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## Johann Georg Zimmermann's internalised republicanism

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### ABSTRACT

This article draws attention to the transformation of the Swiss physician Johann Georg Zimmermann's (1728–1795) work on national pride. First published as *Von dem Nationalstolze* in 1758, this work attracted trans-European interest and consequently appeared in substantially revised editions in 1760 and 1768. One notable addition in the new editions was a chapter on national pride felt by the subjects of monarchies, which could be taken as indicating a monarchist turn in Zimmermann's thinking. However, as the article contends, Zimmermann's work can be read not only as a treatise making claims about the national pride of various countries but also as a text which, in so doing, attempted to encourage liberty and patriotic virtue in different societies. As such, it can be interpreted as representing a variation of republicanism that focussed solely on reforming the thinking of individuals. This argument is based on an analysis of the evolution of Zimmermann's work, his correspondence, contemporary reviews, and a set of unpublished draft prefaces. As this evidence indicates, Zimmermann aspired to promote a republican attitude wherever his readers were situated. However, appreciating this 'internalised republicanism' requires that his writing is examined as a process involving the reactions of his expanding audience.



### KEYWORDS

Republicanism; patriotism; national pride; modern monarchy; reviews; Johann Georg Zimmermann

In 1758, the Leipzig-based literary journal *Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften und der freyen Künste* reviewed a book written in German and published in Zürich earlier in the year. The anonymous reviewer contextualised the publication in the following terms:

The philosophical examination of peoples' laws, customs, manners, and forms of government constitutes a part of philosophy [Weltweisheit] in which politics, morality and the *belles lettres* [schönen Wissenschaften] come together to assess the different spirits of nations [Genies der Nationen], and to summon entire realms [Reiche] with their rulers to the court of reason [...] Montesquieu, Shaftesbury and Bolingbroke have made themselves immortal [...] We count the treatise in question among the kind of writings which we have so far been missing in the German language.<sup>1</sup>

Later, this review was quoted in the preface to the second edition of the book by its author, the Swiss physician Johann Georg Zimmermann, M. D. (1728–1795). As Zimmermann declared, he wished that he had seen the review before completing the new edition, but he appears to have been extremely happy that the *Bibliothek* presented him as the first author to discuss the spirits of nations in German.<sup>2</sup> As he implied, his domestic audience had not been equally supportive:

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Some friendly critics in Switzerland were annoyed that I, as a physician, should think about matters of state [Staatsachen]. I have been for many years contemplating a work on temperaments and read, in the innocence of my heart, the works of statesmen in order to write better about temperaments.<sup>3</sup>

The sardonic voice and the attention to the opinions of readers observable in these lines are typical of Zimmermann's approach as an author, and so are his bitter remarks about Switzerland. Indeed, Zimmermann's relationship with his native country was ambivalent: he complained about life in his hometown Brugg – a municipal town in the Bernese Aargau – and after having moved to Hanover – the capital city of the German Electorate of Hanover – he wished to return to 'any place in Switzerland' [quel endroit de la Suisse que ce soit] yet never reinstalled his household again.<sup>4</sup>

This article draws attention to the transformation of the work reviewed above. First published as *Von dem Nationalstolze* [On National Pride] in 1758, a substantially revised edition appeared under the same title in 1760. After an unauthorised third edition was printed in Vienna, Zimmermann revised his work again, and a fourth edition entitled *Vom Nationalstolze* was published Zürich in 1768. As stressed by Rudolf Ischer already in 1892, the three original editions are best considered separately, since their differences are, indeed, substantial.<sup>5</sup> Previous research has, however, overlooked the intricacies of Zimmermann's relationship with his expanding audience.

Some of the literature on Zimmermann's work on national pride focusses on the first edition in its Swiss republican framework, while focus on the final edition allows the work to be considered in a broader German context. On the one hand, Barbara Stüssi-Lauterburg has explained that Zimmermann first started writing about national pride due to discontent with his political career prospects in the republic of Berne, where the higher public offices were in principle reserved for *Bürgers* and in practice for a diminishing circle of the ruling families of the *Bürgerschaft* – to which Zimmermann did not belong.<sup>6</sup> On the other hand, Simone Zurbuchen has characterised Zimmermann as a theorist of modern monarchies, highlighting his relation to the German author Thomas Abbt.<sup>7</sup> While Zurbuchen has also recognised *Von dem Nationalstolze* as an attempt 'to remind the ruling aristocracies of the traditional republican values', she concludes that in the 1768 edition Zimmermann ended up making a case for modern 'enlightened' monarchies, in which subjects could become citizens.<sup>8</sup>

The relationship of Abbt and Zimmermann has also been discussed by Eva Piirimäe, who has set Zimmermann's work on national pride in the context of aesthetic patriotism.<sup>9</sup> Piirimäe makes some reference to the differences between the three different editions, yet without delving into the shift of Zimmermann's authorial position. However, as I aim to show, this shift had an impact on the meaning of Zimmermann's work in the hands of eighteenth-century readers. My contention is that when studying the evolution of *Von dem Nationalstolze*, it is vital to consider the perspectives of authoritative readers such as reviewers who engaged in contemporary political discussions.<sup>10</sup> The review published in *Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften und der freyen Künste* serves as a first example, since it transferred *Von dem Nationalstolze* into a sphere of discussion which was wider than its original context. It is also noteworthy that subsequently, Albrecht von Haller's review in *Göttingische Anzeigen von gelehrten Sachen* registered a shift in Zimmermann's perspective, observing that in the second edition, his 'satire against the republicans' could no longer be found.<sup>11</sup>

Zimmermann's reputation rests largely on his most popular work on solitude, but he is also known for his writings on Fredrik II of Prussia and his attacks on the Berlin Enlightenment in the 1780s.<sup>12</sup> Yet in the first edition of *Von dem Nationalstolze*, his tone was unquestionably republican. This transformation has led some scholars to the conclusion that Zimmermann changed his mind and turned from a devout republican into a staunch monarchist.<sup>13</sup> Questioning this view, I examine the three original editions of *Von dem Nationalstolze* in light of paratexts, private correspondence, and reviews to sketch out the authorial position from which Zimmermann addressed contemporary readers. Based on this, I propose that Zimmermann's work can be read not only as a treatise making

claims about the national pride of various countries but also as a text which, in so doing, attempted to encourage liberty and virtue in different European societies. Finally, I will direct attention to a set of four unpublished prefaces showing that Zimmermann's ostensible turn to monarchism was accompanied by a continuous wrestle with his Swiss republican identity. Indeed, as indicated by these prefaces, Zimmermann wished to address a Swiss audience even after establishing himself in Hanover and discovering that his work was circulating across Europe also in translated versions.

This new evidence corroborates the argument that *Von dem Nationalstolze* was meant to accommodate the perspectives of diverse readers and to promote republican virtue wherever they were situated. However, teasing out this 'internalised republicanism' requires that Zimmermann's writing is perceived as a process involving the reactions of his audience. I therefore examine his work not so much as an attempt 'to blend republican and monarchical ideas', but as a variation of republicanism that focussed on reforming the thinking of individuals.<sup>14</sup> To show why Zimmermann considered such 'psychologised patriotism' as a viable approach, I will begin with a closer look at how he conceptualised patriotic pride and constructed his defence of it.<sup>15</sup>

## 1. Pythagoras, Montesquieu, Rousseau, and Abbt

In January 1757, Zimmermann wrote to his former teacher and long-term mentor Albrecht von Haller, asking if he knew any good writings, 'ancient or modern, about the love of fatherland, this strange sentiment which naturally cannot exist but in a country of liberty'.<sup>16</sup> As this question indicates, Zimmermann was contemplating a work on patriotism and connected this sentiment with liberty. In the published work, his explicit aim was to argue that national pride was not a vice, but a useful spring for virtuous action. Indeed, Zimmermann noted that 'among the common people [Pöbel], pride [Stolz]' was 'without exception perceived as a vice'. Moreover, the pride he had set out to defend was a feeling of the 'dignity' [Würdigkeit] of one's soul, a feeling which Pythagoras had deemed 'the greatest stimulus to virtue'.<sup>17</sup> Instead of being a vice, then, this respect for oneself was meant to protect men against vices, and Zimmermann went as far as suggesting that even imaginary virtues could have such a laudable effect.<sup>18</sup> Attentive to this perspective, Haller's review in the *Göttingische Anzeigen* acknowledged Zimmermann's defence of 'the reasonable pride' as 'a feeling of one's own worth', though personally, Haller feared that *amour-propre* [Eigenliebe] prevented people from judging their own merits equitably.<sup>19</sup>

The Pythagorean argument in defence of pride was the first cornerstone of *Von dem Nationalstolze*, and its importance is demonstrated by the fact that Zimmermann did not remove it when revising his work. In the 1760 edition, he still noted that pride was 'commonly considered without exception a vice', now contending that 'the moralists themselves are to blame for this confusion, most of them know nothing about the very great variety of pride'. In 1760, Zimmermann also regretted the lack of words for 'the consciousness of one's true worth' in many languages.<sup>20</sup> In the 1768 edition, he again explained what this meant in Pythagorean terms.<sup>21</sup> As he affirmed, the consciousness of the true worth of one's nation was 'a political virtue of great importance', since it encouraged people to emulate their valiant ancestors and to increase the glory of their nation in the field of arts and sciences.<sup>22</sup> Significantly, not only the early reviews of Zimmermann's original work but also a review of its 1769 French translation paid attention to the argument about the legitimacy of this 'inner dignity' [dignité intérieure].<sup>23</sup>

As observed by Piirimäe, Zimmermann introduced a basic division of pride into 'noble' pride – for which he also used the expressions 'justified' or 'acceptable' pride – and 'mean' pride – also referred to as 'false' or 'condemnable' pride.<sup>24</sup> In the first edition, he regretted that the German language did not provide a terminology expressing these concepts precisely, but he explained in a note that the French *orgueil* denoted the condemnable pride [der verwerfliche Stolz], while *fierté* – as greatness of the soul – corresponded with the kind of pride he considered as a virtue.<sup>25</sup> The reviewer writing in *Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften und der freyen Künste* made a note of this, wondering if *Stolz* and *Hochmuth* could perhaps be used to distinguish the two kinds of pride.

However, as the reviewer acknowledged, the connotations of *Hochmuth* were negative.<sup>26</sup> Perhaps inspired by this, Zimmermann chose to use these words in the 1768 edition, but in the opposite way:

A nation is haughty [hochmüthig] when it wrongly ascribes itself great merits [Vorzüge]; it is proud [stolz] on account of the greater consciousness of its own worth. This consciousness is often quite correct, and is therefore occasionally called noble pride [edler Stolz]; whereas there is no noble haughtiness.<sup>27</sup>

Zimmermann's explicit contribution to existing literature, then, was the moral defence of 'Pythagorean' pride. To show how this worked on the international level, he used a framework reminiscent of Montesquieu's *The Spirit of the Laws*. In addition, he followed Montesquieu's principles when discussing republican national pride. He affirmed that since love of mediocrity was a source of general wellbeing in republics, mediocrity was not contemptible in republicans while splendour [Pracht] was ruinous to a republic.<sup>28</sup> As Zimmermann continued, in a well-organised republic, 'the spirit of moderation' resulted in equality, which he presented as the natural state of men: 'As men were created free, they were also created equal; natural law [Naturrecht] still provides them with this advantage'.<sup>29</sup> Referencing *The Spirit of the Laws*, Zimmermann also declared that republican liberty necessitated a government ensuring that citizens need not fear each other.<sup>30</sup>

When revising his work in 1760, Zimmermann elaborated on this republican perspective. As in the previous edition, he declared that men were created free and equal, as granted by natural law. This time, he added that in republics, 'the smaller' did not need to fear 'the greater' because both were 'servants to the laws' [Knechte der Gesetze].<sup>31</sup> Such liberty and equality caused a 'peace of mind' aroused in every citizen by their sense of security.<sup>32</sup> Accordingly, as Zimmermann declared, a republican government gave the citizen a sublime sense of happiness, a pride which was 'never more distinct, than when he glances down at the reign of a despot'. By thus contrasting republican and despotic regimes, he continued that 'in republics, human nature appears in its innate greatness, under the iron sceptre of a despot in the lowest possible condition'.<sup>33</sup> The amount of space given to descriptions of despotism in a chapter entitled 'On the pride of republicans' in this edition indicates that the aim of Zimmermann's rhetoric was to strengthen republican pride by invoking terrifying prospects.<sup>34</sup> In this way, he anchored republicanism to the sense of security.

Evidently, Zimmermann's thinking was guided by the premise set in *The Spirit of the Laws*, that 'republics are driven by patriotism, monarchies by honour, and despotism by fear'.<sup>35</sup> However, the first edition of *Von dem Nationalstolze* also referred repeatedly to *Persian Letters*, which suggests that Zimmermann also admired Montesquieu as a satirist.<sup>36</sup> Indeed, writing to Samuel-Auguste-André-David Tissot in February 1758, he called Montesquieu his favourite author, adding that it had 'not been a year since' he had bought 'all of his works'.<sup>37</sup> Accordingly, *Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften und der freyen Künste* observed that 'especially Mr Montesquieu' was Zimmermann's 'hero'.<sup>38</sup>

However, Ischer has also highlighted Rousseau's influence in the first edition of *Von dem Nationalstolze*, noting that in November 1758, Zimmermann mentioned Rousseau as 'one of his favourite writers'.<sup>39</sup> Indeed, Zimmermann underwent a stage of keen interest in Rousseau, which, however, was over by the time he prepared the 1768 edition. As Zimmermann confessed to Haller in December 1767, he had read all of Rousseau's works with great pleasure, except for *The Social Contract*, which he had found disappointing. Thus, his 'enthusiasm' for Rousseau had passed 'little by little'.<sup>40</sup>

As evidenced by references in the 1758 edition, not only Montesquieu's works but also *A Discourse on Inequality* constituted the context in which Zimmermann expected to be read. However, while the former works were eminent enough to be considered as the obvious foundation of Zimmermann's thinking, the latter was something that merited a response. Thus, in the 1758 edition, Zimmermann chose to 'speak' to Rousseau in front of his readers, calling him 'one of the most estimable thinkers [Weisen] of our time' but exclaiming:

who has weaved the bond of society, and made men out of barbarians [...] Oh Rousseau = = = (\*)! Arts and sciences have done it.<sup>41</sup>

As indicated by this passage, responding to Rousseau compelled Zimmermann to adopt the notion that the development of arts and sciences had influenced human manners and character, which he thus ended up considering historically. Nevertheless, as *Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften und der freyen Künste* pointed out, Zimmermann argued that arts and sciences could constitute a source of 'laudable national pride'.<sup>42</sup> As such, his perspective was in this respect more optimistic than Rousseau's.

According to Zimmermann, the most appropriate national pride was based on 'an advantageous form of government', and the best one was that which to the least extent removed men 'from their natural condition'. Echoing Rousseau, he declared, 'Everything calls out to us that we are created free. Our needs have subjected us to a supremacy' [Oberkeit].<sup>43</sup> Ischer has concluded that Zimmermann here defended an idea of republics to which he saw no other alternative than despotism. As such, he was 'republican through and through', but not on account of his fatherland the aristocratic republic of Berne, against which the book contains 'direct satire'.<sup>44</sup> Indeed, in an overview of *Von dem Nationalstolze* written in French for Tissot, Zimmermann presented pride [Fierté] as a 'republican characteristic' and the 'Source of the love of Fatherland'.<sup>45</sup> Later, however, he explained that his remarks on permissible pride were to be taken as a 'hypothesis', that is, as a challenge or a mirror to the republican reader.<sup>46</sup>

A further reaction to Rousseau can be seen in Zimmermann's preoccupation with the conceptual pair of *amour de soi* [Selbstliebe] and *amour-propre* [Eigenliebe]. This did not yet figure in the 1758 edition, in which Zimmermann only spoke of *Eigenliebe*, explaining that 'the pride of an entire nation' could be equated with 'the sum of the *amour-propre* [Eigenliebe] of each particular person making a part of it'.<sup>47</sup> In the 1760 edition, Zimmermann's interest in Rousseau is reflected by the fleeting appearance of *amour de soi* [Selbstliebe], as he wrote that it 'does not let us choose something that immediately seems bad for us'.<sup>48</sup> However, in the 1768 edition, Zimmermann clearly drew from Rousseau, since he wrote:<sup>49</sup>

Men are proud, and the number of proud people [die Menge der Stolzen] is so great, because all pride derives from *amour-propre* [Eigenliebe]. *Amour-propre* is indeed not originally planted in the human nature like *amour de soi* [Selbstliebe], which every animal requires to watch over its own preservation. It seems like a made-up concept [gemachter Begriff], which must have arisen in society, as a creature was able to compare itself with others. For this reason, it mixes with our entire way of thinking, and blends in with all our actions.<sup>50</sup>

In short, though disappointed by *The Social Contract*, Zimmermann juxtaposed his own concept of national pride with Rousseau's theory of the development of man in society and did this at the risk of de-stabilising his Pythagorean model of noble and mean national pride. For indeed, Rousseau's notion of *amour de soi*/Selbstliebe did not cover the virtues Zimmermann associated with noble pride, and *amour-propre*/Eigenliebe was too negative a concept to denote it.<sup>51</sup>

Yet, by 1768 Zimmermann had ceased to admire Rousseau. Instead, as appears from a letter to Friedrich Nicolai written in July 1765, he was inspired by the works of Thomas Abbt. Indeed, Zimmermann declared that 'the fire still burns which he lit in me a few years ago with his spirited treatise on death for the fatherland' [*Von dem Tode für das Vaterland* (1761)].<sup>52</sup> Zimmermann had also found Abbt's *Von dem Verdienste* (1765) very useful, adding that whenever he had read Abbt, he had felt like speaking 'with a great spirit who is my good friend'.<sup>53</sup> Thus, the 1768 edition of his work on national pride likewise mentioned Thomas Abbt as 'a great spirit'.<sup>54</sup> This edition also features some echoes of Abbt, such as the concluding words that nearly repeated a sentence from Abbt's treatise.<sup>55</sup>

Nevertheless, Zimmermann maintained that 'the remembrance of the heroes who died for their fatherland is to a good-natured soul not more pleasant than the remembrance of the heroes who lived for their fatherland' – an argument put forward in 1760 and repeated in 1768.<sup>56</sup> By way of explanation, Zimmermann pointed out that 'an eternal night buries the heroes who have found no historian, no poet; the remembrance of the historian, the poet, the artist, the orator, the

philosopher, the physician, the law giver, is an eternally glowing day for future generations'.<sup>57</sup> As an example of a poet's might, he noted that 'the emperor selected Horace as his favourite'. Suggesting that the Augustan age had been meritocratic, he added that 'the lowest Roman could entertain this proud hope, if he was lifted above others by the virtues of his spirit'.<sup>58</sup> Especially in the 1768 edition, this passage exemplified the emperor's benevolence, as Zimmermann wrote:

The fall of the republic seemed to solidify the rule of the sciences and the arts. The world subjected itself to the unlimited will of one; tired of bloodshed [Mordblut], the tyrant Augustus became a friend of the muses [...]. In its shackles [Fesseln], Rome was still great due to its great spirits, their repute [Ruhm] became the repute of the state, and this repute its pride.<sup>59</sup>

Since Abbt argued that love of fatherland could also be felt by the subjects of monarchies, these connections might suggest a monarchist turn in Zimmermann's thinking.<sup>60</sup> I do not wish to entirely refute this, because Zimmermann seemed to think that republican moderation and equality suffocated men of ambition and genius like himself. However, I argue that the two revised editions encouraged virtue in monarchies also because Zimmermann was aware of being read outside of Switzerland. From this perspective, his turn to the subject of pride in monarchies was not merely a matter of personal conviction but one of engaging with differently situated readers.

## 2. Political ambivalence or rhetorical skill? Zimmermann's changing perspective

The reception of *Von dem Nationalstolze* clearly mattered to Zimmermann, and from the start, his work was also intertwined with the construction of national literatures in the literary journals of the day. In the 1758 edition, Zimmermann criticised the Parisian *Journal étranger* for presenting foreign literature in an 'altered clothing' [veränderten Tracht], according to the French taste.<sup>61</sup> This was noticed by *Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften und der freyen Künste*, and after *Journal étranger* reviewed the second edition of *Von dem Nationalstolze*, Zimmermann continued the polemic in the first chapter of the 1768 edition.<sup>62</sup> As *Journal étranger* suggested, Zimmermann appeared indisposed to find negative examples of national pride in Germany.<sup>63</sup> Zimmermann responded that he had 'had to smile' when reading this remark and pointed out that he was not German, although, from the perspective of a Parisian, he was a German author and hung his liberty on the 'gallows' [Galgen] of his Austrian and Swabian neighbours.<sup>64</sup>

Although, as will be shown, in some of his manuscripts Zimmermann identified himself broadly as a Swiss republican, his discontent with Brugg and the canton of Berne can be traced as far back as January 1756, when he wrote that a virtuous 'man of sense' [un homme de tete] was in his opinion 'useless in a republic'.<sup>65</sup> Yet for him as an author, his time as a *Stadtphysikus* in Brugg was remarkably fruitful due to his secluded circumstances there.<sup>66</sup> Although Zimmermann was long hesitant about moving elsewhere, Ischer has concluded that he accepted the position of a physician [Leibmedicus] to His Britannic Majesty in Hanover because a monarchy seemed to offer him more personal liberty.<sup>67</sup> Prior to his eventual relocation, Zimmermann turned down a professorship in Göttingen, and when deliberating whether to accept a physician's position in Solothurn or another one in the court of King Stanisław II August of Poland, he stressed that everything depended 'on the conditions offered' to him.<sup>68</sup> As it seems, the prospect of a 1200-Thaler pension and a yearly income of 6000 Thaler in Hanover met his expectations, although he would later discover that making a living in Hanover was not so easy.<sup>69</sup>

Zimmermann's decision to emigrate can in fact be explained by a longing for intellectual liberty. According to a letter to Tissot, the first edition of *Von dem Nationalstolze* had caused a scandal in Berne on account of the readers' inability to determine whether any of Zimmermann's ostensible praise of the republic was sincere.<sup>70</sup> Writing to Nicolai in 1766, Zimmermann complained that the liberty of his thinking gave him 'countless enemies' in his 'fatherland', because such liberty was rare, and in his canton almost limited to himself. As Zimmermann put it: 'I am a subject [Underthan] of the republic of Berne, whose government is a complete aristocracy, yet the difference between your government in Berlin and ours is only that you have one master and I have 299'.

According to Zimmermann, Nicolai had more liberty than he did also because ‘all aristocracies are fearful’ and watchful of a person known to write freely. As he continued, the people of Zürich lived in a moderate democracy. Though granting that ‘certain collegia’ there had aristocratic power – such as the censorship of books – he mentioned Zürich as a place ‘where one finds the greatest number of enlightened people and true republicans’.<sup>71</sup> Thus, while Zimmermann complimented the Prussian circumstances, he wrote about Zürich in terms that reflected a preference for republics.

Zimmermann’s sense of being unable to fulfil his potential in Brugg is also inscribed in the 1758 edition of *Von dem Nationalstolze*. To justify national pride in republics, he first concluded: ‘In republics the just, permissible and sensible national pride is love of fatherland, and love of fatherland is what national pride actually is’.<sup>72</sup> However, a few pages further on, he added in a more resigned tone: ‘When I love my fatherland, I must wish what is advantageous to it, I must wish it to my own disadvantage’.<sup>73</sup> Adopting the perspective that patriotism required the control of other passions, he then declared: ‘Love of fatherland is the source of moderation, the encouragement to service [Verdienste], the guardian angel who is set in the heart of the republican to stand against the violence of passions and the power of humanity itself’.<sup>74</sup> Thus, even the hope of a better future was, as Zimmermann put it, meant to be outweighed by the love of fatherland.<sup>75</sup>

Moreover, in the second edition, Zimmermann’s remarks on the power of self-centred *amour-propre* resemble his private complaints about the small town Brugg. As he explained, ‘the smaller and the more secluded the place which one inhabits and the society in which one lives, the smaller and more vulgar [abgeschmackter] are the concepts which one has’.<sup>76</sup> In this edition, Zimmermann still presented republics as the best form of government, yet not entirely without reservation. As he declared, ‘the most permissible pride is distinctive in most republics, since in most republics man is made excellently happy’.<sup>77</sup> The use of republican liberty, he continued, was that the citizen was not prevented from being good and virtues were not restricted. The pride of a republican was just, ‘because he is allowed to be everything that is beautiful and great’.<sup>78</sup> While praising the republican form of government in principle, such statements also questioned the realisation of liberty in the contemporary republics. Indeed, in the corresponding chapter of the 1768 edition, Zimmermann noted in a more overtly sarcastic tone that he did not mean to speak about ‘the pride of such republics, in which a republican is sought with a lantern in daytime’.<sup>79</sup> Further on, he suggested that ‘in some modern republics one does not go unpunished for his noble birth, for being rich, for being righteous, for being skilful’. Targeting the Swiss more directly, he added: ‘For this reason, a peasant from the canton of Appenzell once said to my dear Dr Hirzel that the inhabitants of a certain republican city had cut off the head of one of their fellow citizens only because he was their only head’.<sup>80</sup>

Considering this critical stance towards republics, it appears less surprising that in the revised editions, Zimmermann also decided to discuss ‘the pride which has space in monarchies’.<sup>81</sup> The reason why he granted that national pride could exist in monarchies was, however, historical, and not derived from the nature of this form of government. As he affirmed, the subject of a monarch had long since ceased to be ‘a lowly creature’, whereas ancient governments had simply been either republican or despotic.<sup>82</sup> Speaking of modern times, Zimmermann suggested that the monarch now gave his subject ‘occasion to do what he can do, and to be what he is’. Still, everything depended on the monarch’s disposition: ‘he would have subjects if he loved free souls, he would have slaves if he loved small souls’. The subjects’ ability to fulfil their potential therefore came down to the monarch, without whose will ‘the most sublime capabilities’ would ‘remain hidden’.<sup>83</sup> Yet with a monarch who was ‘a philosopher, a lawgiver, a friend of the arts of peace, of the sciences and the people’, ‘the spirit of the nation could receive new impetus’.<sup>84</sup> Here, Zimmermann portrayed an exemplary monarch who was a valiant soldier sharing the experience of his army, but significantly, this passage was written in the subjunctive mood indicating a hypothetical state of affairs.<sup>85</sup> As he concluded, ‘the most noble pride therefore has space under a monarchic government, if the monarch is what he should be’.<sup>86</sup>

In the 1768 edition, Zimmermann voiced the bitter opinion that in republics, ‘better heads’ only attracted envy. Thus, ‘the boldest spirit wraps itself in darkness, and lives in a sad inability to be used’. By contrast, he suggested,

under the eye of a spirited monarch a battlefield opens, where spirits exercise themselves, where talents measure their powers, where character shows itself, where genius develops, where ideas and virtues break through the crowd and are allowed to show themselves without shame.<sup>87</sup>

With this passage, Zimmermann seems to have appealed to the reader’s sense of honour, which Montesquieu had presented as the ‘principle’ of monarchies.<sup>88</sup> As Zimmermann continued, the monarch’s respect for virtue was ‘the magnet attracting the greatest talents and most sublime virtues’.<sup>89</sup> Finally, slightly modifying his conclusion, he declared that ‘the most noble pride therefore has space in monarchic states, if the government of a monarch is what it should be’.<sup>90</sup>

Strikingly, in the chapter on pride in monarchies, Zimmermann did not discuss the option that European monarchs might *not* be what they ‘should be’. This, of course, would have taken him back to despotism and the relief felt by citizens of republics. Indeed, in the revised editions, readers were left to choose whether they would prefer the security of republics to a state where everything depended on the disposition of the ruler. Another topic Zimmermann said little about was the ability of fear-driven despotic governments to nurture national pride, although he claimed that pride in one’s own circumstances was ubiquitous due to the force of habit. For Zimmermann, China served as the example of a despotic government *par excellence*. Indeed, he suggested that the Chinese had ‘no concept of any other form of government than the despotic one, and that one cannot teach them how a republic could possibly also exist’.<sup>91</sup>

In fact, by discussing despotism with the help of extra-European examples, Zimmermann was able to avoid insulting European rulers. By contrast, his depiction of the current situation in Europe was flattering to say the least, since he wrote: ‘We see benevolent monarchs on the thrones of Europe, friends of the peaceful virtues, and of sciences and arts, fathers of their people, crowned citizens; and on their side ministers who deserve crowns’.<sup>92</sup> As with the comments on republics, however, such praise could be read as challenging any monarch or minister to live up to these claims. That this might indeed have been Zimmermann’s chosen approach is suggested by his remark that pride, as one of the fiercest human emotions, could go terribly astray if not carefully soothed. As he observed, ‘pride is increased by opposition, it grows with the difficulties which it faces’.<sup>93</sup> Accordingly, Zimmermann may have avoided confrontation with pride felt in monarchies because he thought that this would not have increased the liberty of the subjects. In this respect, he was writing as a physician, who, preoccupied with the impact of prejudices on human judgment, had elsewhere declared: ‘Every enlightened spirit turns his judges into enemies, if he does not take care to win their *amour-propre* [Eigenliebe]’.<sup>94</sup>

Judging by the prefaces to the revised editions, it seems that Zimmermann recalibrated the rhetoric of his work to suit his expanding audience. In the 1760 edition, he explained that the ‘rapid sales of the first edition of this treatise’ had given him a reason to make it ‘more measured’ [abgemessener]. As he declared, ‘I owed a more tolerable edition of National Pride to the public and to myself’.<sup>95</sup> Eight years later, he noted that ‘this little work’ [diese Kleinigkeit] had been read ‘from Paris to Stockholm’, ending up in ‘so many hands’ that he wished to render it ‘less unworthy of such wide attention’. In so doing, he added, he had ‘written as a free man’, often letting others to think on his behalf but ‘occasionally’ also thinking for himself.<sup>96</sup> Instead of spontaneous writing, careful balancing between different perspectives was required, since, as Zimmermann noted, it was ‘indeed no small undertaking to tackle the most people on their most sensitive side’, and to do this ‘in a manner that offends no-one and keeps an equal distance from flattery and wanton satire’.<sup>97</sup> Further on, he affirmed that he loved and respected ‘individuals of merit’ [Leute von Verdienst], but declared that this did not prevent him from finding objects of ridicule in what was ridiculous ‘in the majority of their people’ [bey dem grossen Haufen ihres Volkes].<sup>98</sup> In the 1768 edition, he also explicitly excused himself with the Spanish, the English, the French, and the Italians, anticipating violent reactions from his readers.<sup>99</sup>

With this perspective, I would like to direct attention to a detail overlooked in previous research: a passage in the second edition in which Zimmermann appears to take an ambivalent stance on the question regarding the most preferable polities. After arguing that pride arising from the form of government was a concept of happiness that varied according to people's 'temperaments, way of thinking, and intentions', he suggested that a wild and restless mind was happy in a democracy, a quiet, sensible, and virtuous one in an aristocracy, and a pliable and ambitious one in a monarchy.<sup>100</sup> These differences, he stressed, had to be considered when asking where one could be happiest.<sup>101</sup> Apparently claiming that polities could not be rated according to any objective criteria, he proposed that.

Each find oneself the country whose type of government pleases him best, if he cannot so easily move from one country to another, then let him at least find out all the reasons which are able to make that form of government dear to him which to him, according to the divine and human laws, ought to be venerable.<sup>102</sup>

This passage can be read in two ways. On the one hand, it can be taken as reflecting Zimmermann's personal dissatisfaction with his own fatherland. On the other hand, by turning the focus on his audience, it can be interpreted as having encouraged different readers to consider their circumstances in the society where they happened to find themselves. I would like to pursue the latter way of reading and argue that Zimmermann's work promoted a kind of internalised republicanism that turned patriotic virtue into a matter of personal attitude.

Indeed, discussing pride in monarchies in the 1768 edition, Zimmermann affirmed, as he did in the previous edition, that the subject of a monarch had long since ceased to be 'a lowly creature', yet this time adding 'if he does not wish to be so out of foolish fearfulness'.<sup>103</sup> This addition implies that the subjects of modern monarchies should assume the civic courage of republicans and make use of the liberty reserved to them by the monarch's compliance with the rule of law. Especially some of Zimmermann's comments regarding the French relate to this point. For example, he declared that the spirit of liberty demonstrated by 'so many' Frenchmen serves as 'the greatest satire on the mentality of all alleged republicans'.<sup>104</sup> In both revised editions, he highlighted the merit of pursuing active citizenship in monarchies. 'I speak of the spirit of liberty', he wrote, 'which passed from the works of the English into the hearts of the French'. The English took the French to be 'a nation of slaves', but this contempt was ridiculous, seeing that 'many of the French had souls just as free with regard to the throne as the freest Englishmen'.<sup>105</sup> In the 1768 edition, he added that 'some of the encyclopaedists' were 'more determined republicans than most teachers of rights in Holland and Switzerland'.<sup>106</sup> There were active Frenchmen with hearts that were 'sublime also under repression' and with spirits preoccupied with everything that was 'noble and great'.<sup>107</sup> To explain the matter, he declared:

This kind of liberty consists of the free use of one's understanding [Einsichten], it springs not from the form of government but from philosophy; it is much more noble because its origin is more noble. The most sublime nation under the sun is, therefore, from this perspective, the nation which thinks freely, not because it may but because it may not.<sup>108</sup>

In the 1768 edition, alluding to the opening of *The Social Contract*, Zimmermann observed that 'people could very often be free if only they wanted to be so, but they put themselves in chains and still boast about their freedom, thus making themselves ridiculous'. He continued that even though the constitution of a country was free, the dispositions of the citizens were not necessarily so, since fear and self-interest could turn a citizen into a slave.<sup>109</sup> As such, this edition suggested that while some subjects of monarchies were free and republican-minded, some citizens of republics were enslaved by their own attitudes.

Indeed, according to the same edition, civic liberty could be enjoyed in both republics and monarchies: 'wherever good laws rule more than people [Menschen], or where a worthy prince is the law'.<sup>110</sup> Recalling that the 'self-esteem [Selbstschätzung] of a republican relates to his sense of security', Zimmermann regretted that in democracies 'liberty is mostly an impetuous condition'.<sup>111</sup>

‘However’, he added, ‘one is secure in republics of a mixed form of government; and excellently so in such aristocratic states that most resemble a moderate monarchy due to the permanence of their laws and the dignity of their regime, and which therefore are superior to all other republican forms of government’.<sup>112</sup>

At this point, mixed forms of government seem to have appealed to Zimmermann because his idea of human nature had grown darker since the first edition of *Von dem Nationalstolze*. Instead of counting on the power of the Pythagorean sense of self-worth, he now noted that ‘all humans despise each other, to the extent they are slaves to their *amour-propre* [Eigenliebe]’.<sup>113</sup> Moreover, Zimmermann warned that ‘in general every single human being is in danger of becoming a despot, when he has the power to be so; because every human being only too gladly turns his will into law’.<sup>114</sup> This induced him to defend republican constitutions:

A true republican must necessarily be proud of a free and secure constitution, when he observes that in the moral world, like in the physical one, there are great and small ants, between whom exists such a grim natural hatred that the greater will not rest before they have completely destroyed the smaller ones.<sup>115</sup>

Significantly, reviewers were attentive to these transformations. *Briefe, die neueste Litteratur betreffend* noted that Zimmermann had, in the first edition, only allowed ‘free states’ to be legitimately proud of their form of government, ‘and this was to be expected of a republican’. However, according to this review, ‘the illustrious [glänzende] role, which our monarchic state now plays’, had made Zimmermann change his mind: ‘He dedicates in the second edition a special chapter [Hauptstück] to the pride which has space in monarchies, and you will easily notice which monarchy is here his only example’.<sup>116</sup> Both displaying and encouraging national pride, the Berlin-based *Briefe* thus assumed that the example of Frederick II’s Prussia had caused Zimmermann to revise his opinions. As the reviewer implied, the virtuous monarch portrayed in this chapter was obviously Frederick II, and therefore this portrait flattered ‘our *amour-propre* [Eigenliebe] in the most pleasant manner, in that it allows [berechtigt] us to share the greatness of a monarch, while others must be content with admiring it from a distance’.<sup>117</sup>

Certainly, Zimmermann will have considered the reception of *Von dem Nationalstolze* in Prussia, both in the literary circles of Berlin and in the court. It is also true that the passage in question could be a portrait of Frederick II.<sup>118</sup> Yet, there clearly was a reason why Zimmermann omitted the name of the monarch and described him in the subjunctive mood. He may have been inspired by Johann Jakob Bodmer’s remark that it was a shame that the Swiss were ‘not allowed to praise the King [Frederick II]’ because such praise would be taken as ‘a satire’ on France, on Saxony, on Austria’.<sup>119</sup> However, his portrait also begged the question whether such a monarch really existed and enabled readers across Europe to compare the description with their own rulers. That the text actually worked in this way is evidenced in the *Journal étranger*, where a reviewer remarked: ‘There is no Frenchman whom this portrait does not remind of the examples of clemency & of humanity which our august Sovereign has given to all of Europe’.<sup>120</sup>

In short, both the Prussian and the French reviewer projected their own perspective onto this chapter, but it is difficult to determine whether the reviews were meant to be taken in an ironic sense casting doubt on the virtues of each monarch. In any case, in the 1768 edition, Zimmermann began the chapter with a move that allowed him to discuss pride in monarchies while clinging to his position as a republican citizen:

I have read somewhere that people are seldom worthy of governing themselves, and that their vanity suffers less impatiently the rule of one than the equality of many. One does not express one’s own ideas about such subjects in republics. I will also step aside several times in this chapter, while observations and remarks made by subjects of monarchies appear instead of my own thoughts, to make it understandable how the monarchical form of government elevates the heart.<sup>121</sup>

Reviewing the 1768 edition in the *Göttingische Anzeigen*, Haller noted that ‘our Mr *Leibmedicus*’ had ‘revised this satire’, now speaking less about ‘his Helvetic countrymen’ and recognising ‘the positive [das Gute] even in the French’. He finished with the poignant remark ‘[a] well-known

king receives great and unlimited praise'.<sup>122</sup> Evidently, the same passage attracted the attention of many if not most readers, since, according to the Halle-based *Deutsche Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften*, the passage 'where the ideal of a perfect monarch is sketched out is one of the most excellent in the whole book'.<sup>123</sup>

### 3. Zimmermann's wrestle with his identity in unpublished prefaces

Zimmermann's interest in revising the work continued beyond 1768, however. Among his correspondence and papers at the Leibniz Bibliothek in Hanover are four draft prefaces, the last three of which refer to yet another edition of *Vom Nationalstolze*.<sup>124</sup> Three of the prefaces can be dated based on details which Zimmermann included in them, and the one that lacks such information seems to have been written sometime in the 1770s.

In the first preface, Zimmermann noted that he was writing at the age of 38, that is, in 1766. This means that the draft was intended for the 1768 edition which, however, eventually included a much shorter preface. In the unpublished version, Zimmermann focussed on the challenge of combining the roles of a physician and a political author 'where I live in Switzerland my fatherland' [da wo ich lebe in der Schweiz meinem Vaterlande]. As he wrote, he expected to be called a fool [Narr], because 'the scarcity of their ideas' [die Wenigkeit ihrer Ideen] prevented 'idlers' [Müssiggänger] from grasping that someone could know more than they did. According to Zimmermann, readers of the first and the second edition of *Von dem Nationalstolze* had concluded that he could have no idea of the art of medicine because the limits [Schrancken] of this art did not constitute the limits of his thinking. He therefore defended his preoccupation with the *belles lettres* [schönen Wissenschaften], moral philosophy [Sittenlehre], and politics by noting that studying was his 'sole débauche', and that the tedium of his circumstances had made him turn to writing. Finally, expressing the wish that his book would also banish the boredom of his readers, he indicated awareness of being read 'in foreign lands and even in the courts of princes, of kings and of emperors' [in Fremden Länder und selbst an den Höfen der Fürsten, der Könige und der Keyser]. As this latter remark shows, in 1766 Zimmermann was already writing not only with his fellow citizens but also European rulers in mind.

The second unpublished preface is dated in November 1771. It starts out in a macabre manner, as Zimmermann states that, recovering from an operation in Berlin in a bed spattered with his own blood, he had tried to fight his low spirits and physical pain by making additions and improvements to *Vom Nationalstolze*. Again, Zimmermann directed attention to the multifarious readers of his work, noting that his 'moral attempt' was now being read in the German, French, and English languages. Accordingly, he granted that his readers in Germany, France, and England would be to him 'as respectable an audience [Auditorium] as the audience of Demosthenes in Athens, or of Cicero in Rome, or the audience of some Professor in Göttingen'. Nevertheless, Zimmermann declared that he intended to express himself as if he 'still lived in the middle of his small paternal hometown [Vaterstadt] Brugg and thought about no-one but only my dearest fatherland, Switzerland'.

In the second half of this preface, Zimmermann explained what he meant by speaking to the Swiss and why he thought it was important. As he affirmed, the English and the French were 'original authors' [Originale] because they thought about their nation and expressed their thoughts uprightly to the reader. The Germans and the Swiss, he claimed, did not do this to the same extent, the Germans owing to a 'university taste', 'faculty tone', or a 'dry compendium-shaped school wisdom' [dürren compendiumförmigen Schulweisheit], and the Swiss because they were not allowed to think about themselves. Indeed, Zimmermann regretted that most Swiss authors writing in German did not have Switzerland 'in view' [im Auge]. Their works, he continued, were meant for the book fair in Leipzig, and they feared the German reviewers. To conclude, he declared:

However, I will now, in the middle of Germany, by no means worry about all the German journalists, about all the German critics, about all the German linguistic pedants [Sprachgrübler], about all the German warehouses

of wit. Swiss, dear fellow countrymen, only to you do I hereby send this little book [Büchlein]; with a friendly greeting. In it, a useful truth is here and there said to you; this you must make use of, as well as you can and is right [so gut ihr könnt und recht ist]. But there is still also a lot of useless foreign matter [ausländisches Zeug] in it; this you should throw away [dieses werfet weg]. In general, I have spoken about you and to you only where it was fitting [wo es sich schickte]; but each time according to the ancient custom of our country [Landsart], intimately, open-heartedly, and freely. It may be that I have often been mistaken about you; but as soon as you point out the abomination [den Greuel] to me, I will eradicate it. In short, you understand joking [Schertz] and approve also of legitimate earnestness [gerechten Ernst]; and therefore (whispered in your ear) [ins Ohr gesagt] do not let this little book be burned by your executioner.

Yet this was still not the last preface which Zimmermann sketched out for *Vom Nationalstolze*. In an undated preface placed after the 1771 draft in his archive, he observed that one should not blame an author who seeks to improve the defects of works written in his youth. This time, he also remarked that ‘the treatise [Abhandlung] on national pride is actually nothing but a series of paintings, through which the author has brought the ridiculous and the good about this phenomenon into view’. Moreover, Zimmermann indicated that he had laid more emphasis on the effect [Wirkung] of these paintings than on ‘timorous accuracy’ [ängstliche Richtigkeit]. As such, he feared ‘that he had occasionally appeared to say more than he wished to have said, and that there is on the whole more warmth and enthusiasm than philosophy’.

Reviewing the 1768 edition and its 1769 French translation together, Nicolai’s *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek* noted that Zimmermann’s work had been read eagerly by both ‘our countrymen and foreigners’ and rejoiced at the prospect of a ‘still greater number of readers’.<sup>125</sup> In 1772, Nicolai reminded Zimmermann of his promise to send some observations on the French and especially the English translation of *Vom Nationalstolze*.<sup>126</sup> Zimmermann responded by regretting that he was not at all disposed to writing, his soul being ‘all too down’ and his body too weak. Nevertheless, he noted that also a Russian translation had recently been published in St. Petersburg.<sup>127</sup> Returning to the matter in February 1775, he exclaimed that it was ‘no longer worth the trouble to entertain the public with this long-forgotten work’, adding that he had become indifferent towards everything that had interested him as an author in Switzerland.<sup>128</sup>

Still, the final draft preface appears to have been written after this, in 1778, because Zimmermann wrote: ‘When a native republican [gebohrener Republikaner] has lived in Germany for ten years, is now completely rooted there, naturally here and there a speculative thinker [speculativer Kopf] will ask: what does this German-become republican [dieser verdeutschte Republikaner] think now?’ In a world-weary manner, Zimmermann replied that he was used to everything and that he cared about other people’s opinions ‘exactly as much as one in my age’ [grade so viel, als man sich in meinen Jahren] had to care. Still, his constant wrestle with his national identity was not over, since he called himself ‘an un-German in Germany, a stranger’ [ein Undeutscher in Deutschland, ein Fremdling].<sup>129</sup>

#### 4. Conclusion

To understand Zimmermann’s approach to national pride it is necessary to acknowledge his puzzling premise: that since nations are societies composed of individuals, ‘every nation considers itself as every individual considers themselves’.<sup>130</sup> In effect, his treatise thus reduced national pride to the experience of an individual who might have been anyone, anywhere in Europe. However, akin to Montesquieu, Zimmermann also affirmed that climate had an influence on a people’s character, along with their way of life, education, form of government, and religion.<sup>131</sup> As he claimed, concepts deriving from the society one lived in determined what one considered good, true and beautiful: they constituted everyone’s *amour-propre* and this, in turn, their pride.<sup>132</sup> Vice versa, Zimmermann claimed that ‘every village, every city, every province, and every people has its particular *amour-propre*, and its particular pride’.<sup>133</sup> In this regard, he came close to David Hume’s thesis that ‘a contagion of manners’ made national characters.<sup>134</sup>

One might jump to the conclusion that Zimmermann perceived the human kind as incurably divided. Yet, he noted that he did not wish to praise ‘virtues of temperament’ [Temperamentstugenden], rhetorically asking if he should thank his pocket watch for showing the hours correctly.<sup>135</sup> This suggests that the actual purpose of his writing was to encourage readers to act in a way that did not mechanically follow from their station in life. The sense of one’s own dignity was, he argued, a useful spring encouraging the individuals to emulate virtue and thus it constituted the basis of his internalised republicanism. As I hope to have shown, awareness of being read outside of Switzerland caused Zimmermann to revise his work in a manner that not only chastised modern republics, but also encouraged the subjects of modern monarchies and even monarchs to act virtuously. This means that his ‘attempt to reconcile the ideas of unlimited monarchy with liberty’ was a project based on promoting a republican attitude.<sup>136</sup> Indeed, the first edition of *Von dem Nationalstolze* reflected Zimmermann’s frustration as a subject of the ruling aristocracy in Berne, but the revisions he made to the work shifted his position to that of a Swiss author writing in German for Europe. Moreover, as evidenced by his unpublished prefaces, Zimmermann was plagued by the idea that, being Swiss, he should write freely and maintain his republican identity even as he served the Hanoverian monarchy. Thus, the revised editions of *Von dem Nationalstolze* can be read as an endeavour to keep multiple audiences ‘in view’, and to manage their passions while promoting political virtue.

## Notes

1. *Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften und der freyen Künste* 4, no. 1 (1758), 552–3. Attributed to Moses Mendelssohn in Rudolf Ischer, *Johann Georg Zimmermann’s Leben und Werke* (Bern, 1892), 263. All translations are mine, unless otherwise stated.
2. Johann Georg Zimmermann, *Von dem Nationalstolze* (Zürich, 1760), iv. See also Roberto Romani, *National Character and Public Spirit in Britain and France, 1750–1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 6–7 and passim.
3. Zimmermann, 1760, v–vi.
4. Mark-Georg Dehrmann, “Der König hörte mich mit grosser Aufmerksamkeit” – Johann Georg Zimmermanns *Unterredungen* mit Friedrich II. und ihre Darstellungsstrategien’, in *Berliner Aufklärung: Kulturwissenschaftliche Studien Band 2*, ed. Ursula Goldenbaum and Alexander Košenina (Hannover-Laatzten: Wehrhahn Verlag, 2003), 229; Ischer, *Zimmermann’s Leben*, 37–9; 44–9; 102–13; Zimmermann to Tissot, 20 August 1768, 26 September 1768, 23 December 1768, 9 January 1769, and 14 August 1769, in Samuel-Auguste-André-David Tissot, Johann Georg Zimmermann, *Correspondance 1754–1797*, ed. Antoinette Emch-Déraz (Genève: Slatkine, 2007), 476–7, 489, 509, 513, 520, 564–6. See also Simone Zurbuchen, ‘Berliner “Exil” und Schweizer “Heimat”: Johann Georg Zimmermanns Reflexionen über die Rolle des Schweizer Gelehrten’, in *Schweizer im Berlin des 18. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Martin Fontius and Helmut Holzhey (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1996), 66.
5. Ischer, *Zimmermann’s Leben*, 271. See also *Deutsche Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften* 3, no. 12 (1769), 630–1.
6. Barbara Stüssi-Lauterburg, “‘Ne quis emineat’ – oder warum es Johann Georg Zimmermann in der alten Republik Bern zu eng wurde’, in *Johann Georg Zimmermann: königlich großbritannischer Leibarzt (1728–1795)*, ed. Hans-Peter Schramm (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1998), 21–9; idem, ‘Johann Georg Zimmermann 1728–1795: die Einsamkeit des konservativen Intellektuellen’, *Familienforschung Schweiz : Jahrbuch = Généalogie suisse : annuaire = Genealogia svizzera : annuario* (1996): 27, 31–5; François de Capitani, ‘Hallers Bern’, in *Albrecht von Haller: Leben – Werk – Epoche*, ed. Hubert Steinke, Urs Boschung and Wolfgang Proß (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2008), 84. See also Zurbuchen, ‘Berliner “Exil”’, 64. On Berne more generally, see Bela Kapossy, ‘Neo-Roman Republicanism and Commercial Society: The Example of Eighteenth-Century Berne’, in *Republicanism: A Shared European Heritage. Volume 11: The Values of Republicanism in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Martin van Gelderen and Quentin Skinner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 227–47.
7. Simone Zurbuchen, ‘Theorizing Enlightenend Absolutism: The Swiss Republican Origins of Prussian Monarchism’, in *Monarchisms in the Age of Enlightenment: Liberty, Patriotism, and the Common Good*, ed. Hans W. Blom, John Christian Laursen, and Luisa Simonutti (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007), 240–66.
8. Zurbuchen, ‘Theorizing Enlightenend Absolutism’, 244, 247.
9. Eva Piirimäe, ‘Dying for the fatherland: Thomas Abbt’s theory of aesthetic patriotism’, *History of European Ideas* 35 (2009): 194–208; idem, ‘The Vicissitudes of Noble National Pride: Johann Georg Zimmermann’s

- (1728–1795) Theory of Patriotism’, in *Human Nature as the Basis of Morality and Society in Early Modern Philosophy*, ed. Juhana Lemetti and Eva Piirimäe (*Acta Philosophica Fennica* 83) (Helsinki 2007), 121–41.
10. Thomas Munck, *Conflict and Enlightenment: Print and Political Culture in Europe, 1635–1795* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 210–16, 250; idem, ‘Eighteenth-Century Review Journals and the Internationalization of the European Book Market’, *The International History Review* 32, no. 3 (2010): 415–35.
  11. *Göttingische Anzeigen von gelehrten Sachen* (1760), 838; Karl S. Guthke, *Haller und die Literatur* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1962), 55–6. See also *Göttingische Anzeigen von gelehrten Sachen* (1758), 588, 590.
  12. Markus Zenker, *Therapie im Literarischen Text: Johann Georg Zimmermanns Werk »Über die Einsamkeit« in seiner Zeit* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 2007); Lieselotte E. Kurth-Voigt, ‘Zimmermanns Ueber die Einsamkeit (1784/85): Zur Rezeption des Werkes’, *MLN*, 116, no. 3 (2001): 579–95; Dehmann, ‘Unterredungen’, 221–44; Sigrid Habersaat, *Verteidigung der Aufklärung I: Friedrich Nicolai in religiösen und politischen Debatten* (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2001), 151–79.
  13. Zenker, *Therapie*, 33–4, 191–3; Ischer, *Zimmermann’s Leben*, 39, 56, 79, 267.
  14. Rachel Hammersley, *The English Republican Tradition and Eighteenth-Century France: Between the Ancients and the Moderns* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010), 202–3.
  15. Reinhart Koselleck, ‘Volk, Nation, Nationalismus, Masse’, in *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe: Historisches Lexicon zur politisch-sozialen Sprache in Deutschland: Band 7 Verw – Z*, ed. Otto Brunner, Werner Conze, and Reinhart Koselleck (Stuttgart: E. Klett, 1992), 312–13.
  16. Ischer, *Zimmermann’s Leben*, 254.
  17. Johann Georg Zimmermann, *Von dem Nationalstolze* (Zürich, 1758), 95. See also Piirimäe, ‘Noble National Pride’, 128.
  18. Zimmermann, 1758, 96; Johann Georg Zimmermann, *Vom Nationalstolze* (Zürich, 1768), 172, 175. Cf. Zimmermann, 1760, 199. See also: *Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften und der freyen Künste* 4, no. 1 (1758), 554–5.
  19. *Göttingische Anzeigen von gelehrten Sachen* (1758), 589; Guthke, *Haller*, 55.
  20. Zimmermann, 1760, 100.
  21. Zimmermann, 1768, 213–14.
  22. *Ibid.*, 215.
  23. *Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften und der freyen Künste* 4, no. 1 (1758), 570; *Journal étranger* (Mars 1762), 91; *Journal Helvetique* (Octobre 1769), 380.
  24. Piirimäe, ‘Noble National Pride’, 126.
  25. Zimmermann, 1758, 94.
  26. *Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften und der freyen Künste* 4, no. 1 (1758), 569.
  27. Zimmermann, 1768, 3.
  28. Zimmermann, 1758, 184; Montesquieu, *The Spirit of the Laws* (1748), trans. and ed. Anne M. Cohler, Basia Carolyn Miller, and Harold Samuel Stone (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 44, 98, 340–1.
  29. Zimmermann, 1758, 187.
  30. *Ibid.*, 193–4; Montesquieu, *Spirit of the Laws*, 157.
  31. Zimmermann, 1760, 165.
  32. *Ibid.*, 166.
  33. *Ibid.*, 167. See also 177.
  34. Zimmermann, 1760, 167–77. See also Zimmermann, 1768, 292–309.
  35. Zurbuchen, ‘Theorizing Enlightening Absolutism’, 243; Montesquieu, *Spirit of the Laws*, 22–31.
  36. Zimmermann, 1758, 50–1, 81; Nicholas Vazsonyi, ‘Montesquieu, Friedrich Carl von Moser, and the “National Spirit Debate” in Germany, 1765–1767’, *German Studies Review* 22, no. 2 (1999): 225.
  37. Zimmermann to Tissot, 13 February 1758, *Correspondance*, 61. See also Tissot to Zimmermann, 21 February 1758, *ibid.*, 69.
  38. *Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften und der freyen Künste* 4, no. 1 (1758), 574, see also 567.
  39. Ischer, *Zimmermann’s Leben*, 54.
  40. *Ibid.*, 55–6.
  41. Zimmermann, 1758, 128–9.
  42. *Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften und der freyen Künste* 4, no. 1 (1758), 572.
  43. Zimmermann, 1758, 177; Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Œuvres complètes V: Écrits politiques et économiques* 2, ed., Raymond Trousson and Frédéric S. Eigeldinger (Genève: Slatkine, 2012), 151–2.
  44. Ischer, *Zimmermann’s Leben*, 259–60.
  45. Zimmermann to Tissot, 13 February 1758, *Correspondance*, 62.
  46. Zimmermann to Tissot, 14 December 1758, *Correspondance*, 87.
  47. Zimmermann, 1758, 12.
  48. Zimmermann, 1760, 161.
  49. Rousseau, *Œuvres complètes V*, 127, 216.

50. Zimmermann, 1768, 13. The contemporary French translator used *amour-propre* for *Eigenliebe* and *amour de soi-même* for *Selbstliebe*. See Johann Georg Zimmermann, *De l'orgueil national* (Paris, 1769), 11–12.
51. Cf. Zurbuchen, 'Berliner "Exil"', 62.
52. Zimmermann to Nicolai, 27 July 1765, in *Verteidigung der Aufklärung 2: Friedrich Nicolai in religiösen und politischen Debatten*, ed. Sigrid Habersaat (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2001), 14.
53. *Ibid.*
54. Zimmermann, 1768, 371.
55. *Ibid.*, 394; Thomas Abbt, *Von dem Tode für das Vaterland* (Berlin, 1761), 27. See also Zimmermann, 1768, 364; Abbt, *Von dem Tode*, 76; Piirimäe, 'Noble National Pride', 133.
56. Zimmermann, 1760, 128; Zimmermann, 1768, 243.
57. Zimmermann, 1760, 129.
58. *Ibid.*, 134–5.
59. Zimmermann, 1768, 248.
60. Abbt, *Von dem Tode*, 18.
61. Zimmermann, 1758, 68–72.
62. Zimmermann, 1768, 7–11; *Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften und der freyen Künste* 4, no. 1 (1758), 566; Tissot to Zimmermann, 15 October 1760, *Correspondance*, 161.
63. *Journal étranger* (Fevrier 1762), 82–83.
64. Zimmermann, 1768, 7–11. See also Ischer, *Zimmermann's Leben*, 272.
65. Ischer, *Zimmermann's Leben*, 103.
66. *Ibid.*, 49.
67. Ischer, *Zimmermann's Leben*, 104.
68. Zimmermann to Karl Stephan Glutz-Ruchti, 17 March 1765, in Max Banholzer, 'Die Solothurner Briefe von Johann Georg Zimmermann von Brugg 1765–1768', *Jahrbuch für Solothurnische Geschichte* 70 (1997): 65.
69. Zimmermann to Glutz-Ruchti, 4 May 1768, in Banholzer, 'Die Solothurner Briefe', 93; Tissot to Zimmermann, 20 October 1767 and 18 November 1767, Zimmermann to Tissot, 26 September 1768 and 14 November 1768, *Correspondance*, 404, 406, 488, 494–6.
70. Zimmermann to Tissot, 14 December 1758, *Correspondance*, 87.
71. Zimmermann to Nicolai, 6 September 1766, *Verteidigung der Aufklärung* 2, 32–3.
72. Zimmermann, 1758, 210.
73. *Ibid.*, 216.
74. *Ibid.*, 226. See also Montesquieu, *Spirit of the Laws*, 35, 43.
75. Zimmermann, 1758, 227.
76. Zimmermann, 1760, 21. See also Zenker, *Therapie*, 156; Zurbuchen, 'Berliner "Exil"', 63.
77. Zimmermann, 1760, 160.
78. *Ibid.*, 163–4.
79. Zimmermann, 1768, 278.
80. *Ibid.*, 287.
81. Zimmermann, 1760, 178.
82. *Ibid.*, 179.
83. *Ibid.*, 180.
84. *Ibid.*, 182.
85. *Ibid.*, 181–6; Zimmermann, 1768, 321–8.
86. Zimmermann, 1760, 186.
87. Zimmermann, 1768, 316.
88. Montesquieu, *Spirit of the Laws*, 27.
89. *Ibid.*, 317.
90. *Ibid.*, 328.
91. *Ibid.*, 155.
92. *Ibid.*, 312.
93. Zimmermann, 1760, 189.
94. Johann Georg Zimmermann, *Von der Erfahrung in der Arzneykunst I* (Zürich, 1763), 22.
95. Zimmermann, 1760, iii.
96. Zimmermann, 1768, 'Vorrede'.
97. *Ibid.*, 4–5.
98. *Ibid.*, 6.
99. *Ibid.*, 6–7, 329.
100. Zimmermann, 1760, 156. See also Zimmermann, 1768, 275.
101. Zimmermann, 1760, 157.
102. *Ibid.*
103. Zimmermann, 1768, 312.

104. *Ibid.*, 314.
105. Zimmermann, 1760, 152–3; Zimmermann, 1768, 270–1.
106. Zimmermann, 1768, 271.
107. Zimmermann, 1760, 153. See also Zimmermann, 1768, 272.
108. Zimmermann, 1760, 153; Zimmermann, 1768, 272.
109. Zimmermann, 1768, 193.
110. *Ibid.*, 277.
111. *Ibid.*, 289.
112. *Ibid.*, 290–1.
113. *Ibid.*, 34.
114. *Ibid.*, 292.
115. *Ibid.*, 308–9.
116. *Briefe, die neueste Litteratur betreffend* 9 (1763), 24.
117. *Ibid.*, 27.
118. Zurbuchen, ‘Theorizing Enlightenend Absolutism’, 247.
119. Johann Jakob Bodmer to Zimmermann, 14 February 1758, in Eduard Bodemann, *Johann Georg Zimmermann. Sein Leben und bisher ungedruckte Briefe an denselben* (Hannover: Hahn’sche Buchhandlung, 1878), 167. In this letter, Bodmer also encouraged Zimmermann to improve the first edition of *Vom dem Nationalstolze*.
120. *Journal étranger* (Mars 1762), 107.
121. Zimmermann, 1768, 310–11.
122. *Göttingische Anzeigen von gelehrten Sachen* (1768), 1240; Guthke, *Haller*, 64.
123. *Deutsche Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften* 3, no. 12 (1769), 634.
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125. *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek* 10, no. 2 (1769), 161–4.
126. Nicolai to Zimmermann, 10 July 1772, *Verteidigung der Aufklärung* 2, 67.
127. Zimmermann to Nicolai, 31 October 1773, *Verteidigung der Aufklärung* 2, 76. See also Ingrid Schierle, ‘“Vom Nationalstolze”: Zur russischen Rezeption und Übersetzung der Nationalgeistdebatte im 18. Jahrhundert’, *Zeitschrift für Slavische Philologie* 64, no. 1 (2005/2006): 63–85.
128. Zimmermann to Nicolai, 15 February 1775, *Verteidigung der Aufklärung* 2, 83–4.
129. ‘Vom Nationalstolze’, MS XLII 1933 B 12, Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz Bibliothek.
130. Zimmermann, 1760, 25; Zimmermann, 1768, 45.
131. Zimmermann, 1758, 90.
132. Zimmermann, 1760, 17–18. See also Zimmermann, 1768, 36.
133. Zimmermann, 1768, 46.
134. Romani, *National Character*, 166.
135. Zimmermann, 1758, 91–92; Zimmermann, 1760, 223.
136. Zurbuchen, ‘Theorizing Enlightenend Absolutism’, 247.

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