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**The Italian Sky in the Republic of Letters:
Charles Sealsfield and Timothy Flint as Early Writers
of the American West**

I

Sealsfield-scholarship on both sides of the Atlantic has always been dominated by *Germanistik*. The fact that this Austro-American author wrote predominantly (though not always) in German, made his works almost naturally part of the spectrum of Austrian and German literature of the *Vormärz/Biedermeier* period. The political attitudes emerging from the works seemed more or less in line with the mainstream progressive liberalism of a number of authors belonging to the group known as *Junges Deutschland* and thus reinforced this classification.¹ As a consequence, Sealsfield was uncritically placed in the tradition of German *Nationalliteratur* without consideration for his American roots. This is even true for an article as recent as Doerry's "Three Versions of America: Sealsfield, Gerstäcker, and May" (1981). While Doerry is quite willing to investigate Sealsfield's version of America, he does not consider Sealsfield as an American author.²

Sealsfield's actual connection with the United States, as a great number of studies seem to imply, is mostly of interest to the biographer, and only peripherally to the literary historian or critic. Even an American student of Sealsfield's work such as Dallmann, who set out to locate the "Spirit of America" in Sealsfield's fiction, uses surprisingly few American sources in order to verify the authenticity of this American "spirit." Where he does turn to an American source his method is questionable, since he compares "ideas" derived from Sealsfield's fictional works with nonfictional American sources, without regard for specific narrative situations involved. Dallmann's study, along with a number of similar works, reduces Sealsfield's fiction to the role of a (naturally poor) textbook on American sociology.³

The more appropriate method of interpreting Sealsfield's works in light of the American literature of the period has rarely been employed. If so, it confined itself mostly to Sealsfield's links with James Fenimore

Cooper, probably because this early American author is well-known to every historian of German literature, due to his widespread reception and popularity in the German-speaking countries. Even in this case, however, actual comparative studies between Cooper and Sealsfield were rarely carried out and the findings of Cooper research neglected.⁴ This led to a cliché in Sealsfield criticism, which is reiterated time and again in almost every study: According to this point of view, Cooper is a "romantic," "sentimental" author, particularly in his characterization of the Indian, while Sealsfield is inclined towards a "realistic" treatment of his material. Krumpelmann, when comparing Sealsfield's *Tokeah; or, the White Rose* (German: *Der Legitime und die Republikaner*) to Cooper's *Leatherstocking Tales*, maintains: "But Tokeah is not an Uncas, such as Cooper created, a 'noble savage,' but an Indian, *as in nature*, honest, but basically distrustful of the white conquerors, who have come across the sea"⁵ (Italics mine, W.G.). The argument against Krumpelmann is that the old, miserable Tokeah should not be compared with the young and valiant Uncas, but with one of the many old and miserable as well as "distrustful" Indian chiefs in Cooper's novels. The "noble savage" in *Tokeah*, as a contemporary review in a Philadelphia newspaper correctly states, is El Sol, "an Indian of the Uncas cast, . . . a noble fellow, with all the thewes and sinews of a Hercules . . ."⁶ To liken Tokeah to the Indians "in nature" means to deny the obvious fictionality of Sealsfield's works. Again Krumpelmann: "Our author [Sealsfield] was strongly convinced that Cooper never really knew the real savage Indian who dwelt deep in the backwoods."⁷ Krumpelmann's argument makes use of the same narrow conception of realism which Arndt had criticized in Willey's contributions forty years earlier and which, in the end, should have clarified the question.⁸ The point is to accept Sealsfield's novels as fiction, as the literary expression of a particular American ideology. Sealsfield's Indians are in no way more "real" than Cooper's, but they come out of a somewhat different literary and intellectual tradition; this tradition tends to favor civilization over the Indian (savage) way of life.

It will be the task of future Sealsfield-scholarship to interpret his works in both a European and an American context. While a number of American sources for Sealsfield's novels have already been uncovered and a number of other relationships still remain unclear, the point is now to reinterpret Sealsfield's works in this literary context. While there will have to be a basic revision of the present picture of the Sealsfield-Cooper relationship, other American authors will also have to be considered in order to identify the "American" meaning of Sealsfield's works.

One might argue that, since the intended reading audience of Sealsfield's works was German or European, this "American" meaning of the text could not have been part of Sealsfield's authorial intention. However, Sealsfield always maintained that his historical fiction was a "Bildungs- und Aufklärungsmittel" and presupposed active interest on the part of the reader.⁹ Sealsfield intended to convey the full meaning of his novels to a sophisticated reading audience that was acquainted with

the United States of America of its day. His works, however, were a popular success due to their American setting. In the course of this transatlantic reception, part of the intended meaning of Sealsfield's novels was obscured. Nevertheless, this does not mean that it was never there in the first place.

One way to review the meaning of Sealsfield's works would be to consider them in the original context of their conception, i.e., Sealsfield's life in America. This is, of course, impossible and would also allow biography an undue place in the interpretation of literary works. The comparison with similar American texts of the period, or even with proven sources, would bring us closer to this original context without sacrificing its literary quality. All too often, nonfictional American materials have been crudely used as correlatives of literary texts in Sealsfield-scholarship. In the past, Sealsfield's role as American citizen, American traveler, and even American slaveholder have been under examination. It is high time to consider him as American author as well. This requires an investigation of Sealsfield's place in American literary history, his use of American literary conventions and, generally, his use of American sources and their interpretation.

Students of American literature, especially those working in the extended field of American studies, have long since recognized Sealsfield's significance for American literary history. However, this recognition is limited to a few studies and encyclopedias and is at best incidental. While scholars like Henry Nash Smith assigned Sealsfield a place in a specific area of American literature, most Americanists hardly know his name.¹⁰ The main reason for this deficiency, of course, is the poor and highly inaccessible translation of his works,¹¹ but the failure to consider Sealsfield as a part of an American tradition is also responsible. At a time when a large number of the Wright-titles of American fiction of the 1820s and 1830s are available in reprint editions, Sealsfield's works are scarce and much looked-for items in the Western Americana sections of antiquarian booksellers in the United States.¹²

By showing Sealsfield's affinity to the American literature of his time, German-American studies (along with American studies in German-speaking countries) will create an interest in Sealsfield which should ultimately lead to his reacceptance into American literary history. There must be a place in every American literary history for the most important of German-American authors.

II

The present study sets out to explore Sealsfield's relationship to one of the most important American writers of the pre-romantic period, Timothy Flint (1780-1840). No one with literary interests living in the United States of the second half of the 1820s as well as the 1830s could ignore the immensely popular Timothy Flint. Like Sealsfield, Flint was trained for the ministry but he soon left his native Massachusetts and moved to the western territories. After 1826, he devoted the major part

of his life to literary activities as novelist, editor of the short-lived *Western Monthly Review* and author of travelogues and scientific tracts.

Although there is so far no mention of it in either author's biography, it is quite possible that Sealsfield and Flint knew each other personally.¹³ Flint spent a number of years with his uncle, a publisher and bookseller, in Cincinnati. During that time, he edited and practically wrote in its entirety the *Western Monthly Review*. However, he spent a large part of his time in the Old West and Southwest in Alexandria, Louisiana. This small town on the Red River is, by strange coincidence, the area in which Sealsfield-scholars place Sealsfield's plantation.¹⁴ The town appears a number of times in Sealsfield's works. In his travelogue, *Die Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika* (1827), Sealsfield predicts Alexandria's future significance: "Seine Lage am Redriver wird den Ort in kurzer Zeit zum bedeutendsten des westlichen Theils [von Louisiana] erheben."¹⁵ Sealsfield also makes use of Alexandria at the conclusion of a probably fictitious letter to an hitherto unidentified "A. J. Smith Esq. Dauphin Cy. Pa." prefaced to *Der Legitime und die Republikaner* (1833): "Alexandria, La., den 30. September 1831."¹⁶ Since, according to Castle, Sealsfield was in Europe at that time, both time and place must be considered fictitious.¹⁷ Nevertheless, these references to Alexandria make probable Sealsfield's connection with this town and with Flint.

The preface to Sealsfield's "Christophorus Bärenhäuter," published by Orell und Füssli in Zürich in 1834, contains Sealsfield's highly positive opinion of Flint and reveals his intimate knowledge of Flint's works and affairs. He first regrets that the *Western Monthly Review* (discontinued in 1832) is "nun bedauerlichermaßen verblichen" and then continues:

Wir sagen bedauerlichermaßen, weil der besagte achtbare Prediger in diesem seinen verblichenen Magazin und anderen Schriften, unter denen wir nur die westliche Geographie nennen, ein Licht über die Entstehung und den Fortgang der Niederlassungen jenseits der Alleghanygebirge verbreitet hat, das mehr Belehrung über diese interessanten Staaten gewährt und gründlichere Forschungen enthält, als die fünfhundert Reisebeschreibungen sämmtlicher Europäer zusammengekommen, die unserm Lande und dessen Bewohnern die Ehre erwiesen, dieselben zu schildern, nicht wie sie sind, sondern wie sie beide gerne haben möchten, um ihren respectiven Allerhöchsten Patronen und deren loyalen Unterthanen weniger Herzklopfen zu verursachen.¹⁸

Sealsfield's political (anti-European) as well as regional (pro-western) bias becomes obvious from this passage. The rhetoric of realism ("wie sie sind") cannot veil the propagandistic effort conveyed through these lines. Sealsfield shared this western, democratic bias with Flint probably more than with any other author. In what seems to be a professional paradox, both authors turn against the sophisticated "literary" atmosphere of the East coast which they considered to be unduly influenced by Europe.¹⁹ They attempt a new, western literature, based on western subject matter.

Flint's first novel, *Francis Berrian, or The Mexican Patriot* (1826), made this political and regional bias quite obvious. Like Flint, Berrian is a New Englander, who moves west in quest of adventure. Soon, however, his adventurous spirit is sobered by a severe illness, contracted in the valley of the Red River with its "dark and mephitic waters,"²⁰ foreshadowing the experiences of some of Sealsfield's Louisiana settlers. Berrian survives and his outlook broadens. The view of the American flag on the border with Mexico triggers his patriotic feelings:

We joined to admire the genius of a country yet so young, and which has thus early learned to stretch her maternal arms to these remote deserts, in token of the efficient protection of the frontier people from the terrors of the ruthless savages.²¹

The feelings of the proud American combine with the disdain for the savages. While no direct traces can be shown, Flint's subsequent presentation of the Comanches and their village almost certainly influenced Sealsfield's depiction of the Comanches in *Tokeah; or, the White Rose* (1829). While Flint seems to admire Indian life for its peace and tranquility, he definitely presents the aboriginal society as inferior to civilization. Neither Flint nor Sealsfield could avoid western thinking, which demanded that the Indian way of life give way to white civilization.²²

Francis Berrian, however, is known less for its depiction of the Indians than for its presentation of the Southwest, in particular Texas. The novel is generally credited as being the first "Texan novel" in American literary history.²³ Sealsfield's *Tokeah*, following somewhat in the footsteps of *Francis Berrian* is the second novel taking place largely on Texas soil.²⁴ The major part of Flint's novel is taken up by the presentation of the anticolonialist struggle of Mexicans against Spain. Flint's anti-Catholicism or, to be more specific, his anticlerical position, was to be taken up in three of Sealsfield's novels. *Der Virey und die Aristokraten, oder Mexiko im Jahr 1812* (1834) echoes the anti-Spanish and the anti-Catholic theme; *Das Cajütenbuch oder Nationale Charakteristiken* (1841) and *Süden und Norden* (1842/43) stress mainly the anti-Catholic bias. The theme of the vicious Catholic clergyman attempting to subvert male Protestant American morality with the aid of Mexican Catholic womanhood seems to have come directly from Flint.

While the charge that *Francis Berrian* is "a novel which is on the whole poorly constructed"²⁵ may be correct, one should not overlook the formal affinities between Sealsfield's and Flint's Mexican novels. Sealsfield's *Virey* and *Süden und Norden*, too, were often charged with being chaotic in form. However, closer investigation proves a narrative strategy designed to present a fictional Mexico which shows

. . . nur Spuren gewaltsamer Revolutionen und schnell aufeinander folgender Katastrophen, häufig nicht mehr als einen Steinwurf von einander entfernt, bei jedem Schritte Spuren der gewaltsamsten Umwälzungen, der unnatürlichsten Kämpfe.²⁶

Thus what appears to be a formal deficiency can also be interpreted as narrative strategy. To American eyes, Mexico was a country charac-

terized by political chaos and social instability, and could not be presented in traditional narrative forms. The presentation of an American democracy superior to Mexican revolutionary efforts lays the groundwork for Sealsfield's later treatment of the Mexican theme.

With *George Mason, the Young Backwoodsman; or 'Don't Give Up the Ship'* (1829), Flint shifts the focus of his writing to the western frontier. In the preface, he defends the setting and characters of his novel and, at the same time, attacks the conventional romances of his time:

The reader will see, if he knows the country, where it is laid, as I do, that it is true to nature. He will comprehend my motive for not being more explicit on many points; and he will not turn away with indifference from the short and simple annals of the poor, for he will remember, that nine in ten of our brethren of the human race are of that class. . . . It has been for ages the wicked, and unfeeling, and stupid habit of writers, in selecting their scenery and their examples, to act as if they supposed that the rich, the titled, and the distinguished, who dwell in mansions and fare sumptuously every day, were the only persons, who could display noble thinking and acting Who, in reading about these favorites of fortune, remembers that they constitute but one in ten thousand of the species.²⁷

And: "There is as much strength and force and truth of affection in cottages as in palaces."²⁸ This passage deserved to be quoted at length because it comes very close to Sealsfield's well-known conception of the *höherer Volksroman*, which demands fictional characters representative of the majority of the population.²⁹ Both Flint and Sealsfield attempt to rid themselves of the genteel couple inherited from Cooper and other romancers. Unfortunately, Flint's theoretical statement is more noteworthy than the subsequent novel, which suffers from Flint's frequent and intensive moralizing. George Mason is less a young backwoodsman than a Christian knight in the service of his mother and sister, defending them against the improprieties of Creole planters.

Flint's portrayal of a backwoodsman is more successful in his *Biographical Memoir of Daniel Boone* (1833) which Sealsfield had in mind when creating his "squatter-regulator" Nathan Strong. Flint's characterization of Boone makes the "Patriarch of Kentucky" a curious apostle of progress, who depends on the wilderness for his mode of life. His character is divided between his bias towards civilization and his actual life style, which approaches that of the Indians. In a visionary moment, Boone

. . . had caught some glimmerings of the future, and saw with the prophetic eye of a patriot, that this great valley must soon become the abode of millions of freemen; and his heart swelled with joy, and warmed with a transport which was natural to a mind so unsophisticated and disinterested as his.³⁰

On the other hand Boone likes to commune with primeval nature, to live the solitary life in the woods. In this he resembles Cooper's Natty Bumppo:

He loved to wander alone, with his unerring rifle on his shoulder, through the labyrinths of the tangled forests, and to rouse the wild

beast from his secret lair. There was to him a charm in these primeval solitudes which suited his peculiar temperament, and he frequently absented himself on these lonely expeditions for days together.³¹

Nathan Strong in Sealsfield's *Nathan, der Squatter-Regulator, oder der erste Amerikaner in Texas* (1837) is caught in the same contradiction between his existence as a civilized citizen and his life in the wilderness. There are times when Nathan's fate seems so intimately interwoven with nature and the wildness that the reader cannot imagine him in a social context. On the other hand, he is always a representative of his country and civilization. If Boone is called the "Patriarch of Kentucky," Nathan, coming from Kentucky and moving into Louisiana, deserves to be termed the "Patriarch of Louisiana." Like Boone, Nathan devoted the major part of his life to fighting the enemies of the United States. While Boone was continually engaged in fighting the Indians, Nathan had to take on the French and Spanish colonial troops. Like Boone, Nathan can be termed the "first actual settler and cultivator of the soil" of his territory;³² the phrase implies both his status as a pioneer and as a farmer.

The similarities between Daniel Boone and Nathan Strong and between the two novels as a whole are obvious. In each case, the family of these "founding fathers" plays a conspicuous role. In the *Memoir*, Boone loses his brother in the fight against the Indians; in *Nathan*, the brother of Nathan's wife, Asa, dies in the fight against the Spanish. Both works paint an impressive picture of the frontier woman who holds her own in the fierce battles. As a result of these struggles, both authors imply, Kentucky and Louisiana became American. The term "dark and bloody ground" used for Kentucky³³ is the correlative of Sealsfield's much more impressive symbol of the "blutiges Blockhaus" in *Nathan*: Both novels suggest that human lives, sacrificed in the conquest of this part of America, entitle the family of the dead to ownership of these lands—the more so, since an opportunity is thereby created for other Americans to move to these new areas and prosper.

However, both Boone and Nathan learn that their titles to the land are insecure in the face of civilization. The narrator of the *Memoir* observes:

A set of speculators and interlopers, who, following in the train of civilization and wealth, came to enrich themselves by monopolizing the rich lands which had thus been won for them, and by the aid of legal advisers following all the nice requisitions of the law, pounced, among others, upon the lands of our old pioneer.³⁴

In *Nathan*, it is "das Gesetz und der Sheriff," "die Gesetzmänner,"³⁵ who deprive Nathan of the possession of his land. Whereas the European colonial powers could not push Nathan out of Louisiana, his own country, the United States, forces him to move "ein Haus weiter."³⁶ In the end, both Boone and Nathan, recognizing the fundamental difference between natural law and the laws of civilization, move west, "wo kein Sheriff, kein Gesetz ihn ein Haus weiter weisen kann."³⁷ Boone emigrates to Missouri, Nathan to Texas, to become "der

erste Amerikaner in Texas." Both are forced once again to assume their original roles as pioneers, for which they seem destined by history.³⁸

Flint's *Memoir* suffers from rather stereotyped narration and generally refrains from individualization. In this respect, Sealsfield's novel is superior: The introduction of the French-American narrator, Count Vignerolles, makes for a much better and livelier story and Sealsfield's book altogether more readable for the modern reader than Flint's. At the same time, Sealsfield's work is doubtless indebted to Flint's version of Boone's life and to the American Boone tradition as a whole. Nathan's character, oscillating as it does between society and nature, is closer to Boone than to Leatherstocking. He is a more complex character than Leatherstocking and less repetitive and sentimental than Cooper's "philosopher of the wilderness."³⁹ He is the democrat of the wilderness and thus an apostle of civilization.

III

The foregoing section attempted a general comparison between important works by Sealsfield and Flint. While no direct influence such as word-by-word borrowings can be proven in the case of those works, the comparison shows that Sealsfield and Flint were interested in the same subjects and themes—Mexico and the American Southwest, anti-Catholicism (nativism) and the American western frontier. Both writers reacted against the prevalent genteel setting and genteel characters in American literature of the period, which they felt to be an inadequate fictional presentation of American life.

In the following section, two specific texts which Sealsfield borrowed from Flint will be examined. This will permit a reinterpretation of these passages by comparing the different use of the same material. It should be noted here that the discovery of these sources dates back to the beginning of this century.⁴⁰ However, no student of Sealsfield's fiction has ever made use of these findings for textual interpretation.

The first of these texts, "Der Kindsräuber," appears in Sealsfield's *George Howard's Esq. Brautfahrt*, chapter three. The tale is rendered by the first person narrator George Howard. Howard maintains that the event occurred "zu Ende des Jahres 1825."⁴¹ As evidence, the editor [?] mentions in a footnote that all newspapers of the State of Mississippi reported extensively on this case and that the name of the child's father was retained in the narrative (K, 139).

However, the tale is almost certainly based on a contribution to the May 1827 issue of the *Western Magazine and Review* (later *Western Monthly Review*).⁴² This journal was edited and written by Flint in Cincinnati. Flint's sketch is entitled "The Stolen Child" and is a mixture of journalism and short prose. Flint maintains that the kidnapping occurred "during the past winter" (*WMR*, 20), i.e., in the course of the winter 1826/27, and not, as Sealsfield states, the winter before. Sealsfield's statement, that he wrote the story himself inspired by newspaper reports, is therefore probably false. The suspicion arises that Sealsfield employed Flint's rendition of the event in the *Western Magazine and*

Review as his source; this supposition is confirmed by Sealsfield's use of similar or even identical words, a similar structure and a number of conspicuous details. Of course it is theoretically possible that both Flint and Sealsfield used a third text, as yet unknown to us, as their source. However, John A. Hamilton, who first discussed Flint's novel, *The Lost Child* (see below), as well as a modern student of Flint's fiction, James Folsom, both believe the sketch in the *Western Magazine and Review* to be an original contribution.⁴³

The question of whether or not such borrowings would constitute plagiarism was widely discussed among scholars dealing with Sealsfield's works.⁴⁴ However, it is relatively irrelevant, when one considers the general practice of generous borrowing prevalent among fiction writers of the period. Subject matter, plot, and theme all were scarce commodities in the American literary world of that period and hardly the exclusive property of an individual author.⁴⁵ What is much more important is the way this fictional material is treated in a new context or as a new text.

Obviously, both authors well understood the literary potential of the kidnapping. Already in 1830, four years prior to Sealsfield's *George Howard's Esq. Brautfahrt*, Flint wrote an extended version of his contribution to the *Western Magazine*, also titled *The Lost Child*.⁴⁶ This work, of which only four copies are known to exist today, has the character of a novella—if one may use a German generic term for an American work of prose fiction. Its 121 pages make it too long for the type of short story known in American literature since Washington Irving. On the other hand, Folsom correctly disqualifies it as a novel and stresses its edifying religious character.⁴⁷

The generic term novella is appropriate in that two plot lines, the destiny of the kidnapped boy and his kidnappers on one hand and the desperate search of the parents on the other lead to a *Wendepunkt* characteristic of the novella form. This *Wendepunkt*, the *unerhörte Begebenheit*, consists in the discovery of the kidnapper and the latter's refusal to reveal any information concerning the whereabouts of the child in spite of torture, a prison term, and threatened death.

In comparison with the sketch in the *Western Magazine*, the plot of Flint's novella is presented in greater detail, which permits the author to enlarge somewhat on the psychology of his characters. Instead of one, there are now two kidnappers, one of whom, Thomas Tuttell, who had already appeared in the earlier version, is described as "spoiled by indulgence, and the want of proper correction and restraint" (L, 100) in his childhood. He started his career as a criminal as a youth in his native Ireland and is depicted as more ruthless than his fellow kidnapper. The latter pities the child and protects him against Tuttell. The book-length version of the story also gives more room to the feelings of the parents, who are a highly religious couple and therefore, in spite of the odds, do not give up hope. One has to agree with Folsom that the central meaning of the story is religious, even though its western setting furnishes an additional meaning which will be discussed below.⁴⁸ Flint repeatedly states that the parents idolized their son, who seems to be

livelier and more intelligent than other children. In the religious context, this idolization must be judged negatively: "... the father ... acknowledged in the taking away of his favourite child, the hand of God, depriving him of his idol, which had arisen between him and his Creator" (L, 29).

The initial inner strength of the child must also be interpreted in a religious sense: "They [the kidnappers] cannot take away my Heavenly Father" (L, 55), he keeps reassuring himself and the "young readers" (L, 3), whose trust in God Flint attempts to strengthen with his book. One observes, however, that Henry (in Sealsfield's story: Douglas) loses his sense of religious security following many months of absence from home and a number of traumatic experiences. Flint does not completely compromise the artistic merit of his story for reasons of religious didacticism.

In Sealsfield's "Der Kindsräuber," the religious implications of the story do not surface. Rather, Sealsfield makes use of Flint's story as a western tale. The introduction to chapter three provides the first clue for the interpreter. Here, the narrator George Howard, normally less philosophically inclined, ponders the locale of his tale:

Ja, es ist ein erhabener, ein beinahe furchtbarer Anblick, diese endlosen Urwälder, Tausende und abermals Tausende von Meilen in ihr nächtliches Dunkel hüllend. Wie mancher Klagelaut mag in ihnen ungehört verschollen, wie manche Gräueltat, vor deren bloßen Namen das stärkste Männerherz erzittern würde, von den hehren Wipfeln und ihren düstern Schatten bedeckt seyn! Scheint es doch, als ob hier die ungeheure Natur auch ungeheure Verbrechen erzeugen müßte! (K, 98 f.)

While one can imagine a whole range of adjectives to describe "Urwald," "erhaben" and "hehr" would not normally be amongst them. These refer less to the forest itself than to events occurring therein. Flint, too, introduces his tale with remarks on the "dangers of entering unknown forests, the savages, wild beasts and mosquitoes" (L, 7), describing the wild, untamed nature of the western part of the United States. Such remarks on the stories' settings, which abound in both Flint's and Sealsfield's texts, point to the problem each western writer of the pre-romantic period had to face: How could a sparsely populated country which stood only at the beginning of civilization afford tragedy? How could the West bring forth literature?

In the preface to the initial issue of his new journal whose first contribution is "The Lost Child," Flint states programmatically:

The republic of letters ought to have no bounds but the range of intellect. . . . We shall strenuously maintain the opinion, that, circumstances being the same, a man can write as well now, as he could have written in the times of Homer, or Milton; that for the development of mind, it is not necessary to court 'the nine' in Jerusalem, or Samaria, or Paris, or London, or Edinburgh, or Boston; and that wherever a vigorous intellect opens itself to the inspirations of nature, be it on the

Ohio, the Mississippi, the Red River, or even *near the borders of the Arkansas*, it will operate the same results, as it would in Boston. (WMR, 18)

These lines, apologetic and aggressive at the same time, attempt to justify western American literature. Flint demands independence from literary centers both in the Old and the New World. This same preface also transfers Thomas Jefferson's popular agrarian argument,⁴⁹ which western ideologists liked to employ in a variety of contexts to hold their own against the East, to the production of literature:

Now we are of the number, who are so simple, as to believe, that admist the freshness of our *unspoiled nature*, beneath the shade of huge sycamores of the Miami, or cooling the forehead in the breeze of the beautiful Ohio, and under the canopy of our Italian sky, other circumstances being equal, a man might write as well as in the *dark dens of a city*. (WMR, 10; italics mine.)

Flint's pointed argument implies that the western authors, who are closer to nature, are actually in a much better position to produce excellent literature than the East coast "bluestockings." While the popular authors of the day, such as Catherine Sedgwick and Lydia Child, were writing in a defined social context, the West did not have such a literary society. Therefore, the task of the western author changes radically from the depiction of society to the depiction of nature: "Our literary creed is included in one word, 'simplicity.' Our school is the contemplation, and the study of nature" (WMR, 18). Nature, of course, here means western nature and the natural environment of the western people. In this context, *The Stolen Child* and "Der Kindsräuber" gain a new level of meaning. The interpretation of the tale requires consideration of its natural setting and its close connection with the virgin territory in the West in general. The argument is one of literary emancipation and democracy: Western backwoodsmen, too, may suffer; the western wilderness, too, affords tragedy and merits literary efforts. Flint's version ends with the boy's return to his family, suggesting the greater significance of the religious dimension of his story. Sealsfield's version, on the other hand, ends in tragedy, thus reinforcing this argument. The story serves to justify the western setting of literature in general. This is also made explicit by the narrator: "Ja, die Wirklichkeit [des Westens] ist oft grausamer, als die glühendste Dichtung—schauderhafter, als die schreckenvollste Phantasie—sie malen kann" (K, 99). Thus Howard (Sealsfield) qualifies his material for literary presentation. This interpretation of the tale as specifically western in outlook brings it in line with the whole cycle, *Lebensbilder aus der westlichen Hemisphäre*.

The narrative context of the story links the western natural setting to western society. The travelers of a Mississippi steamship are engaged in conversation, when the casual mood suddenly changes into oppressive silence upon passing the small village of Hopefield:

Das Oertchen bietet wenig Interessantes dar, aber doch haften die Blicke unserer sämmtlichen Reisegesellschaft mit einer sichtbar

peinlichen Beklemmung an den Blockhütten und den weiter zurück emporstarrenden ungeheuren Cottonbäumen. (K, 100)

The sudden recollection of the kidnapping is interesting since the whole traveling party, consisting partly of very rich and distinguished planters, identifies with the fateful destiny of this family of the backwoods. The kidnapping seems to be general knowledge. Howard, who was told about the event in some detail by the mother of the kidnapped boy, Mistress Clarke (Flint: Clark), is asked to inform the steamship passengers.

Howard relates that approximately three years ago, "im Anfange Decembers im Jahre 1825 [. . . er] gleichfalls den Mississippi in der *Feliciania* [a steamship] hinabging" (K, 100). One of the wheels of the ship struck against a sawyer and forced the ship to stop in Hopefield. The decision to go hunting leads to the encounter between the passengers and the backwoods couple. The Clarkes seem in a highly agitated mood:

Das Weib stand ohne ein Wort zu sprechen; der Mann ebenfalls. Beide hatten etwas so abschreckend Störrisches, so etwas ungewöhnlich Verstocktes, als mir noch nie bei den Hinterwäldlern vorgekommen. (K, 115)

After some time, the steamship passengers, again mostly distinguished planters, can persuade the Clarkes to relate their misfortunes. Everybody is moved by Mrs. Clarke's rendition of the kidnapping and the mental anguish displayed by the couple.

Sealsfield created a double narrative frame around the actual story by introducing two audiences representative of southwestern society, and two narrators (Howard and Mrs. Clarke). This suggests that the author wanted to stress the communal feeling, the solidarity of the planter society with the backwoodsman, a theme which pervades much of Sealsfield's fiction. Considered as narrative strategy, this rendition of the story in front of two distinguished audiences enhances the significance of the tale.

Into the tale itself, Sealsfield introduced a number of conspicuous passages which suggest his concern with the character of the backwoodsman. The reader cannot fail to notice the extreme reaction of the father after he learns of the "Gräuelthat":

"Nein!" schrie er mit einem herzerreißenden Stöhnen, "wäre mein Kind mir vom Fieber zerrissen, hätte ihn ein Bär oder ein Panther zerrissen: es würde mich schmerzen, bitter schmerzen; es war mein letztes Kind. Aber, barmherziger Gott, *gestohlen!* Mein Sohn, mein armes Kind *gestohlen!*" Der Mann schrie laut, sprang auf, rannte in der Stube herum mit gerungenen Händen und wie ein Kind weinend. Selbst das Weib war nicht so schrecklich vom Schmerze ergriffen. (K, 126, italics mine.)

This emotional outburst, we might note, takes place at a time at which the father must still have hope to recover his child. Nevertheless, the death of his son due to natural causes (illness, wild animals) would have

been less painful to him than this theft! Furthermore, Clarke's uncontrolled behavior is not at all characteristic of the noble and upright posture of Sealsfield's backwoodsmen in general. Finally, it seems strange that nobody in the audience criticizes this behavior. Normally, Sealsfield's Americans are quick to censure unmanly emotions.

The statement that Mrs. Clarke was less strongly affected by this tragic event than her husband clarifies the situation somewhat. Obviously, the kidnapping affects the backwoodsman not so much as a matter of "the heart," but has a broader meaning. This assumption is reinforced by Howard, who comments on the case in a characteristic manner: "Es war ein allerdings für Frauen wichtiger Fall; aber auch jedem andern mußte die gräßliche *Sicherheits- und Eigenthumsverletzung* von unendlicher Wichtigkeit seyn" (K, 129; italics mine). While women look at this case from the parents' emotional point of view, the men must consider its political implications. The term "*Sicherheits- und Eigenthumsverletzung*" is a key to the understanding of the story. As Sealsfield proposes time and again in his fiction, inviolability of personal property and the freedom of the individual are the two most important achievements of the postfeudal society, especially in America. Kidnapping is a violation of both. The sanctity of these basic rights must be especially important to a backwoodsman such as Clarke, who lives on his small clearings in the middle of a virgin forest. He is dependent on his offspring for reproduction and maintenance of his property—without his son, the forest will reclaim his life's work.

For any man living in democratic America, the text implies, the act of kidnapping must be of truly "unendlicher Wichtigkeit." The abduction of genteel Inez in Cooper's *Prairie*, for example, merely stressed the emotional feelings of father and husband; in "Der Kindsräuber," it becomes a political act.

This is also the basic difference between Flint's and Sealsfield's interpretation of the tale. The former emphasizes the religious meaning of the story, the latter its sociopolitical implications. Sealsfield's Clarke reacts less like a father and more like a proprietor of his son. While both authors present a western tale, Sealsfield connects the western theme with the notions of personal freedom, private property, and equality. The double narrative frame emphasizes this still further: The kidnapping of backwoodsman Clarke's son concerns the whole western society, since it infringes upon basic rights of the individual for which this society stands.

Sealsfield's "Christophorus Bärenhäuter" was published by Orell und Füßli in 1834 in a volume entitled *Transatlantische Reiseskizzen und Christophorus Bärenhäuter*. As an isolated work of prose fiction, which is not part of a larger cycle of works, it was not included in the author's *Gesammelte Werke*. In the preface, Sealsfield refers with droll humor to the "Archiv von Toffelsville" which would authenticate his tale. In the end, however, Sealsfield does hint, somewhat timidly, at his true source:

Die Quellen unserer Geschichte sind daher über jeden Verdacht erhoben, und ihre Authenticität wird noch mehr durch den Umstand erhöht, da ein Extrakt von dem mehrerwähnten Archive seinen Weg, durch welche Mittel, ist uns unbekannt, in das Magazin eines westlichen Predigers, nun bedauerlichermaßen verblichen, gefunden hat. (C, 77 f.)

Without doubt, Sealsfield is referring to "Jemima O'Keefy," a tale published in the November 1827 issue of the *Western Monthly Review*. In rapid succession, Flint's tale presents the wooing and wedding of the titular heroine with the young Dutchman Jacob Barndollar, Jemima's abduction by the Indians, her five-year imprisonment in a Shawnee village, her escape and return to civilization and, finally, the disappointment at finding her husband remarried. The generic designation, "a sentimental tale," clarifies the meaning of the story as soon as one understands its parodistic character, which makes it the exact opposite of sentimental fiction.

Jemima is a young American woman of Irish descent who, unlike heroines in sentimental literature, is very strong-willed and attempts to dominate her environment:

From her childhood, she had a certain good natured perversity of defiance, united with a perseverance and inflexibility of purpose, which, in one way or another, with father and mother, with brothers and sisters at home, or at school, enabled her to carry her purpose, and to become the mistress of all, whom she chose to command. (WMR, 384)

To her parents, she appears as "Grecian commander" (384), to her husband as absolutist empress of the conjugal "empire." Jacob Barndollar, who is described as a good-natured German, soon suffers total loss of his personal autonomy. To make matters worse, he becomes the laughing-stock of the village because Jemima forces him to give her his favorite stallion, the symbol of his manly pride, while he is left with a "little Irish heifer," far too small for his long legs (WMR, 387).

At this point Jemima's insolent behavior is about to come to an end. In what seems to be a punishment for her hubris, she is abducted by the Indians. However, it appears that "her vixen spirit soon acquired the same ascendancy among the savages, that it had in her native village" (WMR, 388). When upon her successful escape she finds her husband remarried, she returns to the Indians, marries a savage and continues her reign.

Folsom calls "Jemima O'Keefy" a "burlesque of the sentimental story . . . based on the notion of the invincibility of a woman of evil temper. For Jemima is a shrew, who succeeds not only in taming Jacob but in subduing the savages."⁵⁰ In Flint's version, Jemima is indeed the central character of the plot and the only complex character who appears to be somewhat psychologically motivated. The reader will not doubt the earnestness of the narrator's remark that, in spite of her successful mastery of the Indian tribe, "her heart was at home" (WMR, 388). Before she turns her back on her village and returns to the Shawnees, she looks back at her family and sobs:

. . . but she wept, and felt abundantly more, than any heroine of the whole of them. There slept her home in the orchard. There were her children and her affections, her cows and cheeses. There was her small empire, with but one subject, whom she had in fact loved as heartily, as she had ruled sternly. (WMR, 390)

While Flint's tale thus focuses on the woman, the central character in Sealsfield's story is Christophorus Bärenhäuter (Flint's Jacob Barndollar). Apart from the changed title, the story's new focus also becomes apparent from its generic class. "Christophorus Bärenhäuter" is a prose version of the mock-heroic, in which Toffel (Christophorus) plays the role of a tragicomic hero.

Toffel, whose name speaks for itself, is, like Jacob Barndollar, a Pennsylvania German. The difference between the two Dutchmen is that, unlike Jacob, Toffel is a vicious Sealsfieldian national caricature. The introductory pages of the story set the prevailing anti-German mood by referring to the supposed inferiority of German-America compared to America proper:

Trotz des verstockten Widerstandes dieser starrköpfigen Deutschmänner einer-, und des schnellen Fortschreitens ihrer anglo- und hiberno-amerikanischen Mitbürger andererseits, leben doch die verschiedenen Parteien [in Toffelsville] in vollkommenem Einverständnis . . . (C, 83)

While Flint describes Jacob as a good-natured farmer, using Pennsylvania as a convenient local-color setting, Sealsfield describes Toffel in such negative terms as "ziemlich grobschlächtiger Geselle" (C, 91) and "ungeschickt" (C, 93). He calls him a "dickköpfiger Deutscher" (C, 94) whose English is highly deficient. In general, the impression the reader gets of Toffel is one of sluggishness and dullness.

Various details of Flint's story are changed by Sealsfield to fit its changed direction. In the course of the cornhusking frolic, Jemmy and Toffel come to sit side by side. Since both husk a red ear at the same time, they are entitled to kiss each other, according to an old custom. In Flint's version, the narrator sympathizes fully with Barndollar's reluctance to kiss the Irish "vixen":

This would have been a delightful acquisition to many of the young sparks present. But, however inviting might be her lily face and hook nose, most of them would as soon have meditated advancing their faces upon the back of a porcupine.—Jacob, too, partook of the common dread of the vixen, who charged him to keep his distance. (WMR, 385)

Only the German's "pride and manhood of the 'best man' in the village" help him to overcome his scruples (and her resistance) and to obey the old custom (WMR, 385). In Sealsfield's story, the situation is quite the opposite: Jemmy is not a vixen but a dear good-natured girl, while the German is too slow even to notice his amorous opportunity. Clearly, the satire here is directed against Toffel, rather than Jemima.

After her return from the Indians, Flint's Jacob invites Jemima to return to her former home, adding that he would divorce his second

wife. Sealsfield's Toffel, on the other hand, is unable to make such clear-cut decisions. He suggests that they should go "zum Squire . . . , und was der und der Herr Pfarrer Ledermaul sagen, das wollen wir thun Laß uns hören, was das Gesetz Gottes und des Menschen sagt" (C, 152). Sealsfield's narrator comments in the form of a generalization:

Auch darin bewies sich Toffel als ein ehrlicher, guter Deutscher, der nie selbst dachte und handelte, sondern diese Mühe der göttlichen und menschlichen Obrigkeit, wie er meinte, auf die Schultern zu laden für's Beste erachtete. (C, 152)

Proud Jemmy refuses Toffel's halfhearted suggestion. She has decided to go on living with the Indians and commands him to go back to his second wife. The narrator remarks acidly: "Einem kräftig ausgesprochenen Befehle kann ein deutsches Blut nie widerstehen, und so kehrte denn Toffel um, und ging zu seinem Weibe" (C, 154). The narrator's comments make it quite clear that Jemima's return to the Indians is a loss for Toffel whose second wife, the "guthmüthige . . . , phlegmatische . . . Dora," makes him grow still more sluggish. He needed Jemima because ". . . er war nun einmal ein Deutscher, die bekanntermaßen nie glücklicher sind, als wenn sie wie die Schafe geschoren und wie die Hunde getreten werden" (C, 151). Thus, without significant alteration of the plot, Sealsfield changes the meaning of Flint's story into its opposite. While Flint's tale is based on the well-known and rather conventional theme of the shrewish woman, Sealsfield's account interprets this weakness of Jemima as a positive value, useful to combat German sluggishness. A story criticizing human weakness in general turns into a vehicle of Sealsfieldian ideology.

Sealsfield's critical view of German-Americans is well-known and documented in a number of novels, most notably in the introductory chapters of *Morton oder die große Tour* (1834). There, Sealsfield presents two types of Germans: the enlightened Oberst Isling, veteran of the revolutionary war, who is an ideologist of Americanism, and the immigrant pauper, un-American, undemocratic and servile. In criticizing Toffel, Sealsfield criticizes this second group of un-American Germans, who still subscribe to what he regards as the German *Duckmäuser-tum*.

The change in meaning from Flint to Sealsfield is further documented by Sealsfield's detailed presentation of Jemima's life with the Indians. She civilizes the Indian tribe,

sandte ihre Kinder in die Schule der Missionaire [sic] an den Maumeefällen, wo sie zu Christen und Bürgern gebildet wurden, und sie lebt nun, das sichtbar verehrte und werktätige Oberhaupt ihrer rothen Mitbürger und Mitbürgerinnen. (C, 165)

Without irony, Sealsfield turns a comical character from Flint's burlesque into an agent of Americanization and civilization: If she cannot benefit the Germans, at least she helps the Indians.

IV

The foregoing comparison of two texts by Sealsfield with their American counterparts shows the diverse uses Sealsfield made of his

sources. In the case of "Der Kindsräuber," Sealsfield expands a sketch by Flint. As the first contribution to the *Western Magazine and Review*, the sketch served to demonstrate that there is a place for the West in American literature. Sealsfield preserves its character as a western tale but goes beyond Flint by incorporating a sociopolitical level of meaning into the story. As always in Sealsfield's fiction, the character of the backwoodsman is of central significance, emphasizing the rights of the individual to personal freedom and private property.

In the case of "Christophorus Bärenhäuter," Sealsfield changed Flint's tale in a characteristic fashion. While Flint was interested in the shrew as a central character and, to a certain degree, wanted to parody sentimental fiction by making a shrewish woman a sentimental heroine, Sealsfield focused on the sluggish German and thereby transformed the sentimental tale into an ethnic satire with political overtones.

Sealsfield's borrowings from Flint prove his proximity to this early American writer. While there is a significant difference in style between the two writers, caused by the fact that Sealsfield chose not to imitate Flint's ministerial rhetoric, he did fully endorse the use of the western theme and local color in Flint's literary production.

Flint was thus both source and inspiration for Charles Sealsfield. As shown in the second section of this essay, a number of important novels by Sealsfield carry Flint's imprint. In addition, one must acknowledge the influence of Flint's nonfictional works on Sealsfield's writing. Sealsfield himself makes mention of the *Condensed Geography and History of the Western States, or the Mississippi Valley* (Cincinnati, 1828). This book, as well as the *Recollections of the Last Ten Years, Passed in Occasional Residences and Journeyings in the Valley of the Mississippi* (Boston, 1826), a more personal account, are important, in that they provide their readers with a sense of the future significance of the Mississippi region. These works furnished Sealsfield a sense of optimism about the American West and its inhabitants, echoed by such western characters as Squire Copeland in *Der Legitime* and Nathan Strong.

The backwoodsman of the west as I have seen him [says Flint in the *Recollections*], is generally an amiable and virtuous man. His general motive for coming here is to be a freeholder, to have plenty of rich land and to be able to settle his children about him. It is a most virtuous man.⁵¹

This new, positive treatment of the western man who, in Flint's view, had been spurned so far by East-coast writers, is characteristic of both authors' fiction. The understanding of the fictional use of the backwoodsman and his meaning in such works as *Memoir of Daniel Boone* are essential for the understanding of works like *Nathan, der Squatter-Regulator* or texts such as "Der Kindsräuber." If this context is disregarded, Nathan and Clark are merely lonely settlers in the wilderness of the American forest—and nothing more.

Value judgments are always difficult, particularly in the history of early American literature, where so much of fiction was "in the

making" and in a sense experimental. Possibly they are unnecessary. Both writers are little known today, both deserve more attention by students of American literature. Because of its strong didactic, religious flavor, much of Flint's fiction seems awkward to the modern reader; one still senses the guilt the New Englander must have felt when writing his first novel. Sealsfield feels more self-confident as a writer of fiction. Maybe his prose is therefore more accessible to the modern reader. In that sense, one might prefer Sealsfield over Flint. In a thematic tradition of American literature, Sealsfield might be placed between pioneering Timothy Flint on one hand and William Gilmore Simms and Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, who were both influenced by Sealsfield, on the other. But there are many other early American authors whose relationship with Sealsfield will have to be investigated before one can draw adequate conclusions about Sealsfield's place in American literature. In doing so, it will be important to show not only that relationships exist, but also how they express themselves in fiction. The efforts of the literary historian will have to coincide with the work of the interpreter. This essay, which seeks to show how Flint's works influenced Sealsfield, can only be a small beginning.

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Notes

¹ The standard work on this period in German literature, Friedrich Sengle's *Biedermeierzeit*, 3 vols. (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1971-1980), includes Sealsfield but does not consider the American literary context.

² See Karl W. Doerry, "Three Versions of America: Sealsfield, Gerstäcker, and May," *Yearbook of German-American Studies*, 16 (1981), 39-49.

³ William Paul Dallmann, *The Spirit of America as Interpreted in the Works of Charles Sealsfield*, Diss. St. Louis 1935 (St. Louis, 1935).

⁴ Alfons Kozeluh, "Charles Sealsfield und James Fenimore Cooper," Diss. Wien 1949, is merely a paraphrase of individual works and in no way a comparative study of two writers.

⁵ John Krumpelmann, Preface, *The Indian Chief or, Tokeah and the White Rose* by Charles Sealsfield, Vol. IV of *Sämtliche Werke*, ed. Karl J. R. Arndt (Hildesheim, New York: Olms, 1972), pp. xiv f. Subsequent references will be to this edition.

⁶ Anon., "Tokeah—or the White Rose," *Philadelphia Saturday Evening Post*, 14 Feb. 1829, p. 3. I am indebted to Mr. Nolan E. Smith of New Haven, CT, for the discovery of this review.

⁷ Krumpelmann, p. xvii.

⁸ In the course of this *Realismusstreit*, Willey accused Sealsfield of an untrue presentation of the Southwest and Mexico in his novels. Arndt defended Sealsfield by demonstrating the narrowness of Willey's *Realismusbegriff*. See among others Norman L. Willey, "Charles Sealsfield as a Realist," *Monatshefte*, 34 (1942), 295-306 and Karl J. R. Arndt, "Sealsfield's Claim to Realism," *Monatshefte*, 35 (1943), 271-85.

⁹ Sealsfield, *Sämtliche Werke*, VI, Pt. 1, 7.

¹⁰ Henry Nash Smith, *Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth* (Cambridge, 1950), pp. 82 f.

¹¹ For the main part Winchester's translations, published in New York City in 1844.

¹² Lyle H. Wright, *American Fiction. 1774-1850: A Contribution Toward a Bibliography*, 2nd ed. (San Marino, CA: Huntington Library, 1969).

¹³ See John Erwin Kirkpatrick, *Timothy Flint: Pioneer, Missionary, Author, Editor* (Cleveland: Clark, 1911) and Eduard Castle, *Der große Unbekannte: Das Leben von Charles Sealsfield (Karl Postl)* (Wien, München: Manutius, 1952).

¹⁴ See Castle, pp. 265 f.

¹⁵ C. Sidons [i.e., Charles Sealsfield], *Die Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika nach ihrem politischen, religiösen und gesellschaftlichen Verhältnisse betrachtet, Sämtliche Werke*, I, Pt. 2, 235.

¹⁶ Sealsfield, *Der Legitime*, p. 8.

¹⁷ See Castle, pp. 295 f.

¹⁸ [Charles Sealsfield], *Transatlantische Reiseskizzen und Christophorus Bärenhäuter. Vom Verfasser des Legitimen und der Republikaner* Zürich: Orell und Füßli, 1834), p. 78. This volume is not yet part of the *Sämtliche Werke*. Future references will be to this text and will be indicated parenthetically after each quotation. The letter "C" will serve to identify this text, followed by the page number.

¹⁹ See Timothy Flint's "Editor's Address," *Western Magazine and Review*, May 1827. Reprinted in and quoted from the edition published by E. H. Flint in 1828 in Cincinnati. Future references will be to this text and will be indicated parenthetically after each quotation. The letters "WMR" will serve to identify this text, followed by the page number. "The Lost Child" takes in pp. 20-23; "Jemima O'Keefy—A Sentimental Tale" pp. 384-93. For Sealsfield's view of American drawing-room literature, see chapter one of *George Howard's Esq. Brautfahrt (Sämtliche Werke, XI)*, among others.

²⁰ Timothy Flint, *Francis Berrian, or The Mexican Patriot* (Boston: Cummings, Hilliard, 1826), Part 1, p. 23.

²¹ Flint, *Francis Berrian*, Part 1, p. 32.

²² Krumpelmann suggests that Sealsfield "has drawn abundant inspiration" from *Francis Berrian* when writing *Tokeah* (p. xii).

²³ Thomas W. Streeter, *Bibliography of Texas. 1795-1845. Part III. United States and European Imprints Relating to Texas* (Cambridge, 1960), pp. xiv f.

²⁴ Streeter, pp. xiv f.

²⁵ Alexander Cowie, *The Rise of the American Novel* (New York et al.: American Book Co., 1948), p. 215.

²⁶ Sealsfield, *Der Virey und die Aristokraten oder Mexiko im Jahr 1812*, in *Sämtliche Werke*, VIII, Pt. 1, 13.

²⁷ Timothy Flint, *George Mason, the Young Backwoodsman; or 'Don't Give Up the Ship'* (Boston: Hilliard et al., 1829), p. 4.

²⁸ Flint, *George Mason*, p. 5.

²⁹ Charles Sealsfield, "Letter to Brockhaus," 21 June 1854, from Saratoga, New York, in *Der große Unbekannte. Das Leben von Charles Sealsfield (Karl Postl). Briefe und Aktenstücke*, ed. Eduard Castle (Wien: Werner, 1955), p. 291.

³⁰ Timothy Flint, *Biographical Memoir of Daniel Boone*, ed. James K. Folsom (New Haven, 1967), p. 171.

³¹ Flint, *Boone*, p. 172.

³² Flint, *Boone*, p. 74.

³³ Flint, *Boone*, p. 128.

³⁴ Flint, *Boone*, p. 174.

³⁵ See Sealsfield, *Nathan, der Squatter-Regulator*, in *Sämtliche Werke*, XV, 397.

³⁶ Sealsfield, *Nathan*, p. 397.

³⁷ Sealsfield, *Nathan*, p. 399.

³⁸ Boone is said to be "strangely endowed with that peculiar character which fitted them [pioneers and first settlers] for time, place, and achievements." (Flint, *Boone*, p. 130.)

³⁹ James Fenimore Cooper, *The Prairie* (New York, London: Putnam, n.d.), p. v.

⁴⁰ Otto Heller, "Some Sources of Sealsfield," *Modern Language Notes*, 7 (1909/10), 588 ff.

⁴¹ Sealsfield, *George Howard's Esq. Brautfahrt*, in *Sämtliche Werke*, XI, 139. Future references will be to this text and will be indicated parenthetically after each quotation. The letter "K" will serve to identify this text, followed by the page number.

⁴² See note 19.

⁴³ See John A. Hamilton, "Timothy Flint's 'Lost Novel,'" *American Literature*, 22 (1950), 54-56, and James K. Folsom, *Timothy Flint* (New York: Twayne, 1965), p. 133.

⁴⁴ See K. J. R. Arndt, "Einleitung," to *George Howard's Esq. Brautfahrt*, in *Sämtliche Werke*, XI, v f. Also John T. Krumpelmann, "Sealsfield and Sources," *Monatshefte*, 43 (1951), 324.

⁴⁵ In view of Sealsfield's repeated "borrowings" from other authors, it is interesting to note that he himself described the copyright as "heilige Eigenthumsrechte." ("Vorwort zur gesammelten Ausgabe der Werke des 'Legitimen und der Republikaner' &c.," *Sämtliche Werke*, I, v.)

⁴⁶ Timothy Flint, *The Lost Child* (Boston: Carter et al., 1830). Future references will be to this text and will be indicated parenthetically after each quotation. The letter "L" will serve to identify this text, followed by the page number.

⁴⁷ Folsom, *Flint*, p. 133.

⁴⁸ Folsom, *Flint*, pp. 135 f.

⁴⁹ The preference of life in the country over urban life was one of the most popular and widely known aspects of "Jeffersonianism."

⁵⁰ Folsom, *Flint*, p. 71.

⁵¹ Timothy Flint, *Recollections of the Last Ten Years, Passed in Occasional Residences and Journeyings in the Valley of the Mississippi* (Boston, 1826), p. 176.