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Ernst Anton Zündt and the German-American Theater

With the exception of a few outstanding figures such as Charles Sealsfield, it must be conceded that the majority of German-American writers of the last century clearly belong within the realm of trivial literature. Many were journalists for whom literature was a sideline, while others were literary amateurs whose writing was never a means of financial support. If one attempts to pursue research on such writers, one is bound to meet with certain difficulties. For one thing, there is the problem of assembling the most rudimentary information, such as a complete and accurate list of an author's works. Then it seems one must justify this type of research against the objections of those who either see no point in studying the works of trivial authors or who feel that the pursuit of basic information about a writer's works is not a matter which should concern serious literary scholarship. By way of stating my own position on these questions, let me first of all say that I believe there are many reasons why we should carry forward research on trivial writers of the last century. I furthermore believe that where basic information on the works of such writers is lacking, the dissemination of such information should be a priority objective. This sort of preparatory research is, in fact, almost a necessary precondition for other types of literary scholarship, such as the detailed analysis of particular literary works or their interpretation within the context of the literary milieu from which they emerged.

Ernst Anton Zündt (1819-1897) provides a case in point. Although a good deal has been published about him, previous research has dealt mainly with the external circumstances of his life and career.¹ Though his works have often been enumerated, there has been little attempt to discuss any of them at length. Thus, there is both a lack of basic information about the works themselves and a clear necessity to carry research a step further by providing some analysis and critical evaluation of these works.

Zündt is known principally as a poet, probably his best-known work being his *Lincoln-Hymne*. He was also, however, a playwright and a

prolific translator of plays. Although many of these plays have been lost, a number of others are available for study.²

The present article seeks to focus attention on Zündt's works for the stage and on his relation to the German-American theater. For some reason, discussions of Zündt's plays have never taken proper account of the fact that they were mostly translations or adaptations from works by other authors, though this fact would seem to be of central importance. Certainly, little attention has been given to the comparison of Zündt's translations with the original plays on which they were based. In similar fashion, the whole question of Zündt's relation to the German-American theater of his day has remained largely unexplored. While the present article cannot hope to fill this void, it does attempt to add to our knowledge of Zündt's career as a playwright and as a man of the theater.

Zündt was born near Mindelheim, Bavaria, on 12 January 1819. The titled descendant of an aristocratic family, he received a solid classical education at a *Gymnasium* in Munich and later studied philosophy and law at the University of Munich. During the political unrest of 1848, Zündt took a liberal but not radical position. In 1849 he married Johanna Altmann, to whom several of his earliest poems had been dedicated. Estrangement from his aristocratic relatives appears to have been one of the circumstances which contributed to his decision to emigrate to America with his wife and two sons. After his arrival in the United States, Zündt lived briefly in New York and in Green Bay, Wisconsin, before moving to Milwaukee. He lived in Milwaukee from 1858 to 1864, supporting himself mainly by journalism and by teaching in the public schools. From 1864 to 1868 he lived in St. Louis, where he worked on the staff of the *Westliche Post*. From 1868 to 1876 he lived in Jefferson City, Missouri, where he taught German in the public schools. From 1876 until 1882 he was again in St. Louis, this time supporting himself as an employee of the city. Toward the end of his life, Zündt again turned to journalism and was associated with newspapers in Minneapolis and Milwaukee. He later retired to Jefferson City, where he died on 1 May 1897.

Zündt lived at a time when German-language theatrical performances had already been established on a regular basis in a number of American cities. These performances were of two types. On the one hand, there were the permanent theaters with professional actors. On the other hand, there were a significant number of amateur groups which regularly staged German-language performances.

There were important differences between the professional and non-professional stage. For one thing, the non-professional stage was generally more receptive to works by German-American authors.³ It is thus not surprising that some of Zündt's plays appear to have been performed by amateur casts. His short dramatic prologue *Columbia am Rhein* was probably performed by members of the *Turnerbund* and his fairy-tale play *Dornröschen* was performed by a cast consisting mainly of

schoolchildren. On the other hand, several of Zündt's plays appear to have been performed by professional casts. These include *Das Eismeer*, *Im Olymp*, and probably also *Flitterwochen*.

The repertoire of the professional German-language theaters in Zündt's day was very similar to that offered by municipal theaters in Germany during the period. Popular plays by such authors as Nestroy and Birch-Pfeiffer dominated the bill, though there were also fairly frequent performances of more serious works, Schiller's plays being particularly popular. The uncritical middle-class audiences who patronized these performances were for the most part people who, in an age before movies and television, looked to the theater for light entertainment.

The amateur productions, on the other hand, were often patronized by audiences who shared a sense of political or social commitment with the playwrights and performers. These productions were typically staged by groups within some larger organization, such as the *Turnerbund* or the Socialist Party. Performances by amateur groups were often held at the meeting hall of the sponsoring organization, though sometimes a larger hall was hired for the occasion. As examples, one may mention the amateur productions of plays by Wilhelm Otto Soubron and Friedrich Katzer, two German-American playwrights in Milwaukee. Soubron was a Socialist, a member of the *Turnerbund*, and the speaker for a free-thought congregation. His plays, such as *Ein Kommunarde* (1881), were all staged for audiences who presumably shared his political outlook. Katzer, on the other hand, was a Catholic priest with militantly conservative views who later became archbishop of Milwaukee. Katzer's tendentious play, *Der Kampf der Gegenwart*, was performed in 1872 by students of the St. Francis Seminary and was published in Milwaukee the following year.

When Zündt arrived in Milwaukee in 1858 the city already had a well-established professional stage, the *Stadttheater*. This theater, which was operated by Heinrich Kurz, was originally located in Market Hall, not far from the present Pabst Theater. It was later moved to a new location in the Birchard Block in September 1863, a year before Zündt left Milwaukee. During this period, German theatrical performances were also sometimes held at Albany Hall and at the Academy of Music. Following the Civil War there were several German-American playwrights in Milwaukee, including Mathilde Franziska Anneke, Emil Knotser, and Julius Gugler.

While in Milwaukee, Zündt served for one season as stage manager of the *Stadttheater*.⁴ During this period he also collaborated with Willibald Winckler in the publication of the *Milwaukee Theater-Kalender* (1864), a short-lived annual containing contributions by several writers, including the editors. This work is a valuable source of information on the German stage in Milwaukee during this period. Winckler, whose amazing career includes periods of residence in Egypt and Mexico, was the author of several plays, at least one of which *Maximilian I. letzte Tage* was performed in Milwaukee on 1 March 1868.⁵

When Zündt came to St. Louis in 1863, the dominant figure in the local German-American theatrical scene was Heinrich Börnstein, who had settled in St. Louis in 1849 and had been active as a director, playwright, and actor in productions which were staged at the St. Louis Opera House between 1853 and 1861. Performances were later put on at the Apollo Theater until its destruction by fire in 1866. How well Zündt knew Börnstein is problematical, as Börnstein had returned to Germany by 1865, two years after Zündt's arrival in St. Louis. Other German-American playwrights in St. Louis at this time were Friedrich Schnake, John Hartmann, John Gabriel Woerner, and Charles Gildehaus. Schnake, like Zündt, was apparently involved in the *Turnerbund*, for he had served during the Civil War in a company recruited from members of this organization.⁶ One local theatrical personality with whom Zündt was definitely acquainted was Louis Pelosi, who directed the German-language theater in St. Louis from 1872 until 1879. Pelosi directed Zündt's short dramatic prologue *Im Olymp* when it was performed at the Olympic Theater in St. Louis in 1873.

Most of Zündt's plays were written in St. Louis; only two plays, *Flitterwochen* and *Das Eismeer*, date from the period when he was living in Milwaukee. The dramas *Jugurtha* and *Lukretia*, as well as the original version of *Die Gensenjäger*, were written in Munich before Zündt's emigration to the United States. Six of Zündt's plays were written during the years when he was living in Jefferson City: *Yaramatha*, *Des Künstlers Traum*, *Rücksichten*, *Im Olymp*, *Galilei*, and *Die Eisfee*.

At least four full-length plays by Zündt are definitely known to have been performed, two in Milwaukee and two in St. Louis.⁷ While his major work, the play *Jugurtha*, appeared in two printed editions, there is no evidence that the play was ever performed. This must have been a disappointment to Zündt, who probably blamed the prevailing public apathy toward serious dramatic works. What Zündt thought of contemporary German-American theater audiences is clearly revealed in the following passage from *Im Olymp*:

Wir spielen hier vor allem die Blasierten,
Wir tadeln flüchtig, was wir nie studierten,
Und was die guten Musen klassisch nennen,
Das findet hier wohl kaum ein Anerkennen,
Man will auch hier nur unterhalten sein
Und scheut unnöt'gen Denkens schwere Pein.⁸

Zündt's works for the stage include two original dramas, some short dramatic prologues, and a number of translations. Of the two original works for the stage, the play *Jugurtha* merits particular attention. It is an ambitiously conceived verse drama in five acts which Zündt wrote shortly before coming to America. Zündt's source for *Jugurtha* was the Roman historian Sallust. From Sallust's *Jugurthine Wars* Zündt took the story of the North African prince who rose to power through bribery and assassination, but was eventually defeated and imprisoned by the Romans. In his treatment of this material, Zündt adheres closely to his source, as one is reminded by the frequent footnotes with such

statements as "streng historisch" or "nach Sallusts Bericht." In the form which Zündt gave to this material, however, it is apparent that Schiller and Shakespeare furnished the models which he sought to emulate. Schiller's influence is perhaps a bit too obvious in the scene in which one of the characters dies with the words "Seid einig, einig, einig!"—the well-known dying words of Attinghausen in Schiller's *Wilhelm Tell*. Similarly, Zündt apparently had Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* in mind when he decided to have Jugurtha address the assembled Romans with the phrase "leiht mir freundlich euer Ohr."⁹

Jugurtha bears testimony both to Zündt's solid classical education and to his undeniable poetic talent. Judged as a work of literature, however, it is difficult to see much more in the play than a technically competent but unexciting epigonic work. Possibly it is Zündt's detachment which deprives this play of dramatic force, for while any of Schiller's plays is enlivened by the intensity of the author's personal commitment, the absence of such qualities in *Jugurtha* imparts a certain blandness to the work.

Zündt's other major original work is *Die Gemsenjäger*, a romantic drama in two acts. Zündt originally wrote the play in Bavarian dialect and published it as *Die Gambsenjaga* in Munich in 1855. A revised version of the play, now titled *Die Gemsenjäger*, was published in St. Louis in 1879.¹⁰ The play is set in the 1830s, at a time shortly after Maximilian II of Bavaria, who was then still the crown prince, had renovated the castle ruin of Hohenschwangau. The play, which is set in the vicinity of the castle, is about two brothers who both want to marry the same girl. Since she cannot make a choice between them, it is agreed that she will marry whichever of the brothers is the first to return from the hunt with a chamois. When the hunt takes place, one of the brothers mysteriously fails to return. A year later he is finally found, his frozen body in a hidden cave high in the Alpine heights. In his pocket is a note to his brother: "God has decided between us, but differently than we thought." The girl and the surviving brother now feel free to marry.

Despite the optimistic theme of youthful love triumphing in the end, there is something disturbing about the retrieval of the year-old corpse, even though we are assured that the body is in no way disfigured and has been well preserved in the cold. One wonders if it was essential to have the body carried onto the stage, where it lies under a blanket during much of the second act. One is also disturbed by the incongruous contrast between the solemnity which surrounds the retrieval of the body and the unconcealed joy of the girl, who is delighted because the discovery removes an obstacle to her marriage.

Zündt's original works for the stage also include an undetermined number of short dramatic prologues. Two of these, *Im Olymp* (1874) and *Columbia am Rhein* (1880) have survived. The former piece was written for the commencement of German performances at the Olympic Theater in St. Louis. It is mainly written in iambic pentameter, though for one speech Zündt preferred the more lyric trochaic tetrameter. The scene is set on Mount Olympus, where the gods are satirically portrayed in the tradition of Kleist's *Amphitryon* (1807). Zeus is seen as bored by

perpetual idleness and somewhat irked by humanity, while Hera, his consort, alludes sarcastically to his amorous escapades. Ganymede is presented as a grumbling servant, while Artemis has the character of a prim old maid.

Columbia am Rhein was originally written to be performed at a benefit for victims of a Rhine flood. The principal figures in this short dramatic piece in verse are a family of German flood victims near Worms. The Rhine and Columbia, i.e., the United States, appear as allegorical figures.

Among Zündt's many translations of works for the stage, the earliest is *Lukretia* (1843), a translation of the verse drama *Lucrèce* of François Ponsard (1814-1867).¹¹ Zündt's version is a fairly close rendering of the French original. The play recounts the Roman legend of how the rape of Lucretia by Sextus, the son of Tarquinius Superbus, led to a general insurrection against the Tarquins and their expulsion from Rome. Perhaps the most noteworthy aspect of the play is the manner in which it appears to reflect Ponsard's republican and revolutionary tendencies.

In 1870 Zündt translated *Galilée*, another verse drama by Ponsard.¹² In both of these translations, Zündt substituted unrimed iambic pentameter for Ponsard's alexandrines.

Rienzi (1867) is a metrical translation of a five-act tragedy in verse by Mary Russell Mitford. Mitford's play antedates both the novel on the same theme by Edward Bulwer-Lytton and the opera by Wagner which is based on Bulwer-Lytton's novel.¹³ The play deals with the familiar story of Cola di Rienzi, the fourteenth-century Italian revolutionary who began his career as a political reformer but soon became a ruthless despot. Mitford's *Rienzi* is presented as a fanatic idealist whose somber and uncompromising nature is his ultimate undoing. Her portrait of Rienzi is considerably less idealized than the picture presented either by Bulwer-Lytton or by Wagner.

The three dramas *Lukretia*, *Galilei*, and *Rienzi* all possess as a central theme the struggle for freedom against oppression. This fact sheds some light on Zündt's political sentiments, since it was he who chose these particular dramas to translate. Both *Lukretia* and *Rienzi* are concerned with successful uprisings against tyrannical governments and both plays are replete with fiery revolutionary speeches and excited revolutionary crowds. In *Galilei*, however, the central theme is not violent revolution, but rather the defense of intellectual freedom against clerical oppression. This was a theme calculated to appeal to Zündt, who was deeply involved in the *Turnerbund*, a movement with strongly libertarian and anticlerical tendencies.¹⁴ While all three plays reveal Zündt to be a crusader for political and intellectual freedom, none of the plays could be characterized as being so political as to lose sight of literary values.

Galilei, like Bertolt Brecht's more recent treatment of the same subject, is also a play about a moral dilemma. For Galileo, the way of truth and principle is a lonely path, since he is urged by everyone to act against his conscience. Taddeo, the suitor of Galileo's daughter, seeks to convince him that the world will be little affected by whether or not his teachings become known or accepted. The inquisitors, however, are

convinced otherwise, for they recognize that to undermine the testimony of the scriptures will also undermine the authority of the church.

Zündt's translations of stage works include two fairy tale plays, *Dornröschen* (1877) and *Aschenbrödel* (1878). *Dornröschen* was translated from an undisclosed English source. The burlesque manner of the play suggests that *Dornröschen*, like the play *Aschenbrödel*, was adapted from a British "pantomime," a type of comic play for children traditionally performed in Britain during the Christmas season. A number of details in the play point to the fact that the plot does not derive from the *Dornröschen* of the Grimm brothers, but rather from the version of the story most frequently found in English, the *Sleeping Beauty* of Perrault.¹⁵ *Aschenbrödel* is a free translation of *Cinderella*, a play by the British author Henry James Byron (1835-1884).¹⁶ Like *Dornröschen*, *Aschenbrödel* is mainly written in rimed iambic pentameter, though in both plays other meters are freely used. *Aschenbrödel* is a burlesque rendering of the familiar tale of Cinderella, again deriving from the Perrault version of the story rather than from the version given by the Grimm brothers.

In a similar tradition is *Die Eisfee oder die gefrorene Hand* (1874), a translation of *The Ice Witch; or, the Frozen Hand*, an Easter pantomime by the English actor and playwright John Baldwin Buckstone (1802-1879).¹⁷ Zündt's version, like the original, is mainly written in prose, though the play includes several songs. The story is about the Norwegian pirate chieftain, Harold, who is shipwrecked in the far North and is lured by Druda, the beautiful Ice Witch, to her court. Druda wishes to marry Harold, but when he becomes restless and wants to return home she places a curse on him. Henceforth his left hand is frozen in such a way that anyone touched by it will instantly die. Harold returns to Norway, but Druda's curse prevents him from leading a happy or ordinary existence. Ultimately the sun god Freyer restores Harold's hand and banishing the Ice Witch forever to her polar realm. Despite the serious mood which lies at the core of this fantasy, the play is realized as a comedy in the tradition of pantomime burlesque. Much of the play's farcical humor is provided by the character Snoro, Harold's comic squire.

Less than half of Zündt's dramatic works were ever published and none of his unpublished works has survived to the present. It is, however, possible to form some impression of what a number of the unpublished plays were like, since many were translations or stage adaptations from some known source.¹⁸

Taking Zündt's unpublished plays chronologically, the earliest is *Flitterwochen* (1860), a metrical translation of *The Honeymoon*, a comedy in blank verse by the English actor-playwright John Tobin (1770-1804).¹⁹ Zündt was living in Milwaukee at the time he translated *The Honeymoon* and there was a performance of Zündt's German version at Albany Hall in Milwaukee on 9 December 1861.²⁰ Tobin's play is set in Spain and has a plot reminiscent of Shakespeare's *Taming of the Shrew*.²¹ *Das Eismeer* (1865) is a romantic drama in five acts. The play was performed several times in Milwaukee in 1865 and 1871.²² *Elisabeth* (1866) is a translation of *Elisabetta, Regina d'Inghilterra* (1853), a tragedy in five acts by Paolo

Giacometti (1816-1882). *Yaramatha* (1869) is a drama in two acts based on an unspecified prose work by James Fenimore Cooper.²³ *Des Künstlers Traum* (1869) was described by Zündt as a *Lebensbild* 'sketch' in five acts, while *Rücksichten* (1871) was a three-act comedy.²⁴ *Mazeppa* (1877) was a drama in three acts presumably based on Byron's narrative poem *Mazeppa* (1819). *Jolanthe, König Renés Tochter* (1878) is a translation of *Kong Renés Datter* (1845), a one-act play by the Danish dramatist Henrik Hertz (1797-1870). The story is about a blind princess in the south of France and has nothing to do with Gilbert and Sullivan's *Jolanthe* (1882). There are, however, some curious resemblances between the plot of Hertz' drama and that of André Gide's story "La Symphonie pastorale" (1919). *Die drei Musketiere* (1879) is a three-act drama presumably based on the well-known novel by Alexandre Dumas, while *Das Herz von Midlothian* (1880) derives from Walter Scott's historical novel *The Heart of Midlothian* (1818). Zündt's unpublished works also include a number of short dramatic prologues, including *Am Neujahr 1882*, *Geisterspuk*, and *Lasst uns Frieden haben*.

In attempting to reach an overall assessment of Zündt as a dramatic writer, one is forced to give particular attention to the plays *Jugurtha* and *Die Gemenjäger*, the only full-length plays by Zündt which were completely original works. *Jugurtha* transcends the realm of the trivial and despite obvious defects should probably be conceded a place as one of the more important plays by a nineteenth-century German-American author. *Die Gemenjäger*, on the other hand, turns out to be a not entirely successful piece of popular entertainment.

As a translator, Zündt's efforts were sometimes defeated by the trivial material with which he worked. When he worked from more serious originals, however, he proved to be a competent craftsman. His translation of Ponsard's *Galilée* is still a readable and performable work, and is perhaps Zündt's most felicitous dramatic effort. His version of Mitford's *Rienzi* is likewise a skillfully accomplished piece of work which retains interest today. Despite his shortcomings, Zündt was a significant figure among German-American poets of the Victorian era and his contributions to the theater merit more critical attention than they have heretofore received.

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Notes

¹ The following are the most important sources on Zündt's life and works: Franz Brümmer, *Lexikon der deutschen Dichter und Prosaisten vom Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts bis zur Gegenwart*, 6th ed. (Leipzig, 1913), VIII, 117; "Ernst Anton Zündt" [obituary article], *Amerikanische Turnzeitung* [Milwaukee, Wisconsin], 9 May 1897, p. 1; Ludwig Fränkel, "Ernst Anton Zündt," *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* (Munich, 1875-1912), XLV, 486-89; Wilhelm Hense-Jensen, *Wisconsin's Deutsch-Amerikaner bis zum Schluss des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*, I (Milwaukee, 1900), 150; Wilhelm Hense-Jensen and Ernest Bruncken, *Wisconsin's Deutsch-Amerikaner bis zum Schluß des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*, II (Milwaukee, 1902), 13; Heinrich Metzner, "Ernst Anton Zündt," *Jahrbücher der deutsch-amerikanischen*

Turnerei, 3 (1894), 176-77; Walter Osten [pseudonym of Theodore Mueller], "Ernst Anton Zündt," *The Milwaukee Turner*, 4, No. 4 (April 1943), 1-3; *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography* (Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1967), XI, 371; Otto Soubbron, "William Otto Soubbron Recalls Notable Works by Wisconsin's German Poets," *The Milwaukee Sentinel* [Milwaukee, Wisconsin], 10 May 1903, Sec. 5, p. 11; Robert E. Ward, "Ernst Anton Zündt: Profile of a German Writer in the Midwest," in *German-American Literature*, ed. Don Heinrich Tolzmann (Metuchen, New Jersey, 1977), pp. 212-15; Gustav Adolf Zimmermann, *Deutsch in Amerika. Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutsch-amerikanischen Literatur* (Chicago, 1894), pp. 121-27.

² Two of Zündt's published plays, *Lukretia* (1843) and the dialect play *Die Gamsenjaga* (1855), were published in Munich before Zündt emigrated to the United States. The plays *Jugurtha*, *Rienzi*, and *Galilei* were published in the volume *Lyrische und dramatische Dichtungen* (St. Louis, 1871). Five plays (*Dornröschen*, *Anschenbrödel*, *Die Eisfee*, *Im Olymp*, and *Die Gamsenjäger*) appear in his *Dramatische und lyrische Dichtungen* (St. Louis, 1879). *Die Gamsenjäger* is a revision of *Die Gamsenjaga* in which the Bavarian dialect of the original has been replaced by a language more easily understandable to general audiences. The dramatic prologue *Columbia am Rhein* appeared in *Ebbe und Flut* (Milwaukee, 1894), a volume which also contains a second publication of the drama *Jugurtha*.

³ Many German-American writers of the nineteenth century wrote plays, most often historical dramas or local-color pieces with an American setting. The following selective list of such writers excludes the names of playwrights who are mentioned elsewhere in the present article: Geza Berger, Gustav Böhm, Caspar Butz, Emil Dietzsch, Karl Dilthey, Friedrich H. Ernst, Christian Esselen, Adolf Hachtmann, Karl Heinzen, Ernst Heinrich, Georg Hermann, Georg Hess, Bernard J. Hoffacker, Joseph Kurz, Ernst J. Löwenthal, Karl Lorenz, Samuel Ludwig, Heinrich Merker, Karl E. Moelling, Wilhelm Müller, Viktor Precht, Friedrich Rauser, Fernando Richter ("Edna Fern"), William Ludwig Rosenberg, Hugo Schlag, Richard Schlagintweit, Carl Heinrich Schnauffer, Emil Schneider, Reinhold Solger, Friedrich Strubberg, Marie Rickmeyer ("C. Winter"), Robert Theim, Ludwig August Wollenweber, and Philipp Zapf.

⁴ Wilhelm Hense-Jensen (1900), p. 150.

⁵ John C. Andressohn, "Die literarische Geschichte des Milwaukeeer deutschen Bühnenwesens, 1850-1911," *German-American Annals*, 15 (1912), 14, 65-88, 150-70.

⁶ Max Heinrici ed., *Das Buch der Deutschen in Amerika* (Philadelphia, 1909), pp. 459-60.

⁷ *Flitterwochen* was performed in Milwaukee in 1861 (*Milwaukee Sentinel*, 7 December 1861, p. 1). *Das Eismeer* was performed several times in Milwaukee in 1869 and 1871 (Lulu Bredlow, "A History of the German Theater in Milwaukee, 1850-1935," M.A. Thesis Northwestern University 1936, p. 109, p. 115; Norman James Kaiser, "A History of the German Theater of Milwaukee from 1850 to 1890," M.S. Thesis Wisconsin 1954, p. 115). *Die Gamsenjäger* and *Dornröschen* were apparently both performed in St. Louis, as Zündt's *Dramatische und lyrische Dichtungen* contains cast photographs of both plays taken by a St. Louis photographer.

⁸ *Dramatische und lyrische Dichtungen*, p. 55.

⁹ Act II, Sc. I (*Lyrische und dramatische Dichtungen*, p. 354).

¹⁰ The revised version appeared as part of Zündt's *Dramatische und lyrische Dichtungen* (St. Louis, 1879). The New York Public Library has an undated copy of *Die Gamsenjäger* in which the date 1853 has been written in on the title page. Actually, this copy appears to be nothing more than an offprint of the 1879 version to which the date 1853 has been erroneously added.

¹¹ François Ponsard, *Lucrèce* (Paris, 1843).

¹² François Ponsard, *Galilée; drame en trois actes, en vers* (Paris, 1867).

¹³ Mary Russell Mitford, *Rienzi. A Tragedy in Five Acts* (London, 1828); Edward Bulwer-Lytton, *Rienzi, or the Last of the Tribunes* (1835); Richard Wagner, *Rienzi, der letzte der Tribunen* (1842).

¹⁴ Zündt's involvement in the Turner movement has recently received attention in Horst Ueberhorst, *Turner unterm Sternenbanner. Der Kampf der deutsch-amerikanischen Turner für Einheit, Freiheit und soziale Gerechtigkeit 1848 bis 1918* (Munich, 1978).

¹⁵ Charles Perrault, *Histoires ou contes de temps passé* (Paris, 1697). For information on English versions of the tale deriving from Perrault, see Iona and Peter Opie, *The Classic Fairy Tales* (London, 1974).

¹⁶ Henry James Byron, *Cinderella; or, The Lover, the Lackey and the Little Glass Slipper. A Fairy Tale Burlesque Extravaganza* (London, 1861). Henry Byron was a prolific author of works for the stage, including a number of fairy tale pantomimes and burlesques.

¹⁷ John Baldwin Buckstone, *The Ice Witch; or, the Frozen Hand* (London [1831?]).

¹⁸ The starting point for research on Zündt's unpublished plays is the chronological list of works to be found in his *Ebbe und Flut*, p. 533.

¹⁹ John Tobin, *The Honeymoon. A Comedy in Five Acts* (London [1808?]).

²⁰ *The Milwaukee Sentinel* (Milwaukee, Wisconsin), 7 December 1861, p. 1.

²¹ The plot of Tobin's play is virtually identical with that of "The Haughty Princess," in *Fairy and Folk Tales of Ireland*, ed. William Butler Yeats (Gerrards Cross, 1973), pp. 263-65.

²² Lulu Bredlow (1936), p. 115.

²³ In the list of his works which appears in *Ebbe und Flut*, p. 533, Zündt states that *Yaramatha* is based on a *Novelle* by "F. Cooper." The exact source of Zündt's *Yaramatha* remains obscure, however, as there is no work by James Fenimore Cooper which bears this title.

²⁴ *Ebbe und Flut*, p. 533.