

Francis Lieber (1798-1872): German-American Poet
and Transmitter of German Culture to America

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Francis Lieber was a nineteenth-century liberal, as the title of Frank Freidel's biography of him indicates.¹ He was known chiefly for his contributions to the fields of history and political science. At South Carolina College (later the University of South Carolina) and Columbia University he had a reputation as a lively and informative lecturer and teacher. Lieber led a feverishly active life which brought him into contact with many eminent Americans. In this brief study, it is my intention to indicate some neglected areas of investigation which might prove to be valuable sources for new researches in the field of German-Americana.

The story of Francis Lieber's youth reads like the pages of an adventure novel. An impetuous young Berliner in the second decade of the nineteenth-century, he marched in the ranks of the Turnverein under the leadership of Ludwig Friedrich Jahn, whose goals included a free and united Germany. He fought patriotically against the armies of Napoleon at Waterloo and elsewhere, once receiving a wound which nearly cost him his life. After the defeat of Napoleon, Lieber's attention was directed towards Greece where a civil war was in progress. He joined the Philhellenic movement in 1821, only to have his romantic notions about Greek nobleness and heroism

crushed by the reality of the situation. He wrote later in his diary: "...the cowardice and incapacity of the Greeks made them unfit to defend or free their country."² The enthusiasm and idealism which marked Lieber's participation in these youthful undertakings were qualities which were to endear him to the hearts of his students and friends during a long and distinguished career in this country.

Lieber studied at the Gray Friar's Cloister Gymnasium in Berlin, "where he attended classes primarily in Latin, Greek, and the antiquities."³ Because of his radical political activities he was refused permission to continue his studies at a Prussian university. Defiantly, he matriculated as a student of theology at Jena, where in August of 1820 he received his Doctor of Philosophy degree. He had plans to enter upon a career in teaching, but was told by the Prussian ministry that he would never be allowed to teach in Prussia. Especially important for Lieber's intellectual development were the lectures he attended in Berlin at the university which had been founded there in 1809, and which was under the directorship of Wilhelm von Humboldt. A remarkable faculty had been assembled. Fichte was professor of philosophy, Friedrich Schleiermacher lectured in theology, and Barthold Niebuhr and Friedrich Wolf taught history and archeology respectively.

Lieber's social life in Berlin brought him into contact with many important personalities. Through his acquaintance with Henriette Herz, a person of great charm and intellect who had become the warm friend of many of Germany's leading intel-

lectuals and artists, he met the Humboldt brothers.⁴ At the home of Julius Hitzig, a highly respected and influential lawyer, he entered into stimulating discussions with E.T.A. Hoffmann, Adalbert von Chamisso, and Friedrich de la Motte Fouqué.⁵ With little hope of attaining any distinction in Germany, however, Lieber left for England with the intention of obtaining a professorship in German at the London University. He was bolstered by a warm letter of recommendation from his historian friend Niebuhr.

It is interesting to note that at this point Lieber may have attempted to obtain a letter of recommendation from Goethe, using the influence of Goethe's grand-nephew, Alfred Nicolovius. In a letter to Nicolovius of April, 1827, Goethe writes: "Verziehen sey mir gleichfalls wenn ich Bedenken trage ein Attestat für Lieber auszustellen, da ich seine Persönlichkeit gar nicht kenne und sein Talent nicht zu beurtheilen weiss."⁶ Before any decision was made regarding Lieber's application for the professorship, he sailed from England to Boston, Massachusetts, where he taught physical education at a gymnasium and founded a swimming school. Turnvater Jahn had recommended him for the post.

During Francis Lieber's forty-five years in the United States, he came into contact with countless distinguished Americans. President Gilman of the Johns Hopkins University once said: "...of the Americans devoted to public affairs, from 1840 to 1870, it may be said that Lieber knew every one of them."⁷ Despite his German background, Lieber must not be

thought of as being a zealous advocate of introducing German institutions and values into American life. He was clearly against the "Germanizing" of America. His attitude in this regard was expressed in a letter written April 23, 1847:

I love my country...but when they talk of Germanizing America, I spurn the idea.... What, Germanize America and draw out of our country the Anglican institutions as the bones of a turkey, and leave a lump, fit only to be dispatched? No, no--modern liberty, people may say what they like, is...essentially Anglican liberty; develop, modify, change, trim, improve, but keep the backbone.⁸

Thus, it was not through any programmatic effort, but rather because of his German intellectual training and his admiration for German literature and scientific method, that Lieber became a vehicle for transmitting German culture to America. Pochmann states that he was "the first scholar of note widely to introduce the German scientific methods of research into American colleges and universities."⁹ Lieber is characterized as one whose "influence was exerted through periodicals, in the classroom and lecture halls, and in books."¹⁰

In his large works in the field of political science, which display a Kantian influence,¹¹ Lieber documented his quotations and sources thoroughly. This care in documentation was not popular in America at the time, and Lieber appears to have been chided by some for being pedantic. In a letter to his friend, George Hillard, a lawyer and author to whom Lieber sent a fifty-five volume set of Goethe's works for his assis-

tance in preparing a manuscript for publication,¹² he explains the reasons for his care in the use of footnotes:

One word to you on the charge of pedantry.... The making acquaintance with a considerable part of literature, even outwardly, only by passages or titles, seemed to me not unimportant. One thing leads to another. I owe thanks to many authors for faithful citation; it has led me on. If I effect nothing by my quoting than that I aid, perhaps, some chap in Michigan, I consider myself already rewarded for what, you know well, is after all not pleasant in writing.... I knew very well that this way of quoting is not relished by French, English, or Americans. I did it, however, as a matter of conscience....¹³

It was this kind of care which critics praised in Lieber's most ambitious enterprise, the first edition of the *Encyclopaedia Americana*.

Francis Lieber signed his name to the preface of the final volume of the *Encyclopaedia Americana* on February 1, 1833. "In a little less than five years he had completed the task of editing an encyclopedia which was to remain standard in America until the time of the Civil War."¹⁴ Cheap in price, the *Americana* sold phenomenally. Lieber himself later estimated the total sales to have reached one hundred thousand sets.¹⁵ The work was based on the seventh edition of the Brockhaus *Conversations-Lexikon*.¹⁶ But this served only as a basis. "Almost all the significant articles were new or rewritten--and from an American point of view...Lieber had striven almost to the point of error to make the *Encyclopaedia* timely."¹⁷ The work received very favorable reviews. In the influential *North American Review* appeared the comment: "This work...deserves to

be recommended to the great body of our people, as a library of itself:--cheap, comprehensive, exceedingly well executed, and of the highest authority."¹⁸

The project had been given backing by many of Lieber's distinguished New England acquaintances, among them Edward Everett, classics scholar and later president of Harvard, George Bancroft, Massachusetts statesman and scholar, Charles Follen, the first instructor of German at Harvard, and George Ticknor, instructor of modern languages and literatures at Harvard. Everett promised to prepare articles on classics, and Ticknor on modern languages.¹⁹ Both of these men had studied in Göttingen which makes their contributions to the *Encyclopaedia* of significance to Germanisten.

An interesting incidental effect of the *Americana*'s success was the praise heaped upon the Brockhaus work as the reference work most suitable to be used as the basis for the first American encyclopedia. German scholarship received wide acclaim. One reviewer said of the *Conversations-Lexikon*:

It is free from all the narrowness of English prejudice, it contains many important and interesting details which can be found in no English production, and is a work which could be written by none other than German scholars....²⁰

In the *Americana* there was an emphasis on German civilization which was lacking in early English-language encyclopedias. "Infinite and incalculable as the effect of this emphasis may have been, the wide circulation of this work served as a means by which a strong element of the German

spirit was injected into the American mind, leading to a fuller understanding and appreciation of German arts, sciences, and institutions."²¹ In the *Americana* there are at least 265 individual articles on German writers, artists, composers, scientists, philosophers, theologians, and philologists.²² In addition there are numerous articles on German geographical locations, historical personages, and the like. There is an article on Germany which has the sub-headings: "German Language," "German Literature and Science," "German Prose," "German Poetry," and "German Criticism."

In this rather long essay Schiller is viewed particularly as a follower of Klopstock. His ideas are as holy and as elevated as Klopstock's, "but they appear clothed in reality and truth."²³ It is noted that Schiller's poetry has been objected to as being too philosophical, but in German drama he is "undoubtedly the first."²⁴ Goethe is compared to Wieland. Grace and fullness are found in the poetry of both. These qualities are attributed to Wieland because of his continual study of Greek and French models. But Goethe's excellence is due to the "strength with which his bold and penetrating spirit pervades the unlimited variety of nature and the hidden recesses of the human heart."²⁵ The author continues, however: "One thing...is wanting in Göthe's productions. He does not set forth strongly the moral dignity of man...."²⁶ Ludwig Tieck is said to possess "poetical resources hardly inferior to Göthe's; and his productions, moreover, are distinguished for virtue and purity as well as for poetical spirit."²⁷ Novalis,

"to whom the whole world was one great poem, wrote sacred hymns of the most intense feeling and the highest spirit."²⁸ In evaluating the works of Goethe and Schiller, the author exhibits a typically mid-nineteenth century concern for man's "moral dignity." I believe, however, that such high praise for Tieck and Novalis was as yet rather unusual in America in a survey of this kind. This emphatic endorsement of their talents may have influenced the reputations of both poets on this continent. All in all, the article contains hundreds of names and facts, and presents the reader with a satisfactory synopsis of the course of German literature.

Lieber himself is known to have contributed at least twenty-three articles to the *Encyclopaedia*.²⁹ These cover a wide range of topics from cookery to the immortality of the soul. The essay on cookery reveals Lieber's informal manner and is very entertaining reading (he recommends a German work on the subject "which should be glad to see a translation"³⁰). His articles concerned with German culture are: "Dresden," "Goethe," "Haller," "Hegel," "Kant," the "Nibelungenlied," and "Karl Sand." The articles on Kant, the *Nibelungenlied*, and Goethe are well done. The one on Hegel is poor and reveals, perhaps, Lieber's personal dislike for the man.³¹

Lieber exhibits a good grasp of the details of Kant's life, and shows an admirable ease in handling a brief exposition of Kant's philosophy. He maintains that "a man can hardly hope to acquire a good idea of Kant's philosophy without reading him in the original."³² Kant's categories are enumerated,

and two bibliographies of the philosopher's works are recommended. The *Nibelungenlied* is described as "an ancient German epic, little known to American and English readers, but ranking, in our opinion, among the noblest works of the imagination."³³ A brief account of the plot is then given and the historical background of the work is explained, noting, rather interestingly, that August Wilhelm Schlegel considers the author to be either Klingsohr of Hungary or Henry of Ofterdingen. The epic is then compared to the *Iliad*. "The language of the *Iliad*, is, in our opinion, superior to that of the *Nibelungenlied*, both as to the idiom itself and the mastership with which the Greek poet wields it, though the German epic has a childlike and venerable simplicity.... On the other hand, the plan of the latter appears to us vastly superior to that of the former."³⁴

Lieber calls Goethe "the greatest modern poet of Germany."³⁵ Goethe is looked upon as the universal artist, having made significant contributions to practically every literary genre. Although his dramas are not as great as Shakespeare's, and his epics and novels have certain shortcomings, Goethe is the preeminent poet of philosophy.³⁶ "It is the philosophy of life and of individual characters, pervading his works, which places them among the first ever produced. ...his greatest production is his *Faust*, emphatically a philosophical poem."³⁷ Despite the mislabeling of Goethe as a poet of philosophy, Lieber displays an intimate knowledge of Goethe's works. Such unequivocal, high praise of Goethe was not common in the United States at this time. In his work on

German literature in American magazines prior to 1846, Goodnight states:

...in 1832 the Goethe cult was as yet very young in America.... And it must not be forgotten that Charles Follen, who, by virtue of his position in Harvard, was perhaps the greatest of the forces then at work in the interests of German culture in America, and Franz List in Pennsylvania, were political refugees, intense admirers of Schiller, and, as former associates of Wolfgang Menzel, allies of the latter in his hostility toward Goethe. ...it need excite no wonder that not many champions of Goethe appeared among the Harvard graduates in the early years of Dr. Follen's labors there,...³⁸

Among Lieber's other writings there are several short pieces which are pertinent to his role as a transmitter of German culture in America. In his *Miscellaneous Writings*³⁹ there is an essay on Barthold Niebuhr, his historian friend, in which Voss, Schiller, Klopstock, and Goethe are mentioned.⁴⁰ The collection also contains an address on Alexander von Humboldt given before the American Geographical Society in 1859.⁴¹ Lieber once said of Humboldt, "If it were allowable to use the term for any mortal, he, more than any other, would lead me to call him Humboldt Divus."⁴² In 1835, Lieber translated the life of Caspar Hauser, a famous feral child, into English from the German of Anselm Feuerbach, one of the foremost writers on criminal law in Germany. The translation passed through several editions.

A thorough evaluation of Lieber's contributions to American periodicals has never been made. It is known that Lieber contributed anonymous articles to several American

reviews.⁴³ An investigation of this area of Lieber's activities may yield profitable results. As an example of what one may find, consider Lieber's article on "Turkey"⁴⁵ in the North American Review. It is a discussion of German works on this subject, one of them by Ranke, with whom Lieber corresponded.⁴⁵ Ranke is praised highly for his thorough research and his use of source material. In another article, entitled "German Association of Naturalists and Physicians,"⁴⁶ Lieber uses the occasion to quote and translate selections from Goethe and Schiller, while he promotes a literary and scientific union between Germany and the United States.

Besides corresponding with Ranke, Lieber carried on a correspondence with Wilhelm von Humboldt, whose works he read with great interest. He exchanged information with Humboldt on a number of topics, chief among them being the North American Indians, one of Lieber's favorite interests. Lieber had planned to establish a society for the promotion of the study of Indian languages. He asked Humboldt for advice concerning the project.⁴⁷ He also was acquainted with the writings of the Grimm brothers and Franz Bopp.⁴⁸ On one occasion, Lieber assisted Albert Gallatin, retired Secretary of the Treasury, in preparing a work on Indian languages by translating extracts from German manuscripts written by early missionaries to Pennsylvania.⁴⁹ It is difficult to assess the depth of Lieber's knowledge of the science of linguistics. He studied it for a while in Rome with Niebuhr.⁵⁰ Perhaps Freidel underestimates Lieber's importance in this field when he

states that "Lieber never became more than a dilettante who helped to introduce Americans to a little known study."⁵¹

No survey of Lieber's influence would be complete without taking into account his many acquaintances and friends. I would like to suggest some personalities whose relationship with Lieber may have led to a furthering of German culture in America.

One of these was Mrs. Elizabeth Ellet, the wife of chemist William Ellet. The Ellets met Lieber in South Carolina, when he arrived there to assume his responsibilities as professor of history and political science in 1835. Mrs. Ellet became known for her translations of German works, and wrote a whole series of essays on the works of Schiller. Goodnight states that she "...did more than anyone of her sex to make Schiller known and appreciated in America."⁵² In addition to these well known writings, Mrs. Ellet translated a poem of Lieber's which was published in 1844.⁵³ Goodnight suggests that Lieber may have been influential in arousing Mrs. Ellet's interest in German literature.⁵⁴ In 1835 the Ellets occupied the other half of a duplex assigned to the Liebers, and in the following years they continued to live in close proximity to the Liebers on the campus. A chronology of Mrs. Ellet's works shows that her first publication appeared in 1836, a year after meeting Lieber. Even if Lieber didn't initiate in her this interest in German literature, the exchange of ideas between the two might have focused her attention upon it at the time.

Julia Ward Howe, American author and reformer famous for

her "Battle Hymn of the Republic," met Lieber when she was a student in New York. They engaged in long conversations about German philosophy, among other things. Their friendship lasted a great many years, and it is quite possible that Lieber's animosity toward Hegel and admiration for Kant influenced her own opinion of these men. In a tribute to Lieber, she recalls:

He [Lieber] had heard Hegel lecture, and had been impressed by his harsh dialect and unpleasant manner. I asked him whether Kant was not the greater of the two. He thought so, and thought, as many do, that Hegel in his cumbrous way of expressing himself had aimed rather at obscurity than at clearness of diction.⁵⁵

Mrs. Howe, as well as her friend Theodore Parker, an intellectual associated with the Dial and its transcendentalist philosophy, had read Lieber's Manual of Political Ethics.⁵⁶

Lieber's friendship with Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, Charles Sumner, and Joseph Story is rather well known. Lieber and Longfellow spent much time together and criticized each other's poetry. Longfellow even translated one of Lieber's poems.⁵⁷ Charles Sumner, whom Lieber referred to as Don Carlos, might never have learned German had it not been for Lieber's constant urging. In a letter to Sumner, Lieber mentions Hillard as well:

Ah my friend if you knew German...! Now I charge you and Hillard to say to each other every morning when you first meet, 'O Sumner,' or 'O Hillard, remember thou knowest not German...!'⁵⁸

Sumner replied: "Your friendly address to me I appreciate, and under your advice shall hasten to learn German."⁵⁹

It was through Lieber's influence that both Sumner and Judge Story, who contributed articles to the *Americana*, became acquainted with Karl Mittermaier, professor of criminal law at Heidelberg. This contact resulted in an exchange of legal thought across the Atlantic, which eventually led to the inclusion of an article by Story in a German legal publication, and to the publication of articles by Mittermaier in the *American Jurist*.⁶⁰ Once Lieber supplied Sumner with letters of introduction when Sumner travelled abroad.⁶¹ In 1835 Lieber had done the same for Ticknor, "to introduce him to Mittermaier, Ranke, Thiersch, Menzel, Förster, and Hitzig."⁶² The results of this kind of activity have never been thoroughly investigated.

Two other people whom Lieber might have influenced are Ralph Waldo Emerson and James Freeman Clarke, a Unitarian clergyman and Transcendentalist. Emerson makes rather frequent mention of the *Encyclopaedia* in his journals, and once quotes Lieber, identifying the latter's sentiments with his own.⁶³ James Freeman Clarke, a person with whom, to my knowledge, no one has connected Lieber, recalls meeting Dr. Lieber and discussing Schleiermacher with him. After they parted, Clarke writes: "I received some letters from this new friend, one of which contained a poem to Niagara."⁶⁴ This meeting took place in 1832, before Clarke began to publish his many translations of German literature.

Other persons whose connection with Lieber should be investigated are Edgar Allen Poe, William Cullen Bryant, and

Nathaniel Hawthorne. It was Poe who invited Lieber to contribute articles to the *Southern Literary Messenger*.⁶⁵ Bryant and Hawthorne are named as contributors to the *Americana*, and further research may bring to light unknown works by these authors.⁶⁶ There is an impressive list of contributors to the *Americana* whose work for the *Encyclopaedia* and whose connection with Lieber have not been fully explored. This list includes: Josiah Quincy, president of Harvard while the *Encyclopaedia* was in progress, William Ellery Channing, Transcendentalist and Unitarian religious leader, Cornelius Felton, translator of Wolfgang Menzel's *German Literature* (1840), Sylvanus Thayer, head of the West Point Military Academy, philologist Peter S. Duponceau, historians Bancroft and Prescott, zoologists John James Audubon and Johann Bachmann, the botanist Nuttall, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, the ex-king Joseph Bonaparte, and some of Lieber's earliest backers in the undertaking, Charles Follen, Edward Everett, and Moses Stuart.

Francis Lieber's poetic writings constitute another area for investigation which has never been adequately treated. Concerning a small volume of verse, *Wein-und Wonneliieder* (Berlin, 1826), which Lieber wrote in prison under the pseudonym Arnold Franz and dedicated to Karl Maria von Weber and Karl Friedrich Zelter, Goethe's composer friend, Lieber says:

Genuss...was one of the elements of my intellectual life at this period. Goethe was not inactive in all this. Asiatic poetry; Goethe; patriotism; serious reading; stern view of my opinions and convictions; Italy, as if I were in Rome; philosophy; history; disesteem for my fellow prisoners; every-

thing as active within me as if it existed alone at the time.... I now plunged...into the idea of the day, of the hour, of wirklich sein wirklich haben, of Genuss in der Gegenwart; yet all my Goethic ideas or feelings were always tinged with additional glow and fervor. Hence these Wine-Songs.⁶⁷

Lieber also wrote a tragedy during this period, "Die beiden Hedwigs," which he took to Holtei for his critical opinion. It never appeared in print.⁶⁸ In addition, he sent a play and some poems to Jean Paul, asking him for comments. Lieber received no reply. Not until eighteen years after the fact did he discover that Jean Paul had indeed sent him a reply which never reached him. Mrs. Elizabeth Lee, the American biographer of Jean Paul, discovered the letter in the course of her research and notified Lieber. Jean Paul had some encouraging words for the young poet: "Ihrer Muse werde Musse und Segen."⁶⁹

The number of poems written by Lieber before he left Europe is difficult to ascertain. On several occasions in his diary he mentions writing poems. He is also known to have written several dozen poems dedicated to Matilda Oppenheimer, his future wife whom he met in London in 1826. These are still among the unpublished Lieber papers.⁷⁰

Lieber's wife tells us that during his career in America, he often composed poems: "Bei den ernsten Arbeiten, erholte er sich öfter auf diese Weise."⁷¹ To my knowledge less than thirty of his poems have appeared in print in this country. Lieber wrote poetry in both English and German. The poems were printed, for the most part, in small groups in German-American

periodicals. Only one small volume of Lieber's verse was published separately in the United States, *The West* (New York, 1848, pp. 31). The first small group of poems to appear here was published in translation in 1847. The translator was Rev. Charles Timothy Brooks, whom Lieber described as a man "with a delicate and sensitive soul panting for the food of literature and poetry,--a real character for Jean Paul to dwell upon."⁷² Other poems were not published until after Lieber's death in 1872.

Lieber was a versatile poet. He wrote sonnets, lyric poems in varying rhymes and rhythmic patterns, metrical epistles, long descriptive poems, and several poems in free verse. The recurring themes are love, nature, patriotism, America, brotherly love, and trust in God. Lieber was a sincere American patriot and expressed in some of his poetry a heartfelt attachment and pride in his adopted country. He viewed America as a refuge for fleeing Europeans, a haven for law and order, and a country of tremendous wealth and potential where hard work and respect for the rights of others were woven into the fabric of society.

The following is a selection (3rd stanza) from "An Champollion," a long poem written as a tribute to Jean Francois Champollion (1791-1832), a French archeologist and Egyptologist who was a friend of Niebuhr and Lieber. The poem is of interest since it is probably one of the very earliest poems written in free verse on this continent.

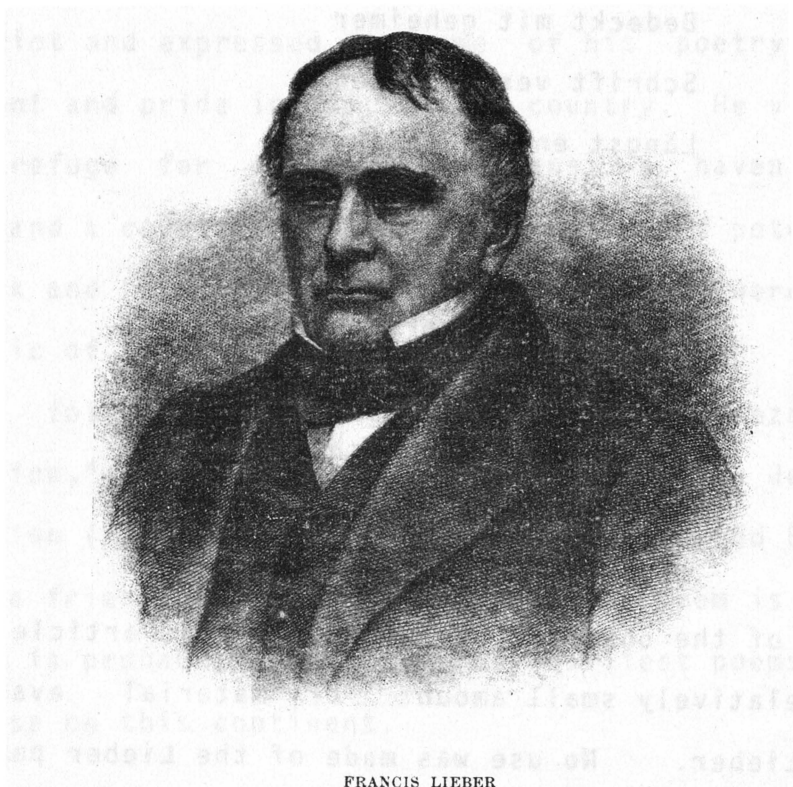
An Champollion (Boston, den 7. Mai 1832)

Verschlossene Pforten,
 Vor denen Jahrtausende
 Wundernd vorüberzogen,
 Sprangen auf vor dem Zauber
 Deines entriegelnden Scharfsinns.
 Du heissest die starren
 Basaltenen Bilder
 [Uns näher treten.
 Und uns erzählen]
 Säulen und Bogen
 Und Obeliskten,
 Unermässliche Wände
 Und Pyramiden,
 Bedeckt mit geheimer
 Schrift verflossener,
 Längst entschwundener
 Thätiger Völker--
 Räthsel die Keiner gelöst,
 Wie Viel' es versuchten,--
 Sie wurden von dir,
 Wie entsiegelte Bücher,
 Beredte Kunden
 Grauer Vorzeit.⁷³

All of the observations made in this article were based on the relatively small amount of material available on Francis Lieber. No use was made of the Lieber papers in the

Henry E. Huntington Library.⁷⁴ This collection contains tens of thousands of items and would aid inestimably in arriving at a fuller view of Lieber's contributions to the advancement of German culture in America.

To my knowledge, no one has compiled a comprehensive list of Lieber's contributions to American periodicals. Lieber's connection with the whole group of Transcendentalists affiliated with the *Dial* would be worth investigating. And finally, the relationship between Lieber and Mary Baker Eddy, and the claim that she utilized a Lieber manuscript as the basis for significant passages in her *Science and Health*, have not been considered here, since the matter is still open to some doubt.⁷⁵



FRANCIS LIEBER

FOOTNOTES

¹Frank Freidel, *Francis Lieber, Nineteenth-Century Liberal* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State Univ. Press, 1947).

²Thomas Sergeant Perry, *The Life and Letters of Francis Lieber* (Boston: James R. Osgood, 1882), p. 14.

³Freidel, p. 19.

⁴*Ibid.*, p. 41.

⁵*Ibid.*, p. 41.

⁶Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Goethes Werke* (Weimar: Hermann Böhlau Nachfolger, 1907), IV. Abteilung, 42. Band, 131.

⁷Henry August Pochmann, *German Literature in America (1600-1900)*, (Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1957), p. 570, n. 538.

⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 569-570, n. 537.

⁹*Ibid.*, p. 126.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, p. 491.

¹¹*Ibid.*, pp. 125-126.

¹²Freidel, p. 165, n. 55.

¹³Perry, pp. 134-135.

¹⁴Freidel, p. 76.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, p. 80.

¹⁶*Allgemeine deutsche Real-Encyclopaedie für die gebildeten Stände (Conversations-Lexikon)*, (Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1827-1829).

¹⁷Freidel, pp. 77.

¹⁸John Neal, "Encyclopaedia Americana," *North American Review*, 34 (1832), 262.

¹⁹Freidel, p. 68.

²⁰Francis Lieber, *Letters to a Gentleman in Germany* (Philadelphia: Carey, Lea & Blanchard, 1834). This review appeared two pages after page 356 in the left hand column.

²¹Pochmann, p. 125.

²²I arrived at this figure by checking through the indices to the 13 volumes. All German-sounding names were investigated.

²³Encyclopaedia Americana, ed. Francis Lieber, (Philadelphia: Carey, Lea & Carey, 1832-1835), V. 474.

²⁴Ibid., V, 474.

²⁵Ibid., V, 474.

²⁶Ibid., V, 474.

²⁷Ibid., V, 474.

²⁸Ibid., V, 474.

²⁹The articles are: "Common Law," "Constitution," "Cookery," "Cousin," "Dresden," "Greece," "Goethe," "Grotius," "Gymnastics," "Haller," "Hegel," "Immortality of the Soul," "Kant," "Macchiavelli," "Memory," "Montesquieu," "Mutual Instruction," "Napoleon," "Nibelungenlied," "Niebuhr," "Prisons," "Prison Discipline," and "Sand."

³⁰Americana, III, 512.

³¹See text to note 55.

³²Americana, VII, 305.

³³Ibid., IX, 276.

³⁴Ibid., IX, 277.

³⁵Ibid., V, 543.

³⁶Ibid., V, 545.

³⁷Ibid., V, 545.

³⁸Scott Holland Goodnight, German Literature in American Magazines Prior to 1846, in Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin, No. 188, Philology and Literature Series, Vol. 4, No. 1 (Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1907), p. 73.

³⁹Francis Lieber, Miscellaneous Writings, ed. Daniel C. Gilman, 2 vols. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1881).

⁴⁰Ibid., I, 82-148.

⁴¹Ibid., I, 389-410.

⁴²Lewis R. Harley, Francis Lieber, His Life and Political Philosophy (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1899), p. 173.

⁴³Frank Luther Mott, *A History of American Magazines, 1741-1850*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1957). See indices under "Lieber."

⁴⁴Francis Lieber, "Turkey," *North American Review*, 31 (1830), 291-308.

⁴⁵Perry, p. 89.

⁴⁶Francis Lieber, "German Association of Naturalists and Physicians," *North American Review*, 31 (1830), 84-95.

⁴⁷Perry, p. 81.

⁴⁸Freidel, p. 178.

⁴⁹Lieber, *Miscellaneous Writings*, I, 499.

⁵⁰Freidel, p. 178.

⁵¹*Ibid.*, p. 178.

⁵²Goodnight, p. 100.

⁵³*Ibid.*, p. 299.

⁵⁴*Ibid.*, p. 100.

⁵⁵Julia Ward Howe, "Dr. Francis Lieber," *The Critic*, 2 (1832), 352.

⁵⁶Francis Lieber, *Manual of Political Ethics*, 2 vols. (Boston: C.C. Little & J. Brown, 1838). See Howe, *The Critic*, 2 (1832), 352.

⁵⁷Freidel, pp. 243-244, n. 43.

⁵⁸Perry, p. 106.

⁵⁹Edward L. Pierce, ed., *Memoirs and Letters of Charles Sumner* (Boston: Roberts Bros., 1893), p. 144.

⁶⁰Mortimer L. Schwartz and John C. Hogan, ed., *Joseph Story* (New York: Oceana, 1959), pp. 80-81.

⁶¹Pochmann, p. 577, n. 558.

⁶²Perry, p. 105.

⁶³Ralph Waldo Emerson and Waldo Emerson Forbes, ed., *Journals of Ralph Waldo Emerson* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1912), VII, 459.

⁶⁴Edward Everett Hale, James Freeman Clarke (Cambridge, Mass.: Riverside, 1891), p. 64.

⁶⁵Karl Goedeke, Grundriss zur Geschichte der Deutschen Dichtung aus den Quellen, 2nd ed., herausgegeben von Herbert Jacob (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1964), XV, 584.

⁶⁶Heinrich Armin Rattermann, "Franz Lieber," German American Annals, 2 (1904), 711.

⁶⁷Perry, p. 59.

⁶⁸Ibid., p. 60.

⁶⁹Jean Paul Friedrich Richter, Jean Pauls Sämtliche Werke, Historisch-kritische Ausgabe, ed. Eduard Berand (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1955), 3. Abteilung, 8. Band (Briefe 1820-1825), 270.

⁷⁰Freidel, p. 47.

⁷¹"Nachgelassene Gedichte von Franz Lieber," Der Deutsche Pionier, 11. Jahrg., Heft 9 (December, 1879), 330.

⁷²Perry, pp. 176-177.

⁷³Heinrich Armin Rattermann, "Franz Lieber," German American Annals, 3 (1905), 6. Lines 8 & 9 were published in reverse order.

⁷⁴Freidel, pp. 418-421.

⁷⁵Ibid., p. 420.

GERMAN-AMERICAN RESEARCH

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Valley and is seeking data and
materials.