Political Poetry in Periodicals and the Shaping of German National Consciousness in the Nineteenth Century

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For Lynne Tatlock
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GUIDE TO CD-ROM

The CD-ROM contains the Collection of Poems and Indices that accompanies the study Political Poetry in Periodicals and the Shaping of German National Consciousness in the Nineteenth Century.

The CD-ROM has a partition for Windows (3.1 or higher) and also for Macintosh operating systems. Both partitions include HTML, PostScript, and PDF versions of the poems and indices. The Windows partition also contains the programs Poem16.exe and Poem32.exe, which feature additional displays and expanded search possibilities.

I. System Requirements

A. Windows

The programs can operate on a 386 computer with a 33 MHZ processor, but a minimum of 100 MHZ is recommended. Poem16.exe and Poem32.exe, default display programs, require a minimum screen resolution of 800 x 600 pixels and a 256 color mode. Please change screen resolution and color mode before starting the programs.

The PDF version requires an installed PDF viewer. The PostScript version requires an installed PostScript viewer.

B. Macintosh

Screen resolution should be at least 832 x 642 pixels. The HTML version can be used on all Macintosh computers with an installed HTML browser.

The PDF version requires an installed PDF viewer. The PostScript version requires an installed PostScript viewer.
II. Displaying Data

A. Starting under Windows operating systems

If no display program appears after inserting the CD, or if the automatic start function is deactivated, execute the program Autorun.exe. This program checks the operating system and starts the corresponding program. If a display still does not appear, use one of the following options:

**Windows 3.11 or higher, 16-bit:**
Execute Start16.exe (menu for selecting a program)
Open Poem16.exe (default display program)
Open Welcome.htm (main file for HTML browser)
Open Poems.pdf using Acrobat Reader

**Windows 95, 98, and NT (32 bit):**
Execute Start32.exe (menu for selecting a program)
Open Poem32.exe (default display program)
Open Welcome.htm (main file for HTML browser)
Open Poems.pdf using Acrobat Reader
Open Poems.ps using PostScript viewer

Do not start the 32-bit program under Windows 3.1 or any earlier version.

The feature “go to” in the HTML version requires an HTML browser with an installed JavaScript option. Alternatively, the user can change the number of the poem in the URL to select a different poem.

B. Starting under Macintosh operating systems

Open Welcome.htm (main file for HTML browser)
Open Poems.pdf using Acrobat Reader
Open Poems.ps using PostScript viewer

III. PDF viewer (Acrobat Reader)

Acrobat Reader for Windows and Macintosh can be downloaded from the following URL: http://www.otcbb.com/help/adobe.stm

IV. Search Capabilities

A. HTML and PDF versions

Use the search functions available on the installed browser or viewer.
B. Poem16.exe and Poem32.exe (Windows partition)

To display the selection menu, click on the oval icon or do a right mouse click anywhere on the screen. Searches can be conducted in the following fields: Key Word, Author, Publication, and First Line indices; Titles of Poems; Dates of Publications; Melodies; and Publications Cited as Sources for Poems.

Selecting the Author Index, for example, displays a list of all the authors in the collection. To search for an author, scroll through the list or type the last name. Double-clicking on an entry in the list displays that author’s poem. If the collection has more than one poem by an author, a screen displays the number, publication, issue, and date for each of the author’s poems.

For searches in Dates of Publications, it is recommended that the user select entries from the list. In the Key Word Index, the program will find the first letter(s) typed by the user; it may then be necessary to scroll through the list to find the exact entry (or the one that comes closest to it).

Full-text searches. Select “Search” from the menu. This database contains 28,843 entries and includes all of the words, numbers, special characters, and combinations of letters found in the poem texts and headings. Scroll through the list or type an entry; the program will match the entry as closely as possible.

V. Software

Autorun.exe
Start16.exe, Start32.exe
Poem16.exe, Poem32.exe and their required subprograms

This software should be used at the user’s own risk. The author Andreas Ahlers is not liable for direct or indirect damage resulting from the use of this software. The software may not be changed or used for any purpose other than reading the files on this CD-ROM. The software will not cause any changes to the user’s system.

The files may be copied once onto a hard drive.

Please send comments or suggestions for the CD-ROM programming to Andreas Ahlers at Ali.Ahlers@T-Online.de.

VI. General Information about the CD

All files on the CD-ROM are protected by copyright: Peter Lang Publishing, Inc. 1999.
This collection of 950 poems demonstrates that between 1840 and 1871 political poems in newspapers and journals constituted a literary, journalistic, and cultural phenomenon. The political poetry regularly featured in the periodic press constituted direct responses to key historical developments in the German territories, including the Rhine crisis of 1840, the March revolutions and counterrevolutions of 1848–49, the war against Denmark in 1864, and the Franco-Prussian War of 1870–71. As is well known, these political developments proved central to the evolution of German nationalism in the nineteenth century and the solution in 1871 to the German question, a Kleindeutschland under Prussian aegis. The poems that responded to these events functioned as a medium of public debate about national and international affairs. Most importantly, the poems helped to shape German national consciousness in the nineteenth century.

It should be noted at the outset that, while I selected what I found to be the four most productive moments to the study of poetry and politics, other key moments in nineteenth-century German politics presented themselves as useful for such study, especially the Italian War of Liberation and the resurgence of German nationalism in 1859 as well as the Austro-Prussian War of 1866. Both of these events also generated political poetry that was published in newspapers and journals and many readers will wonder in particular why I chose to examine the reactions to the German-Danish War of 1864 rather than the Austro-Prussian War. In selecting four moments that would show the development of a poetic and political dialog over the course of the nineteenth century, 1864 revealed itself as a better choice than 1866 for three reasons. As reflected in the secondary literature, the war against Denmark, later referred to as the first of the three wars of German unification, represented a significant turning point in the realization of a single German nation. Moreover, my investigation indicated that 1864 generated more political poetry than did 1866. Finally, the poetry written in response to the war against Denmark in 1864 also offered an opportunity to study the continuation and resolution of the German–Danish conflict of 1848–50.
As we shall see, a closer examination of political poems such as Nikolaus Becker’s “Der deutsche Rhein” (1840), Max Schneckenburger’s “Die Wacht am Rhein” (1840), and Matthäus Chemnitz’s “An Schleswig-Holstein” (1844) shows that these poems had enormous resonance among readers and the German public. They enjoyed widespread popularity and exerted considerable influence on the political climate and the imagining of a united Germany. The impact of such poems extended beyond a single historical moment, often continuing into the twentieth century. Subsequent poets ensured the afterlife of these poems by borrowing and transforming elements from them to convey their own political messages. Over the course of the century a poetic discourse emerged that built upon and revised its own traditions.

I chose to collect political poems from newspapers and journals for two reasons. The periodic press was central to the development of the poetic discourse mentioned above, serving as a vehicle for disseminating political poems among the German reading public. Newspapers and journals enabled these poems to shape and become part of the public dialog on the historical developments they addressed. The press encouraged debate, publishing poems by a wide variety of authors from many points on the political spectrum. As we shall see, these political poems also created a channel of communication among newspapers and journals. They reacted to one another, often citing other publications as the source of poems included in their issues, or printing poems and then the poetic responses these poems sometimes generated. In this manner political poetry often crossed territorial and social boundaries. Indeed, the press made these political poems accessible to readers of all stations.

By collecting and indexing poems in newspapers and journals, I seek not only to expand the primary literature available by making these poems accessible, but also to introduce literary, historical, and cultural scholars to the wealth of political poetry contained in these nineteenth-century periodicals. Many poems in the collection are not found in anthologies or considered in previous scholarship. This resulted in part from the fact that the majority of poems appeared anonymously, while others were written by amateur poets such as a baker, a maid, or a soldier.

I selected the poems from eighty-one newspapers and journals available in ten major German libraries and archives (see Bibliography of Newspapers and Journals). Complete coverage is of course impossible. Nineteenth-century periodicals are scattered throughout Germany, and libraries rarely have complete editions of individual publications. I nevertheless strove to obtain a geographically and politically representative selection of publications. I conducted research in Hamburg and Kiel to collect poems from northern German publications that address the war against Denmark. I
scrutinized periodicals in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich to obtain poems that constitute southern German perspectives on German unification, for example. As I focused on the territories that became a part of the German empire in 1871, only two Austrian journals are included in my collection.

The publications represented in my collection are predominantly daily newspapers and weekly or biweekly literary, cultural or political-satirical journals. Estermann's bibliographies for literary journals from 1815 to 1880 provided a starting point for my research, although library catalogs and the perusing of library stacks often yielded publications not included in Estermann or in Obenaus's two bibliographical volumes on literary and political journals. In the book, I focus largely on publications and also poems that are less known.

Two works provide the theoretical foundation of my study. I drew on Walter Hinderer's definition of political poetry for selecting the poems in this study. In his seminal study, "Versuch über den Begriff und die Theorie politischer Lyrik" (1978), he argues that a political poem, which arises from an actual and specific political-social context, aims to address and thus to communicate a political theme of public relevance. He views the literary phenomenon of political poetry not only in terms of the historical situation, but also with respect to the message such a political poem intends to communicate and the effect or influence it has upon readers or listeners (9-13). As my study and collection of poems demonstrates, poems not only address political topics, they also take on a political function (Hinderer, "Versuch" 25). Political poetry can aim to criticize or legitimize a political system, to manipulate the political convictions or actions of its readers, to propagate the views of a political group or faction, to present a political argument, or simply to provide critical political information (Hinderer, "Versuch" 25).

Benedict Anderson's study of "imagined communities" provided the second important theoretical underpinning for this study. This study and the poems included in the collection in turn confirm his theory that nationalism, or national consciousness, is a politically powerful cultural artifact (4-5). Anderson defines "nations" as "imagined political communities" that provide one basis for national consciousness (6). Such communities constitute horizontal comradeship, a fraternity so strong that people often are even willing to die for it (7). According to Anderson, the newspaper represents one of the (imagined) linkages that holds such a community together, in part by creating fellow-readers as a visible invisibility, "the embryo of the nationally imagined community" (44).

The nineteenth-century German periodic press, and the political poems printed in its pages, did indeed help create a sense of national community.
This is apparent in the hundreds of poems that mention "Deutschland" or "Vaterland" (see Key Word Index), concepts that did not exist in political reality until 1871. Becker's "Der deutsche Rhein," which generated a wave of intense nationalist fervor in the German states in 1840 after appearing in the *Trierische Zeitung*, is just one of many poems to be discussed below that support the concept of nationalism as a cultural product. Not only the Rhine crisis, but also the revolutions of 1848, the counterrevolutions, and the wars against Denmark and France provided Germans with common causes that they could support or criticize. Political poets often helped create this sense of community by writing in the third person plural, thus establishing rhetorical ties between themselves and their readers.

Most of the publications included in my collection did not command the "mass reading publics" to which Anderson refers (43), although several, in particular the political-satirical journals that appeared after 1848, had a broad readership that extended beyond territorial borders. Supported by the emergence of a capitalist economy and progress in transportation and communication, the nineteenth-century periodic press played a central role in propagating the concept of a German nation at a time when this concept existed only in terms of a common language, culture, and history.

Historical and literary scholars have recognized the relevance of both nineteenth-century popular literature and print culture to an understanding of the national mood and modes of political and literary consciousness operating in that period. Several historians, including Thomas Nipperdey, Theodor Schieder, Hagen Schulze, Michael Stürmer, Wolfram Siemann, Rainer Koch, and James J. Sheehan examine social, cultural, literary, and political issues in their investigations of nineteenth-century German history. Their studies have been invaluable to my investigation not only of the historical context of the poems in the present collection but also their role in helping to form a German national consciousness.

Recent studies and exhibitions evidence scholarly interest in German nationalism as a cultural product, particularly since the reunification of Germany 1989–90. In his contribution to *1870/71–1989/90: German Unifications and the Change of Literary Discourse* (1993), Walter Pape draws parallels between the first and second unifications, focusing on historical and literary aspects. He argues that writers generally expressed sympathy with the political developments of 1870–71, as opposed to the distance that characterized much of the literature of 1989–90 (6). The poems in my collection from 1870–71 support his claim. An exhibition held at the Martin-Gropius-Bau in Berlin in the fall of 1996 and the accompanying catalog provided excellent background information on the role of literature in shaping German national consciousness. *Marianne und Germania 1789–*
1889: Frankreich und Deutschland. Zwei Welten—Eine Revue, edited by Marie-Louise von Plessen, drew on literature, art, music, and also popular cultural artifacts (such as scarves and pillows on which political poems and paintings are reproduced) to illustrate how nationalism shaped political relations between France and the German territories in the last century.

Since the late 1970s there has also been increased interest in German nineteenth-century periodicals. In 1979 Karl Riha and Gerhard Rudolph edited a reprint of the Düsseldorfer Monatshefte from 1847–1849. Alfred Estermann, in addition to his bibliographies of German literary journals, has edited Bibliotheca Satirica, a series of reproductions of political-satirical periodicals such as the Deutsche Reichs-Bremse, the Berliner Krakehler, and the Frankfurter Laterne, which are included in the present collection. His enlightening introductions to these volumes proved helpful in deciphering political references and allusions in the poetry in this collection. In 1993 Angelika Iwitzki published an extensively annotated edition of the Neuruppiner Bilderbogen entitled Europäische Freiheitskämpfe: Das merkwürdige Jahr 1848. Eine neue Bilderzeitung von Gustav Kühn in Neuruppin. Iwitzki’s thorough treatment of the drawings and texts in these broadsheet illustrations also furnished valuable material for analyzing the poems I selected.

In an informative contribution to the Berlin exhibition in 1996, “Marianne und Germania in der Karikatur,” Ursula E. Koch examines caricatures from several nineteenth-century German periodicals, four of which are included in the collection.

This study is the first to investigate political poems published in journals and newspapers from several different years. Critical studies that treat political poetry in the periodic press are rare. A dissertation from 1980, Angelike Menne’s “Einigkeit und Unité: Die Legitimation politischer Vorgänge mit lyrischen Mitteln in den deutschen und französischen Kriegsgedichten von 1870–71,” focuses on a single political development, as the title indicates.

Previous scholarship on political poetry includes studies that also examine the poems in terms of their historical, cultural context. This is demonstrated by two chapters in Hinderer’s book, Geschichte der politischen Lyrik in Deutschland, a valuable critical study of German political poetry (1978). In “Zwischen Julirevolution (1830) and Märzrevolution (1848/49),” Horst Denkler proposes a definition of political poetry that, like Hinderer’s concept, emphasizes the function of such poems in society. He views political poetry as a lyrical form of socially oriented political activity that results from a poet’s subjective reaction to a concrete political reality (Denkler 179). The historical situation as well as the poem’s social relevance and its effectiveness are thus central to his investigation, points I also consider.
in my study. Denkler focuses on Restauration poems contained in five anthologies; he mentions the periodic press, however, only in connection with socialist poems that appeared in the feuilleton section of newspapers during the Vormärz (182–87). In an informative chapter, “Vom Nachmärz bis zur Reichsgründung,” Peter Uwe Höhendahl considers changes in political poetry brought about by historical developments. He observes, for example, that the political poetry generated by the Franco-Prussian War of 1870–71 transformed the old demand for national unity into hate for the French, a claim confirmed by the poems in this collection (“Nachmärz” 213).

Finally, it should be noted that much scholarship on political poetry was published in the 1970s, in the aftermath of the German student protest movement. It of course comes as no surprise that the political-social unrest of this period awakened interest in oppositional poetry of the previous century. Studies such as the annotated anthology Noch ist Deutschland nicht verloren: Eine historisch-politische Analyse unterdrückter Lyrik von der Französischen Revolution bis zur Reichsgründung (1970), edited by Walter Grab and Uwe Friesel, investigate political poetry that had been suppressed by absolutist rulers and emphasize its socialist-democratic elements. Works on political poetry written in the former German Democratic Republic display similar ideological tendencies. Regina Hartmann’s dissertation from 1984, “Die Entwicklung der Vormärzlyrik zur oppositionellen Massenliteratur (1840 bis 1847),” provides an example of the scholarship in search of the oppositional past that was typical of the German Democratic Republic.

I view my study as combining and building upon the work of cultural, social, and literary historians. The first chapter of this book discusses factors that contributed to the emergence of political poetry as a major literary genre in periodicals beginning in 1840. These include political history, the social organization and popular expressions of nationalism, technological developments, the spread of literacy, and censorship of the press. Chapter 2 examines the political poetry generated by the Rhine crisis of 1840, with an emphasis on Nikolaus Becker’s “Der deutsche Rhein.” Chapters 3 and 4 treat poems written as responses to the March revolutions and the counterrevolutions of 1848–1849 respectively. Political poems that address the war against Denmark in 1864, in particular Matthäus Chemnitz’s “An Schleswig-Holstein,” provide the focus of Chapter 5. Chapter 6 looks at the poetry generated by the Franco-Prussian War of 1870–71. The final chapter examines the portrayal of the press in the poems in the collection and the role of humor in disseminating political opinion through poetry in the press. It also considers trends in these poems between 1840 and 1871 and summarizes the major findings of the study.

On 10 September 1840, the journal Der Hamburger Bote published a poem by H. Albers, entitled “Des Deutschen Vaterland”:
O Du, mein deutsches Vaterland,
Du, tausendfach zerhackt, zersplittert,
Von Argusaugen rings umgittert:
Wann wirst Du wieder stark und ganz?
Wann strahlt der Deutschen Ehre Glanz
Dir Vaterland? (poem 11)

The final answer to this question did not materialize until 1871. At many points between 1840 and that date, however, an answer seemed within reach. This study demonstrates that political poems accompanied and participated in the historical developments that led to the answer in 1871, German unification under Prussian auspices.
CHAPTER ONE

Political Poetry and National Consciousness.

"Das Mittel dazu ist die Presse"

Several historical, social, and literary developments contributed to the emergence of political poetry in newspapers and journals beginning in 1840. These developments created conditions that both enabled and induced writers in ever-growing numbers to use the poetic genre for addressing political topics. At the same time, publishers and editors took advantage of such conditions to provide a journalistic context for political poems, even at the risk of reprisal from the censors. Indeed, this combination of factors proved propitious enough to make political poetry in newspapers and journals a cultural phenomenon by the revolution of 1848, as evidenced by the poems and publications in the collection.

Political History

In 1840 European politics were still largely shaped by the attempts of England, Russia, Austria, and Prussia—the signatories of the Second Peace of Paris on 20 November 1815—to contain France and preserve a balance of power. Political developments of the previous decade, however, generated mainly by nationalist sentiment and liberal opposition to existing political and social conditions, had posed a growing threat to absolutist monarchical regimes. The year 1830 had witnessed revolutionary upheavals in several European countries. When King Charles X of France issued unconstitutional ordinances in July that abolished freedom of the press and dissolved the newly elected parliament, Parisians revolted and declared a republic. Louis-Philippe became King of the French on 9 August 1830, after the Chamber of Deputies approved the necessary change in the constitution. He became known as the "Citizen King." As Nipperdey has maintained, the revolution in France immediately became a model for the rest of Europe (Deutsche Geschichte 1800–1866 364). In August that same year, Belgians rebelled against Dutch control and on October 4 established an independent kingdom with a liberal constitution. Uprisings occurred in central
Italy, and in the winter of 1830–31 Poles fought to throw off the yoke of Russian rule.

The German Confederation, the loose organization of thirty-nine sovereign states and free cities established in 1815 at the Congress of Vienna, was not immune to developments in neighboring countries. Political opposition movements, fueled by nationalism, liberal constitutionalism, and social protest, had been building behind the facade of monarchical solidarity since the Confederation’s inception—despite, but also as a response to—the reactionary policies initiated largely by Austrian chancellor Prince Clemens von Metternich. In the name of princely legitimacy and national fragmentation, the Confederation had increasingly become an instrument of repression, a police state striving to quell liberal bourgeois discontent and demands to replace the numerous small territories and despotic absolutist rule with a unified and constitutional nation (Schulze, Weg 74).

Rulers in several southern and central German territories nevertheless granted constitutions that reflected liberal demands to abolish representation based on estate: Nassau (September 1814), Saxe-Weimar (May 1816), Bavaria (May 1818), Baden (August 1818), Württemberg (September 1819), and Hesse-Darmstadt (December 1820). These rulers believed liberal constitutions would protect their particularistic interests against restorative and nationalist tendencies. The aristocracy continued to dominate the upper chamber of the diets, however, and neither Austria nor Prussia received modern constitutions. Baden had the most liberal constitution, but voting restrictions still excluded large parts of society from political participation. Schieder argues that these attempts to extend the franchise contributed to the formation of a national consciousness and were necessary steps in the transition from diets to a representative system (15–16).

Bourgeois youths in gymnast societies and student fraternities largely carried the liberal and nationalist sentiment emerging in the German territories. Both organizations grew significantly as protest movements after the Wars of Liberation (1813–15); many members had fought against Napoleon and felt betrayed by unfulfilled promises of liberal constitutions and personal rights. In 1811 “Turnvater” Friedrich Ludwig Jahn and Friedrich Friesen founded the Turngesellschaft in Berlin to train young German men for fighting Napoleon. High school and university students formed its core, but craftsmen, businessmen, teachers, and lawyers also joined. By 1818, about 150 gymnast societies existed in the German territories, with 12,000 members (Düding, “Nineteenth” 27). Jahn and Friesen sought to develop physical strength along with willpower, community spirit, and character. Their aim, both moral and political, was to create a national will that
would help build a democratic egalitarian society (Nipperdey, *Deutsche Geschichte 1800–1866* 279).

The *Burschenschaftsbewegung* promulgated a program in February 1812 that called for uniting students from all universities to work towards national unity (Schulze, *Weg* 65). It had particular resonance in Jena, where students founded the first fraternity on 12 June 1815. By 1818, fraternities existed at thirteen other universities and boasted up to four thousand members (Düding, “Nineteenth” 28). Nipperdey fittingly describes these organizations as “deutsch, gesamtdeutsch” (*Deutsche Geschichte 1800–1866* 279). They chose “honor, freedom, fatherland” as their motto, the black-red-gold of the Prussian *Freikorps Lützow* as their symbolic colors. The student fraternity movement was thus nationalist in cultural and political terms. Most members were university students, although several scholars also joined, including Ernst Moritz Arndt.

The political influence of the gymnast and fraternity movements extended well beyond their membership circles. They drew on evocative, nationalistic words such as “deutsch,” “Vaterland,” “Volk,” and “Patriotismus,” creating a vocabulary of political discourse that influenced the political climate during and after the Wars of Liberation. As we will see below, poets drew on this linguistic tradition through 1871. The patriotic song became the most popular mode of expression for their nationalist ideas, particularly texts written by Arndt, Max von Schenkendorf, and Theodor Körner during the wars against Napoleon (Düding, “Nineteenth” 29). This brand of cultural nationalism, with its strong anti-French tendencies and espousals of a unified German fatherland, was especially evident in their meetings and festivals, which became important forums for political discussion.

Student fraternities organized the Wartburg Festival of 18–19 October 1817 in Eisenach to commemorate Napoleon’s defeat at the Battle of Leipzig in 1813 and also the tercentennial of the beginning of the Reformation. Five hundred students participated. Under the black-red-gold flag, they burned anti-liberal publications and symbols of reactionary rule, and gave speeches attacking absolutist rulers. The festival had little immediate effect, but Metternich and his allies viewed it as a revolutionary act. Exactly one year later, on 18 October 1818, the *Allgemeine Deutsche Burschenschaft* was founded. Its goals, stated in the “Principles of the Wartburg Festival,” included national unity, constitutional freedom, and national representation (Nipperdey, *Deutsche Geschichte 1800–1866* 280).

Metternich reacted quickly to the murder of the reactionary playwright August von Kotzebue on 23 March 1819 by Jena fraternity member Karl Sand. He proposed the Carlsbad Decrees, which the diet of the German
Chapter One

Confederation approved on 20 September 1819. The decrees aimed to halt the political organization of bourgeois society and to suppress its reawakened need for political freedom. They banned student fraternities and gymnast organizations and enacted rigid censorship controls for newspapers and periodicals as well as prepublication censorship for all books under 320 pages (twenty signatures). Finally, they established the Central Investigating Agency in Mainz (1819–28) for probing revolutionary, subversive activities. Metternich placed universities under surveillance, suspending or firing politically active professors such as Arndt. Jahn, arrested in July 1819 for “demagogic intrigues,” remained jailed until 1825. Different territories implemented the decrees to varying extents. In Prussia, Austria, Nassau, and Baden enforcement was harsh; in Bavaria, Württemberg, and Saxe-Weimar it was rather lax. The Wiener Schlußakte of 15 May 1820 effectively halted constitutional movements in the German territories. Article 57 confirmed the monarchical principle, which placed all authority of the state in its ruler. The Carlsbad Decrees, renewed in 1824 and effective until 1848, ushered in an era of political persecution and suppression of civil rights and, for over a decade, quieted the voices of opposition and reform.

European political developments in 1830, the fall of the Bourbon monarchy in France as well as the Polish, Italian, Greek, and Belgian struggles for independence, resounded within the German territories. Political activism was spurred not only by national, liberal, and constitutional demands and protests, but also by revolts of the lower classes against unemployment, low wages, and hunger. Most demonstrations, mainly isolated occurrences quickly squelched by the military, had limited political effect. Austria and Prussia, the two most powerful states, remained largely untouched by such agitation. Nationalism, however, emerged as the common denominator for the liberal, constitutional, and social movements (Schulze, Weg 77). Not anti-French sentiment but democratic and republican tendencies formed its basis, particularly in the southwest. The liberal majority in Baden’s diet, for example, forced Grand Duke Leopold on 1 March 1832 to approve the most liberal German press laws (Deuchert 42).

A second wave of constitutionalization in the German Confederation signified growing opposition to absolutist rule, as citizens exploited rulers’ fears to push for reforms (Schulze, Weg 76). In September 1830, Duke Karl II of Brunswick rejected demands from the nobility, civil servants, and bourgeoisie to convene a parliament. The next day demonstrators, including a social protest element of workers and youth, deposed the ruler and burned his palace. His brother Wilhelm, who became duke, granted a constitution in 1832 that broadened representation of the bourgeoisie and peasants. In Hesse-Cassel, also in September 1830, citizen groups angry about the tax burden, bureaucracy, police state, corruption, and customs
borders—a typical list of complaints—demanded a state assembly and an end to Elector Wilhelm II’s regime (Holborn 3: 24). In 1831 the government approved the most liberal of the German constitutions. The monarch remained the executive, however, and resistance from the elector and his son, co-regent Friedrich Wilhelm, hindered its implementation. Yielding to political and social opposition, the rulers of Saxony and Hanover finally granted liberal constitutions in September 1831 and September 1833 respectively. In each case, the aristocracy remained in control of the upper chamber (Schieder 48–49).

The liberal and national protest movement began transcending state boundaries. As it expanded to encompass not only the academic youth and bourgeoisie, but also workers, craftsmen, and farmers, the movement also grew more radical (Schieder 51). More than twenty thousand men and women attended the Hambach Festival on 26–27 May 1832. Democratic journalists in the Presß- und Vaterlandsverein organized the celebration at the castle ruins to mark the anniversary of the Bavarian constitution. Participants sang political songs and carried black-red-gold flags (Hambacher 173–74). They demanded liberal-constitutional concessions and also denounced rulers and the nobility; even social-revolutionary tendencies surfaced (Schulze, Weg 78). Another shift became apparent in Hambach: national democracy distanced itself from, and took precedence over, liberal constitutionalism. Participants declared constitutions an insufficient means of protecting people’s rights, thus the cry: “weg mit den Konstitutionen und Konstitutioniénchen.” Demands for a unified national and democratic state to guarantee the sovereignty of the people prevailed (Nipperdey, Deutsche Geschichte 1800–1866 370).

Disquieted by such “revolutionary” activities, Metternich urged the German Confederation to employ all available means to suppress them. The Six Articles of 28 June 1832, Maßregeln der Aufrechterhaltung der gesetzlichen Ruhe und Ordnung, restricted the authority of the existing parliaments, which the conservatives viewed as strongholds of, and public forums for, the oppositional bourgeoisie (Siemann, Staatenbund 350). On 5 July 1832 the Frankfurt Diet approved ten additional articles that drastically restricted communication. Foreign newspapers and printed material had to be approved in all Confederation states. The decrees banned political speeches, gatherings, and organizations, “alle Vereine, welche politische Zwecke haben oder unter andern Namen zu politischen Zwecken benutzt werden, sind in sämtlichen Bundesstaaten zu verbieten” (qtd. in Siemann, Staatenbund 350). They even prohibited calls for national unity, including public displays of the black-red-gold colors.

Rulers in constitutional states now had grounds for abolishing laws they considered too liberal. Baden repealed its press laws on 31 July 1832. Prus-
sia, Hanover, and Austria implemented stricter laws, such as prepublication censorship for books longer than 320 pages (Siemann, *Revolution* 39–40). However, most smaller territories did not risk abrogating their constitutions or changing them significantly (Holborn 3: 27). Fifty revolutionaries, mainly radical student fraternity members, stormed and occupied the Frankfurt arsenal on 3 April 1833. They demanded a preliminary parliament comprised of liberal leaders to decide whether Germany should be a free republic or a constitutional monarchy (Siemann, *Staatenbund* 347). Metternich established a new agency for political investigations (1833–48), this time in Frankfurt. By 1842 it had handled 2,000 cases (Nipperdey, *Deutsche Geschichte 1800–1866* 372).

The parliamentary resolution of 10 December 1835 that, based on charges of blasphemy and immorality, banned works by the so-called Young German authors Heinrich Heine, Ludwig Börne, Karl Gutzkow, Heinrich Laube, and Theodor Mundt, mobilized and politicized national public opinion (Nipperdey, *Deutsche Geschichte 1800–1866* 374). Tensions increased even further in November 1837, when the new king of Hanover, Ernst August, Duke of Cumberland, discharged seven professors from the University of Göttingen for protesting his abrogation of the state’s liberal constitution. He even forced three of these professors, Friedrich Christoph Dahlmann, Jakob Grimm, and Georg Gottfried Gervinus into exile. A wave of sympathy arose for the scholars throughout the German territories, making them martyrs of the liberal cause. Numerous Göttingen Vereine sprang up that collected donations to pay their salaries until they found positions elsewhere (Holborn 3: 28). For the first time, political resistance had come not from radicals, literary figures, youth, or the poor, but from a central element of the bourgeois establishment (Nipperdey, *Deutsche Geschichte 1800–1866* 376).

Two major developments in 1840 finally triggered an outburst of patriotic, nationalist fervor and activity that engulfed even Austria and Prussia. The first was the accession of Friedrich Wilhelm IV to the Prussian throne, after the death in June 1840 of his father, Friedrich Wilhelm III. The new king generated high expectations, particularly among the bourgeoisie, for liberal reforms. The second important development was the Rhine crisis. France, which had suffered a diplomatic defeat in the Orient, tried to redirect the attention of its citizens and the European powers by demanding that the Rhine once again become France’s eastern border. Anti-French sentiment and mass patriotism erupted in the German territories. As will be discussed in Chapter 2, these developments overcame particularism and impelled the spread of the nationalist movement. At the same time, they spurred a wave of political poetry.
Social Organization and Popular Expressions of Nationalism

In 1840, not only governmental repression, but also an underdeveloped communications network and the absence of a German political or cultural center hindered concerted political action and the free exchange of ideas. These factors did not squelch political life completely, however. Sustained by intense nationalist sentiment, certain elements of German society defied the oppressive and often dangerous environment engendered by reactionary governments. The academic milieu, social organizations, and the press, for example, strove to overcome such obstacles. They played a central role in building a German political consciousness, for they provided the liberal and nationalist movements with a social base and structure and, in the case of the press, an instrument for influencing this public consciousness.

Despite surveillance, universities functioned as substitute public arenas by promoting the exchange of political ideas across both state and national borders (Nipperdey, Deutsche Geschichte 1800–1866 475, 480). Professors and students often switched universities, and scholars joined scientific societies and attended congresses, building a vital network of personal ties. In early 1846, several newspapers published an “Einladung an die Germanisten zu einer Gelehrten-Versammlung in Frankfurt a.M.,” signed by prominent scholars such as Arndt and the Grimm brothers (Müller 299). This first national conference, the Germanistentage, took place that September. Over two hundred law, history, and philology scholars from every territory in the Confederation and five foreign countries attended. About one third of those attending were professors (from twenty German-speaking universities); nearly half were jurists (Müller 299). The men discussed the concept of a single German state. This congress, and a second one in Lübeck in 1847, were thus nationalist, political events, an expression of the organizational efforts of the bourgeois antifeudal opposition (Müller 298; Schulze, Weg 83–84). Many prominent professors also served as editors, political journalists, or as members of parliaments during the Vormärz and revolutionary years.

A proliferation of national monuments during the 1830s and 1840s reflected and also produced a high degree of political activity in the German territories. Popular expressions of growing nationalism, these monuments created a sense of identification with German history and a future unified state. Bourgeois organizations initiated the projects, rulers provided financial support, and the public greeted them with enthusiasm. Moreover, the projects generated political poems and songs that often played an important role in ceremonies for the monuments.

King Ludwig I of Bavaria laid the cornerstone for the Walhalla (near Regensburg), a sculpture hall of the great Germans, on 18 October 1830, the
anniversary of the Battle of Leipzig (see poem 546). When Leo von Klenze’s monument opened in 1842, Ludwig hoped visitors would experience moral purification and nationalist emotions (Czarnocka, “Leo” 281). Gymnastics, the “frisch-fromm-fröhlichen Turner, [...] die am liebsten ganz Deutschland in ein neues Cheruskerland verwandelt hätten” (Hermand, *Vormärz* 376), spearheaded the effort in 1838 to build a memorial to Arminius in the Teutoburg Forest, where the Germanic hero defeated the Roman army in 9 A.D.⁵ The *Vaterländisches Archiv für Wissenschaft, Kunst, Industrie und Agrikultur, oder Preußische Provinzial-Blätter* published “Das Heldenbild auf Teutoburg” in 1841. This patriotic poem by D.F.W. addresses Germania: “legt Opfer, klein zwar—reich ist ihr nur das Herz!— / doch freudig nieder, daß deines ersten, ja / des ewigen Freiheits Sieges Denkmal / sei deiner Fürsten, der Völker würdig” (W. 288). The editor commented on the poem’s relevance during the Rhine crisis of 1840:

Zwar ist diese Ode bei Gelegenheit der, auch an diese Provinz ergangenen Aufforderung zur Theilnahme an dem Hermannsdenkmale am Ende des Jahres 1839 niedergeschrieben und in einem öffentlichen Blatte bekannt gemacht worden; scheint aber seitdem durch die Ereignisse oder vielmehr vorerst durch die ausgesprochene oder angedeutete feindselige Richtung benachbarter Völker oder Reiche gegen den noch übrigen Umfang und die erneuerte Kraft Deutschlands und durch die geheimen Versuche gegen die Einheit und die Volksthümlichkeit des deutschen Geschlechts an Bedeutsamkeit gesteigert zu sein. (Nr. 25: 286)

The *Sächsische Vaterlands-Blätter* published Heinrich Grahl’s “Das Hermannsdenkmal” on 6 October 1842. This poem also alludes to the threat of war with France: “Deutschland baut Herrmann dort, dem Landesretter, / Ein Monument aus frommer Dankbarkeit” (493). Donations poured in for Ernst von Bändel’s monument, which was completed in 1875 (Joachimsen 63).

Friedrich Wilhelm IV sanctioned the *Zentral-Dombau-Verein* in 1840, a fundraising organization for completing the Cologne cathedral. He laid the cornerstone on 4 September 1842, during a celebration that reflected a temporary but visible unity between the crown and the people, Catholicism and Protestantism, the Prussian state and political consciousness in the Rhineland, all within the context of national unification (Schulze, *Weg* 84). The king called the cathedral “ein Werk des Brudersinnes aller Deutschen” and recalled the nationalist spirit that had helped overcome French occupation of the Rhineland twenty-nine years earlier (Germann 165). Metternich’s presence accentuated the ceremony’s political nature. Austrian Archduke Johann also attended. In a toast he alluded to Arndt’s poem

Es wird unseren Lesern interessant sein, heute, wo Preßfreiheit und Constitution unser Eigen sind, an ein Gedicht erinnert zu werden, dessen beide letzte Strophen die Censur strich, weil der eine der­selben um die Constitution bat. (Nr. 65: 263)

Prutz used the cathedral project to symbolize the struggle for constitutional freedom: "Nicht Dome bloß, nicht Burgen und Paläste, / Bau' fort, bau' fort an einem andern Haus: / Bau' fort, bau' fort an einer andern Veste: / Den Dom der Freiheit, bau ihn aus!" The Cologne cathedral was completed in 1880, nine years after the German victory over France had paved the path to German unification.

The national monument craze became a target of criticism for contemporary poets and authors. The journal Mefistofele: Revue der deutschen Gegenwart in Skizzen und Umrissen published Adalbert Harnisch's "Luther kommt nicht in die Walhalla!" in 1843. The poet criticizes Ludwig I's decision to include Martin Luther among the "frohe Dichter freier Lieder," "Gelehrte," and "Künstler" in the Walhalla, after initially excluding the Protestant reformer: "Dem [Luther] wollen sie ein Plätzchen geben, / Wo Philologen stehn. / Der Luther that in seinem Leben / Wohl mehr als Phrasendrehen" (276). Heinrich Heine was elected vice-president of the Hülfsverein of the Zentral-Dombau-Verein in Paris, founded on 22 June 1842; he agreed to serve despite his conviction that the Prussian monarch would not grant a liberal constitution. A passage in Caput IV of Heine's Deutschland: Ein Wintermärchen attests to the writer's growing scepticism: "Ihr armen Schelme vom Domverein, / Ihr wollt mit schwachen Händen / Fortsetzen das unterbrochene Werk / Und die alte Zwingburg vollenden!" (18). On 1 December 1842 Die Eisenbahn published "Der Kölner Dombau," a poem by Emilie L. The author also doubts the motives behind the cathedral project: "dies Werk will nun mit Pygmäenhänden / die Gegenwart, die Nichtige, vollenden, / als prangend Denkmal ihrer Eitelkeit" (571). F. Lucae's poem "Die Walhalla und der Kölner Dom," published in Der Telegraph für Deutschland in June 1844, charges: "Einheit! ruft Ihr, 'deutsche Einheit!' / Und was thut dem Ruf Ihr gleich? / [...]/ Alles das ist wohl methodisch, / Deutsch und einend ist es nicht" (405). The monument to Arminius garnered criticism from Robert Prutz, who
in 1845 called the statue the “Männekin-Pis der Freienrheinbegeisterung” (Politische 23).

An extensive network of local clubs, professional societies, and recreational associations existed by 1840, evidence of the growing institutionalization of German nationalism. Singers, gymnasts, theatergoers, skittle players, farmers, readers, marksmen, teachers, and workers, among others, formed Vereine that not only shaped their members' social lives but also aimed to educate, support the arts and sciences, and improve society.\(^8\) Although they usually retained a typically middle-class character, what Adler calls “deutsche spießbürgerliche Vereinsmeierei” (1: 37), the organizations did provide an essential popular base for the German nationalist-democratic and liberal movements. Indeed, these political movements largely manifested themselves in such associations and their activities, while these forms of social organization in turn offered the political movements stability and durability (Düding, “Nineteenth” 21). By the fall of 1848, at least twelve hundred Vereine existed, with an estimated 300,000 members.

These organizations offered members an opportunity to meet and discuss political issues in an allegedly nonpolitical setting; from 1832 on, such topics could not be discussed publicly or in the press (Adler 1: 37). When governments began enforcing harsher repressive measures after 1842, these groups grew more oppositional. Freedom of association became a central demand prior to the revolution. Functioning in a gray zone between illegality and toleration by the state (Siemann, Revolution 41), the organizations underwent what Nipperdey refers to as cryptopoliticization: they indirectly acquired a political character (Deutsche Geschichte 1800-1866 211). Members learned to think and act politically, particularly concerning the form and purpose of political participation (Sheehan, German Liberalism 14). The associations, representing all political factions, were precursors to the German political parties, a preliminary school for parliamentary participation (Adler 1: 37).

Gymnastic and male choral societies in particular illustrate how organized mass patriotism raised political awareness during the 1840s. Friedrich Wilhelm IV lifted the ban on gymnast societies in 1842, a step many greeted as evidence of his liberal intentions. The king had hoped to contain the movement within the institutional confines of the public school system, but gymnast societies spread quickly, actually becoming a national mass movement (Siemann, Staatenbund 359). In 1848 nearly three hundred local branches existed, encompassing about ninety-thousand members. Most groups, especially those founded in the southwest after 1845, were highly politicized (Düding, Organisierter 218). Members included men from a broad range of middle-class groups; the petty bourgeoisie dominated, but intellectuals as well as craftsmen also joined in significant numbers (Düding,
“Nineteenth” 38; Nipperdey, “Verein” 19). In the summer of 1847, gym­nasts resolved to hold national gymnast festivals every two years.

Male choral societies formed a vital link in the popular base of the Ger­man nationalist movement. The first German male choral societies formed in Württemberg in 1822; others in southern and central states soon fol­lowed. The movement’s growth during the 1830s reflected the expanding social base of the nationalist movement itself (Dann, Nationalismus 102). By 1848 over 1,100 societies existed with at least 100,000 members (Düding, “Nineteenth” 38). Membership drew from the aristocracy, bourgeoisie, and working class, and for the first time included people from rural areas (Nip­perdey, “Verein” 18). The choral groups had many political aspects. They used nationalist symbols such as the black-red-gold flag and demanded a unified German state. Moreover, their public performances and festi­vals promoted communication on a national basis. Metternich found male choral groups political enough to ban them in Austria until 1848 (Nip­perdey, Deutsche Geschichte 1800-1866 535). The first national song festi­val took place 4–6 August 1845 in Würzburg, with 94 societies and 1,508 singers from all German territories (Düding, Organisierter 190). Others followed in Cologne (1846) and Lübeck (1847), each expressions of support for the German nationalist movement.

Both gymnast and choral groups used meetings, newspapers, and above all festivals during the 1840s to maintain a network of communication and to articulate their political tendencies (Langewiesche 37). Festival rituals usually included a parade; members also sang patriotic songs and often decorated an entire town with oak branches and the black-red-gold flag. The words Freiheit, Preßfreiheit, Vaterland, and Einigkeit, central to the Wartburg Festival in 1817, were also prominent at the patriotic festivals of the 1840s (Schneider 292). According to Nipperdey, the gymnastic festivals included more radical elements and thus were more political than the song festivals (“Verein” 37–38). Both groups’ festivals proved politically effec­tive, however, for they often attracted thousands of spectators from the cities and surrounding areas (Düding, Organisierter 242).

The important role of poetry and music in conveying political ideas to the German public was particularly evident in the choral societies (Schulze, Weg 83). Choirs exhibited nationalist-democratic and liberal orientations, with increasing disregard of governmental repression, largely through the songs they performed. Patriotic texts written by Arndt, Schenkendorf, and Körner during the early stage of the German nationalist movement formed a major part of their repertoire. Both choral and gymnast societies performed Arndt’s “Des Deutschen Vaterland” more than any other song; Düding claims audiences heard it at every German choral festival after 1828 (Organisierter 271). Male choirs also performed songs by Hoffmann
von Fallersleben, Emanuel Geibel, and Georg Herwegh (Düding, Organisierter 269). The choral and gymnast associations had similar repertoires, but the gymnasts’ songbooks exhibited more democratic-republican, even revolutionary, tendencies (Düding, Organisierter 276).

Two examples illustrate how gymnastic and choral societies propagated nationalist sentiment via poetry and songs. Since the early 1840s, the national-liberal Eider Danes had been demanding the incorporation of Schleswig into the Danish kingdom. The outcry from the duchy’s German majority struck a chord in the German territories. Matthäus Friedrich Chemnitz wrote the poem “An Schleswig-Holstein” for a choir festival in the city of Schleswig on 24 July 1844; C.G. Bellmann set it to music. While the poem does not explicitly mention German unity, its final refrain, “Schleswig-Holstein, stammverwandt, / Wanke nicht mein Vaterland!” has a clear nationalist tendency. A small choir from Schleswig-Holstein performed the song at the Würzburg festival in 1845 to wild applause (Kötzschke 88-89, 118). It became an anthem for the Schleswig cause, which gained national attention among broad sectors of German society as a result of the Würzburg festival (see Chapter 5).

Hoffmann von Fallersleben wrote “Das Lied der Deutschen” on 26 August 1841 while in exile on Helgoland (which then belonged to England). Known as “Deutschland, Deutschland über alles,” this song would become the German national anthem on 11 August 1922 (Tümmler 11-13). In Hoffmann von Fallersleben’s poem, which arose from the Rheinlieder movement of the early 1840s, the writer presents a realistic assessment of political conditions at a time when Germans were attempting to determine national borders in terms of language, without consideration of nationalities (Siemann, Staatenbund 357). Hamburg’s male choral and gymnast societies premiered the song on 5 October 1841 to honor liberal Karl Theodor Welcker, a constitutional law expert from Baden and co-editor with Karl von Rotteck of the Staatslexikon. In a typical “Gesangsituation” (Neureuter 231), the singers staged a torchlit parade and presented Welcker a copy of the song in a black-red-gold folder (Düding, Organisierter 273).

Many other associations used festivals as vehicles for political ideas. Poems and political songs also played an integral role in these events. In September 1840 an agent at the Central Information Agency in Mainz reported on a skittles club in Leipzig, for which the radical democrat Robert Blum served as chairperson:

[Robert] Blum ist ferner der Vorstand einer politischen Gesellschaft, welche unter dem Namen “Kegelgesellschaft” im hiesigen Schützenhause ihren Sitz hat und ihr Wesen treibt. Sie kegelt zwar im Sommer, allein, sie hat nur politische Unterhaltungen. Sie

Numerous Goethe, Schiller, and Gutenberg celebrations took place during the 1840s (see Chapter 2). Often organized by journalists and writers, they purported to be elevated intellectual events. In reality they were oppositional political celebrations in the tradition of the national-nationalist Wartburg and Hambach festivals (Hoefer 80; Kaschuba 406). In September 1840, Blum and the liberal opposition leader Johann Itzstein decided to hold a Schiller festival in Leipzig. An agent in Mainz reported on the apparent reasons for this celebration, which took place 10 November 1840:


The initiators billed the festival as a cultural and literary event, but three toasts by Blum, the first "dem Gefeierten, den zweiten der Konvenienz (d.h. dem König), den dritten der 'Presse,'" make its political overtones clear (Adler 1: 64).

Transportation, Technology, and Literacy

The press also mobilized broad sectors of society for political causes, in particular the liberal and nationalist movements (Dann, Nationalismus 90). Indeed, in the 1840s the press was the most important, dynamic forum not only for presenting public opinion on political issues but also for shaping it (Hoefer 81). The press was largely financed by the liberal bourgeoisie, who employed it as an oppositional weapon in their battle for political influence.
However, political groups of all persuasions, from conservatives to radicals, used the print medium to propagate their views. Social and economic developments as well as progress in transportation and communications contributed to the emergence of the press as a major political force.

By the nineteenth century wars, epidemics, and starvation no longer kept the European population in check. Whereas in 1816 23.5 million people lived within the borders of the future German empire of 1871 (without Alsace-Lorraine), the number increased nearly fifty percent by 1850, to 35.4 million. People migrated to the cities. By 1850, Berlin, Hamburg, Breslau, and Munich each had over 100,000 inhabitants (Schieder 67). The urban population provided a work force for the emerging industrial revolution. Although industrialization did not take firm hold in the German states until the second half of the century, new technologies and the development of a modern factory system increased industrial production in the 1840s (Schulze, Weg 51). Both the growing population and industrialization brought the German masses into closer contact with newspapers and journals, and hence with the political poems in the collection.

Many state governments had recognized that political borders could not remain customs borders without hampering economic progress (Henderson 32). The Prussian-led Zollverein, founded on 1 January 1834 and comprised of eighteen German states (excluding Austria and most northern states), largely overcame the state customs and toll boundaries that had long hindered economic development. It enlarged the trade network, increased economic activity, and helped integrate the German territories into an economic unity. This in turn accelerated the rate of industrialization (Holborn 3: 12-13). Of course, the Customs Union did not conquer state particularism completely, as the poem “Zoll-Verein,” published in Transsilvania: Beiblatt zum Siebenbürger Boten on 7 January 1845, notes: “Wo liegt des Deutschen Vaterland?—/Es liegt in vielen Ländern, / Trotz Kölnerdom und Zoll-Verband, / Das läßt sich nicht verändern” (11).

Transportation improvements supported these developments. In 1827, Prussia and the Rhineland founded the first steamship company in Cologne, which led to steady passenger traffic from Rotterdam to Cologne and later to Mainz. The Danube Steamship Company, founded in Vienna in 1829, promoted navigation on the Danube, Elbe, Weser, and Oder rivers. But trains soon displaced steamships as a means of transportation. The first long-distance railway, from Leipzig to Dresden, opened on 7 April 1839. During the 1840s, the German railroad network expanded faster than in any European country other than Belgium (Henderson 49).

Trains increased the ease and speed of transportation in the German territories and lowered its costs. Significantly, they also crossed state borders. This meant trade and competition among different states and the
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growth of a capitalist market (Kiesewetter 179–80; Rürup 165). Communications also benefited, for the railroads made the middle classes mobile (Dann, Nationalismus 91). As Nipperdey states, it thus became easier for Germans to have common experiences, common problems, and common ideas (Deutsche Geschichte 1800–1866 307). Railroads facilitated intellectual exchange and integration. People traveled to national celebrations and demonstrations on trains. The first national choir festival took place in Cologne because travelers from the north and south could easily reach the city by train or steamboat. During the revolution of 1848–49, train stations became meeting places and centers for disseminating information (Schieder 69).

Technological breakthroughs also underlay the emergence of the press as an instrument of political communication. In 1812 Friedrich König invented the high-speed press, a steam-driven machine with a rotating cylinder instead of a flat printing plate. Printing capacity increased to twelve hundred sheets per hour on both sides; under certain conditions it reached eighteen hundred sheets per hour (Rarisch 27–28). König opened a factory near Würzburg in 1817, and the publishers of Berlin’s Spenerische Zeitung and Augsburg’s Allgemeine Zeitung soon used König’s invention (Lutz 98). From 1819 to 1852, the number of high-speed presses in Prussia rose 154%, from 516 to 1310. From 1840 to 1843 the number jumped by ninety-three (Rarisch 29). The first steam-driven paper machine (1818) increased the speed and output of paper production and lowered the cost of paper while improving its quality. These developments made the industrial production of newspapers, journals, and books possible. The number of print shops also grew. Seventeen new shops opened in the German territories in 1829; by 1840 the number had risen to fifty-nine (Obenaus, “Buchmarkt” 44).

Karl W. Deutsch has argued that a national consciousness results from an intensive exchange of information, from social communication (144–47). According to Dann, literacy and an interest in new information are the main requirements for participating in this exchange (Nationalismus 89). Literacy rates increased parallel to the growth of the press. In 1800 the ratio of non-readers to potential readers in the German territories was three to one; in 1870 this ratio was reversed (Nipperdey, Deutsche Geschichte 1800–1866 587). About forty percent of the population in German-speaking territories was literate in 1830 (Schulze 75); in 1848 it was about eighty percent (Siemann, Revolution 121). Whereas approximately seventy percent of the Prussian population was illiterate in 1800, illiteracy had generally been eliminated by 1850 (Dann, Nationalismus 89). This resulted largely from an expanding public education system and from state measures to ensure school attendance. From 1816 to 1846, the number of pupils attending school (as a percentage of those obliged to do so) climbed from sixty
to eighty-two percent in Prussia, from forty-nine to eighty-six percent in the Rhineland, and from eighty-four to ninety-four percent in Saxony. The number of children attending primary and secondary schools in Prussia during the same period rose nearly eighty percent, from 1.5 to 2.7 million, while the number not attending sank from forty to eighteen percent (Lutz 147–49). The number of schools and universities also increased in the first half of the century (Nipperdey, Deutsche Geschichte 1800–1866 451–54, 471).

The spread of literacy and structural changes in readership brought about by lower prices led to a rapid expansion of the reading public. No longer restricted to a small educated elite, books, newspapers, and journals became more readily available to growing numbers of people in different social classes. Book ownership increased among the educated bourgeoisie, and peddlers supplied literature in rural areas (Nipperdey, Deutsche Geschichte 1800–1866 589; Lutz 157). Lesekabinette were established, often with their own libraries and rooms for reading and discussion (Nipperdey, Deutsche Geschichte 1800–1866 588). These reading associations helped build a politically active public by providing opportunities to discuss political issues (Habermas 13–14; Hambacher 168–69). After the revolution, reading associations gradually lost their social function due to public libraries and lower book and newspaper prices.

Books and journals were still too expensive for most people in the 1840s, and thus lending libraries became important mediators of literature (Hohendahl, Literarische 314). They made literature available to broader sections of society, including the petty bourgeoisie and tradesmen (Rarisch 15–17). Prussia had 656 lending libraries in 1846–47, Saxony 117 (Lutz 157). The social aspect central to reading associations was missing, however, for the libraries encouraged anonymous reading at home (Siemann, Staatenbund 215). But reading circles often were associated with libraries. The Schmidt’sche Leihbibliothek in Dresden subscribed to 26 scholarly and political newspapers and to 146 annual almanachs and paperbacks (Lutz 157). When major changes in the distribution of literature took place after 1850, lending libraries faced growing competition from the serial novel in low-priced family magazines and from the feuilleton section of daily newspapers, modes of publication that soon developed into mass media (Hohendahl, Literarische 315). Industrialization and urbanization integrated the German masses into the reading public, bringing people closer to the periodical publications available not only in libraries, but in cafes and bars as well (Hohendahl, Literarische 316).

The spread of literacy to the middle and lower classes affected changes in reading habits that reflected the expanding interests of the reading public and also the growing selection of reading materials. Devotional literature, particularly the Bible, and calendars had long been the focus of reading.
In the nineteenth century, however, people read many different books instead of repeatedly reading just a few (Nipperdey, *Deutsche Geschichte 1800-1866* 587; Rarisch 15–17). They also increasingly read to obtain current information (Dann, *Lesegesellschaften* 15–16). People turned to the press, which made literature as well as political information accessible to a larger readership. Newspapers and journals both served and generated the rising interest in political affairs. And those aware of current events had greater opportunity to become involved in the nationalist movement (Dann, *Nationalismus* 94–95).

Publishing firms, financed and managed predominantly by the bourgeoisie, printed more books, newspapers, and journals to meet the demands of the growing reading public. The number of newspapers and books published between 1831 to 1840 nearly doubled (Dann, *Nationalismus* 90). Based on titles, the number of books tripled between 1821 and 1843, from 4,181 to 14,059, a level not reached again until 1878 (Nipperdey, *Deutsche Geschichte 1800-1866* 588). The decrease in book titles after 1843 in part reflected the greater popularity of political writings as opposed to fictional works, especially in 1848 (Siemann, *Staatenbund* 216–17). The number of bookstores also increased, evidence of the growing capitalist market. In the early 1800s about five hundred bookstores existed in the German territories. In 1832 there were 729 (89 of which were in Austria.) By 1844, 1,321 bookstores existed in 341 German cities (107 in 20 Austrian cities). Data for Berlin reflect this growth: there were 80 bookstores in 1831, 127 in 1844, and 195 in 1855 (Lutz 156–57).

Industrialization, capitalism, and the changing economic status of the bourgeoisie influenced German literary culture. In the 1830s and 1840s, publishing and newspaper centers in large cities such as Cologne, Berlin, Hamburg, Frankfurt, Leipzig, and Stuttgart eclipsed literary centers at royal courts in Darmstadt, Brunswick, and Weimar (Vassen 24). Publishers replaced the influence of the patronage system upon German writers and journalists, who increasingly had to support themselves by working on commission. Dependence on the literary market often involved a great degree of uncertainty. Consequently, many writers turned to journalism, which was establishing itself as a profession. Journalists, often in possession of a doctorate and professorial title, formed a new social group. Koszyk maintains that censorship alone prevented this group from expanding rapidly enough to meet the demands of the growing political public (218). The number of full-time editors nevertheless doubled in the 1830s; by 1848 it was three times higher than that of people working in journalism as a sideline (Koszyk 220).

Oppositional liberals in particular embraced the print medium. Dann argues that the nationalist movement actually established itself as a support
group for the liberal press (Nationalismus 114). Intellectuals and academic scholars dominated the protest movement, but lawyers and businessmen became oppositional journalists as well (Dann, Nationalismus 114). Robert Prutz, Ferdinand Freiligrath, Georg Herwegh, Ludwig Börne, and August Heinrich Hoffmann von Fallersleben all wrote for newspapers and journals. Heine worked as a correspondent for the Augsburg Allgemeine Zeitung during his exile in Paris. Other important journalists and editors included Johann Georg August Wirth, Philipp Jakob Siebenpfeiffer, Julius Fröbel, and Karl Marx. This group of intellectuals formed the basis of the political opposition during the 1840s. Their writings and publications intensified liberal and nationalist agitation prior to the revolution of 1848 (Sheehan, German Liberalism 20).

The Press and Censorship

Nipperdey correctly maintains that the history of the nineteenth-century German press is a history of the freedom of the press (Deutsche Geschichte 1800–1866 590). Until the mid-nineteenth century, the term "press" referred to all forms of printed material, including leaflets and brochures. It then narrowed to include only the periodic mass media, chiefly newspapers and journals (Wilke and Noelle-Neumann 417). Within decades of Gutenberg's invention of the printing press, the Catholic church was employing prepublication censorship and repressive measures against authors, printers, and publishers (Brand and Schulze 25; Fischer 38). By the late sixteenth century, a system of state censorship emerged that essentially existed until 1806 (Wilke, Pressefreiheit 5).

Napoleon, who in January 1800 abolished freedom of the press in France, required German newspapers under his control to conform to the official French publication, the Moniteur. German absolutist rulers learned from the French emperor. Austria and Prussia, for example, used the press to propagate their policies of appeasement (Nipperdey, Deutsche Geschichte 1800–1866 590). Several German rulers began enforcing censorship more aggressively, replacing prepublication censorship with bans of press publications (Fischer 50). As French occupation ended, many independent publications sprang up that effectively incited anti-French activity in the German territories (Schneider 189). During this period, the press also enjoyed brief autonomy from German authorities. The most prominent publication was the national-democratic Rheinischer Merkur, founded by Joseph Görres in Coblenz on 23 January 1814. Even Napoleon referred to it as a great power (Nipperdey, Deutsche Geschichte 1800–1866 590). Sanctioned by the Prussian government, the publication functioned for one and a half years as an autonomous, political newspaper (Schneider 201).
The Press and Censorship

The victory over Napoleon had far-reaching consequences for the German press. The wars had raised expectations for political participation and demonstrated the close relationship between the press and public opinion. Freedom of the press had become a political issue, particularly among the academic bourgeoisie but also in social groups not extensively involved with politics (Schneider 172). Nassau abolished all restrictions on the press in May 1814, for example. Article 18d of the Bundesakte (8 June 1815) claimed the Federal Diet would address freedom of the press. Carl August of Weimar abolished preventive censorship in March 1816; he even quoted Article 18d to defend the book burnings at the Wartburg Festival. A report from 12 October 1818, however, indicates that two-thirds of the German governments still employed preventive censorship (Wilke, Pressefreiheit 22).

The Federal Diet did not fulfill Article 18d. Reactionary rulers, above all Metternich, viewed the press as an instrument of liberal opposition and revolution (Nipperdey, Deutsche Geschichte 1800–1866 590). When Görres began printing criticism of German political conditions in his Rheinischer Merkur, censors in Bavaria, Württemberg, Baden, and Prussia banned the publication (Fischer 51–52). The Carlsbad Decrees of 20 September 1819, which reestablished preventive censorship for all publications under 320 pages and strict censorship controls for newspapers and periodicals, were the first press laws applied to all territories in the German Confederation (Schieder 30–31). These measures to a large degree eliminated oppositional elements in the press; most daily newspapers during the reactionary era were politically neutral, of local consequence only (Nipperdey, Deutsche Geschichte 1800–1866 591).

The single daily newspaper of national importance was Johann Friedrich Cotta’s Allgemeine Zeitung, published since 1804 in Augsburg (see Publication Index). Metternich had used the newspaper to support his foreign policy initiatives and thus initially granted it a certain degree of freedom. Cotta generally followed the prescribed, politically impartial course, aiming for “Vollständigkeit,” “Wahrheit,” and “Unpartheilichkeit” (qtd. in Breil 43). As Moran observes, the publisher sought to establish a “public” realm of thought and action that neither fell under the control of the state nor opposed it (18). For decades Cotta (and, after his death, his son Georg) strove to minimize state control of their publication. They threatened to move the newspaper, which had become a prestigious and financially important enterprise for both Bavaria and Austria, to another state (Breil 232). Conservative rulers often recognized not only the paper’s value as a source of information but also its apparent contentment with the status quo, a fact that helped the newspaper survive the increasing harshness of censorship measures before the revolution of 1848. Of course, the
professed neutrality of the *Allgemeine Zeitung* invited criticism from liberals and conservatives alike (Moran 212–14, 275). The *Allgemeine* appeared as a daily newspaper until April 1908.\(^\text{13}\)

The July Revolution in France revived the battle for freedom of the press in Germany. Welcker petitioned the Federal Diet on 25 November 1830 to end censorship. He likened the press to a parliament, a corporate representative of the people (Wilke, *Pressefreiheit* 26). His efforts failed, but the liberal majority in Baden’s provincial assembly abolished prepublication censorship that December and established complete freedom of the press on 1 March 1832 (Siemann, *Staatenbund* 345). However, on 28 July 1832 the Diet pressured Baden’s grand duke into revoking the law on the grounds that it was unconstitutional. The national *Preß- und Vaterlandsverein*, founded in Zweibrücken (Bavarian Rhineland Palatinate) on 29 January 1832 by liberal editors Wirth and Siebenpfeiffer, soon had 116 branches with 5,000 members (Nipperdey, *Deutsche Geschichte 1800-1866* 369). The organization supported oppositional press groups that had spread throughout the German territories since 1830. It used the press to raise awareness of political issues and mobilize public opinion (*Hambacher* 145, 172; Hoefer 81–82). Members organized festivals such as the one in Hambach, which Schneider considers the first “freedom of the press celebration.” He quotes Siebenpfeiffer: “Was wollte das Hambacher Fest? An die Stelle der zertretenen Presse treten” (292). Membership consisted mainly of petty bourgeois artisans, intellectuals, and merchants (Langewiesche 35). The Bavarian government banned the society on 1 March 1832, which operated underground until the end of 1833 (Siemann, *Staatenbund* 345–46).

In the absence of a fully developed parliamentary system, in the 1830s liberal journalists began viewing themselves as representatives of the people and hence of public opinion:

\begin{quote}
Den Widerstand der Aristokraten zu überwinden ist die Aufgabe unseres Zeitalters. Das Mittel dazu ist die Presse. So gewiß Frankreich seine Freiheit vorzugsweise den Journalisten zu verdanken hat, so gewiß wurde auch die Wiedergeburt Deutschlands durch die periodische Presse nach langen, heissen Kämpfen errungen werden, wenn Gemeinsinn im Volke erwacht, der gebildete Teil des Publikums den freisinnigen, zum Kampf auf Tod und Leben entschlossenen Journalen volle Aufmerksamkeit und nach Umständen auch Unterstützung gewährt. Die periodische Presse wird unüberwindlich, wenn sie, der treue Widerhall der Gesinnung der Nation, im Volke auch eine feste Stütze findet. (Herzberg 52)\(^\text{14}\)
\end{quote}

The German press took on this political, nationalist tone in the early 1830s. Several literary journals exhibited a critical awareness of political and social
issues. Mündt’s Literarischer Zodiacus, for example, was subtitled Journal für Zeit und Leben, Wissenschaft und Kunst. In 1832 a new section entitled “Deutsches Volksleben” appeared in the Mitternachtzeitung für gebildete Stände. It combined “die Begebenheiten der Deutschen Völker und die politischen Ereignisse in ein natürlich zusammenhängendes Gemälde” (Obenaus 225: 10). When Laube became editor of the journal in 1836, he distanced himself from his Young German past: “[. . .] man wirkt immer nachtheilig auf eine Nation, wenn man Institute und Interessen, die ihr heilig sind, verspottet. [Das] ‘Mitternachtblatt’ [werde] alle die auflösenden Tendenzen bekämpfen” (Obenaus 225: 11). As Brandes notes, most publications lost their liberal political tendencies by the end of 1835, largely due to censorship restrictions (311-13).

Metternich had continued fine-tuning the censorship apparatus. The ten articles added to the Maßregeln der Aufrechterhaltung der gesetzlichen Ruhe und Ordnung on 5 July 1832 meant greater hardships for authors, publishers, and booksellers. The Geheime Wiener Beschlüsse of 1832, which never became official laws, nevertheless represented the peak of censorship efforts. State censors could no longer tolerate any leniencies, and they had to establish additional offices for controlling the press. The federal decree against Young German authors and publishers followed on 10 December 1835. Journalists and other liberal and radical intellectuals were increasingly forced to live in exile or to “choose” to do so to escape imprisonment and other forms of persecution. Heine, Börne, Herwegh, Marx, Hoffmann von Fallersleben, Freiligrath, and Franz Dingelstedt all spent time in exile, mainly in France, England, Switzerland, and Belgium. Without the constrictions of censorship, their political and social convictions grew more radical and revolutionary. Their ideas, often published in books, newspapers, and journals, found their way back to Germany. As Salewski emphasizes, repressive laws did not hermetically close off the German territories, and close ties with other European nations promoted political discussion (31-32). The Federal Diet attempted to tighten controls over German literature published abroad, forbidding the entry of such publications into the German territories.

The Prussian press in particular experienced erratic censorship. From 1831 to 1840, the government banned 312 newspapers and journals (Fischer 60). Friedrich Wilhelm IV relaxed press laws in December 1841, tolerating the Trierische Zeitung, the first German socialist newspaper, and the Rheinische Zeitung für Politik, Handel und Gewerbe (October 1842–March 1843). The radical intellectual Karl Marx edited the latter, founded by liberal entrepreneurs Ludolf Camphausen and Gustav Mevissen as a progressive counterpart to the conservative Kölnische Zeitung. Just one year later, however, the Prussian monarch banned these and other liberal
publications (Hermand, *Vormärz* 361, 389). After Hoffmann and Campe published Hoffmann von Fallersleben’s collection of poems, *Unpolitische Lieder* (1840–41), the king banned the Hamburger publisher’s entire production for Prussia and dismissed the poet from his professorship. Friedrich Wilhelm IV banned fifty-five publications in 1844 alone (Fischer 60). In 1846 Prussia replaced prepublication censorship with laws holding everyone involved with a publication—author, publisher, printer, bookseller, and distributor—responsible for violations (Siemann, *Staatenbund* 222).

New and existing German newspapers and journals nevertheless boomed in the 1840s. The number of these publications rose from 780 in 1833 to 1,836 in 1845, reaching 2,134 in 1848. The number dropped to 1,551 in 1849, climbing again to 1,743 in 1872 (Wittmann 150). Oppositional publications in particular flourished, although many had only short life spans. Many liberal journals and newspapers in this study began publication in the 1840s: *Charivari* (1842–49), *Fliegende Blätter* (1844–1944), *Der Anecdotenjäger* (1845–68), *Sir John Falstaff* (1846–48), *Leuchtkugeln* (1847–51), *Mephistopheles* (1847–52), *Zapf und Schwert* (1848), *Münchener Punsch* (1848–76), and *Kladderadatsch* (1848–1944). Conservative publications such as the *Volksblatt für Stadt und Land* (1844–78) and the *Neue Preußische Zeitung* (1848–1906, also known as the *Kreuzzeitung*) also appeared during this decade (see Publication Index, Bibliography of Newspapers and Journals).

The larger liberal daily newspapers proved particularly effective in raising political awareness during the 1840s. In Berlin, the *Königlich privilegirte Berlinische Zeitung von Staats- und gelehrten Sachen* (also known as the *Vossische Zeitung*) grew nearly one hundred percent between 1840 and 1847, attaining a circulation of twenty thousand. The *Kölnische Zeitung*, which former fraternity member Karl-Heinz Brüggemann began editing in 1844, had a circulation of ten thousand in 1847 (Nipperdey, *Deutsche Geschichte 1800–1866* 591).

This explosion of publications in large part reflected the growing politicization of the bourgeoisie. Also, König’s high-speed press and transportation improvements enabled the press to reach enormous proportions and attain such a high degree of mobility that censors simply could not keep up (Siemann, *Revolution* 115–16). The first electrical telegraph line appeared in 1847, providing the basis for news agencies such as the *Wolffsches Telegraphenbüro* in 1849. Moreover, individual territories continued to enforce censorship laws irregularly and to varying degrees. Prussia proved more lenient than Austria, Hanover, and Hesse-Cassel, while Baden, Württemberg, and Saxony openly supported liberal press laws. Writers and editors used tricks for avoiding censorship, including falsified places of publication, assumed names for authors and publishers, and anonymous publications.
The flourishing press closely followed the political discussions taking place in state parliaments, especially in the southwest. It began serving the liberal, democratic, conservative, socialist, and Catholic political currents emerging in the 1840s. Evidence of an increasingly differentiated political life, these political groups were precursors to organized parties after 1850. Each group had at least one publication that functioned as a mouthpiece and forum for its views. Politically like-minded citizens then gathered around the editors, staff, and readers of such journals and newspapers (Nipperdey, *Deutsche Geschichte 1800–1866* 590–91). Often, political circles made their first public appearance by founding a publication, creating their own profile by publicly articulating their views (Obenaus 229: 86). Constitutional liberals supported Gervinus’s *Deutsche Zeitung*, for example, founded in Heidelberg on 1 July 1847 after the opposition had split into moderate liberals and radical democrats. The first “party newspaper” of national significance, it reached a circulation of four thousand (Siemann, *Revolution* 119). The radical democrats had the *Sächsische Vaterlands-Blätter* (November 1840–December 1845), socialists the *Westphälisches Dampfboot* (1844–48). Conservatives gathered around the *Berliner Politisches Wochenblatt*, while Görres’s *Historisch-Politische Blätter für das katholische Deutschland* served political Catholicism starting in 1838.

A politically engaged press therefore emerged during the Vormärz years that reflected the struggle of writers and publishers to overcome state censorship. As Hohendahl points out, before 1848 these attempts to create a public political arena were largely efforts to secure freedom of the press, undertaken by liberals, democrats, and socialists alike (*Literarische* 107). Surprisingly, Prussia, together with Saxony, took the initiative in September 1847 on the freedom of the press issue, suggesting to the Federal Diet that a free press could prove a more suitable instrument than a restricted press for building up nationalist sentiment and the moral strength of Germany (Lutz 242; Fischer 60). When Austria drafted extremely harsh censorship laws for all member states of the German Confederation in 1848, Baden, Saxony, and other states rebelled.

**Public Opinion, the Press, and Politics**

Public opinion and the press each significantly affected the development of the other in the nineteenth century. Nipperdey explains how Germans became a nation of newspaper readers: “[…] die öffentliche Meinung wird im 19. Jahrhundert zu einer wesentlichen Macht, und es ist die Presse, die sie repräsentiert und formt” (*Deutsche Geschichte 1800–1866* 589). Moreover, the growing political awareness and involvement of the German bourgeoisie
contributed to the emergence of both public opinion and the press as major political influences. The press raised the political consciousness of its readership, a prerequisite for the formation of public opinion, by conveying current information and providing a public forum in which political and social issues were discussed. Newspapers and journals thus helped institutionalize emerging public opinion and also broadened its social base. As political awareness expanded, readers demanded more political information, which in turn promoted the growth of the press. These dynamic processes played a significant role before the revolution of 1848, especially in the absence of other institutionalized political activity such as representative parliaments or political parties (Hohendahl, *Literarische* 59).

The close relationship of public opinion, the press, and politics was already apparent in the late eighteenth century. Private gatherings such as bourgeois reading associations represented an early form of political activity and a source of public opinion. Habermas claims these organizations had one purpose: to meet the educated bourgeoisie's need for a public sphere in which they could read and discuss newspapers or journals and formulate opinions that, since the 1790s, had been referred to as "public" (85). By 1800, political journals and newspapers such as Wieland's *Teutscher Merkur* and Schlözer's *Staatsanzeiger* were the most popular reading material (Habermas 13-14). Politics thus increasingly became the subject of public opinion (Siemann, *Staatenbund* 220). The precapitalistic character of German society before 1850, in which the leading bourgeois class consisted of professors, lawyers, theologians, and civil servants and not industrialists or merchants, enabled the educated bourgeoisie to dominate the public political arena through the 1848-49 revolution (Hohendahl, *Literarische* 60).

The press redefined its own image and function as it took on the role of presenting and forming public opinion. Schneider delineates three stages in this transformation (218-19). The press initially provided readers with government-sanctioned news, a function that receded during the 1700s but repeatedly resurfaced in the 1800s. In 1813 Brockhaus wrote: “Eine Zeitung [. . .] umfaßt die ganze Zeitgeschichte, sie referiert bloß, sie nimmt keine Partei, und Räsonnements sind ihr fremd” (qtd. in Schneider 218). The second phase began in the late eighteenth century. The press provided enlightenment on political questions, serving as a “burning torch in the darkness of injustice.” The third phase emerged in the early 1800s, when newspapers and journals viewed themselves as representatives of the people. Görres articulated this functional shift in “Die teutschen Zeitungen”: “Die Zeitungen sollen der Mund des Volkes und das Ohr des Fürsten sein” (qtd. in Schneider 221). The press increasingly became a political press, printing oppositional perspectives on current issues. A vehicle for bourgeois public opinion, the press also mobilized public opinion on these issues.
Newspapers and journals exhibited such tendencies during the wars against Napoleon, when public opinion was imbued with patriotic sentiment that largely reflected the political aims of the liberal bourgeoisie. Political awareness signified national consciousness, the desire for a unified German state. The early constitutional movement also contributed to the political nature of public opinion. Liberals linked demands for constitutions and broader representation in government with calls for freedom of the press. Karl Welcker accused absolutist rulers of suppressing public opinion by denying freedom of the press:

Nur bei ihr [politischer Preßfreiheit] kann, ohne die Sklaverei des Alterthums, jeder Bürger an den oeffentlichen Angelegenheiten Theil nehmen, seine Ueberzeugungen durch Wahlen, Petitionen und die öffentliche Meinung geltend machen und zugleich seine besonderen Geschäfte besorgen. Diese einzige Art der freien Verfassungen für unsere heutigen großen Staaten ist unmöglich ohne die volle Öffentlichkeit und ohne die volle Freiheit des öffentlichen Wortes über das Öffentliche, ohne freie Zeitungen. (Rotteck and Welcker 838)

Where early constitutional liberalism did exist, as in the southwestern territories, parliaments were conceived as organs of public opinion. They functioned as representatives of people's rights rather than as partners of the government. As Welcker argued, this required the strict separation of government and parliament, of state and public spheres (Rotteck and Welcker 838).

The German press grew during the 1840s as a result of and parallel to climbing literacy rates, improvements in communications and transportation, and economic developments. Together these factors expanded the social base of the political public, and hence of public opinion, beyond the educated bourgeoisie. In the course of the decade, public opinion came to represent and shape mainly the liberal, nationalist, and democratic opposition movements. While Metternich's censorship system restricted the formation of a public arena in which critical opinion could flourish, the significance of public opinion as an active political factor continued to grow. The Rhine crisis of 1840 broke through many communication barriers. In view of France's aggressive policies and of patriotic protests within the German territories, governments found it expedient (as they had in 1813) to ease restrictions on political activity and the press (Siemann, Staatenbund 360). As mentioned above, they did not or could not enforce censorship effectively enough to stifle all critical opinion in the press. Frequent articles on the public function of the press added to the politicization of public opinion (Hoefer 85). Nipperdey cautions, however, that published opinions were
not always identical with public opinion, as partisanship and critical reflection were more typical of journalists in the 1840s than objective reporting (Deutsche Geschichte 1800-1866 594).

Political Poetry and the Press

The politicization of the German public arena during the first half of the nineteenth century significantly affected literary production. The relationship between literature and society changed as members of the bourgeoisie became increasingly involved with contemporary political and social issues and then sought to combine these interests with their literary intentions (Wilke, “Sturm” 147). The political poetry published in newspapers and journals between 1840 and 1871 is one significant result of this change.

The patriotic and nationalistic poems written during the Wars of Liberation represented the first highpoint of political poetry in the nineteenth century. As Bayerdörfer notes, this historical occasional poetry saturated society to a high degree and affected it accordingly, successfully promoting a sense of unity in a war proclaimed to be a people’s war (309). Commenting upon this “Volks-Sieg,” Wohlrabe writes: “[. . .] was Wunder, daß die Zahl der Sänger, die dem niedergetretenen, dem sich erhebenden und frei machenden Vaterlande ‘ihre Lieder weihen’, groß war, die Wirkung ihres Gesangs so machtvoll!” (17). These Zeitgedichte thematized contemporary political issues, conveying strong anti-French sentiment, appeals to fight against Napoleon, and accounts of military battles and persons. The widespread popularity of the Freiheitslyrik declined after the war, and the Carlsbad Decrees effectively pushed the political poetry out of the public literary arena (Bayerdörfer 309).

As political life quickened in Europe after 1830, so too did literary and intellectual life. Moreover, the death of Hegel in 1831 and of Goethe in 1832 gave writers “[das] Gefühl des Befreitseins von der Würde des Überkommenen” (Hermand, Junge 371). The Young Germans, seeking to free their writings from backwards-looking classical and romantic literary traditions, exhibited an increasing interest in contemporary political and social issues. They preferred narrative prose as their contemporary political-literary form of expression, in part because the genre offered opportunity for what Gutzkow called “Ideenschmuggel,” the presentation of ideas in a form and within a context that might prove less offensive to the censors (Siemann, “Ideenschmuggel” 86). In his Briefe eines Narren an eine Närrin (1832), a novel comprised of supposed love letters, Gutzkow wrote: “Die Nothwendigkeit der Politisierung unserer Literatur ist unerläßlich” (214). However, these authors generally did not promote a specific political program. Koopmann argues that the undefined, amorphous character of their
political ideas reflected a generally naive and unrealistic attitude towards contemporary affairs (30–31).

The Young Germans also turned to the burgeoning field of journalism. The press offered not only income but the opportunity to exercise political influence (Brandes 308). Writers could disseminate criticism through the press in forms that often had better chances of escaping reprisal from the censors, such as feature articles, literary reviews, and essays. Heine in particular recognized the need to adapt to the demands of the market, readers' taste, and the genre-specific conditions of the features section. Many of his texts appeared in books only after they had been published in newspapers, journals, or almanachs (Siemann, Staatenbund 218).

Poetry nevertheless remained an appropriate vehicle for Young German political and social criticism (Häntzschel 13). The Polish uprising against Russian rule in November 1830, the subsequent military battles, and the defeat of the Poles in February 1831 spurred the production of democratic and liberal German poetry. As Kozielek notes, the intense German interest in the Polish developments was documented primarily in the hundreds of so-called Polenlieder written during these months (14). In Platen’s “Vermächtnis der sterbenden Polen an die Deutschen,” written on 4 October 1831, Polish freedom fighters address the Germans: “Doch ihr, gewarnt durch unsre Qual, / Sei’s morgen oder heut, / Oh, seid nur noch ein einzig Mal / Das alte Volk des Teut!” (Ko sielek 73–74). Poets such as Adelbert von Chamisso, Georg Herwegh, and Ida Gräfin Hahn-Hahn coupled expressions of sympathy for the Polish uprising with warnings against a close alliance between Prussia and czarist Russia. Pleas for Poland were simultaneously condemnations of restaurative conditions in the German territories (Ko zielek 37).

Writers of the 1840s largely put aside aesthetic considerations in favor of political commitment. Hermand aptly observes that Vormärz literature rejected the subjective, personal elements central to Young German travel accounts or diaries, for example, and focused instead on the principle of political agitation (Vormärz 366). The fact that Vormärz writers in the 1840s articulated their political wishes, hopes, and goals principally in lyrical form reflects in part the prominent role poetry had held in literary life and in the public consciousness during the 1830s (Häntzschel 13). Poetry was, in view of censorship, “eine günstige und wirkungsvolle Form der Opposition in poetischem Gewand” (Veit-Brause 208). The Rhine crisis, Friedrich Wilhelm IV’s reintroduction of reactionary policies, and also the growing poverty of the lower classes triggered a new wave of political poetry in 1840, as we will see in the next chapter. Some older poets who had been involved with the Wars of Liberation were still alive, which also added to the revival of political literature. Arndt wrote new nationalist poetry in
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Writers of the 1840s largely put aside aesthetic considerations in favor of political commitment. Hermand aptly observes that Vormärz literature rejected the subjective, personal elements central to Young German travel accounts or diaries, for example, and focused instead on the principle of political agitation (Vormärz 366). The fact that Vormärz writers in the 1840s articulated their political wishes, hopes, and goals principally in lyrical form reflects in part the prominent role poetry had held in literary life and in the public consciousness during the 1830s (Häntzschel 13). Poetry was, in view of censorship, “eine günstige und wirkungsvolle Form der Opposition in poetischem Gewand” (Veit-Brause 208). The Rhine crisis, Friedrich Wilhelm IV’s reintroduction of reactionary policies, and also the growing poverty of the lower classes triggered a new wave of political poetry in 1840, as we will see in the next chapter. Some older poets who had been involved with the Wars of Liberation were still alive, which also added to the revival of political literature. Arndt wrote new nationalist poetry in
1840, after Friedrich Wilhelm IV allowed him to return to his university position (Hasubek 141).

Poets addressed the issue of political engagement within their own lyrical texts. Herwegh’s poem “Die Partei. An Ferdinand Freiligrath,” written and published in the *Rheinische Zeitung* during the political thaw ushered in by Friedrich Wilhelm IV, best illustrates this. The poem includes the lines: “Partei! Partei! Wer sollte sie nicht nehmen, / Die noch die Mutter aller Sieger war!” as well as “Ihr [Dichter] müßt euch mit in diesem Kampfe schlagen, / Ein Schwert in eurer Hand ist das Gedicht” (Herwegh, *Gedichte* 2: 64). Herwegh addressed the poem to Ferdinand Freiligrath, whose poem “Aus Spanien” (Darmstadt, November 1841) proclaimed: “Der Dichter steht auf einer höheren Warte / Als auf den Zinnen der Partei” (Glaubensbekenntniß 9). Freiligrath eventually joined the liberal-nationalist cause, publishing his first collection of political poems, *Glaubensbekenntniß*, in 1844. In the 1840s political poets were confident in their elite, self-proclaimed leadership role in society, as artist, tribune, and apostle all in one (Häntzschel 14; Wittmann 155). Society took them seriously in this role, which was also secured by the position of literature in public opinion. Literature functioned as a surrogate for, or continuation of, the political activity that to a large degree was still suppressed. As Wittmann points out, however, the reading public willingly submitted to this presumptive rank of literature (155).

Political poetry enjoyed immense popularity from 1840 to the revolution of 1848–49. Political poets became celebrated heroes, as evidenced in part by the numerous poems that thematized or addressed them. The genre’s commercial success reflects the public’s enthusiasm for political poetry. Ferdinand Freiligrath’s radical poem “Die Toten an die Lebendigen” (1848) sold nine thousand copies in leaflet form (Kircher, “Ferdinand” 544). Prümm argues that such symptoms could give the impression that political poetry caused the massive people’s nationalist movement instead of resulting from it (183). The success of this poetry could also be measured by the reaction of the censors, who often viewed political poems as a potential and at times quite real threat to the established order.

Political poetry reflected current political struggles, the politicization of the bourgeoisie, and the fight for freedom of the press (Lutz 162). It thus became a new intellectual and political force in public discussions on political matters, above all for the liberal and democratic opposition (Nipperdey, *Deutsche Geschichte 1800–1866* 377, 387). And the press served as its most important vehicle, to a much greater degree than in 1813 or 1830. As Häntzschel states, “Die Lyrik erweist sich als eine Hauptgattung der
politische Publizistik” (13–14). Political poetry published in newspapers and journals thus constituted not only a literary phenomenon, but a political and cultural one as well. Within a journalistic context, these poems could not only reach but also influence or even incite the growing reading public. In this manner they contributed to the formation of German political consciousness and public opinion. During the 1840s, political poetry largely constituted a public forum shaped by the mood and spirit of the liberal, nationalist movement.

A wave of political poetry flooded the German territories in 1840. One poem in particular helped generate the Rheinlieder movement of 1840 and also the emergence of intense nationalist sentiment.
CHAPTER TWO

The Rhine Crisis of 1840.
“Ein kleines Gedicht hat große Dinge gethan”

The Political Situation in 1840

In 1840 two major developments led to an eruption of nationalist sentiment and oppositional political activity that weakened the foundation of absolutist power, even in Austria and Prussia. The first was the accession of Friedrich Wilhelm IV to the Prussian throne, after the death of his father Friedrich Wilhelm III on 7 June 1840. The latter’s military, bureaucratic regime had not abolished suffrage restrictions, despite repeated promises to do so. In contrast to his father, Friedrich Wilhelm IV generated high expectations for liberal reform in Prussia and in other German territories as well. The liberal bourgeoisie in particular, having grown increasingly disillusioned in the face of continuing restraints on their political rights, viewed the monarch’s reign with optimism (Rürup 171). They initially considered the new king to be an imaginative and idealistic ruler, receptive to the nationalist movement and averse to repressive measures (Schulze, Weg 10–11). His main political ideas, imbued with a romantic transfiguration of medieval life, included the embodiment of Christian-Germanic ideals in a renewed Holy Roman Empire, the rejuvenation of harmony between throne and altar, and a German nationalist patriotism that recognized Austria’s traditional leadership role within the German empire (Lutz 204–05; Holborn 3: 30–31).

Friedrich Wilhelm IV did usher in what appeared to be an era of political thaw. He compensated victims of the Demagogenverfolgung, returning a university professorship to Arndt and vindicating “Turnvater” Jahn. On 2 November 1840 he granted two members of the Göttingen Seven, Jakob and Wilhelm Grimm, positions at the Prussian Academy of Sciences in Berlin. This concession reflected less the liberal convictions of the Prussian king, however, and more the successful efforts of Bettine von Arnim, who since the summer of 1838 had campaigned relentlessly on behalf of the Brothers Grimm.20
Friedrich Wilhelm IV did ease Prussian censorship laws. He also persuaded Austria to close down, albeit temporarily, the central agency for political investigations in Frankfurt. Liberals in Prussia and in other German states enthusiastically greeted these early conciliatory measures. In the euphoria, liberal and democratic oppositional groups proliferated, and liberals won majorities in many assemblies. Demands for constitutional reform even surfaced in Prussia and Austria. The king soon proved to be a foe of liberalism, however. He contributed significantly to the outbreak of political unrest in 1848.

The optimistic mood in the latter half of 1840, together with circumstances concerning the Rhine, intensified into an extensive crisis of the existing political order (Siemann, *Staatenbund* 360). The Rhine controversy of 1840 was a foreign policy problem that exposed the conflicting interests of the Great Powers in Europe as well as the instability of their political relations. At the same time, it became a domestic issue that charged nationalist sentiment in the German territories, even beyond Austria and Prussia, the only two states directly involved at the foreign policy level.

The Rhine crisis of 1840 had its roots in the Ottoman Empire nearly a decade earlier.²¹ Mehemet Ali, viceroy of Egypt and vassal of Sultan Mahmud II of Turkey, wanted to establish a large empire in the Near East at Turkey’s expense and invaded Syria in late 1831. The Sultan declared war on his rebellious vassal in April 1832, but suffered defeat in December 1832. To revenge this loss, the Sultan declared war on Mehemet Ali a second time in April 1839. Although Turkish troops surrendered on 14 July, problems arose when the Great Powers (France, England, Russia, Austria, and Prussia) began negotiating a settlement with the viceroy in August. France desired a stronger foothold in North Africa and viewed Mehemet Ali as a possible ally. It claimed that Egyptian expansion would not undermine stability in the Ottoman Empire and that the viceroy should be allowed to keep Syria. This stance brought France into conflict with the other four powers, each of which had their own self-interest in protecting Turkey. They concluded the Four-Power Treaty of London on 15 July 1840. This document forced Mehemet Ali to relinquish northern Syria but granted him possession of Egypt and southern Syria for the duration of his life.

The response of the French cabinet, headed by the left-center president and foreign minister Adolphe Thiers, reflected not only Thiers’s struggle to maintain his disparate support from the moderate Left and the Right, but also his desire to distract French citizens from an ongoing economic depression (Bury and Tombs 63–65). His cabinet considered the London agreement an insult to French national pride and honor, a replay of the coalition against France in 1813–15 and the harsh conditions imposed upon it after Napoleon’s defeat. The French leftist press dubbed the incident
a “diplomatic Waterloo” (Lutz 200). When the Four Powers began implementing their agreement in August 1840, Thiers shifted focus from the Near East to a domestic issue explosive for both France and the German territories, especially Prussia and Austria: the Rhine. To compensate losses in the Orient with gains in Europe, he called for reestablishing the river as France’s “natural” eastern border. French diplomats, with the support of their government, suggested that coercing Mehemet Ali could mean war along the Rhine. At this point the issue became a public one. Thiers mobilized the French army to pressure Austria and Prussia into revising the London treaty. For three months the French press generated a sense of impending war against the treaties of 1815 and, above all, against Germany (Schieder 63; Lutz 200).

Although official German responses were initially restrained, the reaction in the various states—and not only in those bordering the Rhine—soon recalled the intense nationalistic fervor and anti-French sentiment present during the Wars of Liberation. Napoleonic rule, the French enemy, had played a major role in shaping a sense of national identity among Germans. As recently as 1830, however, German liberals had celebrated France as the supreme source of liberal ideas and political institutions (Schieder 64). This changed in 1840. Even liberals regarded France with a strong sense of mistrust. The Rhine, long a bone of contention between two countries whose common border had shifted many times, served as a powerful symbol of German identity. All the more so as a unified, single German state did not yet exist.

Metternich viewed French aggressiveness as a threat to the Second Peace of Paris (20 November 1815) and tried in vain to make it a European issue; Austria did not have sufficient military strength to protect the Rhineland from a French offensive. Friedrich Wilhelm IV wanted the German Confederation to demand officially an explanation for French mobilization along the Rhine, a nationalistic stance Metternich thought could dangerously tip the scales towards war (Billinger 94). However, as the fear of attack grew, particularly in the western and southern states, and in view of the Confederation’s inadequate defense preparations, German nationalism radicalized. The sense of a common German fate, of belonging to a German nation, spread (R. Koch 232). The Rhineland press published factual reports, and southern liberal newspapers declared the crisis to be of consequence for all Germans (Schulze, Weg 80–81). The emerging mass patriotism and anti-French sentiment did overcome particularism to a certain extent. For the first time, cabinets in the various German states found a common basis for action. In an unusual exhibition of unity, even the Bavarian king and the grand duke of Baden sanctioned this movement (Schulze, Weg 82).
Yielding to this patriotic spirit, Austria and Prussia set aside their differences and agreed upon a military plan of action for the looming war. To strengthen federal defenses, fortresses were built in Ulm and Rastatt. In return for offering Austrian military support, Metternich secured a promise from the Prussian king for military and financial aid in the case of an isolated attack on Austria’s northern Italian kingdom, Lombardy-Venetia (Schieder 64). But war did not come. French threats became ineffective when British, Austrian, and Russian forces militarily forced Mehemet Ali to leave Syria in October 1840. On 27 November the Egyptian viceroy accepted terms offered by the Four Powers. Louis-Philippe formed a new cabinet, replacing Thiers with François Guizot, who then pursued reconciliatory policies.

"Der deutsche Rhein"

The Rhine crisis did not lastingly solidify relationships among the European powers, but it did have far-reaching influence on political developments within the German territories. Although new aspects of nationalist self-esteem had been emerging since the 1830s, the Rhine crisis was a major turning point, above all with regard to the formation of a national political consciousness. The outbursts of German nationalism in 1840-41 were unprecedented, both in their impassioned tone and in their broad social base. Nationalism became a nationalistic mass phenomenon in 1840. Large sections of society exhibited a willingness to get involved in the movement, which grew into a political factor powerful enough to influence even the actions of the cabinets, however temporarily (Schulze, Weg 80; Dann, Nationalismus 114). This structuring of power politics according to the dictates of public opinion was a novel development in the nineteenth century (Siemann, Staatenbund 356). Politics had previously been largely a matter for absolutist courts and the nobility. In 1840, however, the issues that would catch the interest of the masses and spur them to action had become clear and more difficult for rulers to ignore. The Rhine crisis also helped shape the diffuse national movement into an increasingly organized, powerful force. Indeed, Lutz argues that its overwhelming dominance in 1840 diverted the public’s attention from the inner German conflict, the battle for constitutions and free institutions (202).

The intense nationalist reaction to the Rhine crisis was particularly evident in the press. As criticism of France grew sharper, a general discussion of German unity and its role within Europe took place in German newspapers and journals. It reached a peak in November and December of 1840, but reactions to the crisis continued to echo in the press long after Guizot took over the cabinet (Veit-Brause 79, 97). Moreover, the discussion
extended beyond the Rhineland papers. It was especially intense in southwestern Germany, as evidenced by many articles published in the Augsburg Allgemeine Zeitung (Veit-Brause 98–101).

The discussion was not limited to journalistic articles. Poets took up the cause of the Rhine crisis as well. Starting in the fall of 1840, the flood of Rheinlieder written, published, and sung attested to the strong anti-French and nationalist patriotism present in the German states both during and after the Rhine conflict. Both Schulze and Veit-Brause explain these Rhine songs as a psychological phenomenon reflecting the nationalist sentiment that had built up by 1840 (Schulze, Weg 81; Veit-Brause 130). The Rhine crisis gave Germans an opportunity to vent their nationalist emotions and break through reactionary restrictions. To a large degree, the press initially carried this literary demonstration of nationalism. But it soon became a genuine popular movement, a significant and effective voice among those shaping German political consciousness (Veit-Brause 131). The Rheinlieder thus played a role in what Habermas refers to as the “Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit,” the politicization of the national political consciousness (14).

The Rhine, after all, was an historic German landscape. The river itself, with its ruins and cathedrals, had long served as a symbol of German greatness. The romantic mythology surrounding the Rhine flourished in the late 1830s and early 1840s. Depictions of the river valley such as Johann Ludwig Bleuler’s lithograph Der Loreley-Felsen bei St. Goarshausen am Rhein (ca. 1840) or Jacob Diezler’s oil painting Die Loreley im Mondschein (1839) propagated the Rhine’s romantic image. Indeed, they even contributed to a rise in tourism between Strasbourg, Bingen, and Cologne (Plessen, Marianne 327). In 1839 the French writer Victor Hugo traveled along the Rhine by stagecoach and paddle steamer with the actress Juliette Drouet. After interrupting the trip because of bad weather, he set out again in the fall of 1840, at the height of the Rhine crisis. He documented his impressions of historical sights and the landscape in the book Le Rhin. Lettres à un ami (January 1842), as well as in a series of sketches.

Two poems in the collection depict the river in these romantic terms. “Der Rhein” (poem 1) conjures up images of grapevines, fortress ruins, and folk celebrations. Alexander Seydel’s “Abschied vom Vater Rhein” (poem 27) refers to the Rhine as the “Strom des Landes,” mentioning the cities and sagas that reflect the river’s rich history. Bidding farewell to Father Rhein, the narrator thanks the river for its gifts and extolls its importance to trade. However, both poems also disclose darker aspects of the Rhine’s history, portending the imminent political dispute over the river. “Der Rhein” tells of the scourge of armies that the river had endured through the ages, thus providing an historical context for armed conflict
against France in 1840. Seydell’s poem addresses navigation, touching on Cologne’s membership in the Hanseatic League; the establishment in 1827 of the first steamship company, the *Preußisch-Rheinische Dampfschiffahrts-gesellschaft*; and King Ludwig I of Bavaria’s initiative for a canal connecting the Main and Danube rivers (1836–45). Seydell couches this issue in nationalist terms: “Und der Zukunft schöne Aussicht / Weckt begeisternd den Gemeinsinn.” Freedom and unity nevertheless remain elusive: “Trauernd stehn die Patrioten, / Und Merkur, der Freigeborne, / Beugt den kaum erhob’nen Nacken / Widerstrebend tiefbetrauernd / In’s gewohnte alte Joch.”

The Rhine Navigation Act of 1831, while removing most barriers to navigation on the Rhine, allowed the Netherlands to continue levying duties. The earliest poem in the collection that directly thematizes the Rhine crisis is Adolf Bube’s “Seyd einig, Deutsche!” (poem 13). The *Morgenblatt für gebildete Leser* published it on 18 June 1840, nearly one month before the conclusion of the Four-Power Treaty in London on 15 July 1840. The poet clearly recognized the strong possibility of war with France: “Seyd einig, Deutsche, stürmen Feindesschaaren / Mit Schwertern und Geschossen eure Grenzen!” Bube does not explicitly mention the French, but the implication is apparent when he addresses the Germans: “Klug, denk’ ich, seyd ihr endlich jetzt durch Schaden: / Was hat nicht Zwietracht schon auf euch geladen, / Was feiler Sinn nicht euch für Schmach getragen!” He hopes the Germans have learned from their repeated problems with France, so that they can defend “Licht, Wahrheit, Recht und Freiheit.”

It is Nikolaus Becker’s poem “Der deutsche Rhein” (poem 5), however, that is credited with launching the *Rheinlieder* craze in 1840. Accurately characterized in secondary literature as “literarisch wie gedanklich unerheblich” (Schulze, *Weg* 81), “literarisch höchst anspruchslos” (Veit-Brause 130), “bestenfalls durchschnittliche, durchweg klischeeüberladene Lyrik” (Gössmann and Roth 162), and even “poetisch wie politisch unbe deutend” (Petzet 17), Becker’s poem provides an excellent case study for examining how even “bad” poetry could have a tremendous impact on the German political climate in the nineteenth century. As the liberal journalist Karl Gutzkow confirmed in 1841, “Ein kleines Gedicht hat große Dinge gethan” (Vorwort 3). Numerous poems in this collection attest to the poem’s extensive resonance among the German public, a resonance that sounded well into the second half of the century. Reaction to “Der deutsche Rhein” also illustrates that by 1840 the national movement had found an echo in the masses, far beyond the intellectual elite and the liberal press (Veit-Brause 130).

Becker appealed to his readers’ sense of a national character with traditional, romantic images of the river: the free German Rhine, with grapes
"Der deutsche Rhein"

growing on its green hills, cliffs along its shores, and cathedrals reflected on its surface. Becker’s claim that the Rhine should, and could, remain German as long as an oar strikes its waves, or a fish raises a fin in its bed, or bold lads court slender lasses, is politically naive, his examples trivial. But these traditional images reflect general human values with which readers could easily identify. Moreover, the folk song character of Becker’s poem—above all its simple rhyme scheme, the iambic trimeter, and its singability—undoubtedly contributed to its success. The liberal writer Arnold Ruge, in a review published in the Hallische Jahrbücher für Deutsche Wissenschaft und Kunst of 28 December 1840, commented on Becker’s language:

[...] seine friedliche und negative Begeisterung, seine mehr spielerische als auch nur entfernt kriegerische Bewegung, sein gänzlicher Mangel an einem feurigen Freiheitsdrange [reicht] nicht aus, um die Bestimmung auszufüllen, die man ihm zu geben sucht. (2,485–86)

The poem’s tone is not at all oppositional in terms of German politics, which in part explains why even absolutist rulers enthusiastically approved the text or used it for their own purposes (Veit-Brause 134).

Becker’s poem is nevertheless political, as many contemporary writers and critics recognized. Ruge did not expect the song to have a lasting effect, but he acknowledged the text’s political significance:

Sie ist eine Wiedergeburt, wenn auch nur ein schwacher Anfang. Sie ist ein Heraustreten des politischen Geistes der Deutschen aus jener langjährigen Interesselosigkeit und Philisterei, in welche er sich durch die offizielle Abkühlung der Freiheitsbegeisterung von 1813 und 1815 gestürzt sah. (2,486)

Gutzkow made a similar observation, recognizing the important role played by the Germans’ love of singing:

Es hat das natürliche Gefühl des Deutschen, daß er nun und nimmermehr dem Franzmann eine Spanne deutscher Erde gönnen werde, in die Form eines aufreizenden und trotzenden Fluchs gebracht und im Bunde mit der deutschen Sangeslust alle Gemüther im Vaterlande gegen Frankreich aufgeregt. (Vorwort 3)

But Gutzkow also warned against a purely patriotic bias, particularly if directed against Thiers and the French political system, which still served as a paradigm of liberal political principles: "Nicht jede Wahrheit, die ersprießlich im Munde des Einen ist, ist auch ersprießlich im Munde des Andern" (Vorwort 4). The article “Die politische Bedeutung des Rhein-
Chapter Two

liedes von Niclas Becker" criticizes the blind patriotism generated by the poem, and reminds readers of the current political reality in the German states:

Wenn man das Volk das Beckersche Rheinlied singen hörte, hätte man nicht glauben sollen, Deutschland wäre vollgepflökt von Patrioten und die Vaterlandsliebe strömte dort über und drängte aus allen Poren heraus? Täuscht Euch nicht; es gibt keine Vaterlandsliebe in Deutschland, denn es gibt dort kein Vaterland. (294)

The author nevertheless welcomed the general enthusiasm Becker’s poem generated, which he viewed as an expression of “die innige Ueberzeugung von der Nothwendigkeit nationaler Unabhängigkeit, als Grundbedingung jeder politischen Zukunft” (296).

Becker himself undoubtedly thought of his poem as a political text. Indeed, he addressed “Der deutsche Rhein” to the celebrated French poet Alphonse de Lamartine who, in a speech before the French Chamber of Deputies in January 1840, had supported restoring the Rhine as France’s natural eastern border. The first lines of the poem, “Sie sollen ihn nicht haben, / Den freien deutschen Rhein,” speak to him. Becker thus draws on a political theme popular during the Napoleonic era, the French enemy, and presents it in emotive, patriotic language.

“Der deutsche Rhein” was the right poem at the right time. A clerk at a district court in Cologne, Nikolaus Becker wrote his text after reading an article in the Augsburg Allgemeine Zeitung on the Rhine crisis. (Becker knew the author, C. Matzerath, also a clerk in a Cologne court.) “Der deutsche Rhein,” which first appeared in the Trierische Zeitung on 18 September 1840, immediately caused a furor. Schulze maintains that every German newspaper had printed it within only one month (Schulze, Weg 81). Any exaggeration is most likely slight. In this study, Becker’s poem is taken from the Frankfurter Konversationsblatt of 4 November 1840.

A band director of the infantry regiment stationed in Trier was only the first of many to set the poem to music. Conrardin Kreutzer, a music director in Cologne, sold 1,200 copies of his arrangement in less than two days. Renowned composers such as Robert Schumann, Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, and Franz Liszt also wrote arrangements. The total number cited in the literature varies from 30 to over 200.24 Hundreds of arrangements were submitted to competitions (Veit-Brause 127; Schulze, Weg 82). An epigram in the Kölnische Zeitung of 3 December 1840 stated: “Kaum hat besiegt die fränkische Habgier der Dichter durch Eintracht, / Bringt uns der Musiker Schwarm wieder in Disharmonie” (Petzet 20). No single melody had lasting success. In 1840, however, many consid-
ered “Der deutsche Rhein” to be the German national anthem, dubbing it the “Deutsche Marseillaise,” the “Colognais,” or, somewhat derisively, the “Geilenkirchaise,” in reference to the poet’s home town Geilenkirchen. Ruge differed on this point: “Es wird keine deutsche Marseillaise werden, es wird kein Nationallied daraus entstehen, und am wenigsten durch die vielen Compositionen, von denen immer eine der andern hindernd in den Weg tritt” (2,486).

The following text, which accompanied the poem in the Frankfurter Konversationsblatt of 4 November 1840, attests to the song’s popularity:

Niklas Becker, der Verfasser dieses herrlichen patriotischen Liedes gehört ganz der sich erst entfaltenden frischen deutschen Jugend an. [...] Poetische Begeisterung ergriff ihn, ein Lied quoll ihm aus dem Herzen, und so wird er fortan dem hellen Tage der Poesie dienen, in der Arndt, sein Vorgänger und Meister so groß ist. Zeiten voll Leben schaffen sich auch ihre Männer. Von Konradin Kreutzer komponirt, hat das Lied in Männerherzen, wie im Kindermund, schnell Leben und Bedeutung gewonnen den ganzen Rhein entlang und weit ins deutsche Land hinein. Das Lied erschalle den Anwohnern des Rheines als ein Ruf zu rechter Zeit, und den deutschen Dichtern, die ein Herz haben für das Vaterland und die da wissen, was die höchste Aufgabe der jetzigen Lyrik ist, als eine Mahnung, zu singen und zu sagen, was die Gegenwart erhebt und zu einer großen Zukunft Deutschlands führt. (Nr. 305: 1,220)

On the same day, one of Metternich’s agents wrote:

Wilhelm Speier, der gemäßigten liberalen Partei angehörende und einer der ersten vom hiesigen Liederkranz, hat das bekannte, von Becker gedichtete Lied “Sie sollen ihn nicht haben, den freien deutschen Rhein” (welches Lied in ganz Deutschland Anklang findet) in Musik gesetzt und ihm eine populäre Melodie unterlegt. [...] es soll möglichst zum deutschen Volkslied erhoben werden, um ein kriegerisches Feuer gegen Frankreich zu entzünden. (Adler 1: 65)

Robert Prutz noted that even the police tolerated the song when it was sung at the many, often tumultuous, demonstrations: “[Das Lied] wurde jetzt öffentlich auf allen Straßen, in allen Kneipen betoastet und besungen: und die Gendarmen selbst schlugen den Takt dazu” (Zehn 1: 305). Becker’s poem accompanied numerous special occasions. On 15 October 1840 it was sung by guests celebrating Friedrich Wilhelm IV’s birthday at the Cologne Casino (Veit-Brause 126). Later that month the liberal entrepreneur Ludolf Camphausen, president of Cologne’s chamber of commerce, spoke at the
Mannheim harbor dedication about national unity, as symbolized by the connection of Mannheim and Cologne through the Rhine. He closed by reciting Becker's poem (Veit-Brause 122-23).

King Friedrich Wilhelm IV of Prussia offered Becker a scholarship for further law studies, which he turned down for health reasons. The monarch then gave him an honorarium of 1,000 thaler. King Ludwig I of Bavaria presented him with a silver cup engraved with "Der Pfalzgraf des Rheins dem Sänger des Rheins" (Petzet 18). Otto von Bismarck commented: "Damals war dieses Lied mächtig . . . (und es) hatte eine Wirkung, als ob wir ein paar Armeekorps mehr am Rhein stehen hätten, als tatsächlich der Fall war" (qtd. in Veit-Brause 134-35). The citizens of Geilenkirchen honored the poet with a torchlight parade on 18 November 1840 (Veit-Brause 129). "Der deutsche Rhein" proved to be Becker's only claim to fame. A volume of his poetry published in 1841, *Gedichte von Nikolaus Becker*, did not include any political poems. The collection was greeted with disappointment. Becker died on 28 August 1845, at the age of thirty-six.

The resonance Becker's poem enjoyed illustrates how political poetry could shape national consciousness in nineteenth-century Germany. Prutz explained why opera arias such as "Was geht uns der Sultan an" no longer caught the public's attention: "die 'deutsche Marseillaise' von Niklas Becker hatte die fromme Milch dieser Denkungsart urplötzlich in Gährung ver­setzt, Alles athmete Krieg, Alles floß über von Patriotismus und Tapferkeit" (Zehn 1: 305). "Der deutsche Rhein" even played a role in the completion of the Cologne cathedral (see pages 20-21). This church, unfinished since 1516, served as a Romantic symbol of German history. As early as 1814, the national-democratic journalist Joseph Görres (1776-1848) had lent it political relevance as a "Symbol des neuen Reiches, das wir bauen wollen" (qtd. in Riemann 283). Against the background of the *Rheinromantik* and heavily swayed by the intense nationalist emotions prevalent during the Rhine crisis, a popular movement formed in 1840 that called for the completion of Germany's largest sacred building (Nipperdey, *Deutsche Geschichte 1800-1866* 397). It underscored the cathedral's significance as a national monument for a united German state. Robert Prutz recognized,

[. . .] in welchem Zusammenhange es [das Projekt] mit jener deutschthümelnden Begeisterung stand, die durch die französischen Gelüste nach der Rheingrenze zur Zeit des Ministeriums Thiers hervorgerufen war und die dann ihren klassischen Ausdruck in dem bekannten Beckerschen: "Sie sollen ihn nicht haben" gefunden hatte. Durch diese Stimmung der Zeit getragen, hatte das Projekt [. . .] den größten Anklang gefunden und zwar nicht blos bei der Katholischen, sondern auch bei der protestantischen
The patriotic, nationalist mood of 1840 influenced Friedrich Wilhelm IV, who recognized the political advantages of harnessing the movement, which was part Catholic, part liberal and national, to win over potential critics of Protestant Prussia's leadership role in the cathedral project (Kramp, "Aufruf" 286-87; Lutz 213). In 1840 he constituted the Zentral-Dombau-Verein, a fund-raising association, and served as its protectorate. Officially founded on 14 February 1842 with 4,832 members, it soon boasted over seventy branches in Germany and other countries (Kramp, "Aufruf" 286).

A special edition of "Der deutsche Rhein" from 22 March 1897 attests to the poem's lasting political and historical significance. To mark the one-hundredth birthday of the former German emperor Wilhelm I, a Berlin publisher reproduced a copy of Becker's poem hand-written by Wilhelm I in 1840, while he was still Prince of Prussia. As publisher Parey wrote, Wilhelm "gewann die zur Zeit unserer Schwäche verlorene Westmark dem Vaterlande wieder zurück." He then ruled a united Germany from 1871 until his death in 1888. Parey, who gave away the reproductions, wrote:

Des zum Zeugnis sei heute [. . .] diese Nachbildung Seiner Rheinlied-Niederschrift [. . .] hinausgesandt, den Alten als eine Erinnerung an die Erfüllung der Geschicke, den Jungen aber als eine Mahnung, im Wechsel der Zeiten stets festzustehen in patriotischer Gesinnung und niemals zu wanken in der Treue zu Kaiser und Reich. (n. pag.)

The cover illustration shows Germania on a cliff high above the Rhine, holding the imperial crown. An eagle at her feet frightens away the "gier'ge Raben," and a banner wrapped around an oak tree proclaims "Einigkeit macht stark."

"Der deutsche Rhein" inspired innumerable similar Rhine songs, many of which are presented in a book entitled Klänge aus der Zeit: Hervorgerufen durch die neuesten politischen Ereignisse und zunächst durch das Becker'sche Rheinlied, edited by Z. Funck and published in 1841. An uncomplimentary review from 6 August 1841, extremely critical of the Rheinlied mania, states that the book includes

[. . .] fast lauter maßlose Ausschneidereien deutschester Deutschheit und männlichster Männlichkeit [. . .]. Wüßten wir's nicht, daß selbst im Abgeschmackten die Deutschen gründlich sind, so könnten wir's hier lernen, wo ein Deutscher all die jammervollen Verse, die der fruchtbare Regen des Beckerschen Rheinliedes wie Ungeziefer hervorgerufen hat, sorgfältig gesammelt der Nachwelt aufbewahrt. (S., A. 124–25)
Nevertheless, the volume contains over seventy poems, all evidence of the effect Becker’s poem had on poetry production in the early 1840s. The anthology also contains four translations of “Der deutsche Rhein.” The English version begins: “They shall not, shall not have it, / Our free-born German Rhine, / Though, hoarse as famished ravens, / They round it croak and whine” (Funck 4).


“Der deutsche Rhein” elicited poetic responses throughout the early 1840s. An officer from Hanover wrote “Antwort auf das Rheinlied: ‘Sie sollen ihn nicht haben,’” published in the Hannoversches Volksblatt of 21 March 1841: “Wer kann ihn uns denn nehmen, / Den alten deutschen Rhein? / Der doch von allen Strömen / Verdient, ganz deutsch zu sein!” (137). The poem conveys the same patriotic tone as Becker’s text, arguing that German songs, weapons, courageous sons, loving women, and rulers dedicated to the well-being of their people would keep the Rhine in German hands. The refrain of Georg Herwegh’s poem “Rheinweinlied,” written in October 1840 during his exile in Switzerland and published in Gedichte eines Lebendigen: Mit einer Dedikation an den Verstorbenen (1841), unequivocably states: “Der Rhein soll deutsch verbleiben” (Herwegh, Gedichte 1: 36-37).

Max Schneckenburger’s poem “Die Wacht am Rhein,” published in December 1840 with a musical arrangement for male choir by J. Mendel, was one of the few Rhine songs not destined for obscurity. It was not a big success in 1840, however: “Aber trotz der raschen Förderung von Seiten der Verlagshandlung war der geeignete Moment vorüber: Becker’s ‘Rheinlied’ hatte bereits den Vogel abgeschossen” (Scherer and Lipperheide 14). As we will see in Chapter 6, Schneckenburger’s song did not become popular until the Franco-Prussian War of 1870, with a new melody composed by Carl Wilhelm in 1854.

allemand!” (230). Lamartine also wrote a poetic response on 28 May 1841, which was published in the June edition of the Revue des Deux Mondes. The poem, entitled “Marseillaise de la Paix. Réponse à Mr. Becker, auteur du Rhin allemand,” proposes reconciliation between the French and German people: “Roule libre et superbe entre tes larges rives, / Rhin! Nil de l’Occident! coupe des nations! / Et des peuples assis qui boivent tes eaux vives / Empörte les défis et les ambitions!” (1173). Ferdinand Freiligrath, who translated Lamartine’s poem (“Die Friedens-Marseillaise”), was among the many Germans who welcomed this attitude (Freiligrath, Werke 4: 107–10).

The collection of poems contains several responses to “Der deutsche Rhein,” three of which also appeared in November issues of the Frankfurter Konversationsblatt, the literary supplement to the Frankfurter Ober-Postamts-Zeitung. This publication’s program from 1832 stated:

So wie die Ober-Postamts-Zeitung selbst den politischen Gang der Weltbegebenheiten verfolgt, so soll eine mit ihr [. . .] verbundene unterhaltende und literarische Beilage geistige Leben der Völker in’s Auge fassen, und Alles darzubieten suchen, was zu einer belehrenden und faßlichen Volkslektüre [. . .] dienen kann. (qtd. in Estermann 5: 246)

This allowed for the inclusion of poems, “jedoch nur solche, woran sich ein wesentliches Interesse knüpft” (qtd. in Estermann 5: 246). Those issues from 1840 included in the collection contain no political texts other than Becker’s poem and the other Rheinlieder. It seems plausible that the editor, J.N. Schuster, published “Der deutsche Rhein” because the text itself had become an item of general public interest by early November. The Rhine crisis certainly qualified as such.

Otto Müller’s “Des Rheines Hort” (poem 6) begins with a slightly ironic alteration to Becker’s opening lines: “Ja ja, sie sollen ihn haben / Den Rhein, so weit er fließt; / Doch erst, wenn keine deutsche / Kehle mehr durstig ist.” The poem uses the same patriotic and emotional language found in Becker’s text, and highlights the Rhine’s traditional wine culture. But Müller’s poem, particularly the last stanza, has a more aggressive tone than “Der deutsche Rhein.” The poet maintains that Germans would willingly shed blood to protect the Rhine against a French attack. To a greater degree than Becker, Müller recognizes war as one possible outcome of the Rhine crisis. The nationalistic “Und noch einmal der Rhein!” (poem 7) does not directly quote Becker’s text, but the title unmistakably refers to the many Rheinlieder being sung and published in late 1840. The second stanza, “Ey Franzmann sag’, was fällt Dir ein, / Was faselst Du so viel vom Rhein!”, confidently goads the French to take the Rhine. This
confidence, which belied the actual military unpreparedness of the German states, is founded on historical examples of German victories over the French: the Völkerschlacht of 1813 and Napoleon's final defeat at Waterloo (1815). "Das Vaterland," published on 20 November 1840 (poem 8), borrows Becker's phrase "So lang . . ." to state why France could never rule the "German" Rhine: "So lang noch Eichen rauschen, / [....] / So lang umschlingt uns alle ein festes Band, / So lang steht fest wie Felsen das Vaterland!"

The French, referred to only as "Franken" and "Welsche," are again admonished to remember Leipzig and Waterloo (Belle-Alliance) in the "Volkslied" of 23 December 1840 (poem 33). Der Sprecher published this poem, a reflection of its policy to print news concerning recent political developments relevant to Westphalia and the Rhineland, both Prussian provinces (Estermann 1: 98). Emphatic nationalism imbues the author's conviction that the Germans could laugh at French impudence, drink Rhine wine, and defeat their western neighbors: "Ihr Rasenden wollt Deutschen dräuen? / Wollt keck das alte Spiel erneuen? / Denkt an den Tanz / Bei Belle-Alliance. — / Der alte Vater Rhein / Kann nie der Eure sein!"

"Der deutsche Rhein" also met with criticism, particularly from German poets in the left wing of the nationalist movement (Schulze, Weg 83). They criticized the blatantly chauvinistic, anti-French, and hyperpatriotic pathos of Becker's text and other Rhine songs. Despite their discontent with political conditions in the German states, many worried that such patriotic enthusiasm could detract from the more pressing internal problem of political freedom, which in effect would support reactionary forces (Veit-Brause 207). Robert Prutz, who initially reacted favorably to the nationalism of the Rheinliedbewegung, later criticized it:

Bald flog es von Stadt zu Stadt; gerade was die Schwäche des Liedes war, sein bloß negativer Inhalt, seine bloße triviale Versicherung, daß man sich nicht nehmen lassen wolle, was man habe, machte sein Glück: es war so ganz das Pathos des damaligen deutschen Publikums! [. . .] Was nicht die gediegenste Staatsschrift mit den triftigsten Gründen, den ausführlichsten Beweisen erreicht haben würde—aber dieses kleine Lied erreichte es! Vergebens an das zugeknüpfte Herz des Philisters würde man mit Gründen des Patriotismus, der geschichtlichen Notwendigkeit gepocht haben—aber vor den Tönen dieses Liedes zerschmolz es, diese Appellation an die Romantik des deutschen Nationalcharakters, diese hohen Dome, die sich widerspiegeln in der grünen Flut, diese kühnen Knaben, schlanken Dirnen, diese Fischlein auf dem Grund waren ihm unwiderstehlich. (Zehn 1: 304)

Man erinnere sich nur, als Louis Philipp waffnete, wie da ein Nikolaus Becker aus heitrem Himmel in’s deutsche Nervensystem purzelte, wie dieses Lied in furchtbar schlechte Musik gesetzt wurde, und wie die Myriaden Leierkasten, welche damals schon das Land unsicher machten, die letzten zarten Gewebe desselben zerrissen (4).

Even criticism of “Der deutsche Rhein” evidences the enormous resonance of Becker’s poem, however, both in the press and in German society.

A drama written in 1841 offers some of the most biting, and humorous, commentary on Becker’s poem. Freimund Pfeiffer wrote a farce that mocks not only “Der deutsche Rhein” but the people responsible for its cult status. A review of “des Dichters Vergangenheit, Gegenwart, Zukunft,” the drama also keenly remarks on numerous aspects of current politics and society.

In the past, Becker struggles to earn a living. He laments: “Honorarium könnten sie mir nicht zahlen, höchstens ein sauberes Freiexemplärchen. Das heißt für Katzendreck sich kasteien” (5). After writing “Sie sollen ihn nicht haben,” however, the nature of the poet’s complaints changes. He comments on the profitability of political poetry:

Da liegt nun das tausendste Zeitungsblatt, das Göthen ohrfeigt. Ich konnte mich mit seinem weibischen Geschmack nie vertragen und hielt die Worte Zeitlebens für unwahr und absurd: Politisch Lied, ein garstig Lied! Armer Narr Göthe, meine Lieder von der Frau Nachtigall und dem Jüngferchen Herzliebchen wollte kein Mensch, aber durch dies eine Lied hab’ ich alle Regenten zu Vettern bekom-
Deputations of “schlanke Dirnen” (six virgins in white dresses) and “kühne Knaben” visit Becker, bringing gifts. Workers deliver piles of newspapers and sheet music to Becker’s elegant room, while the poet himself is showered with flowers and laurel wreaths.

In his drama, Pfeiffer targets the superficial and simplistic nature of people’s enthusiasm for “Der deutsche Rhein.” Two wealthy women are in a flutter upon hearing that the public will sing Becker’s song at a concert the next evening. One proclaims: “Meine Nerven, meine Nerven! Die werden mir meinen Patriotismus acht Wochen nachtragen” (6). The comments of newspaper editors, the “Wahnsinniger auf eigene Rechnung,” do indeed border on lunacy. Becker distances himself from Goethe, but one editor cries: “Es war einfältig von den Schwäbischen Dichtern zu weinen, daß Göthe so früh gestorben ist. Er lebt!” (8). A second claims: “Singend müssen sie wie die wilden Ochsen für König und Vaterland ins Feuer rennen” (9). Another editor believes the uproar caused by Becker’s poem belies a naive and perhaps dangerous contentedness: “[. . .] je toller sie’s machen, desto ruhiger schläf das Vaterland in seinen vier Pfählen” (10). Professors are not spared from Pfeiffer’s satire. Professor Ix and Professor Ypsilon argue over writing a German history “basirt auf die Beckersche Colognaisen.” The latter exaggerates: “Dies kleine Lied ist eine Ilias von Schönheiten. Ein Diamant in der deutschen Nationalliteratur!” (11). On the street, evidence of the song’s popularity abounds. A street trader sells plaster statues of Becker, and an aristocratic woman wants diamonds and pearls for embedding “Sie sollen ihn nicht haben!” on Hermann’s sword in the Teutoburg Forest (17-19).


The future is January 1842, just months after Becker’s poem took the German population by storm. Bookstores offer one hundred arrangements of the song for two-thirds of a thaler (31). Becker, forgotten and once again in simple surroundings, muses: “Wenn sich die Franzosen doch wieder ein bischen mausig machten, das sich wieder Eins singen ließe vom freien deutschen Rhein. . . .” (32). Numerous poems in this collection indicate
that, while Becker did not remain in the ranks of famous German poets, his poem remained part of the public consciousness in the nineteenth century.

Several parodies of Becker’s poem are included in the collection. An anonymous poem, “Jam satis!!!” (poem 10), published by the progressive journal Freischütz on 5 December 1840, exclaims: “Sie sollen ihn nicht haben! / Nein, nein – doch nun ist’s gut, / Wir werden sonst begraben / In Rhein’scher Liederfluth.” The author derides those poets who wrote Rheinlieder simply to gain immortality by following in Becker’s footsteps. He argues that German men are willing to fight if the need arises, whereas such poets, referred to with scorn as “Federhelden,” would be the first to run away.

The Morgenblatt für gebildete Leser printed a parody of Becker’s poem, “Der Rhein und die heutigen Rheinsänger” (poem 18), on 11 December 1840, although the publication claimed to present literature and educational topics “mit Ausschluß der politischen Tagesgeschichte.” Its program from 1837 stated: “Dem eigentlichen Unterhaltungsblatt bleibt im Allgemeinsten die Aufgabe, der vaterländischen Literatur, besonders der Poesie in ihren verschiedenen Zweigen, als Organ zu dienen [. . .]” (qtd. in Estermann 1: 370). The Morgenblatt most likely viewed “Der Rhein und die heutigen Rheinsänger” as patriotic literature, much as the masses had reacted to Becker’s text. Because the poem is a parody, however, the editor, Hermann Hauff, deemed it necessary to justify publishing it:

Da die Opposition dieses, von geachteter Hand eingesandten Gedichts gegen das bekannte “Rheinlied” ihren Grund nur in ehrenhafter, ächt deutscher Gesinnung hat, schien die Verschiedenheit der Ansicht kein genügender Grund, ihm die Aufnahme zu verweigern. (Nr. 296: 1181)

The anonymous poet first expands a quotation from Becker’s text: “Sie sollen ihn nicht haben, / Den freien deutschen Rhein! / So singen wackre Knaben, / Und Männerbaß stimmt ein.” He then criticizes Becker’s simplified view of the Rhine crisis, however: “Wie wunderbar bescheiden / Spricht nicht das Lied uns an: / Mehr wollen wir nicht leiden / Als was man uns gethan.” This poem more realistically assesses the crisis at the end of 1840, in both nationalist and economic terms. Before the Rhine can remain German, it must become German. Control of the river first must be wrested from the French, who fly the tricolor near Strasbourg, and the Dutch, who hinder shipping traffic by levying high customs duties at the river’s mouth.

Five poems in the collection, four from 1848 and the fifth from 1870, illustrate how poets continued to draw on the language and imagery of
Becker’s “Der deutsche Rhein” to convey their political messages, even when addressing different historical circumstances. Weller’s “Tiroler-Lied” (poem 104), one of four poems under the heading “Stimmen der Zeit,” was sung “vom hiesigen Männer-Gesangsvereine bei der Ankunft der Tiroler-Studenten-Freiwilligen in Klagenfurt am 18. April 1848” (Carinthia 17: 69). The first stanza addresses not France but the kingdom of Italy: “Sie sollen sie nicht haben, / Des Brenners Scheidewand! / Sie sollen erst sich graben / Ihr Grab in unserm Land!” In the spring of 1848, Italian nationalists in Lombardy-Venetia had achieved military victories against Austrian troops and established provisional governments in Milan and Venice on 18 March 1848. It appeared as if the German Confederation could lose Southern Tyrol, which extended from the Brenner Pass to Lake Garda: “Sie sollen uns nicht trennen – / Den Süden von dem Nord!” Northern Italy remained problematic for Austria, which was fighting to keep its non-German regions in the empire. Indeed, in May the two provisional governments voted for union with Piedmont. The publication Carinthia, which by July used the subtitle Constitutionelles Blatt für Zeitinteressen, was an Austrian journal published in Klagenfurt.

The author of the “Volkslied für die bevorstehenden Wahlversammlungen” (poem 174) employs various transformations of the phrase “Sie sollen ihn nicht haben.” The poem appeared in the December 1848 issue of Freie Blätter: Illustrierte politisch-humoristische Zeitung, a liberal journal edited by humorist Adolf Glassbrenner. Written after counterrevolutionary triumphs in both Berlin and Vienna, the poem does not address the French. Instead, it speaks in first person of delegates to the Frankfurt National Assembly. It rejects not only reactionary politicians: “Wir wollen ihn nicht haben, / Den Herrn von Meusebach” but the reaction itself: “Wir wollen sie nicht haben, / So lang’ noch unser Herz / Gedenkt, was wir begraben / Im Frühlingsmonat März!” As to the liberal politicians, however: “Sie Alle woll’n wir haben! / Trotz aller Reaction, / Die gleich den gieren Raben / Umschwärmt den alten Thron.” Here the greedy ravens symbolize not the French crying for the Rhine, but those conservative powers supporting monarchical power.

Georg Herwegh, the author of “Das freie Wort!” (poem 184), adds an interesting twist to Becker’s opening line by changing it into a positive statement. The first stanza begins: “Sie sollen Alle singen / Nach ihres Herzens Lust; / Doch mir soll förder klingen / Ein Lied nur aus der Brust.” Herwegh’s song is about the free word, that is, freedom of the press. His poem appeared on 18 March 1848, on the front page of the first uncensored issue of the Hannoversches Volksblatt für Leser aller Stände. A text by Wilhelm Schröder, the publisher and editor, immediately precedes “Das freie Wort!”:
Seine Majestät der König hat gestern am 17. März im ein Tausend acht Hundert acht und vierzigsten Jahre der Gnade und des elften Seiner Regierung die Censur aufgehoben, und damit allen seinen, schon früher glücklichen, aber jetzt doch noch etwas mehr glücklichen, Untertanen das Recht eingeräumt, ihre Gedanken, wenn sie am Aussprechen derselben noch nicht genug haben, auch frei, ungekürzt und unverstümmelt drucken lassen zu können! (97)

King Ernst August of Hanover had followed the example set by absolutist rulers who were granting revolutionary demands. The Austrian government had abolished censorship on 15 March; Friedrich Wilhelm IV of Prussia did the same on 18 March. Herwegh refers to Becker's poem and the Rhine crisis by reminding his readers: "Habt Ihr es nicht gelesen, / Das Wort war vor dem Rhein?" He then addresses the reactionary monarchs: "O jagt einmal die Raben / Aus unsren Landen fort, / Und sprechet: Ihr sollt es haben, / Das freie Wort!" A footnote to this stanza poses the question: "Warum nicht auch noch andre Vögel?" Herwegh undoubtedly chose these birds to draw another parallel to "Der deutsche Rhein." Again, the ravens do not symbolize the French, but the censorship laws that greedily devoured freedom of the press. Herwegh, like many participants in the revolutionary movements of March 1848, believed that reforms could be attained without toppling monarchical structures in the German states.

The fourth poem to draw on Becker's text, "Ein unpolitisches Gedicht" (poem 395), appeared in two conservative Prussian publications within the collection: the Volksblatt für Stadt und Land (13 May 1848) and the Königlich privilegirte Berlinische Zeitung (1 June 1848). The text is of course political. It thematizes the wave of revolutions taking place in the German territories during the spring of 1848. In Prussia, the king had appointed a new liberal cabinet on 29 March, and elections for the Frankfurt National Assembly (which would convene 18 May) and the Prussian constituent assembly had taken place on 1 May 1848. The specter of revolution had not disappeared, however, particularly in Austria. Viennese students and workers revolted only two days after this poem was published, and the emperor and his family fled to Innsbruck on 17 May 1848. The poem begins with a variation of Becker's text: "Wir wollen sie nicht haben / Die Revolution, / Wo unverschämte Raben / Zerr'n an des Adlers Thron!" This time the ravens refer to German revolutionaries: "Welch widerlicher Laffe, / Der Michel-Sansculott!"

"Aux armes citoyens!" (poem 902) includes the final reference to Becker's text within the collection. The poem, published on the first page of a June 1870 issue of Der Industrielle Humorist, an illustrated satirical journal from Hamburg, foresees the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War.
The poet also believes that a new representative parliament for a united Germany would be elected after the war (elections took place on 3 March 1871). He alters the phrase “Sie sollen ihn nicht haben,” maintaining the iambic trimeter, to present his expectations of those elected to the parliament: “Sie sollen uns erringen / Der Freiheit Sacrament. / Sie sollen’s uns erzwingen / Im neuen Parlament.” The fourth stanza begins: “Sie sollen uns zerreißen / Des Stiel Regulativ, / Das in das Land der Preußen / Dummheit und Blödsinn rief.” Ferdinand Stiehl, a theologian and pedagogue, had been strongly criticized for the set of reactionary school rules he issued in 1854.

These poems indicate that Becker’s “Der deutsche Rhein” entered the German poetic canon and public (collective) consciousness in 1840. As seen above, poets used the phrase “Sie sollen ihn nicht haben” or variations thereof to express political discontent with the same degree of rhetorical and emotional effectiveness that Becker’s poem had achieved. These poets extended the legacy of “Der deutsche Rhein” not only by using and transforming the opening line but also by borrowing images, such as the ravens, to describe political situations often unrelated to the original themes of Becker’s poem. It thus can be argued that readers probably continued to recognize these poetic references. As we will see below, other political poems in this collection experienced this form of resonance, including “An Schleswig-Holstein” and “Des Deutschen Vaterland.”

**Political Themes**

Recent German history provided both inspiration and material for political poets writing in 1840, as several poems within the collection indicate. The Wars of Liberation in particular functioned as an emotional reminder that renewed hatred for the western neighbor. Eberhard Lämmert’s comment regarding political poetry in 1814 also applies to the Rhine poems of 1840, and even those of 1870–71:

Den Zeitgenossen reichte das hin, schon in der Erklärung des Rheins zu einer natürlichen Grenze ein französisches Verbrechen gegen Gott und Natur zu sehen, und so wird auch der Name “Rhein” aus einer geographischen Bezeichnung zu einem Lösungswort, das man nur poetisch aussprechen muß, um Franzosen-haß zu erzeugen. (48)

Poets and their readers recognized the parallels between 1813 and 1840, between Napoleon and the government of Adolphe Thiers. Napoleon had occupied the left bank of the Rhine and then replaced the Holy Roman
Empire with the Confederation of the Rhine on 12 July 1806. When he invaded Russia in 1812, Prussia, England, and Austria joined the war against France. Both the coalition's defeat of French troops near Leipzig on 18 October 1813 and Napoleon's final collapse at Waterloo on 18 June 1815 became strong historical points of reference for German poets in 1840. This is particularly true of the Battle of Leipzig, as its anniversary fell during the most intense period of the Rhine crisis. These poets used the Wars of Liberation to warn against French aggression and also to emphasize a sense of continuity in German history.

Three poems in the collection mark the anniversary of the Battle of Leipzig. “Am 18. Oktober” (poem 4) speaks of “der übermüth'ge Franke” whose “eitles Blendedgold” had enticed Germans in occupied regions to forget their courage and honesty: “Teut's Söhne, ach! sie sanken tief, / Sie waren feil um schnöden Sold.” They came to their senses, however, winning back freedom and breaking the yoke of bondage: “Und ewig wird dein Ruhm erschallen, / So lang an Freiheit Teutschland glaubt.” The Morgenblatt für gebildete Leser published “Lieder eines Grenzers” (poems 14 and 15) on 24 October 1840, a week after the anniversary of the Battle of Leipzig and at the height of the Rhine crisis. In the first, a border guard “an Deutschlands ferner Grenz” tells how the sun illuminates the bloody battlefield at Leipzig, a metaphor for a resurrected Germany. He fears what could happen along the German-French border, however: “Hier liegen Deutschlands Schwächen bloß / Und drüben lauert der Franzos.” This is the only poem within the collection to mention military preparations for the impending war with France: “Sie prüfen um der Festung Wälle, / Ob wirksam sey der ehrne Schlund” and “Sie üben’s wohl, / Was uns französisch machen soll!” In the second poem, a border guard discusses why the Rhine creates conflict between the French and the Germans: “Der Länder Grenzstein ist verrückt, / Argwohn der Nachbarn Seele drückt.” The poet, Friedrich Adam, admonishes people on both sides of the Rhine to view a missionary's house in the Vosges mountains as a symbol of Christianity and reconciliation.

The death of Friedrich Wilhelm III on 7 June 1840 and the accession of his son Friedrich Wilhelm IV to the Prussian throne also generated poetic responses. The poems in the collection that thematize the Prussian kings provide interesting portrayals of the two monarchs and their relationship to their subjects. Without exception, both kings are depicted in laudatory, respectful terms. No criticism of either monarch surfaces, none of the critical satire that characterizes such poems in the revolutionary years of 1848 and 1849 and, to a somewhat lesser degree, of 1864 and 1870-71. Five poems, all published in Der Sprecher, focus on Friedrich Wilhelm III.
An article entitled “Patriotischer Wunsch,” published in Der Sprecher of 26 September 1840, reflects the panegyric tone of these poems:

Durch das Dahinscheiden unsers theuern Landesvaters, dessen Tugenden nicht bloß bei seinen Unterthanen, sondern in allen zivilisierten Ländern anerkannt sind—und dessen Tod eine aufrichtige, seltene Trauer, man möchte sagen über die ganze Erde verbreitet hat—, ist das Jahr 1840 indes zu einer noch höheren Bedeutung gelangt [. . .]. (1,233)

The journal, which aimed to offer differing opinions (Estermann 4: 99), nevertheless presents a uniform image of the king in these poems. All five texts (poems 22-26), each by a different author, praise the deceased king. All but one appear on the first page of the respective issues. “Friedrich Wilhelm III., dem Unvergeßlichen” (poem 22) is even framed with the thick black outline typical of letters announcing a death.

Reverent pathos characterizes these poems. Friedrich Wilhelm III is described as a “guter König” (poem 23), “der König aller Kön’ge” (poem 25), and a “weiser Held” (poem 26). His death is lamented: “Millionen Herzen werden brechen, / Unermesslich ist der Trauerchor” (poem 22) and “Uns’re Freuden sind erloschen / Und die Welt ist öd’ und leer! —” (poem 25). “Die letzte Labe” mythicizes his death. Servants attempting to fulfill the king’s wish for a glass of orange juice cannot break through the crowds gathered outside, but the people pass the fruit forward: “Des Königs letzte Labe / Kam so vom Volk’ ihm zu; / Er nahm die Liebesgabe / Und schied zur ew’gen Ruh’” (poem 26). The poets do mention several of the monarch’s achievements, albeit briefly, including the defeat of Napoleon, the attainment of peace in 1815, and his support of the sciences. The poems also portray Friedrich Wilhelm III as a father, in both a figurative and a literal sense. “Auf König Friedrich Wilhelm III. Tod” proclaims “Der Vater ist von seinem Volk geschieden!” and “Im Festesglanz, umhüllt vom heitern Lenze / Bist Du aus Deiner Kinder Kreis entfloh” (poem 24). The same poem ends with a reference to the king’s son, Prussia’s new king: “Denn daß Dein Volk nicht um die Zukunft zage, / Verbeut des edlen Sohnes That und Wort!” Poem 25 ends on a similar note: “Doch, es lebt sein edler Erbe, / Der beschützt jetzt Preußens Thron. / Friedrich Wilhelm der Gerechte / Lebt noch fort — in seinem Sohn! —”

Six poems in the collection, the first in the conservative Königlich privilegirte Berlinische Zeitung and the remaining five in Der Sprecher, focus on Friedrich Wilhelm IV. The article quoted above describes the festival planned in Berlin for 15 October 1840, the day on which the king’s subjects would pay homage to him:
Bald wird nun auch der Tag erscheinen, wo die übrigen Landesteile durch ihre Vertreter es ihrem Könige in der Residenz huldigend ausprechen dürfen, wie so gern sie in ihm den würdigen Thronfolger des geliebten Vaters erkennen, und wie bereitwillig sie ihm den schuldigen Gehorsam in jeder das Vaterland betreffenden Forderung leisten mögen, selbst wenn Ereignisse eintreten sollten, welche die ungewöhnlichsten Opfer erheischten. (1,234)

It is also Friedrich Wilhelm’s forty-fifth birthday, the “Tag, der uns daran erinnert, aus wessen Händen wir den Segen—einen frommen und weisen König—erhalten haben” (1,234).

The first poem, “Volkslied zum 15ten Oktober 1840” (poem 12), marks both occasions: “Heil Dir! ganz Preußenland / Schönt heut, zu Dir gewandt, / Schwört heut mit Herz und Hand, / Treu Dir zu sein.” Imbued with religious overtones, the poem is also patriotic and militaristic: “Du führst im Krieg uns an! / Du führst zum Sieg uns dann / Für’s Vaterland!” These religious and nationalistic elements appear in two additional birthday poems. Beyer’s “Huldigung” (poem 28) also emphasizes loyalty to the king, as the title indicates, particularly in wartime: “Wir Alle stehen ja / Für Friedrich Wilhelm da, / Kämpfen und bluten gern / Für’s Vaterland!” In the next poem, “Huldigung. Dem 15. Oktober 1840” (poem 29), the king is a savior sent by God, his birthday a day that unites him and his people. The king’s subjects fight courageously for “Fürst und Vaterland” whenever summoned by their king. The poem’s chauvinistic elements cannot be overlooked, however. The poet asks Prussia’s neighbors if they know of any other country with such unity, any other people so willing to fight for “Fürst und Vaterland,” any other ruler with such loving, grateful subjects.

Karl Coutelle’s untitled contribution (poem 30) appeared in Der Sprecher on 31 October 1840 as part of a report, “Aus Duisburg”:

Das Geburts- und Huldigungsfest Sr. Majestät des Königs ward vorgestern und gestern allhier von sämmtlichen Bürgerklassen eben so belebt als glänzend gefeiert. [. . .] Um 11 Uhr machte das stattliche Schützenkorps unter des Jagdhorns freudigem Klang seinen Umzug durch die mit Fahnen und Flaggen unserer Nationalfarben geschmückten Straßen der Stadt [. . .]. Dann, unter voller Musikbegleitung, die höchstfeierliche Absingung des von dem Hauptmann der älteren Bürgerschützengesellschaft, Hrn. Karl Coutelle, für den großen Tag gedichteten Liedes, dessen Inhalt hier aufbewahrt zu werden verdient [. . .]. (1,396-97)

The poem itself praises Friedrich Wilhelm IV, the “Theurer Sohn,” for all his accomplishments: “Du hast in kurzer Zeit / Im Reiche weit und breit /
Viel Freuden ausgestreut, / Manch' edlen Lohn.” Coutelle also professes
the love and loyalty of the people. The report states that the song’s ending
“[. . .] riß die dichtgedrängte Versammlung von ihren Sitzen empor” (1398).

Poem 31, “Dem Könige! Festlied der Rheinländer,” pays tribute to the
Prussian king while incorporating many patriotic images and words: the
“Rhein,” “Adler,” “Kampf,” “Muth,” “Siegesfahne,” “Burgen,” even “Der
alte deutsche Dom.” “Der Preußen Ja” (poem 32) also draws on the Rhine’s
symbolic and historical significance: “Beschützet Euren freien Rhein, / Den
deutches Blut gewann.” The ideal of Prussian unity permeates this poem,
a unity created by the people’s loyalty to and trust in their king: “Die
Wahrheit, Ehre, Liebe, Treu’ / Verbürgt dies deutsche Ja!”

As we saw in Chapter 1, numerous local celebrations with strong po­
litical overtones took place in 1840 that helped shape the German national
consciousness. These included a festival in Leipzig from 24–26 June 1840
marking the four-hundredth anniversary of Johannes Gutenberg’s invention
of a printing press with movable metal type. During the celebration, sev­
eral thousand copies of Prutz’s poem “Gutenberg” were distributed. After
the unveiling of a Gutenberg monument, the crowd sang Prutz’s song to
the melody “Ein’ feste Burg ist unser Gott” (Kircher, Robert 224). They
celebrated not only Gutenberg’s invention, but its instrumentality in ed­
ucating the people, in attaining freedom of the press. An article enti­
tled “Warum haben nur die Deutschen das Jubelfest der Buchdruckerei
gefeiert?” that appeared in the Morgenblatt of 1 August 1840 draws par­
allels between Gutenberg’s press and political conditions within German
states, above all the Germans’ quest for personal rights and freedom. The
irony that censorship laws chained the printing press in the very country in
which Gutenberg invented it did not go unnoticed. Poets used Gutenberg in
1840 as one of many “Emblemfiguren der politischen Orientierung,” as an
historical figure capable of evoking certain images and values (Bayerdörfer
322). Two poems in this collection illustrate how historical developments
such as Gutenberg’s invention were reinvented in poetic form to address
issues of the present.

The Frankfurter Konversationsblatt published Wilhelm Kilzer’s
“Gutenberg’s Standbild in Mainz (In der Nacht vom 23. auf den 24. Juni
1840)” (poem 3) on the eve of the Gutenberg festivals. Gutenberg himself,
in the form of his statue, speaks of the printing press and its role in the
contemporary political situation. His invention had created freedom that
conquered not only darkness but enemies. He warns, however, that “elende
Scribenten,” “Lügengeister,” are now misusing his work to spread discord
and destroy freedom, and he urges that songs be written to celebrate
the day, during which truth triumphs. This poem thus argues that the written
word—and thus songs and poems—can influence political developments.
Another poetic response to the Gutenberg festival, "Johann Gutenberg. Am 24. Juni 1840" (poem 19) appeared in *Die Posaune. Norddeutsche Blätter für Literatur, Kunst und Leben* on 28 June 1840. The poem precedes an article (also on the first page of the issue) entitled "Vierte Säcularfeier der Erfindung der Buchdruckerkunst in Hannover" (301–02). The poem presents Gutenberg and his invention in language typical of the political discussion taking place in the German states during the summer of 1840. Like Kilzer, the poet draws on the metaphors of light and darkness. The author hopes his song will glorify Gutenberg, who conquered night with tremendous power, as God once did, bringing freedom to the people of all nations.

Over 250 entries for "Vaterland" in the Key Word Index indicate the significance of this concept in the political poems in the collection. In 1840 the fragmentation and particularism of the German territories presented an effective barrier to a unified German nation. The question "Was ist des Deutschen Vaterland?" grew increasingly urgent during the 1840s, however, particularly as nationalist movements in non-German regions of the Confederation gained momentum. Indeed, the future Germany’s borders became one of the central issues at the Frankfurt National Assembly in 1848 and 1849. Delegates and Germans alike discovered that this question could not be answered on the basis of culture and language alone; it proved to be a matter of history and tradition as well. The topic "Vaterland" is therefore closely related to the issue of German unification. Four poems from 1840 focus on this theme, including the word "Vaterland" within their titles. They present a rather vague picture of the German fatherland, one based on a romantic and often naive sense of patriotism and military might.

This is evident in "Vaterland" (poem 2), published in the *Frankfurter Konversationsblatt* of 25 May 1840, before the Rhine crisis had broken out. For the poet, master baker C. Borholz, "Vaterland" is a holy name: "Wer wolt' dem Boden, der ihn trägt, / Nicht Alles, Alles weihn?" He extolls German virtues such as science, the arts, trade, and commerce, and believes the unity of the German people (apparently in military terms) makes them strong enough to ward off all enemies: "Leucht' blutig hin, vom höchsten Stand, / Zu deinem Feind: mein Vaterland!" A second poem in the Frankfurt publication, "Das deutsche Vaterland!" (poem 9), claims that the German nation is embodied by Romantic elements such as the Rhine and its sagas and fortresses, loyalty, faith, song, and nature. The poem’s final definition of the Fatherland, "Wo Fürst und Volk der schönste Bund vereint," reflects the unusual sense of unity that existed between absolutist monarchs and the mass nationalist movement during the Rhine crisis. "Das Vaterland" (poem 8), already discussed above, also uses Romantic symbolism such as songs, hills with dark grapes, and the cliffs. A sense of tradition is
also important: “Hoch unsre Adler schweben / Im hellen Sonnenschein, / Und unsre Ahnen leben / Am schönen, deutschen Rhein.” “Des Deutschen Vaterland” (poem 11), in the 10 September 1840 issue of Der Hamburger Bote, is more realistic and critical than the previous three poems. It addresses Germany, “tausendfach zerhackt, zersplittert,” just as France is making known its aim to reconquer the Rhine: “Wann wirst Du wieder stark und ganz? / Wann strahlt der Deutschen Ehre Glanz / Dir Vaterland?” The poet argues that the particularism of the German states is preventing the nation from realizing its potential to shape Europe’s fate. This poem is the first in the collection to mention geographical borders: “Und von der Donau bis zum Rhein / Ein Vaterland!”

Two poems published in the Morgenblatt für gebildete Leser provide insight into the role of poets with respect not only to political conditions in the German territories but also to their relationships to readers. As discussed in Chapter 1, German society celebrated political poets in 1840, as evidenced in part by the prominent inclusion of poems in newspapers and journals. Poets themselves often seemed convinced of their influence within the political realm. The revolution of 1848-49 has been referred to as an intellectual’s revolution. Although this assessment is not entirely accurate, German political poets and their poetry, as this study argues, did play a central role in the liberal and nationalist movements during the first half of the nineteenth century.

Franz Dingelstedt wrote “Eine Rheinfahrt. Am Michaelistage 1840,” a poem about Ludwig Uhland’s steamship ride on the Rhine on Michaelmas (September 29), the feast of the militant archangel (poem 16). Dingelstedt, a self-proclaimed “Herold” of the “König,” wonders why no one realizes that Uhland, the celebrated Swabian poet and politician, is on board. Uhland, author of Vaterländische Gedichte, a collection of political poetry (1817), had led the liberal opposition in the Württemberg state parliament from 1833 to 1838. Dingelstedt envisions two possible scenarios for Uhland with respect to the political crises in the German states. The elder man, “den Heldenkranz im Haare und das Schwert in hoher Rechte,” either could throw away his pen and fight for “Deutsches Recht und deutsche Freiheit,” or he could take a well-deserved rest: “Furchtlos neig’ dein sieggekröntes Haupt, o Meister! Gute Nacht! / Schlumm’re unter Mohn und Lorbeer! Deine Jünger halten Wacht!” The disciples would guard not only Uhland, but the German rights and freedom for which he had fought. Dingelstedt incorporates traditional elements of the Rhine landscape into his poem, including the Lorelei cliffs, forests, fortresses, and grape vines. He thus underscores the political significance of the poem, which was published during the Rhine crisis.
Although Robert Prutz wrote “Dichtergruß” (poem 17) in October 1840 as a reply to “deutsche Sanggenossen” who had written him in Halle (Prutz was exiled from Prussia in 1840), the poem addresses all politically active poets. Prutz first refers to the Rhine crisis: “Und horch, da gellt mit langgezognem Rufe / Ein Wächter horn den deutschen Rhein entlang.” He reports that many people criticize poets who write songs about such troubled situations. He vehemently defends these poets, thereby legitimizing his own poetry: “Denn wer hat so des Vaterlandes Wunden, / Das Messer so, das unsern Leib zerwühlt, / Und Ruhm und Schmach — wer hat sie so empfunden, / Wie des Poeten warme Brust sie fühlt?” Moreover, Prutz argues that poets are accustomed to fighting enemies with daring courage, and he urges them to stand together and fight, using their songs as armor: “Vergeßt es nicht! Es ruht ein heilig Erbe, / Die deutsche Leier ruht in eurer Hand!” Prutz takes on the role of prophet, predicting that the German battle for freedom will indeed come, a moment in which the seriousness of the sword must replace “das goldne Spiel der Saiten.” He also attributes to political poetry the role of awakening the people: “Und jedes Wort, um das die Welt wird streiten, / Prophetisch klingt’s in unsern Liedern an.”

“Dichtergruß” is a precursor to Prutz’s later poem “Rechtfertigung” (11 September 1842), a defense of political poetry. The first stanza contains language very similar to the poem from 1840:

Man hat die Poesie verklagt,
Man zürnt mit uns Poeten,
Daß wir mit stolzem Muth gewagt,
Vor unser Volk zu treten;
Daß wir gewagt, mit lautem Ton
Die Schlummernden zu wecken,
Daß wir gewagt, auf ihrem Thron
Selbst Könige zu schrecken. (Gedichte 9)

Karl Prümm accurately argues that the self-confidence evident in this text is typical of political poetry in the early 1840s. The invocation of “freedom” and the rejection of repression and censorship cover up differences and create the illusion of a powerful, closed front, as reflected in Prutz’s use of the pronoun “wir” (183). Along with poets Georg Herwegh, Ferdinand Freiligrath, and Hoffmann von Fallersleben, Robert Prutz was shaping the debate in the early 1840s over the nature of politically engaged poetry.

Becker’s “kleines Gedicht” and the countless Rheinlieder written, published, and sung in the early 1840s, together with poems addressing other
current political topics, played a central role in awakening “die Schlummern-
den” in the German territories. Reactions to specific political situations or
conditions such as the accession of Friedrich Wilhelm IV to the Prussian
throne and the Rhine crisis, these poems helped generate an intense nation-
alist mood, particularly among the liberal opposition. This process gained
momentum throughout the 1840s.
The newspapers and journals selected for this study published over two hundred political poems written as responses to the Berlin and Vienna revolutions in March 1848, the Frankfurt National Assembly, and the nationalist movements in the non-German speaking regions of the German territories. The poems that address these political events are not limited to 1848. Poets continued writing about these issues, particularly during the counterrevolutionary developments of 1849. The large selection of poems usually provides a range of perspectives on each of these political issues, perspectives that in most cases reflect the different programs or political orientations of the publications in which the poems appeared.

Political and Social Developments Before 1848

James J. Sheehan has observed that political activity began shattering the “restrictive confines of Vormärz institutions” on the eve of the revolution (German Liberalism 52). Several factors contributed to this transformation in the German territories. Nascent industrialization and the growing population altered economic and social structures, creating hardships for many farmers, laborers, and craftpersons (Schulze, Weg 85). Silesian weavers rebelled in 1844, and Bohemian manual workers protested declining living and working conditions. Crop failures during the years 1846 and 1847 caused famine and epidemics. Starving people in the suburbs of Berlin, Stuttgart, and Vienna revolted, plundering bakeries and market stands. Typhus struck eighty thousand in Silesia in 1847, killing nearly sixteen thousand (Lutz 244–45). In 1847–48 a “modern” economic crisis, both international and industrial, led to bankruptcies, unemployment, high food prices, and low wages (Schulze, Weg 85). The liberal press covered these crises, raising awareness of the emerging proletariat and fomenting social and political criticism (Siemann, Revolution 48; Lutz 245).
Opposition movements continued their battle to overcome the deeply entrenched reactionary politics of absolutist rulers. As discussed in Chapter 2, Friedrich Wilhelm IV dashed the liberal hopes that had accompanied his accession to the Prussian throne. In April 1847 the king tried appeasing the opposition by convening the Vereinigter Landtag, composed of delegates from the provincial parliaments (Sheehan, *German Liberalism* 51). He viewed the Landtag as "die Krönung des alten ständisch-regionalistischen Aufbaus des gesamtpreußischen Staates" (Nipperdey, *Deutsche Geschichte 1800-1866* 398). Critical liberals participated, hoping to work towards broader representation and a constitution within this national forum. But conflict arose when a coalition of liberal aristocracy and bourgeoisie refused to approve a railroad construction loan unless the Landtag could meet regularly. The monarch let construction begin and disbanded the parliament in late June 1847. His actions, and also the debates on the Prussian constitution, published verbatim, stirred political protest beyond the Prussian borders (Lutz 234; Schieder 73).

Ludwig I's affair with dancer Lola Montez brought the Bavarian king into conflict with conservative Catholic forces. Montez outspokenly criticized the "Pfaffenministerium" of ultramontanist Karl August von Abel, who resigned with his cabinet in February 1847, after the Council of State granted Montez Bavarian citizenship (Seymour 139). Ludwig's new "lola-montan" ministry enacted liberal reforms, and granted Montez the title "Countess Landsfeld" (see poem 86). But public indignation, particularly among liberals, was so intense that even Montez's flight from Munich in February 1848 could not restore relations between the ministry and the Bavarian Diet. Several poems in the collection mock Lola's attempts to influence Bavarian politics. The *Leuchtkugeln* published "Barbarossa in Frankfurt" in early 1848. This poem mentions "die schöne Gela" in Gelnhausen, with whom Barbarossa purportedly had flirted in better days: "Die Lola Montez der Vorzeit, / Doch verschieden von ihr eine Welt; / Denn sie liebte den jungen Kaiser / Und nicht nur des Kaisers Geld" (poem 286). In Baden, liberals had gained electoral victories since toppling conservative minister Count Friedrich von Blittersdorf in 1843. A radical faction gained momentum under Gustav von Struve, who presented democratic views in his journal *Deutscher Zuschauer* (Lutz 238). The oppositional faction in Saxony's Landtag grew after 1845, as it did in Württemberg. In Hesse-Darmstadt, Heinrich von Gagern led liberals in confrontations with the government (Sheehan, *German Liberalism* 51).

Clearer divisions within the opposition evidenced an increased political consciousness (Sheehan, *German Liberalism* 52). After 1845, the liberal majority split in several state assemblies, including Baden, Saxony, and
the Lower Palatinate. Democratic radicals from southwestern states met in Offenburg on 12 September 1847, led by Struve and Friedrich Hecker and supported by exile organizations in Switzerland, France, and England. Beyond the usual cry for abolishing censorship and repression, they called for representation of the people and a republican national state (Schulze, Weg 86). One month later, on 10 October 1847, eighteen leaders of the moderate liberal constitutional movement (with two democrats) from Baden, Prussia, Württemberg, and Hesse gathered in Heppenheim. They sought a national constitution and a German federal state with its own government and representative parliament, but they seemed less willing than the radicals to grant the masses power (Sheehan, German Liberalism 52).

European developments also shaped the political mood in the German states before the revolution. Russian and Austrian troops suppressed a revolution in the Polish territories in the fall of 1846. Liberals throughout Europe protested Austria’s annexation of the free state of Cracow (Schieder 65). This remained an important political issue in March 1848, as evidenced by a satirical poem in Der Anecdotenjäger: Zeitschrift für das lustige Deutschland of that month: “In Polen da schaut’s jetzt / Gar wunderli aus, / Die Krakau’r – ’s is g’spassi – / San in Oestreich jetzt z’ Haus” (poem 42). In Switzerland, Aargau’s liberal government found cloisters a hindrance to reform and moved to shut them down. Seven conservative Catholic cantons then formed a military defense organization, the Sonderbund in 1845. The liberal-democratic majority in the national assembly voted on 4 November 1847 to dissolve the Sonderbund with armed force. The liberal Protestant cantons attained victory in late November, which German liberals celebrated as a defeat of the reactionary European political system. In Freiligrath’s poem “Im Hochland fiel der erste Schuß,” written in London on 25 February 1848, the victory heralds freedom in Germany: “Durch Deutschland dröhnen wird ihr Schrei, / Und kein Bannstrahl kann sie schmelzen!” (Werke 2: 120). Poem 176 in the collection, “Deutsches Republikanerlied,” also celebrates the victory in Switzerland as a spark for the opposition in other countries: “Und Deutschland, Welschland, England rief / Den Siegern Heil und es kochte tief / In dem fränkischen Flammenheerde.”

The war in Switzerland fostered liberal opposition in neighboring Italy. Pius IX, who had become pope in 1846, spurred the Italian nationalist movement by introducing freedom of the press and of assembly. “Die Hymne auf Pius IX,” published in Der Sprecher of 13 November 1847, was sung in “allen Kneipen, auf allen Straßen, im Palazzo wie in der Hütte des Bauern.” The poem begins: “Lobsingt und jubelt allzumal / Die Pius’ großem Geist verbündet, / Der sich am heil’gen Gottesstrahl
Italian moderates, liberals, and democrats staged nationalist revolts in the Austrian-ruled Lombardy-Venetia in August 1847, but Metternich's troops squelched the unrest.

A dispute with Denmark over the line of succession in Schleswig generated strong nationalist sentiment in the German states during the 1840s. Denmark ruled Schleswig and Holstein through personal union, but both duchies had limited autonomy and predominantly German populations. In 1844 the nationalist Eider Danes petitioned their king to declare his entire kingdom indivisible. The poem "Deutschland's Einheit," written by a "Schleswig-Holsteiner" and published in the *Neue Kieler Blätter* in 1844, reflects the prevalent German mood towards Danish nationalism: "Unsre Einheit soll nicht länger / Nur ein Spruch beim frohen Wein, / Soll nicht in dem Mund der Sänger / Wie ein Wort der Klage seyn" (731). In the "open letter" of 8 July 1846, the Danish king Christian VIII announced plans to incorporate Schleswig into Denmark. German liberals protested what they viewed as blatant disregard of the duchies' sovereignty and demanded that Schleswig be admitted into the German Confederation (Holstein had belonged since 1815). The poem "Ein jeder reit's sein Stekenpferd," published in the journal *Sir John Falstaff* in 1847, reflects this stance: "Der Däne setzt im Norden fern / Uns Alle recht in Trab, / Von Deutschland schnitt' er gar zu gern / Dort einen Fetzen ab" (n. pag.). The issue had gained national significance at the Würzburg choir festival in 1845, with the first performance of Chemnitz's song "An Schleswig-Holstein." An editor described the audience's reaction: "[...] man sah es deutlich, aus Aller Herzen sprach die Sympathie für die teueren Brüder im Norden" (qtd. in Düding, *Organisierter* 272). The song had the same reception at choir festivals in Cologne (1846) and Lübeck (1847). The general population, but also monarchs, state parliaments, universities, and the Federal Diet supported the German nationalist claims of the duchies (Siemann, *Revolution* 52).

**Political Themes**

**The March Revolutions**

Italian revolutionaries achieved the first liberal victory of 1848, in Palermo (Sicily) on 12 January. King Ferdinand II granted Naples-Sicily a constitution on 16 February; Florence and Sardinia-Piedmont received constitutions that same month. The Piedmontese king Charles Albert exploited liberal uprisings in Austria's northern Italian regions. Revolts in Venice on 17 March 1848 and in Milan (Lombardy) the next day led to the establishment of provisional governments in both cities, as recounted in the
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poem “Chronik von 1848”: “Jetzt rührt sich die Lombardei, / Venedig nicht minder, / Machet sich von Oestreich frei” (poem 454). In May, these governments voted for union with Piedmont (Bridge and Bullen 70–71). The poem “Ein anderes ‘Was ist des deutschen Vaterland?’” speaks of Trieste, in the province of Friuli-Venezia Giulia, as a German city: “Ist’s wo Triest, die deutsche Stadt, / Des Harrens auf Erlösung satt / Und ungeduldig ob dem Spiel / Von Deutschland gerne lassen will?” (poem 287). On 3 March 1848, radical Ludwig von Kossuth demanded independence for Hungary and constitutions for all nations in the Austrian monarchy (see poem 375). Czech nationalism had transformed itself from a cultural to a political movement.

On 11 March 1848, revolutionaries in Prague demanded independence for Bohemia and the incorporation of Moravia and Silesia (Nipperdey, Deutsche Geschichte 1800–1866 598).

The poem “1848,” published in the Wiener Boten in 1849, describes the path taken by the revolutionary movement: “Wie flogst du vom Luzernese / Hinunter nach Sizilien, / Wie suchtest du in Frankreich heim / Die unschuldlosen Lilien!” (poem 601). In Paris, students and members of the National Guard demonstrated for electoral reform on 22 February 1848. Street fighting broke out and the military opened fire. Fifty people lost their lives. Louis-Philippe abdicated two days later in favor of his nephew. The opposition proclaimed a republic and established a provisional government: “Und sieh! der Bürgerkönig flieht / Das Reich, das er so schnell verloren, / Und auf den Tuilerien sieht / Das Wehen man der Trikoloren” (poem 175). The “Chronik von 1848” also describes the Bourbon’s fall:

Ludwig Philipp der ein Feind,
Von Reformbanketten,
Mußte mit Guizot vereint,
Sich nach England retten
Denn vive la Republique!
Scholl es durch die Straßen,
Und in diesem Augenblick
War nicht mehr zu spaßen. (poem 454)

Louis-Philippe’s abdication and the Paris revolution had immediate and considerable political significance for the other European monarchs.

Numerous poems in the collection address these developments within the European political arena. In the poem “Heimann Levy’s Ansichten,” published in Der Anecdotenjäger, Levy humorously describes the new “Zeitgeist” sweeping the world: “S’is e Franzause, sprech alle Zungen, / Kimmt von Peris und braucht kan’n Paß, / [. . .] / Hat de Welt er gefegt mit seinem Besen, / Daß man se kaum noch erkennen kann” (poem 52). With his Jewish dialect and quick-wittedness, Heimann Levy represents a Jewish
stereotype common in the literature of the Vormärz period. Printed on
the first page of the issue, the poem precedes a parody by Theodor Dro-
bisch on the same topic, entitled “Humoristisch-politisich-meteorologische
Abhandlung von den Winden”:

Zu Ende Februar 1848 kam aber aus Westen, das heißt aus Frank­
reich, ein Wind, ein Sturm über Europa, der alte morsche Königsgs­
eichen aus ihrem Grunde rüttelte und die Kronen herabbog bis zur
Erde. In Frankreich entwurzelte dieser Sturm ein altes fünfundsie­
bzigjähriges Birnenhaupt und schleuderte es über den Ocean bis
hin nach England (251).

“Birnenhaupt” is a reference to Louis-Philippe. In November 1831, the
French artist Charles Philipon published a caricature in Le Charivari that
depicted the gradual transformation of Louis-Philippe’s head into a pear
(Wechsler 71–72). The above quote attests to the long-lasting effectiveness
of this expression of political criticism.

On a more serious note, “Osterlied für Europa!” (poem 192) draws
on the symbolism of Easter to describe the revolutionary movements in
Europe. Published in the Hannoversches Volksblatt of 22 April 1848, the
poem begins: “Aufgestanden, aufgestanden, / Ist die ganze weite Welt; / Alles! Alles sprengt die Banden, / Von Italia bis zum Belt.” The poem
“1844,” in the political-satirical journal Kladderadatsch, warns the despots:
“Je höher eure Häupter – je tiefer ist das Grab! / Je höher ihr gestiegen
– je tiefer geht’s hinab! / Nehmt euch in Acht ihr Fürsten auf eurem ho­
en Thron, / Und hüütet eure Krone eh’ noch die Zeit entfloh’n!” (poem
216). Karl Thüring’s poem “Es ist zu spät!”, also in the Hannoversches
Volksblatt, warns reactionary rulers in more graphic terms: “Siehst Du die
Tricolore wallen / Im Blute? Despotie, erschrick!” (poem 186). Published
on the first page of a special supplement on 2 April 1848, the poem pre­
cedes a list of names, “Der in dem Freiheitskampfe am 18. und 19. März in
Berlin gefallenen und am 22. März beerdigten 150 Brüder, welche von ihren
Angehörigen recognoscirt worden sind.” This list underscores the reality of
the bloodshed mentioned in the poem.

The Paris revolution catalyzed political activity in the German territ­
tories. Several poems in the collection commented on the French influence.
“Deutschland unter einem Hut” observes: “Deutschland wird auf einmal
wach, / Macht’s dem fränk’schen Nachbar nach” (poem 121). “Märzen­
Veilchen” tells of how winter and night lay over the German territories
until conditions in France began changing: “Und übern Rhein her wird
es dämmernd helle, / Herüber ruft der immer wache Hahn” (poem 135).
F.C. Eisen, on the other hand, urged Germans to remain sceptical of the
French. His poem “An die Deutschen,” written in Cologne on 6 March
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1848, admonishes: “Doch, fürchten wir die Freiheitsbringer! / Wir kennen euch, ihr Freiheitszwinger! / Denn eu'r Panier war Raub und Mord” (poem 415).


Der deutsche Michel, a proverbial figure Vormärz poets used to ridicule average German citizens’ need for sleep and their blissful subservience, lent itself as a symbol for the awakening Germans. Caricaturists used this figure throughout the revolutionary period to draw attention to problems, weaknesses, and dangers in the German territories (Probst and Welck 68). Der deutsche Michel also represented the transformation Germans and German society underwent in 1848, once censorship stopped forcing this subservience upon them (Hermand, Vormärz 372). The Leuchtkugeln published the poem “Die Verwandlung des deutschen Michel” (poem 262) as a single-paged supplement. The illustration shows Charlemagne rousing Michel, who is asleep “unterm Eichendach am Rhein”: “Und er erwacht und grüßt die Sonne / Mit niegeahnter Frühlingslust. / Ein Andrer ist er schon geworden, / Durch Freiheit stark, der Ahnen werth.” As already seen in Chapter 2, political poets of the Vormärz period used both the oak and the Rhine as traditional symbols of German political strength. The poem “Ein gemütliches Lied” begins: “Als Micheln jüngst im festen Schlaf / Der Märzschnee auf die Nase traf: / [. . .] / Er reckte seine Glieder aus: / Da bebt’ das ganze deutsche Haus!” (poem 441).

Poets also drew on the Barbarossa legend, according to which the former German emperor sleeps in a cave in Kyffhäuser: “Da muß er schlafen und träumen / Bei Tage und bei Nacht; / Und muß so lange schlafen, / Bis Deutschland auferwacht” (poem 263). In this poem, “Die Zeit ist gekommen!” (also from the Leuchtkugeln), Barbarossa awakens every hundred years to send ravens out into the German territories. In 1848 they return with an unexpected report: “Ob deinem herrlichen Deutschland / Hat endlich der Morgen gelacht, / Und die lang entschlafenen Herzen / Sind endlich wieder erwacht.” As Hermand points out, nationalists on the right end of the political spectrum viewed Barbarossa as an ideal; they wanted a “new” Barbarossa, complete with knightly bodyguards and the
former imperial splendour of the Hohenstaufen period in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (Vormärz 391). “Der deutsche Kaiser,” published in the Volksblatt für Stadt und Land, depicts the German people awakening the dreaming Barbarossa: “Den Ruf hat er vernommen, / Er rührt sich schon mit Macht, / Und will jetzt wieder kommen / Mit all des Reiches Pracht” (poem 396).

The first signs of the German revolution occurred in Baden. On 27 February 1848 a large crowd in Mannheim listened to speeches by Hecker and the liberal Karl Mathy and decided to petition the state parliament. Struve wrote the document, which stated:

Deutschland darf nicht länger geduldig zusehen, wie es mit Füßen getreten wird. Das deutsche Volk hat das Recht zu verlangen: Wohlstand, Bildung und Freiheit für alle Klassen der Gesellschaft, ohne Unterschied der Geburt und des Standes. (qtd. in Siemann, Revolution 61)

The people called for a citizen militia, freedom of the press, trial by jury, and a German parliament. Hundreds left for the state parliament in Karlsruhe on 1 March, including craftsmen, farmers, and unemployed workers (Nipperdey, Deutsche Geschichte 1800–1866 596). Many small- and medium-sized states witnessed similar developments.

Such demonstrations, meetings, addresses, and petitions characterized the early dynamics of the March revolution, which quickly politicized German society. On 23 March 1848 the editor of the Breslauer Zeitung wrote:

Noch vor acht Tagen verhielt sich der größte Teil unserer Bevölkerung in Betreff politischer und sozialer Fragen ganz indifferent; jetzt interessiert sich alles für die Tagesfragen, und es ist etwas ganz Gewöhnliches, Männer aus der untersten Klasse des Volkes, ja selbst Frauen über politische und soziale Fragen so klare und gesunde Ansichten entwickeln zu hören [...]. (qtd. in Siemann, Revolution 181)

By March, workers, students, and peasants were demonstrating in Baden, Württemberg, Hesse, and the Rhineland. Crowds gathered before ministries and royal residences, pillaged shops, and broke into weapon depots. Farmers stormed state offices and workers destroyed factories and railroads (Lutz 248; Siemann Revolution 62). The demonstrators formulated their Märzforderungen, demands for freedom of the press, citizen militias, trial by jury, and a national German parliament. Calls for broader voting rights, constitutional reform, and the liberation of farmers also emerged (Nipperdey, Deutsche Geschichte 1800–1866 596). A choir of officers in the
satirical poem “Großes Oratorium der neuerstandenen Reaction” denounces the revolutionary efforts: “Dies verfluchte Bürgerpack / Will jetzt Herr im Staate sein. – / Die Kanaille schreit von Presse / Und von Konstitution –” (poem 119). Some participants viewed the revolutionary movement as a political movement aimed at liberal and constitutional reform; others thought it could relieve economic and social problems (Sheehan, German Liberalism 53).

Absolutist rulers were shaken by the revolutionary activity: “Da gab’s in jeder Residenz / Ein Revolutiönchen, / Es wankte manche Excellenz, / Es wackelte manch Thrönchen” (poem 289). Only Ludwig I abdicated, however, relinquishing the Bavarian crown on 20 March 1848 to his son Maximilian II. A poem in Die Bremsen points out the irony of Ludwig’s departure: “Du schufest, o Bravester der Braven, / Aus Hefen die Gräfin im Nu; – / Jetzt schaffet ein And’rer die Grafen / Und Du, – ja Du schauest nur zu!” (poem 86). The monarchs responded quickly to liberal and democratic demands, forming new cabinets that usually included spokesmen from the constitutional-liberal factions in the state assemblies. Liberals Friedrich Römer and Paul Pfizer joined Württemberg’s new cabinet, and Carl Stüve, an opponent of King Ernst August’s coup in 1837, became secretary of state in Hanover. In some states, constitutional aristocrats entered coalitions with the liberal bourgeois. Gagern became prime minister in Hesse-Darmstadt on 5 March 1848, and the law professor Ludwig von der Pfordten became secretary of state and of the interior in Saxony on 13 March 1848 (Lutz 250). “Die Klagelieder Jeremiae,” published in the Berliner Krakehler of 15 June 1848, presents the laments of the deposed ministers: “Doch leider schwand die schöne Zeit, / Sie wird nicht mehr erblühen, / Seitdem die Völker weit und breit / Zur Rechenschaft uns ziehen!” (poem 69).

The revolution reached Vienna in early March, as nationalism in the non-German regions of the Austrian empire was threatening the very existence of the monarchy. The poem “1848” refers to the developments in the Austrian capital: “Wie schlugen die Lombarden gut, / Wie stürmten meine Wiener” (poem 601). On 12 March 1848, radical students and professors in Vienna demanded freedom of the press, public court processes, and a representative parliament. When the moderately oppositional state parliament of Lower Austria convened on 13 March to consider these demands, crowds stormed the building. The emperor called in the military, shooting occurred, and demonstrators set up street barricades. In the suburbs, rebels plundered stores and bakeries. Nearly sixty people died. Metternich fled to London that same day, after the cabinet rejected his plan for further military action. On 15 March, Ferdinand I withdrew the troops, ended censorship, and hesitantly promised a constituent assembly based on direct
elections. The emperor appointed a new cabinet on 21 March, although its only liberal member was secretary of state Baron Franz von Pillersdorf. It approved a citizen militia (National Guard) and student “Academic Legion.” With weapons from the arsenal, these groups then took control of the city. Vienna become a bastion of radicalism, carried by students, intellectuals, workers, the poor, and the petty bourgeoisie (Nipperdey, Deutsche Geschichte 1800–1866 639).

Even non-Austrian journals and newspapers published poems that celebrated Metternich’s flight, an indication of the significance these political developments had throughout the German territories. In a poem entitled “Abschieds- und Empfangs-Feierlichkeiten” from April 1848 Philipp Bruckner, editor of the journal Die Bremsen, sharply criticized the exiled Austrian chancellor: “Du bahntest dem Lichte die Pfade / Zum Quell von unsäglichem Weh . . . / Hab’ Dank drum, o Pflanze der Gnade – / Leb’, Metternich, wohl stets – Ade!” (poem 86). Heimann Levy continues his witty account of the path of the new zeitgeist through Europe: “Gaiht aach nach Wien fü Metternich, / Soogt em ganz leise – aber unverholen: / “Sain se so gut und dricken se sich!” (poem 52). The second of two poems entitled “Aufgepaßt!” (both to be sung during guard duty of the citizen militia) tells of Metternich’s response to the people’s demand: “Gebt schnell uns Constitution”:

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Der schrieb bis jetzt der Protocoll'
Neun hundert neun und neunzig voll,
Doch wenn’s im Vaterland wo brennt,
So schrie er: “Bin incompetent;
Das Löschen laßt nur männlich
Dem Spritzenmeister Metternich.” (poem 188)
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The revolution in Austria had a prologue. Despite the promise made by Ferdinand I on 15 March to permit a constituent assembly based on direct elections, the Austrian government in Vienna recalled delegates from
the provincial parliaments to draft a constitution, which the emperor put into effect on 25 April 1848. Liberals protested the coup, for the constitution established only limited suffrage and a two-house parliament. Tensions grew, and the Academic Legion, National Guard, and workers’ associations revolted on 15 May. The government yielded the next day, promising a single-house constituent assembly and liberal voting rights (Siemann, Revolution 88). The emperor and his family fled to Innsbruck one day later. The government then announced its plans to disband the Academic Legion, a condition set by the emperor for his return to Vienna. Students rebelled and formed a Security Commission on 26 May, which functioned as a revolutionary secondary government.

Berlin learned of the new French republic on 28 February. Adolf Wolff described the mood in the city:

Die öffentlichen Locale, die Lese-Cabinette [. . .] bieten den unge­wohnten Anblick überfüllter politischer Versammlungsorte; das unabläßig wiederholte laute Vorlesen der neu angelangten Zeitungen und Berichte reichen für das lebendig gewordene politische Bedür­fnis nicht mehr aus, polizeiwidrige Exclamationen begleiten die Vor­lesungen, aufgeregte Discussionen folgen ihnen, und das wiederholt sich Tag für Tag, die ganze Woche hindurch. (1:7)

Friedrich Wilhelm IV’s concession on 6 March 1848 to let the Vereinigter Landtag meet regularly was not enough. That day hundreds of people—students, workers, and craftsmen—gathered in the Zelte, the taverns and coffee houses in the Tiergarten, to formulate their demands for reform. When the military tried to disperse the crowds on 13 March, demonstrators threw stones, stormed weapon shops, and constructed barricades. On 16 March 1848, troops killed two people and wounded several more. The king’s brother Wilhelm, the Prince of Prussia, argued that only military intervention could prevent a revolution. In his poem “Die Revolution in Berlin,” Eduard Kauffer compares Wilhelm to Charles IX of France, who submitted to pressure from his mother, Catherine de Medici, to massacre thousands of Huguenots on 23–24 August 1572. In the poem, the prince declares: “Wohlan, ich biete Trotz dem tollgeword’nen Volke! / Tuez! . . . Die Salve kracht aus weißer Pulverwolke, / Und Mord und wieder Mord!” (poem 169).

Friedrich Wilhelm IV did not follow his brother’s advice. Instead, he abolished censorship of the press on 18 March 1848 and announced plans to convene the parliament on 2 April 1848 “[zur] Vereinbarung der preußischen Verfassung” (Siemann, Revolution 87). Those gathered before the palace cheered. Then soldiers appeared and two shots were fired, perhaps unintentionally. The king ordered the military to clear the courtyard. Workers
barricaded the streets and fighting broke out. More than 230 people lost their lives. Many people felt betrayed by their king. The Hannoversches Volksblatt printed the poem “Erlkönig” on 15 April 1848, an imitation of Goethe’s ballad of the same name. It expresses the mistrust felt by the people of Berlin, in the same eerie tone conveyed by Goethe’s poem: “Wer schießt noch so spät auf’s Volk ohne Wehr? / Es ist ein König mit seinem Heer! / Er hält sein Volk so treu in dem Arm, / Er faßt es so sicher mit seinen Gens’d’armes!” (poem 191). Disturbed by the fighting, the king wrote an address that night, “An meine lieben Berliner,” agreeing to withdraw the troops if street fighting ceased. The next afternoon the monarch knelt before the corpses of the fallen fighters, which had been placed in the palace courtyard. The much-hated Prince Wilhelm fled to England, a development welcomed by Philipp Bruckner. He wrote: “Leb’ wohl, o mein Prinzenzchen von Preußen! / Geruh’ in der Ferne die Wehn / [. . .] / Du spendest hier die Granaten . . . / Vergeblich: es schnuppste Dein Stern!” (poem 86). The citizen militia, armed with weapons from the armory, guarded the palace. A week later the king claimed: “Ich bin niemals freier und sicherer gewesen als unter dem Schutze meiner Bürger” (Siemann, Revolution 70).

The people’s revolution had overthrown the old order in the strongest German military state (Nipperdey, Deutsche Geschichte 1800–1866 599). King Friedrich Wilhelm IV watched a celebratory parade in Berlin on 20 March 1848 from the palace balcony. After Metternich’s fall, the king grasped the opportunity for Prussian leadership in the German unification movement. He staged his own parade the next day, riding through Berlin flanked by his ministers and generals and wearing black-red-gold armbands. In an address entitled “An mein Volk und an die deutsche Nation” on 21 March 1848, the king pledged Prussian support of a unified constitutional state: “Ich habe heute die alten deutschen Farben angenommen und Mich und Mein Volk unter das ehrwürdige Banner des deutschen Reiches gestellt. Preußen geht fortan in Deutschland auf” (Schulze, Weg 70). He convened a new liberal cabinet on 29 March 1848, with Rhinelanders Ludolf Camphausen as minister president and David Hansemann as finance minister, and the Prussian parliament met on 22 May 1848.

Not surprisingly the poems written in response to the Berlin revolution generally reflect the political orientation or the program of the publication in which they appear. The conservative Prussian journal Volksblatt für Stadt und Land, for example, published the panegyric poem “Meinem König!”, which praises the king’s demonstrative solidarity with the German people: “Jüngst hast Du schwarz, roth, gold getragen, / Getragen für des Volkes Wohl” (poem 392). In his poem “An die deutsche National-
Versammlung in Frankfurt," also published in the Volksblatt, Albert Graf Schlippenbach tells the parliament not to compromise Prussia's hegemony in the German nationalist movement: "Wir wollen nicht aufgehen, / Aufgehen wie ein Strumpf. / Aufgehen nicht, aufstehen, / Und Preußen sei der Trumpf" (poem 401). A poem written by Elfriede von M. on the occasion of Prince Wilhelm's return to Berlin (25 May 1848) claims: "Verkündet laut, zu mächtigen Akkorden, / Daß Preußens Volk mit Deutschland Eins geworden" (poem 249). This text appeared in a supplement to the conservative Königlich privilegirte Berlinische Zeitung.

Many writers scorned the king's actions. On 2 April 1848 the Hannoversches Volksblatt reprinted an article from the Mannheimer Abendzeitung (in the same issue as poem 186, "Es ist zu spät!") that criticized the king's gestures as superficial and inadequate:


"Eichhorn," the name given for the author of an untitled poem in the Berliner Krakehler of 19 August 1848, is undoubtedly a satirical reference to Johann Eichhorn, the reactionary Prussian minister of education and the arts from 1840 to 1848. The poem provides a series of answers to the question: "Was braucht ein Berliner Spießer um ein Deutscher zu sein?"

First the Spießer says: "jetzt geh' ich in Deutschland auf." Then he buys a black-red-gold ribbon, stages a parade, yells "hurrah," and then claims: "ein einiges Deutschland ist schön." The parallels to Friedrich Wilhelm IV's behavior in the first days after the revolution are clear, as is the cynicism in the poet's commentary: "'Ne Phrase, die deutsche Kokarde, die Parade, ein Hurrah, / ein einiges Deutschland, das ganze 'ein Witz'" (poem 72). Der Anecdotenjäger published a poem in August 1848 about the Frankfurt National Assembly that mocks the Prussian king, who cries: "Wenn ich nicht oben stehen kann, / Was geht mich dann das Aufgehen an?" (poem 50). "Der Wiener in Berlin" professes to admire the population of Berlin, "Das mit christlich frommer Demuth / Sich ergibt in seine Leiden" (poem 268). The poem's praise actually underscores the reactionary el-
The Political Achievements of the March Revolutions

Many poets addressed the factors that had repressed political activity prior to the revolutions, in particular absolutist rule. In 1848, the cultural journal *Europa: Chronik der gebildeten Welt* changed from a weekly to a daily publication (except for Sundays): “Durch die beschleunigte Beförderung wird es uns möglich sein unsere brieflichen Mitteilungen und die Kontrole der politischen Ereignisse rasch eingreifen zu lassen.” Its program from 1848 continues: “Die *Europa* wird auf Seiten der Regierungen die starre Befangenheit bekämpfen” (qtd. in Estermann II: 81–82). The poem “Märzsturm,” printed on 20 May 1848, fulfills this aim. The author uses a fitting nature metaphor to describe the apparent end to despotism:

Ein Wetter braust durch den Wald mit Macht,
Als wollt' es den Kehraus geigen.
Was morsch und dürr, was zernagt vom Wurm,
Es bricht und kracht
Und verweht im Sturm,
Dem die stolzesten Wipfel sich neigen. (poem 125)


A large number of poems celebrate the attainment of freedom as a cause worthy of fighting and dying. One poem from the *Würzburger Conversationsblatt* of 10 April 1848, “An die Deutschen,” comments on the proliferation of such poems: “Es jubeln rings der Freiheit Lieder, / Die Waffen

*Der Berliner Bär* printed the “Proletariar-Lied” (poem 66), dedicated to the heroes of the 18–19 March 1848, in April 1848. The sharp social criticism in this poem underscores the satirical nature of the journal’s program from 1847:

Den Maulkorb haben wir ihm [dem Bär] ohne Gefahr abnehmen können, denn erstlich ist sein ganzes Pelzbekleidetes Ich von der friedlichsten Gesinnung durchdrungen, und zweitens haben wir ihm auch die Zähne ausgebrochen [. . .]. (qtd. in Estermann 8: 193)

The poem begins: “Die nackte Brust dem Feind entgegen, / In Lumpen dürftig eingehüllt, / So schwingen wir den blutigen Degen, / Bis unser Freiheitswerk erfüllt” (66). “Berlin’s Todte,” from 29 March 1848, also celebrates freedom: “Hier bei diesen heil’gen Leichen sei’s geschworen: / Für die deutsche Freiheit kämpfen, sterben wir. / Frei und einig ward das Volk von Gott geboren, / Und so werd’ es wieder frei und einig hier!!” (poem 357). The *Charivari* published Carl Bern’s “Völkerfrühling” on 18 April 1848: “Sie haben hart gerungen / Im todesmuth’gen Streit; / Die Mine ist gesprungen, / Das Volk hat sich befreit” (poem 111). “Die Freiheit” (poem 181), in the *Freikugeln* in October 1848, recounted the developments of that spring:

Die Freiheit, die Freiheit! Das ist ein starker Wein,  
Darun ein guter Magen will lang gewöhnet sein.  
Sie hatten lang gefastet in Wien und in Berlin  
Und wollten nun mit einmal bis auf die Neige ziehn. (poem 181)

This poem, published as reactionary powers had already begun reestablishing their control, confirms the precarious nature of the freedom won in March: “Ei, wie der Mensch sich irren und sich betrinken kann!”
The Nürnberg publication *Zopf und Schwert* appeared for only eleven days, from 30 June to 10 July 1848. The journal disclosed its program—the complete overthrow of absolutist rule, symbolized by the *Zopf*—in the first issue:

*Der Zopf muß fallen! Wir Alle tragen Zöpfe! [. . .] Und wir die Radikalen, die Stürmer, die Galloppirer, haben wir ihn nicht ebenfalls? Fühlt ihn nicht Jeder auf seinem Nacken wie einen Klöppel auf und niederschlagen? Begehen wir nicht tagtäglich Streiche, die uns blamiren, compromittiren, prostituieren?? [. . .] Der Zopf muß fallen! (qtd. in Estermann 8: 451)

The radicals on the left of the political spectrum, who rejected any compromise with the ruling monarchs, found the freedom obtained in March a tenuous compromise: “So lang noch Wölfe Eure Freiheit meucheln, / O spart, o laßt der Freiheit Lobgesang; / So lang noch Nattern, Schlangen Liebe heucheln, / Für Volk und Freiheit, laßt den Saitenklang” (poem 419). The wolves, venomous vipers, and snakes symbolize the reactionary forces that did not relinquish power in March and which, by the summer of 1848, were regaining control of the governments. The author labels political poems and songs praising freedom, those singing “Vom freien Reiche und vom freien Rhein,” hypocritical.

The *Fränkische Blätter* printed “Die Revolution in Berlin” (poem 169) in late October or November 1848. Readers undoubtedly recognized the strong parallels, as well as the differences, between the current political situation and that of March 1848. Demonstrators in the Prussian capital had once again constructed barricades, and street fighting was rampant. On 8 November Friedrich Wilhelm IV ordered General Wrangel and his troops to enter Berlin and declare a state of siege, thus reestablishing counterrevolutionary forces in the city. In March, however, shouts of “Hurrah, die Freiheit hoch!” could still be heard (poem 169). The fifth stanza of the poem still foresees the triumph of the revolutionary forces: “Muth, Tapfer! Bald ist der ohnmächt’ge Trotz gebändig / Des Hohenzollers, bald der heiße Kampf beendet, / Der seine Banner mit dem Blut des Volkes tränkt.” The collection indicates that poems characterized by cynical disappointment and anger became more prevalent than texts imbued with patriotic optimism as early as the summer of 1848.

Numerous poems in the collection thematize freedom of the press, a major political gain secured by the March revolutions. As censorship directly affected the publication of political poetry in newspapers and journals, it is not surprising that several poems focus on this issue. In an excerpt from L. Feldmann’s “Politische Schnaderhüpfeln,” published in *Der Anecdotenjäger* of March 1848, the author rejoices: “I sing enk a Liedel
Political Themes


The Hannoversches Volksblatt printed Ferdinand Freiligrath’s “Freie Presse” (poem 185) on 24 March 1848, just days after publishing Herwegh’s “Das freie Wort!” (poem 184). Freiligrath compares the press to bullets, arguing that the press can serve as a “Freiheitsmanifest,” both in the form of the printed word and as bullets made from melted leaden type: “Heute Munition gegossen aus metall’nen Alphabeten!” Bullets proved more useful during the March revolutions, for the censors could not control them. Throwing characters from different typefaces into the crucible, the printer cries: “Nur als Kugel mag die Type dieser Tage sich befrei’n!” The bullets also have a specific target: “Schlagt die Knechte, schlagt die Söldner, schlagen den allerhöchsten Thoren, / Der sich diese freie Presse selber auf den Hals beschworen!” Once the bullets have accomplished their mission, the abolishment of censorship, the lead will be collected and reshaped into typeface, “Für die rechte freie Presse [. . .].”

March demonstrators had demanded constitutional reform as a means of halting the abuses of despotic rule and securing representative governments. “Constitutionslied,” published in the Carinthia of 1 April 1848, extols the government’s promise to grant a constitution: “Vaterland hoch! / Süß ist dein Joch! / Wenn über feilschende Knechte / Siegen heilig’te Rechte, / Im Leben und Tod: / Vaterland hoch!” (poem 91). On 27 March 1848, the Transsilvania published the poem “Ferdinand der erste constitutionelle Kaiser,” which also praises the Austrian emperor: “Zur Verfas­sung sich vereinen / Oest’reichs Völker im Verband; / Morgenroth ließ neu erscheinen / Unser guter Ferdinand” (poem 373). Robert Prutz’s poem “Dem Könige von Preußen,” written for the Cologne cathedral festival on 4 September 1842 and published in Der Sprecher, politely but firmly asks Friedrich Wilhelm IV to grant a request: “Herr, die Geschichte drängt! Die Räder rollen! / Und wollt’ es Gott, Gott selbst hiel’t sie nicht! / [ . . . ] / So
sprich das Wort zum zweiten Dombaufeste, / Sprich aus das Wort: Constitution!" (poem 363).

The collection includes several poems that present a different view of the constitutional issue. A Berliner, for example, comically relates how his neighbor, the censor Jansen, predicted the Austrians would never have a constitution: "Preußen ist in kurzer Zeit schon / Constitutionelles Land, / Doch die juten Wiener jlauben / Noch an Jott und Ferdinand" (poem 267). The Viennese surprise everyone, however, and the narrator visits the city to observe: "Wie die juten Wiener Bürger / Schnell in’s Reine Das jebracht, / Was vor einem Jahr noch nicht der / Janze weiße Saal jedacht." Most poems on this topic, however, express scepticism towards this issue. Feldmann’s "Politische Schnaderhüpfeln" reminds readers: "In Preuß’n renommirens / Mit der Constitution. / Ganz haben sie’s do nit, / Kaum a Stückel davon" (poem 261). Hoffmann von Fallersleben questions the value of those constitutions promised in the spring of 1848. Germany, asked why it is not happy, answers: "Fröhlich wohl sollt’ ich und wollt’ ich auch sein, / Deutschland nur fehlt mir, nur Deutschland allein" (poem 203).

As mentioned above, the revolutionaries of March 1848 demanded the right to form citizen militias, a democratic alternative to the oppressive presence of the state police and the military. The poems in the collection present diverse treatments of this topic. "Bürgerwehr," published in Der Sprecher on 29 March 1848, creates a patriotic image of the militias: "Bürger, zur Wehr! / Wenn wir im Kampfe auch fallen, / Und uns’re Namen verhallen, / Sterben in Ehr" (poem 358). "Der Bußprediger," published in the Düsseldorfer Monatshefte in 1849, satirizes the conservative clergy, which in this poem denounces citizen militiamen as sinners:

Die mit der Bürgerwehr –
Aber es wird ihnen schwer –
Erstürmen möchten den Himmel,
Es sind nichts als Halunken, Lumpen und Lümmel.
Es sind nichts als Advokaten,
Literaten
Und andre Desperaten,
Und werden dereinst in der Hölle braten. (poem 466)

In another satirical poem a servile German bemoans the absence of various Vormärz gods from the political arena: "Traurig such ich an der Hofburg Fenstern, / Metternich, Du weilest dort nich mehr, / Alle Vormärz-Kabinette, gleich Gespenstern / Schwanden vor der Bürgerwehr!" (poem 560). The Berliner Krakehler of 18 July 1848 contains the poem "Reaction? ne joh nich sehn!", which depicts the short-lived existence of the
citizen militias. In March the poet can proclaim: “Ach, Jott sei Dank! Wie wunderscheen! / Fort is det Milletär, / Jetzt endlich sind wir suvereen, / Hoch leb de Bergerwehr!” (poem 70). Within four months, however, the return of the military has made the Bürgerwehr superfluous. In Hoffmann von Fallersleben’s poem “Die Bürgerwehr,” published in Berlin’s National-Zeitung on 18 June 1848, a member of the citizen militia proudly lists the duties of the militia: “Wir halten Ordnung allezeit, / Wir schaffen Fried’ und Sicherheit / Und schützen uns’re Obrigkeit.” He also claims the Bürgerwehr makes the people free and sovereign, their own police, and for these reasons he expects more respect. The poet undermines this image, however, by exposing one weakness of the organization. The militiaman confusedly concedes: “Der Pulverthurm hier ist zwar leer - / Doch - ist auch d’rin kein Pulver mehr, / Es war doch d’rin, bei meiner Ehr” (poem 331).

The Vorparlament and the Republican Revolution

The Zeitgedicht “Es ist zu spät” (2 April 1848) critically depicts the Federal Diet’s response to the Paris revolution: “In Frankfurt saßen sie und ruhten / Und waren stumm und taub und blind; / [. . .] / Nun wird mit ängstlichen Geberden / Und schönen Worten viel gefleht” (poem 186). The Diet did try to take the initiative away from the revolutionary movement. As Valentin has written, “So begann der Bundestag, als ein alter abgetriebener Gaul, das Wettrennen mit dem jugendlich schäumenden Rosse der deutschen Freiheitsbewegung” (1: 378). On 1 March 1848 the Diet declared itself “das gesetzliche Organ der nationalen und politischen Einheit Deutschlands” (Lutz 249), establishing freedom of the press (3 March), agreeing to revise the federal constitution (8 March), and approving black-red-gold as the federal colors (9 March). Moreover, one day later it had requested all governments to send men held in high public esteem to Frankfurt to discuss federal reform. On 30 March the Diet ordered the German states to prepare direct elections for a national parliament. Overtaken by revolutionary developments and the Frankfurt National Assembly, the Federal Diet finally had to concede that its reforms were indeed too late. The Diet transferred the rights granted it by the constitution to the new provisional central government on 12 July 1848 (Lutz 272).

Poets celebrated the black-red-gold tricolor as a symbol of German patriotism, freedom, unity, and military strength. The Würzburger Conversationsblatt published Conrad Wagner’s “Die deutschen Farben” on 31 March 1848: “Schwarz, Roth und Gold, die vaterländ’schen Fahnen, / Laßt doch empor sie weh’n!” (poem 416). In this patriotic, monarchical poem, black represents death and night, red the blood shed for justice and fame, gold the emperor’s throne and German loyalty. Barbarossa is wearing a black-
red-gold sash in “Die Zeit ist gekommen!” (poem 263). In this text the colors symbolize revolutionary developments: “Das schwarze, das schwarze das ist die Nacht, / Worin wir so lange gelegen; / Das rothe bedeutet das wallende Blut / Und das goldne der Freiheit Segen.” Philipp Bruckner’s “Das deutsche Banner” (April 1848) proclaims: “Hoch soll stets das Banner wehn, / Frei, von freier Luft getragen: / Vorwärts heißt die Freiheit ghn / Auch im Frieden ohne Zagen” (poem 85).

The Austrian journal Carinthia printed “Schwarz-Roth-Gold” (15 April 1848) under the heading “Stimmen der Zeit.” The poem closes with the sentence: “Schwarz, Roth und Gold sind ja des Deutschen Zeichen!” (poem 100). In his poem “Märzchen-Veilchen,” published in the Fliegende Blätter, H. Th. Schmid subordinates Austria’s black-yellow flag (and Bavaria’s white-blue banner) to the German tricolor, the “Auferstehungsfahne”: “Von jedem Thurme laß sie niederwallen, / Und Siegeslieder laßt den Tag erschallen, / Dem Tag der Einheit, der beglückt vor allen / Die Fahne leuchtend wieder uns entrollt!” (poem 135). “Der junge Freischärler an die Geliebte,” a poem about a soldier fighting in Denmark in the spring of 1848, underscores the military significance of these colors: “Dann soll voran das Banner fliegen, / Dreifarbig Banner: schwarz-roth-gold; / In diesem Zeichen muß ich siegen, / Wie auch der Donner mich umrollt” (poem 194).

“Der deutsche Banner,” published in the Königlich privilegirte Berlinische Zeitung of 27 March 1848, also imbues these colors with Christian values: “Der deutsche Banner hoch empor / In Schwarz, in Gold, in Roth, / Trägt uns die heil’gen Farben vor: / Zum Siege oder Tod” (poem 222). An article on the same page as the poem, “Dank Euch braven Bürgern,” provides insight into the political orientation of the publication:

Noch nie ist eine solche Tapferkeit ausgeübt worden so lange die Welt steht! eine solche kleine wehrlose Macht gegen so viele Tausende von bewaffneten Soldaten! Ihr braven Berliner Bürger, Ihr habt gegründet die Krone Deutschlands! der Tag ist für ganz Deutschland und selbst für Europa ein Wunder, ein Tag von Befreiung der Unterdrückung der nie vergessen werden wird [. . .]. Danket deshalb Gott und den Berlinern! (n. pag.)

Three additional poems about the barricade fighting in Berlin on 18 March 1848 also appear on the same page (see poems 223–25).

The Vorparlament met from 31 March to 3 April 1848 in the Paulskirche in Frankfurt am Main to discuss a national constitution. With no authority from the federal government, this plenum represented an autonomous bourgeois movement for direct parliamentary elections (Siemann, Revolution 78). The moderate liberal Heinrich von Gagern led the 574 invited
delegates, who came predominantly from southwestern, southern, and western states. Only two Austrians attended. The split between liberals and democrats grew. Led by Robert Blum, the liberals sought sovereignty of the people and a constitutional monarchy. They were willing to cooperate with existing “liberalized” governments and the Federal Diet in organizing elections for a national parliament. The radicals, under Hecker’s leadership, wanted to abolish the monarchy and make the Vorparlament a permanent revolutionary institution (Nipperdey, Deutsche Geschichte 1800-1866 607).

The poem “Nicht allzurasch!”, one of three “Zeitbilder” by Herrmann Walden (see poems 348-50), depicts the widening gap between liberals and radicals. The poet compares the spring of 1848 to a locomotive, with radicals as stokers, liberals as passengers, and conservatives throwing themselves in front of the moving train. He criticizes the liberals, who are jittery because the noise from the train disturbs their sleep. But he also warns the radicals: “Ihr Heizer, nehmet euch in Acht, / Daß nicht die Kessel springen, – / Sonst ist’s vorbei für lange Zeit / Mit jedem Vorwärtsdringen! – ” (poem 350). Sir John Falstaff, which published Walden’s poem, announced a slight change in its program for 1848:

Wir, Sir John Falstaff, von heil’gen Geistes Gnaden Zeitschrift,
die sich früher aus reinem Humor und bloßer Satyre, humoristisch
und satyrisch nannte, die dies aber jetzt, nach dem Absterben oder
Entschnarchen ihres Vormund’s, des Herrn Censurowitsch, auch
wahrhaftig zu werden gedenkt [...]. (qtd. in Estermann 8: 130)

The serious nature of the political message in “Nicht allzurasch!” reflects the new emphasis in this satirical publication.

Hecker and forty followers left the Vorparlament in protest of the Federal Diet’s refusal to repeal all unconstitutional laws and expel those members who had helped pass them. Subsequently Hecker established a provisional government in Constance and organized a volunteer army of about six thousand men to establish a revolutionary republic in Baden. The poem “Chronik von 1848” summarizes the outcome of these developments:

Frankfurter Vorparlament,
Will gar Vieles schaffen,
Hecker sich von ihm bald trennt,
Kommt mit Wehr und Waffen,
Um zu bringen Republik,
Doch zu früh gekommen,
Schlägt man ihm auf das Genick,
Reißaus er genommen. (poem 454)
Nearly thirty thousand federal troops from Hesse, Nassau, Baden, and Württemberg defeated Hecker’s army near Kandern on 20 April 1848. Hecker fled to Switzerland.  

The leading *Vormärz* poet Georg Herwegh and his wife Emma, an active revolutionary, also led a column of about seven hundred craftsmen, workers, and students from Strasbourg to Baden. Hecker’s defeat forced Herwegh’s troops to draw back and flee to Switzerland even before they could join the battle. Royal troops from Württemberg defeated them near Dossenbach on 27 April 1848. Although a price of four thousand gulden had been put on Herwegh’s head, the poet and his wife managed to flee and arrive safely in Switzerland (Kircher, “Georg” 603–04). A poem in *Sir John Falstaff*, “Zu zeitig und zu spät,” shares the opinion stated in “Chronik von 1848”:

Wenn Herwegh will die Republik  
In Deutschland jetzt begründen,  
Wenn Hecker sich, und Struve gar  
Zu gleichem Zweck verbinden, –  
Da haben wohl die Leute Recht:  
Die sie genannt “meineidig”,  
Und warnend rufen: “Republik,  
Du kommst uns viel zu zeitig!” (poem 347)

Hasubek argues that Herwegh undoubtedly had humanitarian reasons for participating in the revolution, but had misjudged the political situation and his own ability to influence it (138). According to Fellrath’s clarifying account of the Herweghs’ role in the battle, both Georg and Emma remained near their wagon in the forest, distributing gunpowder and ammunition (165–66). The fact that Georg did not appear on the battlefield, however, motivated many of his political enemies, on the right as well as the left, to spread the rumour that the Herweghs had fled like cowards at the first sound of battle. The caption on an illustrated lithograph entitled “G. Herwegh’s Flucht” reads:

Als das Gefecht bei Dossenbach den 27. April 1848 begann entsank G. Herwegh, (Führer einer republikanischen Freyschaar,) der Muth so sehr, daß er sich unter dem Spritzleder auf einem Bauernwa­gen verbarg, wo ihn seine muthige Frau durch den Feind flüchtete. (Moritz 350–51).

This version of Herwegh’s retreat, which became known as the *Spritzleder­geschichte*, generated a wave of criticism and disappointment that spread throughout the German states. This in part reflected the public’s high expectations for writers of the political opposition during the *Vormärz* era.
Friedrich Hebbel, outraged upon reading newspaper reports of the incident, wrote in his diary:

Man deckte ehemal die Lücken des Poeten mit dem Helden; man wird doch jetzt die des “Helden” nicht mit dem Poeten decken wollen! Zu einem Poeten an sich gehört vielleicht nicht unbedingt der Mut, obgleich er beim echten selten fehlen wird; aber zu einem Poeten wie Herwegh gehört er nicht. (qtd. in Jessen 120).

Valentin refers to such criticism as cheap scorn. He maintains that the couple remained at the battlefield until the very end, and points out that no code of honor required revolutionary leaders to let themselves be captured and executed, thus preventing oneself from preparing the next battle (1: 500-01). Herwegh suffered from depression after this slander and distanced himself from the political arena until the 1860s (Kircher, “Georg” 603-04).

The journal *Freikugeln*, which published “Huldigung” on 27 August 1848 (poem 180), noted that the poem was the newest from Herwegh, “den wir nach der bekannten Beendigung seiner kurzen kriegerischen Laufbahn auf längere Zeit verstummt glaubten” (549).

The press propagated the story of the poet’s alleged cowardice by publishing not only reports but also poems on the subject. Six lyrical texts in the collection, all of which support the *Spritzledergeschichte*, indicate that the incident had resonance among political poets and their reading audience in 1848. The poems were thus an important factor in the public dialog on this issue. As reactions to the Republican revolution, they also filtered the facts surrounding the incident for their readers.

In July 1848 *Der Anecdotenjäger* published “Das Guckkasten-Lied vom großen Hecker” (poem 49). A minstrel who accompanied the Hessian troops in Baden relates this professed first-hand account of the Republican uprising, naming most of the important individuals and places involved. The poet exhibits a talent for puns, combining the individual names of four revolutionaries to produce the amphiboly “Kaiser, Weishaar, Struwel, Peter.” A second pun refers to Herwegh’s collection of political poems, *Gedichte eines Lebendigen*.46 Hecker speaks, accurately predicting the fate that would befall Herwegh after his failed military campaign: “Wird der Herwegh zu mir stoßen, / Und der stirbt lebendig eh’r, / Als daß er ein Hundsfott wär.” Moreover, the minstrel makes a paronomasia out of Herwegh’s name. He surmises what Herwegh was probably thinking upon spotting the royal troops near Dossenbach: “Unter seinem Spritzenleder / Forcht’ er sich vor’m Donnerwetter; / Heiß fiel es dem Herwegh bei, / Daß der Hinweg besser sei” (poem 49). The same pun appears in the title of a satirical poem by the liberal poet Justinus Kerner, “Herwegh’s Herwegh und Hinweg” (poem 340).47
Der Anecdotenjäger introduces a second poem about Herwegh with the heading “Nachstehendes Gedicht ist in Berlin erschienen” (poem 51). A footnote indicates that the author had entitled his poem “An Georg Herwegh, den Verfasser des Gedichtes ‘Der Freiheit eine Gasse.’” The name given for the author, “Verstorbener,” is likely a satirical reference to the subtitle of Herwegh’s Gedichte eines Lebendigen, “Mit einer Dedikation an den Verstorbenen.” It also could allude to the author’s disillusionment with Herwegh. The poem claims that Herwegh has disgraced himself: “Einst sangest Du vom Winkelried, / Wie er, den Weg zu bahnen, / Hervor sich warf aus Reih’ und Glied / Kühn auf des Feindes Fahnen” (poem 51). The Swiss hero Arnold Winkelried sacrificed his life in 1386 in the Battle of Sempach, apparently diverting the Austrian army under Duke Leopold III enough to ensure victory for his fellow Confederates. Herwegh glorified Winkelried’s death in “Der Freiheit eine Gasse!”:

Vorm Feinde stand in Reih und Glied
Das Volk um seine Fahnen,
Da rief Herr Struthahn Winkelried:
“Ich will den Weg euch bahnen!
Dir, Gott, befehl ich Weib und Kind,
Die ich auf Erden lasse −”
Und also sprengt’ er pfeilgeschwind
Der Freiheit eine Gasse. (Gedichte 64)

“An Georg Herwegh” points out the ironic contrast between Herwegh’s actions and those of Winkelried: “Und als die zweite Büchse knallt, / Wirfst Du wie eine Feder, / Die hohe Winkelried’s-Gestalt / Unter das Wagenleder.” The anonymous poet’s criticism is just as condemning as Hebbel’s: “O Winkelried, o Winkelried! / Du, eitler Worte Rächer, / Von Muth klang Deines Sängers Lied, / Er selber ist ein Schächer.” In the same issue of Der Anecdotenjäger, an entry in the “Bajazzo” section reads: “In Heidelberg erzählen sie, Herwegh bereite eine neue Ausgabe seiner Gedichte vor, eine Ausgabe in—Spritzleder” (220).

The poem “Die lebendige Barrikade, oder Georg Herwegh’s wunderbare Lebensrettung” compares Herwegh’s wife Emma to Winkelried, thus making her the revolutionary hero: “Sie sperrt dem Söldnertrupp die Pfade / Mit ihrem eignen zarten Leib, / Sie legt sich selbst als Barrikade / Vor ihren Mann − ein einzig Weib!” (poem 399). The Volksblatt preceded this poem with a short excerpt from Emma’s account of their escape, quoted from the Allgemeine Zeitung of 11 May 1848:

Georg verbarg sich hinter einer Tonne, ich lag davor, die Dragoner ritten fort, Georg ließ sich den Bart scheeren, mein Anzug war auch
On 3 June 1848 the journal *Charivari* published two poems under the heading “Worte und Thaten—Poeten und Soldaten.” In the first, “Robert Prutz an Georg Herwegh,” the author envisions ten thousand young German Winkelrieds, spears pressed into their chests: “Zum Heldenkampf fürs Vaterland / Zum Tod berauscht von Deinem Liede” (poem 114). Prutz hails Herwegh’s active participation in the battle: “O denk’ Dir, denk’ Dir, welche Lust, / Darfst Du einmal das Eisen auch / Dem Feinde stoßen durch die Brust!” The second poem, addressed to both Prutz and Herwegh, responds directly to Prutz’s poem: “O, tapf’rer Herwegh, welche Lust, / Daß endlich Du das Eisen darfst / Dem Feinde stoßen durch die Brust!” (poem 115). The author indicates that both political poets held misconceptions, and he offers yet another account of Herwegh’s flight: “Er hört den ersten Büchsenknall, / Er sieht den weißen Pulverrauch, / Und todesmuthig stürzt er sich / Tief—unters Spritzfell auf den Bauch.” The fight for freedom, inflamed by Herwegh’s own poems, thus ended as a farce: “Ihr Deutschen, habt Ihr den Hans Dampf / Auch wohl schon gründlich ausgelacht?”

### The Frankfurt National Assembly

The *Vorparlament* fulfilled its objective by passing resolutions concerning direct elections for a national assembly. The March governments and the Federal Diet rested on a thin layer of politically active bourgeoisie, whose main political tendencies were constitutional and monarchical. Their efforts to institutionalize the revolution reached the masses through the elections for the constituent assemblies (Siemann, *Revolution* 84). Relatively speaking, voting restrictions were not that extensive. On average, eighty percent of all men of age could vote that spring, a broad democratic basis for the time.

Political poets wrote about the election campaigns for the *Nationalversammlung*, which took place from mid-April to mid-May. Bummelmeyer, the idler, complains: “In’s neue deutsche Parlament / Ließ ich mich gerne schicken, / Allein da mich kein Wahlmann kennt / So kann mir’s niemals glücken” (poem 46). If no local political leader ran, voters tended to choose a national celebrity, with little regard for political orientation. As Sheehan states, this partly explains how a fairly homogeneous parliamentary elite could be elected in such a fragmented political system (*German Liberalism* 56). The *Charivari* published a poem on 2 May 1848 that asks: “Wer soll ein deutscher Wähler sein, / Wer zieh’ für uns in Frankfurt ein?” (poem 113). One answer to the question reveals the poem’s constitutional, monarchical orientation: “Der Freiheit bei Gesetz nur kennt, / Der Volk mit
König herrschend nennt." On 30 April 1848 the satirical journal Münchener Punsch published "Es geht nix z'samm.' The title foretells the difficulties facing the new parliament: "Noch Frankfurt wird ietz üb'rall g'wählt! / Na, i geh z'Haus und trink an Thee. / Und frogt mi oaner, wo's mir fehlt, / I sag: es thät mir d'Wahl so weh" (poem 325).

Voters elected a total of 830 men to the National Assembly; 585 served as actual members (Schieder 87). Over 600 delegates had a university degree, and 491 (sixty percent) had a legal education.53 The delegates included 49 professors and lecturers; 436 civil servants; 60 merchants, bankers, and factory owners; and only one farmer. No workers and just four craftsmen went to Frankfurt. As Nipperdey states: "Die Paulskirche war ein demokratisches Parlament und ein Honoratiorenparlament zugleich, und zwar nicht der 'Bourgeoisie,' sondern der Bildung" (Deutsche Geschichte 1800-1866 610). The National Assembly convened on 18 May 1848. Heinrich von Gagern served as its first president.

The poems in the collection offer diverse depictions of the Frankfurt National Assembly. The poem "Chronik von 1848" expresses, albeit somewhat sceptically, the high expectations many had for the National Assembly: "Unser Parlament am Main, / Tritt jetzt auch ins Leben, / Wird es Hort der Freiheit sein, / Und ihr Dauer geben?" (poem 454). A contented German, looking back at 1848, praises the parliament as a major achievement of that year: "Wir schaffen uns ein Parlament / Das uns're gute Rechte kennt, / Wovon wir längst gesungen" (poem 538). Gottfried Beuren’s poem "Was ist das deutsche Parlament?" begins:

> Was ist das deutsche Parlament?
> Ist’s der Minister Regiment?
> Ist’s schlauer Diplomaten Rath?
> Ist’s der Beamten Actenstaat?
> O nein! o nein! o nein! o nein!
> Das Parlament muß anders sein! (poem 197)

The parliament is a stronghold of unity, justice, and freedom, “Das Volk mit seinem Firmament, / Das ist das deutsche Parlament!” C.F. Freimuth’s poem “An Börne’s Geist,” published in the Fränkische Blätter, also declares a high degree of optimism with regard to the National Assembly: "Dort sitzen die erwählten Volksvertreter, / Gepanzert in des Volkes Hochvertrau’n, / Betraut, zu zeichnen mit erprobter Feder / Den Plan, worauf des Reiches Grund zu bau’n" (poem 163). Freimuth compares the delegates to the political writer Ludwig Börne who, during his exile in Paris (1830–37), was celebrated as a “Herold der deutschen Freiheitsbewegung” (Hinderer, “Ludwig” 250).54

By early June, several political factions had formed within the National Assembly, providing the basis of an organized, democratic, and pluralistic party system (Siemann, *Revolution* 128). These groups influenced debates, used publications to shape public opinion, and served as mediators for interest groups and extraparliamentary political associations. The political center was strongest; extremes on the left and right, socialists and ultra-conservatives, were not represented (Lutz 271-72; Nipperdey, *Deutsche Geschichte 1800-1866* 610-13).

The conservatives (die “Rechte”), largely from Prussia, Austria, and Bavaria, favored the existing political system, a federalist constitution, and strong individual states (Nipperdey, *Deutsche Geschichte 1800-1866* 611). The liberal right center formed the strongest faction in the parliament. Heinrich von Gagern led these constitutionalists, mainly aristocrats, who promoted a strong monarchy with an absolute veto and a “small” Germany under Prussian auspices. The left center, with liberal delegates mainly from the southern and western states, favored a “large” German state that would include the entire Austrian empire. They argued for primacy of the parliament and a monarchy with a suspensory veto only. Democrats (die “Linke”) seeking a republic and sovereignty of the people formed two factions. Robert Blum led the moderates, who supported a single-house parliament and universal suffrage. The radicals, mainly from southwestern German states and Saxony, wanted to continue the revolution and refused to compromise with existing legal and state structures.

Three poems published in the *Leuchtkugeln* address the political factions that existed in the summer of 1848. The bureaucrat in “Der Stempelrath” (poem 305) constantly alters his political stance to please all those he meets. On the way to work he plays the “Volksfreund”; with democrats and republicans he criticizes every monarch. He exhibits the opposite behavior in front of his boss: “Da heißt’s: Den Zopf zur rechten Stell, / Ich
heuge constitutionell / Mich vor dem ‘Gottes Gnaden.’” He is liberal in the café, monarchical with women, radical in his club. The ambiguous use of the word “Rechte” in the final stanza refers to the newly attained right to assembly for political purposes but also to those on the right end of the political spectrum:

Und wird in Frankfurt kurze Zeit
Noch so die “Rechte” tagen,
Dann dürfen sonder Furchtsamkeit
Wir wieder, alles Zwangs befreit,
Die rechte Miene tragen!

Members of the opposition no longer need to fear expressing their political views; those on the right, however, can be comfortable displaying their “true” convictions only amongst other conservative members of the Frankfurt Assembly. A second poem, “Christlich-germanisches Gebet um eine constitutionelle Monarchie,” reflects the view of the left center faction. Thirty-eight rulers are too many: “Eine ist für uns genügend!” (poem 285). The third poem, “Constitutionelles Lied,” also represents the constitutional monarchist’s viewpoint: “Fort mit den Republikanern! / Nieder mit den Demokraten! / Heil erblüht dem Bürger nur in / Constitutionellen Staaten” (poem 303). The *Nürnberger Trichter* published the “Deutsche Nationalhymne von der äußersten Rechten,” which satirizes the reactionary nature of this faction: “Guter Mond, du gehst so stille, / Du gehst so stille, guter Mond; / Und auch ferner, guter Mond, / Guter Mond, geh’ immer stille!” (poem 341). In the illustration for this poem, the man on the moon is thumbing his nose at an arch-conservative.

The Provisional Central Government

The Frankfurt parliament first established a national government to replace the Federal Diet. On 24 June 1848, Gagern proposed a provisional central government with Austrian Archduke Johann as the *Reichsverweser*, “nicht weil, sondern obgleich er ein Fürst [sei]” (qtd. in Schulze, *Weg* 88). Delegates approved the proposal on 29 June 1848. Johann was to serve as a monarch, independent of the National Assembly, and build a cabinet that would answer to the Assembly (Nipperdey, *Deutsche Geschichte 1800–1866* 613–14). Achieved with revolutionary means, this solution accommodated existing governments and also reflected the desire to maintain good political relations with Austria. On 13 July the new imperial administrator appointed the first German government to be legitimized by a parliament. The liberal Prince Karl von Leiningen, a half brother of Queen Victoria of England, became minister president.
The collection includes many responses to the election of the new imperial administrator. The *Frankfurter Konversationsblatt*, for which the National Assembly and Johann’s celebrated arrival in the city were local news, published three such poems. Wilhelm Smets’s “An den Erzherzog Johann von Oesterreich” appeared on the first page on 10 July 1848: “Wo in der Mainstadt Deutschlands Wächter tagen, / Ist, Habsburgs Sproß! der Ruf an Dich erschollen: / Beim Sturm der Zeiten, bei der Geister Grollen / Mögst Du empor, ein Fels, bewält’gend ragen” (poem 142). Friedrich Stoltze’s “Erzherzog-Reichsverweser Johann von Oesterreich,” also on the first page, depicts the enthusiasm that met the archduke’s appointment: “Wen trägt der Jubel hoch daher / Wie Helden auf dem Schild? / Weß Name hat bis an das Meer / Das ganze Reich erfüllt?” (poem 144). The third poem, “Drei Adler” (on the last page of the issue), also praises Johann, comparing him with two former rulers of the Holy Roman Empire, Rudolf I and Joseph II: “Das ist ein ächter deutscher Mann, / An Lieb’ und Treue so reich” (poem 150). Two southern German publications, the *Morgenblatt* and the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, and the Austrian journal *Carinthia*, published the poem “Zum 29. Junius 1848.” The poem addresses Johann: “Du bist der Tiroler Bauer, Kaiser ist das Volk geworden” (poem 37, 108, 318). Kerner’s “An Johann von Oesterreich,” also included three times in the collection (poems 38, 319, 336), reflects the Catholic orientation of the three publications: “Tapfrer Waidmann, Sohn der Berge / Mit dem Auge hell und frei, / Gott mit Dir und Deinem Werke! / Führ’s mit dem aus fest und treu!”

The larger German states proved unwilling to put aside their interests and recognize the legitimacy of the new central government, which drew its authority from the National Assembly and the consensus of the Germans. The “Chronik von 1848 (Schluß)” addresses this problem:

In Frankfurt erwählet man,
Jetzt den Reichsverweser,
Ein sehr guter, lieber Mann
Glaube es mir, Leser.
Doch hat er auch nicht sehr viel,
Im Reich zu regieren,
Wo noch ganz nach altem Styl,
Viele Scepter führen. (poem 455)

The Assembly had no executive power, no finances, and no army to enforce military decisions. Once the Federal Diet in Frankfurt disbanded, the National Assembly depended on the good will and financial assistance of the individual states (*Nipperdey, Deutsche Geschichte 1800–1866* 614). C.H. Schmolze wrote: “Indeß in Frankfurt promenirt / Central-Gewalt auf
The first difficulties arose when the new minister of war ordered all federal troops to honor Johann on 6 August 1848 with parades and a showing of the German colors. Austria, Prussia, Bavaria, Saxony, and Württemberg refused to obey (Schulze, "Weg" 88; Lutz 275-76).

Several poems in the collection underscore the irony of this episode, occurring as it did while the delegates in the National Assembly were debating German unification. "Frankfurter Einigkeits-Messe am 6. August 1848," published in Der Anecdotenjäger in August 1848, begins: "Beim heil'gen Paul in Frankfurt soll / Sich Deutschland neu gestalten; / Doch Jeder nimmt das Maul zu voll / Und will's allein verwalten" (poem 50). The discord within the parliament parallels that exhibited by individual German states on 6 August: "Der Reichsverweser stehet bleich, / Und hört es an mit Trauern: / Er denkt: es wird das deutsche Reich / Wohl nicht gar lange dauern." The Leipzig publication Freikugeln printed two critical poems in August 1848 on this topic. Karl Beck, a socialist poet of the Vormärz era who grew disillusioned with politics after 1849, reminds readers of the political reality in his poem "An Deutschland. Zum 6. August":

Man will Dich stärken, will Dich einen,  
Man prahlt am Main und an der Spree;  
Ich aber möchte bitter weinen,  
Zerrissen willst Du mir erscheinen,  
Verlassener, denn je, denn je! (poem 179)

Herwegh's "Huldigung," written in Paris on 9 August 1848, bitterly condemns the German and Austrian people who in March had fought at the barricades but in August were honoring Johann as a savior: "Unnütz in den Sand verronnen ist das letzte Heldenblut, / Schneckensaft der Rest — zum Färben eines Purpurmantels gut" (poem 180). Herwegh compares Austria to a spider, lurking to win the trust of stupid flies: "Und an ihren Spinnefaden reih'n wir zu der Einheit Kranz / Vier und dreißig schöne Perlen uns'res deutschen Vaterlands." On 6 August 1848 the Königlich privilegirte Berlinische Zeitung published Adolph v. Kryger's poem "Preußen," an indication of the growing conflict between Prussia and Austria: "Kein fremdes Joch darf unsern Nacken beugen! / Kein Preuße sich vor fremdem Zwange beugen!" (poem 252).

The August date chosen for paying homage to Johann became significant for yet another reason. Austrian field marshall Joseph Radetzky triumphantly led his troops into Milan on 6 August 1848, after defeating Karl Albrecht of Sardinia in Custozza and thus reestablishing Austrian rule in northern Italy. In "Huldigung" (poem 180), Herwegh explicitly states
his opinion of the Austrian army and reminds readers of other suppressed nationalist movements:

Wehe ruft im Todeskrampfe, Wehe das zertret’ne Böhmen;  
Ewig wie die Flut der Weichsel wird des Polen Klage strömen;  
Eine neue Trauerbotschaft kündet uns der Flammenschein:  
Die Barbaren ziehen heute in den Dom von Mailand ein.

The second stanza of Franz Dingelstedt's poem “Zum sechsten August,” published in the Morgenblatt on 12 August 1848, reads:

Das war ein ächter Adlerschwung,  
Ein Sonntag das voll Glorie:  
In Deutschland auf zur Huldigung,  
In Wälschland zur Victorie!  
Gen Himmel scholl es donnergleich:  
Das, Deutschland, bringt dir Oesterreich,  
Dir und dem Reichsverweser! (poem 320)

Dingelstedt advises Austria to renounce civil war within the monarchy, for it brings freedom that only destroys the crown and the Fatherland. At the same time, however, the poet glorifies such a war: “Laß ab, laß ab vom Bürgerkrieg, / Zu Wien vollend’ ein größerer Sieg / Den großen Sieg zu Mailand!” Dingelstedt, the author of Lieder eines kosmopolitischen Nachtwächters, a collection of satirical poems published in 1841, lost his teaching job that year because of his satirical novel Die neuen Argonauten (1839). He abandoned his radical political views shortly thereafter, however, becoming the royal librarian in Stuttgart in 1843 (Hermand, Vormärz 404). Poem 320 reflects his support of the existing political order.

German Unification

After establishing a central provisional government, the delegates in Frankfurt turned to drafting a constitution. A committee with a right-center majority completed a list of basic rights on 3 July 1848. The document emphasized the guarantee of personal and political freedom and property, and it called for freedom of the press and assembly and for public trials. The constitutional debates, however, increasingly focused on the issue of Germany's borders.

The parliament could not resolve this problem on the basis of culture and language alone, for it proved to be a matter of history and tradition as well. Should the new German constitution apply to all people and only those who spoke German, or to all those in states that historically had been considered German? Nationalist democrats argued for the right to
self-determination, mainly on an ethnic basis. They viewed their nationalism as a doctrine of liberation and independence, as reflected by their support of the Greek and Polish nationalist movements in the 1820s and 1830s. Conservatives and constitutional liberals represented what Siemann calls an antagonistic nationalism, one based on German history and the right they found therein to fight for German self-interests, national prestige, and superiority (Revolution 147). The right to self-determination claimed by many Germans necessarily clashed with the same right of non-German populations.

In the early summer of 1848, most delegates in Frankfurt wanted the future German nation to maintain the outer borders of the German Confederation (Siemann, Revolution 148). Two major factions formed, a kleindeutsch and a großdeutsch group. Heinrich von Gagern and his followers supported the kleindeutsch solution, unification without Austria and with the Prussian king as German emperor. This seemed realistic in view of conflicts within Austria's multicultural empire and Friedrich Wilhelm IV's intentions to lead the German nationalist movement. Großdeutsch adherents wanted Germany to stretch "soweit die deutsche Zunge klingt," which meant including the Carpathians, Tyrol, and Bohemia (Schulze, Weg 91). Nationalist conflicts in Poland, northern Italy, Bohemia, and Denmark exposed the contradictions inherent in these views. Moreover, the conflicts signaled growing counterrevolutionary tendencies.

In 1848 poets repeatedly drew on Ernst Moritz Arndt's poem "Des Deutschen Vaterland" to address not only the issue of Germany's borders but, in most cases, to emphasize the prevailing lack of unity within these borders (see endnote 6). Arndt's patriotic poem had served as a national anthem for two generations of gymnasts, fraternity members, and singers and had thus influenced the national consciousness and the attitudes of large organized groups within the nationalist movement (Düding, Organisierter 1; see also Chapter 1). In his poem, Arndt names several German territories, including "Preußenland," "Schwabenland," "(das Land) am Belt," and "Oesterreich," but repeatedly insists: "Sein Vaterland muß größer sein!" (Arndt 18–22). Arndt answers the question at the end of the poem: "So weit die deutsche Zunge klingt / Und Gott im Himmel Lieder singt / Das soll es sein! / Das, wacker Deutscher, nenne dein!"55

During the summer of 1848, neither Austria nor Prussia appeared willing to subordinate its political interests to the cause of German unity. "Ein anderes 'Was ist des deutschen Vaterland?'" published in the Leuchtkugeln, asks: "Was ist des Deutschen Vaterland? / Wo man das Mährchen frech erfand: / Ein Acht - und - dreißiger - Verein / Könnt' einig, groß und mächtig sein?" (poem 287). The poet entreats Germans not to sing such hypocrisy as long as a single German nation does not exist: "Erst muß es ganz ein andres sein, / Dann stimm' zu seinem Lobe ein." "Was ist des Russen Vaterland?" applies Arndt's question to the threat of Russian expansionism: "Das ganze Deutschland sollt' es seyn, / O Gott im Himmel, schlag darein! / Zertreten wir mit heil'ger Wut / Der Wimmelwanzen Herrenbrut!" (poem 326).

The question "Was ist des Deutschen Vaterland?" remained urgent in 1849, after the reestablishment of reactionary rule. The title "Ein altes Lied" refers not only to the thirty-six year history of the poem, but also to the failed attempts at establishing a united Germany: "Das ist des Deutschen Vaterland! / Jetzt, Deutsche, kennt Ihr Eure Schand! / So weit die deutsche Zunge lügt, / Betrog'nes Volk sich selbst betrügt" (poem 458). Wilhelmi's poem "Was ist das deutsche Vaterland?", published in the Essener Volks-Halle on 26 June 1849, also answers Arndt's question: "Das ist das deutsche Vaterland, / Wo nicht mehr schwört der Druck der Hand, / Wo man von Treu' und Liebe spricht, / Doch feig der Einheit Bande bricht!" (poem 471). Ferdinand Freiligrath's poem "Hurrah, Germania!", published during the Franco-Prussian war of 1870, states: "Was ist des Deutschen Vaterland, - / Wir fragen's heut nicht mehr! / Ein Geist, Ein Arm, Ein einz'ger Leib, / Ein Wille sind wir heut!" (poem 856).

Several poems in the collection, particularly those printed in conservative or patriotic publications during the first six months of 1848, exhibit a naive nationalism that had little to do with political reality. The content of these poems remained vague; the poets did not directly address the issue of German borders. Instead, they seemed intent on communicating a sense of a common German identity. This emotional unity resulted from sharing recent political achievements such as the overthrow of reactionary rule and the attainment of freedom.

"Dem Vaterland," published in the Berliner Pfennig-Blätter in late March 1848, is one example of such a poem: "Durch Einigkeit und Treue
Chapter Three


Several poets draw on humor and irony to illustrate the difficulties of creating a politically unified German nation. “Die neue Einheit” dismisses the “new” Germany, claiming it is simply the old reactionary system wrapped in new colors: “Drum wird dein Zopf, mein Vaterland, / Dir neu geflochten – o Feinheit! – / Und mit dem schwarz-roth-goldenen Band / Umwickelt die deutsche Einheit!” (poem 294). The poet argues that political rivalry amongst the larger German states thwarted any chances for political change: the Prussian monarch aims to rule a unified Germany, Austria refuses to join the Prussian customs union, and Bavaria insists that its beer become the national drink. The last stanza of Feldmann’s “Politische Schnaderhüpfeln” states: “Auf'n Bergen wohnt d' Freiheit! / Wird oft deklamirt, / Aber d' Einheit von Deutschland / Weiß man nit wo's logirt” (poem 42). In the poem “An Börne's Geist,” C.F. Freimuth addresses the liberal poet and politician Ludwig Börne, whose dreams of a free and united Germany had been ahead of their time: “Ein Polen fiel, ein Polen könnte fallen, / Ein ein'ges Deutschland weiß zu stehen nicht, / Vor Hahn und Knute flieh'n des Adlers Krallen – / Das sind die Lorbeern, die uns Frankfurt flicht!” (poem 163).
The collection of poems demonstrates that the revolutionary movements sweeping Europe in the spring of 1848, above all in Berlin and Vienna, generated poetic responses. These political poems represent more than reactions to specific historical events or tendencies such as the overthrow of despotic rule or the Frankfurt National Assembly, however. As we have seen, they offer diverse perspectives on a range of issues associated with the March revolutions.

Newspapers and journals published these poems, often within days or a few weeks of the political developments to which the poems had responded. Editors usually granted the texts a high degree of visibility by printing them on the first page of their publication. The press thus enabled the poems to influence public debate over the political topics they addressed. The journalistic context was particularly significant in the case of poems thematizing Georg Herwegh's ill-fated role in the Republican revolution. These poems created their own history by spreading a critical and untruthful version of Herwegh's flight from Dossenbach. They thereby created public dialog, shaping their readers' perception and opinion of the Vormärz poet. Indeed, twentieth-century historians and literary critics largely responded to the image of Herwegh created by the press in the last century. Poems published in the German periodic press during the counterrevolution of 1848–49 would also contribute to the formation of a poetic discourse that functioned as a medium of public debate.
The Counterrevolution.
"Es bleibt beim Alten!!"

Like the March revolutions, the counterrevolution that was emerging by the summer of 1848 resulted from a chain reaction of European political developments (Siemann, Revolution 157). The suppression of nationalist movements in Poland, Bohemia, France, Italy, and Denmark revealed growing antirevolutionary tendencies as early as May 1848. By the end of the year, reactionary leaders and governments had regrouped and reasserted their power, negating the political achievements secured that spring. Many issues remained unresolved well into 1849, however. Delegates in the Frankfurt National Assembly continued debating the federal constitution, the kleindeutsch-großdeutsch problem, and the future head of state.

These political developments generated poetic responses, as evidenced by poems in the collection from both 1848 and 1849. Once again, the poems did not merely describe or summarize political aspects of the counterrevolution. They also offered diverse commentary on these issues, much as poets did in their poetic responses to the political developments of 1840 and early 1848. These poems mediated and reframed the information made available to readers by the press and thus helped to shape public opinion and to form a German national consciousness in the mid-nineteenth century.

Nationalism and Non-German Nationalities

The Polish nationalist movement had been a favorite cause of German liberals during the 1830s and 40s. The Vorparlament labeled the divisions of Poland (1772, 1793, and 1795) among Prussia, Austria, and Russia "ein schmachvolles Unrecht" (qtd. in Siemann, Revolution 149). In the satirical poem "Die Götter des Vormärzes," published in Mephistopheles on 17 June 1848, a subservient subject refers to the divisions while reminiscing about the good old days prior to the revolution: "Zur Canaille, ja, zum Volke stiegen / Damals noch die Adligen herab; / Polens freche Söhne zu besiegen, / Gruben noch drei Fürsten ihm ein Grab" (poem 560). The
Vorparlament believed it was the duty of the German people to reestablish the Polish state, for large areas of those eastern provinces belonging to Prussia and Austria had Polish populations (Siemann, Revolution 149). Leaders of the Polish uprising of 1846 had become heroes during the Berlin revolution in March 1848, and the new Prussian secretary of state, Heinrich von Arnim, promised a reorganization of Posen that would favor the Poles.

Poets took up the cause of Polish freedom, continuing the tradition of the Polenlieder, a wave of liberal poetry written in response to the Polish revolt against Russian rule in 1830–31. Bruckner’s “Das deutsche Banner” reflects the liberal-democratic ideal of a free Poland and proposes an active role for the German military in protecting Poland from Russian aggression:

Lassen wir das Banner wehn,
Drängen sie in Polens Wälder,
Daß die Sensen Dünger mähn
Für die ausgesog’nen Felder!
Schlachtet sie,
Wie das Vieh,
Daß, in schwarz und rothen Fluthen
Badend ihre gold’nen Gluthen,
Polens Sonne frei erglühl (poem 85)


As Nipperdey has written, the spectre of Russian intervention hung over the revolution, promoting strong anti-Russian sentiment among moderate liberal to radical German politicians (Deutsche Geschichte 1800–1866 623).

The intentions of liberals to reestablish a free Poland conflicted with Prussia’s aim to retain its sovereignty over Posen, which had a large German population (Nipperdey, Deutsche Geschichte 1800–1866 627). An article in the Vossische Zeitung on 30 March 1848 reported that “die bisher vielseitig documentierte Sympathie der Deutschen für die nationalen Interessen
Polens . . . sich in Unmuth und Abneigung umzuwandeln anfängt” (qtd. in Iwitzki 44). The Polish nationalist Ludwig von Mieroslawski, freed from a Prussian prison in March 1848, organized a revolt in Posen on 2 May 1848 and formed a revolutionary state government, the National Committee.\(^5\) Prussian troops won their first test against a revolutionary movement, forcing the Polish rebels to capitulate on 9 May (Siemann, Revolution 159). The “Chronik von 1848” describes the end of the Polish revolution: “Dort in Posen sehen wir, / Wie die Polen kriegen, / Voller Wuth und Kampfbegier, / Doch sie unterliegen” (poem 454). The author of “Des Vaterlands Freiheit,” printed in the Nürnberg publication Zopf und Schwert in early July 1848, wrote: “Und Polen, Deine Heldenkämpfe träumt’ ich, / Mit Deinen Adlern flog ich hin zur Schlacht, / Bei Deinem Riesenfalle aber schäumt ich / Und weint oft betend durch die ganze Nacht” (poem 419). Prussia annexed the western two-thirds of Posen on 2 June 1848, a clear breach of Arnim’s promise.

On 24 July 1848 liberals in the National Assembly proposed canceling Posen’s membership in the German Confederation and expelling its twelve delegates from the parliament. Delegates from the right and center, however, viewed Polish independence as a threat to German nationalism. The democrat Wilhelm Jordan, who spoke of the “naturhistorische Tatsache” of German superiority over the Slavs, called liberal engagement for Polish nationalism “schwachsinnige Sentimentalität” (Nipperdey, Deutsche Geschichte 1800-1866 627). On 27 July 1848, three-fourths of the delegates voted to incorporate all parts of Posen settled predominantly by Germans, including the city of Posen (Schulze, Weg 91).

The satirical journal Mephistopheles published the “Marschlied des Taun’schen Freicorps” on 30 July 1848. It includes the first line of the Polish national anthem: “Noch ist Polen nicht verloren / Und Italien erwacht, / Unser Deutschland, neugeboren, / Wird zur Republik gemacht” (poem 308).\(^6\) The poem recalls the optimism of March 1848, when the Polish revolutionary movement was one of many sweeping through Europe, as evidenced by the refrain: “Denn ein Frühling ist im Lande, / Wie die Welt noch keinen sah.” Printed just days after the National Assembly formally subordinated Polish independence to German nationalist aims, this poem underscored how much the political climate had changed in just four months.

A poem published in Mephistopheles nearly ten months later, on 6 May 1849, contains striking parallels to the “Marschlied des Taun’schen Freicorps” as regards both content and form. The second poem, “Marschlied der Vormärzler, zu singen im Jahre 1849” (poem 557), demonstrates how poets could transform a poetic text to fit a new political situation. Reactionary forces had suppressed most vestiges of the revolutionary movements
by May 1849; the “Vormärzler” referred to in the title had become the reactionaries of the Nachmärz: “Unser Zopf hängt wieder hinten, / Festgestellt ist jeder Thron.” Alliteration links the first poem to the second, despite differences in content: “Ueberall ist lautes Klingen” acoustically leads to the first lines of the second poem: “Ueberall jetzt wieder klirren / Hört man Ketten, lang und schwer, / Die verfluchten Wühler kirren / Werden wir jetzt immer mehr!” The refrain in the second poem also is the same, except that “Frühling” has been replaced by “Winter”: “Denn ein Winter ist im Lande, / Wie die Welt noch keinen sah.” Both poems share many elements typical of folk songs, including the trochaic meter, rhyme pattern (ABABCDCD), and main clauses beginning with the word “und.” The author, presumably the same person for both texts, has varied the quotation from the Polish national anthem to emphasize not only the failed nationalist movements but the continued existence of absolutist Russia: “Noch ist Rußland nicht verloren, / Doch Italien sicherlich.”

By constructing parallels between the first and second poems, the poet extended the longevity of the original text but also intensified the message of the later text. When writing the second poem, the poet undoubtedly recalled the one published in late July 1848 and most likely hoped that readers would remember it, too. While the second poem can stand on its own, recognizing the allusions to the earlier poem intensifies the contrast between the revolution and the counterrevolution and thus the effectiveness of the second poem.

Liberal Germans sympathized with the revolutionary movement in Bohemia. The journal Sir John Falstaff published the poem “Die deutsche Jagd von 1848” in the spring of 1848. The title refers to the hunt for freedom in the German territories. Saved by the barricade fighters in Berlin, freedom dawns along the Rhine and in Bohemia: “Was zieht dort rasch durch den Böhmer Wald, / Und streift von Bergen zu Bergen?” (poem 346). In the National Assembly, however, all political factions felt Bohemia should remain part of the future German nation; the ratio of Germans to Czechs living there was two to three. German solidarity in this matter was evident as early as 1818, when a group of gymnasts from Berlin sang Arndt’s “Des Deutschen Vaterland” on top of the Schneekoppe, where Arndt had written his poem in 1813. A participant wrote: “Da schauten wir weit gen Süden ins Bömerland, gen Norden in Schlesien und riefen alle allen zu: ‘das soll es sein, das ganze Deutschland soll es sein!’” (Düding, Organisierter 90). The anonymous author of “An die Tschechen,” published in the Leuchtkugeln in 1848, expresses dismay at the Czech independence movement: “Es hat dieß jetzt noch freie Volk / Ein frecher Wahn geblendet; / Die Tschechen haben sich vom Gott / Des Vaterlands gewendet” (poem 274). The poet also warns
the Czechs to beware the Russians, characterized as the “Lügengeist” and “Teufels Dämonschaar.”

Under the leadership of the historian Franz Palacky, the Czech independence movement distanced itself from German nationalism. A Pan-Slavic congress that met on 3 June 1848 in Prague rejected the Frankfurt National Assembly and its großdeutsch plans, demanding instead a federal Austria in which Slavs would rule alongside Germans (Nipperdey, Deutsche Geschichte 1800–1866 636). When unemployed workers, the poor, the student legion, and democrats demanded a civilian militia and the withdrawal of the still-present military, street fighting broke out on 13 June. General Alfred Windischgrätz bombarded Prague and declared a state of siege; the rebels capitulated on 16 June 1848. Four hundred people died. The “Chronik von 1848 (Schluß)” recounts: “Jetzt beginnt der Kampf in Prag, / Tapfer stehen die Tschechen. / Doch es winkt noch nicht ihr Tag, / Man weiß sie zu schwächen” (poem 455). The general dissolved the student legion, carried out mass arrests, and extended the military dictatorship to the entire country.

Sewage workers and miners demonstrated in Paris on 22 June against announced layoffs. A bloody battle began the next day between nearly 100,000 workers and about 200,000 well-armed members of the military, police, and National Guard. The latter, commanded by the minister of war General Louis Cavaignac, suppressed the uprising on 26 June 1848. Cavaignac became the dictatorial president of the French republic and persecuted over ten thousand rebels (Siemann, Revolution 160). The poem “Kartätschenhymnne,” published in Mephistopheles on 1 October 1848, was to be sung to the melody of the popular German Christmas carol “O Tannenbaum.” The poem, a summary of antirevolutionary victories in Europe, includes a stanza on Cavaignac: “O Cavaignac, o Cavaignac! / Mit Dir ist nicht zu spaßen! / Wenn arme Leut’ vor Hunger schrein / Dann schießt Du mit Kartätschen drein” (poem 311). “Zeitbilder im Guckkasten” also ironically criticizes the June battle:

In Paris Held Cavaignac,
Denn es wird stets bunter,
Schießet auf das Lumpenpack
Mit Kartätschen drunter;
Schrein sie auch gar sehr nach Brot,
Schießt er sie doch alle todt,
Aecht republikanisch! (poem 386)

The anonymous author of “Das End’ vom Lied” invents a new verb based on Cavaignac’s name to announce the end of the European revolutionary

Radetzky and the Austrian military, with support from the Austrian royal court, secured the unity of Austria's multinational empire. On 3 June 1848, five Italian delegates in the National Assembly requested autonomous status for the predominantly Italian districts Trient and Rovereto, “Welsch-Tirol” (Siemann, Revolution 150). The March ministry in Vienna wanted to accept this division of Tyrol and an independent Lombardy, but Radetzky convinced the emperor to employ the military to regain Austrian control in northern Italy. In the midst of this debate, news arrived that Radetzky had defeated the Piedmontese army in Custozza on 27 July 1848 and had forced Piedmont to accept an armistice (Lutz 294). Radetzky and his troops marched into Milan on 6 August: “Radetzky schlägt auf das Haupt, / Carl Alberts Krieger. / Rückt, eh’ es selbst geglaubt, / In Mailand als Sieger” (poem 455).

Two poems in the collection sympathize with the defeated Italian nationalist movement. The “Kartätschenhymne” condemns Radetzky in no uncertain terms, comparing him to the king of the Huns:

Radetzky Du, Radetzky Du!
Vor Dir ist uns sehr bange!
Denn Du bist für Italia
Ein auferstandener Attila;
Radetzky Du, Radetzky Du!
Vor Dir ist uns sehr bange! (poem 311)

Georg Herwegh, in his poem “Huldigung” (poem 180), states a similar opinion of the Austrian field marshall:

Wehe ruft im Todeskrampf, Wehe das zertret’ne Böhmen;
Ewig wie die Flut der Weichsel wird des Polen Klage strömen;
Eine neue Trauerbotschaft kündet uns der Flammenschein:
Die Barbaren ziehen heute in den Dom von Mailand ein.

The majority of delegates in the National Assembly, however, supported Austria’s victory. Unwilling to make territorial concessions, they ignored the ethnic principal of nationalism (Siemann, Revolution 151). On 12 August 1848 the Frankfurt Assembly rejected the Italian request. That same day, Ferdinand I and his court returned to Vienna from Innsbruck, a clear portent of the counterrevolution.

As we saw in Chapter 1, the performance of Chemnitz’s song “An Schleswig-Holstein” at the first national choir festival in 1845 brought widespread public attention to the Schleswig-Holstein issue. The song had be-
come a popular national anthem for liberal Germans who called for the incorporation of Schleswig into the German Confederation. Tensions between the Danish and German nationalist movements in the two duchies had grown, leading to war in the spring of 1848. By September this conflict caused an irreparable break between Prussia and the Frankfurt National Assembly, accelerating the counterrevolution and in the end thwarting the cause of German unification. Moreover, the war in 1848 did not resolve the Schleswig-Holstein question. The conflict continued to escalate, culminating in another war between German and Danish troops in 1864 (see Chapter 5).

Frederik VII ascended the Danish throne after the death of his father Christian VIII on 20 January. When news of the revolution in Paris reached Copenhagen, the nationalist Eider Danes, supported by the Danish minority in Schleswig, demanded the incorporation of Schleswig into Denmark. Liberal Germans from Schleswig and Holstein met in Rendsburg on 18 March 1848. They demanded a common parliament, freedom of the press and of assembly, and the admittance of Schleswig into the German Confederation. On 21 March 1848 the Danish monarch issued a new constitution that incorporated Schleswig and Holstein into Denmark and he sent troops into the duchies. German nationalists formed a provisional government in Kiel on 24 March 1848, occupied the fortress in Rendsburg, and requested military support from Prussia. The Federal Diet sanctioned this request on 12 April 1848 and declared war against Denmark. Federal and Prussian troops under General von Wrangel defeated the Danes on 23 April 1848 near Schleswig. The German military quickly conquered the entrenchments near Düppel and fought as far north as Jutland. Ironically, the Prussian regiment was the same that had fought against the rebels in Berlin just four weeks earlier (Iwitzki 30). German troops subsequently occupied all of Schleswig except for Als and Aerö (Lange 443).

doch Dein blankes Schwert gesehn / Und schaudert jetzt darob daß er Dich weckte" (poem 126). The *Allgemeine Zeitung* published "Vorwärts" on 1 May 1848, marking how "[...] am Ostertage 1848 die Preußen bei Schleswig die Auferstehung Deutschlands gefeiert haben": "Die Bajonette blitzen, / Die Preußen ziehen ein; / Es funkelt auf tausend Spitzen / Der helle Sonnenschein" (poem 34). The poet expressed German nationalist aims in clear terms: "Was die in Frankfurt wollen, / Dem Dänen ist's nicht klar; / Ihr müßt die Fahnen entrollen, / Dann wird's ihm offenbar."

A few days later a Prussian patriot wrote a poem that also celebrates the victory over the Danes. On 3 May 1848 the *Königlich privilegirte Berlinische Zeitung* published his "Preußisches Volkslied." By transforming the first line of the Polish national anthem to underscore Prussia’s continued dominance within the German Confederation, the author pays tribute to Prussian military prowess: "Noch ist Preußen nicht verloren, / Preußens Kraft ist Deutschlands Heil / Welch’ ein Sieg vor Schleswigs Thoren / Ward den Preußen doch zu Theil" (poem 246). The newspaper included the following comments from the author, a retired lieutenant general: "Die Be­geisterung der Marsaillaise floß aus Meuterei und Opium. Das gute Schwert welches von 1813–15 ‘Mit Gott für König und Vaterland’ geführt, soll noch heute tönend klingen."

The poem, like the others mentioned, ignored the participation of troops from Schleswig-Holstein.

These poets rejoiced too soon. The conflict threatened to become a European war when Britain, Russia, Sweden, and France protested Prussia’s military intervention. On 9 June 1848, the Frankfurt Assembly declared the Schleswig-Holstein conflict to be a national German issue, thus contesting Prussia’s right to negotiate alone with Denmark. But at the end of May, Friedrich Wilhelm IV gave in to international pressure to end the conflict. He distanced himself from the nationalist movement by withdrawing troops from Jutland and northern Schleswig, which fell into Danish hands. The king signed a peace treaty with Denmark at Malmö on 26 August, without consulting the National Assembly. The treaty, which won concessions from Prussia on every point, called for the withdrawal of Prussian troops from Schleswig and Holstein and the dissolution of the provisional government in Kiel.

Several poems in the collection reflect the strong anti-Prussian sentiment shared by much of the German population, in both Schleswig-Holstein and the German territories, after Friedrich Wilhelm IV accepted the Danish armistice. The poem "Chronik von 1848 (Schluß)" offers a relatively neutral response to this incident: "Preußen macht mit Dänemark, / Waffenstillstand schimpflich, / Deutsches Volk, das kühn und stark, / Schilt darob nicht glimpflich" (poem 455). C.F. Freimuth draws on Chemnitz’s poem to observe that pressure from England and France had forced the
war against Denmark to end in a manner disappointing and unacceptable to the German nationalist movement. He asks Börne's spirit:

Kennst Du das "Schleswig-Holstein meerumschlungen?"
Drang es nicht selbst zu Deiner fernen Gruft?
Sein Echo ist gar wunderlich verklungen,
Noch wirbelt es, ein Märchen, in der Luft!
Denn kaum hat Englands Diplomat gesprochen,
Kaum tönt des gall'schen Hahnes erster Schrei,
Da ist das deutsche Schlachtenschwert zerbrochen,
Und mit der deutschen Stärke ist's vorbei! (poem 163)

The poem "Das Schleswig-Holsteinische Freicorps" juxtaposes the Prussian military victories with the humiliating terms of the armistice. The fourth stanza reads: "Sie drangen siegend bis zu dem Belt / Und säuberten rings von Dänen das Feld, / Sie drangen siegend bis Jütland vor, / Sein Heldenleben wohl Mancher verlor" (poem 281). The last stanza, however, projects Prussia's fate upon all of Germany and criticizes Prussia's willingness to appease other European powers at the cost of German nationalism: "O Deutschland! Du bist ein großes Kind, / Dein Vormund England und Rußland sind, / Von Deinen Thürmen da weht Dir bei Gott / Die schwarz-roth-goldene Fahne zum Spott!" (poem 281).

A pro-Prussian publication, the Volksblatt für Stadt und Land, offers a contrasting viewpoint of the armistice. In the poem "Die Königlich Preußischen Truppen," printed on 30 September 1848, the Prussian troops address their king: "O König Friedrich Wilhelm! / Wir schwören Dir auf's Neu, / Wir glauben Deinem Worte, / Wir halten unsre Treu'" (poem 404). An article in the following issue, "Der Waffenstillstand mit Dänemark," expresses the same patriotic loyalty, in part by criticizing the Germans who misinterpret the king's modesty with respect to Prussia's leadership in the German unification movement:

Ein sprechender Beweis dafür ist wieder die alberne Beurtheilung, die der von Preußen abgeschlossene Waffenstillstand von so vielen Leuten und namentlich von dieser traurigen Frankfurter Nationalversammlung hat erfahren müssen. Die Ehre Deutschlands sei durch denselben gefährdet, sagt der Eine und der Andere schreit es ihm gedankenlos nach. Armselige Schwätzer, was wißt ihr von deutscher Ehre! Wenn es euch um die Ehre Deutschlands zu thun wäre, so würdet ihr der übrigen Welt nicht das Schauspiel einer Versammlung von voreiligen und renommistischen Barthelden geben, die sich bei jeder Gelegenheit blamiren. Das Ansehen Deutschlands ist gewiß noch nie in den Augen anderer verständiger Völker
so tief gesunken, als während der letzten vier Monate durch jene Versammlung, welche in Frankfurt Redeübungen hält, großmäulige Beschlüsse faßt, während ihr jede reelle Macht und jede reelle Kenntniss der Dinge und Verhältnisse gänzlich abgeht (1,225).

The editor clearly places the blame for the incident upon the Frankfurt National Assembly. In poem 126, Hebbel views the humiliation suffered by Prussia as a German matter, and he places the blame on Denmark: “Frag' Dich, o Deutschland, welchen Frieden kann / Ein maßlos schnöder Waffenstillstand bringen?” According to Iwitzki, the citizens of Hamburg treated the Prussian troops returning home in a hostile manner, even attacking them (86). The humorous poem “O Hamburg,” published in Mephistopheles in November 1849, complains about the high costs of billeting up to four thousand Prussian soldiers in the city. The author concedes, however, that the soldiers are not responsible for their withdrawal from Schleswig: “Sie waren nach Jütland einst geschickt, / Sich mit den Dänen zu raufen, / Und riefen die Dänen: suave qui peut, / Dann mußten die Preußen laufen” (poem 571).

Resentment against Prussia ran high in the National Assembly. The moderate liberal Dahlmann argued to reject the treaty, which he believed meant the submission of the parliament to foreign powers and the destruction of German unity (Valentin 2: 152). On 5 September 1848, the parliament rejected the armistice by a small margin, a decision the German populace greeted with approval. The vote marked the first victory of the left in the parliament (Valentin 2: 153). Beuren’s poem “Zum fünften September 1848,” written on 10 September 1848 and published in the Ostfriesische Zeitschwingen on 13 September, writes of a “mächt'ger Geist” blowing from St. Paul’s church: “Der Däne knirscht, der Britte schnaubt / Und Russ' und Franke toben; / Doch Deutschland hat mit stolzem Haupt / Sich für sein Recht erhoben” (poem 344). Prince Leiningen’s government resigned but Dahlmann, the new minister president, failed to build a new cabinet. On 16 September, the National Assembly reversed its decision and voted 257 to 236 to accept the armistice.

Democrats lost faith in the discredited Frankfurt parliament, a view shared by several poets. “Das Siebenmonatsgeburt” depicts the armistice as a sign of the parliament’s failure; it did not give birth to a “Messiaskind” or “kriegerisches Heldenkind” but rather to a “Siebenmonatskindchen”: “Mit Händen, welche nicht fürs Schwert / Und für die Freiheit taugen, / Den feigen Waffenstillstand nur / In seinen feigen Augen” (poem 293). “Nicht dringlich!”, published in Mephistopheles on 19 November 1848, offers yet another interesting response. On 18 September 1848 delegates from the extreme left protested the National Assembly’s acceptance of the armistice.
by proposing new elections. The proposal did not receive enough support to be classified as urgent, so the Assembly did not act upon it (Iwitzki 90). This poem sharply criticizes the parliament for its lack of action:

Ist das ein Tabernakel,
Ist das ein Volksggericht,
Ist das ein Volksorakel,
Wo man “Nicht dringlich” spricht?!
Sind das des Volks Propheten?
Heißt das wohl, was man nennt
Des Volkes Recht vertreten?!
Du deutsches Parlament?! (poem 313)

A quotation attributed to Georg Herwegh precedes the poem: “— — Ihr Zwerge! / Ob Ihr auch aus dem Kothe ragt, / Ihr seid drum kleine Berge! / Ich hab’s gewagt!” As we saw in Chapter 3, Herwegh did dare to act but fell short of his goal. This quotation therefore underscores the biting criticism of the National Assembly.

Crowds gathered in many large German cities, denouncing the 257 delegates as traitors. In Frankfurt, thousands began rioting on 17 September, one day after the parliament sanctioned the Malmö treaty. Prussian and Austrian troops arrived from Mainz to ensure the safety of the delegates. Demonstrators constructed barricades and street fighting broke out. Fanatic rebels killed two conservative Prussian delegates, Prince Felix von Lichnowsky and General Hans von Auerswald, raising the specter of revolution: “Doch das Volk in seiner Noth / Fängt jetzt an zu brummen, / Den Lychnewsky schlägt es todt, / Kugeln hört man summen” (poem 386). Both men, who had helped plan the military’s attack on the barricade fighters, had been on a reconnaissance expedition; Lichnowsky had fired his weapon into the crowd (Siemann, Revolution 163). By the time Austrian and Prussian troops suppressed the putsch that evening, eighty people had died. The central government declared a state of siege and dissolved all associations.

News of the Frankfurt incident spurred a revolt in Baden, where the radical democrats still had a basis of support among the petty bourgeoisie and the rural population. Gustav von Struve wrote the following commentary in the Deutscher Zuschauer upon hearing of the Frankfurt revolt: “Triumph! Das Frankfurter Parlament ist entlarvt! Es gibt kein deutsches Parlament mehr–nur noch ein erzürntes Volk, ihm gegenüber eine Handvoll Schurken” (qtd. in Valentin 2: 175). Believing the putsch in Frankfurt had been successful, Struve returned from exile in Switzerland and organized other political refugees, proclaiming a German republic in Lörrach on 21 September (Nipperdey, Deutsche Geschichte 1800–1866 635). The poem
Nationalism and Non-German Nationalities

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“Zeitbilder im Guckkasten” includes a humorous stanza on Struve’s failed attempt: “Da fällt Struve ein in’s Land, / Dringet vor bis Staufen; / Wuthet arg mit Mord und Brand, / Dann kriegt er das Laufen” (poem 386). The regular army squelched the revolt in four days, and Struve was sentenced to five and a half years in prison.

The illustrations for the poem “Maikäferlied” (poem 138), published in the *Fliegende Blätter*, emphasize the contrast between the spring and autumn (winter) attempts to establish a republic. The first illustration shows a young woman wearing a liberty cap, a rifle slung over her shoulder. A smiling beetle is perched on her finger, ready to fly away. The second drawing depicts a sneering Prussian soldier wearing a spiked helmet. Holding a chain fastened to the frowning beetle’s leg, the soldier taunts: “Der Hecker ist gegangen, / Der Struve ist gefangen. / Probier’s einmal und flieg.”

The suppression of non-German nationalist movements during both the spring and summer of 1848 heralded the beginning of the counterrevolution in the German territories. Military strength enabled Prussia and Austria to subordinate independence movements in Poland, Bohemia, northern Italy, and Schleswig-Holstein to German nationalist interests. The poem “Die Nationalität in Gefahr!”, published in the *Leuchtkugeln* in late 1848, addresses the dilemma of liberals: “Wir wollten gerne den schönen Weg / Der deutschen Einheit betreten, / Ging er nur über den Leichnam nicht / Der Nationalitäten!” (poem 301). As we have seen, the numerous poems written about the armistice between Denmark and Prussia offer a particularly wide range of opinions that shaped public debate and thus contributed to the formation of public opinion.

**Counterrevolution in Vienna and Berlin**

In no other capital city of the German Confederation had democratic revolutionaries consolidated their power as they had in Vienna during the summer of 1848. Over twenty thousand skilled laborers employed in public works projects demanded social improvements that clashed with the economic and political interests of the bourgeoisie (Siemann, *Revolution* 165). The workers, with support from the student Academic Legion and the *Demokratischer Klub*, revolted against reduced wages on 23 August 1848 in the Prater. Eighteen workers died and nearly three hundred suffered injuries (Nipperdey, *Deutsche Geschichte 1800–1866* 640).

Political developments in Hungary, where nationalists had secured a parliamentary government and autonomy, contributed to the outbreak of the October revolution in Vienna. After the victories in northern Italy, the Austrian court and government grew increasingly opposed to Hungarian

Soldiers stationed in Vienna mutinied on 6 October 1848, refusing to fight against Hungarians. Together with over 100,000 armed students, bourgeoisie, and workers, they started a second revolution. The rebels quickly gained control of the city and lynched Latour, hanging him from a street lamp: “Die Wiener machten drauf Skandal, / Latour hing am Laternenpfahl” (poem 505). The illustration for this poem, “Neujahrslied für 1849,” shows a night watchman blowing a horn; he is wearing a fool’s cap, a signal to the reader of the poem’s satirical nature. Jul. Bummler’s poem “Komisch, sehr komisch!”, published in the *Mephistopheles* of 29 April 1849, deplores the double standards applied to absolutist rulers and the German people. When Radetzky bombed northern Italy, the potentates invited him to dinner. But the German people received no reward for hanging Latour, a man who embodied the reaction: “Aber als das Volk Latour / Hoch laternisiret, / Ward’s von jener Seite nur / ‘Mörder!’ tituliret!” (poem 556). The poet invented the verb “laternisieren,” which alludes to the fate that befell Latour but also, through alliteration, links this fate to the victim’s name. Poets created additional verbs based on the names of infamous reactionary figures. Readers undoubtedly associated the words “wrangeln” (poem 550) and “windischgrätzen” (poem 568) with the horrendous military deeds of the two generals. *Mephistopheles*, which published both poems, had also printed articles on Wrangel and Windischgrätz, and caricatures of them as well, adding to the likelihood that readers would recognize the irony in these verbs (see also poem 127).

The poem “Chronik von 1848 (Schluß)” recounts the incident in a more factual tone that nevertheless reveals the author’s sympathy with the revolutionaries:

Jetzt erhebt sich wieder Wien,
Für die deutsche Sache,

As Nipperdey has pointed out, the Vienna revolution was no longer national but international, no longer liberal but radical (Deutsche Geschichte 1800-1866 641). To show its support of the revolution, the Frankfurt Assembly sent a delegation led by the revolutionary democrat Robert Blum and Julius Fröbel to Vienna on 17 October 1848. But the radicals proved unable to revolutionize all of Austria from Vienna. Windischgrätz, now commander-in-chief of all Austrian troops, combined forces with Jellacic, attacked Vienna on 26 October 1848, and declared a state of siege. On 31 October Windischgrätz bombarded the city for three hours. Over two thousand people died. The poem "Rath und Trost" warns of the danger facing democrats, "Seitdem in Wien Jellachich's Horden / Und Windischgrätz recht nach Plaisir / Mit Brand gewüthet und mit Morden" (poem 127). Published in the Berlin journal Die ewige Lampe. Ein Oppositions-Blatt, the poem is preceded by an "Amtlicher Theil" stating that this issue appears "am 25. Tage des Belagerungszustandes von Berlin" and "ohne Erlaubniß Sr. Excellenz des Nichtbesiegers der Dänen, Oberbefehlshabers in den Marken und wirklichen Generals der Cavallerie von Wrangel." 66

The city council thanked Windischgrätz for reestablishing order in the city. The general subsequently dissolved all democratic and workers’ organizations and carried out numerous executions. Despite their diplomatic immunity, both Blum and Fröbel were sentenced to death. Fröbel was released, but reactionaries shot Blum on 9 November 1848. 67 An article by Dr. Hermann Schiff, “Drei bleierne Kugeln. Eine Erinnerung an Robert Blum,” published in the Hannoversches Volksblatt of 2 December 1848, provides a stirring, patriotic account of Blum’s murder:

Blum ist kein Märtyrer. [...] Sagt alles in allem: er war ein Mann. Es giebt nicht viele seines Gleichen. Die Kirche braucht Märtyrer, das Vaterland Männer. Der Märtyrer stirbt für den Glauben, der Mann für seine Ueberzeugung; der Märtyrer stirbt für den Himmel, der Mann für die Freiheit! [...] Eine Kugel traf das edle Haupt, zwei Kugeln zerschlugen die deutsche Brust; aber seine
With the murder of Robert Blum, the government in Vienna had brutally signaled its rejection of the Frankfurt National Assembly’s efforts to create a constitutional, unified German state (Lützeler 148). The collection of poems demonstrates that this incident generated numerous poetic responses. These poems contributed to the public dialog on this issue, often appearing in publications that also included articles on Blum’s death. Each poem mourning Blum’s death portrays him in reverent terms, much like the panegyric poetry written upon the death of Friedrich Wilhelm III (see Chapter 2). The similar language in these poems suggests that both the conservative Prussian king and the democratic revolutionary had been revered by their supporters. The poems in the collection that eulogize Blum do not hesitate to criticize or threaten his adversaries in harsh terms.


The next issue of the same publication, from 2 December 1848, includes Freiligrath’s poem “Blum” on the first page. The editor cites the Neue Rheinische Zeitung (a newspaper published in Blum’s hometown, Cologne) as the source for the poem. Moreover, the poem immediately precedes Schiff’s article and thus serves to introduce the topic of Blum’s death. Freiligrath also employs eulogistic language to describe Blum’s climb from his humble beginnings as a worker’s son to a delegate at the Frankfurt National Assembly: “Dort auch, was er allstündlich war, ein Wackrer, kein Verräther!” (poem 212). Freiligrath relates how the entire city of Cologne mourns Blum’s death: “So ehrt die treue Vaterstadt des Tonnenbinders Knaben – / Ihn, den die Schergen der Gewalt zu Wien gemordet haben!”

The poet then calls for revenge, reminding his readers of Blum’s last words: “Denn nichts als Kampf und wieder Kampf entringt sich diesen Tagen! / Ein Requiem ist Rache nicht, ein Requiem nicht Sühne – / Bald aber steht die Rächerin auf schwarzbehangner Bühne!”

The Freikugeln published L. Würdig’s poem “Robert Blum” (poem 183) on 28 November 1848 “auf Beschluß des Deutschen Vereins zu Dessau.”
This Leipzig journal had covered Blum’s murder in two articles published a week earlier. A report from 18 November 1848 expresses the indignation that arose from the shooting:

Robert Blum ist erschossen. [. . .] alles dies läßt keinen Zweifel darüber mehr zu, daß Robert Blum ein Opfer des neustitutionenellen Rechtszustandes geworden ist. [. . .] Was mit Fröbel geschehen wird, daß weiß Gott und der Czar Windischgrätz. [. . .] ich möchte nur wissen, ist die Nationalversammlung in Frankfurt eine Haufe zusammengelaufener Doctoren, Schriftsteller (Weible, wie die Herren Offiziere sagen), die ein jeder General zusammenschießen läßt, wenn sie ihm nicht conveniren, oder ist sie der deutsche Reichstag, dessen Mitglieder auf deutschen Boden einige Achtung genießen sollen? (“Blum’s” 739)

An article published the next day, “Das Blut von Robert Blum verlangt Sühne,” blames the reactionary powers in Vienna for Blum’s death:

Sie haben den deutschen Volksabgeordneten, und Blum war einer der wenigen wirklichen Volksvertreter, gemordet, denn die Cama­rilla will nicht deutsch sein, sie haßt den Volksfreund und das Volk, das sich nun nicht mehr knechten lassen will [. . .]. Das in Wien vergossene Blut des edlen wärnsten Volksfreundes komme über alle Feinde des Volkes und der Freiheit (741).

In his poem, Würdig describes Blum as a “Märtyrer der deutschen Sache,” a freedom fighter: “Für die deutsche Freiheit hat / Er ein glühend Wort gesprochen.” Würdig also believes the shooting brought shame upon all of Germany: “Nah bei Wien, im deutschen Lande, – / Habt ihr es vernommen schon? – / Ward zu Deutschlands Schmach und Schande / Hingewürgt ein deutscher Sohn!” Moreover, the poet warns of revenge in a scathing attack on the Austrian general: “Windischgrätz, entmenschchter Krieger, / Feiger Würger, würge fort! / Aber Deutschlands Freiheitssieger / Rächen blutig diesen Mord.”

Several poems in the collection show that poets responded to the October revolution in Vienna in considerable numbers. As we would expect, the poems published in oppositional journals sympathize with the suppressed revolutionaries. "1844," in the Kladderadatsch of 12 November 1848, recounts how absolutist rulers fell from power in March 1848, only to be restored to their thrones months later: "Wien's Freiheit ist begraben! die Kamarilla siegt! / Wer weiß, wie bald die Freiheit dem Sturme ganz erliegt!" (poem 216). Freiligrath wrote "Wien" on 3 November 1848; the Deutsche constitutionelle Zeitung published it on 12 November 1848, just two days after General Wrangel and his forces had occupied Berlin. Freiligrath supported the Vienna revolution: "Wenn wir noch knieen könnten, wir lägen auf den Knien: / wenn wir noch beten könnten, wir beteten für Wien" (poem 117). He admonishes Germans to follow the example set by the Viennese and to advance the revolution "im eignen Hause," that is, in Prussia: "Den Jellachich zu jagen, wirf deinen Jellachich! / Ein dreister Schlag im Norden ist auch im Süd ein Schlag; / Mach' fallen unser Olmütz, und Olmütz rasselt nach!" The newspaper published Freiligrath's poem at the bottom of the right column on the issue's last page; the center column contains a news item from 9 November on the death of Blum.

Eduard Kauffer's "An das gefallene Wien," in the Fränkische Blätter of November 1848, somewhat naively urges readers not to concede defeat: "Klag' nicht um deiner Söhne Fall, / Klag' nicht um jene, die erschlagen; / Noch hat die Freiheit ihren Wall: / Das Herz, das wir im Leibe tragen" (poem 170). The poet expresses strong patriotic convictions: "Wir bleiben doch voll kühnen Muthes, / Bereit, dem Vaterland zu weih'n / Den letzten Tropfen unsers Blutes" (poem 170). "Wien," published in the Leuchtkugeln, conveys the same message to readers: "Getrost! - Ihr Freien! ihr sollt nicht erbeben, / Ihr aber bebt ihr Herren von dem Orden! / Denn Windischgrätz kann wohl die freien Männer, / Doch kann er nimmermehr die Freiheit morden" (poem 302). The poet wants Vienna's fall to wake up those who can save the Austrian general from crushing freedom: "Hosianna! Windischgrätz ist ein Apostel! / Weckt donnernd alle 'Halben' aus dem Schlummer!" (see also poem 182).

Adolf Czerkas's "Armeelied" (poem 443), printed in the Carinthia of 27 February 1848, praises the reactionary absolutist and military leaders responsible for suppressing the revolutionaries:

Franz Joseph, Oesterreichs Hoffnung! Deine Helden,  
Radetzky unser Vater, Windischgrätz,  
Der edle Fürst, Jelacic und Welden,  
Sie weihen Dir ihr Schwert mit Blut und Herz,  
Dein Ruhm, Franz Joseph, steige himmelwärts!
It comes as no surprise that this patriotic Austrian publication published a poem sympathetic to the reactionary forces in the Habsburg empire. The Italian towns reconquered by the Austrian military, Custozza, Vicenza, and Volta, represent laurel wreaths attained in the name of a unified Austrian Fatherland: "Ein Liebesband / Das Vaterland / Und Fürstenrecht / Mit Kraft umflecht!" A note preceding the poem reveals that the poet himself was an army chaplain: "Gedichtet von Adolf Czerkas, Feldkaplan im k.k. 56. Infanterie-Regimente Baron Fürstenwärther, und in Musik gesetzt von Leopold v. Meyer, k.k. Kammer-Virtuosen."

In contrast, other poets condemned Windischgrätz and his role in squelching the revolutionary movement in the Austrian capital. They often used irony and satire as a vehicle for their intended messages, disguising their criticism in seemingly harmless language. Four poems from the Hamburg journal *Mephistopheles* illustrate this point. The publication's program from 2 April 1848 states:

Ist aber—so wird dennoch Mancher fragen—in dieser ernsten Zeit ein satirisches Blatt nothwendig? — So nothwendig, antworten wir, als einer Armee die Scharfschützen sind. Die Satire ist das Tirailleurfeuer der Tagesliteratur und wie der Schütz nicht ins Blaue hineinschießt, sondern seinen Feind scharf auf's Korn nimmt, wie er stets nur die würdigsten seiner Gegner niederschreckt, so werden auch wir die Ehre der Satire nur denen angedeihen lassen, welche sie verdienen, denn selbst die Lächerlichkeit hat ihre Größen und der Tritschtrasch der winzigen Alltäglichkeit wird stets außer unserm Bereiche bleiben. (n. pag.)

Each of the four poems that satirize Windischgrätz reflects this philosophy.

Readers surely noticed the irony in the title "Kartätschenhymne," a hymn of praise to the case shot Windischgrätz used to besiege Vienna (poem 311). The author indicated that the poem should be sung to the simple melody of the popular German Christmas carol "O Tannenbaum," which provides the structural basis of the poem. Extensive repetition makes it easy for readers to sing and therefore easy to disseminate. Published in *Mephistopheles* on 1 October 1848, the poem summarizes the victories of the reactionaries in Paris, Custozza, and Vienna. The poet foresees Windischgrätz's role in the October revolution, sarcastically telling the general not to expect victory in every military operation:

Herr Windisch-Gräz, Herr Windisch-Gräz!  
Ach, thu' uns Nichts zu Leide!  
Es ist nicht jede Stadt ein Prag,  
Nicht alle Tage jungster Tag;
Herr Windisch-Grätz, Herr Windisch-Grätz!
Ach, thu' uns Nichts zu Leide!

Windischgrätz's victory in Vienna at the end of October added an unintended irony to this poem. "Liebesseufzer an Windischgrätz," another typically ironic title, is hardly a sigh of love. On the contrary, this poem consists of hate-inspired murder fantasies that R.E. Volution (a pseudonym that obviously symbolizes the revolutionary movements of 1848) has about the Austrian general. Published in Mephistopheles in mid-January 1849, the irony of the poem reveals itself in puns, curses cloaked in the language of love: "O könnte ich Dich doch zerdrücken / An meiner liebevollen Brust!
or "Säh ich Dich stets nur vor mir hängen, / Dann war' mein höchster Wunsch erfüllt!" (poem 548).

The poem "Wahrheiten in W-Dur," published in the Mephistopheles of 10 December 1848, alludes to the influence Windischgrätz had upon Wrangel, his Prussian counterpart. Through the humorously exaggerated use of alliteration, the poet exploits a trait shared by Windischgrätz and Wrangel: the "w" at the beginning of their respective names. The poet thus creates strong parallels between the two military officers and their roles in reestablishing the reaction: "Während Windischgrätzens Wuth / Wiener Wühler wahrhaft würget, / Wollte Wrangel Wohlgemuth / Wirklicher Würgengel werden" (poem 315). “Duett der Generäle,” published on 18 February 1849, offers yet another example of such a poem. Wrangel wants to kiss the feet of his idol, the "barbarster der Barbaren" (poem 550). Windischgrätz, flattered by the attention, describes himself as follows:

Bin es, der durch fremde Horden
Deutsche Städ' ließ niederbrennen,
Deutsche Männer ließ ermorden!
Bin es, der jetzt voller Ruhm's
Nah' dem Kaisertron mich setz'-
Bin der Henker Robert Blum's!
Bin der Fürst von Windischgrätz!

In both instances, the poets undoubtedly expected readers to recognize the irony that imbues the texts. The informed reader could not have interpreted the poems literally.

The October counterrevolution in Vienna influenced developments in other German territories, particularly in Prussia. The central power struggle in this territory did not play out in open military conflict, as it had in Vienna, but rather between the crown and the Prussian constituent assembly in Berlin. The delegates approved a drafted constitution, the so-called Charte Waldeck, on 26 July 1848. This liberal document called for
a strong parliamentary system, restricted royal rights, and a civilian militia. But reactionary forces had been regrouping since August 1848, when the Frankfurt National Assembly had failed to get the armies of Prussia, Austria, and the central states to swear allegiance to Archduke Johann (see Chapter 3). Conservative organizations such as the Preußenvereine für das konstitutionelle Königtum, military agitation, and the populace’s fear of a communist revolution also promoted the reaction (Nipperdey, Deutsche Geschichte 1800–1866 651).

A senseless military conflict in the small Silesian garrison town of Schweidnitz on 31 July 1848 demonstrated the increasingly symptomatic behavior of the power-hungry Prussian military (Siemann, Revolution 170). The military commander in Schweidnitz forbade the commander of the local civilian militia to call his men to practice with a drum roll. Militia members decided to heckle the commander at his home, a form of “serenade” (Katzenmusik) common during the revolution of 1848-49.68 Prussian troops appeared and began shooting, killing fourteen civilians, including members of the militia. The Berlin assembly struggled to integrate the military into the democratization process. On 9 August the parliament demanded not only assurance that officers would not exhibit reactionary behavior, but also the resignation of the war minister, Ludwig Roth von Schreckenstein. The king and the government rejected this demand, and the liberal government of Auerswald-Hansemann resigned on 8 September. Friedrich Wilhelm IV planned a coup as a direct result of this incident. His program from 11 September included adjourning the Prussian assembly and issuing a constitution.69

One poem, entitled “Großes Oratorium der neuerstandenen Reaction” (poem 119), published in the Düsseldorfer Monatshefte in 1848, depicts Schweidnitz as a symbol of the newly risen reaction. Weak and hesitant at the beginning of the poem, the reaction quickly becomes a strong monster through the support of conservative ministers, privy councilors, officers, aristocrats, kings, rich philistines, members of the Preußenverein, gendarmes, soldiers, and politicians—all groups interested in suppressing revolutionary tendencies. Each group voices its opinion in solos (arias and recitatives) or choruses, so that the structure of the poem resembles that of an oratorio. The illustrative caricatures underscore both the story told by the poem and the critical, satirical elements apparent in the text. The lithographs depict the reaction as a small cat, hardly visible at the beginning, that grows into a dragon with lobster claws and tail.70

Just before the reaction appears in its final form, a “dumpfer Soldaten­chor” is heard from a distance: “Sind wir Bürger? / Sind wir Würger? / Schweidnitz, Schweidnitz, Schweidnitz!” “Schweidnitz,” the obvious, affirmative answer to the two rhetorical questions, reflects not only the soldiers’
Counterrevolution in Vienna and Berlin

perspective but that of all reactionary parties. The town's name also appears in an illustration inserted between the soldiers' lines. The woodcut shows a crowd of people gathered at night around a signpost that points to Schweidnitz; off in the distance, a shooting star rises above the town. Readers familiar with the *Düsseldorfer Monatshefte*, among the most significant journals with a national audience in the late 1840s, must have recognized the satirical tendency of this poem, summed up by the reaction itself: "Ich will fortan Eu'r Führer sein; / Der Ruf: Es bleibt beim Alten!! / Es soll zum Siege – zum Profit / Uns leiten sicher Schritt vor Schritt."

After Schweidnitz, the counterrevolution in Berlin progressed at a fast pace. The Prussian constituent assembly threatened to abolish aristocratic privileges and to delete the phrase "von Gottes Gnaden" from the king's title. The delegates also passed a law on 13 October that legitimized civilian militias as the sole armed force of the people, a measure aimed to control the informal radical gangs that roamed the city streets (Nipperdey, *Deutsche Geschichte 1800-1866* 649). Sewer workers threatened by layoffs protested on 16 October, taking to the barricades. The civilian militia suppressed the revolt, during which eleven workers died. New demonstrations broke out when the Prussian assembly refused to support the revolution in Vienna (Siemann, *Revolution* 172-73). Friedrich Wilhelm IV ordered Pfeul (minister president since 21 September) to call in the troops to protect the parliament, which met in the Schauspielhaus. Pfeul refused. On 1 November 1848 the Prussian king appointed the reactionary Count von Brandenburg as minister president and Otto von Manteuffel as secretary of state.

The Prussian monarch adjourned the Prussian assembly until 27 November and moved it to Brandenburg, ostensibly to protect it from street fighting. Delegates continued to meet in Berlin, however. The civilian militia neither broke up nor protected the assembly, citing a lack of ammunition and the fact that most officers were reactionary (Iwitzki 100). "Die belagerte Nationalversammlung" points out the ironic contradiction that Berlin's national assembly, which aimed to secure constitutional freedom for the Prussian people, could function only under the protection of the civilian militia: "Sie meinen, es ließe die Freiheit sich, / Das zarte Kindlein gebären / Nur unter dem Schutze von Säbeln allein – / O herrliche Logik – und Speeren" (poem 295).

The king responded by calling in the troops. Wrangel led thirteen thousand soldiers into Berlin on 10 November 1848, declared a state of siege (but allowing the Christmas market to take place), and dissolved the civilian militia the next day. All political organizations were banned, and freedom of the press and of assembly restricted. The citizens of Berlin, much to the surprise of the government, offered only passive resistance...
"Chronik von 1848 (Schluß)" comments upon the lack of violence in Berlin:

Preußen's König denkt: nun
Kannst du's auch riskiren
Und den längst bedachten Streich
Ohn' Gefahr vollführen.
Seine Garden rücken an,
Aber die Berliner,
Wollen nunmehr klüger sein,
Als der Bruder Wiener. (poem 455)

The rump parliament met in Brandenburg on 27 November, but the king disbanded it on 5 December and issued a constitution, a relatively liberal document that established universal suffrage for men and abolished the upper house. "Bei Verleihung der Verfassung," a poem published on 18 December 1848 in the Berlin publication Beobachter an der Spree, praises the constitution: "Mit der Verfassung, die er uns gegeben / Wird Preußens Aar sich wundergleich erheben" (poem 65). The military victory in Berlin, accomplished without bloodshed or civil war, restored absolutist power in Prussia.

These developments generated a storm of poetic responses. "Gebet der belagerten Berlin," a parody of the Lord's Prayer published in the Freie Blätter in December 1848, begins: "Vater Wrangel, der du bist im Schlosse, / Gepriesen ist wie Brandenburg dein Name; / Zu uns kamen deine Kanonen, / Dein Wille geschieht gegen Himmel und Erde" (poem 171). The reference to a palace alludes to Wrangel's strong influence over Friedrich Wilhelm IV, the unity of the monarchy and the military. The sarcastic and ironic elements in each of these poems function as a vehicle for the poets' criticism of the counterrevolution in Berlin. The poem "Rath und Trost" also judges Count Brandenburg unfavorably, warning democrats of the minister president's intentions: "Graf Brandenburg wird euch bekehren, / Und wollt ihr nicht, so mögt ihr bald / Getrost euch nur nach Hause scheeren: / Denn vor dem Recht geht die Gewalt" (poem 127). A poem published in Mephistopheles, "Lied der preußischen Grenadiere beim Einzüge in Berlin," alludes to the influence of the Vienna counterrevolution on political developments in Berlin: "Hoch Wrangel, unserm Jellachich!" (poem 316). Moreover, the poem offers an ironic response to the siege of Berlin: "Zum Schutz der Freiheit kommen wir, / Und nicht um sie zu morden. / Hoch leb' der preußische Grenadier! / Hoch die Croatenhorden!" (poem 316).

The poem "Zeitbilder im Guckkasten" refers to the military strategy employed by Windischgrätz in Vienna: "Und Held Wrangel freut sich sehr,
Drohet gleich den Schlingeln. / Er benutzt die neue Lehr, / Läßt Berlin umzingeln” (poem 386).

The Prussian king’s counterrevolutionary coup in Berlin underscored a new balance of power that existed between the revolutionaries and the monarchy and military. This trend surfaced in other state parliaments as well. New elections reflected revised suffrage requirements and the changing character of the revolution. In the Electorate of Hesse, for example, elections held in late November with limited suffrage reduced the left to a small minority, leaving the right in control. Democrats, however, won a two-to-one advantage over constitutional liberals in Württemberg’s democratic elections in 1849. According to Sheehan, the Bavarian elections in December 1848 produced a Landtag with no clear majority, but with a much different social composition than in Frankfurt, where the educated elite represented Bavaria (German Liberalism 62).

Several poems responded with resignation to the reestablishment of absolutist rule and non-democratic military power: “Wie kurz die Zeit vom März bis zum October! / Und doch wie Vieles hat man schon vergessen!” (poem 80). The last lines of “Die 12 Monate des Jahres 1848” (poem 487), published in the Hannoversches Volkesblatt on 1 January 1849, summarize the last four months of the revolutionary year:

Oktober zieht als Nebelbild mit Wien's Ruin hinab;  
Es fallen der Erinnerung die letzten Blätter ab.  
Husch, husch – geht's im November dann auch mit Berlin zu Grab.  
Und im December stirbt gewiß die deutsche Freiheit ab.

“Rath und Trost,” already mentioned above, also offers an account of the counterrevolution:

O ihr verdammten Demokraten,  
Ihr Tscheche, Anarchistenpack,  
Riecht ihr denn endlich nun den Braten?  
Die Reaktion hat euch im Sack!  
Sie wird euch wrangeln und latouren,  
Vereinbart in dem schwarzen Loch;  
Ein Fürst kann hängen oder huren,  
Von Gottes Gnaden bleibt er doch. (poem 127)

The last verse alludes to the failed attempt of the Berlin parliament to delete the words “von Gottes Gnaden” from the Prussian king’s title. It also underscores the helplessness of the German people in the face of Prussian or Austrian military power. “Deutschland unter einem Hut,” published in the Düsseldorfer Monatshefte in October 1848, offers a sad but comical
account of Michel’s realization that the revolution for Germany had ended:

**Großdeutschland vs. Kleindeutschland**

The Frankfurt National Assembly began debating the federal constitution on 19 October 1848. The discussion focused on the future form of the German empire and head of state. The reestablishment of Prussian and Austrian absolutism and also the power struggle between these two states greatly influenced the debates. A “Reaktions-Duett, vorgetragen von den Herren Grafen v. Ach und Pfarrer Weh mit obligatem Lamento der Ultramontanen,” published in the Leuchtkugeln in the fall of 1848, humorously summarizes the questions facing the Frankfurt delegates:

- Ob Republik, ob Monarchei
- Vom liberalsten Schlage?
- Ob Deutschlands Haupt ein Kaiser sei,
- Ob Präsident? wir sagen’s frei:
- Ist eine tolle Frage. (poem 288)

“Die Deutsche Einigkeit,” which Mephistopheles published in early February 1849, indicates that political relations between Prussia and Austria continued to bear upon proceedings in the National Assembly: “Ob Preußen oder Oesterreich / Der Vorrang jetzt gebühret, / Darüber wird bei uns jetzt gleich / Ein heft’ger Streit geführet” (poem 549). In 1848 and 1849, newspapers and journals published a large number of poetic responses to the debates on German unification and related political developments. As we could expect, the poems contributed diverse viewpoints to the public dialog concerning these topics.

Several poems in the collection address German unification within the context of counterrevolutionary developments in late 1848 and early 1849. In September 1848 August Corrodi wrote: “Doch du, mein Lied, du heil’ger Bardensang, / Durchrausche mächtig Deutschlands Eichenhain, / Und durch Eonen brause fort dein Klang: / ‘Wir wollen einig, einig, einig sein!”’ (poem 292). His poem, entitled “Der Freiheit Lied,” suggests that some Germans had not yet abandoned their hopes for a united nation.
Moreover, Corrodi views German unification as the guarantor of personal freedom. "Deutschlands Sorge," published in the Frankfurter Konversationsblatt on 28 October 1848, also connects unification with freedom. But this poem conveys a sense of resignation with regard to a future German nation. The Fatherland tells Germans that loyalty and good alone will not secure freedom: “Was helfen eine und zweie, / Was euer Mut und Streit, / Was all’ die Lieb und Treue, / Fehlt ja die Einigkeit. –” (poem 153). As we saw with Arndt’s “Des Deutschen Vaterland,” the concept of a German fatherland existed despite the absence of German unification.

Pessimism imbues several poems written while the National Assembly in Frankfurt debated the German constitution. In “Der Traum von Blüthenbaum,” published in the Morgenblatt on 28 October 1848 (and in three other publications included in the collection), Justinus Kerner argues that the revolution was doomed to failure because it had proceeded at too fast a tempo: “Die Glut versengt’ den Blüthenbaum, / Die Frucht kam nie zum Lichte. – / O daß sie Deutschlands schönen Traum / Also gemacht zu nichts!” (poem 322). This argument also surfaces in poems from 1864 and 1870-71 that focus on German unification. Indeed, this contentious issue has played a role in the most recent German unification process. Pessimism also marks Hoffmann von Fallersleben’s “Unsere praktische Seite,” which the Hannoversches Volksblatt published in early December 1848. This poem, however, bemoans the slow tempo of the unification process: “So konstruiert er [der Deutsche] auch den Staat, / Studiert, was Freiheit sei. / Doch eh’ er weiß, was Freiheit ist, / Ist’s selbst mit ihm vorbei” (poem 210). Glassbrenner’s humorous “Ode,” published in the Hanover journal that same month, expresses explicit scepticism towards unification: “An Deutschlands bald’ger lheit, / Da ffe ich noch sehr” (poem 213).

A lyrical text published in the Beobachter an der Spree during the debates, “Preußen voran,” presents a patriotic Prussian solution to the problem of German unification. The refrains, all variations of “Und Preußen ging voran,” underscore the poet’s viewpoint on Prussian-Austrian relations: “Wird wieder Kampf für Deutschland wach, / Spricht Erzherzog Johann, / Dann folgt mein Oestreich willig nach, / Doch Preußen ging voran” (poem 64). The poet advises the Prussians: “Bleib, immer Zollerns Fürsten treu, / Steh’ fest im Sturm, ein Mann, / Dann machst Du Deutschland groß und frei, / Auf, Preußen, geh voran!” Achieving this solution naturally would have required Austria to continue accepting Prussian leadership in political affairs. Political developments soon showed that this poet and the delegates of the Frankfurt National Assembly had grossly misjudged Austria’s willingness to do so. In “Preußenlied,” a poem published in the Essener Volks-Halle on 5 June 1849, another Prussian patriot defines his
fellow Prussians in terms of their stance on German unification: "Der ist ein Preuße, der um Deutschlands Glieder / Geknüpfet will ein enges starkes Band, / Der alle Deutschen heißt seine Brüder, / Und gründen will ein starkes Vaterland" (poem 469).

On 27 October 1848, just four days after "Preußen voran" appeared in the Beobachter an der Spree, an overwhelming majority of delegates in the Frankfurt National Assembly (including most Austrians) voted for the "large Germany" solution advocated in this poem. This meant the division of the Habsburg monarchy into German and non-German regions and the exclusion of the latter from the empire. The second paragraph of the drafted constitution read: "Kein Teil des Deutschen Reiches darf mit nichtdeutschen Ländern zu einem Staat vereinigt sein" (qtd. in Schieder 94). The non-German regions included those areas formerly excluded from the German Confederation, including Galicia, Hungary, Croatia, and Lombardy-Venetia. Austria's ties to these countries were to be restricted to personal unions. The poem "Die siamesischen Zwillinge. (Zu den Berathungen in der Paulskirche am 20 u. ff. Oktober)" (poem 323), published in the Morgenblatt of 10 November 1848, reflects the großdeutsch viewpoint approved by the Frankfurt parliament. The poet depicts Austria and Prussia as inseparable Siamese twins:

Frevel ja wär' es, zu scheiden das Blut, das Beide durchströmet,
Frevel, des Mitgefühls Nerv roh zu zerstören mit Stahl!
Frevel, den Bund und das Band, die beide verknüpfen, zu lösen,
Daß statt des Einheitsgefühls herrschte das Sondergelüst!

The debates and the decision itself proved to be largely rhetorical, for the National Assembly did not consult the Austrian government in Olmütz.

Under Prince Felix Schwarzenberg, who became Austrian minister president on 21 November 1848, Austria grew into a strong adversary. Encouraged by the military victories in Prague, Custozza, Milan, and Vienna, the prince sought to renew a centralized Austrian empire that included Hungary. Ignoring the nationality factor, Schwarzenberg aimed to make a Großösterreich the leading power within a central Europe dominated by Austria and Germany (Schieder 92). The prince's approach to German unification is reflected in the poem "Nicht ohne Oesterreich!" (poem 445), published in the Carinthia of 8 May 1849:

Nur dann allein wird Deutschlands Größe tagen,
Wenn es am alten Kaiserhause hält,
Dann mag es keck die deutschen Banner tragen
Vom heißen Süden bis zum fernen Belt;
Oest'reich, du Land so reich an Ruhm und Ehren,
Es kann kein Spruch dein heilig Recht zerstören.

Schwarzenberg also wanted to hinder the Frankfurt Assembly's ability to decide Austria's future. On 27 November 1848, he rejected not only all restrictions on the Austrian empire but also the “large Germany” solution. He made the following announcement to the Austrian parliament, which had reconvened in the Moravian town of Cremsier: “Österreichs Fortbestand in staatlicher Einheit ist ein deutsches wie europäisches Bedürfnis” (Siemann, Revolution 194). The parliament had been working to establish a constitutional federation that respected both the historical regions and the autonomy of non-German nationalities.

Schwarzenberg, however, and not the Austrian parliament, decided Austria’s future. He received support from the young Franz Joseph, who became emperor on 2 December 1848. The new monarch did not feel obligated to fulfill his predecessor’s promises of a constitution, and he shared Schwarzenberg’s visions of a Großösterreich. A panegyric poem published in Transsilvania on 27 December 1848 recounts Franz Joseph’s first words as emperor: “Ein unerschütterlicher Bau im Sturm, erhebe / Sich mit verjüngter Kraft mein Oestreich neu, / Und brüderlich vereint im weiten Wohnhaus lebe / Sein großer Völkerbund, beglückt und frei” (poem 380).

The großdeutsch leader in the Frankfurt Assembly, Anton von Schmerling, resigned as minister president of the government on 15 December 1848. Heinrich von Gagern succeeded him, a move for which he garnered criticism from the author of “An den Minister von Gagern,” a poem published in the Leuchtkugeln in early 1849. The poet accuses Gagern of abusing the trust of those people who elected him president of the National Assembly: “Wie zähltest du von deinen Höhn / Die Fürsten und die Orden, / Und bist letzt statt Präsident / Gar ein Minister worden!” (poem 504). Gagern suggested a double confederation composed of a smaller Germany without Austria, and a second union of states including the Habsburg monarchy. But Schwarzenberg rejected this plan on 28 December and committed himself instead to an “empire of seventy million” (forty million Austrians, thirty million Germans), a loose confederation of states with a directorate and no real parliament. He finally settled the issue with a coup, dissolving the Austrian parliament on 7 March 1849 and issuing a constitution (dated 4 March 1849) that established the unity of the entire Austrian monarchy. The Marschlied der Vormärzler, discussed above, also alludes to Schwarzenberg’s coup: “Aufgelöst wird jede Kammer, / Octroyirt in jedem Staat” (poem 557). “Mein Kaiser,” published in the Leuchtkugeln, holds Franz Joseph responsible for Schwarzenberg’s actions: “Drittens kann er oc-
troyiren, / Daß das Herz im Leibe lacht; / Gott der Herr thut ihm dictiren, 
/ Wie ein Volk man glücklich macht” (poem 522).

Schwarzenberg’s politics thus forced the Frankfurt parliament to accept the “small Germany” solution by default. The majority of poems responding to this issue criticize this outcome. “Kleindeutschland,” published by the Fliegende Blätter in late 1848, characterizes this Germany as a newborn child. No one knows if the stork brought it, or if perhaps it came from the moon or a German newspaper (the latter being an allusion to the role of the press in shaping public opinion on this issue). An illustration shows a grim nanny cutting the baby’s limbs so that it fits in the cradle:

Dann schritt man zu der Taufe vor;
Wie soll das Kindlein heißen?
Soll dieß das ganze Deutschland sein?
O nein! Es ist nur Preußen!
Was kümmert uns, daß trauernd steht
Germania, die Dame?
Die Wiege gibt dem Kind das Maß:
Kleindeutschland sei sein Name! (poem 139)


Two poems in the collection convey a more positive attitude towards the shattered dreams of a Großdeutschland. “Klein-Deutschland, Klein-Roland,” published in the Frankfurter Konversationsblatt of 24 March 1849, urges Germans to forget the ridicule that has been directed at a Kleindeutschland: “Drum jetzt auch allgemäßlich mit dem Spotte sichs wol macht! / Klein-Deutschland, schon nicht schwächlich, wächs’t zu Groß-Deutschland sacht! / Und weil’s ein fester Markstein für Recht und Volksfreiheit, / Wird’s ohnemaßen stark sein – eine Säul’ in aller Ewigkeit!” (poem 481). The Hannoversches Volksblatt published Theodor Körner’s “Was uns bleibt” on 19 May 1849. Taken from Leyer und Schwert, a collection of political poems written during the wars against Napoleon in 1813, the poem draws on emotional, patriotic language typical of Körner’s poetry: “Wenn auch jetzt in den bewzung’nen Hallen / Tyrannie der Freiheit Tem-
pel bricht: – / Deutsches Volk, du konntest fallen, / Aber sinken kannst du nicht!” (poem 494). The poem recalls the Freiheitslyrik tradition and Germany’s triumph against the French enemy. The publisher likely expected readers to recognize Körner’s name, if not the poem itself, and to draw parallels to the current political situation. The poem aimed to boost the spirits of those readers who could place the poem in its historical context.

Liberals in Frankfurt subsequently turned to Prussia, a “fickle ally,” to fulfill their program (Sheehan, German Liberalism 75). Debates about a head of state began on 12 December 1848. The Frankfurt Assembly increasingly focused on Friedrich Wilhelm IV as the future emperor of Germany, although the Prussian king’s attitude towards the position was not at all clear. The Frankfurter Konversationsblatt published “An den König von Preußen” on 8 February 1849. Written by Ludwig Giesebrecht, this poem admonishes Friedrich Wilhelm to recall his mother Luise, who bore her son before Germany had handed itself over to a foreign emperor: “Und im neuen deutschen Reiche / Sinnst du, schweigst, Luisens Sohn?” (poem 478).

One poet considered the Prussian king to be the best option available to the National Assembly. “Aufforderung zum Tanze,” published in the Volksblatt on 15 November 1848, urges the king to take control of the political situation in the German territories: “Hab’ ich doch der Freiheitsposse / Und der Einheit bald zu viel! / Preußens König, steig’ zu Rosse, / Nimm das Zepter, sprich, befiehl!” (poem 408). Moritz Hartmann, whose poem “Kaiserlied” was published in the Hannoversches Volksblatt at this time, unambiguously states what an emperor should not be: hereditary, mortal, presidential, berserk, and Bavarian. The most important trait an emperor should possess is terminability: “Das soll er sein, das soll er sein! / Ein Kaiser auf Kündigung soll er sein!” (poem 493).

On 28 March 1849, delegates elected Friedrich Wilhelm IV German emperor. The parliament president Eduard Simson and thirty-two delegates offered him the crown on 3 April 1849. The king rejected the “imaginären Reif, aus Dreck und Letten gebacken,” with its “Ludergeruch der Revolution” (qtd. in Siemann, Revolution 201). He believed the crown rested on divine legitimacy alone. C. Merck criticizes the king’s decision in “Frühlingszustände. 1849,” a poem that appeared in the Frankfurter Konversationsblatt of 9 May 1849:

Es krächzen um den dürren Baum
Hoch oben noch die Raben,
Den Kaiser will kein schöner Traum
Von Deutschlands künft’ger Größe laben.
Es herrscht ein kleinliches Geschlecht
Auf seiner Völker heil’gen Thronen,
Es klammert am verjährten Recht
Der alten Königskronen. (poem 483)

Thirty-one governments (excluding Austria, Bavaria, and Hanover) nevertheless approved the new constitution on 14 April or shortly thereafter. Friedrich Wilhelm IV officially rejected the crown and the constitution on 28 April 1849.

The downfall of the Frankfurt National Assembly came quickly. Delegates from Austria, Prussia, Saxony, Hanover, and Baden left the parliament. About one hundred delegates convened a rump parliament in Stuttgart on 30 May to avoid Prussian and Austrian troops in Frankfurt and Mainz. The military suppressed all attempts at armed revolution in Württemberg, Saxony, Prussia, Bavaria, and Baden from April to June 1849. When twenty thousand people gathered in Reutling (near Stuttgart) on 6 June 1849 to declare war against Prussia, Württemberg’s troops declared a stage of siege. On 18 June 1849 Friedrich Römer, who had been elected minister of Württemberg in March 1848, forcefully disbanded the National Assembly. Uhland led the delegates in protest, but soldiers turned them away at the door of the meeting hall. Thus ended the Frankfurt National Assembly.

Just days after the Frankfurt parliament was disbanded, the Leipziger Charivari published the “Klagelied eines an die Luft gesetzten Deputierten,” a satirical account of a delegate who has lost his job in the parliament. One stanza in the poem seems to allude to the dissolution of the Berlin parliament on 26 April 1849: “Manteuffel, Brandenburg, Ihr müßt Euch schämen, / Verfolgt Ihr bis zur Neuwahl Euren Sieg; / Wollt Ihr das letzte Stückchen Brod mir nehmen, / So führt Ihr selbst herbei den Bürgerkrieg” (poem 450). The parallels between the two historical situations are evident. This poem illustrates that history was repeating itself in many ways during the counterrevolution of 1848-49. Moreover, it indicates that poems also could acquire additional relevance when published within a new political context.

For many poets, the end of the Frankfurt National Assembly signaled the end of the revolution. They responded to this political development in great number. “So ist es! (Berlin bei Tag),” a poem published in Der Anecdotenjäger in August 1849, satirically recounts the end of the revolution: “So ist es doch gelungen – / Es ist ein wahres Glück – / Die Anarchie bezwungen, / Die Ruhe kehrt zurück” (poem 426). Poets depicted Michel sleeping once again. In a second poem published in Der Anecdotenjäger, “Michel’s Schlummer-Lied,” peace has returned, but the presence of absolutist military power looms over the slumbering Michel: “Leg’ Dich, Herzmichel, nur wieder zur Ruh’, / Schließe die große Guckäuglein
zu! / Alles ist ruhig und still wie ein Grab, / Schutzmänner wehren die Fliegen Dir ab” (poem 430). “Ein gemütliches Lied,” another satirical account of the reaction, argues that Michel was not yet of age, not yet ready for revolutionary change: “Drum, Michel, leg’ Dich nur zur Ruh, / Und mach’ die blauen Augen zu” (poem 441). Alex. Wilhelmi’s poem “Was ist das deutsche Vaterland?”, published in the Essener Volks-Halle on 26 June 1849, includes the following lines:

Was ist des Deutschen Vaterland?
Ist’s noch das einig-große Land,
Das Land, das man so sehr besingt,
So weit die deutsche Zunge klingt?
O nein, nein, nein!
Ach, seine Einheit war nur Schein! (poem 471)

Wilhelmi’s use of Arndt’s song underscores the irony that the revolution had not provided an answer to the question, “Was ist des Deutschen Vaterland?”

The revolution of 1848–49 to a large degree failed to achieve its goals. The historical scholarship discusses the reasons for this failure, as well as the achievements of the revolution. Significant for this study is the fact that, during the counterrevolution of 1848–49, the German periodic press and the political poetry it published expanded the national political arena. The political events associated with the reaction generated a large number of poetic responses that offer a wide range of opinions about non-German nationalities, the October revolution in Vienna, the November revolution in Berlin, and the efforts of delegates in the Frankfurt National Assembly to find a workable solution for the problem of German unification.

Journals and newspapers usually published these poems in a timely manner so that the texts would have a high degree of relevance and effectiveness. In 1848 and 1849 editors often printed earlier poems that still bore upon current issues, thereby granting these lyrical texts new relevance while at the same time extending their longevity. In other cases, poems served to introduce a topic treated in an article elsewhere in the issue, or in a different issue, which also helped the poems become part of the public debate on political topics. Moreover, many poets used irony, creating new verbs to underscore and criticize the reactionary deeds of military commanders such as Wrangel and Windischgrätz or conservative politicians such as Latour. The publications from 1848–49 included in this study also demonstrate an increased use of illustrations to intensify a poem’s message.

The Schleswig-Holstein crisis was not resolved with Prussia’s acceptance of the treaty of Malmö in August 1848. The war against Denmark in
1864 would continue to generate political poetry, despite drastic changes in the political climate starting in 1849.
CHAPTER FIVE

The Schleswig-Holstein Conflict.

"Was die deutsche Leier sang, nun das deutsche Schwert errang!"

The question of whether Schleswig belonged to Denmark or Germany generated intense nationalist sentiment among Danes and Germans throughout the 1850s and early 1860s, leading to the German war against Denmark in 1864. As mentioned in the first chapter, one song had served the German Schleswig-Holstein movement as a national anthem. Written by Matthäus Friedrich Chemnitz in 1844, "An Schleswig-Holstein" rallied support for the duchies throughout the German territories. Many poems in the collection attest to the continued importance of the song twenty years later. Indeed, "An Schleswig-Holstein" contributed significantly to the building of national political consciousness in the German territories.

The Schleswig-Holstein Conflict

The reactionary forces in control of German and Austrian politics since the revolutions of 1848-49 began to weaken in the late 1850s. Prussia had renewed the German Customs Union in 1853, creating a basis for considerable economic expansion by the end of the decade. As regent of Prussia, the "Kartätschenprinz" Wilhelm formed a moderately liberal government on 8 November 1858. He cautiously relaxed reactionary policies, ushering in a period referred to as the New Era (Schieder 128). Support for a kleindeutsch nation under Prussian auspices grew, particularly in view of developments in Austria. Excluded from the Customs Union and in effect relegated to the status of foreign trader, Austria had also suffered political setbacks. Its involvement in the Crimean War (1853–56) had proven unsuccessful, and in 1859 the Italian nationalist movement under the Piedmontese statesman Camillo Cavour forced Austria to hand over Lombardy.

Liberal oppositional activism reemerged in the German territories in the winter of 1859. The number of choir, shooting, and gymnastics
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associations and festivals exploded. These public events increasingly included anti-Danish speeches and declarations of sympathy for the German Schleswig-Holsteiner (Carr, Schleswig-Holstein 307). Celebrations of the one-hundredth birthday of Schiller took place in nearly every town. Usually organized by male choirs and shooting clubs, these events included parades and performances of Schiller’s dramas. Statues were erected throughout the territories, not only of Schiller but of Germania, the allegorical figure that since the Rhine crisis of 1840 had become a poetic symbol of German unification with a clear anti-French tendency (Schulze, Weg 104). Reproductions of Lorenz Clasen’s painting, Germania auf der Wacht am Rhein, appeared frequently at such festivals. Moreover, political parties began to organize formally. The Deutscher Nationalverein, founded in September 1859 by northern Germans, constituted the first political group to transcend state boundaries and fuse liberals and democrats into one national party. Liberal nationalism grew into a broad popular movement, a development supported by articles and poems in the press.

More important than the Schiller celebrations, however, was the Schleswig-Holstein question. The duchies, legally inseparable, were dynastically bound to Denmark (Sheehan, German History 890). Germans constituted the majority of the population in Holstein, however, which belonged to the German Confederation. The London Protocols, a series of treaties signed after the war against Denmark in 1848-50, had increased tensions between German and Danish nationalists. The Treaty of London, signed by the five Great Powers, Denmark, and Sweden on 8 May 1852, guaranteed Danish sovereignty provided Denmark did not annex Schleswig or change the constitutional status of the duchies without consulting their estates. Moreover, the treaty declared that Prince Christian of Glücksburg would inherit the Danish throne upon the death of King Frederik VII, who had no heirs. 78

As Sheehan observes, the situation in the duchies during the late 1850s and the early 1860s remained unstable due to “national antipathies and state ambitions” (German History 890). Liberal nationalists in the German territories as well as in Denmark (the Eider Danes) sought to protect their interests. King Frederik VII imposed separate constitutions on Schleswig and Holstein in 1854 and then approved a common constitution for the Danish monarchy and both duchies in October 1855. German nationalists vehemently protested this breach of the Treaty of London, demanding the independence of Schleswig and Holstein under the Duke of Augustenborg—in disregard of the Danish population in Schleswig. The situation in the duchies became a crisis when the Danish parliament approved yet another constitution on 13 November 1863, without consulting their estates. This document, which implemented the Eider Dane program, annexed Schleswig
to Denmark and severed all ties to Holstein, thus abolishing the special status of Schleswig and dissolving the legal and historical ties between the two duchies.79

The death of King Frederik VII on 15 November 1863, before he could sign the new constitution, intensified the conflict. An article written in late November 1863, "Die dänische Erbfolgefrage," commented on the political consequences of the king’s death:

Die bezeichnete große politische Frage ist, nachdem sie seit 17 Jahren das Herz des Patrioten und die Feder des Diplomaten zu wiederholtenmalen in lebhafter Bewegung gesetzt, nunmehr durch einen plötzlich über Europa hereingebrochenen Todesfall in ein Stadium gerückt worden, in welchem sie ihrer thatsächlichen Erledigung gewaltig und unaufhaltsam zudrückt. (49)

Prince Christian of Glücksburg, the “protocol prince,” ascended the Danish throne as Christian IX in accordance with the Treaty of London. However, the German Prince Friedrich von Augustenburg (the son of the Duke of Augustenburg) challenged Christian’s right to rule the duchies; he declared himself Friedrich VIII, duke of Schleswig-Holstein, and set up court in Kiel (Lutz 448). Most German states supported Augustenburg; liberal Germans argued that nationality took priority over the Treaty of London and demanded recognition of the duke, the separation of the duchies from Denmark, and their inclusion in the German Confederation (Sheehan, German History 890). In December 1863 the Federal Diet enacted sanctions against Denmark for violating the treaty of 1852; federal troops marched into Holstein, occupying most of the duchy south of the Eider River.80

Otto von Bismarck, who had become minister president of Prussia on 24 September 1862, largely determined the outcome of the conflict. His conservative approach to the matter focused on upholding treaty obligations as expected by the European powers. Acting contrary to public sentiment, he recognized the right of Christian IX to rule the duchies. Austria, hoping to maintain the existing European order, joined forces with Prussia. Bypassing the Federal Diet, the two states issued Denmark an ultimatum on 16 January 1864 that demanded the repeal of the November 1863 constitution (Schieder 154). Denmark refused to comply. Bismarck sent troops to Holstein, which German liberals denounced as treason to the nationalist cause. Wrangel, commander of all federal troops in the duchies, led fifty-seven thousand Austrian and Prussian soldiers into Holstein on 20 January 1864, crossing the Eider into Schleswig on 1 February 1864. Instead of surrounding Danish forces at the Dannevirke,81 a line of medieval fortifications in southern Schleswig, Wrangel stormed the fortifications at Düppel on 18 April 1864, the major operation of the war (Carr, Origins 85). The
Prussians sustained heavy losses but forced the Danes to capitulate and an armistice went into effect.

England initiated the London Conference on 25 April 1864, an attempt to prevent Prussia and Austria from settling the Schleswig-Holstein issue on their own. Participants suggested several different solutions to the crisis. Austria wanted to divide Schleswig based on nationalities, whereas Bismarck sought only to eliminate the London Protocols as the political and legal basis for the Schleswig-Holstein issue, thus freeing Prussia and Austria from the international restrictions they had entered the war to uphold. The conference ended on 25 June 1864 with no agreement having been reached, and the war resumed one day later.

Austro-Prussian forces occupied Jutland and Als, defeating Danish troops on 12 July 1864. The Eider Dane government resigned, a new armistice began on 20 July, and a peace conference in Vienna opened on 25 July. In the preliminary peace treaty of 1 August 1864, Denmark renounced all claims to Schleswig, Holstein, and also Lauenburg in favor of the emperor of Austria and the king of Prussia, and agreed to accept future decisions of both rulers concerning the duchies. Signed on 30 October 1864, the final Treaty of Vienna required King Christian IX of Denmark to sever all ties to the duchies. But the hopes of liberals for a new state with its own elected parliament, ruled by the Duke of Augustenburg, were not realized. The duchies joined the German Confederation under the joint sovereignty of Prussia and Austria. The Gastein Agreement of 1865 gave Austria responsibility for Holstein; Prussia would administer Schleswig. Prussia also purchased the right to govern Lauenburg. The agreement outraged many Germans as a betrayal of traditional law and of the duchies' political right to self-determination (Siemann, Staatenbund 416).

Bismarck viewed the treaty as a temporary solution. Austria did not want to maintain a duchy so far away, and Prussia could protect Schleswig only by marching through Holstein. Rechberg resigned in the fall of 1864 (Lutz 450; see poems 740, 775). His conservative Austrian successor, Count Mensdorff-Pouilly, formally recognized Augustenburg rule in Schleswig-Holstein and supported incorporating the duchies into the German Confederation, indicating a possible willingness to support the German nationalist movement (Lutz 450). Denmark, reduced in size by two-fifths, was unable to use the national right of self-determination or secure even a protective clause for the Danish population in the duchies. Bismarck and the war had made the Schleswig-Holstein question a question of German politics. The treaty did not clarify the status of the duchies for the German territories, however, and the issue dominated relations between the two major German powers until the war of 1866 (Schieder 157).
The outcome of the war, which would be called the first war of German unification, had far-reaching influence on the German nationalist movement. Many liberals began to support Bismarck's Realpolitik, even demanding the annexation of the duchies to Prussia (Schieder 157). In the fall of 1867, the Deutscher Nationalverein disbanded. Most members joined the National Liberal Party, Bismarck's most important parliamentary followers in the 1860s (Schulze, Weg 118). "Das Lied von der preußischen Spitze," published in the Frankfurter Latern on 19 November 1864, addresses this significant shift in the political arena. The poem describes a meeting of Nationalverein members: "Ein Häuflein hat sich zusammengethan, / Wohl Leute 'von der Spritze', / Die fangen ganz leise zu brummen an / Das Lied von der preußischen Spitze!" (poem 700).

Political poetry played a central role in the public events resulting from the renewed nationalism generated by the Schleswig-Holstein conflict. A wave of Schleswig-Holstein poems inundated the German territories in 1864, attesting to the widespread sympathy for, or at least interest in, the German nationalist movement in the duchies. These poems even served to raise money for financing nationalist efforts in the duchies. Several collections of Schleswig-Holstein poems appeared in bookstores in 1864 with designations and notations such as "Reinertrag für Schleswig-Holstein," "Der Rein-Ertrag zum Besten Schleswig-Holsteins," and "Der Ertrag ist für die Schleswig-Holsteinische Kriegskasse bestimmt." The press also published a vast number of poems that addressed the Schleswig-Holstein conflict, as evidenced by the 235 poems in the collection from this year.

Robert Prutz, editor of the journal Deutsches Museum, commented on the literary phenomenon of political Schleswig-Holstein poems in the article "Für Schleswig-Holstein" from 18 February 1864:

Die Diplomatie ist nun einmal die herrschende Macht unserer Tage, selbst die Schärfe der Schwerter und die Spitzen der Bajonnete müssen sich vor ihr beugen [. . .]. Nun wollen wir keineswegs behaupten, daß die moderne Diplomatie etwas schlechthin Unästhetisches, der poetischen Behandlung Widerstrebendes sei, im Gegenteil, für den politischen Dichter sowie überhaupt für diejenigen, der sich begnügt die Dinge zu schildern, wie sie sind, dürfte es kaum ein ergiebigeres Feld geben als das Feld der modernen Staatskunst mit seinen Maulwurfsgängen und Dachsbauten, seinen natürlichen und künstlichen Hindernissen, seinen freiwilligen und unfreiwilligen Täuschungen. Allein dies ist nicht der Ton, den unsere politischen Dichter anzuschlagen pflegen, vielmehr, wie man weiß, setzt in unserer politischen Dichtung sich hauptsächlich jener Idealismus
The poems in the collection substantiate Prutz’s opinion, although they do not all reflect the “Idealismus” and “transcendentes Pathos” he mentions. Poets drew on various poetic devices to convey their viewpoints and commentary. There is no shortage of transcendent patriotism in these poems, but many impart their messages with humor, satire, and sarcasm. Moreover, for the first time in this collection, several poems address the human costs of war with pointed realism and criticism.

The Schleswig-Holstein Song

Matthäus Friedrich Chemnitz’s song “An Schleswig-Holstein,” printed as sheet music in July 1844 and reprinted on 11 March 1864 in a supplement to the *Neue Preußische Zeitung*, stirred patriotic, nationalist emotions among Germans whenever and wherever it was sung. By 1864 it had become a national anthem for the Schleswig-Holstein cause, much as Arndt’s “Des Deutschen Vaterland” and Becker’s “Der deutsche Rhein” had generated enthusiasm for the wars against Napoleon and the Rhine crisis. From the 1840s through the 1860s, “An Schleswig-Holstein” came to symbolize the hope for a unified German nation. According to Schwab, it was among the most frequently performed songs of the nineteenth century, each performance contributing to public awareness of the conflict (19). “An Schleswig-Holstein” outlived the political crises of the last century. Indeed, its significance as a political poem has extended into this century. It serves as the official state song for Schleswig-Holstein (the first, second, and seventh verses are usually sung).

In 1842 a choir in Schleswig requested Karl Strass, a judicial officer in Berlin, to write a song for a local choral festival to be held that year. Strass complied, and Carl Gottlieb Bellmann, the choir’s cantor and music director, wrote an arrangement for his poem, “An Schleswig, Holstein.” Shortly before a regional choir festival was scheduled to take place in Schleswig on 24 July 1844, the choir decided that the song no longer adequately reflected its nationalist convictions. Matthäus Friedrich Chemnitz, a lawyer and journalist, rewrote the poem. He drew on Strass’s motifs and retained the meter so that Bellmann’s arrangement could still be used. Just hours before the concert, organizers printed and distributed leaflets with the song printed on both sides to familiarize the audience with
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The new text. The sheet also instructed the audience to join in singing the refrains (Vaagt 98).

The song's premiere constituted the highpoint of the festival. During dinner, participants toasted Schleswig-Holstein and the German fatherland, often quoting the Treaty of Ripen (1460), which declared the duchies "up ewig ungedeelt." Under Bellmann's direction, five hundred singers from twenty-seven choirs performed "An Schleswig-Holstein" at the conclusion of the program (Hoffmann 51; Vaagt 105). The music director wrote a letter to Strass on 3 August 1844:

[. . .] als die Schleswiger Liedertafel beim Festmahle nach dem Toaste auf das einige Schleswig-Holstein das fragliche Lied in der volksmäßig von Bellmann gesetzten Weise sang, nicht bloß die sämtlichen übrigen Sänger im Chore einfielen, sondern Tausende von Teilnehmern in großartiger Begeisterung gegen die Zumutungen der Widersacher des Landes protestierten und die ganze weite Festhalle am Ende von einem stürmischen endlosen Hurrah! für das geliebte, so bewegte und angegriffene Vaterland widerhallte. (qtd. in Hattenhauer 50)

The song's popularity snowballed after a choir from Schleswig performed it during the first national choir festival in Würzburg, which took place from 4-6 August 1845 (see page 24). As Hattenhauer has written, the first state anthem with a promising future had been accepted by a broad section of the German population, thus becoming a folk song (50-51).

The original sheet music edition of Chemnitz's song, published by M. Bruhn in 1844, consists of two pages. The illustration on the title page offers a moving allegory of the poem. It depicts two sturdy oak trees joined at the base, the "Doppel-Eiche unter einer Krone Dach" mentioned in the final stanza of Chemnitz's poem. These oak trees symbolize the unity of Schleswig and Holstein and their ties to Germans and the German Confederation. The title, "Wanke nicht, mein Vaterland! An Schleswig-Holstein" is positioned so that the name of each duchy lies directly above one of the trees. The oak trees also represent the people of Schleswig-Holstein who, while standing next to a warmly glowing campfire, keep vigilant watch over the northernmost bastion of German values and traditions, the "deutscher Sitte hohe Wacht." Moreover, the two oak trees are on a small peninsula that closely resembles a map of Schleswig-Holstein; jutting out into the sea, it allegorically refers to the first line of the poem, "Schleswig-Holstein, meerumschlagen." The drawing depicts a clear, starry night, and the fire serves as a beacon for a small barque seeking a safe haven: "Zage nimmer, — und dein Nachen / Wird trotz Sturm den Hafen schau'n!" The night scene indicates that Schleswig-Holstein is still waiting for a more peace-
ful future: “Wahre treu, was schwer errungen, / bis ein schöner Morgen tagt!”

The text printed below the illustration refers to the public role played by the poem at the Schleswig choral festival:


A different title precedes the score on the second page: “Lied an Schleswig-Holstein.” To be sung “mit Kraft u. Feuer,” the text includes seven verses, each ending with the chorus “Schleswig-Holstein, stammverwandt, wanke nicht, mein Vaterland!”

The beginning of Bellmann’s melody borrows elements from the French Marseillaise. Because Bellmann’s arrangement called for two tenors and two basses, however, most performances of the song had a hymnal character more closely resembling “God Save the King” (Schwab 20). The catchy melody arises in part from the short notes at the beginning of each verse. Moreover, the simple melody and the extensive repetition, both typical elements of folk songs, made the text easy to sing and propagate.

Whereas Strass did not use the word “Vaterland,” Chemnitz included it in every verse. As Vaagt suggests, this most likely reflects the influence of the Freiheitslyrik from 1812–13, in particular Arndt’s “Des Deutschen Vaterland” (98). In the fifth and sixth verses, Chemnitz delineated the geographical borders of the two duchies, which stretch north from the Kattegat and the Little Belt to the Kongeä River (German: Königsau) and south along Holstein’s western North Sea coastline to the Elbe River. This recalls not only Arndt’s song, with its catalog of German territories, but Hoffmann von Fallersleben’s “Lied der Deutschen” as well, which also describes the German borders in terms of bodies of water: “Von der Maas bis an die Memel, / Von der Etsch bis an den Belt” (“Lied” 1).

Chemnitz appeals to Germans to protect and preserve the unity and special status that the two duchies had enjoyed since 1460: “wanke nicht,” “bleibe treu,” “stehe fest,” and “harre aus.” The poem does not contain the aggressively chauvinistic elements typical of many nationalistic Vormärz poems. The poet mentions the “enemy” directly only once, in the final stanza: “Stehe fest und nimmer weiche / Wie der Feind auch dräuen mag!” Chemnitz uses religious elements and nature metaphors to predict an optimistic outcome to the political conflict facing Schleswig-Holstein: “Wahre treu,
was schwer errungen, / bis ein schön’rer Morgen tagt!” A mild southerly will revive the fair blossoms God has protected from the northerly, that is, from Denmark, and with God’s help even the weak will reach the peaceful harbor after the storm. German nationalists reading, listening to, and singing this song in 1844, and indeed well into the 1860s, undoubtedly recognized Chemnitz’s allusions to Danish nationalist objectives, the annexation of Schleswig to Denmark and the severance of all ties with Holstein.

The significance of Chemnitz’s song extended well beyond 1864. The city of Schleswig dedicated a statute to the poet on 26 July 1896, which stands on the very spot where the Schleswig-Holstein choir first performed the song in 1844. Apollo, the Greek and Roman god of music and poetry, is holding a lyre in his left hand and a sword in his right. The base of the statue includes reliefs of Chemnitz and Bellmann and the text “Schleswig-Holstein meerumschlungen / Deutscher Sitte hohe Wacht” (Hoffmann 53). Celebrations for the 50th, 100th, and 150th anniversaries of the song took place in Schleswig-Holstein. A scholarly symposium in 1994, “Schleswig-Holsteins Lied und Farben im Wandel der Zeiten,” marked the latest anniversary.

Small discrepancies exist concerning the genesis of Chemnitz’s poem. Jost Hermand’s Reclam volume on the Vormärz contains a version considerably different from the original sheet music edition of 1844 (134-35). Hermand notes that Chemnitz transformed a text from Strass entitled “Schleswig-Holstein, schöne Lande” and cites the second volume of Ditfurth’s anthology, Historische Volkslieder der Zeit von 1756 bis 1871, as the source (Vormärz 419). Ditfurth presents two versions of the text in his anthology, the 1844 version and also the text in Hermand’s book. Ditfurth claims that both versions of the song are from 1846 (60-61). No doubt exists that the original sheet music version is from 1844. The Reclam version could be a revised form of the text from 1846, however. On 8 July of that year, the Danish king Christian VIII issued the infamous “open letter” in which he rejected Prince Christian of Glücksburg’s claim to Schleswig and Holstein. The version of Chemnitz’s poem found in Hermand’s book reflects the intense anti-Danish nationalist sentiment present in the German territories at that time. This poem includes several quotations and metaphors from the original text, but it has a more aggressive and defensive tone. It admonishes “Deutschlands Söhne” to heed the rallying cry “Einheit, Treue, Vaterland” and to protect the northern duchies: “Ob der Sturm gewaltig tose, / Deutsche Männer, wanket nicht! / Ob der Feind auch trügend kose, / Fort mit dem, was er verspricht!” The references to the enemy are explicit in the final stanza, a transformation of the first line of Nikolaus Becker’s famous poem:
Nein der Däne soll’s nicht haben
Und der Russ’ soll nicht herein!
Unser Warte Wall und Graben
Werden unsre Leiber sein;
Ewig bleib beim Vaterland
Schleswig-Holstein, stammverwandt!

The poem makes a further allusion to the Rhine crisis, warning Germans to recall how the French had made them fight against other Germans: “Noch ist Elsaß von uns los, / Nie soll ab vom Vaterland / Schleswig-Holstein, stammverwandt!” (Hermand, *Vormärz* 135).

Chemnitz also revised his poem in January 1864, the month in which Prussia and Austria declared war on Denmark. This dated version, included in Klaus Groth’s anthology *Lieder aus und für Schleswig-Holstein*, carries the title “Das neue Schleswig-Holstein.” Chemnitz’s new text refers to the war of 1848–50: “Und wie deine Söhne starben / Frei einst an der Königsau.” It also makes references to the political situation of 1864, as evidenced by the first and last stanzas of the poem:

Schleswig-Holstein, meerumschlungen,
Hehr entstieg der Zeiten Nacht,
Wofür blutig oft gerungen:
Deine gold’ne Freiheit tagt!
Schleswig-Holstein, stammverwandt,
Auf, mit Gott! mein Vaterland!

Deutschlands Sproß, du Doppel-Eiche
Unter Einer Krone Dach,
Treu dem Herzog, nimmer weiche,
Fest trotz Sturm und Wetterschlag!
Schleswig-Holstein, stammverwandt,
Wanke nicht, mein Vaterland! (Groth 169–70)

These verses reveal the sense of urgency that permeated the German political arena in early 1864 as a result of the political crisis with the Danish monarchy. The editor Klaus Groth closed his anthology with Chemnitz’s poem, an acknowledgment of its significance.

In the *Neue Preußische Zeitung* of 11 March 1864, a note from the editor precedes Chemnitz’s poem, which appears on the last page under the heading “Schleswig-Holstein und Dänemark”: “Man ersucht uns, die jetzt so oft citirten beiden Hauptlieder der Schleswig-Holsteiner einerseits und andererseits der Dänen doch einmal abzudrucken.” Chemnitz’s text, here entitled simply “Schleswig-Holstein” (poem 795) is followed by a song in Low German about a Danish soldier, “Der tappre Landsoldat” (poem
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796). A final note follows this second poem: “Außerdem haben die Dänen noch ein bekanntes Nationallied: ‘Held Christian stand am hohen Mast usw.;’ doch mag’s hiermit genug sein.” In March 1864 Prussian soldiers were fighting against Denmark; requesting to have the song printed in this Prussian newspaper therefore reflected readers’ interest in the war. Their request for the Danish song can hardly suggest that the Danish nationalist movement had vocal supporters in Prussia. Rather, it indicates curiosity about the enemy.

The “Schleswig-Holstein” in the collection is not “Das neue Schleswig-Holstein”; it also differs slightly from the original sheet version (and from the Reclam text). It comes as no surprise that small variations in the text occurred during the twenty-year history of the poem, which was propagated above all by countless performances at choir festivals. Changes could have been unintentional, but poets or editors may have altered the text to reflect current political realities. In the two decades since Chemnitz had written the poem, contentions between German and Danish nationalists in the duchies had heightened, leading to armed conflict. One line in the first stanza alludes to the war against Denmark: “Wahre treu, was schwer errungen, / Bis es tagt nach düstrer Nacht!” has replaced “Wahre treu, was schwer errungen, / bis ein schön’rer Morgen tagt!” The first four lines of the second stanza are also different: “Ob auch wild die Woge brande, / Tosend, schäumend Fluth auf Fluth. / O, las’ blüh’n rings im Lande / Deutsche Treue, Deutschen Muth!” The original version does not emphasize courage but virtue and loyalty: “Ob auch wild die Brandung tose, / Fluth auf Fluth, von Bai zu Bai: / O, lass blüh’n in Deinem Schosse / Deutsche Tugend, Deutsche Treu’!”

These textual variations reflect the current political reality of war. This poem is not as chauvinistically aggressive as “Der tapfre Landsoldat,” which explicitly mentions the German enemy: “Wer soll dann pfügen unser Feld, wer soll das Gras dann mähn? / Ja, eben deshalb müssen wir alle fort, Juchheil! / Es kommen sonst die Deutschen und helfen uns dabei.” It also criticizes the Germans for speaking only their native language: “Wer viele Sprachen spricht, dem ist das zwar einerlei, / Doch gibt’s, zum Henker! solche, die können nicht mal zwei!” A Danish nationalist movement had begun in 1840 to replace German with Danish as the official language for the justice system, administration, schools, and churches in those parts of Schleswig with a Danish majority (Lange 434). The refrain embodies the poem’s patriotic tone: “Und drum will ich mich schlagen als tapfrer Landsoldat! / Hurrah! Hurrah! Hurrah!”

Much like Becker’s “Der deutsche Rhein,” “An Schleswig-Holstein” generated numerous imitations and parodies, several of which are included in the collection. These poetic texts offer evidence of the poem’s popularity.
and resonance among the German public. One poem explicitly mentions Chemnitz’s text and the role it played in building a German national consciousness. Published in the daily newspaper *Courier an der Weser* on 6 March 1864, “Zuruf an die Schleswig-Holsteiner” begins: “Singt fort, singt fort das ‘Meerumschlungen’ / Und Schleswig-Holstein stammverwandt, / Singt weiter, wie die Alten sungen / Vom ‘ewig ungedeelen Land’” (poem 643). In most cases, poets directly quoted or transformed two lines of the poem, “Schleswig-Holstein, meerumschlungen” and “Schleswig-Holstein, stammverwandt.” As we shall see, poets drew on Chemnitz’s language and imagery to address many political aspects of the Schleswig-Holstein conflict.

In 1848 and 1849 poets quoted or alluded to Chemnitz’s poem to comment upon the war against Denmark taking place at that time. In Chapter 4 we saw that C.F. Freimuth quoted the title “Schleswig-Holstein meerumschlungen” in a conversation with Ludwig Börne’s spirit; he felt the song had faded away once the European powers had exerted pressure upon Prussia to accept an armistice. “Rückblick auf das verflossene Jahr,” published in the *Union* on 3 January 1849, uses the Chemnitz quotation to remind readers that the conflict in the duchies had not been resolved:

> Auch Schleswig-Holstein meerumschlungen
> Schwingt kühnen Fluges sich empor,
> Wie oft man auch das Lied gesungen
> In tapfrer Kehlen kühnem Chor,
> Doch hat man nicht das Land befreit
> Und ist entfernt vom Ende weit. (poem 598)

The *Leuchtkugeln* published Ludwig Zapf’s poem “Friedericia” (poem 532) in late summer 1849, a response to hostilities that had broken out after the armistice established at Malmö expired in April 1849. German troops secured initial victories in Düppel and Kolding, but suffered defeat in a siege of Fredericia on 6 July 1849. A new armistice went into effect in July 1849 (Lange 447-48). Zapf exposes the irony of Chemnitz’s portrayal of Schleswig-Holstein in light of this defeat:

> “Schleswig-Holstein, meerumschlungen, deutscher Sitte hohe Wacht”
> Schleswig-Holstein trugumrungen, listumkettet und verlacht –
> Sieh’, das ist die Bruderliebe, einst so frisch und flammenhell,
> Nun vergessen und verlodert und verraucht so zauberschnell!

The poet quotes another verse from the Chemnitz text, contrasting it with the current political reality: “‘Theures Land, du Doppeleiche unter einer Krone Dach,’ / Land der Leiden, der Enttäuschung und der tief-
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sten deutschen Schmach.” Zapf chides Germans in the duchies for believing the cheers of support that came from the territories: “Und der Kranz der Liederschwüre ward zum Dornenkranz für euch!” But he admonishes Germans to not give up the fight with a final Chemnitz quotation: “Harre aus trotz Sturm und Wetter, ‘wanke nicht mein Vaterland!’”

“Ein Neujahrswunsch,” published in the Mephistopheles of 7 January 1849, lists several prerequisites for the attainment of freedom. One includes the famous Chemnitz quotation: “Wenn Schleswig-Holstein meerumschungen / Vom dän’schen Joche ist befreit” (poem 546). A second Mephistopheles poem, “Marschlied der Vormärzler” (see pages 109-10) uses the same verse in May 1849 to express dissatisfaction with the common government of conservative Schleswig-Holsteiners that had been established in October 1848, and to criticize the renewed fighting in the duchies: “Schleswig-Holstein meerumschungen, / Wird verkauft, und angeführt / Werden wie die dummen Jungen / Alle, die dorthin marschirt” (poem 557). Yet another poem in this satirical journal, “Deutschlands leere Magen,” appeared on 21 October 1849:

O, schaut zum oft besung’nen
Schleswig, dem meerumschlung’nen,
Vergeßt mal Deutschlands Ehr’:
Denkt an die blut’gen Gauen,
Kein Halm ist dort zu schauen;
Die Magen – alle leer! (poem 569)

This poem not only points out the negative aspects of the war, but claims that German honor had been sacrificed as well.

In 1864 poets continued to draw upon Chemnitz’s poem to address the next key phase of the Schleswig-Holstein conflict. The Erheiterungen für alle Stände, the literary supplement to the Aschaffenburger Zeitung, published “Ein Trost dem bedrängten Bruderlande” on 4 January 1864, as Prussia and Austria were deliberating their response to the Danish constitution issued in November 1863. Bestien also attributes to Chemnitz’s poem the role of raising public awareness of the conflict with Denmark: “Schleswig-Holstein meerumschlungen – / So erklang weitaus ein Sang, / Ist tief in’s deutsche Herz gedrungen / Als Mahnruf wohl viel’ Jahre lang” (poem 656). But the song, having fulfilled its purpose, must give way to other weapons. The poet urges singers, gymnasts, and marksmen to take up the battle: “Laßt Künste ruhen, Waffen blitzen / Für Schleswig-Holstein stammverwandt!”90 This poem responds to Chemnitz’s entreaties “wanke nicht, mein Vaterland!” and “bleibe treu, mein Vaterland!” in a quote from the Bavarian king Maximilian II, who had declared his support of a war against Denmark: “‘Das arme Brudervolk sei frei, / Sei frei vom
Dänendruck und Hohne, / Es wankte nicht, blieb deutsch und treu.

Moreover, the poet argues that the German people will achieve this victory: "Laßt d’rob die Bismarck, Rechberg grollen, / Das Junkerthum in seiner Nacht; / Die werden sich vom Schauplatz – trollen, / Wenn’s lustig geht zur Dänenjagd!"

On 24 January 1864, just three days after Prussian and Austrian troops marched into Holstein, Die Plauderstube printed the poem “Von einem deutschen Mädchen.” The author characterizes the first verse of Chemnitz’s poem as a rallying cry for the German nationalist cause in the duchies: “Ihr Männer Deutschlands tretet in die Glieder! / Ist er denn nicht an euer Ohr gedrungen / Der Ruf, den Schleswig-Holstein meerumschlungen / Zu euch gesandt, zum Stamme seiner Brüder?” (poem 801). She verbally assaults the inaction of German men and their habit of boasting before even looking the enemy in the eye. In one of the few progressive statements in the collection from a putatively female writer (or even about a female), the woman bemoans being unable to fight: “Doch ach! ich bin an mein Geschlecht gebunden, / Kann höchstens Kranke pflegen, Wunden heilen – / Ihr aber, ach ihr holt euch keine Wunden!” The author urges women to follow the example of brave female ancestors and to fight until the enemy has been defeated. The poet’s message becomes more specific when she mentions the German Confederation: “Ihr deutschen Bräute laßt ihn euch gereuen / Den Bund, den ihr dem Feigen zugeschworen; / Sie sollen erst befrei’n, bevor sie freien.” This final stanza recalls the lines of Nikolaus Becker’s Rheinlied: “Sie sollen ihn nicht haben, / Den freien deutschen Rhein, / Solang dort kühne Knaben / Um schlanke Dirnen frein” (poem 5).

The Conversations-Blatt, a supplement to the Regensburger Tagblatt, published the poem “Für Schleswig-Holstein” on 27 January 1864. Printed shortly after allied forces had entered Holstein, the poem begins: “Frisch auf, mein Volk, die Flammenzeichen rauchen!” (poem 634). This appeal to readers is a quotation from Theodor Körner’s poem “Aufruf,” written during the wars against Napoleon in March 1813. According to Lämmert, rousing imperatives such as “frisch auf” were the most common type of sentence in the Freiheitslyrik (49). The author of “Für Schleswig-Holstein” thus drew not only on a famous poem but also on the literary tradition of using militaristic, political appeals to win the support of readers. The poet, G.W., alludes to Theodor Körner and draws parallels between the wars of 1813–15 and the war of 1864: “Der Sänger rief’s, und in die Gaue weit / Drang solcher Klang – auch heute wieder tauchen / Uns auf die Tage blut’ger Heldenzeit.” Körner wrote: “Die Saat ist reif; ihr Schnitter, zaudert nicht!” (15). A reference in C.W.’s poem to this line also includes a quotation from Chemnitz’s poem: “Wohl ist so manches kühne Lied erklungen, / Gereift im Herzen ist die edle Saat / Für dich mein ‘Schleswig-Holstein
The poet calls on all Germans, including Maximilian II of Bavaria, to join the battle, an indication of the widespread support that existed for German interests in Schleswig-Holstein.

"Gruß an Schleswig-Holstein" (poem 652) responds to the end of fighting in the duchies. It appeared in two journals, the *Erheiterungen* of 8 August 1864 and the *Courier an der Weser* of 12 August, less than two weeks after Denmark had signed the preliminary Treaty of Vienna. The first stanza of this poem draws heavily on elements from the Chemnitz text of 1844. The author, E.P., uses the metaphors of night and day to show that Chemnitz's optimistic prediction for the future of the duchies has been fulfilled: "Schleswig-Holstein meerumschlungen / Endlich ist dein Tag erwacht, / Wieder bist du uns errungen / Und zerronnen ist die Nacht!" Political developments in August 1864 did indeed seem to bear out Chemnitz's hope that Schleswig and Holstein would join the German Confederation, and E.P. emphasizes the causality between poetry and politics, thus underscoring the poet's and the poem's influence within the political arena: "Was die deutsche Leier sang, / Nun das deutsche Schwert errang!" Both publications included a subtitle for the poem: "Neue Worte zu alter Weise," a reference to Bellmann's melody from 1842. Moreover, a note indicates that the song had a public role at the end of the armed conflict: "Gesungen auf der großen Volksversammlung zu Offenbach a. M. am 31. Juli 1864." The public gathering in Offenbach, a celebration to mark the end of the war, took place the night before the preliminary Treaty of Vienna was signed.

The poem "Eine deutsche Mutter," which appeared on 15 January 1864 in the Munich journal *Schalks-Narr: Humoristisch satyrisches Wochenblatt*, mixes elements of serious drama and subtle irony to comment on political developments in the duchies. The first stanza of the poem describes the celebratory mood in Bremen upon the death of Frederik VII, the Danish king: "Der Freiheit Tag erschien! Die Schmach wird ausgewetzt! / Des Königs Aug’ erlosch! Hoch leb’ der Herzog jetzt! / Hoch Schleswig-Holstein meerumschlungen!" (poem 821). The poem then shifts abruptly to a scene before the senate, where a dignified patrician widow is contributing money to the Schleswig-Holstein cause (depicted in an illustration on the first page of the issue). The woman recalls the disastrous outcome of the war of 1848–50, to which she and her husband had also contributed: "Wofür? – Verschachert ward das stammverwandte Land, / Verschachert ward die deutsche Flotte" (poem 821). She warns that the contribution will be her last if Germany, a "Riesenreich," cannot subdue Denmark.

As the woman leaves the building, she hears faint sounds coming from the coast of the North Sea, as if someone were singing "Gott schütze Franz den Kaiser!" This ending to the poem slightly varies the first line to the
Austrian national anthem, “Gott erhalte Franz den Kaiser!” The change ironically implies that the Austrian emperor needs to be protected. The *Schalks-Narr* had sharply criticized Austria in its first issue of 1864; readers familiar with the article would have recognized the ironic criticism at the end of this poem:

Nicht genug, daß sie [die Oesterreicher] mit den Preußen, die sie sonst nie haben riechen können, den – ich finde wahrhaftig das rechte Beilwort nicht dafür – den famosen Executionsbeschluss zusammentringuirt haben; nicht genug, daß sie Ungarn, Wälsche, Tschechen, Kroaten und Polaken als ausländische Bundesgendarmen der deutschen Bundestruppen in ein deutsches Bundes-Land geschickt haben; jetzt schimpfen sie auch noch wie die Rohrspatzen über unser Königs edles Königswort und stimmen mit Bismarck, Mecklenburg und Luxemburg – welch’ sauberes Kleeblatt – gegen das, was doch die erste und nächste Pflicht und Schuldigkeit des Bundestags ist, gegen die von Bayern beantragte Beschleunigung des Beschlusses in der schleswig-holsteinischen Erbfolgefrage!! Wie nennt man Das, wenn man es nicht Verrath nennt?

The author of the article, who used the pseudonym “Der Schalksnarr,” doubts that Germany will once again be willing to help its so-called natural federal ally. The poem’s ending uncannily foreshadows the Austrian administration of Holstein after the war.

*Sibylle: Unterhaltungsblatt zum Würzburger Journal* published “Wer wird nun deine Freiheit schützen?” on 19 March 1864, after allied troops had been fighting for nearly two months. This poem, critical of the war against Denmark, begins: “Du bist jetzt nicht nur meerumschlungen, / Mein Schleswig-Holstein, stammverwandt, / Weit stärker vom Verrath umrungen / Bist du, o deutsches Bruderland” (poem 828). The poet Georg Morin argues that the Germans fought not for the rights of German Schleswig-Holsteiners but for a piece of paper, a reference to Bismarck’s success at upholding the London Protocol of 1852. The death of Maximilian II, a “Stern der Hoffnung” for the duchies, compounded the problem. The question “Wer wird nun deine Freiheit schützen / Mein armes Schleswig-Holsteinland?” reveals the poet’s anti-Prussian stance and his sympathy for the duchies, which he believes have served as pawns in Bismarck’s political machinations.

The title of a poem published in the journal *Kladderadatsch* forms a pun with a homonym of “Meer”: “Schleswig-Holstein, meerumschlungen, an Deutschland, noch mehr umschlungen” (poem 761). The subtitle characterizes the poem as a “Leid-Artikel” (a pun on “Leitartikel”) and indicates that the poem should be sung at twilight. Published on 10 January 1864 on
the first page of the issue, the poem does function as the lead article in the
issue. (The Sunday supplement of the Augsburger Anzeigblatt published
the same poem one week later, but on the last page of the issue.) In an
ironic twist, Schleswig-Holstein addresses Germany, drawing extensively on
the language and symbolism Chemnitz used in his poem: “Deutschland,
Deutschland, Land der Eichen, / Unterm Dreißigkronendach / Stehe fest
und sonder Weichen, / Wie der Feind auch dräuen mag.” The poet blames
Chemnitz’s song, however, for the German eagerness to go to war against
Denmark:

Schleswig-Holstein, meerumschlungen –
Sangst du oft, Gott sei’s geklagt!
Warte nun, bis du’s ersungen,
Warte nun, bis du’s ertagt!
Deutschland, Deutschland, stammverwandt,
Warte nur, mein Vaterland! (poem 761)

Schleswig-Holstein tells Germany, “zerrissen und zerschlissen,” that she will
save herself: “Dann, mein Deutschland, stammverwandt, / Rett’ ich dich,
mein Vaterland!” The poet, Kladderadatsch, employs irony to point out an
irony: German unification exists only in the unified efforts of Germans to
prevent the annexation of the duchies to Denmark.

A few months later, on 29 May 1864, the Kladderadatsch published a second satirical poem on this topic, “‘Schleswig-Holstein’, ins Gerlächerliche übersetzt,” just after Prussia and Austria had formally de­manded the complete separation of Schleswig and Holstein from the Danish
kingdom.59 This poem, written by “Der alte Rundschaute,” is a parody of
Chemnitz’s poem that retains the original form and meter. The poet ac­knowledges the prominent role Chemnitz’s text had in shaping German na­tional consciousness: “‘Schleswig-Holstein, meerumschlungen,’ / War die
Losung lange Zeit” (poem 770). A victory for the German nationalists
seems within reach, but another battle looms ahead:

Preußen, Oestreich – in dem Kriege
Zwar den Dänen schlugen sie;
Doch es galten ihre Siege
Stets nur – der Demokratie.

“Preußen-Oestreich Hand in Hand,
Deutschland sonst aus Rand und Band!”

As the poet predicted, relationships between the two German powers grew
increasingly strained. The title of the poem also reflects this political reality.
The refrain, “Preußen-Oestreich Hand in Hand, / Deutschland sonst aus
Rand und Band!”, is a rhyme coined by Ernst Ludwig von Gerlach in the
early 1850s. An arch-conservative and founder of the Prussian Conservative Party and its mouthpiece, the Neue Preußische Zeitung, Gerlach believed that Austria could remain allied with Prussia in political matters, a view diametrically opposed to that of Bismarck (Nipperdey, Deutsche Geschichte 1800-1866 685-86).

The Frankfurter Latern, an "illustirtes-satyrisches, humoristisch-lyrisches, kritisch-raisonnirendes, ästhetisch-annoncirendes Wochenblatt," published the "Schleswig-Holstein-Hymne" on 19 November 1864, nearly three weeks after the final Treaty of Vienna had been concluded. The note "Gesungen bei'm Wiener Friedensfeste" implies that the poem played a significant role at a public celebration. The reference is ironic, however, for the poem criticizes the Treaty of Vienna for not solving all aspects of the conflict. The first stanza begins with humorous patriotism that recalls Chemnitz's fifth verse, "Bis zur Fluth, die ruhlos schäumet / An der Düne flücht'gem Sand": "Schleswig-Holstein, meerumschlungen / Schwereprüftes Bruderland! / Deine Freiheit ist errungen / Und der Gegner liegt im Sand" (poem 702). The poem alludes to the costs of war borne by the victors, allegedly to help the poor Danes: "Armer Däne mußte bluten, / Der so kühnlich einst geprahlt! / [. . .] / Schleswig-Holstein, komm' zu Häuf! / Weit thu' deinen Beutel auf!"

Several poets also quoted the first line in Chemnitz’s refrain, “Schleswig-Holstein stammverwandt,” to comment upon the situation in the duchies. The Courier an der Weser published “Neujahrsmorgen 1864” on the first page of its issue from 5 January 1864. The Schleswig-Holstein poet Klaus Groth wrote this poem for a particular public moment. The poem, which describes a flag sewn by a women’s organization in Kiel, was recited when the women presented the flag as a gift to Duke of Augustenburg. Groth’s lyrical text conveys the optimism shared by German nationalists: “Und ‘Schleswig-Holstein stammverwandt!’ / Wird’s freudig schallen durch die Gauen, / Und Mann für Mann das ganze Land, / Auf Dich und diese Fahne schauen” (poem 636).

The Hamburger Wespen: Satirisch-humoristisches Stichblatt also published a New Year's poem that quotes Chemnitz’s refrain. “Toaste,” printed on 1 January 1864, declares support for the Duke of Augustenburg in a serious manner rather unusual for this publication: “Das vierte Glas – wir wählen weise – / Dir, Schleswig-Holstein, stammverwandt, / So, in dem muntern Wespenkreise, / Sei Herzog Friedrich anerkannt!” (poem 708). The poet believes this solution to the succession question would be the best for the duchies: “Bis uns das Naß im Glase fehlt, / Soll Schleswig-Holstein glücklich bleiben / Tosamen ewig ungedeelt!” A caricature from the last issue of 1863, entitled “Zu den Weihnachten möchten die Hamburger Wespen den Schleswig-Holsteinern eine Kleinigkeit verehren,” is more typical of the
journal’s satirical tendencies. The drawing depicts a personified wasp who has impaled a Dane (Sören Sörensen) through the heart. Several ornaments hang on a Christmas tree in the background, including ones labeled “Rechberg,” “Bismarck,” “Wrangel,” and “Bundestag,” the major players in the war against Denmark.

The Frankfurter Latern cited the London newspaper Punch as the source for the poem “Schleswig-Holstein (Gesang besoffener Deutschen),” which it published on 1 February 1864. In the poem, the intoxicated singers explain why they expect a German victory in the war: “Bei der Pfeife dunst’gem Rauch / Füllt den Bierpot – trinkt ihn auch. / Dann erobern wir das Land: / Schleswig-Holstein, stammverwandt” (poem 671). The Frankfurter Latern responded with a poetic response on the same page. Entitled “An Monsieur ‘Punch’. Leider Stammverwandt mit uns nüchternen Deutschen,” the poem attacks the London publication as well as the Englishman’s own love of drink, warning that Germans will revenge the Englishman’s sanctimonious preaching. The poet combines this criticism with chauvinistic boasting of German military might: “Setz den Bottle an die Lippen / Und ersäuf die Angst beim Kippen, / Lulle dich mit Cognac ein / Während Schleswig wir befrein” (poem 672). On 1 April 1864 the Bremer Morgenpost also responded to the slanderous “Schleswig-Holstein” with a poem of its own, entitled “Die Deutschen an John Bull.” A defensive, militaristic tone permeates this text: “Doch kannst in Kindes Einfalt du nicht fassen, / Daß sich der Deutsche nicht will knechten lassen, / Weil Dänemark es so beschloß” (poem 632). The poet reminds British readers of the German defeat of Napoleon at Leipzig, proof that Germans know how to revenge tyranny: “Du lernst wohl einst noch beim Kanonenschalle, / Daß schnöder Hochmuth kommt zu Falle, / Merk dir, John Bull, die gute Lehr’!”

Poets did not use the phrase “Schleswig-Holstein stammverwandt” only in a patriotic, positive sense. On 3 March 1864 the Courier an der Weser published “Travailler pour le roi de Prusse” on the first page, a poem that questions the purpose of a war for which men have died: “Wenn Schleswig-Holstein stammverwandt Ihr singet! / Wird es auch frei? – Wißt Ihr es auch gewiß? / Frei, wenn die Erde Ihr mit Blute dünget?” (poem 642). The poem’s title indicates that the author would supply a negative answer to this question. Literally “to work for the king of Prussia,” the expression was also a saying in France that meant “to work for nothing.”

This critical poem contrasts with two items on the same page that express pro-war tendencies. One article claims that the city of Bremen was ashamed that its delegates in the Federal Diet had voted against the formal annulment of the Treaty of London; Bismarck had sought this step after the treaty had served its purpose as a pretense for sending troops into the
The second article reports on the dismantling of a Danish statue in Idstedt, "das Denkmal, welches dänischer Uebermuth der deutschen Bevölkerung zum Hohn auf den zerstörten Gräbern ihrer entschlafenen Lieben errichtet hat [...]." A Danish deputation had tried to prevent the Germans from removing the monument, denying that it insulted the graves of the fallen German soldiers. This ignited an angry dispute with the city’s German population, indicative of the intense emotions associated with nationalist monuments in the nineteenth century.

Poetic Responses to the War Against Denmark

The War

War against Denmark loomed on the horizon as the year 1864 began. Several publications printed patriotic poems on 1 January that commented upon this political situation. Augsburg's *Allgemeine Zeitung* published "Sylvesternachtwache. 1863," a patriotic poem urging Germans to fight: "Das war ein Jahr! Was heult und tobt der Däne? / Sein schlaues Netz fürs meerumschlungne Land, / Zerrissen liegt's; nun schüttle deine Mähne, / Mein deutscher Leu: 'mit Gott fürs Vaterland!'" (poem 606). "Zum Neuen Jahre 1864," published in the *Augsburger Anzeigblatt*, conveys nationalist support for Germans in the duchies and for revenging the war of 1848-50: "Hin zu den Brüdern, nach der Nordsee Strande, / Zieht es das deutsche Herz voll Ungeduld, / Dort gilt's zu sühnen alte Schmach und Schande, / Dort gilt's, zu tilgen alte schwere Schuld" (poem 612). In the New Year's poem published in the *Conversations-Blatt*, "Beim Jahreswechsel wünsche ich:" the poet wants war against Denmark: "Den Deutschen - größere Einigkeit, / Den Dänen - deutsche Hiebe" (poem 633). The *Morgenblatt zur Bayerischen Zeitung* published "Jetzt oder nie!" on 1 January 1864, yet another lyrical appeal for war: "Der Zornruf: spreng', o deutsches Volk, die Kette, / Wahr' deutsches Recht, und rette, rette / Dir Schleswig-Holstein, sprach- und stammverwandt!" (poem 786). These poems offer a list of reasons that existed in 1864 for war against Denmark: the Fatherland, revenge for the war of 1848–50, German unification, and the common German nationality and language.

Similar patriotic poems supporting the war appeared in newspapers and journals throughout the early months of 1864. Emil Rittershaus's "Sturm," published in the *Bremer Morgenpost* of 6 January 1864, boldly challenges the Danes: "Nun, Däne, komm'! Nun rechtet mir! / Nun laßt die Fahnen fliegen! / Um uns're Ehre fechten wir / Und sterben oder siegen!" (poem 628). F.W. Heinrich varied the first line of Strass's poem
“Schleswig, Holstein, schöne Lande” for the title of his text, “Schönes Land im deutschen Norden.” Published in the <i>Courier an der Weser</i> on 10 January 1864, this poem conveys patriotic support to the duchies: “Sei errungen, sei umschlungen / Deutscher Meere Königin, / Laß dein Doppelbanner wallen / Ueber Nord- und Ostsee hin!” (poem 639). <i>Erheiterungen</i> published “Das ‘Blau-weiß-roth’ Schleswig-Holsteins” on 9 January 1864. The poem predicts a German victory under the blue-white-red flag, ensuring that earlier heroes had not died in vain: “Und gebt uns das, was uns annoch so fehlt: / Das ‘Schleswig-Holstein ewig ungedeelt’” (poem 657). An item immediately after the poem underscores the poem’s message. It announces a new large-scale map of Schleswig-Holstein, “die bei den gegenwärtigen Truppenbewegungen und bevorstehenden Kriegs-Eventualitäten allen Zeitungslesern willkommen sein wird.”

The <i>Courier an der Weser</i> published two pro-war poems on 5 February 1864 as part of a report on a bazaar organized by the Women’s Association for Schleswig-Holstein in Bremen. According to the article, a small doll dressed in the Schleswig-Holstein colors of blue-white-red was a popular item at the fair. The dollmaker had attached a patriotic poem to the doll entitled “Aufruf einer Schleswig-Holsteinerin.” Its last stanza reads: “Eile, deine Truppen stehn, / Deutschland, deine Fahnen wehn. / Deutsch muß Schleswig-Holstein sein / Auf, mit Gott es zu befrei’n!” (poem 640). A note preceding the second poem, Friedrich Rückert’s “Den Frauen Bremens,” indicates that his poetic text also performed an important role in this public event: “Am Eingange zum Buffet, worin von mehreren Damen des Vereins allerlei Erfrischungen verabreicht werden, wird folgendes Gedicht verkauft.” Rückert acknowledges the women’s contribution to the war effort: “Mit Waffen ohne Blutbegier, / Mit Nadeln statt mit Schäften, / Möchten die Männer schaffen / Gleich euch, mit andern Waffen!” (poem 641). These two poems and the article they accompany indicate that women wrote political poetry in response to the war in 1864, and that they also sold, bought, and read such poetry.

<i>Kladderadatsch</i>, a “humoristisch-satyrisches Wochenblatt,” printed a number of poems in 1864 that treat the war in a humorous, satirical manner. The journal often published a “Wochenkalender,” which consisted of a short stanza of poetry for each day of the week and formed part of the heading on the first page of the issue. In the calendar poem from 10 January 1864, the poet satirizes the hesitancy of the German powers to declare war against Denmark: “Auf der Eiderbrucken da schaun wir uns an, / Wer’s länger von uns Beiden aushalten kann” (poem 760). The refrain offers a sarcastic slogan for the politicians: “Immer langsam voran!” In the same issue, “Oesterreichisches Executoren-Lied” satirizes the dispute over
succession in the duchies:

O schaut: schon schlich nach Holstein sich
Der böse Erbprinz Friederich,
Will stehlen Land und Unterthan
Dem guten König Christian.
Dürft es nicht leiden, ihr tapfern Brüder,
Ist ja dem Protokolle zuwider! (poem 762)

The poet expected readers to recognize the sarcastic tone in these verses, which criticize Bismarck’s policy of upholding the London Protocol to appease the European powers.

Müller von der Werra wrote “Germania auf der Wacht am Belt,” published in the Erheiterungen of 13 April 1864 (poem 659). The title alludes to Max Schneckenburger’s well-known poem, “Die Wacht am Rhein,” one of the most popular and effective Rheinlieder of 1840 (see Chapters 2, 6). In Schneckenburger’s poem a young German soldier looks up at the heavens, where Arminius is looking down upon the earth, and swears that Germany’s heroes will prevent the French from obtaining the Rhine: “Lieb Vaterland, magst ruhig sein, / Fest steht und treu die Wacht am Rhein” (Schneckenburger, Deutsche Lieder 19-20). Müller von der Werra’s poem is not an imitation of “Die Wacht am Rhein,” but it does borrow images from Schneckenburger’s text. The fighters find Germania in the heavens: “In dem Nachtgraus auf zum Sternenzelt, / Stark gewappnet steht als Wacht am Belt / Germania!” These soldiers also stand ready to protect a German border, the Little Belt, a waterway forming the eastern coast of Schleswig-Holstein: “Hin zur Ostsee ziehen helle Haufen, / Deutsche Söhne sind es, brav und gut! / Alle wollen sich im Heldenfeuer taufen, / Wollen taufen sich in Kampf mit Blut!” The decisive battle of the war occurred shortly after this poem was published, on 18 April 1864, in the coastal town of Düppel. The poet also draws on language from Chemnitz’s poem: “Schleswig-Holstein, schwergeprüfte Lande, / Harret treulich als Geschwister aus!”

In his poem “Deutschlands Erwachen” (poem 644), published in the Courier an der Weser of 27 March 1864, Heinrich Zeise drew on another lyrical product of the Rhine crisis. A note indicates that the text should be sung to the melody “Deutschland, Deutschland über Alles,” a reference to Hoffmann von Fallersleben’s “Lied der Deutschen.” Joseph Haydn wrote this melody in 1797 for the Austrian national anthem, “Gott erhalte Franz den Kaiser” (Knopp and Kuhn 31). Zeise underscores the significance of the war against Denmark for German unification not only by his choice of melody, but by drawing on the Barbarossa legend: “Trage, großer Heldenkaiser, / Das Panier des Reichs uns vor, / Am Kyffhäuser, welch’
ein Brausen! / Barbarossa stieg empor!" The verse "Von den Bergen bis zum Meere" delineates the borders of a unified Germany, from south to north, recalling Hoffmann von Fallersleben's verses, "Von der Maas bis an die Memel [...]" ("Lied" 1).

The storming of the fortifications near Düppel on 18 April 1864 generated many poetic responses. Several are patriotic poems that sanction the war and glorify this battle. Others depict the grisly, harsh realities of combat in graphic terms, without cloaking them in patriotic slogans. This tendency, as well as the use of strong militaristic language and images, is found to a much greater degree in 1864 than in the poems from earlier years in the collection.

The Königliy privilegirte Berlinische Zeitung published several poems about the siege of Düppel. An untitled poem from 23 April 1864 addresses the fighting taking place in the duchies: "Trauernd stand ich und zur fernen Wacht / Deutscher Lande zog mein Sinn. / Wo entfesselt tobt die heiße Schlacht, / Zu dem Brudervolke hin" (poem 777). The narrator thinks of the Germans who died fighting against the Danes in the war of 1848-50:

Wohl schläft manch' Streiter, schmerzlich stöhnend,
Erstarrend unter Leichen ein.
Wohl klaget manches Mutterherz,
Wohl manche Braut im bittern Schmerz,
Um die gefall'nen Lieben.

Despite acknowledging the pains of war, the poet ends on an optimistic note: "Mag Freiheitsglanz und Frühlingsgrün / Im deutschen Schleswig-Holstein blüh'n; / Damit 'up ewig ungedeelt' / Sich's voll und frei zu Deutschland zählt." The second verse of "Der 18. April 1864," published on 28 April 1864, begins: "Du trotz'ger Däne, heut sollst Du erfahren, / Daß ungestraft Verträge man nicht bricht! / Geknechtet hast Du schamlos unsre Brüder, / Heut halten blutig wir das Strafgericht!" (poem 781).

"Zum 18. April 1864," published in the Breslau journal Hausfreund, first describes the German side of the war: "Mit Oestreichs Adlern kämpfte um die Wette / Der preuß'sche Aar in wilder Kampfeshitze" (poem 752). The poet then graphically describes the fate met by many soldiers, who died as heroes: "So manches Leben, jung und reich an Hoffen, / Floh mit dem Blut und schmolz den nord'schen Schnee, / So manche Todeswunde klaffte blutig offen, / Manch' Herz ruht aus im kühlen Grund der See." Kladde-radatsch published the poem "Memento" on 24 April 1864, which begins: "Sieg! Sieg! Zerschmettert ist des Dänen Rüstung, / Der Todesstahl drang tief in seine Weichen!" (poem 769). In language borrowed from Freiligrath, the poet admonishes Germans not to forget those who fell in the name of German justice and honor: "Ihr Lebenden, gedenket dann der Todten!"
Chemnitz's poem “Vor den Düppeler Schanzen,” published in the *Courier an der Weser* on 12 June 1864, begins with an enthusiastic declaration from a Prussian soldier: “Zu Düppel vor den Schanzen / Im Jahre Sechzig Vier, / Wie da die Waffen tanzen / Zu Deutschlands Ehr’ und Zier!” (poem 646). But Chemnitz then contrasts these verses with a wounded corporal’s last words to the woman comforting him: “Ade, mein Lieb, leb’ wohl, / Da ich hier sterben soll!” A bullet kills the woman as she is carrying him away: “Die Kugel traf ein treues Herz, / Für beide war nun aus der Schmerz. / Ade, du Heldenmaid! / Dich hat der Tod gefreit!”

**Political Alliances, Politicians, and Diplomats**

The Prussian-Austrian alliance that formed in January 1864 also generated poems, several of which are included in the collection. Without exception, these poems criticize the partnership between the two major German powers. “Rührende Einigkeit,” published in early January in both the *Augsburger Anzeigblatt* and the *Plauderstube*, sarcastically mocks the alliance with a pun from the first verse of Chemnitz’s “Schleswig-Holstein meerumschlungen”: “Oestreich, Preußen, mehr umschlungen, / Als noch je einander haltend! / Welche Gruppe, herzwinnend, / Volksbeglückend, weltgestaltet!” (poem 613). The poet’s hollow enthusiasm signals the poem’s critical message, which readers hardly could have overlooked. The poet blames the alliance on those naive people, himself included, who chose to forget the problematic history of strained Austro-Prussian relations: “Und so haben Furcht und Angst wir / Weggeworfen in den Bronnen / Des Vergessens, und gemütlich / Schon das neue Jahr begonnen.”

The *Frankfurter Latern* published “Viribus unitis! Oestreichs Wahl­spruch als Warnspruch” on 23 January 1864 (poem 669). Franz Joseph of Austria had chosen the Latin phrase (with united strength) as his official slogan. The allusion to the Austro-Prussian alliance is apparent. The poem warns Austria not to scorn those southern and eastern regions that had remained loyal to the monarchy: “Denk an Sie, wenn du aufs Neu’, / Nach Errettung schmachtest, / Weidend sich an deinem Weh / Schrei’n sie: ‘Finis Austriae!’ / Viribus unitis!” The poet argues that the Austro-Prussian alliance leads to shame and ridicule for the Germans: “Ja, dies Paar, es strebt schon lang / Nach dem schönen Ziele, / Daß des Volkes freier Drang / Ihm zum Opfer fiele.”

The Federal Diet in Frankfurt drew fire from several poets in 1864. The parliament did send troops from Saxony and Hanover to the duchies in January, but Bismarck’s politics soon overrode the Diet’s actions. The narrator of “Fromme Wünsche,” published in the *Schalks-Narr* of January 1864, wishes he were the German parliament: “Ich wollt’, ich wär
der Bundestag, / Der lang in Kindesnöthen lag. / Ich rafft' mich auf, um
endlich nun / Einmal ein gutes Werk zu thun” (poem 820). The Courier
an der Weser published “Wo?” on 5 January 1864, the question referring
to the location of the enemy. The poet argues that every child and mother
would answer that the enemy is in Denmark, but men know the correct
answer, namely, that the enemy sits in the power centers of the German
Confederation: “Die Männer aber wissen wohl, / Der Feind ist in Berlin,
/ In Frankfurt nistet Deutschlands Feind, / Der Feind der sitzt in Wien”
(poem 637). Nearly seven months later, on 2 August 1864, the same pub­
ication printed the poem “Frankfurter Penelope.” The title alludes to the
Penelope of Greek legend who, after her husband Odysseus had been absent
for twenty years, promised to wed the first suitor who could draw his bow.
Odysseus returned and secretly took part in the competition, killing all the
suitors. The Federal Diet had been deliberating issues for nearly twenty
years, but to no avail: “Und dann? dann sprachen sie zum Schluß: / Das
Recht des Einen und des Andern / Ist noch nicht klar, die Sache muß / Noch einmal in den Ausschuß wandern!” (poem 651).

The Augsburger Anzeigblatt published two poems that criticize the in­
decisiveness of the Federal Diet. “Volk laß dich nicht verblüffen,” published
on 28 February 1864, begins: “Der alte deutsche Bundestag / Wie muß er
viel berathen, / Wie er sich scheinbar plagen mag, / Er kommt zu keinen
Thaten” (poem 621). “Ein neues congräßliches Lied” appeared on the
same page of this issue. This poem accuses delegates in Frankfurt of drink­
ing and eating to excess, oblivious of Germany’s problems and unwilling
to take on Denmark: “Nun sitzen Deutschlands Berather / Noch rathlos
da zur Stund’; / Im fürstencongräßlichen Kater / Ging ihre Einheit zu
Grund” (poem 622). The Hamburger Wespen published the poem “Ritter
Toggenburg-Augustenburg” on 9 December 1864:

   Während Frankfurt ohne Ende
   Schläft und faulenzt bloß,
   Liegen Preußens macht’ge Hände
   Müssig nicht im Schooß;
   Immer neue Heeresmassen
   Rücken ein mit List: –
   Wer auf Frankfurt sich verlassen,
   Selbst verlassen ist! (poem 744)

The poet couples this sharp criticism of the Federal Diet with a warning of
Prussia’s growing influence in German and European political affairs (see
also poems 820, 705). An anecdote in the Münchener Punsch of 24 July
1864 concurs with the critical opinions stated in these poems:
Es wird beantragt: daß die Geschäftsordnung des Bundestags höchst langweilig, lästig, lächerlich und schädlich sei und daß die ganze bisherige Ausschußwirthschaft in die Rumpelkammer zu werfen sei. Der Antrag wird — an die Ausschüsse verwiesen. (234)

The poems thus appear to reflect broader public opinion on this issue.

In a poetry review from March 1864 entitled “Für Schleswig-Holstein,” Robert Prutz criticized the London Conference:

Schade, jammerschade, daß Worte keine Thaten, Verse keine Schwerthiebe, Reime keine Sturmcolonnen sind! Hätten wir unsern Poeten den Krieg gegen Dänemark überlassen dürfen, die Düppeler Schanzen wären längst erobert und von Conferenzen, auf denen zuletzt doch wieder fremde List den Sieg davontragen wird über deutsche Tapferkeit, wäre keine Rede.” (466)


The collection contains two poems from the Augsburger Anzeigblatt that convey a similar attitude toward this topic. Both appeared on 8 May 1864, just days after the conference had begun. “Wer Butter auf dem Kopfe hat, der geh’ nicht in die Sonne!” takes aim at the hypocrisy apparent in the actions of the leading European politicians, including the three major German and Austrian figures: “Wer Bismarck, Rechberg kennt und Beust / Und ihre Thaten zählt, / Der weiß auch, welcher deutsche Geist / Dies Dreigestirn beseelt” (poem 625). The poet also attacks the businessmen from Lübeck who make a profit selling gunpowder to the Danes, who in turn kill Germans: “Doch Lübeck sandte gleich Charpie / Nach Flensburg, – wie human! / Macht das die Rechnung wieder glatt? . . . / O stopft der Milde Bronn!” The poem “Zur Londoner Conferenz” argues that Friedrich Ferdinand Beust should not be the sole representative of the Federal Diet in London: “Ein Dutzend Gegner gegen ihn, / Die Höll’ ihm heiß zu machen” (poem 627). Beust, a reactionary stateman, served as both the secretary of state and of domestic affairs for Saxony. The poet concedes, however, that the situation would not be any different even if the entire Diet had attended: “Es wäre gleichwohl einerlei, / Man kennt ja die Geschichte.”

“Ad referendum,” published in the Courier an der Weser on 13 June 1864, satirizes participants at the London Conference and their efforts to find a peaceful solution to the Schleswig-Holstein question (poem 647). The
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The poem mentions most of the major figures who attended and humorously presents their stances. England's Lord Russell presided over the conference. The Austrian Count Apponyi took care not to demand too much: "Ein Bischen Schleswig ließ ich halt / Dem Dänen gern in der Gewalt, / Und zöge heim, wenn ich nur wüßt', / Wer mir die Kosten zahlen müßt'". The Russian representative, Baron Brunnow, had helped draft the Treaty of London and sympathized with the Danish cause: "Ich spräche gern - doch darf's nicht sein - / Ein Wörtchen gegen Preußen drein." Count Bernstorff represented Prussia. A Lauenburger by birth, he was hostile to Denmark and did not have Bismarck's full trust: "Mein Motto ist: Vom Fels zum Meer! / Von Kolding bis zur Königsau / Zieh' ich die Linie ganz genau" (Steefel 226). Beust represented the German Confederation, which had not been a signatory of the Treaty of London. Beust hardly dares to support Bernstorff's solution: "'s ist mehr als ich zu fordern wag'. / Zu viel fast für den Bundestag!" Denmark's representatives included George Quaade, the minister of foreign affairs: "Ich habe satt des Kriegespiel, / Drum zieh' die Linie ich bei Kiel / Und gebe zu, daß Deutschland kriegt, / Was zwischen Kiel und Hamburg liegt." The poet does not mention Bismarck, however, whose influence proved decisive during the war.

Herr Vetter published the "Conferenz-Concert" on 28 May 1864. The poem presents the opinion of all participants at the conference, including those of the Danes and the Schleswig-Holsteiners. The Dane directs his comment at all those who had joined the war against his country: "Fluch und Pest und Gift auf alle, / Die den Athem aus mir knufften, / Ab mir zwackten Blut und Galle" (poem 756). Schleswig-Holstein resents being a pawn for the Great Powers: "Aber Freiheit, Recht und Ehre / Will man schnöde uns begraben, / Und wir sollen - wir, die Einz'gen, / Keinen - keinen Willen haben!" "Auf der Conferenz-Boutique," a poem published on 31 May 1864 in the Frankfurter Latern, appears with a full-page illustration that shows Bismarck sewing Holstein to a map that already includes Prussia and Schleswig. Rechberg, holding a banner imprinted with the words "Personal-Union," watches him work. The Germans in Schleswig-Holstein urge the "tailors" to find a pro-German solution to the conflict with Denmark: "Machet, daß es glückt! / Schneider! nichts gestückt! / Werfet uns auf alle Fäll' / Ja nichts in die Dänenhöll!" (poem 686). "Poesie und Prosa," published in Kladderadatsch on 19 June 1864, argues that the peacefulness found in nature belies the reality of the war: "Ja, Friede rings, wohin das Auge schaut: / [. . .] / Aber – die abscheulichen Diplomaten bringen den Frieden nicht zu Stande!" (poem 771). "Grabspruch," published in the Raketen of 1 July 1864, seconds this opinion: "Die Conferenz ist aus, / Der Berg gebar 'ne Maus" (poem 811).
Chapter Five

The Resolution of the Schleswig-Holstein Question

The collection contains several poems that address issues brought about by the end of the war against Denmark. Although the status of the duchies with respect to the German Confederation had not been clarified, many viewed the war as a concrete step toward German political unity. On 17 July 1864 the Conversations-Blatt published "Von Deutschlands Einheit" (poem 635), which draws parallels between the Wars of Liberation in 1813–15 and the war of 1864. The poem recounts how the German god sent an angel to earth to look for German unity. The angel, after seeing the oak tree under which Theoder Körner rests and visiting a gymnastic society, reports:

[...]
O Gott, es singet in tausendstimmigen Chor
Das Denkervolk fast täglich zu Deinem Thron empor,
Und schwärmt in süßen Liedern von Freiheit und von Licht
Und von vereinten Kräften – Doch Einheit – sah ich nicht!
Wohl singet man vereinert und nennet sich "Verein"
Doch von der wahren Eintracht, besteht nur bloßer Schein!

This poem attests to the strength of the gymnastic societies in 1864 and their continued role in the political movement for German unification. Printed at the end of the war against Denmark, however, the poem laments that the Austro-Prussian victory had not brought the German states any closer to political unification.

The Unterhaltungsblatt zum Straubinger-Tagblatt published "Eine Ehestandsgeschichte" on 15 August 1864, after the war had ended. The poet humorously recounts the "love story" of Schleswig-Holstein. It begins with her hasty marriage in 1460 to the first Christian, who made her a promise: "Du, die mich frei erwählt, / Du sollst Dich meiner herzlich freu'n. – / Up ewig ungedeelt" (poem 839). After the war of 1848–50 and advances by Russia and England to win her favor, Schleswig-Holstein decides to marry Friedrich VIII. Her parents, Germania and Michel, support this choice. Michel, however, tired after all the excitement, retires to his chamber and falls asleep. In this passage the poet criticizes the outcome of the earlier war, which did not admit the duchies to the German Confederation as independent states. He nevertheless finds hope in the symbolic marriage of Schleswig-Holstein and Germany: "Der Herzenherzog Friederich, / Der Wahl- und Erbherzog, / Und Schleswig-Holstein, stammverwandt, / Das Brautpaar lebe hoch!" The poem also reflects the widespread support enjoyed by Friedrich VIII among German nationalists.

Prussia’s growing political influence also concerned poets at the end of the Schleswig-Holstein war. "Auf dem Hohenzollern," a poem printed in the Frankfurter Latern on 24 August 1864, chides Germans in Schleswig-Holstein for their naiveté: "Ihr Thoren, die ihr kühn gehofft / Auf Preußens
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Schutz und Rettung, / Wie saht ihr wieder, wie schon oft, / Des Junkertrugs Verkettung” (poem 695). Prussians shed blood in the war, but for the glory of Prussia, not Germany. Moreover, the alliance with Austria had simply been a strategy to subordinate the country to Prussian control: “Sie woll’n des Volksgeist’s Woge fein / In Tropfen leicht zerstäuben, / ‘Wir wollen keine Deutschen sein, / Wir wollen Preußen bleiben!” (poem 695). In “Der Michel ist nicht kitzelig,” published on 15 December 1864, Bismarck confidently tells Michel: “Sind wir einmal in Holstein d’rin / Bau’n wir dort uns’re Nester!” (poem 704). This foreshadowing of future political developments is also evident in the poem “Ernte-Fragen,” published in the Stadtraubas of 3 September 1864. The poem concludes: “Was werden wir ernten? fragt Oesterreich / Und vom deutschen Bund noch Viele zugleich; / Der Minister von Preußen zur Antwort spricht: / Die Ernte ist unser und kümmert Euch nicht!” (poem 834).

“Epilog zum Drama des 30. October,” published in Kladderadatsch on 6 November 1864, addresses the final Treaty of Vienna. The poem characterizes the conflict with Denmark as a drama: “Fürwahr ein Schau­spiel voll gewalt’ger Scenen! / Jetzt ist’s vorbei, die Spieler ziehn nach Haus: / Entrissen ist das Bruderland den Dänen. / Nun, Publicum, wo bleibt denn dein Applaus?” (poem 774). In “Schleswig-Holstein’s Weihnachtsbescheerung,” published in the Erheiterungen of 19 December 1864, a farmer complains that the duchies have been occupied by military troops, but the freedom promised a year earlier has not materialized: “Bescheert ward uns nur – neue Einquartirung, / Doch Freiheit, wie man’s ausposaunte, nicht!” (poem 662). As these poems indicate, German reactions to the outcome of the war against Denmark were indeed very mixed.

As we have seen, in 1864 poets drew especially on a poem written twenty years earlier; they included a Chemnitz quotation or transformed one of his verses to convey their own political messages. These poets thereby explicitly acknowledged the significant role “An Schleswig-Holstein” had played and continued to play in the formation of a German national consciousness. By 1864 “An Schleswig-Holstein” had become a lyrical and musical tradition upon which other poets could build. Readers, singers, and listeners were undoubtedly aware of this tradition. Indeed, they helped propagate it. The collection of poems demonstrates that the Schleswig-Holstein conflict of 1864 generated poetic responses representing a range of sentiments concerning many key phases of the crisis, including the Prussian-Austrian alliance, the beginning of the war, the siege at Düppel, and the London Conference. The Franco-Prussian War of 1870–71, the third war of German unification, would also provide the stuff of political poetry.
CHAPTER SIX

The Franco-Prussian War of 1870–71.
“Auch Lieder haben ihre Schicksale”

Political developments in 1870 and 1871, in particular the Franco-Prussian War, generated a large body of poetry. The collection of poems demonstrates that newspapers and journals encouraged and published these lyrical responses, thus enabling the poetry not only to reach individual readers but also to enter the public arena. Indeed, in 1870 and 1871 German newspapers played a particularly active role in ensuring that political poetry attained as broad an audience as possible. On 30 July 1870 the Preußischer Staatsanzeiger (Berlin) published the following announcement in a special supplement:

In Folge eines uns mehrseitig ausgesprochenen Wunsches haben wir veranlaßt, daß die Kriegs- und patriotischen Lieder, welche die Zeitungen gegenwärtig veröffentlichen, gesammelt werden. Es wird demnächst über dieselben in diesen Blättern von Zeit zu Zeit eine Uebersicht gegeben werden. Um die möglichste Vollständigkeit derselben herbeizuführen, erlauben wir uns, die verehrlichen Redaktionen der Zeitungen, sowie die Herren Verfasser ergebenst zu ersuchen, uns ein Exemplar der in Rede stehenden Gedichte zur Aufnahme in die angelegte Sammlung gefälligst übersenden zu wollen. (qtd. in Wachsmann, Sammlung 1–2)

An article by Karl Janicke, published in the cultural journal Europa: Chronik der gebildeten Welt in 1871, describes the general reaction to this project:

Inmitten der gewaltigsten Aufregung der Gemüther ging von der Redaction des preußischen Staatsanzeigers die Aufforderung aus, alle in Zeitschriften erschienenen Gedichte einzusenden, um daraus allmählich eine heftweise auszugebende Sammlung zu Nutz und Frommen der Gegenwart und Nachwelt zu veranstalten. Der Plan fand Anklang und bald wurden auch von andern Seiten ähnliche Unternehmungen ins Leben gerufen. (771)
The reason for such a project, Janicke explains, was to mobilize the hearts and minds of the masses:

Wußte man doch, welche gewaltige Macht das Lied auf die Stimmung von Hunderttausenden ausübt. Die Masse treibt nun einmal die Politik mehr mit dem Herzen als mit dem kritischen Verstände, und in einem Kampfe, bei dem die Existenz des ganzen deutschen Volkstums auf dem Spiele stand, galt es Gebrauch zu machen von allen loyalen Waffen gegen einen ränkevollen Feind. (771)

Like the newspaper editors in 1870, Janicke recognized that these political poems played a central role in shaping German national consciousness during the war against France in 1870-71. The Prussian newspaper carried out its project. Edited by Ernst Wachsmann, the *Sammlung der Deutschen Kriegs- und Volkslieder des Jahres 1870: Veranlaßt von der Redaktion des königlich preußischen Staatsanzeigers* appeared in 1871. A second edition of this anthology appeared in 1880, evidence that people wanted to read these poetic responses to the war even a decade after peace had been declared.101

The success of this undertaking induced Wachsmann to edit a similar poem collection in 1871. Entitled *Kaiserlieder*, it was published directly "Im Anschluß an die Sammlung der Deutschen Kriegs- und Volkslieder des Jahres 1870." Wachsmann cites newspapers and journals as the sources for over thirty of the fifty-four poems included in this volume. He even cites a poem from a newspaper in the United States, the *Westliche Post* of St. Louis. The foreword to Wachsmann’s anthology is an address to the German people written by Wilhelm I. Dated 17 January 1871, one day before the Prussian monarch became German Emperor, the text states Wilhelm’s reasons for accepting the title of emperor. It also alludes to the role these poems could play in securing a united Germany in the future:


By preceding the *Kaiserlieder* with a statement from Wilhelm I, Wachsmann emphasized not only the political nature of the poems in his collection but also their influence on German political consciousness. The illustrated
Historical Background

The Peace of Prague, signed on 23 August 1866 at the end of the Austro-Prussian War, excluded Austria from German political affairs and thus paved the way for Prussian hegemony. Three political regions replaced the German Confederation. The southern states (Bavaria, Württemberg, Hesse-Darmstadt, and Baden) were to form an internationally independent political entity tied to the northern states in customs and military matters. Bismarck dealt a strong blow to the principle of legitimacy by annexing Hanover, Electoral Hesse, Hesse-Homburg, Nassau, and the city of Frankfurt. Prussia also annexed Schleswig and Holstein, allowing (at the insistence of Napoleon III) the Danish population in North Schleswig to determine its own future by plebiscite. Bismarck established the North German Confederation, comprised of the twenty-two states north of the Main, on 18 August 1866. Austria had to relinquish Venetia to the kingdom of Italy, and to approve the new structure of the German state without having a voice in decisions.\(^\text{102}\)

Political relations with France remained tense. During the peace negotiations, Napoleon III had insisted upon limiting Prussian expansion to regions north of the Main, but his diplomats had not exacted a price for French neutrality in the war. The masses and public opinion, who considered the battle at Königgrätz to be a French defeat, revealed their nationalist tendencies in the cry “revenge for Sadowa” (Stürmer 59). In part to appease these demands, Napoleon attempted to purchase Luxembourg from the Netherlands in 1867. As Luxembourg had belonged to the German Confederation and had a Prussian garrison, the Dutch king insisted that Wilhelm I approve the deal. Bismarck, taking advantage of the storm of public indignation unleashed in the German territories by Napoleon’s expansionist efforts, humiliated France by rejecting the deal. Modern mass
nationalism and cabinet politics had replaced the traditional system of compensation among the European powers (Stürmer 70). As his authority at home eroded, Napoleon III grew more aggressive in foreign affairs. Ironically, his demands for compensation and his efforts to contain Prussian expansionism contributed to the outbreak of war in 1870–71 and the establishment of the German nation state that France had wanted to avoid.103

In the late 1860s the German nationalist movement and the public opinion it generated had grown intensely emotional, becoming major political factors that Bismarck could not ignore. German nationalists wanted a liberal unified state. They had largely concluded that this would be possible only under Prussian auspices. Bismarck, however, wanted a Prussian, authoritarian nation. As Nipperdey writes, not only Bismarck but the Prussian monarchy and state and their northern German allies sought to control the nationalist movement. German unification had to occur “from above,” and a revolution of the masses had to be avoided at all costs (Deutsche Geschichte 1866-1918 2: 15; 24). While Bismarck may not have actively instigated a war with France in the spring of 1870, he proved ready to take advantage of a French provocation that could outrage German public opinion and offer an opportunity to bring the southern states under Prussian control (Stürmer 71). He had already used the threat of French expansionism to extract secret defensive alliances, the Schutz- und Trutzbündnisse, from the southern states, placing their armies under Prussian command in the case of war.104 That summer he further strengthened ties with the south through new customs treaties.105

A breakdown in diplomacy provided the immediate reason for war in the summer of 1870. At the same time, it demonstrated that the Franco-Prussian War resulted in no small part from Bismarck’s Realpolitik. Spanish conservatives and the military had forced Queen Isabella into exile in September 1868.106 In 1869 Spain proposed Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, a member of the Catholic, southern branch of the family and a cousin of Wilhelm I, as a candidate for the throne. When the Spanish marshall Prim made the offer more concrete in February 1870, Bismarck quickly got involved. Making this dynastic issue a matter of German politics, he tried to win the king’s support of the candidacy. Evidence indicates that the Prussian statesman wanted to deal French politics a blow and to mobilize nationalist sentiment for German unification, although he had not yet discounted a peaceful resolution to the conflict.107

The Sigmaringens followed Wilhelm I’s advice and declined the candidacy on 20 April 1870. On 7 May a plebiscite in France strengthened the conservative, anti-Prussian party in France. Gramont, opposed to “small German” unity, became the secretary of state. Bismarck renewed his efforts on behalf of Leopold, persuading the prince and Wilhelm I to accept
the candidacy on 19 June. The French government protested. In a speech to the parliament on 6 July 1870, Gramont declared Prussia responsible for an unacceptable shift in the European balance of power that would expose France to threats on both fronts and inevitably lead to war (Nipperdey, *Deutsche Geschichte 1866–1918* 2: 58; Schieder 198). This French stance forced Bismarck to retreat. Acting on the advice of King Wilhelm, the Sigmaringens publicly declined the throne on 12 July 1870.

This victory did not satisfy Napoleon III, who wanted to satisfy public demands for humiliating Prussia. On 13 July 1870 the French ambassador Benedetti visited Wilhelm I in the spa town of Ems and demanded a guarantee that the king would never approve a Hohenzollern candidate for the Spanish throne. The monarch refused to make such a promise. When Bismarck received a telegram from Bad Ems that accurately depicted the friendly diplomatic encounter, he falsified the text and made it appear as if the French ambassador had offended the king. He published the doctored Ems Telegram in the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* on 14 July 1870, which immediately produced an outburst of public opinion against France. The incident also inflamed public opinion in France, which declared war the same day.

The outraged German public gave Bismarck the justification he needed to go to war against France. The press supported Bismarck’s political aims, portraying the issue as a question of national self-assertion and Prussian prestige (Stürmer 74). Bismarck conducted the Franco-Prussian War on different levels. In the conflict with France, he sought a partner willing to conclude peace. He negotiated with the southern states to bring them under Prussian control, and he led a diplomatic battle to prevent the political and military intervention of the European powers.

France had reorganized its military since 1866 and had new weapons, including the *chassepot*, a rifle capable of firing accurately up to sixteen hundred yards, and the *mitrailleuse*, an early machine gun. Budget cuts had reduced the size of the army, however, and its organizational structure proved weak. Assistance from Italy and Austria did not materialize, and conflicts between Napoleon and the military leaders François Bazaine and Patrice Maurice de MacMahon compounded difficulties in determining military strategy (Carr, *Origins* 204–05).

Count Helmuth von Moltke, the Prussian chief of general staff, designed the Prussian military offensive, which aimed to surround the enemy and triumph with one major battle. The Germans also had modern technology on their side; railroads transported the troops and telegraphs helped coordinate the war effort (Nipperdey, *Deutsche Geschichte 1866–1918* 2: 63–64). German troops entered Lorraine from three directions. General Steinmetz led an army in the north, Prince Friedrich Karl covered the center, and
the crown prince of Prussia led the third army in the south. They attained quick victories, defeating MacMahon at Weissenburg on 4 August 1870 and at Wörth on 6 August 1870, and Bazaine at Spichern on 6 August 1870 (Schieder 201). The Germans suffered an immense loss of lives, however, greater than the French (Stürmer 76). Bazaine retreated to Metz, encountering German armies at Vionville-Mars la Tour (16 August) and Gravelotte-St.-Privat (18 August). Encircled and confined at the fortress at Metz, Bazaine did not capitulate until the end of October. Stürmer points out that these battles made little sense in terms of military strategy, but they had a positive psychological effect on German public opinion. Blood had flowed for German unity (76).

Moltke stopped the German march towards Paris and turned to fight MacMahon, who was marching towards Metz. On 1 September 1870, German soldiers trapped the French army near Sedan, between the Meuse and the Belgian border. MacMahon capitulated on 2 September 1870. The German victory ended the French Second Empire, for Napoleon III was among the 100,000 soldiers taken prisoner. (He spent his incarceration comfortably at the castle Wilhelmshöhe in Cassel.) Bismarck issued directives on 13 and 16 September 1870 that delineated the German conditions for peace. These included the annexation of Alsace and Lorraine and the seizure of French fortresses. At least on the surface, Bismarck's demands reflected those of the German nationalist movement, whose supporters justified territorial expansion with arguments of common nationality, language, and history (Schieder 202).

But the war had not ended. Parisians revolted on 4 September and proclaimed the Third Republic. General Trochu formed the Gouvernement de la défense nationale with Jules Favre and Léon Gambetta. They exhibited willingness to conclude peace, but on the condition that the territorial integrity of France be maintained (Nipperdey, Deutsche Geschichte 1866-1918 2: 64). When the German armies surrounded Paris on 19 September 1870, the war became a defensive and nationalist one for France. Gambetta escaped with a hot-air balloon and organized the resistance from outside of Paris in the name of the new government, which rejected Bismarck's territorial demands. Gambetta organized mass armies that fought a guerilla war against German troops near Orléans and along the Loire. The Germans suffered considerable losses, but in mid-January defeated French troops near Le Mans, on the Somme, and in Belfort. The Germans then occupied Paris. Civil war broke out when supporters of the Commune rebelled against the conservative government and Bismarck.

Bismarck wanted to bombard Paris to force the war to an end before the European powers could intervene. Moltke wanted to starve the city into submission. The Parisians began rationing meat at the end of September,
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and in mid-December began rationing bread as well. Public kitchens, often organized by wealthy citizens, tried to meet the needs of the poor. People often had to stand in line for hours during the particularly harsh winter of 1870-71 (Kramp, “Henri” 427). At the end of December, Wilhelm decided to follow Bismarck's plan and bombard the city.

Bismarck worked with the conservative French government to arrange a three-week armistice on 28 January 1871; Favre and Adolphe Thiers overrode Gambetta to secure this agreement. A national parliament elected during this time met on 13 February 1871 and elected Thiers to head the government. He and Favre attended the peace negotiations. Signed in Versailles on 26 February 1871, the preliminary peace treaty provided for the Germans to relinquish Belfort but to keep Metz, and it required France to pay indemnities of five billion gold francs. France also had to relinquish Alsace and Lorraine, referred to in the treaty as the "Reichsland Elsaß-Lothringen." The Peace of Frankfurt, signed on 10 May 1871, also demanded French recognition of the new German Reich. The German public generally viewed the conditions of the treaty as historically legitimate. Moreover, Alsace-Lorraine offered military security for the next war, which calmed the fears of southern German states (Stürmer 78). For the French, the Peace of Frankfurt represented a humiliating defeat and the loss of a region that had been part of France since the French Revolution (Schieder 206).

Bismarck concluded negotiations on the new German Reich before the Peace of Frankfurt was signed. As Schieder points out, the Reich resulted from the victories against France and the nationalist sentiment generated by the war, but also from Bismarck's skillful negotiations with the southern German states in October and November of 1870 (206). Bismarck persuaded them to accept the constitution of the North German Confederation, with Bavaria and Württemberg receiving special privileges (Schieder 207). The words "Kaiser" and "Reich" replaced "Präsidium" and "Bund," reflecting the new nation's desire for stronger symbols. On 18 January 1871 Wilhelm I was crowned German emperor in the Hall of Mirrors in Versailles, which before and after the ceremony served as a hospital for wounded Prussian soldiers. Bismarck ensured that the offer of the title of emperor would not come from a parliament, as it had in 1849. By offering Ludwig II four to five million marks annually to support his building projects, Bismarck induced the Bavarian monarch to offer Wilhelm the title in a letter (written by Bismarck) on behalf of all German rulers (Nipperdey, Deutsche Geschichte 1866-1918 2: 79).

Germans immediately characterized the Franco-Prussian War as the third war of German unification, a war that combined the powerful Prussian military tradition with the forces and ideas of the nationalist move-
merit. The presence of a foreign enemy had also influenced public opinion and shaped national consciousness (Schieder 200). Animosity towards the French figured prominently in the political poetry of 1870–71.

“Die Wacht am Rhein”

Several poems in the collection demonstrate that the Rhine still served as a powerful nationalist symbol in 1870. It represented not only a mighty and historically significant German river but also the western German border, a bulwark against a French attack. Hostilities between the Germans and the French in the nineteenth century, in particular Blücher’s crossing of the Rhine during the war against Napoleon (29 January 1814) and the Rhine crisis of 1840, provided poets who were writing about the Franco-Prussian War in 1870 a historical and literary tradition upon which they could draw. After the first German victories in Alsace and Lorraine in August 1870, the possibility of a French offensive across the Rhine evaporated. Poets in 1870–71 nevertheless drew upon the Rhine topos to comment upon the war and to generate nationalist feelings among their readers.

Not surprisingly, a similar phenomenon occurred simultaneously in France. The intense anti-German sentiment generated by the Franco-Prussian War was expressed in part in a rebirth of nationalist poems and songs that had been popular in 1840. A single sheet entitled “Théâtre de la guerre,” published in Paris 1870–71, included the patriotic songs “La Marseillaise” (1792) by Rouget de L’Isle and also “Le Rhin Allemand” (1841), Alfred de Musset’s ironic response to Becker’s “Der deutsche Rhein” (Czarnocka, “Liedflugblatt” 442; see Chapter 2). Both songs enjoyed enormous popularity during the German occupation of Paris. The Marseillaise, which did not become the official French national anthem until 1879, had played a prominent role during the revolutionary and oppositional uprisings of 1815, 1830, 1832, and 1848. In 1870, the French government ordered it sung at public events and in theaters and concerts. Czarnocka claims that the song served to motivate the despondent French army against the Germans (“Liedflugblatt” 442).

Germans poets writing about the political developments of 1870–71 often borrowed elements from Rhine poems that had played a major role in shaping the national consciousness in both 1813–15 and 1840. A small booklet, Deutschlands Kriegern bei ihrem Durchzuge durch Leipzig im August 1870, illustrates this claim. Published in a small format so that soldiers could carry it into battle, the songbook includes Arndt’s “Des Deutschen Vaterland” (1813), Körner’s “Lützow’s wilde Jagd” (1813), Max Schneckenburger’s “Die Wacht am Rhein” (1840), and Hoffmann von Fallersleben’s “Deutschland über Alles” (1841). In early 1871 the journal Deutsche Warte
published a review of Franz Lipperheide’s poetry anthology, *Lieder zu Schutz und Trutz: Gaben deutscher Dichter aus der Zeit des Krieges in den Jahren 1870 und 1871*. The review comments on the significance attributed to earlier political poems, in particular the *Rheinlieder*:


As we saw in Chapter 2, Becker’s “Der deutsche Rhein” had indeed attained the status of a national anthem in 1840. Schneckenburger’s poem, however, surged in popularity in 1870, far surpassing the resonance it had garnered in 1840. Although the collection does not include “Die Wacht am Rhein,” first published in 1840, it does contain several lyrical responses to the political developments of 1870-71 that specifically quote or allude to Schneckenburger’s text. And as we shall see, poems that treat the Rhine abound.

A publication from 1871 attests to the poem’s new popularity. Georg Scherer and Franz Lipperheide edited *Die Wacht am Rhein, das deutsche Volks- und Soldatenlied des Jahres 1870. Mit Portraits, Facsimiles, Musikbeilagen, Uebersetzungen usw.* They dedicated the booklet to Victoria, the German empress and queen of Prussia, and noted that profits would go “Zum Besten der Carl Wilhelm’s-Dotation und der deutschen Invalidenstiftung.” The patriotic text begins:

Auch Lieder haben ihre Schicksale. […] Im Sommer 1870, mitten im tiefsten Frieden, wirft welcher Uebermuth dem deutschen Volke den Fehdehandschuh hin, und seine Eroberungsgelüste bedrohen auf’s neue nicht nur Deutschlands Strom, sondern auch Deutschlands Einigung, Deutschlands Macht und Größe. Da erhebt sich die ganze deutsche Nation wie Ein Mann zum heiligen Kampfe wider den Erbfeind. Und die tiefe Entrüstung über den frevelhaften Angriff, das Bewußtsein unserer gerechten Sache und das Vertrauen auf die eigene Kraft, sie finden plötzlich ihren ungesuchten, begeisterten Ausdruck in dem halbverklungenen Liede — wie Schwertgeklirr und Wogenprall erschallt aus Millionen Kehlen
die stolze Zuversicht: "Lieb Vaterland, magst ruhig sein, / Fest steht und treu die Wacht am Rhein." In kurzer Zeit wird die "Wacht am Rhein" nicht nur zum nationalen Hochgesang, so weit die deutsche Zunge klingt, sie wird auch das allgemeine Marsch- und Kriegslied der deutschen Heere, und unter ihren begeisterten Klängen eilen unsere Brüder und Söhne in die Schlacht. Dreißig Jahre nach seiner Entstehung feiert das Lied seine Auferstehung im Herzen des deutschen Volkes. (Scherer and Lipperheide 1)

The text provides several accounts of the role Schneckenburger's poem played in influencing the national consciousness. Three thousand Germans in London performed the song on 20 July 1870 as a show of support for Germany at the beginning of the war, for example. A Prussian officer present at the battle of Weissenburg on 4 August 1870 told how he thought his company had been defeated, until his men began singing "Die Wacht am Rhein," welches ich auf dem ganzen Marsch tagtäglich bis zum Ueberdruss hatte hören müssen. The officer attributed his company's victory to the song (Scherer and Lipperheide 20). After the victory of 1871, Germans even considered making it their national anthem (Kramp, "Fahne" 61-62).

A collection of Schneckenburger's poetry published by his widow in 1870 (the poet had died in 1849 at the age of forty) also attests to the resurgence of "Die Wacht am Rhein" in that year. Entitled Deutsche Lieder von Max Schneckenburger, dem Sänger der "Wacht am Rhein": Auswahl aus seinem Nachlaß, the book contains thirty poems; "Die Wacht am Rhein" is of course the first in the collection. The characterization of his poems as "Deutsche Lieder" reflects the nationalist sentiment that made the Rheinlieder popular during the war against France. Schneckenburger's wife comments upon the historical and contemporary significance of "Die Wacht am Rhein" in her foreword:


She also writes that surveys had been carried out to ascertain whether or not Germans recognized the poet's name. His fans had even handed out reproductions of his portrait.
Schneckenburger’s poem influenced artists in the second half of the nineteenth century. Lorenz Clasen’s painting *Germania auf der Wacht am Rhein* conveys the same nationalist, anti-French sentiment apparent in Schneckenburger’s poem. Completed in 1860 for the Krefeld city hall, the work of art depicts Germania as a young woman standing on the cliffs of the Rhine. Facing west, she is holding a drawn sword. A shield to her left bears the words: “Das deutsche Schwert beschützt den deutschen Rhein,” underscoring the allegory of Germania as the German defense against France (Plessen, “Wahlverwandtschaften” 39). Her aggressive stance reflects the anti-French sentiment prevalent in the German territories, particularly Prussia, after Napoleon III had helped the Italian nationalist movement achieve unification in 1861 (Czarnocka, “Lorenz” 61). After 18 January 1871, Germania came to symbolize the military victories and newly founded German Reich. The phrase “Gott war mit uns / Ihm sei die Ehre” was added to Clasen’s painting (Kramp “Fahne” 61–62). Another German painter, Hermann Wislicenus, completed *Die Wacht am Rhein (Germania)* in 1874, which also depicts Germania guarding the Rhine. Wearing armor, she is leaning on her sword on the cliffs high above the Rhine, looking warily towards France (Plessen, “Hermann” 62).

Moreover, “Die Wacht am Rhein” inspired numerous patriotic mementos both during and after the war of 1870–71, yet further evidence of the poem’s popular appeal. A red scarf from 1870–71, for example, shows Clasen’s Germania in the center, surrounded by the text of Schneckenburger’s poem. Portraits of the rulers from the southern German states of Württemberg, Baden, and Bavaria (Karl, Friedrich, and Ludwig, respectively) and Emperor Wilhelm, the guarantors of the Rhine border, adorn the four corners. As Jakob Vogel writes, the use of such scarfs as tablecloths, pillow coverings, and wall hangings attests to the power of these stereotypical representations for the collective remembrance of the war in German society (434).

The poem’s refrain made the song relevant and popular among Germans during World War I and II as well. A leaflet published on 31 March 1915 in Los Angeles included an English version of “Die Wacht am Rhein,” “Translated and adapted to the present war” by Hanford Lennox Gordon (n. pag.). He also added a final stanza, which included a religious quotation from Martin Luther:

> The eyes of hero-mothers shine;  
> Our sons—our sons—are on the Rhein!  
> “Ein’ feste Burg ist unser Gott;”  
> Our cruel foes shall crush us not:
With Thy broad shield and Thy right hand,
God, guard our holy Fatherland!

Hanford left the German phrase “Die Wacht am Rhein” in both the title and in the refrain, suggesting that he expected those purchasing his translation to speak some German. He undoubtedly intended his publication for German immigrants and their descendants in the United States who could use the song to show support for the Germans fighting in Europe, much as Germans in London had sung Schneckenburger’s song in 1870. The publication also includes Gordon’s translations of “Deutschland Über Alles” (again, he left the title and the refrain in German) and the “National Hymn of Austria.” A postcard published in New York in 1914 offers further evidence that these patriotic songs played a role in shaping the German national consciousness, even among Germans living in the United States. The postcard is a photograph of Emperor Wilhelm with his six sons, and P.C. Pullman’s English translation of Hoffmann von Fallersleben’s song on the back, here entitled “Deutschland, Deutschland First of Nations” (N.B. the chauvinist mistranslation). Pullmann also provided an address so that people could order the song in sheet music form, for ten cents a copy.

In July 1870 the Industrieller Humorist published an illustrated poem, “Ueber die Klinge,” which draws on Schneckenburger’s and Becker’s Rheinlieder. This poem leaves no doubt in the reader’s mind that the Germans will be able to prevent the French from crossing the Rhine. It begins with a Schneckenburger quotation: “Germania hält Wacht am Rhein, / Das blanke Schwert in ihrer Rechten” (poem 905). Germania, who remembers the way to Paris from the wars against Napoleon in 1813, varies a Nikolaus Becker quotation: “Der Rhein ist deutsch! – Den deutschen Rhein / Soll nie ein Wälscher überschreiten; / Deutsch ist der Rhein, deutsch soll er sein / Für heute und für alle Zeiten!” In the illustration, Germania is standing on the bank of the Rhine, much like the figure in Clasen’s painting. She is holding a shield in her left hand and a sword outstretched in her right. Napoleon III, depicted as a pug, is attempting to jump over the Rhine and her sword. It looks as if he might succeed, but in mid-air he realizes that he will land in a row of sharp, spike-like blades sticking up out of the ground. This drawing illustrates the idiomatic expression in the final stanza of the poem, and the pun it creates with the word “Klinge”: “Und sitemal so wird es ja / Wohl dieses mal uns auch gelingen: – / Den Mops läßt Frau Germania / Flott uber diese Klinge springen! –” The poem, supported by the illustration, reflects the conviction held by many Germans that they could defeat the French.

A second poem published by the Industrieller Humorist after German troops had surrounded Paris documents the role Schneckenburger’s poem
played in raising the morale of German soldiers and also assuring their readiness to fight. It established a strong association between the song and the military victories achieved by German troops. The first stanza of “Pariser Einzugslied” begins:

Mit Hurrah und Trompetenklang
Geht’s nach Paris hinein.
Stimmt ein in unsern Schlachtgesang,
In uns’re Wacht am Rhein!
Herbei, herbei, ihr Brüder all
Von jedem deutschen Stamm!
Erstiegen wird mit Jubelschall
Des Feindes letzter Damm. (poem 912)

The song accompanied soldiers from Bavaria, Baden, Hesse, Württemberg, and Prussia, the “Bruderheer,” from the first victory at Weissenburg to the gates of Paris. The poem warns Paris, characterized as a city of excess and wickedness, to heed the song: “Hurrah, du stolzes Babylon, / Hörst du der Sieger Chor? / Verstummt ist dein Napoleon! / Die Deutschen sind am Thor!” By helping to unite soldiers from different German states, “Die Wacht am Rhein” not only ensured their triumph over the French but the attainment of German unity: “Die deutsche Einheit ist erbliht! / So tönt’s vom Fels zum Meer. / Auf, Deutschlands Krieger, Deutschlands Zier, / Hoch rauscht der Vater Rhein!”

The Kladderadatsch of 2 October 1870 published a poem in its “Feuilleton” section that quotes Schneckenburger’s title as part of its own. “Die Wacht am Rhein, mit zeitgemäßen Variationen” expands upon the concept of a watch on the Rhine to recount the German military victories in the first weeks of the Franco-Prussian War: “Nicht lange stund die Wacht am Rhein, / Bald ging es in die Pfalz hinein, / [. . .] / Und nach zwei Tagen hieß es gar: / Sie steht in Frankreich an der Saar” (poem 927). The confinement of Bazaine in the fortress at Metz meant a westward shift of the watch: “Dann kam die Botschaft über Nacht: / Jetzt an der Mosel steht die Wacht.” The battle of Sedan and the fall of the Second Empire moved the Germans even further west: “Und eh’ man sich’s versah, geschah’s / Da stund die Wacht schon an der Maas.” Following the Aube and Marne rivers, two tributaries of the Seine, German troops reached Paris: “Die Wacht, die Wacht, die Deutsche Wacht / Erst an der Seine ein Ende macht.” This poem sanctions the war against France, as evidenced by the anti-French tone of the following verses: “Und Alles was in Sedan saß, / Das ward erbeutet – ohne Maß. / Fürwahr die Wacht verdient mein Lob / Sie steht vielleicht schon an der Aube!” This reflects a change the “humoristisch-satyrisches Wochenblatt” had undergone by 1870. The Berlin publication had demonstrated
anti-Bismarck tendencies in the early 1860s, but like many other liberal oppositional publications, Kladderadatsch gradually became a supporter of Bismarck and Prussian politics (Obenaus 229: 79; Schulz 141).

A further poem borrows Schneckenburger’s title and also attributes a military victory to his song. The Königlich privilegirte Berlinische Zeitung published “Die ‘Wacht am Rhein’ bei Chateaudun” on 5 January 1871. The poem is a response to fighting that took place near Orléans in December 1870, part of the radical guerrilla war led by Gambetta after the siege of Paris. Châteaudun was almost completely destroyed during this battle. The poem depicts intense fighting: “Bei Chateaudun im Franzenland, / Da gab’s ein blutig Ringen. / Die Feinde hielten tapfer Stand, / Die Stadt war nicht zu zwingen” (poem 942). Each stanza ends with Schneckenburger’s refrain, a sharp contrast to the combat described: “Lieb Vaterland, magst ruhig sein, / Fest steht und treu die Wacht am Rhein.” When a Bavarian platoon runs out of ammunition, the German troops prepare to retreat: “Nun gilt es, rückwärts aus der Schlacht / Der Röhren Lauf zu richten.” But a lieutenant orders his company to sing: “Stattd unsrer Batterie, zum Schluß / Aufpflanzte gar die seine / Der Feind. . . Im Lauf den letzten Schuß, / Stimmt an die Wacht am Rheine!” This proves to be the right strategy: “Hinüber zu den Franzen klang, / Wie fernes Donnerbrausen, / Der Deutschen stolzer Schlachtgesang – / Den Franzmann faßt ein Grausen.” The soldiers sing for an hour, the fresh ammunition arrives, and the fighting resumes: “Da kracht’ es, Schlund an Schlünde.”

The Berlin newspaper cites the most recent (ninth) volume of Lieder zu Schutz und Trutz: Gaben deutscher Dichter aus der Zeit des Krieges im Jahre 1870 as the source for this poem. Edited by Lipperheide, these collections of war poetry appeared regularly in 1870 and 1871. Janicke claims the project initiated by the Prussian Staatsanzeiger also motivated Lipperheide to begin publishing contemporary poems:

Das gediegenste Werk dieser Art, das gleichzeitig mit dem Ausbruche des Krieges, vor allen übrigen derartigen Sammlungen, ins Leben gerufen wurde, sind die von Franz Lipperheide herausgegebenen “Lieder zu Schutz und Trutz.” (771)

Most of the poems in Lipperheide’s publications are original contributions; he also includes several reproductions of poets’ original manuscripts. The fact that the Berlin newspaper reprinted this poem demonstrates that a two-way exchange was taking place in 1870–71 between the press and poetry anthologies. Not only did publishers issue collections of political poems that had appeared in newspapers and journals, but newspapers and journals reprinted poems from the newest anthologies.
Schneckenburger's poem was not the only source of inspiration for the poets of 1870-71. In addressing the political developments of these years, poets especially drew on the Rheinlieder of 1840 and the Freiheitslieder of 1813-15, thus reminding their readers of previous political conflicts with their western neighbors. Clearly they expected their readers to recognize the allusions to earlier poems. Although knowledge of the previous poems was of course not necessary to understand the message of the poems of 1870-71, awareness of the parallels between texts intensified the messages of the poems and strengthened their appeal to readers.

On 27 July 1870, in the first month of the war, the Conversations-Blatt published "Deutschland ist einig" (poem 841). The poem as well as its journalistic context appeared to reflect the resurgence of the German Rheinlied in that year. An article in the same issue entitled "Der Kriegsschauplatz" predicts fighting on the Rhine:

Die deutsch-französische Grenze und die nächst anliegende Zone Landes, die so viele Kriege schon sah, wird heuer, mindestens zum Beginn der Feindseligkeiten, wieder einmal berufen, den Schauplatz blutiger Kämpfe zu bilden. (n. pag.)

The article proceeds to describe the geographical landscape of the Rhine, and a footnote informs readers that a free map of Germany's western border would be included in one of the next issues. An anecdote in the “Mannigfaltiges” section of the same issue of the Conversations-Blatt also addresses the Rhine. This entry reports that two Berlin businessmen donated thirteen hundred bottles of wine, cognac, and bishop (a hot drink of port wine, oranges, and cloves) to the troops leaving for the western front. A poem printed on the labels parodies Nikolaus Becker's "Der deutsche Rhein":

Sie dürfen ihn nicht haben,
Den freien deutschen Rhein!
Einstweilen thut euch laben
Und dann haut wacker drein!

Die Berliner (n. pag.)

Yet another anecdote in the same section poses a question:

(Was wollen die Franzosen am Rhein?) Diese Frage wird jetzt vielfach aufgeworfen und mit Achselzucken beantwortet. Im Düsseldorfer "Malkasten" (jenem bekannten Verein von Künstlern) dagegen ist man der Ansicht: die Franzosen fühlen bloß das Bedürfniß, am Rheine eine Molkenkur zu nehmen. Wenn es ihnen nur gut bekommt. (n. pag.)
This publication demonstrates that, less than two weeks after the French had declared war on Prussia, anti-French sentiment similar to that rampant in the German territories in 1813–15 and in 1840 had once again surfaced. The businessmen’s use of the famous “Der deutsche Rhein” from 1840, and the fact that this publication printed the story, indicates that people remembered Becker’s poem and the role it had played in shaping the German national consciousness thirty-one years earlier. The businessmen clearly hoped the song would have the same effect in 1870.

The journal’s editor underscored this intent by publishing the poem “Deutschland ist einig.” The melody given, “Das Volk steht auf, der Sturm bricht los,” is the first verse of a poem by Theodor Körner entitled “Männer und Buben” (Körner 1: 31–33). This poetic response to French aggression in 1870 thus draws on the anti-French emotions and poetic traditions of the Wars of Liberation. Both poems appeal to Germans to fight against the French enemy. Körner tries to shame men who hide behind the stove, go to the theater, or run to their lovers rather than fight: “Wenn wir vor’m Drange der würgenden Schlacht / Zum Abschied an’s ferne Treuliebchen gedacht: / Magst du zu deinen Maitressen laufen, / Und dir mit Golde die Lust erkaufen” (32). The poem from 1870 aims its criticism not at men who should be fighting, but at those who should be ruling and governing. The third stanza reprimands politicians who had considered political relations with France in the past: “Deutschland ist einig! Hört’s, ihr Herrn, / Die ihr unsere Freiheit verkaufet so gern, / Ob ihr auch mit den Franzosen liebäugelt / Und dem niedrigsten Pöbel schmeichelt” (poem 841).

The first stanza of “Deutschland ist einig” does not correspond to the political reality of July 1870: “Deutschland ist einig! Gott sei Dank! / Der Preuß und Bayer, Sachs und Frank’ / Hessen und unsere biedern Schwaben, / Frauen und Männer, Greise und Knaben.” The poem argues that nationalist, anti-French feelings unified all Germans against the common enemy: “Alle erheben zum Schwüre die Hand: / Wir schützen Dich, liebes Vaterland!” The Conversations-Blatt, a supplement to the Regensburger Tagblatt, was published in Bavaria. In 1867–68 a resurgence of particularism had taken place in this southern state, in large part a protest against Bismarck’s attempts to create a unified national state under Prussian auspices (Schieder 181–82). The non-particularistic tone of this poem therefore may not have reflected broader public opinion. The last line of the refrain, “Und deutsch muß sein und bleiben der Rhein!” also underscores the message of German unity. It recalls not only Arndt’s “Des Deutschen Vaterland” (“Das soll es sein! / Das ganze Deutschland soll es sein!”), but also the refrain in Herwegh’s “Rheinweinlied”: “Der Rhein soll deutsch verbleiben” (Arndt 21; Herwegh Gedichte 36–37). A final reference to the Rhine in this poem borrows the sword and storm motifs from “Die Wacht am Rhein”: 
“Die Wacht am Rhein”

“Deutschland ist einig! Alle steh’n / Bereit mit dem Schwert in den Kampf zu gehen. / Hört ihr es wehen und hört ihr es brausen / Mächtig durch’s Land wie Sturmesaussen?”

Ferdinand Freiligrath, the revolutionary Vormärz poet who in 1848 had written “Wien” (poem 117) in response to the bloody counterrevolution in the Austrian capital, remained a critic of Bismarck and the Austro-Prussian War after his return to Germany in 1868, but he joined the ranks of many liberals in 1870-71 when he affirmed the third war of German unification (Kircher, “Ferdinand” 545-46). His poem “Hurrah, Germania!”, published in the Deutscher Sprachwart on 20 August 1870, after the victories in Alsace and Lorraine and the confinement of Bazaine in Metz, reflects his nationalistic convictions. Freiligrath depicts the Rhine as the French objective in the war. Using the same image of Germany found in Clasen’s painting, Germania auf der Wacht am Rhein, the poet attributes a military function to this allegorical figure: “Hurrah, du stolzes schönes Weib, / Hurrah, Germania! / Wie kühn mit vorgebeugtem Leib / Am Rheine stehst du da!” (poem 856). The poet’s idyllic portrayal of the German territories before France declared war glosses over Bismarck’s efforts to provoke the conflict:

Du [Germania] dachtest nicht an Kampf und Streit;  
In Fried’ und Freud’ und Ruh’  
Auf deinen Feldern, weit und breit,  
Die Ernte schnittest du.  
Die Garben führst du ein;  
Da plötzlich, horch, ein andrer Tanz!  
Das Kriegshorn überm Rhein!

The imagery Freiligrath borrows from Schneckenburg’s poem serves to emphasize the anti-French sentiment that permeates this poem. The verse “Zum Rhein! zum Rhein! zum Rhein!” echoes the third line in “Die Wacht am Rhein”; the omission of the adjective in the final repetition increases the urgency of the poet’s appeal. Freiligrath also quotes part of Schneckenburger’s refrain: “Mag kommen nun, was kommen mag: / Fest steht Germania!” Furthermore, he quotes Arndt in expressing his conviction that German victory in the war will lead to unification: “Was ist des Deutschen Vaterland, – / Wir fragen’s heut nicht mehr! / Ein Geist, Ein Arm, Ein einz’ger Leib, / Ein Wille sind wir heut!”

Fritz Ohnesorge’s “Kriegslied” also appeared on 20 August 1870 in the Deutscher Sprachwart (poem 857). The melody indicated, “Was blasen,” refers to the first line of Arndt’s poem “Das Lied vom Feldmarshall”: “Was blasen die Trompeten? Husaren heraus!” Written in 1813, Arndt’s poem praises the military feats of the Prussian field marshall Gebhard Blücher,
who would lead the German soldiers in their defeat of Napoleon at Waterloo in 1815: “Drum blaset, ihr Trompeten! Husaren heraus! / Du reite, Herr Feldmarschall, wie Winde im Saus! / Dem Siege entgegen, zum Rhein, übern Rhein! / Du tapferer Degen, in Frankreich hinein! (Arndt 91). Ohnesorge also addresses the war against France: “Was schmettern die Trompeten beim frühen Morgenstrahl? / Wohin, ihr wackern Streiter, durchs grüne Wiesenthal? / Zum Rhein, zu unserm Rheine, zu tapfrer Landeswehr, / Zu geben den Franzosen 'ne derbe deutsche Lehr'.” The poet echoes the demands for Alsace and Lorraine that large parts of the German population justified on the basis of a common language: “In Metz sowie in Straßburg und auf und ab den Rhein / Soll fürder kein Franzose sein Kauderwelsch mehr schrein.”

The first verse of Ohnesorge’s last stanza, “Drum frisch zum lust’gen Jagen,” is a slight variation of the first line of another poem from 1813, Fouqué’s “Kriegslied für die freiwilligen Jäger”: “Frisch auf, zum fröhlichen Jagen! / Es ist nun an der Zeit; / es fängt schon an zu tagen, / der Kampf ist nicht mehr weit” (qtd. in Wohlrabe 66–67). Ohnesorge draws on this earlier poem to urge the Germans to fight against Napoleon III: “Was kann's denn weiter kosten, das ist so schrecklich nicht; / Doch höchstens zwei Napoleons und Schmarren im Gesicht.” Readers in 1870 undoubtedly recognized the reference to Becker’s “Der deutsche Rhein”: “Sie schrien mit gier'gem Krächzen, zum Lachen ist der Spaß, / Nach unserm grünen Rheine, wie Raben nach dem Fraß.”

Kladderadatsch published “Ein Lied vom Vater Rhein” (poem 925) on 28 August 1870, as the German armies were closing in on French troops between the Meuse and the Belgian border just before the battle of Sedan. This poem also addresses the French threat to the Rhine. As mentioned above, a battle along the Rhine may have been a realistic possibility in July 1870, but not after the French defeats in August. This poem suggests that the German fear of a French attack along the Rhine in 1870 could not be easily dispelled by political or military reality. Using traditional Rheinlied imagery such as grapevines and cathedrals, this poem depicts Father Rhine worrying about French soldiers:

“Es brechen die Halunken
Herein – o welche Schmach –
Zu pressen meine Trauben,
Zu plündern Haus und Dom,
Zu tanzen und zu rauben
An meinem heil'gen Strom!”

Female personifications of the Mosel and the Aare (tributaries of the Rhine) urge “Herzvater” Rhine to trust his sons: “Die werden es schon hindern, /
Das der Franzose kommt!" A small boat arrives carrying a young woman who personifies yet another river, the Meuse. She introduces herself as a German child, emphasizing the symbolism of the Rhine as a father, and asks to be taken in. Laughing contentedly, Father Rhine responds: "Nie sollst du mehr geschieden / Von Deutschen Landen sein!" The story echoes Hoffmann von Fallersleben's call to establish the Meuse as a German border: "Von der Maas bis an die Memel" ("Lied" 1).

On 19 September 1870 the Erheiterungen: Belletristisches Beiblatt zur Aschaffenburger Zeitung published "Der letzte Kampf am Rhein." Like the poems discussed above, A.M. Dauphin's text also combines elements from the Rheinlieder of 1840 and the Freiheitslyrik of 1813-15. Schneckenburger's "Die Wacht am Rhein" provides the opening line of Dauphin's poem: "Lieb Vaterland magst ruhig sein" (poem 882). The poet varies the last line of Schneckenburger's refrain, "Fest steht und treu die Wacht am Rhein," in each of his refrains: "Sie kämpfen muthig um den Rhein!" and "Sie halten treu am deutschen Rhein!" The second stanza concludes with Schneckenburger's title: "Sie halten treulich Wacht am Rhein." Schneckenburger's use of repetition to convey urgency in the line "Zum Rhein, zum Rhein, zum deutschen Rhein" also surfaces in Dauphin's poem: "Der Rhein, - der Rhein - muß unser sein!"

A question posed in the poem from 1840, "Wer will des Stromes Hüter sein?", is in turn likely a reference to a poem by Arndt, "Wer soll der Hüter sein?" Written after the liberation from Napoleon, Arndt's poem begins: "Wer soll dein Hüter sein? / Sprich, Vater Rhein!" (202). The Rhine answers that a loyal and German heart, not spears and swords, is the only means of protecting him: "Auch ohne Schanz und Wall / brauset mein Wogenschwall / fröhlich in Freiheit hin, / wann ich des mächtig bin." Dauphin thus draws on both the Schneckenburger and Arndt poems by using the topos of guardians of the Rhine; like Schneckenburger, he portrays these guardians as soldiers: "Lieb Vaterland magst ruhig sein: / Vertrau nur deinen Hütern!"

The abundant evidence of references in Dauphin's poem to the Arndt and Schneckenburger texts demonstrates that these poets built and built upon a poetic tradition that continued to resonate among the German public. Several aspects of Dauphin's poem, however, indicate that the poet altered this poetic tradition to address the current political situation in 1870. Arndt wrote his poem in response to the wars against Napoleon; his text suggests a means of protecting the Rhine that bears upon the emotional, nationalist aspects of the war but does not have a realistic military basis. Moreover, Arndt does not mention the French enemy. "Die Wacht am Rhein," a reaction to the threat of war against the French, mentions the enemy only once: "Solang ein Tröpfchen Blut noch glüht, / Noch eine
Faust den Degen zieht / Und noch ein Arm die Büchse spannt, / Betritt kein Welscher deinen Strand."

In Dauphin's poem, however, the enemy looms considerably larger. German soldiers are also fighting for the Rhine: "Es kämpfen deine Söhne, / Auf Frankreichs Feld um deinen Rhein." The poet intensifies the military tone of his text with ebullient patriotism; the words "Deutschland" and "deutsch" occur thirteen times. While the poem certainly shares in the vague patriotism of its predecessors, it also includes several references that connect it to the political and military situation of September 1870 and thus lend it a greater degree of realism. At the outbreak of hostilities, Prussia did not explicitly state that the war was being fought for German unification. This goal did not become clear until Bismarck demanded the annexation of Alsace and Lorraine in September 1870, just a couple of days before the Erheiterungen published this poem. The German soldiers thus fought for a concrete goal after the battle of Sedan: “Ein einig Deutschland soll es sein! / Ein einig Volk von Brüdern!” (poem 882). The poem refers to the demands for annexation: “Den Rhein mit seinen Reben, / Das deutsche Land, am deutschen Rhein, / Was vormals deutsch – soll’s wieder sein, / Muß Frankreich wieder geben!” Dauphin's poem also acknowledges the brutal realities of war, a tendency first evident in the poems of 1864: “Es schlafen unterm kühlen Rain / So mancher uns’rer Brüder!” The poem ends on a patriotic note, however, that once again recalls the Freiheitslieder of the early nineteenth century: "Sie starben für den deutschen Rhein!” German troops surrounded Paris on 19 September 1870, which Dauphin also refers to in his poem: "Die deutschen Heere dort am Rhein, / Erst ziehen in Paris sie ein, / Bevor sie Frieden schließen." This verse, like all others in the poem, begins and ends with quotations from Schneckenburger's poem.

**The Third War of German Unification**

The French declaration of war against Prussia in July 1870 and the initial German military victories in August and September generated a storm of poetic responses. These poems reflect the patriotic, nationalistic, and anti-French tendencies prevalent among broad sections of the German public. Moreover, most of these poems also present the armed conflicts with the French as decisive steps towards unification, even months before a single German nation became a political reality.

But oppositional voices were not entirely lacking. The satirical journals in the collection published poems critical of the political developments in 1870–71. Three poems printed in July 1870 not only criticize the war but also seek to warn the Germans of its consequences. The Frankfurter Latern, one of the most sharply satirical journals in the 1860s and 1870s, offers a
critical view of the war. "Krieg," a poem by the editor and co-founder Friedrich Stoltze that appeared in July 1870, refers to "Menschenblut," "Spital und Krücke," and "Blut und Mord" to emphasize the senselessness of the war (poem 887). The sarcasm in the last lines of the poem reflects the anti-Prussian tendency of this journal: "Nun so sei's denn! Deutschland vor! / Gott beschütze Wall und Thor! / Wer den Blitz herauf beschwor, / Daß er ihn erschläge!" Stoltze underscores his criticism with another poem printed at the top of the same page. Dated "1848," the poem satirizes German attempts to fight for freedom: "Keinen Knecht! Menschenrecht! / Für die Freiheit in's Gefecht! / Aug' in Aug', Hauch in Hauch, / Also ist es deutscher Brauch!" (poem 886). The poem's proclamation, "Deutschland Hurra! Deutschland Hurra! / Waffentanz! Siegesglanz! / Einen grünen Eichenkranz!", rings hollow, for the counterrevolutionary powers reestablished by the end of 1848 had squelched any progress made with respect to human rights and freedom. The irony suggests that Stoltze did not expect the war against France in 1870-71 to bring the results expected by large parts of the population.

The Hamburg journal Industrieller Humorist published "Von Königsgrätz bis jetzt" in July 1870, on the first page of the issue. This poem also criticizes the continued absence of freedom, four years after Germans had sacrificed their lives, property, and blood to fight against Austria: "Nach blut'gen Feuertaufen / Im Königsgrätzter Gang, / Hat sich im Sand verlaufen / Der ganze Freiheitsdrang" (poem 903). The poem, which holds Bismarck responsible for destroying the hopes of the Germans, closes with a warning: "Sei künftig, Volk, bedächtig, / Eh' du dein Herzblut giebst; / Doch fordere jetzo mächtig / Die Freiheit, die du liebst." These critical voices aimed to shape a Germany different from the one Bismarck and the Prussian government were trying to build. Although these poems are not blindly patriotic, they nevertheless address a national, not regional, consciousness.

Chauvinistic nationalism permeates the patriotic poems in the collection that address diverse aspects of the Franco-Prussian War. The Deutscher Sprachwart published five poems in its issue of 10 August 1870 that reflect the public mood that prevailed in the German territories after the initial battles had been fought in France. The title "Der Ueberfall im Bade" alludes to the diplomatic incident in the spa town of Ems. This poem plays on the word "Bad" to warn the French in extremely graphic terms of the bloodbath awaiting them in the war: "Wohlauf zum heißen Bad denn! Ein Baden wird's im Blut! / Habt Dank! Ihr kennt den Heilquell, der Deutschland nöthig thut! / Habt Acht! Ihr an der Seine! - 'euch wird das Bad geheizt, / Aufdampfen soll's und qualmen, daß euch's die Augen beizt!'" (poem 847).
"Glückauf zum Kampf!", a poem written by the journal's editor Max Moltke, makes the same demand for territorial expansion that Bismarck would make at the conclusion of the war: "Es gilt des Rheins gesammten Strand! / Drum auf zum Kampf für's Vaterland!" / Zum ersten Mal Ein Herz, Ein Heer, / Du deutsches Volk vom Fels zum Meer" (poem 848). A second poem by Moltke in the same issue, "Kriegserntelied," depicts the war against France as grain that had to be harvested with the German sword. He makes a pun of the word "Korn," using it in the sense of a harvest but also in an idiomatic expression that warns of the French threat: "Es ist der Welsche über'm Rhein, / Er gönnt dem Deutschen kein Gedeihn; / Sein Korn mißrieth; vor Neid und Zorn / Nimmt er nun Deutschlands Korn auf's Korn" (poem 852). The harvest itself will be Alsace and Lorraine, a united Germany: "Am Rhein, wo unsre Reben blühn, / Läßt Gott auch Deutschlands Weizen blühn; / Auf, deutsches Heer, zum Schnitt am Rhein! / Das Ein'ge Deutschland heimse ein!"

Yet another poem in the same issue, Wilhelm Jordan's "Kriegslied," accuses Napoleon III of planning to battle for the Rhine: "Der Friedenslügner ist entlarvt: / Er will den Rhein uns rauben!" (poem 851). As we saw above, Alsace and Lorraine had belonged to France since the French Revolution, and French public opinion viewed German intentions to annex Alsace and Lorraine as robbery. But Jordan's poem reflects the prevalent German opinion on this matter. Claiming that God had damned the French, the poet admonishes German soldiers to fight for a unified German empire: "Wir sollen - fragt nicht länger, wie? - / Nun oder nie / Das deutsche Reich erstreiten." Each of these three poems corresponds to the conservative, patriotic program stated in the journal's subtitle: "Zeitschrift für Kunde und Kunst der Sprache; insonderheit für Hege und Pflege unserer Mutter­sprache in allen ihren Mundarten; für Schirm und Schutz ihrer Gerechtsame in Heimat und Fremde [. . .]."

Daheim: Ein deutsches Familienblatt mit Illustrationen published Friederich Bodenstedt's "Deutschlands Auferstehung" on 13 August 1870. Bodenstedt argues that the French instigated the war to revenge the defeats Napoleon I suffered at Leipzig (1813) and at Waterloo (1815), and to obtain the Rhine: "Schon mit gewalt'gem Kriegsgetöse / Wälzt er zum Rhein sein zahllos Heer, / Mit Chassepots und mit Mitrailleuse / Und Stahlkanonen groß und schwer" (poem 845). The poet accurately foresees the outcome of the war: "Das ein'ge Frankreich wird zersplittern, / Ein einig Deutschland auferstehn." "Deutschlands Auferstehung" fulfilled an objective stated in the family journal's program from 1870:

Das nun beginnende I. Quartal des VII. Jahrganges wird in dersel­­ben ausgiebigen Weise wie das verflossene Quartal das reiche Ma-
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An earlier program from 1865 had maintained: “In die Familie gehört nicht der Kampf der Parteien; das ‘Daheim’ wird ihre Streitrufe über keine Schwelle tragen” (qtd. in Obenaus 229: 25). The publication of this poem may have marked a change of course for the publication, which the Prussian government had founded in 1864 as competition to the liberal Gartenlaube (which had been prohibited in Prussia since December 1863). It also suggests, however, that the editors may have separated the issue of German nationalism from the “party politics” emerging in the German territories.

A poem published in the Conversations-Blatt on 2 September 1870, the same day as the capture of Napoleon III, demonstrates that the call for a unified German nation had gained considerable momentum even before Sedan. “Deutschlands Einigkeit” begins:

Was soll jetzt noch das düstre Schweigen?
Nun will ich meinen Jubel zeigen
Und fürchte nicht der Gegner Neid,
Ist doch die Botschaft jetzt gefunden,
Die ich ersehnt in stillen Stunden,
Das Wort von Deutschlands Einigkeit. (poem 842)

The poem refers with exasperation to the long period of waiting Germans had to endure: “Was half das Hoffen und das Singen, / Das Reden von der Einigkeit!” After the initial battles in Alsace and Lorraine, however, the author of this poem is absolutely certain that unification is around the corner: “Laßt fröhlich schmettern die Trompeten! / Erschallet, Cymbeln, Pauken, Flöten! / Hoch lebe Deutschlands Einigkeit!”

One day later, on 3 September 1870, the Nürnberger Kreuzerblätter published Hermann Rollett’s “Elsaß ist der Preis!” Like many of the poems discussed above, this poetic reponse also claims that the French were fighting for the Rhine: “Von Frankreich her scholl wieder laut / Der Kampfruf nach dem Rhein” (poem 934). Two stanzas later, however, the poet argues that the Germans must push the French back from the western bank of the Rhine: “Mit Frankreich wird uns Friede nicht, / So lang am Rhein es steht; / Drum schaut, daß Deutschlands Banner licht / Von Straßburg’s Münster weht!” Rollett’s title and refrain, “Elsaß ist der Preis!”, plays upon the double meaning of the German word “Preis”; Alsace is the price that France
must pay for the war, and it is the prize for which Germans are fighting. Rollett refers to the French as “Räuber,” reflecting a conviction held by nationalist-minded Germans that Alsace and Lorraine had been forcefully taken from the Habsburgs in the seventeenth century. Germans also applied the principle of nationality to the two territories, claiming that they shared a common history and language with the Germans: “Wir waren lang, gar lang getrennt, / Zerrissen und zerstückt, / Wohl Jedem in der Seele brennt / Die Qual, die uns gedrückt.” Bismarck’s conditions for peace would bear out Rollett’s demand.

The Frankfurter Latern published the humorous poem “Ist das der deutsche Michel noch?” in September 1870, the “Siegesmonat.” Michel’s mother no longer recognizes him: “Bist’s Michel, oder bist du’s nicht? / Wie ist der Jung gewachsen! / Vom bloßen Bier und Sauerkraut / Mag’s auch voll Würstlein stecken” (poem 891). She asks him if he has perhaps been at a shooting club, or participating in a gymnastic tournament, or singing: “Sangst du als deutsches Sängerlein / Und als Tenor-Atömchen: / ‘Das Vaterland muß größer sein?’” While these activities were typical for a member of the liberal nationalist movement in the 1840s, when Michel had been active for a short while, he now insists that he has changed:

Bin Eins geworden über das!
Und will bereits verspüren
In den vereinten Fäusten was:
Das Ding ist durchzuführen!
Schon läuft nach Hause der Franzos,
Voll Beulen Haupt und Glieder, –
Hussah! noch einen Rippenstoß,
Er kommt sobald nicht wieder.

In an unusual act of assertiveness, Michel proclaims to the German people: “Es giebt ein deutsches Vaterland / Und eine deutsche Ehre!”

“Vor Straßburg,” published in the Dr. Höllenstein: Humoristisch-satyrisches Wochenblatt mit Illustrationen of 3 September 1870, calls on the German fighters to correct a wrong that had been forced upon the Germans:

Straßburg ist deutsch durch tausendjähr’ge Band’!
Zwietracht und Schwachheit hatt’ erlaubt,
Den Franken, frech danach zu greifen:
Deutschland jetzt eins, holt, was geraubt
Zurück, und wird die Räuber strafen! (poem 875)

Pushing the French back from Alsace would lead to German unification: “Einst wird um Alle sich ja schlingen, / Das lichte, freie, rechte Band,
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/ Und sicher werden wir erringen / Ein freies, ein'ges Vaterland!" The Erheiterungen published a poetic response to the capitulation of Strasbourg nearly one month later, on 30 September 1870, which reflects the same attitude toward the German annexation of Alsace as the poem above. Franz Englert imbued his text, entitled "Gedanken bei Straßburg’s Fall (Am 27. September 1870)," with the same patriotic, anti-French tone seen in many of the poems discussed above. Englert maintains that the war against Napoleon had unified the patriotic Germans in a common cause:

Er glaubte uns entzweit, geschieden
Durch Zwietracht und Parteiengroll;
Doch seht ein Volk in Nord und Süden
Von Vaterlandsbegeist' rung voll,
Erhebt sich in den deutschen Gauen
Und rüstet sich und greift zum Schwert,
Nimmt auf den Kampf mit Gottvertrauen
Und seiner tapfern Väter werth! (poem 883)

He acknowledges the high cost of the war: “Erschrecklich ist des Todes Reigen, / Den hier er unerbittlich hält, / Allüberall nur Blut und Leichen, / Wohin entsetzt der Blick nur fällt.” Englert justifies the deaths in religious and patriotic terms, however: “Doch Gott verleiht dem deutschen Krieger / Den schönsten Lohn, das höchste Glück!” He justifies the war itself with German unification. France, which had once stretched across half of Europe, had fallen into ruins, whereas the German Fatherland had become “mächtig, groß und frei!”

On 2 October 1870 the Münchener Punsch also published a poem on this topic. In “Straßbourg,” the German victors welcome the inhabitants of this Alsacian city to German rule: “Willkommen, Schwester, zürne nicht, / Wir reichen Lorbeern Dir, nicht Ketten. / Sieh’ g’rad und hold uns in’s Gesicht, / Fort mit den trotzigen Lünetten” (poem 932). Two other cathedrals on the Rhine, in Cologne and Speyer, will welcome the Strasbourg cathedral, and wine and beer exports will be freed from customs duties. The poem also refers to the argument of a common language: “Willkommen all’ ihr traunten ‘heim’, / Laßt Euch in hellem Deutsch betonen, / Mit solchem welsch getrübtem Reim, / Soll uns und Euch man nun verschonen.”

Several poems in the collection criticize the French on the grounds of their nationalist aggression. Most of this criticism focuses on Napoleon III and his personal imperialism. “Rückblick auf das Jahr 1870,” published on 28 January 1871 in the Nürnberger Kreuzerblätter: Zur Unterhaltung für alle Stände, imagines how Napoleon III spends his time while imprisoned: “Auf dem Schloß zu Wilhelmshöh’ / Sitzt der Bonaparte, / Wie auf Babylon und sucht / Frankreich – auf der Karte” (poem 947). The joke refers to
the annexation of Alsace and Lorraine to Prussia; France had shrunk since Napoleon had last been home.

A poem published in the *Frankfurter Latern*, "Wilhelmshöhe," also directs political and social criticism at the former French emperor. The poem appears on the first page of an issue published "im Monat der Republik," an ironic allusion to September 1870, the month in which German troops captured Napoleon III at Sedan and thus ended the second French empire. Stoltze angrily describes the luxuries granted the Frenchman during his imprisonment: "Es tafelt der Kaiser auf Wilhelmshöh / Im festlich erleuchteten Schlosse, / Man sandte ihm weither von der Spree / Die Mundköch’ und Dinertrosse" (poem 892). Ironically, Napoleon III feasts upon specialties from the same river the Germans had fought to keep out of French hands: "Des Rheinstroms Lachse und Aale, / Johannisberger, die Perle vom Rhein." The poet sharply contrasts the extravagance allowed the prisoner with the destitution of a woman and child outside on the palace grounds. The woman, who has lost her husband in the battle of Sedan, blames Napoleon III for his death. She cannot comprehend that he is the emperor that the Germans wanted to topple from power: "Das ist der Kaiser Napoleon, / Der unserm Deutschland grollte, / Der unser Volk in Schmach und Hohn / Und Knechtschaft stürzen wollte." Another satirical poem in the same issue, "Der Held von Sedan," maintains that France should thank the Germans for taking their emperor away. And it tells France what the German price is for this assistance: "Eintausendchen Milliönchen nur, / Kost’t dich die ganze Prozedur, / Zwei Stücklein Land, ein Flotten-Stück, / Was thut’s! Du hast die Republik!" (poem 894).

One of the critical points in the march toward unification under Prussian aegis was the securing of the cooperation of the southern principalities. As is well known, the Franco-Prussian War brought about a shift in public opinion in these territories. Three Bavarian publications in the collection provide insight into the southern German reaction to German unity. As discussed above, Bismarck had taken advantage of the peace talks to negotiate with the four southern German states in October and November 1870. Baden and Hesse had accepted the constitution of the North German Confederation on 15 November 1870, but Bismarck had to compromise and grant Bavaria and Württemberg special privileges in order to secure their membership in the Confederation. Bavaria signed a special treaty with Bismarck on 23 November 1870, Württemberg did so two days later (Schieder 207).

"Ein Kapitel zur deutschen Einheitsgeschichte," published in the *Dr. Höllenstein* of 19 November 1870, alludes to the unification of the southern German states with the North German Confederation: "Ob Preuß', ob Bay'r, gleichviel aus welchem Lande, / Sie stehn als Freunde und lachen nur
The author believes that unification will become a reality in part because soldiers from various territories had joined to fight the French: “Wenn deutsche Krieger, die vereinigt stehn, / Kräftig bemüht dem Feind die Händ' zu binden.” The poet criticizes the conservative, Catholic forces in Bavaria who want to hinder unification: “Das heißt, ‘Krieg Allem, was uns hinderlich könnt sein / [...] / Deutschland werd' Eins, steht nicht auf unsrer Fahne.’” The poet’s optimism remains unshaken, however, because he believes the German rulers want unification: “Gottlob, die deutschen Fürsten selbst jetzt dringen / Auf Einigkeit und Deutschlands Auferstehen.”

On 15 December 1870 the Erheiterungen published “Zum Eintritt in den deutschen Bund.” The poet E. Lammers gives no indication of Bavarian particularism in his poem. He portrays German unification as a natural outcome of the war: “Und wie aus seiner Asche gehet / Der Phönix neu hervor mit Macht, / So nun Germania stolz erstehet, / Ging neu hervor aus Kampf und Schlacht” (poem 885). Lammers has a less realistic conception of future political relations between the southern and northern states: “Nein, nein! der Schlagbaum wird gehoben, / Daß uns nichts fesselt, nicht mehr trennt, / Der Liebe Band nur, zart gewoben, / Uns knüpft – in der mein Volk entbrennt.” Once this goal has been realized, Lammers believes, Germans will all join in toasting the new German emperor.

Three poems printed in Bavarian publications in 1871 provide different perspectives on the issue of German unification. On 22 January 1871, four days after Wilhelm I was crowned emperor of a united Germany, the satirical journal Münchener Grog: Humoristisch-satirisches Originalblatt published “Suum cuique” (poem 944), another poem critical of the reactionary, Catholic forces opposed to unification:

Indessen sie in Bayern’s Kammer
Mit zäh verbiss’ner Wuth, voll Schleim,
In schwarzen, unverhülltem Jammer
Nach Rom nur schauend, ihrem Heim,
Sich gegen Deutschlands Einheit sträuben
Gleich störrischem, unverständ’gem Kind [...] .

The retrospective for 1870, “Rückblick auf das Jahr 1870,” includes a stanza on German unification:

Längst schon klangs in Deutschlands Gauen:
Fort den alten Krempel!
Endlich, endlich ging es ein
In der Einheit Tempel. (poem 947)
While the poet expresses some sense of relief because the long wait for German unification is over, there is little sense of satisfaction with the result: "Und aufs Reich das - Schicksal drückt / Seinen Kaiserstempel." The same journal published an even more critical poem entitled "Historisch-Politisches" nearly four months later, on 21 May 1871. A quotation following the title of the poem claims: "Der Bayer wird konstitutionell geboren." Bavaria had reluctantly relinquished its constitution when it joined the North German Confederation in November 1870, so the Bavarian referred to in the quotation died as a member of the German empire:

Dort auf ödem Grabstein stehen
Werden einst die Worte, ach!
Wenn, gemurrt durch Zeitgeist's Wehen,
Ihm das Herz, das matte, brach:
Hier liegt, dem zum Trotz, welch Streich!
Bismarck schuf das deutsche Reich. (poem 946)

This last stanza expresses Bavarian resistance to unification under Prussian auspices. The critical voice clearly holds Bismarck responsible for forcing Bavaria to relinquish its independence.

As we might expect, Bismarck figures prominently in the political poems of 1870–71. Several poems in the collection concentrate the issues surrounding unification in the figure of Bismarck. Only one patriotic viewpoint is included among these. On 10 September 1870 the *Deutscher Sprachwart* published a poem by Moritz Zille entitled "Deutschland hoch!" (poem 866), a toast to the major military and political figures involved in the war such as Karl Friedrich von Steinmetz, who led the defeat of the French at Spichern. Zille also dedicates a stanza to the Prussian king and to Moltke, "Meister der Kriegskunst." Bismarck is the last person toasted in this poem: "Als Meister der Staatskunst durch Brandung und Riff / Geleitet er Deutschlands vielmastiges Schiff." The poet summarizes the positive result of their efforts in the zealous first and last stanzas: "Stoßt an! Deutschland soll leben! Hurrah hoch! / So groß und so mächtig im Frieden und Krieg, / Wie fliegt es im Kampfe von Sieg zu Sieg! / Hurrah, hurrah!"

In contrast the poems in the collection tend on the whole to present Bismarck in a critical light. He in fact bears the brunt of the authors' frustrations with unification. Each of the five poems included here appeared in a satirical political journal. In the poem "Schwäbischer Jammer," published in the Berlin journal *Kladderadatsch* of 3 April 1870, Swabia criticizes Bismarck for his intentions to expand the North German Confederation to the southern states: "Zum Annectiren stehn bereit / Jetzt schon Herrn Bismarcks Wühler" (poem 918). One week later "Bundes-Philisters Klagelied" appeared in the same publication:
Ueber Bismarck hab ich völlig
Aufzuklären mich bemüht,
Doch da dieser, stets gefällig,
Vieles “nebenbei versieht”,
Weiß man niemals sicher: ist er
“Preußisch” oder “Deutsch” zur Prist? –
Trüg’ er sich doch als “Minister”
Wenigstens als – Infantrist! (poem 919)

This critical voice takes aim at what it perceives to be Bismarck’s promotion of Prussian interests at the cost of other German territories. As we saw above, Kladderadatsch had become a supporter of Bismarck by 1870. These poems demonstrate that the publication was not, however, always a loyal follower.

On 30 October 1870 the Deutsche Latern: Humoristisch-satyrisches Wochenblatt (a “Probe-Nummer” of the Frankfurter Latern) published the satirical poem “In Versailles” (poem 896). The title refers to the French palace outside Paris where Bismarck was conducting multilateral negotiations with the southern German principalities (Nipperdey, Deutsche Geschichte 1866–1918 2: 77). Although the poem does not mention Bismarck’s name, informed readers would have known that the Prussian prime minister was choreographing the negotiations. The poem ridicules Germans for achieving unification by fighting in France, after fighting at home had failed in 1848–49: “Was in Frankfurt du geahnt, / Was du in Berlin geplant, / In Versailles wird’s angebahnt, / Hurrah, mit der Feder!” The poem expects the ministers to achieve unity at the cost of freedom: “Ist der Friede dann dictirt, / Wie wird’s dann gehalten? / ‘Daß die Herr’n’ es nicht genirt, / Lassen wir’s beim Alten!” A second poem in the same issue, “Die Pforzheimer Pracht- und Ehrenfeder,” creates a pun in a reference to the quill Bismarck would use for the peace treaty: “Wer denkt bei dieser Feder nit / An irgend eine Finte? / Denn Graf von Bismarck kommt damit / Ganz sicher in die Dinte” (poem 897).

On 15 October 1870 the Munich journal Dr. Höllenstein printed the humorous poem “Graf Bismarck ist in Allem Schuld!” A satire of Bismarck’s critics, the poem provides an inventory of many deeds for which Bismarck stands accused. German unification, for example, is his fault: “Wie lang ist’s her, vor kaum vier Jahren / Trieb er uns in den Kampf hinein, / Und jetzt treibt, statt vor Krieg zu wahren, / “Alldutschland” er nach Frankreich h’nein!” (poem 876). The final stanza reveals the poet’s incredulous attitude towards these accusations: “Wenn Alles, was geschieht auf Erden, / Graf Bismarck hat also gethan, / Und Deutschlands Brüder eins jetzt werden, / Als was sieht man ihn dann wohl an?”
As Stürmer has argued, the coronation of Wilhelm I as German Emperor seemed to represent the ultimate triumph for the Prussian monarchy (79). Indeed, in 1871 the German empire represented the result of nationalist politics that had been achieved with military and diplomatic means, means that had been engineered largely by Bismarck and the Prussian government. The collection demonstrates that poets responded to these historical developments, creating diverse commentary in lyrical form on the French threat to the Rhine, the results and ramifications of the Franco-Prussian War, and the major antagonists Napoleon III and Bismarck.

In 1870-71 the press played a particularly active role in increasing the distribution of such political poems among the German reading public. By subsequently collecting and publishing anthologies of poems that had appeared in newspapers and journals, editors rescued these poems from the ephemerality of the periodic press, hoping to ensure that this literature would continue influencing the German national consciousness. Just as the political developments of 1870-71 had been influenced by earlier German and European history, so too did the poems of 1870-71 build upon earlier literary traditions. With a French enemy once again looming on the banks of the Rhine, poets drew on the poetic traditions of the Freiheitslyrik and the Rheinlieder to address the war of 1870-71.
The Press, Humor, and History in Political Poetry.
“Du stärkst die Weisen und die Thoren”

The Portrayal of the Press in Political Poetry

More than seventy poems in the collection comment upon the periodic press. These lyrical voices reflect the political significance of newspapers and journals in the German territories between 1840 and 1871. They also demonstrate that poets recognized and took advantage of the capacity of the press to shape national consciousness. Moreover, these poems indicate that poets conveyed diverse images of the press that often depended upon the current political climate. At times the press was seen as the advocate for the liberal nationalist movement and politically oppressed people; at times it was viewed as an instrument of the ruling powers. As we have seen, the press served as a vehicle for disseminating political poems among individual readers, enabling the poems to function as a medium of public discourse. Poems that reflect upon the press simultaneously commented upon the journalistic context in which they were published, exhibiting a high degree of self-consciousness on the part of their authors. Writing political poetry for newspapers and journals was serious business, even if the poetry made liberal use of humor.

One poem in particular attests to the general popularity of the press during the revolutionary developments of 1848. “Die Zeitungsleser” appeared in two political-satirical journals in the spring of 1848, Der Anecdotenjäger and the Fliegende Blätter. In this poem, the cook cannot make dinner for her master because she is reading the newspaper; the young boy, the nanny, and the servant are of no help to him for the same reason. The master even sends the devil after these people; the literal use of the phrase “Der [Teufel] soll sie Alle holen!” reveals the master’s annoyance with the press and all the attention it is demanding (poem 133). The illustrations for each stanza (in the Fliegende Blätter) show how the group of newspaper readers grows as each person mentioned in the poem gathers around the
cook, with the devil’s large silhouette looming over their shoulders. The master finally heads off to a restaurant, but he still does not get his dinner: “Der Herr speist auch im Gasthof nicht, / Er liest, wie sie, die Zeitung!” This poem humorously suggests that everyone, from the wealthy master to the domestic servants, was reading the newspaper in the weeks after the March revolutions.

A satirical article in the same issue of the Fliegende Blätter, “Dringender Aufruf an die große deutsche Nation,” reinforces the image of the press as a popular cultural phenomenon as conveyed by “Die Zeitungsleser.” Written by members of the “Vorstand des tiefgefühlten dringenden Bedürfniß-Vereins,” the article announces:

Wir, theils aus innerer Notwendigkeit, theils aus Notwendigkeit überhaupt, Schriftsteller und Literaten, und außerdem Mitglieder des Literaten-Vereins zu Jammerhausen, sind nach reiflichem Nachdenken und genauem Studium des kulturhistorischen Zustandes der Massen zu der innigen Ueberzeugung gelangt, daß für das deutsche Volk noch ein tiefgefühltes dringendes Bedürfniß vorhanden ist, welchem abzu­helfen wir um so mehr für unserer heilige Pflicht halten, als wir uns mit der dazu erforderlichen Kraft und Einsicht ausgerüstet fühlen. (170)

The authors do not state what they consider this urgent need to be, but they are convinced that the press can help alleviate the problem. They intend to found a journal, “welche, indem sie das öffentliche Organ des tiefgefühlten dringenden Bedürfniß-Vereins wird, schon an und für sich einem tiefgefühlten dringenden Bedürfniß abhilft [...]” (171). Moreover, they want the press to propagate their declaration: “Alle gesinnungsvollen Redaktionen deutscher Zeitschriften werden freundlich ersucht, durch ge­fällige Aufnahme dieses Aufrufs zu dessen möglichster Verbreitung beizutragen” (172).

“Der freien Presse,” published by the Charivari on 4 August 1848, offers a different slant on the press (see page 87). Written by Eduard Gottwald, this poem testifies to the fact that groups of all political persuasions recognized and also sought to harness the power of the press as a political force:

Du stärkest die Weisen und die Thoren,  
Die Weltschmerzkranken und Censoren,  
Den Bundestag und Metternich.  
Aristolokraten, Liberale,  
Conservative, Radicale  
Und Jesuiten lieben Dich. (poem 116)
Gottwald argues that the press, as witness to "die Kämpfe der Parteien," also effectively conveys diverse opinions about political developments and thus serves to promote public discourse: "Durch Dich mit einem Zauber­schatzung / Erscheinen die vergangnen Tage / Mit ihrer bunten Bilderschaar." The poem "Politisches A.B.C. Buch für den deutschen constitutionellen Michel," published in the Leuchtkugeln in 1849, also acknowledges that the press could serve groups at various points along the political spectrum: "Presse – man nennt sie gut oder schlecht, / Je nachdem sie vertritt Gewalt oder Recht" (poem 108).

A number of satirical poems in the collection address the role of the press in disseminating information and commentary on current political developments. "Jam satis!!!", a parody of Nikolaus Becker's "Der deutsche Rhine" (see Chapter 2), bemoans the outburst of liberal, anti-French nationalism in the German press during the Rhine crisis of 1840: "Was all' das Zetern solle / In Zeitung und in Buch? / Geschrei und wenig Wolle, / Das ist ein alter Spruch" (poem 10). This poem argues that the press contains only hot air produced by writers, the "Federhelden." Of course, the anonymous writer has added his voice to the clamor. In 1848 the Düsseldorfer Monatshefte published "Verschiedene Freiheitsansichten (Schluß statt Fortsetzung)," which also associates the press with current political affairs. A writer cries: "Blut! Blut! nicht Dinte! / [. . .] / Blut muß ich haben, damit zu schreiben, / Sonst wird es ungelesen bleiben" (poem 122). As soon as he recalls plans to visit his girlfriend, however, the writer's fervent enthusiasm for politics vanishes: "Weg Politik! / Du störst mein Glück! / Du bist ja nur Phrase / Für meine Zeitungs Frau Base."

In his poem "Literaten," one of three "Zeitbilder" printed in Sir John Falstaff in the spring of 1848, the editor Hermann Walden ridicules the booming oppositional press and its growing readership: "Sie gründen neue Blätter viel, / Verleger ist jede Ecke, / Das gaffende Lesepublikum / Bewundert die Sprache – die kecke" (poem 349). Walden fears that the press could give freedom of the press a bad name and also incur the wrath of reactionary powers: "Wenn das so fortgeht, fürchte ich, / Es werden die schwarzen Krähen, / In unserer jungen Preßfreiheit, / Einen stinkenden Leichnam sehen!" This publication, subtitled "Wochenblatt für Humor und Satyre," was itself one of the sharpest critical journals from 1846-48, a fact that underscores the irony in this self-portrait.

On 29 January 1849, after reactionary forces had firmly reestablished themselves in the German territories, the Charivari published "Bannschluß. Reim-Quadrille," which begins with an even more caustic characterization of writers: "Hol' der Teufel alle Dichter, / Alle kecken Zeitungsschreiber, / Sind corrupte Bösewichter, / Ruhestörer, Eseltreiber" (poem 448). The poet, A. Mai, only gradually reveals the ironic intent of his poem. He first
concedes that writers have an effect on the public arena: “Alle, die von Federn leben, / Zeitungsschreiber, Schriftner, Dichter, / Machen Zittern, machen Beben, / Sind ein schädliches Gelichter.” In the final stanza, Mai attributes a positive public role to these writers: “Federn sind die stärksten Büttel, / Waren es und werden’s bleiben.” The only option for absolutist rulers is to exile these watchdogs of political developments, a concession to the strength and effectiveness of writers and the press.

The poem “Berlin’s Todte,” published in Der Sprecher of 29 March 1848, contrasts with the satirical poems discussed above. Its serious tone appropriately reflects its specific political intent, which is to report on actual developments of the March revolution in the Prussian capital. The poem argues that the press is not necessary to spread the news of the fighting in Berlin. The lips of the dead revolutionaries speak for themselves: “Ich versteh’ euch, sprachlos stumme Kläger, / Ohne Worte euren bleichen Mund! / Diese Lippen sind der Nachricht Träger, / Geben uns die blut’ge Zeitung kund!” (poem 357). This poem does not criticize or deride the press, but affirms its function as a vehicle for political information. On 7 June 1848 the Volksblatt published “Ein republikanischer Siegesgesang (Freiheit, Gleichheit, Lüde:lichkeit!).” In this poem the radical democrats view the press as an important weapon, but one that may at times be insufficient to conquer the enemy: “Die Presse, die freie, ist unser Mund, / Sie äußre sich immer verwegner! / Und wo sie nicht zum Schweigen schüchtert ein, / Da müssen die Fäuste den Nachdruck verleihn!” (poem 397).

We saw in Chapter 3 that many poets celebrated freedom of the press as a major liberal achievement of the March revolutions. The collection contains several poems that suggest ways in which the press could serve the liberal nationalist movement. On 22 March 1848 the patriotic Prussian publication Der Sprecher printed “Der Freiheit der Presse,” noting: “Verfasst vor Deutschlands Befreiung von den Censurfesseln.” This poem envisions diverse political functions for a free press. The first is to support the German people in their fight against despotic rule: “Da, wo das Volk mit freiem Worte / An seines Fürsten Thron und Pforte / Nach dem Gesetz sein Recht verlangt, / Da möge niemals Starrrinn thronen!” (poem 356). The poem also refers to Gutenberg’s invention of the printing press, claiming it helped spread freedom of expression: “Bis endlich sie [die Meinungsfreiheit] uns dann bereite / Den schönsten Bund der Einigkeit! / Drum huldiget, ihr Millionen, / Des Sprechers freiem Sprachorgan.” This last verse plays upon the double meaning of the word “Sprecher”; it refers to speakers in general, and of course to Der Sprecher, an organ for the voices it publishes.

advantage of Friedrich Wilhelm IV’s presence at the ceremony for the laying of the cornerstone for the completion of the Cologne cathedral to demand freedom of the press. He compares the press under censorship with the cranes that had stopped working on the cathedral, and makes an appeal to the Prussian king: “O laß auch sie, auch sie sich neu bewegen, / Wie Du den Krahn sich neu bewegen heißt, / Und wonnevoll, der ganzen Welt zum Segen, / Grüßt: Protectori! Dich der Geist!” (363). The spirit Prutz refers to is the liberal nationalist sentiment prevalent in the German territories in the early 1840s.

As we have seen, the character of the liberal nationalist movement changed in the 1860s. During and after the war against Denmark in 1864, many liberals began to support Bismarck and his goal of securing German unification under Prussian auspices. Three poems published in the Frankfurter Laterne in 1864 comment critically on this development; the first two express particularly harsh criticism of the Prussian government’s attempts to manipulate the press. “Das neue deutsche Danewerk,” which appeared on 26 February 1864 (and on 6 March 1864 in the Augsburger Anzeigblatt), offers a biting attack on the Prussian “Freiheitszwinger” and on the war that required German blood to build the “deutsche Danewerke”: “Und Demagogenriecherei’n / Und Preßzwang mit Spionen / Sind für dein ungezog’nes Schrei’n / Gezogene Kanonen” (poem 673). “Das Lied von der preußischen Spitze,” published on 19 November 1864, observes that one of the most important liberal oppositional publications had become a Bismarck supporter:

Der edle Bismarck schlägt den Takt,
Die Junkerlein acompanieren, […]
Die alte Vettel, die Kreuzzzeitung,
Krächzt auch mit keuchender Lunge,
Und “Kladderadatsch” secondirt mit Schwung,
Er ist gut bei Stimme, der Junge. (poem 700)

The poem “Preußischer Düppel-Hymnus,” published on 31 December 1864, condemns the Prussian aim of securing the “Düppel im eigenen Land,” an allusion to Bismarck’s efforts to establish an official press that would serve the propaganda needs of Prussian politics. The Prussians themselves speak in this poem: “Die erste Schanze, die Presse, / Wird unser im Handumdreh’n, / Dann werden die schlechten Spässe / Dem Kladderadatsch vergeh’n” (poem 707).

On 26 February 1864, less than four weeks after Prussian troops had entered Holstein, the Munich journal Schalks-Narr published the satirical poem “Wie die bayerische Presse in’s Wasser ging”: “Die bayrische Presse rief einmal: / Tod jedem Freiheitshasser! / Wir blieben lang genug loyal; /
Jetzt geh’n wir in das Wasser” (poem 824). The drowning of the Bavarian periodic press ironically refers to the tendencies of several Bavarian newspapers to abandon their particularistic political programs in 1864, much as King Maximilian I had, and to support the Prussian war effort in Denmark: “Als selbst das letzte Pöbelblatt / Abwarf der Selbstsucht Hülle, / Saß sie [die Bayrische Zeitung] am Ufer wie schachmatt / Und putzte ihre Brille.” Although the Bayrische Zeitung is left sitting on the shore, the title of the poem indicates that this newspaper, too, would have to learn how to swim.

Two poems published in the Frankfurter Latern in 1864 suggest that the press still served as a vehicle for reports and commentary on current political developments, although the nature of the printed information and its reception may have changed. The satirical poem “Des Zeitungs-Lesers Hundstagsferien,” published on 18 July 1864, begins: “Jetzt greift man ruhig nach der Zeitung, / Man weiß, daß nichts uns drin erschreckt, / Nicht eine Kunde voll Entscheidung, / Die uns aus süßem Halbschlaf weckt” (poem 691). This stanza implies that the press had formerly carried more startling political news than reports on the wining and dining of diplomats attending the London Conference (“Wie sie diniren und verdauen, / Wer sie nur selbst verdauen könnt!”) or the decision of the Catholic scholars’ association not to meet in Würzburg. The poet even questions the validity of what he reads, refusing to accept a nine-month armistice: “Trau’ nur der Kraft des deutschen Geistes, – / Bis dahin kann noch viel gescheh’n.” The poet suggests that the abundance of news weakens its impact: “Kein Wunder, wenn bei dieser Hitze / Die Zeitungen so trocken sind!” On 19 November 1864 the Frankfurter journal published “Die Sänger und Schützen im Jahr 1865,” a satirical portrayal of the singers and marksmen who welcome the London Conference as a reason for practicing their hobbies. After experiencing the dangers of the war, the marksmen are encouraged by what they read in the newspaper: “Wie man sie in der Zeitung las, / Soll man nicht Pulver sparen” (poem 701).

In July 1870, the month in which the French declared war against Prussia, Der literarische Verkehr. Organ für die Interessen der deutschen Schriftstellerwelt published “Die deutsche Presse.” The poet Ernst Scherenberg speaks of “Gefieder,” the quills used by writers to create the German press: “Doch ob sich’s [Federkiel] hundertfach auch bricht, / Vereint giebt reines Sonnenlicht / Dem Volk die deutsche Presse” (poem 931). Scherenberg attributes an important role to the press in war and peace:

Im Kampfe stählt sie ihren Muth:
Sie schürt der Freiheit heil’ge Gluth
In unserer Welten-Esse!
Doch löscht sie auch der Krieges Brand,
The poet argues that the press should stand united, ready to fight. The war referred to the actual war against France, but also to the figurative war for freedom of the press.

In November 1871 (in one of only four issues published in 1871), the Frankfurter Latern printed the poem “Schon wieder eine Nummer.” The poet Friedrich Stoltze expresses disillusionment with the political developments of 1870–71: “Die Politik, ich habe satt sie gründlich; / Mir widersteht der fromme Haferschleim / Der neuen deutschen Grütz [. . .]” (poem 940). He humorously concretizes his exasperation by complaining that he cannot find any words to rhyme with “Bismarck” or “Reichstag.” The poet asks himself if it would have been easier to support the powerful instead of the underdogs:

Wenn ich für Mächtige die Saiten schlug’
Wer weiß, ob ihre Huld wir nicht gewöhnen!
Wie ich mit schönen Träumen mich gelüg’,
So hätt’ ich andre auch belügen können.

The poet concludes that he would rather abandon writing than compromise his principles: “Mein Pegasus im Joch, – ob er’s erträgt? / Nein! neben Ochsen ist er ungefüg; / Ich will ihm lieber doch die Freiheit gönnen.” The quotation from Horace at the beginning of the poem, “Dulce est desipere in loco” (Hor. C.4.12.28), underscores Stoltze’s conviction that it was no longer the right moment for political poetry.

A number of poems in the collection address the suppression of the oppositional press by the reactionary powers. General Wrangel had taken extensive steps in October and November 1848 to suppress the Berlin oppositional press, an action that generated numerous poetic responses. On 1 January 1849 the Leipzig publication Der Anecdotenjäger printed “Politisches Glaubensbekenntniß des Anecdotenjägers,” a critical response to Wrangel’s action. Listing other political-satirical publications such as the Leuchtkugeln, Berliner Krakehler, and Kladderadatsch (see Publication Index), this poem recognizes the dangers of keeping up with its competition: “Mit allen diesen gleichen Schritt zu halten, / Ich muß gestehn, dies ist ein schweres Stück; / Denn in Berlin, da brach der Kammerjäger, / Ihr kennt den Namen, Manchem das Genick” (poem 420). Adolf Franckel’s “Ein Programm,” published in the Wiener Boten in 1849, provides a sarcastic version of the agenda set by the reactionary powers: “Um das Recht der freien Presse unverkürzt zu garantiren, / Lassen wir die Tagesblätter kriegsgerichtlich censuriren” (poem 600). An ironic retrospective of the rev-
olutionary year entitled “1848,” also published in the *Wiener Boten*, refers to the fate met by many oppositional publications: “Vor Allem aber unver­schämt / In Kurzem ward die Presse: / Manch’ Manifest liegt aufbewahrt / Zu künft’gem Preßprozesse” (poem 601).

Wrangel suspended publication of the *Berliner Krakehler* with its thirty-sixth issue on 10 November 1848 (Estermann, *Berliner X*). The name of this publication is based on the word “krakeelen” (meaning “to make a racket”); Wrangel silenced the publication and thus the oppositional “racket” it made. The next issue of the *Berliner Krakehler*, which did not appear until 25 December 1848, included “Eine rührende Geschichte,” an illustrated poem about the fate shared by many liberal publications during the counterrevolution: “Hier liegt er, auf die Bahre hingestreckt, / Der, als er lebte, Manchen hat geneckt, / Und den man, weil er hohe Herr’n genirte, / In Berolin standrechtlich suspendirte” (poem 83). The second stanza of the poem identifies Friedrich Wilhelm IV’s reactionary advisors as a target of the journal’s criticism: “Wo frische Leichensteine haften / Auf Gräbern der Errungenschaften, / Hier ruht der Camarilla Alp und Quäler, / Ein acht Berliner Junge – der Krakehler.” The drawing accompanying this stanza depicts a tombstone engraved with the words “Hier ruht der Berliner.” A Prussian soldier and a policeman, backed up by cannons, are guarding the grave. In the poem, the *Krakehler* rises from the dead, breaking through the ground as a giant fist: “Denn das Faustrecht ist jetzt Mode.”

Wrangel shut down the *Kladderadatsch* on 12 November 1848 for one month during his siege of Berlin, and the journal moved its production to Leipzig.121 In early January 1849 *Der Anecdotenjäger* published “Nachruf am Grabe seines bei der Belagerung von Berlin gefallenen Bruders und Freundes des hoffnungsvollen Jünglings Kladderadatsch.” The poem observes how the absence of this journal affected the public arena: “Der Himmel wird trüb’ und trüber, / Und Wolken und Augen gehn über – / Kladderadatsch!” (poem 432).

A program for the *Freie Blätter. Illustrierte politisch-humoristische Zeitung* printed in the first issue of 1848 proclaims the oppositional tendency of the Berlin publication:

Alles Große und Herrliche muß errungen werden; jedes Recht correspondirt mit einer Pflicht; jeder Genuß mit einem Opfer. Also auch die göttliche Freiheit. [. . .] Bringen wir diese Opfer, so wird der goldne Baum der Freiheit blühen und Früchte tragen; so haben wir weder Reaction noch Anarchie zu fürchten. Wir treten beiden Feinden mit der Waffe des freien Wortes entgegen, überall, und wahrlich auch in den “Freien Blättern”. (qtd. in Estermann 8: 298)
It comes as no surprise that Wrangel prohibited publication of the *Freie Blätter* as well, in December 1848. Glassbrenner responded with a poem on the first page of a December issue, which he preceded with the following verbal attack:


The poem characterizes the letters of the alphabet as "kleine schwarze Husaren": "Durch alle Festungen hau'n sie sich durch, / Sie reiten und streiten dem Feinde zum Spott / Und singen und kämpfen mit Gott, mit Gott!" (poem 172). Glassbrenner poses the question "und wir?" once again following the poem:

Wir haben Nichts gegen alle diese Macht als unser einfaches Wort! Und dieses Wort verbietet uns die Gewalt! Ein Beweis, wie groß das Recht der Gewalt ist, und wie sicher sie sich in ihrem Rechte fühlt (241).

Letters functioning as soldiers recall Freiligrath’s poem "Freie Presse," in which the letters serve as bullets, both figuratively and literally (poem 185).

On 9 December 1864 the *Raketen* also published a poem about censorship of the press. Addressed to one of its fellow political-satirical journals, "An Freund Kladderadatsch" ponders the confiscation of the *Raketen*: "Das Schwert des Damokles sieht jeder schweben: / Dich, ach! verdonnerten sie zu fünf Wochen, / Wir aber werden, wenn nicht freigegeben, / So doch, Wir hoffen fest es – freigesprochen" (poem 813). This poem indicates that political poems and also the journals in which they appeared communicated with each other, establishing an internal dialog that at the same time constituted public discourse on these issues.

The suppression of the liberal oppositional press continued well into the 1860s. Press laws passed during the counterrevolution of 1848–49 extinguished the short-lived freedom enjoyed by the oppositional press in 1848. Although preventative censorship no longer existed, the new laws introduced economic sanctions such as mandatory license fees and a stamp tax. Further, all periodicals had to be submitted to the authorities prior to distribution. By 1854 these laws became compulsory for all states in the German Confederation. Liberal and democratic publications, but also
conservative journals deviating from official government policy faced confiscation and often legal processes. During the New Era in Prussia in the late 1850s and the ensuing political thaw in other German states, enforcement of the press laws relaxed considerably. But conservative powers, in particular Bismarck, began manipulating the press. Having recognized its value as an organ of public opinion, these powers sought to develop an official press that would support governmental policies (Hohendahl, *Literarische* 107–09).

The liberal press also propagated criticism of the conservative press, as early as 1840. “Gutenberg’s Standbild in Mainz (In der Nacht vom 23. auf den 24. Juni 1840),” published in the Frankfurter Konversationsblatt of 23 June 1840, discusses the dangers of the press falling into conservative hands. The poet Wilhelm Kilzer speaks through the figure of Gutenberg, who warns readers to beware the wretched writers and liars who abuse his printing press by using it to destroy harmony and freedom (poem 3). Although Kilzer does not explicitly mention the press, he argues that the printed word influences political affairs: “Wie schön! Die Welt wird immer freier, / Und Freiheit fördert himmelan; / Es senken sich die Nebelschleier, / Daß man die Wahrheit schauen kann.” He refers to the absolutist powers as “feindliche Gewalten” who had shackled freedom of thought and expression, and warns that these forces cannot be overcome without a fight: “Ihr Schriftner, die Ihr redlich strebet, / Bedenkt, umsonst wird nicht gesä’t.”

The author of “Erlkönig,” published in the Hannoversches Volksblatt of 15 April 1848, exhorts readers to recognize the sinister intentions behind Friedrich Wilhelm IV’s pretenses of loyalty to his subjects and sympathy with the liberal nationalist cause. Comparing the Prussian monarch to the elf king in Goethe’s poem, the poet argues that the king seeks to manipulate the people with lies and misleading promises, and that he has employed the press to attain this goal: “O Bürger, o Bürger, und hörst du nicht, / Was Erlkönig in der Zeitung verspricht? / - Sei ruhig, o Volk, Du betrogenes Kind, / In dürren Blättern säuselt der Wind!” (poem 191). This last verse, an exact quotation from Goethe’s poem, refers not to dry leaves, but to the conservative official newspapers that served as organs for the reactionary powers.

The oppositional journal Düsseldorfer Monatshefte published a satirical poem in 1849 that takes aim at the conservative press. “Ein kurioser Traum” personifies the reaction as an old woman; born in Berlin, “Frau von Reaction” was related to the one person who best embodied the counterrevolution: “Und ir’ ich nicht, so war die Charmante / Von General von Wrangel eine leibliche Tante” (poem 465). In the dream recounted by the poem’s narrator, this woman held a ball in November 1848, an ostentatious celebration of the reaction. She invited the conservative ministers, and they all sang “Heil dir im Siegeskranz!”, the official Prussian anthem. Several
women in attendance caught the narrator’s attention: “Doch sah ich an ihrem Wesen, / Es waren Zeitungen, man konnte sie lesen.” (In the accompanying illustration, the aprons covering the women’s skirts are indeed newspapers!) The major conservative newspapers in Berlin, the Anzeigerin, the Spener’sche, and the Kreuzzeitung were there; the poet alludes to the latter newspaper’s motto in commenting upon her behavior at the ball: “Sie war beständig am Saufen und Fressen / Für Gott, König und Vaterland.” At midnight, everyone present took broomsticks and flew to the Brocken, a reference to the highest peak in the Harz Mountains where, according to German folklore, the witches hold their sabbath on the evening preceding the first of May. The poet’s opposition to the reaction is apparent in the last lines of the poem: “O wären sie doch noch auf dem Blocksberg oben, / Dachte ich, als mein Traum zerstoben.”

In the summer of 1849, two liberal oppositional journals in the collection published poems that comment upon the popularity of the press and also on its more conservative function during the counterrevolutionary period. Der Anecdotenjäger published “So ist es! (Berlin bei Tag)” in August 1849:

Bei Kranzler untern Linden,
Da sind auch wieder ganz
Gemütlich jetzt zu finden
Seconde-Lieutenants.
Es paradirt dort wieder
Der Waffenrock, der Frack,
Und Eis und Voß’sche Zeitung –
Das ist – Berlin bei Tag. (poem 426)

Officers eating ice-cream and reading newspapers constituted an element of normalcy that had returned to Berlin, at least during the day. The poet prefers “Berlin bei Nacht,” however, for at night he finds the city more entertaining and more reminiscent of the revolutionary period. “Der tröstende Unterthan,” published in the Mephistopheles of 25 February 1849, ironically observes that the press had become a common fixture of daily life in post-revolutionary Germany:

Und die Presse frei auch noch,
Wie sie’s stets gewesen,
Denn am jeden Tag der Woch’,
Kann der Bürger lesen:
Spener’sche und Voß’sche,
Allgemeine Preußische,
Oberpostamtszeitung. (poem 551)
This poem suggests, as does the previous text, that the periodic press had less political significance than in 1848, a change both poets seem to regret.

The collection contains one affirmative view of a conservative newspaper. On 22 July 1848 the patriotic Volksblatt published “Zuruf an die ‘Neue Preußische Zeitung,’” just three weeks after this conservative Berlin newspaper had been founded. This poem appeals to the Kreuzzeitung to fight the revolutionary movements in the German territories: “O waffnet euch, o schaaret euch zum Ganzen, / Ihr Gottesstreiter! lasst die Banner fliegen / Und hebet hoch die Wimpel eurer Lanzen!” (poem 400). These verses reflect the founders’ aim in establishing this conservative mouthpiece, which was to fight “Demokratie und Revolution aufs schärfste” (Fischer 200). The religious tendencies of the poem reflect the subtitle of the newspaper, “Vorwärts mit Gott für König und Vaterland” as well as the cross featured in the heading. During the wars against Napoleon, Friedrich Wilhelm III had ordered the cross, with the phrase “Mit Gott für König und Vaterland,” to be added to the uniforms of Prussian soldiers. This poem alludes to both the cross and the Wars of Liberation: “In dunkler Zeit, wo böse Geister kriegen, / Sah’n wir ringsum, von wannen Licht erscheine:/ Das Kreuzeszeichen muß die Welt besiegen.”


The poems discussed in this section do not only offer satirical characterizations of the conservative press, for example, or praise of a reactionary newspaper. They also reveal certain dynamics that shaped the German press and its influence on national consciousness in the nineteenth century. At least two political-satirical journals printed poetic expressions of dismay about the confiscation or suppression of other similar oppositional publications, suggesting that these publications felt they had allies in the fight against absolutist powers. Liberal journals also published lyrical self-satires. In sum, even as political poets exploited the print medium to propagate their ironic commentary, they did not shy away from commentary on that medium and on its role in shaping public opinion. Poems printed in liberal and conservative publications alike acknowledged the role of the press in disseminating political information and commentary.
Humor: “Die Flöhe des Gehirns”

As we have seen, poets often used humor, particularly in the form of satire, parody, and irony, to communicate their political messages. In most instances, these political poems constituted liberal criticism of current political conditions. Poets drew on humor for various reasons. Many hid their sharp criticism of political figures, institutions, and conditions under the cloak of humor. This was particularly necessary in the years prior to the revolution of 1848 and again during the reaction, when liberal and democratic writers had to fight strict censorship laws in order to print oppositional political opinions and demands (Townsend, *Humor* 12). Poets also drew on humor as a means of entertaining people. They offered readers an opportunity to identify with and laugh about political matters, allowing them to vent their frustrations and express their desires (Townsend, *Forbidden* 2; 196). Humorous poems also represented a medium of political discourse. After 1850, as capitalistic market forces increasingly influenced the periodic press, editors and publishers also viewed humor as a means of increasing the number of their subscribers.

Humor played a significant role not only in poems themselves but in their journalistic contexts as well. Most of the humorous poems in the collection appeared in *Witzblätter*, political-satirical journals, usually illustrated, that used humor for political enlightenment, criticism, and agitation (Obenaus 229: 72). This type of publication first established itself as a journalistic genre during the revolution of 1848, its development made possible by the repeal of censorship laws. In Berlin alone three political-satirical journals were founded within two weeks. Adolf Glassbrenner began publishing his *Freie Blätter* on 6 May, and David Kalisch started the *Kladderdatsch* on 7 May. The *Berliner Krakehler* appeared on 18 May 1848. The development of modern techniques of reproduction also formed an important prerequisite for the expanded use of illustrations in these publications (Obenaus 229: 72).

The political-satirical journals in the collection demonstrate that humor appeared both in the form of the written word and in illustrations. The earliest *Witzblätter* in the collection are from 1848; numerous examples from 1849, 1864, and 1870–71 are also included. A survey of these publications reveals that most major German cities, including Berlin, Leipzig, Munich, Hamburg, and Frankfurt, boasted at least one political-satirical journal. Although conservative *Witzblätter* existed, those in this study are all liberal, oppositional periodicals.

Titles, in particular subtitles, reveal the political-satirical tendencies of numerous journals included in the collection. Glassbrenner makes explicit reference to both elements in his title, *Freie Blätter: Illustrierte politisch-
humoristische Zeitung, leaving no doubt as to the oppositional nature of his publication. Other titles include various forms of the words “humor” and “satire,” typical labels used by liberal, oppositional periodicals in the revolutionary years of 1848–49 and also in 1864 and 1870–71. Examples include the Frankfurter Latern: Illustriertes-satyrisches, humoristisch-lyrisches, kritisch-raisonnirendes, ästhetisch-annoncirendes Wochenblatt; Kladder­datsch: Organ für und von Bummel. Humoristisch-satyrisches Wochen­blatt; Münchener Grog: Humoristisch-satyrisches Originalblatt; Münchener Punsch: Ein satyrisches Original-Blatt; Raketen: Humoristisch-satyrisches Wochenblatt; and Schalks-Narr: Humoristisch satyrisches Wochenblatt.

The titles Der Anecdotenjäger: Zeitschrift für das lustige Deutschland and Der Declamator: Ernst und Scherz. Zur Unterhaltung in geselligen Kreisen, moreover, reflect the intentions of these publications to entertain readers.

The titles of several political-satirical journals, as well as their graphic representations on the first page of each issue, are often themselves humorous. The name of the journal Hamburger Wespen: Humoristisch-satyrisches Stichblatt plays upon the double meaning of “Stichblatt.” This word, which means “hand guard,” the concave piece of metal between the hilt and the blade of a rapier, implies that the publication aimed to function as a weapon of the liberal opposition. “Blatt” alone also means “newspaper”; the editor intended the Hamburger Wespen to sting like a wasp. An item from 16 December 1864 announcing a price increase for the next quarter, justified by the costs of the “Krieg des Geistes,” alludes to this imagery:

Die Abonnenten der Wespen werden deren Feldzug gegen das Xer­xesheer ihrer Feinde durch die nur unbedeutend erhöhten Kriegs­steuern auch ferner zu unterstützen wissen! In dieser Zuversicht schleifen die Wespen muthig ihren Stachel und treten voll freudiger Hoffnung grüssend ihr 7. Quartal an. (qtd. in Estermann II: 425)

The illustration used as a logo for the Hamburger Wespen depicts a swarm of wasps attacking a frightened king, a monk, a Prussian soldier, and a ballerina (a figure representing aristocratic culture), a visual representation of the social groups targeted by this political-satirical journal. Even the letters spelling out the word “Wespen” have small barbs sticking out from their edges.

A second Witzblatt from 1864, the Munich Schalks-Narr, announced the program of its successor, the Raketen, in the poem “Frühlings-Lied”: “Darum hoch den Kopf getragen! Polen ist noch nicht verloren! / Seht, als schmucke Vorhut hab’ ich die Raketen ausgeroren! / Seht, sie steigen auf gen’ Himmel, wollen nicht am Boden liegen, / Wollen schaffen, wollen streben, wollen kämpfen, wollen siegen!” (qtd. in Estermann IV: 476). A
Humor: “Die Flöhe des Gehirns”

Letter to the readers in the first issue of the Raketen in 1865 makes the oppositional character of this publication even clearer: “Raketen – auf! Das Pulver des Witzes und der Satyre nicht gespart! Auf! die Nacht zu erhellen und das Gefieder und Ungeziefer der Finsterniß nach allen Richtungen der Windrose zu zerstreuen” (qtd. in Estermann IV: 477). Once again, the illustrated title page underscores the political tendency of this journal. It shows a laughing jester igniting firecrackers that shoot towards the stars, taking several typical victims of liberal satire with them: a soldier, a beer-drinking aristocrat, a civil servant, and a wealthy man with his money, stocks, and notes. A priest flees from the danger, as does a dancing ballerina. An obese “German Michel” bears out his sleepy, prerevolutionary image. Wearing a nightcap, he hardly notices the excitement around him.

The word “Höllenstein,” used in the title of the Munich journal Dr. Höllenstein, means “silver nitrate,” a corrosive, poisonous powder used as a laboratory reagent. “Dr. Höllenstein,” a poem printed in the first issue of 1870, explains the allegorized title of this publication. Dr. Höllenstein, whose “patients” include monarchs and “Excellenzen groß und klein,” declares: “Doch, wo es faul, da kehr’ ich ein / Und tupfe mit dem Höllenstein!” (qtd. in Estermann I: 645). These verses thus reveal the liberal, oppositional tendency of this journal as well as the targets of its humor. The publication’s logo draws on yet a further meaning embodied by the title of the journal. It shows Dr. Höllenstein (perhaps the editor Heinrich Oberwegner), assisted by winged, devil-like creatures, driving reactionary conservatives off a cliff into the depths of hell. The reactionaries are recognizable by their long pigtails and spiked helmets, a satirical depiction of Prussia as an absolutist power. A female allegory of freedom stands behind the doctor, a sword raised in her left hand. She signifies the continuing battle for freedom from oppressive rule, and for freedom of the press. Humor is represented in this illustration by a jester wearing a fool’s cap and holding the banner that carries the title Dr. Höllenstein.

Political-satirical journals often published statements concerning the role humor played in their pages. These comments appeared in various forms. The publication Sir John Falstaff stated its political tendency in a proclamation in its first issue of 1848: “Unsere Devise ist: “Witz-Freiheit, Satyre - Gleich - heut und Brüder – schafft – Humor!” (qtd. in Estermann 8: 130). Moreover, the journal included the following sentence as part of its heading each week:

Jeder gute und treffende Witz, jede kurze parodistische Auffassung politischer Auffassung politischer und socialer Modethorheiten, jede wirklich neue Anekdot oder Idee zu einer Karrikatur, findet schnelle Aufnahme gegen ein angemessenes Honorar.
This solicitation of contributions from readers further emphasizes the intention of the publication to address political topics with humor. A drawing of Sir John Falstaff embellishes the heading of this journal.

In late October 1848 (No. 40) Der Anecdotenjäger published its comments on humor in a full-page advertisement for hardbound issues of the Leipzig journal:

Der Anecdotenjäger, eine Zeitschrift in jährlich 52 Nummern, oder in 4 Quartalen mit einer Menge von Bildern und Carricaturen und einem Ueberfluß von humoristischen kurzen und langen Artikeln und vergnügten Sachen ist in der jetzigen schweren Zeit der Noth eine wahre Hausapotheke, das einzige Präservativ gegen Reaction und Anarchie. Jede Sache hat zwei Seiten, auch der Anecdotenjäger, er hat eine lustige Seite und eine heitere, von vorne wählt er gegen die Reaction und von hinten reactionirt er gegen die Anarchie. Dabei ist er sehr billig und dient zugleich als Complimentirbuch wie als wirkliches Conversationslexicon des Humors. [. . .] Wenn wir nach einer etwas übertriebenen Berechnung das Quartal zu 500 Anecdoten und andern lustigen Sachen anschlagen, so hat man in diesen vier Bänden nicht weniger als 8000 Stück humoristische Zündhütchen, die man nach Belieben auswendig lernen und in Gesellschaften wie in häuslichen Kreisen loschlagen und damit sein Glück machen kann. (320)

This publication viewed humor as an effective weapon for fighting the political extremes on both the left and the right end of the political spectrum, very real threats during the counterrevolutionary developments in the fall of 1848. Der Anecdotenjäger sought to fight the political opposition not only with the words and illustrations it published, however, but also by demonstrating that laughter is indeed a form of medicine. The journal expected its humorous anecdotes to raise the spirits of its readers, who subsequently would carry on the liberal battle by disseminating these anecdotes among the German public. The text emphasizes the concept of Witzblatt as a political weapon by comparing this action to the detonation of “Zündhütchen,” a type of small arms in the form of metallic caps containing explosive powder.

In a program for his Freie Blätter, printed in the first issue of 1848, Adolf Glassbrenner also declares humor to be an important weapon in opposing those forces that threaten freedom:

Die Spießbürger der Reaction, mit oder ohne Von, die Jesuiten und Finsterlinge, mit und ohne Pfäffchen, die Wucherer, mit und ohne Courszettel, die Narren, mit und ohne bunte Lappen: sie
sollen vor die Klinge unserer Feder. [. . .] Wer die Freiheit anrührt, 
verfällt unserm Schwert der Wahrheit, unser Lanze des Witzes, 
unserm Griffel des Humors, unserm Pritsche des Spottes. [. . .] Unser 
Wahlspruch heißt: Der Ernst ist Parthei, der Humor steht über den 
Partheien, das Schöne allein ist wahr, der Staat sind Wir. (qtd. 
in Estermann 8: 298, 300)

Glassbrenner argues that humor is above politics and thus serves liberal 
writers as a means of effectively evaluating political affairs, above all on 
proponents of the reaction. Swords, blades, spears, and fool's wands, the 
metaphors he uses to represent the tools of political journalists, underscore 
the image of humor and the political-satirical press as weapons. Later that 
spring Glassbrenner wrote: “[. . .] je ernster die Zeit, um so nothwendiger 
der fröhliche und versöhnende Humor, je dreister Reaction, Anarchie und 
Thorheit, je schärfer die Satyre auftreten muß” (qtd. in Estermann 8: 301). 
The intensification apparent in this statement reflects the growing political 
tensions in the German territories in the first months of 1848.

In early 1864 the Munich journal Schalks-Narr commented on the hu­
morous tendency of its successor, the Raketen, in an invitation to sub­
scribers: “‘Unabhängig, gerecht, wahrhaftig!’ ist unsere Devise. Was die 
schlechten Witze betrifft, so werden wir sie aus dem Aermel schütteln [. . .].” 
The invitation also explains the change from a weekly to a biweekly publi­
cation in a larger octavo “Kladderadatsch-Format”: “[. . .] warum soll nicht 
München – Bayern – endlich auch einmal neben seinen Duodezblättern und 
Blättchen eine würdigere bedeutendere Erscheinung aufweisen können?” 
(qtd. in Estermann IV: 476). This commentary indicates that Berlin's 
Kladderadatsch influenced not only the contents but also the format of 
other Witzblätter. It also calls readers' attention to the feuilleton section 
of the journal, in which nonpolitical poems would be published.

As we saw in Chapter 4, the Hamburg journal Mephistopheles declared 
in a program printed in its first issue of 1848 that political-satirical peri­
odicals were necessary in times of great seriousness. The editor Wilhelm 
Marr envisioned humor, specifically satire, as a political weapon: “Die 
Satire ist das Tirailleurfeuer der Tageslitteratur” (qtd. in Estermann 8: 
229). He is careful to point out, however, that his publication would target 
only those objects worthy of satire, “denn selbst die Lächerlichkeit hat ihre 
Größen und der Tritschtrasch der winzigen Alltäglichkeit wird stets außer 
unserm Bereiche bleiben” (qtd. in Estermann 8: 229). A second publication 
also sought to distance itself from the Witzblatt phenomenon occurring in 
1848. At the end of that year, Eduard Maria Oettinger, the editor of the 
Leipzig Charivari (whose title means “an elaborate, noisy celebration”), 
put forth his goals for the journal in the upcoming year:
Unser Blatt verzichtet herzlich gern auf den in jüngster Zeit höchst anrüchig gewordenen Ruhm, der Horde jener sogenann­ten Witzblätter anzugehören, die durch den Parfum der Scan­dalsucht und den Haut-goüt geistloser Verleumdung ein rasch vorübergehendes Aufsehen erregen: unser “Charivari” buhlt nicht um die Gunst der großen Masse; er schreibt für den gebildeten Theil des Volks. (qtd. in Estermann 7: 150)

Oettinger does not specify the political-satirical journals he aims to criticize, but his comment does not necessarily apply to the Witzblätter included in the collection from 1848 or 1849. In order to recognize and understand political messages masked under the guise of humor, particularly in the political poetry published in these journals, readers would have had to be fairly sophisticated, well informed of current and historical political developments, and also familiar with humorous allusions to politics that may have surfaced repeatedly in a particular journal.

The political-satirical tendencies of a given publication are important to an understanding and appreciation of the humor in poems printed in these periodicals. In its first issue of 1849, *Der Anecdotenjäger* published “Politisches Glaubensbekenntniß des Anecdotenjägers,” a retrospective of 1848: “Was mich, den Anecdotenjäger anbelangt, / So kam dabei ich tüchtig in’s Gedränge, / Es sprang der Witz, die Flöhe des Gehirns, / Mit ihm einher in tausendfacher Menge” (poem 420). The “crowd” that the poet Theodor Drobisch refers to consists of the political-satirical journals that appeared on the market with the repeal of censorship of the press in 1848, including the *Leuchtkugeln, Berliner Krakehler, Kladderadatsch, Fränkische Blätter,* and *Nürnberger Trichter,* all of which are included in the collection. Drobisch attributes this phenomenon in part to Glassbrenner’s publication: “Indeß Glassbrenner streute rings umher / Durch Deutschlands Gauen seine freien Blätter, / Das Witz-Carricaturen-Magazin [sic] / Hob sich in Wort und Bildern keck und kühner.” Moreover, he bluntly but humorously points out the danger faced by these publications when they became too zealous with their political humor: “Giebt man zu wenig, rümpfet Ihr die Nasen, / Kommt man zu stark, da muß es Gott abwenden / Daß sie uns aus Erkenntlichkeit nicht eine / Cravatte aus dem Seilerladen senden.” Drobisch clearly views humor as a weapon that can be used against reactionary forces: “Daß deutscher Witz ein dreifach schneidig Schwert / Und immer scharf, gleich wie des Todes Sichel, / Dies hat erfahr’n, beim Aristophanes: / Vergangenes Jahr gewiß der deutsche Michel.” The reference to Aristophanes indicates that Drobisch considered humor to be an effective weapon, one that contributed to the revolution of 1848.
The Hannoversches Volksblatt für Leser aller Stände regularly published humorous political poems in 1848 and 1849. This journal differs in certain respects from the political-satirical periodicals discussed above, particularly in its publication of factual reports on local and national news. An article written by the editor Wilhelm Schröder in 1851, however, indicates that humor had played a central role in the treatment of political topics in this journal as well:

Insofern aber dies Blatt zugleich eine Zeitschrift ist, mußte es sich dabei die Aufgabe stellen, in seinen Spalten ein Abbild der Zeit zu geben, dem Leser daraus einen Spiegel vorzuhalten, wo er die wechselvollen Gestalten der Tagesgeschichte in ihren Hauptzügen abkonterfeit erblicke, sei es nun eingehüllt in den Trauermantel der klagenden Muse oder ausstaffirt mit der buntscheckigen Jacke des lachenden Humors. (qtd. in Estermann II: 435)

The "lachender Humor" is the harlequin, a comic character in commedia dell’arte that is usually masked and wearing a multicolored, diamond-patterned jacket and tights. Schröder describes not only the satirical bent of his newspaper but also the satirical tradition itself, which aims to expose or denounce human vice and folly.

Nineteenth-century poets and periodicals often drew on the satirical tradition of early modern Europe to sharpen the humorous messages of political poems. This can be seen in the emblematic use of the crayfish, for example, to embody and to comment on the reaction. The poems discussed below demonstrate how poets and editors applied this tradition to current political topics in 1848 and 1864.

On 26 August 1848 the Hannoversches Volksblatt published for example “An die Spießburger,” with the following quotation after the title: “Könnt Ihr die Krebse der heutigen Zeit mit Raisonnement nicht / Vorwärts bringen, so reibt sie mit dem Salze des Spotts” (poem 202). As Townsend confirms, the crayfish served as a popular symbol of the reaction during the counterrevolutionary period 1848–49 because of its backward gait (Probst and Welck 112).128 The poem ridicules those members of the petty bourgeoisie who reject the political and social achievements brought about by the revolution because there is no profit in it for them: “Der Geier hol’ Musketen / Und Bürgerwachendienst: / Das bringt uns früh und spät / Noch keinen Deut Verdienst.” The final stanza warns of the consequences this attitude could have: “Den Krämersinn, Spießbürger, / Erdrosselt nur ihn bald, / Eh’ Reaction, dem Würger, / Ihr in die Schlinge fällt.” The importance this publication attached to humor and politics is further underscored by a text reprinted on the same page of this issue. Written by Albert Hopf
in 1848, “Nante als National-Versammelter” was the first leaflet in a series satirizing the Frankfurt National Assembly.¹²⁹

A similar combination of image and verse can be seen in “Eine neue Geschichte vom alten Zopf,” published by the political-satirical journal *Leuchtkugeln* in August 1848 (poem 284). This satirical poem also addresses the relationship between politics and humor, as indicated by its subtitle: “Lieder-Cyclus, einem deutschen Sonderbund-Minister, dem mächtigen Beförderer des Humors, ehrfurchtsvollst gewidmet.” An illustration shows a wig on top of a tombstone, its pigtail sticking up into the air. The tombstone reads “Er ruhe in Ewigkeit” and is dated 6 August 1848, the day chosen to pay homage to Johann, the new imperial administrator (see Chapter 3). Johann is the “Sonderbunds-Minister” to whom the poem is dedicated: “Ein tapfrer Mann des Volkes / Gefeiert weit und breit.” Johann, celebrated for going without a “Zopf,” thus represents the revolutionary movements of 1848. The German people expect him to banish absolutist rule, symbolized by the “allerdickster Zopf,” but he proves powerless against this reactionary force: “Doch wie er voll Erstaunen / Erblickt den Fürstenzopf, / Verlor der Radicale / Ganz radical den Kopf.” Indeed, Johann’s own pigtail begins to grow again, portending the reaction even after it has been cut off and buried: “Und mehret sich im Stillen / Zu einer großen Brut: / Im deutschen Land gedeihen / Die Zöpfe nur zu gut!” The dedication refers to Johann, and the hopes he symbolizes, with great respect, but at the same time refers to him as the patron of humor. This poem and its illustration constitute one result of his patronage, an allusion to the wave of political poems but also political-satirical journals generated by the March revolution of 1848.

The theme of humor and politics is also taken up by “Rechberg’s Abschied von seinen treuesten Freunden,” published on 10 November 1864 in the *Frankfurter Latern* (poem 699). In addressing the resignation of the Austrian secretary of state, this satirical poem also comments upon the relationship between humor and the treatment of politics in periodicals and in poetry. Rechberg had viewed cooperation with Prussia in the war against Denmark as a means of reestablishing the former political and social order of Europe, but his efforts to continue the Austro-Prussian alliance after the war failed. When he did not secure the Prussian ministry’s approval of Austrian membership in the customs union, Rechberg was forced to resign on 27 October 1864. He recognized too late that Bismarck had used Austria to consolidate its own power, at Austria’s cost.¹³⁰ The role Rechberg played in the political developments of 1864 made him a favorite target of the oppositional *Witzblätter*.

In this poem Rechberg is parting from his most loyal “friends,” the German and Austrian satirical journals: “Lebt wohl ihr Figaro und Klad-
Humor: “Die Flöhe des Gehirns”

dradatschen, / Du trauliche Laterne, lebe wohl! / Der Rechberg wird nun
nicht mehr mit euch wandeln, / Der Rechberg sagt euch ewig Lebewohl.”

Readers familiar with the Frankfurter Latern or the other publications men­
tioned in the poem would have recognized the irony in this farewell scene.
These journals displayed their friendship by regularly ridiculing the Aus­
trian politician in their pages. This becomes evident when Rechberg takes
credit for “their” pranks and blunders: „Ihr Böcke, die ich schoß, ihr dum­
men Streiche, / Die ich gepflanzt, grünet fröhlich fort! / Lebt wohl, ihr
Spötter und ihr Humoristen.”

The illustration complements the message of the poem by showing how
the journals react to Rechberg’s departure. Rechberg himself is depicted
with downcast eyes; wearing a backpack, he has left office and appears ready
to move on. Three figures have gathered to say goodbye, personifications
of the political-satirical journals Kladderadatsch, Figaro, and Frankfurter
Latern. The journal’s names are written above each of their heads, but
the informed reader would have identified them. The Kladderadatsch, for
example, is the same man with bushy eyebrows and large nose found in
the journal’s logo. The Frankfurter Latern, represented by a female dressed
in traditional costume, has a shining lantern on the top of her head. In
this self-portrait, she is standing in the background, looking down upon
the others. She is wringing her hands, on the verge of tears; the Figaro is
already wiping his eyes with a handkerchief. They are of course sad to see
one of their favorite political targets leave.

Several satirical poems in the collection from both the Frankfurter La­
tern and the Kladderadatsch substantiate the message of this political poem
and its illustration. “Viribus unitis!”, published in the Frankfurt journal
on 23 January 1864, one week after Prussia and Austria issued the ultima­
tum to Denmark, depicts Rechberg as Bismarck’s puppet: “‘Du bemühst
für Oestreich dich, / Ich für Preußens Schande, / [. . .] / Was so leicht
nicht Einer zwingt, / Bruder Rechberg, das gelingt / Viribus unitis!’”
(poem 669). “Die Mittelstaaten,” in the same issue, provides an uncom­
plimentary diagnosis of Rechberg’s troubles: “Und der Herr von Rechberg
leidet / An Geschwulst und Blähung sehr, / Und ist irr! und unterschei­
det / Deutsche Schande nicht von Ehr” (poem 670). The Kladderadatsch
published “What shall I do with it?” on 6 November 1864: “Bin ich wach?
- Ich glaub’ zu träumen! / Was ich hör’, wie soll ichs reimen? / Mit dem
goldnen Vließ behangen / Ist der Rechberg fortgegangen” (poem 775). As
we saw in Chapter 5, the Frankfurter Latern also published a caricature
of Rechberg and Bismarck on 31 May 1864, depicting the men as tailors
sewing together a map of Schleswig-Holstein. The sadness exhibited by
the three political-satirical journals in the illustration thus seems justified.
Rechberg's absence from the political scene undoubtedly deprived the publications from a regular and popular target of their humor.

While *Der Anecdotenjäger's* notion of humor as exploding caps seems exaggerated, these political-satirical journals and their contributing poets were well aware of the power of lampoon to shape public opinion and to influence public policy. The authors of these satirical poems used humor to generate laughter, in their view an effective means of expressing criticism and of winning readers over to their views. Illustrations often augmented their intentions. By entertaining their readers, these poets sought to increase public awareness of the political issues addressed in their poems.

The satirical piquancy and catchy language of these humorous poems contrast with the straightforward yet nebulous patriotic language used by earlier poets such as Arndt, Becker, and Schneckenburger. They, too, intended their political messages to rally support for particular causes. The fact that their poems resurfaced again and again during the nineteenth century suggests that the language they used granted their poems a certain universality, allowing later poets to borrow or transform them to comment upon sometimes completely different historical circumstances. The longevity of these political poems was also a function of the topics they addressed. The French enemy and the German borders proved to be recurrent themes in the nineteenth century. The humorous poems in this collection, however, generally commented on political developments of a much more specific nature, such as the resignation of the Austrian secretary of state in October 1864, the significance of which was undoubtedly more ephemeral than those addressed in the nationalistic Freiheitslyrik or Rheinlieder. A closer look at the political poetry discussed in this investigation reveals that precisely the increased degree of specificity is a general development in the poems themselves between 1840 and 1871.

**Conclusion**

We have seen that many of the political poems in the collection focus on, mention, or address contemporary political figures. The specificity of these references increases significantly in poems written after 1840. Changes in the nature of such references also occurred. A survey of the poems from 1840 reveals only a small number of explicit references to contemporary political figures. Five poems mention the deceased Friedrich Wilhelm III (including references to his wife Luise), while four mention his son and successor, Friedrich Wilhelm IV (see Key Word Index). As discussed in Chapter 2, the poets adulate or eulogize the Prussian monarchs in every case, imbuing their poems with reverent pathos. In the only other reference
to a monarch, poet Alexander Seydell praises Ludwig I of Bavaria for his role in promoting a canal connecting the Main and Danube rivers. Each of these panegyric poems appeared in the patriotic journal *Der Sprecher*; the other publications from 1840 include references only to historical figures (Alexander I, Franz I, Friedrich II, Luther, Gutenberg, Arminius, and St. Pirmin) or to the contemporary poets Uhland, Freiligrath, and Becker. Without exception, the political poets depicted these people in a positive light.

The poems from 1840 thus do not exhibit the biting criticism or satire that characterizes many of the later poems in the collection. The following patriotic lines, written to mark the people’s oath of loyalty to Friedrich Wilhelm IV on 15 October 1840, are typical of the panegyric poetry written in that year: “Dem würd’gen Sprößling eines edlen Königs, / Ihm weihen heute Mund und Herz der Treue Schwur” (poem 29). “Der deutsche Kaiser,” published by the *Leuchtkugeln* in response to the Prussian king’s gestures of purported solidarity with the German people after the March revolution in Berlin, contrasts sharply with the earlier poem: “Herr Friederich streckt seine Hand / Zum Kuß des braven Bürgers, / Wie Hunde lecken sie gewandt / Die Hände ihres Würgers” (poem 269). The verbal attack in this poem, directed at the king as well as at his German subjects, is particularly harsh.

This poem also reflects new tendencies in political poetry that can in part be explained by changes in censorship laws that in turn generated new types of periodicals. With freedom of the press established in the spring of 1848, a wave of new oppositional *Witzblätter* flooded the market. It thus comes as no surprise that, beginning in 1848, attacks on rulers and politicians became increasingly specific and critical. The poem “Volkslied für die bevorstehenden Wahlversammlungen,” published in the *Freie Blätter* in December 1848, offers both positive and negative opinions on twenty-nine different politicians, mostly delegates to the Frankfurt National Assembly (poem 174). Poets also increasingly referred not only to politicians but to their functions and activities as well. “Londoner Conferenz,” published in the *Augsburger Anzeigblatt* of 8 May 1864, humorously covers both points, ridiculing the wining and dining of the Conference participants: “Wir essen Schildkröten und Austern und schenken die Becher recht voll; / Herr Russell, der muß präsidiren, Herr Stuart, der führt’s Protokoll” (poem 626). As we saw above, this tradition of lampooning political figures continued through 1870–71.

As discussed in Chapters 2 and 6, hostilities with the French generated a storm of political poetry. The threat of war against France during the Rhine crisis and the actual Franco-Prussian War thirty years later provided poets with a common topic. A comparison of poems from these two
years, however, reveals similarities and also changes that occurred in the nature of this poetry. Poems written in response to the Rhine crisis label the French as “der Feind,” “der Franzos,” or “die Welschen.” Omissions are also significant. The name of the French foreign minister Thiers does not surface in a single poem, nor does Napoleon’s in connection with the Wars of Liberation. Poets cloaked the bloody aspects of war in patriotism: “Seyd einig, müßt ihr Druck und Nacht befahren, / Mit Gut und Blut, in ernsten Waffentänzen / Licht, Wahrheit, Recht und Freiheit zu bewahren!” (poem 13).

In contrast, political poems commenting on the war against France in 1870–71 make several specific references to Napoleon III. The Deutscher Sprachwart published Wilhelm Jordan’s “Kriegslied” in its tenth issue. This poem places blame for the war on the French emperor: “Mit Tücken schürzt zum zweiten mal / Sein Garn ein Bonaparte; / Schon zeichnet man, wie er’s befahl, / Europas neue Karte” (poem 851). “Bonaparte – na warte!” published in the Industrieller Humorist in 1870, gloats over the capture of Napoleon III: “Denn Deutschland von vorn und Empörung im Rücken: / Adieu, Bonaparte, dann kannst du dich drücken” (poem 906). Although several poems from 1870–71 reveal the same vague patriotic nationalism apparent in the poems from 1840, they often exhibit a touch of realistic detail.

“Des Deutschen höchstes Gut,” published in the Deutscher Sprachwart, celebrates the German victory over its old enemy: “Mit Strömen Bluts ist er errungen, / Es ward der stolze Feind bezwungen, / Vom deutschen Volk, vom deutschen Heer” (poem 868). Gustav Steinacker follows these lines with criticism of the diplomats responsible for the conditions of peace: “Doch alsbald hinter den Soldaten / Drohn lauernd schon der Diplomaten / Gespitzte Federn, unheilschwer.” These differences suggest that political poets in 1870–71 had a different perspective on German politics from those who had been writing in 1840; indeed, the changes in political poetry between 1840 and 1871 reflect changes in the nature of the German nationalist movement and in the nature of German politics in general. The failed March revolution of 1848 and three wars had sobered supporters of the liberal nationalist movement, many of whom resignedly accepted Bismarck and his efforts to create a German nation. As we have seen, even oppositional political-satirical journals came to support the revolution from above.

As the collection of 950 poems demonstrates, between 1840 and 1870 German newspapers and journals regularly featured poems that constituted direct responses to key political developments, national and international. This study first examined the factors that contributed to the emergence of political poetry as a major literary genre in periodicals beginning in 1840. Subsequent chapters discussed the political poetry generated by the Rhine
crisis of 1840, the revolutions of 1848, the counterrevolution of 1848–49, the war against Denmark in 1864, and finally the Franco-Prussian War of 1870–71. These political developments proved central to the evolution of German nationalism in the nineteenth century and the eventual solution to the German question, a *Kleindeutschland* under Prussian aegis. This final chapter has looked at how the political poems in the collection depict the periodic press, and has examined the role of humor, particularly in the journalistic contexts of these poems, in disseminating political commentary.

The poems in the collection did not merely comment upon the political developments discussed in this study. They aimed to influence public opinion and, most significantly, helped shape German national consciousness. In Chapter 2 a closer examination of one political poem, “Der deutsche Rhein,” demonstrated the enormous resonance Becker’s text had among readers and the general German public and the influence it exerted on the political climate. Becker’s poem was not the only example of such a literary and cultural phenomenon. Arndt’s “Des Deutschen Vaterland,” Chemnitz’s “An Schleswig-Holstein,” and Schneckenburger’s “Die Wacht am Rhein” also enjoyed widespread popularity and exercised considerable influence in the public sphere. As we have seen, the impact of these poems was not limited to one historical moment. Subsequent political poems extended the afterlife of these poems by borrowing and transforming elements from them to convey their own political messages. These poets helped create a poetic discourse during the nineteenth century, a discourse that continued to build upon and revise its own tradition.

The periodic press was central to the development of this poetic discourse. Newspapers and journals functioned as vehicles for disseminating political poems among the German reading public, allowing them to become part of the public dialog on the historical developments they addressed. The press encouraged debate, publishing poems by a wide variety of authors from many points on the political spectrum. Newspapers and journals also reacted to one another. They often cited other publications as the source of poems included in their issues. Further, publications printed poems that sometimes generated poetic responses, which they then printed as well. In this manner political poetry often crossed territorial and social boundaries. Indeed, the press made these political poems accessible to readers of all stations, an observation confirmed by the poem “Die Zeitungsleser” (poem 133).

In the nineteenth century, the German periodic press and also the political poems printed in its pages therefore helped create a sense of community, of being joined in a common cause, whether it was anti-French fervor during the Rhine crisis, the battle against reactionary powers for freedom of the press, support or criticism of nationalist movements in non-German speak-
ing regions, or affirmation of Prussian politics in the wars against Denmark and France. Such “nationally imagined communities” provide a basis for national consciousness (Anderson 44). The collection contains hundreds of poems that refer to “das deutsche Vaterland” or “Deutschland,” for example (see Key Word Index), concepts that until 1871 existed in terms of a common language, culture, and shared history, but with no basis in political reality.

On 1 February 1871, just two weeks after Wilhelm I had been crowned German emperor, Fr. Xav. Seidl rejoiced in a poem, “Zum 28. Januar 1871,” published in the Conversations-Blatt:

Ja, unserer Jugend Traum ist wahr geworden,  
‘Deutschland ist einig!’ hört es fern und nah,  
Wer wagt's, zu rütteln an des Reiches Pforten?  
Wir sind geeint! Hurrah Germania!  
Du Siegesbraut in jungfräulichen Locken,  
Zu eines neuen Lebens Sonnenschein  
Da läuten dir mit tausend Feierglocken  
All' deine Völker deinen Brauttag ein! (poem 937)

The patriotic, nationalist fervor of this poem celebrates the political reality of a unified Germany. As this study has shown, in the nineteenth century the political poetry published in periodicals had followed, commented upon, and had a part in the realization of a German nation state.
NOTES

1See Pilbeam 65–66.

2See also Nipperdey, Deutsche Geschichte 1800–1866 366–67.

3See also Kurscheidt 62–63.

4Historians Friedrich Christoph Dahlmann (1785–1860) and Georg Gottfried Gervinus (1805–71), the Grimm brothers Jakob (1785–1863) and Wilhelm (1786–1859), orientalist Heinrich Ewald (1803–74), jurist Wilhelm Eduard Albrecht (1800–76), and physicist Wilhelm Weber (1804–91).

5The gymnasts’ motto, “frisch, frei, fröhlich, fromm (ist des Turners Reichtum),” derived from the proverb “Frisch, fröhlich, fromm und frei, das andere Gott befohlen sei” (Hasubek 96).

6Arndt’s “Des Deutschen Vaterland” (Arndt 18–22):

Was ist des Deutschen Vaterland?
Ist’s Preußenland, ist’s Schwabenland?
Ist’s, wo am Rhein der Rebe blüht?
Ist’s, wo am Belt die Möve zieht?
O nein! nein! nein!
Sein Vaterland muß größer sein.

Was ist des Deutschen Vaterland?
Ist’s Baierland, ist’s Steierland?
Ist’s, wo des Marsen Rind sich streckt?
Ist’s, wo die Märker Eisen reckt?
O nein! nein! nein!
Sein Vaterland muß größer sein.

Was ist des Deutschen Vaterland?
Ist’s Pommerland, Westfalenland?
Ist’s, wo der Sand der Dünen weht?
Ist’s, wo die Donau brausend geht?
O nein! nein! nein!
Sein Vaterland muß größer sein.

Was ist des Deutschen Vaterland?
So nenne mir das große Land!
Ist’s Land der Schweizer? ist’s Tirol?
Das Land und Volk gefiel mir wohl;  
Doch nein! nein! nein!  
Sein Vaterland muß größer sein.

Was ist des Deutschen Vaterland?  
So nenne mir das große Land!  
Gewiß es ist das Oesterreich,  
An Ehren und an Siegen reich?  
O nein! nein! nein!  
Sein Vaterland muß größer sein.

Was ist des Deutschen Vaterland?  
So nenne mir das große Land!  
So weit die deutsche Zunge klingt  
Und Gott im Himmel Lieder singt,  
Das soll es sein!  
Das, wackrer Deutscher, nenne dein!

Das ist des Deutschen Vaterland,  
Wo Eide schwört der Druck der Hand,  
Wo Treue hell vom Auge blitze  
Und Liebe warm im Herzen sitzt –  
Das sollen es sein!  
Das, wackrer Deutscher, nenne dein!

Das ist des Deutschen Vaterland,  
Wo Zorn vertilgt den wälschen Tand,  
Wo jeder Franzmann heißt Feind,  
Wo jeder Deutsche heißt Freund –  
Das sollen es sein!  
Das ganze Deutschland soll es sein!

Das ganze Deutschland soll es sein!  
O Gott vom Himmel sieh’ darein,  
Und gieb uns rechten deutschen Muth,  
Daß wir es lieben treu und gut.  
Das sollen es sein!  
Das ganze Deutschland soll es sein!

7 Critics accused Heine of betraying the liberal opposition movement by serving as vice-president of the Hülfsverein. Germann argues that Heine agreed partly because the effort necessary to complete the Cologne cathedral deeply impressed him. Liberals in Paris supported Heine’s election to this position, as did two men from Cologne: archaeologist and architect Franz Gau, and César Daly, the head typesetter of the leading architec-
tural journal (Germann 166). The republican journalist Jakob Venedey also urged Heine to accept the position: “Gegen den Strom schwimmen, ist Unsinn; ihn aber ins rechte Bett einlenken, oft nicht so schwer” (Kramp, “Aufruf” 287).

8 See Nipperdey, Deutsche Geschichte 1800–1866 267–71; Kaschuba 400–02; Sheehan, German Liberalism 13–14.

9 See Nipperdey, Deutsche Geschichte 1800–1866 190; Siemann, Staatenbund 207–09; Schulze, Weg 51–52.

10 See also Rürup 165; Kiesewetter 185.

11 See also Obenaus, “Buchmarkt” 44; Lutz 158; Siemann, Staatenbund 216.

12 See also Nipperdey, Deutsche Geschichte 1800–1866 282–85; Fischer 55–56.

13 For an extensive account of the Allgemeine Zeitung and its struggles with Bavarian censorship and the Austrian government from 1819 to 1847, see Breil 151–211. Müchler discusses revolutionary developments that took place in Bavaria in 1848 and their ramifications for the Allgemeine Zeitung; see 87–92, 176–84.

14 See also Siemann, Staatenbund 346.

15 Rheinischer Merkur, July 1814, Nrs. 80 and 81.

16 See also Hohendahl, Literarische 81; Schneider 222.

17 See also Hohendahl, Literarische 62.

18 See Brandes 307.

19 Morgenblatt, Nr. 286, 1841.


21 For an in-depth discussion of the crisis, see Bridge and Bullen 55–56, 61–64; Langer 285–306.

22 See also R. Koch 233.

23 See Blackbourn 96.

24 See Siemann, Staatenbund 356–57; R. Koch 233; Lutz 202; Bellmann 22.
See Gössmann and Roth 163.

Speech presented to the Barmer choral society “Orpheus” on 18 August 1893.

Die Zeitung für die elegante Welt published three poems from this collection on 4 February 1841 (issue 25), before the book appeared on the market: “So oder so,” “Am Rheine,” and “Die treue Haut” (97–98).

Musset’s poem was published in Revue de Paris, 6 June 1841: 59–61. See Kramp, “Alfred” 332; Gössmann and Roth 128; Petzet 35–36.


See Kircher, Robert 224.

In March 1841, the Hessian government had small boats laden with stones sunk near the Rhine island of Biebrichau to hinder the approach to the new harbor there and thus to protect business in the Mainz harbor. See Bellmann 22.

Freimund Pfeiffer is a pseudonym for Wilhelm Victor Pfeiffer (1810–41).

Uhland would return to politics in 1848, serving in the Frankfurt National Assembly until the rump parliament was forcefully disbanded.

In 1847 Prutz published an essay, “Die politische Poesie. Ihre Berechtigung und Zukunft,” in which he presented a theoretical justification for political poetry. See Kircher, Robert 157–75.

For an account of Lola Montez’s role in Bavarian politics, see Seymour, particularly chapters 16–17, and Valentin 1: 125–29, 131–40.

Friedrich Rückert’s ballad “Barbarossa” (1817) shaped the Barbarossa myth for the nineteenth century. The poet characterized Friedrich I, emperor of the Holy Roman Empire from 1152 to 1190, as a symbol of hope for the German nation, and he established Kyffhäuser as the definite residence of the sleeping emperor (Berg 42).

Neue Würzburger Zeitung, Nr. 217, 7 August 1845.
38For a discussion of the stereotypical *Judenwitz* in the Vormärz period, see Gunnar Och’s article, “‘Judenwitz’—zur Semantik eines Stereotyps in der Literaturkritik des Vormärz.”

39Philipon, the founder of two major caricature newspapers, *La Caricature* and *Le Charivari*, used his drawings to criticize the increasingly repressive regime of Louis-Philippe. He initially drew the overweight French king as a pear head on a pear body, taking advantage of the slang definition of *poire* (pear), which is fat-head. The pear quickly came to represent not only Louis-Philippe but also members of his government and all those who profited from his rule. See Wechsler 68–75.

40Hermand, in his epilog to *Der deutsche Vormärz*, characterizes the *deutscher Michel* as a “kleinbürgerlicher Karrieremacher” who crawls behind the stove at the first sign of danger and exhibits political tendencies only at his *Stammtisch*. 372.

41“Erklärung,” an article in the *Hannoversches Volksblatt* of 2 April 1848 (dritte außerordentliche Beilage), criticizes Friedrich Wilhelm IV as well as his brother: “Auch ist die Aussicht sehr reizend für Deutschland, in einigen Jahren den flüchtigen Bluthund, den “Prinzen von Preußen”, als Nachfolger seines erlauchten Bruders, das Henkerbeil über der Nation schwingen zu sehen” (n. pag.).

42See also Nipperdey, *Deutsche Geschichte 1800–1866* 599.


44Herwegh, living in exile in Paris since publishing his *Gedichte eines Lebendigen* in 1841, served as president of the *Deutsche demokratische Gesellschaft*, an organization founded to support the German revolution. For a detailed account of how Herwegh came to lead the *Deutsche demokratische Legion* in Baden, see Fellrath 161–65.

45Herwegh had unsuccessfully attempted direct political activity once before. Granted an audience with Friedrich Wilhelm IV on 19 November 1842, he had hoped to entreat the monarch to establish liberal policies. He then insulted the king with a critical letter. The Prussian authorities expelled Herwegh and banned his journal *Einundzwanzig Bogen aus der Schweiz.* He suffered under the public humiliation that resulted from this
affair (Kircher, “Georg” 603–04).

Kircher notes that Herwegh’s title is in turn a polemic allusion to the Briefe eines Verstorbenen by Hermann Fürst von Pückler-Muskau, a travel account that depicts the world from the viewpoint of an aristocrat (“Georg” 599).

Justinus Kerner (1786-1862) predominantly wrote folk poetry. Despite his contacts to royalty, he supported the liberal cause in Württemberg in 1817 and the Greek and Polish wars of independence. See Grimm 267.

“Die erste Expedition der deutschen republikanischen Legion,” a serial article published in Nr. 193 of the Morgenblatt für gebildete Leser (12 August 1848), offers this defense of Emma Herwegh’s character: “Man schildert sie häufig als eine Amazone, als eine ‘emancipirte’ Frau, welche sich darin gefällt, männliche Gewohnheiten nachzuhahmen, und die Alles, was sie unternimmt, nur thut, weil sie um jeden Preis Aufsehen erregen will. Alles dieß ist grundfalsch. [. . .] Für sich fürchtet, für sich sorgt sie nie, nur für ihren Mann. Trotz dieser Entschiedenheit im Handeln, trotz ihres männliches Muthe, ist Frau Herwegh durchaus Weib. Sie ist eine vortreffliche Mutter und Gattin, wenn sie auch alle Philisterei, in der Theorie wenigstens, abgestreift hat” (770).

See also Dressen 68.

The program of the Leipziger Charivari, written by the editor Eduard Maria Oettinger in 1848, states: “[. . .] unser ‘Charivari’ buhlt nicht um die Gunst der großen Masse: er schreibt für den gebildeten Theil des Volks. Sein politisches Glaubensbekenntnis bleibt das alte: dem Heuler gegenüber wird er Wühler, dem Wühler gegenüber immer Heuler sein” (qtd. in Estermann 7: 150).

Most states used an indirect voting process, with primary electors (Urwähler) voting for delegates (Wahlmänner), who then chose representatives in a second round of voting. See Siemann, Revolution 85; Nipperdey, Deutsche Geschichte 1800–1866 609.

See also Nipperdey, Deutsche Geschichte 1800–1866 609.

See also Siemann, Revolution 125–27; Nipperdey, Deutsche Geschichte 1800–1866 610.

See also Bock 245-310.

See also Schulze, Weg 68–69.

A further division of Poland had occurred at the Congress of Vienna. Posen and Cracow were taken away from the duchy of Warsaw, which was joined through personal union to Russia as the kingdom of Poland (Kongreß-Polen).

On 29 November 1830 a small group of Polish revolutionaries in Warsaw stormed the residence of Grand Prince Constantin, brother of Czar Nicholas I and commander-in-chief of the Polish army. They quickly had the city under their control. Russian troops under General Paskiewitsch suppressed the revolution in August 1831. The Polish army capitulated on 8 September 1831, and in early October most of the defeated rebels fled to Prussia. See Kozielek 7-42.

See Lutz 262; Siemann, Revolution 158-59.

See Kozielek 156. The Polish anthem begins: “Noch ist Polen nicht verloren, / Solange wir noch leben. / Was das Schwert uns tückisch raubte, / Wird das Schwert uns wiedergeben.” General Józef Wybicki (1747-1822), a participant in the Napoleonic campaigns, wrote the text in Reggio Emilia, where the song was probably sung for the first time.

The Schneekoppe is the highest elevation in the Sudeten Mountains.

The historical folk song “Lied der freiwilligen Jäger,” popular during the Wars of Liberation, includes the lines: “Vereinigt durch ein heilig Band, / mit Gott für König, Vaterland / ziehn fröhlich wir, hurra!” See Wohlrabe 67-68. The reactionary Neue Preußische Zeitung, founded on 1 July 1848, used “Mit Gott für König und Vaterland” as its motto.

See Schulze, Weg 90 and Iwitzki 86 for a discussion of the international aspects of this conflict.

See Valentin 2: 157-69 for a detailed account of the revolt in Frankfurt.

See Nipperdey, Deutsche Geschichte 1800-1866 638; Siemann, Revolution 167.

Notes


70 For information on the *Düsseldorfer Monatshefte* within the context of European and German caricature, see Riha and Rudolph, Nachwort.


72 See also Schulze, *Weg* 93; Lutz 301.

73 See also Nipperdey, *Deutsche Geschichte 1800–1866* 656; Siemann, *Revolution* 193.

74 See Lutz 313.


77 In 1460 Schleswig and Holstein elected the king of Denmark, Christian of Oldenburg (1426–81) to be Duke of Schleswig and Count of Holstein. That year he signed the Treaty of Ripen, which established the personal union of Schleswig and Holstein with Denmark. He also confirmed that he ruled by election and not by hereditary right, that only his male heirs could be elected duke, and that Schleswig and Holstein would remain united. Both duchies retained their special political status for the next three hundred years. See Carr, *Origins* 35–36.

78 See Sheehan, *German History* 890; Carr, *Origins* 41; Brandt 224–25; Schieder 152; Lange 436.

79 See Bridge and Bullen 98–99; Carr, *Schleswig-Holstein* 312.


82 See Dill 136–37; Lutz 448.

83 *Deutschland vorwärts! Dichterstimmen aus München für Schleswig-

84 See Kötzschke 88-89, 118; Diercks and Witt [1].

85 Strass’s text, qtd. in Christiansen 22-23:

Schleswig, Holstein, schöne Lande,
Wo mein Fuß die Welt betrat,
O, daß stets an eurem Strande
Keime wahren Glückes Saat!
Schleswig, Holstein, stammverwandt,
Haltet fest der Eintracht Band!

Wie um euch die Stürme tosen,
Wogend braust die wilde Flut,
Haltet fest der Liebe Rosen,
Haltet fest der Treue Mut!
Schleswig, Holstein, stammverwandt, usw.

Gott ist stark auch in den Schwachen,
Wenn sie gläubig ihm vertrau’n,
Und ein gut gelenkter Nachen
Kann trotz Sturm den Hafen schau’n.
Schleswig, Holstein, stammverwandt, usw.

Wie die Häuser schön umkränzen
Die umbuschte alte Schlei,
Wie die Wellen silbern glänzen,
Naht oft bald ein blum’ger Mai.
Schleswig, Holstein, stammverwandt, usw.

Notes

87 Hoffmann von Fallersleben’s poem “Auf ewig ungetheilt,” written and published in 1864 in Schleswig-Holstein: Zehn Lieder von Hoffmann von Fallersleben, borrows Chemnitz’s image of two oak trees to symbolize the indivisibility of Schleswig and Holstein:

Zwei deutsche Stämm’ im Norden,  
Die sind Ein Baum geworden,  
Verwachsen felsenfest.  
Ihr könnt sie nicht zerhacken  
Mit allem Euren Schnacken,  
Weil keins vom andern läßt [ . . . ] (9)

88 See Vaagt 98-99; Hoffmann 52-54.

89 The song “Kong Christian stod ved højen Mast” (“King Christian Stood by Lofty Mast”) became the Danish national anthem in 1830. Often referred to as the royal hymn, it is still sung at official events. Johannes Ewald wrote the poem in 1780 for the ballad opera Fiskerne (The Fishermen). It tells of loyalty to one’s ruler and of the naval battles between Denmark and Sweden. The German Friedrich Kuhlau (1786-1832) composed the melody (Adriansen 27; Thomas and Oakley 299).

90 An untitled song by Friedrich Rückert makes the same appeal to singers: “Schleswigholstein meerumschlungen / Habt ihr lang genug gesungen, / Deutsche Sängerchöre, schwingt / Jetzt das Schwert, statt daß ihr singt!” See Rückert, Dutzend 14.


92 A short anecdote on the same page as the poem supports this allusion. The story tells of a young boy who offers to write a sermon for a pastor visiting one of the most distinguished ladies of France. Neither the pastor nor the other adults take the boy seriously, and all are surprised at the high quality of the boy’s completed text. The sermon proved to be the first work of the French writer Alphonse de Lamartine, Becker’s adversary in 1840.

93 Körner’s poem begins: “Frisch auf, mein Volk! Die Flammenzeichen


95 See Steefel 233–40.

96 See Carr, Origins 74–75.

97 Courier an der Weser. 63 (3 March 1864): [1].


99 Courier an der Weser. 36 (5 February 1864): [2].

100 "Finis Austriae" is a variation of "Finis Poloniae" (the end of Poland), which the Polish revolutionary leader Kościuszko supposedly called out upon being wounded in the battle of Maciejowice on 10 October 1794. Kozielek 161.

101 A further collection inspired by the Staatsanzeiger project was Leier und Schwert für 1870, Patronentaschen-Liederbuch, gesammelt von der stellvertretenden Bezirks- und Ersatz-Redaction des Soldaten-Freundes. At least six issues appeared, each containing poems written by soldiers.

102 See Schieder 176–89 for a discussion of the German political order after 1866; also Carr, Origins 138; Stürmer 47–49; 52–57.

103 See Stürmer 71; Jeismann 405; Nipperdey, Deutsche Geschichte 1866–1918 2: 15–16.

104 Nipperdey, Deutsche Geschichte 1866–1918 2: 29; Schieder 180.

105 See Schieder 181; Nipperdey, Deutsche Geschichte 1866–1918 2: 30.

106 See Carr, Origins 183. For a detailed account of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen relations with Prussia, see Holborn 3: 210–11.

107 See Nipperdey, Deutsche Geschichte 1866–1918 2: 57; Stürmer 70–71; Schieder 197–98.

108 Stürmer argues that Leopold hardly threatened French interests, as the Spanish throne was a mere figurehead. In the minds of the French, however, the candidate recalled the Habsburg Karl V, king of Spain 1516–56 and emperor of the Holy Roman Empire 1519–56, whose reign had exposed
France to threats from the east and the west (72).

109 See Schieder 198; Holborn 3: 214; Stürmer 74.

110 See Carr, Origins 204; also Stürmer 75–76.

111 Schieder 205–06; Stürmer 78; Nipperdey, Deutsche Geschichte 1866–1918 2: 66.

112 This date, 18 January 1871, was the 170th anniversary of the coronation of the first Prussian king.

113 See also Stürmer 80.

114 “Die Wacht am Rhein,” in Schneckenburger, Deutsche Lieder 19–20:

Es braust ein Ruf wie Donnerhall,
Wie Schwertgeklirr und Wogenprall:
Zum Rhein, zum Rhein, zum deutschen Rhein,
Wer will des Stromes Hüter sein?
Lieb Vaterland, magst ruhig sein,
Fest steht und treu die Wacht am Rhein.

Durch hunderttausend zuckt es schnell,
Und aller Augen blitzen hell:
Der deutsche Jüngling, fromm und stark,
Beschirmt die heilig'ge Landesmark.
Lieb Vaterland usw.

Auf blickt er, wo der Himmel blaut,
Wo Vater Hermann niederschaut,
Und schwört mit stolzer Kampfeslust:
“Du, Rhein, bleibst deutsch, wie meine Brust!”
Lieb Vaterland usw.

“Und ob mein Herz im Tode bricht,
Wirst du doch drum ein Welscher nicht,
Reich wie an Wasser deine Flut,
Ist Deutschland ja an Heldenblut.”
Lieb Vaterland usw.

“Solang ein Tröpfchen Blut noch glüht,
Noch eine Faust den Degen zieht
Und noch ein Arm die Büchse spannt,
Betritt kein Welscher deinen Strand.”
Lieb Vaterland usw.

Der Schwur erschallt, die Woge rinnt,
Die Fahnen flattern in dem wind.
Am Rhein, am Rhein, am deutschen Rhein
Wir alle wollen Hüter sein!
Lieb Vaterland usw.

115 The German painter Lorenz Clasen (1812–1899) published and edited the journal *Düsseldorfer Monatshefte*, which appeared from 1847–60 (see Publication Index).


118 See Obenaus 229: 83–84.


120 See Schieder 206; Nipperdey, *Deutsche Geschichte 1866–1918* 2: 70–75.

121 See Obenaus 229: 78–79.

122 For information on press laws after the revolution of 1848, see Obenaus 229: 2–3; Siemann, *Staatenbund* 222–24; Wittmann 150; Fischer 61–69; Wilke 30–31. For a discussion of the expansion of the press after 1848–49, see Lutz 335–36; Habermas 180.

123 See Fischer 199–201; Koszyk 130–33.

124 See also Koszyk 130–31.

125 See Obenaus 229: 72–73; Estermann, *Deutsche VIII*.

126 *Sir John Falstaff* 11 (n.d.): 93.

127 Wilhelm Marr (1819–1904), who founded the Anti-Semitic League in 1879, also coined the phrase “Antisemitismus.”

128 See also Townsend, *Forbidden* 164.


130 Nipperdey, *Deutsche Geschichte 1800–1866* 776; Lutz 429.

131 The *Figaro: Humoristisches Wochenblatt*, published in Vienna 1857–
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Transsilvania. Beiblatt zu der Siebenbürgen Bote
Daniel Roth, ed.; Nr. 26 (1848): Friedrich Hann; Nr. 36 (1848): Hochmeister’sche Erben; Nr. 78 (1848): J. Rannicker
Hermannstadt: Martin von Hochmeister’sche Erben
9 (1848)
Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin-Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Haus 2: 4° Ad 985

Union. Eine Zeitschrift für alle Stände
Bremen: G. Hunckel
8 (1848), 9 (1849)
Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Bremen: ja 2530 (3

Unterhaltungs-Blatt der neuesten Nachrichten
J. Knorr, ed.
Munich: J. Knorr; Nr. 103 (1864): C.R. Schurich
3 (1864)
Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (Munich): 8° Eph. pol. 59n

Unterhaltungsblatt zum Straubinger Tagblatt
Straubing: Attenkoser
3 (1864)
Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (Munich): 4° Per. 18mv

Der Vagabund. Ein Mondblatt für alle Welt
Enno Hektor, ed.
Emden: H. Woortmann d.J.
1 (1848)
Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin-Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Haus 2:
Ac 7215/48

Seminarbibliothek, Germanistisches Seminar, Universität Bonn:
Ag 590 1

Volksblatt für Stadt und Land. Zur Belehrung und Unterhaltung
Fr. von Tippelskirch, ed.; Nr. 30 (1848): Fr. von Florencourt
Halle a.S.: Richard Mühlmann
5 (1848)
Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen:
4° SVA II, 2225

Der Volksfreund. Zwangloses Flugblatt
Gustav Adolph Schloeffel, ed.
Berlin: Marquardt & Steinthal
1 (1848)
Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin-Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Haus 1:
Ztg 616 c

Vossische Zeitung. See Königlich privilegirte Berlinische Zeitung.

Die Wiener Boten. Deutsche Wochenschrift für Politik und Literatur
Unter Mitwirkung mehrer Publicisten von Kolisch, Gritzner, Franck
& Engländer
Leipzig: Otto Wigand
1 (1849) (vols. 1–2)
Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin-Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Haus 2:
4° Ac 7216

Würzburger Conversationsblatt
G.J. Michel, ed.
Würzburg: Michael Walz
2 (1848)
Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (Munich): 4° Bavar 3234s

Zeitung für (Nord)Deutschland
Hanover: Haupt-Expedition
19 (1864)
Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Bremen: ja 2004 microfilm

Zopf und Schwert. Volksblatt
Th. Schieder, ed.
Nürnberg: Th. Schiefer
12 (1848)
Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (Munich): 4° Per. 30
I. Collection of Poems

The CD-ROM contains the 950 poems collected for this study. These poems are indexed according to author, first line, and place of publication. The collection has been further indexed according to key words. In the programs Poem16.exe and Poem32.exe (on the Windows partition), the poems are also indexed according to title, date of publication, melody, and publication quoted as the source for the poem.

Poems are arranged by year (1840, 1848, 1849, 1864, 1870, 1871) and by the publication in which they appeared. The publications are in alphabetical order within each year, and poems from each publication are then arranged chronologically. The poems are numbered consecutively throughout the collection.

As a rule, a poem found in two or more publications within the collection is printed only once: either under whichever publication comes first in the collection or under the publication cited as the source of the poem (if indicated). Such poems are cross-referenced with “See poem” and “Also poem(s).” In a few instances, significant differences in text, orthography, or sequence of stanzas warrant providing each version of the poem; these poems are cross-referenced with “See also poem.”

A heading including the following information (if provided in the original publication) precedes each poem in the HTML, PostScript, and PDF versions:

1. The first line gives the name of the publication, which is usually abbreviated (for complete bibliographical information, see Bibliography of Newspapers and Journals) and, flush right, the issue (or Beilage or Stück),
date and page number. Page numbers are in brackets when the publication is paginated but no number appears on that particular page.

2. The second line consists of the poem number and title, both in boldface. Subtitles (not boldfaced) immediately follow titles.

3. Subsequent lines list the author, the publication quoted as the source of the poem (in parentheses), and melody (Mel.:). Cross references (“See poem,” “Also poem,” “See also poem”) appear last.

In Poem16.exe and Poem32.exe, the poem number, title (in boldface), subtitle, and author appear in the upper left corner. The name of the publication and the issue appear in red on the right side of the screen, followed by the date, page number, the publication quoted as the source of the poem (in parentheses), melody (Mel.:), and cross references.

Poems conform in appearance as nearly as possible to the original publication. Obvious typesetting or spelling errors have been corrected. In the collection of poems, furthermore, boldface replaces the spaced type found in the originals, italics is used for foreign words printed not in Gothic but in Roman type, and underlined boldface indicates boldfaced spaced type. Nineteenth-century German use of double and single quotation marks is wildly inconsistent. For the sake of uniformity, this collection conforms with American conventions in the usage of single and double quotation marks.

Dedications and quotations accompanying a poem in the original are included in the appendix, as are cities and dates often found at the end of a poem. Explanatory footnotes printed in the journals and newspapers have been excluded.

Numbers given in each of the four indices indicate poem numbers, not page numbers.

II. Indices

A. Author Index

Authors’ names are reproduced as they appear in the original publications. Variations of the same name, for example “Ernst, Fr.” and “Ernst, Friedrich,” have been combined in the Author Index.

B. First Line Index

This index lists the complete first line of the actual text of every poem; dedications or quotations that often precede poems are disregarded.
C. Publication Index

Names of journals and newspapers appear as they do in the headings of the Collection of Poems, with two exceptions: in the Appendix, Königlich privilegirte Berlinische Zeitung von Staats- und gelehrtten Sachen and Neue Preußische Zeitung are abbreviated as KpBZtg and NPZtg respectively. Longer publication names are abbreviated (see Bibliography of Newspapers and Journals).

D. Key Word Index

The annotated Key Word Index includes the persons, historical events and dates, and geographical or historical locations mentioned in the poems. Important words or phrases in the following categories are also included: nature metaphors; historical, political, and social catchwords and concepts in use when the poems were written (such as schwarz-rot-gold, Schleswig-Holstein meerumschlugen); war or power relations (Joch); gender (Bruder, Frau); the press.

Modern German spellings are used for all entries (Konstitution for Constitution, for example). In cases where this might cause confusion, original spellings are given in parentheses and cross-referenced.

Names are given in the original language, annotations are in English.

There is a single index entry for key words appearing more than once in a poem. Within an individual poem, an entry both with and without a subentry (for example: Vaterland, deutsches and Vaterland) is generally listed under the subentry only.

E. Titles of Poems, Dates of Publications, Publications Cited as Sources for Poems, Melodies

These four indices are available in Poem16.exe and Poem32.exe.
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