

LETTERS OF CHRISTOPH DANIEL EBELING
TO REV. DR. WILLIAM BENTLEY OF SALEM, MASS.
AND TO OTHER AMERICAN CORRESPONDENTS

EDITED BY WILLIAM COOLIDGE LANE
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CHRISTOPH DANIEL EBELING, Professor of Greek and of History in the Gymnasium of Hamburg, and in his later years Librarian of the City Library, is still a figure of some consequence in the eyes of American scholars, although more than one hundred years have passed since his death. He had the keenest interest in all that pertained to America, his zeal in collecting American publications and books on America and in maintaining connections with American correspondents was unflagging, and the painstaking industry and conscientious pursuit of accuracy with which he devoted himself for over twenty years to his Geography and History of America are beyond all praise. In the Harvard Library his name is almost daily on our lips, for the great collection of Americana (books and newspapers and maps), a collection which was the dearest object of his life for many years, was bought after his death by Israel Thorndike, a Boston merchant, and was given by him to the Harvard Library. With the possible exception of the bequests of Rev. John Lightfoot, learned Orientalist, and of Theophilus Gale, theologian and philologist, and of the eight great chests of books sent to us by Sir John Maynard of Lincoln's Inn in the third quarter of the seventeenth century, all of which were swept away by the fire of 1764, Thorndike's gift was the most considerable



PORTRAIT OF CHRISTOPH D. EBELING, BY P. SUHR

and the most important which the Library had ever received, for it placed the Harvard Library easily at the head of American libraries of that time as to Americana. Ebeling's collection of American newspapers of the later years of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth, which he had bound in some three hundred folio volumes, is still probably the most precious collection of American papers of that date in existence. Details in regard to his life, his correspondence and his collection still claim our interest.

Of Ebeling himself I can set down what the biographical dictionaries tell us (the *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* and Schröder's *Lexikon der hamburgischen Schriftsteller*, 1854); but his own letters furnish additional facts regarding his daily life and his writings and give occasional vivid glimpses of the man and his wide acquaintance with German literature and theology.

Ebeling was born at Garmissen near Hildesheim, Nov. 20, 1741. In 1763 he entered the University of Göttingen intending to devote himself to theology and the ministry, but found himself more drawn to the study of history and literature and of the English language, of which, as well as of the ancient languages, he became very fond. An increasing deafness which unfitted him for pastoral work confirmed him in these pursuits. In 1767 he was employed as a tutor in Leipzig, but in 1769 he took a position as teacher in a commercial academy (*handlungsakademie*) in Hamburg. The next year, in co-operation with J. G. Büsch, he became director of this academy, and continued in this office until 1794 or later.

In 1784 he was appointed professor of history and of the Greek language in the Gymnasium of Hamburg. Some idea of the character of his instruction and of the spirit in which it was conducted may be got from the "*Index . . . actorum et . . . agendorum*," of the Hamburg Gymnasium for 1789, a copy of which

he sent to his friend Rev. William Bentley in Salem. In this publication each professor states (in Latin) within the compass of a page or page and a half the substance of the courses he has been giving and proposes to give.

Ebeling's principal public course at this time was designed to give a useful knowledge of free states, especially the Italian states, to study by what laws they were controlled, preserved and increased, by what institutions their liberty was strengthened and asserted, by what counsels or vices they fell. It was made plain that no warlike state, no seditious state, could be blessed, and that those only could be called happy which were well controlled, were distinguished by reverence for law and were devoted without reserve to the pursuit of peace. In the coming year he was to turn to current affairs and treat of the new states then springing up almost daily under new forms.

In his private instruction he had expounded the present condition of kingdoms and republics and had brought down the history of literature and science to modern times. He would continue in the same rich field the coming year and would also treat the history of the German Empire. His public lectures were given from nine to ten o'clock, each morning.

Among the other professors whose work is described we find Johannes Georgius Buesch, Johannes Henricus Vincentius Noelting, and Johannes Albertus Henricus Reimarius—names which we shall find referred to from time to time in his letters. The pamphlet is inscribed "Summe Reverendo Bentleio C. D. E."

In 1800 he added the post of librarian of the city library to his other duties. For the last ten years of his life he was completely deaf. He died June 20, 1817. Benevolent and rejoicing in his rich stores of knowledge he was at the same time a strict man of business and was beloved by all.

The list of his published works given in Schröder covers thirty-eight items. Those which are most

closely related to his American studies are the following:

Amerikanische Bibliothek. Herausgegeben von C. D. Ebeling, Aufseher der Handlungsakademie in Hamburg. 1^{er}-4^{es} Stück. Leipzig. 1777-78. pp. 428 [628] (1).

This comprises translations of various political, descriptive, and statistical pamphlets relating to America, and includes, also, Washington's Diary of 1753, the charters of the several colonies, and notices of books, maps, etc.

The Harvard Library has Ebeling's copy, with his annotations.

Handlungsbibliothek, herausgegeben von J. G. Büsch und C. D. Ebeling, Professoren am Gymnasium und Vorstehern der Handlungsakademie. 1^{er}-3^{er} Band (each in four parts). Hamburg. 1785-1797.

Contains articles, the greater part by the editors, on commercial, financial, and economic subjects.

Christoph Daniel Ebelings Professors der Geschichte und griechischen Sprache am Hamburgischen Gymnasium Erdbeschreibung und Geschichte von Amerika. Die vereinten Staaten von Nordamerika. 1^{er}-7^{er} Band. Hamburg. 1793-1816.

I. New Hampshire, Massachusetts. 1793. (2d ed., increased from 1135 to 1519 pages, 1800.)

II. Rhode Island, Connecticut, Vermont, New York. 1794.

III. New York, New Jersey. 1796.

IV. Pennsylvania. 1797.

V. Delaware, Maryland. 1799.

VI. Pennsylvania (enlarged). 1803.

VII. Virginia. 1816.

The last volume is dedicated to William Bentley, Samuel Miller, Samuel Latham Mitchill, Henry St. George Tucker.

The Harvard Library has two of Ebeling's copies and an additional copy of the first volume (2^e Auflage) bound in two parts. The first copy of the whole work, in seven volumes, has a few marginal notes and interlineations here and there in the hand of the author. In the first volume is inserted a letter from Sieveking, to whom with Voght the volume was dedicated.

The second copy was evidently designed for annotations and additions, but in fact has but few notes, except in the second volume which is copiously annotated. All the volumes in this copy are printed on large sheets folded in such a way that half the pages have very wide margins. The second, third, fourth

and fifth volumes are, in addition, interleaved. Vol. I (second edition) is in two volumes; II is in three; III, IV, V, and VII are in two volumes each.

A third copy, received in the Warden Library in 1823, has additional title-pages throughout bearing the title "Büsching's Erdbeschreibung, Dreizehnter Theil." Vols. II-VI have a *third* title-page, "Büsching's Erdbeschreibung, Siebenter Theil," which changes in Vol. VII to "Achter Theil." It is difficult to trace any reason for this complexity, but it may be recognized as characteristic of German publications particularly of this period.

Amerikanisches Magazin, oder authentische Beiträge zur Erdbeschreibung, Staatskunde und Geschichte von Amerika, besonders aber der vereinten Staaten.

Herausgegeben von Professor Hegewisch in Kiel und Professor Ebeling in Hamburg. 1^{er} Band. Hamburg. 1797.

1^{es} Stück, 1795. pp. 189

2^{es} Stück, 1796. pp. 166

3^{es} Stück, 1796. pp. 200

4^{es} Stück, 1797, pp. 184

The articles ascribed directly to Ebeling include translations from Tench Coxe's Survey of the United States, from the Proceedings of Congress, and notes on the life of Baron Steuben; but his hand is doubtless also to be seen in the tables of exports from the United States, the list of schools and colleges in the United States, the reviews of books, notices of deaths, and notes on current affairs.

Ebeling's copy, with MS corrections and notes is in the Harvard Library.

Magazin für die Kunde und neueste Geschichte der ausser-europäischen Länder und Völker. Herausgegeben von C. D. Ebeling Professor der Geschichte am Gymnasium und Bibliothekar der Stadtbibliothek zu Hamburg, und F. Herrmann Professor in Lübeck. 1^{es}-2^{es} Heft. Hamburg. 1817.

A third number was issued in 1818, but Ebeling's name on the title-page is replaced by that of K. F. A. Hartmann, Professor in Hamburg. Each number is in two parts, one devoted to America, the other to Oriental lands. The Harvard copy is from Bentley's library through the American Antiquarian Society.

Ebeling's other publications include a number of volumes for school use, "Vermischte Aufsätze," or prose selections in English, Italian, French, Spanish,

and Dutch, each issued in several successive editions; also translations into German of many more or less important works, such as Sneedorf's "Patriotischer Zuschauer," from the Danish (1769-1772, 4 vols.), Chastellux, "Essai sur l'union de la poésie et de la musique," Charles Burney's "Present state of music in France and Italy, or the Journal of a tour through those countries" (1771), Andrew Burnaby's "Travels through the middle settlements in North America" (1775), Dr. William Hunter's "Concise account of the kingdom of Pegu" (1787), and Elisha Trapaud's "Short account of the Prince of Wales's Island in the East Indies" (1790), the last two being volumes of a "Neue Sammlung von Reisebeschreibungen," in ten parts, edited by him from 1780 to 1790. In 1777 he published Karl Christoph Pfluer's "Reisen durch Spanien, aus dessen Handschriften herausgegeben,"¹ and he edited by himself or in conjunction with others sundry other works—a revised and enlarged edition of G. C. Bohn's "Wohlerfahner Kaufmann," 1789, G. F. A. Wendeborn's "Vorlesungen über die Geschichte des Menschen," 1807, and his "Erinnerungen aus seinem Leben," 1813. He prepared many articles for Ersch und Grüber's Encyclopädie, and contributed frequent reviews to the *Neuer Hamburgische Zeitung*, the *Allgemeine Litteratur-Zeitung* and the *Allgemeine Deutsche Bibliothek*; essays and poems to the journal, *Unterhaltungen*, published in Hamburg from 1767 to 1770, and his "Versuch einer auserlesenen musikalischen Bibliothek" in the 10th volume of the same periodical. His special interest in geography led him to publish reports and descriptions of new maps either separately or in periodicals. One of his letters speaks of his preparing in collaboration with Klopstock a German translation of the text of Handel's Messiah.

Of Ebeling's letters to his American correspondents

¹The Harvard Library possesses a collection of papers, mostly in Spanish relating to the history of Paraguay in the 18th century, described as "Pfluer's Samlungen über Paragay," which probably came to it with Ebeling's library.

enough remain to give some idea of his life and surroundings, of the troubled years following the French Revolution, and of the pains he took to get reliable material upon which to base his *History of America*. His correspondence was frequently interrupted by the lack of communication with America incident to the closing of the Elbe, to the activities of English privateers and the occupation of Hamburg by the French. There is consequently more or less repetition in his letters, as is natural when the writer does not learn for many months whether previous letters have reached their destination.

The following are the letters of Ebeling which I have examined or of which I have knowledge.

1. A letter, dated June 26, 1794, to President Stiles of Yale College. The original is in Harvard College Library. (MS. Amer. 823).
2. Letters to Rev. Jeremy Belknap, 1794-1798. In the Belknap Papers, Mass. Hist. Soc. Some are printed in the Collections, Sixth series, Vol. IV, 1891.
3. Letters to Rev. William Bentley of Salem, 1795-1817. These were given to the Harvard Library by Dr. Bentley's nephew, William B. Fowle of Boston, in 1844. Mr. Fowle believed them to include all that related to the book intercourse of his uncle with Professor Ebeling. These letters are bound together in a single volume (MS. Amer. 576). Two other letters to Bentley, dated January 3, and May 24, 1817 are preserved in the Library of the American Antiquarian Society.
4. Letters to Joel Barlow, four in number, 1795 to 1812, among the Barlow papers in Harvard College Library.
5. Letters to Rev. John Eliot, Corresponding Secretary of the Mass. Hist. Soc. 1799-1810. Bound with others in a volume of Letters labelled "C. S. M. H. S. 1792-1811." in the Mass. Hist. Soc.

In the Pickering Papers in the Mass. Hist. Soc. there are letters to Timothy Pickering, then Secretary of State, from the American Consul at Hamburg, 12 April, 1797, written on behalf of Ebeling, and letters from Pickering to the Consul, Nov. 25, 1797 and March 28, 1798, with other letters to correspondents at home, soliciting books for Ebeling.

6. A letter to Professor Joseph McKean of Harvard University, dated June 11, 1817. Recently presented to the Harvard Library. It contains references to previous letters.

That Ebeling had a tolerably wide circle of correspondents may be gathered from the letters which remain. Besides those named above, we find the following persons mentioned here and there in the letters,—most of them well-known characters of the time in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Charleston:—Noah Webster, Mathew Carey, John Ormrod, Dr. Benjamin Smith Barton, David Ramsay, Timothy Pickering, Jedidiah Morse, Abiel Holmes, Jacob Crowninshield, Isaiah Thomas and Oliver Fiske, Samuel Miller, Dr. Samuel Latham Mitchill, Judge St. George Tucker, Bishop Madison, Charles Gheguiere of Baltimore, Dr. Henry E. Muhlenberg, theologian and botanist, and perhaps others. President Willard of Harvard University was evidently of the number, for the Harvard Library received among Ebeling's books a copy of the Order of Exercises for Commencement in 1794, which had been sent to him by President Willard. It is interesting to note that this copy which came back to us from Hamburg is the only copy of this sheet which has survived in the possession of the University. The same is true of a copy of the earliest Catalogue of the Phi Beta Kappa Society (1806), a copy which some American friend sent to Ebeling.

In the following pages I try to give the substance of his letters, partly in abstract and partly by quotation; omitting in general what he has to say about European political conditions²; but including some of his remarks about German books and authors and stressing mainly his efforts to get reliable sources of information for his American History, his eagerness to oblige his American correspondents by sending them over books from Germany in return for what they were sending

²Portions of Ebeling's letters relating to the political conditions of Europe in his time are printed in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, May, 1926.

him, and the glimpses of his daily life which the letters reveal.

Professor Ebeling's English is that of a foreigner and by no means faultless, but it is expressive and has a charm of its own, marked by occasional original words and phrases, reminiscent of French and German forms. I have made no changes in his language or spelling except in two or three minor points. He commonly writes *to* for *too*, *than* for *then*, and *sent* for *send*. These words I have changed, and I have not hesitated to correct obvious slips of the pen. His use of capitals I have followed in general, but I have mended his punctuation when the change would facilitate reading.

Most of the books and maps spoken of by Ebeling as received from his American correspondents are now on the shelves of the Harvard Library. Many of those which he sent to his friend Dr. Bentley in Salem have also found their way to the Harvard Library in recent years, through exchanges with the American Antiquarian Society to which Bentley bequeathed a part of his library. The former, when mentioned in the notes, are designated by an asterisk, the latter by two asterisks, to avoid a constant repetition of the statement of their source and history.

The earliest letter in the series is the long and interesting one to President Stiles, which was printed in the Massachusetts Historical Society Collections, Second series, VIII, 270-275 (1819) where it may readily be consulted, so that no more than a mere abstract is needed here. It was accompanied by a letter of commendation from Joel Barlow, then resident in Hamburg, dated May 27, 1794, in which he speaks of Professor Ebeling as a "gentleman of great eminence in literature, philosophy and republican principles." Barlow's letter is likewise printed in the Mass. Hist. Soc. Collections, and the two letters are accompanied by an editorial note by Jared Sparks.³

³The original manuscript of Ebeling's letter, a copy of Barlow's in the hand of Jared Sparks, and the manuscript of Sparks's editorial note, were presented to the Harvard Library in 1861 by Dr. Winslow Lewis of Boston who had lately acquired them by purchase.

TO EZRA STILES, PRESIDENT OF YALE COLLEGE

JUNE 26, 1794.

[The author sends to his correspondent the first volume of his "Description and History," and having found great difficulty in obtaining reliable information on Rhode Island and Connecticut, begs President Stiles to favor him with his advice "especially in indicating to me those sources of information I was unacquainted with." He describes in detail the plan and extensive scope of his work for which he had begun to collect materials twenty years before, and upon which he was to be engaged until his death more than twenty years later.]

I confess it is an arduous task I undertook, but I was incited to persevere by the animating beauty of the object, the many imperfect and false accounts Europe has of your country, and the possible good effect which a faithful picture of a truly free republic founded upon the most solid foundations, could produce in the most part of Europe, so very remote from such happiness as you enjoy. I even dared to flatter myself that my book could in some way contribute to rectify those mistaken ideas of liberty, which begin to prevail in two equally destructive manners, viz. as French libertinism, or English, German, and Russian despotism, have been instrumental in forming them.

[When he has covered the fifteen states of the Union and the western country, he intends to add a separate, general volume on the United States as a whole, to cover Spanish America in three volumes and the other European colonies in three or four more. (In fact he succeeded in completing the New England and Middle States, but got no further than Virginia to which his seventh volume was devoted.)]³

³President Stiles replied in a long letter covering 60 quarto pages, dated February 20 and finished April 13, 1795; but this was too late to be of use for Ebeling's second volume which was finished, as stated in a note on p. 1135, March 12, 1795.

The original Ms. of President Stiles's reply came to the Library with Ebeling's books in 1818. This and the letters from Ebeling and Barlow are now bound together in one slender volume (Ms. Amer. 823).

The map collection of the Harvard Library also has a copy of Doolittle's map, "Connecticut. From the best authorities," which was sent by President Stiles to Ebeling. On the back Ebeling has noted "adapted to the ancient History of Connecticut by the Rev. Dr. Ezra Stiles, President of Yale College, New-haven, 1794." A Ms. note on the front in Stiles's hand states that the map has been colored to show the Connecticut Colony and its connections, the New Haven Colony and its connections, and the Wilderness in 1640.

TO REV. JEREMY BELKNAP

SEPTEMBER 20, 1794.

Printed in the Belknap Papers, vol. III. (Sixth Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., IV. 579-584.)

Synopsis. Gratitude for gifts received and appreciation of Belknap's American Biography and History of New Hampshire. Other books and gazettes he desires to obtain. The Dutch and French translations of his America. Partiality and unreliability of Peter's Connecticut. American correspondents to whom he has written and questions he means to lay before them. Severe fire in Boston and new methods for extinguishing fires. European war news.

TO REV. JEREMY BELKNAP

JUNE 6 AND JUNE 28, 1795.

Two letters, printed in the Belknap Papers, vol. III. (Sixth Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., IV. 594-601.)

Synopsis. A box of books and maps sent off with haste. Thanks to Mr. Freeman, Mr. Morse and Mr. Pearson for favors received. Letters and books received from Dr. Belknap. Thanks to the Massachusetts Historical Society for the honor of membership. Will attempt to gather and send German books on American history. Receipt of President Stiles's manuscript account of Connecticut. Barlow recommends a young Englishman to translate the America into English. Offers to sell copies of Belknap's books. American news and newspapers much delayed, the ship having been saved from the ice by Helgolanders who had not yet come to terms about delivery. European news. List of books and maps sent. Account of the review of Belknap's American Biography in the "Götting. Anzeiger."

TO REV. WILLIAM BENTLEY, OF SALEM

JUNE 28, 1795.

REVEREND SIR

Some time ago I did myself the honor to send you a copy of the second volume of my Geography of America, as I knew you possess the first and read our language. I hope you have received the Book and beg you will accept of it, as a mark of

my esteem. I was obliged to send my box to Mr. Muller so abruptly that I was not able to accompany my Book with a letter. The present is intended to make good that fault.

I should think myself very happy if you would do me the honor to read my book and mark out the many faults I necessarily must have committed by want of materials if not by my own inadvertence or incapacity. Many I have already found out, but there will remain still more unknown to me. I have already the new Description of Worcester County,¹ Williams excellent Book on Vermont² and am in hopes to get Sullivan's Description of Main.³ The excellent collection of the historical Society will afford me a great many materials for enlargement and emendations in a second Edition which I am preparing. If it appears, I shall not fail to send you a better Copy, as I desired the Bookseller to have it better printed than the present.

You will be forbearing enough, Reverend Sir, to pardon my boldness if I required too much of you. I should not wish at all to encroach upon your time, or to hurry your Review of my Book when you think it worth your criticism. If ever so short and severe I shall be very thankfull and not forgett to acknowledge publickly the favour you did me, which is the greater a benefait as it was bestowed upon an unknown stranger. But the Americans are praised for their Hospitality. This is also the reason that will apologize for my unelegant and uncorrect stile.

I have the honor to be with great respect Reverend Sir Your most obedient Servant. My Book was directed to Messrs. Matthias Muller and Kähler at Boston.

C. D. EBELING.

¹Peter Whitney. The history of the county of Worcester . . . With a geographical description of the same. Worcester, I. Thomas, 1793.* Inscribed "Professor Ebeling of the Great College at Hamburgh, from his very respectful humble serv^t Jed^h Morse. May 1794."

²Samuel Williams. The natural and civil history of Vermont. Walpole, N. H. 1794.*

³James Sullivan. The history of the district of Maine. Boston, 1795.* Ebeling's copy in the Harvard Library lacks the map; but the Harvard map collection has a Ms. copy (in Ebeling's hand) of Osgood Carleton's map, "The District of Main from the latest Surveys," 1793.

TO JOEL BARLOW

SEPT. 15, 1795.

DEAR CITIZEN

I must follow you to the other world if you go thither, why not to Paris¹, where we liked to go to, when we were sitting talking together in my Room here? You are well I hope. Mr. Ziegler who brings you this letter, a very worthy young man, whom you remember to have seen at our Academy will tell you how I do. Well enough, and even better than I deserve.

I am allways in our dear beloved America. If a volume of my book was finished I should send it you. But I shall not fail to do it as soon it is ready. So I send you very soon my American magazine, whereof I expect the first part every day from Leipsic where it is printed.

From America I have still many letters but am very unfortunate with Philadelphians. Our worthy President Stiles is no more. Mr. Morse² wrote me that he died in March after a short illness. I sat just down to write him, when I got the Letter, and had allready begun another for our deceased friend for whom I had many Talmudical Books he desired me to buy for him. It is not interest that made me wish him a longer life tho' I loose much.

Mr Dwight his successor is certainly the same who wrote the Conq of Canaan, and Greenfield Hill³. He is certainly a poet worth of praise. Perhaps you will blame me, when I say that I prefer Greenf. Hill to Canaan; and really I am blameable be-

¹Barlow had come over from America in 1788 and since that year had lived at times in France, at times in England, making frequent business trips to other parts of Europe. In May 1794 he had visited Hamburg where he formed a warm friendship with Ebeling. In a letter to Dr. Belknap, September 20, 1794, Ebeling wrote: "The friendship of the worthy Mr. Barlow, from Connecticut, who lives now at Altona, next our town, is very dear and useful to me. He gives me many instructions about your country, and its history in modern times." In the autumn of 1795 Barlow had returned to Paris and was soon to undertake the difficult mission to the Dey of Algiers.

²Jedidiah Morse of Charlestown, Mass., the "American Geographer" and author of the "American Universal Geography," the "American Gazetteer" and other works. Ebeling frequently speaks of him but has no very high opinion of his books.

³Timothy Dwight, President of Yale College, 1795-1817. His *Conquest of Canaan** was published in 1785 and *Greenfield Hill** in 1794. Ebeling has written on the fly-leaf of the former: "The author was born in Northampton in Massachusetts. In 1795 he was still a minister at Greenfield where he had an Academy. After Dr. Stiles's Death he was called by the _____ to succeed him as president. He is a man of learning and has an amiable character. (Barlow)"

cause I read the one attentively and not the other (but only *raptim*) and yet dare to pronounce a judgement.

[After relating the last exciting events in Europe and in Hamburg, he returns to American affairs.]

What do you say of Jay's Treaty? We solemnly burn him in effigy, as they do even at New York. Our friend Webster will not fail to defend him.⁴ I see its preambles in his last papers. I should like, he was *defensible*.

How much do I feel your absence and the want of your instructive conversation! My third part will resent itself thereof. I am now wandering thro New Jersey, almost without a guide. Carey's new Geography⁵ has very good supplements to Morse in Pennsylvania, Maryland, North Carolina, but none in New York and New Jersey.

I wish to hear soon of you and your Lady. You arrived save, you are well, found many of your friends at Paris and live there à souhait. So it ought to be, or this world is not the best. I should not maintain it to be so, because I am loaded with grief in my family, tho' I have none properly speaking. How happy were we without sickness, death, passions, Kings, and wars! Yet vive la Republique!

Salut et prospérité

C. D. E.

I say nothing of my respects to your Lady. Cela s'en va sans dire. You will suppose that for ever. Otherwise you will doubt also my friendship and my wishes for yours, because I did not mention it.

Mr Ziegler will deliver you a map which belongs to those of Germany you have. The others are not yet out.

⁴Noah Webster, the dictionary maker, long a friend and correspondent of Barlow's. In 1793, Webster had become the editor of a new daily newspaper in New York, the "American Minerva" (afterwards the "New York Commercial Advertiser") established for the defense of Washington's administration. In this paper, under the signature of *Curtius*, he published in twelve numbers his "Vindication of the treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation with Great Britain. These letters were reprinted in a compilation published by Mathew Carey entitled "Treaty of amity commerce and navigation . . . to which is annexed a copious appendix, Philadelphia, Aug. 12, 1795," 16°. pp. 194-275; and in the "Second edition, Philadelphia, Nov. 2, 1795,"* 8° pp. 58-108. Ebeling had scattering numbers of the "American Minerva" from March 1795, to October 1796; but none of the numbers now among the Ebeling newspapers contain the "Curtius" letters.

*He probably refers to William Guthrie's "A new system of modern geography." First American edition. Philadelphia, Mathew Carey, 1794-95. 2 vols. 4**

Mr Sotzman⁶ and my map of Connecticut is ready and by a proof sheet I find it is very well done as to the most possible exactitude (as far as we can judge) as to design and engraving. I shall send it you soon. A Jove principium, we begin with your mother country!

TO JOEL BARLOW

MARCH 16, 1796.

DEAR SIR

It is so late that I heard of our Friend Mr Sieveking's¹ departure for Paris, that I have only a few moments left to tell you that I am still alive, that I love you as heartily as ever, and that I hope you are savely returned from your self chose slavery at Algiers. Mr St John,² who is well with us, and whose friendship makes me happy as well as his instructive conversations is very usefull to me, does me the honor to see me sometimes, tho' not so often as I wish. I fear he is anxious to keep me from my work.³

I have been sickly, and lived mostly at home since your departure. My America advances slowly, I am now in the Back parts of Pennsylvania. As soon as the 3 volume is complete (it is nearly so) I shall send you it; but please to inform me to which place I shall direct it. You gave me hope to return once more to Hambrough, but you went to look for Freedom in Algiers as if it was not to be found as well in Hamburg as there.⁴

My Correspondence with America is increasing, but not *immense* as Professor Cramer⁵ now at Paris, had published. The death of Mr President Stiles I knew from Mr Morse the

⁶See the footnote on p. 289.

¹Georg Heinrich Sieveking, a prosperous Hamburg merchant of a prominent and influential family. He had been a pupil of Ebeling's at the Handelsakademie, and was one of the group that hailed the French Revolution with enthusiasm. He visited America in 1811 (see page 408) and was active in trying to turn American trade toward Hamburg.

²St. John de Crèvecoeur had sought refuge from Paris in Altona, a suburb of Hamburg, in May, 1795, and remained there until April, 1796, when it was considered safe for him to return to France.

³i. e. anxious lest he keep me from my work.

⁴Barlow left Paris for Algiers in January, 1796, and did not return to France from his troublesome negotiations with the Dey until September, 1797.

⁵Probably Karl Friedrich Cramer, 1752-1807, professor of Greek and Oriental languages at Kiel who, like Ebeling, had entertained high hopes of the beneficence of the French Revolution. In 1794, he lived for a short time in Hamburg, then moved to Paris with his family and became a bookseller.

same day when I was sitting down to write him. Mr Webster escaped the yellow fever happily.⁶ A translation of my America is now printing at Paris. The translator lives here and I gave him a great many corrections and additions whether he translates well I cannot say, but I know he is very diligent and carefull. He is a learned Frenchman Mr. Bassette.⁷

Before you leave this eastern world, you will, I hope write a few lines to your Friend.

Your Lady is well and did not accompany you into the sad abode of slavery. I wish you will give my respects to her.

I dont write you any political news, for we have none worth a philosophical thinking Friend of human kind. I am just writing on the American treaty, partly as an apology, partly as an impeachment of Mr Jay. No American treaty should even give up for a moment the essential rights of a free people to feed an other free people tho' this was at war with an enslaved one of Mr Pitt's making. But away with politics.

If you and your Lady only live happy and remember me, I shall be content. You know that I am and ever shall be yours. Salut et Fraternité⁸.

C. D. EBELING.

[Addressed]

A Joel Barlow
Citoyen d'Amérique
Consul général des Etats unis
à Algiers
par Paris et Marseille
par les soins des Citoyens Dallarde et Sivan
à Paris

⁶Noah Webster was living in Philadelphia in 1793 at the time of the yellow fever epidemic.

⁷In fact the French translation of Ebeling's work was never printed. A Dutch translation, by Y. van Hamelsveld, was published at Zwolle in 1796, four volumes. Ebeling mentions the French translation in letters to Belknap, Sept. 20, 1794, and June 28, 1795 (Sixth Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. IV. 582,596.) The final failure of his plan is recorded in a letter to Belknap, April 28, 1798. "The book I hope and fear will never be published. The bookseller at Paris and here quarrelled, and the translator with both, and for not to be involved I retired myself *en bon ordre*. A Dutch translation has appeared. I wished for an English or French only that my friends in America may be enabled to read my Geography and I may profit of their remarks and corrections." (*Ibid.* p. 622.)

⁸Among the Barlow papers in the Harvard Library is a long and detailed account of the University of Göttingen in Ebeling's hand. It was apparently inclosed in this letter, though the letter itself makes no reference to it.

TO DR. BENTLEY

APRIL 29, 1796.

REVEREND SIR

Captain Barr has been so kind as to deliver me himself your very obliging Letter of February 25th. with the valuable presents contained in the accompanying it. Allow me to give you my hearty thanks for your kindness. Most of them were new to me. Of Carey's Maps I had only a few, as I have *his* Geography¹ but without the maps. Howell's map² is excellent and I am now very busy in making use of it. That and Griffith's of Maryland³ I prefer to almost all other large maps of the U St. The newspapers were no less acceptable, as my other Correspondents in New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore had delayed for a long time to send me the papers of their place. I take the liberty to send you in return some books which I wish may be welcome to you. You will find amongst them only the first part of our best german Dictionary⁴; the second is just now finished but not yet here in town. I shall not fail to send it as soon as possible as also some of Eichhorn's and Michaelis's best works which I hope to get at an auction, as they are not to be found at present in the book-seller shops of this town. Some of them are quite out of print. A very good english and german Dictionary is now printing here, which will be finished next winter. *Adlungs* is the best [*marginal note*. Another good dictionary is not yet existing. His large in 5 volumes in quarto is too dear and too prolix.⁵], only that by his partiality to a certain class of Poets, many of the most expressive words of our best Poets as Klopstock, Count Stolberg and others are wanting. Büshings new

¹See note 5 on p. 285. In the map collection are several of Doolittle's maps, "for Carey's American edition of Guthrie's Geography improved."

Ebeling also had at this time or later, "Carey's American atlas," containing twenty maps and one chart. Philadelphia, 1795. f*. With Ebeling's autograph on the title-page.

²A map of the state of Pennsylvania, by Reading Howell. 1792. 4 sheets.*

³Map of the state of Maryland, . . . and the federal territory, as also a sketch of the state of Delaware. By Dennis Griffith. 1794.*

⁴Joh. Chr. Adelung's Grammatisch-Kritisches Wörterbuch der hoch-deutschen Mundart. Leipzig, 1793-1801. 4 vols.

⁵Adelung's Versuch eines vollständigen grammatisch-kritischen Wörterbuches der hochdeutschen Mundart. Leipzig, 1774-86. 5 vols.

edition⁶ coasts 30 [thalers] current which is not so much as 8 Dollars, at the present exchange. It comprises 11 volumes. I took the liberty to add the newest maps of Germany and the northern parts of Europe. I hope this year to publish the first volume of a critical Review of all maps existing, as far as came to my knowledge; we have fine collections here, and I have myself about 8 thousand.⁷ There is publishing now under my inspection a collection of Maps of America by the Geographer of the Academy at Berlin Mr. Sotzman an able mapmaker.⁸ Three are now in the Hand of the Engraver viz: (1.) *New Hampshire* according to Holland and Mr. Belknap (I have marked with* what is in Holland and seem's to be obsolete). (2.) *Vermont* after Whitelaw and Blodget. (3.) *Connecticut* after Blodget, Carey and two other maps published in Holland. 4. *Pennsylvania* according to Howell is to follow these, for I intend not to go on, before there exist in your country such maps as there are approved of as exact. I shall not fail to send these maps as they appear.

What is published of new Books in Philadelphia I get mostly not only for myself, but also for the University of Göttingen. Therefore I would beg you, Sir, to help me only in collecting those new Books which are published in the New England

⁶Anton Friedrich Büsching. *Erdbeschreibung, Theil I-X.* Hamburg, 1787-92.** The parts are of different editions from the 5th to the 8th. This is the series in which Ebeling's *Amerika* was issued as the 13th part.

⁷The foundation of Ebeling's map collection was that of Georg Friedrich Brandes, who died in 1792. Ebeling acquired this collection soon after Brandes's death and by 1794 had begun to add to it steadily.

⁸D. F. Sotzmann. *Amerikanischer Atlas, auch zu Büschings Erdbeschreibung von Amerika, von Ebeling.* Hamburg, 1796-1810. 10 sheets. The Harvard Library has no copy of the Atlas, but it has all the maps as separate sheets, two or three copies of several of them. All are lettered,—“Entworfen von D. F. Sotzmann. Hamburg, bey Carl Ernst Bohn. P. Schmidt sc. Berlin.” They are numbered as follows:

[I?] Vermont (lettered XVI) 1796. II. New Hampshire. 1796. III. Massachusetts. Undated. IV. Maine. 1798. V. Rhode Island. 1797. VI. Connecticut. 1796. VII. New York. 1799. VIII. New Jersey. 1797. IX. Pennsylvania. 1797. X. Maryland and Delaware. 1797. Apparently Virginia was never engraved. Later letters show that Ebeling found difficulty in getting the material.

In a letter to Belknap, Oct. 1, 1796, he wrote: “As soon as six maps are completed, I shall join a memoir giving an account of the materials and authors made use of in the construction of each map. The county division in New Hampshire is taken from your map. Connecticut is particularly taken from Blodget's and De Barres's map. Now there are engraved Vermont, Pennsylvania (according to Howell), and Maryland from Griffith. (Sixth Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. IV, 608.)

Although the maps were later issued in atlas form, the introductory memoir apparently was never written.

States, Vermont included. Mr. Noah Webster furnishes me with Books from New York. Mr. Carey, Mr. Ormrod and the very kind Dr Smith Barton with those from Philadelphia and the southern States.⁹ Dr. Ramsay¹⁰ was also exceedingly obliging to me in procuring me some valuable materials. How much I owe to the great goodness of the Rev. Dr. Belknap¹¹ and many other members of the Historical Society, you will know allready. I have no words to praise their kindness. Dr. Morse also furnished me with many materials¹², and I was happy to send him something about Europe for his Book. I regret only that he does not understand our language. I have sent him the most necessary and best books on Statistical matters of Europe, some in french, which I suppose he reads. Criticism on his work I wish may not irritate him, but rather incite him to correct, amend and supply his Book. I wrote him that I thought a Geographer should wish that in every place of the lands he describes there was a very severe but exact and just Reviewer of his Book. No kind of literary composition is more subject to errors. Perhaps he indulges too

⁹Mathew Carey, publisher and bookseller in Philadelphia from 1784 to his death in 1839. John Ormrod was a bookseller in Philadelphia during the last decade of the eighteenth century. Dr. Benjamin Smith Barton, 1766-1815, had received his medical degree at Göttingen after preliminary studies in Edinburgh and London. Professor of natural history and botany (1789) and *materia medica* (1795) in the College of Philadelphia. In 1813 he became Professor of theory and practice in the University of Pennsylvania.

¹⁰Dr. David Ramsay, 1749-1815, a well known physician of Charleston and author of several works on the history of South Carolina and of the American Revolution.

¹¹Rev. Jeremy Belknap, 1744-1798, pastor of the Federal Street church in Boston from 1787 to his death, one of the founders of the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1791. Ebeling sent him many books and received many volumes in return.

¹²Rev. Jedidiah Morse, of Charlestown. Ebeling had many of his publications:
 The American geography. Elizabethtown, 1789.* Annotated freely by Ebeling.
 Elements of geography. Boston, Dec. 1795*.
 The American universal geography. Part I. 3d ed. Boston, June 1796*. With notes and memoranda in Ebeling's hand on the fly-leaves at the end.
Same. Part II. 2d ed. Boston, June 1796*.
Same. Part II. 3d ed. Boston, July 1801*.
Same. Part I. 5th ed. Boston, August 1805*.
Same. Vol. I. 6th ed. Boston, May 1812*.
 Geography made easy; being an abridgement of the American universal geography. 4th ed. Boston, 1794*. Inscribed "Professor Ebeling from The Author. May, 1794."
 The American Gazetteer. Boston, 1797*.
Same. 2d ed., revised. Boston, 1804*.
 An abridgment of the American gazetteer. Boston, June 1798*. Inscribed "Professor Ebeling from The Author."

much in general reflections on people and their Character. That is a very nice [i.e. difficult?] thing.

There is now printing a french translation of my Geography at Paris¹³. It would have been published allready, was it not for a quarrel of the Bookseller with another at Strasbourg who announced another translation. That of Paris has several corrections and additions of mine, as far as time allowed me to add; for the translator was very busy out of fear of being forestalled. I shall send some copies to my friends in America when it comes out.

Your communication and hints are very instructive to me, and I shall think myself happy if you will continue them whenever you are at leasure. I had written a little sketch of my american Library as far as belongs to New England to Dr. Belknap, which I will beg him to communicate to you that you may see what I have allready.

What I mostly wish for is

1. The New Laws of New Hampshire.
2. Those of your State. I have them down to 1795, page 491 Folio Edition.
3. Those of Rhode Island of which I have not been able to get any.
4. Those of Connecticut untill 1794, October 10th.
5. The new Map of Massachusetts, which you mention is preparing now.

Of the other new Books published in the last year I have *not* yet:¹⁴ Kent on Civil government

¹³See p. 287 note.

¹⁴Not all the titles can be easily identified. A part are as follows:

James Kent. *Dissertations: being the preliminary part of a course of law lectures.* New York, 1795.*

Zephaniah Swift. *A system of the laws of the state of Connecticut.* Windham, 1795-96. 2 vols.*

Ezra Stiles. *History of three of the judges of King Charles I.* Hartford, 1794*. Inscribed "From Judge Winthrop to W. B." Bentley must have sent it to Ebeling.

William Duke. *Observations on the present state of religion in Maryland.* Baltimore, 1795.

Thomas Reese. *An essay on the influence of religion in civil society.* Charleston, 1788.

Baltimore directory for 1796. By Thompson and Walker. Baltimore. (1796).

James Ellis. *A narrative of the rise, progress, and issue of the late lawsuits relative to property held and devoted to pious uses in the first precinct in Rehoboth.* Warren, R. I. 1795.

As to the "papers relative to the Bishop of Connecticut," see what is said of a volume of pamphlets from Bentley in Ebeling's letter of Sept. 7, 1799, p. 338.

Swift's System of Connecticut Laws
 Concise History of U States till 1795
 Prospects of the American war in 1771
 American army in the winter 1777
 Military System
 Stile's (my late worthy and uncommonly obliging correspondent's!) Life of the Three Judges
 Observations on the State of Religion in Maryland
 Reese on Religion in South Carolina
 Directory of Baltimore
 Minerals and Fossils of New York
 Ellis's History of Rehoboth
 Papers relative to the Bishop of Connecticut [Samuel Seabury]

If these were easily to be found at Salem you would oblige me very much by procuring me them. Mr Matthias Muller Merchant at Boston whom you know, will pay you the amount of them immediately.

I expect with much desire your remarks upon my Geography. Don't spare me. The admonitions of an intelligent Critic, however severe, are restorative balm to an Author, who feels his weakness. Many errors of mine I see allready, but far more are unknown to me. When I composed the description of Massachusetts I was deprived of that excellent collection of the Historical Society of which I shall make the best use I am able to in a second Edition, which seems to be near at hand. Many other instructive Books I have since got by Rev. Dr Belknap's singular kindness. The errors of the printer are very great.

[A list of a dozen or more errata follows, which it seems unnecessary to print at the present day.]

This only as a proof that I am not blind to my faults, and shall be obliged to you if you will point out others to me with out reserve.

I will be much obliged to you if you will continue to send me the "Salem Gazette." Mr. Muller sends me the "Centinell," but so seldom and so very defective that those you procured me were far more than a wished for supplement. I had only a

few of 1795 before these. The Massach. magazine¹⁵ I also get from him but his business prevents him to attend to such trifles and I have them mostly imperfect.

If the Journals of the Assembly and Senate are printed in any of the States of New England I should be glad to have them, if ever so dear, if only complete for some years at least, especially since the war.

I have begun an American Magazine,¹⁶ whereof I send you a copy. The second part is printing now. The first printed at Leipsic (where it is far more cheap than here) was printed shamefully incorrect, the revisor not understanding english. This you will excuse. Many faults are even in the german words.

I add a few titles of our newest books in divinity, philology of the Bible, etc. If you wish for any of them I can now and then get them cheaper in auctions as in the Bookseller's shops.

The haste which I was in to procure your Books made it impossible to have them bound as our Booksellers sell all unbound.¹⁷

I have the honour to be with much thankfulness and very great esteem

Reverend Sir

Your

much obliged and very humble

Servant

EBELING

[A list of about 20 titles, with critical remarks on the authors, follows.]

To DR. BENTLEY

OCTOBER 1, 1796.

REVEREND SIR

I hope my letter of May 2^d together with

Adelung's Dictionary V. I.

My Geography Vol. 3.

¹⁵Massachusetts magazine, or Monthly museum. Vol. I-VIII. Boston. 1789-96*.

¹⁶Amerikanisches Magazin, 1795-97. See the full title and brief description on p. 276.

¹⁷Apparently this is the letter of which Dr. Bentley records in his Diary, August 18, 1796 (II. 194),—"A long letter from Professor Ebeling lays me out a great scene of duty in providing Books in return for his donation, and in examining his work."

My American Magazine P. 1
and several other books which I took the liberty to send you in witness of my gratitude came save to hand; as the worthy Captain Barr was so kind to give them to a friend of his to bring them to Boston and from thence to you.

I now take the liberty to send you the second volume of the Dictionary as also 12 parts of Michaelis's *Oriental Library* (complete) and the second part of my Magazine which you will kindly accept of. I have added some german newspapers which perhaps may give you a better Idea of the unhappy war in Germany than the english tho' they are mostly as partial as these, for the liberty of the press is never more restricted than in newspapers with us.

If you occasionally will procure me of Salem newspapers or of such as your newspaper writer may throw away of Maine, Vermont, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Kentucky, the Carolinas, and Georgia (from the middle States I get them from New York, Philad. & Baltimore,) you will much oblige me by sending them to Mr. John Kähler, Merchant at Boston; who will at the same time pay all expenses incurred thereby. He sends me regularly the Boston Centinel.

What I wish particularly for is your remarks on my Book if you think it worth your attention. A new Edition will be required next year.

I shall be very glad if I can be serviceable to you in any way in my power and I have the honour to be with great esteem

Reverend Sir

Your

most obedient servant

C. D. EBELING.

TO DR. BELKNAP

OCTOBER 1, 1796.

Printed in the Belknap Papers, Vol. III. (Sixth Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., IV. 607-609.)

[The writer thanks Bentley for letters written almost a year before but received within a few days, for maps, and for the Collections of the Historical Society, "the only source wherein one *may drink deep*, as Pope says." He sends to the Society

the first five maps of his American Atlas, noting the sources drawn upon for each. He comments on the recent disastrous events in Europe and the devastation of southern Germany by the French who "always kept excellent discipline when victorious but not at all when routed" and by the "execrable barbarity" of the Austrians who never were restrained from pillage even when in a friend's land. He rejoices that France has saved the Hanse towns from subjugation by Prussia.]

TO DR. BENTLEY

LUNEBURG, JUNE 3, 1797.

[Dated at Lüneburg "35 miles from Hamburg," the writer being about to undertake a journey to the baths at Nenndorf¹ because he has suffered more than four months from arthritis. Acknowledges receipt of Bentley's letters of March 21 and 19. As to the box, Mr. Williams,² the American consul, "my neighbour whom I am bold to call my friend will procure it to be

¹Not far from Hannover, a part of the country with which Ebeling's family had been familiar. In a letter to Dr. Belknap, April 28, 1798 (Mass. Hist. Soc. VI. Coll. iv. 620) Ebeling says that his father had been "superintendent of the churches in Lüneburg preaching twice per week, visiting the sick ones throughout the large town."

²References to the friendly offices of Samuel Williams, the American Consul at Hamburg are frequent, and it is evident that Williams was actively helpful. Among the Pickering papers, in the Mass. Hist. Soc. is preserved a letter from Williams to Timothy Pickering, then Secretary of State (April 12, 1797) in which he states that Professor Ebeling's correspondents are so negligent in procuring and forwarding American books that he has been asked to get them through some of his friends. He asks the Secretary to give the enclosed list of books to a bookseller and guarantees payment. He observes that there are more frequent opportunities for shipment from Philadelphia (then the seat of government) than from Boston. He writes—"Mr. Ebeling is a worthy man, a warm friend of our Country, and wishes to write a faithful and accurate History of it. He has been greatly disappointed in procuring information. I wish to serve him."

Other letters among the Pickering papers show that Pickering followed up the search with personal letters. November 2, 1797 he wrote to Judge Iredell for a copy of his North Carolina Laws, and he notes that he wrote the same day to Col. Carrington for the Virginia Laws and to Baltimore for the documents wanted from Maryland. On November 25 he wrote to Williams that he had not yet been able to get the books and papers wanted by Ebeling, but that he will forward them as soon as he can. On March 28, 1798, a letter to Williams states that he is sending by the ship Philadelphia a copy of Iredell's Laws of North Carolina and enumerates other items sent by the same ship, among them a book and a letter for Mr. Ebeling. This copy of Iredell returned to America with Ebeling's collections in 1818 but is no longer to be found. The Library of the Law School has another copy.

Again on July 28, 1798 he wrote, addressing "Joseph Pitcairn, Consul at Hamburg," giving instructions as to delivery of several letters and packages to be sent on a Danish vessel sailing the next day. "I send you herewith two copies of the Instructions and dispatches one of which I beg you to present to Professor Ebeling with my respectful compliments."

brought to my house in my absence." Promises to send more books on his return.]

In the meantime I have made up a small parcell for you as far as could [be] done in haste containing (1) a Book of Dr Noesselt³ one of our worthiest Divines, which will show you the present state of our theological litterature down to 1793. The following years you will know (2) by the Gotha learned news papers⁴ It is one of our best, and certainly the most complete of all and very impartial. The other called *Jenaische Litteratur Zeitung*⁵ is likewise very good, but in all what regards philosophy very partial for the new Kantian System which tho' exceedingly subtil, metaphysical, and rich in new terminologies, invented by the great thinker Mr Kant for his new abstract and even paradoxical Ideas, and tho' scarce [i. e. almost?] unintelligible to any not very well versed in the Books of this Philosopher, yet has become the Philosophy à la mode in many universities (even roman catholick ones, because it has many likelinesses with the old scholastical) and even among ladies that all speak in Kantian Terms—without understanding them. Kant has several Sectaries, some of them clever Men worthy of their Master, many more only adhering to his terminology, without penetrating their true sense, which is often very nice and subtil, as fine distinctions and I may say dissections of Ideas are the force of the new Philosopher (a man living in old age at Königsberg where he was many years Professor, but begun to write only these 10 years ago)

The Göttingen learned newspaper is excellent for us, but not for foreigners, for it reviews mostly foreign Works. I shall continue to send you the Gotha Paper as I hear you wish for more ample accounts of our litterature. In my letters, if you will allow me the pleasure, I shall supply the lacunae of the Gotha paper. I am patriotical enough to wish you may have more learned men among you following your example. Much is written in Germany, far too much, but as there are more than

³Joh. August Nösselt, 1734–1807, professor of theology at Halle and author of many theological treatises. The book sent was probably his "Anweisung zur Kenntnis der besten theologischen Bücher," 3^e aufl., Leipzig, 1791.**

⁴The Gothaische gelehrte Zeitungen. The Harvard Library has an incomplete set from 1774 to 1804.** See also pp. 309, 372.

⁵See p. 335 note.

40 millions of people reading German as far as Moscow and Archangel to the north and Bern to the south, all finds its readers. And it must be confessed that there are many good and even excellent Books among the many.

It will be a great pleasure to me to procure you what you wish for out of our literature, and I shall send you soon catalogues of new Books. I send also political news papers of this year and shall not fail to continue.

[Has learned that the parcel of May 2 sent by Captain Barr has arrived and hopes the same is true of the three parcels mentioned in his letter of October 1, 1796, addressed to Mr. Kahler.]

I have got Dr Morse's new Edition from Philadelphia.⁶ He has not send it me, as he did with the second, and not written me since a long time. His part of Europe is I confess rather too defective and erroneous, which could have been avoided if he had read German and French. At his request I sent him our best geographical Books, others may have been procured from France about Spain, Italy and France itself. Hamburg certainly at present the second trading town in the World, containing at present at least 110,000 inhabitants, has found no place for a Description only being mentioned obiter with other Hanse towns or free towns of Germany. I shall send Dr Morse annotations if I shall not offend him by my liberty.

In my last part now printing and containing Pennsylvania and Delaware I could not make much use of his Geography, as he is not particular enough, and I take from the same sources of information with him, and from many german ones printed in Germany but written in America about Pennsylvania.

I should be very sorry if Rev Dr Belknap had not received the Catalogue of my american Library which I sent him, if I am not mistaken, by one Captain Smith last November.

I regret to leave a Correspondent allready to whom I owe so very much and have the honour to be with great gratitude.

Reverend Sir

Your

most obedient Servant.

C. D. EBELING.

⁶The third edition of Part I and the second of Part II, published June, 1796. See p. 290 note.

TO DR. BELKNAP

LUNEBURG, JUNE 4, 1797.¹

[Similar in substance to the letter of the previous day to Dr. Bentley. Mentions the parcels sent October 1, 1796; and now sends maps of the last theatre of war in Europe.]

We are happy to have peace in Germany tho' at the expense of the late aristocratical Republic of Venice and Genua.

TO DR. BENTLEY

JULY 11, 1797.

REVEREND SIR

I just returned this morning from a very effective journey to the Bath of Nendorf in Hassia, when I found two Boxes with Books and newspapers which I owe to your Kindness. I only could run thro' them in a hurry, and can assure You that almost all of the books were new to me. That they will be of great use to me is not doubtfull as You were the *selector* if I may hazard that word. Your inestimable letter full of instructions and advice must be studied, not only read. I had just finished with the latter, when the inclosed billet of our worthy Friend Mr. Williams was given me.

The hurry wherein I am, the accumululated business since five weeks absence makes it impossible to me to answer fully your letter, and to send some equivalent to your valuable books, pamphlets, and maps.

I only can send now

1. Büsching's newest Edition 10 volumes¹
2. Ammianus Marcellinus
3. Aeschylus as far as the only and best Edition in Germany is published. The continuation will appear certainly this year.²
4. Schleusner's Lexicon containing the best Selection of Interpretations of the greek N. T. extant in Germany
5. Less's Dogmatics³

¹Belknap papers. Mass. Hist. Soc.

²His "Neue Erdbeschreibung," in course of publication since 1754.

³The edition of C. G. Schütz, 3 volumes, Halle, 1782-97.

*Gottfried Less. Probably his "Handbuch der christlichen Religions-theorie für Aufgeklärter, oder Versuch einer praktischen Dogmatik." 3^eAusg. Göttingen, 1789.

One of those free, but sober essays of reforming our
Dogmatic Theology

6. Döderlein's ditto, 4 volumes
7. Some Newspapers the best extant in Germany
8. Maps of several Countries in Europe which are reckoned to be pretty exact.

Some other new Books, Maps will be sent by the next opportunity.

You will have received what I had the honor to send you June 5th. by the kind care of Mr. Williams viz. several volumes of the Litterary Gazette of Gotha. Nösselt's Theological Library and german Newspapers.

No part of Adelung has appeared since the second which You have received I hope. I am sorry that the parcell of May last year did not reach You. I shall endeavour to find out what it contained and to send the same books once more. Krohn's Catalogue⁴ was among them.

I am so much in hurry that I cannot write to Dr. Belknap to day to thank him for his second Edition of the Forresters he kindly sent me; nor to Dr. Morse who sent me his new Edition which I allready had received from a Friend in Philadelphia, where I have a very good correspondent.

If you could tell me what Branch of Litterature Dr. Belknap loves most I could send him some of our best latin productions of that kind. I owe so very much to this worthy man, that I must endeavour to show at least my gratitude.

If you see or write to these Gentlymen I hope you will not forget to present them my respects and thanks. I shall write them by the first Boston Ship.

My very much impaired health has been restored entirely, thank God, by the use of the hot Bath.

Excuse Dear Sir the hurry of this Letter kindly and expect soon a longer one from your

very much obliged and most
obedient servant

C. D. EBELING

⁴Bend. Nic. Krohn. *Catalogus bibliothecae selectae*. Hamburg, 1793. Referred to several times in later letters. (Cf. p. 336.)

TO REV. JOHN ELIOT, SECRETARY OF THE
MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY

AUGUST 24, 1797¹.

[The writer sends a continuation of the maps of America, one copy for the Historical Society and one for Dr. Morse, and promises soon to send his fourth volume (on Pennsylvania), also a number of his *American Magazine* in which will be found "an Essay of Life and Character of Baron Steuben which is chiefly compiled from german family accounts and from relations of his Friends in the Prussian Army and at Stutgard."

Regrets that his parcel of May 2 failed to reach Boston having been addressed to Mr. Müller who had probably already departed from that city. It contained a German Life of Vespucci, the first part of his *American Magazine*, the third volume of his *Geography*, maps of Russia, Poland, the West Indies, etc., besides other books and a parcel for Dr. Morse.

The rest of the letter is concerned with a learned work on the inscriptions of Persepolis, and another maintaining that many ancient ruins are the productions of Vulcans, not of men. The writer rejoices in the prospect of peace in Europe, and hopes that the American quarrel with France will soon be over, the new Minister of Foreign Affairs, Talleyrand, having lived in America.]

TO DR. BENTLEY

FEBRUARY 13, 1798.

[Thanks for letter of Oct. 19, 1797.]

Of the New Hampshire laws¹ I have only the Collection of 1789. if you could procure me the newer ones of 1792 and 1797 I should be very glad, together with the Journals. Payment will be made by Mr. John Kähler in Boston or by Mr. Williams, the American consul in Hamburg.

¹Original in papers of the Mass. Hist. Soc. Letters to Corr. Sec. 1792-1811.

²Of the New Hampshire Laws Ebeling had:

Perpetual laws, 1776-1789. Portsmouth, 1789.*
Laws. Portsmouth, 1792.* (On the fly-leaf of this copy some one had written "For the use of the General Court. Si quis furatur, per Collum pendatur." Ebeling added beneath these lines "Minime ex furto, sed E dono Reipublicae Hantoniensis, procurante R. Doct. Belknap.")

Laws. Portsmouth, 1797.*

With this letter you will get Grotius's Book² you desired. It is difficult to be got, but now and then occasionally and I can miss it as it is in our public library. The newest volume [the fourth] of my Geography presents itself to your candid criticism. A long sickness which threatens to return every winter prevents me to go on quicker.

My Catalogue is not yet copied quite and I shall send it by the next occasion, when will be able to send some new Books. I am very much obliged to you for your very great Kindness in ordering the Laws as also Prouds and Turnballs Histories. Bertram, Pratz, Filson, Imlay, Hutchings I have.³

[Notes on the wars and on the revolution in Switzerland follow.]

The late Duke of Liancourt is here, and publishes his journey thro almost all the United States.⁴ I have read it. It is very large in 4 volumes besides a general View. He enters particularly into every subject of Agriculture, Commerce, Government, and seems to be very exact. Tho' he may be thought partial, especially against England he is not unjust

²His "Annales et historiae de rebus Belgicis," Amst. 1658, must be meant. See the next letter.

³Robert Proud. "The history of Pennsylvania, 1681 till after 1742." 2 vol. Philadelphia, 1797-98.*

Benjamin Trumbull. Complete history of Connecticut from 1630 to 1764. 2 vol. Hartford, 1797.

William Bartram. Travels through North & South Carolina, Georgia, etc. Philadelphia, 1791.*

Le Page du Pratz, Histoire de la Louisiane, 3 vol. Paris, 1758.* Also the English translation: The history of Louisiana, 2 vol. London, 1763.*

John Filson. The discovery, settlement and present state of Kentucke. Wilmington, 1784;* also New York, 1793, 2 vols.*; also Histoire de Kentucke, traduit par M. Parraud. Paris, 1785.*

Gilbert Imlay. A topographical description of the Western Territory of North America. London, 1792*; also New York, 1793.*

Thomas Hutchins. A topographical description of Virginia, Pennsylvania, Maryland and North Carolina. London, 1778*. With Ebeling's autograph and a few notes.

⁴La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt. Voyage dans les États-Unis d'Amérique, fait en 1795, 1796 et 1797. 6 vol. A Paris, l'an VII de la République [1798-9].* Inscribed "M. le P^r Ebeling de la part de l'auteur Liancourt." Ebeling has added a note: "Translated into english from the German version, Lond.

Writing to Dr. Belknap, the same day, (Mass. Hist. Soc. VI Coll. iv. 622) and speaking of the Duke of Liancourt's Travels, Ebeling says: "They are printing at Paris. I have read the manuscript almost entirely, and it will be translated into German under my eyes." The German edition in three volumes bore the title—"Reisen in den Jahren 1795, etc. Aus der französischen Handschrift übersetzt. Hamburg, B. G. Hoffman, 1799."

against the American Nation whose Character he praises much. Nor seems he imbued by the present french prejudices against America. He writes as a Cosmopolite. With New England he is pleased the most. Less with the southern States generally taken.

TO DR. BENTLEY

APRIL 28, 1798.

Nr. 2, 1798. [Acknowledges receipt of Bentley's letters of June 7 and Oct. 2, 1797, rejoices that the books he has sent arrived safely, and hopes soon to send more.]

Books are published in terrible quantity, but good ones not so many, and I must warn you not to give implicit belief to our Reviewers, they are very often partial either to the authors or to the booksellers, and often bribed by both, if only it were by a *manus manum lavat*. Our annual fair at Leipsic has now begun. As soon as it is over and the new books arrived I shall see if any thing may be worthy your attention.

The choice of your Books you have sent me is entirely agreeing with my wishes. I am just now making up a Catalogue of my American library and will send it per next. What I particularly wish for is *Prince's American or New England Chronology*.¹ If occasionally it offers itself you will oblige me by purchasing it.

[He refers to "Grotius's *Annalibus Belgii*," which accompanied the last letter, and now desires the Laws of Virginia²

¹Thomas Prince. A chronological history of New-England in the form of Annals. Vol. I. Boston, 1736; Annals of New-England. Vol. II. (1755).* Autograph of John Eliot on the title-page.

²Of the Virginia Laws Ebeling's library had the following:
Acts of Assembly from the year 1662. London, 1728 (perhaps altered from 1720 or 1722).* Known as Beverley's Abridgment.

Acts of Assembly now in force. Williamsburg, 1752.* With bookplate of I. Hutchinson.
Acts of Assembly now in force. Williamsburg, 1769.*

Collection of public acts, etc. since 1768. Richmond, 1785.*
Collection of all such acts . . . as now are in force. Richmond, 1794.* Autograph of George Tucker, 1797, on title-page. Laid in is an autograph letter [to Dr. Bentley (?)] signed S. G. Tucker, dated June 4, 1798, in which he speaks of an Abridgment then in press which would cost three dollars instead of ten. "I hesitated whether I should wait and send it, in preference to the folio; but adverting to your Letter I was apprehensive that any delay might render the acquisition of little or no value to professor Ebeling, and therefore concluded to forward the latter immediately."

Among the Ebeling books the Harvard Library has also a manuscript letter of 15 quarto pages, written by St. George Tucker to Bentley and dated Williamsburg, June 30,

besides those of New Hampshire and hopes Judge Tucker may have sent them.]

I am at a loss how to express my thanks for your kindness in procuring me the very excellent Letter of that Gentleman. I have taken the liberty to write him these days, and in order to save you anew trouble I required him to send the Laws (if not yet sent to you) to my commissioner in Philadelphia who will pay him the price, which is not too dear.

You are so very kind for me, Dear Sir, that I am ashamed and should wish to be more usefull to you here. I shall be attentive to procure you the best of our new Maps. The continuation of Adelung is not yet out. An historical Library is publishing now, but it will be an eternal work, allready 20 volumes containing only the Books concerning ancient history, and the modern of Asia, Africa and America, together with those of Spain, Portugal, and France (the latter not yet finished and notwithstanding allready completing 4 volumes large Octavo.) The author is professor Meusel³ at Erlang, The Book is exceedingly well done (tho incomplete as all such Works) but it must swell up to 60 volumes, and cost as many dollars perhaps. That is rather too much, tho' the Author is not over prolixious; but one fault he has viz. he mentions also books of no value, in order to warn purchasers. Not mentioning them would amount allmost to a warning. A general Catalogue of German Books⁴ pretty well arranged is now printed here. I have ordered it for you, and hope it will be brought before I must close this letter, otherwise I shall send it soon. Mr Freemans

1797. He speaks first of the copy of the Virginia Laws of 1792, the Constitution and the Bill of Rights which he has sent to be forwarded to Ebeling, and goes on to give a general synopsis of the Virginia Constitution and body of laws and of some of the recent acts of the legislature. He closes with "good wishes for the success of professor Ebeling's Labours, which you so warmly undertake to aid him in." See Ebeling's letter of Sept. 7, 1799, p. 339.

³Johann Georg Meusel, 1743-1820, Professor at Erfurt and afterwards at Erlangen, editor of many biographical and bibliographical dictionaries and historical periodicals. He re-edited the Latin *Bibliotheca historica* of Struve and Buder, "ita digesta, amplificata et emendata ut paene novum opus videri possit," as the title-pages read. Only eleven volumes, each in two parts, were issued from 1782 to 1804, so that Ebeling's apprehensions as to the extent of the work were not verified.

⁴This must be Hinrichs' *Halbjahrs-Katalog*, which began in 1798 under the title "Verzeichniss neuer Bücher die seit Michaelis 1797 bis Juli 1798 wirklich erschienen sind."

Strictures⁵ I have, and I should wish he could read my Book as I should not fear so judicious a critic if even so severe as he seems to the Author. The same [Jedidiah Morse] has sent me his *Gazeteer*⁶ which I had not yet time to compare with Scotts,⁷ whose Book is really usefull, with all imperfections of geographical original imbecillity, which we never shall be able to get rid of.

All those Maps and Books you mention in your letter of Oct. 2 I have, viz.,—Barre's, Holland's, Hazard's⁸, as also Hutchinson⁹ and the other Histories and Topographies.

Nothing could more afflict me than what I hear about the worthy Dr Belknap. I write to him¹⁰ in answer of a letter I received in the same Box with your two letters. He mentioned the same to me, tho' not intimating that it was so serious. I hope to God this worthy man will have the fate of my late dear Father who was also attacked by a paralysis but, as heavy it was, recovered entirely after half a year and lived very long to old age, when a relapse put an end to his life. American History would loose much by his premature death.

If You have moments of leisure I wish to see the continuation of your remarks, whereby you obliged me very much.

I take the liberty to send you the continuation of the Gotha newspaper, as also the newest political ones.

[He closes his letter with remarks on recent events in Europe and in praise of the King of Prussia.]

TO DR. BELKNAP

APRIL 28, 1798.

Printed in the Belknap Papers, vol. III. (Sixth Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., IV. 620-627.)

⁵Probably Rev. James Freeman's Remarks on the American Universal Geography, Boston, 1793.

⁶See the note on p. 290

⁷Joseph Scott. The United States gazeteer. Philadelphia, 1795.*

⁸Apparently Des Barres' Atlantic Neptune, London, 1777-81*; Samuel Holland's Charts of the coasts and harbours of New England, 1781*; and Ebenezer Hazard's Historical collections, Philadelphia, 1792-94, 2 vols.* are meant.

⁹Thomas Hutchinson. The history of the colony of Massachuset's Bay. 2d ed. London, 1765-68. 2 vols.*

¹⁰Elbeling's letter is printed in the Belknap Papers, Sixth Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. IV. 620-627.

Synopsis. A long and highly interesting letter. Sympathizes with Belknap's ill health. Compliments his Foreresters and expresses admiration for the Collections of the Historical Society. Dwells on the wealth of German books relating to geography which Dr. Morse might profit by if he would only learn German. Turning to European affairs, he describes at some length the exciting events in Vienna and in Switzerland, and, as in other letters, praises the young King and Queen of Prussia.

TO DR. BENTLEY

SEPTEMBER 15, 1798¹

Nr 3, 1798.

REVEREND SIR

I take the liberty to send you the last maps published for my Geography (2), as also the two last parts of my American magazine (3) Ziegler's History of the Constitution of the Christian Church in the first six Centuries (4) Learned Newspapers of Gotha (5) political ones to this date.

[He remarks upon the favorable turn in European political conditions and on Napoleon's presence in Egypt.]

Just now I read in the Newspapers the sad news of the death of our dear beloved Dr. Belknap.² He was my Friend too. *Have pia anima!* My last letter of May 7th³ did not reach him I fear, as the Ship went later. Under the same date I had the honour to write you and sent Gotha and political newspapers which I hope you have received. Accept my sincere and gratefull assurances of esteem wherwith I am, R^d Sir

Your most obed^t Servant.

C. D. EBELING.

TO DR. BENTLEY

SEPT. 16, 1798.

Nr. 4, 1798. [Refers to his letter of the previous day inclosed to Mr. Kähler with a parcel of books, and to another parcel under date of May 7.]

¹A note on the back shows that this letter reached Boston, November 27, 1798.

²Belknap died June 20, 1798.

³Dated April 28. See p. 304.

I long for the publication of my general Introduction where I shall make gratefull mention of the generous promotors of my undertaking, and you will find your name at the head of them. You will be pleased to continue occasionally and if it can be done without trouble the newspapers which are to great use for me.

It was with great anxiety I read the account of the worthy Dr. Belknap's health. His own letter announced me it. Now I see that he went to a happier state of blessing. I regret sincerely the loss of a man whose excellent character, remote as I am, I must admire and re [] thankfully and who was certainly much more to his nearer friends. He died, alas, too early for your literature and history. I hoped he would give us such an excellent history and description of Massachusetts as he did of New Hampshire. My last letter did not reach the worthy friend. I had inclosed in a chest to Mr. Kähler a Parcel for late Dr Belknap containing some Books for him and the historical Society. Those for the last were Recueil of Missionaries 4 volumes. Hennepin's Journey to Canada. Pastorius on Pensylvania. Blome, Colonies angloises. Histoire de la Jamaïque 2 volumes,¹ the 4th part of my Book, together with Copies of Maps of New Jersey and Maryland for the Society and for Dr Morse. (By my memoirs I see I had forgot to add a Copy for you, which now follow. That of Maine and New York are engraving.)

You would oblige me if occasion offers, to let the present Secretary² of the Historical Society (whom I have not the honour to know but suppose it is the celebrated Mr Minot) know this. Mr. Kähler³ will have delivered the parcel to the

¹Of the books mentioned, the Mass. Hist. Soc. still has two: Fr. Dan. Pastorius, "Umständige geographische Beschreibung der zu allerletztf erfundenen Provintz Pennsylvaniae, Franckfurt, 1700," and [Charles Leslie], "Histoire de la Jamaïque, à Londres, 1751," 2 vols. Ebeling himself had a copy of Pastorius, edition of Memmingen, 1792*, also Leslie's Jamaica*, Richard Blome, "Description des isles et terres que l'Angleterre possède en Amérique, traduit de l'anglois, Amsterdam, 1715*." Hennepin's Journey was probably his "Voyages curieux et nouveaux, Amsterdam, 1711*."

²Belknap, who had been Corresponding Secretary of the Society from 1791 to 1798, was succeeded by the Rev. John Eliot, 1798-1813.

³In the files of the Corresponding Secretary's letters in the Mass. Hist. Soc. is a letter from Kähler dated December, 1798 giving an extract from Ebeling's letter of September 15 and accompanying the parcel for the Society. He writes that Professor Ebeling had ordered a copy of the Temporary Laws of Massachusetts, 1736 to 1774, and asks Dr. Eliot's assistance in procuring them. The copy which he finally received was the edition printed in 1763, continued by successive additions to 1766*.

heirs. As I don't know whether our late friend was married, it could perhaps be sent to distant parts and be miscarried. I have written also to Mr. Kähler thereabout.

[The rest of the letter relates to European politics.]

TO DR. BENTLEY

MARCH 13, 1799.

REVEREND SIR

The very ambiguous state of my health will excuse me with you that this letter is not longer [*marginal note.* Not sent by the first occasion it became longer than intended by interrupted continuations.] and that I must refer to the other which I wrote the last week and sent with a Box by way of Boston directed to Mr. Kähler. Mr. Broomfield from Boston sailing tomorrow for Salem I have given him a Box containing¹:

1. Basedow's Dogmatical Abridgment.
2. His Methode d'étudier.
3. Michaelis, Translation of the new Testament. 2 volumes.

1.) Probably his "Elementarbuch; ein Vorrath der besten Erkenntnisse zum Lernen, Lehren, Wiederholen und Nachdenken" of which an edition in three volumes was printed in Leipzig in 1785. This and his Methodenbuch have been re-edited and reprinted as lately as 1909. His *Leben und Werke* make a volume of the series "Die pädagogischen Klassiker," bd. xxix, 1920. See p. 322 for an account of Basedow.

2.) His "Nouvelle méthode d'éducation," Leipzig, 1772.

6.) Georg Joachim Zollikofer. Predigten über die Würde des Menschen und den Werth der vornehmsten Dinge die zur menschlichen Glückseligkeit gehören. Leipzig, 1782, 2 vol. A translation, "Sermons on the dignity of man, by W. Tooke" was printed in London in 1807 and the "1st American edition" in Worcester the same year.

7.) Jacob Brucker. Bilder-sal heutiges Tages lebender und durch Gelahrheit berühmter Schriftsteller. The 10th edition was printed in Augsburg in 1741-55, 2 vols. folio, with large and excellent mezzotint portraits engraved by J. J. Haid from paintings by the same artist.

8.) *Blikke in das nächst zukünftige Europa.* [Hamburg,] 1798.** An edition of the French original, "Nouveau tableau spéculatif de l'Europe" was also published at Hamburg in 1798, and an English translation in Dublin.

9.) *Frankreich im Jahr 1799.* Aus den Briefen Deutscher Männer in Paris. Altona, 1799. 3 vols. issued in 12 parts.** Three volumes more followed for 1800.**

10.) *Aristophanes. Comoediae emendatae a Phil. Invernizio.* Lipsiae, 1794-1826. 13 vols. The first two volumes contained the text, the other eleven, commentaries, scholia, Latin translation, etc. Vols. 1 and 2 passed from Bentley to Alleghany College.

11.) Friedrich Eberhard von Rochow (or Rochau) had been an Officer in the Seven Years' War and being incapacitated for further service devoted himself to his estates in Brandenburg and brought about great improvements in the "Volkschulen." The book referred to is his "Versuch eines Schulbuchs für Kinder der Landleute oder Unterricht für Lehrer in niedern und Landschulen," Berlin, 1776.** See Thomas Alexander. *The Prussian elementary schools.* New York, 1918. pp. 20-22.

12.) Joh. Georg Meusel. *Lehrbuch der Statistik.* Leipzig, 1792.**

4. Another new much esteemed translation by Mr. Stolz, a Clergyman in Bremen.
5. His essay of an Explication of the N. T. (discontinued because he was attacked on account thereof by one of his colleagues who is a Lavaterian orthodox.
6. Zollikofer's Sermons (two volumes) on the Dignity of Man, which we think the masterpiece of this excellent Clergyman, and one of the best of men and Christians I ever knew.
7. Brucker's Bildersaal, a collection of prints of learned men, with a few detached portraits. I shall do my best to get *good* portraits of Luther and Melancthon, etc. Klopstock's portrait is very like.
8. Dumouriez, Blicke. A new gloomy work of this Exgeneral who wishes for a general war against France—and a place as general.
9. Frankreich, a new political magazine written with good impartiality. I shall always send the continuation.
10. Aristophanes, a new Edition which is esteemed.
11. Rochow's Schulbuch, an excellent work of a nobleman at Berlin who has given on his estates a practical model of a *popular School* which is thought excellent in Theory and practice and now spreading fast in the Prussian and in the Danish country where a friend of mine Count Reventlow (a brother of the minister) and a near relation to Bernstorff has established such schools and a *Seminary for Schools*.
12. Meusels Statistick one of the most extensive statistical books and of the newest.

Besides newspapers and what I have of the Gotha and Erfurt of this year, The new Gazette of Hamburgh² I send with this letter and shall continue them regularly. The litterary part is

²Kaiserlich-privilegirte Hamburgische neue Zeitung, 1797-1799, 1802-11.** The Gothaische gelehrte Zeitungen is mentioned on p. 296. The Erfurt paper bore the title, "Nachrichten von gelehrten Sachen, herausgegeben von der Akademie nütz. Wissenschaften zu Erfurt," 1797-1803.** [See also p. 373.] The other political newspapers which Ebeling about this time and later was sending to his friend seem to have been the following:

Bamberger Zeitung, 1798-1800.**

Bayreuther Zeitung, 1798-1800.**

Königl. privilegirte Berlinische Zeitung, 1796-1810.**

Berlinische Nachrichten von Staats und gelehrten Sachen, 1796-1806.**

Leipziger Zeitungen, 1797-1807.**

Also a few others belonging to later years.

written by myself. The political part of the Gazette does not allow to extend it, and we must avoid to enter into disquisitions and free uttering of our sentiments upon political affairs, also the ministers of foreign powers are at hand with complaints, forbiddings, etc. [*Marginal note.* The Gotha paper was discontinued for a time as it had offended a certain count, by whose post it comes to us, who refused to forward it. We thought it was given up entirely.]

Another box is almost ready and will be sent by the very next Boston ship sailing in a few days. It contains some books of Jerusalem a worthy divine at Bronsvic [Brunswick]³ on Religion; Lives of learned men [by Schröck] with Images⁴ Krohns Catalogue with the author's mss. annotations; a Journal called Deutschland⁵ (discontinued) but written with freedom tho' not always with prudence. Michaelis Dogmatica in Latin⁶, Eichhorn⁷ on Michaelis, Nicolais Nothanker,⁸ Herders Sheets⁹ (wherein is an account of *Lessing*), Rechte des Volks zu einer Revolution¹⁰ (not revolutionary). Michaelis paraphrase on the Epistles of Paul, and several new maps especially one of *New Europe*, as also mine on America whereof I shall send the continuation regularly. Nicolai on Tempelherren and Freymaurer,¹¹ and what I can get besides those on the Illuminati and Masons, which I have sent in the parcel to Mr. Kähler [*Marginal note.* A mistake. It is sent by Mr. Pitcairn our consul who offered to send you what I had.] I hoped Capt. Williams would return to Salem, but am

³Joh. Friedrich Wilhelm Jerusalem, of Brunswick. Alleghany College has his "Recueil de six discours prononcez en Allemand," Leipsic, 1748—Bentley's copy received from Ebeling.

⁴Joh. Matthias Schröckh. Abbildungen und Lebensbeschreibungen berühmter Gelehrten. Leipzig, 1765-69. 3 vols.

⁵Deutschland. 1^{tes}-11^{tes} Stück. Berlin, 1796.**

⁶Joh. David Michaelis, 1717-1791. Compendium theologiae dogmaticae. Göttingen, 1760.

⁷Joh. Gottfried Eichhorn, 1752-1827.

⁸Friedrich Nicolai, 1733-1811. Das Leben und die Meinungen des Herrn Magister Sebalduß Nothanker. 2^o Aufl. Berlin, 1774-76. 3 vols.** With engravings by Chodowiecki. With Ebeling's autograph in each vol.

⁹See p. 324.

¹⁰Joh. Benjamin Erhard. Über das Recht des Volks zu einer Revolution. Jena and Leipzig, 1795.**

¹¹Versuch über die Beschuldigungen, welche dem Tempelherrenorden gemacht worden, und über dessen Geheimniss, nebst einem Anhang über das Entstehen der Freimaurergesellschaft. Berlin, 1782-83. 2 vols.

disappointed, therefore I made up in haste the *parcel* for Boston last week as a ship was announced to sail as soon the Elbe was open, which happened a few days ago.

Now permit me Dear Sir in case that this letter should come earlier to repeat you my very great thanks for your new proofs of kindness. Capt. Williams tho' frozen in was so kind as to send me them in the beginning of this last winter. You cannot think how much I am obliged to you for the many valuable materials, for your annotations and for your remarks on my book. I am sorry that my health (rhumatical weakness of stomach continual diarrhoeas which lately were almost a dysentery) does not allow me to sit long time, otherwise I would repeat more amply what I wrote about Robinson's *ridicule Book*.¹² I am neither Mason nor Illuminat, nor in any order whatsoever but a Cosmopolite. Since my earliest year I have known a great many Masons, some of them my intimate friends, I have known many Illuminati and having lived 7 years at the Universities of Göttingen and Leipsic have had occasion and since 26 years here in Hamburg, (a place resorted to from all Europe) to be acquainted with many *thousands* of men belonging to several such orders or to the orthodox and heterodox religious sects and to political sects of the same predicaments. So I am well acquainted and think myself impartial,

¹²John Robison. Proofs of a conspiracy against all the religions and governments of Europe carried on in the secret meetings of Free Masons, Illuminati, and Reading Societies. The book made a great sensation at the time of its publication and was several times reprinted. The Harvard Library has several editions: the First, Edinburgh, 1797; Third ed. London, 1798; Philadelphia, 1798; Fourth ed. Dublin, 1798; New-York, 1798. The edition which Ebeling had was that of Philadelphia, 1798.

Vernon Stauffer, *New England and the Bavarian Illuminati* (Columbia Studies in history, economics and public law, vol. 82, no. 1), 1918, gives a good account of Robison and his book (pp. 199-214) and of the excitement in New England, beginning with Jedidiah Morse's fast-day sermon May 9, 1798, which was followed by David Tappan's Discourse at Harvard College, on June 19, and President Dwight's Fourth of July Discourse at New Haven. The discussion in the papers also became heated. (Stauffer, pp. 229 seq.)

A severe attack on Robison's book, not noticed, I believe, by Stauffer, was printed in Boston in 1799 under the title, "Extracts from Professor Robison's Proofs of a Conspiracy, etc. with brief reflections on the charges he has exhibited, the evidence he has produced and the merit of his performance, Boston, printed by Manning & Loring," pp. 30.* This is signed Cornelius and dated Massachusetts, Dec. 1798. A note at the end reads "N.B. The name of the writer is left with the Printer, who will communicate the same to any person who may wish to be informed of it." A pencil note suggests that Dr. Bentley or Professor Ebeling may be the author. That the former may have been responsible for the pamphlet seems not unlikely. He had evidently been in correspondence with Ebeling on this subject before the date of this letter.

for I wish the happiness of mankind which only can be promoted by religion, virtue, liberty and good government. I am not orthodox in the common sense of the word, for I make use of my reason in believing, but I know that religion is an affair of the heart of each individual, and I find myself happy that the men whom I suppose the most benevolence of heart and the purest understanding pretty well agree with my ideas; and I have among my friends, besides many of orthodox dogmatical principles, such as think that practical religion is the head-point. This may plead on behalf of my impartiality.

Robison's book certainly is a party writing, not without design. I even believe he has political design. Hierarchy exerts its last power everywhere. With us and at Berlin, etc., it is destroyed not long; in France it is annihilated together with the roman religion; time is wanted to set a better religion in its place, but the Government will not do it, the people want to be cleared up where to find true religion. Robisons Book was written by a man who confesses to have but a quaint knowledge of the language, and his nation (tho' beginning to mend since a few years) has not a better one; without such knowledge none of our literature may be obtained. He contents himself with his favourite *Religionsbegebenheiten*¹³ a Book written at Giessen and of very little value, and in no estimation unless by those who think that servile adherence to ancient *forms* of doctrine make a divine. Robinsons knows a little of all and nothing exact. Therefore he judges ill especially of the characters of persons, of their literary merit, and the consequences of their endeavours to enlighten the nation. That amongst 30 millions and amongst 7000 authors who inundate Germany annually with books there are a great many foolish, fantastical, ignorant and even ill-designed ones, is no wonder. But to take alarm at it and to give a bad name to a country for it, is great ignorance of men and manners, and of history. The English national pride is greatly intermixing also. His book is pretty well calculated to overtake and ensnare artfully good natured men, not knowing Germany (as is the case with the most of the Britons.)

¹³Die neuesten Religionsbegebenheiten, mit unparteyischen Anmerkungen. Giessen u. Marburg, 1778-97 (monthly and quarterly). Edited by H. M. G. Köster.

First as to Masonry. I can only speak from observation. Since 1740-1760 it was much spoken of, was esteemed and in *fashion*, especially in the prussian country, and was then (as I am assured by several Grandmasters of the different Lodges at several places of Lower Germany as also here) in its purity. Never they were thought dangerous, but by some Clergymen—zealots. They were in general of no visible influence neither in political nor religious affairs, and in the last years of that period not much spoken of. Since that time there crept scissions into the order and they separated. This separation was allready great when I studied at Leipsic. The class called the strict observance had them particularly. Some intended to engraft the order of the Templarians on the masonry. Mr. Stark¹⁴, (my fellow student at Göttingen) a man of an unruly character, intriguing, ambitious—and not to be trusted, went suddenly from Göttingen the day before when he was to be declared Master of Arts. Some time after he was at Paris (he had no money for himself) there he was said to have changed religion, he was employed at a public library (no protestant ever was) at Paris. At last he was found to excite dissensions amongst the Masons and to help introducing the Templerian sistem. This certainly is not dissimilar to many jesuistical forms. Several Masons were allarmed at it; amongst them *Nicolai* a very learned bookseller a man of taste, and a vey sincere open man, very active to promote taste, learning, and philosophy, therefore an intimate friend with Lessing one of our greatest genius's, with the Jew Moses Mendelsohn a man of taste, and a fine philosophical writer, with *Ramler*,¹⁵ *Gleim*¹⁶ and many other poets, etc. etc. [*Marginal note.* Here I must insert something about Theology.] In the mean time in Halle, Göttingen and Berlin the study of Divinity was much amended. *Baumgarten*¹⁷ in Halle began (a good historian, knowing English very well,

¹⁴A careful and detailed account of Pastor Starck is given in Le Forestier, "Les illuminés de Bavière," 1914, p. 167 and *passim*. See also Jean Blum, "J. A. Starck et la querelle du crypto-catholicisme en Allemagne," 1785-1789. Paris, 1912.

¹⁵Karl Wilhelm Ramler, 1725-1798.

¹⁶Johann Wilhelm Ludwig Gleim, 1719-1803, author of "Preussische Kriegslieder in den Feldzügen 1756 and 1757, von einem Grenadier," Berlin, 1758.

¹⁷Siegmund Jakob Baumgarten, 1706-1757, professor of theology at Halle, one of the most distinguished of German theologians.

then very seldom, a Wolfian philosopher) the reform but timidly. Mosheim made light in the ecclesiastical history, but was timid. He also cleared up moral theology and even dogmatical in some way.

Michaelis really a great genius of much learning and acute discrimination and penetration, a thinking man, continued more with taste and in good style both in Latin and German. His exegetical merits you know. I have heard him 4 years. He was a man of free candid enquiry, did not speak quite his mind to everybody, but we had particular lessons with him, were [where] he did not at all hide his heterodoxy as it was called *then*. It was by no means detrimental to the Christian religion and the Bible. You will see it by his *Dogmatica* I send you. Less,¹⁸ Heilmann¹⁹ and other Göttingen divines of note followed him, but *not so much* thinking for themselves. Less, a rigorous moralist, but a candid dogmatist (he died lately as counsellor of the ecclesiastical Court at Hanover) all worthy *men*. Michaelis character had some remarkable spots, he indulged too much to sarcastical wit, he was very interested and even covetous, etc. Semler²⁰ at Halle was Baumgarten's scholar and imitator in his horridly unelegant style. But a great reformer in Church history, wherein he enquired very deeply. He was nearly an Unitarian. The liberty the divines enjoyed under Frederic II did not force him to conceal. At *Leipsic* ERNESTI²¹ the great philologist or scholar applied himself to Theology and gave the final stroke to the system that the Bible was to be interpreted in another way and by different rules (supposing a mystical sense besides the verbal) as good classic authors written for men and read by men. In the mean time the Berlin Clergy and others as also Jerusalem at Brunswick had entirely devoted their sermons to evangelic moral leaving all casuistical dogmatic enquiries to the learned, so did Less at Göttingen; so Zollicofer at Leipsic. They insisted upon that heavenly principle that

¹⁸Gottfried Less, 1736-1797. Ebeling sent Bentley a copy of his "Auferstehungsgeschichte Jesu nach allen vier Evangelisten." Göttingen, 1779.**

¹⁹Joh. David Heilmann, 1727-1764, a pupil and follower of Baumgarten, author of "Compendium theologiae dogmaticae," Göttingen, 1761.

²⁰Joh. Salomo Semler, 1725-1791.

²¹Joh. August Ernesti, 1707-1781.

true religion must be practical (Spener²² at Halle and Berlin had done the same in the last century with great success, tho' persecuted by many. He only fell *something* in the mystical way) Spalding²³ that worthy divine at Berlin wrote his book on the *feelings of a Christian*, and published his excellent sermons and others followed him. Teller²⁴ a pupil of Ernesti not so learned, but more penetrating and philosophical at Berlin etc. Now the controversy about symbolical books or confessional doctrine began. Many wished to get rid of those platforms of doctrine contained in the Lutheran confessional books which determine too much, prescribe too nice, not essential distinctions. Büsching and others wrote against these books, shewed that they were against the spirit of Luther's Reformation, who established the Bible as the sole *nova doctrina*. There was great noise about this. But the more sound principles prevailed, tho' not adopted openly as a Church-doctrine. When all this was in agitation Nicolai undertook his *Universal German Library*²⁵—a Review of about 150 volumes since 1764. More than 40 sometimes 60 of German literati in every kind of science at almost all places of note where German language prevails from Petersburg to Bern, from Ungary to Kopenhagen were Collaborators. His instruction for the Authors (none knew who they were but Nicolai, but they were at liberty to name themselves when they liked it) were very liberal. I hope to find out my copy, for I was interested for several years in the part of belles letters. None chuse the books he would review unless Nicolai had proposed them. Each was entirely at liberty to tell his opinion and not a line was ever changed by the Editor. Therefore the collection is full of contradictory opinions and principles. Nicolai knew that diversity of sentiment is unavoidable and promotes enquiry and science. His Library had great effect upon German literature. Before that we had only a few lib-

²²Philipp Jakob Spener, 1635-1705. His works have been repeatedly translated and republished in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

²³Joh. Joachim Spalding, 1714-1804. *Gedanken über den Werth der Gefühle im Christenthum*, 1761.

²⁴Wilhelm Abraham Teller, 1734-1804, professor of theology at Helmstadt.

²⁵Allgemeine Deutsche Bibliothek, Berlin, later Kiel, 1765-96. 118 vols; with Anhänge in 21 vols. See also pp. 361, 364, 386, etc.

eral and illiberal Reviews in the belles letters. The first also published by Nicolai, Mendelsohn and Lessing,²⁶ the others by one Klotz. [*Marginal note.* The Göttingen newspapers were always the best, the most learned, sober but not without freedom. They began under Haller's²⁷ direction, who wrote a great deal of them from 1750 about.] The universal library was much read everywhere even in Catholick Germany. The theological part at first was by *Resewitz* (now Abbot at Bergen near Magdeburg in Prussian country) and *Teller* principally, who were clear and keen-sighted men. All bad authors (we abound with them as with good ones) especially the great many insipid theological ones of the old schools hated this review and all hatred fell on Nicolai as few of his writers were known. The inveterate hatred of the orthodox and of the Scriblers attacked him on every occasion. When Frederic II died his successor soon was overruled by a mystical sort of state ministers (especially the despicable Wölner, formerly a preacher, then a Canon, then by degrees favourite) and some clergymen; and all religious liberty was greatly abridged. Nicolai was forced to give up, his Book forbidden to be read in the Prussian country as in some catholic ones. Nicolai at that time gave it to a bookseller here in Hamburg. Nicolai also had greatly excited the *Orationes* by his *Travels*²⁸ (10 volumes) wherein he detects abominable practices of cathol. clergy and monks, monstrous superstitions still prevailing; the clandestine endeavours of Jesuits to overturn protestantism, to introduce superstition everywhere and to obfuscate human mind. He gives the facts and a great many original proofs of secretly printed papers, etc. etc. His travels are very instructive in every kind but in

²⁶"Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften und der freyen Künste, Leipzig, 1757-65," 12 vols., conducted at first by Nicolai with the assistance of Moses Mendelsohn, Lessing and others, and later by Christian Felix Weisse. From 1759 to 1763 Nicolai published with the co-operation of the same scholars "Briefe die neueste Litteratur betreffend." Christian Adolf Klotz, 1738-1771, while professor at Göttingen and afterwards at Halle conducted three literary periodicals, *Acta litteraria*, 1764-72, *Neue Hallische gelehrte Zeitungen*, 1766-71, and *Deutsche Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften*, 1767-71. See further, p. 331.

²⁷The celebrated anatomist and botanist, Albrecht von Haller, who was a professor at the University of Göttingen, 1736-1753.

²⁸"Beschreibung einer Reise durch Deutschland und die Schweiz im Jahre 1781. Berlin 1783-96." 12 vols.

a verbose stile. About that time *Biester* and *Gedike*²⁹ (a lawyer and a scholar, both men of genius and taste, the first Librarian to the King of prussia, the second one in the ecclesiastical consistory who maintained himself even under the reigning usurpation of Wöllner on account of his great knowledge, dexterity and experience in school affairs, he is also Director of an Academy) began the Berlin Monthly Magazine (*Monatschrift*) and continued it for many years. A very good collection wherein many of our best writers had part. They particular devoted themselves to detect clandestin machinations of such as would introduce Catholicism, particularly the secret manoeuvres of the Jesuits who after Emperor Josephs death and before were very busy under hand. [*Marginal note.* This must not appear in print.] I knew it from the great Bernstorff's³⁰ own words, "There is but too much truth in saying that the Jesuits are manoeuvring clandestinely everywhere under many shapes." Both editors gave Facts as proof of what they advanced. The first I certainly know is a mason. He showed that the Jesuits had insinuated themselves into several french and german Lodges especially those of the strict observance. An opposition arose, even amongst the orthodox Germans. There appeared very unintelligible works as *Sur l'erreur et la vérité*.³¹ A Mason here, a very worthy man of great genius and excellent heart, *Mr. Claudius* who published 6 volumes of excellent poems and some prosaical treatises, all full of practical religion, somewhat mystical but not much, a true friend of Christianity and a model in simplicity of manners, gave a translation of this work. This was a mistake indeed, but a proof that Masons as such were not promoting irreligion. The author (I mean Claudius) a Dane has for his loyalty and merit a pension lately of the King of Danemarck, which he owed to Bernstorff and other ministers who know him since long. This same Claudius was

²⁹Joh. Erich Biester, 1749-1816, and Friedrich Gedike, 1754-1803, published the "Berlinische Monatschrift," 1783-1796; followed by "Berlinische Blätter," 1797-1798, and "Neue Berlinische Monatschrift." 1799-1811.

³⁰Andreas Peter, Count von Bernstorff, 1735-1797, Danish minister of foreign affairs from 1773 to 1780 and from 1784 till his death.

³¹Louis Claude, marquis de Saint-Martin, 1743-1803. *Des erreurs et de la vérité, ou Les hommes rappelés au principe universel de la science.* Édimbourg, 1782. Translated by Matthias Claudius under the title "Irrthümer und Wahrheit."

long time in the same house with *Boden*³² also a man of great parts, the excellent translator of Sterne, of Montaigne, of Rabelais, etc. lived formerly here as bookseller, was very rich by marriage, but prevailed upon his wife to make *no* testament in his favour and was poor again as she died. Then he went to Weimar. He was a zealous Mason, and very distressed by the foreign influence of unknown superiours who had crept into Masonry, and which he feared were full of mischief. A man of great integrity he exerted him at a convention of Masons at Embser Bath³³ (if I am not mistaken it was there), went to Paris in order to investigate all, and openly said what was become wrong in Masonry. As he was caustic and witty, that increased his antagonists. This very man the foolish Robison accuses of intriguing, who opposed so earnestly to it.

My *confuse letter* (I write in the beginning of a fever) comes now to the *Illuminati*³⁴. In order to appreciate their value one must know the pittifull state of religion, of learning, of political existence of the people in Bavaria (the same as in the Austrian dominions before Joseph II and as it is now there again). In the year 1760 about all was egyptian darkness there, all under jesuitical Hierarchy or rather tyranny and intolerance. The most execrable superstition oppressed the good natured people. No industry, scarce sufficient agriculture in an excellent land, no knowledge (the German stile even detestable in their books of nonsense) no energy in a populous country. Some few who had travelled, some few who read, and even the *Nicolai Library* diffused here and there better principles. One Zaupser wrote an Ode on Tolerance full of genius and was persecuted. So afterwards some other who dared to say truth. About 1776 the *Illuminati* were instituted by Weishaupt.³⁵ The scope was undoubtedly to destroy oppression political and religious, to introduce freedom. I will

³²Joh. Joachim Christoph Bode, 1730-1793, an enthusiastic apostle of freemasonry in its best and most ideal form and a friend in Hamburg of Alberti, Basedow, Klopstock and Lessing. See also p. 330.

³³Perhaps Willemsbad is meant. See Robison's Proofs, p. 288.

³⁴For the best recent account of the *Illuminati* with details in regard to many of the men mentioned by Ebeling, see R. Le Forestier, *Les Illuminés de Bavière et la Franc-Maçonnerie allemande*, Paris, 1914.

³⁵Adam Weishaupt, 1748-1798, founder of the Order of the *Illuminati*. See Le Forestier *passim*.

not pretend that Weishaupt was *then* a moral man, he has publickly confessed great deviations of morality. But I am not convinced that he was an enemy to *good* government and in theory and practice an *enemy* of religion; but I suppose he was, as commonly Roman Catholicks who see the falsity of Superstition and know not much of *true* protestant principles of religion, at a loss what to substitute. Perhaps he as great many do was only busy to overturn what certainly was very wrong in *their* Religion without properly considering what ought to become of the people deprived of religion. In the ardor of hatred against evil many wish and labour to extirpate it, and leave the restauration of good to others or to itself. But it seems true that the *Order* I mean the superiors of the Illuminati wanted to govern. There were many admitted to that order without knowing its proper scope: search for Truth, for Liberty was their symbol. More the leaders did not tell them. *Knigge*³⁶ an Hanoverian Baron, who despised nobility which in that country is particularly adhering to its feudal prerogatives often in a very ridiculous way (tho' now many of them think better, or pretend so). He was friend of Liberty, no friend of Kings, as most of them were, no friend of continual wars, but loved peace, free exercise of every religion but entirely separated from the state, but his religion was I am sure nothing but pure natural religion, which must be tolerated before all other sects. As to his morals I cannot praise them in one point (he kept a mistress) in every other I may. A proof of his good behaviour is that his powerfull enemies could not bring anything against him, in order to depose him from his place. You may suppose that all these men took great part in the American revolution, and were busy in spreading the almost new notions of liberty, rights of men, etc. Nicolai was not very loud, as they had pretty much liberty in the last years of Freder. II (except in trade, and military affairs) and as Nicolai allways was an admirer nay an *adorer* of his great King, as all his writings shew. Frederic in his works had advanced very liberal sentiments about the rights of kings and subjects, the liberty of the press (except in political matters)

³⁶Adolf, Freiherr von Knigge, 1752-1796. See Le Forestier, pp. 202-226 and following chapters; also Stauffer, p. 162.

was not restricted. All this made him content and silent. Those in more oppressed states were more forward. When the French revolution broke out, many of the Illuminati were certainly busy in propagating the new French opinions. Everybody who thought liberally applauded the French revolution, *untill* the imprisonment of the King etc. I wont deny that many Illuminati wished for a similar revolution in their country, but many had reason, for they were living in a manifold slavery. As the causes of such slavery are too deeply interwoven in the feudal constitution of allmost all our states, and public opinion has opened its eyes and seen the delusion—it cannot, I fear, be avoided but by great wisdom of government, that a convulsion must ensue. The King of Prussia [Frederic William III] is more in the right way to prevent it, than perhaps any government. His predecessor was not so. But his subjects were quiet. Nicolai allmost retired to his studies and mercantile business.—I have forgott Barth.³⁷ As to him Robinson is not very erroneus. I knew him when at Leipzig. His father was a rank orthodox Lutheran, but afterwards a little suspected of hipocrisy. His son a young man of lively spirit, of manifold but superficial learning, thinking for himself—but soon entirely spoilt by profligate society. After having been Huzard for a time, his Father knew how to procure him a professorship of philosophy and a place of curate or chaplan (not ordained). Then he lived not more abstinently. He had given a letter of exchange to a common bawd for long services; this he endeavoured to extricate from her by fraud and refused payment, she went to the judge. The Father knew to contrive that his son was at least allowed to continue as professor. But he did not stay long at Leipsic.

³⁷Carl Friedrich Bahrdt, 1741–1792. See Le Forestier, pp. 624–631; Stauffer, p. 190. His translation of the New Testament seems to have been published under the title, "Die neuesten Offenbarungen Gottes in Briefen und Erzählungen," Riga, 1772–75 (4 vol.). A second edition appeared at Frankenthal, 1777. The third edition bore the title, "Das Neue Testament, oder die neuesten Belehrungen Gottes durch Jesum und seine Apostel," Berlin, 1793. 2 vols.

A large number of other works, covering a wide range, are noted in the bibliography appended to his "Geschichte seines Lebens, seiner Meinungen und Schicksale," Frankfurt am Mayn, 1790–91, IV. 288–297. Among these Ebeling mentions: "Versuch eines biblischen Systems der Dogmatik," Gotha, 1769–70, 2 vols.; "System der Moral-Theologie," Erfurt, 1768; "Hexaplorum Origenis quae supersunt auctiora et emendatiora, cum notis," Erfurt, 1769, 2 vols. (founded on Montfaucon's edition).

He went to Switzerland etc. etc. Began to write much, not against religion but against the confessional religion of protestants. He declared to be of the Christian religion. He gave a new translation of the New Testament, very good in many parts, and very bad, even ridicule in others, for he endeavoured to modernize the language, and made speak the Apostles and Evangelists as if the[y] were beaux esprits. He wrote a Dogmatic etc. His *Moral* is certainly his best book (he knew vice by experience and could show its deformity) But in distress, persecuted everywhere, not restrained only he grew desolate and the end of his life was pitifull and miserable. [*Marginal note.* The behaviour of the Council of the Empire against him in 1779 was shocking. He was ordered to be deposed from all his charges in Durkheim, to revoke or else to be driven out of the whole empire. His revocation was prescribed, he should confess that he never *meant to doubt* of the Holy Trinity and Christ's divinity. He flew to Halle where he was tolerated a while. His imprisonment for 30 weeks on account of his satire against the *Religious Edict* was really cruel, in a dungeon etc.] He has published Origenes Hexapla 2 vols. octavo. His *Union*³⁸ was nothing but a trick to get dollars. No man of sense in whole Germany considered it ever in any other light. It had not the least consequence, and I suppose he got very little money thereby. It was too stupid a plan, especially as he had circulated under hand a list of the members of his orders, which was quite false and many of the best men, even clergymen were amongst them, who never knew any thing of this absurd order.

The Lesegesellschaften accused by Robinson are nothing but circulating Libraries for Gentlemen and Ladies since some years spreading very fast over all Germany as love of lecture [reading] becomes general. Unhappily the directors are too often ignorant Booksellers or such. Novels, poetry, comedies all such works à la mode especially the newest are eagerly read, politics even also amongst them in many such societies. Better ones were for philosophical historical books etc. The learned

³⁸The Deutsche Union, a short-lived society organized by Bahrdt and recruited from former members of the Illuminati. Described at great length by Robinson in his third chapter.

had their own, physicians amongst themselves, Clergymen especially in the country, often under the inspection of their Superintendents (our Bishops) All according to their taste or principles. No plan of revolution etc. could enter thereinto. Now and then a revolutionary Director, a hot-brained exaltered Jacobin may have such a Library under his care and abuse of those who read unaware; that may be. In the roman catholic parts where they have still large *Catalogi librorum prohibitorum*, where even the works of Frederic II at his life time were forbidden, such societies were naturally offensive and obnoxious; and much restrained by the polices.

In general Robinson is despicably false when he represents Germans as *irreligious*. Hunderts of excellent Books publishing annually for true Christianity, the esteem wherein liberal clergymen are held everywhere by good people (the others *never* loved them) the general adherance to public service (large towns as Berlin etc. not very much Hamburg are divided in this point) the religious instruction in every school, the care of all governments for amending schoolbooks, catechisms (at Berlin by Dietrichs, at Hannover by Kopp, we are much behind in Hamburg) the care to make the liturgy more effectfull now very conspicuous in Danemarc, Prussia, Hanover, the *new* Institution of Seminaries for country school masters in Saxony, Prussia, Hanover, Danemarc all shew the contrary. But if R thinks that general tolerance, that reducing the Christian religion as it is, that [of] the people particularly, to the moral of Christ, that a sort of *political* indifference about the dogmatic part of religious instruction which is *somewhat* more left to the own judgment of the Clergy; if he think, that a better study of ecclesiastical history, a better exegesis and more learning and even taste in explaining the scripture—and above all if he thinks that a general opposition against Hierarchy or even against Papism which really threatened to overrule us by stealth—if he thinks that the detection of Jesuitical arts is Irreligion—thank heaven, we are and I hope we shall be irreligious, but with all *such* irreligion we shall be the better men and Christians, adoring God in practical truth and spirit and leaving the determination of theoretical dogmas to a happier future state.

[A consideration of the current tendencies in Europe follows.]

I have forgot to add something which is a proof against Robison. The King of Prussia has lately permitted *Nicolai* to be chosen amongst the members of the royal academy of Sciences, which is considered as very honorable. *Weishaupt* has lived since many years at Gotha under the patronage of the Duke of Gotha and in *all this time* lived unreprouchably. Both princes are amongst our best. Would they encourage men of such dangerous caracters and principles as Robison paints them?

What concerns *Basedow*³⁹ is very absurd in Robison. B was not a very learned man, but a man of Genius, penetrating and glowing to deserve well and to be usefull to his nation. We owe much to him. He was the son of a Hambro hairdresser and shewed early great talents, but not for school sciences but for philosophy. He was promoted to a professorship at Sorol in Danemark then at Altona. Wrote early on a better method to learn languages and sciences. His practical philosophy for people of every condition published first 1758, was received well by all and printed a new 1777. He wrote very eloquently. In the year 1764 he began his theological career, separating those christian dogmas which are for general use and edifying from speculative enquiries of the learned or even scholastical determinations. Being contradicted by some, especially Hambro' clergymen, he wrote far more, all in a very plain honest and plausible stile; as also much upon natural religion. Bernstorf protected him against some of the danish clergy; many and certainly the most learned and pious were on his side. His essay on the Truth of Christian religion as the best of all religions (1766) proves that he was not an unbeliever as descried by some. He urged amendments of liturgy and published a book of Psalms for Christians of *every* denomination amongst them also many of his own heartfelt poetry. In 1768 he began his plan to reform schools, viz. to teach languages not as such but as vehicles of learning and as logical exercises of the understanding. So he would reduce all learning and school instruction to usefull knowledge. He began his Elementary work, (much not so new as he thought) but very practicable in general.

³⁹See p. 307.

He wrote exceedingly much, almost without having read much. Begun a *philanthropical Academy* at Dessau with the Prince's (one of our worthiest princes) aid and protection. This was a school without theological instructions, leaving them to the Clergy. This offended many and it was unhappily uncommon. Only natural religion was thought [i. e. taught], and all sciences, corporal exercises etc. It had great success tho' he was the first who allowed Jews to send their sons (we do so since 10 years also.) He was too despotical a director of his School and his younger teachers did not agree with him and went further as [i. e. than] he would. Many other things made him weary of his inst[it]ution old age came on too; he quarrelled with one of his Fellow-teachers about the payment of his assistance in publishing his elementary book. He was growing passionate and angry—and gave up all, with very great loss of money; and died in a somewhat distracted state of mind, occasioned by frequent drinking of spirit. He was a zealous promoter of religion virtue and morality, but often whimsical and mostly an autodidactos. He was himself a moral man.

In general you will find that Robison accuses all men of talents who assert the use of reason in theological matters, and who oppose implicit creed of church-doctrines unknown to the first centuries of Christianity, unknown to the New Testament.

Now some annotations⁴⁰. Why R knew so many anecdotes we never heard of in Germany I cannot say; but the English have their spies everywhere, and spies must invent something in order to shew their ability and zeal.

p. 84 [109]. The Duke of Gotha of a *romantic turn!* If great love of science, great knowledge of astronomy, great humanity, love of justice, with a fondness for aristocracy usual in princes deserve such name; otherwise an absurd expression.

The Illuminati if they still exist are quite without energy or even activity. So are Masons. I knew two of the first grand masters who have entirely renounced to it here and in Altona and gave up their Lodges.

⁴⁰The edition of Robison owned by Ebeling and referred to page by page in the following notes is the third, Philadelphia, 1798. References to the corresponding pages in the first edition, Edinburgh, 1797, are added in brackets. The paging of the New York edition is almost identical with that of the Philadelphia edition.

p. 101 [131]. There was no insinuating into all public charges ever known of except in a few parts of Bavaria etc. —R. says nothing of the cruell treatment and proceeding in Bavaria against people, who [were] very only fantastical, or went too far in their love of truth.

p. 120 [158]. Zollikofer was the worthiest man and Christian in every respect. He may have said what is related here; and every good man will allow that natural religion is infinitely better than irreligion which prevailed in a great part of Berlin tho' on the other side the *religious* ones were *it* there the more sincerely.

p. 65 [82]. Robison is so extremely ignorant that he makes Eberhardt, Lessing etc. divines. Eberhard⁴¹ is professor of philosophy at Halle, was before Tutor to the sons of the prussian state minister *von der Horst*. *Lessing* as you will see in Herder's book vol. 2 which I send⁴² (Herder is a Clergyman at Weimar, one of our best criticks and authors in belles lettres living) was nothing less than a divine but rather an enemy of clergy as such, and no friend to christian religion at all. His Comedies and Tragedies are master-peases, amongst them his *Nathan* is for universal toleration. He was one of the most learned men we ever had, whatever he studied he penetrated into. He long lived here and died as Librarian of Wolfenbüttele. No man had perhaps so much penetration, wit and genius joined together, but he was fond of subtle enquiries and liked paradoxes. In Society he was very enlivening. At last he had a litterary quarrel with our late archizealous pastor Goeze,⁴³ as he had published a manuscript against the Bible, perhaps the most dangerous and serious attack against mosaic and evangelic history ever printed. Basedow, Michaelis and great many wrote against it, and Goeze attacked Lessing (his former literary friend) with great warmth. Lessing was ordered to discontinue the publication of the Mss. (tho' he had added a

⁴¹Joh. August Eberhard, 1739-1809, professor at Halle, 1778-1809.

⁴²Joh. Gottfried von Herder. *Zerstreute Blätter*. Gotha, 1785-86. 2 vols.**

⁴³Joh. Melchior Goeze, 1717-1786, a Lutheran theologian, who bitterly attacked Lessing for having published the *Wolfenbütteler Fragmente* which were in reality extracts from a work left in Ms. by Ebeling's Hamburg friend, H. S. Reimarus.

Lessing's three publications in answer to Goeze were: *Anti-Goeze*, (11 parts), *Axiomata*, *wenn es deren in dergleichen Dingen giebt*, and *Eine Parabel*, all published at Braunschweig in 1778.

sort of refutation, which was rather sophistical). This mortified him, his health suffered so much that he died. His writings against Goeze are keen satirical *treaties* full of learning, but misapplied. He never had any part at the *Allgemeine Bibliothek* but much in the *Letters on Litterature*⁴⁴ published by Nicolai before the Library, and devoted only to belles letters.

p. 65 [83]. Not Nicolai alone asserted that the dissolution of Jesuits is *only* apparent but every man of sense *sees* it. The order is openly *revived* in Russia allready long ago.—Exjesuits are everywhere, we have two here, preachers in Catholic Chapel.

Gedicke was properly a schoolman (never of the Clergy) *Biester* Dr at Law and the Kings Librarian. All this is known by children with us, but R. is ignorant thereof yet. Nicolai was never a Rosecrucian but very busy in detecting their absurdities.

p. 66 [83–84]. His *Sebaldus Nothanker* is a satire against intolerant priests. One never would say that *Buttlar*⁴⁵ was an enemy of religion. I send it you.

It is downright absurdity to speak of a conspiracy of booksellers, except of that to get money from the pockets of the readers.

Heinzelman's *excellent work*⁴⁶ was a produce of Lavaters school and held in derision since its appearing.

The history of Basedows philanthropine is full of confusion. Basedow since its beginning left out religious Church-instruction. Geography will shew that but *very few* Catholics live about Dessau.

p. 69 [88]. The King of Prussia in his last days sitting in an elbow chair before his palace at Sans Souci saw the son shining brightly. "Soon I shall be nearer thee!" said he. This is a fact, does it shew a materialist or a believer of a life after death? Of atheistical books and many licentious books published in the prussian country, or in general in germany I heard very little. From England and France there came many over, some were translated, but certainly despised by an exceeding

⁴⁴See p. 315, note 26.

⁴⁵Butler's *Hudibras*, as directed against the anti-royalist Puritans is, I suppose, meant.

⁴⁶Joh. Georg Heinzmann, 1757–1802. *Appell an meiner Nation über Aufklärung, Gelehrsamkeit, Büchermanufakturisten, etc.* Bern, 1795.

great majority. They may have been read eagerly by the profligates, especially in the south of Germany. They are not sold by Booksellers, but by pedlars clandestinely. Such seldom ventured themselves in the prussian, saxon etc. countries.

p. 70 [89]. The religious edict⁴⁷ of the late king of Prussia was at least absurd and calculated to make hypocrites. The present king [Frederick William III] who publicly professes his adherence to Christian religion has abolished it, has publicly rebuked and dismissed the framers of it, state minister Wöllner, and the two clergymen Hilmer and Hermes, both not in the least way conspicuous by learning, but an ignorant hypocritical set of men. The King's edict against them accuses them of playing underhand intrigues. They abused of the late King's weak understanding (weak by notorious extravagance which they connived at.) They made appear ghosts to him! There has been published a collection of Reviews of all what appeared against this Edict by Abbot Henke⁴⁸ at Helmstadt, one of our most worthy divines and professors of theology.

For Mirabeau's writings I do not apologize. He was a bad man; but his secret letters on Prussia are full of facts, amongst misinformations.

p. 72 [91]. That Germany is in the same predicament with France, is a shameless insolent *lye*. But the national pride of an english hired ministerial writer is able to say such things. It is morally impossible that *one general prevailing* political and religious idea could pervade such a composed mass of people as Germany contains. But that is true, and happily true, that a general spirit for religious and civil liberty (which as our great Klopstock says is also known by the happy people under a good King where law governs and one, as well as there where the law governs and many.) Revolutionary men are to be found,

⁴⁷The Religious Edict was issued July 9, 1788, by Frederick William II, at the instance of Wöllner who had just been appointed head of the religious department for Lutheran and Catholic affairs. "It forbade Evangelical ministers to teach anything not contained in the letter of their official books, proclaimed the necessity of protecting the Christian religion against the 'enlighteners' (Aufklärer) and placed educational establishments under the supervision of the orthodox clergy." *Encycl. Brit.* XI. 68. See also p. 329.

⁴⁸Heinrich Philipp Konrad Henke, 1752-1809. Ebeling afterward sent to Bentley Henke's "Allgemeine Geschichte der christlichen Kirche nach der Zeitfolge, Braunschweig, 1800-1804," 6 vols.**

and were so, but not prevalent. The faults committed by many governments may increase them. For example these days the govern[ment] of the Elector of Saxony forbade a philosophical journal of *Fichte* at Jena an archiKantian who insisted that no knowledge of God's existence and attributes may be got *a posteriori*, but all *a priori*. I think that is false, but as a philosophical opinion not dangerous, especially as uttered in that abstract, obscure language of the Kantians. But it was intended to have deposed the professor and to exile the Fiscal of the empire against him as an *Atheist* (an *Atheist* who contends that a true knowledge of God is to be obtained *a priori*, is I should say an *Over-Theist*.) The Hanoverian Government confiscated the book etc. The King of Prussia having been summoned to do the same, referred it to the ecclesiastical consistory, which answered, tho' they reprobated the doctrine of the Philosopher they saw no reason for forbidding his book. Now everybody wishes to *read* the book.

p. 75 [96]. The *Neuwie Zeitung* I never saw.

p. 135 [202]. The names of *Illuminati* mentioned here are certainly most of them unknown, insignificant men, without any celebrity, even after they have been published. I except Weishaupt, Knigge, Bode (I doubt very much whether at the beginning he was an *Illuminat*) Westenrieder, Baader, Nicolai, Barth, Mauvillon (certainly not an *Illuminate* for a long time, but a friend of Liberty, and Major in the service of the Duke of Brunswick, who protected him when Zimmerman at Hanover excited the Government of Hanover against some of his writings against Zimmerman. This Zimmerman⁴⁹ was a great physician, a good prosaic writer, but vain presumptuous, of an angry temper.

p. 178 [237]. Daniel Bernouilli.⁵⁰ Which? There are two Dan. Bern. None ever was a Doctor of Theology: None properly to be called a philosopher, but they were great mathematicians. R. is much versed in our History of Sciences!

⁴⁹Joh. Georg Zimmermann, 1723-1795.

⁵⁰Daniel Bernouilli, physician and mathematician, born in Groningen, 1700, died in Basle, 1782.

p. 198 [275]. That the letters on the prussian constitution⁵¹ were a joint writing of Mirabeau and Nicolai is a mean calumny. Nobody even at the time when the opposition party or the orthodox-intolerant were at the height of their power, ever insinuated that Nicolai (whom they really hated) was in *liaison* with Mirabeau. Nicolai is too circumspect and too great a prussian patriot to enter into such schemes.

Mirabeau's Books as also his works on the prussian monarchy (which he wrote with the help of Mauvillon at Brunsvic) avowedly contain a great many truths, amongst a great many slanders or rather some slander.

p. 202 [280]⁵² I believe there exists not a line where Nicolai *defended* the Illuminati, unless the reprobating the arbitrary unlawfull and even cruel behaviour of the bavarian Government against them, *in some points*, deserves that name. Lawfull proceedings against the Illuminati I never would disapprove.

p. 203 [281]. The Countess von der Recke⁵³ is a very amiable Lady, her poems under the name Elisa breathe the purest sentiments of religion, morality and a fine sense for all that is good and noble. Her character is very soft. The author calumniates her at the best of his powers. She is sister to the Duchess of Courland. Catherina the late empress made her a gift of an estate and she lived at her court not long before the death of Catherine. It is absurd to paint her as a *virago*. She is even somewhat too female, somewhat sentimental.

⁵¹Robison, in describing the rise of the German Union which followed upon the suppression of the Illuminati, speaks of the favorable reception given to "the infamous letters on the constitution of the Prussian states," the general opinion being that Mirabeau was their author and that "it was perfectly understood by every person, that the translation into French was a joint contrivance of Mirabeau and Nicholai." He gives his reasons for this opinion in some detail. I am indebted to Professor R. H. Lord of Cambridge for the suggestion that the work referred to was the publication entitled—"Geheime Briefe über die preussische Staatsverfassung seit der Thronbesteigung Friedrich Wilhelm des Zweyten," Utrecht [Berlin?], 1787. Philippson calls this a well-informed work, and says it was probably written by Geh. Finanzrat von Bocke, a brother of the General. That there was a French translation is shown by the reply to it: "An den französischen Uebersetzer einer deutschen Schrift, Geheime Briefe, etc., Lemgo, 1788."

⁵²In Ebeling's edition of Robison page numbers 197-202 are repeated. It is the *second* p. 202 which is referred to.

⁵³Elisa, Baronin von der Recke (born Reichsgräfin von Medem, 1754-1833. A collected edition of her letters and diaries was made by Paul Rachel and published in 1900-1902, 2 vols.

p. 204 [282-283]. The character given here to Nicolai will be held in derision throughout Germany, the bigoted and jesuitical part excepted. It is entirely a fiction.

Starks Contest [with Nicolai] was never considered as important, tho it occupied many pens. That is allways the sad case in Germany in literary political and religious quarrels that the scriblers are at hand. Men of sense don't care it.

Bahrtdt had one undoubted merit, that he opposed to objurants, that he resisted bigotry and perfunctory orthodoxy, that he was for free inquiry, by which religion cannot but gain, for liberty of the press etc. The farce of the Union he played is entirely forgotten and was but short lived.

219 [302]. Such tales as of the Gräfin (not *Crafin*) and Biester *giving oath* etc. is highly ridiculous. All Gazettes were full of protestations of men who were named as members of this miserable Union, and each was trusted upon his word; as Barth was known.

p. 230 [317]. The *persons high in office at Berlin* This seems to betray the whole mystery of R. writing. He may then have got his materials from Wölner late minister of state and such like.

p. 237 [325]. That great encouragement was given to *licentious* books in Germany is false unless it means that *licentious* people liked them. Our Reviews are full of proofs of the contrary. Sceptic books were not disliked by those who love truth, and ought not to be rejected but *refuted* if erroneous. Books that *derided* religion never found great encouragement with us, but candid sceptics were not persecuted by good people, very often by clergymen in power.

239 [329]. Barths Farce the Religious Edict⁵⁴ is a miserable mean production of his pen—Pott a generally despised scribbler, never made great sensation and was immediately forgotten.

248 [341]. Barth with the Iron brow.⁵⁵ R. cannot recollect who published it! I dare say he will not, because it is known universally that Zimmermans Sancho Pansa Dr. Marcard,

⁵⁴Das Religionsedict. Ein Lustspiel in fünf Aufzügen. Thenakel [Wein], 1789.

⁵⁵Doctor Bahrtdt mit der eisernen Stirn, oder Die deutsche Union gegen Zimmermann. Ein Schauspiel in vier Aufzügen von Freyherrn von Knigge. 1790.

then in Hanover, now in Oldenberg, gave the materials and Kotzebue a dramatic author not without talents (but not at all a Shakespear as the English now seem to make out of him) brought them into dramatical form. It is a highly ridiculous thing mixing good and innocent authors together. Only meant at those who opposed in the least way the immortality of Zimmerman now *entirely* deceased. It is full of low vulgarlike base scenes and ribaldry. No man of honour could write it. It failed quite its effect, but *killed* nearly a young man in Hanover who was attacked in this libel against more than 20 of our learned, good and innocent mixed with guilty in one continual slander. Hanoverian government excited many to make a process to the author, but none thought it worth the while.

259 [355]. It is quite false that Mauvillon⁵⁶ avowed anarchical opinions. He died *in favor* with his prince a few years afterwards. He was a true friend of *lawfull* liberty.

p. 287 [392]. Principles of anarchy digested into system in Germany is certainly a falsehood, especially as to that part where Mirabeau was. Mirabeau spoke very freely, but he never said anything which could make us suppose such things. He was also here a short time, and behaved well. This you know was before the revolution where he acted such a treacherous part on every side.

Bode⁵⁷ was never *Freyherr* and it is absolutely false that he played a principal or any conspicuous part in Illumination, but he was very busy in detecting and eradicating the noxious influence by *foreign* unknown superiours (jesuits or who they were) into Masonry. He was entirely an honest man, somewhat blunt and hot, but well meaning. He was a musician and played the hoboy in a Regiment at Bronswic. One of my first teachers Mr. Stockhausen (a good author in belles letters and afterwards of the first in the Clergy of Hassia) excited him as a man of genius to apply to sciences. So he went to Hamburg and gave lessons in music, english language etc. I knew him intimately for many years. He went to Weimar with the Widow of the Great Bernstorff the elder whose Anagnostes he

⁵⁶Jacob Mauvillon, 1743-1794, a friend of Mirabeau, and an enthusiastic follower of the French Revolution.

⁵⁷See p. 317.

was. I doubt whether any thing of what is said p. 288-9 be true. That Bode was immersed in debt I never heard.

The Vienna Zeitschrift quoted p. 290 [397] is an insipid jesuitical and despotic medley, which no man of sense ever read. [*Marginal Note.* The author is *Hofmann*, a man of no consequence or esteem, cf. p. 302.] *Girtanners Nachrichten von der franz. Revolution*⁵⁸ a voluminous work against the Revolution even in its good beginning, quite aristocratical. He wished to be professor of physick at Goettingen and thought to insinuate himself into favour by this book. *Revolutions Almanack* published annually by one Reichard at Gotha who is paid therefore. A despicable performance against what was good in the revolution, and what is bad therein, mixing all together with equal stupidity.

305 [418]. The Hamburg (rectius the Altona) political Journal is written since 1782 by a political blockhead and sycophant, one *Schirach*.⁵⁹ He was a master of arts at Halle of that school of Dunses there which was called *Klotz's school*⁶⁰ who opposed to our best authors Lessing, Ramler, to Ernesti etc. in order to get a fame but soon became ridiculous on account of their want of taste, impudence, rusticity and illiberality. They made an impudent noise from 1764 to 1770. Lessing wrote *Antiquarian Letters* against their Chief (Klotz) who pretended to be a connoisseur of ancient gems, Inscriptions etc. and ridiculised his impertinence. So they fell back into nothing. Schirach in this shipwreck got safe to Helmstadt, was made a professor, wrote an adulatory treatise in defence of a danish law excluding foreigners (Germans) from employments and got a pension for it; so he came to settle in Danemarc. Having written a miserable life of Charles VI the Emperor he was *ennobled* by Maria Theresia. To maintain his rank he wrote that Journal, wherein the Americans from beginning to end were treated as Rebels (even now you

⁵⁸Christoph Girtanner, 1760-1800, *Historische Nachrichten und politische Betrachtungen über die französische Revolution.* Berlin, 1792-1803. 14 vols., of which the last four are a continuation by Friedrich Buchholz.

⁵⁹Gottlob Benedict von Schirach, 1743-1804, during the last twenty years of his life edited the "Politisches Journal, nebst Anzeige von gelehrten und andern Sachen." Its publication continued for many years after Schirach's death.

⁶⁰See p. 315.

are an unhappy people severely repenting for your defection) His gross adulation to Kings, noblemen etc. makes him despised by every body. He is commonly called the *new prophet* in Germany, as he greatly deals in political prophecies, and anecdotes. His credulity is so very great that he inserted once a relation of manoeuvres and military operations made at Luneberg, in an encampment (30 miles from hence) where the troops were said to have attacked mountains (all in a circumference of 60 miles is sandy plain) and the cavallery to have charmed instead of *charged* with the ennemy, and that they had imitated the battle of Rosbach. All was fun to try his stupidity. So he is often imposed upon, and quite incorrigible against innumerable poignant satires.

p. 353 [480] It is a nefarious betraying of truth to mention blackguard productions of the German presses against religion (which Robison was not able to read as he confessed) and not to mention at the same time the many excellent works in defense of religion by Michaelis, Spalding, Less, Herder, Cramer (at Kiel once) Jerusalem, Loeftler, Henke, Zollicofer, Marezoll, Koppe, and a great many others. The first are not so very common, especially since several years, are soon forgotten; but the last are often reprinted and held in esteem, as much as many of the first are despised. Paine's work was translated,⁶¹ his age of reason, even here, by a young man of no bad or profligate character, but precipitate in his judgements, he called *all* clergymen hypocrites; our clergy laughed at this juvenile impertinence, and the book made no impression at all. The translator I hear repented to have injured so very many worthy men and to have offended against that toleration, he would establish.

Excuse Dear Sir, that I dwelt so long upon this venal party writer. Those allarmists do as much mischief as the french propagand may have done. They perpetuate *wars*, and I am persuaded it is their intention. As on one side liberty and its glorious sake has been shamefully betrayed, on the other despotism, intolerance, the feudalism of nobility and the

⁶¹Das Zeitalter der Vernunft, Deutschland (Lubeck), 1794-96. Translated by Heinrich Christoph Albrecht, a teacher of English at Halle, later teacher of languages at Hamburg.

superstition of popish or its like Hierarchy find their abettors. War is broken out at new in Germany and will be continued with double fury. It is begun at new against the will of nations, who cry out for peace loudly. In this very moment the conditions of the peace of Campo Formio appear in our newspapers wherein [word deleted] is promised to *help* the French to reduce Mayence, etc. etc. (See the Gazettes I send). You may think what sensation is produced thereby.

But I must finish this too long letter. I shall continue to send you what I can get to illustrate and give proofs of what I advanced in this letter in opposition to Robison.

I hope to be better soon and shall then write about the other contents of your kind letters.

Believe me to be with great esteem
Reverend Sir,
Your
most obedient Servant
E.

You are at liberty to communicate the contents of my letter to your friends and even print what you think worth of public knowledge, but not mentioning of my name. You see how hot the parties are now and what persecution they threaten to all *secus sentientes*. It neither must be said that a letter from *Hamburg* contains these things, which would be as good as mentioning my name.⁶²

⁶²It is not altogether easy to follow the controversy arising out of Ebeling's letters to Bentley and Morse—a controversy which raged for a time between the Rev. Jedediah Morse and the papers which attacked him and finally resulted in the publication under false pretences of the substance of this letter. Ebeling refers to the matter in several later letters, (July 26 and 28, 1800) regretting that what he had hastily written was published, and (April 17, 1801) complaining of the inaccurate form in which it was printed, but finally (July 12 and 14) disclaiming any dissatisfaction at the publication. See pp. 345, 348, 353, 354, 358. The newspapers of the day eagerly exploited Ebeling's reported opinions on Robison's work as a means of discrediting Morse's agitation against the supposed dangers to American institutions threatened by the Illuminati. Stauffer gives most of the necessary references to the various papers concerned.

In the "American Mercury" (Hartford), September 26, 1799, we find the following statement: "We have been informed, and in a way that authorises us to speak with confidence of the truth of the information, that a Rev. Doctor [i. e. Morse] . . . lately received a letter from Professor Ebling." This letter states in substance that Robison's book has no reputation in Europe, and is entitled to no consideration. In this the writer followed the general tenor of Ebeling's letter to Bentley and doubtless of his shortly subsequent letter to Morse (see p. 00) but he went on to say that Ebeling's letter also made serious charges against Robison's moral character, accused him of forgery and of having

TO DR. BENTLEY

MARCH 28, 1799.

REVEREND SIR

I had the honour to write you by the post before three weeks,¹ and intended to sent you a parcel with several Books containing Masonry, Illuminati and the present state of Germany with relation to that point.² Unhappily [what] I hoped should reach you first comes at the last. A merchant who charged himself with forwarding it by the first ship sailing to Boston, forgot the parcel and upon enquiry I was obliged to retake it; so you find

taken refuge in France, and stated that he had been expelled from the Masonic lodge in Edinburgh. The statements were given wider publicity in the "Connecticut Courant" of September 30 and in the "Bee" (New London) of October 9. Morse replied October 4, asking Babcock the publisher of the "Mercury" to state "that the piece was without foundation and a vile calumnious falsehood," and he demanded the name of the author. Babcock answered that "our authority is not an obscure character; there are but few esteemed more respectable in New England," that he was a person who saw the original in the Rev. Doctor's presence and drafted the substance of the same; and he called upon Morse to substantiate his charge by printing the original letter. Morse replied, October 31, that Ebeling's letter was a private letter and that honor and duty forbade him to publish it, but that it contained nothing to justify the Mercury's statement and he referred for corroboration to Professors Tappan and Pearson. This letter was printed in the "American Mercury" of November 14 and is followed by a long answer by Babcock covering nearly two columns and full of satirical abuse and petty fault-finding.

In the meantime a correspondent "Z" had sent a clear and restrained statement of the case to the "Connecticut Courant" pointing out that the charges of forgery, etc. were marked with quotations as being taken from Professor Ebeling's letter to Dr. Morse and he concludes that Babcock himself fabricated the paragraph. This with the other letters was reprinted in the "Columbian Centinel" (Boston) of November 9, 1799 and in the "American Mercury" of November 7. Morse's letter of October 31 will also be found in the "Columbian Centinel" of November 23. The next step in the controversy was the publication of what purported to be the full text of Ebeling's letter to Morse in the "Bee" of November 20, 25, and 27 and in the "Aurora" (General Advertiser) of November 25 and December 6 and 9. They remark—"It will now be seen . . . that the information first received of its contents, if not correct in branding the character of Robison with the infamy of forgery, is yet sufficiently authenticated as to prove his book to be a most wicked and vile imposture." The letter printed, however, was in substance Ebeling's letter to Bentley of March 23, 1799, many sentences and some paragraphs omitted, and all freely rewritten so as to eliminate Ebeling's occasional uncouth or original phrases, but unmistakable as to its origin.

See also p. 362 where Ebeling writes of the letter he had received from Robison and of his reply.

¹Not of course the letter of March 13, but an earlier one which has not been preserved, referred to at the opening of the letter of March 13, p. 307. Some paragraphs of the present letter and a part of the book-titles are omitted, being simply repetitions of portions of the previous letter.

²See p. 309 where some of these books are mentioned as having been sent.

the Books and the Hambro newspapers till this day in the larger Box accompanying this letter. It contains³

1. Philo's i. e. Knigge's Answer
2. Apologie der Illuminaten by Weishaupt
3. Nicolai Account of his Interest in the Illuminati, which is universally acknowledged as honest truth
4. Beiträge fur Geschichte der geheimen Gesellschaften.
5. Griesbachs N T. Vol. 1. I have got a Copy tho' the Book is not sold properly before its being completely. It came too late to have it bound.
6. A large Mass of Jena Litteratur Zeitung, 1791 to 1797 It is no complete Collection, which is found very seldom unless in large libraries and commonly is sold for a 100 Dollars, but I fortunately got this at a trifle. It will give you the best accounts of the Kantian philosophy and afterwards of that of Fichte, who formerly was a Kantian but now liked better to set up for himself.
7. Nicolai on Templarians and Masons.

I have laid another large letter⁴ in the Book No. 4. Excuse its rhapsodical stile. I was then very sick, but my fever had left me. I would be quite restored had not the winter returned before yesterday with great deal of snow and some frost. This is very seldom with us at so late a time.

You [i. e. I] send also some Maps for you. I shal continue to send you my America Maps as Noctuas Athenas⁵, but you will not disapprove of them when you see how carefully we search to avoid the faults which we may detect; I added a specimen of a Map just now printing.

³1) Philo's endliche Erklärung und Antwort auf verschiedene Anforderungen und Fragen, die an ihn ergangen, seine Verbindung mit dem Orden der Illuminaten betreffend. Hannover, 1788.**

3) Fr. Nicolai. Öffentliche Erklärung über seine geheime Verbindung mit dem Illuminatenorden. Nebst beyläufigen Digressionen betreffend Hrn. Joh. Aug. Stark und Hrn Joh. Kaspar Lavater. Berlin und Stettin, 1788.**

4) Beiträge zur philosophischen Geschichte der heutigen geheimen Gesellschaften. 1786.** The anonymous author was H. G. von Bretschneider.

6) "Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung," published at Jena from 1785 to 1803, at Halle, 1804-1849. Ebeling's set received through the American Antiquarian Society served to make good a few gaps in the Harvard set. The "Jenaische allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung" began publication in 1804 when the older publication was transferred to Halle.

⁴Evidently the letter of March 13 is meant.

⁵Owls to Athens, like coals to Newcastle.

You will excuse that I added a roll for Dr Morse. So I have packed up in the larger Box for [i. e. four] talmudic Books for Prof. Pearson. Both you will let them have as occasion offers, or they send for it.

The second smaller Box contains [some titles omitted here to avoid repetition].

5. Theological Magazine. To shew that even our orthodox divines are participating from [i.e. in] the light of the day. The Editor⁶ is the first of the Hanoverian or Bremen Clergy, and the same who was so laudably employed in sending german Clergymen to North-Carolina, and who wrote for them (together with other professors then his Collegues at Helmstadt) Catechism, History from the Bible, a commercial Geography and a Treatise or Collection of Usefull Knowledge for everybody, which was sent at publick Expencc to North Carolina. He is a very worthy man and an academical friend of mine tho' we greatly differ in theological principles.
8. Campe's Works on Education
9. Krohn's Catalogue with the late Authors own remarks. It is a very chosen library of an excellent man, who tho' very orthodox, was intimate friend to several heterodox Clergymen here and in the neighborhood.
10. Herder's Blätter. This clergyman is one of our best living genius's and very intelligent learned. You find many of his reviews in the Erfurt paper.

[He adds, without change, the list of twelve items found at the opening of his letter of March 13, and continues with reports of the latest news from France.]

Excuse my abrupt writing. But I cannot finish without

⁶5) The person meant must be Johann Caspar Velthusen, 1740-1814, Professor of Theology successively at Kiel, Helmstadt and Rostock. The enumeration of his writings in Meusel's *Das gelehrte Deutschland*, viii. 195, covers eight pages and includes many titles of the kind mentioned by Ebeling. He was also the editor of "Nordcarolinische Kirchennachrichten" 1^{es} Heft, Leipzig, 1790; 2^{es} und letztes Heft, Stade, 1792.* This gives an account of the books and supplies sent to the three missionaries in North Carolina, Pastor Nussman, Pastor Roschen and Pastor Storch, and prints the letters and reports received from them. In the same volume is bound up Velthusen's "Rede und Gebet bey Einsegnung Herrn Carl August Gottlieb Storch zum evangelischen Gehülffsprediger fur Nordcarolina," Leipzig, 1788. See also p. 374.

8) J. H. Campe. *Sammlung einiger Erziehungsschriften*. 2 vol. Leipzig, 1778.**

repeating my thanks for your very kind presents. I should be happy if what I send you is in some way agreeable to you. How very much acceptable your Books were you will see by my other letters.

I have not been able to complete my fifth volume nor the second Edition of the first; I was too sickly. It will be done I hope in a month or two.

I have the honour to be with great
esteem

Reverend Sir

Your

most obedient and much obliged

Servant

C D EBELING

[Postscript]

I must once more remark that I received your parcels in 1797 and also the Letter of Dr Tucker. I wrote himself and hear the Letter is arrived at Philadelphia. You cannot conceive how much I owe you for your great pains and trouble. I shall be attentive to get of our best works as they occur in auctions. They rapidly are out of print; the bad ones are to be had in all libraries. I hope this is no bad compliment to our readers. Adelung's continuation is not yet out.

I forget to tell you that Dr Pearson, Dr Tappan, Dr Morse enquired also from me about Robison⁷. I was only able to write somewhat amply to the latter but I fear it is no consolation to these Gentlemen; yet I think impartial truth ought to be told allways. They are too equitable to blame me for it.

⁷These gentlemen were greatly alarmed and excited by the appearance of Robison's book. Stauffer gives an account of the disturbance they raised. Morse led off with a fast-day sermon at the New North Church in Boston, repeated in the afternoon in Charlestown, May 9, 1798. Professor Tappan followed with a "Discourse delivered in the Chapel of Harvard College, June 19, 1798." Stauffer's bibliography gives the titles of many other sermons and addresses on the same subject and traces the course of the discussion in the public press.

Bentley records in his Diary, Dec. 8, 1798 (vol. II, p. 291)—"In yesterday's gazette we had the last roar of poor Morse. His only fort was in recourse to vulgar prejudice. He did not dare to meet an argument fairly. He ranted upon the zeal of Masons, his old Copie of Robison, then condemned all Secret Societies, etc." For the later discussion, see note 62 on p. 333.

TO DR. BENTLEY

SEPTEMBER 7, 1799.

REVEREND SIR

I owe you so much that I am ashamed of answering you so late, having your Letters of May 6th, July 5th and July 8th before me. But you are kind enough to excuse me when I tell you that I am really overwhelmed with business as I have been chosen Librarian of the public Library which was in great confusion, and to bring about 100,000 Volumes in order and congruence with the Nominal- and Real-Catalogues, writing down some thousands of Titles of Books not yet inserted, rectifying 10,000 others, and all this without a Colleague, only with the help of a few Volunteers and two Gymnasiasts—besides this continuing my Geography, publishing a new Edition, attending my lessons.—you see Dear Sir how little time is remaining for correspondence tho' I have almost given over supper every day and scarce visit any of my friends.

I have received all what you kindly sent me by Capt Williams, White, Eliot and Fairfield as also a Letter by Capt Hodges but have not been favoured by a visit of any of those Gentlemen you mentioned. The parcel by Capt. *Goodwin* containing *Prince's Chronology*¹ I have not received. I hear that Capt Goodwin went by way of London, but cannot find that he was here. You mention that you sent together with Prince vol 38 of American pamphlets. I owe to your kindness Vol 28th of pamphlets containing 16 pamphlets on N E. Church History by Clarke, Waterland, Homer, Stiles, Seabery with your instructive Catalogue of them.² I have also Kirklands Sermon on Belknap³ which you mention likewise, tho' perhaps this Copy was sent by Mr Eliot. But Prince's Chronology did

¹He had begged Bentley before to get this book for him, April 28, 1798.

²This volume is now on the shelves of the Harvard Library marked Tr. 410. Besides the sixteen pamphlets mentioned it contains a long descriptive letter from Bentley, undated, but beginning, "I have sent this xxviii Vol. of my Pamphlets to you because I could not readily supply the papers in it respecting the establishment of Episcopacy in these States . . . As I have sent the Volume I will give you the history of every part of it, should it be deserving of any attention for any other purpose than Episcopacy." Sent in response to Ebeling's request of April 29, 1796. See p. 292.

³John T. Kirkland. A sermon delivered at the interment of the Rev. Jeremy Belknap. Boston, [1798].* Inscribed "for Professor Ebeline from the family of his deceased friend."

not yet reach me. I should be extremely gratified to have made use of it in reviewing my history. I shall still enquire at London, and Mr Consul Pitcairn will also be so obliging to help me to find out the parcel. The Laws of Virginia I have got⁴ and am extremely happy to have got them by your great kindness. I wrote to Dr Tucker and have the honour of his answer lately.

Your exertions to procure me valuable materials call for my most heartfelt gratitude. So your entertaining and instructive Letters, your Description of Cape Anne, your annotations to my Book. I wish for only half a day of leasure to answer them each in particular. In our next St Michaels Vacancies I shall employ so much time as I ever can spare to make up a Catalogue of my American Library, as also set down queries at your desire.

I am so unhappy occupied that I even could not make use of the friendship and kindness of Colonel James Swan the worthy American, who wrote on National Arithmetic⁵ etc who was here more than half a year and is a source of instruction.

[He recapitulates the boxes already sent with their contents in brief. These he has already described in more detail in the letters of March 13 and March 28.]

Now I sent another large Box of many Kind of Books which I hope will be acceptable. I have mostly been forced to have them bound in haste for our Bookbinders are few, and for binding in calf they retain a Book often six or eight weeks. I shall make up in Books, what wants in Binding. You will find

1. The Gotha literary Gazette from Nr 18 to Nr 68. I have marked with a pencil several particularly interesting Reviews.
2. The Erfurt ditto
3. The political Hambro new Gazette wherein the Reviews or Books under *Gelehrte Artikel* are of my workmanship. Now and then you will remark that I could not write freely.⁶ That is not at all the fault of our Government,

⁴See note to letter of April 28, 1798, p. 303.

⁵[James Swan.] National arithmetic: or Observations on the finances of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. Boston, [1786].*

⁶See the letter of March 13, 1799, p. 309 where he refers to the same difficulty.

but of the foreign Ministers who indirectly check very much the most circumspect freedom of writing. Even our good Magistrate is accused to be a *lover of Anarchy*, because he wishes to preserve neutral commerce—and is not able to lay any weight into the ballance, but tolerates and protects ten times as many french emigrants, than french Republicans.

[He adds editions of Isocrates, Theophrastus, Hesiod, Euripides, Anacreon, Sophocles, Lucian and Plato.]

12. *Löfler von der Genugthuung Christi*. The Author is one of our best Divines tho' no Sectary at all, and scarce to be called a Lutheran Theologus. But *must* Religion and Christianity be reduced into the form of a Sect?
13. *Meusels Leitfaden* is the Beginning of a History of Sciences which bids fair to become very good.
14. *Hagedorns Poems*. He lived at Hamburgh and is one of our first Classiks and very easy too.
15. *Epicteti Enchiridion et Arriani Epictetea philosophia* published by Schwenkhauser. Is just now come out. You will allow me to offer it for the Virginia laws. The inward value of the Edition will I hope make it acceptable to you, if not so usefull as the Laws are to me. Their price is the same.
16. *Reimarus* (the Father's) on Natural Religion.⁷ It has been translated into french and dutch as his teleological treatise on the Instincts of Animals has been into english. He was one of our best philosophers.
17. *Reimarus* (the Son's) on the Existence of God.⁸ This my venerable College is writing like his father in philosophy; but his Father was a great Philologus too as he is a great physician. He is father in Law to the new

⁷Hermann Samuel Reimarus, 1694–1768. *Abhandlungen von dem vornehmsten Wahrheiten der natürlichen Religion*, 1755.

⁸Joh. Albert Heinrich Reimarus, 1729–1814, son of the preceding. *Von dem Dasein Gottes und von der menschlichen Seele*. Hamburg, 1781. Reimarus also wrote on philosophical, commercial, economic and medical topics. His daughter married Charles Frédéric Reinhard, 1761–1837. Reinhard was a member of the Academy of Sciences of Göttingen, where Ebeling probably knew him. His diplomatic career began at London in 1792 when Talleyrand's attention was drawn to him, and he continued in diplomatic employments the greater part of his life. Minister of Foreign Affairs, July 20 to Nov. 22, 1799. Created Comte in 1814 by Louis XVIII.

french minister of foreign affairs, who (by the by I may mention) is a very worthy excellent man of principles and virtues. I hope much from him, and Sieyès. Even Mallet du Pan cannot but praise his integrity, but instead of rejoicing at his appointment he says that is a proof of french hypocrisy. An angel would rejoice at the conversion of a Sinner—but du Pan is too humane.

18. Nicolai's History of his learned Education and Life.⁹ This same Nicolai whom miserable Robinson paints as an Illuminate etc etc has been appointed and confirmed by the King as Member of the royal Academy of Sciences. As the King is a true sincere friend to religion this appointment will prove at least that he has not been of the learned Mr Robisons opinion about Nicolai, whom Mr R always stiles *Nicholai*, a proof that he never read one of his pretty numerous writings. But Nicolai is an enemy to popery and bigotry. And there are many believing that the restitution of popery and Jesuits makes a part of the great plan of a secret great propaganda, whose views are somewhat different from any kind of liberty, tho' ostensibly they only oppose french liberty, which I would also oppose to in its late shape.
19. Velthusen on Fichte¹⁰ (the Jena philosopher, deposed from his professorship because suspect of Atheism tho' he solemnly denied it and wrote with execration of Atheism. His obscure, scholastical, over-acute writings made yet the accusation not incredible and he hastened himself his dismissal.
20. Schreiben eines Catholischer Geistlichen.¹¹ Shows in what view was regarded even formerly the controversy about Illumination and Masonry.
20. Sotzman's Atlas with his new Geography.

⁹Ueber meine gelehrte Bildung, über meine Kenntniss der kritischen Philosophie und meine Schriften dieselbe betreffend, und über die Herren Kant, J. B. Erhard, und Fichte. Berlin, 1799.**

¹⁰Einige Fragen veranlasst durch J. G. Fichte's Appellation an das Publikum-Helmstadt, 1799.

¹¹"Schreiben eines katholischer Geistlichen in Baiern die Verfolgung der Illuminaten betreffend." Gotha, 1786.

21. *Fabri's* new Geography.¹² The last Edition.
22. Weishaupt's Geschichte der Vervollkommung des menschl. Geschlechts, not continued.
23. His verbessertes System.¹³ This is reckoned his best apology. You may confer one of the Gotha Gazettes about his newest History. He lives unblamable since many years.
24. *Aeschylus* Comment Vol. 2.
25. German Erato translated by Mr Beresford an Englishman now here.
26. Frankreich the continuation.
26. My American Geogr. Vol. 5th.
27. Maps of Maine and New York. That of New York coasts me a very great deal of trouble and many expences to the Editor as the erection of new Counties obliged us to engrave a considerable part anew.

I have added a Roll of Maps for Mr Eliot at Boston which you will occasionally have forwarded to him.

[He speaks of the mysterious murder of the French ambassadors, Debry and Roberjot, on their way home from Rastadt and the failure to make a prompt inquiry, and then turns to American politics.]

Your politics in the Newspaper I hope are not those of the Government and the Nation For if America would go to war without necessity and imitate the french in their former principles of conquest—I would burn my whole Book and all materials for my Geography and History of America. You will laugh at these *fulgura ex pelvi*, and so your Country men will say that this burning was the better for them. In that case I shall rather continue it.

If occasionally you can procure me the Laws of Rhode Island, and of Kentucky lately printed at Lexington you will ad to the great many obligations I owe you.

The newspapers being extended to those of the inner parts of America viz Tennessee, Kentucky, North Carolina etc or to

¹²J. E. Fabri. Handbuch der neuesten Geographie für Akademien und Gymnasien. 5^e Aufl. Halle, 1795.

¹³Das verbesserte System der Illuminaten mit allen seinen Einrichtungen und Graden. Frankfurt, 1787.

Nova-Scotia, Quebec *if occasion offers*, and it is not expensive, will oblige me.

You will excuse my not sending sooner the Reviews, it was only by inadvertence, they were mislaid among other papers. Formerly as a nephew of mine still lived with me I could rely upon him. Now he is gone to the Westindies and [I am] quite alone, and have only a servant and an old [woman?] who wait upon me together with 10 other people in our house in whose service they are. You see a German professor is not over happily situated when he is a Batchelor.

But with all that I shall allways be at your orders and rejoice in executing them.

The Biblia hebraica Reineccii costs only 3 Dollars unbound, and so I have ordered it from Leipsic without further notice. I hope to get it soon.

I have the honour to be with very great esteem and thankfulness

Dear Sir

Your

most obedient humble Servant

C. D. EBELING.

TO REV. JOHN ELIOT

Corr. Secretary, Massachusetts Historical Society

SEPTEMBER 9, 1799.¹

[Acknowledges the receipt of five volumes of the Historical Society's Collections for Göttingen and encloses a letter of thanks from Heyne (the editor of Virgil). He sends the fifth volume of his Geography and says, "Perhaps you may be persuaded to learn our language, not for my book's sake, which is by no means worth the while, but for a great many better ones, especially in Theology and History." He mentions the box he has just made up for Dr. Bentley and his failure to receive anything by Captain Goodwin's hands. The rest of the letter is devoted to European politics, with some references to the fear aroused in America by the Illuminati.]

¹In papers of the Mass. Hist. Soc. Letters to Corr. Sec. 1792-1811.

TO DR. BENTLEY

SEPTEMBER 14, 1799.

[Refers to his letter of a few days earlier sent by post and to boxes recently sent.

He defends Klopstock's position with regard to France and denounces a letter purporting to be by Klopstock, which appeared in the "Salem Gazette," no. 772, as absolutely false.]

TO REV. JOHN ELIOT

JULY 26, 1800.¹

I take the liberty to send you the new Edition of the first Volumes of my Geography of the United States and the last parts of *le Nord*,² which you will be so kind as to present to the Historical Society. The increased Size of the Book may prove that I enlarged it much, but I wish all this was real amendment. I have separated the Description of Maine as it is likely to become a new State in some years, and has been so much improved since the publishing of the first Edition.³ The History of your State has been continued to this day, I hope with impartiality tho' I cannot flatter myself that I succeeded as to exactitude. Each page will show by the quotations how much I made use of the very valuable materials found in the Collections of the Society, and how much I am indebted to them, as also to their learned Member the American Geographer.⁴

I have delayed so long to answer your very kind Letter of Jan 18. on account not only of very much business, greatly increased by the deranged state of our public Library which was put under my care; but also of the weakness of my health, which I was prevented to restore by frequent exercise, as [a]

¹Original in papers of the Mass. Hist. Soc. Letters to Corr. Sec. 1792-1811, no. 85.

²"Le Nord Littéraire." By Francois Olivarius. 1797-1800. 4 vols. The numbers sent are in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

³In the first edition of Vol. I (1793), covering New Hampshire and Massachusetts, the portion devoted to the description of Massachusetts was divided into West Massachusetts (pp. 377-489) and East Massachusetts or the District of Maine (pp. 489-544), followed by the historical section, pp. 545-862.

In the second edition which has grown to 1517 pp., "Das Land Maine" occupies the final section of the volume, pp. 1283-1494.

⁴The Rev. Jedidiah Morse for whom Ebeling entertained no very high opinion.

friend and Colleague of mine⁵ with whom I live in the same house fell into a severe sickness which keeps him in the bed since 4 months. This was not only a severe affliction to myself but also required all my leasure hours, which are indeed a very few ones. The entertainment and instruction which I would acquire by a more frequent correspondence with worthy men like you, I was forced to renounce to, but hope to cultivate it better in future.

I never should have any objection that all what I wrote, might appear in print, as far as I am conscious that what I wrote was true to the best of my knowledge. But this is not sufficient to make them worthy of public appearance. I must write in a hurry; my political sentiments I may freely and without the least danger utter to a free American. So I may do here in conversation with my fellow citizens. But it is another thing, if the same is read or heard by the Aristocrates of Europe, by those in the service of Kings, etc. As in the letter in question I should wish that all had been left out what belongs to the late King of P. The present King, excellent in every regard, would not mind it, if it came to his knowledge, but others might. Yet I wish with a[ll] my heart that such men as Barruel⁶ might be exposed in their true shape, as they really are, noxious to true religion and morality. More has been published lately (June) in *Wieland's Mercury*⁷ (a Magazine of one of our best Authors) a Letter from a Nobleman in Vienna that shews how Barruel collected all such crude things. He was for 5 years (in 70 and 80.) at Vienna in the Collegium Theresianum where allways some french Exjesuits are pensioned for so many years. He never learned our

⁵Johann Georg Büsch, Ebeling's partner in the conduct of the Handlungsakademie, who died August 5, 1800.

⁶The abbé Augustin de Barruel, 1741-1820, whose "Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire du jacobinisme," in four volumes was published in London in 1797-98, and was reprinted in Hamburg, in five volumes in 1803. An "Abrégé des Mémoires, etc.," was printed in London almost simultaneously (1798) in a single volume. An English translation by the Hon. Robert Clifford was printed at Hartford (vols. I and II), New York (vol. III), and Elizabeth-Town (vol. IV) in 1799, "First American edition from the second London edition."

⁷Der Teutsche Merkur, 1773-89; Der Neue teutsche Merkur, 1790-1810. Weimar. The articles referred to will be found in the numbers for May and July, 1800—Ueber den Abbé Barruel; Auszug eines Briefs aus Wien, pp. 89-92. Licht und Finsterniss; ein Schreiben aus Ingolstadt, pp. 65-89. Nachrichten über Baiern, pp. 237-249.

language, but picked up from hear say all sort of true or false or halftrue anecdotes as may be told in the company of his fellow-priests. When driven from France as an *refractory Clergyman* i. e. a non-Juror, he went to London. In Order to insinuate himself into the grace of some mighty Protectors, he wrote his Book. This accounts for all. The best proof against him with regard to the Illuminati of Bavaria is that the present worthy Elector has placed a great many of those formerly accused or convinced of Illuminatism not only in places of government but also at the schools and the University of Ingolstadt. The same Mercury of the month of June contains very ample and circumstantial a comparison of the present with the former state of the University, which is as light to darkness. I wish our language was read in Boston, and I should send this Magazine.

Barruels Book with its Abridgment has been forbidden even at *Vienna* lately as the Words of the Edict say: because it contains great many base slanders (*Lästerungen* calumnies) and is taken from pamphlets allready forbidden because they contain the same invectives and lies. This I take also from the said Mercury.

I have had a very anxious quarrel about the excellent and truly great Washington. One *Kierulf* a Swede who was in America for several years, and returned disappointed, became an inveterate enemy to your country. He lived at Altona, but never dared to come to see me; at last he wrote a letter to convert me, as he stiled it, from my American heresy. I did not answer it. He went to Berlin and wrote there against Washington, pres. Adams, Muhlenberg, as if they were the most worthless men. In reviewing the first of his Essays in one of our newspapers I refuted shortly what he advanced against the honour of your late President, quoting the testimonies even of several of his enemies in favour of him. This Kierulf took so much amiss, that (tho' there was not the least personality in my refutation) he accused me before our Senate inclosing a Letter: To the mad dog the professor Eb. The Senate rejected both the accusation and the letter, and I heard of it but occasionally. One Dr Ellison of New York then being at Berlin wrote a defense of Wash. and Adams which was very

well written, and inserted into the *Archive of the Time* (a monthly Magazine) published by one professor Rambach at Berlin.⁸ K. threatened to kill him and brought a suit against him before the—Ministre of War! You see that you have terrible enemies in Europe. But you will avoid their wrath, by giving your best places and pensions to such foreigners as come over to America in order to make a fortune there; for *hinc illae lacrymae*.

[He expresses his hopes for peace at least in Germany and sums up recent developments in Europe with the "new turn in favour of french affairs," and the sudden and unexplained change in the attitude of Russia and the "wise neutrality" of Denmark, Prussia, and Sweden and their "emulation to rule well their people."]

We hope America will enjoy internal peace as well as external, and be independent from any foreign influence whatsoever. I dare say that to understand our *neutral* language would not be a trivial help to prevent either english or french prejudices.

Excuse, dear Sir, my desultory digressions, and believe me to be with great esteem.

Your
most obedient humble Servant
C. D. EBELING.

TO DR. BENTLEY

JULY 28, 1800.

[Refers to his last letter written about Sept. 3 last year (dated Sept. 7, 1799) and notes briefly its contents.]

Since that time I have not had of your letters, but have had the pleasure to see you are well, mention having been made in the newspapers of your Eulogium delivered in honor of your excellent Washington.

I take the liberty of sending you now a new Edition of my Geogr. V. I, unhappily a very clumsy copy printed on too thick paper, the others are on too bad paper, in order to sell cheap. You will find it perhaps enlarged too much. You know how

⁸Friedrich Eberhard Rambach, 1767-1826, author of many romances and dramas, and editor with others of the "Berliner Archiv der Zeit und ihres Geschmacks," 1795-1800.

much I owe to you, if I have made a good use of the valuable materials you furnished me with. I was obliged to study them somewhat in a hurry, as my occupations are now far increased by the direction of our public very large library, which even prevents me twice a week from dining. This may apologize for my short and intermitted correspondence.

You will I hope not retaliate by withholding from me your instructive and usefull letters. I am for this year almost without any news from America. Perhaps the publishing my letter on the Illuminati under my name in the Aurora¹ as a letter to Dr. Morse was the cause that several did not dare to write to me out of fear to be thought to correspond with a Jacobine for, that many readers of my letter will think me to be such an abject being, I dont doubt. But as I know that I am nothing less than a Jacobine in the now prevalent sense of this word, but a true lover of peace, good government and true liberty—I don't care for opinions. I should only wish that this letter had not been printed so very uncorrectly, especially in names, and that something about german politics even of dead princes had been left out. Tho' true, *that* was not for the public.

Let me have soon the pleasure of seeing some lines from you and I dare add the petition to help me in finding out the last edition of "The laws of Rhode Island."² As I must prepare for a new Edition of my second volume, I cannot proceed without these laws. I have endeavoured to get them by way of New York but also invain; perhaps few copies were printed.

I wish for your most severe criticism of this my new Edition, particularly of the last part or of the history. I love truth even if it was only to be procured at my *authorical* expense.

TO REV. JOHN ELIOT

AUGUST 9, 1800¹

[The writer has sent the two volumes of a new edition of his Geography, and now sends three new numbers of *Le Nord*; also books for Dr. Bentley.

¹See the account of this in note 62 on p. 333.

²The public laws of the state of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations. Providence, 1798.*

³Original in papers of the Mass. Hist. Soc. Letters to Corr. Sec. 1792-1811. no. 86.

He adds the latest news on European affairs, the signing of the preliminaries of peace between France and Austria, and the capture of a Danish merchant fleet by English men of war.]

TO DR. BENTLEY

APRIL 14, 1801

[Regrets that apparently a parcel of books sent at the end of July 1800 and another sent to Mr. Eliot on Aug. 10 had both failed to arrive as well as the letters that accompanied them.]

I have received five of your boxes with their very valuable contents. Two by way of Amsterdam, two others with Newspapers, and the last by Capt. Dalling. I also received a letter by way of Copenhagen from you. . . . My present situation does not allow me to employ so much time on my Geography as formerly, therefore no new part has been published. I have sent an other copy to the book binder for you and a box is ready to be sent, I think by Capt Dalling. I shall entrust it to the kind care of Mr Pitcairn. The severe loss of a Friend¹ with whom I lived in the strictest connexion for thirty years, the great change of my manner of live, the loss of allmost half my former revenue in so dear a time, all lies heavy upon me, otherwise I could do far more, and my correspondence would be more instructive and regular. Now I am just occupied by changing lodgings, which is a terrible affair when one has been 30 years in one house, entirely depending on a sincere friend and now left alone, to set up for myself without the least knowledge of oeconomy, besides with increasing sikly state of health. But heaven will assist me. When peace is returned will be better.

In the box I mentioned you will find 18 volumes of a german Review² which is reckoned to be a very good one. It is complete, was published under the direction of Professor Jöcher at Leipsic, who is Author also of a Dictionary of all the Learned of

¹Büsch, his partner in the Handlungsakademie.

²The "Deutsche Acta Eruditorum, oder Geschichte der Gelehrten welche den gegenwärtigen Zustand der Litteratur in Europa begreifen." 240 Theile, or 20 volumes. Leipzig, 1712-39. There are complete sets in Teachers' College and the Union Theological Seminary, New York, and in the John Crerar Library, Chicago. Jöcher's "Allgemeines Gelehrten-lexicon" was published at Leipzig, 1750-51, in four quarto volumes, a monumental but now little used book of reference.

all Nations 4 Volumes 4to. This Review will be wellcome I hope on account of the many good portraits of literati it contains. I also send a Specimen of our taste in binding in return. It is *de Lille* famous poem on rural oeconomy.³ Some english new translations with the german original poetry, some songs with Musik, english and German, Reinholds⁴ newest philosophical writings on a *third* new philosophy that last year sprung up in Germany. He was one of our best Kantians but is so inconsistant that he left him, went over to Fichte, whom he now leaves again for *Bardili*⁵ Professor at Stuttgart, and a great reformer (si Diis placet) of Logic: An Edition of Persius⁶ quite engraved on Copper may be a curiosity tho' not like Pine's Horace, Michaelis New Testament as far as it is out. Origenis Opera published by a very learned roman Catholik Professor *Oberthür* at Würzburg. Luciani Opera. Besides learned Newspapers.

Another Box will follow wherein you will find more new Books, as also a copy of my new Edition.

I see that America is now at rest, and that Mr Jefferson is President. We hope this will promote the peaceful state of your Country.

It was impossible till now to study all the very valuable Materials I owe to your kindness, but as soon as my new oeconomy is in order I shall begin to do it. Was peace restored to the world, I should also have more leasure and be happier. Oh if Kings knew how many happiness they would bestow on the world by avoiding war, which never is the choice of nations but of their rulers only!

You mention something concerning me to be found in the *Aurora*.⁷ I have not seen that Number. Perhaps it regards a letter of mine printed therein very incorrectly whereon I

³The Abbé Jacques Delille, 1738-1813, known as the Virgile Français. The work sent must have been his "Les jardins, ou l'Art d'embellir les paysages; poëme en IV chants, Paris, Didot aîné, 1782." His translation of the Georgics and many other poems were published later.

⁴Karl Leonhard Reinhold, 1758-1825, a follower of the latest fashions in philosophy.

⁵Christoph Gottfried Bardili. *Grundriiss der ersten Logik*. Stuttgart, 1800.

⁶Sebald's edition published at Nuremberg in 1765.

⁷The letter or article mentioned has not been traced.

wrote to Rev Mr Miller and Dr Mitchil at New York only. Should they have inserted it? That was not my intention, except the correction of the faults of printing. Now all is at an end with Barruel etc in England, as their great protector Windham⁸ is no more in power.

I leave unwillingly the interview with a friend I should wish to converse with longer. Believe me to be with every great esteem and attachment.

Dear Sir
Your most obedient and obliged
Servant

EBELING

[on a separate slip, attached by a wafer]

Permit me kindly to add one observation, viz not to send by way of Amsterdam. The Boxes you sent me by that way I was obliged to pay between 14 and 15 Dollars freight for, as the Merchant at Amsterdam conveyed them to me *by land*, tho' I ordered him to send them by water. Happily he did not chuse the post carriage, which would have been ten times dearer. Amsterdam merchants are at present very great exactors. Pardon this remark. You could not know that nor your friends the american merchants.

TO DR. BENTLEY

APRIL 17, 1801

I had the honour, to write you a sennight ago by Capt Fairfield sailing from Bremen. This will go by Capt Lovett in the Schooner Betsy by the kindness of Mr Pitcairn.

[He recapitulates what he said in the last letter about the five boxes received and the parcels and letters sent the previous summer. He refers also to a letter of October or November and a parcel of books sent by way of Philadelphia which apparently was never received "as Mr. Leuffer, Merchant of Philadelphia, to whom it was directed, died before the Ship could arrive." This letter covers much the same ground as that of April 14, but in some cases adds particulars. Several portions are therefore omitted.]

⁸William Windham, 1750-1810, Secretary of War under Pitt, and a supporter of the French royalists, held office till February, 1801.

My occupations being entirely changed with my whole situation by the death of my best friend and Collegue Professor Busch (whose *Memoria* you will find in the Box written by another Collegue¹ upon the materials I furnished) made it impossible for me to write oftener and earlier. I feared also to cause you too much expenses by writing in a circuitous way. I have been obliged to set up for myself after having lived 40 years in other Families. I am single as death deprived me of a dear beloved bride in my younger years, and I could not be prevailed to search for another. Unacquainted with any economical concerns, in time of terrible dearness, obliged to change lodgings wherein I lived for 30 years, to begin my own economy allmost without ressources, (our Gymnasium, *incredibile dictu!* being reduced to 4 students as all apply to commerce) so to provide for double expences—this with the long lasting sickness of my friend—and my own weakness of health—double occupation at the public Library which my predecessor (a learned man, but too sanguineous and neglectfull) left in great confusion—all this took up my time entirely.

An excellent french poem of de Lille is intended as an acknowledgement for the Navigators and bound in the best german stile . . . I should wish it was in my power to present you with Heyne's new Virgil, but it coasts 120 marks. It is incomparable in taste and internal value. If ever it is to be got in an Auction I shall do my best to get it for you.

Reinholds new Philosophical Journal² I shall continue. Please to read my review in the Hambro gazette of this day Nr. 62 You will see that our new Philosophers shift everyday and now transfer the field of action from dreary Metaphysick regions to the Logick, which is threatened with a general revolution. It will be a happy event if philosophical truths *can* be brought to the same evidence with *mathematical* ones. *Bardili's* so much praised new Logick, I shall send per next, it is not yet here. I doubt whether it is so eminently excellent,

¹Joh. Heinrich Vincent von Nölting, 1735–1806, professor of logic, metaphysic and oratory in the Hamburg Gymnasium. His "Memoria" was entitled "Johann Georg Büsch wahr und ungeschmückt dargestellt." Hamburg, 1801.**

²Reinhold, with Bardili's help began the publication of "Beiträge zur leichteren Uebersicht des Zustandes der Philosophie." Six hefte were issued, 1801 to 1803.

tho' he is not a contemptible Philosopher. As to Illuminates (whom yours and the english Scriblers join to our Philosophers, but whom we think far different of one another) nothing is heard of them. Barruel and Robison's Books translated (as every book english or french is with us rapidly translated) met with universal derision. It is more than probable that all hue and cry about Illuminati is a monoeuvre of Jesuits, who wish to depreciate and make suspect german Litterature so diametrically opposite to their hidden Plans of introducing Barbarism and oppress light, in order that their Hierarchy may be restored in the Darkness. But time of Chivalry and Monkery is gone. Be carefull to read the reviews of the Berlin Monatschrift.

I take the liberty of sending you some specimen of my poetry on the beginning of the new Century which was a Jubilee for Hamburg, now existing just 1000 years.

I am sorry that I cannot as yet find out Grotius on America's original Inhabitants. I never could get it myself. I have written to Holland for it. . . .³

Please to ask Mr Eliot occasionally wether he got two parcels of mine, both went with those destined for you, of which one only reached you.

I have the honour to be with great esteem and thankfull friendship

Dear Sir
Your
most obedient humble Servant
C. D EBELING.

I have not yet found out what was inserted in the Aurora or other Gazettes on my Account. I was only asked whether a letter on the state of our litterature published in the Aurora was really mine. This I frankly confessed, only excepted some

³De origine gentium Americanarum dissertatio. Amsterdam, 1642. But see p. 374. Though Ebeling seems never to have obtained a copy of the original edition of the dissertation of Grotius for his own library, he did have the work of De Laet called forth by it the next year and incorporating its text, "Notae ad dissertationem Hugonis Grotii de origine gentium Americanarum; et observationes aliquot ad meliorem indaginem difficillimae illius quæstionis, Amstelodami, apud Lud. Elsvirium, 1643."* With this is bound a copy of De Laet's "Responsio" to the *second* dissertation by Grotius on the same subject, 1644.

great inaccuracies of the printer which disfigured even my very mind, for example by leaving out negative particles, that made me affirm strange things. When any thing is reprinted often such errors may be excusable, but the reader ought not to judge the writer upon them; and I feared many reader may not been candid enough, specially if the latter should be brought to Europe as the busy-body Jesuits may endeavour to do.

TO DR BENTLEY

JULY 12, 1801.

[Acknowledges the receipt of letters of July 5, 1800, February 16, May 1 and 14, 1801.] At the same time I got all the other Letters you so very kindly communicated to me, the Gazettes collected with such care, the valuable Books, of which those from Newhampshire Rh. Island and Nova Scotia were the more acceptable, as without your obliging exertions I never should have got them. Above all your own very instructive Remarks on my Geography, your Journal, your Letters and the notices they contain. I regret very much not to have delayed the publication of my new Edition of the first Volume, which would have enabled me to make use of them.

I sent you a Box by the kind care of Mr Pitcairn containing some books viz Michaelis N T. Zuverlässige Nachricht etc and another Letter by Capt Fairfield by way of Bremen. This letter, I hope will have assured you, that not the least discontent was felt by me on account of the publishing of my letter. I wrote a few Words to the worthy Dr Mitchill in order to acknowledge my being the Author of the Letter, as he and several other unprejudiced men required from me to explain myself on account of the Letter. I could not refuse it nor was I inclined to deny ever what I wrote; but as a certain party in Europe might have got the letter, and perhaps republish it in an english Newspaper, or officiously cause american ones wherein it was inserted, to be sent to any of the Princes who were mentioned in the Letter I added what circumspection made necessary that the whole Letter was not properly *intended* for the public, and many faults of printing to be met in some printed copies particularly that in the Aurora. The mentioning my name in that Copy, I suppose not to have

had the least design against me, but only to give the letter more faith with some, who know me. If my letter and name have done any good to the cause of truth, humanity and true liberty, I am very glad, and much obliged to you. So far am I from disliking its publication, which you remember I permitted at the same time when I wrote it, not waiting for your requisition, I hope that all who have been deluded by the Books of the Exjesuit Barruel, and by the weakness of Dr Robison will see their error especially by comparing Mouniers Book¹ against Barruel and R. which is just now published, and which I sent you unbound as I could not immediately get a bound copy. I shall also send a copy to Mr Eliot and even to Mr Morse as soon as occasion offers. [*Marginal note.* I have done it now together with this.] If the latter is in any way open to conviction and not incorrigible, he must yield. At the same time I send you *for publication* a translation of a review of Mouniers Book, published in the Göttingen *Anzeigen* [*Marginal note.* May be printed without my name]; this Review² I credibly am informed is written by one Mr B. who is in a high office at Hanover, a Man of talents, but no ways a friend of Revolutions, nor of democracy as his Political Reflexions on the french Revolution 1790 and on some allready sensible Effects of the French Revolution in Germany 1792-8, undoubtedly prove, who consequently is not partial against Barruel and Robison. But if even I was misinformed the Review itself and its publication in the dominions of the King of England shew its impartiality to every unprejudiced mind.

Perhaps you will find a Review also in the Gotha Zeitungen which I now send you as complete as I could make them. Unhappily they were mislaid at my former sendings. You have mentioned several Books which I shall be very carefull to procure you. Grotius is extremely scarce, I never could get it. You have Hornius³ and de Laet on the Origin of Americans, I

¹J. J. Mounier. *De l'influence attribuée aux philosophes, aux francs-maçons et aux illuminés sur la révolution de France.* A Tubingen, 1801.* The copy sent to Dr. Bentley passed into the hands of Professor Convers Francis in 1820, after Bentley's death, and was bequeathed by him, with other books, to the Harvard Divinity School in 1863.

²This review from the "Göttingische Anzeigen," 1801, nr. 99, pp. 977-986, translated by Ebeling, is bound in the volume with Ebeling's letters and covers seven closely written small octavo pages. Whether it was printed in any American publication I do not know.

³Georg Horn, 1620-1670. *De originibus Americanis libri quatuor.* Lugd. Bat. 1652*.

suppose, otherwise I can send them. Klopstock's Odes⁴ are in the Box together with some printed in the new Orthography proposed by him which tho' very rational, was not liked by the majority. I should send you his Messiah printed in the same way, which may help a foreigner to fix his pronounciation according to the best model, but I fear it will be too difficult for you to read as it is even to most of the Germans. Therefore I have ordered the newest Edition⁵ to be bound for you and hope to get it before this is sent on board.

Voss Translation of Vergil⁶ is excellent as the notes are; only he is somewhat too bold in changing our construction now and then, in order to observe the better the prosody, and in order to express the latin almost verbatim. His versification is equal to that of Klopstock, and his Hexameters rather too anxiously imitates the ancients in point of *Caesura* and *rhythmus* at the expense now and then of the Genius of our language. Klopstock, his friend, lately made a very warm Ode against his encroachments upon our language. He is now new translating Homers Iliad. The Odyssey I send you hereby.⁷

Rabeners Satires⁸ are models of fine German Prose.

The Reichsanzeiger, as also our Addressblätter which are published now under my direction I shall send you regularly.⁹ You will find now and then something interesting. Linné by Gmelin¹⁰ is intirely out of print, he prepares a new Edition, which I shall not fail to send you, as soon as it appears. I am in hopes that Adelungs Dictionary will now soon be continued, as he announced it, which will enable me to send it you.

I shall write more amply as soon as I have overcome an exceedingly troublesome business, which is the more so as it requires haste. Our board of Admirality (as it is called; for

⁴Oden. Hamburg, 1771.**

⁵Der Messias. Altona, 1780.**

⁶Georgicon libri quatuor. Übersetzt und erklärt von J. H. Voss. Altona, 1800. 2 vol.**

⁷Odüsse; übersetzt von J. H. Voss. Hamburg, 1781.**

⁸Gottlieb Wilhelm Rabener, 1714-1771. Satiren, 4^e Aufl. Leipzig, 1759.**

⁹"Der Reichs-Anzeiger, oder Allgemeines Intelligenz-Blatt zum Behuf der Justiz, der Polizey und der bürgerlichen Gewerbe im Teutschen Reiche," Gotha, 1800-1806.** Individual members are entitled "Kaiserlich privilegirter Reichs-Anzeiger. Hamburgischer Address-Comtoir Nachrichten," 1801-11.**

¹⁰Karl Christian Gmelin. Apparently his "Hortus magni ducis Badarum Carloruhanus" is meant, of which the first edition was printed in 1791 and a second in 1800.

we had a navy and I have still seen our last Fregat of 42. At present we have only a Sloop [not] adapted for war but properly for the excursions of our naval officers on reviewing the naval buildings on the Elb-shore, at Cuxhaven etc.) This board of Admiralty, which is as rich as our much indebted treasury is poor, has purchased the library of my late friend Busch, together with his large physical and mathematical Apparatus and made a present thereof to our Gymnasium and public Library. (It costs 15000 Bismarks)¹¹ This I must have transported, brought into order, make catalogues of it, and insert 3400 Books at least into double Catalogues (realis et nominalis) of our Library All this must be done before end of Octobre, and all other business besides. Good Heaven give me health and patience! for I am obliged to do almost all by myself.

I am very sorry that this made it imposible to me to make the personal acquaintance of Mr Donaldson. I wrote him a Letter in order to invite him but unhappily too late, as the Ship was gone. This is the reason also why I send this by way of Boston.

I am called to send away the box wherein all this goes.

I hope soon to write again and am with great esteem, thankfulness and friendship

Reverend Sir
Your
most ob. h. Servant
EBELING.

As all goes by way of Boston I must send this with all other packages for you in the box of Mr Eliot otherwise it will arrive too late. I shall beg Mr E to send it by the first opportunity.

TO REV. JOHN ELIOT

JULY 14, 1801¹

REVEREND SIR

A few days ago I had the pleasure of getting your letters of June 5th 1800 and April 28th 1801 by the same Captain. Both were sent to me by a Merchant, Mr Haupt, from whom I learnt that the Captain made his first Voyage to Hamburg. The

¹¹The double mark was a common silver coin in Hamburg from about 1764 to 1808.

¹Original in papers of the Mass. Hist. Soc. Letters to Corr. Sec. 1792-1811, no. 87.

first letter was accompanied with Prince's Book² and seemd to have been long time on board as all was quite mouldy. I mention this in ordre to enable you to trace the causes of the delay, as also to excuse my not being able to give You my thanks for your very kind present. I should be very glad to hear by what sort of German production of our Litterature I may be able to shew my thankfulness.³ In the mean time you will be so kind, as to accept of Mounier's Book, which may be very interesting to Americans at present. You will see that it in a great measure confirms my letter. It does not deviate much from my opinions, nor contradict my facts, I alledge. Only as to Bahrtd⁴ I differ, as you may see by comparing my letter. Mounier could not be acquainted with Bahrtd's real talents and good learning, but heard only of his immoral live, bad conduct, and misapplication of talents, which are notorious and survived his few merits.

As to our Friend's publishing my Letter I have not the least objection to it, but even allowed it expressly. I only should have wished that some expressions had been left out, pardonable in a friendly correspondence, but not fit for *European* readers, tho' American ones may easily excuse them. But how could I pretend that my friend should be acquainted with our restrictions of the freedom of the press, and our narrow Ideas about it? that he should suspect my printed letter should find its way to Europe? It is my fault, that I forgot to point out to him, the parts to be ommitted.

But as the Letter seems to have done some good to destroy prejudices, I am satisfied. Yesterday I wrote a long letter to Dr Morse sending him Mounier; I wish he would be so kind as to let you read it. It might explain my opinions and some new facts, for Example, that the present Elector of Bavaria has restablished several of the *first* Illuminati named in Robison's Book, as *Babo* etc, and who were persecuted formerly as such, to their employments. I should send you some Reviews of

²See p. 000.

³In his next brief letter to Eliot, July 24, 1801, he writes: "You will tell me what kind of Books printed in Germany may be acceptable to you, except those written in our tongue. For Books is the only what we poor Litterati can offer to our benefactors." (Mass. Hist. Soc. Letters to Corresp. Sec. 1792-1811, no. 88.)

⁴See p. 319.

Barruel's and Mounier's Books written by very impartial Men and no friends of innovations, nor of any Orders, who highly disapprove of the Jesuit's book, and praise Mounier's. That Barruel's is put into the Index Librorum prohibitorum at Vienna is an undoubted fact. This Jesuit is so inconsequent that he makes the two Brethern Count Stolbergs,⁵ with the Minister Cobenzl to be Illuminati. The first were known to be great Enemies to the French Revolution, tho' their excellent poetical works are full of sentiments of liberty [and] hate of despotism. Yet the younger Brother in his printed Travels thro' Italy is an absolute abettor of hereditary nobility, as a declared enemy of all what is French now. And what is still worse, this same Count Stolberg lately went over to the Roman Catholic Creed, abjured Lutheranism, left his country, his offices at the Court of the Duke of Holstein and retired to Munster the dark abode of Superstition. He was seduced by jesuitical intrigues and a Countess Galitzin who lives at Munster, and in other Respects is a learned Lady. Our great poet Klopstock not long after received a Letter from another Lady of the same persuasion and high rank, in order to invite him, "who sang so much in praise of Maria, the Mother of our Saviour," to come over and profess the Roman Catholick religion. But his answer was, that he shewed them in his Messiah several Passages against papistical superstitions, especially the adoration of Mary. So they let him alone. It is very particular that the Roman Catholics are very busy at present to extend their Church dominions. In Sweden they have introduced *Missionaries* (as if to heathen.) intended to *publish* a Catechism under the name of *Christian Doctrine*, but were hindered by Government and only allowed to print it with the title Catechism of the roman Catholic Creed. All copies were to be stamped and laid down in a Bureau of Government only to be distributed to Roman Catholick Children.

[He adds a brief discussion of European politics and refers to Nelson's costly victory over the Danish fleet, and to the end of the Danish occupation of Hamburg.]

But I avoid to enter into politics. I should be only glad to

⁵Christian (b. 1748) and Friedrich Leopold (b. 1750) Grafen zu Stolberg.

know, how the Change of your Government goes on. Is all quiet? Is the Spirit of Party subsiding? Where does it prevail, and which? The federalists will perhaps see that French Interest and revolutionary Principles do not direct Jefferson and his friends. Is the late president now left in peace, is he himself resigned to his fate? All such questions occur to me, which I cannot answer myself. I only am attentif to the measures of the present Government, which seems to have a similarity to those of the new Emperor of Russia as to the principles of Neutrality, national frugality, etc. You will clear up my Ideas occasionally if you are at leisure and thereby oblige very much

Reverend Sir
Your
most obdt humble Servant
C D EBELING.

P. S.

Having missed unhappily an opportunity to send directly to Salem for Mr Bentley a Collection of German Books and Newspapers I don't know any way to forward them to him but by your kind help. I therefore make bold to direct all to you and even let all the Books open in the Box packed up. Leaving all what is intended for Boston in the upper part so that without any trouble you may take them out and close the Box again. I only beg the favour that you may take the small parcel for Mr Bentley signed † † and send it by the first opportunity as I wish he may have it soon. You will add thereby to the many obligations I owe you.

C. D. EBELING

To the Mass. Society⁶

¹) Le Nord. See p. 344.

²) Olof Swartz, a Swedish botanist. The Oration mentioned must have been his "Inträdes-tal, innehällande anmärkingar om Vestindien; hållet för Kongl. Vetenskaps Academien, den 18 Martii 1789. Stockholm, 1790." I find no English or German translation mentioned. Ebeling had in his own library a work by Swartz entitled, "Observationes botanicae quibus plantae Indiae Occidentalis . . . illustrantur. Erlangae, 1791."*

³) "Historia antipodum" is the title given to some of the parts of De Bry's Voyages "redacta studio J. J. Gottofridi."

1. Le Nord. to complete the sets sent.
2. Swarz Oration containing Remarks on Westindia
3. Gotfried Historia Antipodum or the New World. fol. a very scarce tho' imperfect and faulty History.

TO REV. JOHN ELIOT

APRIL 22, 1802¹

Long time I hoped invain for an opportunity to write you directly by a Ship sailing for your City. But no Ship is here bound for Boston, neither expected soon. I therefore send this by way of New York hoping it will not be expensive to you. I have the honour to answer your kind letter from Jan. 31. of this year.

Inclosed you find Mr Pitcairn's Answer. Perhaps the Box has reached you allready, otherwise our worthy Friend Rev Mr Bentley will help you to recover it.

I have written a long Letter² to our Friend [i. e. Dr Bentley] inclosed in One of two large Boxes wherein I send him the Universal german Library of Nicolai that famous Book and Enemy of Robison and the bugbear held out by his adherents to frighten all Germans. The old Library³ began in 1764 and ended in 1796 It is contained in 139 volumes. The authors were allways more than 60 at a time unknown mostly to one another, living in every part of Germany, Copenhagen, Konigsberg, Vienna, Berlin, Helvetia, Amsterdam. Many or most of them presented in effigie before each part one. The new Library I could not yet send complete, but shall have an opportunity to complete soon. It is still going on. You will do me a great favour to let Rev Mr Bentley know this, as it is at present impossible to write him myself. In the Box is a Roll of Maps for you. One of them please to offer with my Respects to Governor Strong. It is a map of Massachusetts, which was made before I knew of the newest State-map, but

¹Original in papers of the Mass. Hist. Soc. Letters to Corr. Sec. 1792-1811, no. 89.

²This letter to Bentley apparently has not been preserved. In it Ebeling must have written at some length about Robison's letter to him complaining of slanderous statements.

³See p. 314. The collection was continued under the title, "Neue allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek," covering the period, 1792-1804. Kiel, 1793-1800; Berlin, 1801-06, 107 vols. Published at Berlin by Nicolai, at Kiel by C. E. Bohn.

which I hope shall be found exact as to the Coasts and Islands, if not so much as to the inner part. The materials were furnished by myself.⁴

In my letter joined to the Roll I have written at large as also to Mr Bentley about a Letter⁴ received from Professor Robison, [to] whom was sent an American Paper wherein under my name he was accused of forgery, adultery, etc. Such criminal slander never came into my head and never could be written by me. If it really exists (Mr Robison did not quote the Paper⁵ and I never saw such a one) it will certainly be disavowed by all my friends and I hope they will think me incapable of such

⁴This refers to the large map of Massachusetts "entworfen. von D. F. Sotzmann, Hamburg bey Carl Ernst Bohn." The copy in the American Antiquarian Society has written on it in Ebeling's hand, "To the Rev. Mr. Bentley, by his friend the Editor. C. D. E." See p. 289, note.

⁵The slanderous charges against Robison were in the "American Mercury" of Sept. 26, 1799, and are there distinctly ascribed to Ebeling. (See p. 333.) A copy of this issue is in the file of this paper originally in Ebeling's library. Perhaps Bentley withheld it at the time of publication but was prevailed upon to send it later.

Robison's letter (the original document apparently) was sent on by Ebeling with his letter of Nov. 19, 1804, and is now bound in the same volume with Ebeling's own letters.

A synopsis of the letter, which is dated Bognhall, Oct^r. 21, 1801, will not be out of place at this point. The writer states that more than a year before he had received "an American Gazette containing a letter said to be written by you to a Clergyman of literary reputation." He took no notice of the letter at the time thinking it "not likely to make any serious impression on the public Mind," but he is now informed that "its assertions meet with credit even among sensible Men." He therefore feels compelled to offer Ebeling an opportunity to free himself from the "odious character of a malicious Slanderer," and proceeds to repeat in some detail the charges set down in the "American Mercury" of Sept. 26, 1799—that the book had no reputation and was a catchpenny thing, that its facts were known to none but the author, that the author "had lived too fast for his income and, to supply his deficiencies, had ventured to alter a Bank Bill," that he was detected and being warned by his friends had made his escape to France, that in France he had applied for his second degree in masonry but was refused because he had been expelled from the lodge of Edinburgh, and that being refused admission also in Germany and Russia he entertained the bitterest hatred of freemasonry, that after wandering about Europe he had written to Secretary Dundas offering to make himself useful to the Ministry by his pen, and that, the Secretary thinking his book would favor the design of the Ministry by keeping the nation in alarm, the fugitive Professor returned in triumph and now lives on a handsome Pension instead of being hanged for forgery. Robison also stated that the gentlemen from America told him that Professor Ebeling had since made still more serious charges of the grossest immorality. He points out that Ebeling's atrocious falsehoods will be detected the moment he chooses to publish this letter. He therefore demands that he will without delay either acknowledge himself the author of the letter—"to a Dr. Morse, I think"—or deny it. In the former case he must make known "the names of those Scoundrels who have so much abused your confidence and vilified my character." He sends this letter by the hands of a friend who will also take care of the answer, but he asks that an answer be also sent by post. He will wait three weeks before taking further action.

Ebeling's "inclosed paper" does not appear in the files with this letter. Whether it ever found its way into print I do not know. It was presumably some formal denial of the statements attributed to him.

mean behaviour. I beg you therefore to prevail on any newspaper writer (or persuade Mr Bentley to do the same,) which I am sure his friendship will not refuse me) to insert the inclosed paper. Friends of mine who are Masons know Mr Robison personally and give him the best moral Character tho' he is strangeley prejudiced in all matters relating to his Proofs. [*Marginal note.* It interests me that you should have got the Box soon, as it contained Mounier's Book refuting Robison's dreams, for you, for Mr Bentley and for Mr Morse. Perhaps this book may operate conviction in the latter, which my letters could not produce.]

I have answered him openly that I so little know about his person that I serously believed he the author of the proof was an english Clergyman of the high Church, not even supposing the Author of a great Part of the New british Encyclopedia was the same with the Author of the Proofs. But that I adhered to my opinion on the latter, tho' I detested the calumnies which he said were attributed to me.

I did not conceal him my surprise of his not quoting the name and number of the Paper in question, and even suspected his own letter to be not genuine as it was brought me by a pretended friend of his. The letter was only subscribed by Mr Robison (and this subscription I lately found out to be genuine by comparison of another letter of his written to another) I thought it really a trick of Barruel's. I therefore answered it by the post as well as by the friend to whom I shewed my genuine letter which he found irreproachable. Sic saepe de nihilo magna nascitur historia. Should you ever have heard of or seen any other letter under my name wherein really were such calumnies as I never wrote, you will oblige me by sending it me occasionally. I never found any tho' by Mr Bentley's Kindness I have a great many American newspapers.

[His parting compliments and references to other boxes to be sent off are partly illegible owing to the paper's being torn.]

TO DR. BENTLEY

MAY 10 1802

DEAR SIR

I have just now received your kind letter from March 25th

. . .

Your kindness in sending me the Laws of Massachusetts and the medical Repository is certainly too great¹. There was no harm in directing a box for me to Amsterdam; the Dutch Merchant was only in fault by sending it by land. But you should not atone for it. I consider myself therefore as your debtor, and send you now something in return which I hope will be acceptable² as it now very seldom is found complete and may serve for a great many German Books and give a general Idea of our literature. The portraits of most of the Authors of the Reviews are engraven at the head of the Volumes. The wanting Volumes of the new set, I shall be careful to complete as soon as occasion offers, they mostly being out of print also.

In my next letter I will write more at large. Dr Eliot will have sent you a few words about me. I was anxious that Box did not reach you; Therefore wrote once more to him, but now hear from him it is arrived. The Unbelievers will I hope now believe; for Mounier is no German and impartial at least. When you hear about my correspondence with Robison you will wonder. But I owed it to truth and to myself to clear him and me from the blame of slander. Yet I doubt still whether even this slander laid at my doors, exists really. Neither I nor our American Postmaster, nor Mr Pitcairn have ever read in your American Newspapers any such things imputed to *me*³. Should R. be imposed upon at new? You know perhaps what made him write his book: He is a schoolmate of Minister Windham, who instigated him to write his Proofs. That explains all.

I must close this letter as the Ship is ready to sail. I recommend myself to your Friendship being with great Esteem

Dear Sir

Your

most obdt. humble Servant

C D EBELING

¹Laws of Massachusetts. 1780-1800. 2 vols. Boston, 1801*. The Medical Repository. New York, 1797-1822. 22 vols. were published. Ebeling's friend Dr. S. L. Mitchill was one of the editors of the first twenty volumes.

²He evidently means the set of the "Neue allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek," mentioned in a previous letter.

³See the note 62 on p. 333 and what Ebeling says of Robison's letter on p. 362.

TO DR BENTLEY

NOVEMBER 19, 1804.

DEAR SIR

There was a long chasm in our Correspondence by my fault. I am sorry that it happened, but shall not longer delay to close it, at least as far [as] a letter may do. I won't abuse of your patience by alledging my excuses. They were a sickly state of health, the grief which was caused me by the fate of my mother country where my family lives, viz the Hannoverian country, and the increasing occupations together with the decreasing of years and forces. Please to consider that at present I have only six hours per day left to my self for exercise, breakfast, dinner, supper, studies, correspondence, visits and other occupations separate from my offices. This at the same time will account for my backwardness in the continuation of my American Geography. But I have now a prospect before me, that the most of my complaints will be remedied, especially that of time. Another hinderance in our friendly intercourse was the blockade of the Elbe. This was the cause why so very few or none of the Massachusetts ships came to Tönning,¹ Frederickstadt and other ports where our commerce found a precarious and scanty help. I had given order to several merchants at those places immediately to let me know when ships from your ports arrived there, I was informed thereabout also by our ship-lists but never found any ship from Salem or Boston arrived there. Amsterdam where they came to, is too far, the expences of freight customs enormous and the dangers of visitations, confiscations and other vexations too great. But your kindness has shewn me a way which will open again our commercial intercourse, if I may call it so.

First let me acknowledge, Dear Sir, your great kindness, which really makes me blush very much. I have received your Letter dated May 1804 with another dated June 9th with a box of papers and books, by Mr. Silsbee² from Rotterdam which he

¹Tönning, at the mouth of the River Eider, and Friedrichsstadt, a little way up the river, both in Schleswig-Holstein.

²Nathaniel Silsbee, Jr., of Salem, 1773-1835, in early life a shipmaster and supercargo, later a prominent merchant and Representative and Senator in Congress, 1817-1835.

His letter to Ebeling, dated Rotterdam, Oct. 2, 1804, Ebeling sent on to Bentley, Silsbee regrets not being able to deliver personally the letter and box entrusted to him. "Being now about to embark for my native country, I have sent [the box] to Amsterdam and caused the same to be shipt to you from there by the inland navigation."

sent me in October. Before that I had received two boxes in August with several packages by way of Kiel so that I suppose they came via Copenhagen. And lately I got by the same way 5 boxes and two parcels. When I wrote to the merchant at Kiel, who forwarded them, inquiring what I owed him for freight, he answered, that all was paid for. This, Dear Sir, is indeed too much kindness, and I am sure you must be at great expenses for my sake, especially as the customs are often valued by the number of parcels and as the contents were not marked on the outside, the customhouse officers are at liberty to rank the boxes parcels amongst those which the highest charged. I shall do my best to make good for it, and have begun to do so. One Box, first destined to go via Tönningen is now with another ordered to go to Kiel and Copenhagen where the same Mr. Nyberg who forwarded your boxes will take the care of sending them *free of all expenses* to you. Another Box is preparing. Those sent contain Allgemeine Literaturzeitung, many volumes of the Göttinger Zeitung which are our best, but very seldom to be met with. I call them the best, because most of the Göttingen professors have their part in the Reviews and because the library of the University furnishes them with the newest and most valuable and precious books of every country. I shall take very particular care to procure you those which are wanting as soon as occasion offers, they never are sold by booksellers, but only printed for the subscribers. The Academy of Sciences of Göttingen is the Director of the whole. Besides these I send the Gotha newspapers still preserving their value, as also the last year of those of Erfurt, which is dropt, as the whole University will be annihilated since the town is subject to the King of Prussia, who has allready near it the celebrated University of Halle and two others in his more eastern dominions at Francfort on the Oder, and at Königsberg. I send also the new Berlinischer Monatschrift by Biester and Nicolai.³

You will find some collections of Zollikofer's sermons⁴, of Spalding's⁵ his worthy and excellent rival and friend, who

³For the papers mentioned see the notes on pp. 308, 316, 335.

⁴Zollikofer. Predigten. 3^e Aufl. 2 vols. Leipzig, 1772.**

⁵Joh. Joachim Spalding. Predigten. 3^e Aufl. Berlin, 1775.**

lately died in old age. You will find his life in one of the Berlin gazettes at the end. I have joined some of Klopstock's Dramas and his Psalms, excellent in point of poetry, tho' too much adherents of the old orthodoxy, which to be sure is more poetical, than the more philosophical religion we now enjoy, which gives little room to fancy and imagination. The last volume of Adelung's Dictionary is joined likewise and several others, whereof you will find a note in the boxes.

I wish it was in my power to return your great kindness in selecting fresh papers and giving a list of them which particularly merit your attention. As soon as I get a little relief I shall make it my particular care to read every paper and mark those which I wish you may attend to.

Unhappily I have mislaid the list of those parts of the *Neue Allgemeine Deutsche Bibliothek* which I allready have sent you; for I wish to complete it as soon as possible. Therefore I beg you will sent me the numbers of the volumes you have allready, that I may avoid duplicates.

Our literature is at a stand. Great many books are published but very few good ones. Romances, plays innumerable. The most modern Philosopy (for we have them by dozen every year) is a mixture of Schelling's, Bardili's etc. and Fichte is now allmost forgotten. The present philosophy is as sceptical as possible and allows scarce the existence of any thing, and of any criterion of truth. It destroys and creates nothing in the place of what is destroyed. That is the spirit of our days. But all that is transitory with us, and has only influence on those who are moved by every wind of doctrine, and are not able to think for themselves.

Our poetry is at a stand too. Now and then a drama but scarce any of excellence. One of a Hambro lady I have sent you in one of the boxes.⁶ It has some fine verses, but no plot, no tragical power pervading the whole, no caracters sustaining themselves.

The political writing fury is over, perhaps the great restriction of the liberty of the press in all those countries who by their too near situation are forced to fear a neighbouring omnipo-

⁶Probably Charlotte Corday. By Mme. Westphalen. See p. 376.

tence, is in some respect the cause, but the mind becoming cooler after feeling their disappointed hopes may be another cause more efficient.

In Bavaria the religious and literary reforms are going on. The universities are crowded with new professors of every religious and philosophical sect. They begin to tolerate one another, but there is still a jesuitical underhand machination to sow dissensions, to calumniate, and to make the wise government tired of their reformatations. Professor Paulus, one of the most learned lutheran professors at Jena is now at Wurzburg and teaches with great applause, even to roman catholick auditors, which casues great jealousy. Mr *Voss* at Jena, our best living poet and an excellent scholar (translator of Homer, Virgil, Ovid) was invited to Bavaria in order to inspect the general reformation of Schools, but having allready accepted the vocation, he retracted having seen unsurmountable difficulties to obtain such a desirable end. The hereditary prince of Bavaria⁷ after having finished his studies in his country's universities went to complete them at Göttingen. He made an excursion hither with his Governor, he was also at our library and has made us a valuable present of Bavarian historical medals. He is certainly well intentioned to continue what his father begun, but I fear they will overrule his youth. That the Illuminati no more are spoken of in Bavaria you may suppose. You see now the effects of their intentions; the downfall of popery. Thence the hue and crye about them from the Ex jesuits and their deluded Friends. The principal of the surviving accused of Illuminatism are now long ago restored to their employments, and several have got more conspicuous ones. But Weishaupt is not recalled, nor do I believe any other of those who fled, which were not many. As I make mention of these phantoms of terror I must tell you that you will find a copy of Mr. Robinson's letter to me⁸ in a parcel I have sent you. I will not revive the controversy, but think it may serve you as well in manuscript, in order to shew

⁷Afterwards Ludwig I, King of Bavaria from 1825 to 1848 when he abdicated; a patron of art and learing; to him Munich owes its distinction as an art centre. Born 1786, died 1868.

⁸See p. 362. Where Ebeling's answer was printed I do not know.

what forced me, to answer him in such terms, as he chuse to make publick in America. I was in the right to do the same, but will not retaliate. The Exjesuit Barruel, who is now a flattering insect that wishes to approach the new Throne, is now quite silent about Illuminates etc. I suppose the Jesuits have obtained their hidden aim. They made a noise like the jugglers that people may not see their underhand play. Now they have obtained their restabishment in Naples too, they hope to be restored in the Austrian dominions, but certainly will be disappointed in France tho' they crept in under the name of the Scholars of Jesus and other names. The new Emperor has forbidden the admission of any monastical order, and namely those mentioned. On the other side the Roman Catholics id est the Jesuitical caste are making attempts or preparing them rather for an union of Churches. They think the unsettled state of protestantism as it appears to them, will offer a good occasion for their endeavours. But it will turn out to nothing as all former, when even the great Leibniz thought it a possibility that Roman Cath and protestants could be joined *in faith* even for a moment unless one or both renounce their leading principles. How are you with the Roman Catholics now in America? That you have allways had Jesuits in Maryland especially is certain, but are they seen to act, as prsoelyte-catchers, or introducing monastical clubs and convents? Heaven beware good America from the monkish pestilence for ever. They are going on to be reduced every where in Germany even in the R. Cath dominions, more so in those lands that were comprised in the indemnisation scheme.

[He goes on to speak of political rumors and the approaching coronation of Napoleon as Emperor, returning to the subject of books and literature.]

But dearness increases everywhere in Germany. Books for example which 40 years ago had a general and common price at 24 sheets for $\frac{1}{4}$ dollar in London, are now at 3 or at the best 4 sheets at the same price. Those printed in very elegant manner on velin in quarto with few engravings are at an enormous price. Klopstock's works just now publishing at 10 Dollars a volume. Wieland's cost almost 400 dollars. A greek new Testament is publishing now, really excellent under

Griesbach's direction in 4 quarto volumes which will cost 120 marcs or 40 dollars. An edition of Homer by Wolf will be of the same price. One of Heyne of the Iliad with a very ample commentary costs the best edition 50 dollars. This edition has occasioned a terrible noise in many newspapers excited by Mr. Wolf's friends. Wolf⁹ is a pupil of Heyne. This worthy old man, has the feebleness to think his pupils never come to majority, this makes many of them very ungrateful. So Mr. Wolf who hastened to prevent [i. e. forestall] Heyne's edition. His critical taste is masterly and in many things he surpasses his old teacher. But when the Homer of the latter appeared Wolf's friends and perhaps himself treated the learned man as a schoolboy with an exacerbated severity. One review in the *Allgem. Litteraturzeitung* was extended to seventeen sheets! But you know *criticor. canes*. They were ever so.

As I am for about two years without any letters of most of my correspondents in America, at Boston (only one letter I received from Dr. Eliot) at New York, Philadelphia, Charleston etc. you may think how I feast upon your kind sendings of pamphlets and newspapers. My newest part of the Geogr. and History is in the Box. I *begin* now first to write that of Virginia, so much my situation has retarded my diligence. Want of so many materials as I wished for, was [one] of the causes.

[The final sentence is mutilated, the paper being torn by the seal.

The difficulties and uncertainties of transatlantic communication are illustrated by this letter. It was addressed by Ebeling "free via Amsterdam." A letter from van Staphorst and Co. of Amsterdam, dated March 12, 1805, reads:

"Your esteemed Favour of Nov. 19th has come to hand in due time, and we would certainly have given ourselves the honour of replying sooner to it, had not since all that time the Ice put an entire Stagnation to Navigation and prevented us to forward your Enclosure to Salem. We now have the pleasure to inform

⁹Friedrich August Wolf, 1759-1824. His Prolegomena to Homer was printed in 1795 while he was professor at Halle. He had studied under Heyne at Göttingen, 1777-79. Heyne's edition of Homer, in 9 volumes was printed at Leipzig in 1802-22, Wolf's Homer at the same place, 1804-07 in 4 volumes.

you that we forwarded the same via Providence R. I. by the Ship Charlotte, John Manchester Master, and hope it will duly reach its Direction."

The letter bears the American postmark "Providence, May 22."]

TO DR. BENTLEY

JUNE 29, 1805.

[The writer speaks of four letters received from his correspondent, and of five boxes from Copenhagen at the very moment when he had to send off his letter to Captain Ward. (The next letter, July 4, likewise sent by Captain Ward, corrects and repeats statements made in this letter.) He refers to two boxes "which had lain long time at Tonningen," but were finally forwarded to Copenhagen that they might find ships for Salem. From his letter sent at the same time, November 19, 1804, he recapitulates the account of letters and boxes received, but fears that he has not received all that have been sent.]

Yet the many that reached me already require my gratitude. Mr Ward a very lovely young man, was very welcome to me. He will tell you how I live. I am happily mostly recovered of a very dangerous rheumatism which befell me in our public library a cold stone-building during last winter. But cold weather brings now and then a little return and old age approaching helps it. Yet I am thank God in good spirits.

My America goes on slowly. You will find the last volume in one of the two Boxes which Mr Ward will be so kind as to bring you. Another copy you will occasionally send to Rev Mr Elliot, to whom I shall write very soon.

My business overwhelms me, and you may consider how urgent it is, because I dine every day at 6 o'clock in the evening, rise at 6 in the morning, deliver my lectures at 7 and 9, go at 10 to the library where I remain till 6 o'clock. Little time is remaining during the vacancies every quarter for book writing and reading, or Correspondence. This is very great as Hambro' is a place much resorted to, and many learned make use of our library even in very distant parts. About this library you

will find some account in a *Skizzen von Hamburg*¹ in the latest box.

I sent you

1. *Litteratur Zeitung*² from 1794, 1800 and 1801 with the Revision of Literature. These Litterary Newspapers are very scarce and seldom complete. They are published at Jena (this year at Halle), and contain particularly the Kantian philosophical creed. Griesbach writes the articles concerning Bible. Many others are very valuable.
2. *Göttingische Anzeigen*³ 1764, 2 volumes 1776, 1786–1799, without doubt our best critical paper, but not complete enough what regards german literature. This also is now never to be got *complete* (it goes on since 1739) but at very high price, 100 and more dollars. The reason is because these papers appear weekly, are sent by the post, and often miscarried, mislaid by the possessor, lend out. I have joined to this letter the title pages of several third volumes belonging to them. I shal take care to complete the set occasionally.
3. *Berliner Monatschrift*⁴ 1804 and 1805 which I shal continue.

The allgemeine Biblioth. will be finished this year. Nicolai's old age requires rest. It is a great loss to our literature. It resisted most effectually to our increasing bad philosophy. You will find several parts of the Berlin Monatschr. in duplo. Therein is contained an anti anglican letter which may be translated for your news papers.

4. *Gotha*⁵ July 1774 (the first year), 1775, 1802, 1803 and 1804. The last sheet will shew you that this valuable paper is dropt. The Bookseller died. So is that of

¹*Skizzen zu einem Gemälde von Hamburg.* [By F. J. L. Meyer] Hamburg, 1801–02.** 6 hefte (nos. 3, 4 and 5 lacking).

²See p. 335.

³*Göttingische Anzeigen von gelehrten Sachen*, 1764, 1776, 1801**; *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1802–1809.** The Harvard Library has also later volumes, from another source.

⁴See p. 316.

⁵See p. 296.

Erfurt⁶ at an end with the University as the King of Prussia now possessor of Erfurt, cannot well entertain two Universities so very near to one another, and Halle being far more considerable and much frequented, Erfurt not at all so.

5. About the other books and Gazettes a few words. In the Berlin Gazettes I have marked with a red pencil many remarkable articles, lives of litterati etc. So I have done in others, when it was possible to me to read them.
6. Villaume, Vereinbarkeit der Juden⁷ teaches us the state of that nation in Germany, which begins to be emancipated and to emerge from its [*word illegible*] and low manners, as the Christians begin to be more humane. There are at present two very diligent and skillfull young Jews amongst my Scholars at the Gymnasium which ten years ago I would not have been allowed to teach publicly! [*Marginal note.* The author was professor at Berlin but during the mystical reign abdicated himself, grew enthusiastic for the french Revolution, brought three of his Sons to the french Republic's Army, one was killed, two returned after some years, disappointed. He himself is at present at the head of a very good Burgher-school in the danish Island Fyen.]
7. Nordische Miscellaneen⁸, publishing here, with several good, political treatises, others shewing our present state of Hambrgh, trade etc.

Wolke, Judsche Singedichte⁹ only as a specimen of lower german as it is spoken in the country here about til in Westphalia. A whim to revive that dying language, but which is harmonious and flexible.

⁶See p. 308.

⁷Peter Villaume. Vereinbarkeit der Juden mit andern Nationen. I. Hamburg, 1804.** Presentation copy to Ebeling. Ebeling sent several of Villaume's text-books to Bentley.—Praktisches Handbuch für Lehrer in Burger- Land- und Soldaten-Schulen. 2e Aufl. Hamburg, 1800.**—Lesebuch für Bürgerschulen. Hamburg, 1801.**—Methode junge Leute zum schriftlichen Ausdruck ihrer Gedanken zu bilden. Neue Aufl. Hamburg, 1804.**

⁸Nordische Miszellen. Bd. II-IV. Hamburg, 1804-05.**

⁹Christian Heinrich Wolke, Düdsge ör Sässische Sinngedichte. Leipzig, 1804.

8. Velthusen, Pokeach Iwrim¹⁰ and another book of him, which are said to contain much of masonry. I cannot understand it at all, the stile is exceedingly confuse.
9. Songs of Maçons, many very poetical ones, and allmost all intelligible even to an exotic.
10. Wegscheider uber die Trennung der Moral etc¹¹ against Schellings philosophy.
11. Gurlit's¹², my Collegue's pamphlets you will attend to (1) on account of the excellent latin stile (2) of their learning and freedom. His oration on the 18 Century is very exact a painting of its principal features.
12. Teller's Life.¹³ True and faithfull. His portrait exceedingly like him.
13. The pamphlet about the old prophet's Mr *Hermes's*¹⁴ from Berlin translation to Kiel in Holstein in order to reform the heterodoxy of that University has occasioned many pamphlets which I send you. The first, and the last (accompanying this letter) are the best. This is that very Hermes who was of the Society of Wölner and Hilmer at Berlin. He is no impostor like them, but a week man, of no great learning and less judgement.
14. *Eschenburgs* Theory¹⁵, the newest and best book concerning the state of our *belles lettres*

In the elder Box made up allready in 1804 as far as I remember there are (1) *Grotius de origine Americanorum*¹⁶ (2)

¹⁰Joh. Kaspar Velthusen. Pokeach Iwrim. Beleuchtung einer mystischen Allegorie und Hieroglyphen, etc., the first volume of his "Maurerei und Christenthum gegen einander übergestellt." Stade, 1804. The other book was his "Historisch kritische Nachforschungen über Schottische Maurerey." Leipzig, 1805.** Ebeling has written on the fly-leaf, "An almost unintelligible Book of a very learned author. He is a very religious man, very active, but no Mason, and by the calamities of the time became fantastical." See also p. 336 where we hear of the same man as interested in German missions in North Carolina.

¹¹J. A. L. Wegscheider. Ueber die von der neusten Philosophie geforderte Trennung der Moral von Religion. Hamburg, 1804.

¹²Joh. Gottfried Gurlitt, 1754-1827. The Harvard Library has his "Archaologische Schriften gesammelt. Herausgeg. von Cornelius Müller." Altona, 1831.

¹³Wilhelm Abraham Teller, 1734-1804, distinguished evangelical theologian. Probably Troschel's Gedächtnispredigt, Berlin, 1805, is meant.

¹⁴Hermann Daniel Hermes, 1734-1807. See p. 326.

¹⁵Joh. Joachim Eschenburg, 1743-1820, author of the well known and long used "Manual of Classical Literature." Entwurf einer Theorie und Literatur der schönen Redekünste. 3^e Aufl. Berlin, 1805.*

¹⁶See p. 353.

Teller's Dogmatical Compendium¹⁷ (his first Essay of a freer Research) (3) German Poems Volume 2d.¹⁸ The editor is now at Dörpat, Professor. (4) Zollikofer's Predigten¹⁹ one volume the first he published but not less excellent. (5) Spalding's Predigten (his Life you find in the Berlin Newspapers) very clear, heartily philosophical and practical. They are reckoned amongst our best. He published but few, tho' he lived to his 90th year almost. (6) Count Berchtold's²⁰ Book on restoring live to drowned persons. The Count lives at Vienna, is very rich, but employs all his money in philanthropic designs. He went to Spain and Portugal, published there several books at his expenses on restoring to live suffocated, drowned etc. distributed them gratis. Then he went, a second Howard, into Turkey to study the remedies against plague and published when he returned some valuable treatises thereon. So he employs his whole time in humane pursuits, tho' he is of one of the first families. (7) *Klopstock*, a Book on Klopstock's Life written by Mr Cramer²¹ (now at Paris, formerly professor at Kiel.) The anecdotes are to be relied upon. (8) *La Bataille d'Hermann*²² written by Klopstock and translated by the same Cramer. The Original if I am not mistaken I sent you before.

9) *Klopstocks Gelehrten Republik*.²³ A Book not continued. It is somewhat difficult to understand not only for the lasting allegory, but also for the many allusions to the then state of our literature. The grammatical part is excellent.

¹⁷Wilhelm A. Teller. *Lehrbuch des christlichen Glaubens*. Helmstadt, 1764.**

¹⁸Translations of German poems, extracted from the musical publications of the author of the *German Erato* [Benjamin Beresford]. 2 vols. Berlin, 1801-03.**

¹⁹See p. 366.

²⁰*Kurzgefasste Methode alle Arten von Scheintodten wieder zu beleben*, etc. Von einer reisenden Deutschen. Wien, 1791.

²¹Carl Friedrich Cramer, 1752-1807. *Klopstock. Er; und über ihn*. 1^{er} Theil. Hamburg, 1708.**

²²*Hermanns Schlacht; ein Bardiet für die Schaubühne*. Hamburg. 1769.** The French translation has not been found.

²³*Die deutsche Gelehrtenrepublik. Ihre Einrichtung. Ihre Geseze. Geschichte des letzten Landtags*. Auf Befehl der Aldermänner durch Salogast und Wleamar. Herausgegeben von Klopstock. 1^{er} Theil. Hamburg, 1774.** Ebeling has written on the fly-leaf: "Late Mr. Klopstock's own manual Copy of his Book." Bentley has written out the notice of the book in Ebeling's letter, and adds "K. died in the arms of Mr. Ebeling as he assures me."

The copy was Klopstock's own. I purchased it from his auction.

10) Charlotte Corday.²⁴ A Tragedy written by a Lady of Hambro, in the *manner* of Schiller but not quite with his genius, yet several fine scenes and dialogues. The versification good.

11) Delbruck's *Lyrische Gedichte*.²⁵ I wish this Book was continued, for it contains very tastefull remarks.

12) Klopstock's *Herman's Tod*.²⁶ His *Salomon*²⁷ is in the present parcel. I prefer by far the first. The last has little action and too finespun metaphysick in order to explain why a man like Salomon could become an Idolater.

13) Nasser's *Geschichte der deutschen Poesie*.²⁸ Is not yet finished and contains very usefull and exact notices.

14) A part of the New allgem. Bibl. which was wanting in my former sending.

This is what I remember. I shall be carefull to collect more capital books for you, in order to pay my debt. Heyne's *Virgil* will be amongst them now out of print, but I hope to get it from a Friend.

I am now busy with Virginia, but at the same time obliged to elaborate a description of Portugal and Spain for Bushing's *Geographies*, new Edition. This I shall send you as it appears. The other parts also, which are to be quite newly elaborated by a Society of our best Geographers.

If only my health remains good, I hope to go thro' all this great many occupations, old as I am.

Political News you find in the news papers. Several particularities of litterary ones I have laid together in a corner of the newest box. (You will see which it is by the date of the *Gazettes* therein.) Whole Europe is still distracted by the continuation of war. Heaven knows, how that will end. The mediation of Russia seems to take place, happy the world if it succeeds. If not, I fear there will be a *Hobbesian bellum*

²⁴Charlotte Corday. *Tragödie in fünf Akten mit Choren*. Hamburg, 1804.** By Mme Engel Christine (von Axen) von Westphalen, 1758-1840.

²⁵Ferdinand Delbrück. *Lyrische Gedichte, mit erklärenden Anmerkungen*. Bd. 1. *Oden von Klopstock*. Berlin, 1800.**

²⁶Herrmann's *Tod*. Hamburg, 1787.

²⁷Salomo; ein Trauerspiel. Magdeburg, 1764.**

²⁸Joh. Adolph Nasser. *Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der deutschen Poesie*. 2 vols. Altona. 1798-1800.

omnium contra omnes and that will be attended with great ruin of many countries. You will be save from it, at least by land, but your navigation may be exposed.

I close this letter in order to send it away. Excuse if I don't write oftener, it comes so seldom to my knowledge when American Ships are in the neighbourhood. Our American post seldom announces them as formerly was the case oftener

With great esteem and thankfulness

Dear Sir

Your most obdt and obliged Servant

C. D. EBELING.

TO DR. BENTLEY

Nr 2.

Second Letter sent by Capt Ward.

JULY 4, 1805

DEAR SIR

As by a *happy* mistake of Captain Wards Officer two boxes not belonging to me were sent to me, I found that Mr W. was still in town and he went to see me again in order to clear up the error. I am able to write you once more and to add a small parcell to the two boxes and letter which your worthy Friend charges himself with.

I am also happy to acknowledge the receipt of your sendings the arrival of three boxes by way of Bremen. And in order that you may see how much I was benefitted by your great kindness I shall quote the data's of your letters before me. You may judge whether I have received all as I hope is the case.

[He enumerates nine letters received from Bentley, dated from May 18, 1804 to April 19, 1805, each accompanied by one or more boxes of books and papers¹, repeating substantially

¹Among the books received he notes the following:

Andrew Ellicott, U. S. Commissioner on the boundary between the United States and Spain in America. Journal, Philadelphia, 1803.* Inscribed "Jacob Crowninshield to Rev^d W^m Bentley, Salem, May 23^d, 1804—from W. B. to Professor Ebeling, Hamburg."

William Moultrie. Memoirs of the American Revolution. 2 vols. New York, 1802.* Same inscription as in Ellicott.

John Drayton. A view of South Carolina as respects her natural and civil concerns. Charleston, 1802.*

Ordinances of Charleston. Collected by Alex. Edwards. Charleston, 1802. 4^o* Stamped on cover, "William Logan, Warden, Ward N^o 8."

John Marshall. The life of George Washington. Vol. 1-4. Philadelphia, 1804.* Ebeling's unbound copy has been replaced by another, but the fly-leaf of vol. I, with notes in his hand, has been preserved.

what he wrote in the previous letter but putting it in better shape. "Six boxes are arrived in one week from different quarters." He will be careful in future to number the boxes he sends and "write the contents exactly down," and he begs Dr. Bentley, as he has done before, not to give himself so very much trouble.]

I assure you that I am heartily touched at your great Friendship and am much grieved that I cannot deserve it as I sincerely wished. My situation by the present unhappy circumstances of Europe is anxious. I feel sorrow and fear for my nearest relations in the ruined hannoverian country, and must succour them to the utmost of my power. The orphans of a dear beloved brother, 4 sons and two daughters all so excellent young persons that they require my love care and tenderness, one Son now in S Thomas (where his house cash and mercantile Books were saved from the fire. but most of the warehouse consumed), the second at the University of Göttingen and preparing to go to Vienna for taking his degree as Doctor of Medicine. The third with me, the fourth in the country near this town, applying himself to rural oeconomy. Two daughters with my Sister at Lunenberg in the Country of Hannover, continually surrounded with enemies, whose politeness and discipline is to be praised as much, as the heavy requisitions of their government, in money, clothes, rations and portions, etc is enormous. Besides that my daily increasing business not only at the library which is overwhelming, but also as professor, as our Gymnasium is increasing in number and requires more lectures than formerly—besides that I was obliged to help the Bookseller in publishing a quite new Edition of Bushing's Geography, whereof Portugal Spain and Gt Britain fell to my lot—all this together with a very bad state of health (which now thank God is recovering, tho' I two days ago had an access of cold fever, which did not return as my physician feared) the increasing hard hearing—all this kept me from every other business as especially from the continuation of my America which is now taken anew with all eagerness I am capable of into my hands as I wish to have it brought to end.

My extensive correspondence kept me from answering more than $\frac{1}{2}$ the number of letters written to me. I was obliged to

insert an apology in the newspapers. Every body in lower (northern) Germany applies to me for consulting books in our great library for him. I was yielding to the request of many, my willingness was known and now I am taken into requisition every week. I suppose more than 50 letters to be answered lay on my table. *

[He expresses astonishment on learning from Bentley's letter of April 16, 1805 that Bentley has not heard from him since August 1802 (presumably his letter of May 10, 1802, p 363). He has written at least twice a year even during the blockade though he has not always noted the dates, but he has evidence of sending a letter by way of Holland Nov. 19, 1804².]

Have you never received a letter from me with a Copy of Robison's Letter to me, which I sent in order to justify my answer to him, which his adherents were so eager in publishing that I could not forbear to wish his letter published in the same way. But now it is too late.

I join to this letter Heyne's Virgil³ the best Edition, not waiting for an opportunity to get it (as it is out of print). I am glad to send you my copy. We have another in the public library.

My letter is called for therefore I close it with assurances of my gratitude esteem and friendship.

C. D. EBELING.

TO DR. BENTLEY

SEPT 12, 1806

DEAR SIR

I have only a moment left to write these few words, a longer letter¹ acknowledging the many favours received by your kindness which according to your letters have reached me all, will be delivered you by the post. Your mocca bag [of coffee] arrived safe and was sold at 402 Marcs Courant. The Books in the large chest which goes with this letter are partly purchased by that money. I hope the choice will be approved by

¹This letter reached Providence, May 22. See p. 371.

²This Virgil probably went to Alleghany College in Dr. Bentley's bequest. A copy of this edition is recorded in the printed catalogue.

³The letter seems to be missing.

you. My account in the large letter. The Booksellers and Bookbinders bill you will find in Artedi's *Hist: piscium* in 4^{to} in the Box². The Box is ensured here.

I hope this letter will find you in good health. I cannot boast this from myself.

You will find Adelungs Dictionary; Meusel's 3^d Part; Griesbach's *N Test* 2nd part, Heyne's Homer with other Books which I owed you. The fate of the allgemeine Bibliothek which I sent you, is told in my other letter. I shall endeavour to get another copy for you, the other was entirely spoiled.

I have the honour to be with great gratitude and esteem

Dear Sir

your

most obedt humble Servant

E. B.

TO DR. BENTLEY.

ALTSTADT, APRIL 20, 1807.

I write you from this place but you will sent your answer to my former residence, because I shall not stay here long time.

I hope my several letters and Boxes have reached you, especially that which was sent on board of Captain Rhodes from Boston, whereof I sent you the original Bill of lading by the post via New York, as before the Copy by way of Boston. [*Marginal note.* Copy of the Bill of Lading. Box of German Books directed to the Reverend Mr. Bentley at Salem in the State of Massachusetts. Likewise a Map directed to the R. Mr. Morse at Charlestown in the State of Mass. Received by *Hawes Harding* mate of the Brig *Sukey* of Boston. Ham-
burgh Sept 13, 1806.]

I long to hear from you that it was delivered well as it contained all the books which I purchased for you by the money got for the Coffee. As I twice have sent the note and accounts I shall not repeat them. The box was very large and as you

²Artedi, Peter, 1705-1735. *Synonymia piscium graeca et latina. Sive Historia piscium naturalis et literaria.* Lipsiae, 1789.

A bill, probably of the books in this shipment, is bound with the letters, but does not seem worth printing.

will have seen by the Bill of value. It would be a great pleasure to me if you could assign me a Merchant's house in Boston to whom I could consign Boxes and Packets for you; as ships of Salem are very seldom here, and commonly, I don't know for what reason, are *not* advertised in the News paper. I have still another box for you with some books which I hope will be acceptable.

[A description of the European situation follows.]

You wish for more consoling literary notices. I wish I could give you them. Literary business is at a stand. Yet notwithstanding the confusion that reigns [everly¹ were, the Easter fair began at Leipsic lately has brought into s[ale more] than 1200 new books inclusive of 90 novels (amongst them one [with the] Title Washington or the American Revolution) and about 40 plays [] musical Books, so that 900 scientificall remain. That *famine* may be [of good] consequences, tho' it is not lucrative for the Booksellers and authors. Happily I am not amongst the last; and my Cousin's Geography of Portugal will but appear in the Month of May. That being finished, he writes me, that he will return to America.

I must finish this letter when it shall go by the present opportunity. I wish for news from you and only add that as to my health, it has been pretty well since I recovered from a violent attack in the breast by an obstinate cough. The winter who continues here about as on the lower Elbe is not calculated to preserve health.

I am with continual esteem and great regard

Dear Sir

Your affectionate friend
and Countryman

CLOSE BROWN

[It will be noticed that owing to the military occupation of Hamburg and "the state of our distracted country" he signs an assumed name supposedly American, and that he refers to his book on Portugal as his "Cousin's." The "Altstadt" (reminiscent of Altona) at the head of the letter is due to the same

¹Several words are wholly or partly destroyed by the tearing of the paper about the seal, yet the sense can be recovered.

precaution. The greater part of the letter is devoted to an interesting description of the European situation, but he remarks—"It is unsafe to write even facts." In a postscript he says,—“All this was not written for your use. If extracts were to be made public you must not mention any names of place or writer nor communicate this letter to whomsoever. We live in a very dangerous time and situation.”]

TO DR. BENTLEY

AUGUST 12 [1807.]

DEAR SIR

I have the honour to send you a Box with German Books by the Brig the Harriot of Salem Capt Th Ropes, and at the same time thankfully to acknowledge the arrival of two Boxes, which you were so kind as to send me by way of Copenhagen, June 1805. The circuitous way by which they arrived must account for the long delay for it was but last month, that they came into my possession.

At the entrance of our gate they were stopt by the french Douaniers (Custom house officers) but by the kindness of the french Minister and upon proof that they contained nothing but *American* Books and papers, they were released without any expence. My personal acquaintance with the Secretary of the French Legation saved them. Now it will be more difficult to send and to receive by the way of Copenhagen, as unhappily the scene of this unheard-of war is approaching to us.

I shall do my best to procure you all Michaelis's Works, the deficient parts of the German Library, Ernesti's Works (you get here his Theological Library, those with black titles I purchased for your money in an auction, the other please to accept from me to complete the set.) Schultens are only to be got in auctions, all being printed in Holland; so is Niebuhr¹ and exceeding scarcity as all remaining copies were burnt in the great fire at Copenhagen, together with the copperplates of the whole work, which makes reprinting impossible for the worthy author. But I shall do my best to get a Copy when occasion offers.

¹Probably Carsten Niebuhr's "Beschreibung von Arabien." Kopenhagen, 1772.

I must finish this letter and give you only my best and sincerest thanks in a hurry. I shall write you soon and more amply when our strangers are departed. I am with great
Respect Your

Most obliged and devoted Servant and
Friend

C. D. E.

I have just finished my Mst of the Description of Portugal which will be printed soon. I shall send you a copy, as a proof of a new manner of writing geography critically and with the necessary vouchers for the truth of what is reported. Now I return to America. Spain and England will alternatively [be] described afterwards. The rest of Europe is *indiscribable*, as all depends on the whims and humour of a single man, now the vice-director of the world. Heaven beware good America when Europe has recovered peace. Louisiana will be the first pomum Eridos between the United States and . . . I wish my prophecy may be false.

TO DR. BENTLEY

SEPT. 12, 1808.

DEAR SIR

The Kindness of a Friend gives me hope that this letter will come save to your hand. I doubt whether two others which I wrote about half a year ago were so happy.

The distracted State of allmost the whole world, all navigation interrupted on the Elbe, at Tönning, Copenhagen etc makes it impossible to me to send you several boxes with books which are ready for you. Amongst others one containing 74 new volumes of the neue Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek. But I shall continue to collect for you what I find worthy of your attention. I am persuaded this unhappy destruction of all social order and rights of men cannot last very long time. The general cry of all nations must at last reach the ears of those who can give relief to mankind as soon as they will. I forbear to write you news as it is too unsave not knowing in whose hand this could fall. But we know also very few news. All liberty of the press is lost and none dares to speak polititiks, which to tell the truth are at present nothing but report and

false news. One consolation we have that (thanks to our enlightened age!) good order begins to be restored, and that even Science and learning is not destroyed, tho' many branches of them declining. Physik, natural history, the Study of the new law, the classical ancient Philology are all in the best way and even flourishing, some part of divinity (especially Church-history and Exegesis) are still in vigour, but our philosophy is quite run mad, so it is mostly with our poetry and esthetics. Even Göthe has published a Tragedy: Dr Faustus, which contains some quite excellent Scenes of the highest tragical effect, but many others full of absurdities, empty rhimes, and even low indecencies. He imitated some scenes of witches in Shakespear's Macbeth, but very unhappily. The History of our times has no existence, unless vile flattery, as in the times of the worst roman emperors was usual, could be called history. The Universities begin to revive, *seven* of which, made a part of the New Kingdom of Westphalia, were in danger; but all fear is now over and Göttingen, Halle, Helmstadt, Marburg are recovering, less so Rintelm, Paderborn (a long time lingering and insignificant Roman-Catholik university) and Erfurt a mixed one of Protestant and R. C. professors. The celebrated Suiss Historian Mr. Müller¹ has been made Minister of the Institutes of learning in the Kingdom of Westphalia and that is a very happy event. Mr Villers² a French Captain of Artillerie long time living in germany has written an excellent treatise on behalf of the german Universities. The same author who wrote that celebrated work on Lutheranism which was crowned by the French imperial Institute at Paris and has undergone a great many editions, translations whereof one copy is ready for you. I am quite without any knowledge about America. My description of Virginia is now printing. In the mean time I amused myself with writing a new Geograpy of Portugall which was published in the end of last year, and finished in the very moment when the Kingdom was over-

¹Johannes von Müller, 1752-1809.

²Charles Villers, 1765-1815. Coup-d'oeil sur les universités et la mode d'instruction publique de l'Allemagne protestante; en particulier du royaume de Westphalie. Cassel, 1808.

Also his Essay on the spirit and influence of the reformation of Luther. London, 1805. See also p. 395.

what forced me, to answer him in such terms, as he chuse to make publick in America. I was in the right to do the same, but will not retaliate. The Exjesuit Barruel, who is now a flattering insect that wishes to approach the new Throne, is now quite silent about Illuminates etc. I suppose the Jesuits have obtained their hidden aim. They made a noise like the jugglers that people may not see their underhand play. Now they have obtained their reestablishment in Naples too, they hope to be restored in the Austrian dominions, but certainly will be disappointed in France tho' they crept in under the name of the Scholars of Jesus and other names. The new Emperor has forbidden the admission of any monastical order, and namely those mentioned. On the other side the Roman Catholics id est the Jesuitical caste are making attempts or preparing them rather for an union of Churches. They think the unsettled state of protestantism as it appears to them, will offer a good occasion for their endeavours. But it will turn out to nothing as all former, when even the great Leibniz thought it a possibility that Roman Cath and protestants could be joined *in faith* even for a moment unless one or both renounce their leading principles. How are you with the Roman Catholics now in America? That you have allways had Jesuits in Maryland especially is certain, but are they seen to act, as prsoelyte-catchers, or introducing monastical clubs and convents? Heaven beware good America from the monkish pestilence for ever. They are going on to be reduced every where in Germany even in the R. Cath dominions, more so in those lands that were comprised in the indemnisation scheme.

[He goes on to speak of political rumors and the approaching coronation of Napoleon as Emperor, returning to the subject of books and literature.]

But dearness increases everywhere in Germany. Books for example which 40 years ago had a general and common price at 24 sheets for $\frac{1}{4}$ dollar in London, are now at 3 or at the best 4 sheets at the same price. Those printed in very elegant manner on velin in quarto with few engravings are at an enormous price. Klopstock's works just now publishing at 10 Dollars a volume. Wieland's cost almost 400 dollars. A greek new Testament is publishing now, really excellent under

Griesbach's direction in 4 quarto volumes which will coast 120 marcs or 40 dollars. An edition of Homer by Wolf will be of the same price. One of Heyne of the Ilias with a very ample commentary costs the best edition 50 dollars. This edition has occasioned a terrible noise in many newspapers excited by Mr. Wolf's friends. Wolf⁹ is a pupil of Heyne. This worthy old man, has the feebleness to think his pupils never come to majority, this makes many of them very ungratefull. So Mr. Wolf who hastened to prevent [i. e. forestall] Heyne's edition. His critical taste is masterly and in many things he surpasses his old teacher. But when the Homer of the latter appeared Wolf's friends and perhaps himself treated the learned man as a schoolboy with an exacerbated severity. One review in the Allgem. Litteraturzeitung was extended to seventeen sheets! But you know *criticor. canes*. They were ever so.

As I am for about two years without any letters, of most of my correspondents in America, at Boston (only one letter I received from Dr. Eliot) at New York, Philadelphia, Charleston etc. you may think how I feast upon your kind sendings of pamphlets and newspapers. My newest part of the Geogr. and History is in the Box. I *begin* now first to write that of Virginia, so much my situation has retarded my diligence. Want of so many materials as I wished for, was [one] of the causes.

[The final sentence is mutilated, the paper being torn by the seal.

The difficulties and uncertainties of transatlantic communication are illustrated by this letter. It was addressed by Ebeling "free via Amsterdam." A letter from van Staphorst and Co. of Amsterdam, dated March 12, 1805, reads:

"Your esteemed Favour of Nov. 19th has come to hand in due time, and we would certainly have given ourselves the honour of replying sooner to it, had not since all that time the Ice put an entire Stagnation to Navigation and prevended us to forward your Enclosure to Salem. We now have the pleasure to inform

⁹Friedrich August Wolf, 1759-1824. His Prolegomena to Homer was printed in 1795 while he was professor at Halle. He had studied under Heyne at Göttingen, 1777-79. Heyne's edition of Homer, in 9 volumes was printed at Leipzig in 1802-22, Wolf's Homer at the same place, 1804-07 in 4 volumes.

you that we forwarded the same via Providence R. I. by the Ship Charlotte, John Manchester Master, and hope it will duly reach its Direction."

The letter bears the American postmark "Providence, May 22."]

TO DR. BENTLEY

JUNE 29, 1805.

[The writer speaks of four letters received from his correspondent, and of five boxes from Copenhagen at the very moment when he had to send off his letter to Captain Ward. (The next letter, July 4, likewise sent by Captain Ward, corrects and repeats statements made in this letter.) He refers to two boxes "which had lain long time at Tonningen," but were finally forwarded to Copenhagen that they might find ships for Salem. From his letter sent at the same time, November 19, 1804, he recapitulates the account of letters and boxes received, but fears that he has not received all that have been sent.]

Yet the many that reached me already require my gratitude. Mr Ward a very lovely young man, was very welcome to me. He will tell you how I live. I am happily mostly recovered of a very dangerous rheumatical cough which befell me in our publick library a cold stone-building during last winter. But cold weather brings now and then a little return and old age approaching helps it. Yet I am thank God in good spirits.

My America goes on slowly You will find the last volume in one of the two Boxes which Mr Ward will be so kind as to bring you. Another copy you will occasionally send to Rev Mr Elliot, to whom I shall write very soon.

My business overwhelms me, and you may consider how urgent it is, because I dine every day at 6 o'clock in the evening, rise at 6 in the morning, deliver my lectures at 7 and 9, go at 10 to the library where I remain till 6 o'clock. Little time is remaining during the vacancies every quarter for book writing and reading, or Correspondence. This is very great as Hambro' is a place much resorted to, and many learned make use of our library even in very distant parts. About this library you

will find some account in a *Skizzen von Hamburg*¹ in the latest box.

I sent you

1. *Litteratur Zeitung*² from 1794, 1800 and 1801 with the Revision of Literature. These Litterary Newspapers are very scarce and seldom complete. They are published at Jena (this year at Halle), and contain particularly the Kantian philosophical creed. Griesbach writes the articles concerning Bible. Many others are very valuable.
2. *Göttingische Anzeigen*³ 1764, 2 volumes 1776, 1786-1799, without doubt our best critical paper, but not complete enough what regards german literature. This also is now never to be got *complete* (it goes on since 1739) but at very high price, 100 and more dollars. The reason is because these papers appear weekly, are sent by the post, and often miscarried, mislaid by the possessor, lend out. I have joined to this letter the title pages of several third volumes belonging to them. I shal take care to complete the set occasionally.
3. *Berliner Monatschrift*⁴ 1804 and 1805 which I shal continue.

The *allgemeine Biblioth.* will be finished this year. Nicolai's old age requires rest. It is a great loss to our literature. It resisted most effectually to our increasing bad philosophy. You will find several parts of the Berlin *Monatschr.* in duplo. Therein is contained an anti anglican letter which may be translated for your news papers.

4. *Gotha*⁵ July 1774 (the first year), 1775, 1802, 1803 and 1804. The last sheet will shew you that this valuable paper is dropt. The Bookseller died. So is that of

¹*Skizzen zu einem Gemälde von Hamburg.* [By F. J. L. Meyer] Hamburg, 1801-02.** 6 hefte (nos. 3, 4 and 5 lacking).

²See p. 335.

³*Göttingische Anzeigen von gelehrten Sachen, 1764, 1776, 1801**;* *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen, 1802-1809.*** The Harvard Library has also later volumes, from another source.

⁴See p. 316.

⁵See p. 296.

Erfurt⁶ at an end with the University as the King of Prussia now possessor of Erfurt, cannot well entertain two Universities so very near to one another, and Halle being far more considerable and much frequented, Erfurt not at all so.

5. About the other books and Gazettes a few words. In the Berlin Gazettes I have marked with a red pencil many remarkable articles, lives of litterati etc. So I have done in others, when it was possible to me to read them.
6. Villaume, Vereinbarkeit der Juden⁷ teaches us the state of that nation in Germany, which begins to be emancipated and to emerge from its [*word illegible*] and low manners, as the Christians begin to be more humane. There are at present two very diligent and skillfull young Jews amongst my Scholars at the Gymnasium which ten years ago I would not have been allowed to teach publicly! [*Marginal note.* The author was professor at Berlin but during the mystical reign abdicated himself, grew enthusiastic for the french Revolution, brought three of his Sons to the french Republick's Army, one was killed, two returned after some years, disappointed. He himself is at present at the head of a very good Burgher-school in the danish Island Fyen.]
7. Nordische Miscellaneen⁸, publishing here, with several good, political treaties, others shewing our present state of Hambrgh, trade etc.

Wolke, Judsche Singedichte⁹ only as a specimen of lower german as it is spoken in the country here about til in Westphalia. A whim to revive that dying language, but which is harmonious and flexible.

⁶See p. 308.

⁷Peter Villaume. Vereinbarkeit der Juden mit andern Nationen. I. Hamburg, 1804.** Presentation copy to Ebeling. Ebeling sent several of Villaume's text-books to Bentley,—Praktisches Handbuch für Lehrer in Burger- Land- und Soldaten-Schulen. 2e Aufl. Hamburg, 1800.**—Lesebuch für Bürgerschulen. Hamburg, 1801.**—Methode junge Leute zum schriftlichen Ausdruck ihrer Gedanken zu bilden. Neue Aufl. Hamburg, 1804.**

⁸Nordische Miszellen. Bd. II-IV. Hamburg, 1804-05.**

⁹Christian Heinrich Wolke, Dudsge ör Sässische Sinngedichte. Leipzig, 1804.

8. Velthusen, Pokeach Iwrim¹⁰ and another book of him, which are said to contain much of masonry. I cannot understand it at all, the stile is exceedingly confuse.
9. Songs of Maçons, many very poetical ones, and allmost all intelligible even to an exotic.
10. Wegscheider uber die Trennung der Moral etc¹¹ against Schellings philosophy.
11. Gurlit's¹², my Colleague's pamphlets you will attend to (1) on account of the excellent latin stile (2) of their learning and freedom. His oration on the 18 Century is very exact a painting of its principal features.
12. Teller's Life.¹³ True and faithfull. His portrait exceedingly like him.
13. The pamphlet about the old prophet's Mr *Hermes's*¹⁴ from Berlin translation to Kiel in Holstein in order to reform the heterodoxy of that University has occasioned many pamphlets which I send you. The first, and the last (accompanying this letter) are the best. This is that very Hermes who was of the Society of Wölner and Hilmer at Berlin. He is no impostor like them, but a weak man, of no great learning and less judgement.
14. *Eschenburgs* Theory¹⁵, the newest and best book concerning the state of our *belles lettres*

In the elder Box made up allready in 1804 as far as I remember there are (1) *Grotius de origine Americanorum*¹⁶ (2)

¹⁰Joh. Kaspar Velthusen. Pokeach Iwrim. Beleuchtung einer mystischen Allegorie und Hieroglyphen, etc., the first volume of his "Maurerei und Christenthum gegen einander übergestellt." Stade, 1804. The other book was his "Historisch kritische Nachforschungen über Schottische Maurerey." Leipzig, 1805.** Ebeling has written on the fly-leaf, "An almost unintelligible Book of a very learned author. He is a very religious man, very active, but no Mason, and by the calamities of the time became fantastical." See also p. 336 where we hear of the same man as interested in German missions in North Carolina.

¹¹J. A. L. Wegscheider. Ueber die von der neusten Philosophie geforderte Trennung der Moral von Religion. Hamburg, 1804.

¹²Joh. Gottfried Gurlitt, 1754-1827. The Harvard Library has his "Archaeologische Schriften gesammelt. Herausgeg. von Cornelius Müller." Altona, 1831.

¹³Wilhelm Abraham Teller, 1734-1804, distinguished evangelical theologian. Probably Troschel's Gedächtnispredigt, Berlin, 1805, is meant.

¹⁴Hermann Daniel Hermes, 1734-1807. See p. 326.

¹⁵Joh. Joachim Eschenburg, 1743-1820, author of the well known and long used "Manual of Classical Literature." Entwurf einer Theorie und Literatur der schönen Redekünste. 3^e Aufl. Berlin, 1805.*

¹⁶See p. 353.

Teller's Dogmatical Compendium¹⁷ (his first Essay of a freer Research) (3) German Poems Volume 2d.¹⁸ The editor is now at Dörpat, Professor. (4) Zollikofer's Predigten¹⁹ one volume the first he published but not less excellent. (5) Spalding's Predigten (his Life you find in the Berlin Newspapers) very clear, heartily philosophical and practical. They are reckoned amongst our best. He published but few, tho' he lived to his 90th year almost. (6) Count Berchtold's²⁰ Book on restoring live to drowned persons. The Count lives at Vienna, is very rich, but employs all his money in philanthropic designs. He went to Spain and Portugal, published there several books at his expenses on restoring to live suffocated, drowned etc. distributed them gratis. Then he went, a second Howard, into Turkey to study the remedies against plague and published when he returned some valuable treatises thereon. So he employs his whole time in humane pursuits, tho' he is of one of the first families. (7) *Klopstock*, a Book on Klopstock's Life written by Mr Cramer²¹ (now at Paris, formerly professor at Kiel.) The anecdotes are to be relied upon. (8) *La Bataille d'Hermann*²² written by Klopstock and translated by the same Cramer. The Original if I am not mistaken I sent you before.

9) *Klopstocks Gelehrten Republik*.²³ A Book not continued. It is somewhat difficult to understand not only for the lasting allegory, but also for the many allusions to the then state of our literature. The grammatical part is excellent.

¹⁷Wilhelm A. Teller. *Lehrbuch des christlichen Glaubens*. Helmstadt, 1764.**

¹⁸Translations of German poems, extracted from the musical publications of the author of the German Erato [Benjamin Beresford]. 2 vols. Berlin, 1801-03.**

¹⁹See p. 366.

²⁰*Kurzgefasste Methode alle Arten von Scheintodten wieder zu beleben*, etc. Von einer reisenden Deutschen. Wien, 1791.

²¹Carl Friedrich Cramer, 1752-1807. *Klopstock. Er; und über ihn*. 1^{er} Theil. Hamburg, 1708.**

²²*Hermanns Schlacht; ein Bardiet für die Schaubühne*. Hamburg. 1769.** The French translation has not been found.

²³*Die deutsche Gelehrtenrepublik. Ihre Einrichtung. Ihre Geseze. Geschichte des letzten Landtags. Auf Befehl der Aldermänner durch Salogast und Wlemar. Herausgegeben von Klopstock*. 1^{er} Theil. Hamburg, 1774.** Ebeling has written on the fly-leaf: "Late Mr. Klopstock's own manual Copy of his Book." Bentley has written out the notice of the book in Ebeling's letter, and adds "K. died in the arms of Mr. Ebeling as he assures me."

The copy was Klopstock's own. I purchased it from his auction.

10) Charlotte Corday.²⁴ A Tragedy written by a Lady of Hambro, in the *manner* of Schiller but not quite with his genius, yet several fine scenes and dialogues. The versification good.

11) Delbruck's *Lyrische Gedichte*.²⁵ I wish this Book was continued, for it contains very tastefull remarks.

12) Klopstock's *Herman's Tod*.²⁶ His *Salomon*²⁷ is in the present parcel. I prefer by far the first. The last has little action and too finespun metaphysick in order to explain why a man like Salomon could become an Idolater.

13) Nasser's *Geschichte der deutschen Poesie*.²⁸ Is not yet finished and contains very usefull and exact notices.

14) A part of the *New allgem. Bibl.* which was wanting in my former sending.

This is what I remember. I shall be carefull to collect more capital books for you, in order to pay my debt. Heyne's *Virgil* will be amongst them now out of print, but I hope to get it from a Friend.

I am now busy with Virginia, but at the same time obliged to elaborate a description of Portugal and Spain for Bushing's *Geographies*, new Edition. This I shall send you as it appears. The other parts also, which are to be quite newly elaborated by a Society of our best Geographers.

If only my health remains good, I hope to go thro' all this great many occupations, old as I am.

Political News you find in the news papers. Several particularities of litterary ones I have laid together in a corner of the newest box. (You will see which it is by the date of the *Gazettes* therein.) Whole Europe is still distracted by the continuation of war. Heaven knows, how that will end. The mediation of Russia seems to take place, happy the world if it succeeds. If not, I fear there will be a *Hobbesian bellum*

²⁴Charlotte Corday. *Tragödie in fünf Akten mit Choren*. Hamburg, 1804.** By Mme Engel Christine (von Axen) von Westphalen, 1758-1840.

²⁵Ferdinand Delbrück. *Lyrische Gedichte, mit erklärenden Anmerkungen*. Bd. 1. *Oden von Klopstock*. Berlin, 1800.**

²⁶Herrmann's *Tod*. Hamburg, 1787.

²⁷Salomo; ein Trauerspiel. Magdeburg, 1764.**

²⁸Joh. Adolph Nasser. *Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der deutschen Poesie*. 2 vols. Altona. 1798-1800.

omnium contra omnes and that will be attended with great ruin of many countries. You will be save from it, at least by land, but your navigation may be exposed.

I close this letter in order to send it away. Excuse if I don't write oftener, it comes so seldom to my knowledge when American Ships are in the neighbourhood. Our American post seldom announces them as formerly was the case oftener

With great esteem and thankfulness

Dear Sir

Your most obdt and obliged Servant

C. D. EBELING.

TO DR. BENTLEY

Nr 2.

Second Letter sent by Capt Ward.

JULY 4, 1805

DEAR SIR

As by a *happy* mistake of Captain Wards Officer two boxes not belonging to me were sent to me, I found that Mr W. was still in town and he went to see me again in order to clear up the error. I am able to write you once more and to add a small parcell to the two boxes and letter which your worthy Friend charges himself with.

I am also happy to acknowledge the receipt of your sendings the arrival of three boxes by way of Bremen. And in order that you may see how much I was benefitted by your great kindness I shall quote the data's of your letters before me. You may judge whether I have received all as I hope is the case.

[He enumerates nine letters received from Bentley, dated from May 18, 1804 to April 19, 1805, each accompanied by one or more boxes of books and papers¹, repeating substantially

¹Among the books received he notes the following:

Andrew Ellicott, U. S. Commissioner on the boundary between the United States and Spain in America. Journal, Philadelphia, 1803.* Inscribed "Jacob Crowninshield to Revd Wm Bentley, Salem, May 23^d, 1804—from W. B. to Professor Ebeling, Hamburg."

William Moultrie. Memoirs of the American Revolution. 2 vols. New York, 1802.* Same inscription as in Ellicott.

John Drayton. A view of South Carolina as respects her natural and civil concerns. Charleston, 1802.*

Ordinances of Charleston. Collected by Alex. Edwards. Charleston, 1802. 4^o* Stamped on cover, "William Logan, Warden, Ward N^o 8."

John Marshall. The life of George Washington. Vol. 1-4. Philadelphia, 1804.* Ebeling's unbound copy has been replaced by another, but the fly-leaf of vol. I, with notes in his hand, has been preserved.

what he wrote in the previous letter but putting it in better shape. "Six boxes are arrived in one week from different quarters." He will be careful in future to number the boxes he sends and "write the contents exactly down," and he begs Dr. Bentley, as he has done before, not to give himself so very much trouble.]

I assure you that I am heartily touched at your great Friendship and am much grieved that I cannot deserve it as I sincerely wished. My situation by the present unhappy circumstances of Europe is anxious. I feel sorrow and fear for my nearest relations in the ruined hannoverian country, and must succour them to the utmost of my power. The orphans of a dear beloved brother, 4 sons and two daughters all so excellent young persons that they require my love care and tenderness, one Son now in S Thomas (where his house cash and mercantile Books were saved from the fire. but most of the warehouse consumed), the second at the University of Göttingen and preparing to go to Vienna for taking his degree as Doctor of Medicine. The third with me, the fourth in the country near this town, applying himself to rural oeconomy. Two daughters with my Sister at Lunenberg in the Country of Hannover, continually surrounded with ennemies, whose politeness and discipline is to be praised as much, as the heavy requisitions of their government, in money, clothes, rations and portions, etc is enormous. Besides that my daily increasing business not only at the library which is overwhelming, but also as professor, as our Gymnasium is increasing in number and requires more lectures than formerly—besides that I was obliged to help the Bookseller in publishing a quite new Edition of Bushing's Geography, whereof Portugal Spain and Gt Britain fell to my lot—all this together with a very bad state of health (which now thank God is recovering, tho' I two days ago had an access of cold fever, which did not return as my physician feared) the increasing hard hearing—all this kept me from every other business as especially from the continuation of my America which is now taken anew with all eagerness I am capable of into my hands as I wish to have it broght to end.

My extensive correspondence kept me from answering more than $\frac{1}{2}$ the number of letters written to me. I was obliged to

insert an apology in the newspapers. Every body in lower (northern) Germany applies to me for consulting books in our great library for him. I was yielding to the request of many, my willingness was known and now I am taken into requisition every week. I suppose more than 50 letters to be answered lay on my table.

[He expresses astonishment on learning from Bentley's letter of April 16, 1805 that Bentley has not heard from him since August 1802 (presumably his letter of May 10, 1802, p 363). He has written at least twice a year even during the blockade though he has not always noted the dates, but he has evidence of sending a letter by way of Holland Nov. 19, 1804².]

Have you never received a letter from me with a Copy of Robison's Letter to me, which I sent in order to justify my answer to him, which his adherents were so eager in publishing that I could not forbear to wish his letter published in the same way. But now it is too late.

I join to this letter Heyne's Virgil³ the best Edition, not waiting for an opportunity to get it (as it is out of print). I am glad to send you my copy. We have another in the public library.

My letter is called for therefore I close it with assurances of my gratitude esteem and friendship.

C. D. EBELING.

TO DR. BENTLEY

SEPT 12, 1806

DEAR SIR

I have only a moment left to write these few words, a longer letter¹ acknowledging the many favours received by your kindness which according to your letters have reached me all, will be delivered you by the post. Your mocca bag [of coffee] arrived safe and was sold at 402 Marcs Courant. The Books in the large chest which goes with this letter are partly purchased by that money. I hope the choice will be approved by

¹This letter reached Providence, May 22. See p. 371.

²This Virgil probably went to Alleghany College in Dr. Bentley's bequest. A copy of this edition is recorded in the printed catalogue.

³The letter seems to be missing.

you. My account in the large letter. The Booksellers and Bookbinders bill you will find in Artedi's Hist: piscium in 4^{to} in the Box². The Box is ensured here.

I hope this letter will find you in good health. I cannot boast this from myself.

You will find Adelungs Dictionary; Meusel's 3^d Part; Griesbach's N Test 2nd part, Heyne's Homer with other Books which I owed you. The fate of the allgemeine Bibliothek which I sent you, is told in my other letter. I shall endeavour to get another copy for you, the other was entirely spoiled.

I have the honour to be with great gratitude and esteem

Dear Sir

your

most obedt humble Servant

E. B.

TO DR. BENTLEY.

ALTSTADT, APRIL 20, 1807.

I write you from this place but you will sent your answer to my former residence, because I shall not stay here long time.

I hope my several letters and Boxes have reached you, especially that which was sent on board of Captain Rhodes from Boston, whereof I sent you the original Bill of lading by the post via New York, as before the Copy by way of Boston. [*Marginal note.* Copy of the Bill of Lading. Box of German Books directed to the Reverend Mr. Bentley at Salem in the State of Massachusetts. Likewise a Map directed to the R. Mr. Morse at Charlestown in the State of Mass. Received by *Hawes Harding* mate of the Brig *Sukey* of Boston. Hamburgh Sept 13, 1806.]

I long to hear from you that it was delivered well as it contained all the books which I purchased for you by the money got for the Coffee. As I twice have sent the note and accounts I shall not repeat them. The box was very large and as you

²Artedi, Peter, 1705-1735. *Synonymia piscium graeca et latina. Sive Historia piscium naturalis et literaria.* Lipsiae, 1789.

A bill, probably of the books in this shipment, is bound with the letters, but does not seem worth printing.

will have seen by the Bill of value. It would be a great pleasure to me if you could assign me a Merchant's house in Boston to whom I could consign Boxes and Packets for you; as ships of Salem are very seldom here, and commonly, I don't know for what reason, are *not* advertised in the News paper. I have still another box for you with some books which I hope will be acceptable.

[A description of the European situation follows.]

You wish for more consoling literary notices. I wish I could give you them. Literary business is at a stand. Yet notwithstanding the confusion that reigns [ever]y¹ were, the Easter fair began at Leipsic lately has brought into s[ale more] than 1200 new books inclusive of 90 novels (amongst them one [with the] Title Washington or the American Revolution) and about 40 plays [] musical Books, so that 900 scientific remain. That *famine* may be [of goo]d consequences, tho' it is not lucrative for the Booksellers and authors. Happily I am not amongst the last; and my Cousin's Geography of Portugal will but appear in the Month of May. That being finished, he writes me, that he will return to America.

I must finish this letter when it shall go by the present opportunity. I wish for news from you and only add that as to my health, it has been pretty well since I recovered from a violent attack in the breast by an obstinate cough. The winter who continues here about as on the lower Elbe is not calculated to preserve health.

I am with continual esteem and great regard

Dear Sir

Your affectionate friend
and Countryman

CLOSE BROWN

[It will be noticed that owing to the military occupation of Hamburg and "the state of our distracted country" he signs an assumed name supposedly American, and that he refers to his book on Portugal as his "Cousin's." The "Altstadt" (reminiscent of Altona) at the head of the letter is due to the same

¹Several words are wholly or partly destroyed by the tearing of the paper about the seal, yet the sense can be recovered.

precaution. The greater part of the letter is devoted to an interesting description of the European situation, but he remarks—"It is unsafe to write even facts." In a postscript he says,—“All this was not written for your use. If extracts were to be made public you must not mention any names of place or writer nor communicate this letter to whomsoever. We live in a very dangerous time and situation.”]

TO DR. BENTLEY

AUGUST 12 [1807.]

DEAR SIR

I have the honour to send you a Box with German Books by the Brig the Harriot of Salem Capt Th Ropes, and at the same time thankfully to acknowledge the arrival of two Boxes, which you were so kind as to send me by way of Copenhagen, June 1805. The circuitous way by which they arrived must account for the long delay for it was but last month, that they came into my possession.

At the entrance of our gate they were stopt by the french Douaniers (Custom house officers) but by the kindness of the french Minister and upon proof that they contained nothing but *American* Books and papers, they were released without any expence. My personal acquaintance with the Secretary of the French Legation saved them. Now it will be more difficult to send and to receive by the way of Copenhagen, as unhappily the scene of this unheard-of war is approaching to us.

I shall do my best to procure you all Michaelis's Works, the deficient parts of the German Library, Ernesti's Works (you get here his Theological Library, those with black titles I purchased for your money in an auction, the other please to accept from me to complete the set.) Schultens are only to be got in auctions, all being printed in Holland; so is Niebuhr¹ and exceeding scarcity as all remaining copies were burnt in the great fire at Copenhagen, together with the copperplates of the whole work, which makes reprinting impossible for the worthy author. But I shall do my best to get a Copy when occasion offers.

¹Probably Carsten Niebuhr's "Beschreibung von Arabien." Kopenhagen, 1772.

I must finish this letter and give you only my best and sincerest thanks in a hurry. I shall write you soon and more amply when our strangers are departed. I am with great
Respect Your

Most obliged and devoted Servant and
Friend

C. D. E.

I have just finished my Mst of the Description of Portugal which will be printed soon. I shall send you a copy, as a proof of a new manner of writing geography critically and with the necessary vouchers for the truth of what is reported. Now I return to America. Spain and England will alternatively [be] described afterwards. The rest of Europe is *indiscribable*, as all depends on the whims and humour of a single man, now the vice-director of the world. Heaven beware good America when Europe has recovered peace. Louisiana will be the first pomum Eridos between the United States and . . . I wish my prophecy may be false.

TO DR. BENTLEY

SEPT. 12, 1808.

DEAR SIR

The Kindness of a Friend gives me hope that this letter will come save to your hand. I doubt whether two others which I wrote about half a year ago were so happy.

The distracted State of almost the whole world, all navigation interrupted on the Elbe, at Tönning, Copenhagen etc makes it impossible to me to send you several boxes with books which are ready for you. Amongst others one containing 74 new volumes* of the neue Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek. But I shall continue to collect for you what I find worthy of your attention. I am persuaded this unhappy destruction of all social order and rights of men cannot last very long time. The general cry of all nations must at last reach the ears of those who can give relief to mankind as soon as they will. I forbear to write you news as it is too unsave not knowing in whose hand this could fall. But we know also very few news. All liberty of the press is lost and none dares to speak polititiks, which to tell the truth are at present nothing but report and

false news. One consolation we have that (thanks to our enlightened age!) good order begins to be restored, and that even Science and learning is not destroyed, tho' many branches of them declining. Physik, natural history, the Study of the new law, the classical ancient Philology are all in the best way and even flourishing, some part of divinity (especially Church-history and Exegesis) are still in vigour, but our philosophy is quite run mad, so it is mostly with our poetry and esthetics. Even Göthe has published a Tragedy: Dr Faustus, which contains some quite excellent Scenes of the highest tragical effect, but many others full of absurdities, empty rhimes, and even low indecencies. He imitated some scenes of witches in Shakespear's Macbeth, but very unhappily. The History of our times has no existence, unless vile flattery, as in the times of the worst roman emperors was usual, could be called history. The Universities begin to revive, *seven* of which, made a part of the New Kingdom of Westphalia, were in danger; but all fear is now over and Göttingen, Halle, Helmstadt, Marburg are recovering, less so Rintelm, Paderborn (a long time lingering and insignificant Roman-Catholik university) and Erfurt a mixed one of Protestant and R. C. professors. The celebrated Suiss Historian Mr. Müller¹ has been made Minister of the Institutes of learning in the Kingdom of Westphalia and that is a very happy event. Mr Villers² a French Captain of Artillerie long time living in germany has written an excellent treatise on behalf of the german Universities. The same author who wrote that celebrated work on Lutheranism which was crowned by the French imperial Institute at Paris and has undergone a great many editions, translations whereof one copy is ready for you. I am quite without any knowledge about America. My description of Virginia is now printing. In the mean time I amused myself with writing a new Geography of Portugall which was published in the end of last year, and finished in the very moment when the Kingdom was over-

¹Johannes von Müller, 1752-1809.

²Charles Villers, 1765-1815. Coup-d'oeil sur les universités et la mode d'instruction publique de l'Allemagne protestante; en particulier du royaume de Westphalie. Cassel, 1808.

Also his Essay on the spirit and influence of the reformation of Luther. London, 1805. See also p. 395.

thrown by the prevailing power. How are the mighty fallen! The causes of their ruin, especially that of Prussia, are quite misunderstood and the public judgement is entirely misled everywhere. Great many pamphlets, books etc are written in the unhappy desolated country, but full of contradictions; the best of them one published by our veteran Nicolai, in french you shall have. I fear the true state of Europe is quite misunderstood in American, English and other Newspapers, who command our politiks, can give no true Idea. But truth once will find its way to posterity.

As to my situation, it has been, thanks to kind providence, tolerably good, as also my health. We learn to abstain from many things which formerly we thought to be of absolute necessity to our existence. I hope to hear from you, who are happily out of reach of the general deluge. May your country be ever so. The long chasm of our correspondence I hope shall soon be closed for ever.

My letter is called for, this hinders me to entertain myself longer with such a friendly and dear Correspondent, as you are. I write no News, as that to day we had the first intelligence *by way of Paris* of a very interesting event that happened in our neighbourhood more than a month ago. So our News are commonly very old, when from the Danish Island near us they make first such a round about way.

I a[lways] remain with great esteem

Dear Sir

Your most obedt Servant

E. P. H.

My box sent in August by Capt. T. Hopes [i. e. Ropes], the Harriot of Salem, I hope has reached you. It contained Ernesti's theol. Biblioth, Spaldings Predigt. 13 volumes of Götting. gelehrte Anzeigen, Minterti Lexicon³, Wolf Biblioth. hebraica 3 vols, and others. My letter was of 12 July, 1807 a long chasm till this day!

³Petri Minterti Lexicon graeco-latinum in Novum Testamentum. Francofurti ad M., 1728.

TO DR. BENTLEY

SEPT 26, 1809

DEAR SIR

I have received the four Boxes Nr 1, 3, 4, 5 by Capt Brown, which I owe to your kindness, and to shew my gratitude in some way have sent you in return two boxes Nr 1, 2, containing besides the usual Gazettes, several Books, which I hope will be acceptable to you.

The long chasm in our correspondence is filled up by your kindness. But I regret the many troubles you underwent in order to collect and pack up the Gazettes. I wish I could spare many of these troubles to you.

I have sent several pamphlets, the *Berlinische Monatschrift* (be so kind and mention to me what months of each year are wanting, for I suppose that my bookseller neglected to send me them quite regularly). Our *Addressblatt*¹ may contain several historical, geographical or amusing pieces not unworthy to be translated for your Gazettes.

You will allow me to make some remarks upon the books, I sent you.

The *Neue allgemeine Bibliothek* 79 volumes goes as far as to the 41. volume with the Supplements. I shall take care to procure you soon the rest. Such books, you know, are soon out of print, and too voluminous to be reprinted. I shall not neglect to procure them occasionally. It will give you a complete Idea of our literature, its treasures and rubbish.

The *Literaturzeitung*² which is unbound and unhappily not complete (complete copies sell at an enormous price in auctions and occur very rarely) contains yet many Reviews with valuable excerpts and learned remarks. Such *Literaturzeitungen* we have at present three, published at Halle, Jena (these are replete with the fantastical new Philosophy, called Naturphilosophie, unintelligible, in a high bombastical stile), the third is written at Leipzig and with that of Halle the best. The Göttingen learned Newspaper is still continuing but too full of

¹Hamburgische Address-Comtoir-Nachrichten, 1801-1811.**

²See p. 335.

french literature (all italian, spanish, english, swedish books now entirely wanting to the Reviewers.)

Three *Maps* will show you the *present* State of Sovereigns or rather Subjects in Germany and their country as divided now. Another is an Essay of a correct Map of the United States, wherein I have some small part. But I have not had time to correct the drawing, nor seen it before it was engraved.

Michaelis's new oriental library Vol 1-6. his Commentationes and Syntagma, his Treatise on Sin and Satisfaction (still somewhat of the ancient orthodox doctrine) his Book on Matrimonial-Laws will be welcome on account of the real learning contained therein.

Velthusen and *Lindeman*'s³ liturgical books are a proof that we endeavour to correct and emend this part of our divine service. We must go by degrees.

*Henke*⁴ *Geschichte neuer Prophetin* seems to me remarkable as a proof that unhappy times always produce derangements in the mental faculties of many sufferers, but that men of sound sense endeavour to obviate them. The author, formerly Professor at Helmstadt and one of our most learned and enlightened divines, unhappily died lately in the flower of his age. His masterpiece, an universal church-history⁵, is now reprinting, much corrected and enlarged as I hear. I shall send it you when it appears.

Reimarus on the Instincts of Animals⁶ is the newest edition published by the Son of the Author Dr Reimarus my Fellow-Professor at the Gymnasium. Of political pamphlets I have not sent many, they are all full of party spirit. Yet the *Minerva*⁷ of the year 1806.1807, the *Materialien für Geschichte*

¹F. H. Lindeman. Vereuch einer neuen Liturgie vornehmlich in Rücksicht des nachmittägigen Gottesdienstes für Jugend. Lüneburg, 1808.**

²Heinrich P. C. Henke. Actenmäßige Geschichte einer Württembergischen neuen Prophetin und ihres ersten Zeugen. Hamburg, 1808.**

³Allgemeine Geschichte der christlichen Kirche. 4^o Aufl. 6 vol. Braunschweig, 1799-1804.**

⁴Herm. Sam. Reimarus. Allgemeine Betrachtungen über die Triebe der Thiere. Letzte verbesserte Auflage. 3 vol. Wien, 1790. Third vol. edited by J. A. H. Reimarus. Ebeling had already sent a copy of an earlier edition, 1773. See p. 340.

⁵Minerva. Ein Journal historischen und politischen Inhalts. Herausg. von J. W. von Archenholz. Hamburg. The Harvard Library has vol. 1-262. 1792-1857.

1805-1807⁸ (published by Nicolai, but written by a prussian Ex-Minister of State) will give you the best Idea of the Ruin of the Prussian Power. More than a hundred hungry authors have written on that subject and puzzled the judgement of the readers. Most of them were Prussians sighing under the yoke of their vanquisher, and now enemies to their Country either out of anger or in order to court the grace of their new masters. Patriotic authors wrote against them as for example the Author of the *Löscheimer*⁹ (the Bucket for quenching fire).

I have added a few poetical works. *Neubeck's Gesundbrunnen*¹⁰ is perhaps the best poetical production lately published in Germany; fancy, philosophical and poetical ideas happily united, a plan rich in invention and very good and harmonious versification, recommend it.

Klopstok's David,¹¹ not one of his best productions, not fit for to be brought on the stage, yet full of sparks of his genius.

*Petrarka*¹² a poem written by a Hambro' Lady of distinction and poetical genius, who lives almost in poetry. She is to publish two volumes of miscellaneous poetry, mostly lyric, and many of them very good and eminent. The lyric part of her Drama is doubtless the best. The translations from Petrarca are soft, tender and well versified.

*Erzählungslese*¹³ II volume contains many excellent as the former part, which I sent before; but also many common ones of little merit.

⁸Materialien zur Geschichte der Jahre 1805, 1806 und 1807. Frankfurt u. Leipzig, 1808.** By Joh. Wilhelm Lombard. The Harvard Library has also, from another source, a copy of the same work in a French form: "Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire des années 1805, 1806 et 1807. Dediée aux Prussiens par un ancien compatriote [Jean Guillaume Lombard]. Francfort et Leipsic, 1808."

⁹Löscheimer. Herausgegeben von H. v. L.-n (C. F. von Both). Ein Journal in zwanglosen Heften. 6 hefte. [Kiel], 1807-09.

¹⁰Valerius Wilhelm Neubeck. Die Gesundbrunnen. Vier Gesänge. 2^o Ausg. Leipzig, 1809.

¹¹David; ein Trauerspiel. Hamburg, 1772.**

¹²Petrarca; ein dramatisches Gedicht in fünf Akten; von der Verfasserin der Charlotte Corday [Mme. Engel Christine (von Axen) von Westphalen]. Title from Cornell Univ. Library Catalogue of the Petrarch Collection.

Ebeling also sent to his friend the two following little booklets, but they can hardly be the volumes mentioned:

Aphrodite. Dem 16 März 1808. [Hamburg, 1808.] pp. 21.**

Licht und Liebe. Zur Vermählungsfeier meiner Tochter Christine Auguste mit Herrn J. C. F. Rist. Den 8. December, 1808. [Hamburg, 1808.] pp. 12.**

¹³J. A. R. Janssen. Poetische Erzählungs-Lese aus deutschen Dichtern. 2 vol. Hamburg, 1806-07.**

*Richardet*¹⁴ I sent as a proof how much our language is capable to express all kind of poetry. It is one of the great many translations which we have of all classical authors ancient and modern. A new one of Milton's Paradise (the fifth, we have) is publishing now and is in the same metre as the original and by the proposals and specimen will surpass all others. You find the last in the Berlin Monatschrift. As soon it is published I will send it.

Zimmerman's Description of Brazil is one of his almanacs, as he publishes annually, and in general very well written.

I have added a Catalogue of an Auction made here, wherein the Books were sold very dear. I have not been able to procure as many of the most important for our publick Library as I wished. Our funds were not sufficient and could not be increased notwithstanding the best will of my superiors, as the head-source of our wealth, commerce, is entirely dried up.

A few *musical Books* may be acceptable. The collection of Odes and Songs is only intended as a Specimen what our music was seventy or sixty years ago, when Bach, Graun and others *began* their career. *Bach's* Sinfonies (by a mistake bound in one volume) will be a somewhat hard exercise for those who execute them. They require much nicety and swiftness in the Allegros and great attention to measure as well, as to the expression of piano and forte. *With these* they will appear as high masterpeaces. *Himmel*¹⁵ is at present one of the best german componists for great Anthems and such Sort of Church Musiks but rather a sweet insinuating, than a great genius.

I wish that this will reach you all save, and shall continue if you approve of my choice.

My Geography of America was interrupted by my *Description of Portugal*¹⁶ whereof I join a Copy. Büshings Geography is laid down as the fundament, but entirely resounded, corrected and enlarged. I intended to give thereby an example how Geography of Europe should be executed in order to enable the

¹⁴Niccolo Fortiguerra's Richardett übersetzt von C. C. Heise. 1^{er} Theil. Berlin, 1808.**

¹⁵Friedrich Heinrich Himmel, 1765-1814, Prussian Kapellmeister.

¹⁶Neue Erdbeschreibung. Europa. Portugal und Spanien. Erste Abtheilung. Portugal. Sehr vermehrte und verbesserte Auflage. Herausgegeben von C. D. Ebeling. Hamburg, 1808.

reader to judge of the date of accounts, of their exactness, and fidelity, by allways referring to their sources. It was intended to be as complete as possible, not for a book to be read for amusement, but to be consulted by travellers, men of business and politicians. My Reviewers say that I have not missed my aim, one excepted who publishes also (as a monthly pamphlet) a universal Geography, who bestowed upon me very much praise, mixed with quite undeserved blame. As both to me seemed quite undeserved and often ridiculous, I wrote thereupon some remarks which you find in the Neue Zeitung Nr 48 and 50¹⁷. The author did not chuse to reply. His mistakes were too palpable. He reproached me to have neglected to make use of several books (he named them) which do not contain *a single line* concerning Portugal; he upbraided to me having neglected to treat of many matter, wherewith I have filled many pages. He did not read nor examine my Book. I never liked literary quarrels, but this Reviewer made too many blunders, and I was prevaild to expose them to the public. I don't know who is the author, and dwell only upon his performance. He did not chuse to reply with even one line.

My Geography of America goes on, but is not yet in print All my endeavours to get the newest map of Virginia by Bishop Madison has been in vain, so am I in want of Virginia and Carolina Almanacs; the newest edition of Morse's Geography and Gazetteer, the newest edition of Scotts American Geographical Dictionary Many of them were sent me a year ago from Philadelphia, but the ship was lost who carried them. I have written at new for them and so shall do these days once more. Salem is too far to the Nord otherwise I would entreat [you to]¹⁸ get the mentioned map and almanack for me there.

I must close my [letter]. If divine Providence let me live to see peace return I shall write you the history of our times in Europe. Now I restrain myself to literature. Wishing you all prosperity I am

Dear Sir

Your most obedient gratefull

Servant C. D. EBELING.

¹⁷The Hamburgische neue Zeitung of March 25 and 29, 1809. The review mentioned was in Bertuch's Geographische Ephemeriden, XXVI, 171-176.

¹⁸Torn by the seal.

TO DR. BENTLEY

OCTOBER 25, 1809.

[Thanks for four boxes received and notice of two sent in return.]

The literary Newspapers will shew you, that notwithstanding the calamities of our times, the Germans do not abandon literature. As soon as the Navigation is more save, I shall write you more particularly of the present state of Letters on the continent. At present one is exposed to so many vexations at the Customhouses etc. that it is not advisable to speak our minds out. I only can tell you, that of the 32 Universities still remaining in Germany since the peace of Tilsit at least 6 will be cancelled; amongst them are, Helmstaedt, Marburg, Rinteln, Altdorf, all old and celebrated protestant Universities, none having less than 16 Professors, ordinary and extraordinary ones, besides Teachers of living languages, arts (Drawing, Riding, Dancing, Musik). Few of the professors will find places in other Universities, and must content themselves with small pensions graciously left to them by the King of Westfalia and Bavaria. At Berlin there will be established a new University on a new Plan joined with the Academy of Sciences there. I fear a University in such a large populous Capital, will not do.

I have joined to the Books contained in the box a few for the Historical Society at Boston which you will be pleased to forward occasionally.

Should the unhappy vexations of commerce and navigation continue, I must beg you, to be so kind as to send me only (1) one of the best Salem Gazettes (2) one of Boston (I think the Independent Chronicle) (3) one of Philadelphia (the Aurora) (4) the Washington Intelligencer (5) besides all those that are published in Virginia and the other Southern and Western States, retaining the others for a more save occasion when (as is hoped) the blocade of the Elbe will be taken of. For at present I must fear, when you sent me so many (as very well-come they otherwise are) the expences will be too heavy for you and for me. By way of Tonningen it is the shortest, but by Gottenburg, Copenhagen it is certainly too much trouble and expences for you, who are, besides that, so obliging as to

select, pack up and forward them with so much care and trouble. I shall endeavour to shew myself grateful, by chusing valuable new Books for you. We have a great many, but mostly *crambe biscocta*¹, and commonly old editions with new titles.²

I have the honour to be with great esteem and gratitude

Dear Sir Your most obed^t Serv. C. D. EBELING.

TO REV. JOHN ELIOT

OCTOBER 25, 1809¹

DEAR SIR

Your kind Letter of July 8 was a great confort to me in these sad times. I was just about of writing to you, as I had sent you a roll of Maps for you and Rev. Dr Morse, as also several books which I take the liberty of sending to the much respected Historical Society, and hope they will be acceptable. I take the liberty of joining to them now a few others, and shall for the future be more carefull to procure to the Society, what may be usefull for the knowledge of America and was published in Germany, by such as were once in that Part of the Globe. I suppose that it will be interesting to see in what point of view foreigners consider your country, if even it should be erroneous.

My description of America was interrupted, because I wanted materials in order to show its newest state. I have not even Dr Morse's newest Edition, of his valuable Geography and Gazeteer; I want also several new Maps. Besides that it at present was impossible to procure them, as long as the Blocades are continuing, I was engaged to take part in a new Geography of Europe publishing now, whereof the Description of Sweden, Danemark Norvegen and Portugal (this last my work) have appeared in print. The uncertain State of all European Empires and Realms depending of the mercy of a great man, makes Geography a very fluctuating Science. Therefore I shall wait for the final Settlement of the constitution etc of unhappy Spain, and not publish my description, tho' allready finished, till its peace is restored. Perhaps it

¹*crambe biscocta* = warmed over cabbage.

²In the margin is given a list of the books sent to Dr. Bentley, some of the titles in more precise form than in the previous letter, and a list of those sent to the Historical Society. The latter is repeated in more legible form in the following letter.

³Original in papers of the Mass. Hist. Soc. Letters to Corr. Sec. 1792-1811, no. 91.

may have the happy issue of the American United States in preserving their liberty—they fight bravely for it, and would have been more successful if their allies instead of attacking with 40000 men a growing *Marine* in a river², had send them to Spain. I regrett very much that our language is not read in your northern States, otherwise I should sent some copies, and wish to knew how our plan and its execution was liked. It is the following: (1) To describe each country from all the printed geographical books published in that country itself, critically examined, compared and (2) by sending sketches of our descriptions to friends in the principal cities of each country to revise them (3) by communicating also our Mss with such able men as had travelled in that land we describe. (4) by adding to each paragraph or section or chapter of the description the vouchers or quotations of such authors as they are taken from, in order that an inquisitive reader may see how recent the given accounts are, and how much they may be relied on. (5) If materials can be got from persons who have part in the government of such state itself, to prefer these, if their authenticity is not to be doubted. All this is not an easy task, and also a very expensive one, but the only, to make Geography to be a Science to be relied upon. Our Büshing (of 12 Editions of his large work in 10 volumes only the second Edition has been translated into english and even very neglectfully) began this career and was assisted and supported by most of the german princes, by the Emperess of Russia, by many ministers of Spain, Prussia, Austria, Danemark; but he died before he could complete his description of Asia whereof only 1 volume was finished. His work has been translated twice into French, twice into Italian, into the russian and hungarian language, as also into the Dutch. Mr Pinkerton an english Geographer does Büshing and me the honour to call our descriptions dry; we have but one verse of Horace in answer

ornari res ipsa negat, contenta doceri.

A Body of Geography is not a book to be read for amusement, but to be consulted for use. Exactness in the highest degree

²Referring to the ill-fated Walcheren expedition in the summer of 1809 directed against Antwerp.

possible, is its principal requisite, conciseness in stile, good order and judicious selection, with purity of the language, as also a complete enumeration of all the provinces and their cities and towns, etc with what is remarkable therein.

But I see that I begin to write of my petty affairs instead of the far more interesting ones, of our Literature. I reserve it to future time to write you on the present political State of our Continent when we see more clear and are allowed to speak out our minds. At present I can only say that we must hope for happy consequences of a very calamitous revolution pervading the whole continent of Europe and even affecting great part of America. Our City is still in a deplorable State, deprived of its principal ressource, and yet by far not so unhappy as hundred other once flourishing large towns in Europe, and particularly in disunited Germany.

Literature, we may boast of, is not destroyed by the fury of our days, but it struggles and strives against it with all forces. Many of our best learned men died lately, as our great Historian *Schlözer* at Göttingen, *Müller* Minister of State at Cassel, our *Tacitus*, *Henke* one of our most enlightened divines and author of the best History of the Church, Professor at Helmstädt and many others. *Heyne* is still living, enjoys good health in his old age, but sighs at the misfortunes threatening our literature from every side. The University of Göttingen and Halle, as also of Leipsic the most renowned and flourishing in Germany are still subsisting, tho' much diminished in numbers of students. Göttingen was endangered by late preposterous measures to be deserted by more than 400 Students (when I studied there we were about 800) Leipsic (frequented in my time by almost 1000 students) is reduced to perhaps 550. But at present Göttingen is restored in some way and the King of Westphalia declared that all its priveleges, revenues and institutes as well as those of Halle shall be left undiminished and even increased; but 3 other Universities, Helmstädt, Marpurg, Rinteln now all in his Realm, (each only frequented by 200 about, sometimes less, or more) shall be abolished, tho' most of them richly endowed (which income will perhaps serve to encrease the army, the splendor of the court). The King of Bavaria abrogates the protestant University he had got at Altorf, formerly

belonging to the Free City of Nürnberg, a very good one; allowing to his *protestant* Subjects to frequent foreign Universities. *Leipsic, Halle, Heidelberg, Jena, Kiel, Rostock, Wittenberg, Giessen, Erlangen, Greifswald, Francfort on the Oder* subsist still (the underlined the most flourishing in students; learned professors, even renowned ones are in each) The roman catholic universities are mostly in a miserable state, except those of Bavaria, which are much favoured by the Government and have even many protestant professors, tho' not of divinity. The number of 32 Universities left to Germany will in some years be diminished by about six and increased only by a new one at Berlin upon a new plan joined to the royal Academy of Sciences already existing there since 1740. I fear a great capital and royal residence is not a proper place for a University.

The french ruling at the court of Westfalia had fine Ideas of our Universities, but late Minister Müller happily overturned them, and a very learned Frenchman, Mr Villers, formerly officer of artillery but an excellent man and intimately acquainted with our language and literature wrote a Book (he lives at Lübek and is often with us) shewing to the french that they had no University in their whole Empire which deserved that name, when compared with the German ones. Their plan was (and the young King had approved of it) 1) to abolish every theological Faculty, as the Catechism was to be taught by Schoolmasters and priests. 2) to leave for each of the remaining faculties, viz the juridical, medical, and philosophical, one *Professor* and one *Suppléant*. You will think that I tell a tale, but I have it from late Minister Müller (the author of that excellent History of the helvetian league) and from that learned man named in your letter that this is literally true. Two other Ministers at Cassel, Mr *de Martens*³ (from Ham-
bourg) and Mr *de Leiste*; both Professors at Göttingen before they were made Ministers of State, joined in the Opposition and shewed how much the French were in the wrong, and the Government yielded. So a very great calamity was averted and Göttingen retains all his literary institutions and its 29

³Georg Friedrich Martens, 1756-1821, the well-known authority on international law and collector of European treaties, and Justus Christoph Leist, 1770-1858.

ordinary and 7 extraordinary Professors, besides many Masters of Arts and Doctors of Law or medicine who teach without having a salary fixed. But all professors have lost their titles of honour because derived from the King of Gr Britain and are to be called only Professors (not Counsellors etc) and the University to take the name of—Napoleonea.

Marginal note: Mr Leiste is at present at the head of the literary department of the Kingdom. At the beginning of this year there were at Göttingen 4 prof of divinity, 7 of Law, 7 of Physick, and 6 of Mathem. and Astron. 2 of History, 6 of philosophical Sciences including Oeconomy, 5 of Philology and Literature, besides 16 Doctors of different Sciences and 20 Masters of Arts who gave lessons; as also 4 masters of modern Languages.

The five Universities of the Kingdom of Westfalia according to Minister Müller's account required an annual expence of 500,000 Dollars at the charge of the public treasure.

The University of *Heidelberg* belonging to the Grandduke of Baden is also very flourishing, but there as well as at *Jena* the new Philosophy predominates⁴, which is mostly an unintelligible mystical *jargon* on metaphysical matters, Mr. Schelling now professor at Landshut in Bavaria is the Author of a branch of the Kantian Philosophy far more degenerated than that of Fichte (somewhat of an Idealist) There is yet no University which cannot boast of several very able learned professors, renound also by their writings.

The number of books seems not to be diminished in Germany even in those parts who were exposed particularly to the war with Prussia and Austria. But a great many books announced as new ones, are old editions with new different titles. The best are those that treat of natural history and amongst them very dear ones as for example the *Flore portugaise* now publishing by Count Hermanseg and professor Link consisting of 60 Numbers each with 6 coloured plates in Folio maximo, at 2 Louisdor each number, whereof 3 are given out allready and

⁴It is interesting to compare Ebeling's frequent remarks on German philosophy with George Ticknor's sketch of the revolutions in German metaphysics as exemplified in Kant, Fichte and Schilling in his "Life, letters, and journals," 1876, I. 96-99. Ticknor was at the time of writing (1816) in Göttingen.

surpass in excellent execution even the best english botanical works. It is published at Berlin under the eyes of the Count himself by artificers instructed by him at great expence. Such other works are Schrader's Hortus Göttingensis, Wildenow's Hortus berolinensis, a new Edition of Jacquin's Hortus Vindobonensis, besides many Works on Entomology.⁵

Editions of classical Authors particularly greek ones appear many. The splendid Edition of Homer by Wolf (the pupil but moderate antagonist of Heyne) in large folio is not yet finished; but Griesbach's New Testament in greek 4 Volumes large in quarto on hot pressed Vellum paper with 4 excellent engravings is complete. They coast 80 Dollars The first Volume of Homer 30. Other precious works are still printed, as Klopstock's Works advanced now to 7 Volumes large in quarto on hot pressed Paper with masterly engravings. Our belles lettres and poetry are greatly in the decline by an unnatural taste and affected language in imitation of ancient german poetry of the middle age. Yet some principal genius are still living as Goethe, Voss (the translator of Homer, Virgil, Ovid, Tibullus) Pfeffel an excellent poet in Fables, Epigrams and the didactic kind, blind like Milton, lately died.

The study of Divinity exerts itself particularly in exegetical books, but almost all written in German, as writing in Latin is not so much of fashion as formerly. That of History is in a fair way of progress. Late Mr Müller died too early. It is hoped his History of Helvetia⁶ will be continued from his materials by his brother, who will also publish the manuscript of his Universal History on a quite new plan. Physik is much cultivated but by many *Sectirians* if I may use that word, as Brownists etc. The Study of Law has got a great revolution by the Code of Napoleon introduced as Common law into most german provinces of the rhenish League.

The History of Litterature is much liked with us, and we

⁵The titles mentioned are sufficient for easy identification, but Hermanseg should be Hoffmannsegg and Wildenow should be Willdenow.

⁶Müller's History of Switzerland reached the first division of the fifth part in its author's life time; it was continued by Robert Glutz-Blotheim, J. J. Hottinger and others and extended to fifteen volumes, the last volume being issued in 1853. His Universal History, "Vier und Zwanzig Bücher allgemeiner Geschichten besonders der europäischen Menschheit" was edited by his brother and translated into many languages.

have lately been enriched by very extensive and complete works—Eichhorn's⁷ Professor's at Göttingen, Universal History of Sciences in 4 Volumes is certainly the best existing, tho' Wachler's and Meusel's are also very well done. They comprehend all Sciences, nations, and all times, down to our days. At Goettingen there is begun a large work⁸ too great in extension written by many professors whereof there are out already the History of Philology, mathematics (by late Mr Kaestner) Natural Philosophy, Philosophy. speculative and practical, Chemistry, Belles Lettres, and Exegetical Theology, each 4 and more Volumes besides 2 volumes of a general Introduction. The whole if complete will amouont to perhaps 60 Volumes octavo. Mole ruit sua!

Your Notices concerning American literature will be very agreeable to me, as they come from a learned and intelligent man. What I know thereof is only by help of the Gazettes, which Mr Bentley kindly sends me, and by a Bibliotheque Americaine⁹ published at Paris, but very irregularly. I should wish we had a Bibliotheque germanique as in old times was published many years in french by a Professor Formey and others at Berlin, but it has discontinued long since. Olivarius's *le Nord* was in some way of that kind but it has been dropt likewise in its second year. There are two sets or Nrs more than you have, which I shal send you as soon as I can get them. Professor O. sells them himself and is allways ranmbing about. I cannot tell you whether he is at home at present, he was lately in Italy, in France, I don't know where else.

The Biography of New England¹⁰ which you publish is a very laudable Undertaking, and I long for its perusal. If there should offer itself an occasion to send me two copies so that I

⁷Joh. Gottfried Eichhorn's "Geschichte der litteratur von ihrem Anfang bis auf die neuesten Zeiten." 6 vol. Göttingen, 1805.

⁸Geschichte der Künste und Wissenschaften seit der Wiederherstellung derselben bis an das Ende des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts. Von einer Gesellschaft gelehrter Männer ausgearbeitet.

⁹Bibliothèque américaine, 9 pt. in 3 vol. Paris, 1807.

¹⁰A biographical dictionary containing a brief account of the first settlers, and other eminent characters. Salem, 1809.* Inscribed in Eliot's hand—"For professor Ebeling from his friend and servant John Eliot." Ebeling added, "with Corrections written by the Author himself."

may pay the amount to the Captain who delivers it, I beg you will remember me; as also two Copies of the Memoirs [Collections] of the Historical Society Volume IX and X. I would also be obliged to you if I could get a copy of Dr Morse's *newest* Editions of his Geography of America and Gazeteer. supposing that the payment could be made in the above mentioned way. It is to be hoped that the Blocade Sistem will at last be bandoned as it hurts only neutral powers, and not them that it is intended to ruin. When your Ships go to Tonningen then it is not very expensive to send parcels by the *Postwaggon* (not by the *Letterpost* which amount to a terrible expence of 30 or 40 dollars for a few pounds weight) or by carriers of freight, called Freightwaggons. But by way of Copenhagen is very expensive.

The Books which I took the liberty to offer to the Historical Society in the two Boxes directed to Mr Bentley in the Ship Hind Cpt. James Brace from Salem are the following¹¹

*Pouchot Memoirs of the Canadian War 1757. 3 Volumes
8^{vo}

Jugement sur Canada. 4^{to}.

*State of Jamaica 8^{vo}.

*Westindia Diseases by Quier. 8^{vo}.

*Clusii and a Costa Aromata indica. 8^{vo}.

**Cieca* Descripcion del Perú. 8. an old very scarce spanish book

**Herlein* Description of Suriname in Dutch. 4^{to}.

**Hennepin* and Denis Descr. of Canada etc in Dutch 4^{to}

**Du Vallon*. Luisiane. Some Maps for you and Dr Morse.

¹¹Most of the following titles are easily identified. The fact that copies of nearly all were received by the Harvard Library among Ebeling's books shows that he had other copies on his own shelves when he sent these to the Historical Society. All but two are still to be found in the Society's Library.

The "Jugement sur Canada" I have not traced.

The third title in fuller form is "The state of the island of Jamaica. Chiefly in relation to its commerce and the conduct of the Spaniards in the West-Indies. By a person who resided several years in Jamaica. London, 1726."

The fourth is "Letters and essays on the small-pox and inoculation, the measles, etc. of the West Indies. By different practitioners. London, 1778." The first, second, third, fifth and sixth letters are from Dr. John Quier.

Clusii Aromata is Garcia da Orta's "Aromatum et simplicium aliquot medicamentorum apud Indos nascentium historia, in epitomen contracta, etc. à Car. Clusio." Antverpiæ, 1593.

*The titles marked with an asterisk indicate that other copies owned by Ebeling are now in the Harvard Library. The Harvard Library has the German translation of DuVallon, "Schilderung von Louisiana. Weimar, 1804." Probably Ebeling's copy.

I heartily wish they may arrive well and you may receive them as a small testimony of my wish to serve the right honorable Society. It will be a great joy to me to continue our Correspondence and convince you of the great esteem which I owe you

Dear Sir
your most obed^t Servant C. D. EBELING

P. S.

If Mr Webb, who was so kind as to send me your letter offering to carry an answer can take also some books together with him you will get a parcel wherein is contained

1. *Vater's*, Professor at Halle but going now to Königsberg. Inquiries on the population of America from the old continent. 1809¹² A very learned work. The same author now is publishing an excellent work *on the American languages*. The celebrated Traveller, von Humbold, my Friend and formerly my pupil (but a very learned one) furnished him, together with his brother the now prussian Minister of State with many materials, so did I as far as my store went. As soon as it appears I shall send it you. It is particularly rich with regard to Southern America.
2. *Villers Coup d'Oeil sur l'Etat actuel de la literature ancienne et de l'histoire en Allemagne*. 1809.
3. *His Coup d'Oeil sur les Universités et la mode d'instruction publique de l'Allemagne protestante*. 1808.
4. *Doléances des peuples du continent de l'Europe au sujet de l'interruption de leur commerce adressee à tous les princes*. 1809¹³. written by my worthy and patriotic Collegue Professor Reimarus M. D. now in his 75 year. All are packet up and sealed allready waiting for a save occasion to reach you, together with a small Book which you occasionally will be pleased to forward to Rev Mr Bentley with my letter to him¹⁴.

¹²Joh. Severin Vater, 1771-1826. Untersuchungen über Amerika's Bevölkerung aus dem alten Kontinente. Leipzig, 1810.

¹³The Library of Congress has a pamphlet of 15 pages with the same title in German: "Klagen der Völker des Continents von Europa die Handels-sperre betreffend. Ihren Fürsten dargestellt. [Hamburg] 1809."

I have found no copy in the French form.

¹⁴In a supplementary note to Eliot, Oct. 28, 1809, Ebeling notes that he would have liked to include a few French and English Books. But he adds, "We have experience that such trifles were made a pretext for committing injustices."

TO DR. BENTLEY

APR. 2, 1810.

[Acknowledges receipt of 4 boxes with newspapers and a letter dated June 24, 1809; a fifth box which Capt James Brown of Salem told him had been sent was never received.]

Another Box with newspapers and a Parcel of ditto I got in December last by way of Copenhagen and Kiel, it was accompanied with a letter dated april 27, 1807 and the newest papers were of the same date.

[Ebeling himself had already sent off two boxes containing Klopstock's David, political and theological works, "Petrarcha and several other new poetical works" and several musical works including Bach's Symphonies, some new maps and several volumes of Göttingen learned newspapers. The titles, repeated here, were given in the letter of September 26, 1809. See p. 386.]

My Description of America is interrupted because I absolutely want some new Books and Maps before I can proceed. I hope to get them but am uncertain tho' I have applied to several persons. These are (1) the *newest* Edition of Morse's American Geogr and Gazetteer (my last are his Geogr 1802, Gazetteer 1797.) (2) The newest Edition of Scots Gazetteer (my edition is of 1794) (3) Madison's Map of Virginia. (4) The new map of North Carolina. I should not like to lack behind Mr Morse. This is the reason why I wish for his newest Editions.¹ Could you procure me them I should be very glad. As to the Map of Carolina, Colonel Burr whose acquaintance I made when he was here two months ago (now he is at Paris, as I see by the newspapers) gave me a direction thro' one of his friends in England, who had *his* copy of the Map of N. Carolina with orders to deliver it to me, but as I don't like to have any dealing with England or to occasion a loss to Mr Burr, so I cannot profit thereby. I have got from him several valuable materials for my book, and he promised me more. That he is able to give intelligence cannot be doubted. I had no occasion

¹See the note on p. 290; also his letter of April 17, 1812 to Barlow which shows he had then received Morse's Gazetteer of 1810.

and avoided even to ask him about his political situation, tho' he knew that I had read all the newspapers².

In November I got a very agreeable Letter of Rev Mr Eliot at Boston by Mr Web a very fine gentleman; I gave him an answer to Mr E. and several books for the Historical Society.

[He repeats the titles given in his letter to Eliot of October 25, 1809. See p. 399.]

In Case that Rev Dr Eliot should have not sent me allready Morse's Book, I would entreat you to let me have them. To Mr Morse I should [not?] like to ask him for them. But when you can get them without trouble, as also Scot and the Maps I shall be very glad, and pay the amount to the Captain who brings them in cash or such Books as you order.

I hope you enjoy good health, so I do, thank to Divine Providence. My firm belief in her Government of the world keeps above the distresses of our unparalleled times. I give you no account of news as all what can be said is contained in the newspapers. All what we know of transatlantic affairs comes by way of France it looses in the round about way of its volume, value and certainty.

If you sent me newspapers I wish you may *at present* not sent them by way of Copenhagen, nor in large boxes. A choosen

²Aaron Burr, under date of December 4, 1809 in his Journal, gives the following account of his visit to Ebeling.

"Went by appointment, to Professor Ebeling's. He is a most cheerful, amiable man of about 62. Perfectly deaf. The only mode of communication with him is by writing. He always carries in his pocket pencil and paper; and, when he asks a question, hands them to you to reply. When he has had your answer, he returns it to you; because, he says, persons may not choose to have their free conversations preserved in writing. He speaks, however, extremely well, both French and English. Takes great interest in all that concerns Americans. Is writing a statistical, geographical, political, . . . cal, &c., account of the United States. Has a quarto volume for each state, beginning North, and has got South as far as Virginia. I saw twelve of these quartos. The bruillard is printed interleaved with blank paper, on which he continually makes his additions and corrections. His library of American books, i.e., books on American affairs, is nearly as large as all the Richmond Hill library. Geography is more particularly his department; and the extent and accuracy of his knowledge is astonishing. A part of his American works were published a few years ago. You will receive a copy, addressed to you by himself, as he understands that you read and write German. Passed near three hours with this amiable man." (The Private Journal of Aaron Burr. Rochester, 1903, vol. I, page 292.)

Burr's Journal gives other glimpses of Ebeling during the week of Dec. 3-10 which he spent in Hamburg. He met him first at Mrs. Sieveking's on the 3d; called on him on the 4th; received four letters of introduction from him to various German scholars on the 5th and occupied himself looking over American papers which Ebeling sent him; visited the Library on the 6th and passed half an hour with him, "always much amused"; and had further communications on the 7th and 8th. He left Hamburg December 10.

set of them by way of Tonningen, will be sufficient, but you will be so very kind as to keep the others for me till navigation is more save.

Wishing you sincerely every prosperity and happiness I have the honour to be with the highest esteem

Dear Sir

Your

Most obedient Servant

CDE Pr.

All what is addressed under my name to Messrs Brauneiser et Company at Tonningen will come save to my hand.

TO REV. JOHN ELIOT

JULY 31, 1810¹.

DEAR SIR

[Acknowledges the receipt of Eliot's letter of Apr. 2, 1810, and is expecting the arrival of a parcel sent by Capt. Webb.

He is still anxious to learn of the safe arrival of the boxes sent to Dr. Bentley by Capt. Brace with enclosures for Dr. Eliot, described in his letter of October 25, 1809. See p. . . . He sends his salutations to Dr. Morse and to Professor Peck.]

I shall be happy in procuring all kind of german books wanted by you, your Society and University, tho' I must advice to delay it some time till it is known what fate the trade of the world will have. If the advices given by the french Boards of Commerce and Manufactures are not powerfull, more so than the cries of nations, ruined by the prevailing measures.

In the mean time the literature of the German tho' under great restrictions and durance is not at a stand. I mention only such Books amongst the thousands published *this year* (many only under new titles to old editions, many also in Danemarc, France, Russia but by far the most part in Germany those in latin I shall mark with*.

[There follows a long account of recent publications classified by subjects and including fifty or more different authors.

¹Original in papers of the Mass. Hist. Soc. Letters to Corr. Sec. 1792-1811, no. 94.

Under Divinity he speaks of "many valuable, many indifferent, few of the much diminished innovators, mystical or deistical, who never were prevailing, as dreamt by the now quite forgotten Burriel and Robinson² whose works translated early into German, tho' never suppressed, to be seen in every libraryan's shop, were quite disregarded by the abettors of old orthodoxy." We get a glimpse of "Goethe's new Theory of Light and Colours written to destroy Newton's system, I dare not say with Newton's Spirit" and "Handel's Messiah for the Harpsicord with a German Text as made by Klopstock and prof. Ebeling jointly"]

Pardon Dear Sir this long letter to your
sincere friend and welwisher
C. D.

TO DR. BENTLEY

AUGUST 1, 1810.

DEAR SIR;

I have the pleasure to answer your kind letter of May 5th delivered me by the worthy young man, Mr. Treadwell, who assured me of your being in good health.

[The writer expresses his anxiety in regard to the safety of the boxes he has sent to Bentley, and recapitulates the account of letter and boxes forwarded,—two boxes in August 1809, letters of Nov. 3, 1809, April 3, 1810.]

I am much obliged to your Kindness for the trouble about the Map of Virginia. But I wish not to occasion expenses besides those troubles. Therefore I beg you will mention me what I owe you. If you sent me books or papers or maps, I willingly shall bear all the expenses when the Packages come by way of Toningen, or Kiel or Lubeck only what is sent by way of Copenhagen or Gottenberg if in large weighty boxes occasions rather high expenses. It would be very unjust if they ever should fall at your charge. At present the risk of their being lost is great on account of the English cruisers if they pass the Belts. As soon as they are landed at Tonnigen or Kiel or Lubeck they are save and only subject to the good will of the French Douaniers, who are not severe with regard to books.

²He seems himself to have forgotten even how to spell their names.

[He speaks of the death of the noble Queen of Prussia, describes political conditions in Sweden, Denmark and Russia, and goes on to speak of literature.]

The state of our literature is languishing. The Booksellers trade is very much fettered. The arbitrary exactions of the postoffices now allmost under no controul and anxious to make money as fast as possible, the high freights a consequences of the interrupted trade, the dearness of paper, the want of money and buyers has discouraged the most entreprising booksellers, and now lately an exceeding high duty laid on the importation of foreign books in France, amounting to 50 per cent ad valorem. This prevents allmost all exchange of books between Fr and Germans. English Books are not seen at all nor appear therè any translations in German, but more such in French. Of our best writers several are death since a few years. Muller the Historian also Wenk and Heinrich two able historians of particular parts of our history. Henke an excellent Theologue and Church historian, Dahl a good scholar and Exegete. Many veterans are living but write seldom books. Great many books printed as new ones are only new title pages; You will see a great number of even dear books but not many valuable original new ones. New editions of good books are published often. The philosophical squabbles seem to abate, the new sects have no praisers but they themselves. History is in vigour, but that of our wars and present times mostly party work. Poetry is at a stand, except some good Epigrammatists and such Translators as Voss. Pfeffel one of the best writer of fables is dead. The study of fine arts is increasing and produces now and then precious works as the Augusteum by Becker at Dresden or the Prints of all the statues in the Dresden Gallery. Another large Collection of many very old engravings in wood wonderfully preserved in the originals in a Cabinet of a Nobleman in Saxony now printed anew in chronological order in 2 Folio's. Philology is thriving but more in Programs and in Editions for Schools than in large and new ones of classic authors. Valkenaers and Toup's Theocritus have been reprinted. Schütz gives a good edition of Cicero's letters chronologically arranged and illustrated. Heyne enjoys health but repose. So do Wolf. Beck is still busy.

Of novels we have none worth notice except Goethe's *Wahlverwandschaften* (which is a chemical word understood by few Germans signifying the state of metals who in melting join with another and repel the other kinds. There is Genius in the book, but little invention and bad moral. A happy married couple take a male and female relation into their house who create a separation of their benefactors and for[m] two new couples one of them having a tragical exit, which contributes to the separation of the other. It does no good to see so many unhappy by their own imprudence and want of principles. Goethe has much been criticised, but highly exalted by his abettors.

In the Box which our worthy Mr. Treadwell took to his care You will find a complete Set of the Göttingen literary newspaper from 1801 to 1809. They are quite out of print, and very dear, each year 5 Dollars; but you will not consider them as of such price for you as I had them very cheap occasionally. By possessing them one can spare a great many books as their manner of reviewing is instructive. The *Allgemeine Literaturzeitg* of 1802, 1806, 1807 are as complete as possible and belong to the most impartial and rich in large extracts. That of Leipzig is mostly written by Lipsian Professors, not preferable to the *Allgemeine* whose Authors are every where in Germany, Prussia, Helvetia. The *Jenaische Litt. Zeit.* whereof I sent only a specimen has a few fellow authors of the first rang as Voss, late Mr Muller, Wolf, Goethe, but is the seat of faction in Poetry, Philosophy (adheres blindly to the Natural philosophy of Schelling and Fichte, which is entirely metaphysical fancied stuff). *Bast epistola critica* is much praised, so is Lobeck's (a young man's) *Ajax* a beginning of a new Edition of Sophocles.

Gurlitts *Pindar* is a learned work, rather too critical. Nicolai's *Life of Eberhard* is worth reading and full of information on new german philosophy.

[With a few closing sentences, he signs himself E. P. H.]

TO DR. BENTLEY

AUGUST 27, 1810.

[The writer expresses his thanks for letters together with

books and a bundle of newspapers. "Washington's Life shall be my lecture these days; the rest of your sending will require more time."]

It is a great misfortune for me that I have neither the *last* editions of Morse's Geogr nor of his and Scott's Gazetteer. The more so as I find that my german antagonist (whom you will know by my Declaration of war in the *Neue Zeitung*) I mean Mr. Bertuch the Reviewer of my *Portgall* is in possession of them and will publish his *Geography of America* very soon; which certainly will be a severe loss for me and my bookseller, and amount very high to either of us. Bertuch dares not to answer my apology, but makes haste clandestinely, as I hear, to prevent my *Plan of the continuation of my larger Geography and an Abridgment* that perhaps could be worth to me of 8 or 900 Dollars, a sum not easily to be missed in these time. This I tell you confidently as to a Friend. I had written to more than four of my correspondents about these books but none sends me them. Perhaps it may be found in a parcel which Rev. Mr Eliot sent me, that is still at Gottenburgh, where Mr. Webb, a worthy young American, *like Your Friend Mr Treadwell*, left it, as he informs me.

As Dr. Morse has interrupted his correspondence with me I cannot expect he will send me his *New Editions*, as he did the former. Could you, Dear Sir, send me them by way of Copenhagen; as the other Danish ports are precluded. I would be obliged to you very much. A small parcel in paper containing two or three octavos by the post waggon is not too expensive to me. It will [be] less so when the *Direction* contains besides my name and abode the words: *Hierin gedruckte Bücher* (Herein printed books) I mean only when the parcel contains the above mentioned books, (of Morse only that part which contains *America*) You may suppose that I should not like to lack behind him in the newest topographical accounts. I wish and hope that *Napoleon's Declaration of friendship to the Americans* may have the effect of opening the *European continental harbours* to your vessels. Our hopes of peace vanish away more and more, as our ruin is more conscious every day. Heaven alone knows how that will end. To his Providence we confide.

TO DR BENTLEY

SEPT 4, 1811.

This letter, I hope will arrive safe, as I give it to one of my best friends, Mr Sieveking, a Merchant of our Town, who sets out for America in order to enrich his mercantile already very extensive knowledge. He will tell you how I live, and in what situation we are.¹ The rest you may learn from our newspapers, which I am to send you. If in any way you can promote the design of my friend and make him known to the most eminent Merchants of your Town you will do a service to a young man of the best character and who belongs to a family long ago revered and esteemed in our town and abroad.

As to literary news we begin to be somewhat poor. Our literary intercourse with Germany is in some degree interrupted, till the new measures and orders concerning it, are quite regulated. The book-fair at Leipsic and in general the book-trade underwent a great change, but this is no hinderance to the activity of the German literati. It would not even have taken place, if some of them had shewn prudence enough, not to meddle with political affairs, which do not belong before their tribunal, and whereon their advice is not required. This may seem strange to an American, who daily sees that even Newspaper writers take hold of the helm of the state and rule nations by the sceptre of their pens.

[He speaks briefly of the more flourishing branches of science and promises to send the new Hebrew Dictionary of Gesenius.]

I am busy and daily at work on my continuation of America and now the more able to complete a new volume, as your kindness has furnished me the newest materials, I wanted. If I could get the Census, at least a copy in a letter from what belongs to Virginia, the Carolinas and Georgia, I should be very happy. The general sum would also be acceptable as it serves to compare the population of each state with the Total. This will be inserted into the newspapers, but I am interdicted from the perusal of them for a while. There appeared at Paris an American Journal (*Bibliothèque américaine*) but that has been dropt since two years. So we hear nothing from your country but what transpires through french news papers. I

¹In regard to Sieveking, see the note on p. 286. Bentley notes in his Diary, iv. 91, March 31, 1812, "Mr. Sieveking's from Hamburg with me."

should be glad to know what Congress have resolved about the new national University to be established at the city of Washington. I hope it will succeed, when its plan is laid down according to that of the Scottish and German Universities. If the state of the last (as described in the valuable German books of Michaelis, Brandes and others which I can send you, if you wish for them) was more known in foreign countries, it would be very instructive and useful, especially when new institutions of the kind are to be erected.

TO JOEL BARLOW

UNDATED (probably early in 1812)¹

DEAR SIR

Mr Thayer, your worthy countryman, going to Paris, offers me the occasion to renew my high esteem and friendship to you, and to remember you of me, who am still alive and still a warm friend to America, tho' translated into French lately. I at the same time have the pleasure to answer a letter, you honoured me with, which was delivered to me by Dr Kerner but one year ago, tho' it was written about ten years ago. You see that strange things happen in this sublunary world even in correspondence, as well as in realms etc.

That I, as a constant attentive reader of American Newspapers, always accompanied you through your meritorious life, that your patriotism was always before my eyes—you may imagine. We often spoke of our dear Mr Barlow at Dr Kerners, at Mr Poels, at late Mr Sievekings, all remember you with esteem and wish you here once more. Things and persons have undergone since your departure a great change, as you may suppose. Good worthy Mr Sieveking is no more, and his heirs lately were undone by the state and misfortunes of

¹The letter is addressed on the outside

To his Excellency
Joel Barlow Esq.

Minister of the United States of North-
America at the French Court

favoured by Mr Thayer
of Boston, Massachusetts.

at
Paris

Barlow had arrived in Paris on his diplomatic mission in September, 1811. In the fall of 1812 he journeyed to Wilna in Poland at the bidding of Napoleon who was then in Russia, but found the French army in full retreat. Having contracted inflammation of the lungs, he died at a little village near Cracow on December 24.

present trade. Mr Poel retired into the country where he lives entirely for his worthy family. Dr Kerner is well-established here and happy with a good wife and family. As to myself I live quite retired. Mr Büsh died in 1800 and his lady a year before by an unlucky fall down stairs. Since that time my batchelor life was quite solitary and devoted only to the education of my nephews and to the arrangement of a very good public library (whereof they made me librarian) which I found in great confusion, but with the help of our former government and the assistance of great many patriotic burghers was able to increase, to complete more and more and to make usefull for the public. The continual business arising therefrom made me neglect my description of America, which was interrupted, when I had published the Geography and History of Maryland. In the last years when I was to resume the task, the fetters laid on navigation and the want of new materials became a great incumbrance and hinderness, which lately increased by the law, that forbids importation of all foreign books, unless approved of before in the capital of the Empire, which it renders allmost impossible to be furnished with American books. Even the correspondence thither is clogged with difficulties by the measures of the Danes. You see that learning is now with us confined to certain branches, and the necessary intercourse in literature labours under great difficulties. These hardships will go over with time, as we ourselves. This comfort is rather hightened by my advancing quickly into old age. My health and mental faculties are not impaired, as far as I see, but my hearing is allmost lost. The better for it, as I am disburdened thereby from taking notice of much nonsense, spoken particularly in these times of new liberty. I only regrett my being deprived of the comfort of music which would be very great for me who loved it so much during my whole live. But I indemnify myself by reading, especially the ancient, and the few modern ones, who vie with their excellence.

It is no flattery when I assure you that your Columbus is among those. I had just ordered the new edition for our library,² when all literary intercourse with America was interrupted by those piratical *fiends* of literature etc. who even condemn books as lawfull prize.

²See note on p. 415.

The state of german literature is greatly changed since your absence. A new nonsensical and fantastical Philosophy called philosophy of nature engrossed all learning, and crazed the wit of our young generation. But I hope, by perseverance, the more sensible men and true philosophers have laid allready the ax to the root of that poisonous tree. The study of ancient literature, of natural history, of mathematics which was still very vigourous in Germany begins to prevail and the loud outcry of the worthies against the new-established Idol contributes to ridiculize it, the best way to banish and suppress non-sense. Our poets are gone. Goethe amuses himself with optics in order to prove that Newton was blind, or writes Novels whose moral tendency is rather immoral. Wieland translated masterly and illustrated the letters of Cicero; Voss continues to amend his translations and has given new excellent ones of Hesiod[torn] Catullus and Tibullus, as also of Horace, only that seems to be blamed that he con[forms] our prosody too anxious to the latin one, and thereby hurts now and then the genius of the language. Klopstock said of him in the name of our language.

Wer mich vergriechet, wer mich verlateint, den hass ich.

Who grescifies who latinifies me, I hate him.

Two modern Poets, of forlorn genius, Messrs Schlegel, endeavoured to introduce a new taste mixed out of Spanish imagination and mystical bombast, but their reign is like their usurped disdain of all our best former poetry, verging to its end. Another kind of poetical reformer wishes to introduce the language and taste of our ancestors in the middle age and even publishes their imperfect works for the use of schools! All of short duration.

But there would be no end of my letter, if I was to continue my complaints as an old *laudator temporis acti*.

Your kindness will excuse this long letter, and my talkativeness. It is a refreshment of spirits, in these dispiriting days, to converse with a friend of ancient true humanity, taste and manner of thinking. I think myself happy when you kindly continue to think well of me

Your
unalterable friend and wellwisher
EBELING. Professor and Librarian

I lately had the pleasure of the acquaintance of two very worthy french learned men Messrs Cuvier and Noel who were here to visit our schools. You know them without doubt, as also my dear Friend, Mr von Humbold, a man also of true great genius and science. If you see them I wish kindly to be remembered to them.—permit me only to add that I have been greatly comforted these days by the lecture of President Madisons excellent Memoires against the english piratical principles.³ I should like to translate them into german.

[TO JOEL BARLOW]

17 APRIL 1812

DEAR SIR

Your kind permission makes me bold to resume our correspondence. I should have done it much earlier if my situation had allowed me to follow the wishes of my heart. The loss of a beloved Sister and many other family affairs required all my attention, time and care. Could I have transformed all my thoughts on you into letters, you would very often have heard of me. The state of *our* literary world, which intercludes us almost from all what in Germany is done in the Letters and Sciences, (as we cannot read any of the literary Journals published at Göttingen, Halle, Leipsic and as the few french ones give but poor accounts thereof and even of their own excellent productions *in Sciences*) I returned once more to America and am now writing (not publishing as formerly) the Continuation of my American Geography, as also a general abridgment of the whole American Geography. But alas here I am again involved in great difficulties, by the warfare at Sea. My Correspondence is entirely interrupted and dropt. If even it could be connived to carry it on by way of England I never would chuse that way as long as it is not lawfully permitted. But since all smuggling is suppressed no American sends me any thing by way of England. You will pardon me, when

³This must be Madison's "Examination of the British doctrine, which subjects to capture a neutral trade, not open in time of peace." [Washington, 1806.]* Ebeling's copy was sent to him by Bentley. It is inscribed "For the Rev^d W^m Bentley from his friend Jacob Crowninshield. Washington, 17 Jany 1806," with the further note, "This is supposed to have been written by a member of the administration—Mr. Madison, & it does honor to him."

this increases my antipathy against these british Crayfishes. What belongs to english literary progresses we are utterly ignorant thereof. Your Observations on the progresses of usefull Sciences, on literary Luxury are very just, but what I complained of regards even these higher Sciences in Germany, not only the belles Letters. Our philosophy particularly is converted into an unintelligible mystical jargon, this creeps into all other branches. I am sure it will not last long time, but it spoils particularly in the Universities the rising generation. Only Göttingen, Leipsic and Halle oppose against it. You would wonder how common sense could be lost so quite if you read the productions of our present metaphysical philosophers especially those called Natural Philosophers, among them celebrated men, and even of Genius and Learning. Our Eloquence, Poetry etc is at a Stand, and our witticism is downright absurdity. The influence of this depravation on the higher Sciences is severely felt, as they loose that clear, sober and manly exposition, they enjoyed before, and enjoy still with the best french and english authors. The only hopes we have is in our Philology, but this is corrupted by intestine civil wars, moved by the heads of parties against one another, and by pedantical adherence to unimportant grammatical bagatelles, whereby the grand spirit of the ancient classics is often in danger to be lost. But what is it necessary to expose all this in our general revolutionary age. Let each literato do his best to promote usefull knowledge and leave the rest to providence.

But to return to America. As I have spent a great deal of my life and all my money and even much of my health, and have collected a very great mass of materials, I wish to complete at least that part of my work which relates to the United States. What regards the former Spanish America, my friend Mr v. Humboldt has done enough for it,¹ and the new face of things which will be produced by the revolution now at work, will not soon neither be settled nor known in the cisatlantic world. English, Dutch and french America will undergo great changes by the peace if it once be made. Your States only are

¹Alexander von Humboldt, his "Essai politique sur le royaume de la Nouvelle-Espagne" published in Paris in 1811 and at the same time at London in an English translation, a four volume work.

not subject to such kind of changes, but the more to the nobler ones by continual increase of population, cultivation, political and literary improvements. My materials go as far as the first months of 1810. My description of Virginia is completed; but for being worth printing it wants very much. I rely on your kindness and friendship, that you will pardon me, if I apply to you for relief. I formerly got now and then some supplies by way of Copenhagen; but at present the introduction of foreign books is subject to so very much difficulties, and the intercourse between America and Danemark so much disturbed, that I despair to get any thing by that Quarter.

Should it not be possible by your kind protection to get some books and maps from your country, which I am absolutely in need of, to be enabled to publish my work? I suppose the English will respect flags of truce sent from America to France, tho' (as I have had the misfortune to experience myself) they do not respect American ships going to Danemark or Sweden. Your Secretary will perhaps have the goodness for me to order these few Books for me, when you are so kind as to persuade him to do me the favour. Whatever expences occur, Mr Jean *Klosterman fils*, Libraire, rue du Jardinnet no 13, quartier St. André-des-Arcs, has order from my Librarian, Mr Bohn, to pay them and to charge himself with the sending me them safely. As the forwarding these Books by the post would be far too expensive for me. Your kindness will pardon this bold demand. What is the most necessary to me, is *Bishop Madisons Map of Virginia* and the *Newest Census 1810*. If even this was to be found at Paris either in your or in any of your Friends possession and I could have lent it only for a sennight, I would be made very happy thereby, Or if you possess the *Census* and would be so very kind as to order a copy of that of *Virginia* and the *two Carolinas*, I should esteem it as a great favour.

Excuse, Dear Sir, my importune petition. I should not hazard it if I was not convinced of your great goodness, and if my love for America was not so very warm as when I began my acquaintance with her. My geographical distress may be another excuse. My description of Virginia is finished, but what a figure shall it make when the Virginians see that I don't even know exactly where their counties of Cabell, Giles,

Mason, Monroe, Nelson, Page, Brooke etc are situated. Morse's Gazetteer of 1810 leaves me in the dark, and I dare say I know even a little more thereabout, than him. But a little knowledge is a very bad thing. I had a mind to dedicate my description of Virginia to Mr Jefferson as thanksgiving for his excellent Notes, but I have dropt that idea on account of the imperfect State of my Elaboration. Formerly I got the most important Messages and Reports in Congress by the kindness of Dr. Mitchill and Mr Crowninshield, but the first I hear is now in England or France, and the last is dead. So I have not even the Acts of Congress complete.

I dare add a very minute (perhaps you call it pedantical) question, concerning the pronunciation of the State of *Tennessee*. We are uncertain whether the accent lies on the second or third syllable? Tĕnĕssĕe or Tĕnĕssĕe?

I have been so happy as to procure the last edition of your *Vision of Columbus*², and have read and compared it with that which I owe to your kindness. This made me very happy as I found my esteem for that excellent poem was even heightened (high as it was) by the new revision. I regret that no Copies, as far as I know, are at sale in Germany. This remembers me of a German Poem which the patriarch of our poetry, *Bodmer* of Zurich wrote in honour of Columbus in 1753. He calls it *Colombona*. It is far from being a Masterpiece, but as in all his poems, amongst the productions of art, has some happy strokes of genius. Your country wants still a proper name. Should that of *Colombona* not be a very sonorous one? as also a *Colombonian*? That new one invented by Dr Mitchill, *Fredonia*³, seems to involve no just idea. Nor can one find

²Barlow's *Vision of Columbus*, in its amplified form, "The *Columbiad*," had been brought out as a sumptuous quarto by the poet's friend Robert Fulton, Philadelphia, 1807. Ebeling already had a copy of the *Vision*, "Fifth edition, corrected," Paris, 1793.* This is inscribed "To Professor Ebeling from his friend the Author." On the fly-leaf Ebeling has noted a description of the quarto edition of 1807 and has added, "This Edition was printed at the Expense of Mr. Fulton to whom Mr. B. dedicated it. Mr. Fulton is known by his discoveries in the usefull arts and by his knowledge of the physical sciences. New preface shewing the poet's political and moral design quite the reverse of Homer's and Virgil's."

³Dr. Samuel L. Mitchell, one of Ebeling's New York correspondents, issued a pamphlet under the title, "Address to the Fedes or people of the United States on the 28th anniversary of their independence, New York, 1804." pp. 8. This is a song of sixteen stanzas. On the title-page the following printed note is inserted in the midst of the title—"The

out the derivation. If from Freedom why change m into n. There is no such word as Fredon in any language (the french cannot at all be ment) it could be derived from. Nor does it meet with great approbation in America, if I am not mistaken.

But I must finish this long letter which you perhaps will adscribe to the talkative old age, I entered into. I only repeat my excuses, relying on your great kindness. I wish to be remembered to your Lady, and to assure her of my great respect. Accept of the same assurance towards yourself and of my high esteem of your invaluable friendship.

Dear Sir

Your

most obed. humble Servant

EBELING

I am sorry to add that our common friend, Dr Kerner⁴ who brought me your letter once, died these days after a short epidemical fever. He was universally beloved.

*List of American Maps and Books*⁵
which I desire most to procure in behalf
of my American Geography.

1. Bishop *Madison's* Map of Virginia published in 1808 or 1809.*
2. New Map of North-Carolina from actual Survey by *John Price* and *John Strother*. 1809. It was once announced to be at sale in New York by Robert McDermut, in Brodway for 6½ Dollar*
3. The late Census of the Year 1810.*
4. *Burke's* History of the Commonwealth of Virginia, Petersburg, Virginia printed by Dickson. I have the first

modern and appropriate name of the people of the United States, is Fredes or Fredonians, as the geographical name of their country is Fredon or Fredonia and their relations are expressed by the terms Fredonian or Fredish." Mitchill's suggestion excited some discussion at the time, but when, forty years later, the New York Historical Society, of which Mitchill was an active member, proposed the name Alleghania, Fredonia was not so much as mentioned. See Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc. April and May, 1845, II, 310, 315.

⁴Dr. Johann Georg Kerner, one of the ardent sympathizers with the French Revolution in its earlier stages but afterwards a pronounced opponent of the French Empire, had held various public offices of trust. He died in Hamburg, April 7, 1812.

⁵The list of books wanted is so carefully drawn up that no notes of identification are needed. Those titles are marked with an asterisk which Ebeling afterward received and which are now in the Harvard Library.

volume 1804; but not the second and third, the last published since the decease of the author. It is sold by the Editor of the *Aurora* at Philadelphia. (Vol. I*)

5. Dr *Ramsay's* History of Carolina from the first settlement in 1690 to the year 1808. 2 vols 8 vo. New York sold by Langworth at the Shakespear Gallery.

Not his History of the *Revolution* of South Carolina which is elder being published at Trenton 1785, in Two volumes This I have.

6. *Hugh Williamson's* History of North Carolina, lately published*
7. Collection of the Laws of Kentucky. Lexington printed for Bradford 1806.
8. Geo *Sibbald* Observations on the pine land of Georgia with a geographical Sketch of the State of Georgia. Augusta 1801
9. *Lewis's* and *Clark's* Map of North America published 1807.

The first Nr 1 to 6 are by far the most important to me.

TO DR BENTLEY

MAY 22, 1815

DEAR SIR

I make use of the first ship going from hence to America to write to my best friend in Northamerica, tho' my letter must take a round about way; for as I hear, no ship from your town nor from Boston is expected so soon, as I wish to have good news from you, and to give you such from myself. Thank God I have outlived all these dreadfull years of late and am now in as good health as I can pretend in my age, and in better and higher spirits, as is usual in the 74th year of Life. My last account, which I got from Mr. Sieveking gives me the best notice of your being well, and I hope this will reach you in good health. How often have I thought on you and your country, especially since we were restored to freedom, and you involved in an unhappy war, still the consequence of that french Revolution which promised so great benefit, such happiness for the whole world, and gave nothing but misery to all Europe!

[The greater part of the following long letter, apparently the first which the writer had been able to send in three years and a half, gives a recital of the sufferings of the people of Hamburg during the period of the French occupation.]

Now we are beginning to make the best use of our freedom. Last autumn I was very sickly, especially of sleeplessness and indigestion, once I was also at twilight overrun in the street by a cart, but, thank God, I escaped with only a bruise on the forehead which was soon cured. At present my description of Virginia is printing; about 20 sheets are finished. I hope to send it soon. The manuscript was ready for the press long ago, but I would not submit to the french pretension to send it to Paris for being examined by a Censor or even suppressed by him. Afterwards we were in great want of composers, and I could not send it elsewhere to be printed as the great many nomina propria required my own care in correcting the proof sheets. I have a mind to dedicate this volume to Mr. Jefferson. As some copies will be printed with the particular title of *Description of Virginia* perhaps it would be possible to give a translation of this part to your countrymen corrected and improved as also enlarged as to what belongs the last 4 or 5 years. Mr. Morse will perhaps not like my performance as I could not make much use of his Geography of this State, which is mostly copied verbatim from Jeffersons Notes. As to the History of Virginia I regret much not to have at hand the 2 and 3 part of Burke's History¹. The first I owe to your kindness. Your literary History of these 5 last years is almost unknown to me, the english Reviews don't scarce make mention of any book published in America. Perhaps your unhappy war has also prevented your authors from publishing much. That was only the case in Germany with several countries occupied by the French especially those that were incorporated, yet one of the two annual fairs was allways very fertile in Books a[t] Leipsic, but not so many good ones as formerly. The price of books is raised beyond measure, almost equal to the english tho' not so well printed. Large and pretious works are seldom undertaken except in natural history.

¹Apparently Ebeling never succeeded in getting these two volumes of Burk's History. Only Vol. I came with his library to America.

[An account of the French censorship over books and periodicals follows with a few notes on the condition of the German universities.]

I shall add a list of Books which I have collected for you ready to be put on board as soon as a ship arrives that will take them. When my finances have recovered a little from the french incroaches I shall be able to do more.

[The writer goes on to give an account of Murat's operations in Italy and of the forces gathering on the north prepared to overwhelm the French army.]

Now I must take leave from my much revered Friend. I hope to be able to send you soon my collections. I wish for your newspapers and should be glad if the second volume of Holme's annals appeared, as also of Burk's History of Virginia the 2 and 3 volumes to have them. I have got Madison's map of Virginia. But I find only 96 counties therein. I know that a new one *Cabell* is created lately but cannot find out its situation. Two others have been separated as I hear but I am ignorant of their names and situation. You will greatly oblige me, by informing me thereof.

In one box I have laid some books for the Historical Society. Mr. Sieveking told me, that Dr. Eliot was no more in life.² Should those sad news be true, I wish to know who is now Secretary of the Society.

Once more I bid you my respectfull adieu, being with sincere esteem and gratitude,

Dear Sir

Your most devoted and most obedt Servant

C. D. EBELING, Prof.

Books ready to be sent to the Rev. Mr. Bentley³

²The Rev. John Eliot died February 14, 1813 and was succeeded by the Rev. Abiel Holmes, as Corr. Secretary of the Historical Society.

³The following long list contains many titles mentioned in previous letters of three and four years earlier. During these intervening years, when he had been entirely cut off from his American correspondents, Ebeling had carefully kept the books intended for them and now at the first opportunity sent them forward. Few of the titles require any further identification. Those of which Ebeling's copies are now to be found on the shelves of the Harvard Library are marked with a double asterisk.**

5-6) Eichhorn's larger work is his "Geschichte der litteratur von ihrem Anfang bis auf die neusten Zeiten." 6 vol. Göttingen, 1805. The abridgement is his "Allgemeine Geschichte der Cultur und Litteratur des neueren Europa." 3vol. Göttingen, 1796-99.

1. Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek Vol 93 to 104. 24 parts
2. Berliner Monathsschrift
Many nos. to complete the defective volumes with continuation to the end of vol XXV when it was dropt. I shall be carefull to wait on the occasion to get the wanting Parts, which are quite out of print, as is the case with all our periodical writings, as soon as they are published.
- **3. *Meyer's* Skizzen von Hamburg The best and well written Book concerning our Town.
4. *Gesenius's* hebrew Dictionary 2 volumes
5. *Eichhorn's* large literary History T. 1, 2 complete T. 3, 4 as far as published 6 volumes
6. *His* abridgment inclusive the larger of the last three centuries down to our time 3 vols. Really the best of all Literary Histories.
7. *Gurlitt's* Translations and Commentary on Pindar as far as published. 8 Parts
8. *Il Messia.* italian by Zingo [Zigno] 2 volumes. The excellent author of this translation was a captain in the Austrian service, renowned by his being the means that the Austrians could execute the famous surprise at Hochkirchen. He being the first entering in the prussian camp and overpowering an artillerist, who was just to fire his gun and to give the allarm. This amiable man made the revision of his Translation here under Klopstock's eyes. Some years afterwards he was murdered at Venise.
9. *Lessing's* poems, with the best of Gleim's (The rest is stuff which is in this volume)
9. *Semler's* paraphrasis Evang S. Johannis P. 1, 2
10. *Fleury's* Histoire ecclesiastique in 20 Parts. Considered, as you know, by the Roman Catholiks as being their best. His continuators are of no value.

13) G. F. A. Wendeborn's *Erinnerungen aus seinem leben*, herausgegeben von C. D. Ebeling. 2 vols. Hamburg, 1813.

14) Joh. Aug. Noesselt. *Anweisung zur Kenntniss der besten allgemeinen Bücher.* 4^e vermehrte Auflage. Leipzig, 1800.**

A continuation by C. F. L. Simon was published in 1813.

19) Joh. Wilhelm Ludwig Gleim. *Halladat, oder Das rote Buch.* Hamburg, 1774.** With note in Ebeling's hand on the title-page and elaborate book-plate of Magdalene Marie Charlotte Ackerman.

21) L. S. D. Mutzenbecher. *Nachricht von den in März 1814 in Altona herrschenden Krankheiten.* Altona, 1814.

11. Jablonski's *Historia ecclesiastica* 2 volumes
The best compendium of the Reformed
- **12. *Spittler's* and *Plank's* [Spittler and Planck] *Kirchengeschichte*. newest edition. The best and most impartial of the Lutheran's.
13. *Wendeborn's* curious Life published by myself
N. B. when under the french yoke
- **14. *Nössell's* Theological Library. a well chosen Collection A new edition after the author's death was published last year but the continuation is without all merit and miserable
15. *Bossuet's* Universal History 6 volumes
The continuation of [i. e. by] *Cramer* (one of our classical German authors) is much esteemed. His Remarks and Extracts concerning the scholastical Philosophy and Theology are excellent. He discontinued the book out of want of leasure when removed to Kiel as Chancelor of the University.
16. *Spalding's* vom Werth der Gefühle
A philosophical work opposing Mysticism
- **17. *Jerusalem's* Nachgelassene Schriften 2 volumes
18. *Jahrbuch* der Elbmündungen
Shewing the state of our departement during the French yoke
- **19. Halladad. The best poem of *Gleim*.
20. Nachricht von der aus Hamburg wertriebenen
21. *Mutzenbecher's* account of the salvation of the exiled Hamburgers. Very faithfull
22. *Spinoza* Tractatus philosophicus. published at Amsterdam not here. Very scarce but full of luminous inquiries.
23. *Griesbach's* New Testament Vol. I. newest edition. the second to follow.
24. *Klopstock's* Herman well translated by Cramer the younger, son to the continuator of Bossuet
He was enraptured by the french Revolution, went through all its changements and died lately at Paris somewhat in distress.
25. *Klopstock's* Portrait by Preister (?) the best extant

26. *Michaelis's* Mittel die Hebraische Sprache zu verstehen
27. *His* hebrew grammar with *his* dictates thereon on.
28. *Reimarus's* Doleances
a remarkable pamphlet, confiscated by order of Napoleon, but the author not molested for it.
- **29. *Schiller's* Maria Stewart His masterpiece except one scene which is never brought on the theatre, when performed, as considered against religious devotion.
30. *Michaelis's* Lexicon Hebraicum 6 volumes 4to His last and perhaps principal work
31. *His* Comentations 2 volumes 4to
32. *Dathe* Prophetæ minores
33. *Döderlein's* Esaias
34. *Teller's* Wörterbuch des Neuen Testaments
35. *Schröckh's* Lebenbeschreibungen with prints
36. *Ernesti's* Anmerkungen über das N. Testam.
- **27. *Alberti's* predigten. 2 volumes
The worthy divine's who was so much persecuted by our Archpriest and learned but malicious zealot Goeze
- **38. *Less* wider Reimarus and his famous *Fragments*
39. *Kypke's* Oberservationes in N. T. 2 Parts
40. *Michaelis'* orientalische Bibliothek Vol. 1-24
- **41. *Gabler's* Theological Journal 5 volumes
the continuation will be sent per next
42. Several pamphlets particularly to shew the present state of our schools
43. *Reimarus's* de vita sua with his fathers life, published by myself.
44. *Memoria Reimari* published by myself

TO DR. BENTLEY

JULY 8, 1815.

DEAR SIR

I hope you have received my long letter, which I sent you via New York on May 30th having no other opportunity, I could send it but by that circuitous way. You will have learnt by that letter, what was our fate and especially mine during all that long time our correspondence was interrupted. You will have friendly been anxious about Hambro' and myself. Our

town and all my fellow-citizens would have been exceedingly happy, if they had not suffered more than I and my family during the whole time of oppression, we sighed under. My health has not been impaired neither, and I enjoy the best of it, as much as I ever could wish for in my age of 74.

My occupations returned to America and my description of Virginia is printing now (20 sheets are completed.) When the rest is finished I hope to be able to send it you with three Boxes of Books, I have ready for you. It would be a great pleasure to me, in Case no Ships from Salem should soon arrive here to let me have an address to one of your Friends at Boston to whom I could direct these cases. The contents I hope will please you, as enumerated in the list that accompanied my letter. This I hope found you in good health enjoying every comfort of life. The unhappy war America was involved in I presume had no influence into your situation as no English entered your State.

[The rest of the letter is filled with a lively account of the battle of Waterloo as reported in Germany, with rumors in regard to the latest developments in France.]

How much I long [for good] accounts of you, Dear Sir, I don't want to assure you. Accomplish my wishes as soon as you are able. What manythings am I to learn about my dear America, unknown to me almost since 5 years! How instructive will be the newspapers you have been kindly sparing for me! You shall have our best, which is now that of Altona¹, in return. I need no to add many protestations and assurances of my great esteem towards you and of the sincerity with which I am sincerely

Dear Sir
ever your much obliged friend and servant
C D EBELING

TO DR. BENTLEY

SEPT 4, 1815

DEAR SIR

A short Letter dated April 3 came but a few weeks ago to my hand, it was written by you and convinced me of your being in

¹Altonaischer Mercurius, 1799 to Aug. 14, 1815 (1801, 1810, 1813 incomplete; 1811, 1812 missing).**

good health. You may imagine that it gave me great joy. I regret only that Mr Tichnor¹ did not come hither but send me the letter from Göttingen. Yet I was able to introduce him to several professors at Göttingen who are my friends, as Dr Blumenbach, Heeren and the royal Librarian Behnecke. Perhaps on their return to America I shall have the pleasure to see Mr Ticknor and Professor Everett his Companion. I have written to them and hope to get agreeable accounts concerning you. I hope at least some of my letters have reached you. The first I was able to write you, was sent by my Friend, Mr Sieveking in 1813². which he assures to have delivered. Afterwards I send a long letter³ inclosed to Rev Mr Miller at New York, as no ships from hence bound for Boston were to be found; this I fear was long delayed tho' written early in this year because the Ship by which it went sailed far later than I hoped. The last⁴ was send by the post May 30. I could not avoid these round-about ways.

The present is to advise you, that I shipped a large box with Books and some news papers by the William, Capt. Salomon Davies, bound to Boston, addressed to Mr Timothy Williams the Brother of late Consul Williams here our common Friend. I hope this will arrive in due time and be acceptable.

The state of our literature begins to revive. Much is printed but a great part is stuff produced by distress and written for money's sake. One half of all books, pamphlets etc regard the war passed and present, and particularly its detested Author and his Life. Great many Anecdotes, probaly the most part false. In France the first month in 1814 of Lewis' return they published 200 pamphlets *against* Bonaparte. What a despicable Authorship when we know that many of these scriblers exalted him before to heaven. One

¹Edward Everett and George Ticknor went abroad together in the spring of 1815 to prepare themselves by study in Germany for teaching in Harvard University. They reached Göttingen August 4, 1815 and remained there the greater part of two years. Bentley had given them both letters of introduction to Ebeling which they promptly forwarded.

²This was 1811. See the letter, p. 408 and the entry in Bentley's Diary, quoted on the same page.

³The letter of May 22, 1815. It bears a New York postmark, July 28.

⁴His *last* letter, July 8, must have been sent by private hand also. The address reads "favoured via New York" and it is postmarked "Princeton, N. J. Dec. 5."

said in his complimentary oration to B., "God created B—and reposed"! What blasphemy! All such catchpennies are translated. Now and then one finds an impartial author, who writes without passion and prejudice.

Amongst the Books I send you, please to remark the following

[The list of books which follows is drawn from the longer list added to the letter of May 22. The notes are so similar in tenor that nothing is gained by repeating them in print.]

My resources for the newest American Geography, Statistik and History are quite exhausted. By the next Ship I hope to send you my description of Virginia. I could not add its History because I wanted the 2 and 3 Volume of Burk's History of Virginia. It was in vain, that I ordered it from Philadelphia. I hear there are at present 99 counties in that state; I know only of 97; could you let me know the situation, name and boundaries of the new ones. So I am ignorant of the frontiers of Cabell County erected in 1808. What I wish the most for is *Tench Coxe's* Statment of the Arts and Manufactures of the U. S. [for the year 1810. Prepared for the Treasury Department. 1814.] lately published and Brackenridge's Views of Louisiana*; but more especially the former. You would oblige me much by procuring me that. I wrote for it to Philadelphia but have not yet an answer. The unlucky dead of your worthy Dr Ramsay grieves me very much; he was very obliging towards me, and was just renewing our correspondence when I heard of his sad fate. His works make his memory everlasting.

What do you think, should it be adviceable to dedicate my description of Virginia to your great Jefferson? What would, in case you approve of it, be his title. The predicament Excellency belongs still to him I suppose.

I find my long letter must be finished, when I shall not miss the Post of this day. I hope to hear soon of you and to get your opinion concerning the late war, its causes, issue and the consequences of the peace. If by your kind endeavours you could help me to the papers published for the Congress, I should infinitely be obliged to you. The inland situation of Washington is a great obstacle for me, to get such papers by

way of Philadelphia. Pray tell me also what was intended by the Hartford Convention? Were they in earnest for a separation? or was it only to awe the opposition party into the consent of a peace with England? Your news papers will inform me thereof also I hope; but your opinion is more important to me.

I wish you health prosperity and contentment for ever and recommend myself to your Friendship being always

Dear Sir

Your most devoted Servant

C D EBELING

TO DR. BENTLEY

MARCH 25, 1816

DEAR SIR

I have the honour to answer to three of your kind letters viz (1) that of April 3, 1815 sent to me by Mr Everett from Göttingen (2) another May 1815 which with the parcel annexed to it containing the very excellent History of Printing in America of the Honorable President Thomas, and a letter of Mr Secretary Fiske, who announced me the great honor conferred upon me by your praiseworthy Antiquarian Society. This reached me but *February 1st of this year*. The river being frozen it was impossible to answer it sooner; and even this I must regret to send via New York not hearing of any New England Ship being expected here soon. I am sorry not to be able to pay the whole postage, our postmaster refusing to make the letter free for your Town. Be so kind as to seal the annexed letter and to send it to Mr Fiske. As soon as a Ship goes from hence to Boston or Salem I shall write a long letter to the worthy President Thomas, accompanying with some very old printed Books out of the 15 Century and several Books concerning the invention of printing. We have a great many, containing even juridical proofs that the art of printing with moveable types was invented at Strasburg and Mayence. These proofs convicted even the celebrated Meerman, as I certainly know by his late deceased equally learned Son, Baron Meerman, who was my academical Friend at Leipsic and afterwards visited me here and entertained a correspondence with me. (3) your longer letter of Jan. 24, 1816 came to hands three days ago by way of Hague. It gave me much pleasure to see that my last invoice of

books reached you and was acceptable. I have already collected some others whereto I shall join copies of my description of Virginia. This volume when nearly completed was in great danger of being shipwrecked. The Bookseller for whom it was printed failed unexpectedly. Mr Bohn a very respectable Possessor of a Bookseller trade of very long standing and respectability, growing sickly, retired to Leipsic in whose Neighbourhood he purchased a villa and left his whole trading house to a young man whom everybody considered as able and as honest. But in 5 years he managed so ill that he was obliged to declare a bankruptcy of 150,000 marks and to abscond. Happily I have rescued my book (not a copy being sold as four Sheets were not yet printed.) It would have been a severe loss for me, but now it was saved. I wish it may be liked in America and expect your frank critical review. I endeavoured to be as impartial as possible, especially in doing justice to a State that gave America so very great men in war and peace. I have refuted that slander which was spread against this State in great many Traveller's books and found out the source thereof. Unhappily I had not the second volume of the Collection of Acts published 1808, nor the 2 and 3 volume of Burke's History. The Newspapers I owe to your kind care as far as 1810 were my only help. So I fear not to have known all new changes in the Government etc. But the universal calamity of Europe and the general prostration of commerce with America will excuse me. I shall soon publish Supplements to this and all my former volumes. I am very much obliged to your kindness, Dear Sir, for having written in my behalf to your great Jefferson. I lament that I cannot write my book in english or send the Mst to so great a Man, or even to other worthy Gentlemen as for Example Dr Tucker, Bishop Madison. What you refer out of Mr J letter shews the man of great principles, of Knowledge of the world, and of a philanthropy uncommon unless to such philosophical minds—I have sent Mr Everett several letters to introduce him to the most learned Professors at Göttingen, whom I knew. I see by the Göttingen *gelehrte anzeigen* that his learned treaty¹ has been

¹Mr. Paul Revere Frothingham, the biographer of Everett, thinks that Everett's "Defence of Christianity," 1814, is probably the learned treatise mentioned. See his "Edward Everett," 1925, p. 28.

read there with satisfaction. I wish that on his return to America he might pass through Hamburg. In Consequence of your wishing that I might indite to you the works I wished to get by your kind intercession, I join a list of some. The misfortune is that I don't know nor can get any notice of what has been published lately in America. Our litera[ry news] papers know nothing of American books, and most of my other correspondents in America are either really dead (as Mr Muhlenberg, Dr []) or seem to be so. Dr Smith Barton I hear has been in Germany, even in Bremen, but did not go to Hamburg. In the mean[time] I wrote him twice to Philadelphia. I must renew my correspondence with all after a long interruption. I shall take the first opportunity to write to Dr Holmes, Dr Tucker. We have Ships from Richmond, Charleston but as yet none from Philad. N York nor any port of New England; but it was winter time. What I wish the most for is

1. The *second* volume of Dr *Holmes Annals*
2. The second and third Volume of *Burke's History of Virginia*
3. Almanac of Massachusetts for 1815 or 16.
4. The second Volume of the Collection of the Acts of the General Assembly of Virginia published by *Pleasants and Pace*, at Richmond 1808 (or 7) in quarto or large octavo.
5. The new States or a Comparison of the Wealth of the S. and N. States. Boston 1815.
6. A Virginia and North as also South Carolina Almanac of 1815 or 16 containing the lists of the officers of these States.
7. Williamson's History of North Carolina*
8. Ramsay's History of Carolina from the first settlements in 1690 to 1808. Sold at New York by Longworth, at the Shakespear Gallery. (*Not* his History of the Revolution of Carolina 1785 which I have.)
9. Pitkin's View of the Commerce of the U St. Hartford publ by Hosmer 1815*.
10. *Tench Coxe's* Statement of the Arts and Manufactures of the U St Philad. 1815.

Sed ohe jam satis est! You will suppose, that I cannot wish to get all that at once.

I have a List of many other American Books, but do not know their Value or Usefulness. Should there still be continued such a Work as the American Review and Literary Journal of which I have Vol. 1. and 2. New York, 1801², that would inform me of the existence of several Books. Should there also ever be published a Continuation of *William Graydon's* Abridgment of the Laws of the U. States* whereof I have the I volume printed 1803 at Harrisburgh, Octavo³, that would be usefull to me. I am just enioing the pleasure to be visited by one of my former dear pupils, now settled at Philadelphia, who promises to help me to such Books as concern Kentucky etc. He procured me several exceedingly curious ones printed at Hayti, Royal Almanacs, and others. What a wonderfull event, a Kingdom of Negros organized in the manner of a French court!

[He closes his letter with remarks on European political complications. On the back of the letter Bentley has noted, "Of the Books 1. Holmes sent in May, 7. Williamson's N. Carolina. 8. Ramsay, H of S Carolina."]

TO DR. BENTLEY

JUNE 28, 1816.

DEAR SIR

I hope you have received my Letter written 25 March 1816 and sent by the Post. Being obliged to forward it by a round about way, I joined a Letter to Mr Fiske acknowledging his favor of October 27 1814, which with yours of May 1815 reached me but Febr. 1 of this year. In case this letter should have been miscarried I add another to this gentleman, which you will find in the box together with a letter to your worthy president. I have added a very scarce old book printed in 1493, which with a parcel and a copy of my Virginia you will be pleased to send occasionally to Worcester. That I am very proud of the honor to be associated to the [American] Antiquarian Society you may see by the titlepage of my book, as I made bold to pride myself as a member of that honorable

Volumes 1 and 2 only, 1801-02, were published.

³A second volume was published in 1813, but Ebeling seems never to have received it.

Society. It was with great pleasure that I read the very valuable learned and elaborate History of Printing; it came time enough to make use of it in my performance p. 445, 448. I took the liberty to send Mr Thomas some books concerning the History of the Origin of printing; I have also written to him an ample Catalogue of Books concerning the true origin in Strasburg and Maintz which now is undoubtedly verified even by judicial proofs taken from the Archives of both cities. Meerman a very learned and skilfull advocate of the dutch as Inventors of that art, was at last convinced by the many proofs brought forth against him, as appears by some of his letters, but did not like to recant publickly. I know this as certain from his Son, Baron Meerman, who died 2 years ago. He studied with me at the same time at Leipsic and was my friend. Not knowing whether Mr Thomas reads german I desired him to beg you to translate him what Eichhorn says about the Invention of these Arts.

Now let me go over to my Book. Your kindness will pardon me that I took the liberty to dedicate it to you and some of your friends and countrymen.¹ This public thanksgiving was required by my feelings of gratitude; these did not allow me to acknowledge your great many favors only in private letters. It must also been known in Germany, who is the principal promoter of my undertaking. I shall be very happy if this manner of signifying you my sentiments don't displeas you. In the titles of this dedication I made several mistakes occasioned by being too late informed of the additional honors conferred upon these Gentlemen, so I learnt but these days, that you were elected a Member of the Philadelphia Philosophical Society; as also that Dr Miller removed to Princeton. I am somewhat anxious whether my book will be approved of in America and particularly in Virginia. I have done my best to be as exact as possible, but particularly to do Justice to Virginia and its Inhabitants. You will particularly remark what I said p 297 against the slanders of Smyth², Anburey³ and

¹The names of the persons are given on p. 275.

²J. F. D. Smyth. A tour in the United States of America. 2 vol. London, 1784.

³[Thomas Anburey.] Travels through the interior parts of America. In a series of letters. By an officer. 2 vol. London, 1789.* Notes by Ebeling on the fly-leaves in regard to Anburey's sources.

their Copists. What I say in Virginia's behalf of their religiousness will displease to the American Geographer when he reads page 391, but I can not help it. External reasonable culte of the Deity is very praiseworthy, but it is not the only, nor the principal proof that we serve God in the spirit and in verity. I regret that I had not the newest Collection of Laws, and perhaps may give extracts of some that have been repealed afterwards or altered. Some errors I have corrected on the last page, as also the misplacing of the County of Cabell which I now know was a part of Kanawha. I fear it will be considered in America as a great fault that I quote such Authorities as Smyth, Parkinson⁴, Janson⁵ and other English Travellers full of prejudices dictated by their national pride against your Country. But on examining *when* I quote them it will appear that I either did it, when I had before refuted or contradicted them, or when they spoke in behalf of Virginia, or as eye witnesses on objects, where no partiality could take place.

You will excuse that I gave no better binding to my book, but as more than 10 Sheets were of very recent printing, the beating and pressing of the Bookbinder would have blotted out the letters and the box was to be brought on board. I fear even now some pages will become illegible as being printed but four days ago.

The few books I send in order to take hold of the occasion that offers itself seldom that a Ship is bound from hence to Massachusetts. I must ask your pardon that I added to them some intended for Boston I was at a loss to whom to direct what belongs to the historical Society, as also those for Worcester.

[His remarks on the books sent are omitted here since the titles of the books and Ebeling's notes on them are given in better form in his letter of January 3, 1817, p. 434.]

In my letter of March 25 I followed your desire to indicate such books, as I was in want of. Since that time I have received from Philadelphia (1) *Tench Coxe's Statement of the Manufactures, Arts, etc 1814.* 4^{to} (2) *Ramsay's History of*

⁴Richard Parkinson. *A tour in America in 1798, 1799, and 1800.* 2 vol. London. 1805.*

⁵Chas. William Janson. *The stranger in America.* London, 1807.*

Carolina from 1690 to 1808. (3) *Williamson's History of North Carolina*.* These I beg not to send.

[The rest of this long letter is taken up with an account of European affairs and developments. At its close he repeats the titles of a few books he particularly wants and adds another,—The new states or a Comparison of the wealth of the Southern and Northern states. Boston, 1815.]

TO DR. BENTLEY

JULY 29, 1816

at 5 o'clock afternoon.

DEAR SIR

At a moments warning (as you will see by the inclosed Letter of our friend Mr Pitcairn) I am obliged to write this letter, to send a Box to Mr Endicott and to open it before in order to add a few Books destined for another box together with some books, which are ordered for you as also some who are in the hands of the bookbinder. I write with a wounded arm, which by a fall backwards was severely scorched by a nail, so that I lost exceedingly much blood, before a surgeon could be found, and I myself with the help of vineagre at last prevailed to stanch. But now I am on a save way of recovery after three weeks pains, thank be to the preserver of Life.

But how shall I begin, how end to thank you, Dear Sir, for all the trouble you underwent for my sake! How for all the valuable presents, the well chusen books, before all for the meritorious but exceedingly troublesome selection of Gazettes of Reserve. What little value would have my book without your very kind help! My former letter is accompanied with a Hamboro Newspaper wherein I announced my Virginia myself. Another Reviewer was to praise it beyond my merits if I had not prevented it. As much I like to deserve the approbation of connoisseurs, yet I cannot avoid to blush when praised in our public papers of this City as is customary here with all productions of our pens. In this my own announce you will find my thankfull public remembrance of your great kindness towards me.

I am very busy with enjoying the treasures you have sent me. I am about collecting another box for you consisting

more in new Books just now published and daily expected here from Leipsic. Among them is Bloch's Book you wished for. It was not to be got here but only at Berlin or Leipsic. I wrote to the former place; my Bookseller Perthes to Leipsic. The Author, a learned Jew is dead since many years, and his family has the few remaining copies of his books that were published on subscription. His large Work in folio in 12 Volumes costs 300 Thaler, with coloured plates; without, 180. But his Systema is far superior as also far cheaper I expect it every day. [torn] tardatian, as it is not sold by Booksellers The Statepapers¹ you sent me is an excellent work Unhappily by a mistake the second Volume was a duplicate and the 4th containing the State papers of 1810 is wanting. As perhaps the bookseller may have mistaken one for another I take the liberty to return the duplicate, in case it could be exchanged. But very great is your goodness that you for my sake will deprive yourself of a valuable present of a friend! I feel the whole weight of your kindness and am very thankful for this new proof of it. The more I am happy to have got lately a copy from Charleston, and so you will permit me that I return yours but I remain still highly indebted for it to you. I have only few moments left to say something about the books I send you. Vater's on the Aborigines of America will please you. He is a learned man without ostentation and without presumption. Semler's Hist.eccles. is a learned work, in a bad stile. The political Journal is our best periodical work on politiks, and shall be continued. It will replace our Newspapers, now reduced to one of some value, but not impartial. Barth's² Hexapla will shew you what that man would have been able to produce if he had been a moral man, living soberly. I have added two books of late professor S. H. Reimar (1) His excellent Treatise on Natural Religion (2) His heretical Fragment On the scope of Jesus³, with Lessings three very witty but polemical i.e.sophistical pamphlets written against our late

¹State papers and publick documents of the United States. From the accession of Washington. 3 vol. 1798-1801. Boston, 1815.* *Same.* From the accession of Thomas Jefferson. 5 vol. 1801-1815. Boston, 1814-15.*

²Bahrdt. See the account Ebeling gives of him on p. 319.

³These works and Lessing's three pamphlets have already been described in an earlier letter, pp. 324.

Senior of the Ministry Mr Göze a learned man, but Arch Zealot, who attacked Lessing on account of having published these fragments. The other against the history of Moses and the history of the Resurrection you shall have per next.

Then I shall join some interesting works and pamphlets on the late History of Hamburg. The Commander of our Militia, disgusted begins to attack our Senate. A small pamphlet in the Box written by Senator Bartels will show you the issue of the contest.

[The letter closes with political reflections, especially with regard to the attitude of Denmark toward Hamburg.]

TO DR. BENTLEY

JAN. 3, 1817¹

[Ebeling acknowledges notice of membership in the New York Historical Society and mentions having received six months before the first two volumes of its Collections of which he had given an account in a newspaper formerly under his direction, later suppressed by Davout, but now started again by another editor. Gives a list of books sent in haste by Captain Endicott on July 29, 1816.]

My sending contained

1. *Flacii* Catalogus testium veritatis The first very scarce edition of a book which was very serviceable to Luther's Reformation.
2. *Plank's* Geschichte des protestantischen Lehrbegriff. 4 Volumes, considered as the best History extant of the origin and first forming of Lutheran Creed.
3. *Bahrtd's* Translation of the New Testament² 4 Volumes. The first suppressed Edition of heterodox Memory.
4. Political Journal 1814, 15, 16 one of our best political Magazines, which collects all what our Newspapers contain of truth 4 Volumes³.

¹Original in the library of the American Antiquarian Society.

²Die neusten Offenbarungen Gottes in Briefen und Erzählungen. 4 vol. Riga, 1773-74.**

³Politisches Journal, nebst Anzeige von gelehrten und andern Sachen. Hamburg, 1814-16.**

5. *Barth's* Edition of the Hexapla. 2 Volumes His best work
6. *Semleri* Hist. Eccles. 3 Vols a very learned but not elegantly written historical Collection
7. *Reimarus's* (the Father's) natural Religion⁴ An excellent work attoning for the following Fragments of the same Author, that made so much noise when Lessing published them long time after the author's death.
8. *Reimarus* Zweck Jesu with several pieces of Lessing
9. *Vater's* Entdeckung von America
10. Two Volumes of the *Allgemeine Bibliothek* that were wanting Besides other small new pamphlets, Newspapers, as also my Memoria Reimari (Filii Samuelis Hermanni)

The New Volume of my Geography accompanied it. I have taken the liberty to dedicate it to you. Be pleased to accept of it as a feeble part of my gratitude for your innumerable benefits, for your very great and indefatigable exertions, trouble and expences in my behalf. I feel much afflicted in not being able to shew my grateful acknowledgment more essentially. My wish was to offer that dedication only to you, and to leave that to my other benefactors, who by far are, nor can be, so kind and usefull for me as your incomparable friendship prompts you to be, but I feared not to live long enough to address my friends each in particular. I hope you will not be offended by the company wherein I placed you. My first idea to dedicate my Description of Virginia to Pres. Jefferson I gave over, as by your kind letter of Jan 24, 1816 I believed to see that it would perhaps give trouble to him to answer my address, and secondly because he does not read German I also feared that my book was not worthy enough for so great a man. I had enclosed a copy for the hist Society and the Antiquarian Society, as also some books for the worthy Mr Thomas. I hope this was not troublesome to you. What I mentioned of a parcel for Dr Morse I rather took back for to send him my book (as he *formerly* sent me his) directly. I suppose this will close my correspondence with him. His behaviour to other worthy

⁴Die vornehmsten Wahrheiten der natürlichen Religion. 3^e Auflage, 1766. Also 4^e Auflage. 1772.**

persons, as for ex. to Mrs Adams, etc makes me not desirous to ambition his correspondence.

[He goes on to speak of a new box ready to be sent by the next ship containing Bloch's Fishes "which I happily got at Berlin by the help of a great man, who was my academical friend." He hoped to send also Bloch's large work on fishes now scarce, but it had brought 80 Dollars recently at auction which was "beyond my faculties."]

The Vienna Congress was not free from some unjust proceedings but it was unavoidable in the most parts, I except the subjugating of the Republic of Genova whereof I can see no cogent reason. But as to mediatising (as it is called) our hundred and more very petty princes, it was absolutely necessary, if ever Germany should be a good organized federate body political. The united states never would prosper when a great number of counties had usurped the rights of independent states. Very happily all our ruling powers in Germany agree in making their states a representative government. contenting themselves with the rights of a sort of sovereign presidency.

[He proceeds to describe the difficulties encountered in several states and particularly in Prussia, and praises the deliberation of the Bundestag at Frankfort which has established its power as a constitutional assembly. The treatment of Jews and of Catholics is the subject of heated discussion. In this connection Ebeling writes at some length of Wette and Neander and Von Ess. He thanks Bentley again for his instructive letters which he is studying daily "especially as I just now begun an *American Magazine*⁵ which I shall sent as soon as I get the first printed Nros. Our Librarians prefer the printing in the middle of Germany as nearer to the fair."

He speaks of the preparations for celebrating very solemnly the next October the third Jubilee of the Reformation and adds interesting remarks on Stolberg, Schlegel and Werner, poets who had gone over recently to the Catholic side. The work of the Bundestag, in proceeding slowly with the drafting of a new constitution, is again defended.]

⁵He must mean his "Magazin für die Kunde und neueste Geschichte der ausser-europäischer Länder und Völker, which was just beginning. His "Amerikanisches Magazin" had appeared in four numbers in 1795-97.

TO DR. BENTLEY

[Fragment, undated, probably February 14, 1817]¹.

In my 7 volume you will perhaps have been hurt by a nonsensical period page 356 What I meant is easily to be seen, but the printer misplaced when I had corrected the proof sheets, one verse and omitted several words. Perhaps our Critics will make me atone for this fault.

I am now busy with reading once more your instructive Letters as also particularly the Gazettes of Reference you selected for me, with your explanations. What great trouble must this have cost you! I am glad that you began to note of the Newspapers themselves when they contained something particularly usefull for me. This method will save you much trouble, whereof there remains still so much, that I am at a loss how to express my gratefull feelings about you kindness. I have undertaken with friend at Lubeck who devoted his studies to the state of Asia, Africa and the South sea Isles or Polynesia, a monthly paper or Journal² That part of America I reservd to myself. As soon as it is printed I shall always send a Copy for you. By that way I hope to make use of the treasures you send me, earlier as in the following Tomes of my Geography.

Thus far had I written when your parcel of October arrived which makes me anew a Debtor to your kindness. [*Marginal note.* The Letter I got before by the post.] The honour conferred upon me requires my best thanks, so the contents of the parcel. The Mexico Declaration is very important. We are mislead continually by the spanish partial [?] Newspapers. My hope that the Spanish Americans will finally be free is still very sanguine; particularly because Spain itself returns to the Government of Monks. The 4th Volume of the Collection of the Mass. Historical Society was very welcome, so were those of the New York Society, as that Copy which I got from New York was destined to our public Library; now having it in possession myself by your kindness I can make better use of it.

But what shall I say of Dr Morse's stale performance. He

¹The first sheet or sheets of this letter are missing. It may be inferred from the sentence at the close of the letter of May 22, 1817 that the date of this letter was February 14, 1817. The postmark is "Baltimore, Jun 26."

²See p. 276.

wrote me lately asking some questions about new Geographical Works But as he will not learn German I cannot help him. His Geogr and Gazetteers must become very incorrect and deficient. Tho' we have not many new German Geographies and Statistiks of late, all Authors and Booksellers wait for the final settlements of many Countries especially in Germany, Italy etc. Morse's Behaviour to Miss Adams is chocking³. Tho' no Law prohibited him from publishing an abridgment of New Engl. History, yet the least sentiment of Equity would have prevented him from encr[o]aching on her litterary productions. It seems to me downright absurdity when M says he is not in controversy with Miss Adams, but with others whom he cannot name. What strange trick to transfer a quarrel about a New England's History with another about Unitarians. His intolerance shews the perversity of his schemes. Let him not ask my opinion on his book but I shall openly write him how I consider his *manoeuvres*.

By the enumeration of what you have sent me, I see that I have got all what your very great kindness bestowed upon me.

I shall not fail to direct my sendings for you to Mr B. Foyle [W. B. Fowle?] at Boston, when Ships from Salem are not here.

This year will be celebrated the Jubilee of the Reformation of Luther. I shall wonder how the Roman Catholiks will behave themselves at during our festivals. So much is certain that we shall abstain from polemical disputes and attacks. Many Authors are allready preparing themselves to these solemnities. I have for you two Volumes of Luther's german works selected,⁴ a third volume will appear at next Easter. Our Booksellers and Bookmakers have even begun to publish Reformations-*Almanachs* Others have [*torn*] best and most striking passages from Luthers Works: Dr Luther's Weisheit 3 vols 12 mo. Th[at the] Roman-Catholics begin to abandon

³It is unnecessary to revive the controversy between Miss Hannah Adams and Rev. Jedidiah Morse. Miss Adams published her "Summary history of New England" in 1799, and having reaped little money benefit from it, thought to gain something by publishing an "Abridgement" for school use. Before she was able to carry out this plan Morse and Parish issued a "Compendious history of New England designed for schools and private families" in 1804, smaller by some 125 pages than Miss Adams's book. This seemed to Miss Adams a personal injury and a long controversy followed which ran on for ten years, and was at one time submitted to referees, but without decisive result.

⁴Dr. Martin Luther's Deutsche Schriften, theils vollständig, theils in Auszügen. 2 vol. Gotha, 1816.**

or amend several of their former principles, is a change that must be agreeable to every philanthropic mind. Two Brethern *van Ess* have published a new Translation of the Bible, that had already 3 Editions. The two former had sold 80,000 Copies. The elder Brother has made a very good Collection of proofs that all the Patres ecclesiae had recommended unrestricted lecture of the Bible, also a Pamphlet in latin shewing that the concilium Tridentinum *did not* pretend that the Vulgate only should be read, nor that it was without faults. I have given in the *Beobachter*⁵ (which is now our best Gazette) of February 1817 an ample account.

Professor Eichhorn at Göttingen has begun a large Commentary on the prophets. I send you the first Tome that was published lately.

A new History of the late war, written for the Youth⁶, is yet an agreeable Lecture for elder ones and mostly exact. The portraits of the Heroes of our age are very like their originals as is assured. Those which I knew are of a perfect liking.

The address you have given me at Boston shall be made use of. I must close my long letter tho' it would be a great pleasure for me, to write very long letters to a Friend as you are.

Be pleased to recommend myself to the worthy President Thomas. Your Friends at Göttingen (where there are 4 Students⁷ out of the United States) like their Stay at that University, and all Professors agree in the praises of their conduct. When Hamburg was not so dear I should wish that Young Americans come to us to learn the language and to frequent our School and Gymnasium.

My thankfull wishes for your prosperity shall conclude this letter and assure you of my heartfelt esteem and respect being allway

Dear Sir
Your most obliged Servant
C. D. EBELING

⁵Deutscher Beobachter oder privilegirte Hanseatische Zeitung. Hamburg, 1816-17,** The number for May 20, 1817 the last sent.

⁶Niemeyer, Christian. Heldenbuch. Ein Denkmal der Grossthaten in den Befreiungskriegen von 1808-1815. Mit 33 Portraits. Leipzig, 1816.** Portraits wanting.

⁷Joseph G. Cogswell had joined his friends Everett and Ticknor at Göttingen November 1, 1816. He brought with him Augustus Thorndike, who had just graduated from Harvard College and had been sent abroad for study in Cogswell's care.

TO DR. BENTLEY

MAY 22, 1817

DEAR SIR

You will receive with this letter a Box with Books, (amongst them Bloch's Fishes, several of the ordered on *Jus Canonicum*, some new Bibles, Commentaries and others) which I directed according to your order to your Nephew at Boston, Mr W. B. Fowle. The Freight has been paid here.

I have begun a long letter to you in answer to so many of your highly wellcome instructive and kind letters. It gives me pain, that I am not able to return your civilities by so many literary and political news as I wish; but shall do my best to correct my fault in future.

I hope you have received the Box which I sent you by the *Janus, Capt Endicott, July 29, 1816* containing Copies of the 7 Volume of my *America* which I took the liberty to dedicate to you and to several Friends, and which you will kindly have approved of as a feeble testimony of my heartfelt gratitude. I had enclosed a parcel for President Thomas and a scarce old *Chronicon*¹ for the Antiquarian Society, with other works of Semler, Plank, Barth, Vater, Reimarus, several volumes of *Algem. deutsche Bibliothek* etc. for your use.

The list of what I send now, will be found in the letter going by the post directly to Salem. [May 24, 1817].

I should have written to you oftener had I not been so very weak by more than a half years sickly state, as rheumatical complaints, especially in the knees, made me almost incapable to walk out of the room; and insomnies vexed me very much. We had an exceedingly wett sommer, autumn and winter which I could not resist. Now by the help of a serene spring I am recovering. Happily my mind is unhurt, and I was able to attend to my lessons etc without interruption. I shall be glad to hear of your enjoying the best health, I can wish you. Yet I hope you received my letter of 2 August 1816 via New York and of February 14 1817 directly by the post.

¹This refers to a copy of the Nuremberg Chronicle, 1493, still possessed by the American Antiquarian Society, in the record of Ebeling's donation.

I am summoned to send away the box and refer to my other letter, being with very sincere respect and gratitude

Dear Sir

Entirely Your most obedt Servant

C. D. EBELING

TO DR. BENTLEY

MAY 24, 1817¹.

[The writer encloses the bill of lading of a box of books directed to Bentley's nephew, Mr Fowle, of Boston, promises another soon, and refers to that sent in July 1816 by the Janus, Capt. Endicott, a box made ready at only a few hours notice.

"Inclosed there was a parcel for President Thomas, with a Palaeotypon for the same, in Folio." He gives a list of 13 titles sent to Bentley in the same box, repeating substantially the list given in his letter of January 3, 1817 and adding Kunhardt's Religion und Moral and Kotzebue's Flugblätter "concerning our then reigning politicks."

He adds the principal contents of the box just sent by the Wanderer, Capt. Newcomb. Many of the titles have been mentioned before. Among the new ones are the following:]

4. *Vater's Deutsche Mundarten*
5. *Hamberger's Nachrichten von Schriftstellern* as far as 1500**. 2 vols. a very usefull accurate work, which should be continued.
6. *Heldenbuch*** with good portraits of the principal Generals living.
7. *Wertheimer Bibel* i. e. Pentateuchus 4°. A Version forbidden under high penalty by the German Diet at Ratisbonn, but now only somewhat scarce. The Author, *Schmidt*, translated it at Hamburg. He was the first who deviated from the trodden path of Orthodoxy.
9. *Luther's Bible* with Pastor Funke's at Altona annotations. Tho' this edition was approved by the supreme ecclesiastical Board and the Government, it excited several severe pamphlets against the notes. I was accused of Socinianism etc. The noise subsided soon.

¹Original in the library of the American Antiquarian Society.

10. *Adelung's* (the Lexicographers) *Gesch. der Jesuiten* 2 vols**. The Author was prevailed on by a pension, and nominated public Librarian at Dresden under restriction *not* to continue his book. The Jesuits consi[de]red it as too true.
11. *Rambach's* Anthologie of our old Church service Songs and Psalms.** A work written with great exactitude, and very complete.
21. *Der deutsche Beobachter*.** Formerly a very good Newspaper; now much declining and containing nothing but Controversies about the new planning and organizing the German general and particular Constitutions
22. *Heeren vom deutschen Bund*. One of the best amongst many 100 pamphlets of the same tendency.
23. *v. Ess* 2 pamphlets in Defence of Bible Societies and the necessary lecture of the Bible by Roman Catholics. The two brethren are nobly engaged to urge the Study of the Bible amongst the common people of their creed.

I have said nothing about my health which was very much impaired last autumn and winter by the great wettness of the air. I now recover slowly, but suffer still by rheumatical attacks and insomnies. A warm summer I hope shall restore me intirely.

TO PROFESSOR JOSEPH MCKEAN

Recording Secretary of the Massachusetts Historical Society

HAMBURG, JUNE 11, 1817¹.

C. AUG. 4².

REVEREND SIR

You will be pleased to allow me to repeat what I had the honour to write you on the latter days of last year, viz. the save deliverance of the parcel with the 6 volumes of the

¹The original letter, which had been preserved with other papers of Professor McKean in the possession of the Folsom family, has lately been given to the Harvard Library. It was printed in part in the "Columbian Centinel," September 27, 1817. Ebeling died June 20, 1817.

²This line, in a different hand, probably indicates the date of reception in Cambridge. The letter bears the postmark "Baltimore, Md. July 29."

Collection of the Historical Society, which Mr. Cogshell [Cogswell] sent me from Amsterdam and came to hand 17 November 1816. My most sincere thanksgiving was expressed in my last letter. I took the liberty to send for the Society July 29 under cover of Rev. Wm. Bentley, Salem, a copy of my 7 volume of America together with Vater's Mithridates, Pernetty's Dissertation sur l'Amérique and some other trifles. This went by Capt. Endicott. In another Box sent by Capt. Newcomb May 23 of this year Herrera's *Aviso del Peru* said to be a great scarcity in Spain; a German description of America, 2 vols. 4° exceedingly imperfect even when it appeared, some few books concerning Greenland etc. which I hope will reach you soon.

I had allready the honour to signify to you how great a pleasure it was to me to correspond with you, being deprived of my literary intercourse with your worthy excellent and learned Dr. Eliot, whose premature death I cannot but lament sincerely. I shall do my best, to execute your ordres and to be serviceable here as far ever my old age, my connections and my health allow me. This last was very much threatened by many severe attacks of asthmatical complaints occasioned by the exceedingly moist autumn of which I wrote you, but which was followed by a still more humid winter and spring; both not admitting the least exercise. But now I am recovering tho' slowly; but am still vexed with rheumatical [illegible] and insomnies. But: "nihil ab omni parte beatum," Notwithstanding this I am heartly thankfull to divine providence for the health and vigour of mind I enjoy. My lessons in our College never are interrupted. By the first opportunity I shall communicate with you some Catalogues of our Gymnasium, whereby you will see, what sciences are its particular destination.

Since my last I have had the very great pleasure of being made acquainted personally with three very worthy Gentleman of Boston, viz. Professor Everet, Mr. Cogshall and Mr. Thorndike who visited me on their excursion made for our place.³

³Everett, Cogswell and Thorndike visited Hamburg on a walking trip from Göttingen May 25-29, where Cogswell reports that they saw a good deal of Ebeling and his American library. "On the whole the visit was rather a pleasant one." See Joseph G. Cogswell's *Life* as sketched in his letters, Cambridge, 1874, p. 61. Doubtless it was this visit which led to the purchase of Ebeling's library for Harvard College a few months later. It is

They arrived here last month. Truly these amiable, well instructed and learned men, do great honour to your country. I hope they will be the means of a learned intercourse between the worthies of the United States and Germany. Both countries' literature will profit thereby. They speak and write German to perfection, they are judiciously fond of the good part of our, rather too fruitfull literature, with which they are exceedingly well acquainted. May kind heaven conduct them save to their Country!

I am now studying the very instructive Collection of your Society, and I profit much thereby. I have begun an American Magazine, which is now printing, and shall be sent as soon as it is published. The many valuable productions now appearing in America will furnish me ample materials. I shall not fail to do my possible, to fullfill your desires for old Msts and Paleotypes, as also of medals. All these, as I have told you in my last very seldom occur in lower Saxony; but now and then one or the other of Msts. and Books of ancient date offer themselves. As for coins I despair, for those reasons I alledged before. There was to be an auction at Rostock which contained a large excellent library in all the oriental languages, with many hebrew and rabinic Msts, as also a most considerable collection ancient coins all collected during half a century by our greatest orientalist Dr. Tychsen last year deceased at the University of Rostock. The catalogue thereof made a large volume in 8^{vo} But my hopes are frustrated. The Grand Duke of Mecklenburg purchased the whole collection for 1000 Louis d'ors in order to enrich therewith his University. But even he is obliged to cede all to the Emperor of Russia, who offered 1200 Louis d'ors. It is a pity that Germany shall lose such a treasure.

interesting to note that Tieknor, a Dartmouth graduate of 1807, but honored with a Harvard Master's degree in 1814, had just been appointed by Harvard Smith Professor of the French and Spanish Languages and Literatures (1817-1835); that Everett, of the Harvard class of 1811, had already received his appointment as Professor of Greek Literature at Harvard (1816-1826) and was to become, later, President of the University (1846-1849); and that Cogswell, of the class of 1806, having already been a Tutor at Harvard for one year, 1814-15, returned to become Professor of Mineralogy and Geology and Librarian of the University from 1821 to 1823. Augustus Thorndike had graduated at Harvard in 1816. His father, Israel Thorndike, a public-spirited Boston merchant, was presently to purchase Ebeling's whole American library and present it to the College.

There is here at sale since long time the greatest rabbinical Library that ever existed, collected by a learned Rabbi Oppenheimer an intimate friend of our late John Chr Wolf, the author of the *Bibliotheca hebraica* in 4 volumes. This Library is packed up in 28 large chests. The present possessors are ignorant Jews. They demand 5000 Dollars or 25000 marcs of our money, but I am sure they will sell it for $\frac{1}{3}$ or perhaps $\frac{1}{4}$ of that Price. I should wish to purchase it for our public Library, but we have Wolf's very large Collection with many hebrew and arabic Msts. and would be encumbered with too many duplicates.⁴

The new books you mention I am possessed of altogether as also of Mr. Thomas's History of printing, the Collection of State papers during Washington's and Adam's Presidency. Only one volume of the first collection of your Society I have not been able to procure viz. volume the IXth. You will greatly oblige me if you can find occasion to purchase it for me. I am told it is out of print.

I just now got a vellum Mst. for you, not of great internal value, but I shall send it begging to accept of it as an indifferent testimony of my gratitude. I shall be attentive if I can get more valuable ones, and have given orders to several learned friends to do the same.

The only old book printed on vellum which was exposed for sale here was lately in an auction of Altona. It was the first edition of Emperor Maximilian's I. poem the *Theuerdank* printed on vellum in a superb manner. But it was sold for 200 marcs tho' I offered 180 for our public Library. It was sent to Leipsic, which is the seat of precious typographical antiquities.

It is very remarkable that the number of authors and of their productions has not been more impaired and lessened by the late calamities of the french Usurpation. The last Catalogue of the Leipsic Bookseller fair is a large volume in octavo. The number of new productions (academical dissertations and many pamphlets are *not* inserted.) as enumerated on 290 pages may amount to at least 2900 or 3000 books, continuations (for voluminous works are not published at once, but by parts and volumes successively, which may be commodious for the authors

⁴The collection was afterward acquired by the University of Oxford.

and booksellers, but is detrimental for literature, many valuable works remaining incomplete). Our Books begin to be very dear, even those indifferently printed on a sort of white blotting paper. Our best modern books are those that belong to editions of classical authors, to exegetical and critical annotations on different books of the bible, to natural history, to civil history, to the german law and to physic, Great many of travels, medical observations, biographies are translations, particularly of english new books. Small Works, Journals and periodical papers, larger pamphlets are employd to disputes about the new government. Most of them of little value and ephemeral duration. A shame of our literature is the great number of Novels and Romances, as also plays of very little value. They are absorbed by the many Reading Societies (*Lesegesellschaften*) established in every large and little town, borough etc. for lecture is now become essential occupation of the female sex every where. Happily the rage of novels begins to abate, and historical works, Biographies of eminent men are often preferred. The novel-writers are exhausted and even the few better ones must produce stale performances. Another favorite lecture is that of Almanacks, as they are called, containing poetry, small tales, historical anecdotes, biographies, commonly adorned with fine prints, portraits, but also very dear. English and French Books, especially Travels and Voyages are introduced in great quantities and form the lecture of the higher ranks or richer people who will not wait for translations.

Such is the present state of our rather too fruitfull literature. Our best flourishing and well provided for Universities are Göttingen, Leipsic, Heidelberg, Jena, Halle, Berlin. Others are good but lingering not so much frequented as the others. To these belong Kiel, Rostock, Greifswald, Erlang[en], Tubing[en], Breslau, Marpurg and Giessen. The best roman-catholics Universities are Vienna, Freyberg, Landshut, Würzburg, where there are also protestant professors (but not of Theology), that of Bonn on the Rhine is to be renewed. The principal learned Societies protected by Kings and princes are those at Berlin, München, Göttingen. They publish their valuable Transactions.

But I fear to abuse of your patience and shall finish this long letter recommending myself to your kind remembrance being allways, with very great esteem.

Reverend Sir

Your most obedt humble Servant

C. D. EBELING Professor at
the College or Gymnasium of Hamburg

This last letter in our series is dated June 11, 1817. On June 20 our kindly, sagacious, generous-hearted, and active-minded Librarian died,¹ in his 76th year, and leaving still unfinished the History and Description of America to which he had devoted his best powers for over forty years. Seven volumes of the work he had completed in spite of the delays and difficulties due to the disturbed conditions of Europe.

It was a fortunate circumstance that Everett, Cogswell and Thorndike, the young Americans then studying in Göttingen, had visited Hamburg only a month before, had become personally acquainted with Ebeling, and must have seen something of his remarkable collection of books and maps relating to America. Everett, already appointed a professor in Harvard University and at this time preparing himself to take up his work there, had been specially commissioned by the Corporation to procure books for the College Library. Cogswell had been a Tutor at Harvard the previous year and was now studying and travelling in Europe, having under his care Augustus Thorndike, the son of a wealthy and public-spirited Boston merchant, Israel Thorndike. Ebeling's work and the character of his library were well known to his American correspondents, many of whom were or had been

¹Bentley notes in his Diary, September 16, 1817:

"The death of my friend and old Correspondent C. D. Ebeling is announced in England. His last letter is dated 24 May. The date of the Eng. paper 21 June [evidently a mistake]. In that term he must have died. About 50 of his Letters during my Correspondence remain to explain the system, purpose, and benefits proposed in it. He has been a member of our Hist. Society and I nominated him to the Antiquarian and to the N. Y. Hist. Society. I found him an affectionate, invariable and provident friend. I never saw him."

in close touch with the College. It is easy, therefore, to understand how the idea of purchasing Ebeling's collection for the Harvard Library promptly took shape. Inquiries were soon made through Cogswell, who learned from Mr. Richard Parish in Hamburg (mentioned by Cogswell as one of the Americans he had met there) in a letter dated January 23, 1818, that the American part of Ebeling's library contained from 3,000 to 3,500 volumes, besides manuscripts, charts, etc. A letter from Cogswell to Israel Thorndike dated Milan, April 4, 1818, reported that the purchase had been made by Professor Everett on Mr. Thorndike's account at an expense, including charges, of about \$6,500. On June 17, 1818 Mr. Thorndike wrote the following letter to President Kirkland:—

REV.^d DOCTOR KIRKLAND

Dear Sir

Having been informed some time since, that the late Professor Ebeling of Hamburg had left a very extensive and valuable library containing many volumes, maps and charts peculiarly adapted to be useful in the United States, I determined upon purchasing it, provided it could be obtained at a fair price, considering its intrinsic worth, and present it to the University at Cambridge as a mark of the great esteem I feel for those who compose the Government of that Seminary and of veneration for its great Antiquity and Usefulness. You will perceive by the enclosed letters and copies that this object has been effected, and that Orders have been given for shipment to the United States for Account of the University.

I have to request that your Corporation will be pleased to accept this library, with my best wishes that it may be found conducive to the great end we all have in view, the extension of knowledge in our Country.

I wish, however, to reserve for my own use any duplicate or triplicate copies of works etc., which it will not be of any decided advantage to the College to possess.²

I am Dear Sir with respect

and esteem

Your obed Servant

Israel Thorndike

²The letters "enclosed," viz. the two from Parish and Cogswell mentioned above, and another from Thorndike "containing orders for the shipment of the collection" ought to be in the College archives but have not been found.

The Corporation accepted the gift and passed the following vote which was entered in the records (College Book X. p. 423):

That the Corporation most gratefully accept this donation to the University. They beg leave to express to the Donor their high gratification in this act of munificence which entitles him to the respect and gratitude of present and future times; which is the means of keeping together a rich mass of materials for illustrating the History, Circumstances and Resources of our Country; which indicates a becoming participation in the views and sense of the services of a distinguished Professor and excellent man abroad, who employed the greatest part of a long life in researches and labors relating to America, and which makes a peculiarly valuable and interesting addition to the Apparatus possessed by the University for cultivating the recording sciences.

The Corporation take satisfaction in this generous gift, not only on account of its intrinsic worth, but also, as it presents another instance in which good learning receives that individual patronage, from which, in the present state of our Society, the endowments of literature must principally flow; and an example of favour to the interests of lettered knowledge which they trust will contribute to preserve and promote among the reflecting and patriotic blessed with Opulence, a worthy emulation in assisting the intellectual advancement of our State and Nation, and augmenting the usefulness and renown of our ancient and cherished University. Voted: That the President, Hon. J. Davis and Hon. J. Phillips be a Committee to communicate to Mr. Thorndike these Proceedings of the Corporation; and to take such measures as they may think expedient for the reception of the Books etc. above mentioned, on their arrival in this Country.

Ebeling speaks several times in his letters (April 29, 1796, June 3, 1797, February 13, 1798, and perhaps at other times) of preparing an account of his library or a list of it to be sent to Dr. Belknap, but no such list or account seems to be extant. In 1809, he undertook to compile a fuller catalogue of the American portion of his collection, and this catalogue came to the Harvard Library with his books. It is a folio volume of over 275 finely written pages, and is entitled "*Bibliotheca Americana quinquaginta annorum indefessa opera summo studio maximoque impendio*

collecta a Chr. Dan. Ebeling." He goes on to say on this titlepage (I translate freely) that "this index of my library full of rare books printed for the most part in America and its islands, the equal of which you would scarcely find either in Europe or in America itself, I began to compile in January 1809, and finished in May 1810." The Harvard Library has also a copy of this MS catalogue made in 1821 for the use of Mr. Cogswell who was then just beginning his brief service as Librarian.

The nucleus of Ebeling's collection of maps, he obtained from Georg Friedrich Brandes,³ whose name stands on the separate, carefully classified, manuscript map catalogue, a folio volume of over four hundred pages. The title of this volume is as follows: "Catalogus mapparum geographicarum separatim collectarum a G. F. Brandes. Collectionem continuavit, supplevit, auxit C. D. Ebeling Professor Hamburg." There is also the beginning of a third catalogue of atlases and the maps contained in them, with a supplement for the maps obtained for the increase of the Brandes collection, begun in the year 1794, but evidently never completed nor long continued. It covers but two pages at the beginning of a large folio volume and twenty-one pages at the end, the latter pages containing certain titles arranged in chronological order, the order, I judge, in which Ebeling acquired them.

The Library has, in addition, a list of the books and maps made when they were packed in twenty-three chests for shipment to America, and a second copy used as an invoice.

For the portrait reproduced with these letters, I am indebted to the kindness of Prof. Dr. G. Wahl, lib-

³Brandes, 1709-1791, distinguished as a diplomat in several German courts, and Secretary of the Privy Council of Hanover, but still better known as an art collector and critic, and as a patron of the University of Göttingen. His library of 30,000 volumes was bought by the Duke of Oldenburg. This, and his collection of engravings containing 42,000 items (Catalogue Raisonné in two volumes) seem to have overshadowed his truly valuable collection of maps.

rarian of the Staats- und Universitäts-Bibliothek of Hamburg. The original is an oil painting by P. Suhr, which hangs in the Hamburg Library. As a result of Dr. Wahl's inquiries, the Harvard Library has also obtained a copy of an excellent lithograph of Ebeling by Bendixen which is similar to the oil portrait. A woodcut in the "Allgemeine geog. Ephemeriden," May, 1800, p. 395, is reproduced in Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History of America*, vol. I, p. iii.

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