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guardianship. Yet this outcome does not diminish Tony's role as the primary mediator of the Buddenbrook family history. In every aspect—caretaker, mediator, curator—she represents the character most involved with the family history. Moreover, she achieves this position in spite of difficult obstacles: she is not a member of the Buddenbrook patriarchy, she is a woman in stratified nineteenth century bourgeois society, and twice-divorced, she is a social outcast. Tony's role as historical mediator of the Buddenbrook patriarchy is also noteworthy because of the ironic detachment Thomas Mann displays toward her character. Who would look for the historical muse, the Clio, of the Buddenbrook family in a character who, for the most part, is depicted as a fool?

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Note

1 A useful examination of the family album is to be found in Jochen Vogt, Thomas Mann: Buddenbrooks (München: Wilhelm Fink, 1983): 117-121. Vogt analyzes the family album and its relation to the Mann family Bible, providing examples where the similarity between the family album and the Mann family Bible can be clearly seen (118-120). Perhaps of most interest is Vogt's assertion that the family album functions as an epic motif in the history of the Buddenbrooks family (120-121).

Works Cited


The German Exile Writer in New York City 1933-1945: A Case Study

Gerhard Reich

After the "Machtergreifung" by the Nazis and the ritual burning of books in German universities in 1933, many people left their homes and fled mostly to neighboring countries. Literary circles and journals were founded, especially in Prague and Paris. After the military occupation of these countries, there were few places left to go, and the prospect of escaping to the United States became more and more desirable as a last refuge. The Johnson Act of 1925, however, restricted the number of immigrants admitted to the United States to a small number, and it was increasingly difficult to obtain a visa. A written invitation and an affidavit, preferably from an influential American citizen, was necessary. For young and unknown writers this was hard to come by. But the famous representatives of anti-fascist culture also needed support. The American PEN Club, Dorothy Parker and the Algonquin Circle were very helpful in providing the necessary paperwork and support for those German writers in danger.

In the United States, there were two major centers: New York on the East Coast and Hollywood on the West Coast. In Hollywood, several poets attempted to write movie scripts and in general had major difficulties adapting to the American movie industry. The notoriously unsuccessful Bertold Brecht is only one example of a frustrated and disappointed European intellectual in exile, who felt disgust for the artificial world of Hollywood.1 Carl Zuckmayer hated the movie industry so much that he gave up writing and lived the life of a recluse on a farm in the Green Mountains of Vermont.2

In New York the situation was different. There was a large, well-established German-American population living mostly in Yorkville on the Upper West Side, then called Little Germany. Up to the first World War there had been a very active German social life in various

clubs and cafes, manifested in a large circulation of German newspapers. The main newspaper for this German-American population in New York was the *New Yorker Staatszeitung und Herold*, a paper still being published today on a weekly basis.

The new immigrants from Hitler’s Germany settled mainly in Washington Heights near the Cloisters and the George Washington Bridge. Because of its influx of refugees it was soon called “The Fourth Reich.” They found their voice in a newspaper called the *Aufbau*. In order to understand the relationship between the newcomers and the well-established German-Americans, it is essential to examine the nature of their respective publications, the *Aufbau* and the *Staatszeitung*.

In 1934, the New World Club started the newspaper *Aufbau*. The founders were Jewish Veterans of World War I. The *Aufbau* intended to give some practical support for the ever increasing number of refugees arriving in New York. Many of them had no means of support. The *Aufbau* provided support in many ways and was intended to alleviate the pain of political persecution by providing a social net of German exiles, united by a common fate. Assimilation to the host country was a goal. In order to lessen the culture shock, the *Aufbau* took the educational approach; in each issue there was a language column on the idiosyncrasies of typical American colloquialisms. The American political and legal systems were explained in lengthy articles. Immigrants were informed about their legal status as well as their rights and duties as “enemy aliens” during the war. The classified section offered job training and rental opportunities with German speaking families. German bakeries advertised the familiar varieties of bread, and German cafes and restaurants announced social gatherings.

The *Aufbau* also had a column which was dedicated to finding missing family members. It was an effort to reestablish communication for those who were separated during their escape from Europe. Although committed to the preservation of the German and Jewish humanistic tradition, the editors of the *Aufbau* felt it was necessary to express the loyalty the immigrants felt towards their host country. They urged their readers to purchase war bonds, and in 1942 they launched a huge campaign to collect money for a war plane to fight Hitler’s army. By 1943 they had raised enough money and were able to present the warplane to the United States Air Force as a token of their support. They named the fighter “Loyalty.” Before the Ameri-
every week from February 1940 on. From the very beginning the Aufbau wanted to be the voice for the "Other Germany." It published the opinion of those who wished to speak up against Hitler's barbarism without denying German culture. "Für deutsche Kultur gegen Nazi Barbarei" was also the slogan of the "Deutsch Amerikanischer Kultur bund," an organization closely linked to the activities of the paper.

But the Aufbau also took active part in soliciting opinions from the exile community. In its August 1935 issue it urged Thomas Mann, who had come to represent the humanistic spirit of the German intellect to the American public, to take a stand against German Fascism. "Thomas Mann aber hat bisher, anders als sein beherzter Bruder, geschwiegen ... Weshalb hört man seine Stimme noch nicht im edlen Chore derer, die das Weltgewissen gegen die ruchlose Schändung des Geistes und der Humanität aufrufen" (August 1935: 7).

Later Thomas Mann became one of the main contributors to the paper. His children, Klaus and Erika, gave lectures at the Club. Klaus Mann gave a talk in November 1936. The title suggests that his lecture was a response to the provocative question his father had been asked by the Aufbau: "Warum versagen die Intellektuellen Deutschlands?"

But Thomas Mann was not the only renowned writer publishing in the Aufbau. The list of contributors is impressive, reflecting the importance this paper had as a forum for the German exiles. The list includes: Hannah Arendt, Julius Bab, Ferdinand Bruckner, Alfred Döblin, Albert Ehrenstein, Lion Feuchtwanger, Leonhard Frank, Yvan Goll, Hermann Hesse, Richard Huelsenbeck, Alfred Kerr, Hermann Kesten, Klaus Mann, Heinrich Mann, Franz Werfel, Alfred Wolfenstein, Carl Zuckmayer, and Stefan Zweig.

Book reviews were an important part of the paper. Many books discussed dealt with the question of Jewish identity amidst Nazi persecution. In April 1935, for example, three books were discussed: One was a biography of Heinrich Heine by Max Brod. He describes Heine as "einen Dichter der zweifachen Diaspora," one being Jewish and the other being a political exile in France. Heine's ambiguous love-hate relationship with Germany and his baptism as "Eintrittskarte in die bürgerliche Welt" as he put it himself, were of immediate interest to this generation of exiles (April 1935: 11).

The other two books discussed in this issue were a work by Alfred Döblin, entitled Jüdische Erneuerung and a book entitled Jüdische Kunst.

Both studies tried to explain the specific Jewish culture by reflecting on the religious background as a frame of reference.

Many articles and book reviews dealt with the quest for a Jewish identity, but the preservation of German culture and language was equally important. Franz Werfel writes:


Some novels are published completely, other as excerpts. For example Franz Werfel's April im Oktober and Lion Feuchtwanger's Der Tag wird kommen were published in serial form. Parts of other novels were printed, including Stefan Heym's novel about the Nazi occupation of Czechoslovakia, Hostages, Thomas Mann's Doktor Faustus, and Alfred Döblin's November 1918.

Since literature played such an important role in the efforts to keep up the "Other Germany," Aufbau tried to engage in a dialogue with the traditional voice of the German American community in New York, the New Yorker Staatszeitung und Herold. The Staatszeitung was the newspaper for the German-American population in "Little German." A political discussion about Hitler's Fascism was carefully avoided in the political sections of the papers. Although traditionally nationalistic and pro-Fascist, the Staatszeitung tried to avoid any confrontation with the Jewish Aufbau. However, this confrontation, which did not take place in the political part of the paper, emerges in the literature section. This demonstrates the importance of the arts as a means of establishing national identity in a politically precarious situation.
Although the Staatszeitung had many Jewish journalists in leading positions, it lacked a clear position on the political events in Nazi Germany. The Nuremberg Laws of 1935 were completely ignored in the political column. And the only context in which the Staatszeitung acknowledged the destruction of thousands of businesses and private homes was in its references to great buying opportunities for German Americans in Germany. This advertisement appeared in the business section.

According to the Aufbau, the Staatszeitung did not openly promote Nazi ideology. It was the policy of the Staatszeitung to dismiss the voices of the victims of the Nazi regime as anti-German propaganda and to adopt the language of the official German press, with slogans such as “deutschstämmig, deutschblütig” etc. Reports about torture and persecution of the political opposition were reported in indirect speech, to indicate the dubious nature of these reports. It was in its literary supplement that the political sympathies became most obvious: “(man weicht ... der Besprechung literarisch wertvoller Neuerscheinungen, deren Verfasser nicht ins Nazihorn stoßen konnten) und während man für Bekundungen des neuen deutschen Geistes jederzeit Neigung und Raum übrig hat” (December 1935: 5).

On several occasions the Aufbau tried to engage the Staatszeitung in a discussion about the political events in Germany. In June 1937 the Aufbau confronted the Staatszeitung about its ambiguous language and position toward the role of the Jewish people in German culture. The Staatszeitung declined to answer those questions. The Aufbau comments: “die Staatszeitung ... hat löblicherweise auf den Versuch verzichtet, zwischen schollenduftender Arteigenheit und geschäftiger Berechnung den Eiertanz einer Erwiederung aufzuführen. Man hat einfach die Aussage verweigert und so die Klarheit geschaffen, nach der wir riefen” (July 1937: 1).

Since direct political confrontation failed, a more subtle investigation was needed to determine the political outlook of the paper. Surprisingly enough it was the literary supplement that revealed the anti-semitic attitude of which the Aufbau had been suspicious: “... und tatsächlich hat bis heute der Judenhass nur in zwei Redaktionsabteilungen seine Fratze zum Fenster hinaustreckt: im 'Briefkasten' sowie in der Literatur usw. Sektion des Sonntagsblattes.”

Therefore the Aufbau came to a devastating conclusion about the Staatszeitung:

Das Dritte Reich hat an der New Yorker Staatszeitung einen Rückhalt, wie ihn sich die Nazis nicht besser wünschen können. Wenn sich die Hitlerische in der wichtigsten dieses Landes tiefer eingefressen hat und die Zersetzung des alten deutschen Vereinswesens weiter fortgeschritten ist als irgend einem anderen Platz der Vereinigten Staaten, so ist dies zu einem entscheidenden Teil dem genannten Blatt zuzuschreiben. (December 1935: 5)

This rivalry and clash of opinion between the two papers can be interpreted as an expression of the different attitudes their respective clientele had towards political events in Germany. It shows how literature constitutes an identity in a foreign environment. Therefore the literary debate between the two papers takes on the function of a political confrontation, which was carefully avoided by the Staatszeitung. The literary supplements take on the additional dimension of defining the ethical and political values, the identity of an ethnic group. In this respect an investigation of the literary section of the Aufbau and the Staatszeitung will yield valuable information on the interaction between the well established German-American population and the influx of Jewish and political refugees from Nazi Germany.

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Notes

1 See the Hollywood Elegien.
2 See his autobiography Als war's ein Stück von mir (Frankfurt: Fischer Verlag, 1969), as well as his wife's account of the time, Die Farm in den grünen Bergen (Frankfurt: Fischer, 1956).
3 “Sie standen dem Reichsbund jüdischer Frontsoldaten nahe. Ein Bekenntnis deutscher Juden zum Deutschland schien damals (als der Verein gegründet wurde) angebracht” (January 1935: 1).
4 “Der Zweck des Klubs ist die Heranbildung seiner Mitglieder zu guten amerikanischen Bürgern und zu selbstbewussten Juden...” Statute 1, in the editorial of each issue.
5 It continues: “Diese, die zwar für Bubo-Schund Besprechungsraum hat, dagegen das Rezensions-Exemplar von Mark Waldmanns ‘Goethe and the
Over the years, scholars have bestowed a plethora of names and titles upon Ludwig Tieck, including, but certainly not limited to, "König der Romantik," "Vater der Romantik," "das Schulbeispiel für den romantischen Character" (Stopp 256), "the 'inventor' of Waldeinsamkeit" and "the originator of the mond beglänzte Zaubernacht" (Gries 157). What arises from this listing is an informal confirmation of the commonly held notion that Tieck's oeuvre belongs part and parcel to the Romantic movement. Yet for all of the seeming agreement about Tieck's role as an originator and main proponent of the Romantic spirit, there is still a lot of controversy among scholars about his works. One pithy summation of the problem claims that Tieck has never been "als geistige Einheit erfasst worden, sondern immer romantischer Torso geblieben" (Thalmann 117).

This image of the torso, something broken and incomplete, refers to the status of Tieck criticism in which his early works, with their Waldeinsamkeit and Zaubernacht, have come to be so far privileged above his later production as to leave his most mature writings in a shadow of comparative critical neglect. To give yet another critical summation: "Vittoria Accorombona, Ludwig Tieck's Meisterwerk ... ist heute fast vergessen" (Taraba 329). This may seem to be an oxymoron, that a "Meisterwerk" can be "vergessen," but a quick look at the criticism bears this out. For example: in two of the standard literary biographies of Tieck, Edwin Zeydel's 1935 Ludwig Tieck, the German Romanticist and Roger Paulin's 1985 Ludwig Tieck, a Literary Biography, a total of seven pages are devoted to discussion of Vittoria Accorombona. Perhaps even more disturbing is the fact that these seven pages also happen to be riddled with incorrect summaries of the action of the book and serious misrepresentations of its style and goals. In spite of Tieck's position as a recognizably "canonized" writer, this