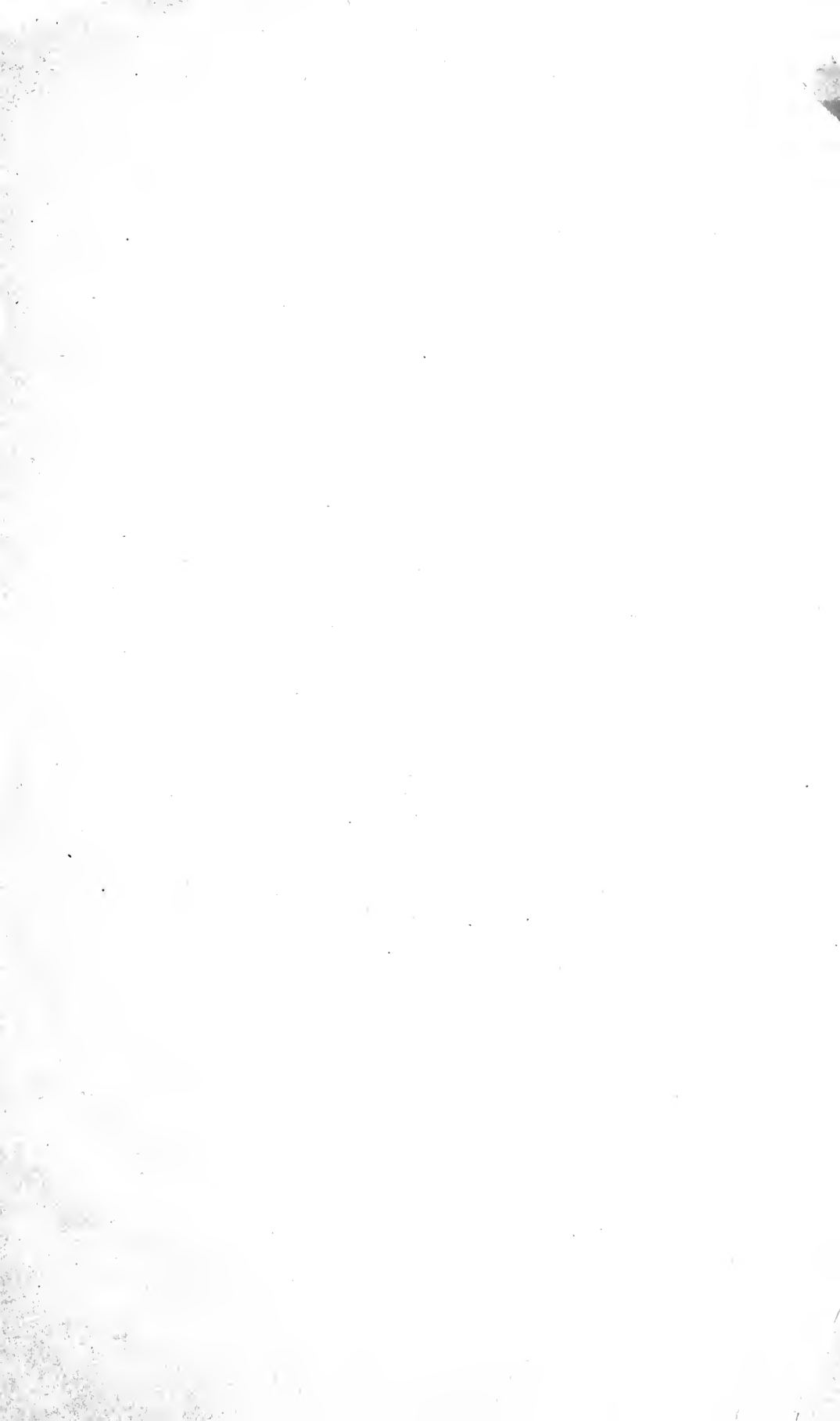


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German American Annals

CONTINUATION OF THE QUARTERLY

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EDITOR,

MARION DEXTER LEARNED,
University of Pennsylvania.

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS:

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Hamilton College.

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1916.

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CONTINUATION OF THE QUARTERLY

AMERICANA GERMANICA

New Series, Jan., Feb., March and April. Old Series,
Vol. XIV. Nos. 1 and 2. 1916. Vol. XVIII. Nos. 1 and 2.

THE GERMAN DRAMA IN ENGLISH ON THE NEW
YORK STAGE TO 1830.

BY

LOUIS CHARLES BAKER,
University of Pennsylvania.

(Concluded)

Summary. (Season 1824-1825.)

Plays at the Park Theatre.

Pizarro, August 31, 1824.

Of Age Tomorrow, October 22, November 20, 1824, May
17, 1825.

The Robbers, January 22, February 19, 1825.

Der Freischütz,^o March 2, 4, 7, 9, 11, 14, 16, 18, 21, April
4, 6, 13, 16, 26, May 7, 14, 20, June 2, 23, 29, 1825.

The Marriage of Figaro, January 5, 7, February 16, June 1,
1825.

Uncertain Plays.

Ella Rosenberg, August 30, 1824.

La Fayette, September 9, 1824, July 2, 1825.

The Wandering Boys, September 28, December 10, 1824.

The Blind Boy (?), November 22, 1824, March 26, May 13,
1825.

The Floating Beacon, November 25, 26, December 9, 15,
1824, January 1, March 19, April 1, 2, 12, May 24, June 25,
1825.

The Wheel of Fortune, December 17, 1824.

^o Indicates that the play appears for the first time this season.

4 *German Drama in English on New York Stage to 1830*

Alasco,^o December 16, 18, 1824, April 15, 21, 1825.

Swedish Patriotism, December 28, 1824, January 4, 1825.

Presumption, or Frankenstein,^o January 1, 4, 6, 11, 15, 1825.

Matrimony, January 8, February 1, March 8, 1825.

The Wood Daemon, April 9, 1825.

The Miller and His Men, May 30, July 2, 1825.

The West Indian, June 4, 1825.

Loxina of Toboilska, June 6, 1825.

The Devil's Bridge, June 20, 1825.

The summary for the Park shows five German plays and operas; the plays are not such a great factor in the summary as formerly, since the popularity of the opera caused them to be neglected. There are thirty performances in all, but of these twenty-four are of the two operas, *Der Freischutz* (20) and *The Marriage of Figaro* (4). *Pizarro* was seen but once, *The Robbers* twice and *Of Age Tomorrow* thrice.

Plays at the Chatham Theatre. (Season 1824-1825.)

Pizarro, October 4, 6, 8, 11, 15, 21, 27, November 15, 23, December 13, 1824, February 10, May 9, 26, June 13, 29, 1825.

The Robbers, October 20, 1824.

Of Age Tomorrow, November 20, 1824, January 8, 1825.

Lovers' Vows, December 6, 14, 1824, January 6, 1825.

Rugantino, June 13, 17, 1825.

The Stranger, June 15, 1825.

Uncertain Plays.

Ella Rosenberg, August 30, November 25, 1824, May 25, 1825.

The West Indian, September 1, 9, 28, 1824.

Adrian and Orilla, September 2, 1824.

The Devil's Bridge, September 11, November 3, 1824.

The Slave, September 14, 21, 1824, January 28, 1825.

Two Pages of Frederick the Great, September 29, October 1, 1824.

Raymond and Agnes, December 2, 8, 11, 20, 31, 1824, January 1, 1825.

^o Indicates that the play appears for the first time this season.

The Saw Mill,^o (?), November 29, December 1, 4, 31, 1824.
January 1, 1825.

The Blind Boy (?), December 22, 23, 1824.

Tekili, January 6, 15, May 31, 1825.

Adeline, January 10, 22, 1825.

The Wandering Boys, January 21, 31, February 23, June 10, 1825.

The Point of Honor, February 3, 1825.

The Forest of Rosenwald, February 5, 1825.

The Jew of Lubeck, February 9, 1825.

La Fayette, or *The Castle of Olmutz*, July 4, 1825.

Melmouth,^o February 4, 1825.

The Ruffian Boy, June 4, 6, 9, 11, 14, 1825.

The Chatham still retains its lead in the number of plays put on; six German plays being the total for the season. The number of performances is twenty-four. A marked revival of *Pizarro* with Wallack acting the leading rôle is the feature of the season. During the month of October it was given no less than seven times and at the opening of the remodelled Chatham Theatre May 9, 1825, *Pizarro* was selected as a play worthy to be performed on such an auspicious occasion. The *American Athenaeum* comments on the play:¹⁸⁷ "The tragedy of *Pizarro* is not equal to many of Sheridan's productions; he remodelled it from Kotzebue's play for a political purpose. He intended *Pizarro* to represent the ambitions of Napoleon and the Peruvians the British nation; the language of *Pizarro* is often inflated and *Pizarro's* character is unnatural; still there is (sic) many high wrought passages and striking situations and the play is well calculated to produce stage effect."

Lovers' Vows received a very favorable notice too in the *Ladies' Literary Gazette*.¹⁸⁸ "We can never witness any of the dramatic productions of Kotzebue without being charmed by his chaste and impressive style,—and perhaps in no play are there more beauties combined than in *Lovers' Vows*. The audience testified their delight by repeated applause and each performer

^o Indicates that the play appears for the first time this season.

¹⁸⁷ *American Athenaeum*, Vol. I, p. 31 (May 12, 1825).

¹⁸⁸ *New York Mirror and Ladies' Literary Gazette*, December 11, 1824.

seemed to vie with the other in giving proper effect to the part assigned to him."¹⁸⁹ Thus we see that Kotzebue still remains a favorite with American audiences and without assuming too much, it may be accepted as a fact that his plays and *The Robbers* were important in the formation and development of the tastes of the American theatre-going public.

In addition to the regular season, there are a few performances to note in the summer seasons at the Lafayette Circus and the Chatham Theatre.

Lafayette Circus.

How to Die for Love, August 4, 1825.

Ella Rosenberg, July 28, 1825.

The Floating Beacon, July 30, August 3, 5, 8, 20, 24, 27, 1825.

Chatham Theatre.

Of Age Tomorrow, July 12, 1825.

Rugantino, July 13, 1825.

Pizarro, August 16, 1825.

The Devil's Bridge, July 11, 15, 1825.

The Miller and His Men, August 17, 19, 1825.

These statistics do not add any new play, but simply increase the total number of performances by four.

In combining the totals for the two theatres during the regular season with those of the summer season, we find that there were nine different plays and operas given in fifty-eight performances. Five of the plays are by Kotzebue, one by Schiller, one an arrangement of Zschokke's *Abaellino*, and the two remaining ones are operas.

Season of 1825-1826.

(At the Park, August 29, 1825, to July 7, 1826.)

(Chatham, May 9, 1825, to July 17, 1826.)¹⁹⁰

(Lafayette Amphitheatre, July 4, 1825, to February, 1826.)

¹⁸⁹ The performance of December 6, 1824, is referred to.

¹⁹⁰ The Chatham Theatre opened May 9, 1825, closed July 23-August 15, 1825, then continued until February 18, 1826. It reopened March 20, 1826, and finished its season July 17, 1826. For the sake of convenience the Season of the Park is the standard by which divisions are made, for it is the oldest and most stable of the theatres. What is left over after the closing of the Park is counted as Summer Season.

In addition to the now firmly established theatres, a third comes into existence, the Lafayette Amphitheatre, formerly the Lafayette Circus, which had been fitted up with stage machinery, and now is regarded as a theatre, although it continued to uphold its older title of Circus.

This is the first season in the history of the New York stage that opera plays an important rôle. The Italian Maestro, Signor Garcia, with his talented daughter and a company of able singers, introduced Italian Opera, which soon became popular, much to the chagrin of many of the actors, especially Cooper, who was bitter in his public attacks upon it.

The novelty at the Park, which attracts our attention, is the play entitled *William Tell*. We have seen how in 1794 a drama based on the Tell story was given, and in 1796 Dunlap put on *The Archers*.¹⁹¹ The *Tell* which appeared this season was by Knowles. He made an arrangement from the drama of Schiller and prepared it for the British stage. It was soon taken up in America, where from some critics it met with hearty approval, while others condemned it as strongly as the former had praised it. The final opinion, however, tends toward condemnation rather than praise.

The first performance of the play took place September 26, 1825, at the Park Theatre. The theatre notice announces that it is the first performance of the play in America. The characters and the actors who played them are as follows:¹⁹²

Gesler,	Mr. Woodhull.
Struth,	Mr. Barnes.
William Tell,	Mr. Cooper.
Waldman,	Mr. Jervis.
Michael,	Mr. Hilson.
Albert,	Mrs. Barnes.
Agnes,	Mrs. Hilson.
Emma,	Mrs. Battersby.

The acting of Cooper received the highest praise and the first criticisms are of very favorable nature. The *New York Mirror and Ladies' Literary Gazette* has the following notice:¹⁹³ "*Wil-*

¹⁹¹ Cf. pp. 6, 7, 9, GERMAN AMERICAN ANNALS (N. S.), Vol. 13, Nos. 1 and 2 (1915).

¹⁹² From the *New York Evening Post*, September 26, 1825.

¹⁹³ *New York Mirror and Ladies' Literary Gazette*, Vol. III, p. 74.

William Tell, or *The Hero of Switzerland*, by J. Knowles, Esq., was presented to a full house on Monday evening last (Sep. 26). . . . The poet has shaped his incidents within the measure of his dramatic rule and fitted them with ingenuity and skill for the stage. His fictitious characters are well drawn and made subservient to the main plot; and that of the hero bears the marks of unwearied industry and fine imagination. He has struck out a being which great and good minds love to admire. A bold, chivalric, lion-hearted hero—full of sublime inspiration after freedom—with a heart panting at his country's wrongs and a hand trembling with eager ambition to strike her enemy dead at his foot. Fearing nothing but the failure of his enterprise, hoping nothing but the freedom of his native land, interest, social feeling and parental affection are all swept away by the torrent of patriotism which urged him on to his glory.

"Mr. Cooper throughout his part elicited the most overwhelming approbation. . . . We cannot conclude without expressing a hope that this excellent play will be frequently presented on the New York stage."

The *American Athenaeum*, which very seldom has had any good words for anything that smacks of German, raises no objections against the new play:

"On Monday evening was brought out for the first time in America, the play of *William Tell*—written by Knowles, the author of *Virginius*, etc. It attracted a very full audience, and was received with great applause. The story of the heroic Swiss mountaineer is too well known to require any recapitulation. The author has contrived his scenes and situations with considerable dramatic effect and the character of William Tell is simply and naturally drawn. Mr. Cooper gave us a finer specimen of his acting in this part than in any other in which we recollect to have seen him for a long time. The scene in which he is first brought prisoner in heavy chains, before the tyrant and his boy exposed to recognition, was performed in masterly style.¹⁹⁴ The dignity

¹⁹⁴ Knowles has torn the Schiller drama apart and rewoven the threads to suit his own taste. Thus, in the scene referred to, Albert (Tell's son) has been imprisoned by Gessler because he refused to tell the tyrant the name of his father. Tell in the meantime has refused to salute to the cap in the market-place and has been brought before Gessler. The son and father deny their relationship until Gessler announces that both must die. He changes his decision to the shooting-test.

of the freeman, the integrity of the man contended with the yearnings of the father's heart for his only son, the pride of his age, and the hope of his country. When the arrow which he had intended for Gesler in case of his missing the apple and killing the child, was discovered, and he was questioned as to his purpose, the reply 'it was intended for thee' was uttered with most *admirable* power."¹⁹⁵

Two weeks later the *American Athenaeum* had more decided views on the value of the play and the ability of Knowles as a dramatist:

"Mr. Knowles evidently writes not for immortality nor for the next age, even, but merely for the reigning actor of the day. He models his characters to the level of the actors. He does not seek to elevate the actor to that of the tragic muse. His plays are well calculated for acting in the present day but beyond this little can be said of them."¹⁹⁶

The play did not have a run like the opera *Der Freischütz*, but every season it makes its appearance with the rôle of Tell generally in the hands of some great actor, at first Cooper, later Macready, who is said to have even surpassed his great rival.

Another Mozart opera is brought out during the season: *Don Giovanni* (music by Mozart, adapted by Bishop), for the first time in America, May 23, 1826.¹⁹⁷

The opera became popular, but seemingly no newspaper or magazine criticisms were published. The enumeration of the number of performances of this opera is made exceedingly difficult and uncertain because of the parody by the same main title but with the subtitle: *The Spectre on Horseback*. Where the subtitle is omitted from the announcement, there is nothing to determine which one of the operas is to be performed. While speaking of things musical we note a concert¹⁹⁸ by Sig. Garcia, at which the German masters, Beethoven and Mozart were represented; Beethoven by the overture *Prometheus* and Mozart in sextetto *Sola, sola*, from *Don Giovanni*.

¹⁹⁵ "The American Athenaeum," I, 223 (September 20, 1825).

¹⁹⁶ "The American Athenaeum," I, 247 (October 13, 1825).

¹⁹⁷ *New York Evening Post*, May 23, 1826.

¹⁹⁸ At the City Hotel, January 26, 1826.

The uncertain plays which are new this year are very few in number; we mention but two: *The Invasion of Russia*, a grand military equestrian spectacle, and *Don Juan*. Nothing was found concerning either and it is probable that there is no German influence shown in either of them.

Summary for the Park Theatre. (Season 1825-1826.)

The Stranger, August 31, November 4, 1825, June 1, 1826.

Der Frieschutz, September 6, 1825, April 1, June 5, 16, 1826.

Pizarro, September 19, October 22, December 5, 1825.

William Tell,^o September 26, 29, October 8, 15, November 8, 12, 1825, April 26, 1826.

Of Age Tomorrow, October 10, 1825.

The Robbers, December 30, 1825.

Don Giovanni,^o May 23, 27, 30, June 10, 20, July 21,¹⁹⁹ 28, August 9, 1826.

Education, May 24, 1826.

The Marriage of Figaro, June 30, 1826.

Uncertain Plays.

The Floating Beacon, September 1, 24, 1825.

The Devil's Bridge, October 14, 1825, February 27, June 9, 1826.

Matrimony, November 12, December 8, 1825.

The Floating Beacon, February 9, 1826.

The Invasion of Russia,^o February 22, March 13, 17, April 14, 1826.

The Wood Daemon, February 18, 1826.

Don Juan^o (?), March 1, 1826.

The Innkeeper's Daughter, March 16, 29, June 15, 1826.

The Woodman's Hut, July 5, 1826.

The summary for the Park shows nine German plays and operas, six of the former, three of the latter, in twenty-nine performances—thirteen of these are performances of opera. *Tell* as the novelty of the season among the plays has the largest number of performances, seven. The Kotzebue plays diminish decidedly in number—there are but three represented, *The Stranger*, *Pizarro* and *Of Age Tomorrow*. The first two of these plays

¹⁹⁹ During the summer the Italian Company gave opera (*in Italian*).

continue to live on into the sixties, but the name of the author is not often mentioned. Yet his career on the New York stage does not end so quickly, we shall hear more of him in the seasons immediately following.

The Chatham Theatre. (Season 1825-1826.)

The season at the Chatham is not so rich in material as the year at the Park, yet a goodly number of German plays are put on, although the season is lacking in novelties. There were six German pieces put on (including *Don Giovanni*, or *The Libertine Destroyed*)²⁰⁰ and the total number of performances is nineteen. Kotzebue is represented in four plays: *Pizarro*, *The Stranger*, *How to Die for Love* and *Of Age Tomorrow*.

The play by Reynolds entitled *'Twould Puzzle a Conjuror*, later given under the title *The Two Peters*, a drama based on a story of Peter the Great and one of his ambassadors, may be influenced by some German version of the story.²⁰¹ Beyond this there are no new uncertain plays to list.

Summary for the Chatham Theatre. (Season 1825-1826.)

Pizarro, August 30, October 28, December 12, 1825, February 13, March 20, May 13, June 12, 1826.²⁰²

The Stranger, October 21, 1825, June 14, 1826.

How to Die for Love, November 12, 1825.

Rugantino, January 10, March 27, April 22, 1826.

Of Age Tomorrow, January 17, 1826.

Don Giovanni (?),^o April 14, May 31, June 2, 3, 8, 1826.

Uncertain Plays.

The Miller and His Men, August 29, September 6, 14, October 15, November 5, 21, December 3, 1825, January 9, February 14, 18, March 22, May 9, 1826.

²⁰⁰ I am inclined to believe that it is not German but is billed as a counter-attraction of Mozart's opera at the Park.

²⁰¹ The cast (from Ireland, I, p. 459) is: Czar Peter, Varensoff, Von Clump, De Mowille, Hans Lubberlick, Peter Stanwitz, Von Block, Bertha. Ireland gives the date of the performance as October 17, 1824, evidently a mistake. It should be 1825.

²⁰² The cast for *Pizarro*, June 12, was: Pizarro, Mr. Scott; Alonzo, Mr. Wallack; Rolla, Mr. Conway; Elvira, Mrs. Duff.

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The Wandering Boys, September 3, October 12, November 26, 1825, January 27, April 18, 1826.

Ella Rosenberg, September 8, December 29, 1825, April 1, 1826.

Tekili, September 9, 1825, March 29, 1826.

The Devil's Bridge, September 15, November 29, 1825, February 3, April 28, 1826.

Adrian and Orilla, October 13, 1825, June 29, 1826.

Lafayette, October 22, 1825.

The Slave, October 26, November 1, 1825, February 1, 1826.

The Blind Boy (?), November 16, 1825, March 28, May 2, 1826.

Two Pages of Frederick the Great, December 1, 13, 1825, January 30, 1826.

Matrimony, December 16, 1825.

'Twould Puzzle a Conjuror,^o October 13, 17, 1825.

Valentine and Orson, January 14, 19, 28, February 4, 10, 16, April 4, 15, May 18, July 10, 1826.

Don Giovanni, or *The Spectre on Horseback*, January 26, 1826.

The Forest of Rosenwald, February 7, 1826.

Raymond and Agnes, April 8, 15, 1826.

Pizarro has a larger number of performances than any of the other plays; this is perhaps accounted for by Wallack's fondness for the play. He was now manager of the Chatham Theatre at the same time acting in his favorite rôles. The other plays show the general interest still in the German drama.

The Lafayette Amphitheatre. (Season 1825-1826.)

The season at this theatre has nothing new. The older plays are given at long intervals; in the main, however, the chief attraction of the former circus is the equestrian spectacle alternating with the pantomime. Of German plays we find but one during the regular season: *Of Age Tomorrow*. It was given December 10, 1825. There is a longer list of uncertain plays:

The Floating Beacon, September 5, 7, December 6, 1825, February 22, 1826.

The Blind Boy, September 26, 30, 1825.

Ella Rosenberg, October 10, 1825.

The Woodman's Hut, December 1, 5, 13, 1825.

The Wandering Jew,^o January 4, 6, 7, 9, 10, 13, 17, 1826.

The Bleeding Nun, January 16, 18, 21, 1826.

Tekili, March 8, 13, 27, 1826.

Summer Season of 1826.

Chatham Theatre.

Don Giovanni, or The Libertine Destroyed, July 11, 1826.

Lafayette Amphitheatre.

Of Age Tomorrow, July 25, 1826.

How to Die for Love, August 3, 21, 1826.

The Floating Beacon, July 8, 27, 1826.

Matrimony, July 10, 1826.

Raymond and Agnes, July 11, 1826.

The Ruffian Boy, July 19, 21, 26, 29, 1826.

Adrian and Orilla, August 10, 22, 1826.

The complete summary for the season shows:

Park Theatre,	9 plays in 29 performances.
Chatham,	6 plays in 19 performances.
Lafayette,	1 play in 1 performance.
Summer Season,	3 plays in 4 performances.

There were in all eleven *different* German plays produced in fifty-three performances.

Season of 1826-1827.

1. Park Theatre, August 28, 1826, to July 4, 1827.
2. Chatham Theatre, October 9, 1826, to May, 1827.
3. Lafayette, July 4, 1826, to April, 1827.
4. The Bowery, October 23, 1826, to August 24, 1827.²⁰³
5. Mt. Pitt Circus, November 8, 1826-1827.²⁰⁴
6. The Broadway Circus, May 31, 1827—Summer.

²⁰³ Almost continuous performances but divided here for convenience.

²⁰⁴ The irregular advertising makes the exact time uncertain. Unimportant.

The treatment of this season is rather difficult, owing to the many theatres and circuses which from time to time present a German play. The Bowery, first known as "The New York Theatre", opened October 23, 1826, and from the beginning had a strong company, which accounts for the great number of plays recorded at that place. Numbers 5 and 6 are relatively unimportant; No. 6 is short-lived for it brings nothing in this season after July 4, 1827.

The Park Theatre (Season 1826-1827).

The German element in the plays offered is not above the general average; eight plays are listed, but the fact worthy of note is that the Kotzebue plays are but two in number: *Pizarro* and *The Stranger*. There is one new play, *Oberon*, or *The Charmed Horn*. The play is founded on the well-known poem of Wieland and had been presented at the Drury Lane Theatre March 27, 1826.²⁰⁵ Genest²⁰⁵ says: "The piece (*Oberon*) brought out this evening was written by an unknown author—it is much worse than Thompson's pieces (*Oberon's Oath*, D. L. May 21, 1816) but it was acted with much better success. Each of the pieces is founded on Wieland's poem, and the main plot of each is nearly the same." According to a prompter's copy in the New York Public Library, the author is James Robert Planché.²⁰⁶

The *New York Evening Post* for September 20, 1826, announces "*Oberon*, or *The Charmed Horn* (a Grand romantic fairy tale) as performed at Drury Lane." It was favorably received and was performed ten times during the season. The following gives a sketch of the plot: "The new romantic melodrama of *Oberon*, or *The Charmed Horn* (not Weber's opera of *Oberon*) was brought forward and repeated on Friday evening with considerable success. Oberon, the monarch of Fairyland, has a dispute with his queen, Titania, on the subject of male and

²⁰⁵ Genest, IX, pp. 332-3.

²⁰⁶ Cf. Title-page: *Oberon / or The / Charmed Horn. / A romantic fairy Tale / in two Acts. / The subject from the celebrated poem of Wieland. / (Written in pencil) By James Rob. Planché. / Performed at the Drury Lane Theatre. / The music selected from eminent composers / arranged and adapted by Mr. T. Cooke. / London. / Printed by J. Tabby. / Theatre Royal, Drury Lane / 1826.*

female constancy, etc. Sir Huon of Guienne has slain the son of the French Emperor Charlemagne and in the plentitude of his wrath that potent sovereign swears that unless Sir Huon repairs to Bagdad, kills the Caliph's favourite, weds his daughter, brings away a lock of his beard, and returns to the court by a certain day:—"the lands of fair Guienne shall be forfeited". Upon this moderate and very hopeful adventure the undaunted Sir Huon instantly sets out.

"Oberon fixes upon Sir Huon, and Titania on Amanda, the Caliph's daughter as the representatives of the sexes on this occasion. . . .

"The last scene is at the court of Charlemagne. Sir Huon arrives just in time to save the forfeit, defeats the champion, produces the bride and beard, wins the King's favour and his lands, while Oberon and Titania descend and bless the happy pair." The article closes with a critique of the actors, paying all very high compliments, particularly mentioning the machinist, and with the surmise that it is anticipated that "*Oberon* will have a run and amply remunerate the manager."²⁰⁷

We note among the uncertain plays *Don Giovanni in London*, another parody on Mozart's opera, and a new melodrama, *The Flying Dutchman*. The latter piece is founded on the familiar legend and immediately became one of the season's best attractions. The *New York Mirror and Ladies' Literary Gazette* comments upon it in the following manner:²⁰⁸ "The new melodrama of *The Flying Dutchman* founded on the well-known legend of that name, was brought out Monday evening.^{208a} It is a combination of all sorts of earthly and unearthly, unnatural and supernatural materials, diversified with a few light and pleasing incidents, as storms, wrecks, waves, spirits, gunpowder explosions and concludes in the usual moral melodramatic manner. We are rather sorry to see the piece go up at the Park; it is much fitter for one of the minor theatres."

²⁰⁷ *New York Mirror and Ladies' Literary Gazette*, Vol. 4, p. 79 (September 25, 1826).

²⁰⁸ *New York Mirror and Ladies' Literary Gazette*, Vol. 4, p. 303.

^{208a} Monday, April 9, 1827.

Of minor importance is the announcement that *The Bavarian Broom Song* will be sung by one of the favorite actresses. The title is also given as the Bavarian Song *Buy a Broom*.²⁰⁹ *Peter Smink*, or *Which is the Miller* is uncertain.²¹⁰

Summary (Park Theatre, Season 1826-1827).

Der Freischutz, August 31, September 21, November 4, 1826, February 10, March 13, May 31, 1827.

Don Giovanni, September 5, 16, 1826.

Pizarro, September 6,²¹¹ November 14, 1826, January 10, 23, 1827.

Oberon,^o September 20, 22, 25, 27, 29, October 10, 17, 19, 24, November 1, 1826.

William Tell, October 13,²¹² October 20, December 28, 1826, April 18, May 30, 1827.

The Stranger, December 16, 1826, March 14, May 29, 1827.

The Marriage of Figaro, December 19, 30, 1826, January 9, 20, March 7, April 21, 26, May 8, June 2, 1827.

The Robbers, January 17, 1827.

Uncertain Plays.

The Innkeeper's Daughter, August 30, 1826.

The Siege of Belgrade, October 12, December 14, 1826.

Peter Smink, or *Which is the Miller*,^o October 14, 19, November 4, 1826.

The Woodman's Hut, October 20, 1826.

The Exile of Siberia, January 1, 4, 30, February 6, 15, June 26, 1827.

Matrimony, January 3, May 21, June 4, 1827.

The Slave, January 22, 1827.

The Floating Beacon, January 22, 29, March 23, May 14, 1827.

²⁰⁹ Cf. *New York Evening Post*, May 17, 21, 1827.

²¹⁰ The cast shows German characters: *Peter Smink*, *Hantz*, Chev. Bayard, Commandant, Eugene, Ninette.

²¹¹ Cooper plays Rolla.

²¹² Partial cast: W. Tell, Mr. Macready; Gesler, Woodhull; Braun, Placide; Agnes, Mrs. Sharpe.

The Wheel of Fortune, January 31, 1827.

Giovanni in London° (?), March 1, 3, 15, 17, 20, 24, April 6, 11, 28, June 7, 1827.

The Devil's Bridge, March 24, 1827.

The Wandering Boys, April 4, 1827.

The Flying Dutchman,° April 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 17, 18, 20, 25, 28, May 1, 7, 15, 29, 1827.

Adeline, or The Victim of Seduction, June 23, 1827.

Loxina of Toboliska, July 4, 1827.

Bavarian Broom Song,° May 17, 21, June 7, 29, 1827

The German drama for the season owes much to the two great actors, Cooper and Macready. As has been noted Cooper played the grateful rôle of Rolla in *Pizarro* while Macready won the hearts of the public in his presentation of the character of Tell. The *Evening Post* (October 23, 1826) published a criticism of Macready's acting in the performance of *Tell* October 20.

"In Wm. Tell a greater effort of genius is required to render that character interesting than in any other of this author's productions. It is decidedly but an outline which may be said to depend wholly for its effect upon the painting of the actor. To Mr. Macready's talents alone, is the piece indebted for any popularity it may have gained.

"The ardour of enthusiasm displayed in his address to the native mountaineers, as he looks upon them after returning from Altdorf, the residence of the tyrant Gesler, within whose dominion the sacred name of Liberty was not breathed, was a fine specimen of patriotic feeling. The instructions to his little Boy (a part uncommonly well sustained by Master Wheatley) were so beautifully and naturally done that the audience were hushed to the deepest silence, during this very interesting scene and they testified their approbation by the warmest plaudits at its close.

"The indignation and horror mingled with manly grief expressed at the sight of old Melctal whose eyes had been torn out by the cruel Gesler, succeeded by his determination of revenge—were most effectively delineated as was also the bold deed of trampling on the insolence of the tyrant (whose cap set upon a pole, his officers were compelling the countrymen to bow to) by

dashing to the earth this disgraceful evidence of their thralldom and driving the officers before them; the native dignity and the scornful smile with which he regards the officers who bring him in chains before the tyrant, when erect and motionless he remains after being ordered to bend his knee to him and 'beg for mercy', showed how little the fear of death could operate on a mind so lofty and free, and a heart conscious of the purity of its motives and actions.

"The struggle to command his features as the boy is brought into his presence and his fears, that his only son was also within the tyrant's grasp, realized, the inward satisfaction at his boy's judgment in refusing to own him as his father, when he exclaims 'My boy, my own brave boy! He is safe!'. Then his misery at being discovered to be his father, and the shuddering at the inhuman proposition, that he should shoot an apple from the boy's head, his gradual reflection that, however painful, it was the only chance of saving both their lives—and lastly the alternate emotions of his soul at the dreadful trial of his skill—his expression 'I will not shoot against the sun'. His almost bursting heart as he caresses the boy ere he is placed on his knees with the apple on his head—and recoiling with horror as he first aims the arrow, the summoning of all his fortitude and coolness as he is chid for his delay and told 'to go on'. He lets the arrow fly and falls exhausted and unable to speak for a time to his beloved child, who rushes into his father's arms,—were all so powerfully exhibited as to baffle description."²¹³

The summary for the Park shows eight German plays in forty performances. The three operas account for seventeen performances and the new piece *Oberon* for ten.

The Season at the Chatham Theatre.

The season brings no new German plays and about the usual number of old ones; Wallack still played at this theatre which explains why *Pizarro* appears six times during the season. We

²¹³ Another similar criticism is found in the New York *Mirror*.

The New York *Mirror and Ladies' Literary Gazette*, IV, p. 103, gives a shorter review of the performance of *Tell* on October 20, 1826: "*W. Tell* was

note also the revival of *Deaf and Dumb* (Kotzebue's *Abbé de l'Épée*).

Two uncertain plays appear: *Valdemar* and *Feudal Times*. Only partial casts are available; of *Valdemar*, the names Valdemar and Adelaide; of *Feudal Times*, the name Ruthenwolf. The full title of the latter is *Feudal Times, or The Banquet Gallery*; it is said to be by Colman.

Summary (Chatham Theatre, Season 1826-1827).

Of Age Tomorrow, October 16, 1826, March 14, 22, April 14, June 9, 1827.

Pizarro, October 24, November 10, December 29, 30, 1826, January 3, February 28, 1827.

William Tell, November 15, 20, 1826, May 19, 1827.

Rugantino, November 22, 1826.

Don Giovanni (?), December 11, 14, 1826.

Deaf and Dumb, December 27, 1826.

The Stranger, March 6, May 14, June 12, 1827.

Uncertain Plays.

The Devil's Bridge, October 17, 1826.

The Miller and His Men, October 21, 1826.

Raymond and Agnes, October 28, 1826.

performed to the most crowded house judging from our eye and feeling of any (save the first night) of Mr. Macready's appearance.

"This is, we think, the poorest of Knowles' tragedies and can scarcely be termed more than a sort of a refined melodrama. It has no pretensions to original character, it exposes and unfolds no hidden recesses of the human heart, it is apparent on the surface; it is the tragedy of *situation*. The story is, however, interesting and skilfully dramatized, and affords some good opportunities for display in the actor who represents the hero. It is almost needless to say that everything was made the most of by Mr. Macready, who is the *original* Tell. In his hands it rises to something much above what its own merit entitles it to.

"There is such an intensity in his manner—such enthusiastic aspiration after liberty—and such detestation of oppression is breathed forth in all he utters, as carries all along with it. With fervor he gives the opening speech in the second Scene: 'Ye crags and peaks, I am with you once again!' His mute despair and mental anguish in the scenes with his child and Gessler, were wonderfully affecting. . . . In many scenes the most profound silence reigned, and all attempts at applause were immediately put down by the murmur of 'Hush' that spread through the house. This is true applause—the applause of the heart."

The Blind Boy (?), October 31, 1826.

Matrimony, November 2, 1826.

Valentine and Orson, November 30, December 27, 1826.

Two Pages of Frederick the Great, December 9, 1826.

The West Indian, December 18, 1826.

The Wandering Boys, January 17, June 26, July 3, 1827.

Adelgitha, February 16, 1827.

Tekili, February 23, April 20, 1827.

Ella Rosenberg, February 24, March 29, 1827.

The Bleeding Nun, February 26, March 19, 1827.

The Brazen Mask, February 27, 1827.

The Innkeeper's Daughter, April 9, 12, 17, 20, July 5, 1827.

Valdemar,^o May 7, 11, 15, 1827.

Feudal Times, May 7, 8, 9, 10, 1827.

The summary shows seven German plays for the Chatham twenty-one performances; the highest number of performances for any one play is scored by *Pizarro* (6).

The Lafayette Amphitheatre (Season 1826-1827).

At the Lafayette there are but three German plays to record:

Of Age Tomorrow, October 4, 1826.

Pizarro, November 15, 1826.

La Perouse (largely pantomimic), March 9, 10, 13, 16, 31, April 6, 1827.

Uncertain Plays.

Ella Rosenberg, September 15, October 6, 1826.

The Devil's Bridge, September 18, 22, 1826.

The Blind Boy (Hewetson), September 19, October 6, 1826.

The Ruffian Boy, October 10, 1826.

Raymond and Agnes, October 21, 1826.

The Wandering Boys, October 24, 28, 1826.

Valentine and Orson, January 29, 30, 31, February 2, March 30, 1827.

The Floating Beacon, February 7, 1827.

Tekili, March 15, 22, 1827.

Three German plays in seven performances.

The Bowery (Season 1826-1827).

The Bowery, as the "New York Theatre" is more commonly called, has its star actor who helps to swell the list of German productions. He is none other than the famous Forrest. As Macready at the Park, so Forrest at the Bowery makes *Tell* a popular play; and he also brings *Pizarro* before the patrons of the theatre. Aside from these two plays there are not a great many performances of other plays; *The Stranger*, *Don Giovanni*, *Of Age Tomorrow*, *Abaellino* and *How to Die for Love* finish the list. It is of interest to note that in the announcement for February 27, 1827, a German title is given instead of the usual translation. The program for that night was Mozart's *Don Giovanni* and the *Duett from the Zauberflöte: Der Liebe holdes Glück empfinden*.²¹⁴ Whether the *Duett* was sung in German cannot be ascertained.

One new play that deals with a German theme appears in the drama *Returned Killed*. The first performance took place March 2, 1827. A partial cast²¹⁵ shows the characters: Baron von Lindorf, Raubvogel, Milligan, Madame Lisburg.

Baron v. Lindorf has been reported "killed" after a battle with the Hungarians. Although he lives and has recovered from his wounds, he does not reveal himself because he disobeyed the King's orders in commanding his troops to rush forward and turn back the enemy. He is finally pardoned by his sovereign, Frederick the Great. The play is said to be adapted from the French²¹⁶ but reminds one very strongly of Kleist's *Prinz von Homburg*.

The Flying Dutchman made its appearance at this theatre May 25, a little more than a month later than its introduction to New York at the Park. Here, too, it immediately achieved that success which made it one of the most popular of the season's plays.

²¹⁴ New York *Evening Post*, February 27, 1827.

²¹⁵ From New York *Evening Post*, March 10, 1827.

²¹⁶ Cf. Genest, IX, pp. 382-3.

Summary (Bowery Theatre, 1826-1827).

- Of Age Tomorrow*, November 4, 1826, June 19, 1827.
The Stranger, November 22, 1826.
William Tell, November 30, December 9, 23, 1826, February 1, April 7, May 9, 1827.
Pizarro, January 25, 27, 30, March 22, April 17, June 9, 1827.
Don Giovanni (Mozart), February 12, 27, 1827.
Abaellino, June 22, 1827.
How to Die for Love, June 26, 1827.

Uncertain Plays.

- The Wheel of Fortune*, December 6, 1826.
The Wood Daemon, January 1, 4, 12, 20, 1827.
Adrian and Orilla, January 9, 13, 17, February 6, March 5, 1827.
The Devil's Bridge, January 15, 19,²¹⁷ February 19, March 8, 1827.
Matrimony, February 24, 1827.
Returned Killed,^o March 2, 5, 6, 10, 12, May 7, 1827.
Adelgitha, March 7, 1827.
Columbus, March 19, 21, 1827.
The Blind Boy (?), March 23, May 8, 1827.
The West Indian, May 17, 19, June 26, 1827.
The Flying Dutchman,^o May 25, 26, 27, 30, June 2, 5, 12, 14, 20, 23, 30, July 5, 1827.
Two Pages of Frederick the Great, June 21, 1827.
The Innkeeper's Daughter, June 22, 1827.

The summary shows seven German plays presented in nineteen performances; four of the plays are by Kotzebue; they account for ten of the nineteen performances.

The Broadway Circus and the Mount Pitt Circus.

Both of the circuses gave dramatic performances which might attract or interest the class of people which frequented

²¹⁷ The "Song of Tell" was sung by Signorina Garcia.

them; at the Broadway, in spite of the extremely short season, three different German plays are put on while but two appear at the Mount Pitt Circus.

Mount Pitt Circus.

La Prouse, May 19, 22, 30, 1827.

How to Die for Love, June 12, 1827.

Valentine and Orson, April 16, 24, 1827.

Tekili, May 2, 4, 1827.

The Floating Beacon, May 21, 23, June 15, 22, 1827.

The Miller and His Men, May 24, 25, 29, June 11, 27, 1827.

The Blind Boy, June 13, 1827.

Raymond and Agnes, June 20, 28, 1827.

Summary.

Two German plays in four performances. Both are Kotzebue plays.

Broadway.

The Stranger, May 31,²¹⁸ June 9, 1827.

Abaellino, June 4, 1827.

La Prouse, June 13, 1827.

The Devil's Bridge, June 11, 1827.

Summary.

Three German plays in four performances. Two of the three plays are by Kotzebue.

Summer Season at the Park Theatre.

During the summer of 1827 the French Company from the theatre in New Orleans came to New York to give performances in French. From all reports the theatre was fairly attended and company received generous comments in the papers. The only plays of interest to us are: *La Belle Allemande, ou Le Grenadier du Frederic Guillaume* (August 15), *Marie Stuart* (?) (August

²¹⁸ This was the opening performance of the season. The players were from the Chatham Theatre Company. The partial cast is: *The Stranger*, Mr. Scott; *Baron de Steinfort*, Mr. Stevenson; *Peter*, Mr. Simpson; *Mrs. Haller*, Mrs. Entwistle.

18, 20), and *Werter, ou Les Egarements d'un Coeur sensible* (August 29). Concerning the first two nothing definite could be found except the cast ²¹⁹ of *Marie Stuart*, which, however, is of no value in determining whether the play is based on Schiller or whether it is an independent French production.

The third play, *Werter*, presents the strange combination of a German work played in French in an essentially English-speaking city. Whether this is an arrangement of *Werther* by Pixercourt, cannot be stated.

Summer Performances at the Chatham and Bowery.

There are very few performances to note for the part of the seasons of these playhouses, which continues into the summer. At the Chatham the following uncertain plays were put on: *Two Pages of Frederick the Great* (July 6), *The Slave* (July 9), *The Snowstorm*^o (?)²²⁰ (July 16, 17).

At the Bowery a number of German plays appear: *The Stranger* (August 18), *Pizarro* (July 25), and *How to Die for Love* (July 10). We also record *The Flying Dutchman* (July 10, 17, 21, 24, 28, August 1, 9, 15, 22, 28) and *Two Pages of Frederick the Great* (July 13).

The combined results for the summer give five German plays in eight performances.

Summary for the Entire Season at All Theatres.

Park Theatre,	8 plays in 40 performances.
Chatham,	7 plays in 21 performances.
Lafayette,	3 plays in 7 performances.
Bowery,	7 plays in 19 performances.
Mt. Pitt,	2 plays in 4 performances.
Broadway,	3 plays in 4 performances.
Summer Season, ²²¹	5 plays in 8 performances.

²¹⁹ The cast as published in the *Evening Post*, August 27, 1827, is as follows: Marie, Mme. Clozel; Elizabeth, Mme. Chollet; Mortimer, Mons. Edouard.

²²⁰ *The Snowstorm* was the title of Barrymore's *Lowina of Toboliska*. Cf. p. 85.

²²¹ For details see the preceding page.

In all there were 103 performances of the following fifteen German plays: *Der Freischutz*, *Don Giovanni*, *Pizarro*, *Oberon*, *William Tell*, *The Stranger*, *The Marriage of Figaro*, *The Robbers*, *Of Age Tomorrow*, *Rugantino*, *Deaf and Dumb*, *La Pe-rouse*, *Abacchino*, *How to Die for Love*, and *Werter*.²²²

Season of 1827-1828.

Park Theatre, September 3, 1827, to August 2, 1828.

Chatham, August, 1827, to August, 1828.

Lafayette, September 29, 1827, to September, 1828.

Bowery, September 1, 1827, to May 26, 1828.²²³

Mt. Pitt, September, 1827, to June, 1828.

Sans Souci, July 4, 1828.²²⁴

During the year there are four theatres of importance with good companies giving performances. The last two mentioned are of very little importance.

The Park Theatre (Season of 1827-1828).

The Park as the oldest theatre presents the strongest list of plays, among them two new ones of great interest: *Faustus* and *The Poachers*. The former appeared for the first time in New York at the Park Theatre October 11, 1827. The play as given was Soane's arrangement of the German theme. In the newspaper notices it is said to be founded on Goethe's *Faust*, but one would hardly recognize the original from the plot and characters as outlined in the following somewhat lengthy but interesting comments. The first notice is in the *New York Spy*:²²⁵ "*Faustus*, October 11, 1827. The play of *Faustus* is founded on the celebrated *Faust* of Goethe, the most romantic and popular drama of the German school. It teaches that unbridled curiosity if

²²² Given in French.

²²³ The Lafayette has been rebuilt during the summer; the Bowery burned May 26, 1828.

²²⁴ *Sans Souci* opened July 4 in Niblo's Garden and continued through the summer. One of the first and best attractions which it offered was Herr Cline, *The German Samson*.

²²⁵ *The New York Spy*, October 13, 1827. (An excellent paper for theatrical reviews.)

mingled with enthusiasm of feeling and power of intellect, and directed to those mysteries which are too intricate and too vast for human understanding, must necessarily end in despair. Thus said the playbills of Thursday evening when this drama was produced, which is the most splendid in every particular we have ever seen."

The *New York Mirror and Ladies' Literary Gazette*, too, adds its approval with a few notes and anecdotes about the play:²²⁶ "The new drama of *Faustus* has met with the most decided success. Indeed this subject seems ordained to succeed in all ages and in all shapes. The first noise that the German student Faust or Faustus made in the world was as the inventor of the 'noble art' of printing, the art (as young Fourth of July orators say) that has broken the bonds of darkness—that has disseminated the light of knowledge from pole to pole, etc., etc. . . .

"Goethe next took Faust in hand and Goethe rendered him immortal. We believe Lord Gower's translation has been but little read in this country. It ought to be read and now is the fittest season. The Faust of Goethe is not light summer reading—it is not a work for a man in a happy frame of mind, over a cheerful fire: but when suicidal November sheds its sombre influence on the soul, take up Faust and then 'congenial horrors hail!' But, undoubtedly, the way in which F. is known to the public, stripped of all the delusive gloss of poetry, you have his plain unvarnished dealings with the devil. We recollect something of an anecdote concerning it. The Isle of Man, as is well known, is a place of refuge for half the smugglers of the United Kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland. These 'minions of the moon' are not much addicted to polite literature; and their ladies being principally employed in repairing fishing tackle, have of course little time to form blue stocking coteries; and a copy of the Bible and a copy of *Faustus* were the only books extant upon the island; and the latter by constant wear, at length became so bethumbed as to be altogether illegible. What was to

²²⁶ *New York Mirror and Ladies' Literary Gazette*, V, p. 119 (October 20, 1827).

be done in this emergency? The belles lettres were on the decline. The 'march of mind' was retrograde in the Isle of Man. Nothing was left to teach the 'young ideas' of the future 'Manks' to shoot. A meeting was forthwith called, to consider what standard work was to be procured from Edinburgh, when it was unanimously resolved: That a new Dr. Faust should be ordered.

"To crown the whole, Mr. Soane undertook to manufacture a drama out of this exhaustless subject. As a dramatic it (S's. Faust) possesses trifling merit and is in fact little more than a well-contrived vehicle for scenic representation—but these representations amply compensate for all deficiencies. It is, from first to last, a succession of splendid scenes superior, we think, to anything of the kind hitherto exhibited in this country, and a few of them, The Drachenfels, at sunset, The Rialto in Venice and the Street in Naples, not, perhaps, exceeded in any other. The music by Bishop and Horn is of a very superior kind. . . .

"To conclude this lengthy article, Faust is a spectacle well worth seeing. The *Journal of Commerce* ought to notice it for it is, if we may believe the playbills, very moral and in the last scene certainly contrives 'to show

The very place where wicked people go.' "

More satisfying, however, is the synopsis of the play as represented at the Park in the *Spy* of October 20, 1827.

"In our last, we briefly alluded to the new drama *Faustus*, which was repeated with increased effect on Saturday evening (October 13, 1827), and we are glad to say, was witnessed by a very numerous audience. The basis of the piece may be given in a few words:

"Faust, not content with his natural abilities and acquired knowledge, wishes to fathom the depths of supernatural mysteries, and being possessed of the grand secret of summoning spirits from the nether world, orders Mephisto (his aid and abettor in all subsequent transactions) to be forthwith forthcoming. As a matter of course he is obeyed; but as Mr. Devil appears in a rather uncouth dress, he is ordered to change it,

and having his portmanteau with him, he slips behind the wings and presto! comes forth in very comely attire. Certain negotiations are now entered upon and after mature discussion, the preliminaries, covenants and agreements are settled and arrangements concluded, touching their future operations, to the satisfaction of both parties.

"Faustus has a great itching to visit Venice, where Adine, of whom he is desperately fond, has taken up her residence, but being loath to waste his time in traveling, he very inhumanly causes all the country about him (inhabitants and all, we presume) to disappear and before you can say Jack Robinson, Venice occupies the vacuum. Here they find themselves on the Rialto at once and as luck will have it, they hardly secure a good footing before Adine comes directly to the spot.

"Another very mysterious migration brings the three into a beautiful Valley, where their stay is extremely brief, owing to the unwillingness of Adine to participate in such queer doings—when they endeavor to prevail upon her, she invokes the aid of Heaven, which startles Mephistopheles and he takes himself off. Somehow or other Faust gets tired of Adine and without the slightest provocation he commences paying his distresses to Rosalia, her sister, whom he is determined to have at all hazards. After most affectionately killing her brother, he enters the house, shortly after, and with the assistance of his aid, bears off the fair prize to his palace. He is pursued thither by Rosalia's friends, and not only compelled to give her up but (Mephisto not being at hand) is taken into custody and immured in prison. He is delivered in due time, however, by his guardian spirit on condition of murdering the King of Naples, and placing himself on the throne, which after some hesitation, he agrees to. No sooner is he King than M. takes French leave—leaving him to deal out death and destruction among his subjects, which he does in an extremely unceremonious style. Just as some of the parties are being led to the execution, Adine (who has been, we believe in a convent) rushes in, her face pale, her brain maddened by despair and urges him to repentance, intimating that she has had a

dreadful vision which conveyed the idea that he was about to be borne away by demons and all that sort of thing. So far from accrediting this vision and thereby saving his bacon, he is so hardy as to defy the demons, when the honest gentleman with whom he has been keeping company, conformable to the rules in such cases made and provided, enters bringing with him divers fire and smoke, together with his original dress on and without a 'by your leave' or 'with your leave' hurries the august king to Pandemonium, where it is supposed he introduces him to his friends—and so ends the life and adventures of Mr. Faustus.

"There is a trifling underplot which has but little connection with the main incidents, except in unravelling a few of its intricacies and affording some relief to the monotony that pervades the whole.

"We are not among those who sanction the production of these strange creations of the German school—but as the public appetite is voracious for this species of entertainment we cannot blame the manager for studying his interest in endeavoring to gratify it—and he has left nothing undone which could add to the splendour and effect of the piece and we hope his reward will be commensurate with his exertions. As we have said before, Mr. Walker's principal scenes are second to none we ever witnessed, the Drachenfels is a most enchanting view, the elegant disposal of his subject in contrasting the light and the shade; the tremendous and imposing appearance of the 'towering steeps' is equalled by the succeeding view of St. Mark's Place and the Rialto of Venice, which is one of the most beautiful things within our remembrance."

Although the play was, as has been seen, far from the *Faust* of Goethe, it served to draw attention to the *original* work and in this way is of no little import. The mysterious and supernatural elements which made the piece popular are considered earmarks of the "German school" by our critic, who objects particularly to this feature of the play. Yet these elements were added by the adapter in England to insure the success of the piece.

The play was first cast thus in New York :

Faustus,	Mr. Simpson.
Count Orsino,	Mr. Howard.
Count Cassanova,	Mr. Placide.
Montolio,	Mr. Woodhull.
Mephistopheles.	Mr. Barry.
Adine,	Mrs. Knight.
Rosalia,	Mrs. Sharpe.
Lucetta.	Mrs. Hackett.
Wagner,	Mr. Hilson.

The second play which is new this season is *The Poachers*, said to be a version of Kotzebue's *Rocbuck*.²²⁷ It is also produced the following year with a different cast under the name *The Rocbuck*.²²⁸ Thus we see Kotzebue dramas still being produced although their author was long since dead.

The cast of the London play is:²²⁹ Count Elberfeldt, Baron Wolfenstein, Sourkrout, Countess de Lisle, Countess Elberfeldt and Crisette.

The plot is given at length in the *New York Evening Post* of July 21, 1828. It agrees so closely in all details with Genest's résumé that there can be no doubt that we are here dealing with the London edition of *The Poachers*.

We note also *The Gambler's Fate*, a drama taken from the French, but showing two German characters, Lindorf and Albert. The scene of the first act is in Paris, but the second act plays in Germany.²³⁰ A ballet, *The Dutch Fair*, the comic *Bavarian Trio* (November 19, 21) and the *Bavarian Broom Song* (September 11, December 14, March 19, 1828) are trifles which are not listed with the regular plays.

²²⁷ Cf. Genest, IX, p. 253.

²²⁸ Produced at the Bowery (N. Y.) March 16, 1829. Cf. p. 49 of this number of GERMAN AMERICAN ANNALS.

²²⁹ Cf. Genest, IX, p. 253. For plot of Kotzebue's *Rehbock* cf. Rabany: Kotzebue. Sa vie et son temps, pp. 409-414.

²³⁰ Cf. Genest, IX, p. 401.

Summary (Park Theatre, Season 1827-1828).

The Marriage of Figaro, September 25, November 16, 1827, January 21, 30, February 14, May 27, June 4, 1828.

Faustus,^o October 11, 13, 16, 20, 23, 24, 27, 31, November 6, 10, 20, December 8, 1827, April 22, 1828.

Der Freischutz, October 29, November 8, 1827, January 23, 25, 29, February 1, 7, 12, March 28, 31, April 7, June 13, 1828.

Fraternal Discord, December 31, 1827, January 15, 1828.

Lovers' Vows, March 19, 1828.

Pizarro, May 24, July 25, 1828.

William Tell, July 12, August 1 (2nd Act), 1828.

The Poachers,^o July 19, 21, 24, 1828.

Uncertain Plays.

Adrian and Orilla, October 2, 1827.

The Siege of Belgrade, October 17, 19, November 2, 1827, April 25, 1828.

Adelgitha, November 21, 1828.

The Devil's Bridge, December 18, 1827, February 26, 1828.

The Wandering Boys, December 21, 1827.

The Miller and His Men, December 24, 1827.

Swedish Patriotism, January 1, 1828.

The Gambler's Fate,^o November 15, 18, 27, 1827, January 5, 10, March 6, July 8, 30, 1828.

Giovanini in London, February 22, 29, March 7, 18, April 19, July 1, 1828.

The Slave, April 2, 1828.

Columbus, June 10, 1828.

Adeline, or The Victim of Seduction,²³¹ July 18, 1828.

The Floating Beacon, July 26, 1828.

Valentine and Orson, July 29, 31, August 2, 1828.

The comments for the season are for the most part confined to the opera, *Der Freischutz*. The articles herewith reproduced show that German music and melody had sung itself into the hearts of the American public while the legend of the plot is termed "sublime and thrilling". The first comment is on the

²³¹ The Hunting Chorus from *The Freischutz* was given with *Adeline*.

performance of the opera November 8, 1827. "Circumstances prevented our last week's noticing the opera *Der Freischutz*. It is now rather late in the day to do so, but yet we cannot suffer such an important feature in the dramatic concerns of our city to pass without rendering it our tribute of praise. The performance of such a drama as *Der Freischutz*, Weber's *Freischutz*—not the medley compound that has heretofore been substituted—is in itself, a matter of considerable interest; but with such a Linda as Mrs. Knight and with the very best Caspar²³² on either side of the Atlantic, it must be quite an era in the annals of a musical amateur. Weber's fame has in this country preceded his works; but those works will amply sustain that fame; they are strikingly original and essentially dramatic. *Der Freischutz* is his masterpiece. *Obcron*, abounding as it does in beautiful passages is yet decidedly inferior; the tinsel of the Eastern fiction ill compensates for the wild sublimity and thrilling interest of the German legend."²³³

The second article appeared somewhat later, February 2, 1828, and even outdoes the first in its praise of the opera. "Whoever omits seeing Weber's *Der Freischutz* leaves a blank in his theatrical life—which nothing can fill up—it has no parallel—but stands alone in the recollection of playgoers like Cooke's *Iago* or Kean's *Othello*. There is genius and originality in every note of the music—and a very strange originality at times it is. What, for instance, could be a bolder yet happier conception than the 'Laughing Chorus'. The 'Bridesmaids' Chorus' is the essence of soft and flowing sweetness and 'The Huntsman's Chorus' breathes the very soul of greenwood melody. . . .

"Upon the whole the city ought to see *Der Freischutz*, for as we said before even those 'who have no music in their souls' will be well repaid by the deep dramatic interest produced.

"There is a thrilling excitement about the German legends, not to be met with in those of any other nation—particularly when witchcraft is concerned. The wraiths and Kelpies of the Highlands of Scotland are mere child's play to the substantial

²³² Keene?

²³³ New York *Mirror and Ladies' Literary Gazette*, V, p. 151 (November 17, 1827).

demonism of the Black Forest of Germany. Other nations in such dramas as the *Freischutz* appear afraid of going too far; and then their horrors are so very mechanical and always come at the proper time and place. They manage these matters better in Germany and effect more by a whisper—a hint—a broken laugh—or a half told tale—(the other half veiled in impenetrable mystery) than can be effected by the most terrible collection of words that can be strung together.

“There are a good many of these indefinable incidents in *Der Freischutz*. For instance the old picture falling and wounding Linda at the very hour Adolph shot the demon’s eagle,—Caspar fanning his unholy fire with that very eagle’s wing, etc.—and, when, after Caspar has succeeded in persuading Adolph to visit the fiend, nothing can be better than the demoniac laugh which responds to his exulting exclamation: ‘He who plays with the fiend must look to be deceived.’”²³⁴

Such a play or those of much lower standard, particularly *The Flying Dutchman* and *Faustus* drew large houses and were a constant thorn in the sides of those who longed for the real drama. A note of complaint is sounded in the *Spy*:²³⁵ “Let the ‘Flying Islanders’”²³⁶ take to their wings and *Faustus* go to the Devil! But let us adhere to the regular drama in all its purity.”

Another German drama is held up as an example worthy of being oftener seen on the New York stage, viz., *Fraternal Discord*. The *Spy*, whose editor was pleading for “the regular drama in all its purity”, is the paper in which the following article appeared: “*Fraternal Discord* is a very pleasing and effective drama. We are surprised that this drama and others which have an affinity to it, are not oftener performed. The composition is good and the incidents are well contrived, the characters naturally sketched and the moral excellent—and yet, with all these recommendations it is seldom played, unless to give an in-

²³⁴ New York *Mirror and Ladies’ Literary Gazette*, V, p. 239 (February 2, 1828).

²³⁵ The *New York Spy*, January 1, 1828.

²³⁶ Refers to a drama entitled *Peter Wilkens*.

valid an opportunity of appearing in accordance with his situation."²³⁷

The summary for the Park shows eight German plays in thirty-two performances. Two of the plays may be looked upon as revivals for this theatre: they are: *Fraternal Discord* and *Lovers' Vows*.

The Chatham Theatre (Season 1827-1828).

At the Chatham we find no new plays this season and but one unimportant revival: *The Point of Honor*. The list shows a strong preference for the Kotzebue drama—of the five German dramas presented, four are by this author. The other drama which holds out with the above mentioned plays is *The Robbers*.

Summary.

Of Age Tomorrow, December 5, 1827, June 9, July 5, 1828.
Pizarro, December 11, 22, 1827, January 28, March 27,
 April 9, July 18, 1828.
The Stranger, December 13, 1827, June 17, 1828.
The Robbers, December 15, 1827, January 24,²³⁸ 1828.
How to Die for Love, March 20, 26, May 6, 1828.

Uncertain Plays.

The Snowstorm,²³⁹ December 15, 20, 1827.
The Bleeding Nun, December 18, 1827.
Raymond and Agnes, March 21, 1828.
The Wood Daemon, January 8, 9, 10, 11, 30, February 23,
 1828.
The Wheel of Fortune, January 17, 1828.
The West Indian, February 13, 1828.
The Wandering Boys, February 16, 22, 1828.
The Hero of the North, February 22, 26, 1828.
The Floating Beacon, March 29, April 9, 1828.

²³⁷ The *New York Spy*, January 5, 1828. On December 8, 1827, Messrs. Simpson and Barry together with Mrs. Barry were injured during a performance of *Faustus*. December 31 Mr. Simpson appeared on crutches in *Fraternal Discord*, quite in keeping with his rôle.

²³⁸ Cast for January 24, 1828: Charles de Moor, Mr. Maywood; Franz de Moor, Forrest; Amelia, Miss Twibill.

²³⁹ The same as *Lowina of Toboilska*, or *The Fatal Snowstorm*. (Cf. pp. 85, 97, 134.)

The Miller and His Men, April 16, July 2, 1828.

The Point of Honor, April 21, 1828.

Ella Rosenberg, April 30, 1828.

The Slave, June 23, 1828.

Adrian and Orilla, June 24, 1828.

Adelgitha, June 26, 1828.

Tekili, July 24, 1828.

The summary shows five German plays in sixteen performances.

The Lafayette Amphitheatre (Season 1827-1828).

The Lafayette, after being rebuilt, opened its doors September 29, 1827, on which occasion *The Wandering Boys* was played as an afterpiece. Four German plays were given: *How to Die for Love*, *Rugantino*, *The Robbers* and *Pizarro* (in Sheridan's translation). A *Don Giovanni* was also played; it is termed a "Burletta", which would lead one to think it is the same as the play announced for May 10: *Don Giovanni*, or *The Spectre on Horseback*. One new uncertain play appears: *St. Mark's Day*. Herr Cline, the "German Samson and Seiltanzer", gave a number of exhibitions at this theatre during the month of June, 1828.

Summary (Season 1827-1828).

How to Die for Love, November 16, 1827, April 18, June 26, July 15, 1828.

Rugantino, March 15, 20, 1828.

The Robbers, March 19, 21, 1828.

Pizarro, June 23, 24, 26, 30, 1828.

Uncertain Plays.

The Wandering Boys, September 29, November 2, 1827, April 22, June 28, 1828.

The Floating Beacon, October 12, 15, 19, 20, 30, November 5, December 22, 1827, July 29, 1828.

Returned Killed, October 25, 31, 1827.

The Ruffian Boy, October 26, November 9, 20, 1827, February 27, May 8, 1828.

Tekili, November 2, 1827, March 12, 1828.

The Miller and His Men, November 13, 15, 1827, January 4, February 14, July 30, 1828.

The Flying Dutchman, November 17, 1827.

Don Giovanni (?), November 20, 22, 24, 26, December 8, 29, 1827, January 12, 1828.

Matrimony, December 15, 1827, January 4, 31, July 14, 1828.

St. Mark's Day,^o February 4, 1828.

Don Giovanni, or *The Spectre on Horseback*, May 10, 1828.

Pizarro in the translation of Sheridan was revived by Wallack during his June performances. It is the only play that elicited comment. "*Pizarro* is to be repeated at the Lafayette this evening (June 24, 1828). It is got up in excellent style and the Rolla of Mr. Wallack has no superior on this continent. . . . And, as a splendid, sentimental, virtuous and patriotic spectacle we presume it will command a good audience for a handsome run in these piping holiday times."²⁴⁰

The Bowery (Season 1827-1828).

The season at the Bowery was considerably shortened by the fire which destroyed the theatre May 26, 1828. In spite of this fact, it brings more German plays than did the Lafayette. The attraction at this theatre was Forrest, who appeared in *Tell* in the early part of the season. *Deaf and Dumb* was also revived.²⁴¹ It was here, too, that the "celebrated Seiltanzer, Herr Cline, from the Drury Lane Theatre", made his first appearance in America.²⁴²

Summary (Bowery, Season 1827-1828).

Pizarro, September 10, December 13, 1827.

William Tell, September 18, 22, October 5, December 11, 1827, March 3, May 2, 16, 1828.

How to Die for Love, October 15, November 5, December 3, 1827.

Deaf and Dumb, November 12, 15, 1827, March 4, 1828.

Don Giovanni, October 19, 1827.

²⁴⁰ From the *New York Enquirer*, June 24, 1828.

²⁴¹ The announcement of the play and a long synopsis were in the *Spny*, ember 17, 1827.

²⁴² Cf. the *New York Enquirer*, May 12, 1828.

Uncertain Plays.

The Flying Dutchman, October 2, 13, 31, November 29, 1827, April 24, May 22, 1828.

The Floating Beacon, November 5, 1827.

The Devil's Bridge, December 10, 1827.

Matrimony, March 5, May 8, 1828.

The Gambler's Fate, March 14, 1828.

Five German plays in sixteen performances.

Mt. Pitt Circus (Season 1827-1828).

How to Die for Love, October 2, 1827.

La Perouse, October 29, 30, 31, November 1, 6, 23, 1827.

Scenes from *Faust*, November 13, 1827.

Uncertain Plays.

Tekili, November 12, December 4, 5, 1827.

The Blind Boy (?), February 4, 1828.

The Floating Beacon, February 9, 1828.

The Fatal Snowstorm, June 27, 1828.

Two German plays in seven performances and the representation of a number of scenes from *Faustus*.

At the Sans Souci Theatre there is nothing to note except the exhibitions of Herr Cline.

Totals for the Season.

Park Theatre,	8 German plays in 32 performances.
Chatham,	5 German plays in 16 performances.
Lafayette,	4 German plays in 12 performances of
Bowery,	5 German plays in 16 performances
Mt. Pitt,	2 German plays in 7 performances

The German plays that were put on in all theatres here favored during the season of 1827-1828 are as follows: *Ts brought riage of Figaro*, *Faustus*, *Der Freischutz*, *Fraternal* was badly *Lovers' Vows*, *Pizarro*, *William Tell*, *The Poachers*, *He on of this for Love*, *Rugantino*, *The Robbers*, *Of Age Tomorrow* range of *Stranger*, *Deaf and Dumb*, *Don Giovanni* and *La . g.* The There were in all sixteen different German plays put on in "enza". three performances.

As usual there is a sentiment against the German drama expressed once in a while, yet these statements are always general against the "German school". The critique of a new drama, entitled *The Wonder*, is an example of such an expression. "This drama (*The Wonder*) was written by an Englishwoman before the Sentimental German School had come in to spoil us with its mawkish platonics and maudlin metaphysics."²⁴³ We might add that the Englishwoman referred to is Mrs. Centlivre (died 1723).

Season of 1828-1829.

Park Theatre, September 1, 1828, to August 17, 1829.

Chatham,²⁴⁴ September 15–November 1, 1828, May 20, 1829, to July 4. July 15–September 1, 1829.

Bowery (new), August 20, 1828, to July 24, 1829.

Lafayette, December 24, 1828–March, 1829. April 6-11, 1829.²⁴⁵

The season at the Park is again the most interesting of all the seasons; it brings a revival of *The Virgin of the Sun*, a number of performances of Weber's *Oberon*, and, most important of all, a performance in German, of one act of Goethe's *Egmont*. *Pizarro* with Wallack in the rôle of Rolla has more performances (9) than any other one play for the season.

Oberon, which was termed "the last and most perfect effort of Von Weber's genius",²⁴⁶ was put on October 9, 11 and 18. The opera itself received favorable criticism but the management of the scenery was evidently not satisfactory. A communication signed "A. B." appeared in the *Morning Courier*, in which the piece does not receive gentle treatment. "On Thursday 19 (Oct. 9) I witnessed the first representation of *Oberon* without exception found it the most wearisome opera got his or any other country. The songs of Mr. Horn and

²⁴³ *New York Evening Post*, May 3, 1828.

²⁴⁴ The Chatham opened in the fall under the management of Cooper, but its doors November 1, 1828. It was taken over by Wallack and renovated and opened under the name "American Opera House," 1829. It soon lost its prestige.

²⁴⁵ *Ibid.* returned April 11, 1829.

²⁴⁶ *New York Evening Post*, October 11, 1828.

Mrs. Austin ²⁴⁷ were, as usual, excellent, yet the Trumpet song—the only piece encoired—does not belong to that opera.

“All the beauties, and in fact all that is worth seeing in *Oberon* which took four hours to perform, might be represented in *one*; and I should strongly recommend its being curtailed at least to one third its present length. Otherwise the visitors had better take their night caps with them and prepare for a long snooze.

“No representation is ever equal to what is expected from the modern *puff* handbills—yet I naturally expected that Mr. Etienne would preside at the pianoforte, as was announced—but he was not there, a matter not much to be regretted as his services would have been useless in *Oberon*. Yet managers should always fulfill their promises, particularly where there are two opposition theatres. Monsieur Dunn, it was stated, with ‘numerous assistants’ would attend to the machinery. From the bungling manner in which they performed their work, pieces of clouds, forts, palaces, waterfalls, trees, rosebushes and devils’ heads being mixed with the curtains that neither would go up nor down, one would suppose that Mr. Dunn alone did all the business.

“Sir Huon could not get up to the clouds, although Oberon waved his white stick a long time to give him a start, but he came down after a fashion. And the man with a *single* tallow candle who lighted up the sun—not keeping it steady, the audience were gratified by a half dozen eclipses of that planet in the course of a few moments much to the astonishment of our friend Ritchings who appeared more like a King of Giants than of Fairies, who we are led to believe are of a pigmy race.

“A. B.”²⁴⁸

In the same issue of the *Morning Courier* a much more favorable opinion is expressed: “The opera of *Oberon* was brought out with uncommon splendour of scenery—but it was badly managed as is often the case with a first representation of this kind. The music is delightful, wandering through a range of variety in style, which renders the opera most fascinating. The

²⁴⁷ In the opera Mr. Horn sang “Sir Huon” and Mrs. Austin “Reza”.

²⁴⁸ The *New York Morning Courier*, October 11, 1828.

Ouverture is a splendid composition and was given with fine effect." An editorial of October 13, makes amends for anything that may have been published previously in the columns of the *Courier*. The writer was delighted with the new work in spite of a few drawbacks in the management of the scenery. The editorial concludes in the following manner: "It was some time before the New York public comprehended the music of *Der Freischutz* but when they did comprehend it, they were delighted. The music of *Oberon* is perhaps more difficult, of deeper execution and of more intricacy. For this very reason it will ultimately be more attractive."²⁴⁹

Oberon, however, did not become as popular as the other Weber opera. The Oriental tinge was not as attractive as the weirdness of the German legend.

Wallack made the most of his fine personal appearance and his stagecraft in his presentation of *Pizarro*. The *Critic* gives an interesting paragraph of facts concerning the actor and the play: "But the melo-dramatic play of *Pizarro* affords a character in which the stage-knowledge, the handsome person, and handsome dresses of this actor can be displayed to great advantage; and as the language is rather that of declamation than of nature; as the situations are rather interesting from their picturesque beauty than from any strong and indefinable hold which they take upon the deep and complicated passions of the heart; and as the admiration which Rolla excites is at all times rather to be ascribed to the virtuous heroism of his sentiments, than to any great skill in tragic action evinced by the performer, we really do not wonder at the success which Mr. Wallack meets in that delineation."²⁵⁰

The most important event in the history of the New York stage in reference to this paper is the performance of the fifth act of Goethe's *Egmont* in German at the Park Theatre, July 18, 1829. The performance was not by the regular members of the company connected with the theatre, but by a number of enthusiastic Germans, or better by one enthusiastic German. Unfortunately the names of the parties concerned were not published and

²⁴⁹ The New York *Morning Courier*, October 13, 1828.

²⁵⁰ The *Critic*, November 29, 1828.

the attempt to introduce Goethe to an American audience in the original was a miserable failure. The announcement of the performance was made in the papers of July 18, 1829.

"*Music Mad*, after which, the fifth act of Goethe's celebrated and much admired tragedy of *Egmont*. Being the first attempt at producing the German drama on an American stage. The characters by Amateurs (sic!). After which a new Comedy in 2 Acts, entitled *The Two Sternbergs*.

Count Sternberg, Mr. Blakely.
Count Lewis, Mr. Woodhull."²⁵¹

The performance took place as advertised; but if we may believe the words of the gentleman who represented *Egmont*, the failure was certain before the curtain ever rose. The following defense explains the situation.

"The following lines may be considered as an explanation of the failure and misrepresentation of *Egmont* as well as an answer to the observations of Germanus²⁵² under the head of German Tragedy in the *American and Morning Herald*.²⁵³

"It was under the impression that some *performance* in the *original* German might, through its novelty please an American audience and at the same time be received with pleasure by my countrymen in this city, that I undertook to represent at the Park Theatre on Saturday evening the 18th inst., the fifth act of Goethe's *Egmont*.

"For this purpose I had prepared the rolls (sic) of Ferdinand and Silva and handed them 12 days previous to its representation to the parties and eagerly awaited the moment for rehearsal; when on Friday the 17th in the afternoon, Ferdinand stated that he felt himself unable to fulfill his promise on account of his occupation which did not allow him sufficient time to study his part. *Egmont* had unfortunately been advertised in the public papers and playbills and even the papers and bills were ready for the next morning. . . .

²⁵¹ *Evening Post*, July 18, 1829.

²⁵² Germanus evidently ridiculed the attempt to put on a German drama.

²⁵³ The paper and the article referred to have not been found in a canvass of the New York Libraries.

"I cut out the parts of Ferdinand and Silva, selected a few strong and adapted passages from the dialogue of Egmont, wrote a few lines to connect the monologue and the final part, and I may say, that when the time arrived, I was fully prepared."

The disappointed actor goes to recite his woes: how the prison cell was not arranged as he had stipulated, instead of the dim light which he ordered, a bright light was flashed upon him as the curtain rose, making him exceedingly nervous; how in his excitement he forgot several lines; how the prompter (who was to have taken the rôle of Ferdinand and who had been offended by the sharp words of Egmont when he informed the latter that he would be unable to play Ferdinand) gave him the wrong cues, thus adding to his confusion. The form of Liberty as it appears in the vision was to hold the wreath above Egmont's head; instead of following instructions, the wreath was jammed down with considerable force upon the unfortunate man, and finally the Spanish soldiers who appeared refused to leave the stage until the poor Egmont in desperation signalled for the curtain to fall. We quote the conclusion of the article:

"Now, friend Germanus, if ever thou doubtest the Saxon tongue to be pure German which thou seemest not to understand, I hope to have exculpated my crime in thy eyes and taught thy tongue, that it is worse to vindicate one's self on account of a spoiled pleasure, without endeavoring before to know its causes, than to be the innocent victim of thy dart.

"But, sting, I feel thee not; my mind is armed with the consciousness of thy undeserved criticisms. But if thou art more generous than I think, and will procure an opportunity to give even thy approbation, invite our countrymen, that I, who without means, can not proceed alone, may be induced to prove to them that thy talk rather than my language may be more justly compared with the language of an Indian woman.

"Egmont's Representative."²⁵⁴

Thus ended the first attempt to represent part of a German play in the original. Concerning *The Two Sternbergs* no more has been found than the partial cast already given.

²⁵⁴The New York *Morning Courier and Enquirer*, July 30, 1829.

There is an unusually large number of dramas which are of uncertain origin to record. We mention the following: *The Dumb Savoyard*, *The Scrf*, or *The Russian Brothers*, *The Bottle Imp*, *The Greeneyed Monster*, *The Youthful Queen*, *Queen Christine of Sweden*, *Charles XII*, or *The Siege of Stralsund*, *Peter the Great*, or *The Battle of Pultawa*.

The cast of *The Dumb Savoyard* shows Italian and German characters: Pipino (the Dumb Savoyard), Marmazette (the Monkey), Count Maldicini, Vatchwell (a German soldier, keeper of the prison), Sturmwald (keeper of the ferry), Countess Maldicini, Teresa Vanepa (Hostess of the Black Eagle). The play is by Thompson,²⁵⁵ but the scene is in Germany in the region of the Rhine, for after the play failed to attract the public the *Views of the Rhine* by Walker were still advertised.

The Scrf, or *The Russian Brothers*, according to Genest²⁵⁶ was taken by Talbot from the German and adapted to the English stage. The characters are: Ossip, Vladimir, Isidor, Petrow, Countess Olga and Madame La Roche. From what author in the German the play is adapted, I have been unable to determine.

The Bottle Imp has the following cast: Albert, Willibald, Nicola, The Imp, and Marcellina. *The Greeneyed Monster*, a comedy by Planché shows a number of German characters: Baron Speyenhauseu, Marcus, Krout (Gardener to the Baron), Col. Arnsdorf, Luise, Baroness Speyenhauseu and Amelia.

Swedish history and Swedish characters play an important rôle in the three last mentioned dramas. *The Youthful Queen* has among its characters Queen Christine, The Count of Oxenstiern, Frederick Bury, Steinburg and Emma. *The Siege of Stralsund* comes nearer the German soil although it does not deal with any distinctly German theme. In the play *Peter the Great*, or *The Battle of Pultawa*, Charles XII of Sweden also plays a rôle. The other characters are: Peter, Alexis, Menzikoff, Dorinski, Gen. Brandt, Swartz, Joseph Addelewitz, Illo Addelewitz and Briska.²⁵⁷

²⁵⁵ Cf. Genest, IX, p. 417.

²⁵⁶ Cf. Genest, IX, pp. 427-8.

²⁵⁷ Genest, IX, p. 463.

Summary for the Park (Season 1828-1829).

Of Age Tomorrow, September 3, November 1, 1828, January 3, 1829.

The Poachers, September 4, 17, October 1, 9, November 3, December 8, 1828, June 24, July 28, 1829.

Pizarro, September 17, 22, 29, October 3, 16, December 11, 1828, January 7, April 6, May 12, 1829.

Der Freischutz, October 2, 7, 21, December 2, 19, 1828, March 14, July 1, 1829.

The Marriage of Figaro, October 4, 1828, January 6, March 25, April 2, May 21, June 11, August 12, 1829.

Oberon^o (Weber), October 9, 11, 18, 1828.

The Virgin of the Sun, October 20, 27, December 29, 1828, April 8, May 28, 1829.

William Tell, November 3, 1828, April 16, May 2,²⁵⁸ June 25, 1829.

Altdorf,²⁵⁹ January 22, 24, 1829.

Egmont^o (5th Act in German), July 18, 1829.

The Robbers, August 4, 1829.

Uncertain Plays.

The West Indian, September 2, 1828.

Giovanni in London, October 4, December 6, 1828, March 10, 1829.

The Gambler's Fate, October 14, November 6, 1828.

The Dumb Savoyard,^o November 4, 7, 8, 10, 12, 13, 14, 17, 18, 22, 25, 29, December 3, 12, 25, 30, 1828, January 1, 9, 21, February 10, March 13, April 11, 17, 18, July 8, 31, 1829.

The Serf, or The Russian Brothers^o (German?), November 7, 1828.

The Bottle Imp^o (?), November 25, 27, December 2, 11, 12, 20, 27, 1828, February 12, 14, April 27, June 23, July 9, 1829.

The Blind Boy (Hewetson), December 24, 1828.

The Flying Dutchman, December 16, 19, 1828, February 23, 1829.

²⁵⁸ Tell was played by "a young gentleman, a seaman, who made his debut in the same character a few weeks since at the Walnut Street Theatre in Philadelphia."

²⁵⁹ Written by Fanny Wright. Cf. pp. 89, 90, 91 of this paper.

The Siege of Belgrade, December 24, 1828, June 13, 1829.

Columbus, December 25, 1828.

The Greeneyed Monster,^o February 14, 17, 19, 26, 28, March 7, 10, 17, 21, 28, April 24, June 18, August 4, 1829.

The Youthful Queen, or Christine of Sweden^o (?), February 19, 21, March 7, 18, 1829.

Valentine and Orson, February 21, 1829.

Charles XII, or The Siege of Stralsund, March 9, 12, 13, 17, 21, 26, April 7, 25, 30, June 4, 11, July 29, August 6, 1829.

The Wandering Boys, April 16, June 30, 1829.

Adelmorn, April 21, 1829.

Peter the Great, or The Battle of Pultawa,^o April 24, May 5, 16, June 2, 1829.

The Point of Honor, June 3, 1829.

Don Giovanni, or The Spectre on Horseback, July 3, 11, 15, 23, 1829.

The Two Sternbergs^o (?), July 18, 1829.

The German plays given during the season number eleven in fifty performances.²⁶⁰

The Chatham Theatre and The American Opera House.

(Season 1828-1829.)

At the Chatham there are no German plays to record and comparatively few at the American Opera House. *Of Age Tomorrow, Pizarro, Fraternal Discord* and *Tell* complete the list. No new German plays appeared.

Among the uncertain plays is *The Death Fetch, or The Student of Göttingen*, which from its title deserves our notice. The scene is in Germany and the characters are ostensibly German although the play has been taken from the Irish writer Banim,²⁶¹ who in his "O'Hara Tales" has furnished the basis for the play. *The Morning Courier and Enquirer* gives the plot in detail:

"*The Death Fetch*—An operatic Romance, bearing this title was first produced Tuesday evening. For a description of the

²⁶⁰ Includes the performances of *Egmont* and *Altdorf*.

²⁶¹ John Banim (1798-1842) published "The O'Hara Tales" in 1825. The second of these is entitled "The Fetches".

plot and incidents perhaps we cannot do better than copy the *London Courier* the day after its first performance at the English Opera House.

"The story is founded on a popular German superstition and the arrangement and management of it for dramatic purposes, are taken almost entirely from the 'Tales of the O'Hara Family'. The superstition that the deaths of individuals are foretold by the appearance of forms resembling theirs, is of so great antiquity, and there is not a reader of Ghostly Lore, who will not readily point out a variety of marvellous stories founded on it. . . .

"The Death Fetch is a solitary and silent sort of visitor, associated only with the thoughts of Death, without any of the inspiring accompaniments of deviltry or violence. The Opera begins with the arrival of Ludolph, the suitor of Matilda Rothe; we learn from his conversation with Matilda that her sister, Louisa, is receiving the addresses of Ebert—and that he is turning her brain with stories and hobgoblins and dissertations on metaphysics.

"Ebert and Louisa now make their appearance and their conversation turns upon the appearance of the Death Fetch. In another scene, Matilda and Louisa are waiting in the evening for Ebert. After a long delay, he or something bearing his resemblance, enters the room and seats himself or itself upon the sofa by Louisa. Offended by Ebert's supposed neglect—she at first takes no notice, but Matilda after speaking and receiving no answer, retires in alarm. Louisa now begins to feel the influence of terror, she listens and cannot hear the figure breathe; at length it rises, moves to the back of the room and disappears. Thus ends the first Act.

"2nd Act. Ebert apologizes for his conduct on the preceding night; and as his apology which is meant for his *absence*, is in general terms, it is supposed to apply to his abrupt entrance and departure—and the mystery appears to be explained. He is afterward confined to his room by sickness; the figure of Louisa appears to him at the window; he rushes forth into the garden of the College, sees the figure near a statue and falls down ex-

hausted at the base of it. Louisa with Ludolph and Matilda is in the meanwhile waiting for his arrival—for a long time he comes not, but at length appears in the gateway; Ludolph goes forth after him, and on getting into the open air, sees the forms of Louisa and Ebert at a distance and hears a chorus of spirits.

“Act. 3. Louisa proves somewhat disordered in her wits,—and Ebert is still in a state of sickness; in order to cure both of them Doctor Von Sassan prescribes that the lady shall be told that all the visits have been real and substantial, that her lover has gone off to Italy and that Ebert shall be informed that Louisa and her family are displeased with his conduct, and that he must for a time abstain from visiting them. Von Sassan then recommends a trip to the Hartz Mountains and sets out with Ebert.

“Louisa unluckily sees them on their way and contrives to get into a carriage and follows them. Then she and Ebert meet; at first each believes the other a spirit. When this delusion has been removed, they compare their recollections of what had passed, are convinced of the intervention of supernatural agency and expire on the spot.

“*The Death Fetch* and its performance were completely successful and will no doubt ‘fetch’ lots of money to the manager’s coffers.”²⁶²

Thus the New York public was again thrilled by the mysteries of German superstition, for the play in its setting could not fail to impress the playgoer as an essentially German drama.

Summary.

Of Age Tomorrow, May 21, 1829.

Pizarro, May 27, August 4, 1829.

Fraternal Discord, June 6, 1829.

William Tell, July 18, 1829.

Uncertain Plays.

Two Pages of Frederick the Great, August 4, October 2, 1828.

Tekili, May 22, 1829.

²⁶² *Morning Courier and Enquirer*, June 12, 1829. Cf. also the *New York Mirror and Ladies' Literary Gazette*, VI, p. 398.

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The Blind Boy (?), May 23, 1829.

The Devil's Bridge, June 1, 1829.

The Wandering Boys, June 2, 1829.

Matrimony, June 3, 19, July 20, 1829.

The Death Fetch,^o June 9, 11, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 23, 24, 1829.

The summary shows but five German plays in five performances.

The Lafayette.

The season at the Lafayette was cut short by fire in the night of April 10, 1811; a greater variety of plays was presented and more performances are recorded than for the American Opera House. There are no new plays put on; in general Kotzebue seems to be the favorite with four dramas of the six given.

Summary (Season 1828-1829).

William Tell, August 18, 20, 1828, January 14, February 19, 1829.

The Robbers, August 22, 1828, January 8, February 2, 1829.

La Perouse, January 14, 21, 31, 1829.

Pizarro, February 9,²⁶³ 13, 1829.

The Birthday, February 26, 1829.

The Stranger, March 14, April 10,²⁶⁴ 1829.

Uncertain Plays.

Matrimony, August 11, September 18, 1828.

The Innkeeper's Daughter, August 12, 15, 1828.

Adeline, or The Victim of Seduction, December 27, 1828, January 17, 1829.

The Wandering Boys, January 6, 1829.

The Floating Beacon, January 7, 22, 1829.

Tekili, January 12, February 4, 1829.

Ella Rosenberg, February 23, 1829.

For the night of January 14 two German plays made up the program: *Tell* and *La Perouse*, which in the form of an after-

²⁶³ Cast: Rolla, Mr. Duffy; Elvira, Miss Emery.

²⁶⁴ The last performance in this theatre.

piece was produced every year at the Lafayette. The summary shows six German plays in fifteen performances.

The Bowery (Season 1828-1829).

Forrest and Wallack were the attractions at this strong theatre at the beginning of the season. Indeed, the patrons of the playhouse were given the rare treat of seeing these two stars play in the same piece: *Pizarro*. Wallack did not, as usual, take the rôle of Rolla; he impersonated Pizarro while Forrest played the more grateful rôle. Such performances are recorded for September 27 and December 3, 1828.

One new German play is recorded at this theatre during the season: *The Rocbuck, Guilty or Not Guilty*. It is perhaps the last of the Kotzebue pieces to be presented on the New York stage. Nothing more than the simple announcement: "A new Comedy from the German of Kotzebue is announced for to-night. It is highly spoken of and the cast embraces much of the talent of the company."²⁶⁵

The cast was: Lord Melford, Mr. Barrett; Giles Grizzle, Mr. Chapman; Lady Melford, Mrs. Hughes; Lady Linton, Mrs. Barrett; Nannette, Miss Fisher.

Among the new titles of uncertain plays we note: *The Two Peters*, a play which we have already discussed under the name *'Twould Puzzle a Conjurer*;²⁶⁶ *The King and the Deserter*, with the following cast: Frederick the Great, Adelbert, Moroscus, Rosalie and Martha. It is very likely the dramatization of an anecdote concerning Frederick the Great. Another play which remains in the dark is entitled *Inchape Bell* (sometimes *Inchape Bcll*); beyond the title no information seems available. *The Death Fetch*²⁶⁷ is put on only once; its cast seems to differ from the play which at the same time was being given at the Chatham. Two characters, Aldibert and Stella, are mentioned in the announcement.²⁶⁸

²⁶⁵ From the *New York Morning Courier and Enquirer*, March 16, 1829. Cf. "The Poachers," p. 145.

²⁶⁶ Cf. p. 11 of this number of GERMAN AMERICAN ANNALS.

²⁶⁷ Cf. p. 46 ff. of this number of GERMAN AMERICAN ANNALS.

²⁶⁸ *New York Evening Post*, June 16, 1829.

Summary (Season 1828-1829).

William Tell, August 25 (Forrest), September 5, October 10, November 19, 1828, June 17, July 6, 1829.

Pizarro, September 27, October 7, November 24, December 3, 1828, March 9, July 15, 1829.

Don Giovanni, September 30, October 8, 1828.

The Roebuck, or Guilty or Not Guilty,^o March 16, 18, 19, 20, 21, 26, 28, June 22, 1829.

The Robbers, July 1, 1829.²⁶⁹

Uncertain Plays.

The West Indian, September 2, October 23, 1828, March 28, 1829.

The Devil's Bridge, October 18, 1828.

The Gambler's Fate, October 20, 30, November 1, 14, December 12, 13, 1828, March 28, June 19, 1829.

The Two Peters, November 13, 14, 19, 20, 22, December 24, 1828.

Matrimony, December 5, 1828.

The King and the Deserter,^o December 18, 20, 22, 23, 25, 30, 1828, February 21, March 4, 10, 14, 28, April 18, 1829.

Inchcape Bell^o (?), December 25, 27, 1828, January 1, 6, March 2, 1829.

The Death Fetch,^o June 16, 1829.

Valentine and Orson, July 7, 27, 1829.

Kotzebue's *Roebuck* proves to be the most popular of the German plays for the season; it had eight performances, while *Pizarro* and *Tell* with the great actors Forrest and Wallack each have six performances. The total number of plays noted is five; the number of performances twenty-three.

The amusement places of less importance have not been mentioned in the discussion of the season. At the Sans Souci Theatre *Of Age Tomorrow* was put on once (August 6, 1829);

²⁶⁹ The cast was: Charles de Moor, Scott; Frances de Moor, Southwell; Spiegelberg, Roberts; Switzer, Bernard; Roller, Walton; Amelia, Mrs. Hughes.

at the Vauxhall the same comedy was given August 18; at the Mt. Pitt Circus *Adeline*, or *The Victim of Seduction* is put on September 4, 1829.

Summary for the Entire Season.

Park Theatre,	11 German plays in 50 performances.
Chatham (American Opera House),	4 German plays in 5 performances.
The Lafayette,	6 German plays in 15 performances.
The Bowery,	5 German plays in 23 performances.
Sans Souci,	1 German play in 1 performance.
Vauxhall,	1 German play in 1 performance.

In the ninety-five German performances for the season the following plays appeared: *Of Age Tomorrow*, *The Poachers*, *Pizarro*, *Der Freischutz*, *The Marriage of Figaro*, *Oberon* (Weber), *The Virgin of the Sun*, *William Tell*, *Altdorf*, *Egmont*, *The Robbers*, *Fraternal Discord*, *Don Giovanni*, *The Roebuck*, *La Perouse*, *The Birthday*, *The Stranger*.

Of the seventeen plays presented nine are Kotzebue plays. *Tell* and *Pizarro* seem to be equally popular, for they are given at the four leading theatres with much regularity. *The Robbers* is the only drama which competes with the Kotzebue plays in holding its place on the lists for a series of years.

The Season of 1829-1830, up to January 1, 1830.

The Park Theatre opened its doors for the new season September 2, 1830. The Lafayette was no longer a rival. The Chatham opened late and was given over to entertainments of low class; and the Bowery had been leased by the managers of the Park. Thus the Park was the sole master of the field for a time and as at the beginning of this paper so at the close there is but one theatre that occupies our attention.

Early in the season a new play based on a German original and to all intents a German play appears. The title is: *The Devil's Elixir*, or *The Shadowless Man*. So far as I am able to find, no one has determined the source of this play. It is doubtless a dramatization of the thrilling tale of E. T. A. Hoffmann,

"Die Elixire des Teufels" (1815-1816). The general plot corresponds as well as the characters to that of Hoffmann's story.

The characters of the play are: Francesco (a Capuchin), Nicholas (Bell-toller), Count Hermogen, Gortzburg (the Demon of the Elixir), Prior of the Monastery, Aurelia and Urika.²⁷⁰ Hermogen and Aurelia are betrothed. Francesco is secretly in love with Aurelia. The nature of the Elixir is that the person who drinks of it may assume the shape of his rival—but with this distinction—that he can have no shadow. Francesco drinks some of the Elixir and is transformed into the appearance of Hermogen. Nicholas, Aurelia and the others believe Francesco to be Hermogen. Hermogen enters—Aurelia is puzzled. Nicholas determines to bring the matter to a test. Hermogen passes a lamp—there is a shadow; Francesco passes the lamp—there is no shadow.

Francesco is put in prison; he then makes a compact with Gortzburg. Gortzburg transports Hermogen and Nicholas to prison and places Francesco on the couch on which Hermogen had been lying. In the last scene Francesco and Aurelia are on the point of being married. The Prior condemns Hermogen to death, but Francesco is seized by remorse and resigns Aurelia. He takes refuge in St. Anthony's cell, whither Gortzburg attempts to follow him, but at the entrance he is stricken by a thunderbolt.

The arrangement is by Fitz-Ball.²⁷¹

One new uncertain play appears: *The Mountain Robber*, but no cast is available. The drama entitled *Sisters of Charity* with the following cast: St. Ursula, Col. Saxe, Capt. Weimar, Joseph and Paulo, may also be added to the list.

The *Tell* of Forrest (played November 24, 1829) "drew together a very numerous auditory on Tuesday evening and the reappearance of that excellent tragedian was welcomed with warm applause" reports the *Evening Post* of November 26, 1829. In the only performance of *Pizarro* which we note, Forrest acted the part of Rolla.

²⁷⁰ Cf. Genest, IX, p. 482.

²⁷¹ Cf. Genest, IX, p. 482ff.

Summary.

Don Giovanni, September 8, 1829.

The Stranger, September 15, 1829.

Der Freischutz, October 21, 1829.

William Tell, November 24, 1829.

The Devil's Elixir, or *The Shadowless Man*,^o November 25, December 1, 1829.

Pizarro, November 28, 1829.

Uncertain Plays.

Charles XII, or *The Siege of Stralsund*, September 5, December 16, 1829.

The Gambler's Fate, September 14, November 4, 1829.

The West Indian, September 21, 1829.

The Wandering Boys, October 13, 1829.

The Greeneyed Monster, October 19, 1829.

Sisters of Charity^o (?), November 13, 1829.

The Mountain Robber^o (?), December 7, 1829.

With the statistics of this part of the season of 1829-1830 our paper closes; there are no doubt new and interesting things in the years that follow until the first strivings for a German theatre are seen. No season will be found, however, that will eclipse the wonderful years of 1800, 1801 and 1802, when the American theatre-going public knew far more about Kotzebue than the cultivated native German of today.

This period of Kotzebue dramas must have been of immense importance in the formation of the public taste. And the fact that some of his plays remained on the American stage until 1860 and later shows how strong an appeal he made to the American public.

It has not been the purpose of this paper to determine the influence of the German drama on the early American drama; that must be a special study based on much of the material presented in these pages. We have tried to give a picture of the stage conditions, the number and character of the German plays which were performed and this information will guide the student of the American drama in his investigations of German influence in this field.

ADDRESS OF DR. C. J. HEXAMER, PRESIDENT OF
THE NATIONAL GERMAN-AMERICAN ALLIANCE,
AT THE UNVEILING OF THE GENERAL VON
STEUBEN MONUMENT, AT VALLEY FORGE
PARK, OCTOBER 9, 1915.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

One of the manifold duties, carried on for sixteen years, in the beneficent work of the National German-American Alliance is the marking of historical sites and the erection of monuments to instill patriotism in the hearts of the American people. It is not necessary to tell an audience like this that every American of German birth or extraction feels the sentiment of Rufus Choate, who wrote:

“We join ourselves to no party that does not carry the flag and keep step to the music of the Union.”

As a prominent lawyer of Baltimore, a native of the United States, whose ancestors were German, recently wrote:

“Living in a land peopled by folk from all the contending nations, it was particularly incumbent upon us to observe a strict and even impartiality of conduct. It was not for this country nor the people thereof to sit in judgment upon the nations and pass upon the righteousness of their cause.

“When President Wilson issued his proclamation of neutrality and called upon the people of the United States to refrain from any conduct that might provoke ill-feeling between them, the German-Americans, as a whole, gave respectful heed thereto.

“But, ignoring the fair request of the President, a large part of the English press of the country at once took sides against Germany, and by act and deed sought to hurt and embarrass her. It gave prominence to every statement that might reflect adversely upon Germany and the Germans. They were suddenly denied every civil virtue and made to appear as the most ruthless of savages. No state-

ment was too incredible or absurd to be given prominence. Facts were perverted and lying even resorted to.

"Whether bias or ignorance, malice or mercenary motives fathered these calumnies we know not; but the fact remains as a shame and discredit to our Nation.

"This condition existing we arose in protest—a just and honest protest—made not in derogation of any fealty to the United States, but out of a lively indignation at the injury done the land of our brothers and of our fathers. A land to which we owe so much of our culture and from which has sprung so great a part of our population.

"On our part to continue silent would have been contemptible and craven.

"This defense drew the savage spleen of a hostile press towards our own persons. Our past deeds were forgotten, all our years of loyalty and service to the Union were brushed away. We became over night, as it were, inferior citizens; 'citizens of a divided allegiance!' The phrase 'hyphenated'* was used as a term of reproach and contumely. . . .

" . . . For us the hyphen is here to stay. It shall serve as a badge of merit which our children and children's children will be proud to bear.

"The while the unhyphenated but ardently English-Americans have boldly advocated the abrogation of our Independence by suggesting that we make common cause with the 'Mother Country' and in the interest of a 'common Anglo-Saxon' civilization, the German-Americans have asked nothing but fair play for the Fatherland and have cast their weight against the treasonable idea of a common cause with England. For us the words of Thomas Jefferson are

*The editor of this periodical removed the "hyphen" from "German-American", on purely aesthetic grounds, nearly twenty years ago, long before the sign acquired the scandalous notoriety, which it now enjoys. All Americans, even the Redskins, are "hyphenated" at some point in their history. If the "hyphen" is to signify anything politically objectionable, it should apply to those thousands of aliens who enjoy the privileges of residence in America without taking up the duties of American citizenship. An investigation into that subject would shed some interesting light on the situation. It is better English and better taste to write "English American", "French American", "German American", without the hyphen, letting the adjectives tell their own story. So far as the editor is aware, he was the first to officially introduce the dehyphenated form of "German American", in the *Americana Germanica* (1897 on), the German American Historical Society (1901 on) and the *GERMAN AMERICAN ANNALS* (1902 on). The hyphen has been printed in this address, as it is a question of reproducing a document.—THE EDITOR.

still a guide and warning: 'Peace, commerce and honest friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none.'

"This has been the height of our offending. For this we have been threatened with the mob and its blind vengeance by a press which has proven itself unfair and forgetful of its duty to the American people.

"As German-Americans we are proud to mark ourselves as being of the kin and blood of a brave and great people; a people whose achievements in war and in peace make it an honor to be known as Germans.

"But with all this, true to our Country, we shall live as Americans and die as Americans."

I cannot better open these exercises than by reading the letter which Steuben, who arrived at Portsmouth, N. H., on December 1, 1777, wrote to the Continental Congress on December 6, 1777:

"Honorable Gentlemen: The honor of serving a nation engaged in defending its rights and liberties was the motive that brought me to this continent. I ask neither riches nor titles. I am come here from the remotest end of Germany, at my own expense, and have given up honorable and lucrative rank. I have made no condition with your deputies in France, nor shall I make any with you. My only ambition is to serve you as a volunteer, to deserve the confidence of your General in Chief, and to follow him in all his operations as I have done during seven campaigns with the King of Prussia.

"Two and twenty years spent in such a school seems to give me a right of thinking myself among the number of experienced officers, and if I am possessed of the acquirements in the art of war they will be much more prized by me if I can employ them in the service of a Republic such as I hope soon to see America. I should willingly purchase at the expense of my blood the honor of having my name enrolled among those of the defenders of your liberty. Your gracious acceptance will be sufficient for me, and I ask no other favor than to be received among your officers. I venture to hope that you will grant this my request, and that you will be so good as to send me your orders to Boston, where I shall await them and take suitable measures in accordance."

And to Washington he wrote on the same day:

“Sir: The inclosed copy of a letter, the original of which I shall have the honor to present to Your Excellency, will inform you of the motives that brought me over to this land. I shall only add to it that the object of my greatest ambition is to render the country all the service in my power, and to deserve the title of a citizen of America by fighting for the cause of your liberty. If the distinguished ranks in which I have served in Europe should be an obstacle, I had rather serve under Your Excellency as a volunteer than to be an object of discontent to such deserving officers as have already distinguished themselves among you.

“Such being the sentiments I have always professed, I dare hope that the respectable Congress of the United States of America will accept my services. I could say, moreover, were it not for the fear of offending your modesty, that Your Excellency is the only person under whom, after having served the King of Prussia, I could wish to follow a profession to the study of which I have wholly devoted myself. I intend to go to Boston in a few days, where I shall present my letters to Mr. Hancock, Member of Congress, and there I shall await Your Excellency’s orders.”

How well Washington soon appreciated his services was shown six weeks after Steuben had commenced his active work, when Washington made the following report to Congress:

“The extensive ill consequences arising from a want of uniformity in discipline and manœuvres throughout the Army have long occasioned me to wish for the establishment of a well-organized inspectorship, and the concurrence of Congress in the same views has induced me to set on foot a temporary institution, which, from the success which has hitherto attended it, gives me the most flattering expectations.

“Baron Steuben’s length of service in the first military school of Europe and his former rank pointed him out as a person peculiarly qualified to be at the head of this department. This appeared the least exceptional way of introducing him into the Army, and the one that would give him the most ready opportunity of displaying his talent. I therefore proposed to him to undertake the office of Inspector General, which he agreed to do with the greatest cheerfulness,

and has performed the duties of it with a zeal and intelligence equal to our wishes.

“I should do injustice if I were to be longer silent with regard to the merits of Baron Steuben. His knowledge of his profession, added to the zeal which he has displayed since he began upon the functions of his office, leads me to consider him an acquisition to the service, and to recommend him to the attention of Congress.”

It is pathetic to note that the last official act of the “*Father of his Country*,” as President of the United States, was a letter written to Steuben, which more eloquently tells the virtues and value of Steuben than I possibly could; and with these words of our immortal Washington, I will close:

“My Dear Baron: Although I have taken frequent opportunities, both public and private, to acknowledge your great zeal, attention, and abilities in performing the duties of your office, yet I wish to make use of this last moment of my public life to signify in the strongest terms my entire approbation of your conduct and to express my sense of the obligation the public is under to you for your faithful and meritorious services.

“I beg you will be convinced, my dear sir, that I should rejoice if it could ever be in my power to serve you more essentially than by expressions of regard and affection, but in the meantime I am persuaded you will not be displeased with this farewell token of my sincere friendship and esteem for you.

“This is the last letter I shall write while I continue in the service of my country. The hour of my resignation is fixed at 12 today, after which I shall become a private citizen on the banks of the Potomac, where I shall be glad to embrace you and testify the great esteem and consideration with which I am, my dear Baron, etc.”

GENERAL VON STEUBEN AND THE NEW LESSON OF GERMAN MILITARISM.

BY M. D. LEARNED.

The monument erected at Valley Forge in honor of General Steuben is but slight recognition of the services this German general rendered the American cause in the Revolution. Only the few initiated grasp the full meaning of Steuben's reorganization of the American forces. The British had pushed Washington's scattered army to the north and kept it out of Philadelphia, which became the British headquarters, while the colonial troops took refuge under the shelter of Valley Forge. Such an army has rarely been assembled on any battlefield as these hungry, ragged, suffering colonials. Contemporaneous accounts draw a graphic picture: 3,989 men in camp unfit for duty for want of clothing, mutinies, desertions, fever and other sickness prevailed. Only 5,012 of the original force of 17,000 men were fit for duty in February, 1778. Washington wrote to Congress:

“Unless some great and capital change takes place, the army must inevitably be reduced to one or other of these three things—to starve, dissolve or disperse in order to obtain subsistence.”

The organization of the colonial army was copied from the English system and entirely demoralized. Steuben writes:

“I found that the different branches were divided into departments. There were those of the quartermaster general, war commissary, provisions commissary, commissary of the treasury, or paymaster of forage, etc., etc. But they were all bad copies of a bad original. That is to say, they had imitated the English administration, which is certainly the most imperfect in Europe. . . .

“The effective strength of the army was divided into divisions, commanded by major generals; into brigades, commanded by brigadier generals; and into regiments, commanded by colonels. The number of men in a regiment was fixed by Congress, as well as in a company—so many infantry, cavalry, and artillery. But the eternal ebb and flow of men engaged for three, six and nine months, who went

and came every day, rendered it impossible to have either a regiment or a company complete; and the words company, regiment, brigade, and division, were so vague that they did not convey any idea upon which to form a calculation, either of a particular corps or of the army in general. They were so unequal in their number, that it would have been impossible to execute any maneuvers. Sometimes a regiment was stronger than a brigade. I have seen a regiment consisting of *thirty men*, and a company of *one corporal!* Nothing was so difficult, and often so impossible, as to get a correct list of the state or return of any company, regiment or corps. As in the English service, there was a muster-master general, with a number of assistants. It was the duty of this officer to ascertain and report every month the effective state of the army, for the payment of the men and officers. This operation took place as follows: each captain made a roll of his company, whether absent or present, after which he made oath before a superior officer that this return was correct 'to the best of his knowledge and belief'. The muster-master counted the men present, and the absent were marked by him for their pay upon the oath of the captain. I am very far from supposing that an officer would voluntarily commit fraud, but let us examine the state of the companies, and we shall see the correctness of such returns.

"The company had twelve men present; absent, one man as valet to the commissary, two hundred miles distant from the army, for eighteen months; one man valet to a quarter-master attached to the Army of the North, for twelve months; four in the different hospitals for so many months; two as drivers of carriages; and so many more as bakers, blacksmiths, carpenters, even as coal-porters, for years together, although the greater number were only engaged for nine months at the outset. But a man once on the roll of a company remained there everlastingly, as forming part of the effective strength, except in case of death or desertion, under the very eyes of the captain.

"According to these rolls, the strength of the army for pay and provisions was calculated. The regimental returns furnished to the adjutant general every week, for the information of the general-in-chief, as to the strength of the army, were not much more exact. I am sure that, at that time, a general would have thought himself lucky to find a third of the men ready for action whom he found on paper.

"The soldiers were scattered about in every direction.

The army was looked upon as a nursery for servants, and every one deemed it his right to have a valet; several thousand soldiers were employed in this way. We had more commissaries and quarter-masters at that time than all the armies of Europe together; the most modest had only one servant, but others had two and even three. If the captains and colonels could give no account of their men, they could give still less an account of their arms, accouterments, clothing, ammunition, camp equipage, etc. Nobody kept an account but the commissaries, who furnished all the articles. A company, which consisted, in May, of fifty men, was armed, clothed and equipped in June. It then consisted of thirty men; in July it received thirty recruits who were to be clothed, armed, and equipped; and not only the clothes, but the arms were carried off by those who had completed their time of service.

“General Knox assured me, that, previous to the establishment of my department, there never was a campaign in which the military magazines did not furnish from five thousand to eight thousand muskets to replace those which were lost in the way I have described above. The loss of bayonets was still greater. The American soldier, never having used this arm, had no faith in it, and never used it but to roast his beefsteak and indeed often left it at home. This is not astonishing when it is considered that the majority of the States engaged their soldiers for from six to nine months. Each man who went away took his musket with him, and his successor received another from the public store. No captain kept a book. Accounts were never furnished nor required. As our army is, thank God, little subject to desertion, I venture to say that during an entire campaign there have not been twenty muskets lost since my system came into force. It was the same with the pouches and other accouterments, and I do not believe that I exaggerate when I state that my arrangements have saved the United States at least eight hundred thousand French livres a year.

“The arms at Valley Forge were in a horrible condition, covered with rust, half of them without bayonets, many from which a single shot could not be fired. The pouches were quite as bad as the arms. A great many of the men had tin boxes instead of pouches, others had cow-horns; and muskets, carbines, fowling-pieces, and rifles were to be seen in the same company.

“The description of the dress is most easily given. The men were literally naked, some of them in the fullest extent of the word. The officers who had coats, had them of every color and make. I saw officers, at a grand parade at Valley Forge, mounting guard in a sort of dressing-gown, made of an old blanket or woolen bed-cover. With regard to their military discipline, I may safely say no such thing existed. In the first place there was no regular formation. A so-called regiment was formed of three platoons, another of five, eight, nine, and the Canadian regiment of twenty-one. The formation of regiments was as varied as their mode of drill, which only consisted of the manual exercise. Each colonel had a system of his own, the one according to the English, the other according to the Prussian or French style. There was only one thing in which they were uniform, and that was the way of marching in the maneuvers and on the line of march. They all adopted the mode of marching in files used by the Indians. Mr. De Conway had introduced platoons and many other things, but as he was not liked, they had allowed all his instructions to fall into disuse, so that I scarcely found a trace of them. It is also necessary to remark that the changing the men, the reductions and continual incorporations deprived the corps and regiments of all consistence. There was another evil still more subversive of order in an army; the captains and colonels did not consider their companies and regiments as corps confided to them by the United States for the care of the men as well as the preservation of order and discipline. The greater part of the captains had no roll of their companies and had no idea how many men they had under their orders. When I asked a colonel the strength of his regiment, the usual reply was, ‘something between two and three hundred men’. The colonels, and often the captains, granted leave of absence as they thought proper, and not only that, but permissions to retire from the service. The officers were not accustomed to remain with the troops when the army was in camp; they lived in houses often several miles distant. In winter quarters they nearly all went home and there were often not more than four officers with a regiment. In the campaign of 1779, I found a Massachusetts regiment commanded by a lieutenant. The idea they had of their duty was, that the officers had only to mount guard and put themselves at the head of their regiment or company when they were going into action.

“The internal administration of a regiment and a company was a thing completely unknown. The quarter-master received arms, ammunition and camp equipage for an entire brigade. The clothing and provisions were distributed in the same way by brigades. A captain who did not know the number of men in his company, could not know the number of the rations and other articles necessary for it. There were absolutely no regulations for the service of the camp and of the guards. Each colonel encamped his regiment according to his fancy. There were guards and pickets, and sometimes too many; but the officers did not know their duty, and in many instances did not understand the object of the guard. An infinity of internal guards for the commissaries of forage and provisions, and for the quarter-master, weakened the strength of the army, the more so, because these guards were never relieved, and remained from one year to another. Their arms were lost, and they were all the servants of the commissary, who often granted them leave not only for six months, but without limitation. It would be an endless task to enumerate the abuses which nearly ruined the army. The above is a general view of the situation of the American army as I found it at Valley Forge in the month of February, 1778.”

The long annoying task of securing the efficient support of Congress and the envy and even hostility of ambitious American officers like General Lee greatly retarded the efforts of Steuben to put the American army in a condition for action. In spite of discouragements he began by himself setting the example for his subalterns. His own account gives the best view of his work:

“I commenced operations by drafting one hundred and twenty men from the line, whom I formed into a guard for the general-in-chief. I made this guard my military school. I drilled them myself twice a day, and to remove that English prejudice which some officers entertained, namely, that to drill a recruit was a sergeant’s duty and beneath the station of an officer, I often took the musket myself to show the men the manual exercise which I wished to introduce. All my inspectors were present at each drill. We marched together, wheeled, etc., etc., and in a fortnight my company knew perfectly how to bear arms, had a military air, knew how to march, to form a column, deploy, and execute some little maneuvers with excellent precision.”

Thus the inspector general was able to begin elementary maneuvers of the troops on the 24th of March, 1778. The triumph of Steuben's tactics in adopting the best of the Prussian, English, and French systems to the peculiar American requirements is well set forth by William North, his aide-de-camp:

“Certainly it was a brave attempt! Without understanding a word of the English language, to think of bringing men, born free and joined together to preserve their freedom, into strict subjection; to obey without a word, a look, the mandates of a master! That master once their equal, or possibly beneath them, in whatever might become a man! It was a brave attempt, which nothing but virtue, or high-raised hopes of glory, could have supported.”

Thus the Prussian Captain von Steuben, who had entered the service of Frederick the Great as cadet in 1747, and served through the strenuous years of the Seven Years' War, now brought his mature experience in the field to the task of reorganizing the American army and to the formulation of a system of military tactics which continued long after the Revolution to be the basis of our military science both in the field and at the military academy at West Point, and the *morale* of which, even with many later improvements, is felt at the present day.

Again America needs another Steuben, and again it is Prussia which can teach us both by precept and example. The Prussian system of military science has become the German system and has united with the best methods of the German States and their allies to form the most efficient weapon of defense which the world has ever seen. Instead of indulging in ignorant harangues about “German militarism”, “Prussianism” and the like, it behooves us to study the merits of this marvellous military machine in all of its minutest details and once more learn from our great preceptor, Germany, this supreme lesson of national defense. The dominance of the nobility as a professional military class in the official ranks of the German army has nothing to do with our American military system, because we have no American nobility, except that described by the philosopher-poet of America as “Nature's Nobleman,” “the plain man in gray”:

“A nobleman indeed is he,
With mind for his nobility.”

The great imitable factors in the German system are universal military service, thorough organization, absolute articulation of military and civic agencies in national defense,—all principles as chaotic relatively in America at the present time as they were in the days of Steuben at Valley Forge. If America were called upon to answer to the roll of civilized nations in military fitness, it is doubtful whether we should not stand last on the list of actual efficiency—even after little Montenegro. This is a crime which none can condone, a sin against our traditions, a disgrace to our national honor, an open way to the murder of innocent patriots, women and children, an outrage against the instincts of humanity. It is high time that America had a military organization, which should study incessantly the methods of modern warfare, and an advisory or adjunct Civic Council, which should represent all the industrial, economic, social and scientific activities of the nation, and coöperate with the great central military and naval departments of the government in coördinating all these interests in a self-adjusting system of national defense. Sickly sentimentalities of pacifists and cowards are no longer tolerable. “To arms!” is the alarm that has been sounding in our ears since the outbreak of the world war. The oldest surviving Republic of Switzerland has set an example to all self-ruling peoples by rallying an army of four hundred thousand sharpshooters to guard the boundaries against possible violation of treaty rights. On the day of the German mobilization, the writer of this took the last passenger train from Karlsruhe to Basel. The very next day he travelled on a mobilization train of Swiss soldiers to Geneva. So immediate was the Swiss response to the peril before war was actually declared. The hundred-year-old Prussian ideal of the “civilian-soldier” was identical in spirit with that of the famous “minute men” of the American Revolution, and that ideal cannot be lost out of sight, if the rights of the people and the rights of nations are to be preserved, whether it be in an Empire or a Republic.

It must be exasperating to the Entente allies and to all who sympathize with them that the force of German arms has proven irresistible and it must be admitted that the Entente allies have made, in the main, a sad exhibit of their military efficiency.

German *efficiency* is the explanation—efficiency which extends to the minutest details of individual action. And the secret of this efficiency lies in a penetrating insight into history and its lessons for the future. While the Entente allies have been content with half executed plans of military operation, with the British neglect of the army and French laxness in discipline, and the Russians with vast unorganized forces and poorly equipped armament, the Germans have had all the activities of the nation under perfect centralized control and at the word of command turned as one man to face the hostile attack, first on one front and then on the other.

In former times we Americans were eager to learn lessons of precision and thoroughness in the laboratories and seminaries of the German universities and to build up a great system of American universities after the German model.

Let us with the same eagerness for the best information turn again in our quest for the principles and methods of national defense to that nation which gave us the great drillmaster of the colonial forces in the Revolution and which now under our own eyes has made a formidable engine of defense out of a citizen-soldiery.

The government of the United States must put itself in control of all the military agencies of the land, extend its centralized authority over the State militia, require military training of every able-bodied citizen between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five years, organize the physically unfit into home protection, relief, hospital and supply corps. The government must commandeer in times of war all the transportation facilities and direct the activities from a common centre, and in times of peace prepare the terminal connections of railroads and build inland water-ways with a view to the quickest possible expedition of military plans in times of war. Every American citizen should be made to feel that he is an organized factor in the great engine of national defense and is expected to turn all his information and ability into the service of his country's cause. This is the German, the Prussian, system adapted to American conditions.

German American Annals

CONTINUATION OF THE QUARTERLY

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THE GERMAN DRAMA IN ENGLISH ON THE PHILADELPHIA STAGE.

(Continued.)

*Thirty-third Season, Chestnut Street Theatre, December 4, 1826,
to May 12, 1827, and Summer Season, July 2 to 27, 1827.*

This season Warren was the sole manager, although Wood and Mrs. Wood continued as members of the company. Cowell from the Walnut was stage manager.

The German plays for the season were: *How to Die for Love*, December 5, January 13, and March 5; *Of Age to Morrow*, December 15; *Pizarro*, December 21, March 17, April 12, and 27; *The Stranger*, December 4, January 25, and March 28. twelve performances of four different plays, all from Kotzebue. The retirement of Wood from the position of joint manager seems reflected in the disappearance of *The Robbers* and *Abacchino* and also in the smaller number of performances of the more common German plays, while during the short season at the Arch Street Theatre, in 1828, under Wood's management he gave *The Robbers* three times.

In *Pizarro*, December 21, Cooper appeared as Rolla; March 10, and 17, Forrest as Rolla; April 11, and 17, Mr. and Mrs. Wallack had the leading rôles. As already noted the last winter season closing May 20, 1826, had ended with *Pizarro* and *Undine*, and this season opened with *The Stranger*, "a play which, though always abused is always attractive."²⁹⁶ Decem-

²⁹⁶ Cf. Wood, p. 336.

ber 4, Mr. and Mrs. Wood in the leading rôles, and so again January 25; March 28 shows Macready also given M'Cready from Drury Lane in the rôle of the Stranger for the first time, his first appearance having been in *Othello*, March 26.

The plays of possible or partial German origin were: *Comet*, February 8, April 4, and July 21; *The Floating Beacon*, January 4, 9, and February 20, for the first time at the Chestnut Street Theatre; *Beacon Light*, or *The Norway Wrckers* at the Walnut Street Theatre, November 18, 1825, was the same play. The only clue is from the characters given, Angerstorff—played by Webb; *Wandering Boys*, December 12, and *William Tell*, January 15, with the following partial cast: William Tell, Macready; Albert, Master Wheatly; Braun, Jefferson; Emma, wife of Tell, Mrs. Green, March 12, Forrest as William Tell, his repertoire for this engagement being *Damon and Pythias*, March 7; *Othello*, March 9; *Pizarro*, March 10; *William Tell*, March 12; *Richard III*, March 14; *Iron Chest*, March 16; *Pizarro*, March 17; *Damon and Pythias*, March 19, and his benefit, *King Lear*, March 21.

On May 8, appeared *Devil's Bridge*, in the course of which "Heyl as Count Belino will introduce the celebrated song of William Tell." This has been referred to in previous seasons. The only other play to note here is *Foundling of the Forest*, January 18; *The Foundling*, March 23, and 27, a comedy in five acts was a different play, as it is announced "for the first time at the Chestnut Street Theatre."

With the coming of more operas, ballets become again more common, and for the summer season we find announced "the engagement for seven nights of M. Achille, Mesdames Achille and Hutin, dancers from the New York Theatre (Bowery)." They appeared with *Follies of a Day*, July 13, in a "Pas de Trois from the opera of *Trajan* as in Paris," July 18, in a "Pas de Trois from the German opera of *Der Freyschutz*," and July 20, in a "Pas de Trois from *Giovanni*." While on the subject of operas I noted a reference to an Italian Opera Corps at Reading in 1825 and also in New York, but no announcements appeared for any season in Philadelphia. The announcement

reads: "The Italian Opera Corps will make their debut with *Barber of Seville*, Signor Garcia, the original Count Almanza for whom Rossini composed the part, as in London, English text, Signor Garcia announces operas of Cimarosa, Mozart, Pascello and Rossini." Other plays to note this season were *Brian Boroilme*, "Hibernian Melodrama," April 9, nine successive performances, Mr. Wallack in the leading rôle. This play was commented on in the papers in full, especially the spectacular part. The play did not, however, pass without trouble as indicated by a part of this comment, "An interrupting, however, occurred at the close of the first act, caused by Mr. Webb appearing intoxicated in the part of Voltimar, but it is understood that this incident will, by particular request, not be repeated." That the general order was no longer as good as it had been is indicated by the announcement of the manager at the beginning of the season, "Proper officers are appointed, who will rigidly enforce decorum." *Charles II* was given three times, and then we note *The Fall of Algiers*, a musical play, for the first time at the Chestnut Street Theatre, July 4, also given three times. *Forty Thieves* was popular this season with eight performances. *The Fatal Dowry*, tragedy in five acts, for the first time in Philadelphia, April 4, Macready in the leading rôle, but not repeated this season. *The Foundling*, first time at the Chestnut Street Theatre, March 23, and 27. *Paul Pry*, for the first time January 1, but at the Walnut it had appeared first, October 28. We note also *Indian Prophecy*, a new play in two acts, "an event of 1762, founded on an occurrence in the life of George Washington," written by a member of George Washington's family, July 4. *Sylla*, a new tragedy, for the first time, February 28, and March 5, Booth in the leading rôle, he having appeared so far this season in *Hamlet*, *King Lear*, *Richard III*, and *Brutus*. A new farce was *A Year in An Hour*, December 7, with three performances.

Shakespeare was represented better than any previous season as to number of plays: *As You Like It*, December 16 (Miss Kelly); *Catharine and Petrucchio*, January 24, March 21, and April 6; *Comedy of Errors*, "first time in Philadelphia," March

6, 8, 13, 20, and 29; *Coriolanus*, January 24 (Macready); *Hamlet*, January 12, and 21 (Macready), February 15, and 19 (Booth), March 30 (Macready); *Henry VIII*, April 6 (Macready); *Henry I*, March 31, "first time in twenty years" (Macready); *Henry II*, first part, December 28 (Cooper); *King John*, April 9, "Macready's Benefit and positively last appearance"; *King Lear*, February 23 (Booth), and March 21, "Forrest's Benefit"; *Macbeth*, November 14 (Cooper), January 10, and April 2 (Macready); *Merry Wives of Windsor*, April 10; *Much Ado About Nothing*, December 11, and 27; *Othello*, January 6 (Cooper), February 1 (Booth), March 9 (Forrest), March 26 (Macready); *Richard III*, January 26, and February 24 (Booth), and March 14 (Forrest), thirty-five performances of sixteen different plays.

Other Theatres, Gardens, Etc.

Announcements appeared at this time of various gardens, Lafayette Vauxhall, music and general entertainments; Philadelphia Labyrinth Garden, Arch below Broad, and also Philadelphia Museum, Mr. Franklin Peale, "over the elegantly laid out stores in the Arcade, formerly Peale's Museum." But no theatrical performances are announced at any of these places, and the papers are also silent about the Prune Street Theatre, Tivoli Garden Theatre and others mentioned in previous seasons.

The Walnut Street Theatre, August 7, 1826, to December 2, 1827, and Summer Season, June 11 to July 23, 1827.

This was announced as the "Last season of the Equestrian Company at this establishment," and the theatre seems from this time on to have been given up to theatrical pieces only. New acquisitions are shown by the announcement on June 10, 1827, "Mr. Hallam has returned from Europe with the following ladies and gentlemen to be attached to this establishment: Grierson, Smith, Wells, Sefton, Mitchell, Mrs. Lane, Mrs. Mitchell, Mrs. Hallam, Miss Stanard and Miss Wells. On July

4. was announced a "Day Performance to accommodate juvenile members of families," the play being *Miller's Frolic*. As in the case of the other theatre we note this season the first case of a play running on successive nights.

The German plays noted were: *Oberon, or The Charmed Horn*, October 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 23, 25, 28, and November 3, 8, and 24; *Of Age to Morrow*, July 11; *La Prouse*, August 8, 20, 21, 29, and 30; and *Pizarro*, June 29.

In *Pizarro*, June 29, Grierson played Rolla. *Oberon, or The Charmed Horn* (Romantic Fancy Tale), was performed for the first time in English in Drury Lane, London, March 27, 1825,²⁹⁷ and in Covent Garden, April 12, 1826. At the Drury Lane Theatre it was repeated twenty-seven times. Another version had already been attempted in 1816 by Thompson, but had met with little success. It had appeared on May 21, 1826, under the title, *Oberon's Oath* in Covent Garden. On May 12, 1826, *Oberon, or The Elf-King's Oath* was given for the first time at Covent Garden. Weber had come to London to have his opera rehearsed and directed in person the first twelve presentations. It was given thirty-one times during the season. Sellier^{297a} says that the person responsible for the English form of the German material for Drury Lane's play, *Oberon, or The Charmed Horn*, is unknown. Hogarth mentions Planché as responsible for the words to Weber's opera as given at the Covent Garden Theatre. However, the *Oberon* given at the Walnut this season has the secondary title, *The Charmed Horn*, and also calls it Romantic Fairy Tale, which indicates the Drury Lane version, but the announcement adds "Being rehearsed at Covent Garden." This may have been however to win attention for this version. We have noted the same interchange of titles in the case of the various versions of *Reconciliation*, *Birthday* and *Fraternal Discord*.

²⁹⁷ For the account of the composition of this opera for Covent Garden, by Carl Maria von Weber and the sad incidents connected with it cf. Hogarth, *Memoirs of the Opera*, in Italian, French, German and English, 1851, London.

^{297a} Cf. Sellier, p. 91.

The plays of possible or partial German origin were: *Blind Boy*, June 27, 1827; *Floating Beacon*, or *The Norwegian Wreckers*, August 12, and two additional performances, *Flying Dutchman*, nautical melodrama, July 5, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, and 16; and *Miller and His Men*, August 14, 1826; June 25, and July 3, 1827.

Other plays to note were: *Bears Not Beasts*, June 14, and July 19; *Luke the Labourer*, melodrama, July 18; *Mysterious Stranger*, or *True Revenge*, Romantic Sicilian Melodrama, first time in America, June 18; *Paul Pry*, October 28, fifteen performances in all, it appeared at the Chestnut Street Theatre, January 1, 1827; *Travellers Benighted*, or *The Bleeding Nun*, June 14; *The Secret*, or *The Haunted Chambers*, November 11, four performances; *Blood Will Have Blood*, or *The Battle of the Bridges*, Equestrian Melodrama, August 21, three performances; and last night of the season, July 23, 1827. *The Cataract of the Gauges*, Mr. Cowell's Benefit.

Shakespeare was represented by only one performance, *Richard III*, November 14, 1826.

Summary for the season 1826-1827 for all the theatres: German plays, thirty-one performances, six different plays. Plays of possible or partial German origin, twenty-two performances, eight different plays.

There were references in the daily papers this season to various publications, such as to Roscoe's²⁹⁸ "German Novelists," from the January number of the *Museum*,²⁹⁹ this being from the *London Monthly Review*. Other books announced were: Dibdin's "Autobiography," the "Plays of Ford" and "Memoirs of O'Keefe." The Acting American Theatre, including: 1, *Wild Oats*, with portrait of Mr. Francis; 2, *Much Ado About Nothing*, with portrait of Miss Kelly; 3, *Superstition*, with portrait of Mrs. Duff; 4, *Old Maid*, with portrait of Mrs. Francis; 5, *Marmion*, with portrait of Mr. Duff; 6, *Honeymoon*, with portrait of Mr. Wemyss; 7, *Isabella*, with portrait of Mrs. Barnes; 8, *School for Reform*, with portrait of Hilsen; 9, *Turnpike*

²⁹⁸ *The German Novelists*. Tales selected from ancient and modern authors. Translated by Thomas Roscoe, London, 1826.

²⁹⁹ Cf. *Museum of Foreign Literature and Science*, X, p. 20.

Gate, with portrait of Cowell; 10, *Sweethearts and Wives*, with portrait of Mrs. Barnes; 11, *Pizarro*, with portrait of Wood. The Mercantile Library announced having received Russell's "Tour in Germany and Austria, 1820-22."³⁰⁰ Lea and Casey announced July 28, 1827, "Cumberland's British Theatre," with remarks, biographical and critical, printed from acting copies as performed at the Theatre Royal, London. The same house also announced a "Treatise in Gymnastics," chiefly from the German of F. L. Jahn, by Dr. Charles Beck, of Northampton. *The American Quarterly Review*, Philadelphia,³⁰¹ under the heading "German Literature," begins a number of reviews of German works. The first is a review of "Die Poesie und Beredsamkeit der Deutschen von Luther's Zeit bis zur Gegenwart," Dargestellt von Franz Horn, Berlin, 3 Bde., 1824. Atkinson's "Casket," Philadelphia, has "*The Knight's Cellar* in the Kyffhausen, a German legend." Outside of Philadelphia, especially in the Boston and New York magazines numerous references to German authors and literature appear. Among others Doctor Faustus the legend, also outlines of the comedies, *Wife (Die Braut)*, *The Green Domino (Der grüne Domino)*, *The Watchman (Der Nachtwächter)*, *The Cousin From Bremen (Der Vetter aus Bremen)*.³⁰² "Tales Round a Winter Hearth," by Jane and Anna Maria Porter, New York, J. and J. Harper, contains Fouqué's *Undine* and this is favorably commented on in the *United States Review and Literary Gazette*, Boston. In the same magazine appears a translation of a scene in Schiller's *Maria Stuart*.³⁰³

Thirty-fourth Season, Chestnut Street Theatre, October 29, 1827, to June 21, 1828, Preceded by a French Company, September 28 to October 20, 1827, and Followed by a Short Season, July 3 to July 18, 1828.

The French company from New Orleans had the use of the theatre from September 28 to October 20. During this en-

³⁰⁰ Cf. season 1823-1824, under publications for 1824.

³⁰¹ *American Quarterly Review*, Philadelphia, 1827, II, p. 171.

³⁰² *New York Mirror and Ladies' Literary Gazette*, New York, IV, p. 241, and V, p. 122.

³⁰³ Series II, I, p. 271, and II, II, p. 338. Cf. also Goodnight's List 724-750.

gagement they gave twenty-two pieces, and among them *Der Freyschutz, ou Robin des Bois*, October 3 and 15; and *Werther ou les Égarements d'un Coeur sensible*," October 12 and 20, two pieces of German origin. In the first part of this work, under "Nationality of Actors, Performers, Members of Orchestra," etc., mention has already been made of the orchestra of this French company.³⁰⁴

The manager of the Chestnut Street Theatre, William Warren, on October 22, 1827, announced the acquisition of new talent for the Opera and Dramatic Corps in England and the United States, and especial emphasis was laid on the enlarged orchestra under the direction of Mr. Braun (Vienna, Prague, Berlin and Königsberg). On October 25 this orchestra gave a concert at the theatre, with very flattering results, even after the excellent orchestra of the French company, for as one paper said they "had been taught by the orchestra of the French company to appreciate fine music."

The German plays for this season were: *Cossack and Volunteer*, February 7, 9, and April 21; *Deaf and Dumb*, March 27; *Der Freischütz*, May 16, and 19; *How to Die for Love*, November 3, July 11; *Lovers' Vows*, March 3; *Of Age to Morrow*, February 14; *Pizarro*, January 17, and May 30; and *The Stranger*, December 8, January 3, and February 7, fifteen performances of eight different plays, seven from Kotzebue. In *Der Freischütz*, May 16, Mrs. Austin played Linda. *Lovers' Vows*, March 3, announced as the "favorite comedy," was Miss Fischer's Benefit. Wood speaks of Miss Clara Fischer acting for ten nights this season and especially of her success in the rôles of Amelia (*Lovers' Vows*) and Albert Tell (*William Tell*). The cast given shows Count Cassel, Wemyss; Baron Wildenheim, Warren; Frederick, Chapman; Anholt, Wood; Verdun, Jefferson; Agatha Friburg, Miss Emery; Amelia, Clara Fischer. The papers commented "We were glad that Miss Fischer chose parts, Amelia in *Lovers' Vows* and Louisa in the new farce called *The Dead Shot*, more adapted to her peculiarly

³⁰⁴ Cf. p. 39, also p. 68 for previous performance of *Werter*, by a French company, in 1796.

extraordinary powers than that which she assumed on Saturday (*Merchant of Venice*).” *Of Age to Morroze*, February 14, was Burrough’s last night. In *Pizarro*, January 17, Wood had the rôle of Pizarro, and May 30, he played Pizarro to Rowbotham’s Rolla. December 8, 1827, the night of the first performance of *The Stranger* this season, the paper said: “Great expectations are raised on Mrs. Sloman’s presentation of Mrs. Haller in *The Stranger* this evening. We regret that the moral sense and the good feelings of the community tolerate the representation of a play so offensive to both. So long as the public patronize, the managers will bring forward this *disgusting play*. Taste and morals, refinement and manners unite to drive it from the boards.” And in spite of this tirade, Mrs. Sloman chose the same play for her benefit, January 3. Mr. Burroughs appeared in it, February 7, the same night with *The Cossack and The Volunteer*. And as if to emphasize the contrast between what the moralists claimed the public really wanted we note, just to anticipate, that this same play, *The Stranger*, was given three times next season, 1828-1829, and nine times during 1829-1830, the last season discussed in this work, and before this season it had seen about sixty-three performances. The cast for December 8, was: Baron Steinfust, Wemyss; the Stranger, Wood; Solomon, Mercer; Peter, Jefferson, and Mrs. Haller, Mrs. Sloman.

After the performance the criticism was no less severe: “Saturday evening the play of *The Stranger* was performed. We have so often had occasion to speak of the demoralizing influence of this drama, that we shall no longer dwell on the subject than to say, that the combined talents of Mrs. Sloman, Mr. Wood and Mr. Wemyss, called into action as they were on Saturday evening, gave additional weight to the bad impressions which can not fail to be made at every representation of this sickly production. A production the more dangerous as many of its disgusting incidents and its unnatural conclusion are smothered, as it were, in a heap of sentimentality. ‘Virtue alone is excellent my Lord’—‘There is another and a better world’ and a hundred other such abstract sentences with which the play is crowded, good in themselves, but unspeakably dangerous

when thrust in as a counterpoise to a story, the whole tenor and effect of which is to make light of and to consider that, as a venial offense, which not only religion, but the moral sense of mankind has long stamped as a crime of the blackest die."³⁰⁵ The *Auroia's* comment was non-committal, but leaves no doubt in our mind as to the popularity of the play. "Mrs. Sloman played Mrs. Haller to a full house. The concluding scene was affecting in the extreme and perhaps tears were never more plentifully shed at the representation of *The Stranger*."

The one new play of German origin was *The Cossack and Volunteer*,³⁰⁶ for the first time in America, February 7, 1828. It is announced in the papers as "Kotzebue's Opera," but also as "First Night of Mr. Braun's Opera," which must refer to the director of the orchestra and in the partial cast given Mme. Braun is shown as playing Louisa, with the additional remark, "For the first time in English character." The cast shows Ivan, Mercer; Wm. Frisch, Heyl; Louisa, Mme. Braun; Kitty, Miss Jefferson; Puffendorf, Mayor of the village, Jefferson, Jr. The comment in the papers also indicates Braun as responsible for the music. "The music was delightful and reflects much credit on the leader of the orchestra, Mr. Braun. The overture commanded general attention. At one period it seemed as if the whole pit were so interested that they at once rose up. . . ." The *National Gazette* said: "It may become one of the most agreeable operas we possess. We speak here with reference to the music, for the piece in itself is rather 'so so,' and certainly adds no new lustre to the name of its reputed author. But the musical part is excellent. *The Cossack* possesses one advantage over our operas in general. The airs are well adapted to the opera itself and seem to be in their proper places; whereas in other English operas the songs are too commonly introduced without any regard to congruity as to the piece. For instance, we sometimes have a simple country girl singing brilliant Italian bravuras. . . ."

³⁰⁵ *Binn's Democratic Press*, Philadelphia, December 10, 1827.

³⁰⁶ *Der Kosak und der Freiwillige*, Liederspiel (Opern Almanach für das Jahr 1815. It is characterized by Rabany as a "Petit à propos patriotique sur l'alliance de la Russie et de L'Allemagne, 1813."

The plays of possible or partial German origin were: *Ella Rosenberg*, January 12; *Foundling of the Forest*, April 23; *Gnome King*, or *The Giant Mountains*, "Operatic Allegorical Drama, for the first time in Philadelphia," June 10, 12, 14, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, and July 4; *Siege of Belgrade*, December 5, and January 21; *Wandering Boys*, March 5, July 15; *William Tell*, November 7, 10, January 8, and March 4.

The plays of French origin to note are: *Clari*, *Marriage of Figaro*, *Rencontre*, *Rock of Charbonnière*, *Thirty Years*, or *Life of a Gambler*, domestic melodrama from the French of Victor Ducange and Dinaux, March 31, six performances in all. Wood had the leading rôle. The French company played in the original French form in October, 1828, "*30 ans de la Vie d'un Joueur*."

Other plays of interest to note were: *Artaxerxes*, serious opera by Dr. Arne, December 28 (four performances); *Bride of Lammermoor*, March 19 and 22; *Catch Club*, or *Feast of Anacreon*, April 11; *Cherry Bounce*, November 24 (seven performances); *Death of Napoleon*, July 14, "first time in America." *Evadne*, or *The Statue*, tragedy, "first time in Philadelphia," November 13, 1827 (six performances in all). Schiel adapted it to the modern stage, employing part of the fable of Shirley's old play, *The Traitor*; *Fazio*, or *The Italian's Wife*, November 6 (six performances); *First Settlers in America*, or *Omaha the Red Indian*, first time in America, November 2, from the Olympia, London (one hundred nights). *Malvina*, opera, "first in Philadelphia," April 17; *Peter Wilkens*, or *The Flying Indian*, dramatic romance, January 1 (nine performances); *Red Rover*, February 21 (twelve performances). For the occasion of the first presentation of this play, Richard Penn Smith, Esq., wrote a prologue, which was spoken by the Messrs. Wemyss and S. Chapman. We shall note the rapid dramatization of most of Cooper's novels, this one was dramatized by S. Chapman; *The Serf*, or *The Russian Brothers*, tragedy, April 8, and 10; *The Sergeant's Wife*, drama, "first in America," November 26 (five performances); *The Ten Mozabrays*, March 7 (three performances), all ten characters by Miss Fischer; *Tivas I the*

Truth a Lie, petite comedy, "first at Chestnut," January 16 (six performances); and last *The Usurper*, tragedy, "first time on any stage," by Dr. M'Henry, December 26, and January 4.

Shakespeare was represented by *As You Like It*, February 16, and June 11; *Julius Caesar*, May 3; *Macbeth*, April 25; *Merchant of Venice*, March 1; *Much Ado About Nothing*, February 4; *Othello*, April 20, and May 5; *Richard III*, November 5, April 22, and May 6; *Romco and Juliet*, October 29, December 15, and May 27, fourteen performances of eight different plays.

Other Theatres, Gardens, Etc.

No announcements of plays at any of the gardens appear, at one of them we find the announcement: Grand Promenade and Panharmonicon and Papyrotomia. A "Sans Pareil Theatre" has announcements in the papers for a few days, July 10 to 12, 1828, and there are indications that some plays were given previous to this date. The names given are to some extent the same as at the Walnut Street Theatre, and it may be a short summer season of some from that company. The plays for those few nights were: *Damon and Pythias*, July 10; *George Barnwell*, July 12; *Irishman in London*, July 11; *Monsieur Tonsion*, July 12; and *Roy Magregor*, July 11, 1828. As we see, there were no German plays.

The Walnut Street Theatre, August 29 to November 5, 1827, and May 1 to May 26, 1828.

This theatre opened August 29, 1827, as the "Philadelphia Theatre," with Cowell as manager. The German plays were: *La Prouse*, October 25, and *Pizarro*, September 7, Hamblin as Rolla, having previously played *Macbeth*, September 3, and *Hamlet*, September 5. The plays of possible or partial German origin were: *Blind Boy*, September 13, and May 20; *The Dumb Girl of Geneva*, or *The Mountain Robber*, melo-

drama, October 20, May 15, and 23; *The Flying Dutchman*, September 4, 18, and 25; *William Tell*, September 7, 22, and October 2 (Hamblin as Tell). Plays of interest to note were: *Hundred Pound Note*, a farce, "first in Philadelphia," September 8 (thirteen performances), it appeared at the Chestnut Street Theatre this same season, January 28, 1828 (seven performances). *King Robert the Bruce*, Caledonian melodrama, October 30, "first time in America." *The Pilot*, "nautical drama, founded on Cooper's novel, arranged by a gentleman of Philadelphia," October 17 (six performances), and *White Lies, Major and the Minor*, August 27 (seven performances).

Shakespeare is represented by *Catharine and Petrucchio*, October 6; *Comedy of Errors*, May 26 (Hackett), he played at the Chestnut Street Theatre January 2 in *Peter Wilkins*, or in *Sylvester Daggerwood*, his first appearance and the fact that he was an American is emphasized. *Hamlet*, September 5 (Hamblin), September 19 (Booth), November 2 (Cooper?), May 6 (Booth); *King Lear*, September 24 (Booth); *Macbeth*, September 3, and October 4 (Hamblin), and October 31 ("Cooper's Benefit and Farewell"); *Merchant of Venice*, September 28 (Booth); *Othello*, September 14, and October 8 (Hamblin); October 24 (Cooper); *Richard III*, September 6, and May 5 (Booth), May 8 (Master Kneass), seventeen performances of eight different plays.

Summary for the season 1827-1828 for all the theatres: German plays, seventeen performances, nine different plays. Plays of possible or partial German origin, twenty-five performances, seven different plays.

In *Binn's Democratic Press* appeared September 21, 1827, "Proposals by Gardner R. Lillibridge for publication by subscription in Philadelphia of a *Theatrical Journal, The Stage Advocate* and *Green Room Intelligencer*, with the motto, "Nothing Extenuate, nor set down ought in malice." It is announced to appear October 1, 1827, published on Wednesday, weekly, two dollars. The announcement includes a plea for the "Drama as one of the most rational amusements, its present respectable standing, and influence in this as well as in other popu-

lous cities in our Union." The contents are promised to be "Criticism on our own, as well as other theatrical performances in the United States. Progress of distinguished actors or stars. Review of new dramatic publications. Biographical sketches of distinguished actors, dramatic authors. Original and select theatrical poetry, tales, anecdotes. Portraits of distinguished actors."

On February 23, 1828, appeared proposals by H. C. Mathews for publishing in the city of Pittsburgh a weekly (German) newspaper to be entitled *Der Pittsburger Republikaner*. Casey, Lea & Casey announce the publishing of "Travels in the United States in 1825-1826, 1 vol. 8 mo, by the Duke of Saxe Weimar, also German stories, translated from Kinder and Hausmärchen."

The American Quarterly Review, Philadelphia, continues in 1828 its reviews of German literature: A review of C. M. Wieland's *Sämmtliche Werke*, Leipzig, 1827; and Gotthold Ephraim Lessing's *Sämmtliche Werke*, Berlin; and later, a review of *Geschichte der deutschen Poesie und Beredsamkeit*. Fr. Bouterwek, 3 Bde., 1819; *Andenken an deutsche Historiker aus den letzten 50 Jahren*. A. H. L. Heeren, 1823; and Franz Horn's *Umrisse*, etc., 2te Auflage, 1821.³⁰⁷ The Museum of Foreign Literature and Science, Philadelphia, has besides translations and criticisms of some of Goethe's poems, a review of Wieland's *Sämmtliche Werke*, Leipzig, 1824-1827, and of C. M. Wieland's *Leben*, Neu bearbeitet von J. G. Gruber, Leipzig, 1827.³⁰⁸

Thirty-fifth Season, Chestnut Street Theatre, November 13, 1828, to January 28, 1829, and April 9, 1829, to May 27, 1829, Preceded by the French Company, September 16, 1828, to November 5, 1828.

The French company had been well received in 1827 as indicated by flattering references in the editorial column of the

³⁰⁷ *American Quarterly Review*, Philadelphia, 1828, III, p. 150 and IV, 157.

³⁰⁸ Cf. Goodnight's List 751-785.

National Gazette, February 2, 1828, when the French company announced coming to Philadelphia again in the fall of 1828. The season extended with a slight interruption from September 16 to November 5, 1828. During this period they presented thirty different plays. The repertoire was more ambitious than on the occasion of their first visit, and included such pieces as *Hamlet*, September 29; *La Sonambule*, October 3; *Joconde*, September 17; *Jean de Paris*, October 28; *Trent ans de la vie d'un Joucur*, November 1; *Der Freischütz* they gave three times.

The regular season of the Chestnut Street Theatre began November 13, 1828, under the management of Mr. Warren, but he withdrew as manager at the end of the year, and after January 1, 1829, the theatre passed under the management of Pratt and Wemyss. On December 29, 1828, the official announcement by William Warren appeared in the papers, by which he withdrew from "those relations with the public which have existed for more than thirty-two years."³⁰⁹ Between January 28, and April 9, the company was in Baltimore.

The German plays for this Philadelphia season were: *The Cossack and the Volunteer*, December 12; *Der Freischütz*, April 23, and May 12; *Bottle Imp*, January 27, 28, and April 10, and 18; *How to Die for Love*, December 17; *Pizarro*, April 25; *The Stranger*, December 26, ten performances of six different plays, four from Kotzebue. In *Pizarro*, April 25, J. Wallack, the last time before returning to England. *The Bottle Imp*, "novel drama," London, New York. This is unquestionably a play of German source, the cast on January 27, was: Albert (a German traveller), Heyl; Willibald (his servant and monitor), Jefferson; Nicola (a Spanish sorcerer), Southwell; Waldeck (a farmer), Hathwell; Conrad (his son, an officer of Musqueteers), Mercer; Shadrack (a Jew peddler), Darley; Ismelli (a drunken Musqueteer), Wemyss; The Bottle Imp, Rowbotham; Marcella (daughter of Waldeck), Mrs. Willis; Lucretia (in love with Albert), Mrs. Rowbotham; Philippa (Willibald's beautiful friend), Miss E. Jefferson.

The plays of possible or partial German origin were: *Adrian*

³⁰⁹ Cf. p. 10 for account of William Warren.

and *Orilla*, December 4; *Charles XII, or The Siege of Stralsund*, by J. R. Plumtre, Esq., Drury Lane, London, with great success, "first time in Philadelphia," May 6, 8, and 18. The partial cast shows the following characters: Major Vanberg, Adam Brock. Triptolemus Maddeworth; Ulrica, daughter of Vanberg; Eudiga, daughter of Adam Brock. *Exile*, "historical drama," April 20, Warren's Benefit, Warren as Count Uldrick. *Foundling of the Forest*, April 13; *Gnome King*, November 29, and December 1; *The Haunted Tower*, opera by Cobb. This should have been included in this list last season, and in some of the earlier seasons. It is mentioned together with Cobb's *Siege of Belgrade*, and *Doctor and Apothecary*, as "adapted from the German," November 17, December 16, and May 9. In the season 1827-1828, it was given December 3, and January 18, and was a revival of the earlier seasons, 1794-1795, 1795-1796 and 1799-1800. All three were musical plays, the music by Dr. S. Arnold. *Wandering Boys*, December 10, and May 27; *The Workman's Hut, or The Burning Forest*, "melodramatic romance," by J. Kenny, music by Arnold, also a revival of an earlier season, December 26, 27, 28, 30, and March 14, 1816-1817, also at the Walnut Street Theatre, May 24, 1824-1825, where it should have been included in this list of plays. A partial cast shows the following characters: Arnold, Kaunitz, Scampt. Moritz, Wolfender, Bruhl and Amelia.

This season is noted for the number of revivals of earlier plays, for many musical plays, operas and ballets, and also for many premières. Following the French company a number from their repertoire were given, such as *Thirty Years, or Life of a Gambler*, *Les Noyades*, or *Love and Gratitude*, founded on the well-known story during the Vendean War, on one of the tales in "Highways and Byways." Mlle. Deloise, a Parisian opera dancer, is announced, so also the French "corps de ballet," Benoni, Feltman, Coehue, Mlle. Rannot and Mlle. Iacenthe. Ballets and pantomimes, such as *Lise et Colin ou la Fille mal Gardée*, and *Les Vendangeurs* are frequent. *Clari* is also repeated. While French and Italians seem to have monopolized the lighter entertainments, we have as a contrast the announcement on November

21, "At the end of the play the Seiltanzer Herr Cline, who is engaged for three nights only." We note now the premières, *Battle of Waterloo*, "melodramatic spectacle," January 12 (four performances); *Crammond Brig*, new drama, December 12 (four performances); *The Disowned*, or *The Prodigals*, by R. P. Smith, of Philadelphia, April 11 (four performances). It was published in 1830 "as performed at the Chestnut Street Theatre from the French drama *Le Caissier*, by M. Jouslin." The preface states "many liberties have been taken with the original." *Eighth of January*, "new national drama to be played on the anniversary of the battle of New Orleans, by a gentleman of Philadelphia (R. P. Smith), prologue by James N. Barker." January 8, and January 10 was for the author's benefit; *The Eleventh Hour*, or *Sixteen Years Ago*, "domestic drama, first time in America," January 23; *The Lear of Private Life*, drama, December 8; *Mary Stewart*, or *Castle of Hochleven*, "by author of *Crammond Brig*," May 22. The French company during their next season, 1829, also gave *Mary Stewart*. Signor Angusane, Signor Rosich and Mr. Horn are mentioned in Italian opera, *Triomfo della Musica*, altered from *Il Fanatico per la Musica*, May 5, 7, 9, and 11. We note besides *The Beggars' Opera*, April 21, and *Zoranni and Zaida*, or *The Greek Heroine*, ballet, April 14.

Shakespeare was represented by *Hamlet* and *Richard III* (parts) Act III, April 27 (J. Wallack's Benefit); *Henry IV*, December 9; *Julius Caesar*, April 15 (J. Wallack and Hamblin); *Merry Wives of Windsor*, December 30, Mr. Warren's Benefit, address by Mr. Warren;³¹⁰ *Othello*, April 17; *Richard III*, Acts II and III, January 20; ("Miss Lane, a prodigy, 9-12 years old"), and as indicated above Act III, April 27; *Romeo and Juliet*, November 14 (Cooper and Mrs. Sloman), January 2, eight performances of seven different plays. On the occasion of another benefit for Warren, April 20, 1829, after the play *Exile*, there was a concert, including a quintette by Schendlocker with solo for the Post-Horn, composed by Mr. Widtl, executed by Messrs. Schendlocker, Kruger, Reinhardt, Widtl and Wepfer.

³¹⁰ Cf. p. 10.

Other Theatres, Gardens, Etc.

At Musical Fund Hall a grand concert was announced for January 31, 1829. The program shows a number of the members of the Chestnut Street Theatre Orchestra taking part: Overture de la Dame Blanche; concerto for horn, Widtl; polonaise for violin, Kruger; tyrolese song for three voices, Widtl, Wepfer and Kruger; concertino for the clarinette, Wepfer; II overture, *Oberon*; variations, horn, Widtl; variations, violin, Kruger; German song, fantastic clarinette, Wepfer; German song; the leader was Hupfeldt, whose name is familiar from former seasons.

The Washington Circus, situated "on the Old York Road, between Tammany and Green, Northern Liberties," has now to be considered. Circus performances and pantomimes had been announced in a general way, but June 10, 1829, the announcement tells us it was reconstructed and changed from circus to theatre and appears the following season under the name of Washington Theatre, so that for the last two seasons discussed in this work the repertoire of four regularly established theatres has to be considered. A large stage was erected, the ring changed to pit, seating 1200 persons. Fogg and Stickney are given as the managers.³¹¹ Some of the names are gathered from the partial casts, and in some cases actors from the other theatres appear: Isherwood, Martin G. Sites (first appearance on any stage), Thompson, Wells, Haupt, Walstein, Murray, Herbert, Somerville, Talbot, Lyon, Wemyss, Durang, Jones, Newton, Heyl (see Chestnut), Mrs. Talbot, Mrs. Rogers, Miss Wells, Mrs. Betts, Miss Barry (from Walnut), Mrs. Walstein, Mrs. Broad, Mrs. Stickney. The doors were opened at 7 and curtain rose at 7.30. The prices were: Boxes, 50 cents, and pit, 25 cents, showing it to be a popular house, although at this time the prices at the Chestnut Street Theatre were little higher and dropped to this price the following season.³¹² Announcements

³¹¹ For a brief description of this place of amusement, cf. p. 17, and also *American Sentinel*, Philadelphia, June 10, 1829, as referred to in note 37, p. 17.

³¹² For account of arrangement of seats and prices during the various seasons cf. 28 and note 11 on same page.

of plays were found from June 10 to August 4, 1828, with some omissions.

The German plays for this season were: *Abaellino*, June 20, and 24; *How to Die for Love*, August 3; and *The Stranger*, June 26, four performances of three different plays, two from Kotzebue and the usual one from Zschokke.

Abaellino, the great bandit, "dramatic romance, in five acts," had on June 24 the secondary title, *The Bandit's Bride*, and on this occasion Mrs. Walstein (from Arch Street Theatre), appeared as *Abaellino*, and Mrs. Talbot as *Rosamunda*. The same night songs were announced by Holz, Heyl, Stickney, Kelly and Mrs. Stickney. *The Stranger*, June 26, was announced as the "celebrated play in five acts," Martin G. Sites (first appearance on any stage) as the *Stranger*; *Isherwood* as *Baron Steinfurt*; *Hubert* as *Solomon*; *Somerville* as *Peter*; Mrs. Talbot as Mrs. Haller, and Miss Wells as *Charlotte*.

The plays of possible or partial German origin were: *Floating Beacon*, or *The Norwegian Wreckers*, June 22, 23, 25, July 3, and August 4, spoken of as "melodrama" and "musical drama" with this partial cast on June 25, Fred with a song, Heyl; Angerstorff, Walstein; *Mariette*, Mrs. Talbot; *Miller and His Men*, August 3; *Tekeli*, June 24, and July 7; and *William Tell*, July 21 (Mr. Lyon's Benefit), *William Tell*, Lyon; Gesler, Walstein; *Emma*, Mrs. Betts.

Of other plays we note *Foundation of Liberty*, July 4, "written by a gentleman of Philadelphia." Mr. Walstein's Benefit is announced for July 13, but no announcement of the plays for that night appear in the papers. *Paul Jones*, or *The Pilot of the German Ocean* was given July 25, and 28. Shakespeare is represented by *Merchant of Venice*, July 14 ("Mr. Cook, of Philadelphia as *Shylock*"), by a scene from *Richard III*, July 10, and July 27 (Mrs. Maywood), it is impossible from the indefinite notice to say positively that Mrs. Maywood had the male rôle of *Richard III*, but from the fact that Mrs. Walstein played the male rôle of *Abaellino* this same season, that Mrs. Battersby had set the example in a previous season, and that a Mrs. Broad played the male rôle of *Rolla* in *Pizarro* in this theatre the follow-

ing season, 1829-1830, we may fairly assume that the "Mrs." is no slip in the announcement.

*The Walnut Street Theatre, January 1 to April 14, 1829, and
May 26 to July 29, 1829.*

William Blake was manager and proprietor; the orchestra leader, G. W. Gronlund; architect, John Haviland; scenery, H. Reinagle, Wilkins and H. Isherwood; wardrobe, Scott; stage manager, W. H. Wallack. The prices were: Boxes, 75 cents; pit, 50 cents, and gallery, 25 cents. While the name of this theatre had varied during the previous seasons, being known as the "Olympic," or simply "Circus," in 1827 as "The Philadelphia Theatre," it was known from 1829 on simply as the "Walnut." It passed January 1, 1829, from the management of William Blake into the hands of Messrs. S. Chapman and John Green.

A prize of \$100 had been offered "for a poetical address to be spoken at the opening of the theatre," but no reference was found to the author of the address or the person speaking it. A prize must also have been offered for the opening of the new theatre, the "Arch Street Theatre," opened for the first time October 1, 1828. However, the second best prize address is announced as written by Dr. McHenry and spoken by Mr. Stickney on January 9. We shall find a number of the same actors at the "Walnut" and the Arch Street house, and it would seem that many went at the end of the unsuccessful season at the Arch Street Theatre, December 29, 1828, to the "Walnut," where the season began January 1, 1829, and we even find in the brief summer season, May 26 to July 27, 1829, some of the same names as at the "Washington Theatre."

The German plays at this theatre for this season were: *Abellino*, April 9; *The Death Fetch*, or *The Student of Göttingen*, July 27; *How to Die for Love*, June 10, and 16; *Of Age to Morroze*, January 2, 9, and April 10; *Pizarro*, March 2, April 1, and June 13; *The Stranger*, March 12, eleven performances of six different plays, four from Kotzebue, the usual one from Zschokke, and one of doubtful source.

Abellino, April 9, has the secondary title, *The Bandit of Venice*, and is announced as "Dunlap's Grand Drama, romance

in five acts." *Pizarro*, March 2, announced as "Sheridan's Play in five acts," shows J. Wallack as Rolla, Wood as Pizarro, and Mrs. Blake as Cora, April 1, Blake as Rolla, Wood as Pizarro, Mrs. Wood as Elvira, and Mrs. Willis as Cora. In *The Stranger*, March 12, announced as "Kotzebue's Play," Wood played the Stranger.

The plays of possible or partial German origin were: *Blind Boy*, June 15, and July 2, Mr. Rowbotham as Kalig and Mrs. Rowbotham as Edmund; *The Exile*, June 6, and July 9; *Foundling of the Forest*, February 14, and June 17; *Hunter of the Alps*, April 14; *Free Knights*, or *The Edict of Charlemagne*, melodrama in three acts, July 1, "first time in Philadelphia"; from the partial cast we note the following characters: Prince Paldine, Albert of Corbey, Baron Ravensburg, Ulrica (with songs), Countess Roland, and Agnes; *The Jew and the Doctor*, July 29; *The King and the Deserter*, or *The Assassins of the Black Forest*, "in New York to crowded houses, first time in Philadelphia, founded on Anecdotes of Frederick the Great," February 23, 24, 25, and March 4 ("in honor of the Inauguration of General A. Jackson"), and March 26, the only characters given were: Frederick the Great, Adelbert and Rosalie; *The Slave*, June 4, and *William Tell*, or *The Swiss Patriot*, January 16; "Michael," Blake; William Tell, E. Forrest; Albert, Mrs. Hamblin and Emma, Mme. Placide, and March 18, "Michael by a young gentleman of this city."

There were a number of French Ballets and Pantomimes, but outside of some plays already mentioned, such as *Monsieur Tonson* and *The Forest of Bondy*, nothing new to note. Other novelties and plays of interest were: *Alfred the Great*, or *The Magic Banner*, "melodramatic spectacle," June 22, 23, 24, and 26; *Cavaliers and Round Heads*, or *The Royal Oak*, "first time in Philadelphia, June 1, 2, and 3; *The Glorious Eighth*, or *Hero of New Orleans*, "dramatic sketch," January 8;³¹³ *Greeks and Turks*, or *The Struggle for Liberty*, "melodrama, first time in Philadelphia," June 3, and 5; *Rienzi*, tragedy ("first time in

³¹³ Cf. Chestnut Street Theatre, same date of this season.

Philadelphia"), March 3, 5, and 7; *The Shepherd of Deverent Vale*, melodrama ("first time"), March 9. On January 29, Hacket, who had been appearing as Solomon Swap, a Yankee Jobber in *John Bull at Home*, or *Jonathan in England*, *Comedy of Errors*, and *Paul Pry*, had his benefit in Bickerstaff's *Hypocrite*, and appeared in sketches of American character, as the Hon. Hans Knickerbocker (the American Dutchman), and in the character of a Yankee in "Jonathan and Uncle Ben," and "Jonathan's Visit to the British Squadron." On March 28, appeared the announcement, "after the play (*Henry IV*, Wood), Mrs. Green will sing a favorite air, the words in *the German Language*," Herr Cline, as in the Chestnut Street Theatre was engaged at the theatre and is called "The rope dancer and the German Hercules, with gymnastic exercises, etc." On July 4, an announcement appears, "the piece (*Hail Columbia*) will conclude with a representation of Vauxhall Garden on a gala night with fireworks." From casts at the end of the summer seasons we see that Durang and Eberle were members of the company. Mr. and Mme. Achille and Mr. and Mme. Vestris were members of the "Corps de Ballet."

Shakespeare was represented better this season at the Walnut than at the Chestnut Street house, the plays were: *As You Like It*, April 10 (Wood); *Catharine and Petrucchio*, January 5; *Comedy of Errors*, January 23 (Barnes' Benefit and Hacket); *Hamlet*, January 14 (Ed. Forrest), March 25 (Hamblin); *Henry IV*, March 28 (Wood); *King Lear*, January 24 (Ed. Forrest and Mrs. Hamblin's Benefit); *Macbeth*, January 28 (Ed. Forrest), and April 2; *Much Ado About Nothing*, April 6, and 18 (Wood); *Othello*, January 3; *Richard III*, February 27; and *Twelfth Night*, February 10, fourteen performances of eleven different plays.

The Arch Street Theatre, First Season, October 1 to December 29, 1828, and April 15 to May 27, 1829.

Wood informs us that in anticipation of the demolishing of the Walnut Street Theatre, another theatre was planned and was later actually built on the north side of Arch Street between

Sixth and Seventh. It is still in use as a theatre, having seen many successful seasons and brilliant audiences and in later years passed through the experience of a German theatre, vaudeville theatre and Yiddish theatre. The management was offered to W. Wood, who accepted, but relinquished it again, although the receipts were good, on account of "the disorderly and ill assorted company, whom he could not undertake to govern."³¹¹ Wood relinquished the management December 24, and for the four remaining nights of the year Roberts acted as manager.

The theatre was closed, alterations and improvements were made, and from among the applicants Mr. A. J. Phillips was accepted as the lessee and manager. On April 13, 1829, he announced the formal opening of the theatre under his management, describing it as "the most complete in the Union." He announced a short season previous to the regular opening in September, and promised the "restoration of the drama to its original legitimacy," saying he "has seen with regret the abuses which from a want of resolution to suppress, have tended to destroy the respectability of the establishments and defeat the very primary objects of the drama. He, therefore, proposes to establish such regulations and prohibitions as from time to time may be found necessary to check the progress of growing evils, in which he anticipates the co-operation and approval of the public." The *Sentinel* commenting on April 15 on the address written by Mr. Chapman and spoken by J. B. Phillips, said: "Confident that everything calculated to elevate the character of the drama will be strictly attended to, and having in view the restoration of the legitimate drama, he will doubtless produce entertainments suited to the taste of every playgoer. Mr. Phillips is a native of this city, and has for some time past been studying the history of the drama and has been able to discover to which cause the failure in this city is to be attributed." Some of the precautions of order were: "No improper person will be admitted in the pit of this theatre," and "an efficient police." Some of the names during the season under Wood's manage-

³¹¹ Cf. Wood, p. 347, and the account of the Arch Street Theatre in this work, p. 14.

ment are familiar to us from the casts of the other theatres in this and previous seasons. They are: Wood, Blake, Duffy, Sefton, Ischesword, Murray, Roberts, H. W. Knight, Eglee, Jones, Thomson, Chapman, Nelson, Stone and Scott from the Chatham Theatre, Miss Kelly, Mrs. Wood, Mrs. Stone, Miss Rock; while in the short season of Phillips' management these names appear, S. Chapman, Phillips, Wood, Page, Porter, Forbes, Walstein, Mercer, Dickson, Hunt, Miss Kelly (special engagement), Mrs. Greene, Mrs. Stickney, Miss Jane Mercer, and Mrs. Roberts. This list is not complete, but such as could be collected from the partial casts given. With the season 1829-1830 a more complete list is given, for by that time the company had been very much enlarged and indeed was more formidable than the companies at the other theatres.³¹⁵ The short winter season under Wood's management was opened October 1, 1828, "with a prize address written by a gentleman of this city, to be spoken by Mr. Wood, the new drop scene was painted by Mr. Wilkens, and new palace scene by Mr. Sherwood." As dancers were announced Misses Garson, Lee, and Blakely; also a Mme. Feron had a short engagement. For the short spring season under Phillips' management the orchestra consisted of "German Professors, under the direction of Mr. Hansen, leader." The concert on the last night of this season, 1829, by the orchestra, assisted by Mr. Hupfeldt, shows the following members of the orchestra: Homann, Krieger, Widdle, Wepper, Homann, Sr., Rudolphus, Tragetha, Hill, Schmelling, Cortez, Reinhard, Schmitz, and Krollman. Some of these had come from the other theatres, although the spelling varies slightly in a few cases.

The German plays for these two short seasons, in 1828-1829, were: *Deaf and Dumb*, October 6, 1828; *Of Age to Morrow*, October 2, and 15, 1828; April 29, and May 12, 1829; *Pizarro*, November 28, December 1, and 6, 1828; *The Robbers*, October 23, 28, and November 20, 1828, eleven performances of four different plays, three from Kotzebue and the usual one from Schiller. It is significant to note the bulk of these German perform-

³¹⁵ For this complete list cf. p. 36 in the chapter on Nationality of Actors, Performers, Members of Orchestra, etc.

ances, in fact all but two occur in the period under Wood's management. The announcements are very meagre, and we learn little, if anything, about these plays this season, *Pizarro*, December 1, Wallack played Rolla. The drama *The Robbers* was given three times, more than during any of the other seasons; Wood played "Charles de Moor" on each occasion.

The plays of possible or partial German origin were: *Adelgitha*, October 14, and 21; *Foundling of the Forest*, October 16; *Greeneyed Monster*, new comedy, for the first time in Philadelphia, May 5, and 7. The cast given was: Baron Speyenhause, Phillips; Colonel Arnsdorf, Wood; Krout (the Baron's gardener), Mercer; Marcus (the Baron's Jäger), Chapman; Lady Speyenhause, Mrs. Wood; Amelia, Green; Louisa, Mrs. Blake; *Hunter of the Alps*, December 18; *The Secret, or Hole in the Wall*, October 9, and 10; *The Slave*, May 16; *Tekeli*, May 9.

The only other plays to note are *Native Land*, a new opera, November 10, and 12; it appeared a little later at the Chestnut Street Theatre this same season, December 17; *Hypolitus, the Wild Boy*, melodrama, December 16 (Miss Clara Fischer in the leading rôle); and *The Inquisition, or The Jew in Spain*, melodrama, May 19, "first time in Philadelphia."

Shakespeare was represented by *As You Like It*, October 22; *Hamlet*, November 26; *King Lear*, November 6; *Macbeth*, December 5 (probably Wallack); *Much Ado About Nothing*, October 15, December 3 (Wood's Benefit), December 16; *Othello*, one scene, May 25; *Richard III*, November 29 (probably Wallack), December 18; and *Romeo and Juliet*, November 17 (Miss Rock?).

Summary for the season 1828-1829 for all the theatres: German plays, forty-one performances, eleven different plays. Plays of possible or partial German origin, fifty-four performances, twenty-one different plays.

Outside of what has already been given in connection with the plays and the changes of managership nothing was noted in the papers. Philadelphia magazines have no references to any play as a whole. *The Travels of Duke Bernhard of "Sax-Weimar" in North America*, in 1825-1826, continue to attract

attention, and *The North American Review*, Boston, has a lengthy review by George Bancroft.²¹⁶ Professor Mullenfield's "Introductory Lecture" at the London University, was given by the *Philadelphia Gazette*, May 20, 1829, copied from London papers.

Thirty-sixth Season Chestnut Street Theatre, October 26, 1829, to March 20, 1830, and April 8, to July 21, 1830, Preceded by the French Company, September 7, to October 8, 1829.

The French company presented thirty different pieces, consisting mostly of operas and vaudevilles. The repertoire included as last season "*Der Freyschutz*," September 26, and October 3. Of others we note *La dame du Lac* (*Lady of the Lake*), October 2, and *Mary Stewart*, by Lebrun (1729-1807), October 3.

The regular season of the Chestnut Street Theatre began October 26, 1829.

The German plays for this season were: *Deaf and Dumb*, November 6; "*Der Freyschutz*," December 2; *How to Die for Love*, November 12, and December 8; *Lovers' Vows*, January 23; *Pizarro*, December 17, and March 16; *Preciosa*, October 31; *The Robbers*, January 22; *The Stranger*, November 13, December 24, January 15, and April 12; thirteen performances of eight different plays.

We find Mr. and Mrs. Wood playing again at the Chestnut Street Theatre. In *Deaf and Dumb*, November 6, Wood played the Abbé de l'Épée. In *Lovers' Vows*, January 23, the cast shows Baron Wildenheim, Fort; Count Cassel, Wemyss; Frederick, Forbes; Anhalt, Wood; Agatha Friburg, Mrs. Wood, and Amelia Wildenheim, Mrs. Roper. In *Pizarro*, December 17, and March 16, Wood had the rôle of Pizarro, on the last date to Forbes' Rolla. In *The Robbers*, January, the cast shows Pelby as "Charles de Moor," and Forbes as "Francis de Moor," and Mrs. Wood as Amelia.

The plays of possible or partial German origin were: *All in the Dark*, or *The Banks of the Elbe*, May 15, and 17; it is called

²¹⁶ Cf. Goodnight's List 786-827.

a "Petite Comedy," and a partial cast shows the following characters: Lieutenant Frederick Blumenthal, Rosa Blumenthal, Sophie Steinbach, and Madel; *The Flying Dutchman*, or *The Phantom Ship*, May 15, with twenty performances in all; *Hunter of the Alps*, February 2; Mr. and Mrs. Wood's Benefit and announced as "the last night of their engagement," April 22 and 28; *Jew and Doctor*, February 27, and March 3; *Presumption*, or *The Fate of Frankenstein*, June 10, and 11; included in the night of June 10 was the Song of the Poachers, which we shall find in the repertoire of the Arch Street Theatre. *The Secret*, or *The Hole in the Wall*, April 28, 30, and May 25; *Self-Sacrifice*, or *The Maid of the Cottage*, May 20, and 21. From the partial cast we note the following characters: Count Valmore, Marquis Leone, Schwitzer, Schultz, Ida (the Maid of the Cottage), and Lisette. *Wandering Boys*, May 27; *Wheel of Fortune*, October 29; *The White Eagle*, or *Lionel, Prince of Saxony*, drama, "first time in Philadelphia, success in London." Some of the characters are: Lionel, Von Beriot, Michael Miller, De Weltz, Simon Hemmel, Countess Elvira Rotakda, and Christabella. *William Tell*, or *The Hero of Switzerland*, February 1; Pelby as Tell and Forbes as Gessler, Mrs. Greene as Emma, and Miss Turner as Albert. *Woodman's Hut*, December 11, 18, and January 28; *Youthful Queen*, or *Christina of Sweden*, drama, "first time in Philadelphia," March 11, 12, and May 5. The following characters are indicated: Count d'Oxenstiern, Burry, Steinberg, and Christina. *Youthful Days of Frederick the Great*, May 10, and 14.

This season like the last is noted for many new plays. Among them we note *Antiquary*, musical play, "first time in Philadelphia," December 1 (four performances); *The Brigand*, or *The Banditti of Guadagnola*, melodramatic romance, "first time in Philadelphia," May 22 (fifteen performances); *Correnza, the Mountain Robber*, melodrama, July 3; two new plays of R. P. Smith, author of *Eighth of January*, *Deformed*, or *Woman's Trial*, February 4 (four performances), and *Disowned*, or *The Prodigals*, December 16 and 22. In connection with the *Deformed*, the announcement appears: "The manager, ever

anxious to encourage native talent, begs leave to inform his fellow-citizens that greatest care has been bestowed on the present drama." A critic in the paper says, the *Deformed* is constructed on model of the old English drama and expresses the regret that "our countrymen venture so seldom on the stage." Another reference says: "Obligations to Decker from whom he has borrowed materials for one division of his double plot were to have been acknowledged in a prologue, which, however, was not prepared in time, so he will be called upon to defend himself against plagiarism from a New York writer. Decker's play, which modern manners do not permit me to name, was laid under contribution very freely, by Dunlap, of New York, in his *Italian Father*." *Epicharis*, historical tragedy, "first time in Philadelphia," April 17; *Executioner of Amsterdam*, June 8 and 9; *Fairy of the North Star*, "Tale of Enchantment," July 3; the *First of May*, or *A Royal Love Match*, petite comedy, "first time in America," January 7 (five performances); *Fifteen Years of a Drunkard's Life*, first time in America, December 28, and January 1, no doubt suggested by *Thirty Years of a Gambler's Life*. *House of Aspen* (based on Scott), March 11 and 12;^{316a} *John Overy*, or *The Miser of Southwark Ferry*, musical drama, "first time in Philadelphia," April 21 (four performances); *John of Paris*, comic opera, "first time in Philadelphia," in English, for the French company had given *Jean de Paris*, October 5, 1827; November 3 (eight performances); *Leas of Private Life* was repeated this season July 8 and 10; *Married Bachelor*, October 30; *Pottsville*, or *Coals, no Diamonds*, "humorous sketch on the coal mania," July 1 and 2; *Richelieu*, by J. H. Payne, "first time in America," November 16 and 18; *Tom and Jerry*, "extravaganza burletta," as altered and revived by Pierce Egan, March 2 (eleven performances); *Vidocq*, drama of peculiar nature, founded on the memoirs of Vidocq, the secret agent of the

^{316a} Scott wrote it in 1790—the same time as he translated *Götz*, it is apparently a German play made over. He thought of publishing it in 1806, but it was first published in *The Keepsake*, of 1830 (Lockhart says, 1829), *Life of Scott* (Philadelphia, 1837), vol. I, 169-190, 202—also *Scott's Familiar Letters*, I-104, wherein Joanna Baillie, about 1808, criticizes the play in MS. (I am indebted to Dr. J. E. Haney for this note).

French police, February 17 (six performances). Various lighter entertainments occur between the plays, such as pantomimes, including a living skeleton and acts of ventriloquism, in which Mr. Holland is especially mentioned. Of French origin we note besides those already mentioned above the repetition of *Clari*, November 28; and a new romantic spectacle, *Rose d'Amour and Rudolf the Wolf* (the success of Covent Garden), December 25 (nine performances).

Shakespeare was represented by *Catharine and Petrucchio*, February 20 (Booth and Pelby); *Coriolanus*, November 4 (Cooper); *Hamlet*, January 16 (Booth), February 8 (Pelby); March 3, Act III, the night's entertainment consisted of selections of most favored plays, *Brutus*, Act V; *Damon and Pythias*, Act IV, and *Hamlet*, Act III (Pelby, Booth, and White), and all this followed by the farce *Jew and Doctor*; *Henry IV*, November 2 (Cooper); *Julius Caesar*, February 23 and 27; Booth, Pelby and White were playing at this time, but which one had this rôle on these two dates is uncertain; *King John*, May 1 (Booth); *King Lear*, January 1 (Booth); *Macbeth*, January 29 (Pelby, or Booth?); *Merry Wives of Windsor*, December 29 (Booth?); *Merchant of Venice*, January 19 (Booth); *Othello*, February 10 (Booth?); *Merry Wives of Windsor*, December 29 (Booth?); *III*, December 30, January 13, 18, May 3 and 6 (Booth on all five occasions); *Roméo and Juliet*, December 2, May 8 (Booth); *Tempest*, November 17 and 19 (Mrs. Homan?), twenty-seven performances of fourteen different plays.

It seems that by this time the lighter entertainments had gained a foothold in all the theatres. Ballets and dances by dancers of various nationalities there had been from the very beginning, and only incidental specialties, but gradually and especially this season they seemed to have become a necessity in all the theatres. There were protests in the papers against the rope dancing at the Arch Street and Walnut Street Theatres, and appeals to support the Chestnut, "where legitimate drama has its home." But even the Chestnut Street Theatre had to yield. It is true, in one case at least, the special performer or museum freak had a part in some play adapted to him. One announcement at

the Chestnut Street Theatre will illustrate these extra entertainments, which may be regarded as the beginning of our so-called "Vaudeville." June 24, 1830: "The manager begs to inform the public that, determined to spare no expense in order to gratify his patrons, he has effected an engagement of a few nights, the wonder of the day, the celebrated Calvin Edson, *the living skeleton*, who will make his first appearance this evening as Jeremiah Thin, in the comedy of *Rochester*, which character he has performed to crowded houses in New York, Boston, etc."

In the same way animals played a part, the dog "Leo," the horse "Napoleon," the horse "Washington," and the elephant in *Blue Beard*, and we see "Siamese boys," Herr Cline, the rope dancer, and "German Hercules," the Italian Cubano, rope dancer, etc. In the course of the discussion of the other theatres these entertainments will be referred to again. Great actors like Wood and Booth had to share the applause with the "*Locomotive Steam Carriage*" and "the largest elephant ever exhibited."

Other Theatres, Gardens, Etc.

No entertainments were noted at any "Garden." At the Philadelphia Museum, "Mons. and Mme Canderbeck" are announced in a concert with a "German Song." At Masonic Hall we find a series of entertainments in April and May of 1830. The names given are Master Mercer, J. Mercer, Mrs. Mercer and Miss Mercer, Miss H. Mercer. Scenes from farces are announced without any definite title and the notices are irregular. Rolla's Address as a recitation is among them.

The Washington Theatre, Formerly Washington Circus, October 5, 1829, to January 23, 1830.

Here also the notices in the papers are very irregular, although forty-eight different plays are noted, including a few given after January 23, isolated dates as late as August 21, 1830. The plays in August are by a "company of amateurs," and between August 10 and 21 they gave three German plays. The

last date noted by the regular company was July 10. The company seemed to have failed, for September 1, 1830, we read: "The Washington Theatre, Old York Road, has been taken by a gentleman from New York. It is to be again converted into a circus and will be opened in about two weeks."

The German plays for the season including the isolated dates, June 23, and July 10, and the short period of the "company of amateurs" were *Der Freischutz*, December 3, 12 and 14; *La Perouse*, October 28; *Pizarro*, December 12, 19, 25, and January 20; *The Stranger*, January 22, and August 10; ten performances of four German plays, though in the case of *Der Freischutz* only selected scenes were given. In *Pizarro*, December 12, Mrs. Broad played Rolla, and again December 19, while December 25, Mrs. Broad played Cora to Mr. Newton's Rolla. January 20, Mr. Haupt, as Rolla. For *The Stranger*, January 22, no cast was given; August 10, it was by the "company of amateurs," a Mr. Bunn playing The Stranger.

Plays of possible or partial German origin were: *Blind Boy*, August 17, by the "company of amateurs"; *Fatal Snow Storm*, or *Lozwinia of Tobolskoze*, November 17; *Floating Beacon*, November —? and January 5; *Miller and His Men*, October 5; *Tekeli*, October —?, and *William Tell*, August 21, by the "company of amateurs." No other plays need be noted and only one play from Shakespeare occurs, namely, *Richard III*, July 10, with no cast.

The Walnut Street Theatre, September 7, 1829, to January 22, 1830, and February 20, to August 4, 1830.

The management had changed again from S. Chapman and John Greene to S. Chapman and Edmonds, in the form of "Dramatic Republic," with the feature, "that all tradesmen's bills, small salaries and incidentals will be paid weekly, the balance of receipts will then be divided among the company."³¹⁷ February

³¹⁷ For a brief account of the Walnut Street Theatre cf. pp. 12-14, especially p. 14, for the changes during this season.

19, 1830, the management passed to Messrs. S. and W. Chapman, and there must have been an intermission of about a month. After the sudden death of S. Chapman, May 16, 1830, W. Chapman became sole manager and is again announced as such for the season 1830-1831. A bad financial condition is indicated not only for this theatre, but for all by a critic of the day, "as a manager Mr. Chapman has bestowed his time in catering for the public taste, with, I fear, but small benefit to his pocket, as these are not times wherein conductors of theatres have cause to boast of their success in trade," August 4, 1830. S. Chapman was also stage manager, the scenic department in charge of Isherwood, Wilkens, Amners and W. Warren; machinist, Lewis; balletmaster, Wells; and the chorus in charge of Hutchings. "Leader of the Band," Milan.³¹⁸ An engagement of Miss Clara Fischer is also announced.

The German plays of this theatre for this season were: *The Death Fetch, or The Student of Göttingen*, September 11, 12, 19 and 22; *Of Age to Morrow*, July 30, and August 3; *Pizarro*, November 7, December 29, May 5, and July 17; *The Robbers*, June 18; *The Stranger*, October 21, and February 23; *Undine*, April 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19, 21, 23, 24, 30, and May 4, twenty-four performances of six different plays, three from Kotzebue, one based on Fouqué, the usual one from Schiller and one of doubtful source. In the *Death Fetch*, Clara Fischer played Louisa. The characters Louisa, Pothe and Matilda might point to the *Rovers* (cf. pp. 176-181). In *Pizarro*, November 7, Lyons played Rolla; December 29, Haupt played Rolla; May 5, Mr. S. Chapman as Rolla and Miss Chapman as Elvira, and July 17, was Mr. Porter's benefit with the announcement: "Mr. Peason, of the New Orleans Theatre, who has kindly volunteered his services, will make his first appearance here these two years in Kotzebue's celebrated play of *Pizarro*"; Rolla, Peason; *Pizarro*, Wood, and Elvira, Mrs. Wood. *The Robbers*, June 18, was Mr. Wood's benefit, Charles de Moor, Wood; Speigleberg, Seften;

³¹⁸ For the complete list of all the members of the company at the beginning of this season 1829-1830 as published in the *American Sentinel*, Philadelphia, September 7, 1829, cf. pp. 36 and 37.

Switzer, Flynn, and Amelia, Mrs. Duff. In *The Stranger*, October 21, Mr. Clark, from the Park Street Theatre, had the leading rôle and February 23, S. Chapman and Mrs. Barnes. *Undine* is announced as a "grand magical spectacle," and no doubt the spectacular part made it popular and there may have been little consciousness of its German source.

The plays of possible or partial German origin were: *Adelgitha*, June 9; *Blind Boy*, September 21, Miss Fischer as Edmond; *The Bohemian Mother*, or *The Judgment Seat*, "first time in Philadelphia," June 14, 15, 17 and 21; the cast as given was, Count Manheim, Wood; Count Friburg, Flynn; Dessing, Chapman; Kleincop, Sefton; *The Bohemian Mother*, Mrs. Duff; Lisette, Miss Hathwell. Mrs. Duff had an engagement of a few nights and had played a part in *Adelgitha*, *Jane Shore*, and *Foundling of the Forest*; *The Devil and Dr. Faustus*,^{318a} December 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 21, 22, 24, 25, 28, 31, January 2, March 29, April 9; *The Comet*, October 16; *Ella Rosenberg*, October 20, 29, and December 16; *Exile*, or *The Russian Daughter*, September 10, and March 1; *Foundling of the Forest*, June 12; *Miller and His Men*, November 3, 5, March 1 and 19; *Raymond and Agnes*, or *Travellers Benighted*, which appears under so many titles. *Travellers Benighted*, *Benighted Travellers*, *Bleeding Nun*, *Forest of Rosenwald*, May 24; *The Secret*, April 22, June 18, 30, and July 29; *The Slave*, September 8; *Siege of Belgrade*, July 14; *Wandering Boys*, October 13, March 4, and July 13; *Woodman's Hut*, May 25.

The lighter entertainments have already been spoken of in connection with this season at the Chestnut Street Theatre, but they were still more at home at this theatre. We hear of "Double Siamese Boys," of "Herr Cline the German Hercules," also wire walker, "on wheelbarrow from stage to gallery"; Italian rope dances with Signor Cubano, in a scene of *Indian Hunter*, the horse "George Washington," and April 28, the horse "Napoleon," will perform the part of a domestic. May 15, "in the last scene (National Drama, *Railroad*) will be introduced

^{318a} For an account of this play see the Arch Street Theatre for this season.

the Locomotive Steam Carriage." But one announcement must be given in full to illustrate how excellent actors had to compete with animals as "Stars." June 16, "Mr. W. Chapman, ever anxious to please and gratify his friends, begs leave to announce that he has engaged at a very great expense the *Largest Elephant* ever exhibited in this country with its young, introduced in *Blue Beard*, bearing six females on its back. The manager feels confident in stating that this is the most novel exhibition of the kind ever offered to the public; Mrs. Duff, Mrs. Wood, Mrs. Greenwood, Mr. Wood, Mr. Duff will also appear on the *same evening*." Even Booth had to share the honors or was glad of the additional drawing card on his benefit night, June 2, in *The Bride of Abydos*. In a farce, *Dr. Foster in Philadelphia*, no doubt a burlesque on *Dr. Faustus*, the character Old Nick was taken by "Mr. Hart the Fireater." Fireworks displays occur and many ballets, dances, and pantomimes. From the French there were several new plays, *La Muette de Portici*, "music by d'Auber," November 14, 1829; *Peter Bell, the Wagoner*, melodrama, November 30 (three performances), and *Robert, the Devil*, July 26 and 27. Other plays to note are *The Cataract of the Ganges*, May 21 (seven performances); *Gasparoni, or The Roman Bandit*, melodrama, April 19 (five performances), first time on any stage; *Gilderoy, the Bonnie Boy*, Scotch melodrama, November 11, first time in Philadelphia (five performances); *House of Aspen*, March 8 (four performances); in the Arch Street Theatre it was presented the same night, and at the Chestnut Street Theatre, March 11;^{315b} *Justina, or The Fairy's Protection*, opera, first time in America, May 18, 19 and 20; *Little Hunchback*, "new piece altered from O'Keefe, taken from the Arabian Nights entertainment," March 10 (twelve performances); *Love and Poetry, or A Modern Genius Born*, in five acts, by Dr. James McHenry, December 5, 8 and 23; *Masaniello, or The Fisherman of Naples*, historical drama, first time in Philadelphia, founded on the revolution in Naples, 1666, now performing at Amsterdam, Moscow, London, Paris and New York, five hundred nights in

^{315b} Cf. note 316.^a

Paris, two hundred nights in London, November 14, 16, 17, and February 27; *Pocahontas*, the new drama, January 15 (five performances). There were several plays with this title, one by John Brougham, Esq., and another by S. H. M. Byers, but this was by Charles Burke, author of *Railroad* and *Peace Chief*. It had the secondary title, *The Settlers of Virginia*, and is called a national drama. The title page states "as performed at the Walnut Street Theatre twelve nights with great success."³¹⁹ The announcements in the papers were very irregular between January 19, and February 20, 1830, and *Pocahontas* must have been given on seven nights between these dates. I have noted only two plays for the twenty-seven nights between January 19, and February 20. The announcement, however, on February 19, of the opening under the management of S. and W. Chapman indicates that the theatre was closed for part of this period. Other plays of interest were: *Presumptive Evidence*, melodrama, for the first time in America, September 25, 1829 (three performances); it appeared also at the Chestnut Street Theatre, July 19, 1830; *Rip Van Winkle*, or *The Demons of the Catskill Mountains*, a national drama in two acts, by John Kerr, author of *Wandering Boys*, *Anaconda*, *Fish Out of Water*, *Gasparoni the Bandit*, *Three Vampires*, *Dinner of Madelon*; printed from the actors' copy with the whole of the stage business, as now performed in the London and American Theatre, Philadelphia,³²⁰ for the first time in Philadelphia, October 24, 1829 (twelve performances during the season). On January 7, W. Chapman appears in the title rôle;³²¹ *The Sentinel*, December 22 (three performances); *Shakespeare's Early Days*, Covent Garden, "new drama of peculiar style, first time in Philadelphia," April 5, 6 and 7, 1830; *Son and Father*, or *The Dutch Redemptioner*, melodrama, first time

³¹⁹ See copy in the Jackson Collection, Library of the University of Pennsylvania.

³²⁰ The copy in the Jackson Collection is marked, Durang's copy.

³²¹ For the source of *Rip Van Winkle* cf. *Literary Gazette*, Philadelphia, 1821, 1, 636, *German Popular and Traditional Literature*, with a translation of a story; Peter Klaus, *The Goat-herd*, the source of Irving's *Rip Van Winkle*. From the (London) *New Monthly Magazine*, also *Portfolio*, Philadelphia, 1822, N. S. XXVIII, 144. Peter Klaus, *The Legend of the Goatherd. Rip Van Winkle*.

in Philadelphia, April 26 (three performances); *Will Blose*, or *The Banditti of the Blind Mine*, melodrama, October 7 (four performances), and *William Penn*, or *The Elm Tree*, historical melodrama, December 25 (six performances). Shakespeare was represented by *As You Like It*, July 16; *Hamlet*, September 29; *King John*, March 22; *King Lear*, May 22, and June 23, Mrs. Duff's benefit and Wood in title rôle; *Macbeth*, March 13; *Merchant of Venice*, December 18, February 25, June 14; *Richard III*, September 23 (Booth), January 9, March 11, "George Frederick Cooke, the only surviving relative of the celebrated tragedian," March 30, June 3 (Mr. St. John, first time at the Walnut), June 26 (Booth), July 22 (Frederick Brown); *Roméo and Juliet*, September 17; seventeen performances of eight different plays.

Arch Street Theatre, August 31, 1829, to March 26, 1830, and April 11, 1830, to April 17, 1830.

This theatre is referred to in the papers this season as the "*Philadelphia Theatre*." It opened under the management of A. J. Phillips. The winter season came to an end March 26, 1830, when the following announcement appeared: "The full complement of thirty weeks' performance being completed, the season has now closed. During a recess of about a fortnight arrangements will be made to reopen with renewed splendor for a short summer season on Monday the 12th day of April next. A. J. Phillips, lessee and manager." In the interval the theatre was open one night, April 1, for the benefit of Mr. Clark, "supported by voluntary efforts," and for which "Mr. Clark respectfully solicited the patronage of his Masonic Brethren." The orchestra, led by Mr. Hansen, is spoken of as "composed of the first talent now in the country." The musical department was under the direction of Walton, and the scenic department under H. Warren and Carr. Coyle was announced as coming "from London to produce splendid spectacles."²²

²² For a full list of actors, etc., for this season cf. p. 39.

The German plays of this theatre for this season were: *The Death Fetch*, or *The Student of Göttingen*, September 11, 12, 18, and January 28; *How to Die for Love*, April 16; *Lovers' Voices*, October 13; *Of Age to Morrow*, November 11, 26, 30, December 15, 23; *Pizarro*, September 14, November 19, 28, February 5, March 20; *The Poachers*, or *Guilty and Not Guilty*, December 14, 19, 30, January 15, February 15; *The Stranger*, December 4, twenty-two performances of seven different plays, six from Kotzebue, and one of doubtful source.

The Death Fetch, or *The Student of Göttingen*, as we have seen, was given four times at the Walnut Street Theatre this same season, and was given here for the first time in Philadelphia, July 29, 1829. On two of the dates of this season, September 11 and 12, the play was given both at the Arch Street Theatre and the Walnut, September 18, at the Arch, and September 19, at the Walnut. The cast shows the following characters: Ebert, Ludolph, Hans, Louisa, Pothe, Matilda; Louisa, Pothe, by Miss Rock, and Ebert, by Archer, as "originally performed by him in London more than fifty nights." The papers speak of crowded houses at the Arch with Edwin Forrest. He appeared as Frederic in *Of Age to Morrow*, November 20, and as Rolla in *Pizarro*, September 14, and November 19. On November 28, Copeland (Philadelphia), "first time on any stage," played Rolla, and March 20, we find Clarke in this rôle. In *Lovers' Voices*, October 18, Murdock played Frederic. The one new German play for this season was *The Poachers*,²²⁵ or *Guilty and Not Guilty*. It was given for the first time in Philadelphia, December 14, and saw five performances in all during the season. This is the last Kotzebue play prepared for the English stage and appeared for the first time in Covent Garden, February 6, 1824, with thirteen performances during the season. The papers spoke of it as a complete success. It was given frequently during the following years and was still in the repertoire in 1830. Another

²²⁵ *Rehbock, oder die schuldlosen Schuldbezwungen, Lustspiel in drei Akten*, Leipzig, 1815. This should not be confounded with *Guilty or Not Guilty*, by Dibdin, Haymarket, London, 1804, founded on *The Reprobate*, a German novel by La Fontaine. Biogr. Dram. II, p. 274, N. 162.

version of it with the title *The Roebuck* had appeared earlier at the Surrey Theatre, and continued to be played alongside of *The Poachers*.³²⁴

The plays of possible or partial German origin were: *Foundling of the Forest*, March 23; *Faustus*, December 16, for the first time at the Arch Street Theatre, and followed by twenty-four performances between this date and February 3, 1830. It had appeared at the Walnut Street Theatre first on December 12, of this same season with a run of sixteen performances, some alternating, and at least nine performances on the same nights as given at the Arch Street Theatre, so that at the two theatres together there were forty-one performances of this drama during the season. At the Walnut it was announced as the *Devil and Dr. Faustus*, and the partial cast shows it to have been the same version as given at the Arch Street Theatre, though not staged so elaborately. At the latter house it was announced simply as *Faustus*, romantic drama, original music, only copy in this country. Drury Lane, London, and Park, New York.

From the beginning of the season great preparations had been made, and "great pains bestowed to render it worthy the attention of artists, critics and connoisseurs in painting, poetry and music." Outline of scenes and cast is given as follows:

Faustus, Archer; Mephistopheles, Jervis.

Scene I. Romantic and authentic view of the Drachenfels at sunset; chorus of fishermen, "Home! there 's a storm in the whistling blast"; chorus of hunters, "The Wild Bird is rocking in his nest"; chorus of peasants, "Now for the Fireside's cheerful blaze"; grand chorus, "Home! Home!" chorus of fiends beneath the earth, "He comes! he comes!" Sudden appearance of the Demon. Scene sinks and characters transported to Carnival and Rialto of Venice. Count di Cassanova, father of Rosalia; Fischer, Count Orsino, in love with Adine; Hazard, Rosalia; Miss Coleman, Adine; Miss A. Fischer. Scene sinks and Faust and Adine among ruins of an ancient monastery by moonlight.

³²⁴ For minor differences between the original and the English version cf. Sellier, pp. 83 and 84.

Scene 4. Exterior of inn, distant view of town and cathedral. Song: "The Field of Glory." Montolio, Walton, Wagner (pupil of Faustus), Andrews; Antonio, Murray, "I'm a young German Scholar."

Scene 5. Interior of the Inn Grognesse, innkeeper, Read; Lucetta, daughter, Mrs. Franklin; Bravillo, Durang (first time at the Arch).

Scene 6. Street in Venice. Exterior of Count do Cassanova's mansion. Act concludes with death of Enrico.

Scene 7. Palace of Faustus, distant view of massive building, lake and fountain.

Scene 8. Grand garden of Faustus.

Scene 9. Massive Gothic interior, Faustus raises visions.

Scene 10. Faustus' Palace, spirits do his bidding. Interior of cemetery, changes to interior of monastery. Bay of Naples.

Scene 14. Interior of dungeon, changes to antichamber of King of Naples. Faustus becomes King of Naples.

Scene 15. Street in Naples.

Scene 16. Audience chamber of the King.

Last scene. Magnificent view of pandemonium. Faustus meets his merited doom.

On February 3, the last performance of the season, three different actors had the rôle of Mephistopheles, in Act I, Jervis; in Act II, Coyle, and in Act III, Clarke.

Other plays were: *The Secret*, or *The Hole in the Wall*, October 8; *The Slave*, or *Love and Gratitude*, opera, October 5 and 29. The partial cast given was: Captain Clifton, Pearman; Governor of Surinam, Phillips; Captain Malcolm, Walton; Col. Lindenburg, Jervis; Sam Sharpset, Andrews; Gambler, Archer; Stella Clifton, Mrs. Pearman; Mrs. Von Tromp, Miss Maywood; *Tekeli*, April 15, and *William Tell, the Swiss Patriot*, November 11, Edwin Forest as William Tell.

On September 22, "the celebrated German minstrel, Carl von Blessin," is announced with two songs; on November 14, Mr. Andrew in the song of *The Poachers*. On September 23, night of *Othello*, H. Dielman, a member of the orchestra, is au-

³²⁵ Cf. note 316.^a

nounced as the composer of the overture. On February 20, "between the play and farce Mrs. Sharpe will appear as a Bavarian broom girl and sing 'Buy a Broom.'" On March 21, the play at the Walnut Street Theatre was suspended on account of the "First Benefit for the General Theatrical Fund," held at the Arch Street house. The play was *Macbeth* (Edwin Forrest), followed by the farce *The Launcers*.

Of plays of French origin we note *Clari*, or *The Maid of Milan*, February 26; *The Diamond Arroz*, an amusing drama, for the first time in America, February 10; *Fontleroi*, or *The Banker of Rouen*, pathetic drama, October 21; *Locond*, or *The Festival of the Rose*, musical drama, as performed by the French company, January 16. Other plays of interest to note were: *All at Coventry*, February 3 (seven performances); *Earthquake*, or *The Spectre of the Nile*, melodramatic Egyptian spectacle, Adelphi, London, for nearly whole season, February 10 (ten performances). The papers of the day spoke of "scenery and machinery as even surpassing that of *Faustus*, which justly obtained so much approbation for its talented artist" (Coyle); *Gretna Green*, first time in America, September 26 (three performances); *The House of Aspen*, a new tragedy (four performances). It was given the same night at the Walnut Street Theatre and was followed by three more performances there and at the Chestnut Street Theatre it was given March 11; *Knights of the Cross*, or *The Hermit's Prophecy*, romantic drama, "taken from Sir Walter Scott's tale of *The Talisman*, February 10, in which the celebrated sagacious 'Dog Leo' will appear for this night only"; *Married Bachelor*, November 3, 12, and March 13; *Metamora*, or *The Last of the Wampanoags*, new American prize tragedy, A. Stone, January 2, seven performances in all; *Midas*, by Kane O'Hara, first time in thirty years;³²⁶ *Presumptive Evidence*, melodrama, announced "first time in America," September 28 and 30. At the Walnut, however, it had appeared September 25, 1820, and followed at the Chestnut, July 19, 1830; *Rochester*, or *King Charles' Merry Days*, by Mrs. Cowell, first

³²⁶ Cf. p. 43.

time in Philadelphia, January 1, eleven performances; *The Times, or Life in New York*, comedy "founded on our own manners and peculiarities written expressly for Mr. Hackett (recently produced at New York with most distinguished success and repeated night after night to fashionable overflowing houses)," first time in Philadelphia, February 25.

Shakespeare was represented by *Catharine and Petrucchio*, September 22; *Comedy of Errors*, October 17; *Hamlet*, September 21 (Edwin Forrest); *Henry IV*, October 19, and December 3; *King Lear*, November 6 (Edwin Forrest); *Macbeth*, November 4 (Edwin Forrest), December 5, March 4 (Booth), and March 26 (Edwin Forrest); *Merchant of Venice*, October 12; *Merry Wives of Windsor*, December 12; *Much Ado About Nothing*, November 12, and February 18 (Mrs. Sharpe); *Othello*, September 23, and October 3 (Edwin Forrest), and April 1, Mr. Clarke's benefit; *Richard III*, October 24, February 27, and March 5 (Booth); *Romeo and Juliet*, September 2, and February 9 (Mrs. Barnes).

Summary for the season 1829-1830, for all the theatres. German plays, seventy-one performances, thirteen different plays. Plays of possible or partial German origin, eighty-nine performances, twenty-nine different plays.

Philadelphia magazines contain no references to any plays. *The Daily Chronicle* has January 27, 1830, a long poem, entitled "Loreley," a Rhine legend, of which I give the opening lines:

From you rock's topmost height,
Where sleeps the fair moonshine,
Looks down a lady bright,
On the dark flowing Rhine.

This brings us to the end of the last season to be considered in this work. It is of course not assumed that the German plays suddenly came to an end with this season, the most popular ones continue for many years, some even to 1860 or later, especially *The Stranger*. If anything more were needed to justify the bringing this study to an end with this season 1829-1830, I refer

³³⁷ Cf. Wood, p. 353.

to a passage from Wood, dealing with this period: "Any *history* of the theatre, that is to say, any history of a continuous and regular management now comes to an end. The drama was at sixes and sevens. The vitality of the theatre neither was nor can be destroyed, but its action was irregular, spasmodic, and disordered. From this time forward, therefore, my sketches are more desultory, and shift from house to house, being confined very much to Philadelphia."

(To be Continued.)

Charles F. Brede.

Philadelphia.

SOME EARLY POEMS REFERRING TO
LANCASTER, PA.

EDWARD Z. DAVIS, PHILADELPHIA.

Lancaster County owes its name to John Wright, a native of Lancashire, in England. It was established May 10, 1729, by the Assembly and Council, when the western part of Chester County was made into a new political unit. It comprised "all the Province lying northward of Octorari creek and westward of a line of marked trees, running from the north branch of the said Octorari creek, northeasterly to the river Schuylkill." It was later reduced to its present size by the formation of the separate counties of York, Cumberland, Berks, Northumberland, Dauphin and Lebanon.¹

Lancaster was laid out by Governor Hamilton as a town in 1730. Four years later the seat of justice was removed from Postlewaite's to Lancaster, which was incorporated as a borough in 1742. As early as 1736 a German Reformed Church was built there.

When General Howe, during the Revolutionary War, was marching north from Chesapeake Bay, the Continental Congress changed the seat of government from Philadelphia to Lancaster in early September, 1777; but on the 11th of the same month, the day on which the Battle of Brandywine was fought, Congress removed to York, where it remained until June 27, 1778. Large barracks were erected in Lancaster borough to secure the Hessian prisoners taken at Trenton; other prisoners were also confined there, at one time numbering over 1200. Lancaster and Ephrata took charge of many of our own wounded.

From 1710 to the organization of the county, there was a large influx of Germans from the Palatinate and of Scotch-Irish Presbyterians. The former settled at Tulpehocken and Pequea. Later, the Pennsylvania Germans occupied in general the northern half of the county, but have gradually acquired more and more of the rich farm land in the southern part as well. So many

¹ Cf. *History of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania*. By William H. Egle. Philadelphia, 1883; p. 814.

now live in the city of Lancaster that it has become one of the prominent Pennsylvania German centres of the State.

The following five poems and extract were found during an investigation of the early American magazines for translations of German literature, especially the poetry.² They either refer to Lancaster or are written by one of its citizens, as is the case of the last.

"The Complaint" is an imitation of the pastoral poetry of Salomon Gessner, whose *Idyls* were very popular in Europe in the eighteenth century. The early American magazines, in large-part imitations of their English prototypes, devoted considerable attention to Gessner. Before 1811 no less than nineteen translations, some in prose, appeared in the American periodicals. After that date interest in Gessner declined. *Delia* and *Damon* are names frequently used in this pastoral poetry.

In the poem "Written on the Banks of Conestoga" we get a touch of local geography. "The Lasses of Lancaster town" has a clever thought expressed in pleasing rhythm. Kingston referred to in the first stanza is perhaps the district of Philadelphia now known as Kensington.

The "Extract" gives the impression of Lancaster County, which a traveler received before the days of the first steam railroad in this district—that from Philadelphia to Columbia, built in 1832-1834. "The Lancaster Fair" of course does not mean the annual exhibition which now takes place. In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries the word "fair" was frequently used for "young lady."

"To a Portrait of a Beautiful Young Girl" is the only one of these selections which has the author's name attached. While no particular literary merit is to be attributed to these poems, they are nevertheless interesting as expressing sentiments about Lancaster a hundred years ago.

For the Universal Asylum.

² Cf. *Translations of German Poetry in American Magazines, 1741-1810* By Edward Ziegler Davis. Philadelphia, *Americana Germanica Press*, 1905.

THE COMPLAINT;

OR, THE LANCASTER MAIDEN IN PHILADELPHIA.

Delia, we lov'd so true and well,
Our sighs were so sincere;
That virtue might our passion tell,
And angels stoop to hear.

Each morn I met thee in the grove;
Each noon I told my tale;
The warbling choir rehears'd my love,
Responsive in the vale.

Thee I selected from the throng
Of maidens, mild or vain;
Attentive Echo heard my song,
And spread it o'er each plain.

Perfection in thy form I saw;
No blemish dwelt with thee;
Thy pleasure was to me a law;
And thou wert all to me.

Oft as thy milk-white hand I press'd,
Or gently touch'd thy cheek,
I found such tumults in my breast,
As song can never speak.

But when I dar'd to clasp thy waist,
And seize the glowing kiss,
Mortals did never rapture taste,
Superior to that bliss.

Yet, *Delia*, why your love forsake,
And leave him thus to mourn?
My tender heart will surely break,
Unless you soon return.

The splendid city why admire,
And quit our peaceful plains?
There beaus are found in rich attire,
But can they charm like swains?

Yet Lancaster some charms can boast;
 At least I knew the time
 When *Delia* was confest its toast,
 In beauty's glowing prime.

But Philadelphia all your charms
 Will quickly bid decay;
 There you experience various harms,
 And night is turn'd to day.

There day again to night is turn'd;
 Such revelry prevails;
 This folly is by Reason mourn'd;
 But Fashion holds the scales.

Return, dear maid, e're youth is spent,
 Whilst yet your mind is free;
 At Lancaster expect content,
 With *honor, love, and me*.³

—*Damon*.

Lancaster, 1790.

WRITTEN ON THE BANKS OF THE CONESTOGA.

O'er the green-spreading banks of this slow-winding stream,
 In life's playful morn, oft, I wander'd with glee;
 When nature yet smil'd to my soul through each scene,
 And the path of life's way seem'd enchanting to me.

On yon moss-cover'd rock, where the stream softly laves
 At its marginal base, winding slow through the vale,
 Oft musing I sat, as I gaz'd in the waves,
 And silently thought,—or breath'd words to the gale.

There where the wild rose, in the breeze, waves its head
 And spreads sweetest fragrance around through these scenes,
 Serene, oft I lay, on the moss verdant bed,
 And followed the phantoms of youth's fairy dreams.
 And there is the rock, over-bending the flood
 That weltering heaves its small billows along,
 Where often, as angling, I patiently stood,
 And watched the gay sports of the small finny throng.

³ *Universal Asylum and Columbian Magazine*. Vol. V, p. 268. October, 1790. Philadelphia.

'Twas here, O! loved spot, that my bosom first knew
The rapture of feeling, unmix'd with alloy;
'Twas here, where my muse, first her gay fancies drew,
And ope'd on my soul a new heaven of joy.⁴

THE LASSES OF LANCASTER TOWN.

Let city bucks boast of the charms of their fair,
Who Parrot-like prattle the streets up and down;
From Kingston to Southwark they've none to compare,
To the sweet lovely lasses of Lancaster town.

Let country-lads vaunt of their rosy-cheek'd belles,
Too modest to laugh—too obliging to frown;
But show me the maid in the country that dwells,
Can vie with the lasses of Lancaster town.

In city, or village, or country around,
Go ransack them all, and I'll bet you a crown,
Whatever your fancy, no girls will be found,
To equal the lasses of Lancaster town.

I've travers'd the states from the east to the west,
From the lakes to the sea-board and up hill and down;
But of all pretty damsels, the one I love best
Is a sweet little lassee of Lancaster town.⁵

AN EXTRACT.

NOTES FROM A SHORT EXCURSION IN PENNSYLVANIA IN 1818
(TO A FARM AT CONEWAGO).

. . . We passed a smiling and active village, called Downingstown, and Brandywine creek, and reached the flourishing and populous town of Lancaster to dinner. The country around Lancaster is rich and productive; the farm-houses are spacious and comfortable, and the farmers principally Dutch, who retain their manners, customs and language, untainted and unsophisticated by intercourse with other settlers. They even have a

⁴ *The Gleaner or Monthly Magazine*, Vol. I, No. 5—Vol. II, No. 3. January-November, 1809. Lancaster (Penn.). Printed by William Greer.

⁵ *The Gleaner or Monthly Magazine*, Vol. I, No. 5—Vol. II, No. 3. January-November, 1809. (The above appeared April, 1809.) Lancaster (Penn.). Printed by William Greer.

paper printed in German at Lancaster, and the women wear the large Flemish or Dutch blue striped, seven fold, heavy petticoat, which made me imagine I was approaching Amsterdam or Brussels. After departing from Lancaster, we speedily reached the banks of the Susquehanna,

“ . . . once the loveliest land of all
“That see the Atlantic wave their morn restore.”⁶

For the Aonian.

THE LANCASTER FAIR.

Fine was the day, the sun shone bright,
And all was life and motion;
'Twas all a scene of great delight,
Of bus'ness and of notion.

The country fair, with their dear beaus,
In silks and muslin flying,
Came stepping in upon tip-toe,
With city ladies vying.

And arm in arm they went along,
Like females of great station;
They walked so spruce amid the throng,
Their cheeks like the carnation.

The beaus look'd pleas'd, though fearful lest
They'd lose their girls so pretty;
And led the fair whom they loved best,
Through famed Lancaster city.

The busy crowd fill'd up the street,
The horses were all prancing;
The ev'ning clos'd with music sweet,
With fiddling and with dancing.

F—————⁷

⁶ *Boston Monthly Magazine*. Vol. I, p. 373. June, 1825–May, 1826. Boston. (The above appeared December, 1825.)

⁷ *The Juvenile Repository*. Vol. I, No. 51. June 21, 1823. Lancaster.

TO A PORTRAIT OF A BEAUTIFUL YOUNG GIRL.

By MALCOM GRAEME, Lancaster, Pa.

The light brown tresses gracefully
Hang round thy beauteous face,
And richly on thy white neck lie,
That curves in youthful grace;
And like the Parian marble white,
Thy pure and youthful brow—
Thy soft blue eyes a tender light
Throw gently on me now.

Oh! such as haunts the poet's sleep,
Thy face so young and fair;
Thy rose-cheek shadowed soft and deep
By thy rich sunny hair.
Oh! such the painter in his dreams
At twilight hour might see,
By Andalusia's peaceful streams,
In vine-hung Italy.

I gaze upon thy bounteous form,
And round about me rise
A crowd in memory's sunshine warm—
Young brows and gentle eyes.
A glowing vision comes with thee
A scene of other days—
Of those who trod life's path with me,
And fragments of old lays.

And bursting through the clouds of care,
Streams brightly on my heart,
The sunshine of rich feeling where
Those shadowy clouds depart;
And 'mid the cares of after life,
Oft shall come back to me,
In days of toil and feverish strife,
Sweet joyous thoughts of thee.⁸

⁸ *Burton's Gentleman's Magazine*. Edited by William E. Burton and Edgar A. Poe. Vol. V, p. 326. July-December, 1839. Philadelphia. (The above appeared December, 1839.)

JOHANN HEINRICH MILLER.

by

CHARLES FREDERICK DAPP.

Philadelphia.

Restless and fond of travel, portraying the old Germanic love of migration, and the German idea of apprenticeship which receives the fundamentals of a trade or art at home but which ever absorbs and ever becomes proficient at the feet of the masters in many cities in the realm or even in some neighboring country, John Henry Miller appears on the Colonial heavens, becomes luminous in the trying days of the Stamp Act agitation, and during the pre-Revolution days shines as a star of the first magnitude. His long years of apprenticeship in the best printing offices in Europe and Colonial America, made Miller a master in the book-printing art, a journalist of the highest type, fearless in expression, ardent in purpose, forceful and clear in style, a champion of liberty and a defender of right.

John Henry Miller, or as he usually writes his name, Heinrich Miller, was born at Rheden, in the principality of Waldeck on the Upper Rhine, March 12, 1702. With his parents, he moved to their native place, a town near Zürich, in 1715. The boy was now apprenticed to a printer in Basle, and here in the Brandmiller office¹ Miller learned the first things about Guttenberg's art. After his apprenticeship in Basle, Miller was first employed in a printing house in Zürich. He soon set up a press of his own here and published a newspaper. Quitting the business at Zürich, he traveled to Leipzig and Altona. From here he went to London, to Amsterdam, through France and again to Germany and Holland.²

Under "Ein Paar Bemerkungen," in answer to a threatening letter, Miller himself gives us a few facts concerning his life.

¹ Lev. 74.

² Thomas, Vol. V, 253. *Deut. Pionier* 1876-77, p. 194. Hildeburn.

He says: "Ich habe mich in meinem Leben nur an zwey Catholischen orten eine zeitlang aufgehalten, naml. in Brüssel 6 Wochen, und Paris 13 Wochen; an letzterm Ort habe ich die ganze Zeit in des Königs Buchdruckerei auf meinem Beruf gearbeitet, und von allen meinen Professionsgenossen Achtung und Freundschaft genossen, da doch ein jeder wusste, dass ich der einzige Protestant in der Druckerey war."³

On November 30, 1741, on the ship "London" from England to New York, Captain William Smith commanding, came Zinzendorf, pietist, preacher and Moravian organizer, with a small company of settlers. In this company was the printer John Henry Miller, who was merely a fellow-passenger.⁴ Remaining in New York a few days, the company started for Philadelphia December 6, and arrived there December 10, where a house on the east side of Second Street above Race had been rented for them.⁵ Zinzendorf started for Bethlehem December 21, but Miller remained in Philadelphia and was for some time employed in the printing office of Franklin.⁶ During his employment here, Miller proved of great service to Zinzendorf. Of a quiet disposition by nature and not querulous, Zinzendorf paid no attention to the attacks made upon him, with perhaps one exception. Having been attacked by the Rev. J. Philip Boehm, of Whitepan, representing extreme Calvinism in Pennsylvania, Zinzendorf wrote a reply, which was put into the hands of a certain George Neisser to responsibly issue. He gave it in charge of the printer, Henry Miller, then employed in Franklin's office where it was printed.⁷

A Catechism compiled by Bechtel, and approved by the Moravian "Fifth Pennsylvania Synod", was about this time offered to Saur for printing, but he declined. It was then put into the hands of Franklin. In his office at this time was John Henry Miller, an expert German printer (subsequently the pro-

³ *Staatsbote*, No. 680.

⁴ *Lev.*, p. 72.

⁵ *Pa. Mag.*, Vol. 33, 229.

⁶ *Thomas*. Vol. V, 253.

⁷ *Lev.*, p. 95. Seidensticker, p. 18 (Title of reply). H. S.

prietor and publisher of the *Staatsbote*), who had accompanied Zinzendorf, to whom was assigned the manuscript; but the office being without sufficient German letters, English had to be substituted in the publication. In a few weeks the first edition, a small 12 mo of 42 pages, was ready for distribution.⁸

The year following Zinzendorf's arrival, Miller accompanied the former on his first journey to the Delaware Indians.⁹

Miller had been attracted by the work of the Moravians in Europe, and became a member of the church at Bethlehem in 1742.¹⁰ Whether the date of his membership was before the journey to the Delaware Indians cannot be ascertained with certainty.¹¹

In 1742, Miller returned to Europe. In 1744, at Marienborn, he married Johanna Dorothea Blanner. She was born in 1702, and came from Berne, Switzerland. In this same year, Miller founded and put into operation the first Moravian printing office at Marienborn. He is also supposed to have published a newspaper here.¹²

Miller's residence at Marienborn was not of long duration. He again set out on his travels. He visited England a second time and Holland a third time, and then returned to Germany. In all probability his wife did not accompany him on these travels. In 1751, "nach einem neun Jährigen Aufenthalt meistens in Grossbritannien und Irland," Miller was again on the ocean bound for America.¹³ Coming with Bishop Spangenberg from Europe and landing at New York about December 5, 1751, "was Henry Miller, the printer, who had again been in Europe."¹⁴

⁸ Seidensticker, p. 18. H. S.—G. S.

⁹ Cf. *Zinzendorf's Narratives of his Journey to the Delaware Indians, Memorials of Moravian Church*, Vol. I, p. 25.

¹⁰ Lev., p. 74.

¹¹ Cf. Lev. 114; *Transactions*, Vol. II, p. 140. Miller was always the favorite printer of the Moravians. Cf. Lev., p. 74, 421 524. For a brief season he printed at Bethlehem on one of the small presses which he transferred from place to place, while in Philadelphia he did most of the Bethlehem printing.

¹² Lev., p. 74; Thomas, Vol. V, p. 253.

¹³ *Pionier*, 1876-77, p. 191.

¹⁴ Lev., p. 262.

Miller's wife followed him to America the next year. On the sixth voyage of the "Irene" to New York, November 20, 1752, she had on board Johanna Dorothea Miller, wife of the printer, Henry Miller.¹⁵ Miller's wife is spoken of as "an accomplished but somewhat eccentric wife of the yet more eccentric Henry Miller, the printer."¹⁶ As she could not make up her mind to live in Philadelphia, her husband attended to his business there alone, while she remained in Bethlehem.¹⁷ She died in Bethlehem, 1779, and lies buried in Row 8: 37, of the Moravian Cemetery in Bethlehem.¹⁸

She was a well-bred woman; spoke the French language fluently, and was an excellent painter in water colors. In this employment she was engaged for some time as a preceptress in Bethlehem.¹⁹

Having again touched American soil and being again in Philadelphia, Miller as an excellent journeyman was not long without something to do. Benjamin Franklin, that active and shrewd man of business, was ever on the lookout for expert workmen and especially was he always desirous of obtaining the help of German printers. These he used to further his newspaper projects and his book-printing trade. Therefore, when Miller, a former workman of his again appeared in Philadelphia, Franklin lost no time in securing this valuable addition to the personell of his printing office. Franklin at this time was in sore need of a man of Miller's type, according to legal documents unearthed only a few years ago. In 1751, Franklin had sent James Chattin to Lancaster with a printing outfit. He had done much printing for the Ephrata community before it had its own press, and not caring to wait until business would come to him, he resolved to go to it in Lancaster. His office was to do German as well as English printing, and Chattin was the first

¹⁵ Lev. 273.

¹⁶ Lev., p. 373.

¹⁷ *Transactions*, p. 168.

¹⁸ *Transactions*, p. 168.

¹⁹ Thomas, Vol. V, 255.

man sent there. This arrangement, however, did not continue long, for very soon Miller and Holland were put in charge, Miller having been sent from Philadelphia. But Franklin's venture does not seem to have been a paying proposition, so in 1753 he sold the entire Lancaster plant to Holland for £200.²⁰

Miller's activity in Lancaster under the firm name of Miller and Holland was of short duration, but was quite fruitful. To this firm belongs the distinction of having printed the first document in book form in Lancaster. It was a circular in German of eleven pages. It is now exceedingly rare. A copy, however, is known to exist, namely in the Reformed Library at the Hague. Dr. Dubbs has given a facsimile of the title page of this rare circular letter in his "History of the Reformed Church in Pennsylvania."²¹

Another notable fact concerning the firm of Miller and Holland was that they were the ostensible founders of the *Lancaster Gazette*, begun in 1752. This paper was bi-lingual and was the second of its kind in America, Franklin's *Deutsche und Englische Zeitung* of 1751 being the first. The full title of Miller and Holland's paper was: *Die Lancastersche Zeitung: Oder: Ein Kurtzer Begriff der Hauptsächlichsten Ausländisch- und Einheimischen Neuigkeiten.*²² The first column of this paper was in the German language, the second in English; and so the two languages alternated through the four small pages of the paper. The first eleven numbers were printed "at the new printing office", somewhere on King Street, beginning on January 13, 1752, as Miller records in his private note-book.²³

From the twelfth to the thirty-first and last number, the paper was issued "at the post-office in King Street" by S. Holland alone. The last issue met with, bears the date, June 5, 1753. Diffenderfer, however, thinks that it was continued

²⁰Cf. Diffenderfer, *Early German Printers of Lancaster*.

²¹ Cf. Seidensticker, pp. 39-40. Hildeburn, *Early German Printers*, pp. 59-61.

²² Fol. 13x8½.

²³ Lev., p. 72.

by Holland for some time longer. From or before issue No. 12, the imprint was changed to "Lancaster, printed by S. Holland, at the Post Office, in King's Street; where all Sort of Printing Work is done at reasonable Rate". Miller withdrew from the firm after eleven numbers of the paper had been issued. At the beginning of June, he left Lancaster, going to Philadelphia, where he was employed by William Bradford.²⁴

In 1754, Miller was once again in Europe. He visited England, which at this time was engaged in a war with France, the so-called French and Indian War. Here occurred the singular event of which Miller speaks in the very last number of his paper, No. 920. "Hab' auch wirklich bey 50 Jahren mit Zeitungen zu thun gehabt ehedem in der Schweiz und Deutschland; und als in den letztern Kriege zwischen Frankreich und England einmal 14,000 Mann Hanoverischer und Hessischer Truppen den Sommer hindurch in England lagen bediente ich, auf Ersuchen des Stabs ihre beyden Lager zweymal in der Woche mit einer Deutschen Zeitung."

In 1760, Miller returned to America with new printing materials, settled in Philadelphia, and opened a printing house on Second Street.²⁵

Miller was a great friend of the Fable, and in this form he wrote a part of his biography referring to his return to America at a time when he desired to humiliate his business rival, Saur. This Fable is published in *Stattsbote* No. 31, and is as follows: *Der Adler und das Rebhuhn. Eine Erzählung.*

Der Adler und das Rebhuhn. Eine Erzählung.

Der Adler liebt das Licht;

Das Rebhuhn liebt es nicht.

Ein in Deutschland ausgebrüteter Adler hatte eine geraume Zeit verschiedene Europäische Länder durchflogen; da ihn die Vorsehung innerhalb zwanzig Jahren, zweimal nach America brachte: woselbst er es gut hatte, würde auch geblieben sein, wenn

²⁴ Cf. Diffenderfer, p. 59; Lev., p. 72; Thomas, Vol. V, p. 253.

²⁵ Thomas, V, p. 250.

der höchste Regierer aller dinge, in dessen hand selbst der flug der vögel stehet (*Hiob*, 39), ihm nicht zweymal von dannen wieder nach Europa hätte fliegen lassen. Vor etlichen jahren hielt er sich noch in diesem letzbesagten welttheile auf; hatte aber immer neigung wieder einen flug nach America zu unternehmen. Das wusste ein lichtscheues Rebhuhn, welches sich in diesem welttheile aufhält, wo der Adler es einigermassen hatte kennen lernen: dem war mit des Adlers wiederkunft nicht gedient; denn er erhielt von dem schlaunen Vogel eine solche klägliche nachricht, (die er noch unter seinen flügeln hat) in ansehung des lieben America, welches doch schon die zuflucht vieler notleidenden Vögel gewesen, als ob in demselben einer den andern vor hunger auffrässe; da doch dem jungen gleichfalls in Deutschland geheckten lichtscheuen Vogel ein recht herrlich nest von seinem alten (der besserer art war) in Pennsylvanien hinterlassen worden, welches er noch täglich mehr mit sanften federn versieht. Der Adler, der die sache besser wusste, gedachte, das ist ja eine falsche nachricht des Rebhuhns, und sehr unerkennlich und undankbar: denn es ist natürlich für ein jedes geschöpf das land zu lieben und zu loben, in welchem er sich aufhält, und wo es ihm wol gehet; nach dem Englischen sprichwort, "Every one praises the Bridge that helps him safe over." Es scheint aber schon die schlechte art dieses Vogels zu seyn, woran man noch andere beyispiele anführen könnte, und wozu etwa noch die furcht gekommen, dass er durch des Adlers wiederkunft ein wenig nahrung oder etliche federchen aus seinem nest verlieren möchte. Allein das alles entschuldigt seine tücke keineswegs. Der Adler kehrte sich indess an nichts, folgte seiner neigung, schwang sich empor, und sein Schöpfer hat ihn vor beynahe zwey jahren glücklich wieder nach Pennsylvanien gebracht. Aber er hatte kaum angefangen sein nest zu bauen, so hat schon das schalkhafte Rebhuhn mit seinem from-lau-ten-den thun hinterrücks gegen andere über den Adler losgezogen; ja sich vernehmen lassen, dass solch ein armer Adler leicht zu ruiniren wäre. Welches alles er aber nicht achtet. Er harret auf den Herrn; *Jes.* 40: 31. Er hängt ledelich von dem ab, der der höchste Gebieter ist über alles, und einfolglich auch über die ganze Vogelschaft, und sie versorgt. Er

rühmt sich seiner stärke nicht ; und in seinem nest sieht es schlecht aus, dass er sich keines reichthums rühmen noch darauf verlassen kan. Er erkennt, dass das gute so er etwa hat, ihm von dem Vater des Lichts gegeben ist. Unnutzen Vögeln zu widerstehen hält er als Adler für seine pflicht.

Wenn er nun das vorbeschriebene Rebhuhn in menschengestalt einen Lehrer vorstellte, so würde es bey vielen ein gelächter verursachen, und manche bey der vorstellung Saur sehen. *Lehre.* Lerne hieraus, ein treuer Freund des Landes zu seyn, darin du wohnst, und wo dirs gut gehet. Sey aufrichtig, und nicht falsch, oder tückisch. Verleumde niemanden, weder in der nähe noch ferne: denn durch verleumdung kanst du jemanden zum zeugen aufbringen wider deine Bosheit, welche sonst um für Dummheit könte gehalten werden. N. B. Pflüge auch mit keinem Freunde kalbe oder jungen stier; denn des fremden arbeit wird zu leicht erkannt, und du hast nur spott davon: so könte es auch geschehen, dass ein alter Adler einem jungen Hornvieh glücklicher weise eins versetzt."

Miller's *Wanderjahre* were now over and the period of his *Meisterschaft* begins. When Miller arrived in Philadelphia, it was his third appearance at this place, and now for a period of twenty years, Miller was a factor in all the public, patriotic, benevolent and German affairs not only in Philadelphia, not only in Pennsylvania, but throughout the Colonies where Germans were to be found. As far as printing of all kinds is concerned, Miller was the German Franklin or Bradford as the case may be.

Like Bradford, Miller had a "nose for news", sifting and printing only matter which was of public interest and which contributed to the commonwealth. Like Franklin, Miller had that enviable quality of wit and humor which made many a dry-as-dust article sparkle with life. Like Bradford, Miller was an ardent patriot, even suffering business and personal losses for the sake of liberty. Lastly, like Franklin, Miller was deeply wedded to his art, and every line emanating from his press exhibits thought in composition, taste in selection, carefulness in arrangement, neatness in printing, variety in matter. In quality

and quantity of production, Miller was one of the most prolific printers of Colonial times, and as the printer to Congress, and the publisher of influential books, also one of the most important.²⁶ Of course, measured according to the tons of printed matter which some modern printing houses and newspaper establishments turn out almost every twenty-four hours, the efforts of Miller appear quite insignificant. But, when one recalls that Miller never knew of a Hoe printing press nor heard of the modern electrotpe, because these time- and labor-saving accessories of the printing office had not yet been invented, Miller's achievements begin to appear noteworthy, and when it is further recalled that Miller's work was done on the small hand presses of those days and that he did most of the work himself, then the number of his publications, numbering in books, pamphlets, circulars, etc., upwards of 150, entitle him to no mean place among Colonial printers, so that for twenty years he was the best German printer and publisher in Philadelphia.²⁷ Miller was a German, and Miller gained his enviable position in Colonial days just because he was a German. The Germans in Colonial times were not as uncouth and unlettered as is generally supposed. The advertisements in the newspapers and catalogs of individual booksellers of German and Latin books that were imported, such as Lissing's *Miss Sarah Samson*, and the German publications in the Colonies, clearly prove the general intelligence of the Colonial Germans. I have only to cite a number of illustrations to support my argument. The German edition of such a book like Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* preceded the English on American soil, it being printed by Christopher Saur in 1754. The first religious magazine in Pennsylvania was a German publication. The *Blutige Schauplatz*, printed at Ephrata, in 1748, was a German publication, and was the largest book printed in the Colonial period. As late as 1817, the largest book that had been printed in Pennsylvania was the splendid edition of the

²⁶ *Faust*, II, 368.

²⁷ *Faust*, I, 146.

German Bible, published by Johann Bär, a German printer in Lancaster.

The newspapers supported by the Germans in Colonial times is also an indication of the intelligence of the Germans. They were not satisfied with any kind of newspaper. It had to be of a high type, and merit had to recommend it, and any newspaper not up to the standard was bound to go under. Miller's newspaper was of an exceedingly high standard, and for a period of upwards of twenty years, Philadelphia was the scene of the publication of this newspaper, the *Staatsbote*, which wielded such a tremendous influence among the Germans, and which stood for the expression of the highest quality of citizenship, namely, liberty. Miller, himself, was a good scholar. He could use German, English, Dutch and French. It is also said that he corresponded with some literary characters in Germany and Holland.²⁸

After Miller began his career in Philadelphia, in 1761, the first year's work numbered nine different books, pamphlets, etc., by no means a bad beginning. The next year witnessed the launching of the famous *Staatsbote*. This was the sixth German journal that had been established in Philadelphia. It was first issued on Monday, January 18, 1762, and from this time forth almost uninterruptedly until the year 1779, the *Staatsbote* supplied the Germans with the news of the times, and also reflected Miller's views on questions of public import. Miller was the life of the paper and of the printing office, and when, after the Revolution, the numbers of the *Staatsbote* grew less independent and lacked in timely news articles, and when the number of publications from Miller's office began to dwindle down to only a few, it was a sign that the enthusiastic German printer was rapidly declining in years and in spirit. In 1779, Miller sold his printing establishment in Philadelphia. It is said that he bequeathed part of his property to Melchior Steiner, who had been his apprentice.²⁹ In 1780, he retired to Bethlehem, where,

²⁸ Thomas, V, 254.

²⁹ Thomas, V, 255.

on March 3, 1782, he died. He was buried in the Moravian Cemetery at Bethlehem, and lies in Section A, Row 1; Married Men, No. 34.³⁰

After the biographical material of Henry Miller had been prepared as is herewith presented, the writer discovered additional historical facts in the Moravian Library at Bethlehem. These facts are in the nature of an autobiography although in its present form was not, yea, could not have been written by Miller. In volume 33 of the *Diarium*, there are two accounts of Miller's life which are almost identical, but in different handwriting. The supposition is that Miller himself wrote a sketch of his life and that this sketch was later copied into the *Diarium* by two different writers. The second writer who used the same material as the first writer evidently did not know that the sketch had been inserted. I shall herewith present the first of the two biographical versions.

DIARIUM, 1780-82. BETHLEHEM. VOL. 33.

Zum 30ten März, 1782.

Unser seliger Bruder Joh. Heinr. Miller hat folgendes von seinem Lebenslaufe selbst aufgeschrieben.

Ich bin geboren zu Rheden im Waldeckischen, Ao. 1702, den 12ten März, allwo mein Vater, Joh. Heinr. Miller aus der Schweiz gebürtig, sich niedergelassen hatte, und wurde in der Lutherischen Religion meiner Mutter getauft, obgleich mein Vater Reformierter Religion war. In meinem 13ten Jahre zog ich mit meinen Eltern aus obgedachtem Städtchen nach Altstädten bei Zürich in meines Vaters Heimat.

Ich erinnere mich, dass der Heilige Geist in meiner zarten Jugend öfters an meinem Herzen gearbeitet hat. 1715, zu Ende meines 13ten Jahres kam ich von meinen Eltern weg nach Basel zu Herrn Joh. Ludw. Brandmüller, die Buchdruckerei zu erlernen. Meine Lehrzeit war 5 Jahr, und ein Viertel Jahr bin

³⁰ Cf. *Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society*, Vol. I, Part 3, p. 104.

ich noch nach Endigung derselben da geblieben. Hier wurde ich in der Religion des Landes, reformirt, erzogen. Der Heilige Geist arbeitete in diesen 5 Jahren unermüdet in meinem Herzen, so dass ich niemals ganz tod im Herzen war. Eine gründliche Erweckung und Begnadigung aber erfuhr ich Ao. 1716 im Herbst bei einem Abendmahl, dabei mir mein sündliches Verderben recht klar wurde, und die Last der Sünden mir auf einmal wie vom Halse fiel. Ich habe da Jesu Fleisch und Blut wahrhaftig gegessen und getrunken, fühlte eine brennende Liebe zum Heiland und seinen Wunden und wünschte öfters zu Ihm zu gehen. Ich bin aber nicht beständig geblieben, obgleich seine Treue nicht wankend worden ist.

1721, im Frühjahr kam ich von Basel nach Zürich in Condition, und von da an im Herbst nach Leipzig. Das folgende Jahr am Ostern ging ich nach Altona (bei Hamburg), wo ich auf eingewirkte Frömmigkeit fiel, und von da 1725 nach London.

1728, im Frühjahr, verliess ich England, und ging über Rotterdam nach Amsterdam. Von hier nahm ich mir vor, als ein Einsiedler nach America zu gehen. Es kam aber nicht dazu, sondern ich ging statt dessen, weil ich die Luft in Holland nicht ertragen konnte, und die meiste Zeit das Fieber hatte, 1729 im Herbst wieder nach Altona, wo ich dritthalb Jahre blieb und 1732 um Ostern, die Meïnigen zu besuchen, nach der Schweiz. Unterwegs besuchte ich bei Calw im Württembergischen meine Schwester, die von meinen drei Geschwistern allein am Leben geblieben, und nachdem ich 14 Tage bei meinen Eltern geblieben, hielt ich mich ein halb Jahr in Basel und auch in Geneva auf und kam 1733 wieder nach Zürich. Hier beschloss ich so lange bei meinen Eltern zu bleiben, als sie leben würden, welches ich auch biz zu meiner Mutter Tode getan habe, der im May 1736 erfolgte. In der Zeit lernte ich den ersten Böhmischnbruder Georg Schmidt allda kennen. Weil aber mein Vater in seinem 80ten Jahre sich wieder verheiratete; so verliess ich Zürich 1737 im Herbst, ging nach Tübingen und von da um Ostern 1738 nach Hamburg, wo ich ein Jahr blieb. Da ich hier nicht fertig werden konnte, auf was für Art *ich mich* hier oder da in der Welt stablieren sollte, so fiel mir meine ehemals vorhergedachte Reise nach America wieder ein,

und weil ich doch nicht eigentümlich wusste was ich tun sollte, so bat ich den Herrn, mir seinen Willen zu offenbaren, und nach dem Gebet, löste ich darüber, was ich tun sollte, und es traf, ich sollte nach America gehen. Indessen hielt ich mich doch noch den Winter hindurch in Hamburg auf, und war in Weihnachten etliche Tage in Pilgerruh zum Besuch. Ao. 1739 um Ostern reiste ich von Hamburg nach Amsterdam, um von da nach London und so ferner nach America zu gehen.

(Nota.—Unter seinen verschiedenen hinterlassenen Liedern und Poesien finden sich folgende Verse die er damals in Amsterdam auf seine zurückgelegte und bevorstehende Reise gemacht hatte:

Starker Menschen-Retter, Feindes Untertretter
 Lob sei deiner Macht,
 Dass du mich aus Gnaden, vor Gefahr und Schaden
 Auf der See bewacht,
 Und mit viel Vergnügen durch dein gütig fügen
 Hast hierher gebracht.

Lass doch dein Erbarmen, ferner für mich Armen
 Sorgen Tag und Nacht.
 Lenke meine Wege, richte meine Stege,
 Gib stets auf nicht acht.

Wenn ich ferner werde nach der neuen Erde
 Als ein Fremdling gehen,
 Wollst du gleicher Weise, wie auf dieser Reise
 Mein Gott bei mir stehen.

Flügel ob mir breiten, mich allmächtig leiten,
 Lass den Wind so wehn,
 Dass von keinen Stürmen und der Wellen Türmen
 Mir mag Leids geschehn.

All mein Tun beglücke, wie du willst es schicke,
 Herr, erhör mein flehn.
 Und lass Deinen Willen mich beglückt umhüllen,
 Zu des Herzens Ruh,
 Gib doch dass mein Leben dir allein ergeben
 Ich noch bring zu.

Wenn ich denn vollendet, wozu ich gesendet,
Herr so führe Du
Mich durch deine Leiden in die Himmelsfreuden
Zu der ewgen Ruh.

Ao. 1743. Nach seiner Zurückkunft nach Deutschland hatte er unter diese Verse folgende Zeilen gesetzt:

Lieber Heiland, deine Gnade
Ist viel grösser als man denkt,
Du hast mir der armen Made
Mehr als eine Bitt deschenkt.)

In Amsterdam, heisst es in seiner Erzählung weiter, hielt ich mich etwa 3 Monate auf und besuchte in den Pfingstfeiertagen einmal in Herrendyk wo ich den Herrn Grafen von Zinzendorf, der eben aus St. Thomas wieder nach Europa zurückgekommen war, eine Rede von der Gnadenwahl halten hörte, nicht ohne Gefühl meines Herzens.

Weil in den 3 Monaten meines Aufenthaltes in Amsterdam der Krieg zwischen England und Spanien auf der See immer heftiger wurde, so entschloss ich mich nach Frankreich zu gehen, und da abzuwarten, bis die See mit mehrerer Sicherheit passiert werden könnte. Ao. 39 im July ging ich daher über Rotterdam, Antwerpen und Brüssel nach Paris, wo ich mich über 13 Monate aufhielt, und im Nov. 1740 von da über Calais und Dover nach London, in der Absicht meine Reise nach America fortzusetzen. Der Herr fügte es aber, dass ich hier warten musste bis in den August 1741, da der Herr Graf von Zinzendorf mit einigen Brüdern hierher kam, um nach Pennsylvanien zu gehen. Mit dieser Gesellschaft reiste ich am 15 Sept. gedachten Jahres von London ab, und den 20ten Nov. kamen wir in New York an. Diese Gesellschaft sehe mich als einen an, der halb zu ihnen gehöre. Den 29ten desselben Monats kamen wir in Philadelphia an, wo ich bald bei Hrn. Franklin, Buchdrucker daselbst, zu arbeiten anfang. Ao. 1742, d. 8ten July, wurde ich zu Bethlehem in die Gemeine aufgenommen und auch mit derselben des heil. Abendmahles theilhaftig.

Nota: Aus seinen sowohl auf diesen Tag als bei verschiede-

nen Gelegenheiten in Bethlehem in dem Jahre verfertigten Liedern kann man deutlich sehen, dass sein Herz von der damalswaltenden Gnade hingegenommen wurde; sein Elend und Verderben gründlich gefühlt und durch die Kraft des Wortes von der Versöhnung und der Brüder-Gemeine auf das innigste verbunden, doch aber auch vom Unglauben und manchem Zweifel wegen seiner vorigen Abweichung vom Heiland nicht frei gewesen.

Vierzehn Tage nach meiner Aufnahme in die Brüder-Gemeine zu Bethlehem, fährt er fort, traf mich das Glück, mit dem Herrn Grafen und den ihn begleitenden Brüdern und Schwestern auf seinen ersten Heidenbesuch unter die Delaware Indianer zu gehen.

Diese Reise von welcher in dem Leben des sel. Grafen von Zinzendorf, Seite 1426, eine kurze Beschreibung zu finden ist, war zwar kurz, indem sie nur vier Tage dauerte, aber daher unserm seligen Bruder in Sonderheit sehr wichtig, wie man aus seinen darüber gemachten Anmerkungen ersehen kann, ob er gleich auch viele Beschwerlichkeiten der Pilgerschaft dabei erfuhr. Unter verschiedenen ihm eindrücklich gewesenenen Worten, die er auf derselben aus dem Munde des sel. Grafen, damals Bruder Ludwigs genannt, aufgezeichnet, merkt er, dass derselbe einstmals von der göttlichen Fürsorge des Heilandes geredet habe, nach welcher Er in den Gemeinen allezeit Rat schöpfe, wenn Menschen keinen sehen, aber doch alles gläubig auf ihren Herrn wagen und ankommen lassen; und auf die Weise werden sich auch wohl Rat zu einer Druckerei finden, aus welcher hernach der Gemeine und ihren Gliedern auf vielerlei Weise könne gedient werden. (Inserat.)

Nach dieser Reise nahm unser seliger Bruder einen Antrag des seligen Grafen, ein Paket Briefschaften selbst nach Europa zu überbringen, willig an, reiste den 4ten August dieses Jahres von Bethlehem über Philadelphia, und weil da keine Schiff Gelegenheit vorhanden, über New York nach London ab wo er den 23ten Oktober ankam. Unter Weges kamen sie in grosser Gefahr, indem das Schiff, als sie etwa zwei drittel des Weges vollendet, am 14ten Oktober in Brand geriet, aber noch glücklich gerettet wurde.

Von London reiste er über Holland nach einigem Aufenthalt in Herrendyk nach dem Haag, wo er am 3ten December ankam. Dasselbst wurde er sehr liebeich aufgenommen und genoss in der Pflege der lieben Brüder daselbst insonderheit durch den dereinst des Bruders Johannis viel Seliges für sein Herz, musste aber oft zum kindlichen Glauben und Vertrauen gegen den Heiland aufgemuntert werden, weil er sich mehr an Menschen als an den Heiland zu hängen schien.

Er wurde hier nebst dem seligen Bruder Wirz zur Errichtung einer Druckerei gebraucht, und reiste zu Bestellung der Schriften (?) im Januar 1743 nach Leipzig, besuchte in Herrnhut und kam zu Ende Februar wieder in der Wetterau an. Dasselbst wurde er nach der Zurückkunft des Herrn Grafen Zinzendorf aus America mit der led. Schwester Johanna Dorothea Blauerin, Vorsteherin des led. Schwester Hauses in Haag am 10ten Juni zur heiligen Ehe verbunden. Sie reisten noch in dem Jahre zur Synode nach Hirschberg nach der Oberlausitz und Schlesien und kamen zu Ende des Jahres wieder nach dem Haag. Zu Anfang 1744 kam er mit der Errichtung der Buchdruckerei in Marienborn zu stande, und hat vom Anfang März dieses Jahres bis in den März 46, da sie nach Holland abreisten, etliche und achtzig verschiedene kleine und grosse Gemeine-Schriften daselbst abgedruckt.

Ao. 1746 waren sie meistens in Amsterdam in Besorgung der Amtssachen der Kinder Anstalt. Ao. 1747 aber kamen sie nach einigen Reisen in Deutschland den 3ten Februar nach London. In England, Schottland und Irland verbrachte er bis ins Jahr 1751 mit fast beständigem Herumreisen, war auch in der Zeit einmal in Holland, und ob er gleich dabei den Brüdern zu Dienst viel tat, so scheint sich doch seine Seele an beständige Veränderung dabei verwöhnt und sich zerstreut zu haben.

Im September 1751 ging er in Gesellschaft Br. Spangenberg, Hehls und anderen Geschwistern nach America, und kamen den 23ten November in New York, und am 29ten in Bethlehem an. Er ging von hier am 4ten Dezember nach Philadelphia, wo er eine Buchdruckerei anlegte, und daneben mit öfterem Herumreisen ins Lande, auch Besuchen in Bethlehem und andern Orten seine Zeit verbrachte.

Seine Frau war im November Ao. 1752 auch aus England in Bethlehem angekommen, wollte aber ihrem Manne nicht nach Philadelphia nachfolgen, sondern blieb von ihm mit beider Bewilligung hier in Bethlehem, wo sie am 6ten Oktober 1779 verschieden ist.

Er reiste im Jahre 1759 nach England, und besuchte seine dasigen Freunde; von da Ao. 1755 nach Holland und Deutschland, richtete in England nach seiner Rückkunft Ao. 1756 eine eigene Presse auf, und druckte allerhand kleine Tractätgen, bis er 1760 mit dieser seiner Druckerei im Juni nach Philadelphia zu Schiffe ging, und den 12ten September in Philadelphia glücklich ankam.

Hier arbeitet er seitdem fleissig, und von ganzem Herzen zum Dienst des Publicums so wohl als auch der Gemeine mit seiner Druckerei. Es war wohl kein Wunder, dass er bei der mancherlei Zerstreungen seines Gemüts von der Bekanntschaft der Gemeine entfremdet und auch in seinem Herzen gegen die Brüder schichtern wurde. Er blieb aber allemal ihr wahrer Freund und diente wo er konnte mit Freuden. Da unser lieber Bruder Jacob Fuss Ao. 1765 nach Philadelphia kam, machte er sich zu einer besonderen Gelegenheit, diesen ehemaligen treuen Diener und Mitgenossen der Gnaden der Brüder Gemeine aufzusuchen und mit Liebe und Herzlichkeit sein Zutrauen wieder zu gewinnen. Es gelang ihm auch, insonderheit da ihn auch seine ehemaligen Bekannten die lieben Brüder Gregor und Lorenz Ao. 1770 bei ihrem Besuch in Philadelphia, mit Liebe und Vertrauen auch wieder anfassten, sein Herz zum Heiland und der Gemeine wieder aufzuwecken, dass er nach der Read Mission zu der ehemals genossenen ihm so wichtigen Gemein-Gnaden wieder verlangte und darum aufsuchte, da ihm dann solche im Jahr 1773 gewährt wurde. Er war von da an ein treues Mitglied der Gemeine in Philadelphia, und fleissig und unermüdet im Buche drucken, bis ihn sein Alter und seine Schwachheit vor einigen Jahren nötigten, sich von seinem Hause und seiner Druckerei in Philadelphia los zu machen, und um ein Plätzchen in Bethlehem, seine übrigen Tage daselbst in Ruhe zuzubringen und seine Gebeine daselbst begraben zu lassen, zu bitten.

Er selbst schrieb davon: Die Ursach warum ich ersuche unter den Brüdern ein Ruheplätzchen für meine zurückgelassene Hütte zu bekommen, ist weil auch von meiner ersten Erweckung in meiner Jugend an das grosse Unterscheidungskennzeichen derselben, unsers lieben Heilandes verdienstliches Leiden und Tod, unter allen Schwierigkeiten stets so fest an sie gebunden hat, dass ich mich bis auf diesen Tag als das unwürdigste Mitglied zu der Brüder Gemeine bekenne.

Er verordnete auch in seinem Testament, dass wenn eine öffentliche Rede bei seiner Begräbnis gehalten würde, den Text dazu aus 1. Tim. 1: 15.

Das erbetene Ruheplätzchen in Bethlehem erhielt er und zog kurz vor Weihnachten 1780 hierher. Er wurde hier bei seinem hohen Alter und damit verknüpften vielen Schwächlichkeiten nach so vielen ausgestandenen Mühseligkeiten seines Lebens mit allem Fleiss und herzlicher Liebe von Geschwister Schindler bedient und gepflegt. Er behielt dabei immer etwas Schüchternes und Zaghaftes in seinem Herzen, und konnte über den Punkt, dass er nach erfahrener wahrer Gnade dem Heiland untreu werden, leicht bedenklich werden, und erlaubte sich als dann den Zutritt zu dem Heiligen Abendmahl nicht. Desto zerflossener aber war sein Herz so oft er glauben konnte und eine neue Versicherung erhielt, dass seine Untreue des Heilandes Treue nicht aufhebe. Das beugte ihm wie ein Würmlein in den Staub. Am letzten Palm Sonntag kam er aus der ersten Versammlung vom Saal so schwach, dass er sich hat legen müssen. Schmerzen fühlte er nicht, nur grosse Schwachhiet, sagte er auch zu seinem lieben Hauswirt, dass er wohl hingehen würde. Er war auch von aussen und innen auch dazu ganz fertig. Seine Schwachheit erlaubte ihm nicht mehr aufzustehen. Denen ihn besuchenden Geschwistern bezeugte er, dass er seiner Auflösung mit ruhigem Herzen entgegen sehe. Dem Bruder Münster, der ihn fragte ob ihm noch etwas übrig sei, dass ihm Unruhe machen könnte, antwortete er, "Meine äussere Sachen sind in Ordnung, und bei meinem lieben Heiland begehre ich weiter nichts als Schächersgnade, und bin gewiss die wird er mir nicht versagen.

Er lag die Marterwoche durch stille. Am ersten Ostertage

den 3ten März wurde er in Beisein verschiedener Geschwister von Bruder Münster unter einem seligen Gefühl eingesegnet, und etliche Minuten darauf verschied er sanft und selig. Seine Leiche hatte einen so anmutigen, lieblichen Blick als er vielleicht nie in seiner Lebenszeit gehabt hatte. Er ruhet nun von seiner mühseligen Wallfahrt durch diese Zeit, die 80 Jahre und 19 Tage gedauert hat, aus an Jesu Wunden.

H. C. BLOEDEL—IN MEMORIAM.

M. D. LEARNED.

As thousands are falling in the reign of shot and shell and at the point of the bayonet on European battlefields, the mind grows less observant of the individual hero in civil life. There are, however, sturdy heroes in the field of civic strife. Our lamented friend, the late H. C. Bloedel, was such a hero. He believed in the inviolable right of personal freedom, in the superior excellence of German life and institutions, in the German language as an essential in American education, and in the German ideal of physical training as exemplified in the Turner organizations of America. But with all this devotion to things German he was in the best sense a loyal American. He regarded these German traits as factors, that strengthen the American character and hence strove to see them exemplified in the activity about him.

Mr. Bloedel was born March 2, 1847, in Hanover, Germany. In 1866, at the age of nineteen years, he came to America, settling finally in Pittsburgh, after having attended Herald Business College in Cincinnati. It was his keen insight into the business future of Pittsburgh, that led him to select that city as his future residence. Here he spent fifty years of active, successful life in business, and in the wholesome Germanwise reared a large family, with a numerous family circle. It was his supreme joy to meet his children and grandchildren about the festive family board.

H. C. Bloedel was a master in the use of the German language. Gentle hearted, even indulgent in the family circle, he was fire itself when a vital patriotic or civic interest was at stake, and he poured forth in eloquent appeals in well rounded German periods his irresistible argument for the cause he had at heart. Nor was he a man of words only, but of deeds as well. His generosity was far-reaching. Not only the societies of which he was so valuable a member, but other enterprises which did not appeal so directly to the average business man—all were his beneficiaries. Among the first Germans in America to contribute to the Insti-

tution of German American Research, at the University of Pennsylvania, was H. C. Bloedel, with a substantial check, and a word of encouragement. Such hyphenates—as they have been unhappily termed—are no peril to the American Government, but a lasting asset to real democracy. He was one of the Old Guard of Germans in America, whose activity did so much to foster the German spirit in the best sense. As we look back over the last twenty years and see how the ranks of this sturdy generation of Germans have been thinned by the great, relentless reaper Death, we wonder what will be the record of their successors in the next generation.

His four sons and three daughters with their families, and thousands of those who knew him, will cherish his memory and perpetuate his virtues.

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THE GENERAL SWISS COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

PRESTON A. BARBA,

Indiana University.

As early as 1764 the "Deutsche Gesellschaft von Pennsylvaniaen" was founded in Philadelphia, the purpose of which was to improve transportation facilities for German emigrants to the New World, to protect them against extorting sea-captains and nefarious land-sharks, and to aid them in establishing themselves on American soil. Later many other organizations sprang up, both in America and in Germany, some with the simple purpose of aiding individual German settlers, others with a view toward directing German emigration to some chosen uninhabited region, and still others with the definite intention of founding communistic settlements and even German States within the United States.

One of the most interesting of these organizations was the "Giessener Auswanderungsgesellschaft," made up chiefly of Germans from the grand duchy of Hessen. Under the guidance of its founders, Paul Follen and Friedrich Münch, large bodies of immigrants were brought in 1834 to Missouri. In the ambitious plan drawn up by these two brilliant young revolutionaries they desire "in one of the American territories to establish an essentially German state, in which a refuge may be found for all those to whom, as to ourselves, conditions at home

have become unbearable—a territory which we shall be able to make a model state in the great republic.”¹ In 1835 a similar society, “Germania,” was founded in America. It also purposed to direct German immigration to a definite unsettled area, where ultimately German states might arise. Its founders disagreed in their plans, and the society soon died. Another notable organization was the “Mainzer Adelsverein” (1842), which planned to direct on a most extensive scale a stream of emigration from Hessen and the neighboring provinces to the State of Texas. To this society the towns of Friedrichsburg and New Braunfels owe their origin.²

Perhaps less spectacular in its activities than the above societies, but nevertheless productive of permanent results, was the General Swiss Colonization Society of Cincinnati, the history of which this article is to present. Since 1830 Cincinnati had been a city highly favored by German and Swiss immigrants. From its gates many have gone forth and spread over the territories of the West. Many, too, have remained and contributed toward making Cincinnati one of the strongholds of German culture in the Middle West. It was quite natural then that Cincinnati should become the seat of various colonization enterprises.

As early as 1832 a German society was founded in Cincinnati to aid fellow-countrymen in settling in vicinities sparsely settled and there establishing cities.³ “Der Deutsche Westliche Ansiedlungsverein” (1844) of Cincinnati bought Prairie la Porte in Iowa, and there laid out the town of Guttenberg.⁴ Through the “Turner Ansiedlungsverein” (1857) many immigrants were sent to Neu-Ulm, Minnesota. “Der Deutsche Katholische Ansiedlungsverein” (1869) founded Lawrenceburg, Tennessee.

¹ Faust, *The German Element in the United States*, vol. I, p. 443.

² Cf. Benjamin, *The Germans in Texas*. Amer. Germ., vol. II.

³ *Der deutsche Pionier*, vol. I, p. 84 f.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. 9, p. 148 f.

The Swiss Colonization Society of Cincinnati, its members consisting both of German-Swiss and German immigrants, deserves, therefore, due consideration on the part of the investigators of German-American history.

In December, 1858, a small number of German-Swiss gathered in Cincinnati for the purpose of forming a colonization society. This society was organized January 10, 1857, with J. C. Christin as its first president, and was duly incorporated according to the laws of the State of Ohio. The society had three governing bodies; the immediate administrative officers, or Vorstand; a board of directors, the Direktorium; and a general convention. Only the directors could decide upon the purchase of lands. The constitution of the society was entirely democratic, and drawn up in a way that would exclude all fraud and speculation. The German immigrant was warmly welcomed with the Swiss. In fact, in the beginning, the German members seem almost to have outnumbered the Swiss. Native Americans were not to be excluded. Indicative of the appeal the colonization plans of the society made to the German and Swiss immigrant, are the numerous branch societies of the mother organization which soon flourished in the cities of the Middle West. January 17, 1857, there were but sixty-two members on the list. In February, branch societies already existed in Sandusky, Milwaukee, Lexington, Louisville and New Orleans; in the course of time branches were founded in Pittsburgh, St. Louis, Terre Haute, Davenport, Dubuque, Indianapolis, Newport, Monroe, Memphis, Xenia and Chicago; probably also in Highland and in Allegheny. The central office was located in Cincinnati. For a period in the earlier history of the society, its officers met in the "Deutsche Republik," a wine-house, located at the corner of Walnut and Mercer Streets. In March, 1857, upward of 700 shares had already been sold. The first general convention of the central society, together with its branches, was held in Cincinnati, April 19, 20 and 21, 1857.

The immediate object of the society was the acquisition of about 50,000 acres of fertile land in one of the western states

or territories, where, free from the speculating interests of any private individuals, it could afford Swiss immigrants (as well as others, with similar democratic principles) an opportunity to establish a home in their adopted land advantageously. To accomplish this it was the desire of the society to secure land in a free state or territory, with facilities for industry and commerce, where they could pursue a sober and industrious community life, as they were wont to do in their native land. On the purchased area a city was to be laid out, which city they early concluded to call Tell City, for the great Swiss liberator, Wilhelm Tell. The land was to be divided into town and garden lots, with outlying farm lands. Each member of the society was at the same time to be a shareholder. According to the original plan, shares were to be sold at \$15 each, one share entitling the holder to two town lots, which could, if desired, be exchanged for garden lots. Farm land was to be sold at cost price, although no more than 80 acres were to be sold to any one person. For the benefit of the members of the society, a monthly report of the business proceedings of the society was to be published.

The earliest constitution adopted by the society has not come to the notice of the writer. At a general convention held in March, 1858, only a little more than a year after the organization of the society, another constitution was adopted. Since this constitution appears to be similar in content to the first one, the following main paragraphs will present an adequate idea of the nature and purpose of the General Swiss Colonization Society:

§ 1.—Der Zweck des Schweizer-Ansiedlungsvereins ist die Erwerbung einer geeigneten Strecke Landes zur Gründung einer Colonie, mit besonderer Rücksicht auf Ackerbau und commercielle Vortheile, um dadurch Unbemittelten die Erwerbung von Heimstätten durch Vereinskünfte zu ermöglichen, und deren Existenz durch heimische Einrichtungen zu verschönern.

§ 2.—Jede Person, die das Alter von 18 Jahren und einen unbescholtenen Ruf hat, kann Aktionär sein und wer-

den, wenn sie sich bei dem Vereine, wo sie wohnt, anmeldet und aufgenommen wird. Wer keinen Verein in seinem Wohnort hat, kann sich an den Vorstand wenden.

Niemand darf unter einem andern Namen oder für eine andere Person eine Aktie nehmen, ohne deren ausdrückliche mündliche oder schriftliche Einwilligung.

Minderjährige Kinder von Wittwen können Aktien halten und kaufen, doch dürfen dieselben nicht übertragen werden, bis die Inhaber volljährig sind.

Jeder Aktieninhaber hat das Recht, seine Aktie oder Aktien zu veräußern, muss sie aber von dem Vorstand oder einem Direktoren überschreiben lassen, wofür zu Gunsten der Centralkasse 50 Cents bezahlt werden müssen.

§ 3.—Jede Aktie muss vom Präsidenten, Sekretär und Schatzmeister unterschrieben sein.

§ 4.—Jede Aktie berechtigt ihren Inhaber zu einem Grundeigentum, bestehe es nun in einer Stadtlot oder einem Stück Gartenland nächst der Stadtgrenze von der Grösse, wie es durch den Ansiedlungsplan festgesetzt ist.

Ein Aktionär kann vom Vereine Farmland, wenn solches reservirt werden kann, zum Kostenpreise, und zu solchen Terminen, wie sie der Ankauf bedingt, erhalten; jedoch nicht mehr als achtzig Acker, und zwar nur dann, wenn er sich permanent darauf niederlässt. Aktien werden als Abschlagszahlungen an das Farmland angenommen.

Die Besitzttitle (Deeds) werden den Käufern erst nach gänzlicher Abzahlung der Kaufsumme übergeben; dem Käufer für Farmland muss zu seiner Sicherheit bei der ersten Anzahlung ein Bond gegeben werden.

§ 5.—*Rechte der Mitglieder.* Jeder Aktionär ist Mitglied des Vereins, wahlberechtigt und wählbar, und es soll ihm jeder Zeit Einsicht in die Vereinsbücher gestattet sein.

§ 6.—Ein Mitglied kann ausgeschlossen werden, wenn dasselbe absichtlicher Vergehen gegen den Verein überwiesen wird oder sich entehrender Handlungen schuldig macht. Der Vorstand hat nach geschehener Untersuchung zu entscheiden; ebenso kann und soll ein Beamter wegen Vergehen oder grosser Nachlässigkeit entsetzt werden. In solchen Fällen hat Jeder das Recht der Appellation an die Convention. Ein Ausgeschlossener soll sein Geld gegen Rückgabe seiner Aktie und nach Abzug eines Drittheils für Kosten zurückhalten. Weigert sich in diesem Falle Jemand,

seine Aktien zurückzugeben, so werden sie für ungültig erklärt.

§ 7.—*Convention.* Jeden ersten Sonntag im März soll eine General-Convention abgehalten werden, um die Berichte des Direktoriums, des Vorstandes und des Committees entgegenzunehmen, wenn nöthig, die Statuten zu revidiren, neue Beamten zu wählen, und über andere Fragen und Streitigkeiten zu entscheiden, die ihrer Competenz anheimgestellt sind.

Sämmtliche Vereine sollen durch Delegaten vertreten sein, die für je zehn Aktionäre eine Stimme haben, Bruchzahlen von Fünf und darüber berechtigen zu einer Stimme.

Ein auswärtiger Delegat hat das Recht, alle Stimmen des Vereins von dem er abgeschickt ist, zu vertreten, ebenso kann er mehrere Vereine vertreten, in letzteren Falle aber nicht mehr als zwanzig Stimmen auf sich vereinigen. Die Delegaten haben sich als solche durch schriftliche Vollmachten zu legitimiren.

§ 8.—*Administration.* Die oberste Gewalt ausser der General-Convention besitzt ein Direktorium mit einem Präsidenten. Dieses Direktorium soll erwählt werden aus den Mitgliedern der verschiedenen Vereine, und zwar ein Mitglied von jedem Vereine.

In Cincinnati sollen vier Mitglieder und der Präsident sein, und vier Stimmen haben. Die ersten vier erwählt der Cincinnati Verein, den Letztern die Convention. Die auswärtigen Direktoren sollen durch ihre respectiven Vereine gewählt werden.

§ 9.—*Vorstand.* Die Leitung der inneren Angelegenheiten des Vereins wird einem Vorstande von neun Mitgliedern übergeben; dieser Vorstand besteht aus einem Vorsitz, zweiten Vorsitz, ersten protocoll. Sekretär, zweiten protocoll. Sekretär, ersten corresp. Sekretär, zweiten corresp. Sekretär, Schatzmeister, und zwei Beisitzern. Alle diese Beamten sollen durch geheime Abstimmung von der Convention erwählt werden.

§ 10.—Die Verwaltung der Gelder soll drei Vertrauensmännern übergeben werden.

§ 11.—Pflichten des Direktoriums:

a. Es hat zu entscheiden über Angelegenheiten, wozu der Vorstand keine Competenz hat, namentlich über einen Landkauf, über Anstellung von Commiteen auf Vereinskosten und Einberufung von ausserordentlichen Conventionen;

und sollen ferner die in Cincinnati wohnenden Mitglieder in Fällen von ausserordentlicher Dringlichkeit berechtigt sein, endgültige Beschlüsse zu fassen und auszuführen.

b. Es überwacht sorgfältig die Handlungen des Vorstandes. Die Mitglieder wechseln ihre Ansichten schriftlich durch die Hand des Präsidenten.

c. Jedes Mitglied des Direktoriums hat bei allen in litt. bestimmten Fällen einen Beschluss der Aktionäre seiner Heimath zu fordern und demnach zu handeln.

d. Der Präsident des Direktoriums hat die Correspondenz mit den Mitgliedern desselben und dem Vorsitz des Vorstandes zu unterhalten, und dem Letztern von jedem Beschlusse offizielle Nachricht zu geben.

Ferner hat er eine Kaufakte mit den Vertrauensmännern, und dereinst alle Deeds zu unterzeichnen.

§ 12.—Pflichten des Vorstandes:

a. Der Vorstand besorgt die laufenden Geschäfte des Vereins, ernennt nöthig werdende Angestellte, nimmt Berichte von Committees und Beamten entgegen, unterrichtet und befragt in allen in § 11 specificirten Fällen das Direktorium.

b. Er hat für Conventionen alle nöthigen Publikationen und anderweitige Voranstalten zu besorgen.

c. Hat er bei Conventionen über alle Zweige seiner Thätigkeit speziellen Bericht zu geben.

d. Das Direktorium ersetzt allfällig abgehende Mitglieder des Vorstandes.

e. Der Vorstand hat dem Direktorium über seine Wirksamkeit jeden Monat einen genauen Bericht zu erstatten und bei allen wichtigen Geschäften das Gutachten des Direktoriums einzuholen, dringende Fälle ausgenommen, wo eine Verschiebung der Entscheidung ohne grossen Nachtheil für den Verein nicht möglich wäre.

§ 13.—Spezielle Pflichten der Beamten:

a. Der Vorsitzende leitet alle Verhandlungen, unterzeichnet die Aktienscheine, sowie Anweisungen auf den Schatzmeister und beruft ausserordentliche Versammlungen, wenn er es nöthig findet, oder wenn drei Mitglieder es verlangen.

b. Der protokollirende Sekretär führt die Verhandlungsprotokolle, unterzeichnet Aktienscheine und Anweisungen auf den Schatzmeister.

c. Der correspondirende Sekretär besorgt die Correspondenzen, führt ein genaues Copirbuch und gibt wöchent-

lich im Vereinsorgan offiziellen Bericht über den Gang der Geschäfte.

d. Der Schatzmeister führt in Verbindung mit dem correspondirenden Sekretär genaue Rechnung über die Vereinsgelder, unterzeichnet die Aktienscheine und bezahlt Anweisungen. Sind mehr als \$200 in der Kasse, so hat er den Überfluss den Vertrauensmännern einzuhändigen, und endlich hat er genügende Bürgschaft zu leisten.

§ 14.—Die Vertrauensmänner verwahren das Vereinscapital, halten es zu jeder Zeit zur Verfügung des Vereins bereit, und haben hinreichende Bürgschaft zu leisten und dieselbe recorden zu lassen.

§ 15.—Alle Aktionäre, an einem Orte wohnen, haben sich zu einem Zweigverein zu organisiren. Dieser Verein hat das Recht, seine eigenen Beamten zu wählen und seine eigenen Angelegenheiten zu besorgen, er hat ferner das ausdrückliche Recht, für allfällige Kostenrückstände die Deeds der Inhaber mit Beschlag zu belegen.

Der Centralgewalt steht keine Einmischung zu.

§ 16.—Sollte der Verein Gelder zu verleihen zu haben, so soll dieses nur an solche Aktionäre geschehen, welche wirkliche Ansiedler in Tell City sind.

§ 17.—Nach Abhaltung der nächsten Convention soll, im Fall zweihundert Mitglieder sich auf der Ansiedlung permanent niedergelassen, die Verwaltung dorthin verlegt werden, so zwar, dass die Ansiedler die Hälfte der Beamten, die Convention die andere Hälfte und den Präsidenten erwählt.

§ 18.—Es soll ein Agent vom Verein angestellt werden, der seinen Wohnplatz in der Ansiedlung zu nehmen hat.

Felix Schelling, the first corresponding secretary of the society, immediately set about addressing letters to influential men soliciting their advice and aid in this colonization enterprise. January 14, a letter was written to John Hitz, Consul General, asking him to use his influence in applying to the United States government for favorable tracts of land. Also letters were written to the Swiss consuls in the United States, asking them to exert themselves in furthering the interests of the society. January 18th letters were sent to the governors of Illinois, Wisconsin, Missouri, Kansas, Nebraska, Minnesota, and Iowa, requesting

their aid in finding a suitable tract of land upon which to settle. These letters, though varying slightly, are similar in content. The following letter addressed to the Hon. Francis P. Blair, of St. Louis, January 18, 1857, will illustrate the nature of these petitions:

Respected Sir:

The undersigned takes the liberty, to request your kind attention to the following lines,—The Swiss of this city have organized in December last, a Colonization Society, with the intention of acquiring a large tract of fertile land (about 50,000 acres, or more) in one of the northwestern states or territories. The object of this association is, to provide each of its members with a homestead, to appropriate about one third of its funds to the general improvement and assistance to the first settlers, and thereby to form a community of thriving, honest and intelligent Republicans. Our constitution is entirely democratic, and its regulations such as to exclude any fraud or speculation.—We expect to sell from 2—to 3,000 shares among the Swiss in the U. S. and have reason to believe, that the federal government of our country will participate in our enterprise, as soon as the present difficulties will be settled. We would therefore respectfully request you to exert your important influence in our cause, and to give us such information and advice, as would enable us to proceed in the execution of our plans. We would prefer to buy the land in a temperate climate, and in the selection of it would have particular consideration to facilities of communications, for the sake of industry and commerce, as it is also in our plan, to lay out a city. As the Swiss are well known for their industry, perseverance, and strong attachment to their homes and liberties, we are sure to become welcome neighbors to any class of liberal citizens.

Though Missouri is a slave-holding state, and *none* of our colony would ever forget the sacred principles of Republicanism so far as to make use of such a privilege . . . I would only suggest to your consideration: Whether our settling within its borders would be an advancement to the cause of republican freedom, without any serious troubles for our security. I have no doubt, that if we could get a large tract of good and well-located land at

favorable price and condition, the majority of the shareholders could be induced to accept such an offer in spite of their aversion to slave states. As we have not yet translated our constitution in English, I take the liberty to send you a German copy of it.

In the hope that you will honor us with a timely reply, I remain Sir,

Yours most respectfully,

(Signed) FELIX SCHELLING,

Cor. Sec.

A letter, dated January 20, 1857, was sent to Friedrich Münch, one of the most distinguished of the German pioneers in the West, one who by virtue of his many years of experience, was indeed admirably fitted to advise. Friedrich Münch had come to America with Paul Follen, and settled in Missouri. He early became a power among the Germans in America, took an active part in politics, and in 1862 was elected to the Senate of his state. As a writer he was well known to the Germans of America under the pen-name of "Far West".

On January 26, a letter was sent to William H. Osborne, President of the Illinois Central R. R. Company, requesting him to give such information and advice to the society in regard to the selection, price, and conditions of the land, which the railroad company was offering for sale, that would enable them to carry out their plans.

For a time Iowa seems to have been considered as a desirable state in which to found a colony. On January 26, the following letter was sent to the Land Department, Fort Des Moines, Iowa:

The undersigned would respectfully request you to give me, as soon as possible, all necessary information on the following points:—

1. Whether you have a tract of good, fertile land, of about 50,000 acres, bordering on the Des Moines River for sale.

2. To what price, and condition of payment could it be obtained, if it should be partially settled within the time of two years, after this coming fall.

3. Are the facilities of communication, particularly those of the Des Moines River already so far advanced, as to secure the interests of commerce and industry of a thriving settlement.

4. What general inducements would be held out by the Des Moines River Navigation Company, to secure the immediate settling of a large number of the members of the Swiss Colonization Society.

We expect to sell from 2000—3000 shares among the Swiss in the U. S. and have reason to believe that a great number from Switzerland will participate in this enterprise. . . .

Please send me all the information on this matter, as soon as you can, with a clear description of the land, timber, soils, water, etc.

Yours Respectfully,
(Signed) FELIX SCHELLING,
Cor. Sec.

In a letter written about the same time to Col. G. C. Fremont, who, on account of his extensive explorations in the far West, was certainly well qualified to advise the society in its search for a tract of land, is the expression of a sentiment which was no doubt shared by many another Swiss immigrant. The secretary writes:

“By the selection of land we would have great consideration in regard to facilities of communication, and would therefore prefer to locate on the borders of a navigable river or lake. Even if the country would be mountainous (if not too far north), it would be more congenial to our countrymen, and better adapted to the stockraising and dairy business, for which the Switzers are so famous.

“I have no doubt, that if we could settle in Kansas, Missouri, or even in any other already free state, that we might advance the cause of Republican freedom. Would it not be for the great expenses and difficulties of a long journey, and the insecurity on account of the Indians, I would be in favor to settle on those beautiful hills and valleys near the Rocky Mountains, which you have so appropriately called: The Switzerland of America.”

In the Spring of 1857, a committee for the finding of suitable land was appointed by the society. Of this committee Mr. Liver, of Milwaukee, acted as chairman, and Dr. Zwinger, of Pittsburgh, as treasurer. This committee (Landcommission) was under no circumstance to buy lands without the consent of the central government. It was to consider no lands lying beyond 43° North Lat., and such lands must have an area of at least 10,000 acres. The committee was to consider in its recommendation that such lands are to be divided into about 3000 town lots and 500 garden lots; that there was for investment a cash capital of between \$70,000 and \$80,000; also, that the society would purchase farm land on credit, but not land meant for town and garden lots. Further considerations were, a healthful climate, good soil, pure water, and building material. The land must have a good landing place on a navigable river. The committee was to travel in Illinois, Missouri, and Iowa, and the Kansas and Nebraska territories. It was to keep minutes, and from time to time report to the central governing body of the organization.

In June, 1857, the above committee reported very favorably concerning lands in the State of Missouri. In the meanwhile, John Eggers, the recording secretary of the Swiss Colonization Society, was in correspondence with A. G. Selman, of Shelbyville, Indiana, about land on the Ohio in southern Indiana, which the latter offered for sale. However, in a letter dated June 16, Mr. Selman was informed that the Board of Directors passed a resolution the previous evening to buy a tract of land on the Missouri River. At the same time a land-purchasing committee was appointed, and sent about June 20, to purchase the land in Missouri, so highly recommended by the land committee. This purchase was not made, however, for the reason that the land consisted of divided parts.

In July, 1857, C. Tuffli, M. Oehlman and C. Rebstock were sent down the Ohio, as duly authorized agents of the society, stopping at various places on the way. They were given a letter to Mr. Selman, asking the same to afford them every facility in

his power to form a correct judgment of the land which he had at an earlier date offered to sell to the society. But now the attention of the society was again turned to Missouri, where Friedrich Münch, who seems to have had an interest in this colonization plan, had been active in their behalf. On July 17, the following letter was addressed to Messrs. Johnson and Coleman of Missouri:

We have in due time received, through the kindness of Mr. F. Münch, the offer of two townships of land, situated in the S. W. part of Missouri, but have not answered it ere this, because we had to await the return of our committee from your state, whence they had gone for the express purpose of buying a tract of land which had been found and recommended to us by a former committee. As these gentlemen did not purchase the said tract, the Directors of the Swiss Colonization Society have in their last meeting resolved to ask you to send us as soon as convenient a detailed map and description of your lands, in order that we may decide with some knowledge if it would be proper for us to send a committee to inspect them. Hoping to hear from you before long, I remain, gentlemen,

Yours most respectfully,

(Signed) J. C. CHRISTIN,
Pres. of S. C. S.

The project of finding lands in Missouri seems suddenly to have been abandoned, for during the latter days of July, the Board of Directors unanimously resolved to purchase the twenty thousand acres of land in Perry County, Indiana, as proposed to the Colonization Society by Dr. G. A. Selman, and the Hon. Ballard Smith. This land was located two miles below the town of Cannelton, four thousand acres of which lay directly along the Ohio, and the remaining 16,000 somewhat inland. The site offered a good landing on the river front.

Evidently the society was desirous of getting more land than would be included in this purchase, for on July 31, J. C. Christin, the president, inquired of the United States Land Officers, at Vincennes, Indiana, whether any congress land could be got in Perry County, and at what price. On August 13, Dr.

G. A. Selman was officially informed that the record made at a recent meeting of the Board of Directors, was signed by every member of the board, and was considered by all of them as binding on their part as the written instrument signed by Dr. Selman and Mr. Ballard Smith was for them.

Frequent correspondence between both parties during the ensuing months shows that the purchasers had considerable difficulty in getting clear titles to the different tracts of land proposed by Selman and Smith. For a time the society seems even to have despaired of making the purchase. They again turned toward Missouri, for a letter dated October 27, 1857, instructs Messrs. Adlersberg and Romiger, a land committee appointed by the society, to investigate a tract of land (1700 acres) located on the Missouri River above the town of Quincy. In a meeting held by the board on November 4, it was resolved to ask Mr. Selman, and Judge Huntington (an owner of lands in Perry County, Ind.) whether they could not furnish at least 4000 acres in one body with a clear title by January 1, 1858. The society was finally successful in obtaining an area large enough to warrant the plotting of a settlement. Mr. Frey, an authorized agent of the society, was very soon sent to the nearby town of Cannelton, whence he could take the necessary steps toward the promotion of the welfare of the young settlement. In December, 1857, and in the months immediately following, the following tracts of land were conveyed by deed to Michael Goepper, Christian Tuffli, and Peter Constans, as trustees of the General Swiss Colonization Society: Elisha M. Huntington, 398 acres, for \$15,920; Marshall Key, 302 acres, for \$12,080; John James, 74 acres, for \$3750; Charles Limberick, 40 acres, for \$600; Jacob Dewitt, 160 acres, for \$2500; Nimrod Latimer (Skull's Estate), 22 acres, for \$264; Edwin Morris, 40 acres, for \$1000; George W. Buttler, 74 acres, for \$3700; Benjamin Persinger, 200 acres, for \$10,000; Abel Butler, 270 acres, for \$5500; Samuel E. Webb, 200 acres, for \$3600; Eli Thrasher, 120 acres, for \$2400; J. B. Huckaby, 40 acres, for \$430; Fred H. Oelschläger, 212 acres, for \$3000; H. P. Brazee, 200 acres,

for \$5000; John Turner, 120 acres, for \$1435; William Butler, 200 acres, for \$3100; Ballard Smith, 480 acres, for \$5700; Homer Hull, 80 acres, for \$1000; Nancy Field, 40 acres, for \$250; A. G. Selman, 800 acres, for \$3200; William Butler, 80 acres, for \$1000. The total amount of land bought was 4152 acres, at a cost of \$85,429. Of this land, 2672 acres, costing \$74,279, were cut up into town and garden lots; the remaining 1480 acres, costing \$11,150, were set aside as farm land.

The purchasing of land in Indiana caused opposition among some members of the society. In the Pittsburgh "Verein" between two and three hundred of the members withdrew. The tract of land purchased for lots being smaller than the society had at first planned, the loss of these members was really not regretted. According to the original plan the funds for the payment of lands purchased were to be raised by an assessment of \$15 on each shareholder. However, at the general convention held in Cincinnati in March, 1858, it was resolved that an additional payment of \$5 be made on each share, the same to be used for improvements. Each shareholder could hold only two shares, each of which entitled him to one lot, to be drawn by lot. In January, 1858, there were about 5000 shareholders.

January 13, the Board of Directors of the Swiss Colonization Society informed the Recorder of Perry County, Indiana, of the purchase of a tract of land in that county, upon which a new town, Tell City, was soon to be laid out. Since the deeds for about 5000 shareholders were to be ready in a few months, and since this would be an immense labor, not only for the officers of the Society, but also for the recorder, the advice of the latter was asked in getting up blank records, concerning the size of the same, the number of the book now used, etc.

In January, too, A. Pfaefflin, an engineer, was commissioned by the society to go to Perry County, to see which part of the lands was free from floods, and most suitable for the laying out of the town. He was to begin at once with the surveying of the same. Further, he was to examine purchasable farm land in the neighborhood. Pfaefflin found a part of the

site covered with a heavy forest; a part of it was marred with gullies, which only made the surveyor's task more difficult. He laid out 392 town blocks, containing 7328 lots, and 294 garden blocks, containing 974 lots.

The distribution of lots very probably took place in March, 1858. Farm lands were not apportioned by lot. They were to be sold, to the extent of eighty acres, to individual members of the society at cost price. Of the town and garden lots combined, 7594 were drawn, leaving 709, of which 665 were town lots, and forty-four garden lots.

A detailed plan for colonization was drawn up and presented before the general convention of the Swiss Colonization Society, held in Cincinnati, in March, 1858. After having been duly considered it was accepted by that body on March 17. This plan was thereupon printed, together with the constitution and minutes, and distributed. From one of these sheets, preserved in the archives of Tell City, the plan is here reprinted:

§ 1.—Jede Aktie, sei es Stadt- oder Garten-Aktie, be-
rechtigt den Inhaber zu einer durch das Loos zu bezeichnen-
den Lot, wofür ihm endgültig ein Eigenthumstitel zuge-
stellt werden soll.

§ 2.—Der Stadtplatz ist in einen östlichen und west-
lichen einzutheilen, und es soll der letztere vorzugsweise zu
Stadt- und der erstere zu Garten-Lots verwendet werden.

§ 3.—Die Grösse der Stadtlots in 260 Blocks ist fol-
gendermassen festgesetzt:

a. Im bestgelegenen Stadttheile zu 40 Fuss Front und
140 Fuss Tiefe.

b. Im mittleren Stadttheile zu 48 Fuss Front und 140
Fuss Tiefe.

c. Im entfernteren Stadttheile zu 60 Fuss Front und
140 Fuss Tiefe.

Die Ecklots eines jeden Blocks erhalten eine Tiefe von
nur 70 Fuss.

§ 4.—Die Gartenlots sind wie die Stadtlots nach Mass-
gabe ihrer Lage und Entfernung ebenfalls in drei Klassen
einzutheilen, wovon

die dem Stadtplatz zunächst gelegenen zu $\frac{5}{6}$ Acker,

die von demselben entfernteren zu $1 \frac{1}{9}$ Acker,

die am weitesten zurückgelegenen $1 \frac{2}{3}$ Acker,

ausgelegt werden sollen.

Die Lots der letzten Klasse können, wenn nöthig, ausser der Corporations Linie ausgelegt werden.

§ 5.—Die Strassen, im östlichen sowohl wie im westlichen Stadttheile, sollen in der Weise ausgelegt werden, dass die von Osten nach Westen laufenden, mit Inbegriff der Seitenwege von je 10 Fuss eine Breite von 70 Fuss, und die von Norden nach Süden laufenden, inclusive der Pavements von 12 Fuss, eine Breite von 80 Fuss erhalten. Die Alleys sind zu 20 Fuss auszulegen.

Die Besitzer der Gartenlots sind berechtigt, die anstossenden Strassen, jedoch mit Offenhalten eines genügenden Weges, auf so lange zu benutzen, als die Herstellung derselben nicht beschlossen wird.

§ 6.—Aus der Zahl der dem Verein reservirten Stadtlots sollen 200 in einer günstigen Lage und möglichst arrondirt ausgewählt und den ersten Ansiedlern zum Austausch gegen die denselben durch das Loos zugefallenen Lots überlassen werden.

Jedoch soll ein Aktionär nicht mehr als eine Lot auswechseln können, und muss derselbe innerhalb eines halben Jahres, von der Zeit seiner Ankunft an gerechnet, ein Brick- oder Framehaus errichten, welches wenigstens \$125 werth ist.

Ein erster Ansiedler ist derjenige, der sich bis zum 1. April 1859 auf dem Vereinsland niedergelassen hat, um dort zu wohnen, und sein Recht auf die ausgewechselte Lot hat erst Gesetzeskraft, nachdem er die obigen Bedingungen erfüllt hat.

Die Besitzer von Gartenlots sind berechtigt, gegen eine verhältnissmässige Nachzahlung ein weiteres Stück Gartenland, jedoch nicht mehr als $3\frac{1}{3}$ Acker, vom Verein zu kaufen.

§ 7.—Ein Aktionär, dem eine zur Zeit nicht verbesserungsfähige Lot zugefallen und der nicht in der Rubrik der ersten Ansiedler fällt, soll, wenn er zu bauen beabsichtigt, das Recht haben, eine andere in der Nähe liegende Lot derselben Klasse zu verlangen. Die Entscheidung, ob eine Lot Verbesserungsfähig sei oder nicht, steht einem Committee von Drei zu, wovon das eine Mitglied durch den Eigentümer der Lot, das zweite durch den Verein oder dessen Vertreter, und das dritte durch die beiden Ersten erwählt wird.

§ 8.—Die zum Austausch für die ersten Ansiedler

bestimmten 200 Lots sollen vor allen Andern vermessen und eingetheilt werden.

§ 9.—Es soll ein Gradirungs-Plan für die Stadt durch einen Ingenieur ausgefertigt und alle permanenten Gebäude nach demselben errichtet werden. Wer bei Aufführung von Bauten diesem Plane nicht nachkommt, hat allen ihm später daraus erwachsenden Schaden selbst zu tragen.

§ 10.—Der Gradirungs-Plan soll, so weit er Strassen und anderes allgemeines Stadt-Eigenthum betrifft, in möglichster Bälde ausgeführt werden.

§ 11.—Es sollen, wenn möglich, in dem für die ersten Ansiedler reservirten Stadttheile eine der Zahl der zeitweiligen Einwohner entsprechende Anzahl Brunnen hergestellt, doch das absolute Bedürfniss hiebei nicht überschritten werden.

§ 12.—Der Verein hat in einem vom Ingenieur zu bestimmenden Stadttheile eine Strecke Land zu reserviren, welche zu Bauplätzen für Fabriken und andere grössere Etablissements dienen soll. Diese Bauplätze sollen, wenn sie 100 Fuss Front nicht übersteigen, zu einem Dollar per Fuss verkauft werden. Werden mehr als 100 Fuss verlangt, so ist für jeden weitem Frontfuss \$3 zu bezahlen.

§ 13.—Der Vorstand hat unverzüglich eine durch die Nothwendigkeit gebotene Anzahl Gebäulichkeiten in der Ansiedlung zu errichten, und es sollen dieselben den ersten Ansiedlern miethweise oder käuflich überlassen werden.

§ 14.—Der Verein soll, so weit es in seinem Besitz ist und so lange es seine Geldmittel erlauben, den Ansiedlern so viel Baumaterial überlassen, als zu einem einstöckigen Hause mit 2 Zimmern nöthig ist. Der Betrag hiefür muss in 3 Jahresterminen zurückbezahlt werden.

§ 15.—Der Vorstand ist ermächtigt und andurch beauftragt, ein Wharf-Boot für den Verein bauen zu lassen.

§ 16.—Das auf dem Stadtplatze befindliche Holz bleibt Eigenthum des Vereins; doch soll jedem Ansiedler gestattet sein, nach Belieben auf allem nicht von wirklichen Ansiedlern bereits in Besitz genommenen Stadtlande das zum eigenen Gebrauche nöthige Holz zu schlagen. Ausgenommen sind die von Agenten zu bezeichnende Bäume.

§ 17.—Auf jeder Stadtlot sollen womöglich einige schöne Bäume nach dem Ermessen des Agenten stehen bleiben.

§ 18.—Der Verein hat dafür zu sorgen, dass ein fahr-

barer Weg landeinwärts angelegt und eine Communication mit den umliegenden Farmen hergestellt werde.

§ 19.—Die Stadt soll in 6 Distrikte eingetheilt und in jedem derselben eine Lot von circa 125 Fuss Front für ein Schulgebäude reservirt werden.

Ein Viertheil alles reservirten Landes soll dem Schulfond zufallen.

§ 20.—Sobald es für 20 Kinder verlangt wird, soll eine den momentanen Bedürfnissen entsprechende, von allem Sektenwesen freie Schule errichtet werden.

§ 21.—Für folgende öffentliche oder gemeinnützige Zwecke hat der Verein das nöthige Land zu reserviren:

(1) 10 Acker Farmland für einen Begräbnissplatz;

(2) 3 Blocks an der Meridian-Linie der östlichen Hälfte für einen Park;

(3) 5 Blocks zu fünf Markthäusern;

(4) 2 Acker für ein Krankenhaus;

(5) den nöthigen Platz für ein Gemeindehaus;

(6) den bekannten Hügel "Rigi" zur Anlegung eines Schützenplatzes.

§ 22.—Die Taxen für sämmtliches Land sind so lange vom Verein zu bezahlen, bis die Deeds in den Händen der Lottenbesitzer sind.

§ 23.—Es soll von der Verwaltung durch das Vereinsorgan die Anfrage gestellt werden, wie viele der Aktionäre bereit seien, sich anzusiedeln und was sie zu treiben beabsichtigen.

(Der letzte Paragraph soll dazu dienen um dem Vorstand einen Massstab für die nöthigen Vorkehrungen zu geben.)

The first settlers began to arrive on the ground early in March, 1858. At a meeting March 2, the central administrative body resolved, that in order to assist the first settlers, the unoccupied buildings on the purchased lands should be placed at their disposal. Settlers continued to arrive rapidly, and many had to leave temporarily for want of shelter. One of the very few first settlers remaining in Tell City today told the writer he spent his first night in the new settlement under a lean-to of boughs. In the middle of April, 100 families had already settled in Tell City. By June, there were over 600 inhabitants, and eighty-six houses.

Mention of some of the proceedings taken from the minutes of the society during the earliest days of the settlement may be of interest here. Under date of January 7, 1858, a petition made by Messrs. Kraatz, Pleisch, and Nunnemacher for aid from the society for the construction of a steam sawmill was laid upon the table. January 18, it was resolved that any company or individual erecting a factory in Tell City before June 1, 1859, was to receive ground necessary for such factory free of charge and rents for the first five years, and for the next five years at a moderate rent to be specified by the Vorstand and the Direktorium. At the same time such party was granted the privilege, after five years, of purchasing the ground at \$1 per foot, provided it did not exceed a frontage of 150 feet. January 25 there was granted a petition made by Messrs. Lange, Wolff and Stahl, of Lexington, to erect a sawmill in Tell City, asking a loan of \$2000 for six months. About the same time, or a little later, John Herrmann and Company were also granted a loan of \$2000 for the same purpose. February 16, measures were taken toward having a wharf-boat constructed for the new town. On March 5, it was resolved that three blocks in the new settlement be set aside for a park. March 20, a Mr. Chatteville was rented a log cabin and a small piece of ground at \$5 a month and the sum of \$8 was granted him for the building of a bake-oven. At this time it was decided that a lithographed plan of the city be made. Twenty acres of land were to be sold to a Mr. Senft for the purpose of putting up a soap factory. A committee was also appointed to consult with Mr. Frey, the company's agent in Tell City, about the building of frame houses for the settlers. April 5, James T. Lanham entered a complaint by letter against the society for publishing its proceedings only in the German language. Steps were taken to satisfy non-German speaking shareholders, though these were comparatively few in number. May 17, a petition on the part of James Litogar for a loan of \$60 for the construction of a grist-mill was placed on the table. June 10, it was resolved to erect a two-story building, containing two schoolrooms, and dwellings for two teachers. Also

the next vacant house in Tell City was to be used as a provisional school-building. July 2, a stone quarry was leased to a Mr. Hinkel for a period of five years. August 24, resolutions were passed to have a special convention in Tell City from September 19-21.

One of the first settlers to arrive in Tell City was Charles Steinauer, who, in March, 1858, opened the first hotel in Judge Huntington's old residence, at the south end of Eighth Street. The first industrial enterprise was very likely the sawmill of John Herrmann and Company, for already in February the society had granted this company the privilege of felling free of charge the necessary timber for the construction of a sawmill on the premises. To encourage the establishment of industries the society was ready to loan money at six per cent. interest. Jacob Loew was loaned \$300, with which to start a shingle factory. Three hundred dollars were loaned to Reis & Endebrook, who built the first brewery. The same amount was granted Peter Schreck, also to start a brewery. In November, 1858, David Brosi and Henry Major started the first planing mill, and were loaned \$1000. In April, Charles Reiff started a store. In May, C. Heim began the manufacturing of bricks. In May, Hausler & Company started a big lumber yard in town. In that month, too, the wharf-boat which had been built in Cincinnati was brought down the Ohio to Tell City. A good picture of the rapid growth of the settlement is given in the *Cannelton Reporter* for October 2, 1858: "Tell City is a marvel. There is nothing like its history and progress, and it has no precedent. It has now over eleven miles of streets, cut seventy feet wide through the forests; has 1,500 people, and 300 houses. All this has been done since the 15th of April last. The shareholders are coming in daily, and as soon as they can find their lots, commence their improvements. Every one seems confident that the owners of the adjacent lots will come and do likewise. By this time next year, we expect to see 5,000 people here, and the establishment of sufficient branches of industry to give all full employment. This union of German and Swiss, of energy and economy, of thrift and industry will accomplish wonders."

Up to the time of the convention held in Tell City, from the 19th to the 21st of September, the business of the young settlement had been transacted through the central administrative board located in Cincinnati. Since the settlement was now fairly well established and since a branch society now also existed in Tell City, it was no longer necessary, and certainly not practicable, to have the government of the settlement in Cincinnati. In August, the St. Louis branch already proposed its removal to Tell City. At the convention held in Tell City in September it was agreed so to do, and on October 13, Mr. Neubacher, the secretary of the newly-elected Direktorium, reports that all the property belonging to the Verein, books, minutes, reports, etc., have been sent to Tell City. From September 15, 1858, on, the minutes of the central administrative body are dated in Tell City. The administrative body, though having been removed to Tell City, was nevertheless still subject to the Board of Directors, which controlled the finances. Expenditures in Tell City were not to exceed \$800 a month, inclusive of the monthly \$200 which stood at the disposal of the administrative body.

Deserving of mention in connection with the history of the Swiss Colonization Society is the publishing of the weekly paper *Helvetia: Organ fuer Fortschritt, Freiheit und Vaterland*. This paper was published separate and apart from the Swiss Colonization Society. It was to be an organ for the Swiss in America, yet it was somewhat dependent upon the members of the society for its subscriptions, and through its columns the proceedings of the society were largely made known to the shareholders. Its first number appeared in Cincinnati, February 25, 1857, only a few weeks after the organization of the society. Its first editor was J. H. Walser, and its publishers, J. H. Walser and J. J. Schellenbaum. It appeared every Thursday, and cost \$2 per year. It seems soon to have had an extensive circulation, for in its second year its publishers had thirty-one agents spread over the states of New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Iowa, Missouri, Texas, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Louisiana. In February, 1859, the place of publication

was transferred to Tell City where the paper appeared under the title *Helvetia. Tell City Volksblatt*. The last number to appear in Cincinnati was that of February 24, 1859, completing its second year. In Tell City it appeared every Wednesday, but in a somewhat larger format. In November, 1859, the editorship was transferred, probably to Dr. N. Sorg, at least in March, 1860, the publication had passed into the hands of Dr. N. Sorg & Company, with Dr. Sorg as its editor. Being partly supported by shareholders of the Swiss Colonization Society, it became now more than ever the voice of that organization. The new editor voices his program in the number for November 23, 1859, in part as follows:

“Nachdem ich nun die Redaktion der *Helvetia* übernommen habe, glaube ich einem Wunsche der Leser zu entsprechen, wenn ich ihnen die Grundsätze, die mich in meinem neuen Geschäftskreise leiten und bestimmen werden, in Kürze anzudeuten versuche. Die *Helvetia* war von Anfang an dazu bestimmt, eine geistige Verbindung zwischen dem alten Vaterlande und den hieländischen Schweizern zu unterhalten. Sie ist demnach ein *Schweizerblatt*. Von Schweizern gegründet soll sie auch fortan das Organ für die Schweizer in Amerika bilden. Sie wird stets das Wichtigste und Interessanteste aus dem politischen und sozialen Leben der alten Heimath vor Augen führen. . . . Die *Helvetia* ist aber seit einigen Monaten auch als das *Tell City Volksblatt* herausgegeben. Dadurch hat sich die Redaktion verpflichtet, die Interessen von Tell City zu wahren und zu fördern. Vermittelst der Geldvorschüsse einiger Aktionäre ward es der *Helvetia* möglich, festen Fuss auf der neuen Ansiedlung zu fassen. Heilige Pflicht des Redakteurs ist es daher, vor allem der neuen Kolonie seine Kräfte und seine Thätigkeit zu widmen. . . . Die Wahrheit, die reine, nackte Wahrheit über den wirklichen Zustand der Dinge zu sagen, das wird das unermüdliche Streben der neuen Redaktion sein. . . . Wäre über Tell City und die Umgegend nur der 10. Theil von dem gesagt und geschrieben worden—und das hätte man mit gutem Gewissen tun können—was über die Yankee Ansiedlungen im Westen in schamlos prahlender Weise ausgesprengt worden ist; so würde unsere Stadt, das ist meine lebendige Überzeugung, jetzt bereits 5000 Einwohner zählen. . . . Nicht minder fühle ich

mich verpflichtet, den amerikanischen Verhältnissen, insbesondere der Politik einen grössern Raum zu gestatten. Bürgern der Vereinigten Staaten ziemt es, dass sie mit dem politischen Treiben und den Einrichtungen ihres Landes immer vertrauter werden. . . ."

The *Helvetia* was for that day, and under such circumstances, a very commendable piece of journalism. Its Feuilleton offered the readers right good literature. It is interesting to note that, in the first months of 1860, Scheffel's *Trompeter von Säckingen* was reprinted. The *Helvetia* aimed to acquaint its readers with American politics, with German and Swiss activities in America, and with news from the various cantons in the homeland. At first the paper was independent, but about 1860 became Republican in politics. No complete files of the *Helvetia* seem to have been preserved. The writer has seen no numbers after 1860; however, it is not very likely that it continued very long after that date.

Stimulated by the inducements offered by the society, Tell City was fast becoming an industrial centre of some importance. In the fall of 1858 Tell City Industrie-Vereine had been formed in St. Louis, Tell City and Louisville, for the purpose of developing industries in the settlement, thus giving employment to its citizens, raising community prosperity and increasing the value of its lands.

The first measures toward the incorporation of the settlement were taken on March 12, 1859, when it was resolved by the board in Tell City that a committee be appointed to confer with a lawyer concerning the drawing up of a charter for the incorporation of Tell City as a town. Such action was then to be presented to the Board of Directors for approval. The action seems to have met with approval, for a short time thereafter Louis Frey with 123 members of the society presented a petition to the Perry County authorities asking that the settlement might be incorporated. At the Court of County Commissioners, held the first Monday in June, the incorporation of Tell City as a town took place. Its first board of trustees met July 28, 1859. It

consisted of Henry Brehmer, Joseph Einsiedler, Charles Reiff, Chris. Uebelmesser, J. M. Rauscher, Fred Rank and William Leopold, trustees; J. C. Schening, clerk; Fred Steiner, marshal; William Leopold, assessor; John Wegman, treasurer; Rauscher, Anders and Reiff, school trustees.

At the general convention held in Tell City from May 15 to 21, 1859, the central board of the society recommends the dissolution of the Swiss Colonization Society, for the reason that the town will shortly be incorporated, and as such be in a position to elect its own officers. This was the plan adopted in the first constitution, and the board thinks the convention would do well to revert to it. A special committee on the dissolution of the society, however, reports that a complete dissolution would not be to the interests of the society. It suggests that all the property in the name of the society be placed under the authority of a body of five officers, to be elected by the convention, the officers consisting of a chairman, a secretary, a treasurer, and two assessors. This body is to be located in Cincinnati. Also it proposes the appointment of a liquidation committee, to consist also of a chairman, a secretary, a treasurer, and two assessors. After the liquidation of the society's property, which is to take place no later than the third Sunday in May, 1860, a settlement is to take place in Tell City, at which settlement each branch society has the privilege of sending two delegates. Whatever property remains to the society after the settlement, is to be used as follows: 1. One-third for the support of factories and industries of general utility; 2. One-third for the improvement of Tell City, which includes the establishing or supporting of charitable institutions.

If we may accept a statement made in the *Tell City Anzeiger* for February 1, 1868, a complete dissolution of the General Swiss Colonization Society took place in 1860.

In April, 1860, there were over 400 houses in Tell City, with a population numbering between 1200 and 1500 inhabitants. In the *Helvetia* for April 25, 1860, we read: "Die Bewohner sind keine auf Raub ausgehenden Amerikaner, keine Whiskey trinkenden Irländer, sondern arbeitssuchende, fleissige

Deutsche. . . . The prosperity of the new town and the thrift and diligence of its inhabitants won the attention of the Anglo-Saxon neighborhood. In the *Tell City Anzeiger* for September 1, 1866, is the following, reprinted from the *Cannelton Reporter*: "Tell City besitzt mehr Elemente des häuslichen Wohlstandes und volkwirthschaftlichen Gedeihens, als irgend eine andere Landstadt am Ohiofluss, und das Geheimniss ihres Erfolgen ist der Gewerbsfleiss ihrer Bewohner. Alle arbeiten; ihren Arbeitsverdienst legen sie an in dauerhaften Verbesserungen ihrer Stadtlotten. . . . Die dortigen Stadtschulen sind die besten im Lande."

In 1866, Tell City had a population of 2600, almost all Germans and Swiss. What a contrast with conditions only eight years before! Most of the settlers were poor, possessing scarcely more than a few hundred dollars. Now, almost every family already had its own house and garden, and the town had more factories than any other town of its size on the Ohio south of Louisville.

Today, Tell City is a prosperous industrial city, numbering between three and four thousand inhabitants.

[Author's Note.—The sources for the above have been: (1) The letter files, minutes, and other records of the General Swiss Colonization Society, preserved in the town-hall of Tell City; (2) the early files of the *Tell City Anzeiger*; (3) isolated numbers of *Helvetia*; (4) the History of Warrick, Spencer and Perry Counties, Chicago, 1885. A detailed history of Tell City, since its incorporation as a town is being prepared by William Maurer, a graduate student at Indiana University.]

KIEFER FREUNDSCHAFTSALBUM.

INTRODUCTION.

*Freundschaftsalbum of Dr. Conrad Kiefer.*¹

Dr. Conrad Kiefer, the son of Dr. Johann Kiefer of Dottingen-Sulzburg, studied in Sulzburg and Freiburg before going to the University of Vienna to finish his medical course under the group of the great teachers of medicine who made the University of Vienna famous in all German countries and also abroad. Dr. Kiefer established a practice of medicine in Emmendingen, a city situated in the foothills of the Black Forest. He later entered the service of the government and after several years he was transferred, on his own request, to Schwetzingen. On the 13th of October, 1871, the city of Schwetzingen conferred upon him the Ehrenbürgerrecht "in dankbarer anerkennung seines langjährigen und segensreichen Wirkens in seinem Berufe als Arzt in der Stadtgemeinde Schwetzingen."

Since Dr. Conrad Kiefer was very conservative in his ideals it was a great disappointment to him to be compelled to learn about the activities of his son, Dr. Herman Kiefer, in the Baden Revolution of 1848-1849. He had educated his son according to the traditional conceptions of his family and had looked forward to an honorable career for him in the service of his country. He summoned the young surgeon of the Freischärli regiment, and the following conversation took place: ²

¹ This album was found in the library donated by the family of the late Dr. Hermann Kiefer, Professor Emeritus of Medicine of the University of Michigan, to the Herman Kiefer Hospital of Detroit. It gives an insight into the Freundschaftskultus not only of the young students of Sulzburg, Freiberg, and Vienna, but also of the students of that stormy time who had not been influenced by the revolutionary principles advocated by the Burschenschafter of 1817. Since it has been impossible to obtain direct information in regard to the life of the young men of this circle, a commentary on the various leaflets will appear in a subsequent article by Lincoln Kiefer, M. D.

² This conversation is as reported by Mr. Arthur E. Kiefer, of Detroit, who lived for several months with his grandfather during his sojourn in Germany for several years. His grandfather told him the story so often

Conrad Kiefer. "Du bist sehr eifrig in dieser Bewegung. Was wird wohl daraus werden? Wirst du dich auch beteiligen mit den Freischärten gegen die Regierungstruppen?"

Herman Kiefer. "Ja! Ganz entschieden!"

Conrad Kiefer. (Auf das hin sagte ich zu ihm, obgleich ich anderer Ansicht war) "das will ich auch hoffen. Hast du die Suppe einbrocken helfen so hilfst du essen."

The young surgeon continued his activities with renewed zeal. Finally one of the high officials called on his father and told him: "Morgen früh muss ich Ihren Sohn arretieren lassen. Sehen Sie zu, dass er flüchtet." In telling about this episode the father said: "Als er nach Hause kam, gab ich ihn den Rat und trotz seinem Uebermut und seinem Bewusstsein, dass die Freischärli siegreich über die Truppen werden würden, bewog ich ihn dazu, sofort die Stadt zu verlassen, und es war die höchste Zeit. Dann erfuhr ich später, dass der Amtsrichter, um Zeit zu gewinnen, einen namens Kiefer arretieren liess, der später seine Unschuld beweisen konnte."

In 1851 Dr. Conrad Kiefer accompanied by his wife visited his son, Dr. Herman Kiefer, in Detroit, and lived to observe the career of his son. In reflecting about the Revolution he said: "Das war gelungen mit der Revolution. Das war eine verfehlt Sache mit ihm. Er hätte eine so gute Karriere hier machen können." He died in Schwetzingen in 1878.

that he remembers it verbatim. Mr. Arthur Kiefer has kindly turned over to me all the papers of his father to prepare for publication. Among these papers is a book of poems (1840-1848) never published and several important speeches, which may serve as a keynote to the contribution of the revolutionists of 1848 to the development of the conception of liberty in America. They cover the period from 1840 to 1868. The collection contains also a very complete collection of letters, manifests and reports relative to the activities of Professor Gottfried Kinkel in his attempt to arouse interest in America for the establishment of a Republic in Germany. These papers will appear during the year.

LIEBER FREUND KIEFER!

Freund genieße jede Lust des Lebens,
Jedes Guten freue herzlich Dich,
Sehn Dich nach keinem Glück vergebens,
Bleib mein Freund, u. liebe ewig mich.

* * * * *

An eines sanften Mädchen Seite, die tugenhaft
u. reizend ist, Sey voll von Zärtlichkeit u. Freude,
dein ganzes Leben hoch versüßt, von ihrer zarten
Hand drückt, dies liebster Freund, dies sind
die Stunden, wo man des Lebens Werth erblickt.
Lebe wohl Kiefer ich werde dein nie vergessen.

Doctor Amlius in Sachsln.

J:

Nimm dieses Blatt zum Zeichen,
Der wahren Freundschaft hin;
Es können Berge weichen,
Nur wahre Freundschaft nie;
Ich wünsche auch das wahre Glück,
Ein Mädchen in deinem Arm zurück.
Erinnere dich im Flor der Lieb!
Und schenk mir einen Blick. D.

S:

T:

B:

Gefesselt führt das Schicksal uns durch's Leben
Sanft wenn wir willig geh'n
Rauh, wenn wir widerstreben.

Zur Erinnerung an Ihren Freund,

Barth, Med. Chirg. Dr.

Wien am 2ten July 1819.

Freundschaft kürzt die Lebenstage,
 Unserer kurtzen Wanderzeit.
 Lasz uns genieszen diese Gaabe.
 Die nur der Himmel hier bereit;
 Wir wollen einander die Hände geben
 Und freundschaftlich ziehen durchs Erdenleben.

Bey Durchlesung dieser Zeilen erinnere Dich an Deinen
 wahren Freund u. akademischen Bruder,

J. J. Bauler, Cand. Med., Bascl.

Wien dn 31ten Agst 1819.

Von der Wiege bis zur Bahre
 sind die seligsten die Burschenjahre,
 sie sind die seligsten, ihnen steht aber nicht viel nach
 unser angenehmer Aufenthalt in Wien, denken Sie zu-
 weilen an ihn zurück und erinnern Sie sich Ihres
 Freundes,

Heinrich Baumgärtner, Dr. Med.

Wien den 28 Aug. 1819.
 sisch nit alles eins sisch nit alles eins
 habmer Geld oder habmer keins.

Dulce merum, pulchra puella, mens conscia recti
 Quid tribus his junctis dulcius esje potest.

Simbolum

Memento diei vicisimae secundae
 Aprilis MDCCCXVIII,

ad amicam recordationem a tuo intimo amico

Carolo Friederico Beck.

Sulzburgi die duodecima Maji
 MDCCCXVIII.

Reisefertig stehen schon unsere Wagen,
Du nach Ost, ich lenke südwärts hin.
Lebe wohl! und eile deinem Glück entgegen,
Lebe wohl! Nimm diesen Kuss noch hin.
 Erinnere dich auch in der Ferne
 an die vergnügten Stunden die wir zusammen
 verlebten und vergesse nie deinen Bruder,

Carl Fried. Beck.

Sulzburg am 11. September
1818

Dir Wünsch ich Weisheit, wenn der Tod
Den Kranken, die dich rufen, droht,
 Viel Geld wenn ihr sie ihm entriszen
 Und sterben sie ein gut Gewiszen.
Zum Andenken von Ihrer wahren Freundin

Friederica Beck.

Sulzburg d. 1. May 1821

Freund, such im stillen Thale
Den düsterreichsten Hain,
Und giesz aus goldener Schaaale
Den fromen Opferwein.
Noch lächelt unveraltet
Das Bild der Erde dir;
Der Gott der Liebe waltet
Noch über dir und mir.

Wahre Freundschaft ist edel! aber selten.

Wandle stets auf dem Pfade, den du mir wähltest; so
wirst du nie der Tugend ungetreu.

Der Genius, weiche nie von deiner Seite
Dein Leben sey den bunten Rosen gleich,
Und jeder deiner Tage freudenreich.

An's Vaterland, ans Theure, schliesz dich an,
 Das halte fest in deinem ganzen Herzen,
 Hier sind die starken Wurzeln deiner Kraft,
 Dort in der fremden Weltstehst du allein.

* * * * *

Diese wenige Gedanken, wann du sie überblickst, erinnern
 dich bisweilen, an deinen wahrhaft liebenden Freund,

Carl Biesenberger, Churbischer-Gehülfe,
 gebürtig von Hohentwiel in Schwaben.

Wien, d: 17.tn Febr: 1820.

—

Das Land der Aerzte liegt gerade an der Ueberfahrt aus
 dieser Welt in die andere.

Fontenelle.

Wien den 18ten August 1819.

Zur Erinnerung an ihren Freund

E. Dietz.

—

Liebe nur Liebe erwärmt das Herz,
 Liebe schafft Wonne, und Liebe macht Schmerz,
 Liebe macht traurig, und Liebe entzückt,
 Liebe schafft Kummer, und Liebe beglückt.
 Erinnerungs-Worte an Ihren unveränderlichen Freund.

Carl Dreher,

a Rosenfeld, Cand. Pharm.

Sulzburg, d. 24. Merz, 1821.

—

Lebe wohl du Freund meines Herzens,
 Fahre fore derselber ferner auch zu seyn,
 Damit ich mich im Laufe meines Lebens,
 Der Erinnerung Deiner möge stets erfreun.

Weil mich nun des Schicksaals-laune von Dir brennt,
So sei versichert, dasz in der Ferne sich Deiner oft gedenket,

Dein

Dich nie vergessender

Freund *Joseph Feitsch d. Chirurg, C.*

d. 2ten September 1819.

Die Freundschaft, die ich dir geschworen,
Soll für Uns untrennbar sein,
Und niemals geh' der Wunsch verloren
Mich auch mit Freundschaft zu erfreu'n.
Von deinem Freunde

K. Fischer,

Th. Cand.

Freiburg d. 14. August 1818.

Die Freundschaft ist die heiligste der Gaben;
Nichts Heiligers konnte uns ein Gott verleihen,
Sie würzt die Freud' und mildert jede Pein,
Und einen Freund kann jeder haben,
Der selbst versteht ein Freund zu seyn.
dein aufrichtiger Freund

Eligius Geppert Cand. M. et ch.

de Seelbach

den 23ten August 1820

Lieben musst Du? nun so wähle! aber willst du glücklich seyn
Lasz das Mädchen deiner Seele; ganz nach deutschem Gusto
seyn.

Schlägt bey dem ersten Blick, in Dir
Deine Brust nicht heisz nach ihr—

O! so ist sie sicherlich nicht für Dich!
 Schön gebaut, und schlank erhaben
 sey ihr Wuchs; nicht grosz, nicht klein
 Kinder mögen Puppen haben,
 Zart wie Wachs und Elfenbein.
 So wie Mädchen, dem der Wind
 und der Frost schon Martern sind,
 Lieber Freund, ist sicherlich nicht für Dich.

Dein Freund und academischer Bruder

Eligius Geppert de Seelbach in K. K. öst. la.

* * * * *

Ad mortem sic vita fluit, velut ad mare flumen
 Vivere enim res est dulcis; amara morbi.
 Testatur ab amice et fratre *Eligio Geppert* de Seelbachense apud
 Lahensem, Studiosus Philosoph: 3tio September.

Anno MDCCCXVII.

von Eligius Geppert wird bezeugt
 Freundschaft, Liebe, und Treue bis in Tod.
 Frbg. den 3ten Septembre 1817.

* * * * *

A small friendship tempel was painted in water colors.

Wandle famulos durch das Leben
 An der Unschuld und der Freundschaft Hand;
 Gute Seelen mögen dich umgeben.
 Dich beglücken möge jedes Land.
 Sey, wenns stürmt und wenn die Sonne schein
 Mein, der Guten und der Tugend Freund.
 Simbolum

Wirst du einst an deine Freunde denken
 O so denk doch auch an mich zurück!

Wirst du ihnen Stunden schenken
O so schenk mir einen Augenblick!

Sulzburg den 6ten Mey 1818

Empfangen Sie dieses als Denkmahl einer Freundschaft
von Ihrer wahren Freundin

Christina Gerwig.

Schon in früher Jugend, als die zarten Gefühle der Freundschaft in unsern Herzen noch schlummerten, kannten wir uns—und liebten einander.—Nun sind diese Gefühle in uns erwacht. Lasze daher lieber Freund uns diese jugendliche Liebe nun in engere und innigere Freundschaft verwandeln.

Darum bittet dich

Dein aufrichtiger Freund

L. Gerwig Stud: Theol:

Sulzburg d. 28 8br. 1820.

O, dasz sie ewig duftend blühe
Auf dem grün bemahlten Lebenszweige:
Süsze Hoffnung, neuer Keim, und glühe
Mit dem Sonnenstrahl zur Sternenneige.

Doch mit all des Lenzes Duften

Spindelt sie im Rad der Weltenuhr,

Welkend stirbt in seine Gruften

Hin das Blatt—der Stamm nicht, nicht Natur.

Von deinem wahren Freunde und Akademischer Bruder

Franz Joseph Gmirs Theol. Cand. v. Emmingen.

Wien, am 3ten 7ber 819.

* * * * *

Ein Freund, ein Mädchen, ein Schwert,
Bier, Taback, Hausbrod mit Freyheit und
dabey ein Buch.

In des Blitzes Schnelle

Nicht mit Amors Weile
 Treffen dich die Sonnenpfeile—
 Und auf dem Silberspiegel,
 Nicht durch des Nordes Flügel,
 Kreisle deine Lebenswelle.

Die Trennung wirkt auf Freundschaft so, wie auf die Flamme der Wind; ist sie stark, facht er sie noch mehr an; ist sie aber schwach, löscht er sie gänzlich aus.

Nie schenken Stand, nie schenken Güter
 Dem Menschen die Zufriedenheit;
 Die wahre Ruhe der Gemüther,
 Sind Tugend und Genügsamkeit.

Als Erinnerung von deinem aufrichtigen Schwager

Gutman Mstr Lehrer.

Donaueschingen
 den 11: 8bris. 1827.

Der Glaube furchet—die Hoffnung säet
 Die Liebe egget und die Tugend ärndet.

Wer Gott, und schöne Mädchen liebt,
 Und beyde wie er soll,
 Der bleibt auf Erden unbeflekt,
 Und Ewig gehts ihm wohl.

Symbol

Es lebe die Feindschaft.
 Es sterbe die Freundschaft,
 Niemals in Eurem Herzen!

Geschrieben am Tage von Ihrer Abreise von Ihrem Freund.

Fr. Gysin Stud. Chirurgie.

Freundschaft macht die Menschen
Götter Englen gleich,
Macht sie froh im Kummer,
In der Armuth reich.
Und an ihrem Stabe
Wandlen wir zum Grabe,
Sprechen zu dem Freunde: Dort
Dauert unsre Freundschaft fort.

Gewidmet zum Angedenken von Ihrem Freund

J. Nepo. Hoebelin de Fribourg i. Brisingau.

Simbol

Freund den ich hir gefunden

Nimm mir die Liebe, was bin ich? Der Aermste unter den
Armen!

Lasz mir die Lieb'—und ich bin reicher als Könige sind.

Der Mensch erkennt sich nur im Menschen,

Nur das Leben lehret jeden, was er sey.

Alles sey recht, was du thust, doch dabey lasz es bewenden

Freund! und enthalte dich ja alles was recht ist, zu thun.

Diesz bezeugt dein untrenbarer Freund

Demigijs Kopp Cdt. Chirurg.

Wien d. 27./8. 19.

Verdienst hat seinen innern Werth

Wie Gold, und wenn es gleich nicht immer

Der Eine, wie der Andere, ehrt,

Weil, weiss ich was? just seinen Schimmer

Uns birgt.

Zum freundschaftlichen Andenken an

G. Lindemann Dr. Med.

aus Lüneburg in Königr. Hannover.

Wien d. 13. März 1820.

Düster ists oft in der Seele
 Wie in einer finstern Nacht.
 Doch die Freundschaft macht sie helle
 Wie des Mondes Schimmer lacht.

Zur Erinnerung an Ihren treuen Freund

Rud. Luchsinger

Cand: med et Chir. aus

Glarus in d. Schweiz

Wien den 10 April 1820

Die Zeit ändert vieles—
 Doch nicht alles.
 Auch noch im Silberhaar
 Schlagen treu verbundene Herzen
 Harmonisch für einander.—

Ehre die Musen!—
 Liebe die Grazien!!—

Denk deiner Freunde!—
 Vergisz deine Feinde!—

Von deinem Freunde

Joseph Müller von Solothurn,

candidate der Medizin.

Wien den 7ten May 1820

* * * * *

S'isch doch ä närrisch Ding ums Sheidä ;
 S'isch eim der bi, mä weisz nit wie;—
 Doch denk i mer: es git doch •Freudä
 Die blibä z'rugg: im Herze hie!—
 Dä gosch jetz hei, i's Vaterlang,
 So b'hüeti Gott, mi liebä Früng!
 Denk an a mi; dem isch no bang,
 To wärli, jo frili, mi liebä Früng,
 I wett an lieber mit Dir reisä,
 Es g'fällt mer selber nimmä recht
 Z Wien; i h'ad an scho verheiszä,
 I well bald furt—'was denkst du ächt???

Wenn du einst wirst an deine Freunde denken,
So denke auch an mich zurück;
Wenn du ihnen wirst Stunden schenken,
O! so schenke mir nur einen Augenblick.
Ich werde jederzeit deine Freundin seyn, so wie ich sie
jetzt auch bin.
Als Zeuge meiner immerdaurender Freundschaft, von.

E. N.

Heitersheim d. 10ten September 1818.

Ein Weibchen ist ein böses Uebel,
ein sanftes, angenehmes Joch;
es kommt mir vor, wie eine Zwiebel,
man weint dabei und iszt sie doch.

Zur freundschaftl. Erinnerung an

Dr. F. Pracl,

aus Liebenburg im Hannoversch.

Wien d 5. Jun. 1819.

Kaum sahn wir uns so war der Bund geschlossen,
Wir drückten freudig stumm uns an die Brust;
Wir haben manche frohe Stund genossen
In Schmerz wird nun verkehrt die seelge Lust
Dennoch! Du sagst itzt müssen wir uns trennen.
Wohl an ein Wörtlein will ich Dir noch nennen
Vergiss mein nicht mein sehr geliebter Freund.

Dieses schrieb zum Andenken Dein Freund u:

acad: Bruder Ruppert: Marschall Med.
et Chirurgiae cand. aus Haunfeld bey
Fulda 1819.

Wien d 2 Sept. 1819.

* * * * *

Freund sey ein frommer Christ
 und falle nicht vom Stege
 Wenn Du besoffen bist.

Zum Anden von Deinem

Fr. u. Bruder R. Marschall.

Memorab.

Erinnere Dich bisweilen an den zuletztten vergnügt
 zugebrachten Abend bey der schönen Harfenmusika
 der Alster, an den allgemein Beyfall gefundenen ver-
 liebten Italiener und dann den so herrlichen Jäger u.
 dann den von uns allgemein verlangten Mahler.



Glaube dem Leben! Es lehret beszer, als Redner und Buch.—
 Diesz schrieb, *zur steten* Erinnerung, Ihr aufrichtiger u.
 treuer Freund

*Eugen Nagle C. d. M. c. G. aus Tarnowitz in
 Preusz Oberschlesien.*

Wien den 5ten May 1820.



Süsse Freude, Scherz und Lust
 wohne stets in deiner Brust;
 und an deiner Ruhe wage
 niemals eine Lebensplage,
 von dem schönsten Glück umgeben
 musst du stets in Freuden leben;
 ewig bleib' voll Redlichkeit
 meine Freundschaft dir geweiht.

Von deinem wahren Freunde

J. A. Nek.

Simbolum

Amor vincit omnia

Sulzburg 19: April 1818.

Das Glück ist überall,
Die Quelle ist im Herzen.
zum Andenken an Ihren

Freund Dr. Ant. Peither aus Baiern.

Wien am 20ten Juni 1819.

Freund ein Traumreich ist dies Seyn auf Erden,
Was wir waren, was wir einst noch werden
Keiner weiss es, glücklich sind wir blind;
Lass uns Eins nur wissen: was wir sind.

Erinnre dich öfters an deinen treuen Freund

Aug. Pfeiffer St. Medic. et Chirug aus München.

Wien d. 2ten 9br 1819.

Und führ'st du einst fideliter,
Dein Weibchen an der Hand,
So denk, fideler Bruder,
Mein, im Phylister-Stand.

Diese wenige Zeilen erinnern dich an deinen Freund
und academischen Bruder

G. Ramsauer, Med. v. Gerisau

Kanton Appenzell.

Wien d. 29ten August 1819.

Meinetwegen darf kein Wein,
Darf kein Weib, darf Brod nicht seyn,
Hab' ich Jungfern, Mehl und Trauben,
O, so hat es keine Noth,
Will man mir es nur erlauben,
Mach' ich Weiber, Wein und Brod.

Juvenis qui cadit in puellam,
eamque, non tangit, stultus est.

F. Riescher Academicus
zur St: Anna in Wien.

Wien d. 30. 8ber 1818.

Die Tugend leite immer
Dein edles, gutes Herze, um
Seelenfroh und glücklich das Leben durchzuwandern
Ein aufrichtiger Wunsch deines wahren Freundes

E: F: Sartorius
v Sulz a/Nekkar

Ulm am Trauungstage d. 21. Septbr. 1818.

Symbolum
Postwagenfahrt

Auch wen's Universum zittert
wanke unsre Freundschaft nicht!
Zum Andenken von deinem Freunde

Schilling Stud: von Giessen

Heidersheim am 24ten Julj 1820.

Sey immer glücklich theurster Freund
Wandle durch die Welt
Vergnügt und Sorgenfrey
Dich störe niemals Gram und Leid
Und auch in der spätesten Zeit
Sey unsere Freundschaft neu.

von deinem Freund

Paul Schlageter Chyr: Stud.

Seitdem ich Dich, mein trauter F:, erkannt,
(:Ich zähle ach! des süßen Glücks nur Wochen:)
Seitdem der Freundschaft Genius das Band
Der Sympathie um unsre Herzen wand:
Erfülten wir getreu, was wir versprochen,
Kein Schaten oder Schein von Miszverstand
Hat unsrer Geister Einklang unterbrochen;
Wir lissen uns vom Wahn nicht unterjochen.
Lasz mich, o Du, der Dichtkunst, warmer Freund,
Hieraus der Folgerungen schönste ziehen:
Wen bald mein Auge Trennungszähren weint,
Dich mit Dir alle Musen sich entfliehen;
Wird doch der Freundschaft heil'ge Flamm uns glühen!—
Der Trennung Trotz! wir bleiben fest vereint.

Dein F: *Huber Sebastian aus der Zeichenau.*

F:==Freund.

Nichts trenne unsern Freundschaftsbund,
Kein Schicksal, keine Zeit;
So fest, wie Allemaniens Berge steh'n,
Steh' er bis wir zu' Grabe geh'n,
Sein Ziel sey Ewigkeit!
Meinem Freunde Kiefer geweiht zum Andenken.
Gustav Adolph Siegle, Stud: Med:
jetziger Cürassier von Franz Reg:
Esc: II

Wien d. 20 Okt: 1818.

Wenn Teufel beten und Engel fluchen
Wenn Katz und Maeuse sich besuchen
Wen alle Maedchen keush und rein
Dann hoehr ich auf dein Freund zu seyn.—
Von deinem wahren Freund und Bruder Studio,
Adrian Steinmann aus St. Gallen in der Schwetz.

Wien d. 11. Januar 1820.

Vivere natura si convenienter amarent
 Mortales, medica nil epus esset
 Ad mortem si vita fluit velut ad mare flumen
 Vivere enim resest dulcis; amara mari.
 Vivere metuonda malp, sancto est optanda:
 Ultimus est finis, vel fine sine malorum malum
 Mors incertarum rerum certissima; cunctis
 Incertum quando, certum aliquando mori.
 Millibus ex multis unus via fidus amicus:
 Hic albo corvo rarior esse solet.

T. Maximil: Stehle Pharmaceut.

Symbolum Amicitiae MDCCCXX.

Entfernung kann zwar Freunde trennen,
 Aber wahre Freundschaft nicht.—
 Dedicat von deinem Freund

Felix Jos. Stockmann Medic. Candid.
 aus dem Canton Unterwalden in der Schweiz.

Dn. 23t Merz 1818.

Wie mit dem Staube der Wind,
 So spielt mit uns das Schicksal.
 Denken Sie recht oft an Ihren wahren Freund

Dr. Strümpell aus gr. Scheppenstedt
 im Braunschweigschen.

Wien den 6ten Juni 1819.

Freund, du gehst: mein Vergnügen geht mit dir!
 Doch das Bild von deiner Jugend bleibt in mir.
 Lebe wohl! in fernem Lande, denk an mich!

Denk' stets an unsre Freundschaftsbunde, so wie ich.

Gewidmet zum Andenk. von

Melchior Sussmann

Medicinae candidato de Canton Ury en Suisse.

Freyburg im Breisgau den 14t. August 1818.

Memento mei!

Schön und angenehm wie der Frühling,
Heiter und ruhig wie der aurorische Morgen,
Rollen deine Tage dahin,
Und nur die Tugend bezeichne sie.

Dein wahrer Freund

N. Weber Juris Can.

Sulzburg den 8 Octb. 1820.

Der Freund, der mir den Spiegel zeigt,
Den kleinsten Flecken nicht verschweiget,
Mich freundlich warnt, mich herzlich schilt,
Wenn ich nicht meine Pflicht erfüllt—
Der ist mein Freund,
So wenig er es scheint.

Doch der, der mir stets schmeichelnd preiset,
Mir alles lobt und nichts verweiset,
Zu Fehlern nie die Hände beut,
Und mir vergiebt, eh' ich's bereut.
Der ist mein Feind,
So freundlich er auch scheint.

Mögen diese Zeilen, lieber Freund! dich zuweilen
erinnern an deinen

Joh. Joach. Wetter, Med. Dr.

v. St. Gallen in der Schweiz

Symbol:

Mein Wunsch für dich ist: Glück und Freude!

Der Wunsch für mich: Vergisz mein nicht!—

Wien, d. 20. Januar: 1819.

AN DIE DICHTER.

In Wolken wohnen nur die Götter
 So singt, ihr Dichter, stets uns vor.
 Was diese nur!—ich bin kein Spötter
 Doch *die* Behauptung macht ein Thor;
 Denn Menschen können auch drin wohnen
 Und wollt ihr euer Geld nicht schonen
 So reist nach Wien, hier könnt ihr sehen
 Wie Menschen stets in Wolken gehen.
 In Wolken! Nimmermehr, das lügst du mit Verlaub.
 Gewiss nicht, sag ich euch, die Wolken—sind von Staub.

Zum freundschaftlichen Andenken an Wien und seine
 ewigen Staubwolken, etc. von deinem Freunde,

Gustav von Wetzlar, md. stud.

Wien den 4. May, 1820.

Deine Freundschaft schätzte stets mein Herz
 Denn sie ermunterte mich zu edlem Triebe
 Für dieses blick ich Himmelswärts
 Das kein Zufall dich betrübe.
 Das dein Leben, schön wie May
 Lebensfroh und glücklich sey.

Dein wahrer Freund

H. Wippenhanser

Medic et Chirurg. candidatus

Freyburg d. 12ten August 1818.

Ob alle die sich Freunde nennen,
Den Werth der wahren Freundschaft kennen,
Ist ungewisz;
Doch dasz ich Sie mit reinem Triebe,
Und so wie jezt auch ewig liebe,
Ist ganz gewisz.
Zur Erinnerung von Ihrem aufrichtigem Freunde

August Wippermann.

Sulzburg d: 28ten Oct: 1820.

Fremder Ort und fremdes Land
Trennen nicht das Freundschaftsband.
Ihr Sie immer liebender Freund

Carl Wippermann.

d. 28. October 1820.

Glücklich, wer auf seinem Pfad
Einen Freund gefunden hat;
Aber dreymal glücklich ist
Wen sein holdes Mädchen küszt.

Diese wenige Worte schrieb zum immerwährenden Andenken
Ihr wahrer Freund

C. Woelfel Dr:

Symb.
Schwarzbrod und Freiheit
Wien den 6ten Aprill 1820.

Zernichtung nicht, Veränderung nur herrscht im All der
Natur. Die Blume der Heide welkt, aber eine andere entsteht
aus ihrem Saamen, aus dem Staube erwachen wir zum Licht.—
Memento Homo!

Zur Erinnerung von deinem Freund und Bruder

Wyss M. C.

von Seeben Kanton Soloth: Schweiz.

Wien d. 25. März 1819.

Lebe wohl und möglichst glücklich!
 Diesz der Wunsch beym Abschied
 von deinem Freund u. Bruder

Chr. Zeitfuchs Dr. Med.
 aus Frankenhausen in Thüringen.

Wien d. 13-14ten März 1820.

Hast du nimmer geliebt so geh u. liebe noch heute
 Ungenoszen entflieht sonst dir das heiterste Glück!
 Diesz zur Erinnerung an Ihren Freund

B. Ziegler
 aus Solothurn in d. Schweiz.

Nihil mortalitus arduum!

Wien den 27 Juny 1819.

Sey beglückt, die Hand der Vorsicht leite
 Nur durch Blumen deine Pilgerbahn;
 Treue Freundschaft schwebe dir zur Seite,
 Und die Liebe strahle dir voran.
 Diese wenigen Zeilen widmet dir zum Angedenken.
 Dein ergebenster Freund

F. Josef Zöbele juris cand:

Freiburg d. 18ten May 1820.

Ede, bibe, lude, post mortem nulla voluptas.
 Dies mein lieber Kiefer erinnere dich recht oft an deinen Freund
Ludwig F. Zollikofer
 von Hertingen in Baden.

Symbol.

Hic sunt fata hominum. Ach Gott sie sind sehr gar krumm
 Wien d. 14. Maertz 1820.

W. W. FLORER.

University of Michigan.

DEUTSCHE CHARAKTERBILDER AUS DER BRASILIANISCHEN GESCHICHTE.

I.

MANOEL BECKMANN.

Am 21. April eines jeden Jahres feiert das brasilianische Volk das Andenken an José Joaquim da Silva Xavier, bekannter unter dem Namen Tiradentes, der an dem genannten Tage des Jahres 1792 in Rio de Janeiro sein Leben unter der Hand des Henkers lassen musste, weil er in der Provinz Minas Geraes eine Revolution, die Inconfidencia Mineira, angestiftet hatte, um die Unabhängigkeit Brasiliens von Portugal und die Republikerkklärung herbeizuführen. Die Unabhängigkeit von Portugal wurde erst 30 Jahre später erreicht und 100 Jahre sollten noch ins Land gehen, ehe Brasilien die republikanische Regierungsform erlangte.—

Wie Tiradentes seinen Zeitgenossen und den Ideen seiner Zeit voraus war, so war es Manoel Beckmann, der ein Jahrhundert vor dem patriotischen Dragonerleutnant aus Minas Geraes für das Land seiner Wahl den Märtyrertod starb und dessen Erinnerung diese Zeilen gewidmet sind. Die sympathische Persönlichkeit Beckmanns und sein tragisches Los verdienen es, in weiteren deutschen Kreisen, als dies bisher geschehen, bekannt zu werden.—

Der Schauplatz des Lebens und des Wirkens Beckmanns war der im Norden Brasiliens gelegene Staat Maranhão, dessen Besiedelung von den Portugiesen im ersten Jahrhundert nach der Entdeckung vernachlässigt wurde, sodass die Franzosen im Jahre 1594 den Versuch machen konnten, sich im Lande niederzulassen. Sie wurden die Begründer der Hauptstadt S. Luiz (8. 9. 1612) konnten sich dann aber nur noch wenige Jahre, bis 1615,

im Lande behaupten; dann gelang es den Portugiesen, sie wieder zu vertreiben.—Im Jahre 1624 wurden die Capitánias Maranhão und Pará vom übrigen Teile Brasiliens abgetrennt und zu einem selbständigen Staate Maranhão vereinigt, der mit Unterbrechungen bis zum Jahre 1772 bestanden hat. Am 25. November des Jahres 1641 besetzten 2000 Mann holländischer Truppen unter dem Oberbefehl Lichthardts, welcher mit 18 Schiffen gelandet war, Maranhão, ohne Widerstand zu finden, doch war es den tapferen Einwohnern des Landes ohne auswärtig Hilfe möglich, nach einer Besetzung von wenig länger als 2 Jahren die fremden Eroberer aus Maranhão zu verjagen, (28. Februar 1644). Aus Pernambuco zogen sich die Holländer erst 10 Jahre später zurück, nachdem sie 24 Jahre lang vergeblich um einen Kolonialbesitz im brasilianischen Norden gekämpft hatten.

Neben der französischen Besetzung und dem Einfall der Holländer ist die *Revolução do Bequimão*, der Aufstand unter Beckmann, im Jahre 1684 das wichtigste Ereignis in der Kolonialgeschichte des Staates Maranhão. Um eine Erklärung für die Entstehung dieser aufständischen Bewegung zu finden, ist es nötig, einen Blick auf die in der zweiten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts im Lande herrschenden politischen und wirtschaftlichen Verhältnisse zu werfen.—

Das Mutterland Portugal hat stets gesucht aus einer brasilianischen Kolonie den grösstmöglichen Nutzen zu ziehen, indem es sich jede wirtschaftliche Betätigung im Lande tributpflichtig machte, ohne auch nur die geringste Rücksicht auf die Entwicklung der Kolonie selbst zu nehmen oder irgend etwas hierfür zu tun. Es war ein anerkannter Leitsatz der portugiesischen Regierungen, dass die Kolonien Alles, was sie nur überhaupt hergeben konnten, an das Mutterland abzuführen hatten. Zu den Ansprüchen der Krone an die Kolonie gesellten sich die Lasten, welche die Gouverneure oder Generalkapitäne dem Lande auflegten, die häufig ihre Ämter wechselten und von denen man ohne Weiteres voraussetzte, dass sie während ihrer Tätigkeit in der

Kolonie ihre persönlichen Interessen nach Möglichkeit wahrnehmen würden. Zu der Interessenpolitik der weltlichen Machthaber der Kolonie gesellte sich der Streit der Geistlichkeit untereinander. Die Jesuiten genossen, natürlich ebenfalls wieder auf Kosten der Bevölkerung, eine Reihe von Vorrechten vor dem übrigen Klerus, der aber dafür das Volk auf seiner Seite hatte und es gegen die Jesuiten aufreizte. Im Staate Maranhão hatte der Anbau von Zuckerrohr und die Zuckergewinnung bereits einen gewissen Umfang erreicht; zur Arbeitsleistung in den landwirtschaftlichen Betrieben dienten Indianersklaven. Als ein Gesetz vom 1. April 1680 die Sklaverei der Indianer abschaffte, konnte dies nicht ohne nachteilige Folgen für die landwirtschaftlichen und industriellen Betriebe des Landes bleiben. Infolge verringerter Anpflanzungen trat zwei Jahre hindurch Mangel an Lebensmitteln ein und das Land wurde dem Hunger überliefert. Eine weitere Last blieb dem geprüften Lande in der Errichtung des sogenannten Estanco vorbehalten. Es war dies eine Art Handelsgesellschaft, an welcher auch die Krone beteiligt war und welche später an die Assentisten-Kompagnie überging, welcher das ausschliessliche Monopol für den gesamten Handel mit afrikanischen Sklaven und den An- und Verkauf aller Ausfuhr- und Einfuhrprodukte verliehen was, welche sie nach Willkür besteuern konnten.—Die Verlegung des Regierungssitzes von São Luiz nach Belem musste die vorhandenen Schwierigkeiten noch erhöhen; die Unzufriedenheit und die Not des Volkes erreichte schliesslich einen derartigen Umfang, dass es am 25. Februar 1684 zum offenen Aufruhr kam. Das aufständische Volk bemächtigte sich nach einer geheimen Besprechung im Hofe des Klosters des Hlg. Antonius in S. Luiz des Capitão-mor Balthazar Fernandes und nahm von dem Estanco, dem Lagerhaus der Monopolgesellschaft, Besitz. In einer hierauf im Kammergebäude abgehaltenen Sitzung wurde die Vertreibung der Jesuiten und die Absetzung des Gouverneurs Frco. de Sá e Meneses, der sich in Pará aufhielt, beschlossen. Gleichzeitig schritt man zur

Wahl einer neuen Regierung, welche aus den Kammermitgliedern und drei Beisitzern bestehen sollte. Zu diesen gehörte der Führer der Aufständischen, Manoel Beckmann und sein Bruder Thomas.—Letzterer wurde beauftragt, dem Hofe zu Lissabon mündlichen Bericht über diese Ereignisse zu erstatten.—

Nach dieser kurzen Darstellung der Verhältnisse, welche zur „Revolução do Bequimão“ führten, und der Schilderungen ihres eigenartigen Verlaufes, wenden wir uns nunmehr derjenigen Persönlichkeit zu, welche im Vordergrund dieser Ereignisse stand. Manoel Beckmann, oder Bequimão, wie er sich selbst schrieb, um seinen Namen der portugiesischen Aussprache anzupassen, war in Lissabon geboren. Sein Vater war ein Deutscher, seine Mutter Portugiesin, wie einige sagen, von jüdischer Abkunft. Schon in jungen Jahren kam Beckmann nach Maranhão, wo er sich den besten Familien des Landes anschloss und bald allgemeine Achtung und Beliebtheit erlangte. Es gelang ihm, ein zur Errichtung einer Zuckerrohrpflanzung und Zuckersiederei ausreichendes Vermögen zu erwerben—sein Engenho war am Mearim-Flusse gelegen—und da er sich auch durch Heirat mit einer der angesehensten Familien des Landes verband, lebte er glücklich im Schosse der Seinen in einem ehrenhaften Wohlstande. Beckmann wird von brasilianischen Geschichtsschreibern, wir folgen besonders den Darstellungen, die José Ribeiro do Amaral im Jahre 1910 in Maranhão unter dem Titel „O Bequimão“ veröffentlicht hat, als ein edler, vornehmer und dabei gütiger Charakter geschildert, der bei Allen, die zu ihm in Beziehungen traten, die grösste Liebe und Verehrung genoss. Zum ersten Male wird sein Name am 14. Januar 1668 als Stadtverordneter genannt, doch erst 10 Jahre später, unter der despotischen Regierung des Ignacio Coelho, begann die Zeit seines Missgeschicks und seiner traurigen Berühmtheit. Unter der Beschuldigung heimlicher Umtriebe wird Beckmann nach der mehr als 200 Leguas entfernten Festung Gurupá verschickt u. eine Anklageschrift gegen ihn wird nach Lissabon ge-

sandt. Der König aber, der die Grundlosigkeit der gehässigen Anschuldigungen gegen Beckmann erkannte, ordnete seine Freilassung an. Inzwischen versuchte der Gouverneur Sá e Meneses Beckmann durch Bestechung für sich zu gewinnen und ihn der Partei des Volkes zu entfremden. Er liess ihm 4000 Cruzados in Geld, die höchsten Ehrenstellen in der Capitania und die Verzeihung seines Vergehens, bis vom Hofe die völlige Amnestie einträfe, anbieten, doch wurden alle diese Vorschläge von Beckmann rundweg abgelehnt. Von diesen Anerbietungen und ihrer Ablehnung machte Beckmann dem Volke Mitteilung, das hierin, wenn es seinen Helden nicht schon zur Genüge gekannt hätte, einen Beweis der Charakterstärke dieses wackeren Mannes hätte erblicken können. So standen die Dinge, die durch den Aufbruch vom 25. Februar 1684 eine Wendung erfahren sollten, allerdings in einer anderen, als in der erwarteten Weise. Nachdem der erste Enthusiasmus verraucht war, trat im Volke eine Ernüchterung ein. Man murrte gegen den militärischen Dienst, der von der neuen Regierung eingerichtet worden war und fing an zu bereuen, sich auf Dinge eingelassen zu haben, die für die damalige Zeit ungewöhnlich kühn waren, sodass die Zahl der Parteigänger Beckmanns zu schwinden begann.—Inzwischen gelangten Berichte über die Vorgänge in Maranhão nach Lissabon. Ehe aber noch der Abgesandte Thomas Beckmann dort eintraf, hatten bereits die nach Bahia vertriebenen Jesuiten Kunde von den Ereignissen nach der Metropole gelangen lassen und die Zeit vor dem Eintreffen des Fürsprechers der Revolutionäre dazu benutzt, die Dinge in einem ihnen günstigen Lichte darzustellen und die Krone gegen die Aufständischen einzunehmen.—Am 25. März 1685, fünf Monat nach Eintreffen der Nachricht aus Maranhão und nach mehr denn Jahresfrist seit Ausbrechen der Revolution ging vom Tejo eine Expedition aus, die den neuernannten Gouverneur Gomes Freire de Andrade und—als Gefangenen—Thomas Beckmann nach Maranhão bringen sollte, Am 15. 5. traf die kleine Flotte vor Maranhão ein. Als nun

aber Manoel Beckmann es unternehmen wollte, seine Parteigänger um sich zu scharen, um zu den neuen Ereignissen Stellung zu nehmen, musste er sich davon überzeugen, dass seine Sache verloren war. Kaum eine Handvoll Anhänger war ihm verblieben, jeder Widerstand gegen die neue Regierung erschien nutzlos.—So konnte der neue Gouverneur die Regierung ohne Weiteres übernehmen. Er ordnete die Verhaftung des Bequimão, der sich furchtlos und frei unter dem Volke bewegte, sowie einiger anderer Führer an. Beckmann wurde von einigen Freunden gewarnt und zur Flucht gedrängt, welche er aber verschob, um noch einen Versuch zur Befreiung seines Bruders zu machen, der nach seiner am 26. Mai erfolgten Ankunft sogleich an Land gebracht und ins Gefängnis geführt wurde. Diese Kühnheit Manoel Beckmanns veranlasste den Gouverneur zu den schärfsten Massregeln. Er setzte eine hohe Belohnung auf die Ergreifung des Bequimão aus u. bedrohte gleichzeitig diejenigen mit schwerer Strafe, die etwa seiner Flucht Vorschub leisten würden. So irrte der Flüchtling eine zeitlang in der Umgebung der Hauptstadt und auf der Insel umher, auf welcher S. Luiz gelegen ist, bis ihm schliesslich eine Wittve, die Mitleid mit seinem Unglück hatte, ein Boot verschaffte, mit welchem Beckmann die Insel verlassen und sich nach seiner Pflanzung Sta. Cruz am Mearim begeben konnte.—Doch der Märtyrer für die Freiheit und das Wohlergehen des Volkes von Maranhão hatte den bitteren Kelch, der ihm bestimmt war, noch nicht bis zur Neige geleert. Er musste es noch erleben, dass ein Mann zum Verräter an ihm wurde, der sein Mündel gewesen war, den er aufgezogen hatte und an dem er wie ein Vater an seinem Sohne hing!—Lasaro de Mello ist der Name des Elenden, den die Sucht nach Gewinn zum Verrat an seinem Wohltäter und Freunde verführte. Unter zahlreicher Bedeckung begab er sich nach dem Engenho, wo es ihm unschwer gelang, sich des ihm vertrauensvoll nahenden Geächteten zu bemächtigen.—Die zur Verteidigung ihres Herrn herbeieilenden Sklaven werden leicht durch des Verräters Ruf „Im Namen des

Königs“ eingeschüchtert. Beckmann wird gefesselt in ein Boot verbracht, wo er zuerst im Zorn seinen Überwinder auf die Schwärze seines Undanks und die Ungeheuerlichkeit seines Verrates weist, der seinen sicheren Tod zur Folge haben müsse. Doch bald gewinnt er die ihm eigene Ruhe wieder; er ersucht Mello, die Fesseln von ihm zu nehmen, wogegen er ihm verspricht, keinen Fluchtversuch zu unternehmen. Der Elende entspricht dem Wunsche des Gefangenen; er kennt den Wert, den für diesen Mann ein Versprechen hat, er traut ihm ohne Weiteres—selbst unter diesen Verhältnissen, nach diesem schmähhlichen Verrat. So gelangte denn Beckmann als Gefangener nach São Luiz, wo ihm und den übrigen Häuptern der Revolution ein rascher Prozess gemacht wurde. Manoel Bequimão und Jorge de S. Payo, dies ein alter Aufwiegler und Anstifter aller Unruhen im Staate, wurden zum Tode und zur Einziehung ihres Vermögens zu Gunsten der Krone verurteilt. Die Unterschrift des Gouverneurs Gomes Freire unter dieses Todesurteil wurde mit so zitternder Hand abgegeben, dass sie von einem Anderen geschrieben scheint. An der Praia do Armazem, heute da Trindade, wurde der Galgen errichtet, an welchem am 2. November 1685 die Hinrichtung des Bequimão erfolgte. Von der Höhe des Schaffots herab, das er in aufrechter und ruhiger Haltung, getragen von dem Bewusstsein, das Beste für seine Mitbürger gewollt zu haben, bestieg, bat Beckmann diejenigen um Verzeihung, die er in seinem Leben gekränkt haben sollte. Seine letzten Worte waren: *Gern sterbe ich für das Volk von Maranhão!*

Dieses Volk hat im Jahre 1910 durch Errichtung eines Denkmals seiner Dankbarkeit gegen den Mann Ausdruck verliehen, dessen Wiege zwar nicht im Staate Maranhão gestanden hat, der aber aus Liebe zu dem gastfreien Lande, das ihn aufnahm, seines Volkes Geschick, sein Leid und seine Nöte zu den seinigen machte und der von ihm als gerecht erkannten Sache der unterdrückten Bevölkerung bis zum bitteren Ende treu blieb. Wohl kehrten die Jesuiten nach Maranhão zurück, der Estanco aber, diese ver-

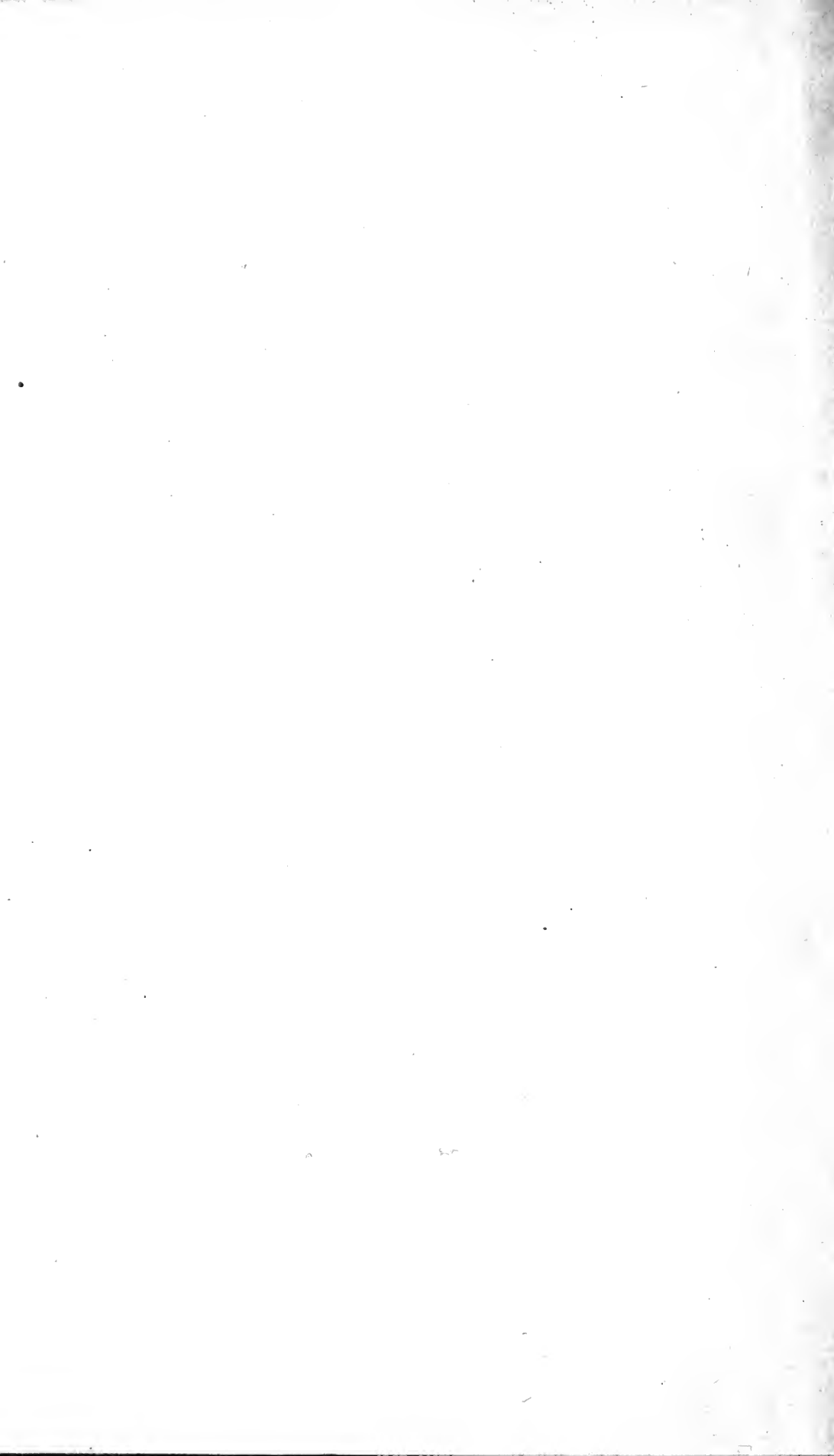
hasste Einrichtung zum Zwecke der Aussaugung des Volkes blieb für alle Zeiten abgeschafft, so dass Manoel Beckmann nicht umsonst gestorben ist. *Wir Deutschen erkennen an diesem Manne mit dem fremden Namen, unter dem er der brasilianischen Geschichte angehört, alle die Eigenschaften, die den deutschen Mann auszeichnen und wollen ihn mit Stolz zu den Unsrigen zählen. Wir wollen auch nicht unterlassen, dieses Märtyrers für die Wohlfahrt des brasilianischen Volkes zu gedenken, wenn es gilt, den deutschen Anteil an der Entwicklung dieses Landes abzuwägen, den die Feinde des Deutschtums in Brasilien so gern herabsetzen möchten.*

FRIEDRICH SOMMER.

São Paulo, Brazil.

NOTE, ED. President of the *Banco Allemão Transatlantico*.





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