Regional Poets and Poetic Regionality

Ehrenfried Stoeber and Alsatian Regional Consciousness in the Early Nineteenth Century (1814-1835)

Thesis MA History: Political Culture and National Identities
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Introduction

Along the Rhine, between Basel and Huningue, lies a path that is dedicated to the Alemannic language. To demonstrate its expressive power and vivacity, several signs have been placed alongside the path, each of them with dialectical poetry. This initiative, carried out in 2016 by the municipal authorities of France, Germany and Switzerland, ties up with the European efforts to stimulate transnational cooperation. The *Dreilanddichterweg,* the poetry path, states on its website that the three countries have been connected 'by the Rhine and by the Alemannic language' since the early Middle Ages.[1] The region is part of the European cooperation programmes since the 1960s, and by now, the different regions of France, Switzerland and Germany cooperate intensively on economic projects, healthcare, traffic and cultural exchange.[2] There is even a *Dreilandmuseum,* in Lörrach, Baden. Though subsidized by the EU, transnational cooperation is new nor invented. Rather, the brief phase when the Rhine formed a wall of water between hostile nations is an exception. The Swiss regional organisation Regio Basiliensis calls the region an 'area of shared culture' (*gemeinsamer Kulturraum*), and refers to 'trinational space', and 'area of the Upper Rhine'.[3]

About two centuries ago, in 1823, a man called Ehrenfried Stoeber wrote a play with characters from precisely this region. He portrayed a girl from Baden who read poetry by a Swiss-born poet called Hebel, and who fell in love with Daniel from Strasbourg. The characters, regardless of their dialects, quarrelled, loved and joined in song. Stoeber, a man in his thirties, a father of five, was at home in the *gemeinsamer Kulturraum* of the Upper Rhine. As a descendant of an old Alsatian family, he would witness with regret and incomprehension how the tensions between French and German people grew. Stoeber was a somewhat naïve romantic, a notary-turned-poet, and first and foremost, an Alsatian. For him, it was only natural to defend his revolutionary values in multiple languages, and puzzling to experience how his contacts with intellectuals across the Rhine were becoming problematic. This thesis illuminates some of the dilemmas for the Alsatian population, by referring to Stoeber's experience of them, based on his writings. Stoeber's writings testify of an increasing awareness of Alsatian regional identity, developing in response to his membership of the French political nation.

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[1] "Unsere drei Länder, durch den Rhein verbunden, sind es auch durch die Sprache. Das Elsass, Südbaden und Basel sind seit dem frühen Mittelalter im Alemannischen sprachlich zu Hause." In: "Info", accessed March 31, 2019, http://www.dreylanddichterweg.eu/de/info.html.

[2] J. Anderson, *Transnational Democracy: Political Spaces and Border Crossings* (London, 2002), 117. The different areas on which the nations cooperate are named on the website of the Swiss Regio Basiliensis: "Kurzportrait", accessed on March 30, 2019, https://www.regbas.ch/de/ueber-uns/kurzportrait/.

[3] "Gesellschaft", Regio Basiliensis, accessed on 31-03-2019, https://www.regbas.ch/de/unsere-themen/gesellschaft/.

Historians have convincingly attributed the development of nations and the corresponding nationalisms to modernization, the impact of the press, industrialization and education.[4] The rise of the nation-state has been explained as a by-product of these developments, the political entity corresponding to the demands of modern times. Understanding the nation-state as administrative entity, however, reveals only one dimension of it. Nation-states are also communities of people, who identify with the nation. People in a nation-state partake in a 'nationality', a set of characteristics of political, but also cultural and sometimes even personal nature.

Most recent studies into 'cultural nationalism' have proceeded on the path that was paved by Benedict Anderson with his 'imagined communities' in 1983. Nations, it is argued, should be seen as projects and processes, consciously created over time. What they are created of, is twofold: the first layer, of course, is institutional. To identify with a nation requires that there is a community to be conscious of: legislation, taxes or even currencies can establish that community. Secondly, there is culture: during the nineteenth century, elites resorted to culture to create a 'nation' out of a 'state'. They produced a frame of reference for identification, forging a community with which individuals could identify. This 'cultural nationalism' creates a cultural ideal, which comes to ground a political agenda.[5]

If insightful, this perspective is also somewhat one-sided. The state was not waiting to be nationalized in blissful ignorance. Its people responded to the increasing influence of the nation state on their everyday life. Hence, already since the 1990s, scholars shifted increasingly to regional responses to the rise of the nation state, investigating local response and resistance to the national idea. Two methodological dangers persist in these studies: the first is that regions are still seen as the subjects in a process, responding *to* nationalism. Nationalism is perceived as a top-down effort, an idea that was disseminated from the core and gradually accepted throughout the nation.[6] Secondly, in focussing on regions within nations, the latter are still tacitly taken for granted, even if they are analysed as projects: the process is viewed as taking place within given national borders, as though the project of nationalization took place within a pre-given national space.[7] But, as Joep Leerssen

[4] See for example the references to the modernism debate E. Storm, "Overcoming Methodological Nationalism in Nationalism Studies: The Impact of Tourism on the Construction and Diffusion of National and Regional Identities", *History Compass* 12 (2014) 361-373; and J. Leerssen, "Nationalism and the cultivation of culture", *Nations and Nationalism* 12 (2006) 559-578, 560-562.

[5] I base this on Leerssen's definition of cultural nationalism: Leerssen, "Nationalism and the cultivation of culture", 562.

[6] Confino calls this 'logic of transcendence', which perceives locality as increasingly amalgamating into bigger, more abstract unities, which are in turn perceived as receptive. A. Confino and A. Skaria, "The Local Life of Nationhood", *National Identities* 4 (2002) 7-24. The process of 'dissimination' as analysed by Bhabha can be seen as an example of such thinking.

[7] This point has come to attention following the spatial turn in the social sciences, when the conception of space as 'container space' was criticized, and was replaced with heuristic tools such as 'network space' and

pointed out in 2006, 'cultural nationalism' was an international movement. The ideas, motivations and initiatives promoting culture were travelling across the borders they affirmed, contributing to 'cultural consciousness-raising' in different countries.[8] Initially, this took place in elite circles, but over time, their ideas sipped through to broader circles of the populations.

The responses to these challenges have come in a range of innovative topics and methodologies, precluding these pitfalls. Leerssen, with his emphasis on the international communication of nationalism, advocated a comparative approach in order to gain insight in the reception and implementation of nationalist ideas in different countries.[9] More recently, the attention has shifted to networks, for example in the *Encyclopedia of Romantic Nationalism in Europe*. The book shows how the 'emerging ideals of cultural nationalism' were communicated within international intellectual networks, presenting a picture of 'interlocking nationalisms'.[10] However, Xosé Manoel Núñez remarked that, though nationalists may have interacted internationally, they were primarily acting locally, responding to local factors. He argues for *entangled histories,* that is, history writing that focusses on interaction, rather than on territorial entities: this approach could be seen on par with the focus on network space.[11] Another response to the persistence of the national framework in comparative studies to focus on border regions, where national feelings could go either way – the focus on borders, border reception and nationality in borderlands has sparked a vivid debate.

In this thesis, I will show how consciousness of regional identity developed in the early nineteenth century, in Alsace, a border region. I focus entirely on the local dimension: the events of national histories are involved only as far as they were to relevant Stoeber, the protagonist of this story. Moreover, they are not limited to French history, as Stoeber, and in fact, many Alsatians, acted within a different regionality, that of the Upper Rhine.[12] By taking an individual as starting point, I bring to life a turbulent time in which nationalist sentiments demanded a response from the Alsatian population, and I investigate what that response was in Stoeber's case. In doing so, I contribute, firstly, to the question of how the ideas on nationality and regional identity were given shape in the

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'fluid space'. Nationalism studies followed suit by taking networks, border regions and transnational regions as starting points for further research. E. Storm, 'The Spatial Turn and the History of Nationalism: Nationalism between Regionalism and Transnational Approaches', in: S. Berger and E. Storm (eds.), *Writing the History of Nationalism* (London: Bloomsbury, 2019), 215-239.

[8] Leerssen, "Nationalism and the cultivation of culture", 565.

[9] *Ibid.*, 564.

[10] J. Leersen (ed.) *Encyclopedia of Romantic Nationalism in Europe* (Amsterdam, 2018). The quotes are taken from the website of the preceding project SPIN. http://spinnet.humanities.uva.nl/

[11] X.M. Núñez, "Nations and Territorial Identities in Europe: Transnational Reflections", *European History Quarterly* 40 (2010), 669-684, 678.

[12] Though the construction of the Alemannic regionality would also be an interesting topic of research. Like a nation, this region should not be taken for granted.

region. I contrast nationality and regional *identity* here, because nationality, in France, had an official, political character from the outset, and knew established borders. On the other hand, the regional space is more ambiguous, and can denote *département Bas-Rhin* or the entire Alsace, Alsace being a fluid space, of which the horizon is sometimes made up by the Black Forest. The region can, as I pointed out, encompass the entire Upper Rhine area, which has never been a clearly demarcated region. To understand this regionality, therefore, I start from the formulation by Núñez, who distinguishes the region as an established or imagined territorial entity, the latter 'an extension of the space that defines everyday experiences'.[13] This imagined regionality is characterised by landscape elements, such as plains, mountains or rivers: in this case, the Rhine, Vosges, and the Black Forest.

A second contribution lies in showing that this regional identity is older than is commonly thought. With regards to Alsace, the drawings by cartoonist and illustrator Hansi spring to mind, which created a dominant picture of a rural Alsace, with storks on its rooftops.[14] The construction of regional identities had its zenith only around the 1900's. For example, Eric Storm argues that regions are, like nations, a modern construction, and that regional awareness hardly went beyond elites in research societies for most of the nineteenth century.[15] This fits awkwardly with the histories of Alsace written much earlier, the *Alsatia Illustrata* dating back to 1751, the *Histoire de la Province d'Alsace* as far as 1728.[16] Of course, these are no attestations of regionalism, especially since *Alsatia Illustrata* was in Latin. Nonetheless, Stoeber addressed Alsace as a region at least from 1806 onwards, and was acutely aware of many of its cultural specifics, and the Alsatian dialect. Nor did he hesitate to communicate this to his audiences, which certainly were not limited to the *Société libre des Sciences, agriculture et arts, du département du Bas-Rhin,* of which he was a member. By bringing the attention to regionalism in this otherwise underexposed period in Alsatian history, I show how Alsatian regionality developed alongside and in response to French nationality. Both competed with a larger, Alemannic regionality, but since this had no institutional basis, that transnational region was

[13] Núñez, "Nations and Territorial Identities," 678.
[14] For example, C.J. Fischer's *Alsace to the Alsatians,* or M. Anderson's "Regional Identity and Political Change: the Case of the Alsace from the Third to the Fifth Republic". A notable exception is B.J. Cooren's thesis, on which I drew heavily, and the (much older) work by P. Leuilliot. Cooren argues that the strength of Alsatian nationalism was in part due to the shock with which the Alsace was institutionally incorporated into France after the Revolution, its ancient institutions being abolished and replaced overnight. B.J. Cooren, "Sources of the Nation. A Comparative Analysis of the Origins of National Sentiment in Alsace and Quebec" (PhD Diss., University of Toronto, 2000).
[15] E. Storm, "Regionalism in History, 1890-1945: The Cultural Approach", *European History Quarterly* 33 (2003), 251-267, 253-254.
[16] L. Kern, "Les identités de l'Alsace à la croisée des préoccupations historiques et archéologiques régionales (1751-1870)", *Strathèse* 5 (2017), online: http://strathese.unistra.fr/strathese/index.php?id=1011. Accessed on March 28, 2019.

to yield. By investigating the early regional consciousness, I hope to shed light on the origins of regionalism, as well.

On this matter, Bruno Jean Cooren has written an interesting dissertation, which contrasts the developments of national sentiment in Quebec and Alsace. He argues that Alsatians distinguished their political nationality from their cultural identity, and were therefore able to become early and fanatic nationalists, while holding on to their own language and culture.[17] Stoeber does indeed stress the political and judicial dimension of nationality when speaking of France. He is also exemplary of the liberal character of French nationalism in Alsace, due to its roots in the French Revolution.[18] Cooren bases his argument mostly on local newspapers, and various other writings, such as pamphlets and poetry. Though I focus on one individual, I take largely the same approach: my point of departure are the published works of Ehrenfried Stoeber, supported by some newspapers, both German and Alsatian.

This thesis consists of three chapters. The first chapter shows that Stoeber understood himself as a member of different regionalities, as well as a French citizen. The chapter illuminates his self-understanding by firstly, providing some background information on revolutionary Alsace. Secondly, I analyse a pamphlet by Stoeber, from 1814. This pamphlet shows Stoeber distinguished between Alsace (with Strasbourg as its focal point); the Alemannic area; and France. He does acknowledge borders, and nationality, but these have no priority in his understanding of the nation or region. Instead, he focusses on connections and interaction, characterising Alsace as a middle land. His understanding of 'lands' and 'nations', correspondingly, is ambiguous, his terminology inconsistent. Nonetheless, two things stand out: Stoeber's French nationality is uncontested, even if the community he identifies with is Alsatian.

The second chapter focusses on the integration of Alsace into French political networks during the Reformation period, and shows how Stoeber's awareness of Alsatianness grew, over and against French and German nationality. It also shows that, while for Stoeber alternating between different cultures was constitutive of his 'Alsatianness', this hybridity was becoming increasingly problematic for especially German contemporaries. By means of one of Stoeber's plays, I will also show how the different regionalities were tied together to make up a larger regionality that transcended national borders. The relation with national identities is lost out of sight once Stoeber brings this regionality to the fore.

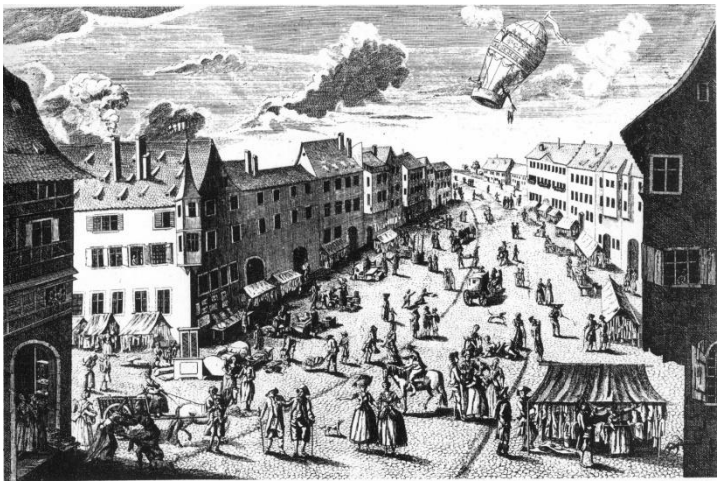
[17] Cooren, "Sources of the Nation", 276.
[18] *Ibid.,* 148; 277.

The third chapter shows that, by 1829, Stoeber's regionality had developed on par with his nationality: his works from this period are predominantly in Alsatian and French, and concern mostly local themes. After the July Revolution of 1830, he was occupied with political matters of national and international importance. His attention to the region yields to his efforts to spread a French message across borders, translating political texts to German. His fellow Alsatians, meanwhile, had started to frame whatever reeked of Germanness as Alsatian, their regional consciousness smoothing the newly emerged conflict between cultural and political nationalisms.

Stoeber works demonstrate that he was able to shift, seemingly without effort, between being German, Alsatian and French, addressing alternately Rheinlanders, Alsatians, compatriots and *Weltburger*. For Stoeber, it was more problematic that the world around him started to demand exclusivity, instead of switching between different roles and languages. While initially, he responded to this demand by stressing hybridity, he increasingly chose to distinguish these identities, depending on what level he was interacting. This 'contrast' summarizes the tragedy of Stoeber: for him, there was no contradiction between being French, speaking German, and fostering the Alsatian dialect and traditions. For nationalists, abroad and at home, it was.

1. A Middle Country

Daniel Ehrenfried was the firstborn of Maria Salomea Ziegenhagen and Johann Daniel Stoeber, and the youngest descendent of an old Strasbourg bourgeois family. The Stoeber family had always been well doing, a family of lawyers, notaries, theologians and priests, boasting a famous theologian, Elie Stoeber, amongst their ancestors. His mother was the daughter of a surgeon, and a well-educated woman, who sometimes tried her hand at poetry. While Maria Salomea's mother was from Strasbourg, her father came from Pommern, from a family of protestant pastors. The family was protestant, and had some connections to masonic lodges, for example, through Maria's brother.[19] Ehrenfried grew



The old wine market were Stoeber grew up.
Source: http://maisons-de-strasbourg.fr.nf/wp-content/uploads/2017/07/Vieux-March%C3%A9-aux-Vins-Hohenlohe.jpg

[19] B. Richter, *Franz Heinrich Ziegenhagen. Leben, Werk und Wirken eines engagierten Kaufmanns und Philanthropen im Zeitalter der Aufklärung* (Hamburg, 2001), 35-37.

up in *Zum Drescher*, an impressive, centuries-old house, prominently located on the wine market – and destroyed in 1944.[20]

The young Stoeber must have been a zealous proponent of the Revolution, even though he was only ten years old at the time of the storming of the Bastille. He joined the *Batallion des Enfants de la Patrie*, as soon as that was allowed, namely at age twelve.[21] Considering this *milieu*, Stoeber was almost predestined to support the Revolution: in general, German-speaking, Protestant intelligentsia supported the Revolution enthusiastically, while the Catholic population was more reluctant.[22] Eulogius Schneider, a German priest from Bonn, and a convinced Jacobin, may also have influenced the young Stoeber. Schneider had travelled to France after the Revolution as one of many German enthusiasts who came to France in the wake of the Revolution, and one of about a hundred Germans who came to Strasbourg.[23] Schneider became Stoeber's teacher, as Stoeber recalls in the preface to his collected poems, and it was Schneider who encouraged Stoeber to start writing.[24] His first plays, written while still in school, were about the revolutionary constitution and equality.[25]

Strasbourg, at the time, was a strikingly international city. Not only was there vivid trade, and thus a constant presence of merchants,[26] the intellectuals who clustered around the city's famous university contributed to an international climate. The university attracted celebrities including Goethe and Napoleon.[27] Stoeber followed lectures here by famous scholars, such as Johann Gottfried Schweighäuser, who, in turn, corresponded with people such as Humboldt, Schlegel and Niebuhr, but

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[20] M.L. Witt and P. Erny, *Les Stoeber. Poètes et premiers folkoristes de l'Alsace* (Colmar, 2002), 41. On the house, see: "9, rue du Vieux-Marché-aux-Vins", http://maisons-de-strasbourg.fr.nf/vieille-ville/t-z/vieux-marche-aux-vins/9-rue-du-vieux-marche-aux-vins/, accessed April 26, 2019.

[21] Witt and Erny, *Les Stoeber*, 42.

[22] M. Erbe (ed.), *Das Elsass. Historische Landschaft im Wandel der Zeiten* (Stuttgart, 2002), 103; Cooren, "Sources of the Nation", 157-159. German was soon perceived by the (generally Catholic) French-speaking population as the language of freemasonry and atheism, according to F. Hartweg, „Sprach-, Kultur- oder Willensnation? Über den beliebigen Umgang mit sprachgeschichtlichen Argumenten" in: A. Gardt, U. Haß-Zumkehr, T. Roelcke (eds.), *Sprachgeschichte als Kulturgeschichte* (Berlin, 1999), 397-410, 408.

[23] D. Schönpflug and J. Voss (eds.), *Révolutionnaires et émigrés. Transfer und Migration zwischen Frankreich und Deutschland 1789-1806* (Stuttgart, 2002), 79; Erbe, *Das Elsass*, 97; 105.

[24] Schneiders name, however, was 'hard to say' (*schwer zu nennen*) in 1835: Stoebers beloved teacher would be remembered as an ruthless persecutor during the Jacobin Reign of Terror, traveling around with a guillotine: D.E. Stoeber, *Saemtliche Gedichte* I (Strasbourg, 1835), V. See also: Erbe, *Das Elsass,* 105.

[25] The only source for these plays seems to be, apart from the work by Witt and Erny, is *Grundriss zur Geschichte der Deutsche Dichtung,* which refers, in turn, to *Vaterland. Geschichte des Elsasses* from 1849. Unfortunately, Witt and Erny provide no references. See: K. Goedeke (ed.), *Grundriss zur Geschichte der Deutsche Dichtung aus den Quellen,* Vol. XIII (Berlin, 2011), 66. M. Espagne also refers to Schweighauser as immersed in the German intellectual life, contrasting him with rather more cross-cultural types. M. Espagne, *Les transfers culturels Franco-Allemands* (Paris, 1999), 55.

[26] D. Nordman, *Frontiers de France* (Paris, 1998), 311; R.M. Spaulding, "Revolutionary France and the Transformation of the Rhine, *Central European History* 44 (2011) 206-226.

[27] Goethe's stay in Strasbourg is well-attested, e.g. Cooren, "Sources of the Nation", 113; Witt and Erny, *Les Stoeber,* 9; For Goethe as well as Napoleon: P. Leuillot, *L'Alsace au debut du XIX siècle. Essais d'histoire politique, économique et religieuse (1815-1830),* Vol. I, (Paris, 1959), 9.

also Jean Frédéric Oberlin, a local pastor who was widely known for his charity works and his research in the Lorraine dialect.[28] Somewhere around this time, Stoeber founded the Literary Society of Alsatian Friends (*Literarische Gesellschaft Alsatischer Freunden*), which included Schweighauser, as well as George Daniel Arnold, who would later become a well-known Alsatian playwright.[29]

This chapter shows that the relation between France and Alsace was far from smooth, especially in the decade after the Revolution. How the post-revolutionary developments found their expression in Stoeber's understanding of French nationality and Alsatian identity is shown by an analysis of a pamphlet by Stoeber. The political nature of French nationality made his French identity indisputable, regardless of the political tensions and in spite of German claims. In response, Stoeber defined the Alsace predominantly as a border region and a middle country. Also, the pamphlet provides an interesting view on the larger, Alemannic region with which Stoeber identified.

1.1 *Bedrängte Zeiten*

The Revolution was particularly impactful in Alsace, as its characteristic age-old institutions were abandoned overnight, and were replaced with a modern division into *départements*.[30] The Alsatians soon developed an ardent patriotism, embracing the merits of the Revolution and the liberal ideals: Stoeber recalls in a pamphlet from 1814 how the citizens of Strasbourg celebrated the declaration of war to Austria in April 1792.[31] The masses cheered when revolutionary mayor Friedrich Dietrich read the declaration, and responded enthusiastically to they call to arms. In this respect, the Alsatians were no different from the rest of France, which soared with new, national sentiment.[32] In fact, it was in Strasbourg that the *Marseillaise* would be composed, upon request of its mayor Dietrich, as *Kriegslied für die Rheinarmee.*[33]

But the relationship with France developed far from harmoniously: the Alsatians may have identified with France, but this does not mean that the French identified with the Alsatians: the province fit oddly within the nation, due to its German language, its Protestantism, and its intimate connection to the lands on the other side of the Rhine. Over the years, the French would make increasing efforts to Frenchify the region. During the Jacobin Terror, Dietrich was amongst the first to fall prey to the guillotine. Painfully enough, his execution can be attributed to the aforementioned

[28] See Chapter 3 for Stoeber's biography of Oberlin. Goedeke, *Grundriss,* 66. Hartweg calls Oberlin a founder of dialectology. Hartweg, „Sprach-, Kultur- oder Willensnation?", 404.
[29] Goedeke, *Grundriss*, 66; Cooren shows how three different members of this society represent three different ways of dealing with the Alsatian national ambiguity: Cooren, "Sources of the Nation", 278.
[30] Erbe, *Das Elsass,* 103.
[31] D. E. Stoeber, *Bemerkungen über das Elsass* (Strasbourg, 1814), 10.
[32] Erbe, *Das Elsass,* 105; L. Bergeron, F. Furet, R. Koselleck, *Das Zeitalter der Europäischen Revolution 1780-1848* (Frankfurt a.M., 1969), 56.
[33] Erbe, *Das Elsass,* 106.

Schneider.[34] Though we do not know if Stoeber knew Dietrich personally at all, the execution must have come as a shock to him. Stoeber commemorates Dietrich in his pamphlet from 1814.[35] In later texts, Stoeber also repeatedly refers to bloodthirsty Jacobins: Jacobinism, for him, had become synonymous with terror and suppression.[36]

Dietrich would be replaced with the French-speaking Pierre Monet, originally from the Savoye[37]: a telling choice, in line with the Jacobin efforts at centralization and frenchification. In fact, the representatives of the Revolutionary government in Alsace, in particular the persecutor Antoine Saint-Just, were rabidly anti-German.[38] Under his regime, from 1793 onwards, active measures were taken against expressions of 'Germanism', instigating distrust against German-speaking French citizens.[39] It is hard to picture the practical execution of such measures in a largely German-speaking province, but Saint-Just persisted, and did not shy away closing German schools, and even the university. Visible signs of German language were banned from public space, and some villages were given a new, French name.[40] Further, German-speaking officials were banned from office, even outspoken Jacobins, and Alsatian women were told to adapt their clothing to French fashions to demonstrate their loyalty.[41] French propaganda against Austria turned against the German-speaking Alsatians as well: they were suspected of being part of anti-Revolutionary conspiracies, siding with the Austrian army. Their loyalty to the Revolutionary ideals was questioned.[42] Around 20,000 Alsatians fled across the Rhine to escape the Terror.[43]

Considering the doubt in their loyalty, and bearing in mind the impact of the anti-German measures, it need not surprise that the initial revolutionary enthusiasm in Alsace gave way to increasing reactionary, anti-French or even pro-Austrian sentiments.[44] Especially in the Northern

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[34] *Ibid.,*105.
[35] Stoeber, *Bemerkungen*, 10;
[36] Stoeber, *Bemerkungen*, 14, 25.
[37] Cooren, "Sources of the Nation", 152.
[38] C.C. Ford, "Which Nation? Language, Identity and Republican Politics in Post-Revolutionary France", *History of European Ideas* 17 (1993), 31-46, 33-34. C.T. Dunlop, "Borderland Cartographies: Mapping the Lands between France and Germany, 1860-1940" (PhD Diss., Yale University, 2010), 134.
[39] Schönpflug and Voss, *Révolutionnaires et émígrés,* 87.
[40] Cooren, "Sources of the Nation", 153; Dunlop, *Borderland Cartographies,* 135. Stoeber's *Bemerkungen* also refers to this period: *'…trotz alle Bemühungen sie [die Sprache] auszurotten',* 6. The famous investigation of dialects by Grégoire was also done with to annihilate regional varieties and standardize French. J. Donovan, *European Local-Color Literature: National Tales, Dorfgeschichten, Romans Champetres* (New York, 2010), 139.
[41] Cooren, "Sources of the Nation", 153.
[42] Schönpfug and Voss, *Révolutionnaires et émigrés,* 88-89. Conspiracy theories were strikingly abundant during the French Revolution, see: T. Tackett, "Conspiracy Obsession in a Time of Revolution: French Elites and the Origins of the Terror, 1789-1792", *The American Historical Review* 105 (2000), 691-713.
[43] Erbe, *Das Elsass,* 107; numbers, however, vary. For example, J.Sistig speaks of 30,000 refugees. See: J. Sistig, "Sprache als Identitätsmuster in Liedern und Chansons. Deutsch-französische Imagologie im Spiegel elsässischer Mentalitätsgeschichte", *Lied und Populäre Kultur* 45 (2000), 121-150.
[44] Cooren, "Sources of the Nation", 164.

Alsace, the region least integrated in the French Republic, administrators noted that the population was Austrian, and 'detested the French Revolution'.[45] If this may have been true with regards to some Catholic communities, Stoeber's writings provide ample evidence that at least in his case, they were wrong: throughout his life, he insisted on the Revolutionary values in his writings, and his Frenchness was never an issue.[46]

After the phase of Terror, the Alsatian national sentiment was given a chance to recover. Upon the execution of Robespierre in July 1794, the Girondists took over in the National Convention.[47] Significantly, the Girondists revived the old thought of France as a hexagon, marked by natural borders such as rivers and mountains, the Rhine being a clear demarcation and Alsace falling within French territory. Following this line of thought, France ought to rule the lands left of the Rhine, including the German-speaking regions north of Alsace.[48] Accordingly, the French occupied the entire left bank, almost as far north as Nijmegen, over the period from 1792 to 1797.[49] The annexation marked a new phase in the development of the Republic, in which its military aspirations started to take over the revolutionary ideals.[50] In Alsace, the end of the Jacobin reign meant the ruthless anti-German policies loosened a bit, as the allies of the late Dietrich came to power again.[51] The regime change also entailed retribution: Eulogius Schneider was executed that same year.[52]

Another contribution to identification with the nation was made by Napoleon. His military successes won him great popularity in Alsace, which increased on par with his military successes.[53] In 1802, the Amiens treaty secured his dominion of the Rhineland, and reduced the Holy Roman Empire

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[45] Schönpflug and Voss, *Révolutionnaires et émigrés,* 89; Cooren, "Sources of the Nation", 165-167. The number of Alsatians in the army was, by comparison, much higher than that of other regions. M. Rowe, "France, Prussia, or Germany? The Napoleonic Wars and Shifting Allegiances in the Rhineland", *Central European History* 39 (2006), 611-640, 627. However, according to Sistig, there was, on the contrary, a strong patriotic movement in the Alsace, which was strengthened even further in response to the occupation of Strasburg in 1793. Sistig, "Sprache als Identitätsmuster", 136.

[46] Alsatian Catholics were particularly conservative, even in comparison to Catholics in Germany. This was due to strong influence of the Jesuit Order. Cooren, "Sources of the nation", 161.

[47] Bergeron c.s., *Das Zeitalter*, 93-94

[48] *Ibid.*, 91-3; Nordman, *Frontières,* 65-6; Dunlop, *Borderland Cartographies,* 92, M. Rowe, *From Reich to State. The Rhineland in the Revolutionary Age, 1780-1830* (Cambridge, 2003), 51.

[49] Rowe, *Reich to State,* 52-3.

[50] Dunlop, *Borderland Cartographies,* 92; Bergeron c.s., *Das Zeitalter*, 91-94. The latter argue that the wars were, in their initial phase, primarily motivated by a desire to secure the internal situation in France, and to affirm their international position, whereas at a later stage, the wars were more traditionally motivated, that is, steered power politics and the possession of strategic locations. Rowe's distinction between the revolutionary ideals of Robespierre, who allegedly focussed more on stabilizing the internal situation, and the Dantonist defence of natural borders, seems to support their interpretation. Dunlop speaks of revolutionaries turning into imperialists.

[51] Erbe, *Das Elsass,* 107.

[52] *Ibid.,* 106.

[53] Bergeron c.s., *Das Zeitalter*, 87.

to a shadow.[54] Napoleon's regime brought some calm in the local Alsatian government, too: the endless chain of successions amongst administrators was put to an end with two prefects who remained in position for four and eight years, respectively.[55] The relative stability in the region even facilitated moderate economic recovery.[56]

At the time the French Empire was proclaimed in 1804, Stoeber had graduated and started on his studies. Meant to succeed his father, he studied law, but had persisted in writing poetry. At twenty-seven, he and his friends published the *Alsatisches Taschenbuch* (1806).[57] In the tradition of the calendars and almanacs in the Rhineland, the *Taschenbuch* included a timeline, a calendar, and information on eclipses.[58] Otherwise, it was a collection of poems by 'Alsatians by birth or naturalized though their residence'. The booklet was dedicated to Gottlieb Konrad Pfeffel, who is hailed as the 'most worthy son of our Alsatian fatherland'.[59] But in spite of its title and this dedication, few of the poems in the *Alsatisches Taschenbuch* actually refer to any 'Alsatianness', or even mention a locality. The only exception is a travel report of a journey through Alsace, in which locality obviously does play a significant role. Otherwise, the books includes poems such as *Sehnsucht nach Gemütsruhe* ('Desire for calm') to *Lob des Ackerbaus* ('Praise of agriculture'), love-poems and poems on friendship. Dominant themes are love, philosophical musings, and nature; the collection clearly has characteristics of Early German Romanticism.

It is unclear what Alsace meant to the authors of the *Alsatisches Taschenbuch,* what it meant to be 'Alsatian', or when and how one could be 'naturalized'. The region was no longer an officially acknowledged territorial entity – that had been replaced by the departmental structure – nor, in fact, had it ever been a clearly demarcated region. It did not form political unity, either, and none of the authors seem to understand their Alsatianness in any cultural or linguistic terms. There is, in fact, one poem called *Andenken an die Heimat*, signed 'Mäder', but no reference to a specific *Heimat* is made. It features mossy waterfalls and nightingales, it recalls past springs, the innocence of childhood, and laments the passing of time, but mentions no actual locality.[60] It would apply to many a region with forests, and could as well have been about the Black Forest. Nonetheless, even if the *Heimat* remains

[54] T. Nipperdey, *Deutsche Geschichte 1800-1866: Bürgerwelt und starker Staat*, Vol I (München, 1985), 13-14.
[55] Erbe, *Das Elsass,* 109.
[56] There is some dispute of the reason for Napoleon's striking popularity in the Alsace: Sistig, for example, sees economic recovery as primary factor, while Cooren disputes the extent of that same recovery. Rowe nuances the picture by pointing to negative responses, arguing that Napoleon was far from univocal. Sistig, "Sprache als Identitätsmuster", 136; L. M. Vassberg, *Alsatian Acts of Identity: Language Use and Language Attitudes in Alsace* (Bristol, 1993), 15; Cooren, "Sources of the Nation", 28; Erbe, *Das Elsass,* 109; Rowe, *From Reich to State,* 87.
[57] D.E. Stoeber (ed.), *Alsatisches Taschenbuch für das Jahr 1806* (Strasbourg, 1806).
[58] J. Brophy, *Popular Culture and the Public Sphere in the Rhineland, 1800-1850* (Cambridge, 2008), 25.
[59] "geborene oder durch ihren Aufenthalt naturalisirte Elsasser": in Stoeber, *Alsatisches Taschenbuch,* 21.
[60] Stoeber, *Alsatisches Taschenbuch*, 133-135.

a vague impression of natural surroundings, it nonetheless carried enough importance to address it.[61]

Shortly upon his graduation, Stoeber married Luise-Dorothea Kuss, in 1807.[62] It was his second marriage; his first wife had died a year before, after they had been married for less than a year. Luise-Dorothea and Ehrenfried had their first child, August, in 1808, and seem to have made a happy family. In Stoeber's *Gedichte* from 1815, we find two love poems for '*meiner Louise*', and a poem called '*Vaterfreude',* a poem about his oldest son.

Sweet is my August
His two eyes are
As blue as violets
And golden his hair![63]

He sketches his '*Vaterfreude'* and family life in a poem to Adolf, the second oldest:

A young wife, neat and in good spirit
Three small boys, fresh as milk and blood
And a small hut
In the middle of which
I sit and sing, you Adolf mine,
What fatherly happiness brings to mind![64]

However, Stoeber had high expectations of his children. In the same poem, we read that Adolf should grow up to be brave and generous, share his bread with the poor, and stay true to Jesus' teachings. He even calls to his son to 'be proud of human rights / and fight for truth!'[65] Mind that Adolf, at the time of publication, was only five years old. Stoeber's own revolutionary enthusiasm seems to have kept the youthful (naïve?) vigour that it had when the Revolution broke out.

Strikingly enough, Stoeber did not share the Alsatian enthusiasm of Napoleon: in his *Bemerkungen über das Elsass,* a pamphlet from 1814 (probably August or September) he stated that

[61] This entity did have a long history, of course, as has been mentioned in the introduction: the histories of 'Alsace' date back to at least 1728, even if the Alsace did not form a clear political or territorial unity at the time.
[62] Witt and Erny, 44.
[63] ''Hold ist mein August / Sein Aeugeleinpaar/ Blau wie das Veilchen / Und golden sein Haar" D.E. Stoeber, *Gedichte* (Basel, 1815), 148.
[64] "Ein Weiblein schmuck und wohlgemuth / Drey Knäbchen, frisch wie Milch und Blut / Und eine kleine Hütte / In deren stillen Mitte / Ich sitz' und sing', du Adolph mein! / Was Vaterglück mir hauchet ein!", Stoeber, *Gedichte,* 151.
[65] "Sey stolz auf Menschenrechte! / Für Wahrheit im Gefechte!", Stoeber, *Gedichte,* 152.

the Alsatians fought in Napoleon's army less willingly even than the people from Baden.[66] More outspoken is a poem from 1812, published in a publication of poems from early 1815, presumably shortly after Waterloo. It is called *Ermünterung in bedrängten Zeiten*[67]*,* and in it, Stoeber literary speaks of the burden of despotism and of threatening laws by which a tyrant insults human freedom.[68] He also predicts that in due course an end will come to tyranny: "*Trust Nemesis! She strikes the hour / where no tyrant defiles the earth."*[69] He was right: Napoleon's failed campaign in Russia would turn the odds in favour of the Coalition powers. They were quick to launch campaigns against France, known as the 'Wars of Liberation' of 1813 and 1814.

The War of Liberation prompted a surge of propagandistic publications: in the German lands, nationalistic pamphlets and articles went ahead before the armies of the Coalition.[70] The most famous example is that of Ernst Moritz Arndt, who composed several poems and songs about the 'German' Rhine.[71] Other campaigns came from Görres, with his *Rheinische Merkur,* in which Jacob Grimm published a text on the Alsatians, arguing they were German. Though similar claims were found in other German papers, they hardly found resonance amongst the Alsatians. *Au contraire:* from what is known from the *Niederrheinischer Kurier*, the most popular local paper, Alsatians seemed to foster strong French nationalist feelings.[72] In fact, the south-German press offensive would backfire: rather, it drove a wedge between the Germans and the Alsatians, whose French pride was offended. Stoeber provides an interesting example of the results of the press campaigns. The following two sections show how he deals with nation, region, land and fatherland in *Bemerkungen über das Elsass.*

1.2 *Bemerkungen über das Elsass*

In 1814 Stoeber could no longer allow the 'insults' of the German papers. In a pamphlet *Bemerkungen über das Elsass, veranlasst durch Deutsche Zeitungsartikel* ('Comments about Alsace, prompted by German newspaper articles'), he defended Alsace and the Alsatians against the claims and allegations from several German papers. The pamphlet starts out with a lamentation of war, in

[66] Stoeber, *Bemerkungen*, 10. *Bemerkungen* is not dated precisely, nor could I find any responses to it. However, Stoeber comments on papers he dates to July 1814, so *Bemerkungen* must have been written after that.
[67] The preface to the book dates it to *Frühjahre 1815.*
[68] D. E. Stoeber, *Gedichte*, 169-70.
[69] "*Vertraut der Nemesis! sie schlägt die Stunde / Wo kein Tyrann die Erde mehr befleckt."*
[70] Erbe, *Das Elsass,* 112; Rowe, "France, Prussia, or Germany", 632.
[71] G. Kunz, *Verortete Geschichte: Regionales Geschichtsbewußtsein in den deutschen Historischen Vereinen des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Göttingen, 2000), 195; Cooren, "Sources of the Nation", 249.
[72] Cooren, "Sources of the Nation", 249-250; Erbe, *Das Elsass,* 112. Of course, it is difficult to estimate to what extent this is representative, as censorship under Napoleon was strict, and the different stances of the newspaper vary substantially. For example, while Cotta's paper is generally 'impartial', it is in his *Allgemeine Zeitung* that we find a particularly outspoken anti-Alsatian text, quoted, but taken over without any comment.

which Stoeber makes clear how fragile peace is: the hatred of brawlers suffices to destroy it. From the outset, he makes clear that in principle, no people can claim a country at all, as every country belongs to humanity, 'like the earth also has only one sun, and just like the breast of every good person holds the same god'. At the same time, the text is a rallying cry to Alsatians to resist the German arguments, and a defence of their French nationality. For Stoeber, the French nationality of Alsatians is undisputed: as a political fact, the membership of a nation is unambiguous, and unproblematic – one would almost say a-political. That said, the love for his fatherland and '*Vaterstadt'* had apparently been harmed to such degree that he could no longer look away. In *Bemerkungen*, Stoeber quotes lengthy pieces from various German papers from March to June 1814, that is, around the end of the war of the Sixth Coalition; and undertakes to refute their arguments.

In the text, Stoeber uses the terms 'land', 'nation', 'fatherland', but seems to identify with different regions, depending on his focus. His French nationality, of course, is relatively clear, but it also seems less prominently present than the regions and places he names. Focussing upon regions in Stoeber's text reveals several different 'regionalities', and shows that he alternates naturally between them depending on context, seemingly without any hierarchical structure. Interestingly, the Upper Rhine region is the first region Stoeber refers to: in response to a quote from the *Allgemeine Zeitung* (*AZ*), he points to the linguistic similarities in the region. The *AZ* calls the Alsatians 'degenerate', and *'widerliches Zwitterwesen'* (disgusting hybrids):

'It is striking that perhaps nowhere else one finds a spirit (but this word is too good) so averse to the German cause and Germany, as in this Alsace, a degenerate part of the German family, that has stopped to feel German, but without having gained the amiability of the French for it; a disgusting hybrid!'[73]

Stoeber starts by questioning what makes the Alsatians 'degenerate'. He does so by pointing to the linguistic similarities in the Upper Rhine region. He resists the term 'dialect', and speaks instead of a shared 'Alemannic language', that has its 'fatherland' in Schwaben, canton Basel and Alsace. He refers to Johann Peter Hebel, famous for his Alemannic poetry, who had become the figurehead of the region and its dialect.[74] Stoeber pities the author from *AZ* for judging Alsace and its people (*Volk*) without knowing it, and ridicules the accusations as strokes from a young and beardless officer. Notwithstanding the Alemannic region, the Alsatians are *French* when Stoeber concludes the

[73] „Auffallend ist es, daß vielleicht nirgend ein der deutschen Sache und Deutschland so abholder Geist (doch ist dieß Wort zu gut) gewahr wird, als in diesem Elsaß, dem entarteten Familientheile Germaniens, der aufgehört hat deutsch zu fühlen, ohne darum das Liebenswürdige des Franzosen erworben zu haben; ein widerliches Zwitterwesen!", cit. In Stoeber, *Bemerkungen,* 5; *Allgemeine Zeitung* 101, 11-04-1814, 403.
[74] Stoeber, *Bemerkungen*, 6.

paragraph*: "Bei uns in Frankreich sind die Bauern Menschen."*[75] Being part of one region, even one that transcends national borders, does not conflict with Stoeber's nationality, it seems.

Neither is it a problem for Stoeber to be a French *patriot* while also speaking German. The German correspondent might *expect* Alsatians to willingly surrender, 'because they speak German', but amongst their ranks, he will find no 'traitors or weaklings.' Stoeber sides the Alsatians with the Swiss, both noble and courageous peoples, who have repeatedly fought together. Stoeber laments that the Swiss and Alsatians did not fight together on the 10th of August 1792: together, they might have been able to defend and save the king.[76] He refers to the Swiss Guard, which was a major force in the defence of the royal palace against the revolutionaries in 1792, when the French monarchy fell. Louis XVI, though not named explicitly, is called a martyr for freedom. In one paragraph, Stoeber closes the ranks of Swiss, Alsatians and French, to protect them against German claims. The last paragraph calls for the Alsatians to resist the whispers from foreign lands.[77]

The interconnectedness within the Upper Rhine region is also demonstrated by the refutation of a text from the *Lahrer Intelligenz- und Wochenblatt*; the *Lahrer* offers insight in the propaganda and the lively rumours of the times. Stoeber feels urged to defend Alsace against the accusation that an appeal had been spread, calling up to no longer visit Baden-Baden and the spas, due to the presence of allied troops in the region. The accusation ridicules this expression of false patriotism, and states the Badeners would rather have the French stay away, then to constantly be hindered by their presence, and without the 'disgusting sight of French lucky devils weighting upon them'.[78] In fact, the *Lahrer* would rather see the interdiction to be extended to include all of Germany, so that the French would stay in their own country.[79] Stoeber starts out by saying that in spite of numerous enquiries, he had been unable to find proof of any such appeal circulating in Strasbourg, and that he must hold the authors claims for lies until they have been proven.

In response to the *Lahrer*, Stoeber also shows that the Alsatians were looking primarily to Baden, in an almost literary sense. Most Alsatians were more familiar there, then in the Savoye and the Vosges, even. When the *Lahrer* suggests that the Strasburger should find their way to the spas of Aix (in the Savoye) and Plombières (in the Vosges), Stoeber retorts that most Strasburger would not

[75] Stoeber, *Bemerkungen*, 7.
[76] It is puzzling that Stoeber seems to hold on to monarchic ideals, in spite of the republican convictions of most revolutionary liberals.
[77] Stoeber, *Bemerkungen*, 11-12.
[78] "*…ohne bei jedem Schritte durch den widerlichen Anblick französischer Glückspilze beklemmt zu werden…",* Stoeber, *Bemerkungen*, 16-17.
[79] *Ibid.*, 17.

even know how to find their way there, whilst the ways to *"Baden-Baden, der Hub, Griesbach, Petersthal, Rippoltsau und Antogast"* are common knowledge amongst them.[80]

Stoeber feels part of a region that is bigger than Alsace, but this regionality is less prominent than the Alsatian. 'Alsace' is characterised as a 'middle land', a 'Mittelland', with France and Germany (!) referred to as its 'neighbouring' states'.[81] He compares Alsace to other border regions: are people from Holstein, who are Danish, hybrids, he asks rhetorically, because they speak German? Stoeber stresses that the Alsatians embrace French as well as German achievements. He speaks of authors, *Geist*, and of achievements (*Verdienste*), seeing it as a virtue of the Alsatians that they strive to combine the best of both worlds:

"Are we disgusting hybrids because we, as a middle country, are relentlessly striving to become familiar with the achievements of each of both neighbouring countries, and to appropriate them?"[82]

Stoeber provides numerous examples of Alsatians travelling through France *and* Germany, such as artisans and traders, but intellectuals, too. At that point, however, he does address, implicitly, a contrast between Alsatianness and Frenchness:

"… and in contact with the most intellectual Frenchmen tries to appropriate as much from the amiability of this nation, as is reconcilable with Alsatian power, consistency and dignity? And because of that, we would be disgusting hybrids?"[83]

Apparently, there is a limit to the 'Frenchness' an Alsatian can incorporate. The passage from which the above quotation has been taken, describes a young Alsatian who studies at a German university, and then decides to go to Paris to 'improve his taste' and 'increase his knowledge' – we can only speculate to what extent Stoeber, who studied in Paris as well as in Erlangen, was describing his own experiences.[84] By bringing up this contrast between 'amiability of this nation' and the 'Alsatian power, stateliness and worth', Stoeber demonstrates an interesting understanding of Alsatian and French relations: while the French nation may be the Alsatians political fatherland, the Alsatian character distinguishes Stoeber from his fellow citizens.

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[80] Stoeber, *Bemerkungen*, 22. Uli Däster names Peterstal and Griesbach as places where Hebel, the German/Swiss poet would have met his friends from Strasbourg. U. Däster, *Johann Peter Hebel in selbstzeugnissen und Bilddokumenten dargestellt* (Hamburg, 1973), 95.
[81] Stoeber, *Bemerkungen*, 8.
[82] "Sind wir widerliche Zwitterwesen, weil wir, als ein Mittelland, unablässig darnach streben, uns mit den Verdiensten eines jeden der beyden Nachbarstaaten bekannt zu machen und dieselben anzueignen?", *ibid.,* 8.
[83] "…und im Umgange mit den geistreichsten Franzosen sich von der Liebenswürdigkeit dieser Nation so viel zu eigen zu machen strebt, als mit elsässischer Kraft, Stätigkeit und Würde vereinbar ist? Und darum wären wir widerliches Zwitterwesen?", *ibid.,* 9.
[84] *Ibid.*, 8-9; Witt and Erny, *Les Stoeber,* 42-3.

Being 'a middle land' is not only an opportunity for the Alsatian himself: Alsace, at the same time, makes itself useful for the neighbouring states: Stoeber stresses that the 'intellectual transit trade' makes the transition from one country to another easier, the contrast between both countries less glaring. He points to the many diplomats who originated in Alsace as an illustration of its functionality.[85] In one of the later fragments, this theme recurs in a call for mutual understanding between German and French people: if the two nations hate another, it is because the other is unknown. The Alsatians, according to Stoeber, experience this on a daily basis.[86]

Stoeber is far from consistent in his terminology: when referring to the nations *Verdienste* (achievements) he refers to songs and literature. France and Germany both figure as *neighbours* of Alsace, suggesting a certain equality of the three, while earlier, when discussing the insults to a people (*Volk*) and their rights (*Rechte*), the Alsatians were French, and the German accusations were denoted as coming from a foreigner, who had *not visited the land* (Alsace).[87] Later in the text, he refers to France as his 'political fatherland'.[88] The prominence of the political in his understanding of French nationality, might explain why Stoeber sees no conflict between being French, Alsatian and Alemannic: the other regions do not make political claims; they demand no 'nationality'. The notion of 'nationality' is rather thin, referring to citizenship. However, as we will see, his understanding of nationality is broader.

For Stoeber, citizenship, and with it, nationality, is distinct from governments. He distances himself and his fellow Frenchmen from Napoleon's conquests. He argues that the Alsatians did not want to fight for or with Napoleon, speaking of *heillose Eroberungskriege* ('hopeless wars of conquest') and of *schandliches Gewalt* ('shameful violence'). Stoeber claims to speak on behalf of all Frenchmen when he denounces Napoleon's attempts at *Universalmonarchie* (world domination) – considering Napoleon's general popularity, this is a bold claim.[89] In fact, the reason for Napoleon's fall was French resistance. The people did not tolerate the violation of their freedom and dignity:

"He [Napoleon] fell, because he would wrest from humanity the freedom of press, of thought, of trade, in short, every kind of freedom, the most sacred good; he fell as every monarch will fall, who does not honestly heed human dignity, that is, the people's majesty. Hail you, Alexander! Hail you, modest, thinking, Friedrich

[85] Stoeber, *Bemerkungen*, 9.
[86] *Ibid.*, 23.
[87] *Ibid.*, 7.
[88] *Ibid.*, 9.
[89] *Ibid.*, 13.

Wilhelm! Hail you, good-natured, charitable Franz! Hail you, Maximilian von Bayern, so unforgettable to us from Strasbourg!"[90]

With this line of thought, he immediately refutes the claim of the *Lahrer* that the French are sore losers: the French never lost a war. Napoleons dark plans were never those of the French people, nor did the French ever cause the murderous scenes in Spain and Germany. Thus, in Stoeber's opinion, the French people, after twenty-two years of war, are still standing, 'strong, glorious and beaming'.[91]

After this exhibition of French national pride, Stoeber directly addresses the *liebe Deutsche Nachbarn* ('dear German neighbours') when he expresses the hope that they will be spared anything like the Jacobin Terror. Jacobinism, he argues, is hatred that has been mistaken for patriotism. He continues to stress that the Alsatians do not hate Germans, and speaks instead of brotherly love (*Bruderliebe*) that surrounds Germans living in Alsace. Again, he refers to Hebel, addressing the poet as a partner in conversation. Hebel did not hate the Alsatians, either. Stoeber concludes by stating that the Alsatians live in the happy belief that the 'better Germans' (Hebel being a prime example) do not hate them.[92]

Stoeber does not see nationality as a source of hatred, or even tension. In fact, he seems to think that a German nationality would lessen the antagonism towards France. France would cease to be threatening, Stoeber holds, if only Germany had its own nationality. His understanding of nationality here appears to be closely tied to cultural expressions, a seeming opposition to his earlier argument: here, he calls upon Germans to speak German and not imitate French customs and fashion, to commemorate national heroes and not grovel to French generals. Only then would Germany become a nation, and would an equal relationship and understanding become possible.[93]

The text ends with a repeated appeal to the Alsatians, to be proud of their fatherland, to never let hatred rise amongst them, to be simple and loving, and loyal to the king. In this last appeal, the Alsatian land is characterised, with the Strasbourger cathedral in the middle:

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[90] "Er [Napoleon] fiel, weil er die Preßfreyheit, die Denkfreyheit, die Handelsfreyheit, kurz die Freyheit jeder Art, also das heiligste Gut der Menschheit entreißen wollte; er fiel wie jeder Monarch fallen wird, der nicht der Würde des Menschen, das heißt, der Volks-Majestät aufrichtig huldiget. Heil dir, edler Alexander! Heil dir, schlichter, denkender, Friedrich Wilhelm! Heil dir, gutmüthiger, menschenfreundlicher Franz! Heil dir, uns Straßburgern so unvergeßlicher Maximilian von Bayern!" Stoeber, *Bemerkungen,* 24. Czar Alexander had pressed Louis XVIII to accept the new constitution in 1814, which was presumably the reason to see him as a champion of freedom. R. Alexander, *Re-Writing the French Revolutionary Tradition: Liberal Opposition and the Fall of the Bourbon Monarchy* (Cambridge, 2003), 2.

[91] Stoeber, *Bemerkungen*, 24.

[92] *Ibid.*, 25.

[93] *Ibid.*, 14.

"Alsatians! frequently look towards your Vosges, to your Rhine! Often climb the proud cathedral tower, the peaks of your mountains; roam your valleys, your woods, your wheat fields, your fruit gardens and vineyards; enjoy your beautiful fatherland…"[94]

It is the *Alsatians* Vosges, *their* Rhine, *their* mountains and valleys, *their* forests and fields, *their* gardens. This is what, apparently, makes up their beautiful fatherland. Stoeber appeals here to an 'emotionally defined spatial category', and establishes an 'imagined territory', with specific natural characteristics.[95] However, this imagined territory coexists with France and the Alemannic region.

1.3 *Es habe Nationalität!*

'Fatherland', and *Väterlandisch* ('fatherlandic') occur only rarely in *Bemerkungen*: three times in Stoeber's own text, and a few times more in the texts he cites. The first occurrence is to Alsace as his own fatherland, the next as that of Pfeffel. The third occurrence is more interesting: in the context of the Alemannic language, Stoeber refers to a 'fatherland' of the Alemannic language. This 'fatherland' is a region that encompasses parts of the newly self-aware nations, but transcends them. It consists of Schwaben, the German-speaking parts of Switzerland and Alsace. The link between these regions is affirmed throughout the text, constructing a transnational region. The references are mostly cultural, some socio-economical: the presence of German books in the library of Strasbourg, for example, or the reference to travelling tradesmen and craftsmen. Also, recall the reference to a transnational consciousness of young French intellectuals amongst whom studying in Baden or Schwaben is common, and the said brotherhood between Badeners and Alsatians. Yet, the word 'fatherland' is never used to refer *to the Alemannic region* as Stoeber's or indeed anyone's fatherland. As the 'fatherland of the Alemannic language', it seems primarily a spatial category, hosting a web of cultural associations.

In this context, the repeated reference to Hebel is interesting. Since the publication of his *Alemannische Gedichte* in 1803*,* Hebel had become to represent the Alemannic language, and does so to this day.[96] The popular regional discourse of the Alemannic space – a discourse that persists, for

[94] "Elsässer! blickt oft nach euerm Vogesus, nach euerm Rhein! Besteiget oft den stolzen Münsterthurm, die höhen euerer Berge; durchstreifet euere Thäler, euere Wälder, euere Weizenfelder, euere Frucht-, Obst-, und Weingärten; genießet euer schönes Vaterland…", Stoeber, *Bemerkungen,* 27.

[95] The definition of 'region' as 'emotionally defined spatial category' is only one of the definitions Núñez provides. These are not mutually exclusive: in the case of the Alsace, the legally defined territory existed and was (relatively) well established, and overlapped with the familiar space Stoeber appeals to. X.M. Núñez, "Historiographical Approaches to Sub-national Identities in Europe: a Reappraisal and Some Suggestions", in: J. Augusteijn and E. Storm, *Region and State in Nineteenth Century Europe: Nation-Building, Regional Identities and Separatism* (New York, 2012) 13-36, 15. The talk of 'imagined territory' represents the influence of the spatial turn, and in this case, ties up with Anderson's 'imagined communities'.

[96] K. Graf, "Regionale Identität im südbadischen Raum um 1800", in: A. Auernhammer and W. Kühlmann, *Zwischen Josephinismus und Frühliberalismus : literarisches Leben in Südbaden um 1800* (Freiburg i.B., 2002)

example, in the name of the *Alemannisches Institut* in Freiburg in Breisgau – can be traced back to his writings in Alemannic. Besides, the course of his life makes Hebel a prime representative of the region: born in Basel, he grew up spending the summers in Hausen im Wiesental in Baden, and was a student and later professor in Karlsruhe. His writings concern mostly Basel, the Wiesental, the Rhine, and occasionally mention Alsace. The calendars that Hebel became famous for where called *Rheinlandisch*, aiming at an audience along the banks of the Rhine – there is some indication that his fame stretched out well into Alsace.[97] Hebel was also part of a literary group called the *Oberrheinischer Dichterkreis,* which included the Alsatian Pfeffel.[98] Around Hebel, a network of intellectuals, including Stoeber, started to look to regional audiences, and cultivating their dialects.[99]

The region is dominantly present in Stoeber's early works, even in the places where they were published: the first publication that was entirely his own, was published first in Basel, then in Strasbourg and in Germany, by Cotta.[100] Like Jacobi and Pfeffel, he wrote for the 'Oberrhein': a collection of his poems from 1815 was received enthusiastically along the Rhine (*Vaterländische Rheinströmen*).[101] This book was entirely in German, without Alemannic or Alsatian verses, just like the *Alsatisches Taschenbuch* from 1806.[102] Stoeber maintained the *Mittelland*-position: the book contained a translation of Rousseau's Pygmalion, and a lengthy report of a journey to Switzerland, alongside a '*Lied auf den Bergen zu singen. Für Rheinländer',* and a poem after Hebel.

Yet, if *Bemerkungen* testifies an awareness of the Alemannic region, Alsace definitely holds primacy over it: Stoeber feels Alsatian and addresses his fellow Alsatians. He speaks of 'us, Alsatians'.[103] The Alsatian position, between two nations (Stoeber uses *Staat* or *Nation* to denote these)[104], is the central topic, be it as chance, or as threat. Alsace, by contrast, is never a *Nation*: the only more formal title used is '*Provinz'*, and that only occurs once. Instead, Alsace is mostly denoted as *Land:* an ambiguous term, which Stoeber uses in different senses. For example:

35-47, 42-45. Graf traces the origins of the *Alemannendiskurs* to Hebel, who presented himself as poet of that region.

[97] I have not been able to find any references to Hebel being read in the Alsace, apart from Stoeber himself. Nonetheless, some authors refer to his fame in the region: R. Minder, *Dichter in der Gesellschaft* (Frankfurt a.M., 1966), 108, 135-6, and one piece I downloaded earlier, but which is now unavailable online: B. Trachsler, "Johann Peter HEBEL et l'Alsace", a speech in Alemannic and French.

[98] A. Auerhammer and C.J.A. Klein, *Johann Georg Jacobi in Freiburg und sein oberrheinischer Dichterkreis 1784–1814* (Freiburg, 2001).

[99] Interestingly, the efforts of these early 'folklorists' focussed on production, not so much on studying and collecting. Their work fits more in Leerssen's 'productivity' phase, then in that of 'salvaging'.

[100] Stoeber states this in *Saemmtliche Gedichte,* in the preface.

[101] According to the preface of the second edition. Stoeber, *Gedichte,* 6.

[102] Stoeber, *Gedichte*, 5.

[103] "wir Elsässer", Stoeber, *Bemerkungen,* 12, 23, 25.

[104] "Staat": Stoeber, *Bermekungen,* 9; Nation: 9, 14, 22, 23, 26; Land: 14, but ambiguously.

"…denn jedes Land gehört der Menschheit an… (because every land belongs to humanity); "…weß Landes, Stande oder Religion…" (which land, estate or religion); "…Hass gegen ein ganzes Land, gegen eine ganze Nation…" (hatred against an entire country, an entire nation [in response to the call to hate Frenchmen, AV]); "…unser schönes, fruchtbares Land…" (our beautiful, fertile land [Alsace, AV])[105]

'Land', it seems, refers to any territorial extension, regardless of its political status or its culture, as in a *piece of land*. It is a neutral term, in contrast to *Vaterland,* which is mostly used for Alsace. Stoeber uses it once, as well, for France, but adds the adjective '*political'*. The use of 'Mitburgern' to denote fellow Frenchmen illustrates the same priority of the political.[106] By contrast, the adjective '*einheimisch*' (indigenous or local) is used for Alsatian poets (*einheimischen Dichtern*), namely Pfeffel and Nikolai.[107] '*Einheimisch'* is used once more, when Stoeber calls upon the Germans to not forget their own national pride:

"… do not forget the native, national achievements so easily! do not grovel in the antechambers of French ministers and generals…"[108]

"Einheimische, väterlandische" is used as though the two are synonymous. In spite of the outspoken defence and pride of France, Stoeber's vocabulary, then, seems to hint at a priority of Alsace as *Vaterland,* as *einheimisch,* while 'Nation' refers to France and the German lands. 'Nation' is understood politically, and refers to citizenship. Loyalty to the Alsatian 'fatherland' does not preclude loyalty towards the French 'fatherland', of which the membership is political.[109]

Lastly, Stoeber's text testifies of the importance of having a nationality, in so far as the quotation above is part of a call to the German nation to be proud of its own deeds, its own authors, and to become conscious of its nationality. *Deutschland sey endlich einmal Deutschland! Es habe Nationalität!*, Stoeber exclaims.[110] Interestingly, this 'nationality' seems not to refer to political unity necessarily: the quote is part of Stoeber's refutal of the *Deutsche Blatter,* and continues as follows:

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[105] Quotations respectively from pages: 4,7,14,15.

[106] Stoeber, *Bemerkungen*, 10. Otto Dann warns against interpreting 'Burger' to widely: like 'patriotism' it was, originally, only applicable to republics. Ergo, it is a strictly political notion. O. Dann, *Nation und Nationalismus in Deutschland 1770-1990* (München, 1993), 39.

[107] Einheimisch: *Bermerkungen,* 8.

[108] "… vergesse minder schnell einheimische, vaterländische Verdienste! krieche nicht in den Vorzimmern französischer Minister und Generäle…", Stoeber, *Bemerkungen,* 14.

[109] This is a pattern noted by many authors writing on the Alsace. Cooren, "Sources of the Nation", 278-9; though referring to a somewhat later period, Sistig "Sprache als Identitätsmuster", 139-40. The change in attitude towards two 'fatherlands', and a developing dichotomy between '*französischem Patriotismus und elsässischer Heimatverbundenheit"* is the point of departure for his analysis, as he states on page 125. Also: L. Kern, "Les identités de l'Alsace."

[110] Stoeber, *Bemerkungen*, 14.

"…do not imitate the French fashions! Speak German in the courts and in the circles of nobles! do not be ungrateful towards the excellent authors of the German nation!"[111]

Nationality is ambiguous after all, even if for Stoeber, his Frenchness goes undisputed. Throughout the texts, there are hints that the nation consists of more than political membership: it draws from literary achievements, language and a sense of pride. While Stoeber did not see the problem yet, in due course, he would be confronted with the demand that the *Mittelland* would align its culture with its political identity.

[111] "…es [Deutschland, AK] äffe die französische Moden nicht nach! an seinen Höfen und in den Cirkeln der Vornehmen spreche man deutsch! man seye nicht undankbar gegen die ausgezeichnesten Schriftsteller der deutschen Nation!", Stoeber, *Bemerkungen,* 14.

2. Département Bas-Rhin

The French Empire ended with the Napoleon's abdication in April 1814. The victorious European powers united to restore order in Europe, to re-establish borders and look for a new government to succeed Napoleon – it soon became clear to them that this had to be a monarchy, and after lobbying from Talleyrand Louis XVIII was put forward. A new constitution, known as the Charter, was written and proclaimed in June. It mixed some of the revolutionary achievements with more conservative laws building on the *ancien regime*.[112] The Charter would provide the basis of a new phase of constitutional monarchy. In 1828, Stoeber would refer to this Charter in an ode to Charles X, in an enumeration of highlights of the Bourbon dynasty:

Loyalty has never left us; we cried glowing tears,
When the most rightful monarch died a martyr's death.
Henry's friendly image beams through the dark of ages;
Ludwig's Charter gave freedom, the most beautiful law![113]

The motif of Louis XVI dying as a martyr, which also figured in *Bemerkungen,* is repeated here. 'Heinrich' refers to Henry IV, the first monarch of the Bourbon dynasty.[114] Then comes 'Ludwig', the German name for Louis: his Charter gave freedom, the 'most beautiful law'. Stoeber's relationship with the monarchy is hard to grasp exactly: his early writings repeatedly praise monarchs for their wisdom and justice, as we saw in *Bemerkungen,* and in the ode above. On the other hand, he defends republicanism in later writings, and his support of the Charter suggests he would at least have preferred a constitutional monarchy. However, we have no writings in which he elucidates his convictions. Chapter 3 will try to look grasp these, drawing on what evidence can be found in his poetry and on his contacts within French political circles. There, it will become clear that at least the truth of his ode can be doubted.

The reinstatement of the monarchy was no easy feat. Firstly, France was recovering from the wars of the preceding decade. In Alsace, different cities and fortifications, such as that of Huningue, had been completely destroyed, others languished under the yoke of reparations and under the

[112] R. Alexander, *Re-Writing the French Revolutionary Tradition: Liberal Opposition and the Fall of the Bourbon Monarchy* (Cambridge, 2003), 2.
[113] "Treu' ist nie uns entflohn; wir weinten glühende Thränen, / Als den Märtyrertod starb der gerechteste Fürst. / Heinrichs freundliches Bild durchstralet das Dunkel der Zeiten; / Ludwigs Charte, sie gab Freiheit, das schönste Gesetz!" D.E. Stoeber, *Seiner Majestaet Karl dem Zehnten, Kœnig von Frankreich und Navarra, bei seinem Einzuge in Strassburg* (Strasbourg, 1828).
[114] My own interpretation, Stoeber speaks only of "Heinrich": partially due to the reputation of Henry IV, and because in a later poem, he refers to Henry IV as well. D.E. Stoeber, *Liederkranz fuer Kinder und ihre Freunde* (Strasbourg, 1827), 106.

burden of Austrian and Southern-German soldiers billeted in civilian houses.[115] The occupation lasted until 1818. During this period, the bonds to the other side of the Rhine were strengthened considerably. The influx of liberal refugees from Germany, and the presence of Austrian and Southern-German troops during the period of occupation intensified the contact.[116] Joseph von Görres, an outspoken liberal and one of the primary instigators of German propaganda to have Alsace 'liberated' from the French, was one of the liberal exiles.[117] Meanwhile, under the duress of tightened censorship, implemented primarily by the ultraroyalists in the government, the Alsatian *Bürgertum* resorted to reading German papers.[118]

When foreign armies withdrew in 1818, following the decisions taken during the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle,[119] political live in Alsace revived; Stoeber, now almost forty years old, started to become more involved in local politics, actively supporting the liberals. The next elections would demonstrate that the position of the monarchy had become nothing stronger.[120] Instead, those entitled to vote seem to have largely backed liberal politicians, be it from liberal conviction, or out of mere dissatisfaction with the monarchy, or in response to ultraroyalists, or, alternately, out of a nostalgia towards the Napoleonic Era.[121] At this point, in 1820, the heir to the Bourbon throne, the Duke of Berry, was assassinated in Colmar. Royalists claimed the action to have been the result of liberal conspiracies against the throne, in an attempt to regain support with a population that had become suspicious of secret societies and conspiracies, mostly of the societies of freemasons.[122] Their suspicions held some truth in so far as the masonic lounges usually were liberal bulwarks.[123] Stoeber provides a perfect illustration: on behalf of 'his' masonic lounge, Stoeber wrote a pamphlet for Maximilien Sébastien Foy.[124] Foy had been a military leader under Napoleon, had fought at

[115] Leuillot, *L'Alsace* I, 65, 76, 80.
[116] *Ibid.,* I, 171.
[117] Cooren, "Sources of the Nation, 249.
[118] C. W. Crawly, *The New Cambridge Modern History 9: War and Peace in an Age of Upheaval 1793-1830* (Cambridgem 1965), 188; Erbe, *Das Elsass,* 113; Cooren, "Sources of the Nation", 231; Leuilliot, *L'Alsace,* 189-90.
[119] P. Leuillot, *L'Alsace au debut du XIX siècle. Essais d'histoire politique, économique et religieuse (1815-1830),* Vol. III, (Paris, 1959), 171; Erbe, *Das Elsass,* 113.
[120] Alexander, *Re-writing,* 89; Leuillot, *L'Alsace* I, 249.
[121] Alexander, *Re-writing,* 122.
[122] *Ibid.,* 89.
[123] "Finally, freemasonry also played a critical role in Strasbourg's intellectual, social, and political life. In 1776-7, the "Philanthropische Gesellschaft," a freemason organisation, was founded to accelerate the diffusion of Aufldärung ideals. This organisation included prominent personalities as Saltzmann, Blessig, the Turckheim brothers, or future revolutionary mayor F. de Dietrich among its members." Cooren, "Sources of the Nation", 125; other literature attesting the link between liberals and masons: Alexander, *Re-writing,* 207; Witt and Erny, *Les Stoeber,* 45; Leuilliot, *L'Alsace* III, 213.
[124] According to Alexander, Stoeber was a member of *Loge des Coeurs fidèles*, while according to Witt and Erny it was *La Concorde*. (Alexander, *Re-Writing,* 207; Witt and Levy, *Les Stoeber*, 45)

Waterloo, and was celebrated for his courage. During the Restauration, he became a prominent liberal politician, known for his eloquence.

Little is known about Stoeber's exact connections within the Alsatian political network at this time: there are some references to him in the works of Leuilliot, but they are sparse, and Stoeber seems to have functioned as a sort of bard, delivering poems upon request, and occasionally delivering funerary speeches.[125] Every now and then he shows up in the margins, providing a translation or hymn to the appropriate politician. These poems and speeches show his integration in local liberal networks, but ideologically, Stoeber posited himself alongside liberals all over Europe and beyond. Culturally, however, his local Alsatian identity was becoming more pronounced.

This chapter will mostly look into Stoeber's development into a French nationalist *and* Alsatian regionalist. First, three political writings offer insight in Stoeber's integration into French politics, in line with his *political* identity as Frenchman. Secondly, two literary pieces testify of an emerging awareness of an *Alsatian* identity, over and against the self-understanding of a 'Middleland', as was central to the *Bemerkungen.* The first piece, a play about the 'apotheosis' of the Strasbourg citizenry, *Daniel,* shows the Alsatian region to be on par with that of other German regions, but not necessarily with any 'Germanity' in the sense of nationality. The second work is a songbook, which shows Stoeber's increasing attention to cultural phenomena characteristic of Alsace. Stoeber's national sentiments lie with France, but Stoeber's writings demonstrate the emergence of a primarily regional identity.

2.1 *Frankreichs Muttersegen*

The political climate in Alsace around 1820 was fragmented as in the rest of France. Since the censorship had been loosened, various political groups could find their expression in different journals and papers.[126] Within this humming hornet's nest, Stoeber sided with the liberals: he has been known to correspond with prominent figures such as Benjamin Constant, General Foy and Marquis de Lafayette, as well as local liberals such as George Humann, a deputy, Jacques Koechlin, an industrial and the rather moderate François Levrault, one of his publishers.[127] However, to determine his position on the scale from radical republicans and Napoleonic supporters to constitutional royalists, is another story. Three political writings from the Restauration period may help to identify his position in the Strasbourg political scene. The first, from 1821, is an ode to General Foy. Foy had been elected as a Deputy for the Aisne department. Foy was a celebrated war hero, and the eyes of

[125] Leuilliot, *L'Alsace* I*,* 123; 386.
[126] *Ibid.,* 209.
[127] *Ibid.,* I*,* 476, 386; Alexander, *Re-writing*, 61, 147, 161.

many, an exemplary patriot. During his time as a representative in Paris, he went on a tour to Alsace, visiting its main cities. The local liberals took the chance to claim Foy as their hero, taking the general's political position as a chance to flaunt their strength. Stoeber was amongst them at a banquet in Strasbourg, where he presented the General with a poem.[128] He did this more often, and seems to have established himself as a local poet, a kind of bard.[129]

The sons of Strasbourg cheer for you,
They cheer along in the motherly blessing of France,
And look up to you, grateful and glad.[130]

Stoeber's poem for Foy itself is general: a rapt ode, without too many concrete references to people, places or events. However, the metaphor of a 'Strasbourg's sons', with France figuring as both mother (*Muttersegen*) and father (*Vaterland*) seems to testify of a more intimate relation with France than *Bemerkungen.* His involvement is also shown by his presence at the banquet where Stoeber presented his poem to Foy: the occasion, in Strasbourg, was organised by and for radical liberals.[131] Amongst the guests of honour were the deputies of the Bas Rhin department, amongst whom Charles Lambrechts, a liberal politician and author. The banquet was organised (and funded, most likely) in part by wealthy industrials, who were typically liberal.[132] This particular banquet is attested by Pièrre-François Tissot, in his preface to the posthumously published works of Foy.[133] Tissot must have been a well-known face in the liberal ranks: he is listed as co-author of the journal *La Minerve française,* along with Benjamin Constant and Évariste Dumoulin, but also wrote an introduction to a songbook by Pierre-Jean de Béranger, another known liberal.[134] Tissot's report tells how, upon Foy's entrance, enthusiasm reached its peak, people chanting *Vive le general Foy!,* while war music played in the background. Tissot probably did not know Ehrenfried Stoeber: he does relate of the German poem, by:

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[128] Alexander, *Re-writing,* 164.
[129] For example, he wrote funerary odes for prominent figures, and sang songs at banquets. He was compared to the more famous Pierre-Jean Béranger. Leuilliot, *L'Alsace* I, 123, 304, 386, 474.
[130] „Straßburgs Söhne jauchzen dir entgegen, / Jauchzen mit in Frankreichs Muttersegen, / Schauen dankbar-froh, zu dir hinan." D. E. Stoeber, *Dem General Foy. Ueberreicht beim Banket zu Strassburg, den 29. Aug. 1821* (Strasbourg, 1821).
[131] Alexander, *Re-writing,*164 and E. Fureix, "De l'hommage funèbre à la prise de parole L'enterrement du général Foy (novembre 1825)", *Sociétés & Représentations* 12 (2001) 176-203, 195-196.
[132] Leuilliot, *L'Alsace* I, 302-3. Generally supporting the 'liberal-industrial-connection', but nuancing the picture, Pilbeam argues for acknowledgement of regional and social varieties, as exceptions to the rule. P. Pilbeam, "The Growth of Liberalism and the Crisis of the Bourbon Restoration, 1827–1830", *The Historical Journal* 25 (1982) 351-566, 356.
[133] M.P.F. Tissot, "Notice sur la vie de Général Foy", in: M. Foy, *Discours de General Foy* (Paris, 1826) I-CXXV.
[134] Alexander, *Re-writing,* 220-229, shows that Béranger was integrated into the liberal networks. *La Minerve*, the journal they cooperated on, was liberal-Bonapartists. *Ibid.,* 115.

Ehrenfied Stoeben: a sloppy mistake. Though it may simply be a printing error, two mistakes within one name suggests the two were not familiar. Had they known one another, they probably would have gotten along: the image of Alsace Tissot presented, would have flattered Stoeber. Alsace, in Tissot's account, is hailed as the 'boulevard of France', and portrayed as a deeply patriotic province. He gets carried away, though, when he presents Alsace as a land of 'city rights, equality of cults, division of properties and the absence of privilege'.[135] History was not taken all too seriously, it seems: focussing on Foy's *triomphe,* Tissot forget to mention that the response to the general was not quite as enthusiastic in Colmar and Ribeauvillé… Strasbourg was a relatively liberal city, but this was not representative for Alsace in its entirety.[136]

The second place that sheds light on Stoeber's political stance is a poem to Charles Lambrechts, one of the deputies of the Bas-Rhin. The poem was published in 1823, along with Stoeber's German translation of Lambrechts' own *Notice trouvée dans les papiers de M. le comte Lambrechts et publiée par son héritier,* published earlier that year. Considering the contents of Lambrechts' *Notice*, Stoeber's admiration for Lambrechts need not surprise. For example, his '*love of liberty, his hate of arbitrariness'* had, as Lambrechts recalls, grown on him while visiting several German universities, as rector of the University of Leuven.[137] The brief autobiography, which relates how Lambrechts made career as official under the French, later Napoleonic regimes. As soon as he became an official, *he was nothing but a French citizen, and proud of it.*[138]

However, what Lambrechts wanted to share on his deathbed (he died in August 1823) is of religious nature: it is a piece he wrote earlier, an attestation of his belief in God, and the necessity to believe in God in order to be moral. The fragment ends with a statement that defends religious freedom: "In addition, no one has the right to demand that I account for my religious sentiments"[139] Lambrechts hopes to die in a free country, under a genuine constitutional government. That, he states, was his pursuit throughout his life. Lambrechts seems to have shared many of Stoeber's ideas, especially on religion and tolerance – ample reasons, therefore, for Stoeber to translate his text and spread it to the German-speaking lands.

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[135] Tissot, "Notice", LX.
[136] Leuilliot mentions Foy avoided Ribeauvillé after a counterdemonstration in Colmar. Leuilliot, *L'Alsace* I, 306.
[137] C.J.M. Lambrechts, *Notice trouvée dans les papiers de M. le comte Lambrechts et publiée par son héritier* (Paris, 1823), 3.
[138] "…je n'étais plus que citoyen français", Lambrechts, *Notice trouvée*, 4.
[139] "Au surplus, personne n'a le droit de me demander compte de mes sentiments religieux.", Lambrechts, *Notice trouvée,* 6.

Stoeber's translation is complemented with a poem to Lambrechts, as a 'flower on his grave'. The homage is rather generic, but it does provide insight in Stoeber's ideology and his intellectual background. Especially one (out of five) of the paragraphs is interesting:

There, where Socrates lives, and the Catonians,
There, where Winkelried and Tell,
Franklin, Barneveld and Sidney live,
Near the untarnished source of light.[140]

The previous stanza deals with Lambrechts' place in heaven: heaven is the 'place of freedom and truth', but also the place where Socrates, Cato, Arnold von Winkelried, Wilhelm Tell, Benjamin Franklin, Barneveld (most likely: Johan van Oldenbarnevelt) and Algernon Sidney reside. The enumeration is stretches from ancient Greece and Rome to Switzerland, the United States, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom. All of the mentioned names refer to moral, political heroes, albeit that Winkelried and Tell are of a more legendary kind.[141] All of their names are associated in some way with freedom, against oppression, and where rhyme and metre allow him, Stoeber chooses people associated with the strife for religious freedoms, such as 'Barneveld'.

The last political poem, from 1821, requires some introduction: it is a lyrical hymn for Greece, which was fighting a war of independence against the Ottoman Empire. All over Europe, in France as well as in Germany, people enthusiastically supported the Greek cause, youngsters even setting off to volunteer in the battles.[142] The support mostly came from liberals: conservatives generally preferred to hold on to the status quo, and supported the Ottoman Empire. Stoeber's integration in liberal networks is affirmed by his attention to the theme, and shows how nationalist themes travelled and were taken up in several countries. In France, the Greek war provided an incentive to re-organise the liberal ranks.[143] The Greek cause was hotly debated in several liberal journals and papers, and served to provide a new sense of purpose. In Alsace, where the press was well developed across the spectrum, the issue would have received considerable attention.[144]

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[140] „Dort wo Socrates und die Catonen / Dort wo Winkelried und Tell, / Fränklin, Barneveld und Sidney wohnen, / An des Lichtes ungetrübten Quell.", D.E. Stoeber, *Eine Blume auf Lambrechts Graf* (Strasbourg, 1823), 9.
[141] Socrates and Cato can be interpreted as moral guides, standing for their principles against an oppressive regime, and so, too, Winkelried and Tell, two legendary medieval Swiss hero's. Franklin must refer to Benjamin Franklin, and be remembered here for his contribution to the American Declaration of Independence. Algernon Sidney, a British politician from the 17th century, represents the opposition to absolute monarchy.
[142] Dann, *Nation und Nationalismus,* 90.
[143] Alexander, *Re-Writing,* 208.
[144] Leuilliot holds that the press was predominantly liberal, and though Cooren seems to agree, he counts four liberal against five governmental papers. That said, he names the liberal *Courrier du Bas-Rhin* as the most influential. L. Trenard, "Paul Leuilliot, L'Alsace au début du XIXe siècle. Essais d'histoire politique, économique et religieuse (1815-1830).", *Revue du Nord* 188 (1966), 123-7, 126. Cooren, "Sources of the Nation", 282-3.

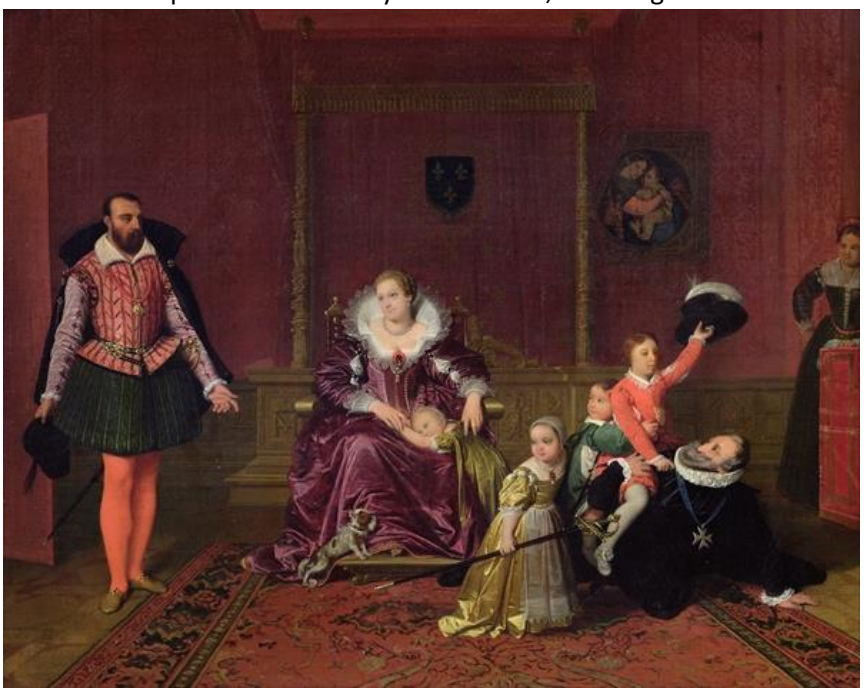
The hymn draws heavily on the glorious past of Greece, naming Homer, Socrates and Plato, and recalling Spartan and Athenian heroes. The awareness of this past, according to the poem, motivates the Greeks to fight for the freedom of the *Vaterland* – or die fighting to achieve it.[145] The other verses alternate between an anti-Islamic symbolism, which constructs a common European history of crusades, presenting Greece as the cradle of ancient Christianity, and on the other hand, the cultural importance of Greece, and its place in human history. In these verses, Stoeber speaks of 'humanity' (*Menschheit*) emerging from the dust of delusion (*des Wahnes Staube*) and of the earth rejoicing at Greece's power.[146] '*Hellas*' is, in fact, the 'cradle of humanity' (*Menschheit Wiege*); of 'all peoples' (*Allen Völkern*).[147] The earth, however, seems to exclude Asia, to which Stoeber wholeheartedly, banns the Muslim population.

2.2 *Rheinländischen Kinderwelt*

Stoeber's delight in being a father found expression in *Liederkranz für Kinder und ihre Freunde* (Songbook for children and their friends), dating to 1827. In part, the book continued on the path of his earlier *Gedichte* from 1815. However, the *Liederkranz* is the first of Stoeber's works that includes poems in Alsatian dialect: Stoeber had them added, because he knew 'they have already caused joy in the children's world of the Rhineland' (*Rheinländischen Kinderwelt*), according to the preface. Stoeber had been encouraged by how well Hebel's works had been received – though these were aimed at adults, they had brought dialect poetry to broader attention; Hebel had managed to make it fashionable. On top of that, the research into local legends and idiom by the Grimm brothers had caught international attention. There was even an Alsatian predecessor in dialect poetry: Daniel Arnold, a friend of Stoeber's, had published a play in Alsatian in 1816, called *Der Pfingstmontag*.[148] The *Liederkranz* is considerably more 'Alsatian', then its predecessor, even if it also addresses a larger audience, namely that of the Rhineland.

[145] D.E. Stoeber, "Griechenlands Erwachen" (Strasbourg, 1821), 1.
[146] Stoeber, "Griechenlands Erwachen", 1-2.
[147] *Ibid.*, 3.
[148] Witt and Erny, *Les Stoeber,* 53.

Except for eight Alsatian songs and poems, all text is in High German, and written to melodies of already existing *German* popular songs. In the preface, Stoeber places his songbook within the tradition of Christian Felix Weisse's children's songs: Weisse was a household name in Germany, so that Stoeber, in his own words, would already be happy with even a small part of the acclaim that Weisse received.[149] The topics of the songs vary widely, from Christmas and the four seasons to moralistic poems on virtuous behaviour, a song to be sung while walking to school, one about flying kites, a *Waldlied,* an ABC of natural history and a song about the Reformation. The latter refers to the man who likened God to a solid fortress (*feste Burg*), an obvious reference to Martin Luther.[150] There is also a poem about Henry IV 'as horse', referring to an anecdote about Henry IV playing with his children, having a Spanish diplomat wait for him to finish.[151] The anecdote must have been popular in France: Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres as well as Pierre Revoil depicted the scene in their paintings. Additionally, Stoeber permitted himself to include some songs and poems he wrote to his own children, out of sheer *Vaterfreude.*

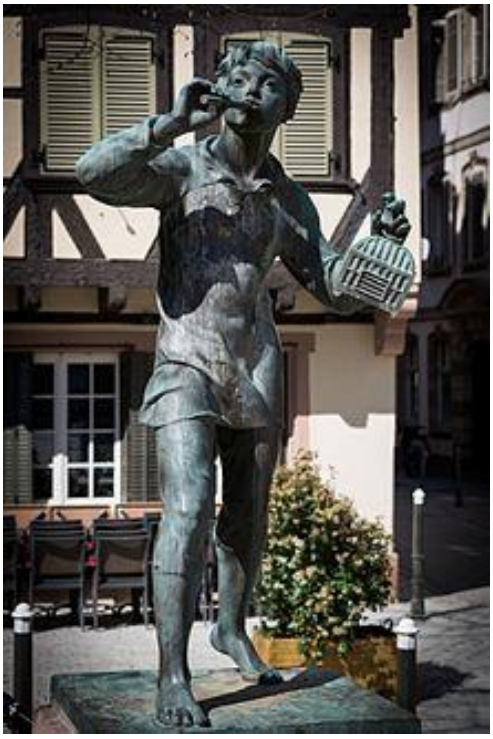


Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres (1817): Henri IV recevant l'ambassadeur d'Espagne (Ingrès, 1817)

Compared to *Gedichte,* Stoeber pays more attention to local culture in this book, especially in the dialect verses. Hence, I will limit myself to a discussion of the poems in Alsatian. There is a song, for example, about flying kites, which plays on the dialect word for 'kite', which is *Drache* (dragon). The poem starts with the fact that, while no dragons can be found in Alsace – and changes the meaning, saying people do make *'Drachen'*. There is also a song about *Habergeis,* snipes: relatively common birds in Alsace, especially in the floodland around the Rhine. There is a song about ships passing Alsace, which is referred to as '*heimatliches Land',* and one about the return of the storks to the *Heimat.* These storks are interesting, since they have become a symbol of Alsace in the

[149] D. E. Stoeber, *Liederkranz für Kinder und ihre Freunde* (Strasbourg, 1827), VII.
[150] *Ibid.,* 123.
[151] *Ibid.,* 106.

works of cartoonist and illustrator Hansi, and still feature on many souvenirs today.[152] While the storks do not yet play a main role, their presence in the background in one of the illustrations (see page 34), their being mentioned in passing, like coffee and *Stollen* on New Year's Day, and Easter eggs indicates that they were, at least in Stoeber's circles, perceived as something familiar, like those returning festivities; even, apparently, to an audience of children.[153]



Der Meiselocker (in Strasbourg)

Locality is more prominent in the Alsatian verses than in the German ones. For example, one of them is about a boy who likes to catch tits (*Meise*): this was a popular hobby in Alsace, where tits were commonly held as pets.[154] In the early twentieth century, this motive would recur in a fountain in Strasbourg, called the *Meiselocker.* Another, a 'fairytale', is a little longer, and grimmer, and clearly anti-semetic: it tells of a Jewish crook, who 'had flogged people up to bleeding', and who gets lost in the woods of Herenberg, near Obernai (*Owernäi*). The man is captured by a black horde as he counts his money, and his soul is tossed into hell. Next, a priest wonders off, pondering on the fate of the poor, he, too, gets lost. His fate, of course, is different. A white spirit follows him, and though the priest is afraid of this chalk-white woman, he follows the spirit and is taken safely home. The texts convey an atmosphere of proximity – partially due to the use of Alsatian, but also because of the topics.

This is even more explicit in 'The Alsatian on the cathedral of Strasbourg', a lengthy song of fourteen stanzas.[155] The song focusses literary on landmarks in the region, providing insight in the imagined territory of Alsace, constructing emotional ties to specific landmarks, such as vineyards and pine trees, the rivers Rhine and Ill, the Vosges, and cities such as Colmar and Hagenau. Throughout the song, the attention shifts back and forth from the beauty of the scenery to the people and their cities. The song starts with the vista from up on the cathedral: the narrator looks over valleys with

[152] I. Triby, " Manifestations of Cultural Change: Alsatian Identity between 1871 and the Interwar Period. Three Case Studies." (PhD Diss., University of Exeter, 2012), 46, 147.
[153] Pages in Stoeber, *Liederkranz:* Kaffee und Stollen*:* 3; Storchen: 6, Die Ostereier: 8.
[154] E. Martin, H. Lienhart (eds), *Wörterbuch der Elsässischen Mundarten* (Strasbourg, 1899), online under: http://woerterbuchnetz.de/cgi-bin/WBNetz/wbgui_py?sigle=ElsWB accessed, March 30, 2019.
[155] Stoeber, *Liederkranz,* 93-7.

villages and sees the mountains in the background. The focus lies on the beauty of Alsace: "'s Elsaß isch gar se scheen!".

The attention then shifts to the industriousness in the villages and cities: traders trade, preachers preach, and farmes harvest; zooming out again, the river Ill and the Vosges, two main determinants of the Alsatian landscape, come to sight. These landmarks are given a personality: the Ill looks lovingly (*in ieri blaue verliebti Gickle*) at the vineyards; the Vosges, covered with singing birds, look down onto the valleys with a belly full of iron, 'to protect us all'.[156] The Vosges have a son, Belchen, and a girlfriend, Mount Odilia. The Belchen is actually in the Black Forest, but constitutes part of a familiar horizon.[157] Part of the panorama are seven cities: the narrator names Hagenau and Huningue, and the riches of Mulhouse, where people 'know how to save money'.[158] Colmar is named as Pfeffels' hometown, and a glass of wine is raised in his honour. The sun sets as Schlettstadt comes in sight, but there is still enough time for two verses singing praise to Strasbourg: no words would suffice to do justice to the battles the city withstood, it's flourishing art and crafts, and it's *Studiererei.* The narrator 'runs through the meadows', to bring greetings to the people of Wissenburg, and only slows down when he reaches the Queich, the end of the Alsatian '*Reich',* in the last paragraph.

The attention to a rural life, and natural phenomena also permeates *Abendlied* (evensong). It is set to the melody of *Willkommen o seeliger Abend,* a popular German song, but has been re-written for Alsace: it features the Bruche (*Brischschel*), a quiet brook, golden trees and the moon shining on the houses: houses in which people sleep in spite of their everyday worries. Next, the *Liederkranz* features an Alsatian roundelay (*Elsässischer Rundgesang*). Unlike the other songs, this roundelay has no reference to an existing melody. Instead, the suggestion is to sing it to an original melody (*eigene Melodie*). There is, in other words, no German musical framework. The roundalay testifies, in general, a strong appeal to an Alsatian regional identity:

We now sing of our country,
Another may sing of his,
But excuse us, we feel that,
None equals Alsace!

Choir: No none![159]

[156] Stoeber, *Liederkranz,* 94.
[157] *Ibid.*
[158] *Ibid.,* 95.
[159] "Wir singen nun von unserm Land, / Ein Andrer sing' von seinem, / Wir meinen aber, mit Vergunst, / Das Elsaß weiche keinem. / Chor: Nein, keinem!" *Ibid.,* 103.

'We now sing of our country', runs the first line. The text is not particularly original: it is a praise of Alsace as the best of countries (*Land*). The stanzas, in order of appearance, praise the Alsatian mountains – to which other country's mountains are only dwarfs – and it's fine rivers, the Rhine and Ill. Elsewhere, rivers are murky (*trüb*). Further, the stanzas sing of the riches of the land, its good people, its art, its trade, and its literature. The appeal to a shared Alsatianness, however, goes beyond such references to a common horizon: it is strengthened even by the nature of the song. As a roundelay, it functions only with a group repeating the last few words. The song has to be sung with a group. Note, however, that while the song was intended for Alsatians, the first (and last) verse stress that others may sing of *their* countries.

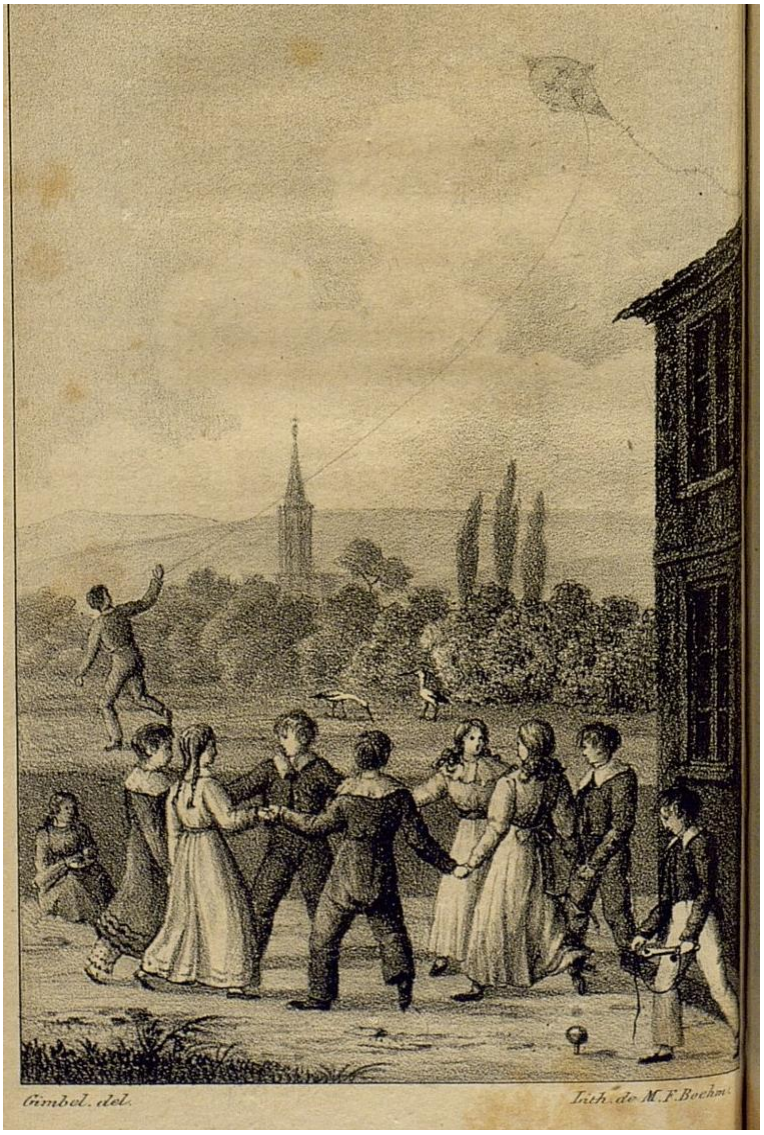


Illustration from Liederkranz, 95. Pay attention to the stork in the background.

The last song in Alsatian is about Hebel's death, in 1826: the river Ill mourns over the deceased poet.[160] It is difficult to find anything about the reception of Hebel in Alsace, apart from a few references of his death in newspapers. To what extent this dialect-piece addressed Alsatians, or was aimed rather at a German or Swiss audience, remains uncertain. Considering the number of personal poems, for example, poems and songs to Stoeber's children, the publication of this poem in the *Liederkranz* might also be interpreted as a personal homage to the man who motivated Stoeber to start writing in *Elsässisch.*

[160] Stoeber, *Liederkranz,* 109.

2.3 *Der Straßburger auf der Probe*

In 1823, seven years after his friend Arnold published *Der Pfingstmontag,* Stoeber published his own dialect theatre piece, called *Daniel, oder der Straßburger auf der Probe.* The play is about a waiter in a hotel, who is in love with a girl and hoping to marry her once he saves enough money. The plot centres around his sister Friderike's quest to find her lover, August Rosenthal, who she has lost out of sight. Of course, there is a 'villain', a seemingly deeply religious woman, who steels the money of a nobleman staying in the hotel: the man turns out to be Friderike's lover, and all ends well. In the second edition, from 1825, Stoeber highlighted the dialects more, and he changed the title. The audience, according to the preface, did not thing Daniel was actually 'put to test', hence, '*auf der Probe'* had been omitted.[161]

In fact, the plot and the setting seem to serve the purpose of portraying characters from different regions, each with their own dialect. Daniel, of course, speaks the Strasbourg dialect (*Straßburgisch*). Magdalena, the thievish woman, is from Lorraine, and speaks *Deutsch-Lothringisch.* Liesli, Daniel's lover, is from Wiesental, in Baden, and speaks Alemannic-Swabian. Jakob, the servant of Rosenthal, speaks 'Prussian', indicated by a few words, but otherwise, that is mostly High German.[162] Some characters are 'foreign' (*Fremde*) and speak High German. Friderike, who lives in Baden with an uncle and is more educated, speaks High German 'out of habit', but makes a point of that does not make her any less Alsatian.[163]

Daniel: Good; but why don't you speak a word from here anymore?
Friderike: Habit, dear Daniel! But for all that I'm no less a good Strasburger and Alsatian.[164]

The play seems to have Strasbourg and Alsace as its actual topics, the story just a way to portray them. Even one of the self-pronounced foreigners brings a toast to the 'Alsace and Strasbourg', to which he 'owns his fortune'.[165] In the closing song, the main characters (Daniel, Liesli, Rosenthal, Friderike, Müller and Hans-Dännel) sing praise of Alsace, each in their own variety of German. Throughout the play, small references exalt Alsace. Especially Rosenthal, who had studied in Strasbourg, is overjoyed to return. The first thing he did, he says, was climb the cathedral and overlook the land[166]:

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[161] Stoeber mentions this in the preface. D.E. Stoeber, *Daniel, oder der Straßburger* (Strasbourg, 1825).
[162] Jakob's way of speaking is funny, because his character tries to come across as 'learned' and urban: he says things like "thank God there are libraries here in this land" (8) "*enkanailliert"* (50) and "*ich depriziere"* (51).
[163] Stoeber, *Daniel,* 34.
[164] *Idem:*"Daniel: Guet; awwer de reddsch jo gar kenn Wörtel hisi meh?
Friderike: Gewohnheit, lieber Daniel! Ich bin darum nicht minder eine gute Straßburgerin und Elsäßerin.".
[165] *Ibid.,* 54.
[166] *Ibid.*, 4-6.

Hardly had I dismounted, hardly had I changed, or I rushed up the platform of the cathedral, where the delightful land, the land which brought us Pfeffel and Kleber, stretched out in front of us like tapestry. It was a beautiful night, the sun sank behind the Vosges, and the Rhine, the Ill and the friendly Breusch were glowing from her rays; the Mont Sainte Odile greeted me like an old acquaintance, like one who returned home; ah, and what wealth around! what beauty! the fertile fields, the abundant green of the meadows and bushes, the double mountain ranges of the Vosges and the Black Forest – oh, what magic![167]

The passage sketches a horizon that is highly similar to the one from *Liederkranz,* in the poem 'The Alsatian on the cathedral of Strasburg'. The Vosges, the Ill and the Rhine, and the Odilienberg, up to the Black Forest in the background. The play and the poem evoke the same territory, suggesting it was a familiar trope that audiences would have recognised.

Daniel is portrayed as honest, clever, and hard-working. Already when he gets up, one of the first things he remembers is that his parents told him to 'be honest, remember that you are a Strasbourger!'.[168] Daniel is, according to Stoeber, the apotheosis of the Strasbourg citizenry: in that light, his effortless switching from Alsatian to High German, and his use of French words, is significant.[169] In the preface, Stoeber calls that 'natural' for a Strasbourg citizen to do. Even in his fight over Liesli with Jakob, he switches explicitly between dialect and High German – that is also the one time he loses patience, and it almost comes to a fight. Liesli, in the preceding conversation with Jakob, contrasts herself with this 'learned' man, characterising herself as a simple woman without too much education, having only read 'Hebel's works'.[170] All characters seem to understand each other's dialects: Daniel only switches when talking to Rosenthal, as a matter of politeness, but not, for example, when speaking to Magdalena, Jakob, or to Liesli.

It goes too far to presume Stoeber identified with Daniel, but his character does offer insight in what it meant to be a *Strossburrjer.* During the period of the Restauration Stoeber's works show increasing consciousness of what 'being Alsatian' entailed, though his perspective is predominantly local, focussed on Strasbourg. Nonetheless, his political works and activities proved Stoeber to be a real citizen (*Burger*) in every sense of the word, engaged in the life of the *patrie* on local, regional and national level. For example, he participated in local charity: the profit he made with *Liederkranz*

[167] "Kaum war ich hier abgestiegen, kaum hatte ich die Reisekleider abgeschüttelt, so eilte ich hinauf auf die Plattform des Münsters, wo das reizvolle Land, das Land einen Pfeffel, einen Kleber erzeugte, sich wie ein Teppich vor uns ausbreitet. Es war ein schöner Abend, die Sonne sank hinter den Vogesen; der Rhein, die Ill, die freundliche Breusch glühten von ihren Strahlen; der Odilienberg grüßte mich wie einen alten Bekannten, wie einen Heimgekehrten; ach, und ringsum welche Fülle! welche Pracht! die fruchtbaren Felder, das mannigfache Grün der Fluren und Haine, die doppelte Bergkette des Wasgau's und des Schwarzwaldes – o welch ein Zauber!" Stoeber, *Daniel,* 5.
[168] *Ibid.* 1.
[169] *Ibid.,* 'Vorwort'.
[170] *Ibid.,* 8-10.

would go to an orphanage, he promises in the preface. Later, the revenue of his *Steinthaeler Gedichte* (1830) would be donated to the 'poor of the Waldbach parish', where Oberlin had delivered his sermons. Another telling example is that Stoeber contributed to the fundraise after the death of General Foy, through writing a biography of which the returns would go to a monument for the General.[171] On the other hand, the focus on locality and folklore itself points to German influences. In fact, Stoeber refers mostly to German authors (Weisse, Hebel, Klopstock, Novalis) and for example, Ludwig Tieck, a leading Romantic author. Jacob Grimm visited the Stoeber residence in 1823.[172] Stoeber was clearly influenced by the intellectual circles on the other side of the Rhine.

Paradoxically, the transnational roots of cultural nationalism conflicted increasingly with its political use. The fact that Stoeber needed to defend the German cultural heritage in Alsace shows that cultural unity within a nation's borders was becoming a dominant ideal. Stoeber's perplexity at this demand showed already in *Bemerkungen* and in the preface to *Daniel,* too:

"That the Strasburger often switches from dialect to High German, and vice versa, that he uses French phrases in his speaking, is natural. Strasbourg is, after all, a border city between France and Germany. The strangers who laugh at us because of that, well, we'll laugh at them."[173]

Stoeber, like Daniel, had no problem dealing with different people and alternating between different languages. Sadly, this flexibility, which Stoeber celebrated as Alsatian, was becoming a problem for his contemporaries.

[171] Alexander, *Re-writing,* 207. Yet, Stoeber was an atypical Liberal in the sense that he championed the Bourbon monarchs: most Liberals, by contrast, looked back to the Revolution and the successes of the Napoleonic wars (Alexander, *Re-writing*, 27).
[172] Goedeke, *Grundriss,* 66.
[173] "Daß der Straßburger von seinem Dialekte oft in's Hochdeutsche übergeht und umgekehrt, daß er manche französische Ausdrücke in seine Reden aufnimmt, ist natürlich. Straßburg ist ja ein Gränzstadt zwischen Frankreich und Deutschland. Den Fremden, der uns darum belächeln wollte, den belächeln wir wieder."

3. Alsace as borderland

This chapter demonstrates that Stoeber as well as Alsace had become integrated in France, and how, simultaneously, Alsatian identity was emphasized, while its German identity faded out of sight. The integration into France is demonstrated on the basis of Stoeber's biography of Oberlin from 1831, Alsatian identity by looking at *Gedichte und kleine prosaische Aufsätze in Elsässer Mundart* from 1829. When compared to the *Alsatisches Taschenbuch* from 1806, this *Gedichte* shows a striking development: though called 'Alsatian', the *Taschenbuch* was entirely in High German, while *Gedichte* from 1829 is completely in Alsatian, and is much closer to home in its themes. The second section shows that Stoeber's last writings, following upon the 1830 Revolution, had a strong international, political agenda. Stoeber was on a mission, translating works into German, commenting on them, hoping to reach an audience well beyond the French border. The works he chose show integration in the French political scene, without being exclusively tied to it. The last section shows that Stoeber's international position was becoming outmoded, his hopes increasingly disappointed, he himself hurt by personal developments and disenchanted by the recent infringements on what he considered human rights.

In 1824 Charles X succeeded his brother Louis XVIII. An ardent monarchist, Charles X would face increasing opposition during his reign.[174] From the outset, the new king bonded with ultra-royalist factions in parliament.[175] Meanwhile, Paris was making progress with centralizing the bureaucracy, further increasing the importance of French, and marginalising dialects.[176] While this had been an ongoing process since the Jacobin regime, the impact was only gradually becoming visible. In Alsace, opposition to the royalist policies merged with resistance to Frencification. It did not help that the regional economy was weakening: the high tolls for trade between German states and France had not exactly brought the region prosperity.[177] In an attempt to control the opposition, the press was subjected to heavier censorship, and the electoral system had been reformed to further limit the right to vote.[178] Thus, when elections were called in 1827, an oppositional victory in Alsace was to be expected, but the triumph on national level went beyond everyone's expectations: the liberals managed to receive about half of the seats in parliament, though the exact division of seats is hard to pin.[179]

[174] Erbe, *Das Elsass,* 115.
[175] Pilbeam, "The Growth of Liberalism"*,* 366; Alexander, *Re-writing,* Chapter 5, esp. 250.
[176] Leuilliot, *L'Alsace,* 507-9; Cooren, "Sources of the Nation", 255-6.
[177] Erbe, *Das Elsass,* 115.
[178] *Ibid.,* 114.
[179] S. Kent, *The Elections of 1827 in France* (Cambridge Mass., 1975), I67-171.

Prime minister Joseph de Villèle had clearly underestimated his opposition.[180] The liberal cause had been strengthened by the association 'Aide-toi, le ciel t'aidera', even if in Alsace, this was mostly sustained by already existing networks of traditionally Liberal groups: notably Protestants, tradesmen and industrials.[181] Though Liberals achieved victories throughout the country, Charles X's choice of ministers did not conform, resulting in two subsequent royalist governments between 1827 and 1830.[182] The newly elected deputy for Alsace was the famous Benjamin Constant, an eloquent writer, whose campaign had been supported by his Alsatian connections.[183] Constant was a particularly suited choice for Alsace, as he was known to value regional diversity: over and against the attempts at unification and centralization, he maintained that the nation would be nothing without variety.[184]

The King's tour of Alsace, in 1828, got up the hopes of the population. Shortly before, Jean-Baptiste Martignac, the leader of cabinet, had negotiated with Constant on the aforementioned tariffs – the Alsatians hoped to gain some goodwill, and see more of their petitions honoured.[185] Stoeber contributed by presenting Charles X with a hymn, mentioned earlier. Given his usual emphasis on freedom, this fits somewhat awkwardly in his oeuvre: under Charles' reign, censorship tightened rigorously, with the so-called Peyronnet Press Laws of 1826.[186] The hymn can be explained with reference to Stoeber's position within the liberal networks: the liberal factions had decided to 'reward' the cabinet for the negotiations with Constant on taxes and tariffs. Their positive reception of the King was an attempt to improve relationships. They even persuaded Constant, an established political opponent of the King, to take part in a banquet in his majesty's honour.[187]

The *Courrier du Bas-Rhin* reported that a voter felt that Alsace 'was the Lazarus of France', it's people being systematically ignored and refused posts in the administration', but hoped Charles' visit would rehabilitate Alsace.[188] They were let down. Constant noted that, after the visit, factories had to sack 'thousands of workers', and according to the entrepreneur Nicolas Koechlin, a well-known liberal cotton-manufacturer, the tour made the King overconfident, and stimulated him to

[180] Leuilliot, *L'Alsace,* 478; Alexander, *Re-writing*, 205.
[181] P. Geiss, *Der Schatten des Volkes: Benjamin Constant und die Anfange liberaler Repräsentationskultur im Frankreich der Restaurationszeit 1814-1830* (München, 2011), 280-1.
[182] Alexander, *Re-writing,* 238.
[183] Coulmann, especially. See Geiss, 279.
[184] S. Gerson, *The Pride of Place. Local Memories and Political Culture in Nineteenth-Century France* (New York, 2003), 217.
[185] Erbe, *Das Elsass,* 115; Alexander, *Re-writing,* 275.
[186] D.R. Rader, *The journalists and the July revolution in France: The role of the political press in the overthrow of the Bourbon restoration 1827-1830* (Dordrecht, 1973), 15-6.
[187] Alexander, *Re-Writing,* 275.
[188] Leuilliot, *L'Alsace,* 503.

fare his own course, ignoring the resistance to his rule.[189] The king went as went as far as disbanding the cabinet under minister Martignac, replacing him with Jules de Polignac, an ultraroyalist, overstepping the Charter – and putting at risk his support in Alsace, which was already limited.[190] The political resistance to his rule could not be resolved by new elections, nor did the successful conquest of Algeria provide sufficient distraction.[191] Under Charles X, Alsatian resistance to the government grew, and the liberal factions were all too eager to make use of it.

Besides the resistance to Charles X, the voices against centralization were getting louder. Especially the other Alsatian deputy, Frédéric de Turckheim, argued for more local governance in Alsace. Turckheim was, like Stoeber, a liberal and a freemason, and had known the late Dietrich through these networks.[192] Some members of the new urban elites, too, bemoaned the loss of ancient privileges of the cities.[193] The ideology of the opponents of centralization diverged: they argued against 'foreign influences' of French administrators, and Turckheim, for example, argued that local patriotism would yield to the lack of representation.[194] Stoeber made similar arguments in his writing, though his arguments focus rather on revolutionary ideals, which need to be upheld over and against tyranny – be it Napoleon's or Polignac's.[195]

3.1 *D'Strossburrjer singe so*

Regardless of his political engagement, Stoeber must have been studious: he had been working on a biography of about 600 pages.[196] The book, in French, was published in 1831, and gave an account of the life of Jean-Frédéric Oberlin, a famous Alsatian pastor. Oberlin was known for his efforts to improve the life of local peasants, not just through education, but through agricultural reform as well as the construction of roads and bridges.[197] Stoeber had known Oberlin personally: to him, he says, Oberlin was like a father – Oberlin was, indeed, about forty years his senior.[198] Dorothea Stoeber, had been in one of his schools as a young girl.

Most interesting about the book, with regards to Stoeber's networks and regional identity, are the introduction and the dedication: in order of appearance, the book is dedicated to 'the Oberlin

[189] Leuilliot, *L'Alsace,* 504; Pilbeam, "The Growth of Liberalism", 355.
[190] Alexander, *Re-writing,* 243.
[191] Erbe, *Das Elsass,* 115.
[192] Cooren, *Sources of the Nation,* 125.
[193] Leuilliot, *L'Alsace* I*,* 507-9; Alexander, *Re-writing,* 275.
[194] Leuilliot, *L'Alsace* I*,* 508; Alexander, *Re-writing,* 275.
[195] Stoeber illustrates Cooren's assertion that "It is thus paradoxically the French nationalism of the Alsatians (…) that the autocratic regimes of nineteenth century France were to fear, certainly not Alsatian particularism." (Cooren, "Sources of the Nation", 253)
[196] J.C. Hauschild, *Georg Büchner Biographie* (Stuttgart, 1993), 501.
[197] Witt and Erny, 61-2.
[198] Stoeber, *La Vie de J.F. Oberlin, pasteur à Waldbach* (Strasbourg, 1831), 3.

family, the people of Ban-de-la-Roche, and all religious philanthropists'. The latter are called to contemplate the life of Oberlin, his piety, charity, art and science, and, mind, his 'most noble patriotism'. Secondly, the preface continues on the loss of notable Frenchmen, and the importance to remember Oberlin's example, appealing to France in general. Thirdly, the book includes a lengthy list of subscribers (*souscripteurs*), sorted by town of origin. This lists reveals an overwhelming regionality of the audience, but also some international ties, and most importantly, a broad variety of people.

The people on this list had already bought copies before the book had even been published, suggesting they had some connection to either Stoeber or his publisher. It is therefore interesting to picture Stoeber's audience as a local network. This network, upon closer inspection, turns out to be mostly Alsatian. The German lands are hardly represented: a few subscribers in Berlin, Karlsruhe and Bonn, while there are subscribers from four cities in Switzerland and seven in non-Alsatian France. With regard to France, however, it must be emphasized that five of these are from the Moselle and the Vosges, i.e., from neighbouring departments. The French interest was also highly local. The lists also shows some familiar names, such as Türckheim, Benjamin, Lafayette and Levrault, and reveals a broad variety of professions.[199]

The audience also shows that French reading skills were no longer limited to an urban elite: there are many hamlets on the lists, and the audience is not merely composed of nobles and intellectuals, but also figures innkeepers (*aubergiste*), brewers (*brasseur*), butchers (*charcuteur*), bakers (*pâtissier, boulanger*) and wine merchants (*marchants de vin).* That being said, in smaller villages, the buyers are mostly priests, and occasionally, innkeepers. Nonetheless, the *souscipteurs* provide an illustration of the increasing use of French, not just in intellectual spheres, but also in business. This is a relatively early example, as most authors agree that French was taking over the public sphere only from the 1850's onwards, in response, also, to the Rhine Crisis.[200] In response to this, and the politization of language since the Revolution, the Alsatian character of local culture was increasingly stressed, reframing what was 'German' as 'Alsatian'.[201] Regional awareness smoothed

[199] D.E. Stoeber, *Vie d'Oberlin*, I-VI.

[200] The Rhine Crisis occurred in 1840, and was caused by minister Adolphe Tiers, who, in response to the agreements with regards to the Orient Crisis, reclaimed the Rhineland, with the Rhine as France's natural border. Harrison, quotes several authors who highlight 1850 as a turning point in the Frenchification process M.A. Harrison, "A Century of Changing Language Beliefs in Alsace" *Modern and Contemporary France* 20 (2012) 357-374, 360; Cooren mentions that only 10% of the population in Strasbourg, a relatively 'Frenchified' city, spoke (some) French in 1825 (Cooren, "Sources", 236). See also: Vassberg, *Alsatian Acts,* 16-17; They agree that the increasing popularity of French had to do with nationalist sentiments on both sides of the Rhine. (Cooren, "Sources", 289-90; Vassberg, *Alsatian Acts,* 15), though Harrison (p. 361) focusses on socio-economic factors, arguing that French was seen the language of social mobility and progress. Cooren (p. 289) points out that this ideology, reversed, could be found in Germany, as well.

[201] Cooren notes this development from the 1830s onwards. Cooren, "Sources of the Nation", 276.

the newly emerged conflict between cultural and political nationalisms. Even the working and middle classes, predominantly German-speaking, could fit in this narrative as long as the focus was on their Alsatianness, rather than Germanness. Meanwhile, their own efforts to learn French were helping to replace *Elsässerdisch* in the public sphere, even if that process was slow, and would only be completed in the twentieth century.[202]

It would go too far to explain Stoeber's *Gedichte und kleine prosaische Aufsätze* from 1829 as part of regionalist program. Nonetheless, apart from the fact that all texts are in Alsatian, it appeals to a presupposed regional community, even though its borders are not clearly defined. The aim of the book is different as well: it is no longer posited as a literary work, and it does not only include Stoeber's own poetry: there is also a collection of Alsatian proverbs, on par with the Grimms' project. Strikingly, in that respect, is that the first text is a *Kindermärchen*. There are, generally speaking, relatively many songs and poems concerning the lifeworld of a child: for example, Hans-Dännel, the prototype of the happy child (*I bin e lust'jer Bue*), and one of the main characters of Stoeber's play (*Daniel, oder der Straßburger*), returns with a song about catching tits. Also, the finale of *Daniel* is included, its verses followed by a simple chorus:

Hallo! hallo! hallo! hallo!
In Alsace, I'm happy.[203]

In contrast to the Grimm' nationalist agenda, the preface (the only text in German) states explicitly that his book was intended for a local audience, namely 'for Alsace and its surroundings'. Again, this is defined in linguistic terms:

A glossary is unnecessary for Alsace and its surroundings; should friendly voices from further places make themselves heard, such thing will follow in a later edition.[204]

The poem *Lob Straßburgs* is a good example when it comes to affirmation of local cultural peculiarities. It presents the reader with an image of Strasbourg that goes beyond its cathedral, even though Stoeber never squanders an opportunity to name the famous tower. The poem refers again to the habit of keeping tits, and spotting '*Habergeis'* (snipes). Two stanzas are devoted to the local products, including artichokes and asparagus, and Alsatian wine. Of course, the *guette Lytt* ('good people') are what makes Strasbourg best: hence, there is no need to travel, as being *heim* is far too

[202] Cooren, "Sources of the Nation", 276.
[203] "Hallo! hallo! hallo! hallo! / Im Elsaß ich (sic) merr froh." ('ich' in other versions of this verse, is written as 'isch', meaning *is*, not *I.*). D.E. Stoeber, *Gedichte und kleine prosaische Aufsätze in Elsässer Mundart* (Strasbourg, 1829), 53.
[204] " Eine Worterklärung für das Elsaß und seine Umgebungen ist unnöthig; sollten sich aus der Ferne freundliche Stimmen vernehmen lassen, so dürfte eine solche bei einer spätern Auflage nachfolgen." "Vorwort", in: Stoeber, *Gedichte und kleine prosaische Aufsätze.*

pleasant. It goes too far to assume that Stoeber referred to himself, but the image of a happy home, including a glass of wine, sounds fitting:

I don't wander through the world,
I'm far too happy at home
I have my wife, my children, wine…[205]

Strikingly, the poem contrasts Alsace with both French and German neighbours, the '*Welsche'* and the '*Schwowe-n*' across the Rhine, respectively.[206] On the other hand, Alsace is placed within the French nation, politically. There is a witty poem addressing *Mussi Herr Pollignack,* suggesting the corruption is commonplace, 'as wine and tobacco are expensive'. The *Burger* (citizens) will watch where the money goes, and if needed, the poem threatens, *Burger* and *Tierseta* (Third Estate) will rise again. A very short joke on the same page, under the title 'Irrelevant opinion' (*Unmasgebliche Meinung*), ties in with the precarious position of what little Jesuits were left in France.[207] Though there were not many Jesuits left in France, they had become a popular scapegoat, accused of conspiracies, through influencing the King.[208] Stoeber attacks them with a pun: 'Jesuit' sounds very similar to *'Jesus wytt'*, Alsatian for 'far from Jesus': the Jesuits are far away from true faith. The Jesuits also figure in a song called *Das Liedlein vom Benjamin.* It is a song, of course, for Benjamin Constant, and it deals with his 'brave fight' for 'freedom and fatherland', sings of his speeches in the Chamber of Deputies, and it hails freedom of press. Constant, indeed, accused Paris of limiting import of foreign papers in 1829.[209]

Other than this, the book has plenty of small references to national politics, even in otherwise 'unpolitical' poems: for example, the poem *Craftsman* (*Lob des Handwerkers*) has a few lines on politicians and kings: they believe all is well, but due to their '*Ministersbrill'*, they cannot see how the people (*Volk*) feel – and are then overtaken by revolution or war.[210] The craftsman, by contrast, leads a simple and happy life, without too many worries. The celebration of 'common' people is characteristic of Romanticism, especially of High Romanticism. The heyday of High Romanticism had been a decade ago, but its focus on *Volk* would persist much longer.[211] *Volk*, however, plays no role in this book: when used, which is seldom anyway, it is in a universal way, such

[205] " Merr laufe nitt d'Welt us un yn, / Es g'fallt es d'heim ze wohl; / Merr henn jo Wywer, Kinder, Wyn…", Stoeber, *Gedichte und kleine prosaische Aufsätze,* 15.
[206] *Ibid.,* 14-18.
[207] *Ibid.,* 56.
[208] Leuilliot, *L'Alsace* I*,* 511-2; Alexander, *Re-writing,* 199-200.
[209] Geiss, *Die Schatten,* 297.
[210] Stoeber, *Gedichte und kleine prosaische Aufsätze,* 33.
[211] I. dos Santos, " Reluctant Romantics – On the fairy tale poetics of the Brothers Grimm and their relationship to German Romanticism" *Literator* 35 (2014); accessed March 27, 2019, http://dx.doi.org/10.4102/lit.v35i1.1073.

as in the above example, which has no reference to any country. References to Germanness are completely absent: the only Germans in Stoeber's poems and songs are the aforementioned Swabians as 'neighbours', and an anonymous person from Freiburg asking what price Strasbourg would be worth.[212] References to a regional (Alemannic) unity have disappeared as well, except for the vague '*Umgebungen'* in the preface – and the fact that the poem Hebel has been included again.

Stoeber's works testify of the emergence of Alsatian consciousness during the late 1820s, establishing itself synchronously with German and French nationalisms. The process symbolically coincided with the completion of the mapping of the Alsatian villages by the government, in 1828.[213] In Stoeber's Alsatian works, references to France are predominate over those to Germany or the Rhineland – Germany seems to have become decisively 'foreign', more so than at the beginning of the century. The foreignness was, at that time, merely a matter of administration: the Rhine just happened to be a border, but was still easily crossed. In *Bemerkungen*, Stoeber focussed on the mediating role of the Alsatians, bridging the gap between two nations. In *Liederkranz* (1827)*,* we saw how the focus started to shift to Alsace, but still addressed the Rhineland. In the Alsatian *Gedichte und kleine prosäische Aufsätze* (1829)*,* the horizon has narrowed to merely Alsace, which looks predominantly to France – the Germanness of the Alsatian culture is fading to the background.

3.2 *Noch Braust die Brust…*

The Revolution of 1830, however, demonstrated the strength of transnational networks; Stoeber was functioning as a node in them. German nationalism and liberalism, in these days intimately connected, were severely oppressed, especially in Prussia and Baden – they were seen as destabilizing factors, and the German authorities sought to contain the spirits through the Karlsbad decrees, a set of laws limiting and controlling publications. The fear of Revolution characterised the 1820s in Germany, but this could not prevent the continuation of *Bürsenschaften* (nationalist student associations) at universities, nor could it prevent the distribution of texts printed abroad.[214] It is unclear what impact the German press had in Alsace: interpretations of the source material vary.[215] But if the press had limited distribution, German travellers found their way into Alsace anyway. Joseph Görres, the editor of the *Rheinische Merkur,* for example, had fled to Strasbourg when he was

[212] Stoeber, *Gedichte und prosaische Aufsätze,* 14.
[213] Dunlop, "Borderland Cartographies", 226. That is: cadastral borders in greater detail than in the Napoleonic period: these were the first maps that provided detailed accounts of even small landholders in the villages.
[214] Nipperdey, *Deutsche Geschichte,* 283-6.
[215] Cooren argues that Germany was treated as foreign, and that there was, in this respect, no significant difference between the Alsace and other provinces; Geiss, on the other hand, states that German proceedings were covered almost as extensively as domestic news, and that Cotta's *Augsburger Zeitung* was at times quoted *ex extenso* (Geiss, 298).

exiled for his nationalist writing in 1819.[216] In his texts he had been outspokenly anti-French, and had repeatedly condemned French customs and language in the Rhineland.[217]

When the Revolution broke out in July, German lands, one after the other, were caught by the revolutionary fever. Its nature and the impact varied from unrest in one, to a storming of castles in the next state, but the result was that the Deutsche Bund repressed Revolutionary sentiment where it could.[218] The press, but also numerous associations and clubs, were put under strict surveillance. Many German liberal authors decided to flee abroad, a considerable number of them to France.[219] Logically, many of them came to Alsace. In response, *Zum Drescher* opened its doors.[220]

The Stoeber family had welcomed the July Revolution, especially Stoeber's sons August and Adolf.[221] They closely followed the events, and celebrated and debated them within the student association *Eugenia*, which they had founded in 1828. Most of their meetings (*Sitzungen*) seem to have taken place in *Zum Drescher,* making the Stoeber residence a liberal harbour.[222] Ehrenfried Stoeber can be expected to be more reserved with regards to a new revolution, considering his later condemnations of the violence after 1789. But this time, the Revolution came to Strasbourg in relative calm. The prefect informed the public of the situation in Paris through posters in the street, reinstated the National Guard to safeguard public order, and when the official announcement of fall of the monarchy followed on 1 August, he wisely installed a provisional regional government.[223]

On a national level, reforms were implemented fast: the franchise was extended, the Chamber disbanded and Charles X fled. Though initially, the Parisian revolutionaries had envisaged a Republic under the popular general La Fayette, their call had yielded to the more dominant voices who preferred a constitutional monarchy. Correspondingly, a new King was chosen by the Chamber.[224] Louis Philippe, the 'bourgeois King', was to rule until 1848, when Revolutions would rage over Europe once more. It would not take long before Stoeber came forward with a hymn in his honour – though his other writings of around this time suggest he was becoming an increasingly

[216] He stayed in Strasbourg between 1819 and 1826. Cooren, "Sources", 249.
[217] Rowe, *Reich to State,* 235.
[218] Especially from 1832 onwards. Nipperdey, *Deutsche Geschichte,* 366-71.
[219] Alexander, *Re-writing,* 301.
[220] R. Borgards, H. Neumeyer, *Büchner Handbuch: Leben – Werk – Wirkung* (Stuttgart, 2015), 381.
[221] Hauschild, *Büchner*, 186.
[222] *Ibid.*, 188. Their association is interesting because of the many guests the brothers invited. Georg Büchner would be the most famous one of them, and it is partially due to his correspondence that we know about Eugenia at all.
[223] Alexander, *Re-writing*, 291-2.
[224] Erbe, *Das Elsass,* 115-6.

convinced republican, disappointed by the monarchs of his times. The ode may have been written for strategic reasons, rather than out of genuine support.[225]

Stoeber's writings of this period show that he had become fully immersed in the French political scene. With his translations, he posited himself as a mediating figure between France and German-speaking Alsatians, and he intended to reach a German, if possible, European, audience as well. His translations had a clear political function. Parallel with the integration of Alsace into France, Stoeber had managed to establish himself as a respected intellectual, with many French and German connections.

In this role, he echoed the initial hopes of the Revolutionaries in a poem in the (German) *Morgenblatt für gebildete Stände,* from March 1831. The poem tells of a small star, which is obscured time after time, but eventually shines bright and golden. The eclipses of the star can easily be paralleled to the phases of Jacobin terror and the Restauration: at the end of the Restauration (a *schwarzes Rabenchor*), the star shines through clouds of red, blue and white, a reference to the Revolutionary flag, and is crowned with a *Bürgerkranz.*[226] The poem *Rettung* looks back at the Restoration as a return to the yoke of despotism, and glorifies the battle for freedom and the courage of the citizens in the struggle:

Victory or death!... For eternal, sacred rights
To protect the people!... The civil heroes fight,
(…) Praise to France, hail you, o fatherland![227]

Amand Marrast, a republican politician, wrote an account of the Revolution in much the same vein, glorifying the revolutionaries as honest, brave and solidary, while picturing politicians as opportunists, who shied away from political action.[228] Written in 1831, it would be one of Stoeber's first political translations.

1831 would be a hard year. It started off with a severe winter, during which the Rhine, in some places, could be crossed on foot.[229] For Stoeber, 1831 was the year he had to sell his elderly home, because he could no longer afford it. His wife moved away to Oberbronn, supposedly because

[225] Reference to this poem in Witt and Erny, *Les Stoeber,* 45.
[226] Morgenblatt für gebildete Stände, 56, 7-3-1831, 224.
[227] "Sieg oder Tod!... Den ew'gen, heil'gen Rechten / Des Volkes Schutz!... Die Bürgerhelden fechten, / In Strömen fließt der edeln Streiter Blut, / Und kühner, immer kühner flammt der Muth, / Preis Frankreich Dir, heil Dir, o Vaterland!"
[228] Witt and Erny, *Les Stoeber*, 45. Though Witt and Erny mention this translation, they do not mention an author. That the original text came from Marrast, I found in J. Brophy, "The second wave. Franco-German Translation and the transfer of political knowledge" in: B. Biester and C. Wurm, *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens* Vol. 71 (Berlin, 2016), 83-116, 100. An original title seems to be unfindable.
[229] Leuilliot, *L'Alsace* I, 523.

she was ill, but probably in response to her husband's drinking habits. With his older children having moved out, this meant that Stoeber ended up living alone in a shabby apartment, with his servant.[230] The winter would also deepen the economic crisis that had already been worsened by the Revolutionary instability. As time passed, the initial hope that the new government would solve these problems, was lost, and the despair of the population found expression in strikes and riots.[231] In Alsace, for example, there was a particularly serious riot over wood, because a vendor refused to sell wood on credit terms, and when Louis-Philippe toured the department, villagers demonstrated along the road, shouting at him that they had 'no bread, no shoes'.[232]

In response, the newly installed government started to tighten its grip on society. It exercised stricter control over potential opponents, restricting the right to demonstrate and raising the fines for attempts to overthrow the government.[233] Though the freedom of press remained officially intact, officials could sue papers, a right which, according to Stoeber, was frequently abused. Freedom of the press, a recurring worry for Stoeber, was the occasion to translate two court defences in 1833. The preface to the translation explains why: a ministerial deputy had been accused of being corrupt by a Parisian newspaper, and subsequently sued the responsible editor, Monsieur Lionne. The deputy, Viennet, justified his action by pointing to a law stemming from 1822, and found support in the Chamber. Thus, the editor was brought to trial, and convicted to the highest possible fine, as well as a three year sentence. In court, the editor was defended by two republican deputies, namely Marrast and Louis Cavaignac. Stoeber translated their speeches, hoping to contribute to the publicity of the case, to raise awareness, and partially to raise money to pay the editor's fine, which was 10,000 francs.[234]

Less pressing, but perhaps just as important was his translation of *Paroles d'un croyant*, by Hugues-Felicité Robert de Lamennais, from 1834. Lamennais was a priest, who had increasingly taken issue with the papal authority. His argument, which reads like a long, poetic sermon, condemns the papal authorities and the European monarchs, and speaks out on behalf of the people. It pleads for freedom, tells of brave peoples uniting to overthrow unjust kings, and offers a host of (predominantly biblical) metaphors and analogies favouring equality. For example, what would become of bees if one bee claimed all honey? The Catholic Church was quick to respond with an answer, called *Singulari Nos.* After its publication, Lamennais left the Church.

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[230] Witt and Erny, *Les Stoeber*, 60.
[231] Alexander, *Re-writing,*307.
[232] Leuilliot, *L'Alsace* I*,* 523 and 506-7.
[233] Alexander, *Re-writing,* 307.
[234] D. E. Stoeber, "Vorwort" to *Vertheidigungsreden für die Zeitung betitelt: Die Tribune, gehalten in der Deputirtenkammer, den 16. April 1833* (Strasbourg, 1833).

Stoeber's preface, in its four pages, is somewhat more nuanced, but contains passages which are equally rallying:

He [Lamennais] appears here with ardent indignation, as the eloquent guardian of the poor, the lowly and the oppressed; as the thunderous prosecutor (…) he spares neither the desecrated purple, nor the stained cassock. So it is not surprising that the followers of absolutism, the so-called divine right to the throne, and the chief priests and scribes, proclaim "Anathema!" against the words of a believer.[235]

Though he explicitly refrains from any theological evaluation of the book, Stoeber states that the 'evangelical spirit' of the work cannot go unnoticed. He defends the aims as well as the tone of the work, arguing that some things have to be put bluntly. In contrast to the sometimes violent descriptions by Lammenais (people cutting the throats of monarchs, for example), Stoeber would rather see Republics be instated when the time is ripe, without violence and bloodshed (*Gewaltthätigkeit und Blutvergießen*). That eventually republicanism will prevail, goes without doubt. Stoeber quotes the Bible to strengthen his arguments against monarchism, showing that by this time, he had definitely abandoned his support of the monarchy. He explicitly names examples, such as Poland and Spain, but wisely refrains from naming nearer regions (*nähere Umgebungen*).

In the last paragraph, the position of France is used to defend even a certain amount of propaganda. After all, France has to defend itself against the surrounding 'threatening Despots and their armies of slaves' (*drohenden Despoten und ihren Sklavenheeren*). He praises Lamennais for his intention to bring to humanity the word of freedom, and the ideals of the French Revolution. The last sentence shows Stoeber's own commitment to freedom and France, but also his own hopes to spread the word and see the world embrace the Revolutionary ideals.

"The French Revolution will encompass the world." May she! and may she be accepted everywhere with warmth, this active pilgrim![236]

Freedom and France seem to have become inextricably bound together in his mind, a persistent trait of the revolutionary heritage in Alsace. For Alsatians, being French had come to be synonymous with being free.[237]

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[235] "Er [Lamennais] tritt hier mit feuriger Entrüstung auf, als der beredte Sachwalter der Armen, der Niedern und Unterdrückten; als der donnernde Ankläger (…) er schont weder den entweihten Purpur, noch den befleckten Talar. Es ist demnach sich nicht zu wundern, wenn die Anhänger des Absolutismus, des sogenannten göttlichen Kronenrechts, so wie die Hohenpriester und Schriftgelehrten „Anathema!" über die Worte eines Glaubigen ausrufen." D.E. Stoeber, "Vorrede des Uebersetzers", in: L. von La Mennais, *Worte eines Glaubigen.* Trans. D.E. Stoeber (Strasbourg, 1834), III-VII, IV.

[236] "Die französische Revolution wird die Welt umreifen." Möge sie es! und möge sie überall freundliche Aufnahme finden, diese rüstige Pilgerin!" Stoeber, "Vorrede", VII.

[237] Cooren, "Sources of the Nation", 314.

3.3 *Welches Vaterlandes?*

1834 was a year of unrest, as increasing dissatisfaction with the government found expression in demonstrations and the re-establishment of republican clubs.[238] In some French cities, there were actual riots. In response, the freedom of association was limited to clubs with fewer than twenty members.[239] Masonic lodges, consequently, were dissolved.[240] Strasbourg was spared revolts, but the government decided to disband the National Guard as a precaution. For Stoeber, this was a personal nadir, as he expresses in his poem *Bei der Auflösung der Nationalgarde. Juli 1834. Derselben Nationalgarde gewidmet.* It is an emotional complaint, as is shown by the stanza below:

What? the ranks of brave citizens have been disbanded?
O scorn! o shame! o agony!
The loyal patriot's heart must dedicate itself to bitterness,
And to melancholy.[241]

The poem remembers the 'sacred days of July' (*heil'gen Julitagen*), and states that the festivities to commemorate the July Revolution will lose their shine without the National Guard. However, characteristic of Stoeber's earlier poems, this one ends with the headstrong assurance that eventually, freedom and equality will prevail, and that the citizens' strive will be praised at the '*Vaterlandsaltar'*. By now, however, Stoeber was called to account for his German praises of the French nation: not by French authorities, but by German papers. The Rhine, and consequently, the German-speaking Alsace, was increasingly contested, a development that was strengthened by the foundation of the *Zollverein* in 1833. For example, *Der Rheinbayer* published a statement from a correspondent from Strasbourg, saying that Alsatians were used to being treated as 'stepchildren' (*Stiefkinder*), their interests being systematically ignored in the tax system and the levy of tolls.[242]

Though there was a small group of Alsatians with pro-German sentiments, this was a clear minority[243]; it must be taken into account that *Der Rheinbayer* generally sauced its reports on France with a mixture of contempt and malignancy.[244] Though in varying tone, other papers continuously

[238] Hauschuld, *Büchner,* 330.
[239] Erbe, *Das Elsass,* 116; Hauschild, *Büchner,* 331.
[240] There are no references to Stoeber's loge, but a reference to masonic lodges in general can be found in Leuilliot, *L'Alsace* I*,* 525.
[241] "Wie? aufgelöst die tapfern Bürgerreihen? / O Hohn! o Schmach! o tiefer Schmerz! / Der Wehmuth muß, der / Bitterkeit sich weihen / Das treue Patriotenherz." D.E. Stoeber, "Bei der Auflœsung der Strasburger Nationalgarde. Juli 1834. Derselben Nationalgarde gewiedmet" (Strasbourg, 1834).
[242] *Der Rheinbayer,* 28-12-1833. The passage seems to be taken from the *Frankfurter Ober-Post-Amts-Zeitung* from 25-12-1833.
[243] Cooren, "Sources of the Nation", 159.
[244] I have sampled a few editions of *Der Rheinbayer* from 1833. Almost without exception, they reported negatively on France or Frenchmen.

insisted on the German nature of the Alsatians. Cotta's *Morgenblatt für gebildete Ständen* featured an article about the *Deutsche Sinn* of the Alsatian, calling it 'ridiculous' when the Alsatians tried to take up French customs, or in fact, speaking French.[245] The responsible correspondent, in turn, receive an Alsatian reply that his reports suggested 'the Alsatians constantly regretted not being part of Germany', while they were, in fact, glad to be French.[246]

Stoeber was attacked personally as well. In a review in *Literatur-Blatt*, a supplement to the established *Morgenblatt für gebildete Stände,* Stoeber's hymn to General Foy was discussed – but hardly with reference to its poetic quality. Instead, *Literatur-Blatt* demanded Stoeber choose sides, and that he be either French, or German.[247] Speaking of *Vaterland* while referring to France, the argumentation runs, is contradictory. Stoeber should speak French when referring to his fatherland. Though the author acknowledged that Stoeber had always been a 'warm supporter of the French cause' (*warmer Anhänger der Französischen Sache*), he regretted to see a hymn to a Frenchman in German tongue. Cultural nationalism had incorporated language, and made it a political marker. Language was now perceived as a determinant of nationality, and the Alsatians, loyal Frenchmen, increasingly followed suit, visiting French plays in theatre which they could not entirely follow, singing French songs and focussing on French trends and fashion.[248]

In the course of his life, Stoeber's beloved Rhine had transformed from a meandering stream into a wall of water in between two hostile nation states. Literary, too: the river had been canalized by engineers, its floodplains slowly disappearing.[249] On par with the Rhine, the political landscape had changed, turning the Rhineland into clearly defined provinces, its citizens into nationalists. Stoeber, in his small apartment where he spent his last days, continued to write poetry, for example, on the death of La Fayette in 1834. When Alfred Michiels, a Belgian author, visited him in Strasbourg, he was shocked by Stoeber's appearance, a sturdy man in faded cloths, carrying about a particularly messy pile of papers, but was delighted by the man's openness and vivacity, with a hint of 'naïve intelligence'.[250] "Les beaux sentiments de l'adolescence vivaient encore dans son âme," he wrote

[245] *Morgenblatt für Gebildete Stände,* 21-6-1831, 4.
[246] *Morgenblatt für Gebildete Stände*, 22-10-1833, 4.
[247] "Zuerst wollen wir mit ihm rechten als Deutscher dem Deutschen gegenüber. Er besingt den General Foy: „Du, des Vaterlandes Schmuck und Hort!" Welches Vaterlandes? Spricht Ehrenfried Stöber von Frankreich, so soll er auch französisch sprechen. Spricht er aber von Vaterlande, so kann er nicht von Frankreich, nicht von Foy reden. Ich ehre Foy, ich lasse Frankreich seine großen Männer; ich bedaure, daß wir ihm so weinig entgegenzusezten haben; aber ich finde es über allen Ausdruck erniedrigend, daß deutsche Männer, in deutscher Zunge, dieses Frankreich ihr Vaterland nennen." In: *Morgenblatt für gebildete Stände, Literatur-Blatt,* 08-07-1835, 3.
[248] Cooren, "Sources", 237 and 290. Ford, "Which Nation?", 33-34.
[249] Nipperdey, *Deutsch Geschichte,* 189-90.
[250] A. Michiels, *Études sur l'Allemagne: renfermant une histoire de la peinture allemande* (Brussels, 1845), 208.

later.[251] It matches with Stoeber's own description, his grey hair at odds with the roaring feelings in his chest (*Noch Braust die Brust).*[252] Michiels also noted Stoeber's drinking habits, recalling how, before having eaten, he emptied two or three glasses of liquor (*eaux de vie*).[253] He died alone, on 28 December 1835.

The question of nationality would be more pressing for Stoeber's sons: August and Adolf undertook serious attempts to maintain German culture, founding for example the magazine *Erwinia*, which focussed on Germanic culture. When Alsace was conquered by the Prussia in 1870, the question of nationality proved tenacious. The Alsatians, having chosen sides and predominantly seeing themselves as French, now had to justify that they were *not* German, in spite of their language. Adolf wrote a curious pamphlet upon the German annexation, in which he explained why Alsatians need not feel guilty about taking on the German nationality. The cultural argument, of course, took centre stage.

[251] Michiels, *Ëtudes,* 209.
[252] Quoted in Witt and Erny, *Les Stoeber,* 59.
[253] Michiels, *Études,* 216.

Conclusion

Stoeber's identity developed from an Alsatian patriot to an engaged French citizen with an interest in local dialect. His childhood experiences of the Revolution seem to have formed an unshakable loyalty to France. In 1814, he understood Alsace as a middle land, its inhabitants were ascribed a mediatory function. They were placed in the larger Alemannic region: this transnational region seems to have been as present as France. Stoeber was highly aware of the linguistic unity within the region, as well as of its interconnectedness.

These three 'territorial identities' recur in Stoeber's writings throughout his life, although the Alemannic region loses importance over time. Already during the Restauration period, French and Alsatian identities became more articulated, whilst the identity of the Alemannic region received little attention, except as audience, for example, in *Liederkranz* (1827). Nonetheless, Stoeber's French identity remained strictly political – except, maybe, for the recurring '*Liebenswürdigkeit'* of the French. The Alsatian identity became much richer: in *Liederkranz* as well as *Daniel* (1829), Alsatians are ascribed distinct personality traits and customs. Though ideas on Germanness and Frenchness did, of course, exist, these did not find resonance in Stoeber's works.

It may strike as puzzling that the French political identity remained unquestioned: especially considering what consequences French policies caused for the protestant, German-speaking, industrial Alsatian bourgeoisie. The political nature of French identity is at once the explanation for this, as for the relatively early development of Alsatian identity. First, the French identity, understood as political, was relatively 'empty'.[254] In principle, it left space for different religions, customs and languages. Being French was mostly understood as having a set of political rights and freedoms, and was thus valued as a basis, on top of which and by grace of which one could be Alsatian. Secondly, it allowed for an identity for which a (German) dialect was essential.

Stoeber has often been portrayed as the representative of *Deutschfranzosentum:* in spite of his relative obscurity, his line '*Meine Leier ist deutsch, sie klingt von deutschen Gesängen / Liebend den gallischen Hahn, true ist, französisch mein Schwert',* is often quoted.[255] However, to my knowledge, the man behind these line has never been thoroughly researched. Though there is a biography of him and his sons, this is limited to fact from their lives and their publications: it includes very little information on their writings. And though Stoeber plays a role in Cooren's thesis and in the work of Robert Alexander's *Re-writing the French Revolutionary Tradition* (of which I made grateful use), this

[254] Of course, ideas on Germanness and Frenchness did exist, but they did not find resonance in Stoeber's works.
[255] R. Frendrich, *Grenzland und Erinnerungsland, Die Identität des Elsass im Werk Marie Harts (1856-1924)* (Baden-Baden, 2018), 134;

role is very modest, and focussed entirely on his modest political contributions. It is entirely new to read Stoeber's work from the perspective of identity and regionalism. That is where I hope to have made a valuable contribution.

New, also, is that I take into account the Alemannic region. We have very little understanding of the role this region played in people's identity. Yet, considering its persistence, it would be worthwhile to investigate if, and to what extent, it ever provided an alternative to nation states and regional consciousness. With regard to the Alsace, it was probably a more logical overarching identity than was the French nation. Lastly, I have drawn attention to the relatively early presence of Alsatian regional consciousness. Arguably, Stoeber's appeals to Alsatians can be seen as early regionalism in their own right. In any case, the origins of later Alsatian regionalism can be traced back to the early nineteenth century: for example the self-understanding as a 'middle land' would become more dominant in the course of the nineteenth century.[256]

In the context of a debate which is mostly dominated by the attention to cultural nationalism in a later period, it is important to bear in mind that political nationalism could be equally important. I have shown that political and linguistic identities developed alongside each other, both within and across borders. While for Stoeber, his belonging to the Alsatian community, located within the Alemannic region, was primary, this community never competed with his French nationality. That identities are fluid and multiple, is generally agreed upon, but in recent research, it is mostly the cultural identity that takes centre stage. To understand a time in which cultural nationalism was coming up, it is important not to lose its counterparts out of sight: at least in Stoeber's works, regionalism and political nationalism are dominant. The poet of the region, he presented his audience with a colourful picture of his beloved Alsace, indeed, a poetic regionality.

[256] C. J. Fischer, *Alsace to the Alsatians?: Visions and Divisions of Alsatian Regionalism, 1870-1839* (New York, 2010) 280.

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