



MAX KADE CENTER FOR GERMAN-AMERICAN STUDIES

JANUARY 2001

International Conference on Exile Studies: Humor and Satire

September 21–24, 2000

A Report by Helmut Koopmann (University of Augsburg)

The Max Kade Center played host to the biennial meeting of the North American Society of Exile Studies. Speakers addressed areas—satire, humor, and caricature—that received little attention until now. Anyone who thought that the possibilities of interpreting exile literature were totally exhausted would have learned a great deal. Certainly dictatorships inspire satire and humor, as the conference proved. Hans-Bernhard Moeller (University of Texas) opened the lecture series with a detailed report about the theatrical productions and film scores of Werfel's *Me and the Colonel* (*Jacobowsky und der Oberst*). Although much

was already known, the precise elaboration of the complex history of Werfel's "comedy of tragedy" elicited an extensive discussion about the advantages and disadvantages of films based on literary texts.



Professor Helmut Koopmann speaks on Franz Werfel at the exile conference.

In general, the conference offered numerous new perspectives. For example, Gertraud Gutzmann (Smith

College) showed to what degree narration in Anna Seghers's novel *Transit* was not simply a mode of survival; the novel also addresses essential issues and tendencies of the genre. Peter Arnds (Kansas State

University) investigated the fairy tale motifs in works of Edgar Hilsenrath and Anselm Kiefer. Astrid Klocke (University of California, Los Angeles) analyzed Hilsenrath's *Der Nazi und der Friseur* with respect to the concepts of satire and black humor. Reinhard Andress (Saint Louis University) also provided new

insights into Albert Vigoleis Thelen's *Insel des zweiten Gesichts*, which presents Hitler, the *Führer*,

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as a travel guide (*Fremdenführer*) and thereby exposes German gullibility. Rosa von der Schulenburg (University of Mainz) spoke about previously unknown Hitler caricatures by exiles, and Sabine Eckmann (Washington University, St. Louis) spoke about “The Use and Abuse of Exile Art: Reinventing National Myths” in the auditorium of the Spencer Museum of Art.

In a period of persecution, satire flourishes, and it was certainly alive even in the prisoner camps of the Nazis. Katja B. Zaich discussed a theatrical revue in the Dutch transit camp Westerbork. Jörg Thuncke (Cologne) reported new information about James Dyrenforth and Max Kester’s political satire *Adolf in Blunderland*. Viktoria Hertling (University of Nevada), who played a major role in the organization of the conference, spoke about Fritz Gerlich’s satire on Hitler’s nose. Deborah Vietor-Engländer (Technical University of Darmstadt) focused on Alfred Kerr, whose texts are simultaneously malicious and brilliant. By interpreting Clement Moreau’s caricatures, Hermann Schnorrbach (Heppenheim) offered new insights about Bertolt Brecht’s characterization of Hitler.

Even when the experience was decidedly bitter, humor was possible. For example, Helga Schreckenberger (University of Vermont) presented a penetrating analysis of Brecht’s *Flüchtlingsgespräche*. Intertextual features in Toller’s *Nie wieder Friede* and the

background of the years 1934–1936 were the basis of a model interpretation by Leonie Marx (University of Kansas). Wulf Köpke (Boston) talked about Alfred Döblin, focusing on *November 1918*, and a persuasive analysis by Helmut Pfanner (Vanderbilt University) brought to light unexpected traces of humor in the same Döblin’s late writings. For Helmut Koopmann (University of Augsburg) the context of Werfel’s



Stephan Braese and Astrid Klocke contribute to the discussion.

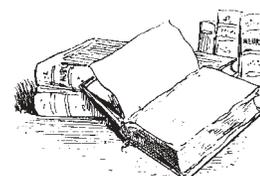
essays and the increasing importance of the Jewish tradition were key elements in the interpretation of *Jacobowsky und der Oberst*. Carsten Jacobi (University of Mainz) drew attention to anti-Semitism in exile comedies and the issues of freedom and limitations in treating such a topic.

Rarely has a conference about exile literature been so rich in perspectives, so inspiring, and so enlightening. Inca Rumold (DePaul University) contributed to the success of this event by showing the persuasiveness of black humor in Else Lasker-Schüler’s *Ich und ich*, as did Ernst Schürer (Pennsylvania State University) with his lecture

about Georg Kaiser’s exile comedies; and Stephen Braese (Hamburg) with his incisive observations about the radicalization of satirical tendencies in the confrontation with National Socialism. The conference also benefited from exhibitions of original works of “Artists in Exile” (prepared by Cori Sherman) and of photographs and a film about Varian Fry (supplied by the Holocaust Museum in Washington D.C.) and Walter Meyerhof), whose singular achievements were the subject of a talk by Guy Stern (Wayne State University), who was also one of the organizers.

The conference offered many original perspectives; it revealed vividly the exile experience in film, drawings, paintings, and photographs. The interdisciplinary focus on satire, irony, and humor

in exile literature was a fruitful, not merely an eccentric, exercise. Special thanks are due to the organizers of the conference and to the Max Kade Center, which under the direction of Frank Baron, hosted the event. This conference was a success in every sense of the word.



International Symposium on German Settlement Dialects

Sprachinselkonferenz 2001

March 29 to April 1, 2001

March 29	Thursday	March 31	Saturday
7:00 PM	Welcome: William Keel , University of Kansas Keynote Address: Klaus Mattheier , Universität Heidelberg "SPRACHINSELNOD" <i>Gemütliches Beisammensein</i> in the Max Kade Center	8:00 AM	Coffee and rolls in the Max Kade Center
		8:30-10:00	Session V: CHANGE, LOSS, CONTINUITY Peter Wagener , Institut für deutsche Sprache, Mannheim "WOZU NOCH DEUTSCH?: FUNKTIONEN UND FUNKTIONSVERLUSTE DES DEUTSCHEN IN WISCONSIN" Elisabeth Knipf-Komlósi , Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem, Budapest "SPRACHWECHSEL ODER KONTINUITÄT: SPRACHWAHL UND KOMMUNIKATIVE HANDLUNGSFORMEN DER DEUTSCHEN MINDERHEIT IN UNGARN"
March 30	Friday	10:00-10:30	Coffee Break
8:00 AM	Coffee and rolls in the Max Kade Center	10:30-12:00	Session VI: INTERFERENCE PHENOMENA Renate Born , University of Georgia "CASE ADJUSTMENT IN GERMAN-AMERICAN DIALECTS" Nina Berend , Institut für deutsche Sprache, Mannheim "GERMAN-ENGLISH LANGUAGE CONTACTS IN SPEECH ISLANDS IN THE UNITED STATES"
8:30-10:00	Session I: PENNSYLVANIA GERMAN TOPICS I Achim Kopp , Mercer University, Macon, Georgia "LANGUAGE ATTITUDE ACROSS SOCIETY AND GENERATIONS IN A PENNSYLVANIA GERMAN SPEECH ISLAND" Karl-Heinz Bausch , Institut für deutsche Sprache, Mannheim "TRADITIONEN DES SPRECHENS UND SCHREIBENS IN MEHRSPRACHIGEN SPRACHINSELN—AM BEISPIEL PENNSYLVANIADEUTSCH"	12:00-1:00	Catered Lunch in the Max Kade Center
10:00-10:30	Coffee Break	1:00-3:00	Session VII: SOCIOLINGUISTICS AND HISTORICAL RECONSTRUCTION Joachim Raith , Universität Essen "THE SPEECH ISLAND 'BIG VALLEY': A SOCIOLINGUISTIC EVALUATION" Ludwig Eichinger , Universität Kiel "DER UNEXOTISCHE BLICK AUF DAS FREMDE: SOZIOLINGUISTISCHE ÜBERLEGUNGEN ZU DATENERHEBUNG UND-INTERPRETATION" Joe Salmons and Steven R. Geiger , University of Wisconsin-Madison "RECONSTRUCTING VARIATION IN SHALLOW TIME DEPTHS: THE HISTORICAL PHONETICS OF NINETEENTH-CENTURY GERMAN DIALECTS IN THE UNITED STATES"
10:30-12:00	Session II: PENNSYLVANIA GERMAN TOPICS II Steven H. Keiser , Ohio State University "ORIGINS AND MAINTENANCE OF DIALECT DIFFERENTIATION IN MIDWESTERN DEUTSCH" Mark Loudon , University of Wisconsin-Madison "THE LIMITS OF CONTACT-INDUCED CONVERGENCE: PATTERNS OF PRESERVATION AND CHANGE IN PENNSYLVANIA GERMAN"	3:00-3:30	Coffee Break
12:00-1:00	Catered Lunch in the Max Kade Center	3:30-5:30	Session VIII: VARIA Kurt Rein , Universität München "DAS DIALEKT-IDENTIFIZIERUNGS-PROGRAMM" Janet Fuller and Glenn Gilbert , Southern Illinois University "THE LINGUISTIC ATLAS OF TEXAS GERMAN REVISITED" William Keel , University of Kansas "MODELS OF ASSIMILATION IN GERMAN-AMERICAN SPEECH ISLANDS"
1:00-3:00	Session III: MENNONITE <i>PLAUDIETSCH</i> IN RUSSIA AND THE AMERICAS Gabriele Lunte , University of Kansas "THE LOW GERMAN OF MENNONITE CHILDREN IN SOUTHWEST KANSAS: DIFFICULTIES AND SUCCESS OF A DIALECT INTERVIEW" Göz Kaufmann , Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul, Porto Alegre "4,002 SENTENCES AND 57 VARIANTS: VERB PLACEMENT IN THE LOW GERMAN DIALECT OF THE MENNONITES IN BRAZIL AND THE UNITED STATES" Peter Rosenberg , Europa-Universität Viadrina—Frankfurt/Oder "COMPARATIVE SPEECH ISLAND RESEARCH: SOME RESULTS FROM STUDIES IN RUSSIA AND BRAZIL"	7:00 PM	<i>Wolgadeutsches Abendessen</i> at St. Joseph Parish, Topeka
3:00-3:30	Coffee Break	April 1	Sunday [NB Daylight Savings Time]
3:30-5:30	Session IV: LOW GERMAN IN THE UPPER MIDWEST Clark Mitchell , University of Wisconsin-Madison "NEW HOLSTEIN, WISCONSIN, PLATT: PAST AND PRESENT" Philipp Webber , Central College, Pella, Iowa "SPEEL UP'T PLATTDÜÜTSCH: . . . SO EIN THEATER!" Christopher Johnson , University of Kansas "THE DIGITAL ATLAS OF KANSAS AND MISSOURI GERMAN DIALECTS"	9:00 AM	Coffee and rolls in the Max Kade Center
7:00 PM	<i>Abendessen</i> in the Free State Brewery, Lawrence	9:30-11:00	Roundtable Discussion: OUTLOOK FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

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The Story of Turner Hall

Turner Hall, at the corner of Rhode Island and Ninth Streets in Lawrence may symbolize the legacy of German immigration in the Midwest during the nineteenth century. It also represents an enticing challenge as a preservation project. Its attractive facade retains most of its original features, including the prominent sign—in German Gothic script—Turnhalle. Above the doorway 1868 carved into a stone marks the completion of limestone building. In her 1993 thesis about the Germans of Lawrence, Katja Rampelmann summarized its history. She pointed out that, in addition to serving as a community meeting place and library, the hall offered plays, choir and band concerts, gymnastics, and dance classes, club activities for men and women, and special celebrations. Recent discussions initiated by Peter Zacharias have raised the question whether Turner Hall could again serve as a community center and whether, after renovation, it could display the history of the German community in Lawrence. Such discussions are not entirely new; in 1981, while a student at the University of Kansas Law School, Brent Wyatt wrote about Turner Hall. With his permission we printing an excerpt from a paper that he presented in Professor Paul Wilson’s seminar on preservation law.

The *Turnverein* was a men’s gymnastic and social club organized by several of the first German settlers in Lawrence. It was one of many established by German immigrants throughout the United States in the middle and late nineteenth century. The *Turner* movement in Germany was originally political. It was founded in 1811 by a Protestant minister, Friedrich Jahn, who sought to provide a basis for German unity after the Napoleonic partitioning of Germany. The societies were ostensibly created to foster sound German bodies and liberal German minds, but they also served as a cover for those who were united in opposition to the monarchies of geographical Germany that kept the German nation divided. During the revolutions of 1848 in the German states many *Turnverein* members fought against the Prussian and Hanover armies for the overthrow of the monarchies. They were defeated, and at least fifty thousand Germans were forced to leave Germany for America. These and those who followed formed *Turnvereine* in many American cities. By the 1870s the clubs in America were officially depoliti-

cized. The Lawrence *Turnverein* was by all accounts never really a political organization.

The first members of the Lawrence *Turnverein* formed the club as an organization for the promotion of good health, fellowship and entertainment in the Lawrence German-American community. One



of the prerequisites of membership was that each prospective member apply for American citizenship. The *Verein* was first organized in 1857. The first meeting place was a large wooden hall at the corner of Berkeley (now Tenth) and New York streets. In 1862 all but four members enlisted in the Union Army, and the club was disbanded. After the war, the society was reorganized on January 1, 1866.

The Lawrence *Turnverein* was granted its first state charter on January 7, 1869. During the summer of that year the members built the present stone structure at a cost of \$5,000. The stone portion of the building measures forty by sixty feet. In either 1872 or 1882 a wooden frame twenty-five by fifty feet was added. In 1908 the society acquired a brick house to the south of the hall. A son of one of the members recalls that the beer deliverer and “manager” lived in this house. At around the time of the hall’s construction, the *Turnverein* also acquired an area of eight blocks behind the *Turnhalle* on Delaware Street, and made it into a beer garden.

The first floor of the building consisted of a fully equipped gymnasium where gymnastic classes and competitions were held. Originally these were for men only, but later there were classes for girls, as well as for the wives of the members. The *Turners* had their own system of calisthenics. At the west end of the gymnasium floor a balcony, which held the spectators at the gymnastic competitions still stands.

At the east end of the floor is a stage, which was used for dramatic presentations in German. In the basement there was a long bar and a beer cooler. Here the male members drank beer and played cards.

Within twenty years of the hall's construction the basement had become a social center for the German community in Lawrence. Most Germans who settled in Lawrence built houses in the eastern portion of town, between Sixth and Eighteenth Streets. One source recalls the congenial atmosphere of the basement of Turner Hall:

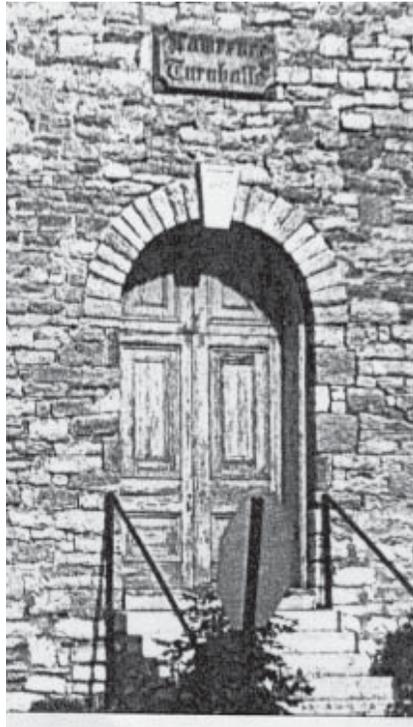
A long bar extending on the north wall dispensed beer on tap for adults and soda pop for children. You could also buy sandwiches. No hard liquor was served. Walnut card tables had slots under the tops for beer steins, while you sat in captains chairs and played pinochle or skat or other card games. Two bowling alleys were in use most of the time and children were allowed to use them too. The children set up their own pins.

A door near the east end of the bar led out to the beer garden in back. In warm weather this was a popular spot. It was lighted at night and there was a fence that enclosed it from the public. Sometimes a group of youngsters would go to the 'Nickel' picture show in the 700 block of Massachusetts and after the show would walk down to the Hall to join their parents. They would come through the gate of the beer garden and knock on the window for the bartender to let them in . . .

Another source remembers that the bartender, "Fritz", kept the chips for playing pinochle behind the bar. They could be purchased for five cents. Chips could be redeemed only in chips. No gambling was allowed.

At one point during this period it was reported that Carry Nation

was planning a bar-smashing visit to Lawrence. The members of the *Turnverein* planned to have the bartender drench her with the full force of a garden hose attached near the bar. When Nation actually came to Lawrence, she did not visit Turner Hall.



In 1880 a prohibition amendment to the state constitution was introduced in Kansas. In spite of this new law, the *Turnverein* maintained its beer bar throughout the period of its greatest popularity which lasted until the First World War. Membership peaked around 1880. Turner Hall was recognized by the entire Lawrence community as a desirable gathering place for fellowship and entertainment. Dances and even weddings were held in the hall. Local artisans provided the scenery for theatrical presentations. Buch's Orchestra, a local group formed by a German who taught at Haskell, played for many of the dances. Before he formed the orchestra, Buch had organized Buch's Military Band in 1878. The group originally consisted of ten members, all of whom

were Germans and some of whom were *Turnverein* members. A contemporary recalls that elaborate costumes were made by the local dress-makers for the masquerade balls.

The most festive celebrations were held at the *Turnverein* hall during the Christmas season:

The annual Christmas tree party stands out. Tickets were sold for twenty-five cents for a present from the tree. The gifts were donated by the merchants. Your ticket bore a number to be matched with one on the tree. A tree reaching to near the top of the ceiling was on the floor close to the stage. While "Tannenbaum" was being sung, Santa would appear in an opening in the ceiling above the stage and come down hand over hand on a rope to dispense more gifts from the tree. It was no chore for Santa to come down in that fashion. All the men were experienced gymnasts.

There were also *Sylvesterabend* celebrations on New Year's Eve, as was traditional in parts of Germany. The night reporter for the Republican Daily Journal was invited to these festivities in 1880 and 1881.¹⁹ In November of 1880 the daughter of a non-German Lawrence merchant was married in Turner Hall at what was reported to be the "most numerous attended wedding that ever occurred in this city." Wedding anniversaries were also celebrated at the hall.

Turner Hall was more than a mere entertainment center. With the arrival of German immigrants, the hall became an employment center, as well: "Every Saturday, one would find many newcomers from the Fatherland on the steps of the Hall waiting for people to come and offer them jobs. 1921 Many of the *Turnverein* members were prosperous merchants well equipped to help the immigrants find their first jobs in the community.

The *Turnverein* charged a membership fee of four dollars and an entrance fee, as well. These fees guaranteed that if a member became ill, three dollars would be paid to the family per week for the duration of the illness. The fees also helped to maintain a small German library in the basement.

Turner Hall was not the only building with German character in the neighborhood. In 1872 a German Episcopal Methodist church was built of brick and stone on the site of the first meeting place of the *Turnverein* at the corner of Berkeley and New York streets. The congregation had been meeting in Lawrence since 1858. Several members were apparently members of the *Turnverein*, as well. Services were first conducted in German and then in German and English from around 1900 until the First World War. The church apparently provided the money to buy the wooden hall where the *Turnverein* first met. The *Frauen-verein* (women's club) organized in 1895 in this church, was affiliated with the *Turnverein* and probably held meetings and functions in Turner Hall.

Significantly, in 1918 the German Methodist Episcopal Church stopped meeting in Lawrence and sold its building. The local German language newspaper, *Die Germania*, which had been printed in Lawrence since at least 1877, ceased to be printed in 1918. Anti-German sentiment was prevalent in Lawrence during the First

World War. When a prominent Lawrence German-American, William Weidemann, owner of the popular Weidemann's candy and ice cream store, committed suicide, the members of the *Turnverein* decided that these anti-German pressures had become so great that the organization would disband. Gymnastics classes, which had once been mandatory for members between the ages of eighteen and thirty were no longer held because most of the young men were away in the war.



Members of the Lawrence *Turnverein* on the Stage of the *Turnhalle* (1896)

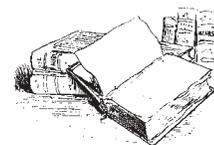
The building was closed. After the war the organization began to function again, but from 1918 no new members were accepted. Turner Hall's day as an integral part of a distinct German community in Lawrence was over.

Some of the *Turnverein*'s gymnastic equipment was donated to the local junior high school in the 1930s. The rest of the equipment was given to what had been St. Paul's Evangelical Lutheran Church, which met at Thirteenth and New Hampshire streets and which was the only other German language church in Lawrence. In 1936 the *Turnverein* leased Turner Hall to the Rumsey Vehicle Com-

pany and retained only a small meeting room in the basement. In April 1938 A. W. Perger, secretary of the *Turnverein*, announced that the society was selling the building to Philip Ernst, who owned a local hardware store. The Rumsey Vehicle Company manufactured toys in the building until the fall of 1938. In September 1938 it was announced that the board of county commissioners had rented the building from Ernst for thirty-five dollars per month beginning October

1. Turner Hall became the center of distribution by Douglas County of federal surplus commodities to relief clients. County WPA and NYA projects were also administered from Turner Hall. The first floor was used as a warehouse and distribution center for the food and cloth-

ing commodities. The basement was used as the headquarters for WPA recreational projects. The next tenant to occupy Turner Hall was the State of Kansas. The state used the hall as a national guard armory until the new armory was built. From this time until 1965 the Salvation Army maintained an outlet store in Turner Hall. In 1965, Audio House, a local recording company, rented the hall.



Surviving Hitler's France

Monique Koepke

*In the the fall semester Professor Wulf Koepke taught courses on the age of Goethe and on the literature of exile in the Nazi period. Although the topics of his publications range over three centuries and include books about Johann Gottfried Herder and Jean Paul, Professor Koepke has become known, above all, as one of the leading scholars of the exile period (1933–1945). He has written books and articles about Heinrich Mann, Thomas Mann, Alfred Döblin, and Lion Feuchtwanger. On December 3, he gave a talk on “Günter Grass: The Voice of a Lost Homeland and a Lost Generation” in connection with an exhibition of the Nobel Prize author’s artworks at the Spencer Museum of Art. The university community was fortunate to have as a guest, in addition, Professor Koepke’s wife, Monique Koepke, whose book *Nachtzug nach Paris: Ein jüdisches Mädchen überlebt Hitlers Frankreich* appeared with Altius Verlag earlier this year. On November 20 she discussed her life in France before and during the war. She has given us permission to publish excerpts of her presentation.*

I come from a German-Jewish family and was born in Berlin in 1925. My father, an art historian, was a member of the Communist Party. He had to flee the country after the Nazi takeover and the burning of the Reichstag in February 1933. I remember that the SA came to search our house, apparently without success. My mother started the preparations for a move to Paris, where my father had gone, and she sent me ahead. I was seven years old. My refugee life began on a night train from Berlin to Paris, in the care of a stranger who had agreed to look after me until our arrival in Paris the next morning. There I shared a hotel room and a large French bed with my father. During the day, he worked in the nearby Bibliothèque Nationale, and I, not knowing a word of French, waited for him in a little park opposite the library. This could not last, so I was sent to one Jewish children’s home, and then another, and another, and another, while my parents (my mother arrived in 1934) struggled to survive with the support of Jewish organizations and my sister and uncle in Palestine. My homes were on the outskirts of

Paris. My mother came to visit me, and on occasion I was allowed to



spend weekends with my parents—when we had money for the train and food. I was much better off than my parents were, in their miserable hotel rooms, but I suffered severely from that separation. I was much happier when I lived with them from 1937 to 1939; they had the luxury

of two little rooms in the rear building of the cheapest kind of hotel. We were often unable to pay the rent, and I was the one who had to beg for more credit, as the owner threatened to throw us out. Likewise, I had to ask for more credit at the bakery and the grocery. Our hotel was in Belleville/Ménilmontant. This then-proletarian area was completely renovated 20 years ago.

During that time, I was able to go to the same school for two years; it was the Jewish Rothschild School. In July 1939, I had the chance to spend the summer vacation in a Jewish vacation home in Dinard, on the Brittany coast. I was rather happy at first, as I assumed that I would soon be together with my parents again. The change from the slums in Paris to the beautiful rocky beaches impressed me, and to this day, this has been my favorite scenery. When the war broke out, however, in September 1939, my father was immediately arrested and interned in Le Vernet, the worst French concentration camp, a special camp for communists, criminals, and other undesirable elements. At the end of the va-

cation, some children in our group were able to return to their parents, but my mother, who could hardly feed herself, could not take me. I was devastated.

We stayed home and went to school. One of our supervisors was a Girl Scout leader, and she organized a troop. The scout movement in France was organized according to religious affiliations. There were Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish scouts. The Jewish scouts, founded after World War I, played an important role in rescuing Jewish children (including myself) during World War II, and also in the French Résistance.

I was able to spend two wonderful weeks with my mother in Paris during the Easter vacation in 1940—it was painful, however, to see my father’s room empty—but in May 1940, the German offensive began, and the “enemy alien” women were also interned in camps. My mother ended up in the camp in Gurs, north of the Pyrenees, one of the largest of the numerous internment camps. Our life in Dinard was still “normal”, except that I was terribly worried about my parents, since there was no communication at first. However, a grotesque incident happened to me towards the end of the school year: we were asked to write a composition for a prize competition, and the topic was, “Buy War Bonds!” During the collapse of France, shortly before the arrival of the German troops, this was ludicrous. True to my upbringing, I handed in empty sheets of paper, and when the principal asked me why, I said that I was against wars. Because I was German and undermined the war effort, I was expelled from school and had to leave town. One consequence was that I was unable to pass the examinations for the *Certificat*

d’Etudes, a basic exam for children of 11 or 12 years. I was already close to 15!

On May 27 my scout leader, Suzanne, took me to the station to go to another Jewish home in Villers, Normandy, not far from the Seine and Le Havre. I found many children there whom I knew from the Rothschild School. Since the German troops were advancing, the air raids had begun, and we spent nights in the trenches behind the house. The house, on a cliff above the sea, was shaking. We had to be evacuated. And where did we go? To Dinard. It took us three days to get there, among the bombardments and the chaos of the retreat.

In Dinard, I had to hide in the house, and while others went back to school, I had to take lessons from a teacher of the Rothschild School. I hated that teacher. In August 1940, the home was closed. We returned to occupied Paris. Nobody was there to meet me at the station, a heavy blow for me, but I was not the only one. Those of us who had no home, went to the Rothschild School and camped in our former classrooms. Little by little, the other girls were able to leave, most of them smuggled to the Zone Libre, the unoccupied part of France. Finally, two of us were left. Because I had nowhere to go, I was supposed to be sent to an orphanage, but my scout leader Suzanne rescued me. She collected money so that I could stay with Jewish families. The first family was a shoemaker’s. They spoke Yiddish, and I had to sleep in the living room. I felt terrible there. The second family was better for me, at a bakery in the Jewish street, rue des Rosiers, and the daughter was in my scout troop. But the money ran out, and in December, Suzanne took me in. I stayed in the little apartment where she lived with

her mother, until I was smuggled to the Zone Libre in March 1941. It was about time; the police had begun asking for me.

The home in Beaulieu where I went was organized by the scouts, and we had our scout activities, including summer camps. I corresponded with my parents and was able to send little food packages from time to time. In September 1941, I was allowed to visit my mother in Gurs. A close friend of hers, Anny,

. . . was waiting for me in Pau. She enjoyed a special status in the camp; she had occasional leave to spend time with her daughter in Pau who was married to a Frenchman. She was at the railway station to help me with the difficult part of the enterprise: first, to get from Pau to Oloron and Gurs, and then to beg the French commander for as long a visit as possible. When the gate in the barbed wire fence opened for us, and we stood before the commander, the battle began. It ended with Anny’s total victory: instead of the 4-5 days that had been granted initially, I received permission to stay for 30 days. It had never occurred that someone from the outside was allowed to stay longer than three days.

Our last encounter, a last unforgettable experience, an indestructible bond that still nurtures my heart: the mutual feeling never experienced before of the friendship between mother and daughter. While we were walking along the long row of barracks, Anny told me that my mother had just this afternoon had her appearance (reciting poems) on the stage of the “cultural barracks.” I remembered that my mother had always harbored a secret wish to be on stage. She recited poems with much passion. In the midst of these barracks, I had a vision of my mother reciting Schiller and Heine while standing in front of the mirror in our hotel room, art-

fully rearranging her scarf so that her everyday dress would get a new look. And at this moment, I saw her coming toward us: a long figure, emaciated, poorly clothed, the clothes hanging from her body without form. But there was a radiant glance in her tired eyes. I noticed immediately that two of her front teeth were missing. This disfigured her; but when I was in her arms, I only felt her warmth. It turned out that the women in her barrack took me in; they gave me sweets, they wanted to mother me, they asked me a thousand questions. I did not come to myself. Fortunately, I was able to give as well: I had received 500 frs. from the director of our home to support urgent needs in the camp.

The living space in the barracks was divided into small plots, with one mattress next to the other. The chief of the barracks had procured for me a straw mattress. I was therefore next to my mother, just as in the hotel bed when I was 12 and 13 years old. In the hotel room I had to climb over her to get to the chamber pot; here, we had to go out to the latrines at night.

The Red Cross barracks provided meals for the children. I was allowed to eat lunch there, and, of course, I took everything with me that I could hide in my pockets, although this was strictly forbidden. In the morning we walked through the alley of the barracks to the wash barracks, where there were showers. Here I could see emaciated or swollen female bodies, and the naked body of my mother—thin, tired, prematurely aged—that I had not seen for years, affected me deeply. Many times we walked around, from one end of the barbed wire fence to the other. My mother introduced me to everybody she knew. Everyone who had certainly heard her talk about her three “girls.” While we were walking from one row of barracks to the next, I heard the joyful, proud voice of my mother: “Here is my youngest daughter, she lives in a children’s home.”

My visit was certainly an event for the entire lot.

My mother spoke a lot about my father. She told me much that I had never heard before. She talked with me, not as with the child I was in Paris, but as with a person who was so close to her that it became overwhelming for her to have found a daughter and a friend in the same person.

The beautiful weather in the fall, with a clear blue sky,

. . . It belongs to those visions that one wants to chase away with all one’s forces.

Back in Beaulieu, I had the humiliating experience at age 16, of having to go to school with 11-year-olds, so that I could finally receive my *Certificat d’Etudes*. In July 1942, we took our backpacks and went on another camping trip. This

was supposed to be a summer vacation, but it turned into an escape. One day we were sitting on the grass when our leader announced that there were arrests and possible deportations; we were in danger because several girls among us were “on the lists.” We hastened to Moissac, the main center for the Jewish scouts. The center had been organized as a farm and training center for emigration to Palestine. In Moissac, I received a long letter from my father. It was his last. Because of his failing health, he had been transferred to another camp, Noé near Toulouse. He weighed 40 kilograms, less than 90 pounds. He had tried to continue his research and wanted me to procure books on the medieval sculptures of Moissac and other places for

him. The letter was written one week before his deportation to Auschwitz.

We were soon taken to another scout farm, near Lautrec. There I received the last postcard from my mother, announcing her deportation. Not knowing where she was going, she was still hopeful. My parents went from Drancy, near Paris, to Auschwitz on the same day, August 10, 1942. I would like to think that they made the trip in each



enveloped the atmosphere with an illusionary blue veil. My mother, I heard from the other interneees, had never been so relaxed, composed, and happy—not so much immersed in her writing and absorbed in her own thoughts—as during these days together. Then came the last second which I can never erase from my memory. Anny had the permission to take me back to Pau; the two of us were standing outside, and my mother at the barbed wire fence. It is nearly impossible for me even today to visualize this image.

other's company. They did not survive their first day in Auschwitz.

Since it did not look safe in Lautrec, we ended up in an abandoned house in the woods near Vabre. On our march there, we pretended to be Protestant scouts on vacation and had to sing songs and appear happy. In Vabre some of us who looked less Jewish had to attend the Protestant church services. The minister knew who we were but protected us. In an abandoned house we celebrated Rosh Hashana, with candles on the floor. Finally, false papers arrived. I belonged to the first group of five to take the trip to the Swiss border. During our train ride, we never lost the fear that we

would be arrested; the ominous word "Gestapo" was constantly on our minds.

Our escape was well organized; we had a guide who took us to the border at night, and the crossing was easy. The most dangerous moment came the next day at the Swiss police station, when we thought that they would send us back—according to the rules nobody above 16 years was allowed to stay, but because two of us were younger, we were all allowed to stay.

In Switzerland I spent the first months in different camps, until I was able to live "free" to work in a kindergarten and then as a maid in a household in Lausanne. In 1944,

I attended a training course for kindergarten teachers and home supervisors, so that we could go back to France to care for the innumerable Jewish orphans left by the holocaust. But after my return to France in July 1945, I realized that I was too traumatized by my own children's home experiences to be able to work there. My life took many twists and turns, and I finally ended up in the United States. I am not a refugee anymore; I am simply a survivor, but I am not sure that there is a place in this world where I really belong. In that sense, I can say, once a refugee, always a refugee.

News in Brief

Max Kade Visiting Professor

Our guest at the Max Kade apartment in the spring semester will be Professor Irmela von der Lühe from the University of Göttingen. Professor von der Lühe's dissertation was on aesthetic theories in the periods of the Enlightenment and *Sturm und Drang*. She has published several books about women's literature and Erika Mann. Rose Jones, a former KU graduate student, writes from the University of California at Irvine: "I hear that you will be having Dr. von der Lühe from Göttingen, as the new Max Kade visiting professor in the spring. Since UCI has a study abroad program with Göttingen University, she is well known here, for some of the students here have done a semester abroad there. There is

actually quite a bit of excitement, as many regard her as a dynamic teacher and scholar, and they even add that she is one the best teachers they've ever had. Please let your students know that they are the envy of the students here for being able to have her for an entire semester."

Max Kade Foundation Awards

Thanks to the generosity of the Max Kade Foundation, four graduate students are currently recipients of dissertation fellowships: Mark Nesbitt Daly (German Literature), Martin Lorenz-Meyer (German History), Charles Schumann (German Literature), and John D. Thiesen (German History). Also supported by the Max Kade Foundation, Friedemann Eisert (Lawrence High School), Phyllis Farrar (West Junior

High School), and Sybille Zeisig took groups of pre-college students on successful summer tours through Germany.

Research Scholar from Budapest at the Max Kade Center

Sponsored by the Max Kade Center and the Department of Sociology, Dr. Gábor Felkai, professor of sociology at the Eötvös Loránd University of Budapest, resided at the center during the summer months and did research on exile sociologists. In the context of his visit he had an opportunity to conduct interviews with Ernest Manheim in Kansas City. Next summer's resident scholar from Hungary is expected to be Professor János Weiss, whose research explores the German philosophers of the nineteenth century.

Humboldt Digital Library Proposed

In September working meetings of the Humboldt Digital Library group took place at the Max Kade Center. Participants were Dr. Ulrike Leitner, Humboldt Research Center in Berlin; Dr. Anke Renning, Eutin Landesbibliothek; Dr. Mark Olsen, University of Chicago; Catherine Mardikes, University of Chicago; Jeffrey Rydberg Cox, University of Missouri, Kansas City; Rex Clark, University of Kansas, and Frank Baron, University of Kansas. Dr. Leitner spoke at the Max Kade Center on "Alexander von Humboldts Werke. Probleme damaliger Publikation und heutiger Bibliographie" on September 15.

Ten-Year Anniversary of Unification Remembered

On October 2, David Smith, professor of sociology and Wulf Koepke, visiting professor of German, joined graduate students Doris Dippold (Bamberg) and Helmut Tweer (Leeverkusen) to discuss "The Consequences of German Unification."

Art Students Show Work In Germany

Seven seniors in fine arts at the University of Kansas exhibited jewelry designs in an international show Nov. 24 and 26 in Lawrence's sister city, Eutin, Germany. They contributed jewelry designs and poetry for the show, "Dreams and Poems." The trip was a first not only for the seven seniors, but also for KU's art and design department.

The students received support from the Friends of Eutin. A meeting of Friends of Eutin took place

on October 17 at the Max Kade Center. The organization also agreed to support a show of paintings by Robert Sudlow in Eutin in April and May of 2001 and performances by the Camerata Players of Lawrence (Eric Williams, first violin; Merav Singer, violin; Elena Kraineva, viola; Angela McComas, flute; and Michele Sack, cello), in conjunction with the exhibition. The chamber group, which has been invited to give a concert in Budapest as well, plans to perform works of Ernest Manheim and Aaron Copland, among others.

Advisory Board for the Max Kade Center

With the approval from the College, the Provost, and the Endowment Association, the Max Kade Center has established an advisory board. The University of Kansas members of the board are: Frank Baron, Diane Fourny, Helmut Huelsbergen, William Keel, Richard Schowen, James R. Shortridge, and Carl J. Strikwerda. Other members are: Graham Kreicker (Lawrence), Wolfram O. Martinsen (Berlin), Breon Mitchell (Bloomington, Indiana), Jim Morrison (Lawrence), Willard Snyder (Kansas City) and Ernst Georg Stoeckl (New York). The first meeting of the board will take place on May 12, 2001.

Graduate Student Conference

The fifth annual conference of the Graduate Association of German Students will take place on March 2-4 at the Max Kade Center. All correspondence about the conference should be directed to Max Maximov, mmaximov@gmx.de.

Books Donated

The Max Kade collection was enriched by generous donations of books from Eva Edmands, Carol Miller, Wilhelm Kuchler, Ilse Steinhardt, Michael Winkler, Breidenthal-Snyder Foundation, and Bethel College.

Dialect Atlas Project Cited

On December 11 the *Lawrence Journal World* feature the "Linguistic Atlas of Kansas German Dialects." The article described the current research, conducted by William Keel, Chris Johnson, and Gabi Lunte, in recording, mapping, and analyzing the language of immigrant Germans, and investigating "language death," the phenomenon that threatens it. The College of Liberal Arts and Sciences recently approved the purchase of equipment that will facilitate the digitizing and geographical visualization of dialect samples at the Max Kade Center. Anyone interested in hearing samples of Kansas German dialects may visit the project's website at www.ukans.edu/~german/german_dialects.html

Paintings of Albert Bloch Featured

In an exhibition of the Blue Rider from March through June 2000, the Bremen art museum featured two paintings of Albert Bloch's: *Liegende Gestalt* (1911) and *Häuser mit Turm* (1911), both of which were made while Bloch lived in Munich. The museum in Eutin is now showing, on a permanent basis, two of Bloch's later works: *Die schreckliche Nachricht* (1920) and *The Death of Faust* (1939).



Max Kade Center (Sudler House)

The Sudler House, home of the Max Kade Center, has been undergoing extensive renovation. Excavation and waterproofing around the foundation, the addition of an additional second basement exit, and new sidewalks represent the first stage of this project, which was completed in December. During the second stage, which is now in progress, the old furnace and air conditioner will be replaced, and the basement will be made available as a working space and a much-needed storage area for books. Generous funding for the project came from the Max Kade Foundation and the University of Kansas.

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