

Hermann Lotze
An Intellectual Biography

As a philosopher, psychologist, and physician, the German thinker Hermann Lotze (1817–1881) defies classification. Working in the mid-nineteenth-century era of programmatic realism, he critically reviewed and rearranged theories and concepts in books on pathology, physiology, medical psychology, anthropology, history, aesthetics, metaphysics, logic, and religion. Leading anatomists and physiologists reworked his hypotheses about the central and autonomic nervous systems. Dozens of *fin-de-siècle* philosophical contemporaries emulated him, yet often without acknowledgment, precisely because he had made conjecture and refutation into a method. In spite of Lotze's status as a pivotal figure in nineteenth-century intellectual thought, no complete treatment of his work exists, and certainly no effort to take account of the feminist secondary literature. *Hermann Lotze: An Intellectual Biography* is the first full-length historical study of Lotze's intellectual origins, scientific community, institutional context, and worldwide reception.

William R. Woodward is a professor of psychology at the University of New Hampshire.

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Hermann Lotze

An Intellectual Biography

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Preface

I have traveled with this manuscript for three decades, but it goes back even further. This project grew out of an undergraduate thesis about G. T. Fechner under psychologist E. G. Boring at Harvard in 1967 and a master's thesis under psychologist Julian Jaynes at Princeton, also on Fechner, in 1969.¹ This book began as a dissertation on the history of medicine in 1974–1975, encompassing the present Chapters 1 through 8. My mentor, George Rosen, gave genial encouragement to my philosophical and psychological predilections and guided me to my first publications through Karl Rothschild.² My readers Frederic L. Holmes and Owsei Temkin set standards that sustained me through the unexpected byways of several more decades.

An appointment in 1975 in the Department of Psychology at the University of New Hampshire gave me a foothold in psychology through which I could explore Lotze's work in personality psychology, sense perception, and volition, encouraged from afar by Josef Brozek.³

¹ W. R. Woodward, "Fechner's Panpsychism: A Scientific Solution to the Mind-Body Problem," *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences*, 8 (1972), 367–386.

² W. R. Woodward & Ulrike Rainer, "Berufungs-Korrespondenz Rudolph Hermann Lotzes an Rudolph Wagner (13 Briefe: 1. Dezember 1842–11. April 1844)," *Sudhoffs Archiv*, 59 (1975), 356–386; W. R. Woodward, "Hermann Lotze's Critique of Johannes Müller's Doctrine of Specific Sense Energies," *Medical History*, 19 (1975), 147–157.

³ W. R. Woodward, "Lotze, the Self, and American Psychology," *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences*, 291 (1977), 168–180; W. R. Woodward, "From Association to Gestalt: The Fate of Hermann Lotze's Theory of Spatial Perception," *Isis*, 69 (1978), 572–582; W. R. Woodward, "William James's Revolutionary Impact on American Psychology," in Josef Brozek (ed.), *Explorations in the History of Psychology in the United States* (Bethlehem, PA, 1985), 148–196.

I dedicate the book to Peter and Susanne Behaghel of Mannheim, independent booksellers of high taste and generous spirit, who educated me into liberal German culture beginning in 1965 and made my family at home in Heidelberg and Mannheim in 1981–1982 and 1985–1986. Margot Behaghel, Peter’s mother, transliterated the letters to Salomon Hirzel in 1982 that found their way into print; and she shared her sense of humor about German professors and empathy for their wives.⁴ Friends and colleagues who taught me about German culture and helped with transcriptions and translations include Axel W. Bauer, Alexandre Métraux, and Katharina Steingraeber in Heidelberg; Horst Gundlach in Passau; Renato Mazzolini in Italy; G. Schwendler in Leipzig; Helga and Lothar Sprung in Berlin; and Helmut Fickenwirth and Leopold von Kanicky in Durham, New Hampshire.

The work could not have been completed without invaluable stays in Germany. The National Library of Medicine of the National Institute of Health (LM03492) and the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation supported my year at the Psychologisches Institut in Heidelberg in 1981–1982. I am most grateful to my sponsor, Carl Friedrich Graumann, and to Georg Eckardt for hosting a conference on evolution in Jena.⁵ In 1985–1986, the National Endowment for the Humanities (RH-20620) and the Humboldt Foundation funded my year at the Institut für Geschichte der Medizin in Heidelberg, generously hosted by Heinrich Schipperges, yielding historiographic explorations of Lotze’s middle period.⁶ In addition, I received summer support in 1985–1986 from the National Science Foundation (SES-8319542) and IREX travel grants to plan and facilitate a summer institute in 1987–1988. In 1990–1991, I was fortunate to receive a Fulbright Teaching Fellowship at the Humboldt University in East Berlin from the Council for International Exchange of Scholars. An invitation to

⁴ Reinhardt Pester, *Hermann Lotze. Briefe und Dokumente*, intro. by Ernst Wolfgang Orth (Würzburg, 2003).

⁵ W. R. Woodward, “Lotze’s Concept of Function: Its Kantian Origin and Its Impact on Evolutionism in the United States,” in Georg Eckardt, Wolfgang Bringmann, & Lothar Sprung (eds.), *Contributions to a History of Developmental Psychology* (Amsterdam, 1985), 147–156.

⁶ W. R. Woodward, “Bemerkungen zur Wissenschaftsgeschichtsschreibung von Naturphilosophie und Pathologie,” *Greifswalder Philosophische Hefte*, 5 (1987), 23–29; W. R. Woodward, [Review of] Loren Graham, Wolf Lepenies, & Peter Weingart (eds.), *Functions and Uses of Disciplinary Histories* (Dordrecht, 1983), *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences*, 22 (1986), 212–214.

Lübeck by Dietrich von Engelhardt began a fruitful collaboration with Bettina Wahrig.⁷ I was proud to serve my courageous host in the German Democratic Republic, Karl-Friedrich Wessel, through the history-making changes of 1986 to 1991. This led to productive collaboration with Reinhardt Pester, Hartwig Frank, Lothar Sprung, and Helga Sprung.⁸ Dean Stuart Palmer, Dean Marilyn Hoskin, Dean Kenneth Fuld, and the Office of Sponsored Research helped with awards for summer research and special needs.

I would like to say a word to my readers. Previous Lotze scholarship has largely focused on the medical, the philosophical, or the psychological. I have persevered in addressing Lotze's whole life and works because "thought" in the nineteenth century still did transcend disciplines.⁹ My own gaze comes from mentors in history of science: Everett Mendelsohn, John E. Murdoch, Kenneth Taylor, and others at Harvard. Julian Jaynes inspired me in history of psychology at Princeton. Then Larry Holmes, George Rosen, Asger Aaboe, Bernard Goldstein, Martin Klein, and Derek Price rounded me out at Yale in history of science and medicine. Philosopher Robert S. Cohen commuted to New Haven, and I commuted to psychologist John J. Sullivan in New York City to learn to combine biography with philosophy.

Cheiron Society colleagues have encouraged whatever feminist sympathies I have: Laurel Furumoto, Elizabeth Scarborough, Jill Morawski, Gail Hornstein, Fran Cherry, Deborah Coon, and Ellen Herman. Colleagues in the European Society for the History of the Human Sciences gave me

⁷ W. R. Woodward, "Johannes Müller, Hermann Lotze, Jakob Henle und die Konstruktion des vegetativen Nervensystems," in Michael Hagner & Bettina Wahrig-Schmidt (eds.), *Johannes Müller und die Philosophie* (Berlin, 1992), 155–172.

⁸ Reinhardt Pester, "The Transformation of German Philosophy in the Context of Scientific Research in the Nineteenth Century," in W. R. Woodward & Robert S. Cohen (eds.), *World Views and Scientific Discipline Formation: Science Studies in the German Democratic Republic* (Dordrecht, 1991), 235–246; Hartwig Frank, "Reform Efforts of Logic at Mid-Nineteenth Century in Germany," *ibid.*, 247–258; W. R. Woodward & R. Pester, "From Romantic *Naturphilosophie* to a Theory of Science for the Medical Disciplines," in M. Bossi & S. Poggi (eds.), *Romanticism and the Unity of Knowledge: Science in Europe, 1790–1840* (Dordrecht, 1994), 161–173; Helga Sprung & Lothar Sprung, "Carl Stumpf: Experimenter, Theoretician, Musicologist, and Promoter," in Gregory A. Kimble & Michael Wertheimer (eds.), *Portraits of Pioneers in Psychology*, 4 (Washington, DC, 2000), 50–69; Lothar Sprung & Helga Sprung, "Georg Elias Müller and the Beginnings of Modern Psychology," *ibid.*, 71–91; Helga Sprung, *Carl Stumpf – eine Biographie* (Munich, 2006).

⁹ W. R. Woodward, "Stretching the Limits of Psychology's History," in W. R. Woodward & Mitchell G. Ash (eds.), *Psychology in Nineteenth-Century Thought* (New York, 1982), 1–14.

inspiration to explore the sociopolitical context of Lotze's thought, especially Irmingard Staeuble and Gordana Jovanovic and, more recently, David Sullivan, Nikolay Milkov, and Frederick Beiser.¹⁰ The resulting book combines scientific biography with origin and reception history. Scientific biography accounts for the texture of scientific and scholarly communities and the problem areas they shared. But it can reflect and explore political values. This book's origins thus include my own struggle of conscience in the late 1960s. I took a middle way in the Peace Corps. This book explores that struggle in another context: the German professoriate in the nineteenth century as scholars faced setbacks to constitutional freedoms in 1830, 1837, 1848, and 1871. Lotze and his colleagues also took the middle way.

I owe much to German archivists: Klaus Haenel and Helmut Rohlfing and the manuscript department at the University Library in Göttingen; Ulrich Hunger and Frau Bruns at the University Archive in Göttingen; and G. Schwendler at the University of Leipzig. Staff members of the archives are mentioned in the list of unpublished sources at the end of the book; they invariably met my requests for unpublished materials, including photographs, in Göttingen, Leipzig, East Berlin, West Berlin, Dresden, Erlangen, Leipzig, Merseberg, Jena, Stuttgart, Tübingen, and Zittau. I thank R. Bernet and the Husserl Archives in Louvaine for permission to quote an unpublished manuscript. Adalbert Brauer described the history and contact persons for the Weidmann and Hirzel publishing houses. Barbara Schreck of Hirzel Verlag was kind enough to report that they lost their archival holdings in World War II. The Christian-Weise-Bibliothek Zittau provided a drawing of the Zittau Gymnasium. Uwe Dathe in Jena was most helpful. Lotze family members proved more than helpful: Wilhelm Lotze in Soest, his son Wilhelm Lotze in Bad Homburg, and Erla Horneffer in Göttingen. I record here my gratitude to a descendent of Lotze's sister Natalie Lotze Auster, the late Dr. jur. Werner Kuhn in Göttingen, who was sadly deprived of seeing the finished book but contributed to its biographical detail. I also thank the *Evangelisches Kirchenbuchamt Bautzen* for sending photocopies of genealogical records. I owe a special debt to Hannelore and Reinhardt Pester of Greifswald and Berlin, with whom I shared the excitement of

¹⁰ W. R. Woodward, "Inner Migration or Disguised Reform? Political Interests of Hermann Lotze's Philosophical Anthropology," *History of the Human Sciences*, 9 (1996), 1–26; Gordana Jovanovic, "The Conditions of Possibility of Critical Psychology," *Theory & Psychology*, in press.

collaborative Lotze projects and chasing down unpublished sources during the decade before German unification.

In the United Kingdom, I want to record my gratitude to the librarians at Balliol College Oxford, Merton College Oxford, University College Oxford, King's College Cambridge, Trinity College Cambridge, the University Library at Newcastle upon Tyne, and the University College London Library. In the United States, I thank Houghton Library at Harvard University, Stirling Memorial Library at Yale, and the Wells College Library.

For the hospitality of colleagues who hosted my talks or gave encouragement, I am grateful: Lutz Geldsetzer and Gerd König in Germany; Sven-Eric Liedmann and Ingemar Nilsson in Sweden; and in the United States, Valentine Dusek, Paul Grimley, and Robert Scharff. Michael Heidelberger's friendship and conversations have been invaluable.¹¹ Lothar Kreiser, Wolfram Meischner, and Anneros Meischner-Metge were generous with their time and support in Leipzig.¹² Warm family support has come from Winnie Wang and Horst Gundlach, Dietrich and Ulrike von Engelhardt, Christoph and Dörthé Mundt, Hans and Kirsten Assmus, Hans and Bettina Rübesame, and Karl-Friedrich and Anne Wessel.

I thank my successive editors Helen Wheeler, Alex Holzman, Frank Smith, Deborah Gershenowitz, Dana Brickner, and Tom Carson at Cambridge University Press, as well as the anonymous readers. I am grateful for the skilled work of project manager Sathishkumar Rajendran, copy editor Lois Tardío, and indexer Kevin Broccoli. Colleagues Mitchell G. Ash, Elke Hahn, and Michael Heidelberger coached me along. Frederick Gregory, David Robinson, Donald Fleming, and David Sullivan read this manuscript; to them I am indebted for hard-hitting suggestions about architectonics and emphasis. My parents, Walter R. Woodward and Catherine Cooley Woodward, nurtured a fascination with religion and science. Finally, I thank my family, which gave me sustenance and the distractions I needed to persevere.

¹¹ W. R. Woodward, [Review of] Michael Heidelberger, *Nature from Within. Gustav Theodor Fechner and His Psychophysical World View* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2004), *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences*, 44 (2008), 280–282.

¹² W. R. Woodward, "Fechner's Ethics," in Anneros Meischner-Metge (ed.), *Gustav Theodor Fechner. Bekanntes und Unbekanntes zu seinem (vielseitigen) Schaffen* (Leipzig, in press).

Challenges to the male canon of philosophy, medicine, and psychology have forced many a rethinking of the manuscript.¹³ Surveying the literature afresh, I find that my own evolution toward addressing gender and race in the classroom has given sharper focus to some of the conclusions of this book. As a Caucasian heterosexual male, my white privileges had made me insufficiently aware of the dimensions of status and power in this life story. Finally, my work with colleagues on a new undergraduate minor called “Race, Culture, and Power” and my education in postcolonial scholarship have led to a heightened appreciation of Lotze’s practical philosophy and cautious cosmopolitanism, despite his eschewal of democratic principles and his preference for a constitutional monarchy.

¹³ W. R. Woodward, “Beyond the White Male Canon: Teaching Postcolonial History of Psychology,” *Psychologie und Geschichte*, 6 (1994), 200–211.

Abbreviations

- AdB – *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*, 52+ vols.
 AMG – *Alexius Meinong Gesamtausgabe* [complete edition of Alexius Meinong], eds. Rudolf Haller & Rudolf Kindinger (Graz, 1968–1978), 7 vols.
 AP – Lotze, *Allgemeine Pathologie und Therapie als mechanische Naturwissenschaften* (Leipzig, 1842)
 BH – Familiennachlaß [Family Papers] in Bad Homburg (copied by Wilhelm Lotze in Soest for William Woodward, and shared by him with Reinhardt Pester, in 1982)
 A: Family papers from the collections of Hermann Lotze, Konrad Lotze, Robert Lotze, and Wilhelm Lotze
 B: Official letters and documents about Lotze (Personalakte Göttingen University)
 C: Letters to Lotze regarding administrative matters, honors
 D: Family letters
 E: Honors to Lotze (in German)
 F: Honors to Lotze (foreign)
 G: Letters to Lotze, chronologically ordered by Max Wentscher (collection 1)
 H: Letters to Lotze (collection 2)
 I: Further letters, drafts, honors
 BL – *Biographisches Lexikon*

- BStH – Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Handschriftenabteilung [Manuscript Department]
 A: Sammlung Adam 14140
 B: Sammlung Darmstaedter 2a 1845 (6)
 C: Sammlung Härtel
- DSA – Dresden State Archives [Acta/Dresden] – Sächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Dresden [Saxony Chief State Archive in Dresden], Files [Acta] in regard to the replacement of associate professors in the philosophy faculty at Leipzig, II 1836–1844; Loc: VIII, Arch. Sec. 8, No 1. Files [Acta] in regard to the replacement of full professors in the philosophy faculty at Leipzig, V 1853–1861; Loc.: VIII. Arch. Sec. 8. No. 2
- DSB – *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*
- FAD – Jakob Friedrich Fries – Archiv, Heinrich Heine Universität Düsseldorf
- GdA – Lotze, *Grundzüge der Aesthetik. Diktate aus den Vorlesungen* (1884 [1856])
- GdAiD – Lotze, *Geschichte der Aesthetik in Deutschland* (Munich, 1868)
- GdL – Lotze, *Grundzüge der Logik. Diktate aus den Vorlesungen* (Leipzig, 1891)
- GdPsK – Hermann Lotze, *Geschichte der deutschen Philosophie seit Kant* (Leipzig, 1882)
- GdR – *Grundzüge der Religionsphilosophie*
- GG – *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe. Historisches Lexikon zur politisch-sozialen Sprache in Deutschland* (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1972ff.)
- GgA – *Göttingsche gelehrte Anzeigen*
- GSWD – *Gesammelte Schriften Wilhelm Diltheys*
- HH – *Hermann von Helmholtz and the Foundations of Nineteenth-Century Science*, ed. David Cahan
- HHS – *History of the Human Sciences*
- HLBD – Reinhardt Pester, ed. & intro., *Hermann Lotze, Briefe und Dokumente*, foreword by Ernst Wolfgang Orth (Würzburg, 2003)
- HP – *Handwörterbuch der Physiologie*, ed. Rudolf Wagner

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- HW – *Der Briefwechsel zwischen Wagner und Henle*, eds. Hans-Heinz Eulner & Hermann Hoepke (Göttingen, 1979)
- JFHSW – *Johann Friedrich Herbart Sämtliche Werke*
- JHBS – *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences*
- JHP – *Journal of the History of Philosophy*
- KS – *Hermann Lotze Kleine Schriften* (4 vols.)
- LA – Lotze to Apelt, *FAD*, Nr. 1–20; in Walter Gresky (ed.), “21 Briefe von Hermann Lotze an Ernst Friedrich Apelt (1835–1841),” in *Blätter für deutsche Philosophie*, 10 (1937), 319–337; 11 (1938), 184–203 (in *HLBD*)
- LH – Lotze to Hirzel, *UAG*, *RF/1901*, *UBG* (in *HLBD*)
- LK – Lotze to Kämmel, *BStH*, B, I, No. 1–6, reprinted in *HLBD*
- LW – William R. Woodward & Ulrike Rainer (eds.), *Berufungskorrespondenz Rudolph Hermann Lotze an Rudolph Wagner*, *Sudhoffs Archiv*, 59 (1975), 356–386 (13 letters from Lotze), reprinted in *HLBD*
- Mic – Lotze, *Microcosmus*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1885)
- Mik – Lotze, *Mikrokosmus*, 3 vols. (Leipzig, 1856, 1858, 1864)
- MP – *Medicinische Psychologie* (Leipzig, 1852)
- NTM – *Naturwissenschaft Technik Medizin* (contemporary German journal for history of science, medicine, and technology)
- OPP – *Outlines of Practical Philosophy* (Boston, 1885)
- OPR – *Outlines of a Philosophy of Religion*
- PA – Hermann Lotze, Personal Files [Personal-Akten], copy, handwritten document in *BH* (in *HLBD*)
- Pester, Lotze. *Wege* – Reinhardt Pester, *Hermann Lotze. Wege seines Denkens und Forschens* (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 1997)
- REP – *Routledge Encyclopedia of Philosophy*
- RF/1898 – Richard Falckenberg, “Aus Hermann Lotzes Briefen an Theodor und Clara Fechner,” *Zeitschrift für Philosophie und philosophische Kritik*, 111 (1898), 177–190

- RF/1901 – Richard Falckenberg, *Hermann Lotze. Erster Teil: Das Leben und die Entstehung der Schriften nach den Briefen* (Stuttgart, 1901)
- SA – *Sudhoffs Archiv*
- SEP – *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*
- SSJFF – *Sämtliche Schriften Jakob Friedrich Fries*
- UAB – Universitätsarchiv der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin. Philosophische Fakultät – Dekanat – No. 1457a, pp. 243–246; No. 1457b, pp. 247–251, No. 1460, p. 253
- UAG – Universitätsarchiv Göttingen (Göttingen University Archive)
 A: Personalakten Hermann Lotze Az 4 Vb/120
 AA: Philosophische Fakultät, Dekanatsakten, Band (vol.), Blatt (page)
- UAL – Universität Leipzig, Universitätsarchiv (Leipzig University Archive), Personalakte [Personal Files] 708, Bl. [pages] 2–18
- UBG – Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Göttingen, Archives [*Handschriftenabteilung*]
 B: two letters to Hirzel
- WA – William R. Woodward & Mitchell G. Ash (eds.), *The Problematic Science: Psychology in Nineteenth-Century Thought* (Westport, CT, 1982)
- ZPpk – *Zeitschrift für Philosophie und philosophische Kritik*
- ZPsT – *Zeitschrift für Philosophie und spekulative Theologie*