

**TRACTS**

**RELATING TO**

**CASPAR HAUSER.**

*Philip Henry* BY  
" 4th EARL STANHOPE.

**TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL GERMAN.**

✓  
LONDON:  
**JAMES S. HODSON,**  
**112, FLEET STREET.**

**1836.**

Ger 10261.4

~~Ger 10261.4~~

1875, March 22.  
Walker Bequest.



Printed by J. S. Hodson,  
15, Cross Street, Hutton Garden.





*Caspar Hauser.*

*The above fac-simile is taken from one of the earliest signatures of Caspar Hauser, after his arrival at Nuremberg.*

## PREFACE

BY THE PUBLISHER.

---

THE following Tracts, which were written by Earl Stanhope in the German language, were intended by him to explain, in justice to himself, and for the satisfaction of the world, the reasons which induced him, who had taken under his protection Caspar Hauser, and had believed the truth of his Narrative, to consider it afterwards as fictitious. They relate some facts which were hitherto unknown, and which will probably be thought interesting (the story itself having become so celebrated), and, amongst others, an authentic statement of the circumstances connected with the tragical termination of his short life. They are, however,

principally a refutation of M. Von Feuerbach's Work, which, so far from being founded upon official Documents, concealed many most important facts, and misrepresented the whole story. This was proved to be the case by the testimonies of those persons that had the earliest opportunities of seeing and observing Caspar Hauser after his arrival, and were examined in February and March, 1834, by Earl Stanhope, who was anxious to ascertain the truth, and who refers to their statements in his Letter to M. Merker. It is presumed that the reader of these Tracts is already acquainted with M. Von Feuerbach's Work, of which the English Translation has reached the third Edition, and of which a knowledge is requisite for understanding them.

Although the interest which this subject inspired has in a great degree subsided, and although Caspar Hauser him-

self, who occasioned so much discussion; now sleeps in his grave, his story will always remain one of the most remarkable that has yet been recorded, and it must excite our astonishment that at his early age, and deficient, as he must have been, in knowledge and experience, he was able, and, as it appears, without previous preparation, to act a part which deluded so many persons of talent, and, amongst others, even M. Von Feuerbach himself. It seems also very extraordinary that neither on the arrival of Caspar Hauser, nor during the period of nearly six years which he passed in Bavaria, nor in the interval of three days that elapsed between the infliction of his wound and his death which it occasioned, was any confession made by him or any discovery by others, as to his name, his family, his former residence, and his early life. We have learned that in the opinion of Earl

Stanhope, who possesses much information upon this subject and who thought it his duty to examine it with great attention, Caspar Hauser was by trade a journeyman Tailor or Glover, and an inhabitant of one of the small Hamlets on the Austrian side of the River Salzach, which forms part of the North Eastern frontier of Bavaria. Those Hamlets are opposite the Bavarian Towns of Burghausen and Tittmoning, and it is probable that Caspar Hauser passed through Alt-Oetting, obtained there the Catholic tracts which he brought with him, and proceeded through Newmarkt and Ratisbon to Nuremberg. It might be tedious to explain at length the reasons by which these opinions could be powerfully supported, but, even now, his portrait, a fac-simile of his hand writing, and that of the letter to the Captain, might, in

those Hamlets, lead to a full discovery of the circumstances about which so much curiosity has been excited.

His story acquired an importance which in no way belonged to it, from his having been supposed to be the rightful heir of a Sovereign Prince in Germany, and M. Von Feuerbach, who entertained that impression, alludes to it, in figurative but expressive language, 'at the end of the seventh chapter of his work. That idea forms the subject of a novel, which is admirably written and extremely interesting, called "Caspar Hauser, the Foundling, romantically represented," (*Kaspar Hauser, der Findling, romantisch dargestellt*), published at Stuttgart in 1834; and which, should any curiosity remain on the subject, may be brought before the English public.



ERG.



1. Rath
- Ro
2. The !
- Pla
3. Resi
4. Profi
5. The
6. The
- The
- tion
- cee
- N.B.
- the
- eac





# TRACTS

RELATING TO

## CASPAR HAUSER.

---

*Extract of a Letter from EARL STANHOPE, to  
LIEUT. HICKEL, of the Bavarian Gens d'ar-  
merie, dated Munich, 10th February, 1834.*

Soon after my arrival in this capital, I was, in consequence of a requisition from Anspach, examined upon oath by the Municipal Tribunal in the affair of Caspar Hauser ; in order to give evidence, both generally and as to my own particular "conjectures." In my first examination on the third of last month (January), I made the following statement: "The confidence which I originally placed in his (Caspar Hauser's) sincerity, although I had now and then detected him in telling falsehoods, and had heard the same from other persons, was first shaken by the circumstance that the last inquiries in Hun-

B

gary seemed to me to prove that the apparently strong excitement which he experienced on hearing the Hungarian language, and particularly under circumstances which rivetted his attention, (such as the mention of the name of a castle and of a family in Hungary,) could only be attributed to imposture."

Upon that point I have to relate as follows :

It is very possible, and indeed probable, that Caspar Hauser knew already, before Lieut. Von Pirch made experiments with him in the Hungarian language, that he was considered to be an Hungarian. Many newspapers, from which Schmidt Von Lübeck, (in his 2nd No. page 31—37) gives extracts, mentioned a report that Caspar Hauser probably came from Hungary, and a suspicion that the Governess Dallbon was an accomplice. It appeared that Caspar Hauser was not able to translate any word in the Hungarian language ; but that he knew the four words, "father," "mother," and "my dear," in the Polish language, which is said to have a great similarity to the Bohemian.

Amongst other experiments which Lieut. Von Pirch and Dr. Saphir made with Caspar Hauser, it was related to me, that they read before him all the Hungarian proper names, in order to remark which of them would produce an impression ; and he maintained that *Istvan*

(or Stephen) was his own name. He said to me very often, that he remembered he was in his early childhood called *Istvan*, and on many opportunities he stated to the person who was then his guardian, that "something should come after *Istvan*," but it was impossible for him, notwithstanding all his efforts, to recollect what. I thought it probable that it might have been "my dear," "my darling," "come here," "be quiet," or something of that sort; and several trials were therefore made in my presence by an Hungarian gentleman, who then resided in Nuremberg, to discover whether this was the case. He understood none of those expressions; he believed, however, that the Hungarian word which signifies "horse," had been pronounced by him while he lived in the tower. At each experiment with the Hungarian language, he shewed the most violent excitement, which always produced head-aches. He appeared neither to hear nor to see, but to fall into the deepest reveries, or to be transferred into another world.

Caspar Hauser, who, in his walks was usually accompanied only by one police soldier, came once to me, in October, 1831, attended by two police soldiers, and on my inquiring the cause of this change, he said that three strangers, who were supposed to be Hungarians, had ar-

rived in Nuremberg, and that his Guardian had given him a double guard for protection. This must naturally have suggested to him the idea that something important was to be expected from the arrival of the three strangers, respecting whom so much apprehension was entertained, and from what they might state when he should be brought to them.

In the afternoon I visited his Guardian, who mentioned to me that these Hungarians had been with the Burgomaster Binder, and had asked permission to speak alone with Caspar Hauser. He added that they had been referred by the Burgomaster to him, and that they were to be expected about the time that I was with him. As, however, they did not come, and were to depart on the following morning, I endeavoured to persuade the Guardian to visit them at their hotel; considering that their intentions, perhaps, were good, and that they were going to make great disclosures; but that if they should act in such a manner as to excite suspicion, it might be hoped that some traces to further inquiry would be discovered. He went, therefore, accompanied with an Hungarian gentleman, who then resided in Nuremberg, and found that these three strangers were an Hungarian nobleman, his son, and tutor, and that they had wished to speak alone with Caspar

Hauser, in order to ascertain whether he understood the Sclavonian dialect, which is spoken in the neighbourhood where the Governess Dallbon had passed some time, and which was well known to them. Caspar Hauser was brought to them, and understood nothing at all of the Sclavonian language; but when he heard in the Hungarian language, "Istvan goes to ——" a castle, (the name of which, like the others, I conceal, in order not to disquiet innocent families,) he was not only most vehemently excited, but almost convulsed; and he said, with an emotion which exceeded all others that had on any former occasion been observed in him, "Yes, yes; that is what I have so long sought." They mentioned to him the name of a family living in the neighbourhood, and he exclaimed with horror, "That is my mother." His agitation was so violent that apprehensions were entertained for his health, and he was immediately sent home. When he arrived there, he was, as usual, tranquil and composed; and the only remaining sign of excitement which I remarked in him was, that his hand trembled a little when afterwards he snuffed a candle. I asked him what the Hungarians had said to him; and he answered, "They mentioned to me the word which I have so long sought." "What was it?" I asked again. Here to my

great astonishment, he replied, "I don't know it any more." It might indeed have appeared to me very suspicious, that such a strong impression had so soon vanished. I believed, however, that he had at the time a reminiscence of the name ; but there were other circumstances, as well as the former statements in respect of the Governess Dallbon, which made me conjecture that a place in the immediate neighbourhood of the castle, the name of which Caspar Hauser "had so often sought," was the residence of his family. In order to communicate this hypothesis (which appeared to me very interesting) to Feuerbach, and to converse with him upon it, I went two or three days afterwards to Anspach, where I found him in the greatest perplexity, as he was then pregnant with his work upon "The example of a crime on the life of the soul," and had not yet come to a happy delivery. He had found an almost insuperable difficulty in filling up properly a chasm, which is still very apparent in his work, namely, that portion of time which Caspar Hauser passed in the tower. It was, therefore, disagreeable to him to be disturbed by my visit, and my narrative seemed but little to excite his attention ; afterwards, however, during two months that I resided in Anspach, it was determined to inquire further into this business.

This inquiry, which you began in February, 1832, and executed with an accuracy and an ability which are not sufficiently to be praised, furnished certainly the most decisive proofs that, as Feuerbach himself said, "nothing was to be sought or to be hoped in Hungary" by Caspar Hauser. I received on the 23rd of May a very detailed report which you made to me on the subject, and which proved, with positive certainty, that all the apparent reminiscences of Caspar Hauser were nothing more than delusions. The castle, the name of which he "had so long sought," must have been as new to him as that of the lady whom he supposed to be his mother. In the whole district around it, they knew nothing of any child who had disappeared; and the Hungarian nobleman, who in the October of the year before, had come to Nuremberg, said, it was evident to him and to his son that Caspar Hauser had played a part with them, and they had since very often laughed about it.

In mentioning, on my first examination, the result, which to me was quite unexpected, of your inquiries with regard to Caspar Hauser, I remarked:

"I was, through this occurrence, induced to examine the whole history carefully and thoroughly; taking advantage of all the sources of



information which the first number of Daumer's publication offered to me ; and I found therein several circumstances, some of which appeared to me physically impossible, some quite incredible, some highly improbable, and some very suspicious."

A minute examination of the narrative of Caspar Hauser, excited in my mind the doubts which, in the autumn of 1832, I stated to you, to Feuerbach, and to the Councillor of Appeal Schumann, and gave me a full conviction, that, on several important points, his story was and must be unfounded; that his own statements seemed to be partly fictions, and partly misrepresentations; that no reliance was to be placed in them; and that the truth had been as little ascertained in this respect as in the inquiries relating to his family. I suspected that when he was released, he was threatened with death if he should relate any thing which might lead to a discovery; and that he was in consequence, and from a regard to his own safety, obliged to conceal the real facts. It appeared to me, that an involuntary concealment, or falsification of the facts, would, under such circumstances, be excusable; but it was also clear to me that it was absolutely necessary to correct these statements, in order to conduct the inquiry with success. The more I re-

flected on those doubts, the more desirable and important was it, in my opinion, to examine thoroughly the facts.

The first doubt, which I had already stated to you in Anspach, was, whether he could have come to Nuremberg in the manner which Feuerbach represents without being observed by many persons at the gate, or in the streets leading to the town. Schmidt von Lübeck remarks very justly in his Tract upon Caspar Hauser (page 14 of the 2nd No.), "the thousands of inhabitants who were scattered about in the country, and in all the neighbouring villages, were so many advanced posts, which guarded the immediate approaches to the town, and to import, through such a cordon, so singular and striking an article of contraband as Caspar Hauser was, would have been quite hopeless and fool-hardy; if, however, it had been attempted by the unknown individual, it might have been considered as a miracle that not a single person of the many thousands should have remarked the singular spectacle."

Feuerbach thought it very possible that Caspar Hauser might have come in a carriage. In this case, however, he must have retained a distinct recollection of it, or his guide must have conveyed him in a state of sleep; and this is very improbable. There does not appear any

Von  
Soc  
C. H.  
J. H. B.  
C. H.  
C. H.

reason why his guide should not have left him at one of the gates of the town, or on one of the public walks; why he brought him into the neighbourhood of what is called the *Unschlitt-Platz*, which is at some distance from all the gates of the town; why he should have had the imprudence to go further than was requisite for his purpose, which might have placed him in the greatest possible embarrassment if Caspar Hauser through weariness had sunk down, and this, according to his own relation, had frequently occurred during the journey? It is called "a journey," though it is hardly to be considered a long walk, for, as he himself states, he had not, during the whole time, any want of nature.

Several persons have related to me, that in the same year in which Caspar Hauser appeared in Nuremberg, the lawyer Fleischmann died there, and that in a back room in his dwelling was found his son, who from the age of twelve years, to the age which he had then attained of thirty-eight years, had always lived in it, but who, from long habit, had become accustomed to this retirement.

Can one believe that Caspar Hauser was able to recollect so little of the journey, when he relates so exactly every thing which took place in

the house of the Captain, in the guard-room, and in the tower?

The narrative in which Caspar Hauser states every thing that happened immediately after his appearance in Nuremberg, is to be found in the tract of Professor Daumer (pages 47 to 51, of the 1st No.), and is a complete refutation of the assertion, that he was then in a "situation devoid of consciousness, and similar to that of an animal." Among many proofs to the contrary, I may relate what a General and his Aid-de-Camp, who visited Caspar Hauser, three or four days after his arrival at Nuremberg, related to me not long since: that he could speak, not well, but intelligibly; and that he knew them three or four weeks afterwards, and made the remark that they then wore pantaloons of a different colour.

It is also very singular that both the shoemaker, Weichmann, who found Caspar Hauser, and the servant of the former Captain (now Major), Von W—— gave evidence that Caspar Hauser had spoken to them; and a third witness states, that in answer to the question, "Where do you come from?" he replied, "I do not venture to say." I believe also, that he did not venture to say it; and it is very probable that Caspar Hauser, when he was brought to the police, and afterwards to the tower, and when

the business took a turn, which appeared to him embarrassing, formed the very judicious resolution to be careful in his expressions, to avoid speaking too much, and to await the result, which soon afterwards shewed him very different prospects. It is, however, inconceivable, as well as inexcusable, that no inquiry was then made, or has since been made, to rectify the very striking contradiction between the power of speaking, which the two first witnesses remarked in him, and the deficiency of speaking, which he afterwards assumed. I have been assured that the two witnesses, who had first the opportunity of observing him, after his arrival in Nuremberg, were free from all suspicion, and impartial, and were quite unconnected with each other.

Professor Daumer mentions (in the preface to the 1st No. of his work), that Caspar Hauser came to his care in July, 1828, and (page 21) that he formed his acquaintance "about three weeks earlier," that is, at the end of June, or the beginning of July. What were the reports which were received of him, what were the observations which were made on him, in the preceding month of June, during a period of the greatest importance in his history? Why did Feuerbach publish only an extract, and not the entire report, which the

very experienced and intelligent jailer, Hiltel, had delivered? What were the reports of the police soldier, Bleumer, who accompanied him in the streets, as was afterwards done by the police soldier, Wimmer?

The statement which Caspar Hauser gave of his imprisonment appears to me, in several very important points, and especially in the following, to be quite incredible.

Caspar Hauser very often assured me, that as long as he was in his prison he had always sat, and never stretched himself out, or laid himself on one side. According to his description, the only change in his posture consisted in this,—that he sat quite upright when he was awake, and that when he slept, he lent on a bundle of straw which was behind him. I leave it to the judgment of the world, whether he would have been able to have stood or walked, after sitting so many years; whether he must not have been crippled,—whether his legs, when he rose up, must not have sunk under him?

By sitting a number of years, would not those parts of his body have become galled which were always in contact, as often happens to persons who lie long in bed, and always preserve the same posture?

Caspar Hauser said that he had never heard a sound in his prison; but that he received

blows when, by rolling his horses to and fro, he had made too much noise. If, however, such a noise was heard from without, and he was on that account chastised, a much louder noise, as, for example, that of thunder, must have been heard by him from within. On this point Professor Daumer gives an explanation, which seems to me devoid of foundation. He says (in page 28, of the 1st No.), "The little activity to which he was forcibly limited, to which his soul was confined, through imprisonment, bonds, and opium, sufficed to secure his senses from all external impressions." According to this explanation, therefore, Caspar Hauser was to be considered as a second Archimedes, who was so absorbed in the solution of a problem, that he did not perceive that the town which he inhabited was taken by storm. The very contrary is observed in children; and every one knows from experience, how difficult it is to fix their attention particularly on things to which they are accustomed.

After an imprisonment of many years in a dark place, he must have fallen into a state, not only "similar to that of an animal," but indeed, to that of a bird of night.

How comes it that Caspar Hauser, when, on his first instruction in writing, his hand was seized by a person who was behind him, did

not turn round? which, under similar circumstances, every animal would have done.

He maintained that he had never seen the face of that person, and states in his own narrative, which Feuerbach would not allow to be printed, as he said to me, that it might excite doubts, "When he took me by the hand, it never came into my head to turn round to look at the man; I did not know indeed that there was such another being as myself."

When he resided at Professor Daumer's, he immediately broke off when questions were asked him with respect to the man, "with whom he had always lived," and said, "You trouble me with so many questions, that I get a head-ache." This was recently related to me by a very intelligent and credible witness, who often saw him.

How could he say, "The man had always taught me to do what I was told," as Feuerbach relates (English edition, p. 73), if this person had never spoken to him during his imprisonment? When I mentioned to Caspar Hauser this very remarkable contradiction, he answered, "I did not say so."

Caspar Hauser related to me further, that the man, "with whom he had always lived," said nothing to him till he was on the journey. He mentions, however, in his written narrative,



that the man, during his imprisonment, said to him, "Say this after me, and then you shall have pretty horses from your father." "Say 'horse,' and then you may roll them." And that he said to him during the journey, "You must immediately cease crying, or you shall have no horses:" "You must learn and observe very well how to walk:" "You must become a horseman, as your father is:" "You shall have pretty horses from your father:" "You must look on the ground:" "When you can do this very well, you shall have pretty horses:" "Now you are coming soon home to your horses:" "You are coming soon to your father:" "You must learn to walk still better:" "You shall have soon pretty horses as you know how to walk so well." "It has rained." "As you have learned to walk so well, you shall have pretty horses." "In the great village there is your father, he will give you pretty horses; and when you are a horseman I shall see you again:" "Remark this, and don't forget it:" "Show where the letter belongs:" "When he comes do so." These recollections of Caspar Hauser do not confirm the supposition that he arrived in Nuremberg in "a situation devoid of consciousness, and similar to that of an animal;" but they confirm the opinion which Feuerbach expressed to

me, that his narrative might excite doubts. Caspar Hauser himself relates in this narrative, that immediately after his arrival in the tower, he said the following sentences: "Show me where the letter belongs"—"horse"—"home"—"in the great village there is your father." Professor Daumer relates (page 25) that Caspar Hauser had learned the following sentences from his guide. "When you are a horseman like your father, you will go home." "It rains." "Your name is Caspar Hauser." "You shall have pretty horses from your father." Feuerbach mentions only three sentences: "I wish to be such a horseman as my father was:" "Shew me the way home:" "Don't know."

An imprisonment which began in the unconscious state of earliest childhood cannot be supposed possible, and at a later period it must have made a deep and painful impression which never could have been obliterated from the mind of Caspar Hauser. He thought, however, that he recollected things which could in no degree have made a similar impression: as for instance, that he was carried by his nurse in an avenue before the castle of his father; that he had seen in that castle several portraits similar to those of which prints were shown to him in my presence; that he had even known personally two gentlemen whose portraits were

c

among the number—a Burgomaster who wore a gold chain round his neck, and another who did “not always behave kindly” towards him. Feuerbach believed that all this was the effect of imagination, and not of deceit.

Feuerbach endeavours to prove that the qualities both of body and mind of Caspar Hauser confirmed his story. If, however, we should admit as true and certain all that is related upon the peculiar bodily powers of Caspar Hauser, there remains always the very important question, whether these are to be considered as consequences of a long imprisonment which does not in other cases yield any similar results; or whether they are not to be considered as individual peculiarities; and whether they were not heightened by a strong excitement of the nerves arising from illness? Upon that point let Physicians decide. A philosophical and psychological examination of facts is not only requisite for the object, but also very desirable in all other respects. Experiments, however, which seemed to assume the credibility of the facts, must necessarily have had the effect of exciting or increasing Caspar Hauser’s wish of attracting notice, and of giving to him also hints how this was to be attained.

The peculiar conformation of the knees could not, according to the opinion of some Physi-

cians with whom I have spoken about it, have arisen from sitting during many years, and must therefore be considered as an original conformation.

Was Caspar Hauser able in three weeks to learn every thing which Professor Daumer relates (in the 1st page of the 1st No.)? He says that Caspar Hauser was troubled with frequent visits in the tower, and adds, "However, he learnt in three weeks to read tolerably well, to count, to write figures, to add and subtract, made progress in writing a good hand, and learned a simple tune on the harpsichord." Did not Caspar Hauser receive hints by which he afterwards learned to profit, from the conversations at which he was present, and which were supposed to be unintelligible to him?

In the year 1817 or 1818, there appeared upon the south-west coast of England a female impostor who was born not far from the place, who two years before, disguised in man's clothes, had been employed in a farm, and had afterwards made the acquaintance of some gypsies. She appeared under the name of *Caraboo*, as a native of India, and had an unknown language and writing. She seemed on her arrival very weary; her hands showed that she had not been accustomed to hard labour; she ate no meat, drank only water, and had the

greatest horror of wine and spirituous liquors. She was extremely neat in her dress, very modest in her behaviour, and her whole conduct made such a favourable impression as removed all suspicion of imposture. After this cheat was discovered by an English Physician, with whom I am acquainted, she related that she had played this part without any preparation; that she had learned it through the different observations which were made in her presence, and which were supposed to be unintelligible to her.

The story of the pretended attempt to assassinate Caspar Hauser in Nuremberg appeared to me to contain very suspicious circumstances.

"After the accident he first stated distinctly his previous apprehensions," as Professor Daumer says (page 57 of the 1st No.), "He had a precise anticipation of being struck, (and not, for example, of being pierced,)" as Professor Daumer says (in page 58 of the 1st No.). After Caspar Hauser had read the 1st No. of Schmidt Von Lübeck's Tract, in which (page 17) he expresses the opinion that Caspar Hauser had such a fine organ of smelling, that he could very well have smelt the unknown person if he was in the neighbourhood, and even in the same house: he said to me, this was actually the fact, but, as far as I know, he had never mentioned

any thing before on the subject: his imagination was always active, as well as his dexterity in employing any hint.

While he was sitting in the privy, he said, "You should open the door, the bell has been rung," as Professor Daumer says (page 61 of the 1st No.), Feuerbach, however, says (page 132), that "the gentle tone of the bell did not appear to proceed from ringing it, but from immediately striking the bell itself."

According to the account of Professor Daumer (page 61 of the 1st No.), the man stood in such a posture, "that the wall and the privy were behind him, and that he struck the blow backwards with his left hand." Caspar Hauser said he remarked that the man wore "new boots;" these, however, were not visible behind the screen, and when the man appeared before him with an instrument of murder in his hand, the eyes of Caspar Hauser must first have been directed to it, without being able to observe exactly the man's dress. He also remarked that the man wore a ring on his forefinger, as he perceived an elevation in his glove on that finger.

If Caspar Hauser had been the rightful heir of high rank, or of great fortune, and if his history is in this manner to be explained, it may well be presumed that the criminal who de-

prived him of the one or of the other, must have had enemies amongst his relations or connections, who, in order either to remove or to confirm their suspicions, would have made inquiries as soon as the narrative came to their knowledge. If, however, Caspar Hauser was not in those circumstances, it is difficult to invent an hypothesis, by which his treatment could be explained.

The opinions do not appear to me satisfactory, though they should even have been given by a Physician, that the long imprisonment of Caspar Hauser is proved by the extraordinary size of his liver; that his having eaten only bread is proved by the nature of his bile, and that his former inactivity of mind, and the imperfect development of his brain is proved by the size of this organ, which was similar to that of an animal. It would not become me to judge of these reasons: I would, however, propose as questions, whether the size of his liver is not to be explained in a very simple manner, as he ate much and took very little exercise? whether a large liver is only to be found in those persons who have been long in confinement? whether the peculiarity of his bile did not arise from the jaundice with which he was seized after he was wounded? whether the nature of the bile must not have been very

much altered in the period of nearly six years which had elapsed since his first arrival? and whether it could be concluded from thence how he had lived previously to that time? whether similar bile is found in most persons whose nourishment consists of bread and water? and whether the smallness of his brain, and its similarity to that of an animal, prevented him from possessing the most distinguished powers of understanding?

His dexterity, his courage, and his indefatigability as a rider, are in open contradiction with an imprisonment of many years. Professor Daumer, who refers to the evidence of the riding-master Rumpler and Professor Wurm in Nuremberg, remarks in an essay published in the General Newspaper of the 5th of this month, "Caspar Hauser learnt indeed so rapidly and so easily the art of riding, that it excited astonishment; but it was obvious that he learnt it, and he did not appear to have already acquired that talent before his arrival in Nuremberg." A Professor who had opportunities of seeing him in Nuremberg, said to me, when I spoke to him upon this point, that Caspar Hauser, after he had received instruction, for a month or six weeks, was always so clumsy and awkward (although he constantly sat firm in his saddle), that the other scholars



laughed at him. Without such instruction he could not ride according to the rules of art, and it is obvious that this must have been learned by him ; but the question is, whether a previous habit was not necessary, in order that he should sit firm in his saddle, and ride with courage. By his own statement it was found that he never was galled, and that his thighs were never wearied : but these unconfirmed and improbable statements were perhaps only fictions to excite attention. If he had remained alive I would, with the consent of the government of Bavaria, have had him examined by one of the first Lawyers in Germany ; and if this had led to no results, I would have shewn him that it was quite impossible ever to discover the circumstances of his family, if he would not or could not state the real facts, and that the inquiry itself could otherwise rest on no other point than the hand-writing of the letter he brought with him. It is not yet too late to revert to the first witnesses, as Merker in his "Observations" (page 173) advises ; and he adds, very justly, "It is only from this source that information can be drawn."

The communication of the first documents of the police, which he long since required, and which are essentially different from the judicial, or from those which regard the inquiry,

would have been of the greatest importance, and could not, as appears to me, have been refused with propriety or justice. No person ever expressed a wish, which would have been indiscreet and unreasonable, to know any thing about the judicial inquiries : but the observations and facts by which Caspar Hauser was psychologically to be judged, were of such a nature that they might, without hesitation, have been communicated to the world ; and ought to have been so communicated, in order to ascertain the truth : as the authorities could not wish to distort or to conceal the facts, and thus to falsify the history. A due inquiry into the history is still more desirable, as Feuerbach often said to me, " If one reads the official documents of Nuremberg one must think that Caspar Hauser was an impostor ;" and he sometimes added, " they ought to be burnt." Although I could not judicially, or with the talents which are requisite, conduct such an inquiry ; I am, however, very desirous of learning from the first witnesses, and indeed from their own mouths, how Caspar Hauser first conducted himself, how he acted and spoke, and how he appeared to them immediately after his arrival in Nuremberg.

Should it be confirmed that Caspar Hauser

during many months had not the inclination, or even the power, of taking any other food than bread and water, this circumstance would not indeed prove, though it might in some degree tend to show, that he had hitherto led a mode of life, not to be accounted for, except on the supposition that the man "with whom he had always lived," had educated him in this manner to prepare him for serving in the cavalry, as a soldier is principally fed with bread, and would very much recommend himself by his abstinence from spirituous liquors. If he had not had a very peculiar education, or a very unusual course of life, it is difficult to conceive, and it belongs to the wonderful circumstances of his life, how at his age, which did not admit of long experience, and with his want of knowledge, he was able constantly, and for years together, to play such a part without betraying himself, and without being detected by the many persons who visited him, and some of whom were learned and intelligent! He declined, indeed, as much as possible, all intercourse with those who wished to ask him questions, and to examine his story; and as soon as he remarked their intention, he endeavoured to avoid persons who were so curious. This was told me before I made his acquaintance, by

**a thoroughly credible and respectable gentleman at Nuremberg, who was a friend of his, and this circumstance ought even then to have peared to me somewhat suspicious.**

*Extract of a Letter from EARL STANHOPE  
to the Schoolmaster MEYER in Ansbach,  
dated Carlsruhe, March 27th, 1834.*

You had during two years the opportunity of observing the unfortunate Caspar Hauser; and you must have perceived that he possessed qualities which are seldom united, and which cannot fail in producing much effect. He was lively and natural, good-humoured and amiable, and, to appearance, open-hearted as a child; without ever becoming importunate, noisy, or restless, and consequently troublesome; tranquil and composed, inspired with the wish, and also endowed with the talent of pleasing others, and of exciting attention; with an unerring tact which always dictated to him what he ought to say or to do; with a wonderful facility of observing every thing quickly and accurately; with an acuteness which gave him the means of influencing the minds of others;—with a discretion and a dexterity which appeared to have been the result of long experience, and a cunning which seemed to have been formed by varied practice;—with a self-possession which prevented

him, on every occasion, from becoming embarrassed, and enabled him constantly to find new excuses,—Caspar Hauser was a most extraordinary and interesting phenomenon.

Among other proofs of his great address, the following appeared to me very remarkable. On his arrival in Ansbach, at the end of November, 1831, he was received in a cold and unfriendly manner by Feuerbach, to whom the report had been made that he was become arrogant. Caspar Hauser then began a long and well connected discourse respecting his education in Nuremberg, and the defects which he had remarked in it, and spoke with so much excitement that perspiration appeared on his forehead. Feuerbach listened to him with patience, casting upon me, from time to time, a look which shewed clearly the effect of the discourse, and he became at the conclusion of it entirely converted. He found some remarks in this discourse so striking that he mentions them in the last chapter of his work.

I did not make Caspar Hauser's acquaintance, as the Clergyman Fuhrmann relates in his funeral discourse, through an accident that happened to my carriage on my journey to Nuremberg, in October, 1829, but it gave me the opportunity of learning some circumstances with respect to his history, of which I had not

then heard any thing, and also with respect to the pretended assassination, which had occurred some days before. I saw him for the first time on the 28th of May, 1831 ; and after I had passed some days in his neighbourhood, and had often seen him, I returned in September of that year to Nuremberg, where I had, during two months, the opportunity of observing him daily, and for several hours together ; which was also the case afterwards at Ansbach during six weeks. I was often witness of the singular and most extraordinary excitement which he manifested on hearing the Hungarian language, and which was only to be explained through reminiscences, or through imposition.

When I saw him for the first time, I was very much struck at perceiving that he was not awkward or helpless in his motions, or his attitude, although I had often heard, and therefore expected to find, the reverse. It is also very remarkable that he became at last passionately fond of dancing, as a friend assured me, who observed him during the last two years : although dancing requires a much greater exertion of strength than walking, which, according to his statement, so much fatigued him. He always sat in an upright posture of the body, and did not appear to have been accustomed to lean backwards or sideways.

He retained always, but not in an exaggerated degree, that "love for order and for cleanliness" which had distinguished him during his residence in the tower, which certainly contradicted the statement that he had passed many years in a dark dungeon, and which seemed rather to arise from long habit, or perhaps from a very careful education in that respect. I heard, however, from the former jailer Hiltel, that he had accustomed Caspar Hauser to order and cleanliness, qualities which he had not before possessed.

I believed, when I was in the neighbourhood of Caspar Hauser, that the untruths which I now and then perceived in his statements, were to be explained, and in some measure to be excused, from the circumstances of his former life, and that the improbabilities in his story were occasioned partly by a deficiency in his expressions and ideas, and partly by his not having been fully understood. I admonished him, therefore, both in writing and verbally, that truth was to every person a sacred duty, and to no person so indispensable as to himself, since his narrative appeared always so extraordinary, and to many persons fictitious. When he was placed under my care, I did not know that he deserved so little credit as I afterwards judged, from many circumstances; and he had



not at that time shewn himself in so unfavourable a light, as afterwards was the case.

You know very well that I had not any intention to have him placed under my care as an object of curiosity. I learned, however, that his former Guardian would no longer have the charge of him,—that the Municipality of Nuremberg was not inclined to continue the support which it gave to him whom it had hitherto considered as its “*adopted son*,” and that he must in the following year go as an apprentice to some trade. I took, therefore, under my protection this youth, who so much required support, for whom I felt much friendship, and who always showed to me the greatest attachment, gratitude, and docility.

Even when I was at Ansbach, a circumstance occurred which I mentioned in my letter of the 24th of May, 1832, to Lieutenant Hickel, with the remark, that it seemed to “require further explanation.” In my first examination, I made the following statement respecting it :

“I have learnt from Lieutenant Hickel, that no journal was found among the papers of the deceased. The deceased had talked to me several times of a journal in which he daily entered every thing which seemed to him important or interesting. I heard also from a person at this place, that the deceased kept such a

journal when he lived in Nuremberg with Mr. Biberbach, as the latter, or his daughter, had told that person. According to the statement of the deceased, he kept this journal even when he lived with Professor Daumer. In the latter part of my residence in Ansbach, in January 1832, the deceased offered to read to me some time or other parts of it. I thanked him, and said that it would be very interesting to me. In the afternoon of the day before my departure from Ansbach, I called at the house of the schoolmaster Meyer, to take leave of him, and went first to the room of the deceased, where I asked to see his journal, without having time, or, indeed, the wish to read much of it, but only to see the size, the form, and the manner in which he kept it. The deceased said he could not do so, because the journal was lying under many other things, and it was very inconvenient to get at it. This excuse appeared to me a falsehood, because a journal which is daily used is not generally kept in that manner. I made no observation, however, and went to the room of Mr. Meyer, who accompanied me to the stairs after I had taken leave of him. The deceased then begged me to go with him to his room, which I did, attended by Mr. Meyer. When we were in his room the deceased said to me, "I will

D

show you my journal, but you must first promise me not to read any thing in it." I answered, "You will do me the justice to believe that I will not, without your permission, read any thing which you have written." He then opened a drawer which was in his room, lifted up a coat, under which lay a thin book sewed in light blue paper, which, however, he did not take out of the drawer. He said thereupon, to Mr. Meyer, 'this book contains things which are only for myself, and of which neither the Earl nor others need know any thing.' Mr. Meyer said to him, that he did not require to see things which the other kept only for himself.

(Since the death of the deceased, I have learned from Lieutenant Hickel, that in consequence of a letter which I wrote to him or to Feuerbach, and in which the above mentioned circumstance with respect to his journal is related, he had gone to the deceased and expressed my wish, as also the wish of Feuerbach, that he should send this journal immediately to the latter, which the deceased absolutely refused to do, and said he would give it only to me, or would read to me parts of it.) Mr. Meyer came then into the room; and as the deceased persisted in saying, that he certainly would not send the journal to Feuerbach, Lieutenant Hickel observed, that it should be taken from him by force;

on which the deceased said he had long since burnt it. Lieutenant Hickel, however, had his drawers and his other repositories searched in his presence, and in that of Mr. Meyer ; and as no journal was found, Mr. Meyer asked the deceased where he had kept the journal ; and the deceased then shewed to him a drawer, where, as far as I understood, it had lain concealed under a board."

You probably recollect that when I was in Ansbach, I expected very confidently a speedy discovery of the history of Caspar Hauser ; as a circumstance, which I was not then at liberty to mention, had inspired me with the conviction that all the localities of his former residence were thoroughly known, and that on the spot itself we should not fail to find what persons had been concerned. These circumstances are stated by me in a letter which I wrote last month to Lieutenant Hickel ; and his Report which I received on the 23rd of May, 1832, with respect to his inquiries in Hungary had necessarily the effect of disappointing my hopes, and also of destroying the confidence which I before placed in the truth of the story. It would be superfluous, and would also lead me too far, to relate here the particular statements, which, even a year and a half ago, appeared to me unfounded, and which I have noticed in the

above mentioned letter to Lieutenant Hickel. The conviction, which I by degrees acquired, that the story was not, and could not be, such as he related, received new strength and confirmation through the observations which were published last year by the Counsellor of Police, Merker, in Berlin, who has so much ability and experience, and which I consider as a real model of correct logic, of an acute investigation, and of a luminous statement, and also as a complete refutation of the representations of Feuerbach. The opinions of Feuerbach appeared to me to have found very little credit in England, where last year a translation of his work appeared, and where many readers asked me, "How much of it can we believe?" He concealed also the most important facts which are contained in the first documents of the Police, and which I very well remember to have read in them; so that his work is by no means to be considered as founded upon authentic documents. Does it not appear in those documents, that Caspar Hauser, on his first examination, stated his name and his age; as also that he was a Catholic; and that the official person who examined him wrote at the end of the protocol, that he "concealed the truth, was deceitful, and crafty?" Have I not also read in them, although the first documents of

the Police were only communicated to me for a short time, and not like the others which I was allowed to keep for a longer time, that Caspar Hauser spoke to his first acquaintance in Nuremberg, the Shoemaker Weichmann, and also to the servant of the Captain, and that in the guard-room, when he was asked where he came from, he answered, "I dare not say?" Even when I was in Ansbach, I mentioned these circumstances to the Counsellor of Appeals, who was employed to make reports on this business. Instead of waiting till the Shoemaker came to him, as Caspar Hauser related, he went to the former, and, indeed, with very "firm steps," down a steep declivity. Caspar Hauser, when he appeared at Nuremberg, instead of being in a "state devoid of consciousness and similar to that of an animal," had, as the former jailer Hiltel informed me, a "powerful understanding;" and instead of sitting on the ground and stretching out his legs, this was never his posture. I could relate many other examples of the same sort.

It is not, alas! to be denied, and I must confess it to be the case, that no reliance was to be placed on the statements of Caspar Hauser; that he invented and disfigured much of what he said; and that he deceived us in many points, if not in the whole, of his narrative. The

question, however, remains to be considered whether he was, in the proper, or in the usual, sense of the word, to be called an impostor; and I hope that the world will in this respect judge fairly the unfortunate foundling. I have no reason whatever to believe that he appeared in Nuremberg with the intention of playing the part which he afterwards acted, and in which he conducted himself so much to the astonishment of the world, and to the full conviction of many intelligent persons.

The former Captain (now Major) Von W—— whom I personally know, and who appeared to me a very kind and good-hearted person, was almost on the point of taking under his care the unfortunate youth: and had this been the case, the world, in all probability, would never have heard the name of Caspar Hauser. It is also very probable that he would have remained entirely unknown if he had been immediately sent away, and had thus been allowed to seek his fortune elsewhere. But on this, as on many other occasions, the most trifling circumstances produce often important results which have very extensive consequences. The Captain had made an excursion into the country with two friends, one of whom was employed by the Police, and he was requested to take thither Caspar Hauser.

When he came to the guard-room a new epoch began, which must have appeared to him very important: and a police soldier who saw him there related to me that he afterwards became anxious, wished to go away, and said often, "Shew me the way home." His situation, as he remained locked up in the tower, continued in some degree dubious, till, through many questions and hints, a story was put into his mouth, which must have excited compassion as well as interest, which, from the kind disposition of the inhabitants of Nuremberg, must have procured him assistance, and which was very attractive through the curiosity and credulity which are every where to be found. He also became more and more involved in the story which had been suggested to him; and the longer he acted this part the more difficult must it have been to him to extricate himself from it; till at last he found satisfaction in it, and as Professor Daumer states (in an article in the *Universal Gazette* of the 6th of last month), "lying and deceit were become to him a second nature."

His vanity, which in his very peculiar situation was unavoidable, and therefore pardonable, his unfortunate inclination always to attract notice, the necessity which he thought was imposed upon him to act and sustain the



part he had undertaken, must be considered, in judging morally, as well as psychologically, his character: but his celebrated history, which will be transmitted to posterity, will always continue to bring misfortunes on his fellow men, and will always excite mistrust even towards those who do not deserve it, and who are innocent, though they may not appear to be quite unsuspected. An unjust judgment, and therefore an unkind treatment, will often be the melancholy lot of many who otherwise, and if we had not known this remarkable and unfortunate history, which may well serve as a warning, would have experienced kindness and indulgence.

I was well aware that the principal defect of his character—his entire want of veracity—could not remain concealed from your acuteness which had long been known to me, and that you would earnestly exert yourself to bring him, as far as possible, into better paths. In order to promote those exertions, to form his moral character, and to check a disposition which could not be entirely eradicated, and which had led him to much deceit, I thought it very proper that he should receive instruction in the moral doctrines of natural and revealed religion, and I cannot conceive how the Clergyman Fuhrmann had

the notion (as he mentions in page 51 of his publication), of giving Caspar Hauser theological instructions, which had for him no object or utility.

The plan of study which you had first formed for him was very well adapted to its purpose, and had my entire approbation. The history of the Bible was part of that plan; and Feuerbach concurred in my opinion that Caspar Hauser should receive general, but not special, instruction in religion, and should not be confirmed in the doctrines of any particular church, since it was not at all known who he was, whence he came, or what was the religion of his parents or of his connexions; and it might have been concluded, from the tracts which he brought with him to Nuremberg, that he was a Catholic. It seemed improper, therefore, to confirm him in a church in which he might not afterwards remain. If, however, any creed were to be chosen for him, the Catholic appeared the most suitable, as it brought with it the obligation of confession. He was, however, confirmed in the Protestant religion, as I learned by a letter which I received from him a short time before the solemnity took place.

Feuerbach expressed to me the wish that his work, of which I had ordered many copies,

should not be communicated to Caspar Hauser, as it might increase his vanity. I had however no intention of doing so, and I told Caspar Hauser that he ought not to read the work, as it contained nothing new to him, but a very vivid description of his former misfortunes which might affect him. After my departure I learned from him that Feuerbach himself had given him the work : and I lately heard that Caspar Hauser spoke of it in a public company in Ansbach, and said that many things were in it of which he knew nothing.

Amongst other obligations which I, as his foster father, had undertaken towards the municipality of Nuremberg, was this : "To adopt all measures which are requisite for his personal security." The most precise measures were for this purpose ordered by me, and executed by you ; and if he had been a state prisoner who had been confided to me, I could not with more anxiety have taken care of him, or have made, with more precaution, the proper arrangements in order to secure him from all external danger, as well as to prevent any person from being admitted to his room who was not entirely free from suspicion, and could prove himself to be such. In a conversation which I had upon it with Feuerbach, he said to me, "You cannot do more for him if you do

not lock him up." When he came into your domestic care he was placed under the immediate superintendence of my friend Lieutenant Hickel, who, in the institution for the Cadets at Munich, had acquired much experience and talent in education; and from a thorough knowledge of his heart and understanding, I had formed a very favourable opinion of him, and had given him my confidence. Caspar Hauser was positively forbidden ever to go out, even into the streets, without being accompanied; and in the hours which he had at his disposal, he was attended by a soldier who was much distinguished by his courage, and who was in the service of Lieutenant Hickel. If this order had been always observed, it would have been impossible for him to have been wounded as he was, either by his own hand or by that of another person. When, however, he was no longer attended in the streets, he could not be prevented from going further, or into secluded places. After my departure, and during the absence of Lieutenant Hickel, who had made a journey on his military duties, Caspar Hauser, who had formerly appeared to be very anxious and uneasy about his own safety, employed this opportunity to persuade Feuerbach to revoke the order; and he received permission from him to go alone in the

streets, but not out of the town, and therefore not to the Court Garden. This happened without my will, and even without my knowledge, and I first learned the circumstance after the death of Caspar Hauser. On this, as on several other occasions, Feuerbach arrogated to himself a power which in no way belonged to him, and which, together with the responsibility connected with it, belonged solely to me. I was, as you may well suppose, as much astonished as afflicted by the news that Caspar Hauser, whom I had supposed to be in a state of the utmost security, had been wounded. I abstain, however, at present, from saying anything on the unfortunate end of his short life, and reserve to myself at the proper time to write to you more fully on the subject.

*Extract of a Letter from EARL STANHOPE to M. MERKER, in Berlin, Counsellor of Police to the King of Prussia, dated Heidelberg, 14th August, 1834.*

YOU are aware that the detection of imposture was formerly considered a service rendered to the world; but now those persons are attacked who express any doubts as to the wonderful story of the "Foundling of Nuremberg." You, who first had the merit of applying your long experience, your various acquirements, your talents, which are every where so much respected, and your very acute mind, to the examination of this narrative, and in this respect also have so honourably distinguished yourself, have been calumniated. I, who considered it as my duty openly to confess that I had been deceived, and had formed erroneous opinions, have been termed by a certain Counsellor of State, "the enemy and persecutor of Caspar Hauser." However, his first foster-father acknowledged to the world that "lies and dissimulation had become a second nature" to

him ; and, already in the year 1830, his guardian officially declared that he had observed in him " palpable lies."

The opinion formerly prevailed, which perhaps in the present enlightened age is to be considered as an antiquated prejudice, that a liar was not worthy of credit, and that his statements had no weight whatever, if they were not confirmed by unexceptionable testimony. It has been proved that Caspar Hauser deceived many, even his most intimate acquaintance, and his best friends ; but some persons still consider his evidence to deserve credit, in a story which is not supported by a single witness, which in its most essential parts is contrary to the course of nature, and which bears evident marks of falsehood.

It has, indeed, been contended, that his narrative, incredible as it must appear, is confirmed by his pretended assassination. Is this fact, however, proved ? And upon what grounds would such a supposition rest, if undeniable facts, and even the conduct of Caspar Hauser himself, should furnish the most powerful reasons to consider his last, as well as his first, narrative to be only a fiction ? I confine myself at present to this single remark, that no rash judgment ought to be formed, and that it would be most unreasonable to draw conclusions from

a supposition, which is in no degree proved, and which is perhaps entirely unfounded.

It is also singular that some persons will not believe Caspar Hauser to have been an impostor, because it has not been ascertained what was his former course of life, to what family he belonged, and where he had resided. What however would such persons have thought, and very justly have said, of us, if we had refused to believe his narrative, because it had not been stated when, where, by whom, and at whose instigation, he had been imprisoned? This demand, however, would not have been more unreasonable and absurd than the other. If the story of his imprisonment is proved, we must believe it, although it is improbable, and the particular circumstances of it remain unknown to us; but if, on the other hand, we are justly entitled to consider the story as altogether fictitious, this conviction should not be shaken, because we remain ignorant of the former circumstances of his life. If another Münchhausen were to appear, and to relate adventures which were incredible, and partly impossible, should we not doubt it, although we do not know who were his parents, where he had lived, what he had done, and circumstances of that sort?

There are others also, who for the very reason



that his narrative is romantic, readily believe it, who find it unpleasant to be disturbed in their dreams, and to have the creation of their fancy placed in a just view. As Schmidt Von Lübeck observes in an article (*Literürische Blätter der Börsen Halle*, No. 902,) "A part of the world chooses to believe the story for the reason, of which they are not themselves conscious, that the romance of Caspar Hauser, which has hitherto been so interesting, would at once be converted into a paltry and ordinary occurrence. It is true that the romance with the title 'Caspar Hauser, an amiable and disguised prince,' is infinitely more interesting than the simple tale of Caspar Hauser, a poor sickly and wandering young man." Such persons may perhaps be sensible, but will not, however, allow that the whole story, as you have most satisfactorily shewn (in your *Nachrichten über Caspar Hauser*, pages 118 to 138), is easily to be explained.

In this, as in every other narrative which is examined, either judicially or philosophically, the first question is, whether it is proved by credible witnesses, or by undoubted facts? and if it is shewn that this is not the case, the second question is, whether in the conduct and character of the relator, there are reasons to consider his narrative as fictitious?

You will allow me to make some remarks on both these questions ; and I will omit those observations which are the best and the most important, that is to say, your own ; they are as weighty as they are acute, and are much more powerful than any which I could urge.

It is already known to you, that before I saw Caspar Hauser, I had read the printed official documents which Feuerbach had prepared in the hope of confuting your opinions ; that these, as well as the pretended assassination in Nuremberg, seemed to me a confirmation of the story of his imprisonment ; that the falsehoods of which he was guilty, and which I partly remarked myself, and partly heard from others, appeared to be such as are found in the cases of uneducated children, and that they were not considered by me as suspicious, till, through his own conduct, my confidence in him was thoroughly destroyed.

But before I come to the consideration of these official documents, I must examine a little of Feuerbach's Romance. He himself; taught by his own experience, began, in the last period of his life, to doubt the truth of his narrative, as I have learned from a witness, in every way deserving of credit, said, " Perhaps Feuerbach has written a romance in his old age." He did not, however, allow the

matter to be further investigated, and did nothing towards rectifying the errors which he himself had disseminated, and to throw light on a story which had received great weight from his authority.

He relates at the commencement of his romance, (See Caspar Hauser, by A. Von Feuerbach, 3rd edition, pp. 1, 2,) that "a citizen" (that is to say, the Shoemaker Weichmann) "was tarrying before his house, intending to go from there to what is called the New Gate, when looking round, he saw, not far from him, a young man dressed like a peasant, who was standing in a very singular attitude, similar to one who was intoxicated, endeavouring to move forward, without being able to stand upright, or to use his feet. The said citizen approached the stranger, who shewed to him a letter," &c. &c.

In this are no less than the following falsehoods :

First—The Shoemaker Weichmann was not "tarrying before his house," which would besides have been very improbable, as he was going to the New Gate. He stood, but not "before his house," with the Shoemaker Beck, and was conversing with him.

Secondly—Caspar Hauser did not stand in a "very singular attitude, similar to one who is

intoxicated, without being able to stand upright, or to use his feet." He came, as Beck says, "with firm steps," down the steep declivity of the *Bürleinhüterberg*, and as Weichmann says, "walked in the usual way, did not stoop and did not totter."

Thirdly—Weichmann did not "approach the stranger;" Caspar Hauser went up to him and Beck.

Fourthly—Caspar Hauser did not "shew to him a letter." The letter was taken afterwards by Caspar Hauser out of his pocket.

The two following facts also are entirely concealed by Feuerbach. First: Beck, who was present, confirmed the evidence of Weichmann on the three first points. Secondly: Caspar Hauser said to them, without being addressed by them, "Where New Gate Street?" If a Judge, whose duty it is to investigate the truth, and to represent it faithfully, has in this manner falsified a narrative, it cannot be contended that he wrote "in conformity to official documents;" and one cannot be astonished if he expressed a wish that those documents might be "burned."

Under the pretext that those documents are "so much exposed to the doubts of historical criticism," and that "they are only to be used with the greatest caution as materials for his-

tory," he has, as he says, "related very shortly the particular circumstances, as Caspar Hauser went with the aforesaid citizen from the *Unschlitt platz* to the Guard House, and from thence to the residence of Captain Von W——." He relates, however, what is quite false, viz. that "the stranger appeared to understand none of these questions;" and he adds, "he appeared to hear without understanding, and to see without remarking any thing." The Groom, Mark, with whom he remained till the Captain returned home, states, on the other hand, that "Caspar Hauser appeared to understand every thing that was said to him, and he spoke also intelligibly, but not well." Further he says, that "he wrote his name with pencil, and read what Mark had written."

The romance of Feuerbach relates, moreover, that, after the arrival of the Captain, "nothing could be extracted from Caspar Hauser by questions, except 'Become a horseman,' and so forth, or 'I don't know;'" which is an equally unfounded assertion. The Captain (now Major) Von W——, states, on the contrary, "Caspar Hauser answered to one of the first questions, 'My foster-father desired me to say, 'I don't know, your Worship.''" After which he took off his hat, and added, "He told me I should always say 'your Worship,' and take off

my hat." So faithful and so conformable to the evidence is Feuerbach's representation of Caspar Hauser's conduct, in the first hours which he passed in Nuremberg!

Those first hours, when he had had still the hope of becoming a "horseman," when he had not yet been brought before the Police, and when he had not yet played the part, which afterwards excited so much astonishment, form, in the history of his life, as far as it is known to us, the first epocha which is essentially distinguished from those that follow. It might be more tedious than interesting to you, to go through the whole romance of Feuerbach, and to make a complete commentary upon its innumerable misstatements.

Equally false as his statement of the facts, is his representation of the intellectual and bodily condition of Caspar Hauser, and equally unfounded and untenable is his theory.

Caspar Hauser shewed (English translation page 6) "almost the stupidity of an animal." He was (page 40) "a half dumb animal man." He was "stupid like an animal, and blind though he saw." His mind was "in the state of an animal devoid of reason and not only his soul, (page 55,) but also many of his senses appeared at first to be entirely torpid, and only to awake gradually to the impression of ex-

ternal objects." He "appeared (page 22) in general to take no interest in what passed before his eyes." He had (page 19) "an entire want of words and notions, and was utterly unacquainted with the most common objects." In a word, he was, according to an expression which Feuerbach very often used, "in a state devoid of consciousness, and similar to that of an animal."

All this is contradicted not only by indisputable testimony, but even by Caspar Hauser himself.

Caspar Hauser related in writing, and with the greatest detail, every thing which happened after his appearance in Nuremberg, and even the very trifling circumstances, that "a pewter plate" was brought to him with meat and beer—that "the lustre of the plate and the colour of the beer" pleased him very well, that he "drank three or four glasses" of water, that he was delighted with the "sabre" of the Captain, that the gate of the Tower "had a singular sound," that his room had a stove "which was of a green colour and was well glazed," &c. However, Feuerbach contends that Caspar Hauser was "stupid like an animal, and blind though he saw," and that he was "utterly unacquainted with the most common objects." Those who defend Feuer-

bach's theory must indeed lament that Caspar Hauser's memory was too weak to relate more particulars with respect to the journey which, according to his narrative, immediately preceded it, and also that his memory was so inaccurate as to state, "I stood for some time in the same place in which the man had left me, till the other man took my letter, and led me to the house of the Captain:" a statement of which the falsehood has been proved through the concurrent testimony of two citizens of Nuremberg.

What are the statements of these and of other most credible witnesses who had the opportunity of observing him immediately after his arrival, and amongst others of the Captain (now Major) Von W——? Caspar asked the two first, "Where New Gate Street?" and said afterwards, "New Gate, newly built?" He answered to the questions whence he came? "from Ratisbon," and if he had been before in Nuremberg? "No, this is the first time." He took off his hat before the Corporal at the New Gate, shewed his letter, received information where the Captain dwelt, understood it, and went alone to the house. He related that he had "gone every day over the frontier to school;" and he said when horses were shewn to him, "There were five



such where I lived." Even the former jailer, Hiltel, proves that Caspar Hauser had "a powerful understanding," and "learned every thing immediately."

From these and from some other parts of the evidence which are above quoted, it will be judged whether Caspar Hauser, as Feuerbach represents, was then in "the state of an animal devoid of reason," and "had an entire want of words and notions."

With respect to the bodily condition of Caspar Hauser, Feuerbach relates the following circumstances amongst others.

When he visited him in the Tower (page 65) his eyes appeared "very sensitive" to the light. The contrary, however, is proved by the Police Officer Wüst, who states that "his eyes were not sensitive to the light, and that he came close to a great light when he wrote his name:" and the Police soldier Bleumer states that "the light of day did not dazzle him, only artificial light."

"The staring look of his eyes (page 15) shewed the dulness of an animal." The Officer of Police, before whom Caspar Hauser was examined the very day after his appearance, remarked in him a "tranquil inquiring look."

He "was almost unable to use his hands

and fingers" (page 16); but Feuerbach himself confesses (page 70) that Caspar Hauser soon after his arrival in the tower made considerable progress in drawing; and many witnesses confirm the circumstance that on the very day of his arrival, when he wrote his name, he held the pen "very properly" and "like other persons" (p. 8).

"The soles of his feet (page 14) were covered with fresh blisters." The former jailer, Hiltel, states "his feet were not excoriated, but only swelled, as his boots were too tight."

He sat (page 27) "with his legs stretched out before him on the ground." According to the evidence of Hiltel, Caspar Hauser "could not stretch out his legs without pain; and he never sat upon the floor with his legs stretched out;" and "when he sat on the floor he did not stretch out his legs, but folded them under him like a tailor."

"His steps, similar to those of a child which makes its first attempts in leading-strings, could not so well be called walking as a waddling, hesitating motion—a painful medium between walking and standing upright" (page 16). It is proved, however, by the evidence of Weichmann, that Caspar Hauser "walked in the ordinary way, did not

stoop, and did not totter," and, by the evidence of the Police Soldier Le Marrier, that Caspar Hauser moved "in an erect posture," and that he "stood" two hours together, "always in an erect posture" without requiring "to sit."

"He often fell down at full length in his little room on meeting the least obstacle or impediment" (page 16). But he was not led either by Weichmann or by the Police Soldier Bleumer, who accompanied him in his walks while he remained in the tower ; and he passed over a great number of gutters, and went also upon a pavement, part of which was very bad and rough, and had every day a steep declivity to ascend and descend. Beck also proves that Caspar Hauser came "with firm steps" down to the *Bärleinhüterberg*.

"It was necessary long after his arrival to lead him when he went up and down stairs" (page 16). But on the very evening of his arrival he mounted alone and without any help the staircase of the tower, consisting of 94 steps.

Such a falsification of history, as is shewn in the points above mentioned, would have been conceivable if Feuerbach had been a writer of romance, or a poet. It is not, however, permitted or pardonable in a Judge, to whom truth should be sacred, to trample it under foot in order to defend his theory.

His theory, which appears from the facts above stated to be entirely groundless and void of reality, is explained by Feuerbach. He says "the truth of the narrative is certified to us by the personal qualities of the relator, in whose body, mind, and disposition the act is still written in legible characters." He considers also (in a note to page 41) as a proof that "is entirely confirmed by the traces which still remain in his body and which must be recognized," that he "always sat, whether waking or sleeping, in an upright posture."

It is, however, quite obvious to plain common sense, and it requires no proof since it cannot be doubted, that if Caspar Hauser had sat for years together in this, or in any other posture, he would have become crippled or contracted, and that he could not have learned to stand or to walk in a few days.

What, however, are these "traces which remain and which must be recognized?"

Dr. Osterhausen mentions (pages 17 and 18) a particular conformation of the knee, and with such details, the unusual position of particular muscles, as if he had already, during Caspar Hauser's life time, dissected his knee. But, as Dr. Heidenreich states in his Report (pages 30 and 31), there was, on his *post*

*mortem* examination, "nothing of the sort perceived."

Caspar Hauser had on his arrival not a pallid countenance like one who has been confined for years. According to the evidence of the former Captain Von W—— "he appeared well fed and healthy;" according to the evidence of the former Groom, Mark, "he appeared healthy;" according to the evidence of the Police Officer, Wüst, "he had a very healthy colour; he did not appear pale or delicate as one who had been some time confined;" according to the evidence of another Police Officer at Nuremberg, "he appeared healthy, and had not the pallid colour of a person who had been long in prison," and according to the evidence of Hiltel, "he had a healthy colour."

Towards the end of May, and in the afternoon about 4 o'clock, he went with Weichmann to the New Gate, and bore the light of day; which would have been utterly impossible if, according to his statement, he had passed many years in a dark dungeon. Hiltel states, indeed, that "his eyes were very sensitive to the light, and he complained of it." The question is, however, how he conducted himself at first, and not how he conducted himself afterwards, when he had begun to act a new part.

His body, as Feuerbach himself states, "shewed a perfect proportion" (page 14); and he appeared, therefore, as one who had been accustomed to free exercise, and who had not been stopped in his development and growth.

He was not deficient in bodily strength, for immediately after his journey, and on the very day of his arrival, he went from the *Unschlitt platz* to the New Gate, from thence to the house of the Captain, from thence to the Guard Room in the Town House, and from thence to the Tower in the *Luginsland*—not less than 1757 paces, and then to his room up a staircase consisting of 94 steps; the whole way without any stick, and without being led or helped by any one, although he himself related that he had learned to walk only a few days before.

At the *post mortem* examination, it was found that Caspar Hauser had a very large liver, which one of the Physicians, Dr. Albert, considered as a sign of his former imprisonment, which, however, Dr. Heidenreich thought "quite natural in conjunction with his lungs, which were very small in proportion." With respect to this circumstance there exists the anatomical question, which I as a layman do not venture to examine, whether all those

persons who are confined, and no others, have a large liver ?

Was not this the case with the Duke of Reichstadt, who died very early, and certainly had not been confined ?

Great importance appears to be attached to the circumstance, that Caspar Hauser, on his arrival at Nuremberg, shewed an aversion to all food except bread and water, although it is not proved that at that time he could not bear any other. This circumstance was, perhaps, to be considered as an individual peculiarity, or as an idiosyncrasy, as the Physicians term it, and is not a sufficient proof of his former confinement. An experienced Officer of Police, who is quite deserving of credit, assured me that similar cases occurred with soldiers ; and that he had known several of them who having lived before on bread and water, were only able to accustom themselves by degrees to other food.

I shall mention afterwards other peculiarities which it was pretended were observed in Caspar Hauser, when I make some observations on the Reports of Dr. Osterhausen and of Dr. Preu (who is now deceased), which Feuerbach had prepared.

Feuerbach himself seemed to think that the bodily condition of Caspar Hauser was not the chief foundation of his theory ; and he remarks

(page 59) that "the proof of the crime exists principally in the state of his soul, which is to be considered quite psychologically, and is to be established and confirmed by observations on the state of the mind and disposition of the person who received the injury." He adds (page 70), "The proof of this almost incredible fact rests principally upon psychological foundations." He adds further, "the facts which are discovered in this manner give a confirmation which exceeds in strength every other proof"!!!

We have already seen that the intellectual condition of Caspar Hauser was quite different from that which Feuerbach represents, and that his theory is confuted by Caspar Hauser himself, as well as by incontrovertible facts. Feuerbach, who saw Caspar Hauser for the first time on the 11th of July, and therefore more than seven weeks after his arrival, was unable, from his own experience and observation, to say any thing as to his first appearance; so that he stated from the relation of others, as far as they suited his theory, circumstances which were partly distorted, and partly invented; but he despised the official documents, and concealed, as far as possible, the evidence.

Feuerbach represents as falsely the disposi-



tion of Caspar Hauser, as, in what has just been stated, his intellectual and his bodily condition.

"There was not a spark of religion" to be found in the soul of Caspar Hauser (page 30). He had "no notion of God" (page 116). But an Officer of Police, by whom he was examined the day after his arrival, states, that he mentioned he was of the Roman Catholic religion, which was to be concluded from the Catholic tracts that he brought with him. Caspar Hauser related to the Burgomaster Binder, that he had learned from his guide, and during the journey, "the Lord's prayer, and another prayer, both of which he had never before heard;" and the Burgomaster adds, "and he can still say them very well." Caspar Hauser, who, according to the representation of Feuerbach, was "as dull as an animal," and "an animal man half dumb," could, according to the evidence of the Burgomaster Binder, say "very well two prayers."

"His docility (page 73) was unconditional and boundless;" but Feuerbach does not explain how this quality, to which children are, in many cases, only to be accustomed with great trouble, was taught Caspar Hauser, who, according to his own narrative, was as long as he remembers, excluded from all human society, and only a short time before his release,

had received instructions in writing, but no other of any kind. Since, however, his dexterity as a rider was, according to the very philosophical and ingenious theory of Feuerbach, to be explained by the circumstance (page 135), that Caspar Hauser "was born of a nation of horsemen," perhaps his docility was to be explained by the circumstance that he had parents and ancestors who were also very docile in their childhood.

"His love of order and cleanliness which he carried even to pedantry" (page 75), cannot be reconciled with the hypothesis that he had passed many years in darkness and in solitude; but Hiltel told me that Caspar Hauser, learned from him these habits which "he formerly did not possess."

Feuerbach, who, through his fiery imagination, and his poetical representations, has so much distinguished himself, although these qualities are not very suitable to a Judge, relates (page 111) that "the soul of Caspar Hauser was full of childish goodness and mildness," and that "he shewed himself in every respect as pure and spotless as an emanation of the Almighty in the soul of an angel." His soul was, therefore, "in every respect," quite spotless, although, and indeed at the very time

F

he was living with Daumer, the Professor frequently and seriously admonished him with respect to his lying; which was not to be excused, as he experienced the tenderest care, and the kindest treatment. Even on the day of what is called the attempt at assassination he was again reprimanded for that fault, and Professor Daumer said to him, in a very impressive manner, and, as it would appear, almost with a prophetic spirit, "you will certainly come to a bad end." If, however, he had been in other respects what Feuerbach represents him, would the goodness of Caspar Hauser's disposition have proved that he had passed many years in a dark and solitary dungeon? Can it be supposed that through such cruel treatment he would not have become very obdurate, and more or less similar to an animal?

You remark, very properly (in your *Nashrichten über Caspar Hauser*), that "two of the persons who had related in the printed official documents what they knew respecting him, did not see the young man immediately after his arrival in Nuremberg, and therefore could not state from their own observation what the facts were, and are consequently unable to confirm entirely the truth of the narrative," and that the Physicians did not, "in their Reports, dis-

tinguish what they themselves observed, from what was communicated to them by others, and hardly ever mentioned their authorities."

These official documents are, as you know, the following: 1. The Report of Dr. Osterhausen, dated 30th December, 1830. 2. The Report of Dr. Preu, dated 3rd December, 1830. And 3. the Report of Baron Von Tucher, dated 5th December, 1830, all of them, therefore, a year and a half later than Caspar Hauser appeared in Nuremberg. And, 4. Professor Daumer's Report on the attempted assassination.

Dr. Osterhausen, who states that he saw Caspar Hauser "about three weeks after his arrival," mentions in his Report many circumstances which he only heard from others; and a valid testimony must be founded not upon hearsay, but upon personal knowledge. Led into error through others, he relates also much which has been already shown to be unfounded; as for example: "Caspar Hauser when he arrived could not read, and could not write any thing except his name." Immediately after his arrival he filled four sides of a sheet of paper in which the word "horseman" often appears, as Feuerbach himself relates (page 44); and he read what Mark had written. "Caspar Hauser knew when he came here hardly fifty words." Feuerbach states (page 25) that

his vocabulary consisted scarcely of half a dozen words. "Caspar Hauser came from his prison as a child who was yet without consciousness:" he was "at that time less than a child of two or three years old. The soles of Caspar Hauser's feet were, when he arrived, quite excoriated; his way of walking, as well as the position of his body, was tottering and unsteady; and he was obliged to be led as he walked up and down stairs. It is impossible for him, even now, to stand on one leg and to raise and extend the other, or to move it round and bend it." How was it possible then for him to get on horseback? I beg Dr. Osterhausen to have the goodness to explain it. "The case has never yet occurred among the many hundreds of persons, natives and foreigners, of all ranks who have seen him and observed him, of any one having the slightest suspicion of the possibility of imposture." How could Dr. Osterhausen know the opinion of all these "many hundreds of persons, natives and foreigners, of all conditions?" Dr. Osterhausen, who resided at Nuremberg, might have known, and ought to have known, that many of his fellow-citizens considered Caspar Hauser as an impostor; and that this was, as Hittel related to me, the case of an eminent and very distinguished servant of the state who

is now a Bavarian Minister, and who saw Caspar Hauser about a fortnight after his arrival.

Baron Von Tucher, who observed Caspar Hauser since September, 1828, relates that which is also unfounded, and which he could not state from his own personal knowledge, that "Caspar Hauser's first appearance showed perfectly the situation of a young man who for the first time entered a new world, and who was then entirely ignorant of all the notions and habits which are found in ordinary life."

Dr. Preu, whom I personally knew, and who had very unreasonable opinions upon many subjects, contends, although many facts prove the contrary, "he had formerly taken very little, if any, exercise," he "had not, for a long time, experienced the influence of the light of day, and the effect of ordinary life upon his senses," he had lived during several years secluded "from all human society."

In these three Reports, of which the two first were, as Feuerbach himself told me, mutilated, a number of particulars are mentioned which were learned probably from Professor Daumer, who, in his "*Mittheilungen*," relates them in great detail, and adds others which far surpass all the usual bounds of credibility. I do not by any means wish to deny the merits

of Professor Daumer, who, with indefatigable patience and with parental care, as well as with philanthropic and scientific zeal, devoted himself to the instruction of the stranger. It cannot be doubted that he states from thorough conviction what he thought he had remarked. The question is, however, whether his credulity, which must be obvious to every impartial reader, and his love of the marvellous, rendered him capable of examining accurately the facts? whether he did not consider the case as already proved? and whether the experiments which he made in various ways had the object of removing the doubts which might exist upon the narrative itself, or of establishing several hypotheses about magnetism and the homoöpathical doctrine.

I remarked in a letter to Lieutenant Hickel, "If, however, we should admit as true and certain all that is related upon the peculiar bodily powers of Caspar Hauser, there remains always the very important question whether these are to be considered as consequences of a long imprisonment, which does not in other cases yield any similar results; or whether they are not to be considered as individual peculiarities; and whether these were not increased by a strong excitement of the nerves, arising from illness.

Dr. Osterhausen himself says, in his Report, "I consider as a state of disease the peculiarities which were at first observed," and "upon the whole and justly considered, this state was over-excited activity of the organs of sense." It is very obvious that when Caspar Hauser was obliged every day, and in the presence of all the persons who visited him, to act a new part, this required constant efforts, which must have had a very strong effect upon him, must have shaken his nervous system, and must have produced a state of unusual excitement. He was at first not so sensible to external impressions; and I can mention as a proof, that he was, soon after his arrival, taken to a public-house, and passed many hours amidst the smoke of tobacco and the fumes of wine and beer.

In my letter which has been above mentioned, and which you did me the honour to publish in your *Beyträge* (Nos. 18 and 19), I have made several remarks upon the pretended assassination of Caspar Hauser; and I will only add, that according to his statement, it was not the first which he had experienced. I learned from a lady, whose husband then filled a high station in Nuremberg, that Caspar Hauser having returned very hastily, and with his horse much heated from a ride, related to her that some per-



son had shot at him. It is not true, as Feuerbach states (page 121), that Caspar Hauser remained at home since he found himself unwell, and at the desire of his instructor, for the Grocer N. in Nuremberg, told me that about half an hour before the accident happened Caspar Hauser came to him alone, to buy some sugar. Caspar Hauser pretended indeed, and told me very often, that he had, during the whole morning, a strong anticipation of assassination, and that he felt very uncomfortable when he went into the streets, as it seemed to him that an assassin watched him and followed his footsteps. The other circumstances which Feuerbach relates are equally unfounded, with respect to the traces which were found; and according to the evidence of the Police Officer Wüst, "the statement was not confirmed, that, immediately after the attempted assassination, a man, who was dressed as Caspar Hauser described him, came out of the house of Professor Daumer, and the woman who first said so contradicted it when asked about it. Wüst does not know any thing with respect to the other statement, that a man similarly dressed, washed his hands in a stone trough in the street, and spoke about Caspar Hauser with a woman who went towards the town. Wüst said, we have taken all possible

trouble, and made every inquiry without having been able to discover any trace of any thing whatever."

Another Police Officer in Nuremberg states also, "that no trace was any where to be found of any person who attempted the assassination."

I endeavoured not long ago, to prove to a distinguished literary character, that neither in the mind, nor in the disposition, nor in the body of Caspar Hauser, were found any of these "indubitable marks," as they are called, of a long imprisonment, and he could only answer that, according to the statement of Feuerbach (page 62), Caspar Hauser's saliva was as tough as glue. If this circumstance, should it indeed be an undoubted fact, is to be considered by any person as a proof of the imprisonment, he is easily satisfied, and it were superfluous to argue with him any further on the question.

You know already the reasons stated by me in the letter above mentioned, which therefore I do not now repeat, and which more than two years ago gave me the conviction that I expressed when I was first judicially examined, and it has been confirmed by every thing which I subsequently learned, that in the narrative of Caspar Hauser "many circumstances

are stated, some of which appeared to me physically impossible, some quite incredible, some highly improbable, and some very suspicious." Feuerbach himself calls it "an almost incredible occurrence." "I confess (page 59) that at present we have no other evidence as to the history of the deed than the relation of the person on whom it took place."

I leave to the judgment of every impartial person whether this history, as Feuerbach gives us to understand, "appears every where when it is examined as the purest truth, as personified truth." It seems to me by no means doubtful that the judgment of all persons who know the facts, and who consider them with impartiality, would be unanimous, that the story is not proved, and would answer in this manner the first question. I proceed now to examine the second question, namely, whether reasons are found in the conduct and character of the narrator to consider his statements as fictitious.

Allow me, in this place, to repeat, that the first hours after the arrival of Caspar Hauser, when he had not yet been brought before the Police, formed a short but a very distinct epoch in his life, which is essentially different from those which followed. This remark, by

which many circumstances may be explained, should be constantly kept in view.

At the beginning of the first following epoch, when Caspar Hauser had no longer the hope of becoming a horseman, and fell into the hands of the Police, the Police Officer Wüst states that Caspar Hauser answered to the question, "Where do you come from?" "I dare not mention it." Wüst asked further, "Why do you not dare to mention it?" "Because I don't know." He was not at first embarrassed when he was brought to the guard-room, but afterwards became anxious, wished to go away, and repeated often, "Shew me the way home." Wüst "remarked in him much deceit, and had from the beginning very little confidence in him. Wüst believed then, and still believes, that he was able to relate much, and that he was not as sincere towards others as others were towards himself." The Police Soldier Le Marrier states also "it was believed in the guard-room that he was deceitful, and could say more."

A Police Officer by whom Caspar Hauser was examined on the following day, was of the opinion which he states at the end of the Protocol, that Caspar Hauser "knew and could say much, but that he was concealed, deceitful, and crafty." Caspar Hauser appeared after-

wards to avoid this Police Officer, would not again recognize him, and said, "he is a bad man."

Feuerbach must have had knowledge of this Protocol ; he wrote, however, more as an Advocate than as a Judge, and would not make use of documents because "*one found in them exactly the contrary of what one wished to find.*"

Such were the opinions which, even at the commencement of the second epoch, those persons entertained of Caspar Hauser who were qualified, by their situation and experience, to form an accurate judgment respecting him.

About ten days afterwards Caspar Hauser was brought before the Municipal Tribunal, when Weichmann was there. He would not recognize him, and on Weichmann's question, "Don't you remember me ?" Caspar Hauser answered angrily, "No, no." As Caspar Hauser remarked that Weichmann observed him tranquilly and attentively, he said, "Why do you look at me so ?" In this respect also the conduct of Caspar Hauser was very suspicious.

If, as we cannot doubt, he wished to evade all questions about his family and his name, it was very proper for such a purpose that he

should represent himself as rather stupid, and get rid of those who were curious or inquisitive, by the answers, "don't know," or "become a horseman," &c. In order to play his new part more naturally, he began to speak of himself in the third person, Caspar; although, on his arrival, he spoke in the first person, I. This part was so much the easier, because, (as Feuerbach mentions,) "after the first days he was not treated as a prisoner," and he had not to fear the usual consequences of deceit, but, on the other hand, must very well have perceived that he was considered and treated as a destitute youth, not as a crafty impostor, and that the only question was in what manner he was to be provided for. It appears very probable that in the first examination which the Burgomaster personally conducted, and which, as the latter told me, lasted five hours, the foundation was laid for the wonderful tale that afterwards excited so much attention.

It is false that Caspar Hauser confirmed upon oath the truth of his narrative; and Feuerbach, who states this (page 40) ought to have known that this was not, and could not be the fact. Even in Ansbach, Caspar Hauser was not examined upon oath after his mortal wound.

Equally false is the statement of Feuerbach (page 40), that Caspar Hauser in his relation "always remained consistent with himself." This is such an important point that it is necessary to state some facts.

Caspar Hauser relates in his very remarkably written narrative, "I remained some time in the same position in which the man had left me, till another man took away my letter," and so forth. He related, however, to Hiltel that "his guide left him before he came to the gate of the town," and in the same manner to the Burgomaster Binder, with the addition that he received the order from his guide "to go with the letter that was given to him into the great village, to show it to a person, and to go where he would lead him."

He relates in the written narrative just quoted, that the two windows of his prison were "stuffed up with pieces of wood which appeared quite black;" but he related to Hiltel that he "saw from the window of his prison a pile of wood, and above it the top of a tree." If he had during many years the top of a tree always before his eyes, he must have remarked that it was sometimes quite destitute of leaves, at other times covered with snow, and at other times clothed with green or dry leaves: yet when he lived with Professor Daumer all these

appearances were quite new and striking to him ; and the cheerful view from his windows in the tower was called by him "ugly," because he considered it to be "only a window-shutter daubed with various colours," as he afterwards related to Feuerbach (page 77). If he always saw the top of a tree he did not live in darkness, as he otherwise represented.

Caspar Hauser relates in the same narrative, that "the man with whom he had always been" said to him several things during his imprisonment, but he told me on every occasion that this person said nothing at all to him till he was on the journey.

In how many points, which he could not have forgotten, does his story to the Burgomaster Binder vary from his last, which is still more improbable, and which is found in the above-mentioned written narrative. Yet Feuerbach relates that Caspar Hauser, amongst other qualities, gave "the most striking proofs of his astonishing memory, which was equally quick and tenacious" (p. 72).

The Burgomaster Binder is attacked very harshly and unjustly by Feuerbach, who states (page 23, note), "that the documents of the Police in this business were prepared in such a manner, contain so many contradictions, assume too lightly many circumstances, and are



in their essential parts such strange anachronisms, that they are to be used only with the greatest caution as materials for history." The Burgomaster Binder proved to me, with a minuteness and accuracy which must convince every one, that according to the checks which are introduced in Bavaria an anachronism is absolutely impossible. A Police Officer in Nuremberg states also as follows, "he does not know, and does not believe that any Protocol has an erroneous date, or that the documents contain anachronisms, or that the proceedings were in any respect not conformable to the established practice, and is convinced that the Magistracy of Nuremberg can, in this respect, justify itself entirely."

If, however, these documents were not accurate, why did not Feuerbach let them be corrected? was it from an apprehension that a new inquiry would, perhaps, entirely overthrow his own theory?

Although I feel for the Burgomaster Binder much respect and personal friendship, I think myself able to judge of his conduct with impartiality, and though he did not lead this inquiry, which afterwards became so important, in such a manner as might well have been expected from a person who had already acquired the reputation of a most distinguished criminal

lawyer, though he, like so many others, was deceived in this matter, he ought however to receive full justice. He took, certainly, an erroneous view of the subject, but his proceedings, in order to unravel the mystery, were extremely proper for the purpose, so far forth as by his desire a very good likeness of Caspar Hauser was engraved, soon after his arrival, by an eminent artist in Nuremberg, in which, however, the costume was in some respects inaccurately represented, and it was accompanied by a fac-simile of his hand-writing, so that it was the best of all possible descriptions. By his desire also a fac-simile was made of the letter to the Captain in order that it might be distributed as well as the portrait, in those districts where Caspar Hauser, to judge from his dialect, had probably resided, in the hope that the hand-writing, or the portrait, might again be recognized; and it is hardly possible to suppose that this would have been done without producing any result. Feuerbach, however, as if it had been his destination to prevent everything which could lead to a discovery, forbade the execution of this plan, under the pretence that a crime (perhaps "a crime against the life of the soul,") had been committed, and that the affair was not to be considered as a matter of Police, but as one of Criminal Jus-

tice. Feuerbach would not execute, through the means which were in his own power, this plan, which was very judiciously devised, and was well adapted to the purpose; it is therefore not at all astonishing that the inquiry so far as it was conducted by him, led to no result.

Schmidt Von Lübeck shews that he is not sufficiently acquainted with the facts, when he says, "the fac-simile and the portrait were sent in all directions without, however, Caspar Hauser being recognized."

If Caspar Hauser had for years together suffered solitary confinement, every object after his arrival in Nuremberg must have appeared new to him, and many objects must have excited his curiosity and attention. But Feuerbach himself confesses (page 29) that "on objects to which he was brought near he stared stupidly, and only occasionally with a look of curiosity or astonishment." And the Police Soldier Bleumer, who accompanied Caspar Hauser when he was in the Tower, states, "he did not observe with attention any object which he saw in his walks."

Feuerbach relates (page 71), Caspar Hauser was anxious to return to "the man with whom he has always lived," and (page 72) said, "The man did not do me any harm." Is it probable,

can it be considered natural, that this should have been the case ?

Schmidt Von Lübeck remarks that such a part as Caspar Hauser acted in the Tower was not necessary in order to attain his object of serving in the cavalry. Certainly not—but it must not be forgotten that when he was in the Tower, the hope of serving in the cavalry had been already disappointed, and it was not as Schmidt Von Lübeck supposes, “to be anticipated” that Caspar Hauser “would not be received” by the Captain ; on the contrary, that benevolent and philanthropic person was almost induced to take him under his care.

When Caspar Hauser was released from the Tower, and came to Professor Daumer, that is, on the 18th of July, 1828, a new epoch began which, indeed, is not distinguished so essentially from the second as that is from the first, but which is different, and is marked by many particularities. In this epoch of “eternal experiments” (as it was very properly named), the great secret was first brought to light, that Caspar Hauser became a firm rider, from the magnetic power of the iron in the stirrups, and the very remarkable discovery was made by him that he had ears, which he considered, however, as “something superfluous,” as a sort of ex-

crescence, so that he expressed a wish to have them "taken off." I will not tire you any more with all the absurdities which Feuerbach relates (in ch. vi.) with respect to the experiments upon Caspar Hauser, and to which Professor Daumer adds others that are still more ridiculous, and prove nothing else than the exaggeration with which Caspar Hauser acted his part. During this period his situation became always more secure, and if now and then a person was found who, like Professor H., wished to question him with respect to his former mode of life, or to his pretended jailer, &c., a head-ache immediately occurred, and the inquiry which was commenced must be forthwith concluded. He had already learnt over again all which he had learnt before : a new progress was not visible ; his wonderful qualities had disappeared ; the astonishment which he anxiously sought to obtain, was no longer excited in the same degree as before ; his vanity was less and less gratified, and he was on the point of experiencing the misfortune of being almost forgotten by the world, when in the house of Professor Daumer occurred the celebrated attempt at assassination.

The two following epochs, when he lived under the care of Mr. Biberbach and of Baron

Von Tucher, are much less remarkable, as neither of these gentlemen had any fondness for experiments, and neither of them wished to feed the vanity of Caspar Hauser. The last allowed him as little as possible any intercourse with strangers; and Caspar Hauser was, as Feuerbach very justly expresses it, "screwed into the press of a Latin school" (p. 139).

As credulous as Professor Daumer was, Caspar Hauser's disposition to lying had not escaped his notice, although he was not induced by it to consider attentively and accurately the foundation of the narrative. Also, when he lived with Mr. Biberbach, who was well qualified to take charge of him, this disposition, with its usual consequences, appeared; and even on the day when, by the explosion of a pistol, he received a wound in the head, he was, immediately before the accident, admonished as to his lying, when he fell into a violent passion, struck with both his hands upon the table, and said he would rather die than suffer such treatment. You remember also the remarkable case with respect to his journal, and other circumstances, which are mentioned in my letter to the Schoolmaster Meyer, published in your "*Beyträge*."

The last epoch of his short life will, as I

have reason to believe, be described circumstantially by a person who is much more fitted for the task than myself, and shall therefore be passed over by me in silence.

If I am asked who he was? where he had lived? what was his condition? and so forth, I, alas! to these and similar questions return at present no other answer than his own, "Don't know." I believed him formerly, from reasons which with you are well acquainted, to be an Hungarian nobleman, not however the son of a Prince, as Feuerbach gives us to understand very intelligibly (p. 137). I proved to him that this conjecture, which was founded on the most absurd and ridiculous of all phantoms, was quite devoid of foundation. I do not, however, believe that I convinced him, although he supposed afterwards that Caspar Hauser was the son of a Roman Catholic Priest, and maintained that "his physiognomy and all his manners exactly denoted the peculiarities of a Catholic Priest;" so that he was "as it were a Canon or a Dean in miniature," in whom "the tonsure alone was wanting."

As Schmidt Von Lübeck remarks, "the Tribunal of Inquiry has announced a 'mountain in labour,' and the world will laugh when it is delivered of a mouse." I have no doubt

whatever that it is a mouse, and perhaps we shall at last know of what sort of mouse the mountain is still pregnant. Although the death of Caspar Hauser, and the lapse of several years renders now the inquiry more difficult, it could still, if properly conducted, lead to a full explanation.

If this, however, should not be the case, I have a conviction that in this affair truth will at last prevail, and if not I have at least the consciousness that I have sought it sincerely on every occasion, and valued it above every thing else. The more I was deceived in this affair, and the more erroneous were my views, the more is it now my duty to act with zeal, and, if it were in my power, with ability, to preserve others as far as possible from similar errors. Though I have on that account appeared in an unfavourable light to some of those who are known or unknown to me, though I have been abused and even calumniated, I find a sufficient consolation in my own conscience.



*Extract of a Letter from EARL STANHOPE to  
the Schoolmaster, MEYER, in Ansbach, upon  
the death of CASPAR HAUSER.*

THE most remarkable facts which relate to the wounding of Caspar Hauser, and which were stated partly by yourself, and partly by other witnesses, appear to me, with the exception of those which will find their place in the following remarks, and which, on that account, I here pass over, to be these :

On Wednesday, the 11th of December, in the forenoon, when he was in the Buildings of the Court of Appeal, where he was occupied in copying, he was, according to his statement, accosted by a person who wore a smock-frock and a cap, and who invited him to go in the afternoon to the Court Garden, to see several sorts of clay which had been found by boring a well. The wife of Lieutenant Hickel, to whom, in the afternoon, he mentioned that he was going to the Court Garden, advised him not to do so, but rather to visit the President Von Stichaner, who had an evening party.

Caspar Hauser went not to the Court Garden, but to the President Von Stichaner's, with whom he passed the evening ; but neither on that nor on the following day, when he again visited him, did he mention the invitation which he had received, and of which neither the court gardener nor his labourers had the least knowledge.

On the following day, he was, according to his statement, again accosted, at nine o'clock in the morning, in the same place, and by the same person, and invited to go at half-past two o'clock to the Court Garden. Caspar Hauser left about that hour the Clergyman Fuhrmann, and said that he was going to a daughter of the President Von Stichaner, to execute some works in paste board. Instead of going there he went to the Court Garden, and, as he stated, to the well, where he found nobody, and afterwards to the Monument of Uz, in the neighbourhood of which he met a man, who was not the same that had spoken to him in the morning. This man gave him a silk bag, and struck a dagger in his breast as he was going to sit down. He did not mention whether this man had spoken to him, and gave only a general description of his person. He remarked that his cloak had only one cape, which, as he be-

lieved, came down lower than the sleeves, but he could not mention its colour.

In the bag laid a note, which was folded, written in pencil and backwards, so that it could only be read in a looking glass. The note had, instead of an address, the words, "To be delivered," also written in the same way, and was as follows: "Hauser will relate to you very exactly how I appear, and whence I come. In order to save Hauser the trouble, I will myself tell you whence I come: I come from —, the Bavarian Frontier, —, on the River —. I will also tell you even my name. M. L. Ö." Caspar Hauser let the bag fall, and hastened home, and when he came into the room he pointed to his left side, and you remarked the wound. Caspar Hauser, however, said nothing, and hurried you along with him. The Pastry cook, Vogel, who lived in the same house and on the ground floor, saw Caspar Hauser "come groaning and moaning down stairs," and asked "what had happened?" to which he received no answer.

Neither did Caspar Hauser return any answer to the urgent questions which you addressed to him on the way, in order to ascertain the circumstances which had occurred; but as you came with him to the neighbour-

hood of the Riding School, which is at a distance of 480 paces from your house, and of 496 paces from the Monument of Uz, you "thought it right not to go further with him, but to return home;" and on his return he said to you as follows: "Went Court Garden—Man—had a knife—gave a bag—struck—I ran what I could—bag must lie there." You conducted him home, and the wound was examined, which Dr. Heidenreich considered "very dangerous" (as he states in page 7 of his Report), but Caspar Hauser, on the evening of the 16th, spoke of the works in pasteboard which he would execute after his recovery, and only three or four hours before his death one of the Physicians who had the treatment of him expressed some hope, if no bad symptoms should occur; which, however, took place in half an hour afterwards. He was examined upon the 16th, but not upon oath. His subsequent examination was on the 17th, and at ten o'clock in the evening of that day he expired, with the greatest tranquillity and composure.

The wound was, according to the Report of Dr. Heidenreich, "two inches and a half under the centre of the left breast, and three inches from the middle line of the body," was "sharply drawn, with two edges that were

quite sharp," and from one end to the other three quarters of an inch long; the sides hardly opened the twelfth part of an inch; so that it could only have been inflicted by an instrument which was, even to its extremity, "sharp and two-edged."

It appeared, by the *post mortem* examination, that the wound had passed between the sixth and seventh ribs, through the bag which contains the heart, and through the diaphragm into the stomach. Dr. Heidenreich (page 20) says it had "pierced for the sixth part of an inch in length the stomach," that it had "injured" the point of the heart "to the depth of the twelfth part of an inch" (page 18), and that it had "pierced the left side of the liver to the depth of half an inch" (page 19). The wound was "four inches or four inches and a half deep" (page 27); had the same form below as above, but only half the breadth there as at its upper extremity, and the instrument with which it was inflicted must, according to the opinion of one of the Physicians who attended him, have had "the form of the blade of a common knife." Dr. Heidenreich remarks (page 17), that "it may not have been even an ordinary dagger;" and that "it did not require the knife of an assassin, for what

is called a Low Country Dagger was exactly qualified to inflict such a wound."

One of the Physicians who treated Caspar Hauser, was of the opinion that "mortification in the stomach" was a consequence of its being injured, and the "proximate cause" of his death; and that the jaundice with which he was seized arose more from alarm than from the unusual size of his liver.

Upon these circumstances, as well as upon others which I have learned from credible sources, I have to remark as follows :

First : There had not, as far as I know, been found any trace whatever which gave reason to expect a discovery; and it appears to me, therefore, inexplicable how the person who, as is represented, had instigated the imprisonment of Caspar Hauser, and who, under such circumstances, might have considered himself secure, should have also instigated a murder which must make a great noise in the world, and which would have exposed him to the most imminent danger in case the inquiries had been successful.

Secondly : If even traces had been found, and if the greatest interest, whether of birth or of fortune, are supposed to have existed, the end would have been much more effectually answered, by sending some of those who were

accessary to the crime, or who were concerned in it, to a distance, or by sending them out of the world; for in this manner so much sensation would not have been excited in the public, and there would not have been such an eager inquiry.

Thirdly : It is probable that an assassin would have killed Caspar Hauser on the spot, instead of allowing him to go home, to give a description of the person, and of his dress, and to have him pursued. If he had murdered Caspar Hauser on the spot, and in an unfrequented place, as he sometimes returned home after spending the evenings in company, it is probable that no apprehension would have been excited about him before bed time, and he would have been supposed to be in the house of some friend or acquaintance; the assassin would thus have gained several hours, which would have been very desirable for his own safety.

Fourthly : It is also to be supposed that an assassin would have struck through the heart, and not in an oblique direction, particularly as, according to the opinion of a Physician who was asked upon the subject, a wound similar to Caspar Hauser's would not have been mortal if it had been inflicted one rib lower.

Fifthly : The place and the day appear to

have been chosen incautiously, and without reference to the object, as it was the market-day, and many persons pass in the neighbourhood of the Monument of Uz when they return home in the afternoon.

Sixthly : The instrument was, as the wound shewed, extraordinarily slight ; and it is probable that an assassin would not have used so brittle a weapon, and therefore one so little suited to his object.

Seventhly : There is no imaginable reason why the assassin should have left a note in a bag, which, in case the inquiry had a fortunate result, would have become subjects of investigation ; and every one who commits a crime must have the precaution to leave as few traces of it as possible.

Eighthly : Caspar Hauser said to the Pastry-cook, Vogel, that a man, who was not the same as invited him to the Court Garden, met him in the morning, and asked him, “ Are you Caspar Hauser ? and do you often walk in the Court Garden ? ” which is very improbable, as the assassin would have learned these circumstances in another mode.

The conduct of Caspar Hauser appears, in many points, and amongst others in the following, to be very suspicious.

First : He had every day during three weeks



or a month, locked himself up in his room for an hour together, and drawn down the blind.

Secondly: Letters, which a week before were in his possession, and which were not suited to fall into the hands of strangers, were not found after his death.

Thirdly: You observed that during the last period he seemed "more silent, and absorbed in thought," and that on the day of his being wounded he ate very little, spoke very little, and seemed to reflect.

Fourthly: He said nothing at all to the Mealman, Brechelsbauer, who met him in the Court of the Palace at half-past three, or a quarter-before four o'clock, as he returned from the Court Garden, and who remarked "nothing important" in him.

Fifthly: When he came to you he did not say a word upon what had occurred, although under similar circumstances every child would have done so.

Sixthly: He wished immediately afterwards, to return to the Court Garden, where, according to his own statement, he had received the wound.

Seventhly: Although he possessed the extraordinary faculty of remarking every thing quickly and accurately, he could give only a general, very imperfect, and by no means

satisfactory description of the person and of the dress of the assassin.

Eighthly: He related that he had been twice invited by the same man, on the same spot; and said, on his first examination that the person who spoke to him had "light coloured whiskers." When the Protocol was read to him, and he was asked if his statement was properly taken down in writing, and if there was any thing to alter? he said, "No! quite right—I have nothing to alter." He said, however, in his next examination that the person who had spoken to him had "broad black whiskers," and as it was remarked to him that in the former examination he had stated that the man had "light coloured whiskers;" he answered, "there you have made a mistake: I said brown and rather black whiskers, do not forget to have it altered."

Ninthly: When he was asked in the last examination, how, after a similar accident in Nuremberg, he could venture to accept an invitation to meet an unknown person in a retired spot? he answered, "I did not believe any longer that an attempt would be made against my life as I have a foster-father, and therefore I took it more lightly." This answer stands in direct contradiction with all the anxiety which he formerly expressed for

his personal safety, and which in the August preceding he had very strongly stated. Since he left the Tower he had constantly had a foster-father ; and a foster-father who is absent could only provide for his safety by the persons who were placed about him, and by regulations ; but at his earnest request my positive order, that he should not go out without being attended, was revoked.

Tenthly: When he was asked in his examination why he went out in such bad weather without a cloak ? he said, that he had to execute some works in pasteboard for the Clergyman Fuhrmann and that he was afraid of spoiling his fine cloak. This answer contains an untruth, since he would not have worn his cloak while he was executing his works in pasteboard.

Eleventhly : He was very anxious that the bag should be found, but afterwards never asked what was in it, as if the contents were known to him.

Twelfthly : Although he was not accustomed to write with pencil, he said, after his wound, "I have to-day written much with pencil," or "I must write much with pencil," and "the writer ought not to write with pencil so that one can read it," and "much work, written much, and all in pencil."

Thirteenthly: When you asked him whether he had any thing more to say? he answered, "Much—a great deal should I have to say, but I cannot say it." He said afterwards, "Sin — Perdition — no more extricate — the monster was stronger than myself."

Fourteenthly: The observation of the Physician of the Municipality, quoted by Dr. Heidenreich (pages 29 and 30), was, "that all those persons who are wounded by the hand of another are anxious with respect to their wound and to their fate; but that those who wound themselves do not shew any concern about it, remain indifferent, and hardly take the trouble of asking any question as to their situation; which last was the case with Caspar Hauser."

The following circumstances also appear to me very important.

First, you remember very distinctly to have seen a similar bag in the possession of Caspar Hauser.

Secondly, your wife was alarmed as she saw the note taken out of the bag, as "it was folded exactly in the same manner as Caspar Hauser was accustomed to fold his letters."

Thirdly, there was found in the snow only the footsteps of a person who had gone backwards and forwards, and no footsteps towards

the well or towards the outlet of the Garden on the side of the country.

Fourthly, it is very improbable that Caspar Hauser would have gone out in bad weather to have seen, as he stated, different sorts of clay, as he neither occupied himself in natural history, nor was a traveller passing through the town.

Fifthly, it is improbable that after he met no person at the well he should have gone to the Monument of Uz, a distance of about 300 paces, instead of returning immediately home, as the weather was bad, and he took no pleasure in walks.

Sixthly, the place where the bag was found is in the turning of the path through the shrubbery, and could not be observed by the inhabitants of the neighbouring houses, which is the case at the Monument of Uz.

I will only add the following remarks.

First, a very sharp and very slight instrument which inflicted the wound might by pressure, not by a blow, have penetrated much deeper than was intended, as soon as it overcame the resistance of his coat, which was wadded.

Secondly, Caspar Hauser, who about a week before had been seriously admonished by you "on his great tendency to lying, and had been

shown the consequences of that tendency," knew that a great many persons did not consider him as worthy of credit; he had also learned from Feuerbach that I entertained doubts on many parts of the story; he might have expected a full and minute investigation of all his statements, and had perhaps the intention through a pretended assassination to place the stamp of truth and of importance on his story, as also to revive the general interest, and to shew that he could not live in safety in Ansbach, and must be taken elsewhere.

And thirdly, the pretended assassination of Caspar Hauser is by no means to be considered as an insulated fact, or as one related by a person worthy of credit, but stands in connexion with his other statements, and with his well known disposition to relate falsehoods and to excite attention.

END.

