752. Here he was received with the utmost cordiality by his old friends; and soon enjoyed an universal confidence, and an extensive practice.

IN the Helvetic Journal of November, 1752, he published, without his name, his *Letter to M. * * * *, a celebrated Physician, concerning Baron de HALLER. M. Four-stars*, it is understood, was Dr. HERRENSCHWAND, a Swiss physician, established at Paris, with whom ZIMMERMAN had there become acquainted. This Gentleman having had some enquiries made of him, concerning his countryman HALLER, (whose poetry was much talked of in France, and was the more wondered at, since it was little to be expected that he, who was already considered as one of the greatest Anatomists, and first Physicians in Europe, should, at the same time, be one of the best Poets,) applied to ZIMMERMAN for some particulars of the life of his tutor. This letter, which extends to no more than twenty-four pages in duodecimo, is the only work which ZIMMERMAN ever published in French; but it proves that he could write as well in that language as in his own. It is also worthy great attention, for the quantity of matter contained in so circumscribed a space, as well as

for the ease and neatness which distinguish it, and the happy reflections which accompany his recital of facts. The interest with which it is perused, does not arise solely from that which the illustrious subject of it inspires; for among the numerous eulogies which have appeared since his death, there are several which it is impossible to read to the end. This Letter would have done honour to the most instructed Academician, while its Author was only in the twenty-fourth year of his age. The passage with which it begins, seems to me so well appropriated to my own subject, that I cannot forbear inserting it in this place: "The principal purpose of the details of a life of celebrity, is instruction; they are interesting to us all, from the lustre which they shed over the Human Species in general, or the glory which redounds to our Nation in particular." This small work was the outline of his *Life of Haller*, which he published in German at Zurich, in 1755, in one large volume octavo, and the motto of which is singularly apt:

" Whose mind

" Contains a world; and seems for all things fram'd."

BESIDES what relates to HALLER, ZIMMERMAN introduced into this work many subjects, which though extraneous, with respect to the principal matter, are well applied, and cannot fail of increasing the interest. He treats, in one place, of enthusiasm; in another, of the grief occasioned by the death of a parent; and, speaking of that of HALLER's father, he describes his own sensations

upon the like loss.* He introduces a panegyrick on the Government of Berne, and this is certainly not a part which cost him the most trouble; in several places he mentions the grounds of HALLER's attachment to our religion; in others he descants on the characters and lives of BOERHAAVE, and other celebrated men: with a parallel between NEWTON, LEIBNITZ, and BERNOUILLI, &c. "I have included," he says, "in this account, not only all that can be desired to be known, on the subject of an almost universally learned Physiologist, but likewise all that belongs to a Philosopher, and to a Man. It is a picture, which may, perhaps, be useful to every young Student."

IN 1760 he intended to revise and retouch this work; to put it into an epistolary dress; to make some changes, retrenchments, and additions: but he never fulfilled his purpose.

DURING his residence at Berne, HALLER came thither, to visit his friends and re-establish his health; in a few weeks he resolved to quit his situation at Gottingen, and remain at Berne. He requested his Pupil and Friend to fetch his family; which ZIMMERMAN undertook with the greater pleasure, having, in common with all who had the advantage of an acquaintance with

* The 12th of August, the day of his father's death, was to ZIMMERMAN a yearly day of mourning throughout his lifetime.

Madame HALLER, the highest esteem for that amiable lady.

HIS heart was susceptible of the strongest attachments; and he entertained a most cordial affection for a Lady, in every respect worthy of him; a relation of HALLER'S, and then widow of Mr. STEK, a German Physician, in whom he found an high degree of intelligence, a cultivated understanding and taste; together with, what is of more consequence to the happiness of a conjugal union, a softness of character, an equanimity of temper, and the insinuating and elegant charm of a sweet and modulated voice, which often rescued him from his habitual melancholy, and restored him to happiness and himself, during the time he was blessed with this companion of his cares.

SOON after his marriage, the post of Physician to the town of *Brug*, to which was attached a very moderate salary, in proportion to the extent of the city, of its revenues, and of the duties imposed on the Physician, became vacant. His chief fellow-citizens engaged him to take charge of this employment. We possess an innate attachment to the places where we passed our days of infancy. At *Brug* lived his relations and friends; and he possessed there a handsome and pleasant house. However agreeably, therefore, he was situated at *Berne*, he was resolved to return to his native place.

ABOUT this time commenced the connection which so much endeared us to each other. On publishing, in 1754, *Inoculation Justified*, I thought it right to present a copy of my book to the Physician, to whom I was indebted for the knowledge of many circumstances, of which I had availed myself in that work; and I accompanied it with a letter of civility: his answer required a reply; and after the interchange of a few more letters, we conceived a mutual attachment; and from that time, to the last days of his life, our correspondence never ceased to be that of the most sincere and tender friendship.

His reputation in practice was well established, when he returned home; and he was employed in his medical capacity, by all the sick of the city and of its environs, which are very populous. But even this extensive employment did not suffice for the entire occupation of an ardent Genius, eager in the pursuit of knowledge, and to whom every new attainment was but a spur to the pursuit of further acquirements. ZIMMERMAN was a great reader, not only in the Medical line, but likewise of morals, of philosophy, of history, of travels and voyages, in short, of every branch of literature. He did not even contemn novels; and how could he despise the good works which have appeared of this species? In these, man is well delineated, the resources of his mind offered to our view, and the secret recesses of the human heart laid open before

us. Good novels may be styled the natural history of the human mind and manners, and should interest us, in proportion to the real importance of their tendency. The English novel writers were his most favourite authors; and the works, in this way, of his intimate friend, WIELAND, were a great source of pleasure to him. As every kind of reading raises, in the thinking mind, a great variety of ideas, he amused himself with committing those which arose in his mind, to paper; and forming them into short Essays, he sent them to a Journal, printed at Zurich, under the title of *The Monitor*; a paper which I have heard much praised by very good judges. What he then wrote me, may serve to explain his motives, for the composition of his most considerable work, and that to which he was most attached:—“*I love SOLITUDE, and find no pleasure but at home; I write for my amusement.*”—It was natural that happiness should be the inmate of his dwelling. To the society of his amiable wife, was added that of her mother, a woman of great good sense; and he became a father at the end of a year. He had not however always loved Solitude; he had known happiness abroad. This change in his temper may chiefly be attributed to that of his residence; and it had the greatest influence on the whole course of his life. From the time he left Brug to pursue his studies, he had lived either at Berne, or at Gottingen. There he had contracted intimacies with young persons of his own age, possessed of knowledge, genius and pleasant manners; in whose company he passed many agreeable

hours, and in conversation with whom he could go over the whole field of his various acquirements, and keep his comprehensive mind, and extensive genius, in continual exertion: a pleasure undoubtedly very great, to all who are capable of enjoying it. Congenial in mind and years, these were his constant companions: and the circle of his friends was enlarged by the very amiable characters of some of his patients. Every thing requisite to assist him in the cultivation of literature and science was within his reach; and to those anxious for knowledge, the means of intellectual cultivation, are not matters of trifling necessity.

HE lost a great part of those enjoyments, on retiring to Brug: not that small towns do not contain people of enlightened and amiable characters, as well as larger cities; perhaps, proportionably more; and by his letters, I find there were many such at Brug. But in a place of small extent, the number must be confined; and these have their own business, their public and private duties to attend to. They belong to society in general; and, not without reason, are unwilling to withdraw from it, for the sake of an individual friend. The man of letters, in such a situation, feels the want of a Public Library, of Booksellers, of News-papers, (nay, even of News-lovers,) and Reviews; for, besides that an individual, who is not rich, cannot easily procure such periodical publications, they likewise lose half their charm when we have no one with whom

we may converse on their contents. The professional man is also desirous of the acquaintance of colleagues, who are fond of their art, and with whom he may discourse, and make an interchange of knowledge and ideas.

ZIMMERMAN felt these privations too sensibly; he complained of them; his letters put me in mind of those spoiled children, who, because they have not all they want, will not divert themselves with what they have; and who destroy the happiness they actually possess, by the contemplation of that which is beyond their reach. When we are in health, at liberty, and not in want of necessaries, there is an art which can render us happy wherever we may be: *Omne solum est patria fortis.* But every body is not acquainted with this art; and men, otherwise of the greatest merit, have sometimes fallen into the error, I am tempted to say, the folly, of contemning it. We ought to know how to draw some advantage from the conversation of every man; and certainly there are few, if any, from whom no advantage can be derived. In this particular, let me say, we ought to be "all things to all men." I have known Baron de HALLER listen, with complacency, to a woman, who, for nearly the space of an hour, pestered him with receipts how to raise paste; and the next day he wrote her a polite note, to thank her for the communication of nine of these receipts out of her cookery-book; from that moment he was, in her opinion, one of the greatest men of Europe; and some months

afterwards she had it in her power to render him an essential service, of which he could not have the least expectation. To be the object of esteem and love, is surely as delightful as to be that of admiration. ZIMMERMAN did not, perhaps, feel this truth soon enough.—He found no pleasure at Brug, because he conceived none could exist there; and his nervous system being uncommonly sensitive and delicate, his continual discontent gave him a melancholy turn, which augmented his love of solitude; although this may likewise exist independently of every mental pain:—“ To produce this disposition, nothing appears requisite but quick sensibility, and active imagination; for, though not devoted to virtue, or science, the man, whose faculties enable him to make ready comparisons of the present with the past, will find such a constant recurrence of the same pleasures, and troubles, the same expectations, and disappointments, that he will gladly snatch an hour of retreat, to let his thoughts expatiate at large, and seek for that variety in his own ideas, which the objects of sense cannot afford him.”—*Rambler*, No. 7.

THOSE men, who in all ages have been most distinguished for the elevation of their genius, and the extent of their knowledge, have always sighed for the pleasures of retirement. It was sensibility, and the force of imagination which conducted PETRARCH to his retirement at *Vaucluse*; and COWLEY, a man who, in the last century, was endowed with as much genius, imagination, integrity and

fenfibility, as any man in England, attached, from his earlieft youth, the idea of happinefs to an abfolute folitude in fome unknown fpot of America: the circumftances of his life, and the liberality of his character, compelled him to fpend the beft years of his life in the busy round of the world, and among the higher orders of fociety, by whom he was efteemed and favoured; but as foon as he became free, he withdrew to *Chertsey* in *Surry*,* and fpent the laft eight years of his life in a rural retirement.† In *VIRGIL*, and in *HORACE*, we find proofs that even in the Court of *AUGUSTUS*, and at the Villa of *MECÆNAS*, the ardent wifh of both Poets was for a peaceful retreat.

THIS inclination of *ZIMMERMAN*'S, by no means prevented him from attending to the calls of his Profeflion, which he constantly attended to with great exactnefs, and an extreme mildnefs; he confidered it as one of his duties; and the performance of thofe was always grateful to him; befides, he was fincerely attached to the fcience of medicine; any fingular, difficult, or dangerous diforder interefted him exceedingly; he never loft fight of his patient. I knew feveral perfons whom he had attended in very ferious cafes, and they all affured me, they never experienced more care,

* The Houfe in which he lived, called *Porch-Houfe*, is ftill ftanding; it is now the property, and country-refidence of Alderman *CLARKE*.

† *Rouffeau*'s tafte for folitude feems to have had very different motives than thofe of *Horace*, *Petrarch*, *Cowley*, and *Zimmerman*.

more gentleness, more cordiality, than from my friend; his own melancholy disappeared, say they, when he entered our chamber; the sympathy depicted on his countenance began our cure; he consoled us, he encouraged us, and he concluded the visit of the Physician, with that of a Friend, which suspended even the sensation of our evils; an expression which re-calls to my remembrance that of several French Officers, who had been ill at Hanover, regarding the late Dr. WERLHOF, to whom, I then little thought, that ZIMMERMAN would one day become the successor. But when he left his patients, he almost always retired to his own house; and if ever he went into company, it was either out of complaisance to his lady, or sometimes from an imperious necessity of mixing in public society, rather than from pleasure. He frequently blamed himself on this account, and was far from considering retirement as a duty; but seldom had courage enough to renounce the pleasures it bestowed on him; and it was by reflecting deeply on its effects, that he learnt so justly to appreciate all its advantages and inconveniencies. Undoubtedly, had he confined himself to the practice of physic, and to an easy study of the art, which must never be wholly abandoned by the practitioner; had he allowed himself to pass a few hours every day in company, he might not have acquired so great a reputation, his powers might have been less developed; since nothing more opens the faculties of the mind, than a constant occupation on various objects, and a free discussion

and disputation of opinions. But he would have had fewer rivals, he would have been less attacked; and might not his health have been infinitely better, his days prolonged, and his happiness increased?

WHEN he was entirely free from the Hypochondria, which sometimes happened, he resumed the natural gaiety of his disposition, and gave himself up for several days to the enjoyment of society; the true spirit and interest of which requires that each should contribute, in proportion to his abilities, to the common stock of pleasure; that those who are the best off in this respect should be the most indulgent; that all should carry with them that good humour, which consists in the pleasing habit of rendering ourselves agreeable to all, and of course welcome to all; and especially that no one should conceive he has a right to exact more than he contributes.

DR. ZIMMERMAN passed fourteen years in this situation; dividing his time between the practice and the study of physic, the perusal of books in various other branches, the composition of some of his works, and the correspondence of his friends. His letters to me, during that time, gave me, every week, sometimes oftener, the exact representation of his medical occupations, his literary pursuits, his plans, his manner of life, his cares, and his pleasures. Without having ever seen him, I was intimately acquainted with him; for no body was more frank and candid with his friends, and I had

his whole heart always open before me. He communicated to me the particulars of several diseases, together with the nicest and justest observations on their symptoms, their causes, and the effects of the medicines he applied. An enemy to a multiplicity of drugs, he made choice of the most efficacious, and attended to their effects with an accuracy and perseverance which I have seen in very few other Physicians. If his lady or his children were indisposed, I received by every post the most minute details of their illness: his tender regard for objects naturally so dear to him, rendered him very timid; and his extreme confidence in me, for this always accompanies our love and esteem, made him request my advice, not only on these occasions, but likewise on other serious cases which occurred in the course of his practice. His remarks on the works which he read, and their Authors, rendered his correspondence as useful as it was pleasing. He announced to me HEYNE'S Edition of *Virgil* as soon as it appeared. And to him I owe the obligation of re-perusing that Poet. The notes so well illustrate his spirit, and point out his beauties in a manner so superior to any I had before seen, that it seemed to me as if I had read an entire new work. His letters also frequently contained a number of Literary Anecdotes, with which his other correspondents furnished him. Sometimes, however, his cares and anxieties were almost the only topics on which he wrote; but I could generally perceive, that in his most unhappy moments, the sense, the serenity, softness, and ten-

derness of his lady, could in an instant dissipate all the mental anguish he laboured under, and bring him back to a state of tranquillity and ease. Unhappily, the health of this excellent woman became considerably affected. She was subject to the attacks of a low catarrhal fever, accompanied with much pain : each return of the fever weakened the nervous system; and the continued sight of the sorrow of a beloved husband, did not a little increase its effects. She became subject to nervous spasms; and her illness greatly augmented the distress of Dr. ZIMMERMAN; afforded him new reasons for retirement, and a new occasion of increasing attachment to his literary occupations.

I HAVE already mentioned that soon after his coming to Brug, he began to write for the Journal of Zurich. Two of his pieces made much noise wherever that publication was read. One was a *Dream which he had on the night of the 5th November, 1755, on the state of the Soul after death*; which he related without addition or retrenchment. The other piece was, the *Plan of a Catechism for small towns*. This last was a satirical performance, which alluded to certain ridiculous characters; and as these exist in all country towns, many persons, in various places, applied these criticisms to themselves; and they were taken so highly in dudgeon, that one of the Editors of the Journal narrowly escaped being very ill-treated in passing through W.

THE same year, he proposed to print in the

original Latin, but with extensive notes, his inaugural *Discourse on Temperaments*,* in which he proved that it was to the state of the nerves that the different temperaments of Nations, and of Individuals were to be ascribed. We may easily conceive how much knowledge such a Treatise must have embraced; and how many important matters it would have included. The effect of the physical properties of the Body, on the Mind and Manners, would thus have been explained.† The abundance of the matter obliged him next year to alter his plan; he resolved to re-write the Discourse, and to put no Notes to it. The materials were ready, and the arrangement of the Work was already made. The Plan which he sent me of it greatly increased my wishes to see it: but many circumstances concurred to make him lose sight of it at the time. He, however, resumed his purpose in 1759, and intended, after having published it in German, to have translated it into French: but this third attempt went no farther than the preceding ones. “ I shall have to refute the System of HELVETIUS on the Mind,” said he “ from beginning to end.” This refutation, however, would surely not have been the most difficult part of the work.

* *De temperamentis integrarum gentium, quæ à climate et vitæ ratione sunt, per variam nervorum sensibilitatem explicandis.*

† C' auroit été l'homme moral, & l'homme physique, expliqués l'un par l'autre.

IN 1754, he sent to the Physico-medical Society of Basle, of which he was a Member, a very good case of Spasmodic Quinzy, which had for five years withstood the efforts of several Physicians, and which he radically cured in a very short time. To this he added some observations on a disease rarely met with, the hysteric tumours of Sydenham, which affords equal pleasure: this short essay served to display the great merit of the author.*

WHEN the intelligence was received of the earthquake at Lisbon, the 6th Nov. 1755, he amused himself by composing a small Poem on that event; which he transmitted to some friends at Zurich, without the least intention that it should be published; his friends admired it, and caused it to be printed without his knowledge; I received a copy of it at the very time when VOLTAIRE'S poem on the same subject, which was printed at Geneva, appeared: He was much hurt at this clandestine impression, as he did not conceive this production worthy the publick eye; but next year he revised, and had it re-printed. Good judges of poetry are of opinion, that it abounded in rich images and sublime thoughts, and was conceived in a very agreeable style of poetry. All his works were certainly among the first writings which appeared in Germany, deserving the praise of

* *Acta Helvetica Physico-Mathematico-Anatomico-Botanico-Medica*, Vol. 2. 4to. Basle, 1755. p. 94. J. G. Zimmerman, *Historia vitii deglutitionis quinque annorum sanati.*

purity of diction; and he may be looked upon as one of the polishers and restorers of the German language.*

ABOUT the end of 1756, appeared his first *Essay on Solitude*. A very short work, which was translated some years since into Italian, by M. ANTONI, a very able Physician of Vicenza; in writing to me of this work, ZIMMERMAN said, "I have learnt, like an ancient Philosopher, to live by myself."

THE year 1758 was one of those, in which he wrote the most; he resumed his first work on *Solitude*, extended his plan, and began to collect the materials of his larger work on this subject, to which he did not put the finishing hand till thirty years afterwards: "The second part," he told me, "has required a very extensive perusal of the lives of the Saints; you would laugh if I was to tell you how much nonsense I have read of these fools; the Fathers of the Church have been, in general, mere babblers, and the deserts of Thebais appear like one vast Bedlam."

* DR. MARCARD, of *Oldenburg*, in a pamphlet which he published on the subject of this celebrated man, arraigns the purity of his German, which he alledges, partook always largely of the Swiss idiom; and though thereby endued with a greater share of fire and force, it must not, therefore, he says, be taken as a standard. Dr. M. in the other parts of his performance, is greatly the panegyrist of ZIMMERMAN. T.

HE formed, likewise, the plan of his treatise on *Experience in Physick*, of which he sent me a very detailed sketch. Writing to me on this subject, he defines a Quack to be "a wise man, who avails himself of the folly of others." No one was ever farther than himself from this species of wisdom. The first volume of this work did not appear till the end of 1763, and was not translated into French till 1774.* It is the art of observing; illustrated by very excellent remarks, and the wisest rules for profiting by observation. The Author begins by establishing the difference between true and false experience, and points out the means of distinguishing them; which is the more necessary, as all parties, in general, appeal to experience, however opposite their doctrines may be: He then enlarges on the necessity of erudition, so generally decried by Empirics; on its influence upon experience, and on the necessity of accurate observations.

HE proves that it is only by an exact observation of the symptoms, that we can arrive at a perfect knowledge of the disease; and he gives a series of facts, and of remarks on the pulse, on the respiration, on the urine, and on the habit of body. He directs the mode of research after the remote causes of disease, and treats of each separately;

* And in 1782 into English, in a very masterly manner. T. The Title of the French Edition is, "*Traité de l'Expérience en general, et en particulier dans l'art de guerir; par M. Zimmerman: 3 vol. 12mo. Paris, 1774.*"

he distinguishes likewise what are the physical dispositions in every individual, which render him more or less liable to be affected by certain impressions; here he observes that almost all men have one part more assailable than another; and that this circumstance is of the greatest importance to be known; as it is the source of many complaints which might become incurable, if attributed to any other cause. Finally, he treats of the powers which Nature opposes to these various causes of disease. Every chapter of the work offers the most interesting facts, a multitude of new ideas, the most sagacious reflections, and the best advice. Those which treat of the passions, of the exertion of the mind, of genius in general, and of the powers of nature, well deserve to be perused and studied, not only by professional men, but by all who wish to acquire a knowledge of mankind. M. DANIEL BERNOUILLI was well aware of the merits of this treatise, and it would be injustice to our Author to pass over his opinion in silence: “The justness of the thoughts, the elegance and precision of the diction, and the traits of literature which abound in it, render this work exceedingly agreeable; while the luminous reflections, the extensive knowledge, and the accurate observations which it likewise contains, are sure pledges of its utility; it is, upon the whole, greatly above my praise.”

LITTLE stress is, in general, laid upon the praises of Translators; but the opinion which M. LE FEBVRE the French Translator gives, merits

an exception: "The work which I now lay before the Public, is not only an interesting book, as regards the science of physic, but is likewise so to all who are earnest to avoid error or prejudice, and to conduct themselves so as to avoid every thing that might be hurtful to their health. M. ZIMMERMAN is one of those men who seem born for the good of mankind. Inhabiting an happy country, where the spirit of freedom, which animates all the sciences, leaves the faculties of the Soul at liberty to expand themselves without restraint, he has become known by the most advantageous and endearing titles; a circumspect philosopher, an enlightened physician, a zealous citizen, an enemy of error, an amiable member of society; these are the qualities which have made him an entertaining object of general attention."

THIS work was never completed; two parts are still wanting, which he did not even attempt to supply, till twenty-five years afterwards; and to this he was induced by the fine preface which M. ANTONI prefixed to the Italian translation. He sent me the plan of these two last parts in 1789. Occupations of a nature totally different, prevented him from fulfilling his intentions; and it is a real loss to the public, as he proposed to introduce into it a great number of cases and observations.*

* As some other Physician may, perhaps, be inclined to finish this work, I have here inserted the plan alluded to:

IN 1758, Dr. ZIMMERMAN first published his *Essay on National Pride*, which passed rapidly through four Editions. It was translated into French,

BOOK V.

How to attain Experience with respect to the treatment of Diseases.

Chap. I. Of the examination of what is invisible in diseases; and the insufficiency of what is hitherto known of their proximate causes.

Chap. II. Of the study of the Symptoms, or examination of what is visible in diseases.

Chap. III. Of the forming a plan for the Treatment of diseases; and of the acquiring a facility in so doing.

Chap. IV. Of the examination of the connection between a plan of treatment, and a remedy for the disorder.

Chap. V. Of Trials to determine the qualities and effects of remedies.

Chap. VI. Result of all these examinations and trials.

BOOK VI.

Of the Morality of Physic: or the influence of the Character on Experience: and of Experience on the Character.

Chap. I. The Understanding, and the Passions equally influence Experience.

Chap. II. How the Physician should learn to conduct himself with respect to his Patients, to gain their esteem and confidence.

Chap. III. How to act successfully on the minds of Patients; to relieve them under their sufferings; and encourage them to patience and fortitude.

Chap. IV. Of the conduct of the Physician when unsuccessful; and the necessity of humility in prosperity.

Chap. V. Of severity towards himself; and indulgence towards all other Physicians.

Chap. VI. Of Incredulity, and of Faith in Medicine.

Chap. VII. Summary of the whole work; and Conclusion.

and published in 1769, at Paris, where it has very lately been re-printed.*

IN this work, the Author first takes up the subject of Pride in different Individuals, different orders and stations: and here he gives us a very excellent portrait of False Devotees; to unmask whom is the more essential, as they bring true Piety into discredit: and thus do the greatest mischief possible to Mankind. He next observes on the Pride to be found in different Nations; but without giving his judgment on it. He then proceeds to divide his work into two parts. The first treats of that National Pride, which is ridiculous and despicable:—To explain this, he examines, in succession, the imaginary grounds, on which the Pride of some Nations is either wholly or partly founded. Every chapter abounds in amusing instances: all evince a man of extensive reading, of exquisite judgment, and much good taste in the choice of his examples: yet it must be admitted, that some tales, and pleasantries are introduced, which may be condemned by severe Critics; and which seem to have been inserted when the Author was under the influence of a very great flow of spirits. This was often the case with him, when he was employed in writing on any subject which pleased his fancy; and betrays to the

* An English translation of this work first appeared in 1771. On account, however, of its inaccuracy, and at the suggestion of Dr. ZIMMERMAN himself, another has very lately been published: to which is prefixed, a short Account of his Life and Writings.

attentive Observer that hypochondria, the effect of which is an inequality of temper. These passages would assuredly have been expunged, if the Author had revised this work after the lapse of a few years.

THE articles which relate to *China* and *Japan* are peculiarly interesting: for at the period when the work first appeared, no one had formed so good a judgment as himself, of the exaggerated panegyrics bestowed upon the Chinese, which he reduced to the standard of truth. We now know that the Empire of China is a vast machine, very indifferently put together, which is not apt to be out of order, but which has never been brought to perfection. He takes occasion to balance the advantages and disadvantages of this ridiculous Pride, founded on fallacious grounds. After having read this chapter, which is full of very ingenious and curious deductions, we may say that the most absurd folly and vanity may, nevertheless, be of some advantage to a Nation.

THE Second Part relates to that National Pride which is allowable, honourable and praise-worthy: founded on the consciousness of real merit, and which may become the source of the most sublime sentiments. He treats separately, as in the first part, on the various justifiable causes of this sort of Pride. The Fifteenth Chapter is very interesting:—He there examines *Republican Pride*; which is

founded on the advantages of liberty, equality, and security. But he gives Aristocracies a decided preference over Democracies: "The former, by the permanency of their Laws, and the dignity of their Magistrates, approach to the order of Monarchies; and in them is found the greatest security for the Subject." If the truth of this remark was not sufficiently obvious at the time he wrote, what new proofs have not since appeared in its justification? The same Chapter contains some admirable remarks on Despotism; and, without naming it, the justest eulogium on the Government under which he had the happiness to live.

MONARCHICAL Pride is the subject of the next Chapter, which is one of the shortest, but one of the finest in the whole book. He finishes the discussion of his subject by enumerating and developing all the advantages, which are not inconsiderable, of a National Pride, well-founded and well understood; but he does not conceal its inconveniencies, which he was sufficiently aware of, and has accordingly exposed. In fact, he could not in justice do otherwise. Emulation itself, a sentiment infinitely more pure than that of National Pride, is not without its disadvantages.

HAVING insisted so much on this laudable and honourable Pride, which he had with complacency placed in an advantageous point of view, and expatiated on its excellence, he felt that there might be some persons who were not of his opi-

nion, and who might blame him for it:—He chose neither to fall out with them, nor to sacrifice his opinion. He therefore determined to conclude his work by that well-known answer, given by WALLER to CHARLES II. who reproached the Poet with having bestowed a more brilliant eulogium on the usurper, CROMWELL, than on his King: “Sire, we Poets always succeed better in fiction than in truth.” ZIMMERMAN’S enemies wished to have this taken in a literal sense, and tried to make the praises he has so justly and sincerely bestowed upon a proper National Pride, appear ironical. At one time they even thought of rendering him an object of animadversion to the Government; but his wisdom defeated their machinations.

His sagacity enabled him to foresee a great Revolution in Europe, more than thirty years before it came to pass; and he is, if I am not mistaken, the first who announced it. He likewise foresaw that, according to the principles by which it would be directed, it would be either very fortunate, or very unfortunate, for Mankind. “The illumination and philosophical spirit every where spread abroad, the faults demonstrated in the existing mode of thinking, the attacks on received prejudices, all show a boldness in opinion which announces a Revolution: and this Revolution will be happy, if it be directed by political wisdom, *and the submission due to the Laws of the State*: but should it degenerate into criminal audacity, it will cost some their property; others their liberty; and many their

lives." See *Chapter 10.** He who would wish to give, in a few lines, the History of Events during the last eight years, need only to repeat that of the past, which ZIMMERMAN said of the future.

FROM 1758 to 1763, he consecrated to his *Treatise on Experience in Physick*, the greatest part of the time which he could spare from his attendance on his numerous patients, as well at Brug, and in the neighbouring country, as those who came to consult him from a greater distance. In 1760 he became a Member of the Society of Berlin; and afterwards a great number of Literary Societies were pressing in their invitations to him. He was a Fellow of the Societies of *Zurich, Berne, Basle, Munich, Palermo, Pezaro, and Gottingen*; as well as of the Medical Societies of *Paris, London, and Copenhagen*; and lastly, in 1786, of the Academy of *St. Petersburgh*.

HE had some thoughts of writing a *Treatise on the Vapours and Hypochondria*; disorders on which he had made some excellent observations; but he soon gave up this scheme.

NOTWITHSTANDING his incessant occupation, he was still dissatisfied with his situation; it hurt me much, and I felt he was made to shine on a higher

* Either M. TISSOT or the last Translator of the *Essay on National Pride*, has taken the liberty, rather to paraphrase, than quote or translate the words of ZIMMERMAN. It seems imputable to the latter. See p. 130, of that Translation.

theatre. I used every means to interest two persons in his favour, who seemed to me to have most power to contribute towards procuring a more eligible station for my friend. These were Baron de HALLER, with whom his connection was now less strict than before, and Baron KL——, who was at Lausanne, for the sake of his health: and who having been Prime Minister in one of the German Courts, had retained a considerable share of connection with the Ministers of others. Both these Gentlemen turned their thoughts towards the Electorate of Hanover; and Dr. ZIMMERMAN was now so well known, that he could be presented with confidence any where. The Hanoverian Minister replied to Baron KL——, that he would with pleasure procure for him one of the first places in the nomination of the King, 'in the first cities of the Electorate. But he did not wish for any establishment that was not at Hanover itself, being anxious to be near Dr. WERLHOFF, for whom he possessed the greatest esteem and attachment; and an opportunity for this did not occur. Baron de HALLER likewise did not advise him to remove on the conditions proposed; but thought he would do better to accept the Medical Professorial Chair at Gottingen, which he was sure of obtaining for him. ZIMMERMAN neither loved the occupation of instructor, nor a residence at Gottingen, which he conceived might be prejudicial to the health of his Lady and her Mother, as well as to his own. He therefore refused this offer, which was likewise declined by

M. TREDELENBOURG, and, at last, the place was given to M. SCHRÆDER.

SOME time afterwards it was proposed to call him to Berne, upon the death of his Friend, M. ITH; but this plan, which was favoured by the majority of the Members of the Council of Health, was frustrated by those secret machinators, who, in Republics as well as in Monarchies, have frequently a greater influence on Public Affairs, than the Governors themselves, whose business it is to conduct them; but who are frequently ignorant of the means by which it happens that matters take a turn, different from what they ought, and from what it was proposed they should do.

HE had afterwards several other invitations, which, although not for the most elevated situations, were, however, proofs of the great confidence reposed in his talents: one of these was from Count STADION, who, having been first Minister to the Elector of Mentz, had retired to Varrhausen, a very pleasant Estate, which he possessed in Suabia, where he wished to have ZIMMERMAN'S society and advice, offering him a most agreeable residence and a considerable salary. ZIMMERMAN, however, did not choose to leave a place, which he considered as too small, for one still smaller. The same year he was invited to the town of Orbe; and the character of the Magistrates of that place, made this invitation as honourable as if it had come from the

brilliant Court of a Monarch. The man of renown is oftener the object of the latter, than the man of ability; but the chiefs of a small town, if they possess sense, will not send for a Physician, to whom they are not perfectly sure they can with safety confide the health of their fellow-citizens.

IN November, 1764, the Counts of MNIZECH, who were at Berne, having been commissioned to search for a Librarian for the King,* cast their eyes on the author of *National Pride*; whose work displayed his extensive knowledge, and with whose conversation they were delighted; and they accompanied the offer of this employment with conditions both advantageous and agreeable. ZIMMERMAN did not immediately reject it, but he expressed his unwillingness to accept of a situation which would wholly withdraw him from his profession: the negotiation was continued for several months, but at length, he refused it absolutely on the 1st April, 1765.

IN 1761, he became a Member of the Patriotic Society of *Schintznach*. This Society was projected, and formed by M. HIRZEL, then a celebrated Physician, at present Counsellor of State at Zurich, and by the late Mr. ISELIN, Secretary of State at Basle, two men who will for ever be the glory of Switzerland. Its purpose was to establish a connection between the distinguished men of each canton, to form out of the spirit of patriotism

* Query:—What King?

of individuals, a general spirit of patriotism; to give an exact description of all Switzerland, according to the informations to be obtained from the most enlightened men of the various districts; to persuade its inhabitants that they were all members of one family, and that in whatever part of the Canton a Swiss might be, he might always be at home; in short, to encourage and maintain the virtues of friendship and love, of unity and concord. ZIMMERMAN, the friend of both the Founders of this Society, was the first to whom they communicated their plan. He was formed to approve and enter into it with spirit and enthusiasm: and was one of the nine Members, who assembled at Schintznatch in May, 1761. He never failed to attend their meetings, as long as he remained in the country. That of 1764, during the Presidency of M. HIRZEL, was the first that was numerous; and ZIMMERMAN was very happy, and very much respected there. The letter which he wrote me upon his return from that Assembly to Brug, in which he chiefly speaks of his conversation with HIRZEL, and with GESNER the Poet, as well as that which he addressed to me, in 1775, on quitting the famous SCHOUFACH, breathe the greatest gaiety; and are full of that species of wit which the English call *humour*, and for which no other nation has an equivalent term:—A proof that it is little known elsewhere.

IN 1765, he was called to Soleure to attend there a Lady of the first consequence; he was no sooner

known at that place, than it was greatly the wish of the inhabitants to secure him to themselves. A man of the first merit, who had formed an intimacy with him at Schintznach, proposed it to the Council, whose business it was to take it first into consideration, and it was agreed to by them; but this Council does not possess the Sovereign power, and those who were against the measure took great pains to introduce religion into the question. They affected to doubt whether a Protestant Physician would be sufficiently careful in apprizing the sick of their danger, in time to admit of due care being taken of their spiritual concerns; and to fear lest the patient might run the risk of dying without being confessed, or without enjoying the rites of the holy sacrament of extreme unction! This manœuvre had the desired effect; in fact how could it fail? and the affair was not laid before the Grand Council. However agreeable such an establishment would have been to him in a town, which was distinguished for a most amiable and polished society, and for many characters eminent for their genius, and manner of thinking, he could not help laughing very heartily, when he learnt a short time afterwards, that an Apothecary, who was a Member of the brotherhood of Jesuits, was called to fill it.

IN 1760, I addressed to him a letter, containing my observations on some disorders, which had been before little taken notice of; and on some

other matters on which I was then employed.* It contains a comparison between animals and vegetables; by which I established, assuredly before any other, the principle that Irritability is the great mover and principle of life in plants, as well as in animals; this was my firm persuasion at that time, and new observations and reflections have served considerably to strengthen my opinion.

IN 1765, I addressed to him another letter, treating of the numerous epidemic putrid fevers, which then raged; † and a third in 1776, on an epidemic disease still more general and more alarming. ‡ All these serve to prove the great esteem in which I held his knowledge and judgment.

IN the years 1763, 1764, and 1765, very dangerous epidemic fevers prevailed at Brug, and in the neighbouring districts; these afforded him incessant occupation; he observed them with the greatest attention, and wrote an history of them, with an intent to publish it; but this he afterwards declined.

IN July, 1765, this fever became a dysentery, which he attended, and observed with the same

* *S. A. D. Tissot epistola viro nob. cel. J. G. Zimmerman, de morbo nigro et schorris viscerum*; Lausanne, 12mo. 1760.—As also a new Edition in 1769, with many additions.

† Letter to M. ZIMMERMAN, on the reigning Epidemic Disorders, 12mo. Lausanne, 1765.

‡ Second Letter to M. ZIMMERMAN, on the Epidemic Disease of 1766. 12mo. Lausanne, 1766.

studious care: on this he determined to publish his observations, and he accordingly produced his *Treatise on the Dysentery*. It was this performance that made Dr. CULLEN say, that ZIMMERMAN was the first who had taught the true method of treatment for this disorder.* The nature of this epidemic disease may be collected from the number of persons it carried off. Of 1795 sick, in the environs of Brug, 465 died; which is more than one-fourth; and in three villages of Thuringia, out of nearly 200 sick, 150 died; that is above three-fourths. Very probably the manner of treatment, and the regimen observed, was the cause of this great mortality; but the disorder must, nevertheless, have been very seriously destructive, and the description which Dr. ZIMMERMAN gives of it, corroborates this suspicion,

His indications of the disorder are the justest imaginable; and his manner of treatment the most sagacious. He made use of an abundant and acescent drink, a diet analogous thereto, especially much fruit; and his observations confirmed all I had said of their good effects in my *Advice to the People*. The medicines he made use of, were ipecacuanha, tamarinds, and rhubarb; he was very cautious in the use of opium; he insisted strenuously on the danger of astringents, of which he had seen the most dreadful effects; he examined and appreciated, with great accuracy, the specifics so much cried up; and concluded that part of the work with an

* Method of studying the Practice of Physic.

excellent chapter, "On the popular prejudices, which in the treatment of this disorder obstruct the wise precautions of our magistrates, the efforts of medical men, and the voice of reason." He also points out the means of lessening these prejudices.

THE second part treats of the nature and treatment of various species of Dysentery, inflammatory, bilious, and malignant. The same accuracy, the same knowledge, pervades the whole; and together with the curious cases and observations it contains, ensure to the Author the reputation of a very eminent practitioner. It was translated into French in 1775. The preface to this translation says, "The Author of the *Treatise on Experience in Physick*, was known to the medical world in a light too advantageous, not to lead us to expect from his pen some practical work. It will be seen by the present, with how much skill he applied his own maxims to practice. Yet, far from harbouring any spirit of systematizing, it is always to nature that he recurs, and nature that he follows; and if he coincides with other Professors of the Science, it is only where they have followed the same mode."

MR. DOBSON'S* translation of this work into English, was much preferred by the Author to the

* M. TISSOT is here mistaken in the name; the Translator of the *Treatise on the Dysentery*, was Dr. HORSON. T.

French one; it is more complete and more exact. At the distance of 30 years, I know not yet any work superior, on the subject of this cruel disorder; and it will, in all probability, always continue a classical book. ZIMMERMAN did not afterwards publish any considerable medical work; but he wrote several essays, of which I shall mention the subjects, without attending to the chronological order in which they appeared, either in the *Hanoverian Magazine*, a periodical work much esteemed in Germany, or in loose sheets.

IN 1771, the inhabitants of some parts of the Electorate were afflicted by a spasmodic disorder of considerable importance, occasioned by the quality of the barley,* which induced him to translate my letter, addressed to Chevalier BACKER, on this disease. On his return from Berlin, at the end of 1771, he was desired by the Government, to be particularly attentive to an epidemic malady, which had caused a great alarm at Hanover; and to quiet the public apprehension in consequence; this was an easy task: the disorder was not malignant, but a person had been carried off by it, whose death caused great enquiry; and it seemed more polite, as well as more politic, to accuse the disease of malignity, than the Doctor of ignorance; ZIMMERMAN acquitted the disorder, and accused nobody. In 1772, he wrote on the use of HALLER'S acid drops in nervous complaints. In 1773, he

* *Seigle ergotté.*

reprinted, with very extensive notes of his own, HALLER'S History of a bilious fever, which reigned in the Canton of Berne in 1762. In 1778, he published some remarks on the remedy then so famous, and at present so justly neglected, the solution of gum guaiacum in ratafia.

HE published several other pieces in the same Magazine, on other subjects; in 1773, on Solitude; in 1774, An Enquiry concerning Pedantry; on Compliments; on Tattling; on the Rage for writing Letters without signing them; and, in 1779, a Course of Essays on various Subjects.* He likewise inserted several Pieces, though often very short ones, in the *Museum*, another German Periodical Work; and others of the same nature. Would not the man, who should collect these several Pieces, make the Public a very agreeable present? ZIMMERMAN was so fruitful in new, strong, and just ideas, that we might be assured of finding these in all he ever wrote.

THE acquisition of celebrity, nevertheless, did not lessen his unhappiness: perhaps this very circumstance made him the more sensibly feel, that the sphere in which he acted, was not adequate to his abilities. A new cause of uneasiness likewise

* These were published, we believe, in one Vol. 8vo. under the Title of *Essays: consisting of agreeable and instructive tales, lively sallies, and philosophical remarks*. Gottingen, 1779.—M. TISSOT has omitted to mention, *An Essay on Lavater's Doctrine of Physiognomy*, in a Franconian periodical publication. Hanover, 1778.

offered itself: he began to feel the first attacks of the disorder, for which he was obliged to go to Berlin, in 1771. The faithful repository of all his cares, I was continually occupied in contriving means to procure him an establishment, more suitable to his genius: but this was not an easy matter. The same disposition of nerves, which makes every uneasiness be felt so forcibly, and inspires a wish for continual change, produces also that irresolution which prevents the adoption of any measure; and that timidity which renders every change an object of fear. I have already spoken of the state of Dr. ZIMMERMAN's health, and I shall have occasion to mention it again; for it has so great an influence on the manner of seeing, of judging, and of resolving, that if this be not known, the man is inexplicable. He would not allow me, in my letter of thanks to his Majesty, the King of Poland, who, in the year 1766, did me the honour to invite me to be his First Physician, to mention him, with M. TRALLES, as one of the two Professors of the science, in whom I had the most confidence, and whom I judged to be most worthy that of his Majesty. ZIMMERMAN was afterwards sorry for this, as M. TRALLES refused;—but it was too late;—the place was disposed of. I was more fortunate the next year, when I was enabled to procure for him that employment which he so well filled, during the last twenty-seven years of his life. I am sorry to be under the necessity of mentioning myself so often, but the reader will see that I could not be wholly separated from the history of a friend, with the chief occur-

rences of whose life; circumstances have rendered me connected. Undetermined, for a short time; whether I should accept of the post of First Physician to his Britannic Majesty at Hanover, vacant by the death of Dr. WERLHOF, I enquired of Dr. ZIMMERMAN, what he would do if an opportunity should offer to think of it for him; and I understood by his answer, that he would with pleasure accept of such a situation. Upon my refusal, notwithstanding the pressing instances of Baron de HALLER, who, being charged with this commission, had shewn himself very anxious to succeed with me, I suggested to him to propose Dr. ZIMMERMAN; with respect to whom, none of the reasons which prevented me from accepting this offer, existed. I have already hinted that these gentlemen were not altogether such good friends as they ought always to have remained. HALLER declined interfering: and all that I could prevail upon him to do, was to say, that I had thought of ZIMMERMAN:—This, however, would not be sufficient. On returning my immediate thanks to M. de MUNCHHAUSEN, I thought it a fit opportunity of mentioning ZIMMERMAN myself. It was an easy matter to enforce my recommendation with very weighty reasons; nor was my friend obscure or unknown. I likewise addressed myself to Baron de WALMODEN, at present Field-Marshal in the King's service, who, tho' not then in the Ministry, and absent from the seat of government, had that influence, which attends on genius, knowledge, personal consideration, and a connection with

enlightened Ministers. Lastly, I secured the interest of Baron de HOCHSTETTEN, with whom I was fortunate enough to have some connection, and from whom I received a most polite and favourable answer. My friend had the appointment in the beginning of April 1768, and set off for Hanover on the 11th of July.

I HAD hoped that this departure would have been the æra of his entrance on a happier career; and I was much pleased with the idea of having been able to contribute towards this desirable circumstance; but I was in a short time sadly convinced of the contrary. The carriage, in which he and his family were, was overturned on entering the gates of Hanover. His Mother-in-law had the misfortune to break her leg; and this accident embittered the first moments of their residence there. A few days after his arrival, he lost the Lord of the Regency, who was the most attached to him. The disorder, which I mentioned, as having first seized on him at Brug, increased daily, was accompanied with excruciating pain, and often rendered the attendance on his duty, a painful task. The jealousy of a colleague, now no more, excited a number of those slight irritations, which he would not have felt when in health, but which the state of his nerves rendered so many smarting wounds. Some persons thought that he would do any thing to conciliate their good will, and would have had him every moment with them. “ Women who

used to drink coffee with George the Second, are persuaded that I ought to be at their command as much as I should have been at his." They wanted to make him their slave; but this was not a part adapted to him; he knew that it was the disease, and not the patient, which ought to prescribe the number and the hours of the Physician's visit, and on this principle he always conducted himself; but the persons, whose caprices he thwarted, were not anxious to render his residence among them agreeable. The health of his lady, which always determined his own, declined rapidly: that of his children, which never had been robust, was not strengthened:—He often wrote to me from Hanover, in the same words as he had done from Brug. "Save my wife, or rather save me; save my children, who are dearer to me than life." And each of his letters made me regret the part I had taken in contributing to his removal. Fortunately, the public confidence forced him to a continued occupation, which is the surest resource against uneasiness: the attendance on the sick at Hanover, consultations which were sent him from every part of the North, and the concourse of patients who came themselves, from various distances, to advise with him, relieved him, at length, from his melancholy. He passed whole months in incessant occupation; and the greatest relaxations that he ever knew, consisted in some visits to the courts of Princes, who desired to have his advice in cases of great importance; and whom he never left without having inspired them with personal regard, as well as

esteem for his professional abilities; and in some journies to Pymont, where he passed part of the watering season; which was of benefit to him in the first and second years, but which afterwards had the same effect which all tonics are apt to produce in lax constitutions; they afflicted him with spasms. There was another reason which was sufficient to induce him to abandon the custom of frequenting Pymont. He could not obtain there the relaxation which was necessary to him. All the valetudinarians who came to the springs, wanted his advice; many even came only because he was there; and this was so notorious, that in 1780, the Hereditary Prince of *Hesse Cassel*, the present reigning Landgrave, invited him, on most agreeable terms, to pass the summer at the baths of *Willemstad* near *Hanau*; but this he declined; conscious that he could no more enjoy the repose which was necessary for his own health, at that place than at Pymont.

IF he met with some persons at Hanover ill-disposed towards him, he likewise found others, of both sexes, of the highest merit and most agreeable conversation, who were greatly attached to him:— At the head of these, I believe he placed M. de WALMODEN, M. STUBE, the Secretary of State, and his Sister Madame de DÆRING, the picture of whose amiable mind, and conciliating virtues, he has so charmingly painted in his *Solitude*,* and

* Page 70 of the English translation; where, however, in a note, Madame DÆRING is said to be the Daughter of the Vice-chancellor STRUBE.

whose friendship contributed afterwards to his happiness, as much as the most exalted degree of that refined sentiment could effect. His extensive correspondence with his absent friends, continued to be one of the pleasures of his life. His first connections were at Berne, and the most strict was with Mr. TSCHARNER, of Bellevue, known by his French translation of HALLER's poetry, by his excellent History of Switzerland, by the best articles in the Swiss Cyclopaedia, by two very good Magazines, by his Eulogy on HALLER; and what is perhaps of more value than literary eminence, by his being invited to the situation of Minister of State in the Department of Ecclesiastical Affairs, which the King of Prussia offered to him in 1764, with a salary of 5000 crowns, and other considerable advantages.* The premature death of this gentleman was a source of great affliction to ZIMMERMAN, who not only felt for his own loss, but also for that which the State, the Republic of Letters, and all good men, suffered on this occasion. His other Correspondents were, Baron de HALLER for about ten or twelve years; Mr. HIRZEL, and myself, ever since his first establishment at Brug; Mr. HOTZE, whom he tenderly loved, and whom he has so well described.† He likewise kept up for some time, a constant correspondence with M. MEDICUS of Manheim, whom, however, he could not forgive

* Mr. TSCHARNER declined this offer; as did, likewise, M. de WATTEVILLE, of Montbeney, to whom he was commissioned to make the proposal, in case he himself chose to refuse it.

† See *Solitude*, English translation, pages 285 and 291.

for having quitted the practice of physic, in which he had been deservedly applauded, for the study of Natural History. He also frequently received letters from M. VAN SWIETEN; some of these I have seen, and they all shew the consideration, confidence and attachment of the writer. In one of them, written in 1763, some months after the conclusion of the peace, and in the midst of the literary disputes with M. de HAEN, with whom ZIMMERMAN sometimes corresponded; he says: "Peace is at length happily re-established between the Powers at war: it is much better for Physicians and Philosophers to engage in controversies than Princes and Kings; the shedding of blood caused me much affliction, but I shall never be chagrined at the spilling of floods of ink, if it were even a little to my cost. . . . Greet your Philosophical Farmer from me, I esteem and reverence him, and he is in every respect worthy of it." He corresponded with M. de LUC, Reader to the Queen, [of Great-Britain;] to whom Natural Philosophy is so much indebted; and many other eminent persons,* among whom we will particularize M. FRIZ, as he was the subject of one of his conversations with the King of Prussia; in which it is pleasing to observe the freedom and courage with which he addresses that Monarch in behalf of one of his subjects, who had

* Their names and good qualities are stated by TISSOT, but would be uninteresting to the English reader. He has not mentioned two conspicuous characters, Professor BONNET and Dr. LETTSOM, with whom ZIMMERMAN likewise corresponded.

served him faithfully ; but whom envy had oppressed on account of his merit and probity, and whom ZIMMERMAN represented to the King, as a man well worthy of being recalled and recompensed. The Reader will be pleased to learn, that the King followed his advice, ordered M. FRIZ to be sent for the next day to Potsdam, received him in the most gracious manner, and appointed him to the office of Inspector of his military hospitals. How many evils would be prevented, if all men of merit, whom the intrigues of the evil-minded, alarmed by their virtues, remove from their places, could find a ZIMMERMAN, possessing sufficient firmness to unravel the web of iniquity ; and honourably replace the persecuted in those situations which they deserve, and to which the voice of the Public invites them !

IN his letters, as in all the works he has published, we are struck with the characteristic of true Genius, a multitude of novel and correct ideas, which make an impression not easily forgotten. If the productions, usually termed works of wit and genius, were as much in fashion now as formerly, those of ZIMMERMAN would be found abundantly provided with the most agreeable materials ; of these I could collect a volume from his letters, in which he sometimes enlarged on new works, and on new writers ; on the characters of the most celebrated Physicians in that part of Europe ; and on the different medicines which came into vogue. His letter on the yellow sulphur of liquid antimony,

which he looked upon as a very useful remedy, is one of the best medical pieces I ever remember to have perused; and he sent me an excellent analysis of the practical manual of M. VOGEL, accompanied with many praises of the Author; who was called to Pavia to re-place me, but who refused.

THE pleasure which I received from his letters was, however, as I have already hinted, continually embittered by the expression of his cares and troubles; and especially from the end of 1769, by his regret at the continued decline of his lady's health, whom he had at last the misfortune to lose on the 23d of June, 1770; and which he has so affectingly described in his *Solitude*.*

THIS loss overwhelmed him with affliction; and his own malady increased daily; this he described to me with the greatest exactness, he indicated the seat and progress of his pains, and enquired of me, as of his other friends in whom he confided, the means of cure, which I was very far from being able to point out to him. I indeed saw a local evil, but could not guess at the method of removing it; I referred him to surgical assistance; this, at least not such as he chose to trust to, was not to be found in his neighbourhood. I might have invited him myself; but how could I with propriety propose a journey of two hundred leagues to a man, to whom the motion of a carriage was almost

* Page 68, of the English edition.

intolerable? At last, however, I advised him, I entreated him, to go to Berlin to M. MECKEL, who would form a judgment of his disorder, direct the management of it, and make choice of an able Surgeon to perform the operation, if he thought this was requisite, as I suspected it was. He yielded to my exhortations, and reached Berlin on the 11th of June, 1771. M. MECKEL received him as a brother; and would not allow him to take up his abode any where but in his house; where, for five months, he enjoyed all the happiness a most amiable and most friendly society could confer upon him. The necessary operation was performed on the 24th of June, by M. SMUCKER; and Mr. MECKEL conceived the case to be of so interesting a nature, that he published a small work on it, which is replete with new and useful matter.*

As soon as he was sufficiently re-established to relish the pleasures of society, he availed himself continually of that of the most amiable persons of Berlin; not only among men of letters, but also among the most distinguished in all orders, and the most elevated in rank. This was one of the happiest periods of his life; he enjoyed the inexpressible gratification of finding himself relieved from a long and cruel complaint; the charms of a most agreeable private society; the pleasure of being universally received with the greatest attention; and of

* *De morbo hernioso congenito singulari et complicato: Svo.*
Berlin, 1772.

becoming acquainted and connected with many eminent literary characters of Germany. His most intimate connection was with M. SULZER, whom he long admired; and who, when known, could not fail of being beloved by every one. His reception on his return to Hanover was equally pleasing, and he flattered himself that he should at last enjoy a permanent state of health. The application, however, which a number of procrastinated Consultations required, once more affected his nerves; his former complaints in the affected part returned, and the symptoms of hypochondria re-appeared: The education of his daughter, deprived of the attention of her grandmother, who did not long survive his lady, was another source of inquietude. He sent her to me in 1773, requesting my assistance in finding a proper situation for her; she remained two years in the same house with myself, and in the company of some ladies of great merit. It was when he came to fetch her, in 1775, and when he passed five weeks with me, that I had at length, for the first time, the satisfaction of seeing him, I will not say of knowing him; I found that I knew him already. The Friend conversing, reminded me every moment of the friend writing, and perfectly resembled the portrait I had formed of him in my imagination. I beheld the man of genius, who with promptitude, seizes the clear idea of every object in all its relations, and whose imagination knows how to present it under the most agreeable forms: His

conversation, assisted by an animated and expressive countenance, was brilliant, instructive, and fraught with a number of interesting facts, and entertaining narrations; he spoke of every thing with great precision; when our conversation took a medical turn, and this was often the case, I found his principles solid, and his notions clear; when I took him to see patients who were oppressed with very severe illness, or when I read to him Consultations addressed to me in very difficult cases, I always found in him the greatest sagacity in discovering the causes, and explaining the symptoms of the disease, great justness in forming indications, and an exquisite judgment in making choice of remedies; of which he employed few, but all efficacious: In short, I beheld throughout, the man of sincerity, rectitude, and virtue. His stay was much shorter than I could have wished.

HE carried back with him his daughter, who possessed all the qualifications adapted to justify the extreme tenderness of a father, whose happiness would have been complete in her, had not a very great vexation, soon after her departure from Lausanne, given a shock to her Constitution, which she never could get over:* This threw her into a languishing complaint, which lasted five years; and which, during the whole of that time, gave the most poignant uneasiness to Dr. ZIMMERMAN,

* A disappointment in love, as ZIMMERMAN himself relates in the German original of his *Solitude*. W.

who had likewise, about the same time, an additional cause of sorrow, perhaps of a more distressing nature; the state of mind into which his son was fallen.

FROM his earliest infancy, the Youth had been subject to an acrid eruption, which principally attacked the face, the head, and the glands of the ear; when the eruption was visible, he was very well in health and spirits, and perfectly lively and sensible; a short time after its disappearing he always became low-spirited; his talents, instead of acquiring force, ceased to be unfolded, and even faded away, and he fell into a state of melancholic apathy, very rare at that age. This alternate state of health and languor continued till he was sent to Gottingen, in 1772; when M. ZIMMERMAN had soon the pleasure of learning that his son was perfectly changed; he recovered his spirits, and shewed that he was possessed of the most remarkable talents. From Gottingen he went to Strasburgh, where, (instigated by a friend, who, like him, was full of genius, vivacity, and emulation, but who enjoyed a most excellent state of bodily health,) he devoted himself to a work too laborious for the state of his nerves, not only naturally extremely weak, but likewise at that time too much affected by the regret of having left Gottingen. He fell, in consequence, into the deepest melancholy, and wrote to his father, requesting to be excused from travelling into France, England, and Holland, with as much earnestness as another would have used

to have obtained permission to visit those countries. Shortly after, in December 1777, he became perfectly deranged. "This misfortune haunts me like a fury, every instant of my life; it has involved me in a constant and profound melancholy, and my nervous complaints are worse than ever." He was sent to M. HOTZE, whose endeavours had the most beneficial effects; and the baths of Pfeffers, which he prescribed, were of the greatest utility. In April, 1779, he was very well, and was preparing to set out on his travels, in order afterwards to be established at Brug; but the disorder suddenly re-appeared, and all medical aid became of no avail. For the last twenty years he has remained in a state of perfect ideocy, happily exempt from all pain; and has resided in a healthy country, with an excellent man, with whom his father placed him, and where he is in want of nothing. ZIMMERMAN, distressed already by this afflictive calamity, had likewise to encounter the approach of the fatal blow which was to deprive him of his beloved daughter; whom he at length lost in the summer of 1781. Madame de DÆRING was left to him, but she was about to quit him, a new employment calling her husband away from Hanover; she felt how unhappy her friend must be, and thought he could not be saved from becoming the prey of his afflictions, but by an union with a partner worthy of his choice. She fixed upon the daughter of M. de BERGER, King's Physician at Lunenburgh, and niece to Baron de BERGER. The marriage was not celebrated till the

beginning of October 1782. “ It was Madame de DÆRING (says ZIMMERMAN) who made this choice for me, and I bless God for it every day of my life.” I should offend the modesty of this worthy Lady, were I to give the portrait of her which he delineated to me, many years after their marriage. Nothing can be more pleasing, than the picture of their family life, at that time, which is likewise the exact counterpart of that which Madame ZIMMERMAN furnished me with, near ten years afterwards ; in letters written in as elegant French, as if they had been composed at Versailles. The happiness of this union was never one instant interrupted, and during the last years of his life, this excellent woman was to him, a tutelar divinity, his consolation and support in adversity. He was thirty years older than his Lady. This would have been a great disparity in the generality of marriages, but genius is never either young or old, and those who possess it are always of the same age. “ She is the best critic possible for my works, especially with regard to taste and style ; she knows the English language full as well as I do, and the Italian much better.” His life was now truly happy. He accompanied his lady into society : she often saw company at home ; and the friendship and conversation of his amiable visitors, restored all the gaiety of his disposition, and made him the very soul of these convivial meetings.

ABOUT this time he employed himself with his great work on *Solitude*, which was always his

favourite. This was near thirty years after the publication of his first Essay on that subject. He extended this performance to four volumes; the two first appeared in 1784, and the two last in 1786. There is a translation, or rather the translation of a part of this work, in French, in one small volume, octavo.*

THE whole of the History of the Ascetics and Anchorites (ZIMMERMAN began with the followers of PYTHAGORAS) is omitted in the French translation: and perhaps some readers might have found the details of their lives too prolix; but how shall we have a complete notion of the History of Man, if we do not examine into these orders; which abound in instances of the greatest courage, of the most perfect resignation, and of the most unheard-of privations sustained with the greatest equanimity; examples of moral and physical exertion, which are with difficulty to be believed, although very well attested? Is it not in the History of these Men, that we must search for the causes which have influenced them to lead a solitary life; that we may see to whom it is suitable, in what circumstances it becomes useful or dangerous, what

* By the celebrated M. MERCIER. The English translation, being taken from the French, is likewise, therefore, only of part of this work:—There has been very lately a second translation of *Solitude* published, pretending to be from the original German, but which is little else than a mutilated copy of the former very excellent version, which is in every respect deserving the preference. W.

effects it produces, what are its advantages and disadvantages? The complete suppression of this part seems to have altered the nature of the work. Very important omissions likewise occur in the remainder; but what has been translated is nevertheless very interesting, although it consists only, in fact, of detached fragments of a noble building. Translators who mutilate and change foreign works, may alledge in their justification, that without such alteration they would not please the nation for whom they are translated: but this gives no very advantageous idea of that nation: it induces us to think that it conceives itself at the summit of perfection; and that every thing which does not exactly suit its taste, must be inherently faulty; that the adoption of any manner of writing, which is not conformable to its customs, must be wrong; that it is useless to acquire a knowledge of the manners of others, since they certainly cannot be better than its own; and, in short, that such a nation is too well satisfied with itself, to believe that any advantage can be gained by a change in any one article.

ZIMMERMAN defines Solitude, to be that state of the Soul in which it freely abandons itself to its reflections. Hence we may see, that however useful it may be to devote ourselves to Solitude, it is not necessary to seek it in the dreary wilds of the desert, or the gloomy recesses of the cloister.

To avoid the misinterpretations which might be

given of his intentions, for many there are who make it their sole business to misrepresent the purest, he professes that his aim is not to invite Mankind to solitude; he proves that it does not suit the generality of people; and that all the famous projects and systems of an entire seclusion from the world, if examined with serious attention, are found to be impracticable. “To render the mind independent of human assistance, and teach it to rely entirely upon the strength of its own powers, is, I acknowledge, a noble achievement; but it is certainly equally meritorious to learn the art of living happily in society, and of rendering ourselves useful and agreeable to the rest of mankind.”* The latter part of this proposition is very true, but the first is certainly too general. It is happy (*noble* is not the proper word), when we can render ourselves independent of the mere manual labour of others, when we know how to exist without borrowing the use of their legs and arms; it is useful to be able to live alone, when circumstances of various kinds keep us at a distance, sometimes for a long period of time, from civilized society; and there is nothing so unhappy, so low, so little, as always to stand in need of company, to know not how to exist except in a croud, to yawn and stretch whenever we do not happen to be elbowed, as it were, on each side of us, and to wait with impatience for the hour in which company may release us from ourselves. But placed as we are

* *Solitude*, page 6, of the English translation.

In a world where we are destined to live with our fellow-creatures, it can never be a *noble* achievement to render the mind independent of human assistance, and to rely upon the strength of its own powers, when no advantage can result from it to that society, whose interest ought to be the final object of all its members; and this was in all probability the idea of M. ZIMMERMAN; but either he has not expressed himself with sufficient precision, or, what is more likely, his words have been inaccurately translated.*

*Il faut vivre avec ses semblables
Ou bien la vie est un long deuil.*

HE next examines who those are to whom Solitude is suitable. He lays open its advantages and disadvantages. I shall not follow him in all the details which he enters into on these two points; but we find, throughout the whole, the most sublime conceptions, the greatest sagacity of observation, an extreme propriety of application, a great degree of ability in the choice of examples, and

* The literal translation, of the original German, of the passage to which M. TISSOT here alludes, is as follows: "All the pleasures of the world, therefore, do not really appear to merit the attention which is bestowed upon them; yet all the famous systems of a total seclusion from the world, are found to be impracticable and absurd, when we consider, that although it may be a *noble* achievement to render one's self independent of the greatest part of mankind, in order to be sometimes enabled to retire from society; yet it is full as meritorious to live at the same time sociably and amicably with all." W.

what I cannot sufficiently insist upon, since nothing can be said more honourable to him, nor any praise be given him which would have been more cordially acceptable to his heart, he every where enforces Religion, of the sacred and solemn truths whereof he possessed the most intimate conviction. He points out the resources and consolations of the mind, and gives the most excellent advice respecting the measures to be pursued to alleviate painful and distressing situations. This work will always afford equal pleasure and instruction. It procured the greatest honour to its author:—But can he be always said to be just in his conclusions? Has he always held the balance between the advantages of Society and those of Solitude, with a steady and impartial hand? Friendship does not blind me so far as to think he did: I have already said it, and I have given my reasons for it. His own inclination more frequently led him to the love of Solitude than to that of Society; and, without his even suspecting it himself, this inclination is visibly impressed on his work. We cannot, likewise, avoid observing, that it contains several indications of the state of his nerves; in some places, though indeed these are not many, we may say, ‘here the Author is evidently hypochondriacal, perhaps even he was peevish.’ The vanity and ignorance of certain people of quality, and the awkwardness and pride of the inhabitants of small towns, are but too often remarked on; and there seems a degree of ill-temper in recurring to them so continually.

A PERUSAL of this work might lead us to believe, that ZIMMERMAN was a man of a severe and reserved temper; blunt and satyrical in company; but this, we have already seen; was very far from his real character. "There was a striking difference between his manners and his writings. Always gentle, polite, and complaisant in conversation, incapable of ever saying a word to give offence; the moment the pen was in his hand, he lost his urbanity, and became satyrical. In publick, the rules of good-breeding, and the gentleness of his character restrained him; when retired to his desk, his natural energy, his love of virtue, and his hatred of whatever was ridiculous, carried him away, and he had no longer any command of himself."* Precisely in this light did I view him. The mildness of his temper was undisturbed and constant in Society, but he seized the characteristics of mankind, with the greatest ease and promptitude: their follies, their foibles, their incongruities, struck him at first sight; and, when he retired to his closet, he painted them in the liveliest colours.

THIS *Essay on Solitude* had a great effect, not only in Germany, but wherever that language was read; it procured him a correspondence which afforded him real pleasure, that of the Empress of

* ZIMMERMAN himself was well aware of this apparent contradiction: which he has, in some measure, explained. See p. 186, 187, of the English Edition of *Solitude*. See also p. xxxv, of the Account of his Life and Writings, prefixed to the last Translation of his *Essay on National Pride*.

Russia, whom his book had reached, without his interference, and even without his knowledge; in fact, it was not very natural to think of presenting her with a work, which so well delineates the happiness to be enjoyed in retirement from the world. This enlightened Princess was, however, so well pleased with the work, that she resolved to express her particular thanks to the Author. On the 26th January, 1786, a Courier, dispatched by M. de GROSSE, the Russian Envoy at Hamburg, presented M. ZIMMERMAN with a small casket, in the name of her Majesty the Empress of Russia. The casket contained a ring, enriched with diamonds of an extraordinary size and lustre; and a gold medal, bearing on one side the Portrait of the Empress, and on the other, the Commemoration of the extension of the Russian Empire, by the addition of a new Kingdom. To this present, the Empress added a note, written in her own hand, containing these remarkable words: “ To M. ZIMMERMAN, Counsellor of State, and Physician, to His Britannic Majesty, to thank him for the excellent precepts he has given to mankind, in his *Treatise upon Solitude*.”* The whole was accompanied by an invitation on the part of the Empress, through the medium of M. de GROSSE, to M. ZIMMERMAN, to come and pass some months of the summer-season at Petersburg; as she was desirous of becoming personally acquainted with him. His letter to the

* See the English Translation of the French Translator's preface to *Solitude*; where this Anecdote is told with some variation as to the reverse of the Medal.

Empress contained the most lively expressions of gratitude for the honours she conferred on him; but he wrote to M. de GROSSE, that he feared he could not undertake such a journey without prejudice to his health; that nevertheless, if her Majesty was peculiarly bent upon it, he would attempt it. The Empress herself was pleased to dispense with it in the most gracious manner; she wrote to him, "that she did not chuse his health should suffer from the satisfaction which his journey would have occasioned her." The correspondence continued regularly for six years, till the year 1792, when the Empress suddenly dropt it. The subjects of these letters were generally politics, literature, and philosophy. All those of the Empress are replete with the most elevated sentiments accompanied by a most pleasing affability. Physic was never the topic of their correspondence; she frequently repeated, and seemed desirous that he should make no secret of it, that her health was very excellent, and boasted that it did not cost her 30 sours in a year. Yet she caused a proposal to be made to him, without appearing in it herself, to be established at St. Petersburg, in the quality of her first Physician; and he was offered as far as ten thousand rubles salary. After M. ZIMMERMAN had declined this honour, she commissioned him to procure young Physicians and Surgeons, as well for her military establishment, as for such cities of her empire as were in want of them. Many of those whom he recommended to her, have become for-

tunate and wealthy, and as a mark of gratitude for the service he thus rendered her country, the Empress caused him to be invested with the Order of *Wladimir*; another time she presented him with the two fine gold medals, which were struck in honour of M. M. ORLOFF, on the occasion of the plague at Moscow, and of the destruction of the Turkish fleet.

WHEN M. ZIMMERMAN was at Berlin, in 1771, he had a long audience of the King, of which he mentioned the particulars in a letter to a friend, who, doubtless, communicated these to some indiscreet person; for mutilated and falsified copies of it were circulated, and it was even printed without the knowledge of the Author, which caused him to reprint it after his journey to Potsdam, in 1786. In this conversation, the King, without expressly consulting him, had spoken to him of the state of his health, and on his return to Hanover, he wrote me on the subject in these words: "The King is at present very well, but he is subject to annual fits of the gout, the pains of which generally first appear in the abdomen, in very violent cholics; they then pass to the hands and feet; during this time he is medicined without mercy, and he especially is made to take camphor incessantly, in order to promote perspiration; but which, in my opinion, cannot but prolong the attacks of the disease. He is, besides, subject to an hemorrhoidal discharge, and hemorrhoidal cholics; he is likewise exceedingly lax in his body; five grains of rhubarb is to him

a violent cathartic; and he cannot endure any degree of cold." In the autumn of 1785, the King was exposed to cold and damp in reviewing his troops in Silesia; and this, probably, hastened his death, by bringing upon him an asthma, and at length that dropsy, for which he called upon M. ZIMMERMAN to attend upon him, by two very flattering letters, one of the 6th, the other of the 16th of June, 1786. ZIMMERMAN got to Potsdam on the 23d June, and stayed there till the 11th of July.* He was convinced, at the first interview, that his Majesty was irrecoverable; and he took care to avoid fatiguing a weak and irritable body by violent medicines, which would have more enfeebled it, and have brought on violent symptoms, without producing any benefit. On his return to Hanover, he gave a relation of this journey, which is full of interesting facts; it will always be read with great pleasure. Two French translations of it have appeared.†

HE had, from his youth, attended to the history of the King of Prussia, with that interest with which the man of genius follows the career of a great character; and in several of his letters, written during the seven years' war, I find instances of

* The King died on the 17th August.

† One, printed at Paris, 1790, 12mo. the other at Lausanne, in 8vo. It is at the end of the Paris edition, page 241, that the relation of his journey to Berlin, in 1771, is introduced as a Supplement.

There is likewise an English translation of this work:

his admiration of, and attachment to, this hero: the reception he met with in 1771, increased these sentiments; and from that time he considered every thing relating to that Monarch, every anecdote tending to illustrate his character, as a precious acquisition.

IN 1788, during the illness of the King of Great-Britain, the Government of Hanover dispatched ZIMMERMAN into Holland, that he might be the nearer London, should it be thought necessary to call him thither; he remained ten days at the Hague, and did not leave that place till the danger was over.

THE invitation of Dr. ZIMMERMAN, by a Monarch so well versed in mankind, and his being sent into Holland by a Minister, who had for twenty years been witness of his abilities, in order to be at hand with his aid, in behalf of another Crowned Head, surrounded at the same time with Physicians of the highest reputation, were no trifling additions to his celebrity as a Practitioner; they doubtless were flattering to himself, and afforded him the pleasing gratification experienced from a consciousness of being the object of public trust and consideration. He was beloved and respected; he enjoyed the confidence of the Prince, and of the Country to which he had devoted himself; indeed this was the case with the whole of the Northern part of Europe; he possessed many friends, a very comfortable fortune, and the

Government, as a further mark of its approbation and satisfaction, added 400 crowns to his salary. He knew how to dispose of his leisure time; he enjoyed the most perfect domestic felicity, the first of all blessings. Thus he seems to have been as happy as he could be, allowing for the frequent returns of a painful complaint, and that hypochondriacal disposition, which, while it prevails, is the worst of all evils, since it deprives us of the enjoyment of every good.

BUT however natural this supposition, it is wholly impossible to judge of happiness by exterior appearances. At this period commenced a series of vexations which embittered the latter part of his life, and which proceeded from two different causes.

HIS letter on his presentation to the King of Prussia, in 1771, had been most acrimoniously criticised: and, in fact, the Editor who had published it, without the consent of the Author, was greatly to blame.—The relation of his journey in 1786, became the subject of criticism still more severe. It was a publication naturally to be expected: but some Episodes interwoven in it, and, in particular, certain Anecdotes, relative to the irreligion prevalent at Berlin, gave offence, or served as pretexts to some people who were determined to be offended. Men of irritable nerves, are apt to be affected, when they ought rather to shut the book with a smile of

contempt. This was one cause of his vexation; but it did not hinder him from employing himself on other works, of which the same Hero was the subject. He forgot that it is too early to write the History of Monarchs, during the lives of their Contemporaries; and that the world allows those only to speak of them, who have never known them. He loved this Prince; and very far from viewing him in the light in which he was placed by the Author of *The Prussian Monarchy*, as soon as this work appeared, which was in 1788, he published in German *A Defence of Frederick the Great against the Count de Mirabeau*. Proceeding afterwards to compare, to elucidate, and arrange a number of facts which he had been for a long time collecting, with those furnished by his residence at Potsdam, in the society of the King himself, and others which he obtained from the most authentic sources, he published the whole in 1790, in German, in 3 volumes 12mo, entitled *Select Views of the Life, Character and Reign of Frederick the Great, King of Prussia*.*

DEPRIVED of the pleasure of reading these two last-mentioned works, I have not even had that of seeing any extract from them. The following account of them I had from himself, soon after their publication. "The greatest part of the facts which occur in these volumes, were never before

* This book was translated, in 1792, into English, by Major NEWMAN, of the Nassau Guards. W.

published. They are neither to be found in the works of Frederick himself, nor in any of the multitude of Authors who have written concerning him. I have taken nothing from them: I never mention them but wherever I find them mistaken, in order gently to set them right. My work is an original one; except that in the third volume, I have related what I saw and heard at Sans-Souci, in 1786; and that I have, in general, interwoven in these fragments, my two former works relative to this hero." I have heard the highest praise given to this book by very excellent judges; but they all agreed that it might greatly displease many people; and this I had myself suspected from ZIMMERMAN'S OWN account. The Criticks, therefore, again set to work; and the result was, as is always the case in disputes to which we attach great interest, we become vexed on perusing the criticism, more vexed in seeking out the means of refuting it, and appear most vexed of all in our answer. Thus each new criticism was a source of disagreeable sensations to M. ZIMMERMAN, and contributed to undermine his health.

THE second cause of his chagrin at this period, originated in his sincere attachment to the cause of Religion, of Human Nature, and of social order; and this it was which gave him his death's wound. Well might he exclaim,

Homo sum, nihil humani à me alienum puto!

For every thing that related to the happiness, not

merely of individuals, but of Mankind in general, was extremely dear to him; the study of morality and of politics, as we may easily perceive by his writings on *National Pride*, on *Solitude*, and even those on Medical Subjects, had often employed his mind. He was well versed in them, and dwelt on them with pleasure. He had read, and fully considered those celebrated works, *The Spirit of Laws*, and the *Social Contract*. To the latter of these he had paid particular attention: he plainly saw what was good in it, and at the same time the facility with which the most dangerous consequences might be drawn from many parts of it: a facility so much greater, as in another work the Author had sapped the foundation of all religious principles, which are the only curb on evil intentions. This work had made a great impression wherever it appeared; it became the favourite book of many men of the highest degree of merit; who, incapable of making an ill use of the erroneous principles it contains, praised it with too much fervency. The patriotic society of Schintznach, (at present that of Olten or Arau), of which I have already spoken, was composed of persons, equally distinguished for their merit and their enlightened understandings: many of these partook in the general admiration of ROUSSEAU. Two of the Members of this Society, both ZURICKERS, and far removed from harbouring any ideas destructive of social order, pronounced in a meeting of the Society some discourses, in perfect unison with his system; and that at a time when both at Geneva, and in Switzerland, proofs of

its dangerous tendency began to appear. Geneva was for a considerable time in a flame: and although it appeared to be extinguished, it was the same fire, that five years ago, raged with destructive fury, and totally destroyed that noble city; in which, for many years, I witnessed an union of every circumstance adapted to secure the happiness of a State, in greater perfection than any where else. In this Canton "two vassals refused to perform the conditions of their tenure: it became necessary to compel them to it by the threats of confiscation; while a third objected to the payment of a tax of a few pence, for an acre of vineyard." These circumstances must necessarily attract the attention of any provident Government; the assemblies at Schintznach were interdicted, and those of the Canton who were strongly attached to the Society, met with some disagreeable occurrences; because, although they felt that some discourses were blame-worthy, they were still convinced of the purity of the motives which dictated them. M. ZIMMERMAN was one of the most zealous partizans of this Society, and saw with regret this prohibition; but acquiescing in the judgment of men, with whose wisdom he was well satisfied, he became the more intent upon examining the principles of ROUSSEAU, comparing them with those of other Legislators: and set himself diligently to enquire what was the best form of government, for the People: and what would produce most good or evil to them.

CALLED, by his work on *Solitude*, to the examination of the principles and dogmas of a great variety of Sects, this study became closely connected with that of Governments; for Sects ought, above every thing, to be the object of their attention. They are the Cuckow's eggs, which can never be hatched with impunity. He no sooner became apprized of the danger of the existence of Sects and Sectaries, than he endeavoured to trace them out, and was happy in revealing his discoveries. In one of his letters, he gave me a portrait of a very amiable man, whom I often saw with pleasure, although I remarked in him some singularity in religious opinions, without being aware of their dangerous tendency, but which my friend was better acquainted with than myself; he likewise was better instructed, respecting his connections with a stranger who was in my country, on account of very severe indisposition, and whom I visited at least once a day. "Why does M. D. D. M——, who is at the same time a disciple of *Pythagoras*, *Plato*, *Origen*, *Leibnitz*, and *Mallebranche*, who can discover in the Bible the system of *COPERNICUS*, and the *Metempsychosis*; who hears voices; who has visions and revelations; why, I say, has such a man made a convert of the intelligent K——? And why does this man have the works of the *Enthusiast* printed? Because he also has his revelations; because a lady of *Copenhagen*, who stood in need of his spiritual assistance, appeared to him in a dream; and some time afterwards the same lady came to him at his *Country-house*, and in-

formed him that she had had a revelation by which she was commanded to go in search of him."

IN their progress towards the North, which has for some ages been the cradle of Sects, in the same manner as the South was heretofore, M. ZIMMERMAN did not lose sight of them; one he beheld spring up under his immediate observation, which engaged the whole of his attention, and deserved that of all the world; since it now appears that its final purpose was no other than the utter destruction of all Religion, of all Order, and consequently of all Happiness, among Mankind. I mean *The Secret Society of the Illuminated* in Germany, which is said to be fundamentally different from that of the *Illuminés* or *Martinistes* of France, which appears to have been more ridiculous than dangerous,* and to resemble that of the ancient Rosicrucians, on which account it was known in derision by the German appellation of *Erleuchtete*. We have seen the Sects of *Mesmerism*, *Cagliostroism*, *Martinisme*, become successively the general topics of conversation in France, and the admiration of all the women, who, infected with the mania of the science of Physics, believe themselves BAILLYS and LAVOISIERS, when they have learned to repeat

* I have not seen the Articles of Faith of this Sect, and I do not know whether they were ever made public; but it was very alluring by one of its attributes, pretty generally known, and without doubt, proved to the conviction of all its adherents; the participation of the faculty of evoking the spirits of the deceased.

a set of phrases which they do not understand; we have seen these Sects encouraged, protected, professed by men of little minds, decorated with high-sounding names, and by some men of genius seduced by the love of the marvellous, and the pleasure of supporting the most absurd opinions, and rendering them plausible; we have seen them followed with avidity by the whole croud of idlers, to whom every thing that rescues them for a moment from insignificance, is a happiness; but at the same time universally despised by all men of sense. The two first of these Sects are now extinct and forgotten,* and if the last still exists, it is but

* The Report of the Commissaries appointed to examine into the principles of Magnetism, drawn up by Mr. BAILLY, is a master-piece of sound reasoning, and perfectly establishes their futility; but reason has never been found a cure for enthusiasm; ridicule is the most certain weapon with which to combat it. The Lieutenant of the Police, who conceived that this epidemic madness ought no longer to be tolerated, nor on the other hand be too violently persecuted; remembering, doubtless, that nothing had been able to prevent all Paris from running after the Doctor of Chaudray, till this rage was made the subject of a very laughable scene in an excellent comedy, when it was soon abandoned; put the same manœuvre in practice. A piece was accordingly performed, full of mirth and wit, called *The modern Doctors*: [on which the farce of *Animal Magnetism*, performed on the English stage, was founded.] From that time the whole apparatus of buckets and wands, and the jargon of *somnambulism*, and *sympathetic affection*, was entirely dropt. Other Sects in the medical art which have of late years emanated from the North, which are more dangerous than *Mesmerism*, and which have likewise met with profelytes, (for where is the opinion so extravagant that can fear to make any) would well require and deserve the repetition of the same nostrum.

feebly; and so as to render a final evanescence more probable every day. But this is not the case with the secret Order of the Illuminated of Germany, which has made a rapid progress. M. ZIMMERMAN was well acquainted with its principles, he felt all the danger of them, he employed himself earnestly in opposing them, and endeavoured to interest those whom it mostly concerned, to prevent their effects.

WHETHER this Sect, of which I must necessarily treat, but of which I speak with caution, since I do not of myself know any thing about it,* be the same with that of the *Free-Masons* or the *Jesuits*; both of which suppositions appear very improbable, since we do not know any doctrine of the former that has been adopted by the Illuminated; nor do we find any one of the charges made against the principles of the latter by PASCAL, by several of the Parliaments of France, and by an anony-

* Many works have certainly appeared in German, on the subject of the *Illuminated*; but in French I am only acquainted with the following, although there certainly may be others; *The Prussian Monarchy, under Frederick the Great*, of MIRABEAU; *The Secret History of the Court of Berlin*, and *Letters to the Author of the Quotidian*, (a periodical publication,) by one of his *Subscribers*. It is from the letters of the late Dr. ZIMMERMAN, from some other information, of the truth of which I can entertain no doubt, and from the above-mentioned three publications that I have taken all I have to say on the subject.

“The Chiefs of the Illuminated took the plan of their Order from that of the Jesuits, but proposed to themselves views diametrically opposite.”—(*Mirabeau's Prussian Monarchy*, Vol. v. p. 97.)

mous Author of a pamphlet entirely forgotten,* that have any resemblance to those of the Illuminated of Germany: Whatever be the case, thus much is certain, That in 1774 or 1775, a Society was established in Bavaria, of which a celebrated Professor at Ingolstadt has been regarded as the founder, and which under the pretext of consulting *the happiness of the People*, and supposing this happiness to be incompatible with every species of religious and civil establishment, at present existing, said with one voice, *Let us destroy them all; and raze their very foundations.* “The secret order of the *Illuminated*, included amongst its mysterious principles, at present exposed to the whole world, the whole of the doctrine which the Jacobins of Paris have since put in practice; and it has been proved by the most irrefragable documents, that they maintained an intimate correspondence together, long before the Revolution.—The destruction of the Christian Religion, and the subversion of every Throne and of all Governments, have been, since the year 1776, the aim of the secret order of the

* *Memoir for the Plenipotentiaries assembled at Soissons; in which is demonstrated how prejudicial the Society of Jesuits is to Church and State, 12mo. 1729.* The assembly was dissolved without any thing being effected, and the memoir was forgotten. It is very surprising that this little work, which, although very concise, is very full of matter, and very nervous, was not reprinted at the time of the suppression of this order; and that the public officers of justice, who pursued these religious sectaries with so much inveteracy, never re-called it to the notice of the public.

Illuminated.”* It was not understood by the New Associates of this Order, that the magic words, *the Happiness of the People*, were the surest means to recruit their number with ease, and by which, in fact, its recruits became so numerous and well-disciplined;—young men were chiefly pitched upon, who not having yet formed a strong attachment to any particular opinion, were the more easily led away, to embrace whatever was offered to them; and men of literary talents, whom it is important to secure, when the propagation of any new opinion is in agitation. When once a person was enlisted, and fully penetrated with the enticing words, *the happiness of the People; let us labour to procure happiness to the People*, he became impatient to know the obstacles which were in the way of this purpose, and the means to be made use of to remove them; these were offered to his view in succession.

“ THE Order has five degrees: in the lower, the mysteries are not unveiled, they are only preparatory, the minds of the noviciates are founded and prepared; and by degrees, those who are found

* “ But Providence can, in an instant, change the whole: He who commands the sea, whom the hurricanes obey, and whose arm can shake the universe, even as the feeble Sons of men can lift a grain of sand; He, whose omnipotence is an object of derision to the Jacobins of every country, can stop the progress of the conflagration that now threatens all Europe; and for the instruction of future generations, destroy the wicked, in that fire which they have kindled themselves.”

worthy, are initiated into the higher ranks." By means of this gradation, and by the insinuating and oily language, which the Missionaries so well know how to assume when intent upon making profelytes, is there any set of principles which may not be rendered palatable? 'Tis like MAHOMET persuading SEIDE that it was a duty to assassinate his Father. The number of the affiliated Members of the Society increased from day to day; chiefly by the assiduity of Baron de KN——, who, in 1782, first suggested the idea, so fortunate for the increase of the sect, of *illuminating* the Society of the *Free-Masons*, and who succeeded in this object, from Hanover to Copenhagen on the one hand, and to Naples on the other. In 1784, the Brotherhood was, however, unmasked, and driven out of Bavaria. In 1788, their papers, which had been seized, were printed at Munich; but if we may judge from what the Count de MIRABEAU relates, all that was done against them, was done in so slovenly a manner, that they were not at all brought into discredit. Perhaps that happened, which often occurs on similar occasions; the cause of the accused excited compassion and interest, because false accusations were added to those which were well-grounded.

FROM the very beginning of their existence, they had taken care to secure some of the best Journalists, and, above all, the writers of the *Bibliothèque Universelle* or *Universal Library*, then published at Berlin, which was, and still is, an

excellent Magazine; and the principal conductor of which, ZIMMERMAN had praised in 1771, as one of the best informed, and most worthy of the German Literati. A short time after ZIMMERMAN'S visit to Potsdam, another Magazine was established at Berlin, under the direction of M. G——, Constitutional Counsellor, and M. B——, the King's Librarian, as well as several assistant writers, who remained behind the curtain. This publication was in the interest of the Illuminated. Among a number of excellent pieces, which gave it a great degree of reputation, the faithful adherents of the order never ceased exclaiming against Superstition and Religious Prejudices. The edicts which the reigning Monarch published against writings of this sort, served only to animate their ardour, and in order to declaim with greater impunity, they pretended that Germany was in danger of falling under the yoke of the Jesuits;* that they influenced the minds of all the Princes of the Empire; that some of the Protestant Princes were about to change their religion, and become Catholics. In the two works which M. ZIMMERMAN published in 1788, on the King of Prussia, he ridiculed these apprehensions concerning the Jesuits. At the same period, MIRABEAU extolled the principles of the Illuminated, which he had embraced at Berlin,

* This order had always less influence in Germany than in France and in the South of Europe; and it had sunk into greater oblivion there than any where else: We may thus conceive how very chimerical this pretended fear must have been.

as a *noble, great, and excellent* plan; is it possible to recollect this circumstance without expressing our astonishment, that the Cabinet of Versailles either was ignorant of MIRABEAU'S work, or if acquainted with it, did not foresee that all which has happened, would occur, were the States-General suffered to be influenced by the protector of such a system; or that it should be so totally destitute of providing, or incapable of suggesting, the means of excluding from that Assembly a man, against whom there were so many just causes of reprobation?

THE influence of this system was so remarkable, that we need not peruse the journals of the States-General, to learn the history of their labours.—It might have been found in the work of MIRABEAU, almost two years before they met;* and this baleful influence is now acknowledged by those who are desirous of retracing the causes of events. “The French Revolution is neither the effect of weakness in the King, nor of The greatest part of those who have appeared as the Rulers in this scene of crimes, were, in effect, nothing but player-Kings, who ignorantly performed the parts which they had been taught. . . . Who then is the hero, the tyrant, or the God, who, remaining behind the scenes, actuated all the machinery? The grand mover of all is a *secret Society of pretended Philosophers*, dispersed through every country, and affiliated together

* Page 100.

by an association under oath, and divided into ranks and degrees.”*

“ ZIMMERMAN had been tampered with by them. One L——, since expelled from Berlin for having been detected in a conspiracy, with the Emiffaries of the Propaganda, proposed to him to become united to a society, which he described as likely *soon to reform and govern the World*. He ridiculed this L——, in his Defence of Frederick the Great, and laid open to the public eye the manœuvres which were put in practice to acquire profelytes. This was attacking a hornets’ nest; all the German Journals and Magazines fell upon him immediately; his book was not criticised, it was torn to pieces; many pamphlets appeared, attempting to refute him; blackening and insulting him without mercy; he was styled an ignorant fellow, buried in the mire of superstition, and an enemy to that light, which more liberal and more learned men were desirous of spreading abroad. He was wise enough not to make any answer to all this; yet, irritated by their invectives, and still more so by the iniquitous mysteries, the development of which he beheld from day to day; and animated with zeal in the cause of humanity, without condescending to make any reply to the abuse heaped upon him, in the year 1790, in his large work on Frederick the Great, without any forbearance, and with all the energy of his soul and

* Letters to the Author of the Quotidian.

his pen, he boldly attacked the whole band of the Illuminated, or, as he called them, the *Enlighteners*. Many honest men had grieved in silence, on seeing all the evils which resulted from the propagation of this baleful doctrine; but he was the first who had the courage to unveil all the principles of the Sect, and endeavoured to open the eyes of the German Princes, to the risk they ran, in neglecting to oppose the progress of a league so formidable." He foresaw all which happened a few years afterwards; and to this Society he chiefly ascribed events which seem to be inexplicable, according to the ordinary course of affairs. "The present situation of Germany, and of the greatest part of Europe, is owing to a want of spirit in those who ought to possess the most, and who would never believe what has been predicted to them; to the misunderstanding which so universally prevails; and with respect to Germany, principally to the secret order of the *Illuminated*; whose views are to destroy the Christian Religion, and to overthrow all Thrones: Members of this Order are to be found in the Courts of all the German Princes, in the Ministers, Administrators, and the High Courts of Judicature, in the Universities, and in the Colleges; even in the Armies; and, what may seem incredible, some Sovereign Princes of Germany, Prelates of the Roman Church, and an immense number of Ecclesiastics of all persuasions, Lutherans, Calvinists, or Reformed, are Members of this Society."

ZIMMERMAN soon entered into correspondence with a great number of those, who saw and felt as he did. But this connection, though infinitely interesting to his mind, contributed to destroy his health.

AMONG his Correspondents was one, on whom he had no more thought, whilst writing his Memoirs of Frederick, than he had of the Empress of Russia, when writing his treatise on Solitude. In 1791, he received several pressing letters from M. HOFMAN, a man of great discernment, and Professor of Rhetoric at Vienna, who appeared exceedingly zealous in the cause of good order, and who proposed undertaking a Journal purposely in defence of its principles, requesting ZIMMERMAN'S advice and assistance. ZIMMERMAN made a point of answering him immediately, and spoke to him of the means to be made use of by Princes, to suppress these new-fangled destroyers. M. HOFMAN soon informed him that the Emperor (LEOPOLD II.) protected his Journal, and that he was determined to use all his authority to crush this league. Upon information of this disposition in that Prince, M. ZIMMERMAN thought himself called upon to address a memorial to him, in which he included all he knew of the maxims and principles of this Sect; of their dangerous tendency, and of the means of preventing the mischievous consequences to be apprehended from their propagation. This memorial was presented to the Emperor, in the beginning of February, 1792, and on the 28th of that month,

Dr. ZIMMERMAN received a letter from his Imperial Majesty, in which he informed him how much he was satisfied with his work, and desired him to accept a mark of his gratitude; this was a locket adorned with diamonds, and the Emperor's Cypher. A letter from the Gentleman whom ZIMMERMAN had charged with the presentation of his memorial, and with whom the Emperor had conversed on the subject, entered at large into the intentions of that Monarch; and announced that he was determined immediately to employ part of the measures which he pointed out to him; and that in order to extend their influence, he purposed to present this matter as a very important object of deliberation to the Diet of Ratisbon. He judged right in conceiving that the concurrence of every authority was necessary to destroy a Society so much extended; and this concurrence had not before taken place; the persons who were banished from Munich had been received with open arms in other Courts; a publication which had been prohibited at Berlin by the reigning King, had been reprinted at Altona; and one which the Duke of Brunswick had interdicted in his States, soon appeared anew in Holstein.

M. ZIMMERMAN, no doubt, was much gratified, as any one must have been, with these marks of approbation from a Judge so enlightened; but this was only a small portion of the pleasure which he derived from the letter of the Emperor. To form an idea of his satisfaction, we must represent

to ourselves a man strongly, and almost solely occupied, for the space of several years, with the consideration of a plague fallen on the earth, whose frightful consequences he had foreseen; to which millions had already fallen victims, and whose ravages were encreasing with an alarming rapidity; who had devoted himself to detect the sources whence this evil had arisen, to expose its dangers, and to seek and point out the means of obviating them; who had till then wholly failed of success; who had created a multitude of enemies by his courage in pursuing, almost alone, what was the concern of all; who had been almost torn to pieces; but who at length beheld the greatest Monarch of Europe coincide with his ideas, thank him for his zeal, adopt his proposed measures, and put his hand to the execution of them. But after enjoying this sublime pleasure with M. ZIMMERMAN, let us feel with him, what he must have felt, on learning, a few days afterwards, *the unexpected death of this Emperor, accompanied by circumstances of a singular nature*; and where is the man of honesty and virtue who will not acknowledge how deeply he would have been affected himself, had he known the details on which I have here insisted? It is easy to judge how severe was the blow which he experienced.

M. HOFMAN having thus lost his protector, was persecuted by his enemies; he was obliged to give up his Journal, which was the first work of that nature, which had attempted to stem the

torrent: His persecutors contrived to deprive him of his place of Professor, and compelled him to quit Vienna; but they could not prevent him from continuing to write with the same courage as before.

M. ZIMMERMAN exerted himself to recover from the disappointment which this event caused him, and redoubled his activity: he extended his correspondence, and published several pamphlets on the subject; to some of these he put his name; it was superfluous to put it to all: many became known by the energy of the thoughts, and the force of the style, the characters of which are equivalent to a signature, for such readers as know what style is; but unfortunately these characteristics are not admitted as proofs in a Court of Justice; and M. ZIMMERMAN had a most disagreeable law-suit, for not having reflected on the circumstance, that a man who chuses to disavow his work, can do it in case he has not put his name to it at full length. In 1792, he inserted in the Journal of M. HOFMAN, a paper entitled, *Baron de Knigge unmasked, as an Illuminate, Democrat, and Seducer of the People*; and he proved these assertions from the Baron's own writings. Among the writings which he quoted, there happened to be an anonymous one, of which it would be difficult legally to prove who was the Author. The Baron availed himself of this circumstance, to represent the Memoir of ZIMMERMAN, as a calumnious libel, and to institute a prosecution against him in consequence. This business was a long time in agitation, and was not

decided till February 1795; a time when my Friend had become too weak, not only to defend his cause, but to be anywise solicitous about it. It was decided that he had, without doubt, proved M. de K—— to be a dangerous man, &c. ; but nevertheless, that he must make an excuse for having insulted him publicly ; or else prove that the anonymous pamphlet in question was his production, although his name was not subscribed to it. Courts of Justice require proofs, which speak to the senses, and ZIMMERMAN had contented himself with such as speak to the heart. In this respect he made a mistake ; but notwithstanding all the efforts of malice, which presented this matter in the most odious point of view, ought the fault to fall upon him? Had he been in a state to make the excuse required of him, he might have said: “ I beg you a thousand pardons, Baron, that I did not know that of two signatures, you would only chuse to acknowledge one ; and that we must not publickly ascribe to you those works, which are subscribed with the other.”

HE not only wrote himself, but he took great pains to disperse the works of other defenders of the same cause ; which was no easy matter, as many Booksellers were then in the interest of the secret Order, which pursued him as one of its most dangerous adversaries. Yet notwithstanding the difficulty of getting what was unfavourable to the Illuminated printed, there appeared, in 1793, a small work, the title of which I have have forgot-

ten; the Author of which, I believe, has remained unknown to this day, but which appears to have produced great effect:—It is the relation of an honest Man, who having been drawn into the sect, remained in it, after he began to comprehend its principles, no longer than to become thoroughly acquainted with its doctrines; and who afterwards unveiled all that was not before particularly known; the whole extracted from the Statutes of the Order in the hand-writing of the chiefs.

AFTER what I have said respecting the principles of the secret Society of the *Illuminated*, men of extensive information will still remark, that though it may be guilty of their dissemination in Germany, the horrid invention of them cannot be laid to its charge. They are all comprehended in that execrable expression, known and celebrated in France, long before the acknowledged existence of the *Illuminated*, and generally attributed to DIDEROT. “*Mankind will never be perfectly happy and free, till the last of the Kings shall be strangled with the bowels of the last of the Priests.*” When VOLTAIRE formed an association with his friends, to destroy the Religion which he described by the epithet *infamous*, when he reproached M. d’ALEMBERT with not seconding his views with sufficient vigour, in this excellent pursuit; ought we not to regard him as one of the founders of this odious system? And ought not all the Members of that Association, to be stiled KAKOPHILISTS, (or *Lovers of Evil*,) rather than Philosophers. It is not to the *Illumi-*

nated of Munich, of Gotha, of Berlin, and of Bremen, that we owe that prodigious number of men despoiled of every moral and religious principle, which has, in a manner, suddenly swarmed through a country, where their language was wholly foreign, and their very existence almost unknown. These observations did not escape M. ZIMMERMAN: and if we were desirous of completely enumerating all the causes of the Revolution, we should discover one very powerful, which existed long before the Bavarian Society, in an excellent and true observation of JOHNSON, on the *influence of example*: he only applies this to the case of Masters and Servants; but it is equally, and, perhaps, more applicable to that of the higher and the lower ranks of Society.*

DEEPLY impressed with the importance of his cause, M. ZIMMERMAN devoted himself to the prosecution of his labours with an unremitting attention, which rapidly destroyed his health; not only because a violent occupation of the soul undermines it, more than any other circumstance, but also, because when he employed himself upon any work, his manner of life underwent a disadvantageous alteration; he stole several hours from sleep early in the morning; and thus employed his mind, a long time before he began visiting his patients: in the evening, after having finished his business, instead of retiring to repose, or amusing himself in society, he returned anew to his desk,

* See *Rambler*, No. 100.

where he often remained till very late. Thus we see his mind was in a state of continual exertion, and his body deprived of its necessary repose: He nevertheless supported himself very well for several years; and he wrote me, on the 4th of October 1794, a letter distinguished by the same force, the same justness, and the same accuracy, as all the foregoing; he there represented, with precision, the progress of the Society, which became every day more alarming. “*It has become master of almost every Press, of all business connected with books, of all the German periodical publications, and of all the Courts. The causes of the misfortunes of this last campaign are the same with those of the events of Champagne in 1792.*” The same letter contained the most affecting expression of his joy, on learning my recovery from an indisposition; but there was one passage, traced by the deepest melancholy, and which caused me the utmost uneasiness; “*I run the risk of becoming this year a poor Emigrant, forced to leave his house with the dear partner of his cares; without knowing where to hide his head, or to find a bed on which to die.*” To be sure at that period apprehensions might have been entertained of the invasion of the Electorate, the capture of Hanover, and the necessity of abandoning the place, if negotiation had not saved the country which arms could not defend. But the manner in which M. ZIMMERMAN expressed his apprehensions announced the greatest depression of spirits. I saw in them a mind whose springs

began to yield, and which dared not say, as it might with so much justice have done, *I carry all within me*. I neglected nothing to raise his courage. I entreated him to come to me with his lady, to his native country, and where he would enjoy the most perfect security, all the pleasures of a peaceful retirement, and of a sincere friendship. He replied to me in December, and a part of his letter was not unlike his former ones; but sorrow and despondency appeared still more forcibly in it, and he had been cast down by an illness of his wife, which he unfortunately considered of more importance than it really was; he was obliged to take three days to write me the details of it, which at another time would not have taken up an hour, and he concluded with, "*I conjure you for the last time, perhaps, of my life, &c.*" This inability of writing a few pages, this idea that he should no more write to his friend, and which unhappily was justified by the event; that fixed notion of his being obliged to quit Hanover, although circumstances had undergone an absolute change; all indicated the loss with which I was threatened.

FROM the month of November he had lost his sleep, his appetite, his strength, and had become visibly emaciated; this state of decline continually advanced: in January he still paid some visits to his patients in his carriage, but often fainted at the top of the stair-case; it was a labour to him to write a prescription; he sometimes complained of a dizziness in the head, and quitted all business;

This was at first thought to be an hypochondriacal chimera; but it was soon found that a settled melancholy did not allow him long to follow the train of his ideas. That happened to him which has befallen so many men of genius; one strong idea obtained the ascendancy over every other, it subdued the soul which was unable to remove it, or to lose sight of it. Preserving all his presence of mind, all the precision and clearness of his ideas on other subjects, but averse to occupy himself with them, incapable of all labour, and not even giving his advice without difficulty, he continually beheld *the Enemy plundering his house*; as PASCAL always saw a globe of fire by his side; BONNET, an honest man, robbing him; and SPINELLO the devil always before his eyes. In February he took some medicines, which he either prescribed to himself, or which other Physicians, whom he consulted, advised him to take; in the beginning of March he desired to have my advice; he was not able to describe his complaint, his lady undertook to do it for him; I replied immediately on this subject, but of what use can the prescriptions of an absent Physician be, in a disorder of very rapid growth? especially when nearly a month is requisite to convey consultation, and receive advice. His situation became so much worse that M. WICKMAN, who attended him, believed a journey, and a change of air would be the best remedy that could be applied. Eutin in Holstein was fixed upon for the purpose: in passing through Lunenburgh, M. LENTIN, one of the Physicians of Germany, in whom he placed the utmost confi-

dence, was consulted ; but M. ZIMMERMAN, who although often very uneasy and anxious respecting his own health, was nevertheless wise enough to take but very little physic, which he did not love, always started a number of objections to every thing that was offered, and did nothing. At Eutin, an old friend and his worthy family, lavished upon him the greatest sollicitude and the most endearing careffes of friendship ; he was sensible of this, and appeared somewhat better. M. HENSLER came to see him as far as from Kiel, and gave him advice, doubtless of the best kind, but which, always irregularly attended to, was of course of no avail. At last in about three months he chose to return to Hanover, and he re-entered his house with the same idea with which he had left it ; he beheld it pillaged, and believed himself entirely ruined. I wrote to him to solicit his going to Carlsbad, but the journey was no longer practicable ; his disgust, his apathy, his want of sleep, and his weakness, increased amazingly ; he hardly took any nourishment, either because his dislike for all kinds of food was insurmountable, or that it added to his sufferings ; or perhaps as M. WICKMAN conjectured, on account of the cruel illusion which haunted his imagination, that he was penniless and miserable. His too intense application to study, his mental anxieties, his bodily pain, his want of sleep, and in the last instance the want of sufficient nourishment, had the effects of time, and hastened on a state of old age : at the age of sixty-six he sunk into a state of complete decrepitude, and his body appeared a perfect skeleton. He

plainly foresaw the issue of his complaint; nearly six weeks before his death he said to the above-mentioned physician, "I shall die slowly and painfully;" and about fourteen hours before the final close of his life, he said to him; *Leave me to myself, I am dying*; this presentiment, in the midst of so many complaints avowedly incurable, must, to a man who had lived like ZIMMERMAN, have been a delightful sensation. At length this excellent man expired on the 7th of October, 1795.

THOSE who have perused with attention what I have here recorded of M. ZIMMERMAN, perhaps with too much prolixity, and most assuredly with too little attention to method, will easily perceive that he possessed a vast and original genius; a brilliant imagination, much wit, an exquisite judgment, and most extensive knowledge, not only in physic, but in politics, in morals, in history, in short, in every branch of ancient and modern literature. *National Pride, Experience in Physic, Solitude*, were subjects wholly new, on which no other had treated before him; which he, as it were, created; and on which he has not given us sketches, but complete works. His soul was pure: his heart was excellent: No one was ever more earnestly attached to the duties of life: He was a good son, a good husband, and a good father. Friendship was, with him, an ardent sentiment: and if in some moments of uneasiness, he had in the slightest manner offended his friends, he repaired the wrong immediately, in the most cordial and most gracious manner. Gratitude was one of his most distinguished virtues: he never

forgot, to the end of his life, the smallest services rendered him in the course of many years. The sensibility of his nerves was sometimes prejudicial to him: perhaps it occasioned some slight inequality in his conduct, which may have led others, who saw but little of him, to form a less favourable judgment of him; hence his first wife said on her death-bed: *my poor Zimmerman, who will understand thee?* Perhaps, too, this changeable disposition sometimes stopped him in his scientific career; and his sorrowful Widow wrote to me;—*How great a man would he have been, had he not been under the controul of his nerves!* It was from his nerves, that, in some circumstances, he appeared to possess a kind of pusillanimity, far removed from the natural vigour of his character.* His nerves, and his nerves only, trembled at Sans Souci, when he entered the apartment of the King. Whatever might be the genius of FREDERICK, had that of ZIMMERMAN any reason to crouch before it? The vibration too was not of long continuance: it ceased on his approaching the King, and they conversed together as man with man,

It certainly was not the case, in this instance, but if a man of common parts, must be abashed when in conversation with a man of genius, the sense of shame ought frequently to be on the side of Princes.

THIS state of nerves, likewise made him infi-

* When in a carriage, he used to be every moment fearful of some disastrous accident, like the most timorous female.

nately more sensible of those little disappointments which abound in life, and which we ought to feel in the same manner as we do the disagreeable variations of the atmosphere, but which are unworthy our serious consideration:—I have known him sometimes to be so affected with these trifles, as to be wholly altered. He wanted one day that I should leave Laufanne, because in walking out, we had been overtaken by a very heavy shower of rain, and were wet to the skin. Another time, being on a visit, a few miles from this place, to a Lady, whom he had known five and twenty years before, full of vivacity, very amiable, very beautiful, and addicted to the pursuit of every elegant amusement, he was so struck to find her in the dress and employment of a country housewife, that he could not utter a word the whole evening. He went in the expectation of finding the Aspasia, who enchanted Socrates and Pericles, and he met with the wise woman of Solomon. This sudden disappointment totally unhinged him, and produced the most disagreeable change in him; all his amiability vanished, and there remained only the soreness of self-love unseasonably humiliated. The Lady of the house guessed this, smiled, and received him in the same manner she would have done, when she was twenty-five years younger. Why should we suppress such traits as these? However minute they may appear, they belong to the history of human nature; and we are not displeased at finding them in superior characters; they lessen the distance which separates them from others, and soften the pangs of Envy.

M. ZIMMERMAN was tall, extremely well-proportioned, and had a firm and easy step; his appearance was impressive and noble, with a fine countenance, and an agreeable voice; his genius shone forth in his eyes; and though pitted with the small-pox, it was only in that degree which serves to add to the expression of the countenance, what it takes from the beauty of the skin. He was greatly regretted by his widow, by all his numerous friends, by all physicians who were attached to their profession, and interested themselves in the improvement of their art; by all his patients; by all who had an opportunity of being particularly acquainted with him; and by all who were of his opinion on the interesting object which took up so much of his attention. M. HOFMAN has dedicated to his memory, in a most pathetic manner, the second volume of a work, entitled, *Important Advice for the Times*, which may be considered as a continuation of his Journal. Every honest mind must regret a man, who devoted himself, with an unexampled degree of fortitude, to the good of Mankind; who having beheld the birth, and soon after the powerful growth of an association, having in view the utter destruction of all the bases, on which order and social happiness have for so many ages stood firm and unshaken, was the first who combated, and for a long time almost alone, its principles; and who opposed himself to its progress, with an energy and a perseverance, of which few men are capable; who, without any aim, but that of general happiness, and animated by the noble maxim, that to spare the wicked is to hurt the good, *Bonis nocet, quisquis*

pepercerit malis, exposed himself to the most bitter censure; to the resentment, to the hatred of a numerous body of men formidable by their talents, by their credit, *by their principles themselves*; who sacrificed to the desire of stopping the ravages of a destructive conflagration, all his pleasures, his fortune, his repose, his health, and at last his life. Let thinking minds appreciate the value of him who was capable of doing what ZIMMERMAN did, for the public good; let them judge of the heart and of the head which such an undertaking required; let them compare the men whose works have furnished these destructive principles, which have brought on a state of things, such as no man of virtue and honesty can behold without regret, with him who consecrated himself to oppose them; let them decide who is the most deserving of their esteem; and their gratitude will avenge the memory of my friend, against the shafts of malice and envy. To his remembrance, Posterity, better aware, perhaps, of the importance of the cause in which he was engaged, will render a greater degree of justice, than can now be expected.

*Pascitur in vivis livor, post fata quiescit,
Tunc suus ex merito quemque tuctur honor.*

THE post of M. ZIMMERMAN has been divided into two equal employments, and given to M. M. WICKHAM and LENTEN.

FINIS.