

ADOLF DOUAI'S LITERARY ACTIVITIES*

By

GERHARD K. FRIESEN

Wilfred Laurier University

*Es zieht ein Volk im Wüstensand
Weit über endlos dürre Flächen,
Und sehnt sich nach dem grünen Strand
Und schmachtet nach den Wäasserbachen.*

*Sie ziehn nach dem gelobten Land,
Und manchmal will die Schaar ermatten,
Da sie von Staub und Sonnenbrand
Unsäglich schon zu dulden hatten.*

* * *

*Noch ziehst du fort im Wüstensand,
Mein Volk! Dein Weg ist ohne Schranke—
Noch liegt der Freiheit heil'ges Land
Fern, fern—untröstlicher Gedanke!*

(Francisca German, "Fata Morgana.")

If the dearth of published data on Adolf Douai is a reliable indicator, I may presume that even German-American scholars are not very informed about the life and work of a man that has been called one of the most brilliant of the German political refugees in America,¹ the most gifted and capable propagator of socialism in 19th-century America,² as well as one of the outstanding pedagogues among the 48ers.³ A few scant (and frequently faulty) biographical sketches⁴ cannot mitigate his absence from such standard sources as the *ADB*, *NDB*, *Appelton's*, *DAB*, and the *Handbook of Texas*. Within the pragmatic limits of its presentation, this paper proposes to offer a biographical account followed by a brief examination of Douai's novel *Fata Morgana*, in the awareness that this can constitute merely a limited aspect of his sustained

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and voluminous contributions to German-American literature.

Karl Daniel Adolf Douai⁵ was born on February 22, 1819 in Altenburg as the son of a descendant of a family of French *Réfugiés*. His father was an indigent school teacher who had to supplement a notoriously meager income by embroidering women's shawls. Thus Adolf had to earn his own financial support while attending the local *Gymnasium* and (1838-41) the universities of Jena and Leipzig. In preparation for a teaching career he studied officially what he later called "die Theologie des Kandidaten-Examens" and, autodidactically, philosophy from Kant to Hegel. Lack of funds forced him to abandon his plans for habilitation in Jena, and he accepted a position as private tutor in Russia. In Dorpat he obtained his doctorate and qualified for the Russian civil service. After teaching five years in Russia, he returned, however, to his native city in 1845, where he established a private *Realschule* in 1847 and founded local associations and discussion groups for workers and young members of the bourgeoisie, which constituted themselves throughout Germany of the *Vormärz* as the forerunners of national political parties. In the Revolution of 1848, Dounai proved himself an outspoken and active leader. He was elected into the *Reformlandtag* of Sachsen-Altenburg, and a revolutionary pamphlet of his was potent enough to terrify the authorities as late as 1884!⁶ Several law suits for treason and violation of the press laws incurred him prison sentences totalling one year and forced the closing of his school. He continued to express his ideas on social reforms and republicanism as *Sprecher* of a *Freie Gemeinde*,⁷ one of numerous such organizations flourishing, under the influence of Gustav Adolf Wisclicenus, among the artisans of Saxon and Thuringian principalities, until increasing government restrictions stifled them including the eight founded by Douai. Like many 48ers, he saw no alternative to emigration. In 1852 he left for the United States, accompanied by four children, his wife, a née Baroness von Beust, and, ironically, closely related to the Saxon minister of education and public worship,

Friedrich Ferdinand von Beust, who had been instrumental in crushing the 1849 uprisings.

For the voyage from Bremen to Galveston, Douai chartered the ship *Hohenstaufen* to accommodate his family and more than a hundred friends and followers. Their highflying plans concerning a Texan colony he regarded with healthy skepticism, foreseeing that most would quickly disperse upon arrival in the U.S. After an unsuccessful attempt to establish a school in New Braunfels (hampered by the attitude of a largely Catholic population and an attack of cholera) Douai in July of 1853 began publication of the *San Antonio Zeitung*, which soon contained, according to Frederick Law Olmsted, more new, important, and interesting information than all other Texas newspapers.⁸ True to his beliefs, Douai began to agitate among the Germans⁹ of West Texas to dissociate themselves from slavery as an immoral institution. When Douai's paper published a relatively mild resolution of the *Sängerfest*¹⁰ in San Antonio (May 14, 1854) condemning slavery in principle,¹¹ he provoked angry reactions from the American pro-slavery faction and some fearful members of the German community. Most inopportune was an article in Karl Heinzen's *Pionier*, criticizing Douai's public stance on slavery as too moderate and contrasting it with a private letter, in which Douai had explained his concept of a *gradual*, step-by-step intensification of abolitionist propaganda in West Texas. Heinzen's article compelled Douai to confirm the essentially abolitionist design of his paper in December of 1854.¹² This declaration made Douai an easy target of the growing Know-Nothing Party, cost him half of his subscribers, caused a substantial loss in advertising revenue, and within two years brought about the demise of his weekly newspaper. Olmsted, who in early 1854 accompanied Douai on a horse-back excursion to the north of San Antonio,¹³ describes the uneasy atmosphere surrounding Douai's hopeless position in San Antonio:

During this singular struggle, threats of the application of Lynch law were incessant on the part of the Americans. The American journals even advocated it, the "*State Times*" of Austin

going so far as to indicate the mode of punishment, by drowning. The locality was favorable, to the last degree, for this mode of disposing of opposition. The respect for law is of the weakest, and the tribe of border-idlers, always ready for an excitement, has its very headquarters in San Antonio. In fact, the danger was imminent, and only averted by the personal pluck of the editor, and the determination on the part of the Germans, without regard to party, to resist force by force, and to stand by their countryman, bullet for bullet, in a collision of races where the laws were on their side.

The editor has since become a resident of Boston. He has some amusing details of the various means brought to bear upon his obstinacy. While at work at his press one morning, he was interrupted by a knock, which introduced a six-foot citizen of the region, holding in his hand a heavy stick, and accompanied by a friend.

"Are you the editor of this German newspaper?" he asked.

"Yes, sir."

"You're an abolitionist, are you?"

"Yes, sir."

Then came a pause, after which the inquiry—

"What do you mean by an abolitionist?"

The editor very briefly explained.

Another pause followed, after which the citizen announced that he would consult with his friend a moment outside. He shortly reentered, saying:

"Well, sir, we've concluded that you are a God damn'd abolitionist, and that such a scoundrel as you are ought to be thrashed out of the town."

"Very well, sir. Try it."

A third pause ensued, to terminate which, the editor opened the door, whereupon the individuals walked out.

The same persons hovered about for some days, not coming, however, nearer than the door-yard, and at length became such a nuisance that he was forced to obtain the services of a friend, to explain in a quiet way his precise opinions; upon which they made a bluff apology, and acknowledged him to be not so bad a fellow, after all. Once, an offered blow produced a blow in return, which was followed by a profuse discharge of apologies from the floor, further explanations not being required. In fact, a little muscle is not a bad adjunct to a martyr who is willing to prolong his misery.

The obnoxious premises were several times reconnoitered by armed gangs, once by a company sent, in order to help to end the matter, from the east; but a larger force was always at once found quietly awaiting the reconnoiterers, who thereupon retired. The reputation of the city being at stake, and having nothing to lose, the Americans were by no means unanimous in approving extreme measures.¹⁴

In 1866 Douai was sent a journal whose first item read, "Owned and set by negroes, this paper is printed on the same press with which Dr. Adolf Douai first fought for the emancipation of negroes in Texas. May this be the thanks of the colored race: that they hold in remembrance his efforts on behalf of their liberty."¹⁵

In 1856 Douai moved to Boston (then known as the American Athens), where he taught at the famous New England Institute for the Blind and assisted Dr. Samuel Gridley Howe in the rehabilitation of mentally retarded pupils. Douai also founded a German workingmen's association and organized a German school with a kindergarten, the first in Boston and one of the first in America. Like many 48ers, Douai enthusiastically supported the young Republican Party as the one "which does not measure civil rights by place of birth, or human rights by color of skin."¹⁶ Douai campaigned for it among the Germans of New England and New York in 1856 as well as 1860, and he attended as one of the forty-two German-born delegates (and acting as their secretary) the Chicago national convention that nominated Lincoln for president. When in his speech commemorating the recent death of Alexander von Humboldt (May 6, 1859) Douai praised the great scientist's atheism, he became *persona non grata* in Boston and assumed the position of director at the newly founded Hoboken Academy. Here he was forced to resign in 1866 because of atheistic views, and he established his own school in New York which he turned over to his sister in 1871, when he accepted the directorship of the Green Street School in Newark, N.J., where he served until 1876.

Douai was an executive member of the *Freie Gemeinde* founded 1865 in Hoboken,¹⁷ and he figured prominently in

the creation of a national *Bund der Freidenker* in New York a year later. In the years after the Civil War, Douai turned his attention to the problems of “white slavery,” and his long cherished ideas on social reform were reinforced by a careful study of Marx’s *Das Kapital*. Douai’s increasing identification with socialism as an international movement was, in all probability, also due to the influence of the prominent Marxist 48er Friedrich Adolf Sorge, a staff member of the Hoboken Academy. As editor of several New York journals and contributor to many others in the remaining two decades of his life, Douai saw his main role in the popularization of scientific socialism. Although he tried unsuccessfully to unite the ever diminishing number of true German radicals with the growing American labor movement,¹⁸ he remained a steadfast initiator and untiring propagator of progressive ideas in the United States. In 1869 the fifty-year-old Douai, father of ten children,¹⁹ could find little consolation but much pride in the fact that he had five times in the past sacrificed his and his family’s security and wellbeing for the sake of his convictions.²⁰ In 1883 (five years before his death on January 21, 1888), Douai appeared before the Senate Committee on Education and Labor as a representative of the Socialistic Labor Party of the United States.²¹ The aggressive and alert Committee members, who had easily refuted arguments by earlier witnesses (including Samuel Gompers), were evidently impressed by Douai’s carefully prepared presentation of his views on political economy. His unequivocal and honest testimony compares very favorably indeed with the far more famous Marxist Bertolt Brecht’s cautious performance before a similar committee in 1947 and his hasty departure for Europe on the following day.

Douai’s publications (and I am certain that there must be more than the two dozen books and articles now known to me) are too numerous to mention here by title, let alone to describe in detail. Suffice it to say that, broadly speaking, they can be divided into three categories: literary, pedagogical, and political writings—all of which are expressions of his convictions that enlightened education and productive work can

bring about liberty and truth as the premises of progress and happiness in human life on earth.

Let us now look at his novel *Fata Morgana* as a representative but neglected sample²² of Douai's literary talent.

On April 27, 1858, a jury consisting of Bertha Behrens,²³ Carl Ludwig Bernays,²⁴ and Friedrich Münch²⁵ awarded Douai's *Fata Morgana* first prize in a competition²⁶ sponsored by the St. Louis *Anzeiger des Westens*, then edited by Heinrich Börnstein, himself a novelist of some consequence.²⁷ As "ein Kunstwerk, durch welches die deutsch-amerikanische Literatur eine dankenswerthe Bereicherung erhält und welches auch in der alten Heimath Anerkennung finden dürfte,"²⁸ the novel was serialized by the *Salon*, Sunday supplement of the *Anzeiger*, and, in the following year, published by the ever enterprising Börnstein as a book.²⁹ These facts alone should make us consider this work more carefully.

Its action can be briefly summarized. Nine of the ten chapters comprising the novel have their setting in December 1856, in an area roughly defined by the triangle formed by the Mexican cities Vera Cruz, Tulancingo, and Tusan. A series of chance encounters brings together the following Germans: Helfenstein, a twenty-three-year old enthusiast who has left the U.S. to investigate the feasibility of an ideal German *Musterkolonie* on Mexican soil; Ohlsen, twice as old, a former officer and Latin farmer whose bitter experiences in Germany and the U.S. have so depressed him that he no longer perceives any purpose in life; Berg, a former professor, who has exchanged his frustrations as an intellectual radical in the U.S. for a peaceful existence as a farmer with his wife and child in the Mexican wilderness; Prüfer, a former Jesuit, now active as a roaming scientist-explorer and dedicated to destroying the universal web of Macchiavellian schemes of his former superiors; and a group of recent immigrants from Germany composed of five men, five women, and five children. Their joint search for a location suitable for a progressive German settlement is interrupted when the reactionary Mexican clergy inspires another *pronunciamento* against the faltering

republican government. In spite of Mexico's apparent political instability, two parents with their five children and a miner from Saxony choose to enter the service of a *haciendero*. Ohlsen's wife and son are found to have been abducted from his Illinois farm to Mexico, where the Jesuits have persuaded her to enter a convent in Tulancingo, in order that they might appropriate her share of a sizeable inheritance in Austria. After liberating Ohlsen's wife and son, the group eludes the wrath of the populace incited by the clergy by sailing for New Orleans. On this voyage they establish an association that will temporarily settle in the U.S. and return to Mexico when the time is more favorable to their high-minded purposes. The final chapter shows them, eight months later, prospering in a Missouri community near the Kansas border, where they are engaged in a campaign for the underdog Republican Party's candidate in the 1857 gubernatorial election. When Prüfer is assassinated in an act of reprisal by Jesuit agents, he is mourned as a great man who sacrificed himself for the sake of enlightenment and progress.

What plot there is relies on such timeworn narrative devices as chance meetings, abduction and retrieval, intrigue, and murder. What makes Douai's *Fata Morgana* noteworthy, however, is certainly not its arbitrary chain of events linked by coincidence. It is remarkable, first of all, because it offers an admirably accurate picture of contemporary Mexico: its landscape (with exceedingly careful descriptions of the vegetation³⁰) and its climate, as the forces that have shaped its history and its people, and its political prospects. Like Sealsfield, whom he gently satirizes in one instance (95), Douai repeatedly portrays the paradisaical nature of the land; but unlike *Der Virey* and *Süden und Norden*, *Fata Morgana* also views Mexico in the perspective of German immigration at a time when the Mexican authorities were beginning to encourage it.³¹ Douai's evaluation results in an emphatic warning against the inevitable failure of *individual* German efforts to civilize a country shown to be inhabited by degenerate, vegetating natives and decadent descendants of

their Spanish conquerors. For organized massive immigration to remedy Mexico's present retardation by at least fifty years (232), government initiative is wanting and private resources are insufficient.

Apart from this, *Fata Morgana* is a novel of ideas. The motto on its title page "Was ist des Deutschen Vaterland?" signals its intention to present an updated answer to Ernst Moritz Arndt's question of 1813. For German intellectuals of 1848, this cruel parody by Ludwig Eichrodt rang all too true:

Sein Vaterland ist nicht das Land—
Sein Vaterland ist der Verstand;
Sein Vaterland ist die Natur,
Die Wissenschaft, die Literatur!

. . .

Das soll es sein?
Horch! Die Kanonen donnern drein.³²

For many Germans, as for Douai, in the years after 1848, the only valid answer to Arndt's rhetorical question was emigration. From the vantage point of 1856, the countries offering the greatest potential for the fulfillment of German socio-political ideals and for the preservation of German national identity appear to be Mexico and Brazil—provided that Germans could emigrate there in sufficiently large numbers to gain political power and attract more and more compatriots. More or less utopian schemes to achieve this in Illinois, Missouri, Wisconsin, and Texas had all failed, and were destined to remain modest experiments from the start, since the U.S. government refused to grant any immigrant element special prerogatives in settling any considerable portion of land. Friedrich Münch, one of the founders of Hermann in Missouri, concluded resignedly that it was impossible to create a kind of free state in Germany which one could transplant to America.

According to Douai, the U.S. (and let us remember that he is writing his novel soon after his unfortunate experiences in Texas) can no longer be considered a New World, but a

caricature of the Old (233). Germans have arrived here too late to be of decisive influence in shaping the already fixed Anglo-American *Volkscharakter*. While the United States are not a true democracy, the extreme notion of equality is giving rise to gradual progress by evolution (something which in Europe could only be achieved by revolution). Progress is evident in the education and emancipation of American women (121 ff.). Signs of further improvements are strong voices favoring abolitionism and the advent of a vigorous Republican Party. By no longer behaving like *Stimmvieh*, Germans are gaining an important role in American politics and may even determine the outcome of the presidential elections in 1860.

What the novel advocates, then, is that Germans seek a temporary refuge in the United States and by political participation upgrade their image while gaining the financial resources and the American approval necessary for future large-scale settlement of Mexico. Here 10,000 dedicated Germans under capable leadership could decisively shape the future of a state now at the mercy of greed and obscurantism. Such a positive prospect would be the reversal of the self-annihilating individualism of previous German immigrants, “welche blos hinkamen, um sich ihres Lebens zu freuen, Geld zu machen und spurlos im Meere einer fremden Nationalität unterzugehen” (281). The colonial association as the fictitious nucleus for this endeavor constitutes a kind of secularized Harmony Society. An embodiment of radical ideas Douai himself propagated (anti-clericalism, abolitionism, socialism, and rationalism), it is organized on co-operative economic principles as they had evolved among the *Freie Gemeinden* in Saxony.³³ Friendship, marriage, philosophical discussions, and tasteful musical offerings express its social, intellectual, and aesthetic harmony; forgiveness, healing, trust, conviviality, and joy flourish in this cultured humanitarian atmosphere. The association’s mission (after much debate on the issues of genocide, political assassination, and terrorism) is to be carried out peacefully, overcoming the atavistic animal forces

which Douai sees painfully prevalent in the human struggle for existence (127, 284).³⁴

Douai's *Fata Morgana* thus reveals itself as a tableau of mid-19th-century Mexico, as well as a tendentious political tract propagandizing the aims of the emerging Republican Party, and a utopian novel in the tradition of *Wilhelm Meister* (to which Helfenstein's concept of a *Vernunft- und Erziehungsstaat* is expressly related [12]).

This brief exposé has to forgo analysis of a number of other fascinating facets of *Fata Morgana*, such as the role of Jesuitism and overpopulation; Douai's tribute to David Friedrich Strauss, Friedrich Fröbel, and G. A. Wislicenus; his anticipation of Darwinian ideas; his racial views and character typology; his dialectical concept of history; and his sources on contemporary Mexico. All of these topics I intend to include in a forthcoming monograph on Douai.

Allow me to conclude my cursory comments by expressing the hope that I may have re-awakened some interest in Adolf Douai's contribution to German-American literature, and that the time is not too distant which he foresaw when he wrote about his writings: "Diese Arbeiten werden wohl noch einmal gewürdigt werden."³⁵

NOTES

1 Albert Bernhardt Faust, *The German Element in the United States* (Boston and New York, [1909]), vol. 2, 192-193.

2 A. Sartorius von Waltershausen, *Der moderne Socialismus in den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika* (Berlin, 1890), p. 43.

3 Carl Wittke, *Refugees of the Revolution. The German Forty-Eighters in America* (Philadelphia, 1952), p. 301.

4 Franz Brümmer, *Lexikon der deutschen Dichter und Prosaisten vom Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts bis zur Gegenwart* (Leipzig, [1913]), II, 52-53.

John R. Commons et. al., *History of Labour in the United States*. Eighth Printing (New York, 1958), vol. 2, 224.

Eitel Wolf Dobert, *Deutsche Demokraten in Amerika. Die Achtundvierziger und ihre Schriften* (Göttingen, 1958), pp. 61-63.

William Frederic Kamman, *Socialism in German American Literature*. Americana Germanica, vol. 24 (Philadelphia, 1917), pp. 44-45.

Selig Perlman, "Adolf Douai" in *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, vol. 5 (New York, 1956), 221.

Hermann Schlüter, *Die Internationale in Amerika. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Arbeiter-Bewegung in den Vereinigten Staaten* (Chicago, 1918), pp. 98-102.

A. E. Zucker, ed., *The Forty-Eighters. Political Refugees of the German Revolution of 1848* (New York, 1950), pp. 288-289. A German translation of this is found in the Toronto journal *Kontakt*, vol. 4, No. 3 (May 1971), 10. This is the only Communist mention of Douai which I have been able to locate.

5 This account is based on Douai's autobiography published posthumously by the *Wochenblatt der N.Y. Volkszeitung*, vol. 11, no. 4 (Jan. 28, 1888), 1, and on his article "Eine Seereise und eine Auswanderung," *Die Neue Welt*, vol. 3 (1878), 517-518, 529-530.

6 *Volkskatechismus der Altenburger Republikaner von 1848*. Von. Dr. Douai—Altenburg. Chur, (n.d.).

Cf. Otto Atzrott, *Sozialdemokratische Druckschriften und Vereine verboten auf Grund des Reichsgesetzes gegen die gemeingefährlichen Bestrebungen der Sozialdemokratie vom 21. Oktober 1878*. (Berlin, 1886), p. 70.

Douai's revolutionary zeal is, however, overestimated when it is claimed by the *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society for 1928* (p. 159) that he took part in the Revolution of 1830.

7 This otherwise unknown aspect of Douai's career is documented in *Todte und Lebende. Erinnerungen von Carlos von Gagern* (Berlin, 1884), II, 266. Douai had renounced all mysticism inherent in Christianity in favor of man's search for truth as early as his tract *Die Erlangung des Heils* (Leipzig, 1839).

8 Rudolph Leopold Biesele, *The History of the German Element in Texas 1831-1861* (Austin, 1930), p. 225.

9 Douai considered it his duty to re-educate the inherently apolitical settlers recruited by the *Adelsverein* precisely for their proven obedience (ex-soldiers) and loyalty to the authorities. Cf. *Heinzen, wie er ist* (New York, 1869), p. 2. This is verified in Olmsted's *Journey Through Texas* (New York, 1857), p. 431, where the Germans are characterized: "quiet, and engrossed in their own business, by nature law-abiding and patient, submit to be governed with little murmuring." As Olmsted also shows, there were highly educated German expatriates ("Latin farmers") in the vicinity of San Antonio, especially in the Guadalupe valley (pp. 191-200), but these were in the minority.

10 Douai directed the San Antonio *Gesangverein* and was also a composer in his own right. Cf. his "Lied der pennsylvanischen Bergleute," *Die Neue Welt*, vol. 1 (1876), 332. Also Wolfgang Friedrich (ed.), *Im Klassenkampf. Deutsche revolutionäre Lieder und Gedichte aus der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Halle, 1962), p. 188.

11 "Die Sklaverei ist ein Uebel, dessen endliche Beseitigung, den Grundsätzen der Demokratie gemäss, nothwendig ist; da sie aber nur einzelne Staaten betrifft, so fordern wir: Dass die Bundesregierung sich aller Einmischung in Sachen der Sklaverei enthalte; dass aber, wenn ein einzelner Staat die Beseitigung dieses Uebels beschliesst, alsdann zur Ausführung dieses Beschlusses die Bundeshülfe in Anspruch genommen

werden kann." Quoted in Frederick Law Olmsted, *A Journey Through Texas; or, A Saddle-Trip On the Southwestern Frontier; With a Statistical Appendix* (New York and London, 1857), p. 435.

12 The increasing friction, in spite of mutual assistance, and eventual rift between Heinzen and Douai (culminating in the latter's 1869 brochure *Heinzen, wie er ist*) would require a more detailed study than offered in Wittke's Heinzen biography *Against the Current* (Chicago, 1945). That the break between the two occurred in 1860, as claimed by Wittke (p. 134) seems questionable in light of von Gagern's statement (p. 272) that Douai personally introduced him to Heinzen when the latter visited New York in the fall of 1865.

13 Olmsted, p. 187.

14 *Ibid.*, pp. 437-439.

15 Translated from the *N. Y. Volkszeitung*. Cf. fn. 5. Douai reports that, even after leaving Texas, he continued to propagandize the formation of a separate and free state of West Texas. He succeeded in convincing the Kansas Emigrant Society of the feasibility of such an idea, and in 1859 the Society was ready to invest nearly one million dollars for this purpose. The eruption of the Civil War aborted the project.

16 Wittke, *Refugees*, p. 211.

17 Considered by F. Lilienthal the forerunner of the Sozialistische Arbeiterpartei. *Wochenblatt der N. Y. Volkszeitung*, vol. 11, no. 4 (Jan. 28, 1888).

18 *Heinzen, wie er ist*, pp. 14-15.

19 F. A. Sorge's letter to Wilhelm Liebknecht (Oct. 2, 1870) in the latter's *Briefwechsel mit deutschen Sozialdemokraten*, ed. Georg Eckert. *Quellen und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung*, N.S., vol. 4 (Assen, 1973), p. 345.

20 *Heinzen, wie er ist*, p. 6.

21 Henry Nash Smith (ed.), *Popular Culture and Industrialism 1865-1890* (New York, 1967), pp. 302-314.

22 Samuel Schroeder, *Amerika in der deutschen Dichtung von 1850 bis 1890* (diss. Heidelberg, 1934), p. 63, merely names it; Wittke, *Refugees*, p. 316, and Dobert, pp. 65-66 dismiss it with brief deprecations, and Zucker does not even mention it.

23 Then residing in St. Charles, Mo. Apart from the fact that she published a series of sketches entitled "Amerikanisches Ansiedlerleben" in Karl Gutzkow's *Unterhaltungen am häuslichen Herd*, 3. Folge, vol. 1 (1861), I have not been able to ascertain any further details about her.

24 Then a resident of St. Louis. A 48er, Bernays (1815-79) co-edited the *Anzeiger des Westens* with Börnstein. As an ardent supporter and friend of Lincoln, he was later appointed consul in Zürich (1861), and, one year later, Paymaster of the U.S. Army. Cf. Zucker, p. 278.

25 Then of Marthasville, Mo. One of the *Dreissiger*, Münch had been a Latin farmer in Missouri before becoming a journalist and novelist.

26 Such events were not uncommon at that time. Börnstein states that he had been one of the judges in a similar competition by the New York *Staats-Zeitung*, and another contest sponsored by the *Anzeiger* was won by Friedrich Wilhelm Arming's novel *Ein deutscher Baron* (St. Louis, 1860). Reinhold Solger's novel *Anton in*

Amerika—*Seitenstück zu Freytags Soll und Haben* (Bromberg, 1862) was the result of a competition held by the New York *Belletristisches Journal*.

27 Author of *Die Geheimnisse von St. Louis* (Cassel, 1851), translated into English by Friedrich Münch. Cf. the latter's *Gesammelte Schriften*. (St. Louis, 1902), p. 121.

28 Adolf Douai, *Fata Morgana* (St. Louis, 1858), p. iv. Subsequent page references given in parentheses apply to this edition.

29 Unfortunately riddled with careless typographical errors—as if to illustrate a description of the sad state of German printing in America found in the novel (271).

30 In accordance with Alexander von Humboldt's view that the flora was the most decisive feature in establishing the total character of a country. *Ansichten der Natur*, third ed. (Stuttgart and Tübingen, 1849), vol. 2, 20.

31 Cf. *Die Auswanderung nach Mexico mit Unterstützung durch die mexicanische Regierung zur Niederlassung Deutscher in der Republik Mexico, nach Verfügung vom 16. Februar 1854*. Leipzig, 1854.

32 Ludwig Eichrodt, *Lyrischer Kehraus* (Lahr, 1869), vol. 2, 152.

33 Cf. Gerhard Friesen, "Carlos von Gagern (etc.), "The German Contribution to the Building of the Americas, *Studies in Honor of Karl J. R. Arndt* (Hanover, N.H. 1977), pp. 244, 268.

34 The philosophical concept of eternal peace was a topic of considerable debate among the *Freie Gemeinden*. Cf. Ferdinand Campe, *Geschichte des Deutsch-katholicismus und freien Protestantismus in Deutschland und Nordamerika* (Leipzig, 1860), pp. 116-117.

35 *N. Y. Volkszeitung*; cf. fn. 5.

Anna Krommer

SEETOD

Der Tod angelte in den Gewässern.
Die Sonne stieg an den Himmel —
Opal — Perlmutter — Muschel im Sande.
Ein Ertrunkener
wurde Kadaver im Seereich der Fische.
Am seichten Ufer
ankerte ein Boot in Tang und Algen
bis die Morgenbrise
es aus dem Schilfrohr hob
zur letzten Fahrt in Horizonte . . .
