



MAX KADE CENTER FOR GERMAN-AMERICAN STUDIES

NOVEMBER 1998

In Memoriam Professor John Anthony "Toni" Burzle

On November 4, friends, colleagues, and students gathered for a memorial service honoring Professor Toni Burzle, who died on September 23 at the age of ninety. William Keel, Anita Herzfeld, Oscar Haugh, Francis Heller, and Helmut Huelsbergen and Ursula Arnold Huelsbergen spoke about the many ways in which Toni Burzle touched our lives at the University of Kansas. We learned, for example, that Professor Burzle liked traditional German folk songs and played the guitar with the German Club at KU and in the summer institutes. At the end of his life, when he was hospitalized at Brandon Woods, one of his few pleasures was listening and humming or singing along to recordings of these songs. At the service Tom Schultz, graduate student in German and librarian at the Max Kade Center, who played the guitar and sang several of Professor Burzle's favorites ("Am Brunnen vor dem Tore," "Wem Gott will rechte Gunst erweisen," "Du, du liegst mir im Herzen," and "Muss i denn").

At the end of his life he was a proud citizen of the United States, who proudly led fellow Kiwanis members in singing a rousing chorus of "My Country, 'Tis of Thee."



Born in Munich on May 20, 1908, Toni Burzle studied in Munich and Dijon and received a Ph.D. in German from the University of Munich in 1932. There he taught courses in German for foreign students, one of whom was his

future wife, Muriel Wittmann. Their marriage in 1935 brought Toni to Canada, where he taught at the University of Manitoba for ten years.

In 1945 Toni accepted a position as assistant professor of German at KU and within two years became chairman of the department. During the two decades of his leadership he rebuilt the undergraduate and graduate programs in German; strengthened the program in Russian; negotiated numerous student exchanges for KU with universities in Germany and other European countries, and initiated summer language institutes for KU students to study foreign languages while immersed in the foreign culture.

Under the auspices of the State Department he directed the Foreign Student Orientation Center at the University of Kansas from 1951 to 1976. For years he was KU's adviser to the Fulbright program and served on the national screening committee for Fulbright applications to Germany. He was a con-

Newsletter of the Max Kade Center

Editor: Frank Baron; e-mail: fbaron@kuhub.cc.ukans.edu

Department of Germanic Languages and Literatures; The University of Kansas, Lawrence, KS 66045

Telephone: (785) 864-4803; Fax: (785) 864-4298

sultant for the Institute of International Education; the Council on International Educational Exchange; Inter Nationes; and the Austro-American Institute of Education. From 1967 to 1972, Toni served as associate dean of the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences and later as director of the Office of Foreign Studies, now the Office of Study Abroad. He retired in 1976.

Toni developed a friendship with Max Kade, a German immigrant whose cough remedy made him wealthy. A relationship with the Max Kade Foundation in the 1960s led to the establishment of a distinguished visiting professorship for German in 1964, the addition of valuable art works to the collections in the Spencer Museum of Art, and the creation, together with his colleague Erich Albrecht, of the Max Kade Center for German-American Studies in 1968. Toni continued as director of the center until 1989.

Together with Albrecht, Toni organized the first symposium on German-American Literature and Culture at the University of Kansas in 1976, a meeting that led to the holding of annual symposia by the Society for German-American Studies. Toni was appointed first editor of the Society's *Yearbook of German-American Studies* in 1981. In the five years of his editorship, the Society's journal developed into a recognized scholarly outlet for multidisciplinary research in the field of German-American Studies. In his capacity as editor of the *Yearbook*, Toni also served on the executive board of the SGAS from 1981 to 1985.

When he learned of Toni's death, Don Tolzmann of the University of Cincinnati, president of the

Society for German-American Studies, stressed how much the society owed to Toni, who played a crucial role as the founding editor of the *Yearbook of German-American Studies*. "At a critical stage in the history of the society, he took on the challenge as editor of the new *Yearbook*. He placed this yearbook on solid foundations, attracting a worldwide readership, so that it has become the recognized flagship publication in the field of German-American studies."

In recognition of his many accomplishments in German-American educational and cultural relations, Toni was awarded the Grand Cross of the Order of Merit by the Federal Republic of Germany in 1967 and the Silver Medal by the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation in 1969. The Command and General Staff College at Fort Leavenworth conferred its Leavenworth Lamp Award on Toni in 1975 for his pioneering efforts in making KU courses available to officers at the fort. In 1985, the Society for German-American Studies recognized his contributions as founding editor of the yearbook with a leather-bound edition of the *Yearbook* during the annual symposium held at the University of Nebraska.

Toni's lasting impact on KU, its programs and its students is summed up in the words expressed by the dean of the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences, Bob Cobb, on the occasion of Toni's retirement in 1976:

It is very difficult for me to contemplate your retirement, . . . Your contributions to the University have been monumental. I lose no occasion to assert that were it not for your tender administrations we

would not now have a Foreign Study Program. But the list is much larger than that and would require a volume to enumerate.

Now is not the time for me to express in any way the range of my private and public debt to you for the support that you have shown the Department of German, the College, and—always in all matters—the larger University. Others can speak more eloquently to those achievements than can I, but let me say how much I appreciate them personally and how much I always shall.

Toni's contributions to KU's international programs and to German-American Studies were indeed monumental. I will cherish the memories of working together with Toni and with Helmut Huelsbergen on the *Yearbook of German-American Studies*, as well as of our efforts to secure a permanent home for the Max Kade Center. I know that Toni appreciated the richly deserved recognition he received during the dedication of the Max Kade Center in this room six years ago.

Whenever I saw him in his last years, his first question was "How is enrollment in German?" or "How is enrollment for Holzkirchen?" He really never gave up. And that was the secret of his success.

William Keel



Professor Burzle and Max Kade

To appreciate how much Professor Burzle did for the University of Kansas we must be aware of his success in persuading Max Kade to support German studies and international programs. Fortunately, in a 1971 article we have Professor Burzle's own words describing this productive relationship. (Reprinted from German-American Studies, 1971, vol. 3, p. 3)

The University of Kansas's relationship with the Max Kade foundation, and our personal friendship with the late Max Kade extends over the past two decades. It began in the fall of 1949 when my wife and I first visited Dr. Kade in his little office near Battery Place in New York asking for, and receiving, aid for our first exchange scholarships to Germany.

I still remember our conversation with the spry old gentleman; I recall his agile mind, his quick wit, his energetic gestures, and his wide knowledge in the sciences, the humanities, and the arts. Our brief courtesy visit turned into an extended stimulating conversation, particularly when he learned of our interest in art and invited us to view the rare Albrecht Dürer prints which he had just acquired. It was his engaging dry humor, his love for poetry that at once endeared him to us: "I really should not give you any money for Kansas" he replied to my request for aid, "I could never sell my Pertussin there." My wife's retort that "the Kansas climate is so healthy that we don't need much medication for coughs," melted the ice, and brought the first "Max Kade Scholarship" funds to the University of Kansas.

The formula for Pertussin, the cough remedy, which the young Swabian had taken to the New World from little Schwäbisch-Hall on the Kocher at the turn of the century, had brought him fame and fortune, and had enabled him to assemble one of the finest private collections of graphic art in the world.

Our friendship was maintained through the years when he gave our Museum of Art a copy of the splen



Max Kade

did facsimile edition of the *Weisskunig* which the Max Kade foundation had published, when he helped us establish the Max Kade Distinguished Professorship in German, when he aided us with the University of Kansas Junior Year in Germany, donated funds for the annual Max Kade Lectures, and one year ago established the Max Kade German-American Document and Research Center, the only center dedicated to research in German-American studies. His great interest in international education inspired him to build Max Kade Residence halls and libraries in Ger-

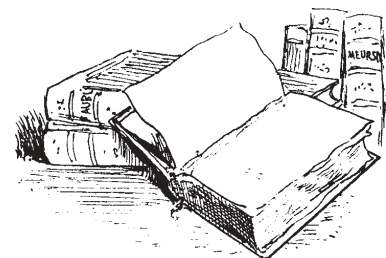
many, Austria, Switzerland, and on several U.S. campuses. The Max Kadeheim in Munich still reserves space for students from the University of Kansas studying at the University of Munich.

It remained one of the highlights of our trips to the east coast that we could visit with the old gentleman in his New York office, listen to him recite poetry, and chat with him about German literature and the arts.

It was there that we met and became friends of Dr. Erich Markel, then executive vice-president of the Max Kade Foundation, and now its president. We found in Dr. Markel the same wide interest in the humanities and the arts, the same philanthropic spirit that had made Dr. Kade one of the great benefactors of German-American education.

In 1970 the Max Kade foundation gave our Museum of Art perhaps the most generous gift of its long association with the University of Kansas. A collection of ninety-four outstanding master prints, ranging from Albrecht Dürer's *Ritter, Tod und Teufel* to the twentieth-century from Dr. Kade's personal collection, was added to our museum holdings.

J. A. Burzle



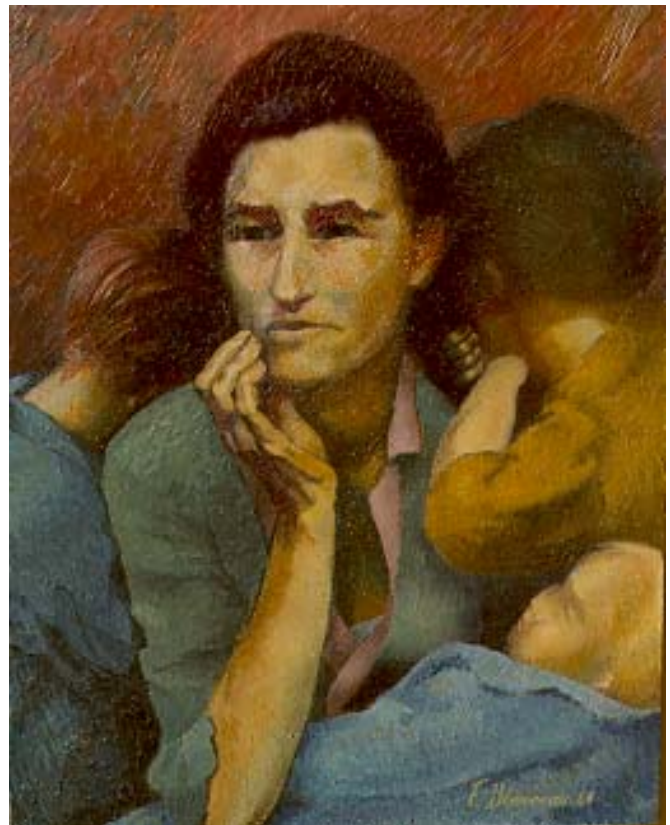
Acquisitions of the Max Kade Center

Jimmy Morrison, a former undergraduate and graduate student in German at the University of Kansas, is president and chief executive officer of the Siemens Transportation Systems, Inc., in Iselin, New Jersey. His company's generous contributions to the Max Kade Center over a period of five years will make it possible to intensify our lecture program and acquisition of books.

The Max Kade Center recently became home for the works and writings of Fritz Blumenau, an exile artist from Berlin, who immigrated to the United States in 1937 and lived in Detroit until his death in 1983. Ms. Ruth Oberhansli, a close friend of the artist during the last years of his life, entrusted the center with Blumenau's art collection and diaries. Blumenau's works record life in Berlin between 1904 until 1937. After his arrival in Detroit, Blumenau documented his impressions of America in doing landscapes and portraits.

Fritz Blumenau

September 20, 1889	Born in Berlin
ca. 1907-1909	Attended the Technical University of Berlin (Charlottenburg)
1909-1914	Worked for an architectural firm
1914-1918	Served in the German army as a communication specialist, spending two years on the French front and later on the Russian front
1922	Married Angela Dudzinski
ca. 1925-1937	Advertising manager for the Hermann Joseph department store
1928	Birth of son, Frank
1937	Immigrated to the United States
1937-ca. 1944	Worked as a free-lance graphic designer in Detroit
ca. 1944-1954	Worked as a designer for Fisher Body (General Motors) in Detroit
November 15, 1965	Death of wife
December 2, 1983	Death



In Exile (Oil, 1964)

Albert Bloch

Another recent acquisition of the Max Kade Center is a complete set of Albert Bloch's manuscripts, lectures, papers, and correspondence. The rich collection of materials about the "American Blue Rider" was the documentary basis for the retrospective exhibitions in the Nelson-Atkins Museum, the Lenbachhaus, and the Wilmington Museum of Art in 1997. This new resource joins a growing archive of materials that includes Bloch's extensive and newly discovered caricature work for the St. Louis newspapers. The Max Kade Center now also has Bloch's original pen drawing of *Dawn* (*Faust II*, Act I, 1945), on display with the John M. Spalek Exile Collection.

The Mirror, 1909



BLOCH'S MUNICH SKETCHES
Spirit of the Press as Manifested in the Cafes

Symposium on Exiles in America

October 16-17, 1998

The acquisition of the John M. Spalek Exile Collection was the catalyst for the symposium we organized this fall. We were fortunate to have highly respected scholars participate. Professor Spalek, keynote speaker, was optimistic in assessing the role that the Max Kade Center could play as a research center in immigration and exile studies.

Wolfgang Griep, librarian at the Landesbibliothek in Eutin (Lawrence's sister city), came to the symposium with a proposal. His presentation about Wilhelm August Otto was based on a previously overlooked correspondence of about 200 letters. These letters tell of the outbreak of the revolution in 1848 and his later experiences as an immigrant in America, thus revealing a significant segment of nineteenth-century German-American history. Dr. Griep is proposing that these letters be published jointly by the Eutin Landesbibliothek and the Max Kade Center.

Our symposium attracted distinguished visitors: Barbara Johr and Gert Sautermeister from Bremen, Erhard Bahr from UCLA, Egon Schwarz and Paul Michael Lützel from St. Louis, Consul General Michael Engelhard

from Chicago, and Honorary Consul Willard Snyder from Kansas City. We also appreciated the contributions of colleagues from neighboring universities and colleges. Patricia and David Brodsky, both of the University of Missouri at Kansas City, wrote:

We wanted to write and congratulate you on the fine conference that you organized recently, "The Legacy of the 1848-1933-1945 Exiles in America." The quality of the speakers was very high. We especially appreciated the care that had gone into the organizing of the panels. We feel that the combined focus on 1848 and 1933 worked very well; the juxtaposition made the audience reconsider these events in a new context. Finally, we enjoyed the interdisciplinary nature of the papers, which ranged from literature to film, from European to American history, from science to politics to personal memoirs.

Charles Reitz, of the Kansas City Kansas Community College, also commented:

The interdisciplinary dimension of the weekend was extraordinary: Brecht's poetry in and of Los Angeles; exile German film artists and Hollywood anti-fascism; the dialectic of 20th Century German politics and its impact on American natural science;

Bolivian exile as "port in the storm" in the biography of emigrant Egon Schwarz; the freethought history of 1848 in Baden and Lawrence; the freshened classical aesthetic of KU students performing chamber music from Central Europe; Erika Mann's political speeches during her exile in the United States!

The conference brought together scholars of astonishing creativity and clarity. In combination, their synergy and strength had a buoyant effect. Those who attended will certainly be looking toward KU's German Department and the Max Kade Center as a generative force for the highest quality advancement of German-American studies. The acquisition of the Spalek exile collection has immensely enhanced the status of the Sudler House/KU Max Kade Center. It is now a nationally visible magnet for scholars and a new primary site for productive collaboration in this field.

Although we are not able to include all the presentations at the symposium, we decided to present abridged texts of talks by Professors Jim Woelfel and Richard Schowen. Because of the importance of these and other contributions of the symposium, we expect them to be published at a later date in an expanded and documented form.

Living and Thinking "On the Boundary": Paul Tillich in America

Jim Woelfel

Paul Tillich is one of the pre-eminent theologians and philosophers of religion of the twentieth century, and also a notable exile who reflected a good deal on his exile. Immigrating to the United States in 1933, at the age of 47, he wrote his major works and achieved his greatest influence in this country. While he was still in Germany, Tillich began defining himself and his thought as occupying the "boundary" between alternative

modes of existence and ways of thinking. After he came to America he applied the metaphor of the boundary to his relationship to his homeland and his adopted land, and it still seems to me the most fruitful way to illuminate how he understood his exile. I'll begin my remarks with a brief biographical sketch, and then I want to look at two short autobiographical writings by Tillich: *On the Boundary*, first published only three years after he

came to the U.S., and the "Autobiographical Reflections" he wrote in 1952 for a volume of essays entitled *The Theology of Paul Tillich*.

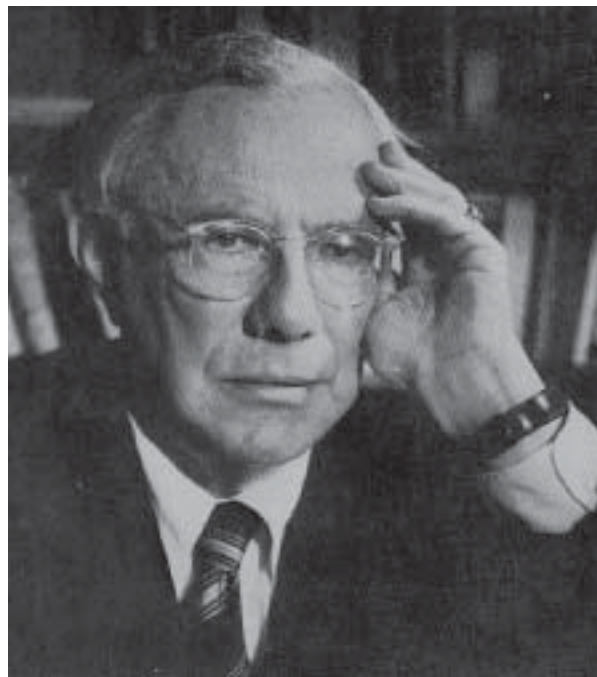
Paul Johannes Tillich was born in 1886 in Starzeddel, a small town in Prussia. His father was a Lutheran minister who became a superintendent or "bishop" of the diocese of Schönfliess-Neumark when Paul was four. In 1900 the family moved from the small, medieval town of Schönfliess to Berlin. After his

schooling at humanistic *Gymnasia* first in Königsberg-Neumark and then in Berlin, Tillich studied in the theological faculties of Berlin, Tübingen, Breslau, and Halle. In 1911 he received the Ph.D. in philosophy from the University of Breslau, and in 1912 the degree of Licentiate of Theology from Halle. (He always considered himself both a philosopher and a theologian, and at different periods held university appointments in one or the other.) Tillich was ordained to the ministry of the Evangelical Lutheran Church the same year. In 1914, with the outbreak of the First World War, he volunteered as a chaplain in the German army and served throughout the war.

In 1919 Tillich was appointed to the faculty of theology at the University of Berlin, where he taught for five years and developed what he called a “theology of culture,” lecturing on the relation of religion to politics, art, philosophy, depth psychology, and sociology. He became professor of theology at the University of Marburg in 1924, where for the year he was there he was a colleague of Martin Heidegger. Having earlier contracted a brief marriage that ended in divorce, Tillich in 1924 married Hannah Werner. They later had a daughter and a son. He went on to teach theology at the Universities of Dresden (1925-29) and Leipzig (1928-29), and then philosophy at the University of Frankfurt am Main (1929-33). Tillich lectured and wrote extensively. The essay based on lectures and addresses he gave was Tillich’s favorite mode of writing, and some of his major books are collections of essays.

Immediately after World War I, Tillich was one of the founders of

the religious-socialist movement in Germany. Although deeply influenced by Marx’s critical analysis of capitalism and bourgeois society, and active in advocating workers rights and fundamental economic and political change, the religious socialists rejected economic materialism, utopianism, and all forms



Paul Tillich

of purely secular and doctrinaire socialism in favor of a holistic and broadly religious vision of society. Tillich was actively involved, particularly in the theoretical work of the movement, producing books and articles on religious socialism throughout the 1920s and into the 1930s. (He was also a member of the Social Democratic Party.) It was his long and outspoken association with religious socialism, his active support of Jews, and his anti-Nazi speeches and writings that led to his appearing on the first list of German academics, and the only non-Jewish faculty member at Frankfurt, to be dismissed from their posts when Hitler came to power in 1933.

Fortunately, by then Tillich’s reputation had crossed the Atlantic.

The distinguished American theologian Reinhold Niebuhr had been in Germany during the summer of 1933, shortly after Tillich’s dismissal, and it was chiefly Niebuhr who persuaded a reluctant Tillich to emigrate. The dean and faculty of Union Theological Seminary in New York City, at that time

America’s most prestigious center for theological studies, offered Tillich a position, and each of the faculty contributed 5% of his salary in order to pay Tillich’s salary until it could be accommodated in the following year’s budget. This was no small sacrifice in the depths of the Great Depression!

So Tillich, with his family, began a new life in the United States when he was 47 years old and, as he relates it, “without even a minimum knowledge of the language.” He was a member of the Union Seminary

faculty until his retirement in 1955. During the 1930s and 1940s, in addition to his teaching and substantial writing, he was actively involved in refugee work with the Federal Council of Churches (now the National Council) and participated in the 1937 Oxford ecumenical conference of what would become the World Council of Churches.

Tillich continued to participate in the religious-socialist movement in the U.S., and chaired the Council for a Democratic Germany during the war years. For fifteen years Tillich also chaired Self-Help for Emigrés from Central Europe, an organization that gave counsel and help to the thousands of refugees, most of them Jews, who were arriving from Europe every year. In 1938 at a rally in Madison Square

Garden Tillich gave his first political speech in English, attacking Nazi anti-Semitism and affirming the unity of Christians and Jews. He became an American citizen in 1940. Tillich, Reinhold Niebuhr, and others formed the executive committee of the Christian Council on Palestine, which promoted understanding of Zionism and urged American clergy to support a homeland for Jews.

A revealing footnote to Tillich's activities during the war years that has been largely unknown in the U.S., except among Tillich scholars, is the fact that from 1942 to 1944 Tillich made 112 radio broadcasts to Germany for the Voice of America, passionately calling his fellow Germans to repudiate and liberate themselves from the Third Reich with arguments based on both humanistic and Christian values and on realistic political insight. Of course Tillich spoke out of his love for the German people in condemning Nazism and anti-Semitism—an outlook which ironically got him blacklisted by the U.S. Army as “pro-German.” American bureaucrats and military officials were at that time in no mood to appreciate the distinction between being pro-German and pro-Nazi! In the years following the war Tillich traveled to Germany several times to lecture and receive honors. He was deeply gratified by his reception there, as well as by the fact that his books published in English were being translated and published in Germany.

Following his retirement from Union Seminary, Tillich held distinguished professorships at Harvard University until 1962 and then at the University of Chicago until his death in 1965. At both institutions he taught undergraduate courses to overflowing classrooms, as well as graduate-level classes. With his

broad humanistic interests and philosophical and cultural approach to Christianity, Tillich during his years in America communicated both to reflective but troubled believers and to secularized intellectuals a renewed appreciation of religion as the dimension of “ultimate concern” manifested in the many and diverse aspects of human cultures.

I want to turn now to Tillich's own reflections on his exile, first shortly after he came to the U.S. and then some twenty years later. In 1936 he published *The Interpretation of History*. The introduction was a long autobiographical sketch that he called “On the Boundary.” His book of the same title was published separately, in 1966. In 1929 he wrote that “The boundary is the best place for acquiring knowledge.” Now the metaphor of inhabiting the boundary can bear various interpretations. For example, it could mean occupying a kind of “no man's land” between contrasting ways of life and thought, in which there is no active engagement with either side. Or it might mean “fencestraddling,” perched between alternatives without choosing either. Or we could imagine a boundary as designating the fringes rather than the heart of the territory on either side.

But it is clear that Tillich understood his position on the boundary *dialectically*. Indeed, he used to describe his entire intellectual project as a “mediating theology” employing a dialectical method that he characterized in its original Socratic sense. He wrote in the “Author's Introduction” to his 1948 book of essays entitled *The Protestant Era*: “Dialectics is the way of seeking for truth by talking with others from different points of view, through ‘Yes’ and ‘No,’ until a ‘Yes’ has been reached which is hardened

in the fire of many ‘No's’ and which unites the elements of truth promoted in the discussion.” For Tillich, inhabiting the boundary meant living and thinking in a constant internal dialogue: existentially and intellectually experiencing both of two contrasting alternatives, incorporating and preserving what he believed was true in each while rejecting what was false, and creatively forging out of this “Yes” and “No” a new, mediating perspective. He interpreted the development not only of his thought but also of his life in this dialectical manner. The dialectical, mediating approach to everything completely defines Tillich's thought and represents his distinctive contribution to philosophy and theology.

On the Boundary, consists of a series of twelve chapters, each of which begins with the word “between” and deals with two contrasting alternatives that have characterized Tillich's personal and intellectual experience. Thus, for example, we have “Between Two Temperaments,” about the influence on him of his parents' different backgrounds and personalities; “Between City and Country,” contrasting the small-town, rural world of his earliest years with his life in Berlin; “Between Religion and Culture,” in which Tillich's immersion in both the church and the larger society lays the foundation for his view that “religion is the substance of culture, culture the form of religion”; and “Between Theology and Philosophy,” which describes the roots of the dialectic that is the perspectival and methodological heart of his thought.

In keeping with the focus of this presentation, I want to look only at the last chapter, “Between Native and Alien Land,” in which Tillich talks about his recent uprooting from Germany and new beginnings

in the U.S. As in much of *On the Boundary*, his reflections here are heavily philosophical and theological, and schematic rather than narrative in character. He begins: "The boundary between native land and alien country is not merely an external boundary marked off by nature or by history. It is also the boundary between two inner forces, two possibilities of human existence." Tillich immediately invokes the figure of Abraham, who is called to leave his native land, Ur of the Chaldees, by a God who transcends all tribal or national boundaries and demands that his followers do so as well. Tillich's succeeding remarks are permeated by the Christian themes of the transcendence and universality of God, the unity of humankind, and the relativizing of national loyalties.

"In every sense of the word," Tillich continues, "I have always stood between native and alien land. . . . I began to be an 'emigrant' personally and spiritually long before I actually left my homeland." Distinguishing between "physical" emigration and "spiritual" emigration, he characterizes spiritual emigration as a "break with ruling authorities and prevailing social and political patterns" in either passive or active resistance, or even as an entirely inward "parting from accepted lines of belief and thought." Tillich saw himself as a spiritual emigrant in both senses while he was still in Germany—as a Christian, an intellectual, and a religious socialist.

Of his ties to Germany, Tillich wrote, "My attachment to my native land in terms of landscape, language, tradition and mutuality of historical destiny has always been so instinctive that I could never understand why it should have to be made an object of special attention." He saw an extreme emphasis on

nationalism, such as had happened in Germany, as reflecting an insecurity about national identity. "I have always felt so thoroughly German by nature that I could not dwell on the fact at length. Conditions of birth and destiny cannot really be questioned. We should instead ask: What shall we *do* with this which is given in our lives? . . . Accidents of birth do not constitute answers to such questions, because the questions presuppose them." He states that living through World War I shaped his attitude toward nationalism, revealing the "demonic and destructive character of the national will to power."

It is only at the very end of his reflections that Tillich says anything about his new "alien country," the United States. He speaks of it in lofty and symbolic terms that reflect our own national rhetoric:

I was happy to discover on the boundary of this new continent where I now live, thanks to American hospitality, an ideal which is more consistent with the image of one mankind than that of Europe in her tragic self-dismemberment. It is the image of one nation in whom representatives of all nations and races can live as citizens. Although here too the distance between ideal and reality is infinite and the image is often deeply shadowed, nonetheless it is a kind of symbol of that highest possibility of history which is called 'mankind,' and which itself points to that which transcends reality—the Kingdom of God. In that highest possibility, the boundary between native and alien land ceases to exist.

Almost twenty years later, close to the end of his career at Union Theological Seminary, Tillich wrote another autobiographical sketch, this time for his collection of essays, *The Theology of Paul Tillich*, the first volume in the *Library of Living Theology* series. "Autobio-

graphical Reflections," by contrast with *On the Boundary*, is a straightforward life narrative in which Tillich's dialectic of the boundary situation does not provide the overall structure but is embedded in the narrative rather than providing the overall structure.

In 1952 Tillich looks back over two decades of life in the United States, reminiscing particularly on what the community of faculty and students at Union Seminary has meant to him and drawing thoughtful contrasts between aspects of life and thought in Europe and America. Significantly, he now describes his dialectical boundary situation no longer as between a "native land" and an "alien country," but as between the "Old World" and the "New World." "Emigration at the age of forty-seven," he writes, "means that one belongs to two worlds: to the Old as well as to the New into which one has been fully received." He enumerates the ways in which he has maintained his connection with the Old World. One has been the ongoing community of friends who are fellow exiles from Germany. Another has been his work throughout the thirties and the war years as chairman of the Self-Help for Emigrés from Central Europe organization, which, he remarks, "opened to view depths of human anxiety and misery and heights of human courage and devotion which are ordinarily hidden from us." A third avenue of continuing contact has been his chairmanship of the Council for a Democratic Germany. He also refers with great pleasure to his visits to Germany after the war to lecture at various universities.

Tillich describes the "New World" much more knowledgeably and fully than he could have done in 1936. Although he was always realistic about the many faults and

problems of the United States, in the “Autobiographical Reflections” Tillich speaks of his adopted country with something of the same idealism he exhibited in his brief remarks in *On the Boundary*. He writes that “the New World grasped me with its irresistible power of assimilation and creative courage.” He praises the lack of authoritarianism he has seen in the family, schools, politics, and religion in America. “But beyond this,” he continues, “I saw the American courage to go ahead, to try, to risk failures, to begin again after defeat, to lead an experimental life both in knowledge and in action, to be open toward the future, to participate in the creative process of nature and history.”

Tillich often pondered the contrast between the American orientation to the future and the European sense of the past. In the “Autobiographical Reflections” he writes,

To grow up in towns in which every stone is witness of a period many centuries past produces a feeling for history, not as a matter of knowledge, but as a living reality in which the past participates in the present. I appreciated that distinction more fully when I came to America. In lectures, seminars, open houses, and personal conversations with American students, I found that an immediate emotional identification with the reality of the past was lacking. . . . It is the European destiny to experience in every generation the wealth and the tragedy of historical existence, and consequently to think in terms of the past, whereas America’s history started with the loss both of the burden and of the richness of the past. She was able to think in terms of the future.

Tillich appreciated the genuine community that existed at Union Seminary among the faculty and their families and their students, in contrast to what he called the “ex-

treme individualism” of academic life in Germany. He liked American students. In the “Autobiographical Reflections”: “I loved them from the first day because of their human attitude toward everything human (including myself); their openness for ideas, even if strange to them, as my ideas certainly were; their seriousness in study and self-education. . . . The lack of linguistic and historical preparation produced some difficulties, but these were overbalanced by many positive qualities.” He also loved the city of New York, which he called a “bridge between the continents”: a thoroughly cosmopolitan environment in which he got to meet and talk with people from all over the world and in various fields of study and artistic endeavor. He particularly remarks on his fruitful association with leading representatives of the depth psychology movement, some of whom were fellow exiles. He himself was a major figure in bringing the insights of depth psychology into theological reflection.

The philosopher William Barrett, in his 1982 book of reminiscences, *The Truants: Adventures Among the Intellectuals*, describes the community of New York intellectuals in which Tillich moved during those intellectually and artistically exciting decades of the 1940s and 1950s in New York. His descriptions of the excitement generated by the successive visits of the leading French existentialists—Sartre, Beauvoir, and Camus—in the years following the war are particularly interesting. Indeed, it was the “discovery” of existentialism by Americans during the postwar, Cold War period, through the mediation of such people as Barrett, that helped make Tillich widely known and appreciated outside theological circles.

From the beginning of his years

in New York Tillich was closely involved with the Philosophy Department at Columbia University as well as with the theological faculty at Union Seminary. In “Autobiographical Reflections” he describes how the monthly colloquia of the Philosophy Club at Columbia played a large role in introducing him to American philosophy, which was dominated by pragmatism, naturalism, logical positivism, and analytic philosophy. Tillich always claimed that he had learned important things from American philosophy—chiefly its insistence on clarity and precision and its uniting of theory and practice—and we can see him increasingly incorporating these emphases in the books he published during his American years. The structure, themes, and methods of his thought, however, always remained within the traditions of European idealism and existentialism.

Paul Tillich not only *understood* himself as inhabiting a dialectical boundary between European and American cultures, but to a remarkable degree really did *embody* that dialectic in his life and thought. He mediated between the “Old World” and the “New World” in numerous ways, both theoretical and practical. Tillich truly loved and identified himself with his native Germany and with European culture; and he just as truly loved and identified himself with his adopted country and its culture. With the breadth and mediating power of his thought, his wide participation in political and cultural life, his sheer delight in people and in living, and his openness to change, Tillich continued to expand the horizons of his life and thought in America, reinterpreting his German heritage from the perspective of the “New World” and in turn interpreting his American experience in the context of all that he brought to it from Germany.

American Science and European Emigration

Richard Schowen

*In the land of the lemon trees, yellow
and yellow were
Yellow-blue, yellow-green, pungent
with citron sap,
Dangling and spangling, the mic-mac
of mocking birds.*

*In the land of the elm trees, wandering
mariners
Looked on big women, whose ruddy-
ripe images
Wreathed round and round the round
wreath of autumn.*

*They rolled their r's, there, in the land
of the citrons.
In the land of big mariners, the words
they spoke
Were mere brown clods, mere catching
weeds of talk.*

These are the first three verses of the final part of Wallace Stevens's poem *An Ordinary Evening in New Haven*. You will be pleased to know that, toward the end of my talk, I will read to those of you kind enough to endure the rest of what I have to say the remaining three verses. I have read you these verses, first because in a self-serving vein, I felt the reference to the land of the lemon trees might strike a resonant tone with this particular audience and thus win me some undeserved sympathy. Second, I maintain the encounter described by Stevens of the elm tree mariners with the wonders of lemon tree land mirrors in some degree the atmosphere of the encounter of European emigrants with American culture in the era 1933-1945. And finally, there is the occasion of the writing of this poem by Wallace Stevens.

Stevens composed his poem for the Thousandth Meeting of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, its Sesquicentennial Celebra-

tion, held in the Yale Art Gallery on the afternoon and evening of November 4, 1949. He read the poem himself during the evening session, preceding a concerto for trumpet and bassoon with string orchestra composed for the Academy by Paul Hindemith, then in exile as chair of the Yale Music Department. The afternoon session had featured two scientific presentations: a review of cosmic rays by Thomas Johnson of the Brookhaven National Laboratory, and an address entitled *A Physicist Looks at Biology*, by Max Delbrück of the California Institute of Technology.

My general theme is the role of three emigrant scientists, **Max Delbrück**, **Erwin Chargaff**, and **Erwin Schrödinger**, in what now tends to be called the molecular-biological revolution, or the biotechnological revolution. The science I refer to underlies the mapping of the human and other genomes, the current attacks on cancer, AIDS, Alzheimer's disease, and other serious disorders, and is related to cloning and other controversial technologies. It has begun to affect the lives of all of us, and in the foreseeable future it will produce such deep-seated changes in the nature and organization of human life that it can be compared with the agricultural and industrial revolutions.

Max Delbrück (1906-1981), the physicist who looked at biology for the Connecticut Academy in 1949, was born in Berlin-Grünewald September 4, 1906, into a most distinguished academic family. His father, Hans Delbrück, was professor of history at the University of Berlin, and his mother was the granddaughter of one of the

founders of modern chemistry, Justus von Liebig.

Delbrück entered the relatively new field of quantum physics as a doctoral student in Göttingen. He spent a postdoctoral year abroad in 1931 in Denmark with Neils Bohr. A critical event in his association with Bohr was an interest in Bohr's concept of *complementarity*, the idea that the two alternative descriptions of reality that quantum theory permits are in fact both necessary and complementary for a complete description of nature. Delbrück began to think about the implications of this concept for biology.

In 1932, Max Delbrück returned to Berlin as the theoretical assistant to Lise Meitner, the collaborator of Otto Hahn in work on radioactive elements that culminated in the discovery in 1939 of nuclear fission. Meitner's laboratory was located in the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute for Chemistry in Dahlem, the garden suburb of Berlin where the scientifically various institutes of the Kaiser Wilhelm Society had been deliberately clustered to foster interdisciplinary cooperation. A main attraction of the position, Delbrück later said, was the opportunity to nurture his new interest in biology at seminars in the biological institutes.

This last ambition, and much else, was frustrated by the Nazi assumption of power in early 1933. The requirement for *Gleichschaltung*, or alignment with National Socialist policy including most importantly its anti-Semitic core, fell upon the Berlin scientific community along with the rest of German society. Because of the controversial political maneuvering of

Max Planck, the president of the Kaiser Wilhelm Society (which today is called the Max Planck Society), the Society won the right to practice *Selbstgleichschaltung* or “voluntary alignment” and was thus able to attenuate the immediate impact of Nazi policy on its employment of Jewish scientists, including Meitner.

In all public matters, however, Nazification was powerfully apparent and nowhere so instantaneous as in the seminar program at the Harnackhaus, the Society’s main site for important lectures. In February 1933 and thus in the first weeks of the Nazi regime, the podium of the Goethesaal was occupied by one E. Fischer of the nearby Kaiser Wilhelm Institute for Anthropology, Human Heredity, and Eugenics, who spoke on “Racial mixing and mental accomplishment.” His was the institute of the notorious Otmar von Verschuer, teacher of Josef Mengele. Verschuer was to lecture just a year later in the Goethesaal on “Routes to the genetic health of the German people.” In an autobiography prepared for his Nobel Prize, Max Delbrück remarked of this period simply that “the rise of Nazism . . . made official seminars less interesting.”

The result of the Nazification of the seminar program was the retirement of a number of Dahlem scientists from the public seminar scene into small, private scientific meetings at which the participants could trust each other for free discussion. One might mark this kind of event as the beginning of *inner exile*, a concept that played such a role in the tortured postwar apologetics of the physicist Werner Heisenberg, who not only remained in Germany throughout the Nazi period but was the leader of the German atom-bomb research project.

Scientific history owes a good deal to the inner exile at this point of Max Delbrück and two of his Berlin colleagues, K. G. Zimmer and the Russian exile, N.V. Timoféef-Ressovsky. In the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute for Brain Research, the latter two were attempting to understand X-ray induced genetic mutations in the fruit fly *Drosophila*. Delbrück joined them



Max Delbrück

in ten-hour sessions of discussion at Timoféef-Ressovsky’s house. These intense private seminars under normal conditions might well have been replaced by polite and unproductive conversational exchanges within the normal seminar context of the institutes.

The subject was how to use X-radiation to probe the nature and particularly the size and location of the gene, the crucial element of heredity. It must be remembered in our current days of mapping genes, and seeing photos of them on the evening news, that the gene was in 1933 an abstract concept, and even its existence as a physical entity was debatable. So it was an adventurous project in the extreme that Delbrück, Zimmer, and Timoféef-Ressovsky were discussing, and

which they wrote up, rather as something of a proposal for research, in a paper issued in 1935 in Göttingen with a bright green cover. It was entitled “On the nature of mutations and the structure of genes.” The paper, in spite of the obscurity of its publication, did become known and was variously referred to as the “green pamphlet” or the *Dreimännerwerk*, or “three-man paper,” triple authorships being unknown in German science at the time.

The “green pamphlet” leads us directly to another exile-to-be, already in 1933 a scientist of international reputation: **Erwin Schrödinger**, the originator of quantum wave mechanics and professor of theoretical physics at the University of Berlin, whose simple four-letter equation $H = E$ summarizes the relationship of matter and energy with astounding simplicity and efficiency. Schrödinger was not Jewish, but he was immediately repelled by the Nazi barbarism. When he was visited in Berlin by Lindemann, the professor of physics at Oxford, in April 1933 he asked Lindemann to find him a position in England. Lindemann, later to become Churchill’s wartime science advisor, worked quickly, and in October 1933, Schrödinger was elected Fellow of Magdalen College. In November 1933, he was awarded the Nobel Prize in Physics.

Somewhat amazingly, in what he later described as “an unprecedented stupidity,” Schrödinger, an Austrian national, in 1936 accepted a professorship at Graz and returned to Austria. After an adventurous escape in 1938, in October 1939 he accepted a standing invitation from the Irish government to take up residence and scientific work in Dublin.

The prime minister of Ireland, Eamon de Valera, had arranged for the creation in Dublin of an Insti-

tute for Advanced Studies, having noted the emigration of Einstein in 1930 to the newly formed Institute for Advanced Studies at Princeton. De Valera's Institute had two schools, Celtic Studies and Theoretical Physics, and de Valera had made a somewhat spooky undercover trip to Geneva to meet Schrödinger and offer him the foundation professorship in theoretical physics.

Membership in the Dublin Institute entailed the responsibility for statutory public lectures, and Schrödinger agreed to present these in February 1943. He had a copy of the *Dreimännerwerk* of Delbrück and his colleagues in which they laid out their project to map the site and size of the genetic locus by means of X-rays. From the basic idea of the "three men," Schrödinger took up the general problem of how to account for the occurrence and properties of living matter in terms of the new physical principles he had been instrumental in developing over the preceding two decades. His lectures were duly presented and then issued in print in 1944 by Cambridge University Press as a small volume entitled *What Is Life?*

This tiny book has had a gigantic influence on modern developments in biology. It contains a crucial passage in which Schrödinger lays out the idea that the chromosome, or genome, must be a message written in code:

In calling the chromosome fibre a code-script, we mean that the all-penetrating mind, once conceived by Laplace, to which every causal connection lay immediately open, could tell from their structures whether the egg would develop under suitable conditions, into a black cock or a speckled hen, into a fly or a maize plant, a rhododendron, a beetle, a mouse, or a woman . . . But the term code-

script is, of course, too narrow. The chromosome structures are at the same time instrumental in bringing about the development they foreshadow. They are law-code and executive power – or to use another simile, they are architect's plan and builder's craft – in one.

Schrödinger's biographer Walter Moore cites testimonials of the de-



Erwin Schrödinger

cisive influence of *What Is Life?* on their thinking by James Watson, Francis Crick, and Maurice Wilkins, commonly named as the founding triumvirate of molecular biology. Other such testimonials abound. Gunther Stent called the book the "*Uncle Tom's Cabin* of the revolution in biology." Moore says "There is no other instance in the history of science in which a short semipopular book catalyzed the future development of a great field of research. The influence of the book continues to be felt, and many people who know nothing else about Schrödinger will immediately recognize *What Is Life?*" It is quite doubtful that Schrödinger, in his busy life as Berlin professor, would have found the leisure or the occasion to write this book, nor indeed that the "three men" would have

been able, in the course of normal scientific careers, to develop the paper that inspired it.

But let us turn our thinking back again to the basement laboratory of Lise Meitner in the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute for Chemistry in Berlin-Dahlem where, in 1935, Max Delbrück was continuing to serve as Meitner's assistant in theoretical nuclear physics. As the excesses of racism became more common, Delbrück recognized that, although he was not Jewish, his views and his associations left no future for him in Germany. In addition, his private seminars on the applications of physics to the genetics of the fruit fly *Drosophila* had given him a powerful urge to turn his theoretical capacities from nuclear chemistry to what would now be called molecular genetics. He therefore seized the opportunity of a Rockefeller Fellowship to leave Germany in 1937 for the California Institute of Technology, a rising center of *Drosophila* research.

Arriving in Pasadena, Delbrück met and began work with the biologist Emory Ellis. Ellis had recognized some similarities between the fertilization of an egg – a genetic event – and the infection of a bacterium by a virus of the type known as *bacteriophage*, or simply "phage." Thus Max Delbrück was launched into the world of phage research. He recognized that phages, standing somewhere between a mere aggregate of chemical compounds and a living organism, offered the best opportunity to reduce to manageable proportions the question *What Is Life?* and in particular the question, what is a gene, and how does it work?

In 1940, Delbrück's fellowship had expired, and he accepted a position teaching physics at Vanderbilt University. This was a more stringent form of exile. That Southern

outpost of the Ivy league offered few opportunities for forefront research in physics. However, this enabled Delbrück with a clear conscience to concentrate his powerful intelligence on phage genetics. Furthermore, his gregarious and irrepressible personality found in the USA a nation of joiners, a fertile ground for organizing and inspiring his fellow scientists. With Salvador Luria, an Italian émigré teaching biology at Indiana University, he organized a loose club of like-minded scientists as the “phage group.” Thus in manifold ways, the exile status of these scientists guided them into directions that might never have been taken in the structured and restricted environs of their homelands under normal conditions.

Max Delbrück and **Erwin Chargaff** both spent the year 1932 in Berlin. I do not know if they met, and I suspect they did not. Delbrück, a born Berliner of a well-to-do family, occupied a comfortable assistantship in leafy Dahlem. The Austrian émigré Chargaff lived a sparser life, having arrived in Berlin from Vienna in 1930 with no position and no contacts. Chargaff had carried out and published excellent work on the chemical components of the tubercle bacillus during a two-year fellowship (1927-1929) at the Yale Medical School. His publications, it emerged, were known and admired by Julius Hirsch, professor of bacteriology at the University of Berlin. At Hirsch’s instance, the director of the Institute of Hygiene in the Dorotheenstrasse, a moment’s walk from the Reichstag, installed Chargaff first as a voluntary and later as a stipendiary assistant. Chargaff and his wife occupied an apartment in the Institute, and his talent so impressed his superiors that he was given full freedom in

his research. Chargaff later described his years in Berlin as “the happiest time of my life.”

Some feeling for Chargaff’s personality can be gathered from his description of scientific life in Berlin at this time. After listing many of the reigning luminaries, he wrote:

I met most of these men and many of their collaborators, for the freemasonry of science was never wider open than at that time, and never again would I have the feel-



Edwin Chargaff

ing of belonging to a worthy and reasonable community of scholars. It is absurd to say – but I cannot help it – as I look back on those days, I get the impression that the last rays of the setting sun of the civilized nineteenth century were falling on my head. And this in 1931 or 1932, when the “long knives” had begun growing at a frightening speed.

Chargaff, who later remarked that he was “Jewish, but not awfully” had no trouble recognizing the nature of events in Germany in 1933. Once again, his scientific accomplishments came to his rescue. His work in Berlin on the chemical composition of the diphtheria bacterium had come to the attention of the very eminent bacteriologist Calmette at the Pasteur Institute in Paris. Calmette, surely well aware of the circumstances in Berlin, wrote in March 1933, offering Chargaff a position in Paris, and on April 15, 1933, the Chargaffs left Berlin, not to return for 40 years.

Chemical work was not easy at the Pasteur: there were no thermometers, for example. This too was a piece of considerable good fortune, since it prompted Chargaff to consider finding a position in the USA. He thus proceeded for a brief time to the Mount Sinai Hospital in New York City, and in 1935 joined the Biochemistry Department of Columbia University where he was to remain until his retirement.

As Chargaff settled into the American academic routine, the work of his laboratory continued his previous interests and developed into new fields, always with the rigor and depth that Chargaff considered an ethical necessity. But a scientific sea change came in 1944. Two publications appeared that year that deeply influenced Chargaff.

One was a cautious, thoroughly documented scholarly study of bacterial genetics, the kind of resolutely professional science that was near to Chargaff’s heart. Oswald Avery and his colleagues announced their conclusion with acerbic technicality:

The evidence presented supports the belief that a nucleic acid of the desoxyribose type is the fundamental unit of the transforming principle of *Pneumococcus* Type III.

This translates to: “The gene is DNA.” And Chargaff had done other reading as well:

... I had at about that time been deeply impressed by a little book written by the great Austrian physicist Erwin Schrödinger which carried the modest title *What Is Life?* Great scientists are particularly worth listening to when they speak about something of which they know little; in their own specialty they are usually great and dull.

Chargaff then cites the passage from *What Is Life?* that you have already heard, identifying the gene as a

coded message, in Schrödinger's phrase, "architect's plan and builder's craft – in one." Chargaff combined this concept with the new result that the molecular code was, chemically speaking, DNA and he concluded:

The hereditary code-script? The cryptographer hidden in every soul was intrigued. "Chromosomes!" I exclaimed. "DNA, builder's craft! Let's work on the nose of Cleopatra!"

I believe I have never elsewhere in the writings of Chargaff seen a paragraph with three exclamation points in it.

Chargaff turned the now considerable manpower of his laboratory onto the chemical description of DNA in the absolute, numbingly documented style he preferred and which made his work reliable beyond any doubt. By 1950-1951, Chargaff and his colleagues had shown some remarkable regularities in the DNA obtained from various organisms, which they published in the form of three generalizations that have become known as "Chargaff's Rules." The most relevant of these for us describes the occurrence of the so-called DNA bases, which are four in number. Chargaff's work showed that the four can be divided into two pairs and that the pairs always occur together.

The story of the discovery that DNA is in three dimensions a two-stranded structure, the famous double helix, and the fact that this explains the genetic code and thus gave birth to molecular biology and biotechnology is certainly, along with the invention of the atom bomb and the trip to the moon, the best known narrative of science and technology of our era. Let me remind you of its outlines and then attempt to illuminate it from an angle different from the usual one.

The structure was worked out in a collaborative effort between Francis Crick and James Watson. Crick was a British physicist and war veteran who had returned to Cambridge to attempt to understand the phenomenon of life in terms of physics. Watson was a young American biologist who had just received his Ph.D. at Indiana with Salvador Luria, Max Delbrück's companion in the organization of the "phage club." Watson's dissertation subject had been phage genetics and he was a card-carrying member of the club. Needless to say, both Watson and Crick had read *What Is Life?*

Together Watson and Crick, by Watson's account, set out to deduce somehow the structure of DNA. With some perhaps ethically questionable use of X-ray data obtained by Rosalind Franklin and Maurice Wilkins, and as we shall see with some help from Chargaff, they succeeded in obtaining the structure, and published a breathtakingly brilliant account of its implications in *Nature* in 1953. Watson, Crick, and Wilkins later received the Nobel Prize for this result.

A somewhat supercharged meeting took place between Chargaff, Crick, and Watson in May 1952. Chargaff was lecturing in Britain and on the Continent and was asked by an eminent Cantabrigian to speak with his two younger colleagues who were said to be "trying to do something with the nucleic acids." Chargaff's rigorous scientific sensibilities were outraged. His impressions of first Crick and then Watson:

The impression: one, thirty-five years old; the looks of a fading racing tout, something out of Hogarth ("The Rake's Progress"), Cruikshank, Daumier; an incessant falsetto, with occasional nuggets glittering in the turbid stream

of prattle. The other, quite undeveloped at twenty-three, a grin, more sly than sheepish; saying little, nothing of consequence; a, "gawky young figure, so reminiscent of one of the apprentice cobblers out of Nestroy's *Lumpazivagabundus*."

Chargaff explained, with apparently little-concealed contempt, his already published one-to-one pairing rule, and Crick, who had read little, described the moment as "electrifying." He realized that Chargaff's pairing rule meant that the bases of DNA contain the code and that it is written in one coding strand, with a second, paired strand protecting the precious message until it can be copied – also by one-to-one base pairing. The rest, as they say, is history.

By almost any account, molecular biology and biotechnology constitute a revolutionary scientific change that began with the 1953 publication of Watson and Crick. Their deductions relied intimately on the base-pairing rule of Erwin Chargaff. The role of Delbrück's phage studies in the origins of molecular biology, not merely as handed down through Watson but far more generally, has been critical. The enormous influence of Schrödinger's *What Is Life?* and, of course, the "three-man paper" that was its seed can hardly be overestimated. These contributions to a scientific revolution that is going to transform human life, and which has already had a transforming effect in American science, were ones that would probably have not occurred without the circumstances of exile in which all the figures found themselves.

Now I would like to return to Wallace Stevens's *An Ordinary Evening in New Haven* and allow you the pleasure of his last three verses about the voyage of the elm-

tree mariners to the land of the lemon trees.

*When the mariners came to the land of the lemon trees,
At last, in that blonde atmosphere, bronzed hard,
They said, "We are back once more in the land of the elm trees,*

*But folded over, turned round." It was the same,
Except for the adjectives, an alteration*

Of words that was a change of nature, more

*Than the difference that clouds make over a town.
The countrymen were changed and each constant thing.
Their dark-colored words had re-described the citrons.*

There is in the Berlin alternative theatre a long-running favorite piece entitled *Ich bin's nicht, Adolf*

Hitler ist's gewesen: "It wasn't me, it was Adolf Hitler." I believe any American scientific practitioner, looking back at the decades of the scientific explosion of molecular biology and biotechnology, must say with the playwright, "It wasn't me, it was Adolf Hitler."

**Max Kade Center for German-American Studies
Sudler House**
Department of Germanic Languages and Literatures
The University of Kansas, Lawrence, KS 66045-2127

Nonprofit Organization
U.S. Postage
PAID
Lawrence, KS
Permit No. 65

