

Karl J. R. Arndt

Sealsfield's Relation to David Warden, United States Consul in Paris, France

In spite of the publication of Eduard Castle's monumental two-volume work on Charles Sealsfield,¹ many biographical relationships remain unclear about the dark and devious peregrinations of this self-tormented wanderer between two worlds who spent so much time and energy of his second life trying to cover all traces that might lead to the discovery of his previous existence as a Roman Catholic priest. Anyone who doubts that he was ever able to erase the character *indelebilis* conferred upon him with his priestly vows should make a very careful study of his tombstone inscriptions at Solothurn, Switzerland, placed there by his instructions and finally putting Sealsfield's divided self together again in a common grave. The quintessence of his life is to be found there in a remarkably concentrated form in a final confession before he faced his Supreme Judge.

Sealsfield's grave beside St. Niklaus Church is suitably marked by two large stone slabs, one bilingual and religiously autobiographical, the other in German and politically of autobiographical significance. The first is the headstone leaning against the north wall of the church and is inscribed:

C P
CHARLES SEALSFIELD
geboren den 5 März 1795
gestorben den 26 May 1864

Psalm 145. And enter not into judgement with thy servant, for in thy sight shall no man living be justified.

Psalm 51. Have mercy upon me my God, according to thy loving kindness, according to the multitude of thy tender mercies blot out my transgressions.

The second large stone slab covers the remains of the body and is inscribed in German:

Charles Sealsfield Bürger von Nord Amerika.

The "C P" at the top of the headstone is the anglicized form of his original name Karl Postl and the first date given under the name of "Charles Sealsfield" is the birth date of Karl Postl, while the second date is the date of death of Charles Sealsfield (the haunted Karl Postl). It is very significant that the two scripture passages, so profound and concentrated in this fugitive priest's final confession to Him whom he had sworn to serve, are in English—open, yet concealed to the public. They should properly have been rendered in Latin or in Luther's German, for they are taken from the Catholic prayer books chosen for persons facing the last agony of death, as Postl-Sealsfield faced it in his last hours of solitude before the dissolution of his physical existence. This headstone is the summation of a great and lonely confession.

The stone slab covering his earthly remains, as it were, speaks with the defiance of a free American citizen: "Charles Sealsfield, Citizen of North America," in other words, a notice to the Austrian police: "You cannot touch my body or property, I am a citizen of North America." This was important because it did protect his testament from possible confiscation by the Austrian government as a fugitive from its justice.

Castle states that the American Goethe visitor Joseph Cogswell presented him with a copy of David Warden's *Statistical and Political and Historical Account of the United States of North America* (Edinburgh, 1819), "mit dem sich Goethe eingehend beschäftigte."² Unfortunately, Sealsfield's intimate relationship to the author of this important work on the United States escaped Castle's extensive research. It is the purpose of this article to bring this chapter of Sealsfield's life to light and thus to some degree continue Castle's excellent contributions to our knowledge of the man who in the 1840s was internationally celebrated as "the greatest American author."

David Warden (1772-October 9, 1845) was a diplomat, author, and book collector of Scottish ancestry. He received the degree of A.M. from the University of Glasgow in 1797 and high recognition for his scholarship. He was licensed to preach by the Presbytery of Bangor, then became involved in Irish politics, was arrested but given the choice to stand trial or remove himself forever from His Majesty's Dominions, which he did by emigrating to the United States. In 1804 he became an American citizen and soon entered the consular service of the United States in Paris. *The Dictionary of American Biography* gives a sketch of his life, but the concerns that haunted his service as are indicated in the letters of Sealsfield that follow are not dealt with clearly there. He was highly respected in the cultural world of Paris and was known as a man always ready to be of assistance to American citizens.

The Sealsfield to Warden letters published here cover a span of his life beginning with his arrival in Paris as foreign correspondent of the *New York Morning Courier & Enquirer* to the end of that period and his move to Switzerland to begin the writing of those novels on which his fame as a writer is founded. Always cautious about covering his identity from the public, he had offered his services to the editor of this paper not as an American but as a foreigner, as is seen from the following

introduction to his first printed correspondence in the issue of February 10, 1831:

About two months since, we had the pleasure of becoming acquainted with a learned foreigner, then on a visit to this country, who consented to become our correspondent, upon his return to Europe. We present to our readers the first of his letters to-day, which, it will be perceived, bears the date 31st December. This letter may be considered a day later from Paris, as our former dates were only on the morning of the 31st, containing news of the 30th. Its contents will be found highly interesting, as disclosing a state of things, for which the public was scarcely prepared.

The first letter of Sealsfield to Warden was written in Paris on December 23, 1830. The original is a holograph in the Library of Congress. Sealsfield was offering to take any letters that Warden had for the United States with him for faster mailing. The letter refers to the writing of his first report for the pro-Jackson and Van Buren paper.³

I

Paris the 23 Decr 1830

D Sir!

I thank you sincerely for your kindness and shall previously to my seeing Bishop Gregori,⁴ take the liberty of paying you my compliments. As Mr. Stewart's visit gives me an opportunity of writing I beg you not to forget Mr. O Reilly—He has not yet sent the letters—If you can dear Sir effect any thing with respect to my having access to public papers & connection with the press I shall feel very gratified—the more so as this business having been engaged for a couple of years in it would impede but little the progress of the rest of my studies—⁵

I am just now writing to Washington for the T- & V. B.⁶ the Courir or the public voiture starting to night—If you are willing to write to New York please to have your letters ready I shall at any rate call at your house—where I beg you in case you should not be at home, to leave those letters—

With the highest regard

your obedient humble servant
Ch. Sealsfield

Warden Esqr.

Addressed: D. B. Warden Esqr. forwarded by Mr. Steward Present

II

[8 Feb 1831]

Dear Sir!

I have received letters from New York where the letter writer is desired by Mr. Noah⁷ to present his complements through me to you, and to repeat his assurance through me, that he will do every thing with reference to your wishes. I do not expect that it will be done immediately, but I can give you the assurance that I have the best sign, that you will get what you desire, but of course things must have their times—From what I see the American Aristocracy endeavours and tries to pull the old general down. It will be a long pull and a strong pull, but he will

succeed no doubt in being elected a second time. I anticipate the words of Mr. Noah and you will find me correct—He will certainly be of opinion that you must have some patience.⁸ [?] when I shall have the honour of indicating to you the letters I have received.

I have an opportunity of sending the present by an Englishman who goes over to Bonbigue [?] to see his family and as the gentleman in question is waiting in person for the letter I am rather a little in a hurry and you must pardon the haste.

The letter to the young Miss Thurion I have unfortunately forgotten for nearly four weeks. Last week I sent it with my compliments begging pardon for this inexcusable negligence; but I had so very much business during the first three weeks that I completely forgot—In compensation for this neglect however I wrote in an envelope that if she desired to send letters to France she might address them to me I having opportunity through Mr. Rich to forward them free of expense to you.

I have seen Mr. Rich once but had no time to repeat my visit. He promised to give me a letter to Washington, but I have not yet availed myself of this promise. If you write to him I request you, dear Sir, to make mention of me and to request him to use his endeavours so as to interest Washington. This is an important point as Washington is just now in fashion. Can you send me other letters of introduction? I shall be very glad. As for Gregoires (the Bishop's) letters—I have delivered two of them—viz to Bournay whom I did not find at home though I⁹ . . . [?] What . . . [?] I saw, but who has not . . . [?] both are radical Whigs and therefore not quite the parsons of Fashion which though I care but little for, still it is of some consequence you know. A third letter to Sir Richard Philipps the broker retail bookseller, I did not deliver at all, this Sir Richard Philipps being a man of so suspicious a character that I was advised not even to see him, but of course I shall not like the worthy & . . . [?] Bishop to know the situation if this was, who . . . [?] probably dazzled the good old man by his Baronet title.

I have a good deal to do, but the main point I have done but little—You have not heard of any thing new respecting Correspondent? This, as I correspond with America would be a desirable point. And if your business admits of inquiries I should be infinitely obliged if you would make some.

I am requested to become a contributor to some English newspapers & I believe I shall do it.

This is all I have to write—Pardon dear Sir my plaguing you. I do in the expectance that you will forgive it, knowing that I should feel myself very happy if I can offer my humble services—

What is our friend Mr. Stewart doing? I beg you humbly to present my compliments to him—I hope to see him again.

With the request of pardoning my bad writing and the troubles I give you, I have the honour to remain

Respected Sir,

Your most humbly obedient

Servant Charles Sealsfield

London Chester Street 30 Grosvenor place

8 Febr. 1831

Warden Esqr Am Cons Gen. (U S)

III

[1 March 1831]¹⁰

London Chester Street & Grosvenor place

Honored Sir

As the departure of Captain McDonald affords me an opportunity [of] writing I avail myself of it, to assure you of my respect & to give you information that General Jackson will undoubtedly be elected President for the next term, I now may almost positively assure you that your wishes will be fulfilled.

I hope dear & respected Sir that my letter has reached you—I again beg your kindness to pardon the haste in which it was written—but my time is so very limited that with all the respect & esteem I bear you & heaven knows it is very great, I cannot spare room for writing it over again. I must trouble you to exert your influence to procure me if possible the correspondence of one or two of the respectable daily Journals—Political life is my joy, and though I am offered on several sides very advantageous terms, If willing to give contribution for reviews, yet I prefer correspondence. Will you be so kind to exert yourself—I for my part promise to do & to plague both Van Beuren & Noah as long till they yield to my troublesome solicitations—¹¹

I do not know what to think of Bishop Gregoire's letters to the McAuleys—I have delivered them, and the presents sent by him—they have not ever returned the visit—A poor literat may be thought probably not worthwhile attending by a rich African merchant, but they may rest assured I shall not trouble them, not in my lifetime. Please to give my best wishes to your friend Stewart, and to ask him whether he is still so dissatisfied with Paris—

With the greatest respect Your

Sir most respectfully & humbly
Charles Sealsfield

Warden Esquire

Addressed: Warden Esqr member of the Institut anc. Cons. Gen. of the
U S etc Paris Rue Pot de fer Nro 23

IV

The following letter shows Sealsfield again as the strong supporter of Andrew Jackson and as the well-informed specialist on the American press. The greatest importance of this letter, however, is that it clearly documents Sealsfield as a correspondent of the *Courier & Enquirer*, again in the hands of Mordecai Noah, who thought so highly of Sealsfield's non-political writing.¹²

Of further interest in this letter is the evidence that Sealsfield is trying to arrange a correspondence with a French journal which would be as influential as the *Courier & Enquirer*. For the time being Warden was unsuccessful in making the arrangement Sealsfield really was aiming for, but it is important to know that he had a close friend in Paris, who was highly respected there and whose scholarship and standing as a writer eventually probably helped place Sealsfield in the position of correspondent "of the leading Paris Journal now," as he writes to Poinsett on October 8, 1837. This unnamed journal probably was *Le*

Constitutionnel with from 18,000 to 20,000 subscribers, while the second French journal, the *Journal des Debats*, had only from 13,000 to 14,000. *Le Constitutionnel* had a *Directeur en chef* and under him there were from ten to twelve editors of different branches. The remuneration which was paid for single contributions was very high, running for an article of one column generally from 100 to 150 francs. Sealsfield always was quite money-minded, which is an additional argument for *Le Constitutionnel* rather than the *Journal des Debats*, and Sealsfield also was a snob. He probably worked under one of the ten to twelve editors as a correspondent, for which his experience as former editor of the *Courrier des Etats Unis* in New York would certainly have qualified him and it would have provided the safe anonymous income he needed.

The letter is addressed: "H Warden Esq. au Consul General of the United States of America to France etc. Rue Pot de fer Nro 23 Paris."

On the right hand above the text of the letter is the following: "[By another hand: Bargson (?) Charles Sealsfield] of June. Note. As I intend changing my lodging from 30 Chester Street Grosvenor place to Nro 18 Compton Street Brunswick I beg you to address your answer to the latter Nro."

Warden Esq-
Dear & Honoured Sir!

I have some time delayed in answering your honoured letter but the reason is that I could not possibly write sooner consistently with my desire of giving you information respecting those points which lay nearest your heart, and believe me respected Sir mine too. In the first instance then you will probably hope but little from the present constellation of affairs in America, but you must not despair, and allow me to tell you that the success of your desire etc depends now entirely on the issue of the contest which is now again going on in the U.S. I mean the presidential election. Jackson has consented again to become a candidate for the next four years and I hope & trust he will be elected in spite of the efforts of the American Aristocracy to the contrary, He has however a severe struggle, a struggle the more severe as he has plunged himself & his party into new difficulties by the hostile warfare which is now carried on between himself & the Vicepresident Calhoun, who I suspect will unite himself with Clay's party. You have probably read the cause of the enmity between the President & Vicepresident—I am sorry for it, for at any rate the publication was rather too hasty but still I am fully confident, and from the public genius as evinced in several hundred extracts from U.S. newspapers all of which are enthusiastic in favour of Jackson I am convinced that he will carry the point with a considerable majority—If elected again, nay if his election be only secured, then you may be convinced also that you will be again appointed. I speak from conviction—I have letters before me from which I speak, and you may rely respected Sir that it is not with a desire or view of flattery that I write. However dear Sir with present feeling & circumstances you will be pleased to consider that after so many hundred removals made by General Jackson, & which removals you will be aware have greatly incensed the [torn] to critical ranks against him—it would be in fact impossible to add [torn]ther one for the present to it—You must therefore be a little patient but you may rely at the same time that Mr. Noah will keep fully his work, He loves you dearly he honours you sincerely, & he

has the power of doing for you what no other person can nor will. He is now the chief support of General Jackson & Van Buren in New York, and having again purchased the *New York Courier & Enquirer* the most diffused & supported paper in the U.S. he will have it in his power to be more useful to his friends than any person else. Rely on it Sir I repeat it again, that as soon as the presidential question is decided Mr Noah & Van Buren will do for you what they could not do at present without raising a general hue & cry amongst their insidious & invidious enemies, & these you are well aware constitute a great part of the nation. When however the second & last presidential term is decided in favour of the old democratic & venerated hero, then he will neither care for A nor B, but appoint whom he pleased. Mr Noah & Mr. V. Buren are perfectly well informed about the nervousness of the personale of the US. Embassy at Paris—but for the present they cannot well change or act otherwise.—As much I think it necessary to say on this point. Now with respect to [myself] I thank you most sincerely Respected Sir for the trouble you have given Generhe[? missing] in procuring me some correspondence with one of the respectable daily papers & I am only sorry they are so overstocked but I am free to request you not to forget me & to try again. At the same time I think it not superfluous to say, that I have sources of information to which no other person has access to, & that I could contribute very much in rendering a French Journal highly interesting from this very correspondence. If you read the *Courier & Enquirer* you will see that my correspondence is valued—with respect to France I could render it far more interesting—I beg therefore if consistent with your higher & more important convictions give yourself some trouble assuring you that I shall do on my part what ever is in my humble power—One more request I have to add I received a number of American papers from which I could give some very useful extracts of course in English (by culling them out of the papers) to the Editor & pregenitors[?] of the *Revue de Deux Monds* This Journal might be of use to me. If they would send it to me I for my part would send them contributions. As you are well acquainted with the editor I take the liberty of making this request.

Please to give my compliments to our friend Mr. Stewart & be assured that I shall always remain

Honored Sir

Your most obedient humble servant

Charles Sealsfield

London Grosvenor place Chester Street Nro 30. the 29 of May 1831.

PS. If you should have an opportunity Respected Sir of procuring the *Voleur* (a collection of short pieces from French Journals a sort of synopsis) especially from second hand, that is after it has been read, I would beg to send it to Mr. Rich the bookseller if opportunity offers & to include the price—However I could not wish to become a subscriber, but if it could be had after used, from second hand per example from a reading room. I am solicited by several respectable monthly Journals to contribute trifles & in my idle hours I could do it easily provided there were some materials or ground work. I beg you not to be displeased with the liberty I take, Should I be able to do any service in London please to command me at every time. [End of letter.]¹³

V

This letter to Warden is published with permission of the Maryland Historical Society, which has the original. Apart from the fact that it provides further evidence of Sealsfield's friendship with Warden, it gives us information about the genesis of Sealsfield's Mexican novel *Der Virey*, upon which he was engaged at this time. The letter again refers to the politically powerful Mordecai Noah and gives the impression that Sealsfield is part of the inner political circle of Andrew Jackson. Sealsfield's justification for writing with such authority on Jacksonian politics has so far not been substantiated by evidence in the Jackson papers.

The letter is addressed: "H. Warden Esqr A. Consul General of the U.S. etc *Paris* 12 Rue pot de fer, St. Sulpice."

Dear Sir!

I hope my very dear Sir, this letter will find you well. It is after a long lapse of time, I write to you & many things have changed. What do you think of our present critical situations? Truly, it seems to me, as if they were desirous of straining the vessel of our State to its utmost, in order to see, what it can stand.—Well I hope things will pass over, as so many have passed.

[I?] am now these two years in Switzerland, quite agreeably engaged in literary affairs & labours I told you of. When I had the honour of being at your residence, you were so kind, to present me [with?] your catalogue of American works or rather written [missing] to ancient & modern history of North & South America.¹⁴ [I un ?] fortunately am missing your kind present, just when I am [most ?] wanting it.—Being engaged about the Mexican Revolution,¹⁵ [I ?] am very much in need of a well written last & detailed history [of ?] this revolution, for W. Robinson's¹⁶ history is far too sketchy & incomplete—Would you therefore be kind enough to inform bearer of this letter, a respectable young man, of the best works, which may be had at present, either in Paris or London upon the Mexican Revolution?—There are three or four which, if they appeared in French or English (in translation), I should instantly procure, viz. Zavala's Mexican Revolution¹⁷—Mier¹⁸—Bustamente.¹⁹ Please therefore kindly to answer to this point either verbally or by a few lines to the young gentleman who is the bearer of this letter.—How does our friend Noah? He is busy in the banking affair. A Scandal! I beg very much your pardon for troubling you & hope soon to see you.

Very respectfully Dear Sir Your most obedient humble svt
Zurich the 3 July 1834. Charles Sealsfield
H. Warden Esq.

Am Consul General of the U.S. member of the Institute [?] etc.

VI

The original of this letter is in the Library of Congress. It fills an important gap in Castle's second volume with documents and letters, because for the year 1838 he publishes only Sealsfield's contract of February 16, 1838, with Schulthess of Zürich for the novel "Rambletown" and its supplementary paragraph of October 4, 1838, stating that the title had been changed to *Neue Land- und Seebilder*. The contract

reflects an uncertain and wavering attitude in Sealsfield which speaks clearly only about the financial part of the deal, "welche Nebentitel dasselbe [Werk] auch haben mag." Otto Heller's bibliography of Charles Sealsfield (Washington University Studies, September, 1939), already wrote about the confusion in this work. It appeared as *Die deutsch-amerikanischen Wahlverwandtschaften* with "Rambletown" as title of the first part, but the work remained the most confused of all of Sealsfield's works.²⁰ As the following letter shows, Sealsfield was in bad health at that time, and he was probably under financial pressure and needed to publish for income. The explanation it provides makes the letter important.

Sep 26, 1838

Dear Sir!

I am arrived yesterday from Switzerland but with my feet so swollen & in a state of health which does not permit me to stir from my room.—If you have half an hour to spare I should be very glad to see you & to hear news from the United States. In the hope of having soon the honour of your Company

I am Honoured Sir Your most humble obedient Servant
Charles Sealsfield

Hotel de l'Univers & des Etats Unis
12 Rue Croire de petits Champs
Mr. Warden Consul General of the U S—etc
12 Rue pot de fer

The Sealsfield to Warden letters illustrate Sealsfield's great interest in political life, his desire to be respected as a man close to the sources of political power, but yet not so involved personally that the inquisitive public would delve into his past life. With all his interest in politics, which he here calls his "joy," he knew he could never run for political office. He had not forgotten that in his first book, written as "C. Sidons," he had stated that if you wish to get to know yourself well and have forgotten any part of your past, just run for political office in the United States. The campaign that follows will bring everything to light.

This realization of danger of exposure is probably the reason why his name has not yet surfaced in the Jackson papers, and probably never will surface, although that might well be expected from the authoritative manner in which he writes in these letters as a man belonging to the political inner circle. More important than the political pose, however, is what these letters tell us about a relation to a very cultured and learned man of his time with whom he discussed his literary plans and whom he even asked for help.

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Notes

¹ *Der große Unbekannte: Das Leben von Charles Sealsfield (Karl Postl)* (Wien: Manutius, 1952); *Der große Unbekannte: Das Leben von Charles Sealsfield (Karl Postl): Briefe und Aktenstücke*, ed. Eduard Castle (Wien: K. Werner, 1955).

² *Der große Unbekannte* (1952), p. 185.

³ All of his contributions to the *Morning Courier & Enquirer* are scheduled to be published in volume XXIV of the first complete edition of Sealsfield's works. twenty-three volumes of which have already appeared (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag).

⁴ Warden in 1810 had published *An Enquiry Concerning the Intellectual and Moral Faculties and Literature of Negroes* translated from the French of B. H. Gregoire.

⁵ Sealsfield always worked behind the scenes on friends pressing for favors of this kind or for favorable reviews of his works. He was quite brazen about it, so that some American critics remarked, without revealing too much, that the author might readily be found close to the reviewer.

⁶ This is a cryptic remark. He was writing for the Jackson and Van Buren *Morning Courier & Enquirer* of New York. (T- & V. B. probably stands for: Tammany and Van Buren.) Since he was writing in great haste and wanted to impress Warden, he probably wanted to say: I am just now writing to Washington and for the Jackson and Van Buren *Courier* in New York. He liked to pose as a man having the confidence of powerful political individuals like Jackson and Van Buren, but so far nothing has surfaced in the political papers to identify him in that way.

⁷ Mordecai Noah was a journalist and political figure. After Sealsfield had become the foreign correspondent of the *New York Morning Courier*, Noah bought the paper, which he had previously owned, and ran it as a strong pro-Jackson journal. He obtained a lot of publicity when he launched a plan to provide a home or center for all the Jews of the world. Rapp's Harmony Society offered to sell him their Harmony on the Wabash for that purpose. Rapp considered his plan to gather all Jews as evidence of the coming millennium, because the gathering of all the Children of Israel was a preliminary move to that end. Noah saw better prospects for his people in New York than on the Wabash.

⁸ Parts of the letter cannot be deciphered because of the careless writing. The ink of the verso of this page ran through the paper covering what Sealsfield had written, and he did not take the trouble to check and rewrite his letter. Sealsfield was a master of polite phrases but very inconsiderate of his correspondent's eyes and patience. His publishers complained about this and it undoubtedly was damaging to his publications and is the probable cause of the brevity of his relationships. The original of this letter is in the Library of Congress.

⁹ Cf. note 8.

¹⁰ This letter has been dated March 1, 1831, but not in Sealsfield's hand. If he wrote a date it was either broken off the edge of the paper or made illegible in the lower right hand corner by a blot of ink two inches long, which did not deter Sealsfield from sending it. The original is in the Library of Congress.

¹¹ Sealsfield believed in and quoted the German proverb: "Eine Hand wäscht die andere," and it would seem plausible that his implied intimacy with Mordecai Noah would somehow surface in like form, but to date I have found only one reference to him by Mordecai Noah, and I found this in a letter dated New York April 13, 1844, addressed to General Morris, editor of the *New Mirror*, Vol. III, No. 5, p. 65, in connection with the "Sealsfield" controversy. I published it in *Modern Language Notes* (May 1952), and it is reprinted in Castle, *Briefe und Aktenstücke* (1955), pp. 152-53. Noah there makes no reference to political interests but refers only to his writings as "not adapted to the columns of a political journal" and calls him "my friend, Charles Saarsfield."

¹² Otto Heller, in his extensive research on Sealsfield, tried unsuccessfully to identify such correspondence, but with this and other evidence, I have been able to identify very definitely the correspondence to which Sealsfield makes reference in this letter, and this correspondence is scheduled to be published in volume XXIV of the forthcoming first complete edition of his works.

¹³ The letters dated May 29, 1831, and July 3, 1834, are from the Maryland Historical Society. I published them in *Modern Language Notes*, 87, No. 3 (April 3, 1972), and they are added to the other four unpublished letters in the Library of Congress to present the more complete chapter now available.

¹⁴ Part of the text on the left margin is missing. *The Dictionary of American Biography* in its sketch of Warden had this explanation: "Bibliotheca Americo-Septentrionalis (1820), a catalogue of one of his collections of books on America, which collection was purchased by S. A. Eliot and presented to Harvard College in 1823; *Recherchés sur les Antiquités de*

l'Amérique Septentrionale (1827): and *Bibliotheca Americana* (1831). A second collection which he made of books on America was acquired by the New York State Library in 1840. Both were especially rich in maps and plans of the battles of the American Revolution and in material relating to the Spanish explorations."

¹⁵ Sealsfield's *Der Virey und die Aristokraten oder Mexiko im Jahre 1812* (Zürich: Orell, Füssli und Compagnie, 1835).

¹⁶ William Davis Robinson, *Memoirs of the Mexican Revolution* (Philadelphia: Lydia R. Bailey, Printer, 1820; London, 1821). (Spanish, Dutch, and German translations.)

¹⁷ Zavala, Lorenzo de (1788-1836), *Ensayo histórico de las revoluciones de Méjico, desde 1808 hasta 1830, por d. Lorenzo de Zavala* (Paris: O. Dupont et G. Laguionie, 1831-32).

¹⁸ Mier Noriega & Guerra (José Servando Teresa De) *Alerta á los Mejicanos* (1820). [Remarks on the detention in prison of S. T. de Mier Noriega y Guerra, contrary to the Articles of the Constitution.] See *Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada Europeo-Americana* sketch of Mier mentioning: *Cartas de un americano á un español*, and *Revolución de Anahuac*. Sealsfield probably referred to Mier's *Historia de la Revolución de Nueva España*, 2 vols. (Londres: Don José de Mier y Guerra Servando, 1813). There were also many papers by him which were not published until recent years, to which Sealsfield might have had access. See catalogues of British Museum and Library of Congress.

¹⁹ C. M. de Bustamente, *Cuadro histórico de la Revolucion de la América Mexicana*, 6 vols. (Mexico, 1823-32).

²⁰ In my 1982 edition of this work (Hildesheim: Georg Olms) I have pointed out this lamentable situation and compared it to the improved and more orderly edition of the American translation.

