

A PSEUDO-HEINZEN POEM*

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The remarkable and now extremely rare verse epic, entitled *Ein neues Wintermärchen. Besuch im neuen deutschen Reich der Gottesfurcht und der frommen Sitte von Heinrich Heine* was first published anonymously in the Boston journal *Der Pionier* on April 2 and April 9, 1872. Imitating and updating Heine's *Deutschland. Ein Wintermärchen* of 1844, the satirical poem shows how, fifteen years after his death, he leaves hell to travel through the recently established Wilhelminian empire where he identifies chauvinism, militarism, feudalism, pauperism, crime, immorality, ignorance, and injustice as the socio-political reality. In the last of the twenty capita, a totally disillusioned Heine returns to the underworld where he will remain until the inevitable revolution brings about a republican Germany.

From a number of allusions to historical events, it is possible to infer with some accuracy the time in which the *Neues Wintermärchen* must have been written. The adjournment of Session II of the Reichstag (41) on December 1, 1871, furnishes a *terminus post quem* (Session III began on April 8, 1872), and the reference to Heine's death fifteen years ago (28) establishes February 17, 1872, as a *terminus ante quem*. This would indicate a relatively rapid composition and might explain some stylistic infelicities as well as the tenor of outrage, sarcasm, and scorn which, unlike in the *Wintermärchen*, are not tempered by lyrical interludes of romantic melancholy or gentler irony. Whereas linguistic lapses in the *Wintermärchen* are rare (and usually intentional), the almost unmitigated mood of anger and aggressiveness of the *Neues Wintermärchen* are vented in such radical departures from conven-

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tional literary language as “fressen” (4), “verrecken” (9), “Kaisermist” (12), “Seich” (16), “Furzen” (37), and “Hintern belecken” (41).

Karl Heinzen, in whose journal the poem first appeared, made it also available as a forty-page booklet in 1872.¹ In the following year another edition was printed by the German-American Verein zur Verbreitung radikaler Prinzipien, of which Heinzen was “the creator and guiding spirit.”² The small sextodecimo copies sold for five cents each and could be inserted in letters to Europe to propagandize a German revolution, for which Heinzen and like-minded refugees of 1848 had never ceased to campaign. In the same format (which was also utilized to ensure circulation of socialist writings),³ the work was soon distributed by the social-democratic weekly *Das Felleisen* in Zürich, under the imprint,

Ein neues Wintermärchen. Besuch in neuen Deutschen Reiche der Gottesfurcht und frommen Sitte, von Heinrich Heine, dem widerstandenen Höllenbewohner. Gedruckt und verlegt in in der Hölle.⁴

From 1875 to 1887, the poem was published four times by the Volksbuchhandlung in Hottingen near Zürich, which was acquired by the German socialists in 1882⁵ and became their party’s first archive. Under the anti-socialist laws of 1878, the *Neues Wintermärchen* was listed among the approximately 1200 prohibited publications.⁶ A London edition appeared in 1905, and only with the advent of the Weimar Republic was the poem finally published in Germany (Frankfurt, 1919).

Its evident popularity in socialist circles was undoubtedly enhanced by its explicit association with Heine. Long before Heine, in spite of his erratic attitudes towards communism, was pressed into Marxist sainthood and his *Wintermärchen* made mandatory reading in East German schools,⁷ his poetry appealed to the German proletariat.⁸ In Jakob Audorf’s poetic homage to Heine, which the once well-known author of the “Arbeiter-Marseillaise” wrote in September of 1856, the central one of seven stanzas was hardly more than a paraphrase from the *Wintermärchen*:

Schon hier auf dieser schönen Erden
Wollt’ er uns einen Himmel bau’n;
Hiet sollten wir schon selig werden,

Nicht hoffend auf ein Jenseits schau'n.
Für diese Welt sind wir geschaffen
Mit unserm Leib, naturentstammt;
Drum kämpft' er wider jene Pfaffen,
Die alles Irdische verdammt.⁹

Of Heine's entire work, his versified Saint-Simonism enjoyed the greatest socialist vogue in the following decades. Thirteen stanzas lifted from Caput I of the *Wintermärchen* and set to music by Josef Scheu¹⁰ became a staple in workers' song books of the 1870's.¹¹ To appreciate their role, one must remember that many of the political groups considered subversive by the government camouflaged themselves as singing societies. With a footnote declaring the *Wintermärchen* "wohl die beste, jedenfalls die witzigste und treffendste Satire deutscher Zunge," the same segment was printed by the *Volksstaat* in 1871, with the promise that more excerpts would follow from time to time.¹² From the *Neues Wintermärchen*,¹³ the *Volksstaat* quoted as freely as from Heine. Edited by August Bebel and Wilhelm Liebknecht for more than 6000 subscribers,¹⁴ this weekly was the official organ of the Eisenach faction of socialist, whose 1873 congress resolved:

...der "Volksstaat" soll Geist und Charakter bilden und die Arbeiter, indem er ihnen das Verständniss der heutigen Zustände eröffnet, für ihre politische und soziale Mission erziehen.¹⁵

In the sarcastic manner of the *Neues Wintermärchen*, the *Volksstaat* habitually referred to the German Empire as "das Reich der Gottesfurcht und frommen Sitte."¹⁶

Predictably, bourgeois reception of the poem was less than kind. In his survey of socialist literature, one Richard Schuster pronounced it the ultimate defamation of the German people¹⁷ and dismissed its revolutionary ardor raised to the pitch of brutal fanaticism as unworthy of serious commentary.¹⁸ The only substantial review seems to have been the one by Paul Lindau in his national-liberal journal *Die Gegenwart*.¹⁹ Assuming that Heinzen wrote the poem, Lindau labels it the epitome of grobianism and vulgarity that, according to him, are symptomatic of German-American journalism and especially Heinzen's *Pionier*. From this more or less aesthetic premise, Lindau ridicules the stylistic barbarisms in some of

the Berlin episodes, which constitute only one half of the poem. Modesty and good taste, he holds, prevent him from even mentioning "die saftigsten und charakteristischsten Stellen."²⁰ Nevertheless, he asserts, those samples of Heinzen's "Rinaldiniverse"²¹ included in his review sufficiently prove the healthy and normal state of freedom presently enjoyed in Germany. Heinzen, in the first of several rejoinders, pointed out that the author of the *Neues Wintermärchen* obviously did not share Lindau's trust in German freedom, for otherwise he would not have resorted to publishing his poem anonymously and in America. Emphatically Heinzen denied his putative authorship of the work and stated, "Der wirkliche Verfasser ist Ihnen weit näher als Sie glauben, und Ihr *quis pro quo* wird ihn sicher nicht weniger erheitert haben, als mich."²² The unknown author must have been even more amused when Lindau in 1875 was sentenced for sacrilege to two weeks in the Plötzensee penitentiary; Lindau felt compelled to report on this experience in his journal by quoting some scatological lines from Heine's *Wintermärchen*.²³

In spite of Heinzen's disclaimers, the *Neues Wintermärchen* is ascribed to him by his biographer Carl Wittke²⁴ and by Eitel Wolf Dobert in his study on the German expatriates of 1848,²⁵ and reputable bibliographies continue to attribute the anonymous work to him.²⁶ Apart from the fact that he was notoriously truthful and that his known poetic efforts (although influenced by Heine)²⁷ do not include any sustained satires, there is conclusive philological evidence that Heinzen did not write the *Neues Wintermärchen*. Verbs like *beuteln* (38), *schwadern* (38), and *fitzen* (4) as well as the conjugation of *sitzen* with the auxiliary *sein* (2) are distinctly Southern German regionalisms which the native Rhinelander Heinzen would not have employed. A remarkably large number of impure rhymes like *Eisen/Preussen* (5), *Köln/Gesell'n* (8), *gepriesen/Füssen* (9), *Scheu/Blei* (10), *Kindern/Hintern* (10), and *Haide/Geleite* (22) also suggests a Southern author in whose dialect such sounds would not be differentiated. And since he specifies, with reference to local lore,²⁸ the spot where his fictitious Heine surfaces from hell—

In Baden, der alten Bäderstadt,
Bei der alten Schwarzwaldquelle,
Da, spricht die dortige Sage, hat
Ihr Ausgangsthor die Hölle (3)—

one might well conclude that the author was a native or resident of this area. This is corroborated by the fact that the deviations from High German which he uses are found in the completed part of the *Badisches Wörterbuch*. One of them, *fitzen*, is listed as a localism of Achern.²⁹

More clues concerning the author's identity come from another anonymous work in sextodecimo that first appeared 1875 in Zürich-Hottingen, with the title-page imprint

Vom
Verfasser des "Neuen Wintermärchens".
Daniel in der Löwengrube.
Von Heine II.

And an advertisement of the Volksbuchhandlung, on the rear cover of the 1876 edition, states, "Vom gleichen Verfasser erschien bei uns: Ein neues Wintermärchen." A poem is *Knittelvers*, *Daniel in der Löwengrube* reveals but little connection with the real Heine. Its Babylonian setting hardly disguises the author's intent to satirize imperial Germany's harsh measures against dissidents during the period of the *Kulturkampf*. Of relevance to our investigation is that the work constitutes a protest particularly against the government's prosecution of the dissenting press. In a prologue, the narrator renounces any poetic ambitions but implies that he is a journalist, and the remainder of the poem shows, with reference to Bismarck's frequent recourse to special legislation stifling any freedom of the press, how the pseudo-Biblical Daniel is incarcerated for violating these laws. Expert knowledge of the Bible and pronounced disbelief in its authority emerge as further characteristics of the author.

Of the numerous lawsuits Bismarck initiated against the press around 1875, none were more controversial than the ones against the tenaciously libertarian *Frankfurter Zeitung*, at a time when national conventions of German journalists and jurists debated the legal liabilities of the press.³⁰ Founded by Leopold Sonnemann in 1856, this newspaper vigorously

upheld Frankfurt's republican tradition even after this city's annexation by Prussia in 1866. Since 1868 it was the most important forum for the radical democrats of Southern Germany, who co-ordinated their political strategy with the socialist faction that in 1869 formed the Eisenach Party.³¹ Their voice, the *Volksstaat*, took almost its entire political content from the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, as Friedrich Engels stated in a letter to August Bebel.³² 1871-76 and 1878-84, Sonnemann was a member of the Reichstag, where he remained relentlessly opposed to Bismarck's policies. That Frankfurt in 1913 became the first German city to unveil a monument to Heine was in large measure due to the continuing liberalism of this paper,³³ which also sponsored repairs and upkeep of Heine's grave in Paris.³⁴

Among the editors of the *Frankfurter Zeitung* who were labelled *Reichsfeinde* and personally prosecuted in the 1870's, one has the profile accomodating the above-mentioned facets that characterize the author of the *Neues Wintermärchen*. Otto Hörth was born on November 24, 1842 as a tailor's son in Achern—the Black forest home town of Brecht's paternal ancestors,³⁵ located not far from where Erwin von Steinbach was born and Grimmelshausen died. Hörth abandoned his study of Catholic theology in favor of history, literature, and modern languages, to become a journalist in 1866. From Munich he wrote anticlerical essays on the Old Catholic movement for the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, before joining its editorial staff in March of 1872. Here his successive responsibilities included the sections on Southern German affairs, *feuilleton*, and politics, until he was appointed to the board of directors in 1903. After his retirement he lived in Berlin, where he died on January 6, 1935.³⁶

In the period of the *Kulturkampf*, Hörth took a pronounced stand against Bismarck's policy.³⁷ On October 24, 1874, Hörth was charged with four separate violations of the press code, among them *Majestätsbeleidigung* and libel of Bismarck, and was eventually sentenced to a total of six months' imprisonment. His arrest came early on a Sunday morning, even before the sentence was legally in effect, and

raised a storm of indignation.³⁸ These circumstances together with various legalistic technicalities that cannot be entered into here are satirically reflected in *Daniel in der Löwengrube*, which was also included in the index of prohibited books³⁹ and distributed in the United States.⁴⁰

A number of shorter poems by Hörth testify to his literary talent and his political orientation. "Meister Erwin's Heerschau" (written at Achern on August 10, 1870)⁴¹ shows that Hörth, like other liberals, was at least temporarily affected by the wave of patriotic enthusiasm that swept the German lands at the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War. The poem is formally significant in that it treats the revenent motif in a *Kontrafaktur* of a famous 19th-century poem (Zedlitz's "Nächtliche Heerschau")—both essential features of the *Neues Wintermärchen*. Echoes of this satire are found in Hörth's poem mourning the death of Herwegh on February 7, 1875:

Was tust du auch noch auf der Erde?
Die andern liessen alle dich
Und bückten, eine ganze Herde,
Vor ihrem neuen Götzen sich.
Das Volk in seines Denkens Kleinheit
Weiss nimmer, was es einst geliebt;
Vergessen ist, dass nach der Einheit
Es auch noch eine Freiheit gibt!⁴²

As representative of the Frankfurt democrats, Hörth attended Herwegh's provisional funeral in Baden,⁴³ and the necrologue he wrote for the *Frankfurter Zeitung* was reprinted by the *Volksstaat*.⁴⁴

Such veneration for Herwegh in republican and socialist circles is explained by his participation in the abortive Baden revolt and by his subsequent departure from a bombastic rhetorical style. Abandoning vague utopian ideas couched in pathos and hyperboles, his political poetry after 1848 bears the definite imprint of Heine's,⁴⁵ whom he apostrophized after reading the latter's *Romanzero* (1851):

Grüss den Aristophanes
Dort auf Asphodeloswiesen;
Ich hier oben will indess
Deinen Lorbeer fromm begiessen.⁴⁶

Like Feuerbach, Herwegh had come to consider satire the only poetic form appropriate for his time,⁴⁷ and, like Hörth, he directed it against Redwitz, Venedey, Döllinger, Lasker, and "Gottesfurcht und fromme Sitte."⁴⁸

Hörth's identification with the democratic demands of the 1848 Revolution is the theme of several poems commemorating it.⁴⁹ They were written for and declaimed in Frankfurt at anniversary gatherings of surviving left-wing revolutionaries and their ideological heirs in 1873 and 1898. Of these events and the 1923 anniversary in the Paulskirche, Hörth published a memorial volume in 1925.⁵⁰ Such lines as

Wohl steht die Form, doch kein lebend'ger Hauch
 Hat Geist und Seele mit hineingegossen;
 Wohl ragt das Haus, doch nur im Schlachtenrauch
 Hat blut'ger Kitt der Wände Ring geschlossen;
 Wohl prangt das deutsche Banner schwarz und rot,
 Doch ist das Gold zerrissen und begraben;—
 Was soll das Weiss? Was soll der bleiche Tod?
 Wir wollen Gold, das Gold der Freiheit Haben!⁵¹

and

Wir wollen rastlos kämpfen für das Licht,
 Den Volksgeist lösen von dem Gangelbände,
 Damit er selbstbewusst die Ketten bricht
 Und frei und stolz kann schreiten durch die Lande!
 Wir wollen von Geschlechte zu Geschlecht
 Den Idealen schaffen feste Horte
 Und wollen Menschenliebe, Menschenrecht
 Durch Taten feiern, nicht allein durch Worte!⁵²

which were recited at these occasions are recapitulations of ideas expressed with far less rhetorical restraint in the *Neues Wintermärchen*.

Thus, in light of the philological, biographical, and literary evidence presented, credit for the *Neues Wintermärchen* is due not to Karl Heinzen but to Heine II alias Otto Hörth.

NOTES

1 Boston, Expedition des Pionier, 1872.

2 Carl Wittke, *Against the Current. The Life of Karl Heinzen (1809-80)* (Chicago, [1945]), p. 224.

3 E.g., the *Lasall'sche Westentaschenzeitung* (Berlin, 1874-75) and the *Volksstaatskalender* (Leipzig, 1873-1875). Cf. Reinhard Höhn, *Die vaterlandslosen Gesellen. Der Sozialismus im Licht der preussischen Polizei 1874-1914*, vol. 1 (Köln and Opladen, 1964), p. 272.

4 Richard Schuster, *Die Social-Demokratie. Nach ihrem Wesen und ihrer Agitation quellenmässig dargestellt* (Stuttgart, 1875), p. 45.

5 August Bebel, *Aus meinen Leben* (Stuttgart, 1910-14), vol. 3, p. 240.

6 Otto Atzrott, *Sozialdemokratische Druckschriften und Vereine verboten auf Grund des Reichsgesetzes gegen die gemeingefährlichen Bestrebungen vom 21. Oktober 1878* (Berlin, 1886-88), Nos. 905-907, 1210.

7 Hans Kaufmann, *Politisches Gedicht und klassische Dichtung. Heinrich Heine. Deutschland. Ein Wintermärchen* (Berlin, 1959), p. 5.

8 Karl Kautsky, *Erinnerungen und Erörterungen*, ed. Benedikt Kautsky (S'Gravenhage [1960]), p. 299, about the appeal of the *Volksstaat* in the early 1870's: "Allerdings, Lyrik wirkte gewaltig auf die Genossen ein, von denen viele Sangesbrüder waren. Freiligrath, Herwegh, namentlich aber Heine [italics mine] wurden von ihnen verehrt, doch für Romane und Erzählungen hatten die meisten der männlichen Arbeiter nichts übrig, in der Regel fehlte es ihnen an Zeit und Ruhe, derartiges Zeug zu lesen."

9 From his poem "Heinrich Heine," in *Stimmen der Freiheit. Blütenlese der besten Schöpfungen unserer Arbeiter- und Volksdichter*, ed. Konrad Beisswanger. Fourth ed. (Nürnberg, 1914), p. 239.

10 Herbert Steiner, "Die Gebrüder Scheu," *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte*, vols. 6/7 (1966-67), p. 482.

11 *Sozialdemokratische Lieder und Deklamationen*. Third ed. (Zürich, 1974), pp. 59-60. *Arbeiter-Liederbuch. Gedichte und Lieder freisinniger und besonders sozialdemokratischer Tendenz* (Chicago, [1871]), pp. 38-39. Cf. also Wilhelm Bracke, *Nieder mit den Sozialdemokraten!* Sozialdemokratische Bibliothek, vol. 28 (London, 1889).

12 "Aus Heine's Deutschland — Ein Wintermärchen," *Der Volksstaat*, No. 42 (May 24, 1871). Cf. also No. 19 (March 5, 1870) and No. 34 (April 26, 1873).

13 "Politische Uebersicht," *Der Volksstaat*, No. 127 (Dec. 21, 1873). "Die Landfrage vor dem preussischen Abgeordnetenhaus," *Der Volksstaat*, No. 20 (Feb. 19, 1875).

14 *Protokoll über den fünften Congress der Sozial-demokratischen Arbeiterpartei abgehalten zu Eisenach... 1873* (Leipzig, 1873), p. 29.

15 *Protokoll... 1873*, p. 36.

16 "Deutsche Justiz," No. 48 (June 15, 1872). "Politische Uebersicht," No. 50 (June 20, 1872). "Politische Uebersicht," No. 61 (July 31, 1872). "Correspondenzen," No. 45 (June 4, 1873). "Auch ein Gedenktag," No. 84 (July 22, 1874). "Politische Uebersicht. Aus dem Reich der Gottesfurcht und frommen Sitte," No. 103 (Sept. 4, 1874). "Correspondenzen," No. 17 (Feb. 12, 1875).

17 Schuster, p. 44.

18 *Ibid*, p. 164.

19 "Deutsche Poesie in den Vereinigten Staaten," *Die Gegenwart*, vol. 1 (1872), pp. 234-237.

- 20 *Ibid*, p. 235.
- 21 *Ibid*, p. 237.
- 22 "Ueber Grobheit," *Die Gegenwart*, vol. 1 (1872), p. 350.
- 23 "Vom Plötzensee," *Die Gegenwart*, vol. 7 (1875), p. 202.
- 24 p. 279.
- 25 *Deutsche Demokraten in Amerika. Die Achtundvierziger und ihre Schriften* (Göttingen, 1958), p. 114.
- 26 Leopold Hirschberg, *Der Taschengoedeke*. dtv No. 4030 (München, 1961), vol. 1, p. 207. Don H. Tolzmann, *German-Americana: A Bibliography* (Metuchen, N.J., 1975), p. 141. Library of Congress Catalog of Printed Cards, vol. 66 (Ann Arbor, 1943), p. 194. *The National Union Catalog. Pre-1956 Imprints*, vol. 239 (Chicago and London, 1972), p. 139. Goedeke's *Grundriss*. Second ed., vol. 14 (Berlin, 1959), pp. 261, 263 does not indicate the author.
- 27 Carl Wittke, "Karl Heinzen's Literary Ambitions," *Monatshefte*, vol. 37 (1945), pp. 97-98.
- 28 Carl Julius Weber, *Deutschland, oder Briefe eines in Deutschland reisenden Deutschen*. Second ed. (Stuttgart, 1834), vol. 1, p. 407. Cf. also *Badisches Sagenbuch*, ed. August Schnezler (Carlsruhe, 1846), vol. 2, pp. 256, 266.
- 29 Ernst Ochs, *Badisches Wörterbuch* (Lahr, 1925 ff.), vol. 2, p. 163.
- 30 *Europäischer Geschichtskalender*, vol. 16, ed. H. Schulthess (Nördlingen, 1876), p. 159.
- 31 Roger Morgan, *The German Social Democrats and the First International 1864-1872* (Cambridge, 1965), pp. 12-13.
- 32 March 18, 1875. Cf. *August Bebel's Briefwechsel mit Friedrich Engels*, ed. Werner Blumenberg. Quellen und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der deutschen und österreichischen Arbeiterbewegung, vol. 6 (The Hague, 1965), p. 28.
- 33 *Geschichte der Frankfurter Zeitung*. Volksausgabe (Frankfurt a.M., 1911), p. 1034.
- 34 *Ibid*, p. 1038. Franz Mehring, who had been a contributor to the journal (pp. 155, 263), in 1911 edited Heine's works for the German working class.
- 35 "Ich, Bertolt Brecht, bin aus den schwarzen Wäldern," *Die Zeit*, No. 35 (Aug. 27, 1976), p. 16.
- 36 These biographical details are based on *Geschichte der Frankfurter Zeitung*, p. 151, supplemented with information received from the Standesamt Berlin-Charlottenburg (letter of May 3, 1977).
- 37 According to Johannes B. Kissling, *Geschichte des Kulturkampfes im Deutschen Reiche* (Freiburg, 1911-16), vol. 3, p. 193, Hörth published a tract entitled *Der Kulturkampf* (Frankfurt, 1875). I have not been able to locate a copy of this.
- 38 *Geschichte der Frankfurter Zeitung*, pp. 392-397.
- 39 Atzrott, Nos. 156, 906, 1019.
- 40 "Verzeichniss von sozialistischen Schriften, zu haben bei Gebrüder Herminghaus," *Volksstimme des Westens*, St. Louis (July 15, 1878).
- 41 *Lieder zu Schutz und Trutz. Gaben deutscher Dichter aus der Zeit des Krieges in den Jahren 1870 und 1871*, ed. Franz Lipperheide (Berlin [1871]), vol. 3, pp. 25-26.

42 Published in the *Frankfurter Latern* on April 10, 1875. Cf. *Der Freiheit eine Gasse. Aus dem Leben und Werk Georg Herweghs*, ed. Bruno Kaiser (Berlin, 1948), pp. 395-396, 425.

43 Otto Hörth, "Von Herwegh's Grab," *Frankfurter Zeitung. Morgenblatt*, No. 104 (April 14, 1875).

44 "† George Herwegh," No. 43 (April 16, 1875).

45 Victor Fleury, *Le poète Georges Herwegh (1817-1875)* (diss. Paris, 1911), pp. 237-240. Alexander Schweickert, *Heinrich Heines Einflüsse auf die deutsche Lyrik 1830-1900*. Abhandlungen zur Kunst-, Musik- und Literaturwissenschaft, vol. 37 (Bonn, 1969), pp. 39-41.

46 George Herwegh, *Neue Gedichte. Herausgegeben nach seinem Tode* (Zürich, 1877), pp. 124, 290.

47 Adolf Trampe, *George Herwegh. Sein Leben und sein Schaffen*. Diss. Münster, 1909 (Borna-Leipzig, 1910), p. 60.

48 Herwegh, pp. 65, 90, 125, 218, 224, 241. Emma Herwegh, his widow, reported: "Nationalliberale und Altkatholiken waren in seinen Augen nichts Anderes, als eine Art politischer und religiöser Phyloxera, gegen die bis jetzt leider noch kein Vertilgungsmittel gefunden ist." — "Eine Erinnerung an Georg Herwegh," *Der Volksstaat*, No. 73 (June 30, 1875).

49 *Geschichte der Frankfurter Zeitung*, pp. 309, 858. Hörth also wrote a poetic prologue for the Frankfurt celebration of the first U.S. centennial (*ibid*, p. 310).

50 *Gedenkfeiern 1873/1898/1923*. Die Paulskirche. Eine Schriftenfolge (Frankfurt a.M., 1925).

51 *Ibid*, p. 12.

52 *Ibid*, p. 44.

AM FENSTER

*Da steht er
sonnendurchwirkt,
Augusthimmel New Jerseys.
Lichtblaue Folie
über Trauerweiden
schneidet Silberblätter aufs Wasser.
Salzgeruch Meer in die Bucht.
Der Sommer ruht still,
bevor er zur Neige geht.*

Gert Niers
Brick Town, N.J.
