

HOFFMANN VON FALLERSLEBEN

and his

TEXAS POEMS

by

Frederic W. Kern

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HOFFMANN VON FALLERSLEBEN AND HIS TEXAS POEMS

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HOFFMANN ON FALLER JELLEN AND HIS TEARS FOR

Because there were similar aspirations in Germany the French Revolution was looked upon with much sympathy by many people in Germany. It was admired as an attempt of a nation to rid itself of despotism. But when later the liberators themselves became cruel and despotic the ardor of German sympathy was soon cooled. And when Napoleon began to subdue surrounding nations a hatred against the French arose. Napoleon gained decisive victories over Austria and Russia at Austerlitz in 1805 and over Prussia at Jena in 1806, but in order to make his victories not only decisive but also lasting he formed the Rheinland (Confederation of the Rhine) in which sixteen German princes were compelled to acknowledge his sovereignty. This brought about the collapse of the Holy Roman Empire of German nations which had stood for a thousand years. Already prior to this the French had occupied Berlin and the most important fortifications in Prussia. The Treaty of Tilsit in 1807 compelled Prussia to surrender half of its territory

Historical
Introduction

to France, and in 1806 four German kings and 34 German princes paid homage to Napoleon at Erfurt.

This national tragedy awakened new forces in Germany, especially, in Prussia. The army and the government were thoroughly reformed. The University of Berlin was founded with the primary purpose of creating a national spirit. All forces co-operated with the statesmen to stimulate nationalistic aspirations. Thus when Napoleon lost his best powers on his tragic expedition into Russia and returned with a straggle army the charm of invincibility which he enjoyed in the eyes of European nations was broken. Subjugated Germany took new courage and threw itself against him with unheard-of fervor. The call for volunteers found immediate and wide response. The Universities were deserted inasmuch as professors and students enlisted together.

"Es ist kein Krieg, von dem die Kronen wissen;
Es ist ein Kreuzzug, 's ist ein heiliger Krieg"(1)*

the volunteers sang. Napoleon was met on his return from Russia at Leipzig in 1813 and was defeated and driven beyond the Rhine. The Rheinbund was dissolved

*Numbers refer to corresponding numbers in the Appendix

and all the princes joined the war against Napoleon. They pursued him across the Rhine, conquered Paris, compelled him to abdicate as emperor, and limited the boundaries of France to those of 1792.

The outlook after this war of Liberation was very hopeful. The youth of Germany had entered into the war so zealously because they wanted constitutional government and they realized that this was impossible without the liberation of the fatherland. The princes had found the people willing to fight for freedom but they in turn disappointed the hopes of the people for constitutional government. Instead of a unified Germany with a constitution the Bund der Fürsten (federation of German States) was formed under the presidency of Austria. After Napoleon's power had been broken the princes had no foreign enemy to fear but the French revolution had taught them to fear the aspirations for freedom among their own people. Consequently they inaugurated a strict censorship to suppress everything that was oppressive of liberal sentiment. This was enforced most severely in Austria under Prime Minister Metternich. He greatly influenced the

German princes and the entire period from 1815 to 1848 was characterized by narrowminded animosity against liberal sentiment. The patriots of 1805-1815 were thus disappointed in their hopes. Germany was still not free nor unified. But the same patriotic zeal which took them through the wars lived on in the hearts of the people. They still wanted a unified, free Germany, and when they returned from the wars and the princes disappointed them they gave utterance freely to their patriotic hopes. One result of their fervor was the formation of Burschenschaften (Students' Associations). The Government considered these clubs dangerous to the state and persecuted some of the best men of German history in the spirit of distrust and suspicion. But the ferment for political freedom could not be extinguished. The assaults of writers and newspaper editors on this terrible persecution were relentless. The demand for a liberal constitution and a German parliament became ever more general and determined. The activities of the French people, who had been disappointed in their first revolution and who again rose in rebellions in 1830 and 1848, impressed

and stimulated the German people whose experiences were similar. Eventually the people resorted to uprisings. One such uprising in Vienna caused the ousting of the detested Chancellor Metternich as well as the emperor. In May 1848 a convention assembled in Frankfurt in order to discuss the re-organization of the empire. A plan to make Germany a federation of states was adopted. Overtures were made King Frederick the Fourth of Prussia to become the emperor. He was willing to accept the offer on condition that the assent of all the ruling nobility could be secured. In this the parliament failed and conditions relapsed into their former ruts under the leadership of Austria.*

The life of Hoffmann von Fallersleben falls into this period and he was among those most deeply impressed with the miserable prevalent conditions and most concerned with the future of the fatherland.

August Heinrich Hoffmann was born April 2, 1798, at

* The writer acknowledges the help for the historical introduction derived from Stroob and Whitney, Geschichte der Deutschen Literatur, Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1928.

Fallersleben on the southeast border of Hanover, hence his name: "Hoffmann von Fallersleben". His father was a merchant and the mayor of the town, respected even by the enemies of Germany on account of his strict honesty. Hence when Napoleon formed the Kingdom of Westphalia in 1810 he was appointed Canton-Maire.

Hoffmann's schooling was quite regular. It was begun in the public school of Fallersleben, continued at the Gymnasium at Helmstedt and two years later at the Catharineum at Braunschweig, and concluded at the Universities of Goettingen (1818-1819) and Bonn (1819-1821). Already while at Braunschweig

Sketch of his Life	he made attempts at original poetry. These attempts were received unfavorably by his teachers, which, however, rather spurred him on than discouraged him. The sentiment aroused by the Wars of Liberation led him to read national poetry, especially the poems of Goerner. At the age of seventeen he published four <u>German Poems</u> .
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At the University of Goettingen he studied theology according to the wishes of his father though he had

no natural inclination for it. He preferred philology to which he changed on the advice of his uncle and with the consent of his father. The study of philology took him on a number of journeys. Of these, perhaps, the most significant was the journey to Cassel where he met the Grimm Brothers. Jacob Grimm influenced him to concentrate his efforts on German philology while prior to this his chief interest was Greek. In 1819 Hoffmann went to the University of Bonn partly for political reasons but primarily to be with Dr. Meleker who had been transferred to Bonn from Goettingen. His work at Bonn consisted chiefly of personal research and the collection of old documents and manuscripts. His position as a library assistant was of great advantage to him. Consequently in 1821, at the age of twenty-three he published, Ueber Bruchstuecke von Gottfried nebst anderen deutschen Sprachdenkmaelern (Fragments of Gottfried and other old German Documents), his first scientific publication. In the preface to this publication he gave a brief survey of medieval poetry, a theme with which Hoffmann continued to occupy himself intermittently the rest of

his life. He became increasingly interested in the literature of the Netherlands, and in the fall of 1821 went to Leyden where he devoted himself to the study of early Netherlandish literature. The results of these studies were published in part ten years later under the title Monne Delvicae. From Leyden he went to Berlin where he remained until 1823 when he was appointed custodian of the university library at Breslau. His position was made rather unhappy partly on account of his unwillingness to accede to the demands of his superiors and partly on account of the intrigue of his superiors. Eleven years later he was, however, appointed Extraordinary Professor of German Language and Literature against the wishes of the faculty, and five years after that, again against the wishes of the faculty, he was appointed Ordinary Professor. He continued his research work in his new position. He made extensive journeys and became internationally famous. German and Dutch universities and scientific institutes conferred honorary degrees and memberships upon him. An extended journey to Austria, Switzerland and France in 1839 directed Hoffmann's attention more than ever to the political life in the fatherland. He gave ex-

pression to his sentiment in a series of poems directed without reserve against the deplorable conditions in state and society. They were revolutionary and aimed at the nobility. The first volume of these poems was published in 1840 under the title Unpolitische Lieder (Non-political Poems), and a second volume, in which the revolutionary tendencies were even more pronounced, in 1841. His famous hymn, Deutschland ueber alles, (Germany over all), (2) was written and published the same year. The Prussian government considered his Unpolitische Lieder dangerous to the state and as a result Hoffmann was dismissed from his professorship in 1842.

The dismissal from the professorship began a period of homeless wandering in the life of Hoffmann. At one time he was received at the home of Karl Dresel in Geisenheim. Dresel's son had been in Texas. This visit led to Hoffmann's interest in emigration and Texas, and in 1846 he published a volume of Texanische Lieder (Texas Poems).

When the revolution started in 1848 he was still homeless. He took little active part in the revolution except that he wrote the "Twenty Demands of

the People of Mecklenburg". The Prussian Government pardoned him in 1818. In the same year he was married to his niece, Ida von Berge, 33 years his junior, and settled permanently on the Rhine, first at Bingerbrueck and later at Neuwied. His political compositions gradually ceased.

After 1859, comforted by a happy family life, he devoted himself to lyric poetry and scientific research. In 1860, when he was 62 years of age Duke Victor of Ratibor appointed him librarian at the Castle of Corvey at Hoexter on the Moser where he remained until his death fourteen years later. While at Corvey he published (1860) his autobiography, Mein Leben (My Life) in six volumes.* Kosch** lists 66 "chief works" published by Hoffmann during his lifetime. (3)

The late Dr. Julius Goebel of the University of Illinois considered Hoffmann von Fallersleben not only the most significant of the German poets of the 40s to express the patriotic yearnings and

* Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie, volume 12.

** Deutsches Literatur-Lexikon, Wilhelm Kosch, Vol. 1.

desires of the German people, but the one whose
influence is being felt most effect-
Political
Background ively even in modern times.* The
achievement of such distinction is
not strange for Hoffmann. Everything in his life
seemed to conspire to make him the mouthpiece of
the people. Already in his early youth he experienced
the high enthusiasm of the Wars of Liberation. The
memory of those hopeful days remained with him in
spite of the dark period of the Reaction which fol-
lowed. In his autobiography he relates that when
his
Experience he was only nine years old a
number of university students
returned home and greatly stimu-
lated the social life of the village. They hit
upon the idea of producing Schiller's Maebius. The
experience gave these prosaic natures a poetic air.
They carried the characteristics of their various
roles into their social life and thus exerted a
strong influence on the children of the village which
included young Hoffmann. The children imitated

* Julius Goebel, "Hoffmann von Fallersleben's Pex-
nische Lieder". Yearbook 1918-1919 of the Deutsch-
Amerikanische Historische Gesellschaft von Illinois.

the manner of speech and action of the old r ones and Hoffmann writes that from that time he was more susceptible to every idea of freedom.* The graphic descriptions in his autobiography of the movement of troops through Hannover are proof that these experiences of his childhood and youth made a deep and lasting impression on his sensitive nature. He writes that in 1814: "Ich war fuer die kaum errungene duetsche Freiheit, wie man damals die Vertreibung der Franzosen nannte, mit Leib und Seele begeistert. Schon in Helmstedt hatte ich eine kleine Sammlung Koernerscher Lieder gelesen. Spaeter erhielt ich von meinem Bruder Loerner's Leier und Schwert geschenkt. Ich wusste bald die meisten Lieder auswendig. Ich blieb dadurch poetisch angeregt und fing auch bald an von Freiheit und Vaterland zu dichten".** Certainly it is not usual that a youth of sixteen should be so deeply interested in the political affairs of his country.

All his life Hoffmann detested the existing class

* Gesammelte Werke, Volume 7, pages 17-18.

** Ibidem, page 39.

system and the government of the nobility. When Napoleon conquered Germany he did away with the nobility and bureaucracy. This appealed to young Hoffmann. But when Napoleon was later defeated and his rule over Germany ended the old order of things returned. The old regime reorganized itself. This bit of atavism was most disagreeable to Hoffmann. He disliked the reappearance of the titles, such as, "Herr von", "Herr Baron", "Herr Graf", "Gnaedige Frau", "Hochgeboren", etc. The nobility had its own seats in the theatre and even in the lecture rooms at some of the universities, and their dead were announced in the newspapers under a special caption, "Characterisierte Personen" (Titled People).^{*} All such signs of inequality and oppression made a deep impression on the political views of Hoffmann.

In spite of his dissatisfaction with existing conditions he never wrote or spoke in terms of hatred for his country. To the contrary it was his great love for his Fatherland, as will be mentioned more

^{*} Ibidem, page 45.

fully later, that incited his dissatisfaction with prevailing conditions. He never enjoyed journeys to foreign countries. Upon his return from a visit to France and Switzerland his first poem was:

MEIN VATERLAND

Treue Liebe bis zum Grabe
Schwoer' ich dir mit Herz und Hand;
Was ich bin und was ich habe,
Dank' ich dir mein Vaterland.

Nicht in Worten nur und Liedern
Ist mein Herz zum Dank bereit;
Mit der Tat will ich's erwidern
Dir in Noth, in Kampf und Streit.

In der Freude, wie im Leide
Auf ich's Freund und Feinden zu;
Zwig und Vereint wir beide,
Und mein Trost, mein Glueck bist du. (4)

Perhaps nothing exerted a greater influence on his development than his interest in and careful study of German philology. This department of study was comparatively new. In 1767 Herder had published Fragmente zur deutschen Literatur in which he opposed the practice of imitating the literary style of other nations and demanded popular national poetry and originality. He considered the plain folksong of highest poetic worth because it is a simple and naive expression of feeling. Stimulated by the direction taken by Herder the Romanticists had made an attempt

to establish the true German nationalism (Volkstum) in poetry and history and custom. They brought about a revival of interest in popular poetry and glorified the Germany of the Middle Ages. Their activities led to the beginnings of German and Germanic Philology and the study of German antiquity. The Brothers Jakob and Wilhelm Grimm are credited with founding definitely the study of German and Germanic Philology. When Hoffmann was a student at the age of twenty he called on Jakob Grimm at Cassel who at the time was working on his etymological dictionary. As a result of this visit Hoffmann became interested in the study of German philology. For the rest of his life it remained one of his chief interests.

He began to collect and read all sorts of information on Germany whether historical or political or even statistical, in order to gain a clear conception of national conditions; what they were in the past, their present state, and what they should and could be. At first all the stupidity and absurdity, the meanness and cowardice which he saw in the life of the nation filled him with scorn and ridicule. Later

he learned to view them from the humorous side.*
In that vein he produced many songs and poems which were later included in his publication entitled, Unpolitische Lieder. In all his works he showed a deep appreciation of popular feeling (das Volkstuemliche). Witness his many Kinderlieder (Children's songs), Trinklieder (Drinking songs), Soldatenlieder (Soldiers' Songs). In each case he was able to enter into the spirit of the group in question. He writes that the more he learned of German conditions, past and present, the stronger became the urge to express himself in poetry concerning them. He says, "Da kamen die Lieder wie gerufen" (The poems came as if summoned). His studies quickly molded his political views. He became ever more dissatisfied with conditions as they were and equally more zealous to help bring about a better future for the Fatherland. He speaks of the unbearable political misery in the Federation of German States, and inclined to glorifying the past. Thus he wrote a poem entitled: Die Alte Gute Zeit (The Good old Days).**

* Ibidem, page 200.

** Ibidem, Volume 4, page 25.

In 1839 he visited a friend in Lerbürg. During the visit the discussion turned to the political situation in Germany. He expressed the opinion that the time was ripe to attempt something for the betterment of Germany through poetry. Both he and his friend knew that they would have to deal with the censorship should they attempt to publish anything in favor of change. Hoffmann hit upon the idea of

publishing a number of poems under
his the title Unpolitische Lieder (Non-
Unpolitische Lieder
Lieder Political Poems), in order to

evade the censor long enough to have a number of copies distributed. Early the next year, when Hoffmann was entering his 42nd year, he devoted much time and thought to this undertaking. Sickness confined him to his home but while unable to do his work at the university he was active at home. He was undisturbed and was able to put every political thought into poetic form. When his friends called on him during his illness he read them these poems and when he noticed their approbation he told them that he was going to have them printed. His friends invariably tried to dissuade him saying that it would be too dangerous, but he was not shaken in his resolve. Their misgivings rather spurred him on and

gave him inspiration for new poems.* He was always incensed at people who privately held views similar to his but who were nevertheless utterly characterless and indifferent in their conduct while conditions so serious and dangerous prevailed in the Fatherland. In April, 1840, he entered into correspondence with Julius Campe his printer. They exchanged many letters all of which show that Hoffmann's political poems sprang from an honest patriotic fervor. He writes to Campe: "You are a business man and I am a scholar but we are both Germans and we both seek the welfare of our Fatherland".** The poems were published and although they earned him the reputation of being a national poet they led to the loss of his position as Professor of German Language and Literature at the University of Breslau. He wrote a poem in which he interpreted his removal from the professorship. It is in harmony with his love of freedom:

TROSTLIED EINES ABGESETZTEN PROFESSORS

Ich bin Professor gewesen:
Nun bin ich abgesetzt.
Einst konnt' ich Collegia lesen,
Was aber kann ich jetzt?

* Ibidem, page 267.

** Ibidem, page 270.

Jetzt kann ich dichten und denken
Bei voller Lehrfreiheit,
Und keiner soll mich beschranken
Von nun bis in Ewigkeit.

Mich kuenmert kein Staatsminister
Und keine Majestaet,
Kein Dursch und kein Philister,
Noch Universitaet.

Es ist noch nichts verloren
Professor oder nicht -
Der findet noch Muen und Ehren,
Wer Wahrheit schreibt und spricht.

Der findet noch treue Genossen,
Wer fuer die Rechte ficht,
Fuer Freiheit unverdossen
Stets eine Lanze bricht.

Der findet noch eine Jugend
Besetzt von Tugend und Muth,
Der sollt besetzt von Tugend
Und Muth das Gute tut.

Ich muss das Glass erheben
Und trink' auf mein eignes Heil:
O wuerde solch freies Leben
Dem Vaterlande zu Theil'.

Der Professor ist begraben,
Ein freier Mann erstand -
Was will ich weiter noch haben?
Noch lebe das Vaterland!

During these years while Hoffmann wandered about Germany as a political outlaw he became interested in Texas. Ever since the wars of Liberation many Germans emigrated to Texas. Many books were published in Germany to guide the prospective emigrants. As

early as 1820 Valentine Hecke published two volumes
Information about Texas in Berlin entitled Eine Reise durch
die Vereinigten Staaten (A Journey
through the United States) in which
he devoted chapter 13 of the first volume and chapter
31 of the second volume exclusively to Texas. Books
giving historical, social, geographical and agri-
cultural information about Texas were almost innumer-
able though not always reliable. During the forties,
while liberal sentiment was so strong in Europe, Germans
emigrated to Texas en masse. At this time a Verein
zum Schutze deutscher Auswanderer (Association for
the Protection of German Emigrants) was organized in
Mainz, Germany. It was sponsored by the nobility
and is also known as the Mainzer Adelsverein
(Association of the Nobility of Mainz). The aim of
this association was to direct the stream of German
emigrants to Texas the "promised land". They enter-
tained the hope of founding a new and independent
German state. This plan might have been consummated
had the Fatherland given the project official and
more effective support.

In 1843 Hoffmann was the guest of a certain Karl

Dresel at Geisenheim on the Rhine. A son of Dresel, Gustav, had been in Texas for a number of years and had just recently returned home. Hoffmann listened with much interest to the story of his experiences. He prevailed upon Gustav Dresel to put his experiences into writing, which Dresel did. Through the efforts of the late Dr. Julius Goebel of the University of Illinois this Texanische Tagebuch (Texas Diary) of Gustav Dresel was printed for the first time in the Jahrbuch der Deutsch-Amerikanischen Historischen Gesellschaft von Illinois, Jahrgang 1920-21, pages 338-476. The original manuscript was secured from

Dresel's	Dr. Gustav Dresel, an oculist in
Diary	San Francisco, and a nephew of the
	author. Undoubtedly the contents of
	this manuscript, which Hoffmann received firsthand
	from the lips of Dresel, were the original source
	of his interest in Texas and inspired some of his
	<u>Texanische Lieder</u> .

Dresel presents a true picture of pioneer life in Texas. He relates the joys and glories but does not neglect to mention the sorrows and hardships. Anyone interested in the early history of Texas

will find himself well repaid for his time if he will read this diary. While the reports of Dresel may not have furnished Hoffmann with much subject matter for poems they created the atmosphere and gave him an insight and understanding of frontier life in Texas so that he could compose poems with the genuineness of one who had lived in Texas. At least one poem refers definitely to an incident related by Dresel. In his poem Yankee Doodle Hoffman writes:

Ich darf wuehlen zum Congress.
Ich bin ein freier Lahlmann,
Du bist ein Gchorcher nur,
Bin Untertan und Lahlmann. (5)

The thought for this verse was undoubtedly derived from Dresel's account of the election of a representative to congress. In 1840 Harris County had the choice of two candidates, Colonel Bailey, who was a friend of the Germans, and Mr. Tompkins, who had been hateful to the Germans. The campaign, according to Dresel's account, was much as we know political campaigns today. The German citizenry, however, resolved to have Colonel Bailey elected. Tompkins hoped to secure votes by distributing much wine and making many promises. Bailey was a lawyer and a

man of high morals and integrity. out of a possible 121 German votes Bailey received 120 and was elected to congress by an overwhelming majority. Dresel remarks in his diary that it was a day of honor for the Germans who had voted with such unanimity to make their power in the state felt. In the homeland, he continues, where they had only to obey and had no right to vote they passed their days in indifference at the cost of their manhood. But here it was different. Everyone took advantage of his right as a member of the state to register his vote. That was exactly what Hoffmann wanted for Germany, a democratic republic in which each citizen had a vote. Other verses of the same poem can be connected in an indefinite way with passing references made by Dresel. Thus he mentions that the pioneers use corn for themselves and for their beasts, and Hoffmann writes:

"Stets ergiebig ist mein Mais,
Und er gedeiht gar wacker.
Dein' Lidaepfel faulen dir,
Noch eh sie sind im Acker." (6)

Another verse reminds of Dresel's mention of the general practice among settlers of shooting wild game for food. Within a short distance of the cabin a man could immediately shoot all the meat needed.

Hoffmann's verse reads:

"Wenn es mir an Fleisch gebricht,
So schiess' ich mir ein Rothwild.
Alles fehlet oftmals dir
Was dir die Hungersnoth stillt". (7)

A reference to the plentiful free wood which was at the disposal of the pioneers compared with the practice in Germany of the landowners of forbidding the poor people to gather wood on their lands is reflected in the following verse:

"Einen Braten brat' ich mir
Im eignen Haus am Feuer.
Dir ist Holz und Fleisch und Salz
Ja Alles viel zu theuer". (8)

In his diary Dresel mentions at some length what is expected of emigrants to Texas. In Texas a man must work, face danger, and must know how to depend upon himself for all things. He bemoans the fact that many Germans come to Texas unprepared for hardships and without any understanding of the requirements of pioneer life. Some come expecting to find an easy life and wealth for the accepting. This fact probably inspired Hoffmann's:

CHILLEN TINKLE TINK

"Ja hier koennt ihr erst erfahren,
Was es heisst: selbst ist der Mann!
Taeglich muss man offenbaren,
Was man weiss und was man kann.
Nimmer darfst du ruhn und rasten,
Nimmer scheuen 'ueh' und Fleiss.
Willst du nicht den Tag verfaesten,
Musst malen dir den Laiz.

Nicht zum Baecker kannst du gehen,
Und kein Brauerzeichen winkt,
Und kein Wirtshaus laeust sich sehen,
Wo man etwa spoist und trinkt.
Willst du eine Lahlzeit haben,
Lusst du erst in das Gefild,
Lusst mit deinem Lustang traben,
Bis du schiessen kannst ein Wild.

Unser Land ist reich an Segen,
Milch und Honig fliesst darin,
Doch du musst dich muehn und regen
Kuehn nach Hinterwaelder-Winn.
Larum rath' ich, lieben Duebchen,
Dass ihr weg von Texas bleibt!
Lieber lest in eurem Stuebchen
Was der Deutsche drueber schreibt."

In 1845 Hoffmann, while visiting a friend by the name of Wien near Lecklenberg, met a pastor Fuchs and others who were on their way to Texas as emigrants. Pastor Fuchs had resigned his position as Pastor of Koelzow in order to join a group of emigrants. The conversation turned readily to Texas and emigration. Apparently Hoffmann had already composed some of his Texas Poems for he says that during the evening Fuchs sang some of his songs which referred to emigration. Their emotions were deeply stirred. Hoffmann writes in his autobiography: "Uns kommen Thraenen in die Augen" (Tears came to our eyes).* The following day was spent in discussing emigration and present and possible

* Ibidem, page 304.

future conditions in Germany. Hoffmann accompanied Fuchs and the other emigrants to Luestrow to bid them farewell. The occasion gave rise to the poem:

DER STERN VON TEXAS

Hin nach Texas, hin nach Texas,
Wo der Stern im blauen Felde
Eine neue Welt verkündet,
Jedes Herz fuer Recht und Freiheit
Und fuer Wahrheit froh entzündet -
Dahin sehnt mein Herz sich ganz.

Hin nach Texas, hin nach Texas,
Wo der Fluch der Ueberlieferung
Und der alte Koehlerglaube
Vor der reinen Menschenliebe
Endlich wird zu Asch' und Staube -
Dahin sehnt mein Herz sich ganz.

Hin nach Texas, hin nach Texas,
Wo die Flugschaar wird das Zeichen
Der Versöhnung und Erhebung,
Dass die Menschheit wieder feiert
Ihren Mahtag der Besehung -
Dahin sehnt mein Herz sich ganz.

Hin nach Texas! hin nach Texas!
Goldner Stern, du bist der Lote
Unsers neuen schœnen Lebens:
Denn was freie Herzen hoffen,
Hofften sie noch nie vergebens.
Bei gegruesst du goldner Stern! (9)

This poem was composed as a farewell song to Fuchs.

The parting was hard for Hoffmann. He writes that he was melancholy and spent several days in quiet.

When the ship left he fell into a sad mood and had to weep much.

Hoffmann had promised that he would have the Texas poems printed with their melodies and would send them to Fuchs in Texas in order that he might later have them reprinted in the new country. Thus in 1846 he had a volume of 46 pages containing 31 Texanische Lieder (Texas Poems) printed in Hamburg. The title page must have been misleading for it read: "Aus muendlicher und schriftlicher Mittheilung deutscher Texaner, mit Singweisen. San Felipe de Austin bei Adolf Fuchs & Co." (from oral and written reports of German Texans. with tunes). Hoffmann makes no reference to this strange title page and it is difficult to determine whether he might have had any motive in using it other than, perhaps, to give them a better appearance of genuineness. Even after the publication of his Texas Poems he maintained his interest in Texas for a number of years. Five months after their publication he was again in the home of Gustav Dresel. Much of the conversation was concerning Texas and emigration. It so happened that Dresel intended to return to Texas permanently the following year (1847). He was in correspondence with the Leinzer Adelsverein which

hoped to secure his services as a man who understood conditions in Texas in order to effect better results for the Verein and to create better relationships between it and the colonists. The Verein was composed chiefly of the nobility and the colonists complained that even in the land of freedom they were held in tutelage. They demanded self-government and freedom for self-development. Certainly Hoffmann appreciated the idealistic and patriotic motives of the Adelsverein. They must have appealed to his own pure devotion to the welfare of the fatherland. But the dissension of the colonists may have aroused a measure of suspicion in him, for when later the Verein offered him 300 acres of land and a log cabin in Texas he probably declined the offer. His autobiography makes no mention whether he accepted it and if he did how he disposed of it.

Gustav Dresel left to return to Texas in February, 1847, nearly a year after the Texas Poems had been published. Hoffmann composed a farewell song for Dresel which ought to be added to his collection of Texas Poems. It is:

AN GUST V DRESSEL

Leb wohl! Leb wohl! zwar hielte gerne
Dich unsere Liebe hier zurueck -

Du willst, und ziehest in die Ferne:
Des Menschen Will' ist auch sein Glueck.

Du siehst dort viel, was hier uns fehlet;
Was wir erstreben, ist dort schon;
Was hier uns aengstet, drueckt und quaelet,
Ist dort gemildert, ist entflohn.

Wenn dich umspielt der Freiheit Oden
Auf Texas blumigen Praerien,
Dann denk, dass wir auf unserm Boden
Der Freiheit Blume auch erziehn.

Wir wollen gleiche Recht' und Pflichten,
Wir wollen keinen Herrn und Knecht,
Auf Vorrecht, Stand und Rang verzichten,
Wir wollen Freiheit, Ehr' und Recht.

O denk an uns in unserm Streben -
Schon strahlt der Zukunft Sonnenschein!
Frei wird auch unser Thun und Leben-
Es lohnt ein Deutscher noch zu sein!

Und wenn von Deutschland frohe Kunde
Einst dringt nach dir zu Texas hin,
Dann ruf in dieser schoenen Stunde:
"Wohl mir, dass ich ein Deutscher bin!

Das sind die Rebenberge wieder!
Das ist des Rheines gruener Strand!
Heil dir, du Land der Freud' und Lieder!
Mein Vaterland, mein Heimaßland!" *

But Dresel never saw the Fatherland again. He died
of yellow fever on Morris Farm in September, 1848,
while on a journey from Galveston to San Antonio.

One other poem, written in 1847 and addressed to
Gustav Dresel, should be included in Hoffmann's Texas
poems:

* Ibidem, Volume 6, page 38.

FULR (USTIV DRESEL

Drei Dinge sind auf Erden gut,
Sie heissen: Freiheit, Lust und Muth;
Und hast du immer diese drei,
Dann stehn dir noch drei andre bei,
Thy horse, rifle, and knife.

Die drei verschaffen dir Respect,
Dass dich kein Weiser schiert und neckt;
Die Rothhaut selbst laesst dich in Fried,
enn sie aus weiter Ferne sieht,
Thy horse, rifle, and knife.

Musst du allein durch die Praerien
Und wildverwachsenen Waelder ziehn,
Mindurch! Mindurch! was kuemmert's dich?
Dich liess ja nirgend noch in Stich
Thy horse, rifle, and knife.

Der Stern von Texas sei dein Stern!
Und ist dein Ziel auch noch so fern,
Er leuchtet dir zu jeder Zeit,
Dir gibt ja sicheres Geleit
Thy horse, rifle, and knife.*

Above all else these poems show an understanding of the natural and unconventional life in Texas. It will always remain a marvel how Hoffmann was able to imbibe the Texas atmosphere so thoroughly simply from the reports of others. The title page of the Texas Poems, "from oral and written reports of German Texans", might well be taken as true by one who has not been otherwise informed.

Hoffmann did not use the library of books about

* Ibidem, page 39.

Texas that had been published in Germany by this time. He writes that he gained his information from "wenigen Hilfsmitteln" (few sources). In addition to those already mentioned the book, Texas und Seine Revolution (Texas and its Revolution) by Hermann Ehrenberg, should be considered among the few sources. The first edition of this book was printed in 1843, the very year in which Hoffmann met Gustav Dresel and became so deeply interested in Texas. The second edition, under the title: Fahrten und Schicksale eines Deutschen in Texas (Journeys and fortunes of a German in Texas), was printed in 1845, the year in which Hoffmann wrote most of his Texas Poems and prepared them for publication. Two of his poems, "Santa Anna" and "Der Alte Sam" (Old Sam) correspond in titles with chapter headings in Ehrenberg's book, and other titles are very similar.

Herman Ehrenberg, the son of a Prussian government official, was born in 1818. He studied medicine and chemistry at the University of Jena. At the age of sixteen he fled to New York in order to escape persecution as a member of the Burschenschaft

(Students' Association). In 1835 he was in New Orleans and with five other Germans answered the call for volunteers to support the Texans against the usurper Santa Anna. They formed part of two companies called "the Greys" on account of the color of their improvised uniforms. They chose as captain a man by the name of Breece and endured many hardships and privations. Ehrenberg took part in the capture of San Antonio and the Alamo, was wounded several times, and miraculously escaped the massacre at Goliad. After his escape from Goliad he wandered about in the wilderness unarmed and wounded. At the point of starvation and in constant danger of the Indians who were in league with the Mexicans he reentered voluntary captivity under General Urrea. The general befriended him and treated him respectfully. Ehrenberg remained with him until the news of the Battle of San Jacinto reached him and then escaped again when the Mexican Army retreated and planned to take him and others back to Mexico as prisoners. He makes it clear in the closing paragraphs of his book that he settled in Texas after the war of Independence and wrote his

- * Julius Goebel: "Hoffmann von Fallersleben's Texanische Lieder" yearbook 1918-19, "Deutsch-Amerikanische Historische Gesellschaft von Illinois".

history of the war.

Hoffmann never mentions this nor any other book about Texas but there can be no doubt that in addition to Dresel's account Lhrenberg's history formed the chief source of information and inspiration for his Texas Poems, especially those relative to the War of Independence. A striking similarity exists between Hoffmann's Sturmlied am San Jacinto (San Jacinto Battle Hymn) and Lhrenberg's account of the morale of the Texas army upon entering the Battle of San Jacinto. Lhrenberg writes: "kaum war sie gelesen (10) so war der Plan der Texaner fertig. 'Jetzt ist die Zeit oder nie' schrie Alles einstimmig - 'der Usurpator oder Texas muss hier fallen - keinen Schritt weiter zurueck - vorwaerts - wir sind stark genug - sind Maenner - wissen woher wir fechten - unser Gott wird uns beistehen -' und so fort hallte es durch die Gruppen der Freiheitsarmee"....."..... mit den Kolben hoch in der Luft und dem glaenzenden Bowie-Knife schaeumten sie unter dem Schlachtgeschrei: 'Remember the Alamo' vorwaerts. 'Lache, furchtbare Lache! donnerte es von allen Seiten.....".*

* Fahrten und Schicksale eines Deutschen in Texas, pages 209 and 211.

Compare with that account Hoffmann's poem:

STU LI D E S H JACINTO

Heut' ist der Tag der Rache,
Und Alamo raechen wir.
Spielt auf, spielt auf zum Tanze!
Hinauf, hinein in die Schanze!
Fort geschwind wie der Wind,
Oh' der Feind sich besinnt!
Huft Alamo! uft Alamo! uft Alamo! greifet an!
Und stuermt, stuermt und sieget!

Wir wissen woluer wir kaempfen,
's ist ein schoener, heil'ger Krieg:
Wir ziehen zum Ue fechte
Fort geschwind wie der Wind,
Oh' der Feind sich besinnt!
Huft Alamo! uft Alamo! uft Alamo! greifet an!
Und stuermt, stuermt und sieget!

Verdoppeln wir die Schritte,
Dass der Kampf entschieden wird!
Nur eins sei uns beschieden:
Frei oder todt hienieden!
Fort geschwind wie der Wind,
Oh' der Feind sich besinnt!
Huft Alamo! uft Alamo! uft Alamo! greifet an!
Und stuermt, stuermt und sieget! (11)

The phrase "Frei oder Todt" (Free or Lead, or Liberty or Death) had, according to Threnberg, become the determination of the Texan soldiers. This was due largely to the perfidy and bloody treachery of the Mexicans toward the Texans who at previous times had surrendered upon the assurance that they would be dealt with as prisoners of war. In each instance the Mexicans murdered them in cold blood.

Perhaps even greater similarity may be noticed between Hoffmann's poem "Santa Anna" and Ehrenberg's description of the General's flight and capture. Ehrenberg writes: "Der einzelne Reiter fegt daher - es ist unser Napoleon* selbst - er will sich in die Fluthen stuerzen - aber eben sieht er noch den Untergang der Officiere - schaudernd wendet er sein Pferd - springt herab - laesst es laufen - und er selbst verschwindet am Ufer des Flusses - in der Prairie"....."Sie hatten ihn in dem hohen prairie-grasse gefunden, wo er sich verborgen hatte; und er versicherte ihnen auf dem Wege, dass er nichts von Santa Anna's Flucht wisse. Er wollte sie jedoch mit einer goldenen Uhr, seiner Boerse und anderen werthvollen Gegenstaenden bestechen, welches texanisch-americanisch mit Verachtung abgewiesen wurde**" Compare with this the following verse from Hoffmann's poem:

Als du warst in deinen Schanzen,
Meintest du uns zu kuranzen,
Doch wir spielten dir eins auf,
Dass du liefst im vollsten Lauf
Nach der neusten Mode.

-
- * Santa Anna was the self-styled "Napoleon of the West".
 - ** Fahrten und Schicksale eines Deutschen in Texas, pages 212 and 214.

Doch wie schnell du warst verschwunden,
Haben wir dich doch gefunden,
Zogen dich mit Stiel und Stumpf
Wundernett aus einem Sumpf
Nach der neusten Mode.

The closing paragraphs of Ehrenberg's book reflect a patriotic spirit. He says he can call not only the country in which he was born his Fatherland but rather that country "wo ich selbst ein Zahn der Raeder bin" (Where I myself am a cog in the wheels). For such a Fatherland he says he would give his life. In closing he says: "Der Landmann wie der Kaufmann, der Gewerbtreibende wie der Fabrikant, der Soldat wie der Beamte, des Volkes Diener, all, alle sind Buerger des Staates, jeder ist ein Theil der maechtigen Machine; jeder muss des Landes Lasten tragen helfen und jeder soll und muss deshalb gleiche Rechte vor dem Gesetze haben. Keine Monopole, keine Bevorzugung, keine Kasten, keine nichtssagenden Formen, keine Willkuehr in dem, was das Ganze angeht, und keine Fesseln fuer die Presse! Keine fuer die blitzende Idee!! Keine fuer die wahrheitredende Zunge!!! Das sind die Principien der Texanians; fuer diese, ja fuer diese setzen wir freudig das Leben ein, und nochmals rufe ich: Liberty! Law! and Texas for ever!"

An echo of these words and their spirit rings from
two of Hoffmann's poems: In Ein Guadelupelied we read:

In dem Tal der Guadelupe
Gibt es keinen Herrn und Knecht:
Niemand wird der Willkuer Beute,
Alle sind wir freie Leute,
Haben Ein Gesetz, Ein Recht.

In dem Tal der Guadelupe
Fragt mich nie ein Polizist
Was ich denke, was ich schreibe,
Ob ich bin ein guter Christ.

In dem Tal der Guadelupe
Stoert mich kein Erinnerung
An die Ritter, an die Knappen,
Hexen, Folter, Helm und Wappen,
Hier ist alles neu und jung.

In dem Tal der Guadelupe
Leb' ich froh mein Leben hin,
Fuehl bei jedem Atemzuge
Wie der Edelfalk im Fluge,
Dass ich frei und gluecklich bin.

And very much in the same spirit in the poem: Vetter
Michels Vaterland:

Sag wo ist, sag wo ist Vetter Michels Vaterland?
Sag wo ist, sag wo ist es doch?
Wo die Pressfreiheit ein Versprechen ist.
Und Gesinnung und Freisinn Verbrechen ist.
Da ist, da ist Vetter Michels Vaterland.

Sag wo ist, sag wo ist Vetter Michels Vaterland?
Sag wo ist, sag wo ist es doch?
Und wo keiner frei denken und schreiben soll
Und wo alles beim Alten bleiben soll.
Da ist, da ist Vetter Michels Vaterland.

The poems, Das Lied vom deutschen Philister (The Song

of the German Philistine), Bruder Jonathan (Brother Jonathan), and Vetter Michel (Cousin Michel) belong to the Texas poems for no other reason than that Hoffmann included them in his publication. They make no reference to Texas or America. They deal entirely with conditions in Germany in a critical and sarcastic way. It is easy to see that Hoffmann felt they belonged to his poems because in all probability they were born of his contemplation of Texas, to him the ideal country, and of his regret that his beloved Fatherland, Germany of the 40s, presented such a wretched contrast. It seems that he could never think of Texas without having his thoughts mingled with or interrupted by scorn and regret for conditions around him at home. The poem, Abendlied (Evening Song) was in all probability included in Texas Poems on account of its great popularity. Both Hoffmann and the publisher may have felt that the attractiveness and popularity of the little publication would be enhanced by this well-known poem.

The love and attachment of Hoffmann to Texas and the cause of emigration are in harmony with his entire life's passion. His study of German antiquity unlocked hidden sources of feeling and desire. When

these feelings could not find their fulfillment under the political conditions in Germany it was natural that he and the German people in general should turn to a land which promised everything for which their hearts yearned. The freedom which

Attach-
ment to
Texas

Texas offered stood in constant with the wretched political oppression of the Fatherland. Since Hoffmann understood and appreciated the common people he championed their cause. Thus for political reasons he was happy that there was a place on earth where the fundamental urges of the people might be fully satisfied. But his poems also show that Texas appealed to him from the romantic point of view. In this vein he writes in:

Heimatklaenge in Texas

Vor der Thuere sitzt der Pflanze
Mild umglaenzt vom Mondenschein,
Und er singt zur Mandoline
In die stille Nacht hinein. (12)

And again in:

Der Deutsche Hinterwaelder

Eine Buechse zum Jagen, zum Schutz und zur Wehr
Ein paar Ochsen zum Pfluegen, was brauch' ich denn mehr?
Mein Gebiet ist umzaunet, mein Feld ist bestellt,
Mein Blockhaus ist fertig, ich lach' in die Welt.

Ich sitz' auf dem Felsen, die Büchse auf dem Knie,
So trab ich, so jag' ich durch Wald und Prairie.

Bald schiess' ich ein Truthuhn, einen Hirsch und ein Reh,
Bald angl' ich an Flusse, bald fisch ich im See.

Ich esse mein Laibbrot und trinke dazu,
Der Quell heut mir Wasser und Milch meine Kuh.

.....
Ich sing' mit den Vögeln der schönen Melodei'n,
Ich tanz' mit den Tältern den Landango in Frei'n.

Ich lehne mich nimmer und nimm' ich Lurusak:
Nur Freiheit ist Leben, nur Freiheit ist Glueck.

Hoffmann's poems on Texas were really written as poetic farewell gifts to his friends who emigrated to Texas, but one can readily detect that he intended that they should also exert a certain influence at home. Thus while writing about the desirable things in Texas and Texas life he frequently takes occasion to point out the contrasting conditions in the homeland. One wonders how he was able to live himself so completely into the Texas atmosphere and the life of the pioneers. His poems show a clear insight into the appreciation of the natural Texas free life the self-confident energy and independent spirit of the brave frontiersmen. The Der Deutsche Hirt ruoldler, Wohlgemeinter Rath, and Ein Guadalupe Lied, quoted above are good examples. His own life as a homeless and persecuted wanderer

undoubtedly helped him to read the soul of the emigrant. Furthermore his nature was deeply emotional. (13) He understood the homesickness, the proud spirit and defiant courage, the joy of newly-found fortune and the calm hope for a free home of the settlers and knew how to express them in his songs.

The writer made an effort to recover the tunes to which the Texas Poems were composed and with which they are supposed to have been published. There are very definite reasons why one might be led to believe that the first edition of these poems contained the tunes: First, the title page states definitely, "Mit Singweisen" (With Tunes); secondly, the poet himself emphasized that his poems were strictly lyric and not to be separated from the music;* thirdly, some of the Texas Poems were actually sung by Pastor Fuchs and his fellow-emigrants together with the poet;** and, fourthly, in his autobiography Hoffmann writes: "Ich hatte meinen ausgewanderten Freunde versprochen, ich wollte ihm diese Lieder

* - Hoffmann von Fallersleben. An Meine Freunde. Letters, edited by Gerstenberg, page 144.

** - Ibidem, page 394.

gedruckt nachsenden, zugleich auch die Melodien dazu, damit er dann beides in der neuen Welt spaeter einmal nachdrucken lassen koennte".*

But every effort to find a copy containing the tunes, or, at least, references to them, failed. The writer inquired of the Auskunftsbureau der Deutschen Bibliotheken, Berlin, but in the copy in the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin this information is also wanting. The Auskunftsbureau circulated an inquiry among German universities for a copy containing the tunes or references to them but the effort was unproductive. When the late Dr. Julius Goebel, of the University of Illinois, published the Texas Poems of Hoffmann, with an introduction, in the 1918-1919 yearbook of the Deutsch-Amerikanische Historische Gesellschaft von Illinois he deplored the fact that he had not been able to find an edition containing the tunes. He expressed the hope that the publicity given the search by his article might eventually bring the desired information to light.

The problem, nevertheless, remains unsolved. While

* - Ibidem, page 398.

there are many reasons to believe that Hoffmann published the Texas Poems with tunes one begins to incline in the opposite direction. Of the thirty-one poems included in the original edition twelve had been published previously, five of them in collections of lyric poems and seven in collections of poems written for particular occasions (Zeitgedichte).^{*} These twelve poems were thus originally not published with tunes. What forces one to this conclusion still more forcibly is the following. When Hoffmann wrote his autobiography he stated that in 1863 he possessed only two copies of the first edition of the Texas Poems.^{**} After he died the Landliche Bibliothek in Berlin came into possession of Hoffmann's literary remains.^{***} Thus the unsuccessful inquiry of the Auskunftsbureau in Berlin, referred to above, would indicate that even this first edition does not contain the tunes.

The conjecture which the writer makes is that the

* Ibidem, Volume 5, page 527, Note No. 1.

** Hoffmann von Fallersleben, ein Leben. Vol. 4, p. 278.

*** Hoffmann von Fallersleben, An seine Freunde. Letters, Edited by Gerstenberg, Vorwort, by the editor, page x.

Texas Poems were not published with a complete set of tunes, but rather that tunes were indicated for a limited number of poems. In the works of Hoffmann as edited by Gerstenberg references are made to tunes for a few of the poems. Others may have been omitted because they have become less well-known. The tune for Der Stern von Texas is "Nach Sevilla, nach Sevilla". Besides the tune, a comparison of the contents of the two poems indicates that Hoffmann had "Nach Sevilla, nach Sevilla" in mind when he composed Der Stern von Texas. A comparison of the first and last lines will suffice:

"Nach Sevilla, nach Sevilla
.....
Dahin sehnt mein Herz sich nicht".

"Hin nach Texas, hin nach Texas
.....
Dahin sehnt mein Herz sich ganz".

The poem Heimklangen in Texas is supplied with the tune, "Kommt die Nacht mit ihren Schatten"; the poem Aus Texas with "An der Saale hellem Strande"; and Ade Deutschland with the "Handwerksburschen-Melodie". In the case of the latter there is also a striking Textual similarity. The last line of each stanza

is identical with the corresponding lines of the Handwerksburschenlied: "Lein Glueck will ich probieren, marschieren". Hoffmann's poem Yankee Doodle fits quite well to our familiar "Yankee Doodle" tune, and was undoubtedly composed with it in mind. The similarity in text between Hoffmann's Der Schuetz vom Brazos and Uhland's lyric Des Knaben Bergerlied reveals that Hoffmann used this song as a model. The meter is identical and the last lines of each stanza are very similar:

"1 "Ich bin der Knab' vom Berge".

"2 "Ich bin der Schuetz vom Brazos".*

Hoffmann's style is essentially lyric. It was his custom to write his poems with a popular tune in mind. He said himself that his poems were not to be read but sung. He intended them to express a feeling rather than to relate an incident. Thus it may be justly said that his poems are trivial in content. He takes a simple feeling or sentiment and gives it poetic form. He was not a philosopher and his poems contain little depth of thought. At times the style is artificial and mechanical as if he had first set up the mold and then

* I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to Professor Max Freund of the Rice Institute for calling my attention to the influence of certain popular German songs and tunes upon certain Texas poems.

cast about for the subject matter. More usually it is utterly simple and unadulterated. He detested everything showy and pretentious whether in social intercourse or in literature. He makes wide use of repetition, as, for instance, in Sturmlied am San Jacinto (11), in which exactly half of each stanza is a repetition. Another characteristic which reappears frequently is his tendency to be epigrammatic. It is possible that he was influenced in this by the xenia of Goethe. The most prominent of his characteristics, by far, both in content and form, is best expressed by the German word, "volkstuemlich" (14). While he did not court popularity he had a keen sense and appreciation of every affection of pathos, of love and hate, and of the joys and sorrows which affected the common people. He was above all a national popular poet. Both the simple popular contents of his poems and the familiar tunes to which many of his poems were written helped to make him so widely known already in his own generation and served to maintain his popularity down to our generation. If his political poems seem to be without point or meaning we must remember that they were written when

conditions were different. They were intended to define definite conditions and to produce certain results. This they did in their day. Hence his immediate popularity as a national poet, and hence, also, his persecution. In a letter to Friedrich Larncke, February third, 1848, he gives his own brief estimate of his poetry. He writes: "Meine ganze Poesiemuss den Leuten wunderbarlich erscheinen. Sie ist reine Lyrik und dazu rein deutsche und will auch weiter nichts sein, unzertrennlich vom Gesang; sie hat sich allen Beziehungen auf das Ausland und das klassische Altertum von jeher fern gehalten und verschmaecht allen rhetorischen Prunk und allen sententioesen Wortschwall; sie knuepft historisch da an, wo die alte Volkspoesie in ihrer Bluete war (16 Jahrhundert)."

It is a matter of speculation why Hoffmann, who was so interested in the emigrants and who showed such a profound understanding and love of Texas in his poems, never came to Texas himself. One would suppose that since he and his writings were outlawed

* - Hoffmann von Fallersleben, An Meine Freunde.
Letters, edited by Gerstenberg, page 144.

at home that he would gladly grasp the opportunity to emigrate. His political writings were not intended to be revolutionary but to bring about a better state of affairs in the Fatherland. But his efforts were misunderstood and despised by those in authority. His colleagues at the university made him, if not a social outcast, at least, a person whose presence was not appreciated. He was, moreover, urged by other emigrants to come to Texas. The Adelsverein made it very desirable for him to

Never
came to
Texas

go to Texas by offering him without
cost 300 acres of land and a logcabin.

References to Texas in letters to his
friends indicate that he occasionally
inclined very much toward emigration. Thus he writes
from Heldorf, November 25th, 1845, to Friedrich
Zarncke in Leipzig that he had read about the political
disturbance in Liepzig and that the incident had en-
raged him so that he was often thinking seriously
about Texas.* Eight months later, July 24, 1846, he
writes to Robert Prutz in Berlin: "Ireiligraths

* Hoffmann von Fallersleben, An Meine Freunde.
Letters, edited by Gerstenberg, page 132.

Uebersiedelung nach London ist mir in einer Hinsicht lieb. Wenn ich ihn nun einmal besuche, so lerne ich England kennen. Ich denke, kuenftiges Jahr, etwa im September, einen Abstecher dahin zu machen.....

Von Londen gehe ich dann ein bischen nach New York und von da nach Texas, um einmal zu sehen, wie es sich ohne Polizei und Censur lebt und schreibt.**

These plans, however, never materialized, and four months later, November 29th, while writing to Freiligrath in London concerning financial difficulties he suddenly makes plans again for a trip to New York; this time in order to earn money by lecturing on German literature.**

When Fuchs emigrated he wrote: "Auch ich in meiner Lage muesste auswandern"(Under the circumstances I really ought to emigrate too).*** Some years later he composed a short poem which he says indicates the feelings which eventually triumphed over all temporary desires to emigrate:

"Ich bleib' in meinem Vaterlande
Sein Loos soll auch das meine sein,
Sein Leid und seine Schmach und Schande
Sowie sein Ruhm und Glueck ist mein.
In meine Vaterlande will ich bleiben,
Und keine Macht der Welt soll mich vertreiben"(15)

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- * Hoffmann von Fallersleben, An Leine Freunde, Letters, edited by Gersternberg, page 133f.
 - ** Hoffmann von Fallersleben, An Leine Freunde, Letters, edited by Gersternberg, page 140f.
 - *** Ibidem, page 394.

Nevertheless he says he could not refrain from giving utterance to hopes and wishes the realization of which might justify and comfort others who wished to emigrate.

Perhaps two reasons may be given in an attempt to explain why he never came to Texas: Love for the Fatherland, and, suspicion of Adelsverein. He was totally in sympathy with Texas. Conditions there were as he wanted them to be in Germany. But he loved Germany too well to run away and leave it to its uncertain fate. In spite of the fact that the Government made him homeless and rejected all his constructive criticism he remained at home and maintained his original attitude, namely, of trying to do something through poetry to make conditions better. Germany was his native land. He loved it and nothing could change his devotion and loyalty. He found it impossible to renounce it and go to a foreign'land. In a letter to Ferdinand Freiligrath, who had gone to Brussels, dated at Geisenheim, December the first, 1844, Hoffmann writes that a friend of his by the name of Lorenz Oken had suggested that he seek a professorship in Belgium or Switzerland.

He writes that he had answered Oken: "Ich teile die Freuden und Leiden meines Vaterlandes und werde es gerade jetzt nie verlassen, wenn ich nicht vertrieben werde". (I will share the joys and sorrows of my Fatherland and will never leave it especially not now unless I am driven away).* He was a rare patriot.

The other reason why Hoffmann never came to Texas may be that he was just a little suspicious of the Adelsverein, even though its ideals must have harmonized with his own. Still it was the nobility doing it and not the people. He had no sympathy with the class system. He wanted liberty and independence for the people. This was possible of attainment in Texas but the Adelsverein prevented the free self-dependent development which Hoffmann glorified. And, furthermore, he was never one to commercialize his poetry. He wrote because he felt inspired to do so and because he hoped to do good through his writings. When the Adelsverein was in correspondence with Gustav Dresel in order to secure his services to bring about a better understanding between the Verein and the people Hoffmann conceived the idea that the nobility wanted to enlist his poetic powers for the

* Hoffmann von Fallersleben, An Meine Freunde. Letters, edited by Gerstenberg, page 131.

same purpose. Thus he interpreted the offer of the land in Texas as a bribe in disguise. It may be too that his independent spirit rebelled against the presupposition of the Verein in keeping the following announcement in the Bremen newspaper: "Again a number of Germans are preparing to emigrate to Texas. The plan is to name the new settlement Fallersleben. The one whom this name concerns will soon follow".* He says that apparently it was taken for granted that he would accept the offer of land. The honor of having a town named after him in Texas was evidently no inducement for him. He never makes any comment about it.

These two reasons why Hoffmann never came to Texas are mere conjectures. There is no basis for them in anything that Hoffmann wrote except, perhaps, the verses quoted above.** The reasons given may, however, the writer believes, be drawn with justification from a general view of Hoffmann's life and writings.

* Ibidem, page 405.

* See page 50.

A P P E N D I X

TRANSLATIONS AND EXPLANATORY NOTES

#1 - "This is no war of sovereigns;
It is a crusade, it is a holy war".

#2 - This poem, which the author called "Das Lied der Deutschen" (The Song of the Germans), has had an interesting history. It was written as a hymn of freedom in a day when the hearts of many Germans were filled with a longing for a united Fatherland and for freedom and progress. In August, 1841, Hoffmann had gone for recreation to Helgoland which at that time was English territory. The loneliness of the island and the beautiful summer weather provided the inspiration for the poem. Hoffmann had in mind the dignified rhythm of Haydn's tune when he composed the poem. It was published in September, 1841, with Haydn's music and Hoffmann's picture. The first edition was soon exhausted, and the poem was again included in a publication of German poems in 1843. The government looked upon the poem with suspicion and as dangerous to the state. Some critics denied its originality by pointing out its similarity to Walther von der Vogelweide's "Lande han ich vil geseen" (I have seen many lands). The people however, received it enthusiastically.

Hoffmann wrote this poem as a thoroughgoing republican. His call for "Einigkeit und Recht und Freiheit fuer das deutsche Vaterland" (Unity and Justice and Freedom for the German Fatherland) reflected the sentiments of the people in a day when Germany was ruled more or less arbitrarily and imperially by the nobility. Hence its immediate popularity. Much later the hymn was used as an instrument in the political campaigns of the anti-Semitic party in Germany. During the World War it was used to arouse patriotism and to stimulate the Germany army. At the same time it was used by the allies to point out the "imperialistic ambitions" of Germany and thus to incite the nations to support a war to "make the world safe for Democracy". Since the war it has become the National Anthem of the young German Republic, brought about quite naturally by the spontaneous sentiment of a free people.

This patriotic poem can be made an instrument of imperialism only by abuse and misinterpretation. The spirit of the author, the original purpose and use of the hymn, and its inherent qualities make it a great patriotic hymn of a liberty-loving people.

#3 - The list, as given by Kosch, follows:

1. Deutsche Lieder	1815
2. Bonner Burschenlieder	1819
3. Lieder und Romanzen	1821
4. Die Schoeneberger Nachtigall.	1822
5. Maikeriade.	1825
6. Die Schlesische Nachtigall.	1825
7. Allemannische Lieder.	1826
8. Liebestern geheimerlicher Liebeslieder . .	1827
9. Gedichte.	1827
10. Kirchhoflieder	1827
11. Jaegerlieder (mit Melodien)	1828
12. Luckiade.	1828
13. Weinbuechlein	1829
14. Poesien der dichtenden Mitglieder des Dresdener Kuenstlerverein	1830
15. Morae Belgicae, 18 Bde.	1830- 1862
16. Fundgruben zur Geschichte deutscher Sprache und Literature, 2 Bde	1830- 1837
17. Spanische Romanzen.	1831
18. Geschichte des deutschen Kirchenliedes bis auf Luthers Zeit.	1832
19. Hollaendische Volkslieder, erläutert, 12 Bde.	1833-1862
20. Reinike Vos, herausg.	1834
21. Gedichte, 1, u. 2. Bdchn.	1834
22. Altdeutsche Blaetter (mit M. Haupt) . .	1835-1840
23. Buch der Liebe.	1836
24. Gedichte. neue Sammlung	1837
25. Unpolitische Lieder. 2 Bde.	1840-1842
26. Schlesische Volkslieder mit Melodien. . . .	1842
27. Deutsche Lieder aus der Schweiz	1843
28. Deutsche Gassenlieder	1843
29. Fuenfzig Kinderlieder	1843
30. Politische Gedichte aus der deutschen Vorzeit	1843
31. Spenden zur deutschen Literaturgeschichte, 2 Bde	1844f.
32. Laitrank.	1844
33. Deutsche Salonlieder.	1844
34. Die deutschen Gesellschaftslieder des 16 u 17 Jahrhundert, 2 Bde.	1844
35. Hoffmannsche Tropfen.	1844
36. Diabolini	1845
37. Fuenfzig neue Kinderlieder.	1845
38. Texanische Lieder	1846
39. Vierzig Kinderlieder.	1847
40. Schrefelaether.	1847
41. Hundert Schullieder	1848

42.	37 Lieder fuer das junge Deutschland.	1848
43.	Spitzkugeln (Zeitdistichen.	1849
44.	Drei Dutzend Zeitlieder.	1849
45.	Heimatklaenge	1851
46.	Liebeslieder.	1851
47.	Rheinleben.	1851
48.	Soldatenlieder.	1851
49.	Soldatenlieder, 2 Bde	1852
50.	Die Kinderwelt in Liedern	1853
51.	Lieder aus Weimar	1854
52.	Kinderleben	1855
53.	Fraenzchens Lieder.	1859
54.	Unsere volkstuemlichen Lieder	1859
55.	Deutschland ueber alles	1859
56.	Kindlinge, (4 Hefte).	1859f.
57.	Die vier Jahreszeiten	1860
58.	Meiner Ida.	1861
59.	Raudener Maiblumer.	1861
60.	Gedichte, Auswahl von Frauenhand.	1862
61.	Gedichte u Lieder fuer Schleswig-holstein	1863
62.	Lieder der Landsknechte	1868
63.	Mein Leben, 6 Bde.	1868
64.	Vaterlandslieder.	1871
65.	Streiflichter	1872
66.	Alte u neue Kinderlieder.	1873

#4 -

My Fatherland

True love unto the grave
I swear thee with heart and hand;
For what I am and what I have
I thank thee, my Fatherland.

My heart is ready to render thanks
Not only in words and songs;
In deeds I will render thee thanks
In need, in fight and in battle.

In joy as in sorrow
I announce to friend and foe
Eternally we two are one
And thou art my comfort and my joy.

#5 -

I may vote for congress
I am a free voter.
You are only an obeyer,
A subject and payer.

#6 - My corn is always productive
And it thrives quite well.
Your potatoes rot
Even before they are planted.

#7 - When I am short on meat
I go and hoot a deer.
Often you are in want of everything
That satisfies your hunger.

#8 - I roast my meat
In my own house at the fire.
For you wood, and meat, and salt
Are far too costly.

#9 - The Star of Texas

On to Texas, on to Texas,
Where the star in field of blue
Proclaims a new world,
And kindles joy in every heart
That values right, and truth, and freedom -
Thither my whole heart is yearning.

On to Texas, on to Texas
Where the curse of tradition
And the old credulity
Finally crumble to ashes and dust
Before pure human love.
Thither my whole heart is yearning.

On to Texas, on to Texas
Where the plowshare symbolizes
Reconciliation and advancement,
That men may celebrate again
The springtime of life.
Thither my whole heart is yearning.

On to Texas, on to Texas!
Golden star, thou art the herald
Of our new and happier life:
For, what free hearts here for
They have never hoped in vain.
I salute thee, Golden star!

#10 - A messenger carrying a dispatch from Santa Anna to
Filisola had just been captured. The dispatch revealed
Santa Anna's plan of closing in on Houston's army and

destroying it. Generals Urrea and Filisola were to join him in this final manoeuvre.

#11 - The San Jacinto Battle Hymn

To-day is the day of revenge,
And we will revenge the Alamo.
Strike up, strike up the dance!
Up, into the intrenchment!
Away, swift as the wind,
Before the enemy bethinks himself.
Cry Alamo! Cry Alamo! Cry Alamo! attack!
And storm, storm and triumph!

 e know for what we are fighting,
It is a fair, a holy war:
We march into battle
For our freedom and rights
Away.....

Let us quicken our pace
That the battle may be decided.
May our lot be only this
To be free or dead here below.
Away.....

#12 - Feveries of Home in Texas

The settler sits at the door
Bathed in the mild luster of the moon
And sings to his mandoline
Out upon the silent night.

#13 - In his autobiography he mentions several occasions when he had to weep. When Henriette his friend died in 1846, he writes: "When on the 18th of April I read the letters which had arrived I was deeply moved by the sad news: Henriette dead! I tried to suppress my grief. But in my room I dedicated the memory of my dead friend many a tear, until at last the silent midnight closed my tired eyes". Again when Pastor Luchs sang some of his songs that dealt with emigration he writes: "Tears came to our eyes". Two days later when he saw the emigrants off he writes: "... I am very melancholy. I had to weep much" (Cos. rec. vol. 7, p. 394). When Gustav Dresel sailed for Texas in 1817 he writes: "The fare-

"well was hard for everyone, not an eye remained dry".
(Ges. Me. v. 7, p. 107).

#14 - The word "volkstuemlich" is one of those words that has no equivalent in the English language. It is difficult to translate it at all. The word popular taken in its denotation as derived from the Latin popularis, comes, perhaps, nearest to it. Als Volkstuenliche, then is that which expresses the feeling, desires, emotions, of the people taken collectively. Just as the traits of childhood are not the traits of an individual child, but of children, in the abstract, so that which is volkstuemlich does not characterize one individual people but peoples in the abstract.

#15 -

I will remain in my Fatherland
Its lot shall also be mine
Its sorrow and its disgrace and shame
As well as its fame and fortune are mine.
I will remain in my Fatherland
And no power on earth shall drive me away.

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