

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).

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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.³ 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.⁴ 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-

can invasion of Europe, readers of the *Aufbau* collected aerial photographs, postcards and maps to help the army gain orientation in European territory. This endeavor was named "Aktion Landkarte."

The social as well as the intellectual activities of the German-Jewish Club were also quite impressive. In addition to dances and festivities associated with the Jewish calendar, such as a Hanukkah party or a New Year's dance, there were weekly lectures on various topics. In February 1934, for example, there was a lecture on Franz Schubert and the *Biedermeierzeit*, another one on the emancipation of women as a topic in modern literature, both in German, and a lecture in English with the title: "Facing the Jewish Future."

The names of the guest lecturers reflected the high intellectual level of these events. The announcements of these lectures are sad testimony of the expulsion of Jews from Germany. The list of speakers reads like a "Who's Who" of German intellectual and public life before Hitler. The fact that these announcements always refer to the many merits of the guest speakers in the past tense is a bitter reminder of their expulsion. For example, the presenter of a lecture entitled: "Jüdische Dichter deutscher Nation" was introduced: "Peter Flamm war einer der angesehensten Schriftsteller des vor Hitler-Deutschlands, Verfasser mehrerer Romane, Mitarbeiter des Berliner Tageblattes und Schriftführer des P.E.N. - Clubs" (January 1935: 3).

New York was for many refugees the last stop in a long odyssey, and one of the few places left to go. It is ironic that because of the persecution of Germany's intellectuals, the *Aufbau* always had an abundance of talent available for its lectures and as free lance writers. Over the years, the *Aufbau* grew from a small newsletter for its members to the most important journal of the German-speaking exile community in the United States. As early as February 1935 the *Aufbau* was shipped to France, Switzerland, Holland, Spain, Palestine, and Germany. In Germany it was prohibited in December 1935. The *Aufbau* comment: "Wir betrachten dies als die größte Anerkennung, die unserer Zeitung zuteil geworden ist. Unseres Wissens ist zum Beispiel der *New Yorker Staatszeitung* noch nie die Ehre widerfahren, in Deutschland verboten zu werden" (December 1935: 6).

From December 1934 to February 1939 the *Aufbau* appeared monthly, increasing in volume from 8 to over 20 pages. After the resolution of some financial difficulties in 1939, the *Aufbau* appeared

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 Kulturbund," 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:

Die besondere Aufgabe besteht für mich noch in folgendem: es fällt dem *Aufbau* wie keiner anderen Zeitung die Pflicht der Bewahrung des deutschen Kulturgutes zu. Deshalb darf er keineswegs nur ein "Jüdisches Familienblatt" sein. Er hat auch für die politischen Flüchtlinge und für die Menschen aus anderen Religionsgemeinschaften einzutreten. Er muß den geistigen Besitz mitverwalten, der seit der Aufklärungszeit bis Hitler von europäischen Menschen geschaffen worden ist. Gerade der *Aufbau* hat die Mission, jene Spannungen zu erhalten, die zu großen Schöpfungen geführt und das Kulturleben eines ganzen Jahrhunderts geformt haben. Die Überzeugung, daß diese Pflicht erfüllt werden müsse, hat auch alle wichtigen Autoren bewogen, sich an der Arbeit für das Blatt zu beteiligen. (January 1942: 12)

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 Herald*. 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 Nürnberg 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 adapt 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, konsequent aus, . . . , 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 Erwiderung 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 hinausgestreckt: im 'Briefkasten' sowie in der Literatur usw. Sektion des Sonntagsblattes."⁵

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 Hitlerei in der wichtigsten dieses Landes tiefer eingefressen hat und die Zersetzung des alten deutschen Vereinswesens weiter fortgeschritten ist als an 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.⁶ 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 wär'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 Deutschtum 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 Rezensionsexemplar von Mark Waldmanns 'Goethe and the

Jews. A Challenge to Hitlerism' eisig zurücksandte, ist freilich für ihr Verhalten vom Schicksal bereits hart gezüchtigt worden: als die Redaktion nach einem historischen Roman zum Preise ihres hochheiligen Fridericus suchte, versagte ihr unfehlbarer Rasseinstinkt . . . so gründlich, daß sie das Erzeugnis einer volljüdischen Feder erkör . . . !" (July 1937: 2).

⁶Parallels to Günther Wallraff's investigation of the Bild Zeitung are striking. Wallraff tries to prove that the political message of the paper is to be found in the sports section.

Ludwig Tieck and the Renaissance: Questions of Canon on the Cusp of Realism

Jennifer Cizik Marshall

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 *mondbeglänzte 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.¹ In spite of Tieck's position as a recognizably "canonized" writer, this