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Dissertation

"HOME" AS A THOUGHT BETWEEN QUOTATION MARKS

The Fluid Exile of Jewish Third Reich Refugee Writers
in Canada 1940-2006

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Winning Paper of the
"3rd Scientific Award of the Austrian-Canadian Society" 2008
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Eine überarbeitete und stark modifizierte Fassung dieser Arbeit
erscheint im April 2009. Die Buchform der Arbeit unterscheidet sich
erheblich von der hier vorliegenden Dissertationsversion.

Wien, im November 2007

1. INTRODUCTION	4
2. THE HISTORICAL INCIDENT: THE 'SPIES WHO NEVER WERE' IN GREAT BRITAIN AND CANADA	22
3. SPECIFIC BIOGRAPHIES AND CULTURAL CON/TEXTS	40
1. Henry Kreisel	45
2. Carl Weiselberger	46
3. Charles Wassermann	50
4. Eric Koch	56
4. APPROACHING EXILE STUDIES	60
1. The writers as exile writers: German exile studies	62
2. Canadian exile literature	81
3. Exile studies, migration studies and cultural memory	87
4. Investigations of Latin American exile	94
5. ETHNIC WRITING: JEWISH CANADIAN AND GERMAN CANADIAN REALMS	102
1. Investigations within the notion of a German Canadian ethnicity	102
2. The Third Solitude	104
6. APPROACHING THE HOLOCAUST IN CREATIVE WRITING	110
1. Holocaust Literature in Canada	115
7. WRITING THE HOLOCAUST	118
1. Betrayals and impossible homecomings: Henry Kreisel	121
2. Multiperspectival representations of the Holocaust: Carl Weiselberger	137
3. Reconstructing collective and family history: Eric Koch	152
4. Inner Landscapes: Charles and Jakob Wassermann	159
2. WRITING EXILE	166
1. Troubled self in exile	172
2. Language in exile and language shift	186

3. Men without shadows	191
4. Language and identity	196
5. Time in exile	202
9. JEWISH WORLDS	213
1. Jewish Canada	216
2. Anti-Semitism in Canada and (Jewish) self articulations	218
3. The Holocaust in Canadian consciousness	225
4. Reconstructions of worlds lost	228
10. INTER- AND TRANSCULTURAL WRITING	253
1. Fluid Exile	257
2. Transculturalism in Canada	260
3. Koch, Kreisel, Weiselberger, and Wassermann as transcultural writers	263
11. POSTSCRIPT	305
12. FUTURE FIELDS OF GERMAN CANADIAN EXILE STUDIES - MUSES 'OUTSIDE' THE BARBED WIRE	309
13. BIBLIOGRAPHY	320
1. Primary Texts (Books)	320
2. Primary Texts (Articles, Newspaper Articles, Stories, Radio Scripts, Poems)	324
3. Secondary Texts	332
14. INDEX	346

This thesis would not have been possible without the help and friendship of many people. Additionally, I am indebted to a number of institutions for endowments and grants which enabled me to do research at archives and libraries in Montreal, Ottawa, Toronto, Winnipeg and Victoria: the Government of Canada for a Faculty Enrichment Grant, the University of Vienna for two short-term research grants, and the Elizabeth Dafoe Library for a research grant.

My warm thanks go to Prof. David Staines, UOttawa for his help, generosity, and friendship. I am especially grateful towards a number of people at the University of Victoria, especially Prof. Walter Riedel for his advice and for answering many questions, Dr. Chris Petter from the archives, Prof. Peter Liddell and Prof. Stephen Scobie. I am thankful for talks with Prof. Bill New, Prof. Eva-Marie Kröllner and Dr. Ruth Derksen at UBC. An additional thank you goes to Winnipeg to Dr. Gaby Divay. In Toronto, I want to especially thank Dr. Judith Szaper and Dr. Paula Draper both for their academic advice and generosity. It was also in Toronto where I met with Eric Koch to whom I also want to extend my thanks.

Here in Vienna, I want to thank Prof. Waldemar Zacharasiewicz and Prof. Wynfrid Kriegleder for the supervision of this thesis, and my colleagues and friends at the Department of English and American Studies. I am also grateful to Dr. Ursula Seeber from the Exilbibliothek in Vienna and Dr. Robert Leucht from the University of Zürich.

I am indebted to Alex Fagot and Daniel Schwarz for computer support in a time when I and the thesis faced the blue screen of death; additionally, I thank Nora Tunkel for help with editing and also for talks and her advice for chapter four of this thesis.

A cordial thank you goes to Anna Ferrari and Dr. Ferrari for giving me a home away from home in Ottawa twice, and to Brian Hanrahan and Prof. Vincent Kling for doing the same in NYC and Philadelphia.

I am especially grateful for the continuous love, support and encouragement of my family, especially of my parents; without them I would not be in the wonderful position to thank all those people I have just thanked. This thank you is also extended to my friends who supported me during long times of doing research for and writing this thesis - they know who they are. Finally, my thanks go to Nora for her support, encouragement and patience - and for providing a crucial reason to keep on keepin' on.

1. Introduction

On New Year's Eve 1942, an Austrian Jewish teenager writes the following English words in his diary:

New-Year. A rather sad New-Year. Is it our New-Year at all? Should Jews celebrate New-Year twice a year? [...] Our future is like a dark, impenetrable wall. I said I should give something if I knew where I will be next year at the same time. 1938 Vienna, 1939-1940 England, 1941 Canada. 1942 - where?

(Kreisel, "Diary of an Internment", 28)

The seventeen-year-old boy noting down these sentences in his diary in an internment camp in Sherbrooke, Quebec from behind barbed wire is Henry Kreisel. After the end of the Second World War he was to become a Canadian novelist, professor of English and long-term vice-dean of the University of Alberta, Edmonton.

25 years later: an unknown photographer takes the picture of a stately, bespectacled man, standing tall in front of a screen-window looking outward to the southern coast of Victoria who has just arrived in the very west of Canada. After having lived in Ottawa and written for the *Ottawa Citizen* for well over 20 years, having been

its most successful and well-known arts critic, this man moved the almost 5,000 miles to the west coast, echoing his first, involuntary, move across the Atlantic on a ship with Jewish internees to Canada in the summer of 1940. It is Henry Kreisel's compatriot and fellow former internee in Canada, Carl Weiselberger.

Henry Kreisel (1922-1991) and Carl Weiselberger (1900-1970) are two of the four writers whose lives and cultural production are at the center of this study. The other two are Charles Ulrich Wassermann (1924-1978) and Eric Koch (b. 1919).¹ All of them came to Canada as internees in the early 1940s as so-called 'enemy aliens', all of them are Jewish, all of them stayed on in Canada after 1945 and had prolific careers as writers, journalists and scholars. All of them except the Frankfurt-born Eric Koch were born in Austria, and their early/first cultural formation and socialization took place in the Vienna of the interbellum period.

Their texts will be read under the chiffre of exile literature, 'Exilliteratur', in the sense developed within German Literary Studies (thus focusing on works written by people who fled Nazi Germany), an approach which the biographic moment of expulsion and the diasporic movement they share suggest. A comparatively large part is devoted to the investigation why a comprehensive study of Canadian Exile Literature has never been undertaken.

The cultural production of Weiselberger, Kreisel, Koch, and Wassermann will be investigated as works

¹ The main investigation is occupied with the lives and works of these four writers. In addition, either the lives or the works - and sometimes both - of a number of other Canadian writers of Austrian or German descent who came as refugees from the Third Reich will be read in context. Among them are Marta Wassermann-Karlweis, Peter Heller, Anthony Fritsch, Hans Eichner, Ernest Borneman, Walter Igersheimer, and Harry Seidler.

informed not solely by exile but by complex and divergent trans/cultural strategies in general, incorporating changing and also performative constructions (of the self) within the realms of Austrian/German, Jewish European, Canadian, Jewish Canadian cultural spaces and changing locales which can be approached but not essentialized by terms such as exile, ethnic, and transcultural. The investigation of their identity constructions in a transcultural space has to draw upon the realities of the host society the exiles found themselves in.² In this, the investigation differs from most of the surveys within (German) exile studies. Such an investigation of the host society needs to think context not as a static concept but take into account the tremendous changes within the Canadian socio-cultural formation from the early forties to the beginning of the new millenium - especially necessary as the temporal scope of the investigation includes more than 60 years. The non-static positioning of the writers within the changing Canada of the second part of the twentieth century informs my thinking of exile as a fluid concept.

In an additional dialectical move, this kind of approach imagines the textual production investigated here as a transcultural and 'inclusive' Canadian literature in the sense of world literature, one for which diversity (ethnic, thematic, methodological, or genre-wise) is the unifying feature. My perspective on these writers heavily draws on theories of the transcultural and envisions them and their cultural production as preceding literary developments within Canada identified by Staines in *Beyond the Provinces* as the dominant preoccupation with the "What is there?".

² This verbal construction is deliberate: many of the internees did not even know that they were being shipped to Canada, nor did they know anything about Canada.

Thus, this study is not only one long overdue within German exile studies by focusing on the Canadian exile; it also re-covers a forgotten side-track of the 'Trans-Canadian cultural and literary highway', and a hitherto invisible chapter of the Canadian literary and cultural landscape.

The recovering and re-grouping of an ensemble of writers (such as proposed here) - in fact, any grouping - is always exposed to one point of criticism, namely its potentially arbitrary character. The criticism could be raised that the forging of a collectivity out of individual writers is at work here, i.e. that a collectivity is constructed which does not exist. After all, the works of these writers have never been read together. Some, such as Eric Koch - by far the most prolific among them, with eleven novels to his name, four of which written after the turn of the twenty-first century - have been passed by critical investigation completely, as has Charles Wassermann.³ In contrast, Henry Kreisel's two novels and one collection of short stories were/are both critically acclaimed and widely read - his *The Rich Man* was compulsory reading in Canadian high schools (Hesse, "Interview with Henry Kreisel", 83).⁴ However, his work has been anthologized to fit (completely) different categories from the ones relevant for this thesis: his short story "The Broken Globe" can be found in an anthology programatically called *Alberta Bound*, a locally rooted collection of prairie writing, his essay "Prairie: A State of Mind" in

³ The only exception is one bio-bibliographical entry in Riedel, *The Old World and the New: Seliger*, "Charles Wassermann: Life and Oeuvre in the Service of Mutual Understanding".

⁴ Both Kreisel's *The Rich Man* and *The Almost Meeting* saw a republishing in the years 2006 and 2004 respectively, which displays a rise in public and academic interest in Kreisel's works in recent years.

*Trace. Prairie Writers on Writing.*⁵ Besides such initial incongruities, any categorising and grouping of this kind runs the risk of producing reductive meanings, which might be suspected of being the product of a (pre)constructed set of assumptions. This undertaking, thus, needs both the initial provision of ample argument for its categorization and, at the same time, the awareness of its provisionality to allow for inclusiveness both in theory and interpretation.

The argument for my reading and grouping these writers together is two-fold, and approximates what I call a bio-thematical approach. I will argue that it is justified both by the historical fact that the respective writers share a similar diasporic movement determined by the same historical constellations, and that their texts in many ways perform and represent fluid concepts of exile. Such an approach does uncover highly divergent positions and strategies on the part of the writers with respect to their cultural production. However, it is often these different positions which are illuminating for the investigation's ancilliary effects (or secondary approaches), and for conceptions of exile, diaspora, and transculturality in general. Finally, concepts of marginality are indispensable here for my imagining these writers as a group - a group *in between*.

My line of argument here has so far not been drawn from the field of German exile studies. Now, within German Literary Studies it would hardly be likely for anyone to argue against my initial approach to investigate the lives and works of the people chosen in one study. A study such as this is rather long overdue

⁵ Note the position of the word 'Prairie' in the title of the collection: by this, the term becomes a very specific label for the respective contributors of the volume, which would have been evaded if a more suitable title such as 'Writers on Prairie Writing' had been used.

within the particular field of German exile studies, which refers to investigations of people driven away from Austria and Germany during the Nazi Regime from 1933-45. The study of (the) literary exile(s), although not at all dealt with solely within German Literary Studies, has a specific relevance within German Studies, particularly since the mid-sixties. Due to the complex processes of post-WWII amnesia and the late 'Vergangenheitsbewältigung' - not dealing and coming to terms with the Nazi past in Germany and especially in Austria for decades - the academic investigation of important aspects of exile studies set in comparatively late.⁶ The lack of an investigation of exile writing in Canada under the paradigms and critical frame of German exile studies not only renders any discussions concerning the arbitrariness of the suggested grouping obsolete: from this vital critical perspective, there is also a dire need of such a discussion of exile writers in Canada.

The writers I investigate here have been on the margin concerning critical and popular reception of their works in Germany and Austria and, with the exception of Kreisel, also in Canada. Literary historiography usually passes them by, and, scholarly articles on any of them apart from Henry Kreisel are scarce within Canadian criticism; within Austrian/German literary studies they are virtually non-existent.⁷ Early and traditional approaches to German exile literature with their methodological limitations failed to incorporate studies of people who were in their teens when they lost their home, experienced uprootedness, and had to overcome the

⁶ By and large, the history and the historiography of exile literature in Germany and Austria follows similar patterns, although with significant differences which shall be qualified later.

⁷ Also, critical interest in Henry Kreisel's literary work has for long waned.

trauma of exile. Those who started writing only after 1945 were usually left out. Within Canadian literary criticism, the increasing interest in ethnic writing and alternative hi/stories, which started in the latter part of the twentieth century, either came too late for them or passed them by (with the exception of Shirley Neuman's ambitious project *Another Country* on Henry Kreisel).⁸ Their lives and works have more or less faded into oblivion.⁹

The processes responsible for their marginalization are manifold and complex and, of course, different for Canada, Germany, or Austria. To pick out one example for such a marginalization process involved: it is their (partial) language change in Canada from German to English which provides a strong causality for the neglect of these writers within the study of German exile writing. As an example, it illustrates not only one reason for this marginalization, but also the relevance and trans/cultural productivity of an investigation of these writers: For a long time a creative oeuvre written in a language other than German did not seem to fit critical investigations within German exile studies.¹⁰ A location between languages, however, opens up some of the most interesting aspects of the transcultural situation of exile: writing between the languages within the same texts, language change, questions of cultural translation and adaptation, of cultural incorporation. Whereas all these can be seen as culturally productive and

⁸ Carl Weiselberger died in 1970, Charles Wassermann in 1978.

⁹ More than once, archivists congratulated me on my good research when I contacted them after having found out that the holdings of one of these writers were in their special collections. The collected papers of Carl Weiselberger, e.g., had never been consulted since their installation at the University of Victoria Archives in the early 1990s.

¹⁰ Although Charles Wassermann did publish creative works in German - called "light fiction" by Seliger (137) - this was not noticed in the context of exile studies or of transcultural writing.

empowering, the question of language is also - especially in the context of exile from Nazi Germany - evidently connected with questions of a less 'ludic' character: the frequent refusal of an exile to use the old and loaded language - simultaneously mother tongue and the language of the murderers of the mother; being spatially and linguistically separated from the audience 'at (the former) home' (especially for those who had published before their exile); the frequent existential despair of a writer being deprived of his medium of communication and existence; or the often tedious and laborious acquisition of the new language and the insecurity when using this language for creative purposes. All of these writers experienced at least some of the phenomena just mentioned. Some became bilingual in their writing, or used English for professional purposes (e.g. journalistic writing) and German for creative writing, some published both for English and German-speaking audiences, some refused to use German again, one (Weiselberger) suffered especially strongly from the loss of his former audience.

Within exile studies, language change is often a criterion for the differentiation between generations of exile writers. Whereas the survivor generation largely tends to stick to the (former) language, writers of the successor generation - also in tune with acculturation models - mostly write in the language of the host society. The Canadian exile writers with their particular double socialization at a very early age - Kreisel, Koch, and Wassermann, for instance, were in their (early) teens when they found themselves in an English-speaking environment - can be located *between* survivor and successor generation: some switched language for creative purposes, some did not (always) do so. There is also the phenomenon of literary multilingualism for creative writing. Writers who concern us here include Carl

Weiselberger, Charles Wassermann, and Anthony Frisch, who even wrote poems in German, French, and English.¹¹ Like Henry Kreisel, Eric Koch solely uses English for his creative work, but supervised the German translations of his books. One of his novels, for instance, *Kassandrus*, was published only in German translation. The former internees Hans Eichner and Peter Heller used only German for their creative undertakings, although written decades after coming to Canada. What all writers, however, share due to their bilinguality, is the writing between the languages, one effect of which, though by far not the only one, is the frequent use of words and phrases of the other language(s) in their texts.

These and other fields of inquiry become apparent (only) when multiple perspectives of exile studies are chosen; the investigation of these authors then gains multi-dimensionality. For some of the lesser known writers such as Wassermann or Weiselberger but even Koch, German exile studies arguably provide the only approach capable of rescuing these writers from oblivion, as they are located between (and are thus neglected by) Austrian/German and Canadian literary studies. The advantages of subsuming these writers under the label of exile writers shall be pointed to and amply discussed, as will the inherent limitations of too confined an approach. Drawing from other fields of critical investigation and from more general and postmodern discussions of exile and diaspora, strategies of a more inclusive and fluid concept of exile will be applied.

¹¹ In 1950, Anthony Frisch published a slim collection of poems entitled *The House*. Of the 32 poems, two are in German and two in French. The last two poems in the collection are the German "An Österreich", followed by the English "To Canada". Frisch published four slim volumes of poetry in the late forties and early fifties, which are out of print and partly impossible to obtain. For more details on Anthony Frisch see chapter II.3.3. "Digression: Canadian muses 'outside' the barbed wire".

As another consequence of this multi-dimensionality, I see this thesis here in a kind of double-bind as far as the intended readership is concerned. It is both undertaken within and indebted to German exile studies as it is situated in Canadian Studies. Thus, an important part of this investigation is the necessity to identify the subject matter for further studies ('den Gegenstand sichern') of a hitherto neglected subfield, 'Exilliteratur' in Canada - especially because a substantial part of the texts investigated here have never been published or are long out of print. It will point to future directions within the field, such as recovering other (forgotten) writers - apart from the four internees I am focusing on - who fled to Canada as a result of persecution in the Third Reich. Concerning Canadian Studies, this study will investigate the stances taken towards and within the host society by the writers - not static but subject to both gradual and radical changes on the individual level - and the role of the host society itself, not merely as backfoil to the (creative) production, but as a changing key determinant. My intention is also to reflect on the specific double-bind the writers and works standing at the center of this investigation experience(d) themselves. It necessarily has to create dialectics which perspectively broaden and at the same time undermine notions of too confined concepts of both German exile studies and national literatures in general.

The situation of (the) exile both as a/the paradigm in the twentieth century for modernism, and as a site of postmodern and -structural discussions (also extended to the realm of postcolonial thought and globalisation), takes its arguable beginning in the mass exodus of refugees from the Third Reich. Edward Said argues that it

is not so much the existence of exile experience per se, but the unprecedented number of people confronted with exile, displacement, cultural alienation:

[T]he difference between earlier exiles and those of our times is, it bears stressing, scale: our age - with its modern warfare, imperialism, and the quasi-theological ambitions of totalitarian rulers - is indeed the age of the refugee, the displaced person, mass immigration.

(Said, 174)

Apart from the historical realities of involuntary exile in the twentieth century and beyond¹², the notion of exile has become extensively used as both paradigm and metaphor for diverse kinds of social, racial, cultural, and gender alienations and deviations in the writings of postcolonial, postmodern, and poststructural theorists such as Jacques Derrida, Homi Bhabha, Stuart Hall, Julia Kristeva, Edward Said, or Seyla Benhabib.

In a postmodern understanding, exile is linked to questions of cultural identity and cultural hybridity, questions which necessarily bring into focus the confrontation with and (re-)formation of identities in the host societies into which the exiled are set by their involuntary displacement. Questions of cultural hybridity have rarely been the focus of investigations within German studies of the exile literature, and are still largely neglected in surveys focusing on exiled writers. Additionally, on a more practical level, achievements within and for the host society have rarely become the focus of investigations of the exile writers.¹³ In this

¹² As I write, thousands of Sudanese dissidents are experiencing involuntary exile; about 100,000 Exile-Tibetans live in India or Nepal.

¹³ The notable exception being Pfanner's investigation from 1986, *Kulturelle Wechselbeziehungen im Exil - Exile across Cultures*. This stands in contrast to surveys of the exile from the Third Reich of scientists and scholars, in which questions of cultural and knowledge transfer were extensively investigated. Cf. Jarrell and Borden, *The Muses flee Hitler. Cultural Transfer and Adaptation*

study, however, the achievements of Kreisel, Koch, Wassermann and Weiselberger for the host society Canada will be strongly focused upon. To account for the double socialization and cultural hybridity of the four authors, theories taken from Migration Studies, current theories of transculturality and investigations of the Latin American Exile (McClennen; Kaminsky) shall be complementarily employed. Due to the fact that the Latin American Exile happened decades later than the exile from the Third Reich, investigations of the former critically reflect and negotiate the terminological extension the notion exile has undergone in postmodern and poststructural thought. This is conspicuously missing in almost any investigations of exiles from Nazi Germany, even in the most recent ones. The methodological approach will, furthermore, take into thorough account those Canadian realities and imaginaries these writers were initially confronted with, and which they negotiated in their work.¹⁴

An investigation of a marginal group which has so far fallen into oblivion due to their place between static borders of fields of studies, coincides with contemporary issues and agendas within Canadian literary and cultural criticism. At least since the 1990s, an increasing number of scholars within the humanities in English(-speaking) Canada have striven for critical thought which makes room for the underrepresented and the marginal in a society which has for long regarded the

1930-45, (1983) Stuart Hughes, *The Sea-Change* (1975) and also the - far later - Austrian publication by Friedrich Stadler, *Vertriebene Vernunft* (1987).

¹⁴ Here, the time of their arrival in Canada and subsequent second socialization is of special relevance. After the internment, this was strongly determined both by Cold War Canada and the baby-boomer Canada of the 1950s and 1960s, and finally by the changing attitudes towards its (growing) ethnic diversity.

anglophone subject as the neutral norm.¹⁵ None of the writers I refer to belongs to a visible minority, but none belongs to the anglophone norm of the day either. Anglo-conformity was however the definite norm when those writers set out to contribute to the project Canada, in a pre-multicultural and pre-Revolution Tranquille Canada of the late 1940s and early 1950s.¹⁶ Their positioning towards this norm is of relevance in their constructions of selves; various degrees of performative, if playful, but also instances of "sine qua non" acculturation, of covering up of one's ethnic identity, can be found when investigating the lives and works of these writers - often *within* one and the same writer.

The fact that they belonged to an invisible minority, being Jewish Austrians or Germans and thus linguistic and cultural others, enemy aliens from the territories of the enemy of WWII, was of utmost significance, especially during their first years in Canada, the time of their internment, the limbo, in which they were confronted with imprisonment and distrusted by the Canadian guards, but also experienced a plethora of Jewish (Old World) emanations.¹⁷

¹⁵ This is a complex process, which I can only sketch here. Joy Kogawa's *Obasan* published in 1981, and its focus on the maltreatment of Japanese Canadians during WWII, is generally seen as having helped to open up critical thought towards marginalized groups and 'ethnic' writing, a development, which can be traced throughout the critical publications of the 80s. The publication in the 1990s of Linda Hutcheon's *Other Solitudes* (1991) and Smaro Kamboureli's *Making a Difference* (1996), two anthologies of 'ethnic' writing in Canada, are key texts within this development and indicative of the establishment of this general re-focusing within Canadian cultural and literary criticism. There are comparable developments within Quebecoise literature related to 'la littérature migrante'.

¹⁶ Henry Kreisel published his first novel *The Rich Man* in 1948, Charles Wassermann started broadcasting for the CBC in the mid-1940s, Weiselberger's first article for *The Ottawa Citizen* was published in 1945.

¹⁷ The 'refuge' in Canada, as internees who were heavily guarded and not trusted, due to the fact that they were believed to be potential Nazi spies: reflections on the irony of this fate become apparent in all diaries or memoirs written in or about internment, as well as in fictional accounts by Weiselberger and Heller. It is also an

The ethnically most decisive subject position is that of their Jewishness. It is a subject position prominently represented in the texts, regardless of the time of their production. Especially in the negotiation of questions of exile, of the presence of what is absent, of identity, of ethnicity, and of isolation and community, which are frequent in Kreisel's and Weiselberger's - and to a somewhat lesser degree in Koch's - creative writing, specific Jewish positions, often in an Orthodox and traditional Jewish context, come to the fore. What is similarly relevant in the context of (performative) assimilation to the anglophone norm of the day and the representation of cultural identity, are instances in which Jewishness is in/voluntarily silenced, with the writing and production from a decidedly Jewish position opaquely blotted out, especially in many of Charles Wassermann's productions for the CBC.

The representation of European Jewish experience - sometimes, of shtetl heritage and of Eastern Jewish traditions - and of that in Canada, their positioning within a Jewish Canadian context, is of utmost relevance for this investigation (ethnic affiliation transcending national boundaries).¹⁸

Besides questions of identity and Jewishness/es, topics related to the Holocaust feature prominently in Canadian exile literature. Kreisel's two novels, *The Rich Man* (1948) and *The Betrayal* (1964), display his growing awareness of the particular problems raised by writing on the Holocaust, as does his short story "The Homecoming" (first published in 1959), the depiction of an Eastern

important ingredient in the later fictional representations of the UK internment by non-internees such as in Gstrein's *Die Englischen Jahre* or in Baddiel's *The Secret Purposes*.

¹⁸ Compare e.g. the significance Kreisel on more than one occasion attributed to A.M. Klein for his formation as a writer (e.g. Butovsky, "Interview with Henry Kreisel", 189).

European Jew returning to his village after having survived the Holocaust, originally planned as a novel on which he worked in 1950, but which he abandoned when he felt that he was not close enough to the experience he set out to deliver (Butovsky, "Interview with Henry Kreisel", 199). Kreisel renders topics inseparably connected with the historical and social developments initiated by the Third Reich from a specifically Canadian perspective. Also a large number of Weiselberger's short stories - significantly those that have never been published - are thematically Holocaust literature, regardless of whether they were written during, shortly, or decades after WWII. Eric Koch's *I Remember The Location Exactly* (2006) is an example of a very recent work which negotiates the Holocaust, thus bearing witness to an ongoing preoccupation with the collective and individual traumatic caesura.¹⁹

My interest in the topic also coincides with what I perceive as a renewed interest within Canadian scholarship in non-English and non-French European migrant experience after WWII. As alluded to before, much has been done, at least since the nineties, to give voice to alternative Canadian experiences and to represent marginal ethnic hi/stories. For a time, the focus of academic investigation was mainly - and rightly so - on the representations by and of Asian, Indian, Native, and 'Africadian' voices in Canada. After - and now parallel to - this, a focus on *invisible* minorities both in the popularity of primary literature and in academic investigations has become perceivable, by voicing and critically investigating the experience of first world migrants to Canada after WWII. General investigations of

¹⁹ Two other examples are Peter Heller's "Der Junge Kanitz" (1998), and Hans Eichner's *Kahn & Engelmann* (2000). Both authors are briefly dealt with in V. Outlook (p. 217ff.)

European invisible minorities are not completely new, as the long-standing interest in and popularity of literature written by Ukrainian, Mennonite, or Italian Canadians, such as Janice Kulyk Keefer, Rudy Wiebe, or Nino Ricci, to name just one particularly prominent author respectively, suggest. I would, however, argue that representations of European (post-)WWII migration to Canada, and very often their specific backward glance and question "What is/was there?"²⁰ have been of new and particular topicality in recent years, an interest transcending the confines of criticism determined by ethnic identity politics of the respective ethnic group: Modris Eksteins' *Walking Since Daybreak* (1999), fictional memoir and representation of the transatlantic pre- and post-WWII history of Jewish Baltic migrants to Canada, serves as an example here, as does Hungarian Canadian Tamas Dobozy's collection of short stories *Last Notes* (2005), which for instance brings the Nazi-controlled Hungary of 1943/44 to the Canadian literary landscape, and with it the Canadian first person narrator of "Tales of Hungarian Resistance", who is haunted by the unclear role of his Hungarian grandfather, immigrant to Canada following WWII, in those years. In both texts, there are structural and generic similarities which they also share, e.g., with Eric Koch's memoir *I Remember The Location Exactly* (2006). The intention to represent a marginalized part and perspective of history is perceivable, as is the attempt to mould its ground within the histories and historiographies of Canada. The very recent publication of Walter W. Igersheimers's memoir

²⁰ Staines in "Canadian Literature at the Millenium" perceives 'looking back' in recent Canadian writing - writing about one's (ethnic) origins - as a significant paradigm of Canadian writing at the turn of the century, especially with regard to authors such as Rohinton Mistry, Nino Ricci, or Carold Shields.

Blatant Injustice in 2005, the first complete memoir²¹ ever (!) published by a Jewish refugee who suffered internment in Canada during World War II, also ties in with what I perceive as a recently risen interest in the plight of European refugees and in mid-century invisible refugees/migrants and their participation in the make-up of the project Canada.²²

As a consequence of the manifold agendas and my interdisciplinary understanding of this investigation, a number of different approaches and perspectives are used in this study. By this, I do not aim at any definite reading of the cultural products investigated in this thesis; it will necessarily open up room for debate, frictions, and allow alternative and even conflicting readings. Still, as aporia is not the aim of my readings, the thesis strives for approximations towards these productions of specific consciousnesses, of specific expressions of an experience which is as collective as it is individual. The small number of writers and their hitherto marginality necessitate the opening up of disciplinary boundaries.

When I started my research, it was my incentive to shed light on the diasporas and hi/stories of those writers four writers, who experienced exile to Canada due

²¹ Internment diaries were published far earlier, such as Kreisel's "Diary of an Internment" in *white pelican* (4/1976) and Hans Seidler's *Internment* (1986), the latter hardly noticed in Canada, as it was published in Seidler's new country, Australia. For the reprint of his diary in *Another Country*, Kreisel wrote a reminiscing introduction (Kreisel, *Another Country*, 18-25), in Eric Koch's *Deemed Suspect* (1980) excerpts from individual diaries and memoirs of internees are published.

²² The series in which it appeared bears significance, too. In its publishing policy, the *Footprints Series* is explicitly interested in oral history and perspectival negotiations, "premised on the belief that the stories of individual women and men who fell into interesting times or were participants in interesting events help nuance larger historical narratives, at times reinforcing those narratives, at others contradicting them." (e.g. Igersheimer, *Blatant Injustice*, series description on the title pages, N. pag.). Boris Ragula's memoirs *Against The Current* (2005) published in the series can also be mentioned in the context above.

to the Nazi regime. This study is devoted to these writers, to making their lives and stories known, and to recovering their hi/stories, blotted out and glossed over by a post-WWII amnesia.

2. The historical incident: the 'spies who never were' in Great Britain and Canada

In my thesis, I limit the focus of investigation to those writers and cultural producers who came over to Canada via England as interned refugees. All the texts considered are produced by (former) 'enemy aliens', who not only share the biographical parallel of racial persecution in Germany and Austria and flight, but also the irony of double exile: internment at the hands of the 'liberators'. The equation of enemy (Germany) and persecuted (German/Austrian Jews) led to the bureaucratic absurdity of the incarceration of about 30,000 refugees in Great Britain, and the subsequent shipping of some of them overseas: of more than four thousand internees shipped to Canada at least 2,250 were refugees; about two thousand internees were sent to Australia (Draper, "The Accidental Immigrants", 5). In the following, I will give a brief overview of the historical circumstances of the internment in Great Britain and in Canada, sketching the biographical moment the writers I investigate share.

The internment of 'fifth columnists' in Great Britain...

Most Jewish refugees who had fled Nazi Germany to Great Britain as a result of the racial laws came from a secular, assimilated background, often from wealthy or middle-class families.²³ This highlights the reality that emigration was an option largely open only to the comparatively well off (and to those who foresaw what was to come). In general, the same held true for those who fled Austria to Great Britain subsequent to the 'Anschluss', after which the Nuremberg Race Laws

²³ The term 'assimilated Jews' in the context of pre-1933 Jewishness denotes German and Austrian Jews who had left behind to various degrees the religion and traditions of their ancestors and had assimilated themselves to prevalent German and Austrian value systems.

immediately came into effect in the territories of the 'Ostmark', the name given to Austria by the Nazi regime.

Eric Koch, whose family owned one of Germany's then most renowned jeweler's stores²⁴ in Frankfurt, was sent to a grammar school in Kent in 1935 at the age of fifteen, following anti-Semitic threats he had suffered at the Frankfurt Goethe Gymnasium (Koch, *I Remember The Location Exactly*, 74). Charles Wassermann's family also had the means to send the fourteen-year-old to England directly after the 'Anschluss', where he attended a public school on the Isle of Wight; both came over alone, not an uncommon pattern of emigration at the time.²⁵ Kreisel's and Weiselberger's circumstances of emigration were far more precarious: Henry Kreisel's family, who was not wealthy, only managed to escape the Third Reich four months after the 'Anschluss' with the help of a cousin, Salka Zucker, who had moved to England in the 1920s.²⁶ Far less affluent than Koch or Wassermann, Henry Kreisel, then 16 years of age, had to stop his schooling to work in a clothing factory in Leeds. His elder compatriot Carl Weiselberger fled Austria in 1939 - at the very last minute and under unclear circumstances which he never discussed publicly; after a thwarted attempt in 1938 to flee via France, he was incarcerated and physically and

²⁴ A real 'footnote': The jeweler's store quickly became 'aryanized'; after the war Koch's family received (inadequate) compensation, but none of them were involved in the jeweler's store after 1945. The store, however, existed until the seventies under the prestigious name earned by Eric Koch's predecessors. (Koch, Eric. E-mail to the author. 30 Sept. 2006)

²⁵ Jakob Wassermann, Charles' father, had already died in 1934, whereas Marta Wassermann-Karlweis had already started teaching psychoanalysis at McGill University in Montreal (Seliger, 124). Eric Koch's mother stayed on in Germany until very late and eventually immigrated to London in early 1939, although she could have left earlier. Koch comments upon this in *I remember the Location Exactly*, reflecting on his feelings of guilt for not having urged her to do so. (97f)

²⁶ He claims that without this 'coincidence' and Salka's efforts, he and his family would have had no chance. The part of his family who lived in Poland perished (Kreisel, "Vienna Remembered", 51).

mentally abused by the Gestapo in Saarbrücken and Vienna.²⁷ Neither his father nor his brother survived the Holocaust - the former died in Theresienstadt, the latter, who was also imprisoned in a concentration camp but released after nine months, was shot when trying to cross the Austrian border in 1941.²⁸

From 1933 to 1939, about 73,500 refugees from Nazi Germany came to Great Britain: well-off refugees who had the financial means, young men who came to Britain with the help of Jewish and Christian organizations, the offspring of declared anti-Nazi families, and, after 1938, also people holding temporary visas who wanted to immigrate to the US (Darragh, x). Thus, it is in the UK that the "collective tale of the interned refugees" (Draper, *The Muses Flee Hitler*, 272) of Canada begins. After the British Declaration of War on Germany in September 1939, all foreigners - including the refugees - in the UK who had originally come from territories then held by Nazi Germany were, after a sometimes long bureaucratic procedure and individual interviews before official tribunals to determine whether they posed a threat to national security, categorized according to three classes: dangerous enemy aliens (A), friendly enemy aliens (B), friendly aliens (C). Of the latter group, which consisted of a total of 64,200 people, 51,200 were declared to be refugees from Nazi oppression (Darragh, x). Only people belonging to class A were interned at the time, most of them declared Nazi sympathizers.

This relative freedom for the refugees from Nazi Germany in the UK changed abruptly when the German war of

²⁷ In Henry Kreisel's *The Betrayal*, Joseph Held hands over the Jewish refugees to the Gestapo, although he had promised (in exchange for large sums of money) to help them flee over the border - in Saarbrücken.

²⁸ Due to her early death in 1934, his mother was spared her husband's and elder son's fate (Weiselberger, Letter to the Austrian Pension Board, 1967).

expansion was threatening Great Britain in early 1940. Especially after the invasion of Denmark and Norway and subsequently Belgium and Holland, the public in Britain was filled with mistrust of the German-speaking refugees, and newspapers launched articles about 'fifth columnists' in Belgium and Holland. Consequently, the new Churchill administration decided on the immediate internment of all non-British citizens. Thus, in addition to those classified as A, suddenly all category B and C foreigners - most of them refugees - along the eastern coastal areas of England and Scotland were interned. In total 23,000 men and 3,000 women, mostly people who had fled Nazi Germany and its racial laws, were interned (Draper, "The Accidental Immigrants", 3).²⁹ The figures just quoted are indicative that gender was a factor in the internments: whereas all male German and Austrian nationals between the ages of sixteen and sixty along the south and east coast (Koch, *Deemed Suspect*, 10f.) were interned, only a comparatively small number of female refugees were seized in Great Britain and subsequently interned in a separate camp on the Isle of Man. Only men were later sent to internment camps in Canada or Australia. All memoirs and diaries unequivocally report that the seizures happened without any prior notification, the refugees were caught completely off-guard by their internment.³⁰ The central camp in Great Britain was on the Isle of Man, located between England and Ireland; Koch quotes the Jewish historian Moses Aberbach, who wrote that "it is probable

²⁹ Besides Germans and Austrians, also Italian nationals were interned. Churchill's infamous declaration 'Collar the lot!' expressed a widespread - and media-aroused - fear of an alleged 'fifth column' of enemy aliens living in the UK.

³⁰ Henry Kreisel, for instance, was rounded up while at work: "I was working as an apprentice cutter in the large clothing factory of the Montague Burton Company in Leeds, when, at 12:30 p.m. on May 16, 1940, I was called to the main office" (Kreisel, *Another Country*, 19f.). See also: Koch: *Location*, 139; Seidler *Internment*, 35; Igersheimer, *Blatant Injustice*, 20f.

that the Isle of Man in the summer of 1940 was the greatest Jewish cultural and regional centre in Europe" (Koch, *Location*, 148).

As Great Britain did not have the capacities to accommodate and intern large numbers of people, it was decided to send internees to the dominions Australia and Canada. Britain remained vague about the fact that they did not intend to solely send Nazi sympathizers or prisoners of war (POWs), but also and mostly Class B and C male refugees. Feelings that England had betrayed them became strong among the refugees. In retrospect, seeing Great Britain as responsible for the subsequent internment in Canada and Australia, helps explain why the anger towards e.g. Canada was comparatively smaller, as Henry Kreisel states in an interview in 1985:

But, I never - nor the internees as a whole - blamed Canada, because while we might have blamed Canada for not letting people in, we realized that, as far as the internment itself was concerned, the responsibility was England's. Canada simply agreed to accept a certain number of prisoners of war but England didn't have enough prisoners of war at the time. [...] So they just made up the number Canada had agreed to with civilian internees. But as far as Canadians were concerned, it wasn't part of the deal. When they got these people they really didn't know what to do with them. So, insofar as any responsibility has to be assigned, it is really England's, because Canada was merely the agent acting for England. (Butovsky, "Interview with Henry Kreisel", 182)

In fact, almost 2,300 refugees who had been interned in the UK for several weeks were transferred to Canada in summer 1940, on the same ships which also carried Nazis and actual prisoners of war, leading to racial abuse and

discriminatory acts during the voyage.³¹ In all, four ships were sent to Canada between June 29 and July 4, 1940.³²

The transfer of refugees (as well as that of prisoners of war) was continued in spite of the tragic incident of the *Arandora Star*. On July 2, just off the Irish coast, on its way to Canada, the ship was - under controversial circumstances - torpedoed by a German submarine and sank.³³ Of the almost 1700 passengers on board, only a small fraction (86 people) were actual POWs; over 700 people, a large number of them Italian internees, and also a considerable number of class B and C foreigners, lost their lives.³⁴ Only one week later - after the departure of another three ships each with at least 1,500 internees on board - did public reports stir enough protest to stop further shippings of internees to the dominions (*Deemed Suspect*, 64).

...and in Canada

In late 1940, friendly aliens and refugees from Nazi oppression began to be released in the United Kingdom; by spring 1941, all interned refugees had been set free. British authorities also strongly suggested that the Australian and Canadian administration release all class

³¹ This is well documented. Cf. for instance Igersheimer, *Blatant Injustice* (39), or Koch, *Deemed Suspect* (55f.), for accounts of when during the passage Nazi prisoners of war threatened Jewish refugees.

³² The passages differed considerably: The *Ettrick*, was an overcrowded ship, on which about the same number of POWs and refugees made the voyage side by side, Eric Koch and Walter Igersheimer among them; the *Sobjeski*, a transformed luxury liner, on which Carl Weiselberger and Henry Kreisel made the passage; the *Duchess of York*, on which a comparatively small number of refugees had to suffer anti-Semitic attacks by an overwhelming number of Nazis and prisoners of war, and the *Arandora Star*.

³³ It is unclear whether the unarmed *Arandora Star* was mistaken by the crew of the German submarine for an armed ship. Cf. e.g. Gardner, "Tragic Waters: The Sinking of the *Arandora Star*".

³⁴ Not only did the sinking of the *Arandora Star* not prevent British authorities from immediately stopping further ships, but also many of those who were sent on ships departing later, such as the *Ettrick*, knew of the tragedy that had happened a few days before their own transatlantic passage (Koch, *Deemed Suspect*, 62).

C foreigners on their respective territories (Draper, "The Camp Boys", 185). The Canadian administration, however, did not react accordingly concerning their roughly 2,300 internees held in four large camps in Quebec and New Brunswick. The internment in Canada thus lasted considerably longer. The longest camp active, the one on Île Aux Noix, Quebec, was in use until the end of 1943. This meant that some refugees had to stay interned for up to three and a half years, Carl Weiselberger being among those interned for over three years.³⁵

Starting in late 1940, refugees interned in Canada were given the opportunity to return to England, where they were released. Those who did not want to return - e.g. because they were afraid of the torpedo war in the Atlantic - remained interned. All in all, more than half of the internees returned to Great Britain, among them, e.g. Henry Kreisel's father, who initially wanted his son to join him (Butovsky, "Interview with Henry Kreisel", 182).

Contrary to the internment in the UK, which proved to be a comparatively short nightmare, the Canadian internment constituted - for better or for worse - a lasting experience, which for the many young refugees coincided with their most formative years: years spent in a no-man's land, a limbo between Old and New Worlds, administrated by Canadian soldiers under British jurisdiction, with unclear and shifting status and rights - mostly none.

The hostility the internees were initially confronted with was based on the belief on the part of the Canadian officials and guards that they were

³⁵ This chapter draws on the published memoirs and diaries of former internees such as Seidler, Igersheimer and Kreisel.

accommodating German prisoners of war (e.g. Seidler, 63).
Eric Koch remembers their arrival in Canada:

Heavily guarded and accompanied by motorcycle escorts, buses took us from Wolfe's Cove up the Rock of Quebec to the Plains of Abraham. Some curious Quebeckers lining our route called us "sales boches", "Nazis", and similar words of welcome, but once we stepped off the buses, Canadian officers took over. They all eyed us with suspicion and some were perplexed by the ingenuity of these enemy prisoners who had donned the guises of Catholic priests, bearded rabbis, and pale-faced rabbinical students complete with traditional earlocks. [...] 'Beg to report, sir, most of these prisoners seem to speak English quite well.' The captain replied, 'Yes, yes, I know. Those are the most dangerous ones'. (Koch, *Deemed Suspect*, 70f)

Allegedly, all papers concerning the status of the internees sent to Canada had been sunk with the *Arandora Star*, which was one of the reasons why it took the Canadian authorities some time to find out that many internees were not Nazis but actually refugees (Seidler, 68). After it had become clear that the Canadian authorities were confronted mainly with Jewish refugees, this did not automatically better their situation.³⁶ The initial assaults by the guards (they believed them to be German war enemies) were often followed by routinely anti-Semitic treatment in many of the camps. Expressions of hatred against the alleged war enemies were substituted by anti-Semitism. The situation of the refugees was aggravated by disastrous hygienic and medical conditions in the Canadian camps. Shelter was far from adequate, often even worse than for convicts serving time in Canadian prisons at the same period.³⁷

³⁶ British authorities were not very outspoken about the fact that many of the internees were refugees from Nazi oppression, which initially aggravated the situation for the internees (Cf. Draper, "The Accidental Immigrants", 13).

³⁷ Cf. Darragh, xv; or Koch, "Enemy Aliens in Canada: The Genesis of *Deemed Suspect*", 91f.

At least at the beginning, the circumstances of the internment of Jewish refugees resembled the internment of Western Canadians of Japanese origin (many of whom were already Canadian citizens) after Japan's entering the war as a German ally in early 1942. Deprived of all rights, allowed to retain only the little property they could carry themselves, families arbitrarily torn apart for years, about 23,000 people were sent to camps in the interior of the country. Their property was confiscated and sold, so that they actually financed their own internment. Many of these Japanese Canadian internees were released only in 1947.

Both Japanese and Jewish refugee internments are examples not only of war hysteria, but also of racially discriminatory, anti-Japanese and anti-Semitic attitudes engrained both in Canadian official policy and in large parts of the Canadian post-30s society, reflected also in a highly restrictive immigration policy³⁸ during the Depression years up to the end of WWII, leading to the almost closing of the borders for 'regular' Jewish refugees in the critical years.³⁹

When taking into account the factual evidence, living conditions in the Canadian camps were far from agreeable.⁴⁰ The letters home of the internees were censored, and initially mail did not reach relatives until many weeks or even months after being posted;

³⁸ For a comprehensive overview of Canada's restrictive immigration policy of the 30s and 40s, see Kelley and Trebilcock, *The Making of the Mosaic*, esp. "The Recovery and the Second World War, 1938 - 1945: Closure and Internment."

³⁹ Cf. Abella and Troper, *None is Too Many*. 8-17.

⁴⁰ This is in contrast to articles written in retrospect about the Canadian internment camps even by internees themselves. There are various reasons for this, among them, that the misleading comparison with Nazi concentration camps was obviously in favor of the Canadian camps. Henry Kreisel's father, e.g., who had been to Dachau before, compared the Canadian camp to a sanatorium (Butovsky, "Interview with Henry Kreisel", 183). In retrospect, Henry himself was thankful for the stimulating atmosphere and the time for his creative writing the camp provided him with (Kreisel, "Introduction to Diary of an Internment", 23f).

envelopes to be used were marked 'prisoner of war mail' (Seidler, 64), and to inscribe this status even further, they had to wear prisoners of war uniforms: blue shirts with a large red patch on the back (colored circles on the back of prisoner uniforms were common to make them an easy target should they try to escape), and blue pants with a red stripe on the sides. This did not change even after their status as prisoners of war was officially changed on July 1st 1941 - Canada Day, then still called Dominion Day - a year after they had been shipped to Canada (Kreisel, "Diary of an Internment", 37) and the camps were redesignated as refugee camps. Even as refugee camps, however, they remained heavily secured with barbed wire, double door entrances and watchtowers with armed guard-men, the fingerprints and photos of the internees were sent to police stations all over Canada (Seidler, 81: "I felt that this was very Dachau-like"), and there were early morning roll-calls every day. Both Koch (*Deemed Suspect*, 116) and Seidler (64) report of internees being killed when trying to escape, one of them suffering from mental disturbance after former imprisonment in a German concentration camp.

At first, Jewish refugees were interned side by side with Nazis, sometimes for months (Seidler, 67), especially in the camp in Quebec City, which existed from July to October 1940 (Koch, *Deemed Suspect*, 86). After Canadian authorities had realized that the UK had sent mainly refugees, most of them Jewish, and only a small number of POWs who were Nazis, the attempt was made to separate the groups. According to Seidler's diary, however, a separation of 'Aryans' and 'Jews' was undertaken first, an outrageous 'solution', as not all refugees were necessarily Jewish, and also not all

'Aryans' Nazis.⁴¹ Camp R in Red Rock, Ontario, mainly comprised Nazi-sympathisers; according to Koch (Koch, *Deemed Suspect*, 111), however, it also housed close to 200 anti-Nazis, accidentally even including some of Jewish origin among them, who had to suffer anti-Semitic abuse by Nazi Prisoners of War. It took until early 1941 to separate the refugees from the Nazis in camp R.

All of the internees had to move to a different camp at least once, which had usually not yet been brought into a condition to properly house them. All the necessary modifications were done only after they had moved there (Kreisel, "Diary of an Internment", 36f), mostly by the internees themselves. Seidler e.g. reports that when moved to camp N in Sherbrooke in October 1940, an old railway-engine workshop with leaking roofs, they initially had to sleep on the stone floor on sheets of paper, without any laundry facilities: "[T]hey treat refugees worse than animals" (Seidler, 90). Additionally, fatigue work was common (Kreisel, "Diary of an Internment", 35; Seidler, 95).

During the first year, the main efforts of the refugees were directed towards improving their situation (food, hygienic supply) and their status. Once they were officially acknowledged refugees (1st of July, 1941), the focus shifted to the attainment of their release. Canadian authorities, who were not happy with the large number of prospective Jewish immigrants, were confronted with about 1500 male refugees already on Canadian territory, who did not want to return to Great Britain but to (officially) immigrate to Canada, especially after the initial hopes of both the Canadian authorities and

⁴¹ "I think it is very low of the authorities to use 'Nuremberg Race Laws' here. [...] Many of the Aryans among us hate the Nazis as much as we do. Why should they go into a Nazi camp?" (Seidler, 84).

many internees to enter the United States had been crushed.⁴²

It soon became apparent that they had to stay in the camps for an indefinite time. Expressions of despair related to the difficulty of coping with this uncertainty regarding both the length of their stay in the camps and their prospects afterwards are frequent in the diaries and those memoirs written shortly after internment, such as Igersheimer's. On the other hand, it became a powerful incentive for most internees not to pass the time on their hands idly, but to use it productively. The fact that many of the older internees had been in education, some of them even as university staff, proved tremendously helpful for the many young internees, whose formation and education had come to an abrupt halt with their internment in the UK.

For instructors and students alike, education was a way to escape boredom - for those without completed secondary school qualifications, it was also a necessity. Schools designed for the young internees were installed in all the camps.⁴³ Starting in 1941, they were allowed to study for and eventually take matriculation examinations for McGill University. In addition, especially designed for those who did not need further qualifications, there were the popular universities, run by internees in some of the camps, in which, open to all, everything from descriptive geometry to modern drama was taught. The teaching staff consisted of former professors and scientists (among them e.g. Max Perutz, who was to win the Nobel Prize for Chemistry in 1962), and a group

⁴² Draper ("Muses Behind Barbed Wire" 275f.) uncovers the tactical position by US authorities: interviews were only granted to prospective immigrants who were already released, counting on Canadian authorities not to release refugees with an insecure future prospect from the camps. See also Koch, *Deemed Suspect*, 196.

⁴³ More than 30 % of all the internees were under twenty (Koch, *Deemed Suspect*, 147).

of students from Oxford and Cambridge. The large number of young internees who passed the matriculation examinations testifies to the success of the camp schools. This was possible in spite of obstacles such as the scarcity of books and the lack of basic study material. Against all odds, many of the young internees had the opportunity to receive a formal education in the camps that would have been hard to find elsewhere outside the barbed wire (Draper, "Muses Behind Barbed Wire", 277).

Behind the barbed wire there began a search for knowledge that would ultimately blossom into academic careers - careers that would enhance the atmosphere and reputations of Canadian universities. (Draper, "Muses Behind Barbed Wire", 277)

Henry Kreisel and Emil Fackenheim are only two former internees who were to have a lasting effect on the Canadian academia in their respective fields; Kreisel later commented on the plethora of (academic) approaches and ideas he was confronted with at the camps, also outside the camp school:

Without exaggeration it can be said that there was more food for the mind to be found here than in most Canadian towns. At night the place [...] became alive with argument. Sitting around one bunk, an Orthodox rabbi would argue with a Neo-Thomist, and in another hut, around another bed, a Marxist philosopher was having it out with a Platonist. [...] Talk about the market-place of ideas! I have never since encountered it again in so concentrated a form. [...] [W]hen I was interned I was seventeen, and when I was released about a year and a half later, I had some ideas about what went on in the world, and I understood better what was happening in Europe and Asia, because I had listened to so many arguments and read a lot [...]

(Kreisel, "A letter to Robert Weaver", 48f.)

It was the old world within the new, behind barbed wire. In complete uncertainty as to their future, many of the internees made the most of an adverse situation. Paradoxically, although they were kept behind barbed wire by the Canadian authorities for an average length of imprisonment of 1.5 to 2 years, this enabled many of the (young) internees who remained in Canada, once released, to excel in their fields in Canada. This was made possible with the help and education provided by the older intellectuals in the camps, many of whom did not remain in Canada afterwards. The transplantation of the 'camp boys', thus, constitutes a remarkable cultural transfer for post-WWII Canada; the old world, mainly Jewish, 'limbo' of the camps created the "most successful group of immigrants that ever entered Canada" (Koch, *Deemed Suspect*, 255).

It is first and foremost the cultural and intellectual influence they received in the internment camps - (only) then that of the host society - which made them successful. Within the confines of the camp, a microcosm of the riches and variety of - mostly Jewish - intellect, but also of Orthodox life and customs was available, more readily than anywhere else in the world at the time. This is a point which cannot be stressed enough, and to which the situation of internment, i.e. keeping a group away from the host society, completely undiluted and arguably with the effect of strengthening the Jewish community, strongly contributed. Thus, I would argue that the cultural and social determinants these camps constituted come closest to the notion of an exile center in Canada, as New York and the 'Aufbau Verlag' were for the Jewish exile community in the United States, or the 'Exiltheater' in Melbourne and Sydney in Australia. However, as these 'Canadian centers' were inseparably linked with involuntary confinement and

imprisonment behind barbed wire from which it was the collective wish to break free, completely different mechanisms were at work here, which need to be investigated differently from the more common constitutions of interest groups among exiles or migrants elsewhere. The (literary) reflexions and assessments of the internment in Canada by those who experienced it, thus, often display a dialectic: both trauma and formative experience; helplessness and utter despair and (justified) hope for a better future; agency and paralysis.

Ultimate release from the camps for those internees who did not return to Great Britain took place between the years 1941 and 1943; in all, around a thousand refugees from Germany and Austria were released in Canada (Koch, "Genesis", 87). This would not have been possible without the tireless efforts of Canadian Jewish organisations such as The Canadian Jewish Congress (CJC) headed by Samuel Hayes, the Central Committee for Interned Refugees, and Jewish Canadian individuals. These organisations were instrumental in the long-winded and tedious process of the release of the internees, each case having to be dealt with separately. Those who had not finished their education could be released if a sponsor, who had to be a Canadian citizen, was found, others had to be given a job opportunity.⁴⁴ In all, 966

⁴⁴ Draper ("The Camp Boys", esp. 185-188) has minutely researched the case of the first released internee, the Italian Arturo Vivante. Arturo, coming from an anti-Fascist family, was allowed to leave the camp on July 10, 1941 after incessant interventions by an influential American actress, who finally won Canadian Prime Minister Mackenzie King for her agenda. Even then, the Department of External Affairs opposed the release, fearing that this might establish a precedent resulting in the release of many internees. Fortunately, this was exactly what happened. (Arturo Vivante himself is of relevance for a future broader study: returning to Italy after the war, he eventually settled in the US in the late fifties, where he published short stories and two novels in the sixties and

refugees were thus allowed to remain in Canada. (Draper, "The Camp Boys"; 189.) Gratitude towards sponsors, most of them from within the Jewish community, who often enabled 'their camp boy' a University education in Canada after internment, became one reason for them to stay on.⁴⁵ Those who wished to return (to England) were encouraged to do so by the Canadian authorities. The others had to wait until the end of the war to attain immigrant status and to officially apply for Canadian citizenship.⁴⁶

Digression: later creative writing about the internments – recent fiction in Austria and the UK

The internments in England, Australia, and Canada are still comparatively less known historical incidents in the respective countries, as also in Germany and Austria. It is, however, interesting that in the course of the last few years novels have been published both by Austrian and British writers who incorporate and sometimes decisively focus on the historical occurrence of Jewish refugee internment.

In Michael Köhlmeier's monumental novel *Abendland* (2007) an impressive panorama of the twentieth century is unfolded by retracing the life of its protagonist, the Austrian mathematician Carl Jacob Candoris. In the text, allusion is made to the internment of enemy aliens in the UK, Australia, and Canada. Carl is rounded up during one of his frequent visits to London and sent to Australia on the *Dunera* only four days later. He is interned in the Tatura camp in Victoria for three months, after which he is shipped around the globe to Canada, where he is

seventies, often reflecting on his transcultural Italian American heritage.)

⁴⁵ Henry Kreisel dedicated his first novel *The Rich Man* to his parents and his Canadian mentor Toni Mendel.

⁴⁶ For more details concerning the release of the internees, see e.g. Koch, *Deemed Suspect*, 212-254.

interned again, this time, however, to be released only after one week, largely due to the intervention of his influential friend and colleague J. Robert Oppenheimer (636f). Köhlmeier's mix of fact and fiction also adds the impossible: neither were any internees sent from Australia to Canada nor the other way round, nor are acts of such direct and quick interventions in the Canadian internment camps documented, let alone by a US-American. It is, however, significant that Köhlmeier's novel, which has with some justification been praised the "aufregendste österreichische Roman des 21. Jahrhunderts" (Klaus Nüchtern, "Ich bin ziemlich schamlos", 20), and is an astonishingly light-hearted tour de force through the twentieth century, at least touches upon the internment experience of Austrian and German Jewish refugees in Great Britain, thus signifying that this historical occurrence is entering public awareness in Austria.

The novel which really brought the refugee internment on the Isle of Man, Canada, and Australia to the Austrian literary landscape is *Die englischen Jahre* by the Tyrolean novelist Norbert Gstrein. Published in 1999, this tale of a theft of identity in the internment camp on the Isle of Man - one internee stays on in England, the other one loses his life in the torpedoing of the *Arandora Star* on its way to Canadian internment - has the attempts of the female narrator to retrace the life of the fictional Jewish Austrian writer Hirschfelder, who died in the English exile, at its core. Life in the English camp is represented in the especially captivating passages in which the narrative voice becomes second person narration. *Die Englischen Jahre* is an extremely complex and brilliantly constructed (meta-) narrative on the im/possibilities of imagining and constructing other lives, a postmodern refiguration in the context of creative texts on exile.

David Baddiel's *The Secret Purposes* (2004) focuses on Jewish German exile experience in Great Britain. The protagonist Isaac, a Jewish communist from Königsberg, lives as a refugee in Cambridge and is later interned. Baddiel partly bases his novel on the internment of his own grandfather, an exile from Nazi Germany. Apart from a portrait of the experience in the camps and a plot which strongly focuses on the attempts of the British woman June Murray to inform the British public that mostly innocent Jewish refugees are interned in the camps, the novel also incorporates elements of exile experience, such as problems related to language change. Even before the internment, the social decline often inevitable in exile is linked to the loss of language: "Isaac hated his linguistic disability" (31). As a writer of intellectually demanding political pamphlets in Königsberg, he suffers from the linguistic limitations imposed on him by exile.

Another British novel, also published in 2004, incorporates the internment of Jewish refugees in Great Britain. One of the protagonists of Esther Freud's *The Sea House*, Max Meyer, a former internee who was shipped to Australia, briefly recounts his internment experiences in the main plot set in 1953.

The preceding one and a half pages constitute a digression of sorts. The focus will from now be on writers who were actually interned themselves, their subsequent cultural production, and their re/construction of self within the new Canadian place and space.

3. Specific biographies and cultural con/texts

Wassermann, Koch, Weiselberger, Kreisel share the (traumatic) experience of being interned in Canada: Kreisel and Weiselberger mainly in Camp B, Little River, New Brunswick, and, until June 1941, Camp I on Île Aux Noix; Koch in Camp L, Quebec City, and, until Oct 1940, in Camp N, near Sherbrooke (Koch, *Deemed Suspect*).⁴⁷ Wassermann belonged to those released comparatively early (sometime in summer 1941), as his mother, having lived in Montreal since 1939, could act as his sponsor. It is, however, unclear in which camp he was interned; neither autobiographical sketches in his collected papers, internment diaries of memoirs written by other internees, nor the bio-bibliographical article by Seliger provide any information.⁴⁸ All four authors concerned became Canadian citizens after the war, all four contributed considerably to post-WWII public life in Canada in more than one way: as media persons, columnists, writers, radio and TV reporters, correspondents and producers, and high profile academics. This section will provide relevant aspects of the general and individual cultural context of the four writers.

For all four, the complex connection to both Austrian or German heritage and a Canadian present is significant. Stressing their similarities, however, must not gloss over significant cultural or biographical

⁴⁷ Kreisel's "Diary of an Internment" gives detailed information on the camps where he was stationed; with Weiselberger, it is less clear. In an article published for the *Ottawa Citizen* "The Rich Man: A Christmas Miracle" in 1948, Weiselberger reviews Kreisel's first novel, confirming that the two met in the camp in New Brunswick. In his important essay "Language and Identity", first published in 1979 long after Weiselberger had passed away, Kreisel testifies to the importance of Weiselberger's encouraging him to pursue his ambition to become an English speaking writer in the camp. ("Language and Identity", 123)

⁴⁸ Significantly, in an autobiographical sketch written for *Echo der Zeit* (Radio DRS) in 1968, Wassermann reflects on the fact that he was interned in Great Britain, but refrains from mentioning the fact that he was also interned in Canada.

differences. Although they share a similar cultural context before exile - linked by language, urban surroundings (Frankfurt - Vienna), and their ethnic affiliation in already exposed times - they occupied different social spaces. Whereas Koch and Wassermann came from well-off Jewish families (the former from a prestigious family business in Frankfurt, the latter born into a prominent family of artists with connections to leading writers, scholars, and musicians of the time⁴⁹), Kreisel and Weiselberger inhabited different (Jewish) worlds. Kreisel was brought up and lived until his emigration in Vienna's Jewish district Leopoldstadt.⁵⁰ Upon arrival in Vienna, most Eastern Jews would first settle in the second district called Leopoldstadt, and were thus solidly entrenched in traditional and Orthodox Jewish life. In an interview, Kreisel comments on being brought up there:

Leopoldstadt [...] was very much the Yiddish centre, the ghetto if you like, and I grew up there. [...] Our neighborhood had a very strong European shtetl atmosphere, so I was always aware of differences. But we had a very strong sense of our identity, and I never felt alienated. We felt we also belonged to Viennese culture, because we went to the public schools. (Butovsky, "Interview with Henry Kreisel, 176f).

For Viennese Jews, to finally leave Leopoldstadt and settle in a more prestigious district was a common pattern around the turn of the century. It usually meant social advance and, simultaneously, a greater degree of

⁴⁹ The circle of Jewish artists, scientists, and intellectuals that met in Altaussee, where Wassermann was brought up, and which included Sigmund Freud, Beer-Hoffmann, and Hofmannsthal, is brought to life in Charles Wassermann's radio play "The Valley of Altaussee".

⁵⁰ The old Jewish ghetto in the seventeenth century, Leopoldstadt remained in the following centuries the district with the largest Jewish population in Vienna. In 1923, when Kreisel was one year old, 38.5% of the population of the Leopoldstadt was Jewish (Cf: "Leopoldstadt", *Weblexikon der Wiener Sozialdemokratie*).

assimilation: emancipation from the Orthodox traditions and customs of the shtetl with orientation towards the 'Bürgertum', the urban bourgeoisie, and its humanist ideals. It was often the second generation of Viennese Jews living in the first half of the twentieth century, whose parents had left the shtetl in the eastern provinces, who lived - and also suffered under - this process of assimilation and the resulting rupture between inner and outer circumstances. Whereas the first generation mostly focused on an advancement of their material and social position and led an industrious work life, the second generation often - if their parents had succeeded in this undertaking - oriented themselves towards the liberal arts, journalism and the 'feuilleton', or artistic professions.

Weiselberger was born in the 8th district, Josefstadt, where his father, who came to Vienna from Galicia and married Amalia Schwarzwald, was a 'Galanterienwarenhändler'.⁵¹ Although there are no autobiographical testimonies by Weiselberger, the job of his father as an independent merchant, and the address in the far more prestigious district point towards a more advanced development within the pattern mentioned above. While Weiselberger first worked as a qualified bank clerk - a job he lost during the Depression - he had already started publishing several short stories for Austrian papers and journals.⁵²

Within their Jewish ethnicity prior to exile, Kreisel and Weiselberger also occupy different positions linked to economic progress, urban geography, and

⁵¹ A 'Galanterienwarenhändler' was the owner of a shop that sold bijouterie, perfume flacons, and other similarly fashionable items of the day.

⁵² Journals and newspapers for which Weiselberger worked before going into exile: *Wiener Tag*, which also published his novel *Zeit ohne Gnade*, an account of the effects of the Depression on Vienna, *Die Presse*, *Bergland*. (See Weiselberger Archives, Accession 93-4. 2. University of Victoria, BC)

familial occupations, although their positions are closer to each other than to those of Wassermann and Koch. Whereas Kreisel both in memoirs and creative writing provides vivid evocations of pre-WWII Viennese Jewish life especially in the Leopoldstadt, it seems that the experience of Orthodox and traditional Jewish life in the internment camps opened up a comparatively new world to Weiselberger.⁵³

The common equation of social ascent and assimilation within post-1850 Jewry in Germany and Austria is striking - but not an all-inclusive comprehensive description. Especially the rise of anti-Semitism (and already the religiously motivated and pre-Third Reich anti-Semitism) led to divergent developments. Many assimilated Jews in Austria and Germany developed a renewed interest in their ethnic (and/or religious) heritage; Charles Wassermann's father Jacob, a preeminent and extremely popular German novelist, who had lived both in Vienna and Altaussee since the early twentieth century, published his autobiography in 1921. Its title *Mein Weg als Deutscher und Jude* deliberately and programmatically points towards cultural hybridity and a very conscious though troubled position regarding his Jewishness.⁵⁴ He admittedly suffered from his diluted Jewishness, seeing genuine Jewishness embodied in the Eastern European Jews he met in Vienna, from whom he, however, felt alienated. Strikingly, in Charles Wassermann's work, negotiations of Jewishness/es - which

⁵³ Cf. e.g. Weiselberger's internment stories "Der Rabbi mit der Axt" or "Das Gebet".

⁵⁴ Although he feels alienated from Orthodox Jewry, he regards it as the true embodiment of Jewishness. The text shows his attempt to come to terms with the notion of Jewish identity as an integral part of his German identity: "Ich bin Deutscher, und ich bin Jude, eines so sehr und so völlig wie das andere, keines ist vom anderen zu lösen" (Jakob Wassermann, *Mein Weg als Deutscher und Jude*, 131).

are so frequent throughout Kreisel's and Weiselberger's work - are missing.⁵⁵

These divergent positions within (Jewish) cultural identity prior to exile are relevant as they point towards complex identity constructions which should not (merely) be imagined as a cultural composite made of Old and New World, as if these two imaginaries or constructs were, in themselves, homogeneous entities.⁵⁶ Clues to these different positionings of the authors, e.g. to their transatlantic past, can be recovered by investigating the incorporation of their collective/individual past in their cultural production.

Such investigations need to acknowledge their works as culturally hybrid products of culturally hybrid subjects⁵⁷, due to the authors' biographies and their two-fold socialization (Austria/Germany, Canada).⁵⁸ Here, the relation between identity construction within the parameters of a double socialization and their experience of the reality of pain due to involuntary exile inevitably leads to phases of identity construction which are determined by instability and crisis. Stuart Hall and others emphasize that identity is not to be imagined as an essence but as a positioning, always both a matter of

⁵⁵ It is not, however, an agenda he glosses over completely, as I shall assess in the chapter "Jewish Worlds".

⁵⁶ This needs to be stressed, as most essays in publications such as Riedel, *The Old World and the New* do not evade this essentialist trap.

⁵⁷ This is the case even if such an approach might be regarded as contrasting sharply with self-attributions. The former Australian internee Hans Eichner, who afterwards moved to Canada, says when asked if he feels as if in exile: "Nein, ich fühle mich seit vielen Jahren in Kanada sehr wohl. Ich bin hier wirklich zu Hause. [...] Der Terminus 'Exil' trifft auf mich in keiner Weise zu." (Eichner, "Es sind die Menschen, die Heimat ausmachen", 168). Eric Koch reacted in a similar way to the term exile during personal conversation in July 2005.

⁵⁸ For other internees, e.g. Harry Seidler, his socialization in Great Britain was also of particular relevance (Cf. Seidler, 78; 118). For all internees, the fact that they were interned by the British in the first place and sent over to Canada and Australia was something which left indelible traces.

becoming and of being. Such a positioning makes meaning possible; it is, however, not essential and 'once and for all', but arbitrary and contingent (Hall, "Cultural Identity and Diaspora", 392). For the authors concerned, the relation between identity construction and their experiences of exile and transculturation necessarily points towards an unstable and non-essentialised concept of identity.

As most of these writers are comparatively unknown both in Canada and Austria or Germany, the most important biographical and contextual coordinates for each are sketched out in the following subchapters. The information provided on Henry Kreisel is more condensed, as it can be found elsewhere.⁵⁹ For the others, for whom I rely mainly on my research and unpublished material, contextual cultural information will be more extensive.

1. Henry Kreisel

Kreisel was born into a Jewish family in poverty-stricken post-WWI Vienna on June 5, 1922. Together with his brother, he fled to Leeds, England, immediately after Austria's 'Anschluss' in 1938, thus escaping near-certain death in the Nazi concentration camps. He stayed there until his internment in June 1940, when he was shipped to Canada. Having made up his mind in the camp to become a writer and never to return to Austria, Kreisel switched languages from German to English. After his release, he studied English literature at the University of Toronto, and already in 1948 started teaching as a lecturer in the Department of English at the University of Alberta. He completed a PhD at the University of London, England, in

⁵⁹ Cf. e.g. Neuman, *Another Country* or my biographical entry on Kreisel in *The Literary Encyclopedia*: Banauch, "Henry Kreisel".

1954, and became a professor of English at the University of Alberta and a literary critic of considerable renown. As long-time vice dean of the university, Kreisel was significantly responsible for the foundation of the Department of Comparative Literature there, and also set up the first course on Canadian literature taught at the University of Alberta.⁶⁰ Besides being a distinguished academic, Kreisel is the author of two highly acclaimed novels and a collection of short stories in English. In 1988, Henry Kreisel was made an officer of the Order of Canada - the highest award of the country - and was decorated with an Immigrant Achievement Award in 1990. Henry Kreisel died in Edmonton in 1991.

2. Carl Weiselberger

Weiselberger is the only one of the four authors who was already a published writer before his exile in Great Britain and Canada. Apart from over seventy short stories (of which, however, only a small number were actually published), he had one published novel to his name, *Die Zeit ohne Gnade*, and regularly worked for a number of Viennese newspapers and weeklies. Born in 1900, he was a generation older than the young internees and one of the comparatively few internees over forty who remained in Canada after release. Letters by Rudolf Kalmar - an Austrian acquaintance and post WWII editor-in-chief of the Austrian daily *Das Neue Österreich* - to Weiselberger suggest that Weiselberger considered returning to Austria at least at one point of time.⁶¹ Arguably due to the

⁶⁰ A former student of his, Canadian critic and Governor General's Award winner Stephen Scobie, comments: "He was at the forefront of many things. As Dean of Arts, he established the Department of Comparative Literature, and almost single-handedly embodied it. This was at a time when something like this [the study of comparative literature; my comment] was frowned upon, was suspicious. But he, due to what he was, gave a credibility to it at the time" (personal conversation with Scobie; August 21, 2006. University of Victoria).

⁶¹ Letter from Rudolf Kalmar to Carl Weiselberger, 22 November 1960.

bleak prospect of having to support himself in Vienna as a journalist and writer, but also because his remaining relatives had perished during the Shoah (his father Josef in Theresienstadt, his brother during a thwarted escape from Austria; his mother's early death in 1934 spared her a similar fate), this never materialized. In 1946 he started working for the *Ottawa Citizen*, continuing to do so until his retirement in 1965. In 1967 he moved to Victoria, due to the better climate there; he, however, never liked living at the West Coast.

Both due to his mature age and because he had served the by far longest time behind barbed wire - he was only released in February, 1943 - Weiselberger was hit most severely by internment, which, together with persecution, flight, and exile remained a life-long topic, not only in his German but also later in his English writings. In Canada, none of his creative writing was published before his death in 1970, although he strongly wished for it.⁶² It is only thanks to two generations of German philologists at the University of Victoria, BC - after retirement, Weiselberger spent his last two years in Victoria, and bequeathed his collected papers to Frederick Kriegel and the German Department there - that Weiselberger did not fall into complete oblivion.⁶³ There are four volumes of short stories, one of them with his English language stories, poetry in English, and a few German stories in translation. Many of his stories have, however, remained unpublished to this day - significantly

⁶² Weiselberger, Letter to the Austrian Pension Board.

⁶³ Especially Walter Riedel, who (sometimes together with Peter Liddell) edited three volumes of Weiselberger's writings, and who also tried to make people aware of Weiselberger's work in academic publications, needs to be mentioned here, as well as Herta Hartmanshenn and Frederick Kriegel, who edited Weiselberger's *Der Rabbi mit der Axt*.

most of the stories centering on the experience of exile and the persecution of Jews in Nazi Germany.⁶⁴

Although his creative writing was invisible to an audience during his lifetime, Weiselberger was very visible as an arts critic for the *Ottawa Citizen*.⁶⁵ His early articles were short and factual, with only occasional longer arts appreciation articles signed with his full name among them. When he was, however, honoured by the Ottawa Press Club for the best feature story in 1948, his rise began.⁶⁶ Weiselberger subsequently became the most important arts critic of the paper, decisively shaping the outlook and content of the *Citizen's* art section. From the late forties through to the mid-sixties, he published his (personal) selection of arts appreciation and commentaries on current cultural events. With half a page of "Art Notes" in the *Ottawa Citizen*, Weiselberger soon became an authority on the arts: a full page of one feature and several short articles, all written by Weiselberger, was printed weekly under the heading "Carl Weiselberger talks about Art"⁶⁷. Although he published on all kinds of cultural events from drama to music and literature, he mainly focused on the Arts. Weiselberger's article honoured in 1949 is representative of many of his articles. It is on the painting "Abraham and the Three Angels" by Bartolomé Esteban Murillo, with great emphasis on the assessment of and didactic comments on the baroque painting from the perspective of the culturally informed (European) insider. This position of the European authority on high culture was officially, if indirectly, acknowledged and advertised by the *Ottawa*

⁶⁴ See especially the chapters "Writing Holocaust" and "Writing Exile".

⁶⁵ Weiselberger also regularly wrote for the *Evening Citizen* approximately until the end of the 1940s.

⁶⁶ Cf. "For Good Newspaper Writing" [no author given].

⁶⁷ From 1959 until his retirement in 1967; at first, the column was called "Carl Weiselberger about Art".

Citizen in a full page ad with a large portrait photograph of Weiselberger. It read: "Carl Weiselberger. The *Citizen's* Art Critic [...] has advanced appreciation of art immensely in this country through his mature and penetrating appraisals" (Arts Page. Advertisement. *Ottawa Citizen*). The advertisement appeared a number of times in the *Ottawa Citizen* in the late fifties and early sixties.

The role the *Ottawa Citizen* had cast for Weiselberger was in keeping with prevalent attitudes of the fifties: Canada's cultural policy in post-WWII and at the time of the Cold War was to a high degree oriented towards a (conservative) image of European (High) culture. Culturally, one was deliberately dependent on Europe rather than on the USA, whose overwhelming influence of mass/popular culture was dreaded.⁶⁸ Thus, Weiselberger can be seen as aptly fulfilling/performing the role of the European critic, explaining the arts to his 'novice' Canadian readership, and making his living in Canada by selling the cultural ideal 'Europe'. In tone, many of his newspaper articles are strongly influenced by this "paternal" position of the European insider.

Weiselberger retained ties with Austria, although he only visited Europe once in 1956.⁶⁹ He occasionally published articles in German publications such as *Neues Österreich* or *Die Schau*. Most of them are on Canada, displaying the positive image of an economically booming Canada, which was becoming culturally self-assured at the time of Canadian nationalism. These articles are usually enthusiastic in tone and are, though to a lesser degree than Charles Wassermann's contributions in German-

⁶⁸ Cf. Cavell, *Love, Hate and Fear in Canada's Cold War*. 7-17.

⁶⁹ Apart from personal correspondence to friends in Austria to be found in his collected papers, there are a number of complete issues and clippings of Austrian newspapers which he must have had sent to Canada.

speaking media, influential for the creation of an image of Canada in German-speaking countries in the 1950s and 1960s.⁷⁰

His formation of (national) identity, is, however, far more complex. Not only gratefulness towards Canada and an (early) pride in belonging to the (multicultural) make-up of Canada become apparent, but also manifold representations of the utter despair of the exile, the direct autobiographical character of which is often only thinly disguised. Expressions of alienation and isolation not only during internment but also until late in life are strong tensions to be found in Weiselberger's cultural and creative productions.

3. Charles Wassermann

Wassermann, son of the writers Marta Karlweis and Jakob Wassermann, was born in 1924. He grew up both in Vienna and in the Austrian village of Altaussee. Young Karl was sent to attend high school in Switzerland, and subsequently on the Isle of Wright, where in 1940 he was interned as a seventeen-year-old and sent to Canada. As his mother had immigrated to Canada in 1939, her direct interventions with Mackenzie King made him one of the first internees to be released.⁷¹ Having passed entrance exams during internment, he graduated with a BA from McGill in 1945 and started studying law. At the same time, he also started working (part-time at first) for the CBC, where he was to launch an impressive career that included writing and directing radio-plays, radio-shows, later switching to TV and working as the CBC's main

⁷⁰ For example in "Bilderbuch Kanada" (first published in 1948 in *Neues Österreich*), where he writes enthusiastically about his life in Canada: "Ich bin in ein Bilderbuch gefallen" (Weiselberger, *Auswahl*, 213).

⁷¹ Marta Karlweis was one of the few Jewish refugees allowed to enter Canada at the time, thanks to her financial means and a job prospect at McGill University.

foreign correspondent for Eastern Affairs.⁷² Wassermann's early work for the CBC in the forties is of tremendous interest concerning cultural work, questions of cultural identity and transculturality, and the complex reception of the Jewish ex-internees in post-WWII Canada. Within a few years after his arrival as an 'enemy alien', Wassermann was writing, producing, speaking, and broadcasting radio shows nationwide, e.g. on Canadian literature, including an interview with Hugh McLennan, on general Canadian topics and Canadian national identity in radio shows he largely designed himself - such as "Discovering Canada", "Canadian Primer", and "Canadian Professionals" - on a variety of topics as diverse as student life at McGill, Canadian contemporary cinema, Canadian pulp fiction, Emily Carr, and reflections on the life and work of various professions in Canada of the day. Most of these broadcasts reveal strong didactic intent.

Wassermann's degree of (performative) assimilation towards the host society appears absolute, both when he presents his cultural observations from a solely Canadian (inside) perspective, referring to "our history", "our painters", and "our writers", and is himself presented in announcements as (e.g.) "The CBC has asked Charles Wassermann, Canadian radio writer, to examine the state of Canadian literature, and to outline the development of Canadian poetry" ("The Printed Page").

Within merely seven years after being shipped to unknown Canada as a teenager, Wassermann became an authority on matters strongly connected with (Canadian) collective identity and memory, some of which - such as

⁷² Remarkably, Wassermann was not the only Jewish ex-internee to carve himself a career at the CBC, which, at the time, was in its prime. Beside Eric Koch, who worked as an executive producer, also Karl Renner, grandson of Austria's first chancellor and a fellow ex-internee, worked for Radio Canada International (Cf. F. F. Langan, "Karl Renner, Aristocrat and Broadcaster: 1917-2005").

the broadcasts on Canadian literature, Canadian poetry, and Canadian 'rebel writers' - were highly uncommon and thus innovative issues in the Canadian public and popular space in the late 40s. The broadcasts are highly interesting in themselves; it is, however, even more striking that it was Wassermann who designed them and was commissioned to do them.

Admittedly, in other host societies such as the United States, exiles from the Third Reich were also doing cultural work in the (new) media, thus contributing to the tremendous cultural transfer post-1933. The difference in degree here, however, is remarkable. Let me illustrate this with the example of another Austrian exile: Frederic Morton (née Fritz Mandelbaum), born in Vienna in 1924, who emigrated to the USA via Great Britain, and later set out to become a successful novelist writing in English. In the fifties, he worked for a number of papers and magazines - like other Austrian exiles, e.g. Joseph Wechsberg - and once even interviewed Nobel Prize winner and arguably the most famous writer in US-American exile, Thomas Mann (Morton, 99). As remarkable as this is, due to the shared first language and experience of exile, it was probably not entirely improbable to commission the young Austrian émigré with this interview. At roughly the same time, however, Wassermann conducted an interview with one of the most pre-eminent Anglo Canadian writers of the time, Hugh McLennan (Wassermann, "What are they writing?"). Furthermore, he commented in various broadcasts on the state of Canadian literature, which was unusual in the public discourse of the day, in which the public awareness of Canadian literature was yet in its infancy.

In 1952 Wassermann married the French Canadian actress Jacqueline Desjardins. A strong interest in Quebec and its cultures, but also in the pre-Révolution

Tranquille relations between the 'two solitudes' becomes perceivable in Wassermann's work: in radio plays such as "In Search of Loyalties", and in one of his most successful radio series "Fiddle Joe's Yarn", which ran from 1951 to 1954 as a weekly half-hour program broadcast on the TransCanada-Network. This series was based on French Canadian folk stories set in the imaginary village of St Christophe in the Laurentian Mountains, and featured Québécoise folk music. It ran for 170 (!) weeks, and was even transformed into a TV series, though without attaining the success of the radio series (Seliger, 130). For a while, even a translation into French was planned, which, however, did not materialize.

Wassermann did return to Austria and, starting in 1954, lived both in Montreal and Altaussee, but retained Canadian citizenship. He extensively travelled Eastern Europe, and reported from the communist countries to Cold War Canada. Wassermann published his impressions of the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 for a German speaking audience in *Tagebuch der Freiheit*; his *Unter polnischer Verwaltung*, published in 1957, is an investigation of the former German territories in Poland. As a writer, he mainly published for the German market, thus becoming tremendously important for the creation of a specific image of Canada in Germany and Austria, but also in Switzerland in the sixties and seventies.⁷³ Two of his publications were instrumental: one on Canada, programmatically called *Land der Zukunft* (1960), also translated into Italian, and one on the Canadian Pacific Railway: *CPR - Reich des Bibers* (1962).⁷⁴ Of both books,

⁷³ Charles Wassermann also worked for Radio Bern as an Eastern Europe correspondent starting in the 1950s.

⁷⁴ It thus appeared ten years before Pierre Berton published his bestselling (and myth-perpetuating) books on the CPR for a Canadian audience: *The National Dream* (1970), and *The Last Spike* (1971).

revised editions also appeared in the seventies; *Kanada - Land der Zukunft* (1976) and *Canadian Pacific* (1979).

Apart from his radio work and non-fictional writing, Wassermann also produced creative writing. Besides several detective stories and a novel drawing from his experiences as an East European correspondent, his arguably most successful novel, *Die Nacht der hellen Stunden*, is a highly autobiographical account of a journalist and correspondent who loses his eyesight but tries to cover it up.

In its entirety, Wassermann's cultural and creative work seems far less troubled by the individual and collective past than that of the other writers. That he was comparatively less hit or traumatized by expulsion, internment, and exile might be inferred from the apparent ease with which he frequently returned to Europe, and ultimately re-settled in Austria. The radio reports for the CBC which he wrote and broadcast about Germany and Austria after the war between 1953 and 1955 are also indicative of this. The 34 broadcasts on and from Austria, each of which being at least half an hour long, are highly apolitical. They have a strong focus on Austrian folklore, music, architecture, and landscape in common, and represent Austria as an ideal holiday resort for the transatlantic traveller. If the immediate past is mentioned at all, then the myth of Austria as the first victim of Nazi aggression is perpetuated, attributing to the Austrian post-war population the spirit of lightheartedness and strength with which "the memories of the immediate past are being wiped away" (Wassermann, "Radioscript about Vienna" [Untitled]) Even in his reports on/from Germany which he did in 1953, he focuses on the strength of the population and their willingness to reconstruct their cities, qualities he describes as

being able to counteract the prejudices he had held against Germany after WWII.

In none of these reports on Austria or Germany does he as much as mention that he was born in Austria or knows the places he reports about, such as Altaussee, intimately. He glosses over his own ethnicity and primary socialization. At the time when the (German Canadian) poet Walter Bauer leaves Germany for Canada (1953) because "the sight of a large part of Germans incapable of learning from the past [which] fell like iron across my hands" (Beissel, "Introduction", 15), witnessing how "die alten politischen und 'geistigen' Kräfte [...] als durch die Geschichte Bestätigte die Plätze einnahmen" (Bauer qtd. in Froeschle, "Walter Bauer", 81), Wassermann blots out this part of post-WWII Germany completely.

Yet, a closer look reveals Wassermann's position as an ambivalent one. There are traces which contest the perception of him as an assimilated English Canadian blotting out the troubling past of his (former) home-country Austria. There are earnest, if (often) unsuccessful attempts, e.g., to make his father's work and his fight against anti-Semitism known in Canada. Wassermann tried in vain to publish his own biographical short story *The Inner Landscape* about an anti-Nazi lecture his father delivered in Munich after Hitler had come to power, displaying how resistance in Nazi Germany - though at a high price - was possible. In addition, he transformed his father's novel *Der Fall Maurizius* into a TV drama with the same title, which was also denied airing. His 3-hour radio play "The Valley of AltAussee" carefully recovers the stimulating and vibrant gathering of mainly Jewish artists and intellectuals in Altaussee, unearthing for the Canadian listener what was lost as a result of Nazi racist annihilation.

4. Eric Koch

Otto/Eric Koch was born into an extraordinarily wealthy German Jewish jeweler's family in Frankfurt in 1919.⁷⁵ He immigrated to Great Britain in 1935 as a sixteen-year-old on the initiative of his Jewish stepfather Emil Netter. Netter did not emigrate; he committed suicide in 1936 (Koch, *Hilmar and Odette*, 11). Koch had just finished his BA studies of economics at Cambridge when he was interned and sent to Canada. After his release in 1942, he started studying at the University of Toronto, but soon joined the CBC in 1944. He continued working there after the war. In the early fifties, he worked as a producer, e.g. in the department which created the radio dimension of Couchiching of the CBC⁷⁶, and in the seventies as the regional director in Montreal. Occasionally, Koch was also a writer for a sequel of a TV-series, e.g. for "It's the Law" (1956) or "A Choice of Futures" (1967). With Melwyn Breen, he co-wrote the mini-series "Reluctant Nation" in 1966, focusing on Canadian politics from 1867 to the early twentieth century, and on the Canadian prime ministers and their political advisors, also including Goldwin Smith, an influential Anglo Canadian historian and journalist, and an ardent anti-Semite.⁷⁷ Koch was involved in the equally courageous and notorious show *This Hour has Seven Days*, about whose making and impact

⁷⁵ Koch's birth name was Eric. After his father's premature death, when Koch was one year old, he was given his father's name, Otto. When Otto Koch was released from internment in Canada, his mentors were struck by the Teutonic name Otto and suggested he went back to his original name Eric. (Koch, *I Remember the Location Exactly*, 188).

⁷⁶ Couchiching is Canada's oldest public affairs forum, which was already founded in 1932 and became nationally important because of the CBC in the fifties (Koch, "Growing up on the Edge: The Emerging Generation and Canada's Future").

⁷⁷ Cf. "Eric Koch", *The Internet Movie Database*, for Koch's work for the CBC as writer and producer. For more information on Goldwin Smith, see: Tulchinsky, "Goldwin Smith: Victorian Canadian Antisemite".

he later wrote a non-fictional book, *Inside Seven Days* (1986).

Eric Koch published his first work of fiction, *The French Kiss*, comparatively late, in 1969. The book is a comical historical novel linking events circling around De Gaulle's (in)famous 'Vivre le Quebec libre' speech with a historical plot set in the times of Napoleon III. The funny and clever novel is underrated, supposedly because it experienced a troubled start owing to its thematical closeness to the happenings around the Expo 1967, and that of his fictional characters to people such as Levesque. In the epilogue, Koch clearly makes fun of Québécoise separatism, when, in the epilogue set in the seventies - thus set in the future at the time of its publication - the first person narrator Jo-Jo, a French secret agent for DeGaulle, who is as ardent as he is clumsy and thus an ineffective separatist, can only state the demise of the Parti Québécoise.

Once retired from the CBC in 1979, Eric Koch concentrated on writing creatively besides teaching at York University for the Communication Studies Program. Today, he has eleven books of fiction and four books of non-fiction to his name. In recent years, he has exclusively turned to historical fiction, focusing on topics of German history set mainly in the first half of the twentieth century: *Kassandrus*⁷⁸ (1988) and *The Man Who Knew Charlie Chaplin* (2000) are both set in the Weimar Republic directly before Hitler came to power; *Arabian Nights 1914* (2003) is an imaginative rewriting of history undoing the developments leading to WWI, in which Wilhelminian Germany does not enter the war but is peacefully transformed into a democracy led by Albert Einstein. The non-fictional *Hilmar and Odette* (1995)

⁷⁸ Although written in English, Koch's novel was only published in German translation.

traces and parallels the divergent histories and fates of two 'half-Jewish' relatives of Koch's during Nazi Germany, one of them surviving the Holocaust because her Jewish ancestry is hid even from herself, the other perishing in Auschwitz.⁷⁹

Koch's most recent publication *I Remember The Location Exactly* (2006) is a half memoir, half fictional series of short stories revolving around Koch's personal exile from Germany via Great Britain to Canada until his release from the internment camps. At 88 years, Eric Koch has not slackened his pace but has just finished a volume of short stories, conceived as a second part of *Location*, focusing on the cultural and political development of post WWII Canada until 1968 from the view of a television producer, heavily drawing upon autobiographical material.⁸⁰ One of Koch's non-fictional publications was to become a particularly important source for this study: *Deemed Suspect* (1980), the first and only book-length investigation of the Canadian internment of Jewish WWII refugees, for which he corresponded with and interviewed a large number of former internees, and on whose creation he comments in "Enemy Aliens in Canada: The Genesis of *Deemed Suspect*", published in *German Canadian Studies* (1983). In the essay, he emphasizes that he had been hesitant to write a history of the collective experience of the Canadian internment:

The main reason for my resistance was psychological. It had something to do with having been a refugee. We refugees from Hitler made a frantic effort after the war to grow roots and, if possible, to infiltrate the Canadian establishment. Opening old wounds was not high on our agenda. As for me, I much preferred writing about the War of 1812 or about Confederation to writing about the

⁷⁹ *Hilmar and Odette* was in the late 90s translated into German and even into Chinese.

⁸⁰ The publication of it is pending. (Eric Koch. Email to the author. 30 Sept. 2006.)

frantic confusion that had led to our internment [...] these were subjects I was not tempted to deal with, not only because they were too close to the bone, but also because they would have tainted my newly acquired image of a Canadian broadcaster, my German accent notwithstanding.

(88)

However, writing the history of the Jewish internees in *Deemed Suspect* clearly became a watershed for him with regard to his creative writing. Had he evaded Jewish, German or exile topics before, Koch afterwards very much drew on his transatlantic experience in his creative writing, sometimes exclusively focusing on German historical topics pre-WWII, often interwoven with his family's history, sometimes combining collective with individual memory.

4. Approaching exile studies

When used for investigations within German Studies, the exile of writers who fled Nazi Germany is defined by their expulsion from a specific locality to an unfamiliar place, and as an involuntary translocation causing pain and loss.

Involuntary exile stands at the beginning of the migration to Canada of the writers concerned in this thesis. The expression of involuntary exile could be dismissed as a tautology, as any exile necessarily involves involuntariness. But, whereas the immigration to England to escape racial persecution in Nazi Germany was at least to some degree voluntary - in that they or their families had chosen the country of their immigration - their transplantation to Canada was forced upon them, ironically by the supposed liberators from their persecutors in Nazi Germany. Trapped in the irony of being accused of holding the citizenship of a country which had taken arms against a large segment of their own citizens, their citizenship of this very country made them potential suspects. They found themselves shipped across a torpedo-infested Atlantic, sometimes even together with German prisoners of war, most of them Nazis and former willing executioners of Hitler's regime, which they had just escaped. In the hands of first British, then Canadian authorities, interned, deprived of the most basic rights, and with an insecure future, former internee Peter Heller comments on this experience in the introduction to his short story "Der Junge Kanitz", published in 1998:

Wir waren staaten- und rechtlos; menschliches Schwemmgut, über das man nach Belieben verfügen konnte; gab es doch auch Pläne von englischer Seite uns gegen englische Kriegsgefangene in Deutschland auszutauschen, in welchem Fall wir, Juden, allerdings wohl fast alle in Arbeits- oder Vernichtungslagern umgekommen wären,

welche die Deutschen für unsereinen
eingerichtet hatten. Zwar wurde einem diese
unsere Ohnmacht, auch wenn sie einem als
Tatsache „im Kopf“ bekannt war, solange man
nicht gerade hungerte oder fror, kaum bewußt.
De facto aber war man als bloßes Mitglied einer
als gesellschaftliches Kollektiv fiktiven
„Menschheit“ völlig dem Zufall ausgeliefert.
(Heller, "Der Junge
Kanitz", 42)

The following passage in one of Weiselberger's short stories written in the early 1940s during the internment, thus about half a century earlier than the quote above, shows striking similarities in the depiction of this specific instance of complete loss of agency:

Wer weiß was morgen ist, ein plötzlicher
Schwindel, Taumeln, Schwarzwerden im Gesicht,
Hinsinken, Bombenangriffe des Feindes,
Parachut-Truppen, Landung deutscher Truppen,
die Gestapo, keine Rettung, fest in einem
Drahtviereck der Gestapo dargeboten, von den
Freunden verlassen, verkannt und
zurückgelassen, doppeltes Opfer, Irrtum,
Wahnwitz...Wo war da noch ein Sinn zu suchen?
(Weiselberger, "Die Frau am
Fenster", 3)

In direct autobiographical tone, a paradigmatic entry of Kreisel's *Diary of an Internment* points at and reflects the historically same dislocation and uprootedness experienced by the then eighteen-year-old on New Year's Eve 1941 (already quoted at the outset of this study):

Our future is like a dark, impenetrable wall. I
said I should give something if I knew where I
will be next year at the same time. 1938
Vienna, 1939-1940 England, 1941 Canada. 1942 -
where?

(Kreisel, "Diary of an
Internment", 28)

These quotes by Heller, Weiselberger, and Kreisel show striking parallels in the assessment of their situation of internment in England and Canada, as do

passages of Eric Koch's *I Remember The Location Exactly* (2006), Walter Igersheimer's memoir *A Blatant Injustice*, written still under the impression of internment in the mid-1940s, and Hans Seidler's diary *Internment*. Regardless of the length of time between internment and writing the accounts and the chosen forms (creative writing, memoir, diary), they are linked by the collective expression of complete loss of agency and of existential despair. It is the experience of exile in its extreme form (loss of home, present insecurity and insecurity towards their future, isolation and even imprisonment), which thus stands at the beginning of their second socialization in Canada.

The following investigation of German exile studies follows a double agenda. On the one hand, it will locate Kreisel, Koch, Weiselberger, and Wassermann and their cultural production as an important topic of inquiry within the large field of German exile studies. On the other, it will attempt to account for the paradoxical exclusion of them from this very field, by tracing the divergent developments within German exile studies responsible for this exclusion.

1. The writers as exile writers: German exile studies

The field of "Exilstudien", i.e. investigations of the exile of refugees from Nazi oppression, is all but homogeneous.⁸¹ From the very beginning of early investigations of the unprecedented brain drain away from Nazi Germany and other countries under the occupation of the Third Reich until 1945, numerous definitory frames and methodological approaches have been developed. The main strands and shifts in scope as well as the shifting

⁸¹ If not indicated otherwise, the terms exile studies and exile literature in this chapter refer solely to the study of exiles from the Third Reich.

methodologies shall be traced in order to illuminate one central issue of this thesis, namely explanations for the neglect of investigations of "Exilliteratur" in Canada.

In spite of the different approaches and divergent ideological objectives within this field, one common feature can be isolated, namely the biographical component: German exile studies deals with the lives and output - creative, political, scientific, or economic - of people who share the fate of expulsion or flight from Nazi Germany between 1933 and 1945; in effect, the study of German exile literature examines the (literary) production of people who fled Nazi Germany.

A historiography of German exile studies shows different and shifting agendas. The role it played within a post-WWII German philology in Germany and Austria also displays and reflects different phases, from almost complete amnesia and an almost singular focus on literature of the inner emigration⁸² to stronger, at times obsessive interests, often connected with the perpetuation or re-formation of a collective identity. These phases do not necessarily overlap for Austria and Germany and the preoccupation with their respective exile literatures (written by Austrian or German refugees from the Third Reich), but reflect the temporally different phases of collective memory. For the Austrian situation, especially the deep-seated and officially sanctioned Austrian post-WW2 national discourse of being the first victim of Nazi aggression was employed, which helped gloss over the overwhelming acceptance of the new regime immediately after the 'Anschluss'. As the writers concerned in this thesis were - apart from Eric Koch -

⁸² 'Inner emigration' is a highly contested term, which loosely refers to writers who remained within the confines of the Third Reich, some of whose production between 33-45 is seen as 'camouflage writing' in opposition to the existing conditions and power relations.

born in Austria's First Republic, we need to focus particularly on the history of exile studies within Austrian institutions and the subsequent hesitant reception of the findings of exile studies into public discourse.

Studying the interest in the investigation of exile literature since 1945, and arguably even more its neglect, provides a focal point for larger ideological discourses and changes in them; it also provides crucial insights and reasons why a discussion of Canadian exile writers has been marginal at best, and almost non-existent in Austria and Germany. The construction of definitory boundaries and inhibiting categories within (mainly, but by far not exclusively) *early* exile studies, is inseparably linked with what I call the marginalization of Canadian exile writers. Tracing the coming about of this marginalization is the main objective underlying chapter three.

Early German exile studies

The earliest investigations into exile studies and exile literature already took place during WWII.⁸³ This phenomenon is related to a further development within exile studies: that some of the most important incentives in the field came from exiles themselves, both immediately after 1945 and in the decades to come.⁸⁴

The assessment of the exile writers, their (non-)presence and (non-) incorporation into the Austrian and German public and cultural spheres after WWII, quickly became a minefield, an arena for competing ideological discourses. Exiles such as Thomas Mann were accused of having watched the German tragedy from a secure viewpoint

⁸³ E.g. Alfred W. Berendsohn's *Die humanistische Front*, already written in 1939 but not published until after the war.

⁸⁴ Some of the most prominent early scholars of the German exile are Berendsohn, who went into exile in Sweden, Guy Stern, and John M. Spalek in the US.

abroad. This accusation grossly and indiscriminately glossed over the fact that going abroad was the only option for the persecuted - and even that only for a fortunate few - to evade torture and slaughter in the Nazi death camps and gas chambers.⁸⁵

Significantly, up to the early sixties both in Germany and Austria, writers of the inner emigration were far more widely read than exile writers. They became canonized and were used for the construction of a German and an Austrian sense of collective identity⁸⁶, although it was only in the aftermath of the war that many of these writers, such as Thiess or van Molo, stylized themselves as having been part of the inner emigration, which was widely accepted at the time.⁸⁷ In Germany, it was owing to such writers and to general mechanisms of collective and publicly sanctioned processes of post-WWII suppression, that the idea(1) of exile literature as a moral and literary institution in Germany (and Austria) did not at all come into effect after the end of the war.

The early rivalry between the assessment of inner emigration and exile literature laid bare ideological rifts; it was also responsible for an early and inhibiting frame for the scope of the investigation of

⁸⁵ The United States, where Thomas Mann went to, became a place of exile for almost 280,000 refugees from the Third Reich (Pfanner, *Exile in New York*, 14).

⁸⁶ A quantitative survey of German anthologies and textbooks undertaken in 1965 proves a clear bias towards German literature written within the confines of the Third Reich and a comparative neglect of exile literature from the period; the ratio is 1:6 (Schnell, *Literarische Innere Emigration*, 6f.).

⁸⁷ Molo, who had been president of the Preussische Dichterkademie until 1930, did not belong to those writing Nazi propaganda during the Third Reich, keeping a certain distance to the regime, although he signed the 'Treuegelöbnis' for Hitler. His books, however, could be printed and were widely read between 1933 and 1945 (Sarkowicz, *Literatur in Nazi-Deutschland*, 285f). Thiess strongly acted as a self-declared spokesperson of the inner emigration after 1945; research into his activities during the Third Reich, however, reveal him as an ambivalent author, who tried to fit his writing to the Nazi ideology, even reinterpreting his own works in an anti-Semitic way (334).

exile writing: the temporal reduction to literary productions between 1933 and 45.⁸⁸

Only in the 1960s in Germany (in Austria even later), in the wake of the 'Germanistentag' in Munich in 1966, did literary exile studies successfully insist on its moral and methodological priority within German philologies.⁸⁹ This went hand in hand with larger political contexts: the student protests and profound social changes of the late sixties in France and Germany, whose liberal and left-wing thinkers found intellectual and ideological predecessors in many of the exiled philosophers, writers, and scholars, such as the exiled protagonists of the Frankfurt School Adorno, Horkheimer, and Marcuse.⁹⁰ This also coincides with the first time that a former exile, Willy Brandt, was elected Federal Chancellor of Germany in 1969.

'Framing' the Exile Experience

With the turning of the tide described above, a long needed re-inscription and re-thinking of German literary production between 1933 and 1945 could take place as well as more comprehensive and in-depth investigations of the tremendous body of literature written outside Germany in the years of the Nazi regime. In a necessary and sharp

⁸⁸ 'Die große Kontroverse', with its main protagonist Thomas Mann on the side of Exile Literature, and Frank Thiess and Walter von Molo as representatives of the Inner Emigration. In an article published in the *Münchener Zeitung* in August 1945, Thiess claimed the moral superiority of the inner emigration to emigrating to security in exile, watching the German tragedy "aus den Logen und Parterreplätzen des Auslands" (Grosser, 24). Thomas Mann reacted by publishing an open letter in the same newspaper, in which he disapproves of books that found a publisher in Nazi Germany maintaining that "ein Geruch von Blut und Schande haftet ihnen an" (Thomas Mann, "Warum ich nicht nach Deutschland zurückgehe", 957).

⁸⁹ This development was enforced by publications such as Franz Schonauer's *Deutsche Literatur im Dritten Reich* (1961), the first harsh criticism on the prevalent positive portrayal of the literature of the so-called inner emigration and on the simultaneous neglect of the literary production of the exile.

⁹⁰ The Frankfurt School and Critical Theory were driving forces for the beginnings of fundamental changes in social and cultural policies, starting in the 60s.

contrast to the literature of the 'Innerlichkeit' and the apolitical methodologies of the literary criticism immediately after WW2, the categories for the investigation of exile literature at the time were predominantly political and sociological ones; the works were approached and categorized according to their political potential, such as stirring resistance against fascism. The literary object of investigation, the methodology used, and the political commitment of the post-sixties generation of German literary scholars are closely interconnected. In the literature of the exiles, the younger generation of critics, (the 'Nachgeborene', emerging after Nazi Germany) found a political space desperately needed for the cultural resistance to a culture of authoritarianism and suppression. Interest in and pursuit of politically motivated exile studies became the expression of individual and social constructions for a new generation of students and scholars alike. After the mythologizing of writers of the inner emigration as representatives of a (seemingly) different, non-Nazi Germany ('das andere Deutschland'), a truly alternative Germany was now recovered: one of political and intellectual resistance against fascism. It put an end to the "geschlossenes System der Amnesie" prevalent in the 40s and 50s, which blotted out exile and its antifascist traditions, as it was perceived as a threat for the authoritarian structures governing early post-WWII Germany.⁹¹ Exile literature now provided a corpus of texts in which democratic, antifascist, and liberating structures could be found. The literature of the inner emigration was qualified as at least resignedly escapist,

⁹¹ The term was used by Peter Härtling in an influential paper at the Bremen PEN Congress in 1980. Cf. Winckler, "Die Mythen der Exilforschung", 72.

but more often than not as having implicitly supported an inhuman and totalitarian ideology.⁹²

To sum up: The rivalry between protagonists of exile and inner emigration directly after 1945 was first followed by a period in which the latter was strongly favored, coinciding with more general processes of collective suppression of the immediate past. Starting in the 60s, the literary production in exile from 1933 to 1945 increasingly came into the focus of enquiry of a German philology which very strongly distanced itself from positivistic philology, whose sole occupation with Arnoldian criteria in art was exposed as escapist and trite after the barbarities of the Third Reich.

This development had decisive secondary implications on one important conceptualization of the study of exile literature, namely the temporal limitation for the study of exile literature from 1933 to 1945. This is of high relevance for the (neglect) of Canadian Exile literature, as shall be shown later.

Both the early antagonism between outer and inner emigration (as exemplified in the Mann-Molo debate), and the interest in exile literature that was especially strong in the 1970s and 1980s as a politically conscious reaction to the immediate post-WWII amnesia in Germany⁹³, set this temporal frame for the object of inquiry on the part of exile studies: 1933 (in the case of Austrian exile literature 1938) to 1945, or sometimes, to 1950.⁹⁴

⁹² In his study *Literarische Innere Emigration* Schnell uses the categories of "Innerlichkeit" und "Irrationalität" in his characterization of inner emigration, and argues that the political and historical point of view of its protagonists made it impossible for them to see through National Socialism, and led to their implicit support of the then dominant power structures.

⁹³ In Austria, this collective amnesia (Verdrängung) lasted far longer, if under slightly different circumstances. Cf. chapter 3.1.5.

⁹⁴This also becomes obvious in categories used at the time displaying the (sole) interest in the degree of commitment of the respective

The reason for this frame is evident with regard to the initial debate about the moral superiority of exile or inner emigration after 1945. In this debate, the focus was obviously on the actual years in which the Nazis were in power. Similarly, committed proponents of a German Studies which found in exile literature a field for politically conscious investigation involved themselves in the investigation and promotion of 'la littérature engagée', focusing on antifascist works written by exiles opposing the Nazi regime.⁹⁵ This agenda again led to the occupation with literary productions before the end of the war, blocking the focus on literature written after 1945 by exiles who did not return.

This temporal frame is used for and often even inscribed in the titles of the most influential publications in the seventies and eighties: Albrecht, *Widerstand und Exil 1933-1945* (1986), Arnold's *Deutsche Literatur im Exil. 1933-1945*. (1974), and also for the early comprehensive biographical compendia of exile writers, such as Wilhelm Sternfeld's bio-bibliographical encyclopedia *Deutsche Exil-Literatur 1933 - 1945* (1962). Even in view of very recent publications within the field of exile studies, numerous publications still limit their corpus of investigation to this frame.⁹⁶

The ramifications of such a frame are as striking as are the limitations it brings about for its own field of investigation: it leaves out the whole range of texts written in exile by exiles after 1945, as well as

texts, e.g. resignedly escapist, humanitarian, or antifascist. (Cf. e.g. Gürttler, "Alte Welt und Neue Welt".)

⁹⁵ Lutz Winckler in "Die Mythen der Exilforschung" argues that one consequence of an ideologically motivated investigation of exile literature is a decisive limitation of the field of enquiry (76).

⁹⁶ Cf. often prevalent in surveys of specific regions, such as Thomas Kiem's *Das österreichische Exil in Schweden 1933 - 1945* (2001), and even Richard Dove's *Journey of no return. Five German-speaking literary exiles in Britain 1933 - 1945* (2000), who limits his otherwise excellent investigation of German and Austrian exile writers in the UK such as Robert Neumann to these twelve years.

investigations interested in cultural transfer, language change in exile, in the host society, or transcultural agendas.⁹⁷ The emergence of this frame is understandable in view of the post-WWII history of German Studies in general, and exile studies in particular. The case in question here, however, namely the exclusion of literature produced by writers whose exile brought them to Canada, exemplifies how the focus on this frame produced an inherent reductionism of the phenomenon of the exile from the Third Reich, blotting out important areas of investigation.

Broader definitions of exile literature

Even though the inscription of the temporal frame for the discussion of exile literature in Germany and Austria determined and limited the corpus of inquiry for decades⁹⁸, there were scholars within the field of exile studies, most of them exiles themselves, who soon started to disapprove of the frame and pointed towards the necessity of regarding the literary production after 1945 as a vital if not the most important object of investigation:

Die dritte, die bedeutendste Periode dieser Flüchtlingsliteratur aber beginnt zweifellos erst 1945. Sie währt nun schon 20 Jahre und endet erst, wenn der letzte Flüchtling aufhört, literarische Werke zu schreiben und zu veröffentlichen.

(Berendsohn, *Deutsche Literatur der Flüchtlinge aus dem Dritten Reich*, 4.)

⁹⁷ Many former refugees remained in exile even though (often more theoretically than practically) a return to their former homes had become possible after the end of the war.

⁹⁸ An illustration: Bolbecher and Kaiser, the editors of *Lexikon der Österreichischen Exilliteratur* published in 2000, explain in their preface in some detail why they chose not to use the temporal frame of 1933/39 - 1945 for their publication, thus indirectly bearing witness to the lasting influence of this by now obsolete frame (Bolbecher, 19).

Walter Berendsohn, who fled from Nazi Germany to Denmark and finally settled in Sweden - with his publication *Die humanistische Front* (1946) he was one of the initiators of exile studies - opted early on for a more inclusive concept of the field of inquiry, which, at the time, was not realized. It is significant that especially those scholars writing from outside Germany or Austria, mostly exiles themselves and publishing in 'Auslands-Germanistiken' mainly in the USA, were instrumental in opening up the field of inquiry, with Berendsohn, Guy Stern, John M. Spalek, and Joseph Strelka among them. Strelka and Spalek's concerted enterprise in twelve volumes, *Deutsche Exilliteratur seit 1933* - the first volume published in 1976, whereas the project was only recently completed with the publication of its final volume in 2005 - liberates itself from the caesura of 1945. The authors explicitly refer to Berendsohn's statement in the preface quoted above. They discuss the irreversibility of exile, and opt for the broadest possible frame to be used for exile: all who share the biographical moment of having once become a refugee from Nazi Germany are exiles.⁹⁹ The biographical determinant of involuntary migration becomes the methodological frame, the term exile is also used after 1945, when the moment of actual menace is over and a possible return to the former home is theoretically possible. In Strelka and Spalek's conception, exile literature comprises all the works written by authors who went into exile, regardless when or if they returned to their former homes as even works written after a possible return can only be fully understood in the context of the previous experience of exile (7).

⁹⁹ [Es versteht sich von selbst, daß alle Autoren, die aus Nazideutschland vertrieben wurden, als Exilautoren zu betrachten sind." (Spalek u Strelka, *Deutsche Exilliteratur seit 1933*. Vol. 1, 5.)

Such an approach opens up questions that remained largely unasked in investigations solely interested in the time between 1933 and 1945: the questions of cultural transfer, of writing *between* cultures or from *within* two or more cultures, of language change, and of inter- and transculturalism, investigations of which, both on general and individual levels, were - at least to some degree - to follow. Strelka's and Spalek's approach is instrumental for a turn within exile studies: away from a conceptualization in which the phenomenon of exile is no longer regarded and investigated as such once a return is potentially possible, to the actual realities, namely that a large number of exiles remained in their host societies after 1945.

What has yet remained unresolved in their conceptualization, however, is the shifting positioning of the exiled individual within it, especially along a temporal axis. The realities and conditions of exile cannot be conceived as a stable and final condition and as 'once and for all', but need to be imagined as a constant process in a web of shifting determinants, thus, as a fluid concept. A text written by an exile in 1939 demands a different approach from one written in 1947 or in 2002. Such a conceptualization of exile is not (openly) refused by Strelka or Spalek (or Guy Stern, whose approach to exile literature runs in a similar vein); it is however, never theoreticized or negotiated by them. Strelka differentiates between self-positions of assimilation or isolation, or the group of the "alrightnicks" - who openly displayed a positive attitude towards their host country - and those suffering in and because of exile (Strelka, *Exilliteratur*, 22). But apart from different positions *among* individuals, different and shifting positions *within* individuals - either temporally determined or performatively expressed - are not re-

covered in their investigations, which they share with other critical works using a temporally inclusive frame.¹⁰⁰

Recent agendas of the study of exile literature

Recent years have seen a broadening of the field of German exile studies. The comparatively neglected field of women in exile has come to the fore, both with comprehensive bio-bibliographical compendia¹⁰¹, studies of individual female authors, and international conferences and symposia approaching exile from within gender and women's studies.¹⁰² Additionally, attempts have been made to find exile authors who were not well known or not known at all. Yet another relatively new field is that of the investigations of second-generation exile writers such as Walter Abish. This is indebted to the field of Holocaust studies and their differentiation in first and second-generation authors or, to use a slightly different terminology, eyewitness generation and successor generation.¹⁰³ Within the frame of exile literature, investigations of writers of the second generation have recently been undertaken, either to complement investigations in literary and cultural studies undertaken within the host society¹⁰⁴, or to find writers

¹⁰⁰ In other contexts than German exile studies, this has been done: e.g. the consent/descent debate initiated by Werner Sollors' *Beyond Ethnicity* (1986) brings the (potentially) shifting relationship between migrants and host society to the core of discussion, and with it the transition from exile via immigrant to migrant.

¹⁰¹ Wall, *Lexikon deutschsprachiger Schriftstellerinnen im Exil 1933 bis 1945* from 1996 still uses the temporal frame discussed above.

¹⁰² *Gender, Exil, Schreiben* (2002), edited by Julia Scholl is a recent example of how much is being done (and also how much still needs to be done) concerning exile writing from a gender perspective; the fact that most of the contributors are comparatively young testifies to an on-going and renewed interest in exile studies.

¹⁰³ Geoffrey Hartmann's *The Longest Shadow* was instrumental for such a development.

¹⁰⁴ An example of such a 'complementary' investigation is Robert Leucht's *Experiment und Erinnerung* (2006) on Walter Abish, US-

who share a family history of expulsion and exile, and would otherwise remain invisible. Influenced by seminal works on the sciences in exile, mainly Steward Hughes's *The Sea-Change* (1975) and Jackman and Borden's *The Muses Flee Hitler* (1983), with their recognition and investigation of the enormous brain-drain away from Nazi Germany and, simultaneously, enormous contribution of (Jewish) scholars, scientists, or artists in exile to their respective host countries, some publications occupied themselves with questions of cultural transfers within the study of exile literature, notably Helmut Pfanner's *Kulturelle Wechselbeziehungen im Exil* (1986).

The interest in cultural transfer coincides with what might be regarded as a (partial) turn within German exile studies, a focus shifting away from the exile author determined by loss, suffering, and displacement, towards a creative 'release' (indirectly) enabled by exile, a focus more on the transcultural gains than on the losses.¹⁰⁵ This creative potential becomes manifest in positive effects on the individual level: working in and for a different culture or audience might signify such a creative release. The academic work of many exiled authors, especially in the USA, and their work as translators, might be mentioned in this connection.¹⁰⁶ On a more general level, such a creative release can be found in the massive pooling of intellectual forces in

American post-modern author and son of German exiles, which approaches Abish's work from an exile studies perspective, succeeding in providing more differentiated results than those from a purely American literary studies approach.

¹⁰⁵ Grünzweig in "The Road to America" strongly argues that exiles should not be exclusively regarded under the chiffre of loss but that one "should look at such authors from bicultural points of view, demonstrating the intercultural gains, not just deplore the losses, of such authors." (223).

¹⁰⁶ Eric Fried or Paul Celan are prominent examples. A large number of exile writers worked as translators. Charles Wassermann, e.g. translated Schiller's *Maria Stuart* into English (Cf. Seliger, 132.)

academic centers of exile on the east and west coasts of the US.

Introduced in 2001 by Stephan Braese as a specific focus for the literary production of German-speaking exiles after 1945, the term "Nach-Exil" needs to be regarded as a new development¹⁰⁷ (however dubious a differentiation into two stable, monolithic entities ante-45 and post-45 exile might be) that shows some productivity in subsequent publications, as in Birgit Lang's recent investigation of German-speaking exile theater and cabaret in Australia *Eine Fahrt ins Blaue* (2006), which, however, uses a more differentiated model by incorporating migration and memory theory.

Finally, another promising and long neglected branch of exile studies is the investigation of authors who changed their language in the host country, or only started writing creatively in the new language(s). The investigation of language change in exile is still very much in its infancy, often for methodological reasons of the so far predominantly non-interdisciplinary study of exile studies.¹⁰⁸ With regard to the German exile writer Ruth Landshoff-Yorck, whose English works published in New York are buried in oblivion, Pendel establishes both helplessness and skepticism on the part of more traditional exile studies towards exile literature in the language of the host society:

[S]o wird Yorcks Exilwerk noch länger mit Hilflosigkeit und Skepsis betrachtet, denn der englischsprachige Teil ihres Werks will anscheinend nicht in die Lexika deutschsprachiger Exilliteratur passen. Vielleicht könnte dies ein Anlass sein, den Aspekt der Sprache für die Ordnung der Exilliteratur neu zu überdenken.

¹⁰⁷ A comparative glance at the study of exiles from other nations shows that this is not limited to German Exile Studies; cf. Kaminsky, *After Exile*.

¹⁰⁸ Andreas Wittbrodt's selected bibliography *Mehrsprachige jüdische Exilliteratur* (2001) is the only comprehensive attempt so far.

(Pendel, "Der zweisprachige
Zwiespalt", 103)

Literary exile in Great Britain proved to be fertile ground for bilingual investigations: Sylvia Patsch's examination of Austrian literary exiles in Great Britain written in 1985 was an early, but for decades almost singular attempt to include works written in two languages, followed by Richard Dove's investigation in 2000 mentioned above. Studies on writers using two (or even more¹⁰⁹) languages at the same time for different purposes - as is the case with Weiselberger, for instance, who published journalism in the language of the host country, but for long used the 'old' language for his creative writing - are almost non-existent. Especially in cases of exiles writing exclusively in the language of the host country, the conceptual frame of exile studies, which for long included only writings in German, ruled them out. Thus, authors passed exile studies unnoticed for long, both as established or lesser-known authors.¹¹⁰

Most of the comparatively new agendas mentioned above, are beneficial for an investigation of Canadian Exile Literature.

Ambivalent pendulum between appropriation and
exclusion¹¹¹: Austria and exile writing

¹⁰⁹ Officially bilingual Canada as host society is of course fertile ground for such a multilingual phenomenon. Anthony Frisch is an example of a writer who wrote and even published in three languages after 1945: English, French, and German. (Frisch, *The House*)

¹¹⁰ Established authors such as Walter Abish, Henry Kreisel, or Joseph Wechsberg, for instance, were 'appropriated' by the national literature of the respective host country; still, investigations of their works strongly benefit from a complementary exile literature perspective. Lesser-known writers, such as Eric Koch, especially need an interdisciplinary study of exile literature in order not to be overlooked by literary criticism.

¹¹¹ The title is indebted to a formulation by Ursula Seeber: "das ambivalente Pendel zwischen Vereinnahmung und Ausgrenzung des Exils" (Seeber, "Die österreichische Exilbibliothek", 187).

As already mentioned in the short discussion on the history of exile studies, Austria is a special case in the investigation of its exiles from the Nazi regime 1938-45. This is important here, as it constitutes an additional reason for the neglect of the lives and works of Canadian exile writers, many of whom came from Austria. It is significant that the small number of academic essays concerning exiles in Canada written from an exile studies perspective were not undertaken by Austrian 'Germanisten' but mainly by Canadian scholars within German Studies with a German post-WW2 migrant background. In Austria itself, academic interest in the history and works of exiles expelled from post-Anschluss Austria started even later than in Germany (See also "Early Exile Studies").

Whereas the Moscow "Declaration of the Four Nations on General Security" signed by the Foreign Secretaries of the Allied powers in 1943 classified Austria as the first victim of Nazi oppression and declared the establishment of a free Austria as a primary goal, Austrian collaboration after the 'Anschluss' 1938 stands in stark contrast to this role as victim.¹¹² The year 1938 saw an overwhelming acceptance of the 'Anschluss' almost everywhere in Austria, against which the attempts against the incorporation into the Third Reich seem rather pale. The briskness with which e.g. the anti-Semitic Nürnberg racist laws were made law and transported into Austrian daily life was astounding. Henry Kreisel remembers this in an interview in 1980:

The full fury of the anti-Semitic attacks began, literally, the day after the German armies came in. It was a very traumatic experience because the Austrian population moved very strongly over to Hitler. The endemic anti-Semitism burst into flames. [...] So, it was

¹¹² For a more detailed account, see the first and most authoritative account by Weinzierl, *Zu wenig Gerechte*.

clear to the Austrian Jews, from the beginning,
that there was no hope.

(Butovsky, "Interview with Henry
Kreisel", 179)

Henry Kreisel's *The Rich Man* acutely describes the political¹¹³ - especially anti-Semitic - undercurrents in immediate pre-Anschluss Austria, which was later confirmed by historical research: Hitler's racist regime found fertile ground in Austria. Austria's Jewry, which comprised 3.5% of the total population (or 225,000 people), lost all rights (Bolbecher, 11). More than 130,000 Austrians, most of them Jewish, went into exile; approximately two thirds of Austria's Jewish population fled after the Anschluss. At least 65,000 Austrian Jews were killed, 9,000 Roma and Sinti, but also a large number of resistance workers of different political or religious convictions, as well as mentally challenged people (Brugger, 525).¹¹⁴

Austria after 1945 is less characterized by a new beginning, a 'Stunde Null', than by an orientation backwards. Austria's participation in Nazi crimes was denied and veiled with the myth of the role of the victim - the 'Opferrolle' - public preoccupation with the recent past was not encouraged or even politically sanctioned for decades. The so-called 'Entnazifizierung', the removal of Nazis and Nazi sympathizers from public offices after the war, occurred on a far smaller scale in Austria than in Germany.¹¹⁵ Attempts to invite back former

¹¹³ Henry Kreisel's autobiographical essay "Vienna Remembered" adds an additional facet.

¹¹⁴ Cf. the most comprehensive study on the topic: Benz, *Dimension des Völkermords*. The numbers given there are minimal approximations, as no complete official records were made in the camps.

¹¹⁵ Also in Germany, many felt that this was not done adequately. Walter Bauer, a German poet and migrant to Canada after 1945, explains his emigration to Canada thus (partly quoted above): "Ich ging nach Kanada. [...] Ich kam mir fast lächerlich vor mit dem, was ich glaubte, und für richtig hielt, wenn ich sah, wie ringsum in Westdeutschland die alten politischen und "geistigen" Kräfte, die wir nie wiedersehen wollten, mit den Gesichtern von Unschuldigen und

Austrian refugees remained singular, and many exiles did not feel welcomed in Austrian post-WWII society. Attempts to support the writing of exiled authors, to invite them for readings or to undertake academic research, remained minuscule.¹¹⁶

Thus, the process connected with the coming to terms with the past ('Vergangenheitsbewältigung') and as a consequence publicly sanctioned interest in and investigations of the fate of Austrian exiles started considerably later than in Germany. For instance, within the German studies departments at Austrian universities, a distinct continuity within the staff can be noted after the war (Leucht, 3); the turn of a whole young generation of academics towards exile studies as visible in Germany (see above), was not repeated on any comparable scale in Austria, with the existing few appearing only later.

The first impulses for the investigation of Austrian exile history came from a non-academic and non-institutional organization: the Dokumentationsarchiv des Österreichischen Widerstands (DÖW), founded in 1963 as a private organization by Austrians who had been in the antifascist resistance. Only much later, in 1983, was it partly funded and officially organized by the Republic of Austria and the City of Vienna; in the early 1980s, a large research contract was installed for exile studies at the DÖW. It is significant in the context of this thesis that political and literary exile were researched together, the (old) models for the investigation of exile writers still prevailing, focusing on resistance and committed literature in exile from 1938 to 1945, thus blotting out other important agendas even longer than had

als durch die Geschichte Bestätigte die Plätze einnahmen". (Bauer qtd. in Froeschle, "Walter Bauer", 81)

¹¹⁶ Cf. Leucht, 27-30.

been the case in Germany or in US studies of exile writing.¹¹⁷

Only as late as in the 'Gedenkjahr 1988', thus fifty (!) years after the invasion of Hitler's troops, or rather, their welcome in Austria, the first symposium on Austrian exile literature was held in Innsbruck, *Eine schwierige Heimkehr*, the proceedings of which were later published under the same title. At this time, the study of exile set in on a broader basis. The results of the study of the exile by Austrian scientists and scholars were published: the copious *Vertriebene Vernunft* (ed. Friedrich Stadler), as well as various volumes of *Österreicher im Exil*, a series published by the DÖW, their separate volumes focusing on the specific conditions of exile in different countries between 1933 and 1945, including the latest volume on Mexico, published in 2002.¹¹⁸

Apart from the foundation of the Österreichische Exilbibliothek in Vienna in 1993, the early 21st century saw a new rise in interest and activities concerning the research of Austrian exile and exile literature: the first (!) encyclopedia of Austrian exile literature - *Lexikon der österreichischen Exilliteratur* - was published in 2000 by Siglinde Bolbecher und Konstantin Kaiser, the main figures behind the Theodor-Kramer-Gesellschaft, a private organization active in the investigation of Austrian exile literature, founded in 1984, and the symposium "Die Rezeption des Exils in Österreich" was held in Vienna in 2001.

¹¹⁷ This is a line of argument also suggested by Robert Leucht in *Experiment und Erinnerung* stressing the fact that there is e.g. an astoundingly small number of investigations of the younger generation (the second generation) of Austrian exile writers (Leucht, 41f.).

¹¹⁸ It goes without saying that neither any single volume nor any chapters in the volumes are devoted to the Canadian exile.

The encyclopedia pronouncedly opposes a limited conception of exile ending in 1945. Conscious of the fact that most exiles did not return to Austria after 1945, it also includes authors who write or wrote in English and Hebrew, and aims at promoting further research, to do academic justice to forgotten or hitherto unknown exile writers. Besides providing a valuable general introduction, it mainly consists of bio-bibliographical entries of individual authors and includes entries on Kreisel, Weiselberger, and Wassermann.

The main attempt of the symposium "Die Rezeption des Exils in Österreich" was to provide a survey of the recent issues of the study of exile in Austria, thus to close an existing research gap. It also led to the foundation of the Österreichische Gesellschaft zur Exilforschung, an active platform to propagate further research and create public awareness of the significance and size of the Austrian exile after 1938. Furthermore, the year 2006 saw the publication of two Austrian PhD projects written in the field of the study of exile literature by two young Austrian 'Germanisten', who both attained academic positions at universities: Robert Leucht's book on Walter Abish, Birgit Lang's investigation of exile drama and cabaret in Australia.¹¹⁹ Early 2007 saw the foundation of the Gesellschaft der Freunde der österreichischen Exilbibliothek, supported by an international committee of scholars, exile writers, and politicians.

2. Canadian exile literature

The complex developments of and within the investigations of German Exile Literature commented upon

¹¹⁹ Interestingly, neither of them secured a position at an Austrian University: Robert Leucht currently works at the University of Zurich, Switzerland, and Birgit Lang at the University of Melbourne, Australia.

above are responsible for the comparative lack of investigations in the Canadian context. The rigid time frame, the initially almost exclusive focus on authors prominent prior to their exile, and the - especially in Austria - late rise in interest in the literature of Austrian exiles are the main reasons for the lack of a comprehensive investigation.¹²⁰

The seventies and eighties saw some attempts to work with the paradigm of exile literature in the Canadian context. When preparing volume two, on New York, of *Deutsche Exilliteratur seit 1933* in the late 1970s, John M. Spalek, US exile studies scholar, asked Karin Gürttler, professor for German Studies at the Université de Montréal, about exile writers in Canada. He eventually included Eric Koch, Henry Kreisel, Charles Wassermann, and Carl Weiselberger in this volume - well-hidden, both due to the sparse bio-bibliographical entries, and, even more so, due to the different geographical place investigated in the volume: New York.

Gürttler's shifting position in her own academic work concerning exile literature in Canada is an excellent example of how investigations of exile literature in Canada were made impossible by the scholarly premises of the day. Gürttler, who knew Henry Kreisel well, struggled with the prevalent confined notion of exile studies. In her article "Alte und Neue Welt in den Romanen Henry Kreisels" published in 1980, she cannot escape the then current academic discourse. Applying the frame 1933 to 1945 as necessary for the

¹²⁰ The cultural production of Austrian exiles in Australia is a contrastive example in this respect: Birgit Lang's investigation from 2006 is the first relatively comprehensive one for the Australian context; similar to this thesis, with its focus on the cultural production of interned exiles who remained in Canada, *Eine Fahrt ins Blaue* also focuses on one larger aspect, exile theater, but does not cover the entirety of the Australian exile and does not include Austrian exile writers such as Helmut Kahn, Helmut Rosenthal, or Justin Steinfeld. For more information on Australian exile writing see Weinke, "...im Herzen Australiens".

production of exile literature, Gürttler maintains that there can be no exile literature in Canada. Additionally, also Kreisel's language change would rule out his works. In the same article she relativizes this assertion to a certain degree. She suggests that although - according to the then valid definition - there can be no exile literature in Canada, 'exile structures' in Canadian literature, namely in Kreisel's work, can be found. This shows that she is well aware of the additional perspectival gain when describing Kreisel as an exile writer in order to productively investigate facets a purely national philology cannot recover, but that her approach is limited by the then current critical discourse in the study of exile literature. In 1984, four years later, she again publishes an essay on Kreisel, whose title shows that she herself was not satisfied with her own previous (and preliminary) answer: "Henry Kreisel. A Canadian Exile Writer?". This time, she answers her question positively. She justifies it by drawing attention to Kreisel's heavy use of the exile experience in his fictional work, which she diligently traces in her article on Kreisel's two novels. She also quotes from a letter by Kreisel, in which the author himself concedes that he belongs to a "certain category of 'Exilliteratur'".¹²¹

Walter Riedel, doubtlessly the most competent authority on Carl Weiselberger's work in Canada, who together with Peter Liddell published two of the collections of Weiselberger's short stories posthumously, was less reluctant to use the chiffre of exile literature

¹²¹ Self-attributions are, of course, a sensitive issue. In an informal talk, Eric Koch told me that he does not consider himself an exile writer. The ensuing discussion, however, laid bare that his conception of an exile writer was one of a person who still wishes to return to an old 'heimat', whereas Koch regards himself as 100 % Canadian. He eventually agreed on a modern and inclusive concept of the term which has the biographical moment of expulsion at its core. (Cf. also Fn. 56).

in Canada. In his essay "The Lost Shadow" from 1987, he interprets the adaptation of Chamisso's Peter Schlehmil by both Weiselberger and Kreisel in biographic terms, as a negotiation of (their own) exile.¹²² In Helmut Pfanner's instrumental investigation of cultural transfer of the German and Austrian exile, *Exile Across Cultures* (1986), Riedel contributes an article on language and identity in the Canadian exile, again focusing on selected works by Kreisel and Weiselberger. Here he notes that an investigation of Canada as a country of (Third Reich) exile does not exist. This still holds true even today, more than twenty years later.¹²³ Apart from a handful of articles and book reviews of the posthumously published Weiselberger volumes in the German-Canadian Yearbook, almost nothing has been published; one might conclude that Hartmut Fröschle unfortunately but successfully perpetuated the view of the (almost) non-existence of exile literature from Nazi Germany in Canada, stating that it only existed in rudimentary form, with Weiselberger as its most important representative (Fröschle, "Die deutschsprachige Literatur in Kanada", 6).

Also outside Canada, the authors for long proved to be situated below the radar of studies in exile literature. This became especially obvious after the publication of the first of Weiselberger's volumes of short stories, for which he had bequeathed money to the University of Victoria. The collected papers at Victoria include the voluminous correspondence of his initial

¹²² Significantly, Adelbert von Chamisso was himself an exile fleeing from France to Germany after the French revolution.

¹²³ During a personal conversation in summer 2006 in Victoria, Riedel affirmed that, had time permitted, he would have written a study on Weiselberger in this context, admitting, however, that the occupation with Weiselberger had to remain only a sideline of his academic work. More urgent things had to be done, such as publishing Weiselberger's work. A comprehensive survey of exile literature in Canada proved impossible, due to lack of both financial and human resources.

Canadian posthumous publishers Frederick Kriegel and Herta Hartmannshenn, which reveals their tremendous efforts to rouse interest for the forgotten exile writer especially in Austria and Germany, but also in Canada, as e.g. a letter to the Research Centre for Canadian Ethnic Studies in Calgary testifies. The echo in the early 1970s was, however, - especially in Austria - almost nil. This lack of response in Weiselberger's case shows the relative unimportance of exile writing in Austria at the time.

This also becomes perceivable in view of Friedrich Stadler's seminal investigation of the exile of Austrian scholars and scientists, *Vertriebene Vernunft* (1988), a publication of invaluable importance for the re-evaluation of exile within Austrian academia. An investigation of exiles to Canada is, however, missing, ignoring the large number of influential scientists and academics born in Austria and expelled after the Anschluss who contributed tremendously to their respective fields in Canada.¹²⁴

Even in more recent encyclopaedic contributions, the neglect and meagre preliminary research concerning exile in Canada become sadly manifest, as do haphazardly undertaken classifications concerning exile and emigration to Canada. Thus, in the otherwise excellent *Handbuch der deutschsprachigen Emigration 1933 - 1945* (1998) edited by Krohn et al., which tries to incorporate all essential aspects of German and Austrian exile and emigration after 1933, the small contribution on Canada as an exile country during/after the respective years confirms the existence of exiled artists and writers in Canada, but besides the four authors dealt with in this

¹²⁴ Cf. e.g. the appendix "Who is Who" in Koch's *Deemed Suspect* which lists an impressive number of former internees and their later professional careers in Canada (262-270).

thesis also mentions Frederick Philip Grove - who came to Canada in 1912 (!) and not as a Third Reich refugee - and the German Canadian poet Walter Bauer, who arrived at Halifax in 1953 and was not persecuted during 1933-45 (Strickhausen, "Kanada", 284-297). In Strelka's *Des Odysseus Nachfahren* from 1998, in which he cumulatively categorizes Austrian exile writers according to their host societies, he does mention Anna Helene Askanasy and Marta Karlweis as exile writers in Canada, but, without apparent methodological reason, leaves out everyone else.

My study focuses almost entirely on the works of Kreisel, Koch, Wassermann, and Weiselberger, but regards itself as a potential incentive and as a tool-kit providing directions for further studies of (German) Canadian exile literature. At the end of this book, an outlook introduces other people for whom the frame Canadian exile literature might be productively used, but who and whose works are not or not extensively included in this thesis. Their cultural production should also be part of the corpus of a comprehensive study on Canadian exile literature, which still needs to be written.

3. Exile studies, migration studies and cultural memory

Within German exile studies, the incorporation of general theories of migration is still comparably recent.¹²⁵ Yet the investigation of exiles and their cultural production within the larger framework of migration studies, can provide insights both into differences and similarities of exile in relation to larger patterns of migration, and in the (changing) relationship between the group of exiles as migrants and the host society.

Reasons for the comparative neglect of such approaches can again be found in the strong paradigm of the temporal frame discussed above - the caesura of 1945 as the 'end of exile' - and the strong ideological concentration of a whole generation of 'Germanisten' on committed literature and politically left-wing and dissident writers, starting in the mid-sixties by countering the backward-oriented and apolitical post-WWII German Studies and their interest in and propagation of writers who had remained in Germany during the years of the Third Reich. This necessarily excluded more theoretical questions concerning the exiles within their host society - apart from very general and essentializing 'differentiations' of exiles according to their attitude towards their new surroundings.¹²⁶ A binary opposition (pro/contra exile) based on the seemingly perceived (or rather constructed) attitude of the exiled individual fails to do justice to the complexity of the exile experience. It does not differentiate the manifold possible reasons for the positioning towards the situation of exile (whether it is linked to the

¹²⁵ Cf. Lang, *Eine Fahrt ins Blaue*.

¹²⁶ E.g. constructed by Strelka in *Exilliteratur*. The "allrightnicks" in the US context as contrasted to the desperate, who felt isolated and burdened by exile. Writers such as Stefan Zweig are frequently used as examples of the latter 'category'.

individual perceptions of the respective host society, to exile per se, or to the effects of the traumatic experience preceding the actual exile), nor does it allow accounting for changes within the attitude towards the 'plight of exile' or towards the host society on the part of the individual exile or the exile(d) community, in short, not for hybrid constructions of identities and for identities as non-static projects.

So far, only one book-long investigation of German exile makes use of theories taken from Migration Studies: Birgit Lang's study, mentioned above. Significantly, Lang works with a modification of Braese's notion of 'Nach-Exil' (Braese, "Nach-Exil. Zu einem Entstehungsort westdeutscher Nachkriegsliteratur"), whose temporal end she tries to locate not at the end of Nazi Germany but with/in stages of acculturation of the Australian exile community she investigates. Using the vibrant and productive theater scene established by Austrian and German refugees in Australia as her focus, she maps the development from exile theater to minority theater in Down Under, a process covering more than 30 years.

Her approach to work with models of acculturation or second socialization used in sociological investigations of migrants - culture contact, acculturation, adaptation, integration, and assimilation - works well both for the material she investigates and for the comparatively homogeneous community of exiles in Australia.¹²⁷ For them, the exile theaters became sites for the negotiation of questions of collective identity, whose investigation (such as of the choice of plays staged and their popularity among the exile community) provides insights

¹²⁷ Most of the refugees from the Third Reich came after 1938 and thus from Austria, from similar urban lower middle-class background, most were well into their forties and already married - demographic peculiarities leading to the formation of a largely homogeneous group. Only one tenth of the about 10,000 Australian exiles came over as internees from Great Britain.

into the development and adaptation/acculturation and changing/developing cultural memory of the group.

The group of exiles in Australia she investigates is a particularly homogeneous one. As for the specific demographic factors of exile in Australia, they can be productively delineated as a collectivity which lends itself to those concepts of Migration Studies investigating (imagined) communities on the move. In her investigation, the concept of cultural memory (as defined by Maurice Halbwachs and developed by Jan Assmann) is used to construct a theoretical realm in which the cultural production (the theater performances and cabarets by/for the Australian exile) and the changing experience of migration can be linked. The former constitutes the corpus from which the different stages of acculturation of the investigated community can be traced. The condition of the group, its 'Befindlichkeit', of collective identity and difference in front of an audience of their peers, in a communal space incorporating audience and stage alike, is conducted in plays and cabarets which negotiate spheres of cultural difference (of both 'heimat' and host society) such as language, food, humour, or gender (roles).

In Canada, however, such a homogeneous group and closely-knit community of exiles are conspicuously missing. Why? For one, the demographic factors are decisively different in the case of Third Reich Canadian exiles: the overwhelming majority came as male internees, most of them were between twenty and thirty years of age.¹²⁸ And it was mostly the young men who stayed on in

¹²⁸ Draper counts 2290 refugees that were sent over to Canada (Draper, "The Accidental Immigrants. Part 1", 16). Of those, more than half returned to Great Britain once this was possible already in 1940 and 1941 (Draper, "The Accidental Immigrants. Part 2", 82). Finally, 972 internees were released in Canada, of which, however, a substantial number moved to the United States or returned to Austria and Germany after the end of the war (106).

Canada, while older internees tended to return to England at the earliest opportunity.¹²⁹ Exemplarily, Henry Kreisel's father returned to England to his wife and youngest son, whereas Henry instantly decided to stay on in Canada ("Interview with Henry Kreisel", 182).

Secondly, the whole process of trans- and acculturation of the exiles in Canada was decisively different from that in Australia. The Australian exiles arrived individually or in small groups, and they immediately formed a larger community. Their early behaviour pattern upon arrival was marked by the foundation of interest groups, in which the individuals in exile - unfamiliar with and alienated by the Australian way of life - could express their belonging to a group, or, as Lang calls it, the 'Schicksalsgemeinschaft' (123). This community, for which cultural collective expression in the 'Exil-Theater' and the cabaret played a constitutive role, initially transcended other affiliations such as those to the existing German or Jewish communities in Australia.

In contrast, the Canadian exiles arrived collectively, staying together closely during internment. Their move into Canadian society was, however, an individual one, in which the phases of acculturation can, if at all, be exclusively traced on the individual level. Although the situation in the 'limbo' of the Canadian internment camps was a highly collective experience, it was an artificial - and forced - community, not one deliberately chosen; this 'Schicksalsgemeinschaft' did not survive the camps. Each release from the camps was attained individually, case by case: by classification

¹²⁹ Carl Weiselberger can be seen as an exception here, as he was fifty on arrival in Canada. Both the fact that he was unmarried and managed to get a secure job in Canada at the time the war was over - something he could hardly have expected in Vienna upon early return - contributed to his remaining in Canada, as well as the fact that none of his close relatives had survived the Shoah.

into student or worker and by finding a sponsor from within the (Jewish) Canadian society. It is interesting that it was a piece of writing by Henry Kreisel, a short poem entitled "Visit", that was instrumental in raising awareness. The secretary of the Committee For Interned refugees in Toronto, Ann Cowan, interviewed a number of internees in September 1941, among them Henry Kreisel. When told of his writing activities, she wanted to see some of his works and finally helped to have "Visit" published in Jewish newspapers, which triggered a number of offers to act as sponsors for interned students (Draper, "The Accidental Immigrants. Part 1", 98).¹³⁰

The various releases happened at different points in time, separated by up to two years. After the release, the newly found freedom also led them into different directions, both in geographical and metaphorical senses. Especially for some students who found sponsors, the second socialization, often within a new Canadian family, was often experienced as rapid as it was comprehensive/radical. Significantly, Eric Koch's *I Remember The Location Exactly* recounts his arrival at the home of his Montreal sponsors:

"Now look here," the colonel said. "Otto is a terrible name. There is a war on. You can't call yourself Otto in Canada, in wartime. Don't you have another name?"

I explained that when I was born I was named Eric. [...] The colonel was delighted. [...] "I imagine it is spelled the German way. We'll drop the 'h' and launch you as Eric Koch. *That's all there is to it.*" [my emphasis]

"Goodbye Otto," Mrs. Birks beamed. "Hello Eric." (188)

Of course it was not all there was to it. But the dispersal of a small number of Austrian and German exiles

¹³⁰ The poem imagines an impossible scene: a young internee whose mother comes for a short visit to the camp. It was later reprinted in Kreisel, *Another Country*, 83.

over large parts of Canada - wherever a sponsor or an adequate job could be found with the help of the CJC - contributed to a diaspora which was/is far more particularized/individual than the collective experience creating (and created by) communal spaces in Australia or, again differently, in the United States. The Canada of the forties and fifties they encountered still was largely an Anglo Canadian one:

Canada, as the Canadian Citizenship Act of 1946 and Canadian immigration policy made clear, was essentially a British country. It followed that its best citizens, and the best immigrants were those of British origin. (Igartua, 223)

This led to processes of performative assimilation to this norm, as becomes visible e.g. in Wassermann's work for the CBC (discussed in chapter II.3 and II.4), especially in those with French Canadian topics.

In Canada, thus, the situation concerning the applicability of approaches from Migration Studies is radically different for an investigation of exile and exile writing. It necessarily focuses on individuals who experience and live certain stages within an acculturation process potentially at different times, and it makes the development of a general model explaining e.g. the shift from exile to ethnic, after-exile, or 'assimilation' impossible. Some of the categories of acculturation, however, can, if only partially, be productively applied for a description of the identity on the move of the individual exile writer in Canada, and ties in with what I refer to as a non-static, fluid concept of exile.

To delineate a non-static concept of exile, however, theories of stages of acculturation need to be supplemented with what I see as the performative element of a positioning *within* and *between* cultures: a non-, or

at least not necessarily, linear movement (within acculturation), but rather a back and forth between certain (subject) positions. One example is the temporally simultaneous occurrence of a situative affiliation to more than one group or (ethnic) community. There are, for instance, a few articles Carl Weiselberger wrote for the *Montrealer Nachrichten*, an important forum for the German ethnic minority in Canada at the time, in which he occupies a voice which seems to be very much from within this ethnic minority.¹³¹ However, neither archival material (letters, notes, autobiographical writing), nor his extensive writing for the *Ottawa Citizen*, betray a strong affiliation towards the German Canadian minority, but a certain turn is perceivable beginning in the sixties or mid-sixties (an assessment of this can be found in the chapter III.4.3.1). As will be discussed later, the youngest of the four writers discussed here, Charles Wassermann, is an ideal object for the investigation of situational performance of different ethnic affiliations.

The integration of concepts developed within Migration Studies for the Canadian situation, contributes to the development of a less fixed notion of the (German Studies) exile. It especially opens up an angle towards the role of the host society, and the exile's complex relationship with community, nation and nationality, language change, and - even more importantly in the Canadian context - transcultural agendas.

¹³¹ The *Montrealer Nachrichten* is a weekly in German founded in 1961 in Montreal, which existed until 1975. Cf. the web based *Collections Canada* in the section on newspapers in Quebec: "Quebec". *Collections Canada*. 30 Oct 2007. <<http://www.collectionscanada.ca/8/18/r18-217-e.html#montrealnachreinmontg>>.

4. Investigations of Latin American exile

The incorporation of and comparative look at investigations of writers from Latin American exiles in this study of German and Austrian refugees from Nazi Germany in Canada follows methodological reasons. For one, it provides the opportunity to draw on the investigation of a different but also historically rooted situation of expulsion and exile, thus bringing in complementary perspectives and alternate approaches. It also offers the possibility of transcending historically and geographically defined instances of exile, and thus of posing relevant questions of a more universal nature.

Additionally, explorations of the writing of Latin American exiles - the historical exile having happened decades after the exile triggered off by the Third Reich - experience and reflect upon a tension which has passed unnoticed in virtually all investigations of the German (Jewish) exile, but which is of high terminological relevance. It leads to the divergent usage of the term 'exile', whose reference is far less clearly defined than most studies of German exile appear to suggest, and which tends to negate the heavy use of the term as a less historically fixed concept in postmodern theory.

Recent investigations of the Latin American Exile, especially McClennen's *Dialectics of Exile*, problematize this terminological rift and its necessary ramifications for contemporary criticism: On the one hand the usage of the term 'exile' as a notion beginning at a very specific moment of expulsion, historically rooted and causing hardship, loss, and trauma, and on the other hand the strong interest in and use of the notion of 'exile' within postmodern and poststructural theory, with a tendency to use exile in an abstract and a-historical

way.¹³² In the latter, the notion is free-floating and productively used in various directions, sometimes even theorized as a liberating position enabling the subject to shackle off the repressive ties of the nation-state, thus strongly contrasting with historical notions of exile referring to the experience of suffering, pain, and loss.

The dictatorships in Latin American countries such Argentina, Uruguay and Chile - and the Franco regime in Spain - persecuted dissidents and exiled a large number of mainly left-wing writers and intellectuals. Most of these dictatorships were overturned in the seventies and eighties, and democracies were restored: Argentina (1983), Uruguay (1984), Chile (Pinochet was denied another presidency in 1988, persecutions under his regime, however, mainly took place in the 1970s, when 30, 000 people fled the country). The roughly thirty years separating the beginning of the German exile and that of the Latin American exile saw the development of postmodern and poststructural theories bringing the figure of the exile and the nomad into the focus of critical attention. Again, these more contemporary investigations of exile use the term in an a-historical sense within the realms of postmodern subjectivity to refer to and explore numerous states of alienation and marginalization: as a metaphor for women's relation to the dominant culture or the state of the writer in 'necessary' exile (Braidotti, 23), or attributing to it metaphorical meanings, such as the intellectual as social exile, whose position is outside the cultural contexts and conventions (Benhabib, 228). Often, and especially in recent contemporary theory, the term exile can take on a

¹³² Similarly, cf. the theorization of the nomad e.g. in Braidotti, *Nomadic Subjects*.

positive because liberating position of agency, one which is "free of the repressive state of national identity" (McClennen, 1).

In contrast to these divergent and highly metaphorical uses of the notion of exile, recent investigations of the Latin American Exile question a solely metaphorical use of the term for their investigation of a historical instance of exile.¹³³ This is in opposition to the tendency to regard the term exile as being "empty of history and an association with material reality" (McClennen, 1). Such studies can be seen as efforts to re/inscribe the realities of actual repression, expulsion, and loss into the notion of exile, simultaneously challenging theories of the notion of exile as a predominantly liberating state.

Both the Latin American Exile itself and reflections on it took place at a time when postmodernism had already strongly determined the way we perceive the world, thus also strongly influencing the critical approaches towards Latin American exile literature. Compared to German Studies, where these theories hardly had an effect on exile studies, this brought about significant shifts in the respective agendas. Extensive discussion about a (rigid) temporal frame and the (obsessive) attempt to find clear-cut definitions for the end of exile, are conspicuously missing within the Latin American context.¹³⁴ In tune with larger theoretical contemporaneous foci, questions of transnationalism, transculturation, globalization, and of cultural identity are central directions leading to a focus on writing

¹³³ McClennen, Bammer and Kaminsky all argue in their respective investigations of Latin American exile that exile is a phenomenon related to the body and to actual pain.

¹³⁴ According to McClennen, the production of exile literature is determined either by the self-attribution of the authors as exiles, or by the representation of exile experience in their literary production (McClennen, 17).

produced after the actual break-down of the political constellation initially responsible for the exile from the (former) home.¹³⁵ In *After Exile*, Amy Kaminsky chooses to define those Latin American exiles who decide to stay on in their country of exile after a return has become possible as diasporic, as performing the shift from exile to diaspora (15). Whether this term should be applied for every investigation of writings 'after exile' cannot be discussed here exhaustively.¹³⁶ Of greater relevance, however, is the mere fact that her specific approach is towards the cultural production 'afterwards' - thus taking into account that exiles often do not return - and on the formative experience of the exiled cultural agent: "Diaspora contains the history of exile, but it now holds as well a certain degree of choice. Yet it is not easy to go home" (17)

Especially concerning the exiles from Nazi Germany, people who witnessed or were threatened by the systematic eradication of their whole ethnic (and religious) group, we need to consider additional levels of emotional resistance 'to go home' after 1945. The concept of home might have altered and often did decisively alter for the exiled (or diasporic) subject. The 'patria' (Vaterland) had become the land of the murderers of one's father, the mother tongue the language of the murderers of one's mother. This made a return impossible for many, also on a psychological level.

To re/inscribe 'exile' in an investigation of Jewish German writers and cultural producers in Canada, is not

¹³⁵ "Compulsory political exile is over. Countless exiles have returned, but others have not. Some manage a life between two countries or establish a routine of travel." (Kaminsky, *After Exile*, 2)

¹³⁶ In this study, I decided to evade the term Jewish Canadian Diaspora for the writers I investigate. In contrast to the term Latin American Diaspora, Jewish Diaspora already carries strong historical significations, referring e.g. to the early expulsion from Jerusalem.

an attempt to view them as solely influenced by this experience; but it is a necessary frame to make an investigation possible. As far as the German exile in Canada is concerned, we need to be aware that the notion of exile cannot be freed from connotations of loss, pain, and traumatic dislocation - all of which might be overcome, all of which are, however, very present in the irreversible act of being deprived of one's home. It is the exile standing at the beginning of a cultural contact with Canada, and it is this exile and its significance for the individual that is repeatedly negotiated in the authors' creative writing, newspaper articles, radio plays, or in Henry Kreisel's PhD thesis written on exile and alienation in the works of Joseph Conrad and Vladimir Nabokov (among others), which was decidedly undertaken in order to come to terms with his own history, "a thesis more than an academic exercise [...], an attempt to understand the forces in the modern world that led to exile [...]. I used my thesis to understand my own situation" (Hesse, "Interview with Henry Kreisel", 82).

Sophia McClennen's *The Dialectics of Exile* (2004) attempts to recover the notion of exile from a purely abstract realm (of the postmodern) by her readings of Latin American exile writers, showing how the works of the investigated authors (Perri Rossi, Ariel Dorfman and Juan Goytisolo) resist abstract claims. Rather than only trying to point out how the investigation of the works written in exile challenges contemporary cultural theories with regard to the notion of exile, McClennen more relevantly proposes an alternative view, attempting to account for the "complexity and inherent contradictions" (2) of exile. In (earlier) discussions of the Latin American exile literature, McClennen observes a practice of analysis which relies on a binary logic. In

these studies, exile writers were categorized (or constructed) as being either free of the limitations of the local or the national (thus approaching postmodern notions of exile as anti-repressive and creatively liberating), or as profoundly nostalgic, mourning their former, now irretrievably lost home. It is between these two poles of either the creative or the nostalgic that exile writers were placed. Refusing this practice, McClennen proposes a theory of exile writing which accounts for the phenomenon that in exile texts both sides of these dialectics are simultaneously present, often in irresolvable tension (McClennen, 2).

By isolating central components of the exile's cultural identity, she argues for a series of dialectical tensions within exile writing: nation, time, language, space. Each of these components is subject to dialectical tensions in the situation of exile, which are not (necessarily) solved. The exile's position toward nation or language as a constitutive component of his/her cultural identity is a dialectical one: whereas on the one hand the situation of exile potentially undercuts the necessity of nation states, the exile is confronted with and reflects on the pain caused by being cast off from one's own. Or: language for the exile is often experienced as both a source of power and pain. By reinscribing the historical specificities into the notion of exile, McClennen does not attempt to refute postmodern approaches towards exile, but questions what she calls the ludic postmodern as the only appropriate model. What makes her dialectics of exile particularly productive is the flexibility of the theoretical model, which allows for a fluidity and instability of subject positions within exile and after. The idea of a simultaneousness of e.g. both embracing and suffering from exile and after exile, clearly has advantages not only compared to static

and 'once and for all' notions of exile (e.g. Strelka's allrightnicks vs. the isolated exile), it is also far more inclusive than linear models, such as those derived from Migration Studies, especially when individuals and not the development of an interacting and fairly homogeneous group/community are investigated.¹³⁷ The close investigation of individual exiles will frequently recover positions in irresolvable tensions and a coexistence of contradictions, for which a theory of dialectics may account.

Within the literary and cultural production of the (former) Jewish internees in Canada, such tensions (and shifts) within the representations of cultural identity certainly exist: in some of Weiselberger's early newspaper articles, for instance, there are reflective passages in which an almost ludic stance towards the nation state comes to the fore, stressing the irrelevance of national belonging, strongly resembling postmodern positions towards nation (see chapter 4). Many of his short stories, however, move in the opposite direction by negotiating the alienation exiles experience within their new surroundings, such as in "Die Zauberinsel" - written during the Canadian internment - which ends with the suicide of the exiled protagonist.¹³⁸

McClennen's sensible negotiation of postmodern theories of exile and her inclusion of related topics such as transculturation are instructive for this thesis. Postmodern and poststructural conceptions of exile, if modified, contribute both to the universal and transhistorical aspect of the experience of exile, and to

¹³⁷ In connection with theories of cultural memory such as developed in Lang, *Eine Fahrt ins Blaue*.

¹³⁸ Significantly, one of Weiselberger's unfortunately still unpublished short stories written long after the internment enacts the hours before the suicide of Stefan Zweig, thus reflecting on the exile whose fate has become synonymous for radical despair and alienation in exile (Weiselberger, "Der Mann ohne Schatten - Erinnerung an den Freitod Stefan Zweigs").

the specific investigation of (an) exile in Canada - a host society as immigration society, for whose bi-, multi-, and transcultural make-up (past and present) postmodern theories are far more strongly relied upon than is the case for most other nation states, a nation which has more than once been called a postmodern one (Churchhill, 78f).

5. Ethnic Writing: Jewish Canadian and German Canadian realms

So far, I have mapped both my field of investigation and the methodological approaches and have pointed out the advantages when investigating the writers within the realm of German exile studies and the necessity of additional theoretical mappings usually not part of investigations within German exile studies. What has thus become possible is an enlargement of the agendas of German exile studies, bringing into focus hitherto neglected areas such as language change, cultural transfer, second/successor generation writers, or transculturalism. The exile frame takes into account the historical moment of expulsion and internment in the first host country without which their dis/location in Canada would not have happened in the first place, and it provides the opportunity to investigate these largely unknown cultural producers and writers.

In the following two subchapters, I briefly want to argue why I do not regard (German) ethnic writing as an encompassing paradigm for this investigation and show the productivity of imagining them within a Jewish Canadian realm.

1. Investigations within the notion of a German Canadian ethnicity

The perception of Canadian literature as a chorus of ethnic voices became strong in the latter part of the second half of the twentieth century, and was also governmentally sanctioned as part of the multiculturalism policies even before the Multiculturalism Act 1988.¹³⁹ I

¹³⁹ Cf. the sponsoring by governmentally financed programs such as the Multicultural Directorate or the Canada Council Multiculturalism

suggest that this chorus of ethnic voices could more adequately be referred to as one of utopian trans/cultural polyphony.¹⁴⁰

Apart from the two dominant language groups and their literatures, various other ethnic groups were and are separately investigated, such as Ukrainian or Mennonite literature in Canada, or literature by Italian Canadians. Also, investigations of German Canadian writings have a certain tradition, to which publications such as the *German Canadian Yearbook* or the activities of the German Canadian Cultural Centre in Edmonton testify.

However, due to their persecution in (Nazi-)Germany and Austria, their involuntary exile, their particularity of not initially having chosen Canada, and the violent break/exclusion from their cultural/linguistic collectivity, the people I investigate here necessarily need to be viewed as a class of their own.¹⁴¹ An effort to locate them within an (imaginary) German Canadian community thus fails not only as a theoretical concept, but especially in view of the biographies and works of the writers concerned. Re/tracing their (individual) dialectic positions towards a German or Austrian Canadian collectivity, however, is, together with their problematic attitude towards their former 'heimat', instructive for questions concerning their individual cultural identity.

Program, of both 'ethnic' primary texts and but also critical works such as Riedel, *The Old World and the New*.

¹⁴⁰ Here, I intend to use polyphony as a metaphor in the sense not only of a part-song but in its specific musicological meaning: a texture which consists of two or more independent melodic voices - such as in the fugue - and not in the sense of one dominant (melodic) voice accompanied by harmonic voices dependent on the main voice.

¹⁴¹ Cf. Kreisel's drastic step to leave the German language behind as a reaction to the Nazis and Seidler's diary notes, which show his determination to fight Nazi Germany and his frustration that internment made this impossible testify to this rupture (Seidler, e.g. 45).

2. The Third Solitude

To partly root the writers in the Jewish Canadian realm is less problematic; yet any effort to inscribe the writers concerned into a collective identity might run the risk of being trapped in an essentialist view of such a collectivity. It thus needs to be stressed that the notion of a collective identity as used here is that of one formed with/in discourse, as an anti-essentialist, discursive formation. Constructions of identity including notions of Jewishness are historical formations, allowing for different categorisations alongside gender, religion, class. Although none of the writers in question are Orthodox Jews, the internment brought secularized Jews in close touch with Orthodox Judaism over an extended period of time. In the internment writing (especially of Carl Weiselberger) but also in Kreisel's short story "Chassidic Song" (written decades later), representations of Orthodox Jewishness and negotiations of and between different ethnic/religious positions situated within the realm of Jewish ethnicity are frequent. Furthermore, these representations are often related to those of the exiled and the persecuted.

The relation and active positioning towards/within Jewish Canadian communities after the release from the camps, is a process far more individualized and more difficult to trace. Approximations can be made both with reference to auto/biographical comments and material and in the investigation of discursive constructions in their creative writing. For instance, Henry Kreisel actively sought a link to Jewish Canada in his self-conception as a creative writer. Whether a reason for this can be found in the biographical circumstance that he was comparatively more strongly exposed to more Orthodox emanations of Jewish tradition during his formative years in Vienna than Koch, Wassermann, and Weiselberger,

remains speculation. At any rate, the example of A.M. Klein, one of the great figures within Jewish-Canadian literature, was instrumental for Kreisel's creative work. Kreisel alludes to this more than once:

Klein became one of my great cultural heroes, because he showed me that you could use your culture, you could use your tradition and you didn't have to be afraid; you didn't have to try to invent something for the audience, but could work out your own tradition.

(Butovsky, "Interview with Henry Kreisel", 189)

His recurrence to the Jewish Canadian model Klein and his inclusive approach to different culture(s) for self definition and creative work, suggest that they be regarded as early reflections and appropriations of mode(s) of inter- and transculturality. What Kreisel subsumes in this autobiographical comment under the *chiffres your tradition and your culture* might remain unspecified in the quote, but not in view of his oeuvre (discursive constructions); it points to the combination and juxtaposition of Jewish, Austrian, Canadian, and (recent European) emigrant and immigrant voices in his work. It signifies the representations of the ever changing and modified total of Kreisel's cultural experiences and formation - in accordance with a fluid concept and experience of exile. It is of special significance for an assessment of Jewishness in Kreisel's work that there are representations and negotiations of highly divergent Jewish experiences: the secular Joyce scholar Arnold Weiss and the Rabbi Joseph Shemtov in "Chassidic Song", or the three Jewish protagonists in *The Betrayal*, Theodor Stappler, Mark Lerner, and Sam, the porter of the Hotel Victoria, each of whom inhabits a different phase of acculturation and adaptation.

As many of the Jewish internees came from highly assimilated families and realities in Austria and Germany

and were interned side by side with a not inconsiderable number of religious and Orthodox Jews, the camps offered encounters with different Jewish realities. People from secularised upper class families, such as Peter Heller or Charles Wassermann, had their first real contact with a very different Jewish reality and experience: that of the shtetl, of Chassidic Jews, of traditional Orthodox ceremonies they witnessed in the camps. This is reflected in creative writing, e.g. in Weiselberger's "Der Rabbi mit der Axt", Koch's *I Remember The Location Exactly*, Eichner's *Kahn und Engelmann*, Heller's "Der Junge Kanitz", but it also enters stories remote from the setting of the internment camps, such as "Chassidic Song", mentioned above.

To situate Kreisel and also Weiselberger, Koch, and Wassermann in a too narrowly defined realm of Jewish Canadian writing, however, faces resistance. Whereas an investigation of (divergent) representations of Jewish experience within their works is indispensable, the use of Jewish writing as the common and exclusive denominator here would constitute a reductive perspective of investigation: an all-encompassing term Jewish Canadian experience with an implication of broad validity would be problematic, especially with regard to pre-conceived notions of Canadian Jewish writing: in these authors, we cannot expect stories of the bustling Jewish life of St. Urbain Street, or approximations of specific spaces of Jewish Canadian Orthodoxy. Their Jewish Canadian experience is a very particular one, mainly - but not exclusively - determined by their entering Canada via the limbo of the internment camps. Consequently, their place within the (Jewish) Canadian literary landscape is a very particular one, too.

Historically, the reaction of the Jewish Canadian community towards the internees was one of solidarity;

help to get them released or act as sponsors overwhelmingly came from Jewish Canadian citizens; at a time when they were still perceived as a group - which quickly faded after the end of internment - the reactions were also marked by astonishment and even envy of the "refinement" of these "poor refugees", as Mordecai Richler in retrospect pointedly remarks in *The Street*, first published in 1969:

The war in Europe brought about considerable changes within the Jewish community in Montreal. To begin with, there was the coming of the refugees. These men, interned in England as enemy aliens and sent to Canada where they were eventually released, were to make a profound impact on us. [...] We were eager to be helpful, our gestures were large, but in return we expected something more than a little gratitude. As it turned out, the refugees, mostly German and Austrian Jews, were far more sophisticated and better educated than we were. They had not, like our immigrant grandparents, come from *shtetls* in Galicia or Russia. Neither did they despise Europe. On the contrary, they found our culture thin, the city provincial, and the Jews narrow. This bewildered and stung us. But what cut deepest, I suppose, was that the refugees spoke English better than many of us did and, among themselves, had the effrontery to talk in the abhorred German language. [...] So for a while we real Canadians were hostile.

(Richler, *The Street*, 74)

The visibility of the immigrants at the beginning, that is, directly after their release - for which the Jewish Canadian organisations had been instrumental - is written into the text, as is the virtual clash between the mostly secularized, non-Orthodox, and assimilated - that is, assimilated to the German bourgeoisie before their flight - refugees/internees and the inhabitants of the Jewish Canadian 'ghetto'. This clash was probably perceived more strongly by those within existing Jewish Canadian communities than by the newcomers. Whereas e.g. the

Montreal Jewish community Richler refers to had been a visible minority with a somewhat exclusionist identity¹⁴² - ensuring a distinctiveness within the conditions of diaspora - the newcomers (seemingly) fitted into the still Anglo-dominated pattern of post-WWII Canadian society. Canada was already undergoing rapid industrial and economic expansion and change; it was, however, culturally self-conscious, still looking for models across the Atlantic. At the time, this enabled many of the former internees with their European formation to carve highly successful careers in various cultural (power) positions.

The particular Jewish experience of the ex-internees was hardly ever focused upon from any academic angle. Thus, this often did and still does not seem to make them integral parts of investigations of Jewish Canadian identity or literature, in accordance with the specific narrowness Norman Ravvin discovers in (some) recent scholarly investigations in the realm of Jewish North American Studies.¹⁴³

Even Greenstein's seminal study of Jewish Canadian literature *Third Solitudes*, for instance, which certainly does not apply a one-dimensional and too narrow approach to the topic and includes careful readings of some of

¹⁴² The term is used in the sense of Aleida Assmann's differentiation between "Inklusions- und Exklusionsidentitäten". Cf. e.g. Assmann, *Einführung in die Kulturwissenschaft*, 219ff. For representations of this collective identity but also of Anglo and French Canadian (even post-WWII) anti-Semitism see especially Mordecai Richler's *Son of a Smaller Hero* and *The Apprenticeship of Duddy Kravitz*.

¹⁴³ In a review of Roger Hyman's *Aught from Naught: A.M. Klein's The Second Scroll* and Sidra DeKoven Ezrahi's *Booking Passage: Exile and Homecoming in the Modern Jewish Imagination in Canadian Literature*, Ravvin pointedly comments on too confined notions of Jewishness: "Though canon-making necessarily excludes and reshapes those it includes to fit certain rules and expectations, *Booking Passage* is a particularly limiting example of such efforts. It lacks the Falstaffian claims of Bloom's *The Western Canon*, in which the author's basic suppositions, and even his prejudices, are made baldly clear. As with Ruth Wisse's book, Ezrahi's modern Jewish canon is guided by too narrow a view of what is modern and of what is Jewish." (Rev. of *Aught from Naught*, 154.)

Henry Kreisel's work (esp. Greensteins's chapter "From Vienna to Edmonton"), does not so much as mention the works of Weiselberger, Koch, and Wassermann, let alone, for instance, the four volumes of poetry by Anthony Frisch, all published already in the 1950s. So far, it is the (literary) voice of Henry Kreisel alone that can be heard and is used when the specific Jewish and Canadian experience of the former internees is presented in Canadian university courses, in the (re-)publishing of formerly out of print works, or in Canadian literary criticism.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴⁴ Cf. e.g. recent courses taught by Norman Ravvin, Chair of Concordia Jewish Studies, the new editions and critical introductions (by E.D. Blodgett and Norman Ravvin, respectively) of *The Almost Meeting* and *The Rich Man*, or Arnold Hitwaru's *The Invention of Canada* (1990).

6. Approaching the Holocaust in creative writing

Within German exile literature, negotiations of the Holocaust undisputedly belong to the recurring objects of investigation, and the occupation with the Shoah figures in works of all the writers concerned. In general, investigations of such representations, are, however, by no means confined to the study of exile writing. Holocaust Studies themselves constitute an eminent field in its own right, which has not lost importance in the new millennium, but has produced new perspectives of inquiry in recent years, especially including the cultural production of the offspring of Holocaust survivors. At present, when the group who witnessed the Shoah themselves is rapidly decreasing, the terminological differentiation between eyewitness/survivor generation and successor generation/second generation witness, is gaining relevance.¹⁴⁵ Many works written in exile or by former refugees from the Third Reich are thematically Holocaust Literature, but the reverse does not hold true, as the production of literature mediating the Holocaust is obviously not necessarily confined to Third Reich exiles and their children.

Holocaust literature tends to be both highly self-reflexive and reflexive of the process of its own production; writing about the Shoah often goes hand in hand with the attempt to find new (linguistic) codes or a new medium; it "yearns for a language purified of the taint of normality" (Langer qtd. in Hartman, 3). Both in primary literature and critical works, investigations of the problem of the incommunicability of the Holocaust and the simultaneous necessity to talk about it are frequent. Especially in early thoughts on the Holocaust after 1945 - but by no means confined to it - notions of a complete

¹⁴⁵ Cf. Hartman, *The Longest Shadow*, 1996.

breakdown of all rational systems (of thought) brought about by the Holocaust were voiced, for instance in the late writings of the Holocaust survivors Jean Amery or Primo Levi; the Jewish philosopher Eli Wiesel disposed of (literary) representations of the Shoah by stating that "'[t]he Holocaust as Literary Inspiration' is a contradiction in terms" (Wiesel, 7). There is certainly also a link between the impossibility of coming to terms with the Holocaust and categorizing it into any system of knowledge, and the development of postmodernist refusal of grand narratives, of any all-explanatory overarching systems and of deconstructivist thought in general.¹⁴⁶

In his essay "Kulturkritik und Gesellschaft" from 1949, Adorno first presented the dilemma of any post-Holocaust artist radically ('To write poetry after Auschwitz is barbaric').¹⁴⁷ Art after Auschwitz must be - however mediated - on Auschwitz. Without being concerned with the Holocaust, all art becomes insignificant or trivial entertainment. If art, however, focuses on the Holocaust, it becomes cynical, as the transmission of its horrors becomes both aesthetically stylised and creates the impression that the incommunicable horror - which defies any adequate representation - may be understood. Thus, stylisations of the Holocaust lead to the wrong assumption that the Shoah can adequately be represented,

¹⁴⁶ To my mind there is an important and somewhat overlooked causality here. There is one recent and highly illuminating publication on how postmodern thought (especially Levinas and Derrida) and (Holocaust) Literature are a response to the Shoah: Eaglestone, *The Holocaust and the Postmodern*.

¹⁴⁷ "Kulturkritik findet sich der letzten Stufe der Dialektik von Kultur und Barbarei gegenüber: nach Auschwitz ein Gedicht zu schreiben, ist barbarisch, und das frißt auch die Erkenntnis an, die ausspricht, warum es unmöglich ward, heute Gedichte zu schreiben" (Adorno, "Kulturkritik und Gesellschaft", 30). Adorno repeatedly came back to this dictum in his later writing, such as in *Negative Dialektik*, in *Ohne Leitbild*, and in *Noten zur Literatur IV*. In those texts, especially in *Negative Dialektik*, Adorno strongly relativized his dictum or rather, what it had come to signify.

as if the cultural consumer could actually grasp it. Furthermore, the presentation itself, namely rendering the Holocaust with aesthetic means, inevitably leads to enjoyment. By enjoying (the aesthetic composition of) art that evokes the incommensurable suffering related to the Holocaust, enjoyment is derived not only from the aesthetic composition but is inseparably linked with the very suffering of the victims of the Holocaust.

Despite such strong refutations of art dealing with the subject matter of the Holocaust, both in intellectual thought and - significantly - in the practice of an increasing 'probing the limits of representation' (borrowed from a title of Saul Friedländer), the cultural production of Holocaust (related) material has not ceased to exist over the decades.

On the contrary, there is an immense body of work produced by Jews and gentiles, members of the survivor and of the successor generations, by Holocaust survivors and people who did not personally suffer from the atrocities of the Holocaust, but were nonetheless affected by it, alike.¹⁴⁸ There are texts in abundance in which the Holocaust is written into in modi other than survivor testimonials.¹⁴⁹ Thus, rather than rejecting fiction focusing on the Shoah and Shoah related incidents and experiences when written by a writer without historical or ethnic 'authority', the Holocaust Studies scholar Vice suggests a non-prescriptive approach, which imagines Holocaust Fiction as a different genre than

¹⁴⁸ A significant example within North American literature would be Sylvia Plath, within Austrian literature, e.g. Ingeborg Bachmann. In their works, writers like these and many others emphasize that the Holocaust signifies a caesura which has profoundly shaped every generation after 1945.

¹⁴⁹ Holocaust literature can also be found in genres once seen as unsuitable. Art Spiegelmann's Holocaust comic book *Maus* serves as an example here.

survivor testimony and aims at a "description of actual fictive practice" (Vice, 8).¹⁵⁰

Holocaust Fiction and educational and official memory practices regarding the Shoah are at times under pressure from a very different perspective, namely when the wish to ultimately leave the/this past behind is voiced. Particularly in Germany or Austria, a focus on the events during the years between 1933 and 1945 - especially after the 'Wannseekonferenz' 1942 - is sometimes regarded as obsessive, and a call for closure, sometimes as an expression of hope that wounds might finally heal, is expressed. In his seminal study *The Longest Shadow*, Geoffrey Hartman makes a strong case against such a call for closure (6). Although an enormous amount of survivor testimonials and related material has been accumulated, we are still only at the beginning of understanding the Shoah. In stark contrast to the idea of a let-sleeping-dogs-lie repression, the occupation with this past becomes both a necessity and a responsibility, even if it borders the un-speakable and un-imaginable:

To integrate the Holocaust in our image of human nature is to despair of humanity, as well as of language. Yet to conclude that it cannot be integrated is also to despair - if it means abandoning the hope that a remedy may be available through collective action based on self-understanding and tradition. As new details or new perspectives emerge, can we draw any practical consequences from what we have learned?"

(Hartman, 4)

In her typology of Holocaust Fiction, Vice isolates three central literary categories: intertextuality, time (the relation between story and plot), and the relation between author and narrator. Methods of intertextuality include the incorporation of historical material and

¹⁵⁰ Also compare Strümpel, 10.

sources, and the closeness to the form of the testimony, which already touches upon the concept of authenticity, especially in cases when written by people who were not victims.¹⁵¹ Furthermore, intertextuality and -mediality in Holocaust Fiction also include reference to or creative appropriation of literary texts, figures, and plots, for example approximating or contrasting Holocaust experience with the help of shared literary knowledge. The complex allusions to and multilayered intertextual and -medial play in Kreisel's *The Betrayal* with T.S. Eliot's "The Waste Land" and paintings by Emily Carr are a case in point.

To envision time as a central notion brings into focus the relationship between the 'chronological events' and their 'fictional patterning' in Holocaust Fiction. The relationship between historical accuracy and literary representation necessarily entails a limitation in fictional terms. Eric Koch's *Arabian Nights 1914*, for example, transcends the imperative for historical accuracy. The text starts out as a novel of historical fiction set in Germany at the brink of the Great War, but becomes a historical fantasy in which Kaiser Wilhelm II circumvents the outbreak of the war by abdicating and installing a civilian regency under the leadership of Albert Einstein.

The problematic relation between author and narrator in the specific situation of writing (about) the Holocaust is connected with the issue that the biography of the author has become a litmus test for the critical and public reception of the respective work. The authority of the victim is called upon, as is the charge of appropriation if the former is not satisfactorily accounted for. This does not only affect writers who have

¹⁵¹ In *Holocaust Fiction*, Vice illustrates that the reproach of "lack of authenticity" has been at the core of many public controversies around the publication of novels dealing with the Holocaust.

no apparent connection with the events between 1933 and 1945, but also those who might not have experienced "enough", or less than the narrator in their fiction.¹⁵² This category and its investigations bear significance for the investigation of Canadian Exile writers. Apart from Henry Kreisel's two novels and - only recently - his short story "Homecoming"¹⁵³, none of the works of the writers concerned has been read as Holocaust literature, although negotiations of the Shoah - with the exception of Charles Wassermann's work - play a crucial part in their writing.¹⁵⁴

1. Holocaust Literature in Canada

An investigation of literature dealing with/representing the Holocaust written in Canada shows that Holocaust Literature was produced already at a very early stage as a response to the events in the Third Reich: A.M. Klein's *The Hitleriad*, a satirical attack on Hitler already published in 1944, explicitly refers to death trains and death camps:

XI

Go to *Mein Kampf* if you would know his trade,
And there learn how a people is unmade
[...]

XXVI

Let them come forth, those witnesses who stand
Beyond the taunt of perjury, those ghosts
In wagons sealed in a forgotten land,
Murdered; those phantoms the war-tidings boast,
Those skeletons still charred with the gestapo
brand.

¹⁵² One novel whose reception Vice takes as example here is Jerzy Kosinski's *The Painted Bird*.

¹⁵³ Cf. Patrick Farges interpretation of "The Homecoming" in "Zwischen "hier" und "da"".

¹⁵⁴ At a conference in Vancouver in 2004, the discussion of the term Canadian Exile Writers in the German Studies sense with regard to the writers dealt with here provoked a dismissive response by a Canadian academic: "Why, they were only boys when they came here!" Such a statement serves to disentitle them not only of their dual, transcultural voice but also of this very authenticity alluded to here.

Klein's poem, written in 18th century mock heroic couplets, stands at the beginning of an also publicly perceived tradition within (Jewish) Canadian writing in English, focusing on the years 1933-45 and the aftermath. It also includes his *The Second Scroll* (1951), John Marlyn's *Under the Ribs of Death* (1957), Kreisel's two novels and short stories¹⁵⁵, Mordecai Richler's novels, especially *St. Urbain's Horseman* (1966), Eli Mandel's important poem "On the 25th Anniversary of The Liberation Of Auschwitz" or, far more recently, Ann Michaels's critically acclaimed *Fugitive Pieces* (1996) and David Gow in his play *Cherry Docs* (1998) on the confrontation of a young skinhead with his Jewish lawyer.¹⁵⁶ But also non-Jewish Canadian writers have approached Holocaust material in their fiction, such as Hugh McLennan in *Voices in Time* (1980).¹⁵⁷

The textual analysis in the chapter "Writing the Holocaust" will introduce significant works of the authors concerned.

¹⁵⁵ Unlike e.g., Weiselberger's or Koch's works, which largely remained in oblivion.

¹⁵⁶ Interestingly, though not a landslide success in Canada, Gow's play continues to be played on German stages including Berlin, Hamburg, and Göttingen.

¹⁵⁷ For a more detailed discussion of (Jewish) Canadian Holocaust writing, see Grafstein, *Beyond Imagination*.

The Cultural Production of Weiselberger, Kreisel, Koch, and Wassermann

The assessment of the cultural production of Weiselberger, Kreisel, Koch, and Wassermann will now be presented by using four important paradigms whose validity in this context we have investigated above: "Writing the Holocaust", "Writing Exile", "Jewish World(s)", and "Inter- and Transcultural Writing". Of course, many of the texts the reading of which I present within the limitations of the following specific chapters could easily have found their way into a different one. Sometimes different aspects of one and the same text appear and are investigated in more than one chapter, as many of the texts negotiate a number of things only analysis artificially takes apart. The categories around which I group my readings are, however, the most suggestive ones. What is aimed at here is less definite categorisation than interpretative practice, meant to uncover aspects with the help of certain texts, without reducing those texts to the category for and the methods by which they are investigated here. Nor are the boundaries between the following chapters clear-cut. As argued before, within a multi-disciplinary approach, the bending and crossing of some of these boundaries are conscious attempts in my reading of the works of these authors, works that are more than the cultural products of exile writers, or Canadian writers, or German/Austrian/Canadian writers, or ethnic writers, or Holocaust writers and so forth, but are to some degree all of these, even if not necessarily at the same time.

7. Writing the Holocaust

*To explain an action or event is to show how they were possible. In the case of the Holocaust, however, the mind can accept the possibility of both how and why it was done, in the final analysis, solely because it was done, so that the more the psychologist, historian, or "psychohistorian" succeeds in explaining the event or action, the more nakedly he comes to confront its ultimate inexplicability.*¹⁵⁸

Their biography and the experience of exile, their sometimes close escape from the Nazi regime and their loss of relatives due to Nazi Germany's racial laws and their execution account for the urge of the writers concerned to approach the Holocaust.¹⁵⁹ In view of their works, it is also factually evident. Critical readings of this integral part of their cultural production, and an investigation of different strategies within their representations of the Holocaust, will take into account the time of production and different stances towards the mediation when confronted with "its ultimate inexplicability" quoted above.

The differentiation within Holocaust Studies between survivor generation (first generation) and successor generation (second generation) has been briefly alluded to previously, just as its validity to open up investigation within exile studies of the works of those who were not eyewitnesses. However, for the involved who cannot bear witness, 'suffering takes the place of inheritance '(Nadine Fresco qtd. in Hartman, 8). Whereas the writing of the first generation often approaches the

¹⁵⁸ Fackenheim, *To Mend the World*, 233. - Emil Fackenheim was also interned in Canada, becoming one of the most important Jewish Orthodox philosophers of the second half of the 20th century.

¹⁵⁹ Weiselberger lost both his brother and his father, Kreisel close family members (cf. Kreisel, "Vienna Remembered").

style of the survivor testimonial by using an autobiographical and realistic mode of narration, writers of the survivor generation tend to employ different and more experimental narrative strategies. As Hartman observes:

[T]he younger generations' writing about the Holocaust incorporates a reflection on how to write it, a reflection on representation itself. Literary theory since 1960 has encouraged this self-reflective turn. (9)

In my thinking of the Canadian exile writers, they are to some degree located midway between these two categories (eyewitness and successor generation). Owing to their early immigration to the UK, they were spared concentration camps, and, apart from Weiselberger, who was considerably older, left the Third Reich in their early teens. They left at a time when the racial laws were not yet openly directed at a complete extinction of all Jews in Germany, years before, in early 1942, the 'Final Solution' came into effect: Wassermann even before the 'Anschluss', Weiselberger and Kreisel shortly afterwards, and Koch, the only non-Austrian, left Germany well before the 'November pogroms' of the 'Reichskristallnacht' in 1938, when racial persecution acquired a new quality, both in scope and actual violence.¹⁶⁰ It goes without saying that psychological categories such as trauma and pain can and shall not be taxonomically qualified, but it is evident that their flight ahead of time distinguishes their experience of - and their writing about - the Holocaust from that of eyewitnesses and survivors of concentration camps, such as Jean Amery or Primo Levi. On the other hand, their temporal and initially also spatial closeness to the early racial atrocities of the Third Reich, their flight,

¹⁶⁰ Cf. Weiselberger's unpublished short story "I think we'll forget too soon" discussed in this chapter.

and their double socialization, set them apart decisively from the successor generation. Their communal experience of the internment in England and Canada at the hands of their 'liberators', puts them in a group of their own altogether, comparable only to the experience of the internees sent to Australia (These ramifications will be investigated in "Writing Exile").

The necessity of rendering an account of what has happened or has been experienced, of the testimonial for the eyewitness, signifies within Holocaust Studies a liberation from the denied agency which suffering during the Holocaust constitutes for the individual. For the second generation, also non-agency can be inherited and thus the need to overcome it; it is the quest for and the paradox of speaking out, or speaking of memories which are incommunicable, demanding an audience. Apart from the attempt of re-gaining agency via the act of narration, it is also the attempt to overcome trauma, which demands active preoccupation with the past, each individual witness struggling between the "contradictory imperatives of remembering and forgetting" (Hartman, 154). Hartman also points towards the passage or transmission from personal memory to art - in which this struggle can become visible as an integral part of the testimony - by quoting the Holocaust survivor Ahron Appelfeld: "We must transmit the dreadful experience from the category of history into that of art" (Hartman, 155).¹⁶¹

Within the body of texts written by the four authors, autobiographical negotiation and reference to trauma is remarkably rare if existent at all. Traumatized narrative selves in their fictions, however, who are haunted by shadows of an unreconciled past and sometimes express an obsessive need to talk about their

¹⁶¹ Note here the - seemingly - contradictory position to Adorno's assertion that poetry after Auschwitz must be barbaric.

experiences, abound: Theodore Stappler in *The Betrayal*, the young artist and Holocaust survivor in Weiselberger's "The Joys of Life", whose painted testimonials locate their creator at the precarious rupture between positions of escapism and ultra-realistic representations of the Holocaust, and in Weiselberger's "Der Zeuge (als Angeklagter)", in which for the nameless eyewitness persecution does not stop with the end of the Third Reich, depicting an intensely traumatised inner self, who experiences itself as both witness and accused, and cannot but experience his environment as intensely hostile.¹⁶²

For everyone who escaped or survived, the Holocaust necessarily marks a rupture inflecting and shaping all their writing. It can thus be fictions (directly) approaching the Holocaust, as it can also be opaque writing in which the Holocaust is not referred to at all, but still infuses it, such as e.g. in Paul Celan's prose sketch "Gespräch im Gebirg", which voices the very loss of the voice, the incommunicability after Auschwitz expressed in the meaningless babbling of its protagonist. In this chapter, numerous texts which I read as more direct negotiations of the Holocaust, including representations of trauma and aftermath, are investigated, even though other texts by these authors also bear - less visible and not thematically tangible - the imprint of the Holocaust.

1. Betrayals and impossible homecomings: Henry Kreisel

Henry Kreisel's two novels, *The Rich Man* (1948) and *The Betrayal* (1964), display his (growing) awareness of the particular problems raised by writing on the Holocaust. In both novels, he renders topics inseparably

¹⁶² For Holocaust survivors, e.g. in the works of Nelly Sachs or Paul Celan, such experiences are not uncommon.

connected with the historical and social developments of the Third Reich. In *The Rich Man*, though almost entirely set in pre-Anschluss Austria with its social and economic dead-end, authoritarian paralysis, and only undercurrents of anti-Semitism in the 'Ständestaat', Kreisel still evokes brisk images of the brutality of (German) Nazism in the allusion to the murder of Dolfuss, Jacob's encounter with SS officers during the train passage ("Jacob saw the strange and ominous insignia on his cap - two crossed bones and a leering death's-head [...] he never forgot the moment", 58f.), and in the more symbolic evocations and foreshadowings, such as Tassigny's painting of *L'Entrepreneur*, and Koch's announcement that he will not survive the Holocaust (188).

In his later novel *The Betrayal*, the protagonist Theodor Stappler hunts down the man responsible for the death of his mother in the Holocaust in the Edmonton of the fifties. Large parts of the novel are made up by his testimonial to the Canadian history professor Mark Lerner, who acts as the novel's actual narrator and narrating self, who is drawn into but utterly confused by these past events. The chosen narrative situation in *The Betrayal* displays Kreisel's awareness at the time of the problematic nature of representing the Holocaust with aesthetic means. This, however, might already be apparent in *The Rich Man*, which Kreisel started to write in the mid-forties and which was already published in 1948. Here, the focus lies on the Austrian situation before 1938 and before the beginning of the official persecution of the Jews, thus providing a glimpse of a time he regards as fertile soil for what was to come only a few years later, and largely presented via a transatlantic perspective. Thus, the actual atrocities of the Holocaust are not addressed directly, but strongly by implication

and especially by evoking what was to be irretrievably lost.

In *The Rich Man*, the Galician Jew Jacob Grossmann, first generation immigrant to Toronto, Canada around the turn of the century, returns for a six-week visit to his family, now living in Leopoldstadt, the main Jewish district of Vienna, in 1935.¹⁶³ Main undercurrents of the Vienna of the mid-thirties are presented along his way: depression, growing anti-Semitism, the increasing threat Hitler means for the Austrian 'Ständestaat'.¹⁶⁴ It is also, and this is what makes *The Rich Man* an instance of 'indirect' Holocaust literature, an acute account of Jewish life in Vienna just before it would be wiped away by the Shoah, of the Viennese Leopoldstadt on the mental fringes between sthetyl and urban emancipation. While he deliberately does not let the time narrated cover this historical time in *The Rich Man* and does not even allude to it, the shared knowledge of what was to come makes it a haunting evocation of a world lost for any reader, both when the novel first came out in the late 1940s and today.

¹⁶³ Kreisel published *The Rich Man* in 1948. There is, however, a first version called *The Angels Weep*, which he had already finished in 1945 at the age of 23. There is no known manuscript of this first version. Although this first version was rejected by McClelland & Stewart, one of the editors, Sybil Hutchinson, encouraged Kreisel later to revise the novel for publication, and suggested to enlarge the 'Canadian content': "I am wondering what you would think of turning back to *The Angels Weep*. You are a little older now, and have put the novel out of your mind for a while. Have you any ideas for working it up a little? Could you make the setting for the tailor, Toronto? Work in a little Toronto background. (Kreisel, "On being archived", unpublished script; 13f.) Kreisel did so within mere three months, and remained grateful to Hutchinson (see "On being archived", 12).

¹⁶⁴ Interestingly, in a letter to his editor Sybil Hutchinson before the publication of *The Rich Man*, he complains about being criticized by one of McClelland & Stewart's publishers for not having given the depiction of anti-Semitism in pre-war Vienna enough space. He stresses that the anti-Semitism in Vienna of 1936 was different both in quality and quantity from that after the 'Anschluss' ("Letter to Sybil Hutchinson"). In "Interview with Henry Kreisel" (179), he, however, states how quickly Austria adopted Nazi-Germany's anti-Semitic laws once the 'Anschluss' had taken place.

What links Kreisel's two novels apart from their particular awareness concerning the problematic nature of representing the Holocaust - the particular narrative situation in *The Betrayal*, the strategy pointed out before in *The Rich Man* - is the incorporation of a transatlantic and transcultural perspective, in so far as Canada becomes the setting (in *The Betrayal*), or the backfoil of the reflector Jacob as well as the distorted and reductionist heterostereotype of a successful (consumer) society (in *The Rich Man*).

In an interesting double-bind, Jacob, who is all but the embodiment of the North American dream, does nothing to dispel the wrong assumptions his Jewish relatives in Vienna hold about the New World and the "rich uncle from America", who he is certainly not. On the contrary, he lives as a first generation immigrant in the Toronto of the thirties and toils as a presser in a textile factory. This is an ingenuously chosen combination of the sweatshop as the site of exploitation of (Jewish) immigrants with the dehumanizing conditions of work in the factory as the dystopic counterpart of the realization of the consumers' paradise. On the other side of the Atlantic, he tries to conform to the false dreams that triggered his immigration but never came true for him. To embody the social rise which the New World did not have in store for him and the overwhelming majority of the turn of the century immigrants, the semiotic language of clothing is again employed, this time reversed: for the trip to Vienna he - the ordinary presser - spends an out-of-proportion sum of money to buy a white alpaca suit, which becomes the fake symbol of monetary success and the American dream. On a different level, it becomes the symbol of the disconnectedness of Jacob's appearance and his actual social existence in a new world which remains alienating. In Vienna, however,

Jacob, who is struggling with the English language in Toronto - "It was difficult to find the right words. Ah! If he could talk to him in Yiddish, everything would be fine. But in English!" (11) - does all to keep up the distorted transatlantic images his family might have of cities paved with gold, and to hide both the falseness of these images and his own failure to live up to them in order to appear the successful 'other' to his family, which he has, in fact, never become. He is as incapable of seeing through the falseness of this dream as his family is of the cultural misconceptions he helps to reproduce with his assumed role.

Greenstein reads *The Rich Man* as a Holocaust novel predominantly due to its treatment of the "problematic nature of language" ("Perspectives on the Holocaust", 270) which, though presented in a realistic mode of narration, is set at a linguistically and semiotically already corrupted time. Miscommunication, misunderstandings and abuse of language in the novel are linked to the blaring voice of the manipulator of the crowds, metaphorically portrayed in the intermedial use of the painting *L'Entrepreneur*. Jacob buys it from the French artist Tassigny on the passage to Europe - again as an assumed gesture, that of the rich patron of the arts:

[A] narrow, crudely framed canvas [...] with garish greens and yellows predominating, remotely suggesting a human figure[...]. The figure had a long, fleshless neck, but no face. Where the head should have been, there was a thick cylindrical, megaphone-like contraption, painted jack-black. (The *Rich Man*, 49)

As Tassigny explains, the Entrepreneur "shouts and screams so people will come and pay to see [...]. When he shouts, the people can hear nothing else. They are caught by the voice" (50). At the very end of the novel, when

Jacob's 'disguise' as rich man is already exposed, Jacob tosses the canvas out of the train window on his way back, as yet on another level, at least instinctively perceivable for him, it has become the symbol of the exposure of his assumed role. Jacob does not arrive at an understanding of the painting as the central symbol of the seducer of the masses, who is all voice but no substance, and who finds its then current realization in Hitler's manipulation of language. It is a link, however, firmly established in the novel by Jacob's intellectual brother-in-law, Albert:

I heard Hitler's voice, loud and strong, and it kept on getting more powerful. Suddenly I heard that I was of an inferior race, and that my blood was poison, and that I was the cause of all evil, and he thundered that when he came to power he would destroy me and my children. All that he says may be nonsense, but now he is in power in Germany. [my emphasis]

(89)

The relation between voice, manipulation, and creation of meaning, thus actual power, established by the intermedial means of the painting, is evident in the quote, as is, for Albert, Hitler's eventual assuming power in Austria, which is already deprived of its critical and committed voices by the authoritarian 'Ständestaat' (91). The power of the manipulative voice is juxtaposed with the inadequate and powerless voice of Jacob and most of his family, and with the discourse they find themselves in, which does not enable resistance, paradigmatically expressed by the orthodox Reuben when pressed to comment on the political situation: "I haven't said anything because I don't know.[...] What happens will happen. I don't trust in kings and presidents. My trust is in God. Everything is in His hands" (93).

The Rich Man is structured in an episodic way, in which the presentation of characters consecutively

unveils specific social realities of Jewish Vienna in the thirties: With her Jewish Orthodox female subordination, Jacob's mother represents the Galician shtetl; in the figure of Reuben, husband of Jacob's sister, the effects of the economic depression are directly portrayed. In Albert, the urban Jewish liberalism of the early twentieth century is presented. There is, however, a remarkable air of paralysis that surrounds the latter. This passivity must be seen as a reflection of the society as a whole, whose framework does not allow a man like Albert to develop according to his talents. It is the motif of general paralysis, brought about by the 'Ständestaat' with its restrictive powers on the individual, represented in Albert. His fate is doubled in the character of his friend Robert Koch, an intellectual left-wing journalist, who is persecuted by the authoritarian regime. To escape its oppression, he masquerades as a clown in the Prater, thus both undermining the stereotypical surface gaiety of Vienna and subverting a society in which one can only survive by playing the fool. Confronted with these harsh realities, Jacob sees but does not understand the writing on the walls of the looming Austrian tragedy. Still, his voyage through the Vienna of the thirties becomes a deconstruction of the Hollywood stereotype of a merry and carefree city of amusement, alluded to at the outset: "And if all they say about Vienna is true, who knows, you'll be waltzing in the streets" (26).

It is this episodic style, which makes *The Rich Man* a detailed evocation of a world lost, of an urban Jewish world which, even if already precariously endangered, was still in full bloom. It was a social and cultural reality at the time of *The Rich Man's* publication in the forties, which was irretrievably shattered, and of which only memory and testimonial can tell. The absence of the

Holocaust in the novel meets the real absence of what is told in the actual here and now, thus evoking the historical annihilation.

Norman Ravvin points towards the exceptionality of *The Rich Man's* "fictional presentation of Jewish life as it was lived just before the disaster [...] almost unheard of in English-language literature" (9). In German (exile) literature, however, Kreisel's focus is not singular; his attempt can be linked to two texts written in German by exiles who did not switch languages. In Stefan Zweig's *Die Welt von Gestern* - though from the more nostalgic autobiographical perspective of the celebrated author in exile - this Jewish Viennese life is at least partly evoked, as is the more glamorous Vienna of artists and celebrities, which Zweig inhabited. Even closer to the realities Kreisel approaches, is Joseph Roth's long essay "Juden auf Wanderschaft" (1927), which traces the migration of eastern Jews from the shtetl to the Western metropolises of Vienna, Berlin, and Paris in the interbellum.¹⁶⁵ Both Zweig's and Roth's texts are well-known in German literature studies and often quoted literary documents of this lost world; Kreisel's novel, which has yet to be published in German, has for this very reason escaped the attention of German Studies so far.

Jacob Grossmann's role as a passive and helpless spectator links him to his other witness of the Shoah from Canada, the narrator of *The Betrayal*: the history professor Mark Lerner, son of Jewish turn-of-the-century immigrants. Whereas Jacob is the pre-Holocaust witness, Lerner is the post-Holocaust one. Due to his Canadian socialization, Mark Lerner is, more than Jacob, the spectator from outside. Both catch only a glimpse of what

¹⁶⁵ It was translated for the first time into English in 2001 under the title *Wandering Jews*.

is happening or has happened respectively, and remain passive. Whereas Jacob is forced to help, Lerner is forced to judge, wherein both fail.

The Betrayal is concerned with the inescapable impact of Nazi Germany on the individual, when there are "situations when a whole nation becomes corrupted. When corruption is, so to speak, in the air, when to be just decent, just ordinarily decent, is an act of heroism" (*The Betrayal*, 35), and, one might add concerning an important focus of the novel, a situation that does not necessarily cease to exist after 1945. Theodore Stappler, a survivor of the Holocaust, tries to track down Joseph Held, now living in Canada, whom Stappler's family paid a large sum of money during the Nazi regime to enable the flight of Stappler and his mother, but was, in an act of betrayal, responsible for her deportation to a concentration camp. In a revenge plot, the restless and haunted Stappler's obsession to hunt down this man is complicated by his growing affection for the daughter of the former perpetrator, whom he meets long before the actual encounter with Held.¹⁶⁶ Once he confronts him, he finds a "tired, pot-bellied, middle-aged man" (111), who, in the context of the aftermath he went through himself - a broken man who was never able to start a new life in Canada - is reduced somewhat from a merciless agent of the Nazi machinery to a small cog that did not stand the test in a 'corrupted nation', and allegedly betrayed Stappler's mother in order to save his own infant daughter. For Stappler, the confrontation with the old ghosts in a different environment has a releasing effect;

¹⁶⁶ Stierstorfer in "Canadian recontextualizations of a German Nightmare" links this to John Richardson's *Wacousta*, which also stages a European revenge in Canada, though a century earlier, and in a colonial context in which Canada as the setting is reduced to a symbolic other-/wilderness.

years of moving restlessly from one place to the other come to an end.

In secondary literature, attention is often focused on the fact that the original facet of Kreisel's novel with respect to the representation of the Holocaust is its Canadian setting, the "recontextualization" of the Holocaust in a country at the surface not touched by the European catastrophe.¹⁶⁷ In Kreisel's novel, Canada becomes the backdrop of negotiations of ethical dilemmas of the aftermath of the Shoah, feelings of guilt of the survivors, or the problematic assessment of motives of collaborators such as Held. *The Betrayal* executes both liberating and involving powers of a representation of the Holocaust with the means of distancing and dislocating it from its historical setting to Canada (Greenstein: "Perspectives on the Holocaust in Henry Kreisel's *The Betrayal*", 286). In Stierstorfer's reading of Kreisel's novel, the initially zero-marked Edmonton/Alberta setting, which Stappler imagines as the ideal desert to stage the showdown, and the reversal of roles of former perpetrator and persecuted¹⁶⁸ becomes far more complex via the intermedial key of Mark Lerner's Emily Carr painting, which also seems static at first sight but by whose complexity Stappler is increasingly fascinated.¹⁶⁹

One aspect, however, which has been less focused upon in interpretations of the text so far, is the importance of the narrative situation employed in the

¹⁶⁷ Cf. Gürttler, "Henry Kreisel: A Canadian Exile Writer?" or Stierstorfer, "Canadian Recontextualizations of a German Nightmare".

¹⁶⁸ "Always in my mind I saw the issue only between the two of us - Joseph Held and me. I imagined us alone - Joseph Held and me. Often I imagined us - don't ask me why - meeting in some desert." (48).

¹⁶⁹ When Stappler first visits Lerner, he is fascinated by the painting he owns by Emily Carr: "'Everything seems quiet,' Theodore Stappler said. 'But that is only the surface. Below, everything is in motion. The landscape is static, but the colors are dynamic. So everything is still, and yet everything moves.'" (Kreisel, *The Betrayal*, 34). The painting is repeatedly alluded to throughout the novel. Cf. also Gürttler, "Henry Kreisel: A Canadian Exile Writer?".

novel: not only the setting is Canadian but also *The Betrayal's* narrator, so that the contextualization also becomes a configuration. This has transcultural implications for the narrative (See the chapter III.4); in the context of Holocaust Studies, it has different implications.

The Canadian history professor Mark Lerner is the first-person narrator of *The Betrayal*, it is by him that the events are shaped and put in order. Everything told by Stappler is filtered and thus limited by the first-person narrator Lerner. When read on autobiographical terms, Stappler appears much closer to Kreisel than Lerner. Kreisel had to flee from Austria due to Nazi oppression, he was interned in a camp as an 'enemy alien' - both incidents are used for the fictional biography of Stappler. Even the actual 'betrayal' itself has autobiographical roots, though Kreisel's parents finally managed to leave Austria in 1939 with the help of their relatives in England just before the outbreak of WWII:

They [Kreisel's parents] decided to go to Belgium and to do this illegal bit - as a matter of fact I use this in *The Betrayal* - they paid but something happened. I don't know exactly what happened, maybe this particular person was really corrupt - I have invented a fable for it - but they certainly were not able to cross. When they came to the border they were taken off the train and my mother was sent to a women's concentration camp and my father was sent to Dachau. (Butovsky, "Interview with Henry Kreisel", 180)

I would argue that by choosing the uninvolved narrator Lerner and not the Holocaust survivor Stappler as the first-person narrator, the narrative draws attention to the problematic understanding of the recipient when confronted with the Holocaust. Together with the use of both spatial and temporal distance, this becomes the strongest means to refrain from presenting

the actual situation of the Holocaust with any immediacy. The focus is on the uninvolved recipient when confronted with the Holocaust. As a second-generation Jewish immigrant to Canada, the history professor Lerner is especially sensitive to the topic, but in fact not a witness himself. In the course of the novel, Lerner grapples with the problem of understanding the extreme situation the Holocaust created and its effects on the ones directly involved. He is presented as someone who can neither judge the past situation in the Third Reich, the actual betrayal, nor give advice concerning the resulting problems.

I had often asked my students how we are to judge extreme situations and the reactions of fallible human beings to them. And now, asking myself the same question, my mind simply refused to come to terms with it. [...] Faced with the question now, here in this room, I could only think of platitudes: how thin the veneer of civilisation is even in the most civilised nations and how fortunate most of us are to be spared the most extreme tests of courage and virtue, for how many of us could pass them? (Kreisel, *The Betrayal*, 182)

Although constantly pressed, Lerner is ultimately incapable of judging the extreme situations created by the Holocaust, their effects on the people, or questions of individual and collective guilt. Kreisel presents constellations determined by the Holocaust without evoking the impression of complete and real comprehensibility in the reader. In different ways and with different agendas, both *The Rich Man* and *The Betrayal* centre on the Holocaust, but do not attempt to address it directly. The passive and distant mediator Lerner as the narrative voice in *The Betrayal* is employed in order not to render Holocaust experience as if they could be fully grasped and understood, whereas *The Rich Man* closes before Austria's 'Anschluß' to Nazi Germany, concentrating solely on the political undercurrents and

the urban Jewish world before the ensuing catastrophe, letting the reader complete the story with what was to come.

Unlike these two novels, which negotiate the Shoah's prefiguration (*The Rich Man*) and its aftermath (*The Betrayal*), share a transatlantic perspective, and evoke life in Kreisel's native Vienna, Kreisel's short story "The Homecoming. A Memory of Europe after the Holocaust" locates immediate post-WWII trauma in a rural and small town setting. Memory, trauma, re-formation and re-formulation of identity are key determinants of this short story, which transcends its genre not only via its unusual length but also via its dramatic qualities. "The Homecoming" on the one hand is an elaborate blending of things present and past, and on the other, its unusual - *untimely* - parable-like language serves to strangely de-historize a text, which by its very subject matter is steeped in its specific historical context. This opens up dialectics in the text between time and no-time, history and a-history. "A memory of Europe after the Holocaust", as the subtitle of the story further qualifies, points at one of the structural efforts of the story, namely to capture more universal and exemplary issues of the aftermath of the Holocaust, by presenting the mostly internal perspective of the protagonist Mordecai Drimmer, who remains nameless for a long time, meandering his way back home to his native Polish village, the fictitious Narodnowa.

The topos of "coming home" after the Shoah in Kreisel's texts needs to be read in relation to the refiguration of identity of the traumatized victim of the Holocaust. It is the representation of the individual after the Shoah who is in need of recreating himself. Different phases and stages of this reformulation of the narrative self are recurrent elements in Kreisel's

negotiations of the Holocaust: Shemtov, in "Chassidic Song", who has recovered his self and now bases his post-Holocaust identity explicitly on Jewish Orthodoxy (see chapter "Jewish Worlds"); Stappler, whose quest for Held is one for his own "coming home" and against his paralysing self-entanglement (envisioned e.g. with the intermedial reference to the Emily Carr painting) and who, in the Arctic wilderness, finds "a kind of peace" (*The Betrayal*, 216); Held, for whom a "homecoming" is impossible, as the individual burden of the past cannot be relieved: "I bore it, all alone. [...] I shared it with nobody. Not my wife, not my daughter. [...] *Mein Leben ist sch[w]ärzer als die Nacht und tiefer als die Hölle.*" (181). Mordecai Drimmer's homecoming is to a very hostile 'home' at first. Whereas the ending of the story allows for more than one reading, especially with regard to the notion 'home', the text occupies itself with the transition of the traumatized and nameless self whose inside perspective is given, to someone with the name Mordecai Drimmer who has come / found a home, as fragile and precarious this might be.

In *The Betrayal*, the concept of home as a specific geographical place to which the individual is bound via personal affection is shared by Lerner, who, though alone, is "anchored to a place" (211), and finally by Stappler, in his attachment to the Arctic wilderness. In "Homecoming" the notions of patria as a place, but also of memory and identity are, if not invalidated, at least challenged in their frame of reference.

The subtitle of the short story is a key to the provisional nature and the deliberate tensions these terms undergo. The 'Memory of Europe after the Holocaust' becomes more of a remembrance in the sense of a memorial - similar, in fact, to *The Rich Man* - evoking a world that is gone. This time, however, it is the dystopic

world of the Holocaust survivor, the hallucinogenic dreams and visions of the exhausted, still nameless protagonist wandering through an archaic waste land. The use of the term "memory" evokes a closeness to the Holocaust testimonial and the idea of authenticity, from which the text, however, equally refrains.

"Memory" is not the only word in the text or even in the title of which the apparent stability of the signifier is questioned. The text also undermines shared meanings of 'home/coming'. A conventional sense of coming home is ruled out in the aftermath of the Shoah, literally evident when Mordecai finds his former actual home in rubbles and learns that all his family members have perished. It is further destabilised by his encounter with the frightened and distressed peasant, whose life is bleak except for one thing: his delight in the extinction of the Jews in the village (43f). Home represents a place "haunted and cursed, full of memories and ghosts, of a past he did not want to encounter" (63).

This provisional - and often negative - nature of the signifier "home" becomes apparent throughout the story. At the point of ultimate breakdown, Mordecai's encounter with the earthworm is especially ingenious in the evocation of naked horror and desolation, and becomes a conflation of images of degenerated brotherhood, of ultimate loss of home and relatives in the absurdly fitting act of attempted communion in a degenerated dystopic world: lying on the rubble where his home once stood, digging the earth with his fingers, he finds an earthworm and feels obliged to shake hands as the only link to a home ultimately lost: "A good worm, a blind worm, perhaps even now come from feasting on your father" (62).

In its fairy-tale quality, the ending - Mordecai is rescued by the love of Rachel, a Holocaust survivor like

himself - at least keeps the im/possibility or provisionality of any homecoming after the Shoah in balance. If taken seriously, the impossibility to stay on, as expressed in his urge to leave not only the village but the whole old world - "Europe is finished for me. I'll find some place. [...] Where there isn't the stench of death everywhere" (76) - ultimately reveals the impossibility of an actual return after the Holocaust; read in view of Kreisel's *The Betrayal*, and also his biography, the sentence receives an additional autobiographical dimension.

In his refiguration of post-Holocaust identity, the protagonist of "The Homecoming" undergoes stages of almost complete loss of self. Already expressed via his namelessness for almost two thirds of the story, loss of self is represented via his incapability of differentiating between dream/vision and reality, between past and present events, and the diffusion of time. He both expects - "Surely my mother will come to me now" (62) - and also sees his dead mother; his self is split in at least two when he hears a voice in himself, the dystopic and morbid images such as the moving gargoyles on the village church, threatening and mocking him. His identity project is at high risk, but there is a positive note towards the end. Only slowly does a transformation away from a complete paralysis and loss of self take place: "I am in limbo. Neither the end nor the beginning. But I cannot move" (61). The wish to dissolve (65) - though negative - points towards a re-construction of self. The preliminary "One day at a time" (77), pointing at a provisional future to be negotiated on a day-by-day basis, becomes an expression of willingness for agency and resistance: "And he knew that he would not allow himself to be defeated" (77).

2. Multiperspectival representations of the Holocaust: Carl Weiselberger

In striking contrast to the assessment of Henry Kreisel's work, the importance of negotiations of the Holocaust in Carl Weiselberger's oeuvre has largely been neglected in secondary literature. Even more importantly, the large amount of his Holocaust writing has never been incorporated in any of the four posthumous publications. Even when considering that much of Weiselberger's writing has remained unpublished to date, the fact that of seven quintessential short stories, which explicitly and multiperspectively deal with the Holocaust and date from different phases of his creative writing - none was published whereas much lesser achievements of his found their way into print - shows that an important aspect of his work is glossed over in the official publications.¹⁷⁰ These texts will be presented here for the first time.

The centrality of Holocaust representations within Weiselberger's work becomes apparent only when researching his collected papers. Whereas early categorisations concede Weiselberger's work a "tragischen oder tragikkomischen Hintergrund" (Hartmannshenn and Kriegel. Letter to the Deutsche Bibliothek), he is mainly delineated as the humane humorist with a mild predilection for the grotesque in secondary literature

¹⁷⁰ Here, I do not include Weiselberger's short story "Children's Transport", published in *Bridges*, which juxtaposes a 'Kindertransport' of Jewish refugee children to England with a field trip of the Hitler youth to visit the 'Führer'. In the otherwise very accurate and diligently prepared publication, an important mistake is made, as the story is dated as having been written during Weiselberger's internment. It is, however, a story written in English - Weiselberger exclusively wrote in German during the internment, and only gradually used English for his creative ends. Although dating is notoriously difficult in the case of Weiselberger (see chapter "Language in Exile"), the typescript and quality of the paper, and even more the quality and considerable skill of Weiselberger's creative English writing displayed in this story clearly point to a production in the mid-fifties, or probably sixties. It is thus - although glossed over in the official publication - yet further proof of his life-long occupation with the Holocaust in his creative oeuvre.

and in the introductions to the short story collections. By this, the most significant achievement of Weiselberger's, the profoundly existential and often radically fatalistic quality of his work - inseparably linked to his experience of flight, loss, internment, and exile, and perceivable even in his late English poetry - has faded in to oblivion.

The short stories produced during the internment most strongly incorporate autobiographical material of the then current and recent European events. It is, however, significant that issues such as alienation, the trauma of the Holocaust survivor, yet also stories set in Nazi Germany - often in combination with a transatlantic perspective - also appear in Weiselberger's English stories, written long after the internment. These revisits of his personal and the collective historical past also become obvious in translations of earlier German stories, such as "Der Stürmer"/ "The Stormtrooper" - interestingly enough never published either in English or in German, although it is the only single story Weiselberger explicitly wished to have published (Weiselberger, Letter to the Austrian Pension Board) - and in adaptations and reworkings of themes originally used in German internment stories, such as "Der Verwandlungskünstler", which was used for two later short stories, one German, one English. Both the German original version and the two "variations" negotiate alienation and loss of identity, twice in the context of internment, once removed from this experience.¹⁷¹ In addition, articles with topics related to the Holocaust appeared in his journalistic writing (See "Jewish Worlds"). Thus, Weiselberger's intensive preoccupation with topics related to the Holocaust cannot be stressed

¹⁷¹ The other two stories are "Der Mann mit den tausend Gesichtern" and "The Quick-Change Artist".

enough, especially in view of the complete negligence of this aspect of his work.

Weiselberger's collected papers contain a number of English short stories evolving around the activities of the art collector Adrian Stonegate, some of which were published in the *Ottawa Citizen*. Most of the Stonegate stories can be seen as creative extensions of his journalistic writing about visual art for the *Ottawa Citizen*, some of them were even published as his weekly "Carl Weiselberger talks about the Art" contribution in the *Ottawa Citizen*. Within his prolific oeuvre, these stories were of vital importance for Weiselberger; an the letter referred to above reveals his strong wish for them to be published as a collection "eh er zur Grube fährt" (Weiselberger, Letter to the Austrian Pension Board). However, only two of these stories were published in the posthumous collection of his English writings, *Bridges*. Three of these stories are crucial negotiations of the Holocaust: "The Castle on the Hill", "Three Healers", and the fragmentary "The Joys of Life".

Only two stories - and the short fragment "Der Zeuge (als Angeklagter)" - investigated here belong to his German writings: "Weekend im Hotel Braunau", an acute, if bitter and sarcastic description of profitseeking upstarts in post-Anschluss Austria, who have no qualms about justifying the fact that their newly-found wealth is based on the exploitation of the Jews, and "Der Stürmer"/"The Storm-Trooper", which attempts to depict the interior perspective of a storm trooper and photographer who buys into the anti-Semitic propaganda. It was significantly translated into English by the author later on. They will be read together with the three English Stonegate stories mentioned above and the paradigmatic "I fear we'll forget too soon" - which lets

an American GI revisit post WWII Germany - as Weiselberger's writing the Holocaust.¹⁷²

As the following readings will suggest, Weiselberger's peculiar representations of the Holocaust betray a multiperspectival approach. Transatlantic dimensions become perceivable as well as representations of the precariously endangered identity of the Holocaust survivor in exile, also, not unlike in Kreisel, post-Holocaust trauma of the individual, and the difficulty to confront the traumatic past. Weiselberger time and again also negotiates one of the greatest challenges within Holocaust Studies, the simultaneity of a highly civil society and ardent anti-Semitism, of German high culture and the systematic exterminations of human beings: the breakdown of the project of Enlightenment, which instigated the social theory of the Frankfurt School and the *Dialectics of Enlightenment*. Weiselberger frequently approaches this seeming incommensurateness. The significant and highly original trait of Weiselberger's negotiations of the Holocaust, is his focus on the willing collaborators, in whom he shows - sometimes even from an interior narrative perspective - the dehumanizing and de-individualizing effects of the overwhelming discourse of a totalitarian ideology.

Weiselberger's "Der Stürmer" is a story first written in German during internment.¹⁷³ Significantly, it brings not the victim but the perpetrator to the fore. Its protagonist is a photographer of the anti-Semitic

¹⁷² In several of Weiselberger's internment stories, related topics such as the loss of identity and self come to the fore. They will mainly be referred to in the Chapter "Writing Exile".

¹⁷³ The exact date of the later translation is unclear; there are Weiselberger's corrections on the manuscript in handwriting, and also a few corrections in a different handwriting, showing that he was at pains to arrive at a good English version (which is not always the case with his early English creative writing).

weekly "Der Stürmer"¹⁷⁴, who takes pictures of stereotypically 'ugly' Jews. In vain, he tries to take a picture of a red-haired Jew, the "Super-Jew"¹⁷⁵. In the German version, the term Weiselberger creates is "Über-Jude", using from the interior perspective of the storm-trooper the Nazi lingo for this ironic reversal of the Nietzschean 'Übermensch'. He hunts the red-haired Jew with his lens as an ideal object for anti-Semitic propaganda, and causes his rash flight, having to desert his mother. In the second part of the story, the storm-trooper is employed as a photo-journalist at the Russian front, where he stumbles into a Russian ambush. Now he becomes the persecuted. Already deadly wounded, he envisions the red-haired Jew now persecuting him. Just before he succumbs to his fatal wounds, the vision of the mother of the Jew, whom he once encountered after her son had fled, appears to him both as his and his victim's mother, thereby transcending the dualism of persecutor and persecuted: "The hunt and being hunted are finished" (14).¹⁷⁶

The remarkable feature of this story is the interior perspective it provides of this Nazi as an entirely conceited individual. All the same, a degree of empathy for the common German Nazi as some kind of victim is evoked at the end. In the short story, Weiselberger depicts persecutor and persecuted; on a larger scale, it becomes the portrayal of a society in which the individual has ceased to exist: the persecuted are reduced to a bundle of pejorative stereotypes, yet also

¹⁷⁴ The paper was founded already in 1923, and since 1937 had the following words on the foot of each title page: "Die Juden sind unser Unglück".

¹⁷⁵ In the German text the term Weiselberger creates is "Über-Jude", using from the interior perspective of the storm-trooper the Nazi lingo for this ironic reversal of the Nietzschean 'Übermensch'.

¹⁷⁶ In the following readings of Weiselberger's short stories, the page numbers in brackets always refer to the archival manuscript pages of the respective short story.

the perpetrators - transformed into a brainwashed mass - lose their individuality. The hatred the storm-trooper feels for the Jew is a conditioned one, determined by the discourse of anti-Semitism, and the dualism of racial superiority and inferiority.

In his 'objects' the storm-trooper and photographer only sees the racist heterostereotype he himself helps to convey with his photos for "Der Stürmer". He describes his victims with the help of a hysterical use of racialized linguistic composites¹⁷⁷, everything is 'Jewish' about them: their Jewish noses, Jewish eyes, Jewish legs, Jewish ears. In the text this works as a negative incantation in which the racial hatred assumes a quasi-religious quality.¹⁷⁸ The deliberate and very effective incorporation of anti-Semitic lingo into the story conveys the interior perspective of the storm-trooper and the semantic and imagological brain-wash he represents:

Zwanzig, dreißig Juden waren schon herausgekommen, mit Regenschirmen, runden Rücken, watschelnd, mit Händen, Köpfen, Schirmen redend, die Daumen im Westenausschnitt drehend. Wenn sie den Photographen eräugten, stoben sie auf und davon, wie von einem kalten Wasserstrahl getroffen, mit fliegenden Schößen, mehr oder minder erschrocken, manche sogar lachend und witzelnd, über ihren eigenen Schrecken witzelnd. (2)

The evoked comparisons with animals are a further step towards de-humanization; the process is dystopically realized in the text by the loss of the face of the

¹⁷⁷ In the German version "Der Stürmer", the racially obsessed language Weiselberger employs here in order to convey an interior perspective of the storm-trooper is illuminating: "[E]r war Photograph für den "Stürmer", und hatte diesen allwöchentlich mit einem neuen Posten frisch erlegter, garantiert echter, extra ausgesuchter, extra häßlicher Juden-Ware zu beliefern! Judennasen, Judenbeine, Judentatzen, Juden, Juden, Juden..." (1)

¹⁷⁸ Other passages also providing his interior perspective suggest a foundation in a religious anti-Semitism (e.g. "dark mongrel brood of Satan", 4).

storm-trooper's main victim, whose identity is literally taken away via the inhuman persecution.

The key to the reading of the story as also staging the perpetrator's de-individualization in a totalitarian ideology is to be found in the bi-signification of "Der Stürmer" (which is more clearly perceivable in the German version of the story). The anti-Semitic discourse constantly re-created in the paper "Der Stürmer" becomes linguistically one with the inflamed subject, who is completely determined by this discourse. The total determination by the anti-Semitic discourse is responsible for his total loss of reality at the end of the story. In spite of actually being trapped in an ambush by Russian soldiers, he has the illusion of being persecuted by the Jews he used to persecute with his lens. They remain the scapegoats:

Die Juden sind an allem schuld. Überall Juden, Juden hinter jedem Fenster, jeder Luke, jedem Kellerloch, überall Juden, Juden...Sie kommen. Sie machen auf ihn Jagd...tausend, abertausend Grauensgesichter, aus dem Blutrot der Wandkästen herausgesprungen...seine eigenen Geschöpfe, seine eigenen Bilder und Montagen...

(11)

The vaguely reconciliatory or sympathetic gesture the image of the mother signals also for the perpetrator does not invite a reading which overlooks the dystopic qualities of the story.

The storm trooper's pejorative depiction of the Russian rural population as racialized 'cultural others' is also significant for its categorisation according to racial terms - "Diese russischen Tiere; Wie Teufel. Wie die Derwische im Märchen." (9). The story "Storm-Trooper" thus becomes a general criticism of nationalism and racism, linking it with a criticism taken up time and again in Weiselberger's work: a fundamental distrust of

any attempt at categorising in a confined and limiting way.¹⁷⁹

Weiselberger's very early English short story "I fear we'll forget too soon" continues the agenda of "The Storm-Trooper" in bringing to the fore the position of the perpetrators, but also presents a North American refiguration of anti-Semitism and the Holocaust.¹⁸⁰ It uses a transatlantic frame and perspective by bringing the sensitive American Lenn shortly before (as a student) and after WWII (as a GI) to a fictitious German town on the Rhine. The text largely reflects Lenn's experiences of his first visit, when he is confronted with anti-Semitism and the persecution of Jews in everyday life, as a result of which his romantic affiliation with the German Fräulein Grete Müller, who is sympathetically portrayed but also stuck in the all-encompassing discourse of racial superiority, ends in disaster. Her name evokes both Faust's Gretchen and Schubert's 'Schöne Müllerin', ingeniously encapsulating the representation of the crucial juxtaposition in the story of both German high and folk culture and the barbarity of Nazism. It is the seeming incompatibility of opposites, sheer beauty and systematic annihilation of human beings: "What a strange people [...]. Beethoven and Himmler, the Pastoral Symphony and the Gas chambers..." (2). The text stages this perversion right in the heart of German society, in the German bourgeoisie living room.

The text unravels the perversion of everyday life in Nazi Germany, which in many ways is represented very

¹⁷⁹ This can be found in early articles in the *Ottawa Citizen* such as "Seeking a Homeland" (1946) or "Our Racial Melting-Pot" (1947).

¹⁸⁰ Its language leads to the assumption that this is one of Weiselberger's early attempts to use English for his creative purposes. The differentiation of adjective/adverb constructions is not yet consistent, some words he is unsure about have a question mark inserted above in the typescript, there is sometimes the occasion of an ungrammatical form of negation.

homely, but at the same time finds the revered Hitler portrait hanging next to a cupboard of "home-made pots and preserves" (14). A reference to a painting in the Müllers' living room, the Loreley, which via intermedial reference to Heine's poem by the American student triggers the openly anti-Semitic refusal of Grete - more to be seen as the expression of the collective degenerated discourse she finds herself in than that of an individual position - to give credit to the Jewish poet: "He was a Jew and had just adapted the old folk song and passed it off for his own poem, just like they always did..." (13). Grete's brother Heinz, in whom his parents take great pride, is the grotesque image of a storm-trooper, a Hitler look-alike, a "pocket-edition of the original" (15). Like "Der Stürmer", he is a lifeless automaton, a "wax-figure from Mme Tussaud's" (15), de-individualized by the discourse of the Nazi ideology.

All the members of the family Lenn gets to know are typical middle of the road Germans, buying, however, into every piece of propaganda of the regime. ("There'll be no stab in the back this time." 15; "That shameful murder at our embassy in Paris!" 14) Lenn witnesses a situation of rupture, where also protest could have been possible. It is the beginning of the 'Reichskristallnacht', which is implicitly referred to by a heated discussion about the news of the Jewish student Hershel Grynspan's assassination of Ernst Vom Rath at the Parisian Embassy of Germany.¹⁸¹ Out of their living room window, the Müllers witness anti-Semitic acts, in which also Heinz,

¹⁸¹ Weiselberger refers here to the actual assassination of Ernst Vom Rath, a German member of staff at the Embassy of Germany in France in 1938. The seventeen-year-old Jewish Hershel Grynspan shot Vom Rath as an act of protest against the deportation of his parents and thousands of Jews in Germany at the time. Two days later, on the 9th of November 1938, the assassination was used as the incentive for the November pogroms ("Reichskristallnacht") in the whole of Germany directed against Jews and Jewish institutions. More than 1300 German Jews died during Reichskristallnacht.

Grete's brother, is involved by kicking an elderly Jew, who is not fast enough, in the back with his boots, and finally a deportation scene. As a "sample of German folk humour" (20), elderly Jews are forced to hold a fake parade with broomsticks. Neither triumphant about anti-Semitic acts nor repulsed by them, the Müllers do not react:

The surprise and the faint terror in the eyes of that elderly German couple. That moment was important. ...it could have been an onset of disagreement, of protest, of separating themselves from what was going on down there in the streets of the new Germany. But Germans apparently do not protest. ... No, they stood there, by the window gazing down, dumbfounded, at what their sons and daughters committed.
(17)

The involvement of Heinz in this deportation scene, and witnessing the Müllers' as the (prototypical) silent bystanders, make the continuation of the friendship between Lenn and Grete impossible: "whenever the desire overcame him...all at once two black, sparkling military boots stepped as it were in between and kicked him back".
(22)

Lenn's return to post-WWII Germany brings back the unresolved conflict standing at the core of the text. Passing a Beethoven monument, the Ninth's Symphony and Schiller's words 'All men will become brothers' comes to his mind: "A bitter smile hung around his lips: Yes, they are, for instance in Belsen and Dachau concentration camps." (23). The half-destroyed Gothic cathedral (2; 23) with its "broken heads, limbs and garments of saints, of weird gargoyles with their beaks and wings struck off" (2) as a central image of the text is the symbol of the breakdown of a complete system or discourse:

[A] shabby display of the fallen Heaven...Lenn pointed at the powerless monster. Thank God, he mused, he could not fly up any more, he was frozen to stone like all the others, the weird

assembly of the dark ages, fenced, roped,
disarmed. (23)

One of the qualities of the text is that on many levels it explicitly and implicitly raises obvious questions of agency and guilt - the individual guilt of the Müllers, the question whether it could happen again or somewhere else, the (future) guilt of the baby in the carriage, but also the guilt of the American consul, who was unwilling to make the American public aware of the anti-Semitic events seven years before - but does not attempt to answer them. Significantly, this problematization of different layers of guilt and involvement is an important aspect Weiselberger's text shares with Kreisel's *The Betrayal*.

Whereas "I fear we'll forget too soon" and "The Storm-Trooper" rather focus on the Nazi collaborators as subjects/objects caught in a totalitarian discourse, Weiselberger provides a far less sympathetic perspective on the perpetrators in the bitter satire "Weekend im Hotel Braunau", written in German during his internment. Apart from "Der Stürmer", this is the only short story Weiselberger wrote in the camps with post-Anschluss Austria as its setting. Similar to "Der Stürmer", the experiences of the outcast and the victims are not focused upon, while a sarcastic and exposing look is taken at those within the Third Reich who profited from the misery of the Jewish refugees. Set in an aryanized hotel at a lake in Salzburg, the first part of the polemic story describes participants of an evening dance:

Seht er ist wieder da, er ist ganz und gar wieder da und anscheinend obenauf, der alte Baron X. Im Vertrauen gesagt, er verdient jetzt hübsch viel Geld. ... Er hat sich ein kleines Zimmerl in der Kanzlei von Dr L, dem arischen Rechtsanwalt, in der Stadt gemietet und berät dort „Nichtarier“. In Angelegenheit ihrer

„Auswanderung“]...] Der fesche Viki hilft Juden nach Palästina schmuggeln, für 700 Mark pro Stück, auf nicht mehr seetüchtigen Schiffen. (6)

Unlike "Der Stürmer" and its racist fanaticism of an ardent Nazi, this story, with bitter irony, exposes those who simply exploit the political situation for their own selfish ends. As an objective correlative of what is to happen on a larger scale, a disastrous storm rises, proving near fatal for the elegant patrons of "Hotel Braunau":

Da, noch im Nachtdunkel, geschieht etwas. Etwas höchst Merkwürdiges. Ein sehr peinlicher, und man muß schon sagen, sehr respektloser Zufall, in Anwesenheit eines Gauleiters! War einer der alten angefaulten Grundpfähle eingestürzt!

(7)

The hotel is in danger of losing its balance and sliding into the lake. It is, however, only an apocalypse en miniature, the hotel is rescued and the guests are transferred to a nearby retreat, whose proprietor is instantly at pains to install swastika flags and anti-Jewish slogans. With the "Seehotel Braunau", standing on rotten piles, the story - written in the early 1940s, at a time when the war was still in full swing and far from decided - provides Weiselberger's symbol of the doomed piling of the Third Reich.

"I fear we'll forget too soon" shares its transatlantic viewpoint with another short story by Weiselberger, "The Castle on the Hill". The seeming incompatibility for the witness of German 'Kultur' and barbarity in the Nazi era is approached in a different way. Whereas in the former text, the negotiation of the manipulation and brainwash of the masses, the de-individualization of the subject in the encompassing discourse of populist and nationalist ideology is located in a German living room, the latter text juxtaposes

German 'Kultur' with Nazi atrocities by the intermedial means of a painting from the 15th century.

Adrian Stonegate and his wife witness pre-war Nazi Germany themselves when the search for a legendary 15th century painting, possibly even a Matthias Gruenewald (Weiselberger, "The Castle on the Hill, 2), brings them to a Bavarian town where the painting is supposed to hang in an old castle. The pension at which they stay conveys the atmosphere of an almost pastoral idyll, the calm, friendly, folk Germany does not betray a trace of oppression anywhere. Lines of poems "by Heine and Rückert" (4) come to Adrian's mind. In order to attract attention when trying to enter the castle, he pulls the handle of an old well in front of the portal, situated "at the end of the linden lane". This evocation of the famous German folk song by Wilhelm Müller and Franz Schubert, "Am Brunnen vor dem Tore" does not, however, carry sweet dreams in its wake for Stonegate, but a dystopic vision shattering the idyllic surface of the visit, and certainly representing the harshest depiction of Nazi atrocity in Weiselberger's work. After overcoming almost Kafkaesque difficulties when attempting to enter the castle, he both finds the painting and - on hearing screams of tortured people - discovers that the castle also houses a concentration camp. The painting is not the expected Gruenewald, but a "Hieronymus Bosch plus Hellish Breughel [...] in naïve, crude manner" (9), filled with nightmarish scenes of explicit middle age torture. While inspecting the painting, he hears cries from a side wing of the castle. He is rushed out by the woman in charge, who had only reluctantly let him enter. Later on, Stonegate learns that the owner of the castle had been deported and that the Gestapo had confiscated the building. When inspecting the painting, "Stonegate heard the groaning of the Gestapo prisoners that at the same

time came out of the 15th century painting" (12): A dystopic vision, in which time collapses, linking it with suffering through the ages.

Weiselberger also presents possible constellations of Holocaust survivors in his work. His short story "Three Healers" uses the frame of an encounter of Stonegate with a Jewish exile, Dr. Goldberg, who wants to sell him a Rembrandt etching of the Amsterdam physician Ebrahim Bonus, one of the few objects the exile was able to save and "Hermann Göring did not 'acquire' for his collection" (2). The story deliberately evokes a number of parallels between the two doctors Goldberg and Bonus: their flight - Bonus was a Jewish refugee to Amsterdam from the persecutions in Portugal, thus the image of the wandering Jew is also indirectly alluded to (6) - and the two comparably open and tolerant points of refuge, Canada and Amsterdam as settings of religious tolerance and ethnic diversity. The autobiographical significance of the painting for the protagonist Goldberg is doubled when the meaning of the painting for the exile transcends the parallels between the Austrian and the Amsterdam 'healer', and is linked to a personal memory - which the exile shares with Stonegate - of Sigmund Freud, with whose portrait the painting has an uncanny resemblance.

Goldberg at first represents the traumatized Holocaust survivor, who, despite already being in secure Canada, "looked left and right, as if he did something 'verboten', as if the Gestapo or Hitler's stormtroopers were watching him" (2), recollecting the moment of the ultimate personal crisis before his flight. In Austria, after the Anschluss, in panic when trying to get a passport and terrified by the hardships he might face as an exile, he considers drowning himself. He evokes the dystopic vision of the blue Danube, once the symbol of

gay and cosmopolitan Vienna, in the text taking on a new and opposite meaning by turning into a symbol of the silenced/muted masses of the innocently murdered, "filled with the blood of the persecuted, the victims of the storm-troopers, deported to the concentration camps of Dachau and Buchenwald" (9). While he is still waiting in line to get his travel documents, it is the example of the 80-year-old Sigmund Freud, who is also applying for a passport and thus not backing away in the face of an insecure future, which helps Goldberg to persevere and remain in line, an instance of 'invisible' solidarity in adverse situations. This brings the survivor to Canada, where he overcomes the hardships of exile and starts practising medicine again, thus managing to begin anew.

The stories which directly aim at presenting the interior perspective of a survivor of a concentration camp, "The Joys of Life" and the German "Der Zeuge (als Angeklagter)" remained fragments, and are little more than sketches of unwritten tales. In the former, the strongly traumatised young protagonist, a young Jewish artist who has just escaped, shows Stonegate his paintings of concentration camps and bombed cities, displaying an artistry that impresses Stonegate so that he encourages him to continue. When he finally visits Stonegate again after months, the young artist has, to his astonishment, produced only peaceful paintings of "the joys of life". On hearing that his whole family was murdered in a concentration camp, he had turned away from depicting the gruesome realities he had witnessed, thus displaying the utter impossibility of the traumatized to confront the atrocities with the aesthetic means of art any longer.

A similarly traumatized survivor is the nameless protagonist of the less fragmentary German text "Der Zeuge (als Angeklagter)". It consists in part of passages

which are already complete and in part of mere ideas for a plot. Here, Weiselberger presents a Holocaust survivor many years after the Shoah. He is summoned as a witness to the trial of a former guard in a concentration camp. In a nightmarish reversal, he is treated as if in the dock himself, whereas the defendant is set free due to lack of evidence. The borders between reality and imagination are blurred: he who has come to the trial from far away is seemingly treated with hostility by everyone he encounters. He feels haunted by an inexplicable guilt; the story ends with the seemingly absurd exclamation "Entschuldigen Sie, dass ich noch lebe!" (2). It is a fragmentary, yet remarkable testimony both to the psychological situation of many survivors with regard to those who had perished, and to a society which often showed itself indifferent, even hostile towards the survivors of the Shoah.

3. Reconstructing collective and family history: Eric Koch

Eric Koch also devoted a substantial part of his creative energies in his writing towards developments in Germany leading to Nazi Germany, which includes aspects which can be approached under the chiffre "Holocaust Literature". What makes his writing a special case here is that all his imaginative approaches towards the history of his former home country are published with a remarkable distance in time to the actual events: *Hilmar and Odette* appeared in 1995, *The Man Who Knew Charlie Chaplin. A Novel about the Weimar Republic* in 2000, and the largely autobiographical *I Remember The Location Exactly* in 2006. Whereas his first novel *The French Kiss*, published in 1961, is set in Canada and at least partly in the then 'here and now', and also his next two novels

The Leisure Riots (1973) and *The Last Thing I Want to Know* (1976) do not betray Koch's double/European socialization, all his works since the mid-1990s are transatlantic movements back in time, revisiting the collective and, most recently, his individual past.

In the context of Holocaust fiction I will only briefly allude to Koch's novel *The Man Who Knew Charlie Chaplin* and the fictionalized memoir *I Remember The Location Exactly* (which Koch refers to as a collection of short stories) and a specific narrative element both share. Koch's *Hilmar and Odette*, however, shall be read here as a piece of Holocaust writing bearing witness to the divergent fates of two 'Half-Jews', to both of whom Eric Koch is related.

The Man Who Knew Charlie Chaplin (2000) shares striking structural features in perspective, time frame, and partly narrative technique with Henry Kreisel's *The Rich Man* (1948), written more than half a century earlier. A transatlantic perspective is provided by an earlier immigrant to North America who goes back to the capital of his former home country (here Berlin) and acts as reflector-character and first person narrator of the political constellations shortly before Hitler comes to power. In comparison with Kreisel's novel, however, Koch's novel is the portrayal of an actual 'Rich Man', the fictional Peter Hammersmith.¹⁸² The protagonist is the - unquestioned - embodiment of the American Dream, an immigrant from Germany in 1914, who becomes a Wall Street millionaire within two years upon arrival. Blessed with an uncanny anticipation of the developments of the stock market, he befriends politicians, artists, and influential personalities of the day on both sides of the Atlantic, even then president Herbert Hoover.

¹⁸² In the "Author's Note" at the beginning of the novel, Koch states that Hammersmith is loosely based upon the German-American tycoon Otto H. Kahn.

Narratively, Koch constructs assumed historical 'authority' and immediacy by 'compiling' excerpts of Peter's diary and notes linked by short passages of authorial narration, which mostly provide cultural and social contexts of the separate entries. The reason for Hammersmith's brief return to Berlin is the attempt to find out about the political undercurrents in Germany at the time. By chance, he stumbles across an early copy of Hitler's *Mein Kampf*. Highly disturbed by its contents and potential to infatuate the masses, he discloses his misgivings to the US-president, and is commissioned to go to Berlin to find out about the danger Hitler poses. There he meets a number of influential people of the Weimar Republic, among them the US ambassador to Germany Jacob Gould Schurman, Hjalmar Schlacht, Hitler's Minister of Economics to be, Bernhard Weiss, the vice-president of the Berlin police and main target of Goebbel's anti-Semitic paper *Der Angriff* in the Weimar Republic, but also Albert Einstein and the writers Kurt Tucholsky and Ernst Toller. These meetings are narrated as diary entries and notes. Unlike Kreisel, Koch does not focus on the 'kleinen Leute', marginal and outside the power structures; his book is a panoply of big names of the Weimar Republic.

I will briefly come back to the novel in the final chapter, especially to this aspect in context of the publication of the book for a Canadian audience. For the discussion here, one structural means within the narrative is relevant. Neither the passages of auctorial narration nor the diary entries leave the realm of the time narrated - the few weeks in October and November 1929 in which Peter Hammersmith's visit to Berlin is staged - or allow themselves to prefigure in any way what

is to come. Koch refrains from "backshadowing"¹⁸³ and does not create a world for which Nazi Germany or the Holocaust is the only possible outcome. The often intimate portrayals of the interlocutors of the protagonist emerging from the diary entries and the notes, however, are followed by sparse commentaries - "The Record" - provided by a fictitious editor of the testimonial. It is here, in a few lines for each, that the reality of what was to come is evoked: Tucholsky's suicide in his Stockholm exile, Kurt von Schleicher's assassination during the 'night of the long knives' in 1934, Bernhard Weiss's flight to and exile in London, Ernst Toller's suicide in his New York exile in 1939. This highly effective method is also employed in *I Remember The Location Exactly*, where Koch evokes memories of specific acquaintances or relatives of his and brings them alive in short vignettes or scenes. In the chapter "Shock Treatment", he reminisces on his beloved elementary school teacher Karl Beicht. After a little story about a pedagogical method Beicht uses, showing his humaneness and understanding, two final lines comment: "We did not find out until after the war that Karl Beicht [...] was Jewish. He perished in Auschwitz." (Koch, *Location*, 45).

The book in which Eric Koch focuses most strongly on Nazi Germany and the Holocaust is *Hilmar and Odette. Two stories from the Nazi era*, arguably his most successful publication. It has been translated into Chinese and German and was awarded the Yad Vashem Prize for Holocaust Writing in 1996. The compelling but barely classifiable text, which mainly deals with the craziness and inherent absurdity of Nazi race laws, is a tale of recreating the

¹⁸³ The term is taken from Norman Ravvin, "Introduction", *The Rich Man*, 9.

past of formerly unknown relatives of Eric Koch, his half sister and the nephew of his stepfather, and relates the drastically different fates of these two 'Half-Jews' in the Third Reich, both of whom were born as illegitimate children. Odette is the child of a love affair in 1911 between the German saleslady Emmy Harold and Otto Koch, the later father of Eric Koch. The Kochs, a very wealthy Jewish family, hush up the affair, a friend of the family, the gentile Baron von Maucler, marries Emmy and brings up the child as his own. That her father was actually Jewish is kept secret during the years 1933 to 1945, even from herself. Hilmar is the child of the sister of Eric Koch's stepfather, Emil Netter, who was also conceived out of wedlock, but given up for adoption. He is raised by an indifferent foster mother, and his Jewish origin cannot be concealed in the crucial years. Hilmar dies in Mauthausen, whereas Odette, oblivious to the fact that she is Jewish, marries the freelance writer and editor Hans Arens, and even entertains members of a certain Nazi bohème in her Berlin salon.

Rather than straightforwardly presenting these two divergent fates during the Nazi era, Koch in *Hilmar and Odette* also writes the story of his own investigation into these two lives, in such a way that the text becomes a testimonial written by a member of the successor generation. The juxtaposition of these two lives from the Third Reich between which the text moves back and forth, creates a third one, namely the description of how Eric Koch comes to terms with them. Numerous details of the two lives necessarily remain speculation, and the text invites the reader to join the process of filling these blanks with potential meaning. Koch actively engages the reader and himself in the process, once suggesting a possible answer, then refraining from doing so (e.g. 38).

Koch juxtaposes the two tales in alternating chapters. There is frequent change of narration and the usage of different forms: while Koch always uses first person in the reflective passages and leaves no doubt as to its being his own voice, long passages of dialogue and historical material, such as the montage of passages from memoirs written before and after the Third Reich (e.g. 25, 27, 31), and original letters, among them a chapter consisting of Hilmar's letters from the various prisons and concentration camps he is incarcerated (176-186), abound.

At times, a passage of a short historical treatise is introduced to establish a cultural background for the narrative. Thus, besides the narrative gaps in the bridging of which the reader is actively engaged, the method Koch applies for the re-creation of these two lives at the center of the narrative - and its non-definitive character - becomes as much the focus of the story as 'Hilmar' and 'Odette' themselves. This meta-textual level makes the text, which constantly and self-reflexively questions itself, provisional in its creation of meaning. The narrator tackles this issue in the epilogue, without offering the finality of a single - or any - answer:

"But what does the book tell us? I first thought that the answer was obvious: that ignorance is bliss. Odette did not know that she was half-Jewish, never found out, and lived a happy life. Hilmar did know, and had to die.

[...]

None of these theories make much sense. In short, I do not know what the book is about, other than that no word can adequately describe the Nazi race laws and the way they were carried out. (221)

Hilmar and Odette is not a book of history or of pure non-fiction, nor is it a book of fiction or outright memory writing. It becomes a journey of historical and

personal discovery and of family history, a history from bottom-up, which exemplarily attempts to approach larger cultural and political constellations, such as the race laws and their unsystematic enactment. In its early chapters, which reflect on the lives of the two fathers, Emil Netter and Otto Koch, two wealthy Jewish merchants in the first decades of the twentieth century, it also becomes a portrayal of highly assimilated Jewish life, very different to the Jewish world in Kreisel's *The Rich Man*. The portrayal of these two figures, Emil Netter and Otto Koch, brings to the Canadian literary landscape two representatives of a highly assimilated Jewish upper class in pre-1933 Germany, members of which attempted to be more German than the Germans with regard to humanist education and morals, and who were often only confronted with their own Jewishness in the situation of rising anti-Semitism. In a very individual and tragic constellation, this is mirrored in Hilmar's fate, who until his late teens did not even know about his ethnic Jewishness (74).

Finally, the text reveals different degrees of collaboration and resistance. The main plot of the Hilmar story is told by his gentile fiancée, who, despite his being Jewish, wants to marry him during the Third Reich, and stays with him. Hers becomes the story of personal resistance against the racial discourse of the Nazi ideology (69), whereas Hilmar's foster mother, once she finds out he is Jewish, does not support him but wants to get rid of him instead. Chapter 17, "The Letters", introduced by a Primo Levi quote from *Survival in Auschwitz*, incorporates four of Hilmar's letters to his fiancée and his mother. Without commentary, it brings concentration camp experience unmitigated to Canada (175-186). This is juxtaposed by letters written by Odette's husband and a close acquaintance, Hans Hinkel, who in

1944 writes about the role of the writer in the Third Reich: "Every poet must become a Hitler fanatic, just like every cobbler, tailor, soldier and munitions worker. Anyone who fails, I mean who fails your plan, fails to face the future" (168). Such passages become testimonies to the slavish, as if drug-induced obedience to the 'Führer', especially in the last years of the war.

4. Inner Landscapes: Charles and Jakob Wassermann

In Charles Wassermann's published work, negotiations of the Holocaust are conspicuously missing. Although in his creative writing the use of autobiographical material is equally strong, his novels *Nacht der Hellen Stunden* and *Der Journalist* focus on the time after WWII, mostly on his experiences as a radio and TV journalist and - in the latter - on his blindness contracted via an extreme case of food poisoning in 1961. Significantly, Wassermann's imaginative writing was published and intended for a German (speaking) book market, for which in the 1950s and 1960s writers of the former inner emigration were still dominating. Interest in the works and topics of exile writers had not yet gained momentum on a larger scale. In his work as a radio journalist and Eastern European correspondent for the CBC, he visited Germany and Austria in the early fifties and reported about them for a Canadian audience. In these radio scripts, the Shoah and related topics are hardly ever alluded to. Austria is portrayed as a victim, post-war Germany as a nation that courageously carries its burden. This stands in contrast to Weiselberger's and Kreisel's strong preoccupation with topics concerning Nazi Germany and the ensuing catastrophe not only in their creative writing: Weiselberger, for instance, published a number of articles in the *Ottawa Citizen* in the forties and

fifties which dealt with Nazi Germany (See "Jewish Worlds").

Still, one early text by Wassermann, "The Inner Landscape", written in the later 1940s, shows an attempt to use personal testimony of the respective years, namely an act of early resistance by his father to speak out against the danger of totalitarianism.

Wassermann's "The Inner Landscape" gives a narrative account of a speech his father Jakob Wassermann was invited to deliver at a theatre in Munich for an audience of students in the year 1932, one year before Hitler's NSDAP came to power in Germany. Written in the late forties, the short, highly dramatic text of about 3000 words is told from the perspective of the eyewitness Charles Wassermann, only ten years of age at the time of its delivery.

The talk given by Jacob Wasserman can be compared to the speeches the German novelist Ernst Wiechert delivered in university auditoria in Munich in 1933 and 1935, where he strongly opposed the then current regime and stressed the importance of independence of thought (Wiechert, 62). Although these speeches were a tremendous success, he was consequently proscribed and banned from speaking by the authorities in the Third Reich, eventually even sent to a concentration camp in 1938. Jakob Wassermann was spared a similar fate by his premature death in 1934 in Styria, Austria.

In 1949, Wassermann was at pains to get the piece published in the *Reader's Digest* and when this failed, in the *New Yorker Magazine*. His letters to the prospective publishers of "The Inner Landscape" display his great anxiety: expressing his fear that history may repeat itself in Germany, he urges the printing of the text. It becomes apparent that Wassermann tried to get "The Inner Landscape" published as an important textual witness of

inner emigration and of one specific act of resistance. Furthermore, the incident described must have been of high relevance for the current situation for him, serving as the main incentive to get the text published:

In view of the fact that right now it is becoming increasingly evident that - though perhaps with different labels - history may well be repeating itself in Germany, and because it appears that every aspect of this story seems once again true and applicable today...

(Wassermann, Letter to the
Reader's Digest)

Even more explicit and urgent in tone, his letter to the *New Yorker Magazine* displays his strong conviction that it was of vital, even prophetic importance to make his account of his father's speech shortly before the advent of the Third Reich accessible to a post-war readership:

That time he was there to fight the beginnings of the disaster, and he fought the battle. But, as he said, 'it cost too much'. Today, with the same thing happening again, he isn't there to give battle. But somebody must do it: Today it may not be too late, as it was in 1932, and it may not cost too much. There surely is just as much need for 'an inner landscape' among young people as there was seventeen years ago.

(Wassermann, Letter to the *New Yorker*)

In its form the text is clearly intended for the readership of a newspaper or journal, displaying Charles Wassermann's attempt to reach as large an audience as possible. Written from his perspective of the year 1949, but obviously drawing on his impressions and recollections as a small boy, he introduces the story by referring to a photo he saw in several North American newspapers showing German university students "in the varied positions of a good fist fight" (1). This photo serves as a thematic and symbolic link between the present of post-war Germany and the past of the advent of

Nazi Germany, when he had once seen another crowd of German students not "actually rioting at the time, but [...] gathered for that express purpose" (1). The remark that his father might easily have been killed in the course of the event is clearly made in order to arouse the interest and tension of a Sunday afternoon readership.

After this thematic introduction, Wassermann describes his father, his impressive way of talking, and his charismatic personality, which made him a sought-after speaker in many countries. The beginning of the main plot sets in with the arrival of an invitation to speak in front of students in Munich. Contrasted by scenes which provide a vivid insight into their domestic surroundings in Altaussee and the household of a prominent novelist struggling with the delineation of one of the characters of the novel he is writing on, the readers are drawn into the ensuing discussion and final acceptance of the invitation.

The signs of the looming danger for the speaker Wassermann and his family, who accompany him to Munich, are already present on the train from Salzburg to their destination. A young crowd of "about thirty men in brightly colored sports shirts and shorts and white woollen socks" (7), apparently a group of the 'Hitlerjugend', walks through the train, boasting and shouting anti-Semitic threats and songs: "When Jewish blood splashes from the knife" (7). The narrator does not notice any reaction on the part of his father except his upright posture and direct gaze at the young men passing their compartment.

The narrative releases some of its tension with the description of their arrival in Munich and the friendly welcome by friends. It is only in the morning of the day of the announced speech that they discover the headline

of the *Völkischer Beobachter*, the party paper of the NSDAP: "How Long Will Germany Tolerate the Provocations of Men Like Jakob Wassermann?" (8). Friends and even the impresario for the evening try to make Wassermann cancel the speech, especially because plans for a demonstration by the Nazis have become known; monosyllabically, he refuses. Here, a change of pace of narrative is noticeable; passages with direct speech become increasingly frequent, alternating with acute descriptions of his father's silent but steady reactions, expressing his will to speak to the students - narrated time and narrative time approximating each other. The imminent danger of the situation is underlined when they see the large crowd of students in front of the theatre, carrying brown paper bags with rotten eggs and tomatoes, and when they learn that only five constables have been ordered to keep an assembly of 1500 students under control.

The great eruption of violence, however, fails to materialise. In a 'cave of the lion' situation, Jakob Wassermann manages by his aura and appearance to silence the singing and roaring crowds. His positive charisma, which calms down the students, is acutely described and serves as an example of positive influence as opposed to Hitler's demonic seduction of the masses. The key phrase of his speech, namely 'the inner landscape' is reminiscent of the Schnitzlerian *Das weite Land*. In his talk - the main thoughts of which are presented in direct speech - Wassermann talks about the necessity of imaginative thought for the young at a time of social and political upheaval, which may dangerously suggest easy and radical solutions for the current problems:

I often see young men before me [...] who are destroyed within. Behind them is a war, before them is social chaos. To the right they see the nationalist, to the left the communist...But what I

notice above all in men such as these is the sickening state of the imagination. [...] I will never cease to tell them: 'imagine what you say, imagine it exactly, do not judge rashly, imagine your opinions first, imagine them within you, learn to despise opinions which are not backed by imaginative thought.' This is the inner landscape we must develop, this is the life in the spirit. And I call spirit: everything that has to do with love and everything that has to do with form...

(11)

The talk is finally acclaimed by the students, and becomes a great victory for Wassermann; the text closes, however, with his remark: "It cost too much" (12). The position of man as a spiritual and rational being, basing his or her opinions and decisions on thorough thought rather than on impulse, is in opposition to the purely political activist, whose actions are not determined by the spirit, by love or form. In this thought one might discover an allusion to the Aristotelian 'anima corporis forma', though a real interpretation of Wassermann's speech, especially in this short quote of the then barely ten-year-old Charles Wassermann, must remain somewhat vague.

What makes "The Inner Landscape" especially interesting and valuable is that the text is one of the rare occasions where inner and outer emigration (i.e., exile) meet, one (Jakob Wassermann's resistance) being the object of representation of the other (Charles Wassermann's writing in Canada and attempting to get it published as a political act). Besides, it is a text which could vividly have brought to life the historical determinants of Germany before the regime of the Nazis to a North American post-war public, given Charles Wassermann's wish for publication had been met. Like Kreisler's *The Rich Man* and Koch's *The Man Who Knew Charlie Chaplin*, it underlines the importance of literary

representations of the immediate pre-Holocaust phase in
Canadian exile writing.

8. Writing Exile

*I have been away from
"home" so long that it has
become a thought in between
quotation marks.*¹⁸⁴

The following chapter will look at numerous creative and journalistic works of Weiselberger, Kreisel, and also at one short story of Peter Heller in the context of exile, which in a broad sense negotiate experiences and consequences of a rupture with one's original culture. Both Eric Koch and Charles Wassermann will also be discussed, especially in the contexts of exile and language, but none of their texts are included in the subchapters here. In many investigations of exile literatures from different historical constellations, recurrent tropes of exile literature have been isolated, such as a strong incorporation of autobiographical material, negotiations of spatial and linguistic estrangement, of protagonists who are at the margin of society and isolated from any community. Many of these tropes abound in the works of the authors concerned, specifically in the works of Weiselberger and Kreisel. It is significant that this is not confined to the writing produced during the years of internment. The experience and ramifications of exile also remain relevant for works written many years after the internment, and long after what needs to be seen as a second socialization in Canada, in representations of which the focus on the personal success story is usually prevalent (Kreisel becoming an eminent scholar, Weiselberger an influential Arts critic, Wassermann and Koch important media persons), accentuating their "new Canadianness" above the influence of their experience of involuntary exile which

¹⁸⁴ Carl Weiselberger, "How do you like Canada?" *Evening Citizen*, 29 January 1949.

brought them to Canada. The latter, however, so decidedly haunts many of their works, regardless of the time of their cultural production. This chapter will undertake investigations of linguistic and spatial estrangement and identity in connection with exile. It will be complemented with the less focused upon issue of the relation of the notions of time and exile, to open up perspectives on dialectical positions in their cultural production.¹⁸⁵

The cultural production reflecting the experience in the internment camps, both internment writing and writing on the internment - writing in limbo and writing limbo - will also be focused upon in this chapter. Living behind barbed wire shut off from one's former home, in an alien country with which one's only contact is with the guards whose orders one has to follow, needs to be read as a particularly strong instance of exile as loss of agency. My reading of texts written during internment will especially focus on their negotiations of this loss of agency, and ensuing negotiations of fragility and fragmentedness of identity and self.

The chapter will also focus on texts written after the internment, and on texts which do not represent the experience of internment, i.e. when these writers already enjoyed Canadian citizenship and had undergone various stages within an individual acculturation process. In their works, this is (seemingly paradoxically) contrasted with different aspects of (the) exile, and with experiences related to the situation of exile as recurrent elements. It is the existence of topics and narrative selves negotiating manifold issues related to the experienced exile in their works which makes it impossible to classify their cultural production in

¹⁸⁵ The investigation of exile in connection with the notion of time is especially indebted to Sophia McClellan's *Dialectics of Exile*.

chronological categories, or in temporal phases, or according to fixed labels such as 'exile', 'after-exile', 'ethnic', or even 'assimilated literature' (whatever that would signify in a Canadian literary context). It thus entails the application of exile as a fluid concept.¹⁸⁶

The exile of these writers and their literary representations escape a binary logic of being either free of the limitations of the (former) nation or locality and embracing the new on the one hand, or being profoundly nostalgic and solely turned backward, directed at the lost home or nation on the other. The exiles' work in its respective entirety, and even many texts in themselves, go into both directions or often occupy positions *in between*. In view of the authors' representations and approximations, exile can neither be perceived as exclusively liberating, nor is it exclusively negotiated as stifling and paralysing for the narrative self and individual alike. My readings of the crucial texts in this chapter intend to show the productivity, if not necessity, of using the chiffre of exile as profoundly shaping many of their texts.¹⁸⁷

Their texts produced at a time before the collapse of the Third Reich were written in the internment camps, thus in a situation of imprisonment - even if at the hand of the liberators and war enemies of Germany. Thus, whereas in investigations of other exiled writers from Germany or of works of the inner emigration, strategies of protest and their productivity as committed literature - *la littérature engagé* - are often investigated, this does not come to the fore in the works of the Canadian exile writers owing to their actual situation of double

¹⁸⁶ This is exemplified in chapters three and four, especially in its positioning within and between cultures, and its situative affiliation to different ethnic affiliations.

¹⁸⁷ Arguably, Charles Wassermann can be seen as an exception here, as discussed in the chapter "Wassermann - Austrian Canadian cosmopolitanism", 202ff.

exile and the impossibility of publishing. For the texts written in the camps, this makes for a particular narrative position: apart from the open question of a/the potential audience, the acceptance is inscribed in the texts that they will only be - if at all - published when internment, and in all likelihood the war, have come to an end. Thus, the aspect of testimony, of bearing witness, and the focus on the personal become far more vital in the cultural production during the time of internment, whereas the impetus to raise resistance is non-existent.

For the writers in the Canadian exile, the situation in the limbo of the Canadian internment is the phase in which the experience of exile is almost entirely equivalent to its negative connotations such as uprootedness, pain, and the loss of previous determinants integral for their identity construction. In exile, and even more in the situation of internment, individuals are thrown back on themselves; becoming the only potential constituent to rely on, the notion of self is at the same time liable to become endangeringly uncertain and fragmentary. In the internment story "Der Mann mit den tausend Gesichtern", Weiselberger's protagonist Chameleoni (!) loses himself behind his various masks. When he successfully escapes from the internment camp in the disguise of a Canadian camp worker, freedom outside barbed wire becomes the shocking realization of the evaporation of self. The camp, a site of confinement and rigidity, paradoxically also becomes the only place where the internee's identity is asserted in the transatlantic exile, whereas the Canada outside the frontiers of the camp is the utterly unknown.

With its manifold formative impacts, the decisive importance of the years in Canadian internment for all the writers concerned here is acknowledged in many

autobiographical comments by almost all of them, even if written at different periods of time. This is even more the case in their creative and, in Weiselberger's case, also journalistic writing. Attempts at recording this experience at the time, and a re-creation of life in the camps in retrospect are characteristic of all of them, with the significant exception of Charles Wassermann. For the Japanese internment in Canada, Joy Kogawa's *Obasan* (1981) has become the quintessential creative account by which this historical incident of Japanese Canadian discrimination entered the larger Canadian consciousness. A creative account, however, of the camp experience of the Jewish internees in Canada, has never been written. Early on, Weiselberger planned a collection of short stories about the many divergent experiences in the camps, relying on many of the stories he had already written during internment, but abandoned the idea.¹⁸⁸ In the late 1940s, he set his hopes for this task on Henry Kreisel, expressing this wish in a rave review of Kreisel's first novel in the *Ottawa Citizen* "The Rich Man: A Christmas Miracle", which appeared December 24, 1948:

[Kreisel] is now lecturing English at the University of Alberta and he published a book hailed by critics with superlatives of praise - he, the boy from Vienna, the fugitive, the "enemy alien"!

Perhaps Henry Kreisel will some day describe his own picturesque life as a refugee in Britain and in Canada - how in New Brunswick, escorted by a grim corporal, he marched, an axe

¹⁸⁸ "Aus einem seinerzeit geplanten Buch: "Die Internierten": Ein Menschenmischmasch aus „modernen“ deutschen, österreichischen Juden, „orthodoxen“ Jeshiwe, Bochern, Rabbis, deutschen Seeleuten von der Wasserkante, ein paar Italiener (inkl. der kleine tenante Levi aus Venezia, der sich als „refugee“ bekannte). „Enemy aliens“, doppelte Opfer Hitlers und des over-eager, panicky English Home Office)...darunter ein Wiener Journalist, dem ein Tischler aus Laa um 10 Cents einen Tisch baut, auf dem er, noch unter dem Eindruck der schrecklichen Erlebnisse auf einer uralten Remington-Maschine Geschichten wie „Der Stürmer“ hinhaut.“ (Weiselberger, "Die Internierten", 1)

on his shoulder, out to the forest to cut trees, how he shoveled the soldiers' huts out of the snow or dug, knee-deep in the mud. Memories from his own "pioneering days" in Canada! A live novel richer in color, movement, action, than any one by Balsac and Tolstoy, so rich in fact that the writer's pen hesitates to lock in paper what is so strong and vigorous in reality, and where no formative fantasy is required since life itself has already formed every line and chapter.

But Henry Kreisel is young and a born storyteller: perhaps he will give us some day the Odyssey of a refugee in Canada between camps, committees, immigration offices; the Dantesque Inferno of red tape and suspicion; of living in crowded wooden huts with double beds among unhappy, nervous, irritated prisoners, teasing, fighting, snoring human animals, now hysterically hilarious, now dropping back into despair, suffering from that paradoxical twilight "status" of "enemy aliens" who pray for their "enemies'" victory because Hitler's defeat is a question of life and death for the homeless!

What a book this could be...!

In this exalted praise, one might read Weiselberger's own pessimistic feelings and doubts as to whether he himself would be up to the task, when alluding to the youth of Kreisel as a hope that he might record their collective experience. Weiselberger was already approaching the age of fifty at the time. The allusion to the "writer's pen [which] hesitates to lock in paper what is so strong and vigorous in reality" might be self-referential. In any case, it is the expression of his urgent wish to have their experience in internment and beyond recorded, testifying to the enormity of their experience and its formative power.

Additionally, Weiselberger's article is an early expression of the hardships and injustice the innocent refugees faced: the negative experience of internment, when their "pioneering days" in Canada consisted of

digging the huts of the prison wards, their feet locked in the Canadian soil, confronted with a Canada that showed its ugliest face to the internees.

1. Troubled self in exile

The internment as a double exile has been alluded to before. It is also the situation of exile in extremis, when temporal, spatial, cultural, and linguistic determinants fall apart. In particular Weiselberger, but also Peter Heller, negotiates the experience of internment with protagonists who experience threatening notions of the self, leading to the loss of self or suicide.

In Weiselberger's stories set in the internment camps, the crisis of identity of a troubled self in exile is the recurrent element and this crisis of identity as a result of exile is a topic he was also to take up time and again in his later writing. For protagonists who cannot relate to themselves any longer but are confronted with a dissolving identity, the trope of the loss of face is frequent. The red-haired Jew in "The Storm-Trooper" loses his face in the dystopic vision taken away by the exposing photographer, and flees with his head in heavy bandage. Hans Walter, the interned protagonist of an untitled internment story, experiences a disembodiment in which not only his face but his hand and his name become alien to him. When he mentions that he can travel outside the camp with the help of a magic mask, he is mocked and even attacked by other younger internees:

Walter war aufgestanden. Er streifte den Schmutz von seinem Ärmel, von der Hose. [...] Er hatte einen bitteren Geschmack im Munde. Und der Geruch fremder Hände, die an seinem Gesicht waren. Er griff, in plötzlichem Schreck, nach diesem Gesicht. Ob es noch da war? Ob sie es nicht mitgenommen hatten? Die alte Angst, sein Gesicht zu verlieren!, [sic] war eben furchtbar. Einige Herzschräge lang war es, als

ob er kein Gesicht mehr hatte, sondern einen leeren verschwommenen Fleck da oben. Dann trittete er über den braunen Weg, hinter den Lagerhütten, bis er zu der eigenen kam. Er legte sich auf die Matratze seines Bettes und zog die Decke über das Leere, das neue Nichtgesicht... ("Untitled" [Hans Walter Story], 19)

In the protagonist the wish to escape with the help of the mask, thus with an assumed face, is already a sign of the pathological self-alienation he experiences in the internment camp, which represents an inhuman space, "einen engen Drahtkäfig" (7), whose confinement dehumanizes everyone inside - the "700 Menschentiere" (7), wearing the same internment overalls - a situation in which only each internee's individual face is outside proof of his individuality. After the attack quoted above, in which the fellow internees rob him of his imaginary mask - symbol both of the impossibility of wearing one's own face in the precarious and identity-threatening situation of internment, but, equally important, of the internees's privacy and dignity, which is brutally taken away from him by the younger internees who act within and according to the dehumanizing system of internment - the crisis of identity becomes apparent. Just as in "Der Stürmer", the dehumanizing forces of the inhuman conditions affect both the aggressors and those attacked:

[...] Er stand, wenn auch nicht wie dies die anderen taten, ganz dicht am Stacheldraht, die wie gefangene Tiere auf die Besucher lugten, die in den Zoo kommen, er hielt sich etwas ferner, und sie wirkten auf ihn nur wie ein farbiges, impressionistisches Bild aus unwirklichen Farbtupfen, hinterm Drahtschleier. [...] Ja, unwirklich war das alles. Besonders, da etwas mit seinem Gesicht nicht stimmte.

(21)

One day one of the internees is missing. Significantly, it is the only internee with whom he has developed a friendship, a young, sensitive adolescent also called Hans Walter. When the tragedy unfolds and the news that the young internee is dead, ironically killed during a car accident on the occasion of his first trip outside the camp with a Canadian family - prospective sponsors to help him with his release from internment - the tragic loss of the young exile becomes synonymous for the internee with the loss of his own self:

Wohin? Hans Walter, Hans Wal-ter, sagte er sich
- wer? Welcher? Und stürzte in die tote
Sinnlosigkeit dieses Namens hinein.
Weiterleben? Gegen den Stacheldraht anrennen?
Ein Mann fehlt. Welcher?

(23)

Such a dissolution of identity transplanted to a non-exile context appears in "The Quick-Change Artist" (Weiselberger, *Bridges*, 39-46), a short story written much later. At a time when Weiselberger had already started using English also for his creative purposes, he returns to the face hiding between masks, becoming a non-face. The story, also related to "Internee Julius Caesar" (Weiselberger, *Auswahl*, 74-83) and constituting a strong variation of "Der Mann mit den tausend Gesichtern" (Weiselberger, *Auswahl*, 84-99), is about an internee who entertains his fellow internees with his ability to appear in different roles. One day he escapes from the camp in the disguise of an assumed role, but outside the camp he feels completely lost and alienated from himself.

The story starts with the description of a surrealist painting called the Quick-Change Artist. It is the portrait of a man with many faces but no real one. The main part of the story presents a dinner conversation between the painter Frank Nichols and the reflector-character, a gallerist who wants to know the story behind

the painting. Nichols slowly develops the story of "Roletti, the Man with a Hundred Faces" (40), who once featured in the same vaudeville theatre in which Nichols himself appeared as a portraitist doing sketches in a few seconds. While Nichols is narrating the story of Roletti, he is himself described by his own actions and likened to Roletti. Nichols is constantly looking into the mirror with a "sudden grin on his empty face [...] a face as uncharacteristic as that of the quick-change artist in the picture" (39). Nichols and Roletti blend, and whether they are one and the same remains open, but it is likely, strengthening also the image of the dissolving self.

Roletti can no longer find his own face among the manifold camouflages and roles he assumes, and experiences a crisis of identity. In a train station, Roletti meets a girl he describes as "far too calm and quiet to be used for a quick-change act." (42). But he is attracted to her for different reasons:

That quiet young woman on the bench over there was different. She was real. Just plain real. And for that reason my fearful, haunted eyes hung on her firmly, tried to suck themselves onto her firm, solid, well-shaped hands. Had she not said in the train that she was travelling to a farm, or something like that? [...] But her voice, pronouncing the name of her village, built a cool white house before my eyes, a house of stone where one was safe from ghosts. There were barns nearby, fields, fruit trees, stables with animals [...].

(43)

To him, Roletti, she appears to be real, at one with herself. Signifier and signified are not contested when she speaks, for her, there are stable connections between appearance and being (apparent when she talks about her village). This is something Roletti lacks and - more significantly - misses. Via these characters, the text inscribes the opposition between the (post-)modern

identity / the incoherence of the subject and the subject which finds itself in a stable and encompassing society code, and which is therefore untroubled by fragmentedness. So, the negotiation of the notion of identity and the breakdown of a constructive/constructed self of the protagonist is here also displayed in the relation between language and identity. Postmodern notions of identity appear with the help of the multiple identities alluded to in the figure of the quick-change artist as an instance of the ludic postmodern. The protagonist, however, ultimately displays a longing for a modern, (or rather premodern), stable and coherent identity. The story shows how the topos of loss of identity in Weiselberger's writing remained a productive one, even when transformed and taken out of the immediate context of internment and exile.

In postmodern representations the fragmented identity is frequently used to refer to identity as devoid of a core that can be essentialized. It becomes a liberating means and also repeatedly one of empowerment, as a "means to challenge the social system" (McClennen, 213). The idea of the fragmented identity as something empowering or intrinsically positive, however, is conspicuously absent in the representations discussed above. Fragmentation of self is always equivalent to existential loss of self and thus of agency. Significantly, and postmodern positive views of fragmented identity notwithstanding, this is not uncommon in exile literature written at the close of the twentieth century either, and thus does not necessarily indicate a pre-modern position possibly negotiated by Weiselberger's text. In *Dialectics of Exile*, McClennen for instance refers to a text by Ariel Dorfman, which depicts a faceless man without a name who can also adapt to different situations: "With his unstable identity [he] is

able to blend into any cultural context, but the experience of the faceless man is that such ability leaves him, like an exile, always outside and never a member of a group." (212) Here, as well as in Weiselberger's texts, fragmentation of identity does not lead to postmodern empowerment but rather to a radical questioning of the individual's free will (McClennen, 213-14).

In Weiselberger's "Kain und Abel in Kanada" (*Auswahl*, 63-73), another story written and set in a Canadian internment camp, the protagonists are two writers in exile who represent divergent poles of exile, as either a re-affirmation of the creative powers (Abel) or the loss of one's self due to the loss of one's creativity (Kain). In the prototypical figure Abel, the dilemma of the exile does find a solution in the affirmation of his free will to start again, whereas Kain cannot re-connect. Although set in an internment camp, the story thus negotiates a core dilemma of any exiled writer, transcending the particular historical, autobiographical constellation when the conflict between the two, with its reformulation of the biblical story, is a quid pro quo for the individual exile writer's struggle within himself.¹⁸⁹

Weiselberger takes up this dilemma in "Die Zauberinsel" (*Auswahl*, 111-122), a story written but not set in a Canadian internment camp. The protagonist Ernst, a stranded exile, is washed ashore on a paradisiacal island seemingly offering everything that can soothe and make him forget the burdens of his flight from a country that had turned hostile against its own people. This ideal refuge, however, which first let him forget all

¹⁸⁹ For a close reading of the story, see the chapter "Time in Exile".

former hardships and dangers, suddenly becomes unreal for him and he experiences a profound loss of identity. As if for the first time, he realizes the separation from his language and culture, and experiences an existential crisis.

In the story, the protagonist's growing awareness of alienation and displacement is introduced by the simple means of contrast and paradox. In the depiction of Ernst and his new wife Kawaa, the contrast between the European past and the exoticized Eden-like present is linked with the contrast between the concrete things, which paradoxically almost all belong to the sphere of the past, and the unreal ones, which seem to dominate the exile's present. Ernst is the "ewig Ruhelose, Gehetzte, der von tausendfältigen Sorgen und Jammern und Grauedanken der Alten Welt zerdachte und zerquälte" ("Zauberinsel", 112), whereas Kawaa and the inhabitants of the island possess an almost dream-like tranquility and wholeness, undisturbed by fears or doubts.

Serving as a frame to all other contrasts in the text, the main contrast is that of past (which is lost) and present (to which Ernst cannot adjust) and the gap between them, which Ernst increasingly fails to close. This becomes apparent for the first time, again paradoxically, in a passage when Ernst muses about his fortunate arrival on the magic island and the infinite happiness it appears to offer. It starts with the following line: "Und er war glücklich, restlos glücklich. Ja, er hatte wahnsinniges Glück gehabt!" (112) and ends similarly: "Ach wie glücklich er doch war! Welch' unheimliches, wahnsinniges ,Glück' er doch gehabt hatte!" (113). On a semantic/linguistic level, the unusual collocation of "unheimlich/wahnsinnig" and "Glück" used twice and framing the passage already implicitly hints at the opposite of what he seemingly expresses. The 'good

fortune' is a 'unheimliches Glück'. This phrase contains a very deliberate allusion. The employment of this term 'unheimliches Glück' helps to fully deconstruct the surface happiness and content in the protagonist's assessment of his new home - which ultimately is no home at all. Heidegger's term 'unheimlich' or 'Unheimlichkeit' - literally 'unhousedness' or 'not-at-home-ness' is often used to describe the experience of dislocation - which is also sometimes translated as 'uncanny' or 'uncanniness' (Ashcroft, 71). Weiselberger here possibly displays a familiarity with Sigmund Freud's "The Uncanny", published in 1919, in which Freud argues that "the uncanny is that species of the frightening that goes back to what was once well known and had long been familiar" (124). Freud reflects on the conflicting significations of "heimlich": familiar and intimate on the one hand, weird and secret on the other. The notion of the uncanny as unhousedness as dislocation finally becomes self-endangeringly pathological for the protagonist, when it also encompasses the notion of the self. When he is inspecting various invalid passports of himself his portraits vary greatly to him, they all seem unfamiliar and he is incapable of finding his real face in them, nor does he find it in the mirror:

Mit wem sollte er identisch sein? [...] Das Gesicht kam ihm sehr fremd und doch auch irgendwie bekannt vor...Er zog einen kleinen Spiegel aus der Rocktasche und betrachtete sich darin. Vergleich sich. Und konnte sich nicht finden [...] Wer hatte recht, der Paß oder der Spiegel? Was war richtig?...Wie hingen diese beiden Gesichter zusammen? Hatte man kein eigenes Gesicht in diesen Zeiten? Setzten sie einem von außen Gesichter auf, immer ein anderes? [...] Und wo war er, er selber, vielleicht irgendwo in der Mitte zwischen ihnen, oder darüber, darunter? Wo war er, wer war er, er selber? (115)

Cut off from the present of his former home, but more threateningly, from everything that formerly constituted his identity, Ernst's identity dissolves. The loss of his past and his exclusion from the present result in a crisis of identity, leading to the suicide of the protagonist.

In many ways, the story resembles the so far completely ignored story "Der Mann ohne Schatten - Erinnerung an den Freitod Stefan Zweigs", which imagines the last hours of the Austrian Jewish writer and exile Stefan Zweig, who ended his life in exile in Brasilia in 1942.¹⁹⁰ The story is interested in the despair of the exile and his subsequent suicide, which is similarly brought about not by financial need or the impossibility to work, but due to the loss of home: "Mein Grund, meine Erde ist Europa, man hat sie mir unter den Füßen weggezogen". He sees himself as a mediator of civilization and humanity, but: "da man sie abschaffte, hat man auch mich abgeschafft" (3). Just like Ernst in "Die Zauberinsel", he cannot relate to the present of the host society, which appears unreal:

[I]ch gebe einen Pfifferling für das neue Ehrendoktorat einer exotischen Universität, mir schwindelt's in den weiten, weissen Strassen, ich mag die Palmen nicht, die lächelnden Gesichter, diese ganze grosse, unechte Ersatzwelt für die Heimat, die man mir geraubt hat" (3).

Another representation of the suicide of a young internee can be found in Peter Heller's "Der Junge Kanitz". The text was published far later, in 1998. Heller, who was interned in Canada until fall 1941,

¹⁹⁰ This story belongs to a number of stories that were not originally part of Weiselberger's collected papers but were left with a close acquaintance of Weiselberger in Ottawa, Renée de Bellefamille, when Weiselberger moved to Victoria in 1968. After Weiselberger's death, copies of these stories were sent to the Archives at the University of Victoria, among them "Children's Transport", later published in *Bridges*.

studied in Montreal and New York upon his release, later becoming a professor of German literature at the University of Buffalo. For his creative writing, mainly poetry, he did not abandon German. Much of his writing negotiates problems of exile, linguistic estrangement, loneliness, alienation (Müller-Kampl, 118). Late in his life, he used this short story to write what he regarded as a prototypical account of the Canadian internment. Referring to the utter loss of agency in the camps ("diese unsere Ohnmacht"), he states:

Mag sein, daß sich mir gerade darum ein Erinnerungsbild eingeprägt hat, das keiner wirklichen Person ganz entspricht, sich aber aus Einzelheiten zusammengesetzt hat, die sich um den mir bloß kurz berichteten Tod des jungen Kanitz ansammelten (43).

The text narrates the seemingly paradoxical situation of a young idealist who survives Austria's Anschluss in 1938. He remains outwardly unaffected by several severe blows, such as the death of his father in a concentration camp and the dissolution of his engagement to his gentile fiancée in Vienna, to commit suicide just after the release of the Jewish internees from the Canadian internment camps, for which he had committedly fought from within the barbed wire.

The name of the protagonist Siegfried Kanitz, a son of the wealthy Jewish owner of a publishing house, testifies to the not uncommon reverence among members of the pre-WWII Jewish middle and upper class for Richard Wagner. Kanitz, already approaching 30 when interned in England and sent to Canada, is characterized by idealism and solidarity with his fellow internees, and acts as elected mediator between the Canadian wards and the internees, devoting his efforts to raising interest in the situation of those interned in Canada and establishing contacts with organisations outside the

camps which might help. He strongly criticizes internees who remain inactive and indifferent ("die sich [...] in indifferent passiver Skepsis und billigem Spott allen Lager-Funktionen fernhielten", 73) as long as something could be done to better the situation of the internees and achieve their release. The story, which besides the Siegfried Kanitz plot provides one of the most direct and comprehensive descriptions of internment life, almost closes with a happy ending - the release of the interned refugees, many of whom rejoice in their new and secure freedom, far away from the war in Europe.

Kanitz jedoch wurde immer stiller und gleichgültiger, starrte von seinem kleinen hochgelegenen, hübschen Zimmer in der Großstadt Montreal auf den glitzernden Verkehr der Autos, bestand wohl auch einige Prüfungen (er sollte sich in Jura ausbilden), litt aber immer mehr an Schlaflosigkeit, die ihn tagsüber etwas stumpf und wenig zugänglich machte, obschon er weiterhin höflich und korrekt in seinem Benehmen blieb. Eines Nachts aber nahm er sich in aller Stille mit einer Überdosis Schlafmitteln das Leben. (80)

It is on this disturbing note of the sparse report-like account of Kanitz's suicide that the story closes, an ending that puts the almost triumphant lines of the young first person narrator of the story preceding the quote above: "Wie glücklich war ich, wie sorglos, als ich in Freiheit ein Studium beginnen durfte" (80) into a very different context of exile. Without any effort to explain or account for the unexpected and unlikely suicide, it relates to Weiselberger's representations of the exile's utter despair, as represented in stories such as "Die Zauberinsel".

The attempt to communicate and the (im)possibility of relating to others in a meaningful and constructive way, hopefully leading to an affirmation of the self in

an act of recognition of a 'thou', is another recurrent element in exile fiction. This becomes strongly apparent in Theodor Stappler in Henry Kreisel's *The Betrayal*. Once Stappler has located Held in Edmonton, he goes there and finds his name in the telephone register at the train station:

It was nearly noon, he went on, before he ventured to leave the station, where he had felt warm and enclosed and insulated from the world. So also he had felt on the train as it traversed the vast distances of this land, almost as if he were hurtling through space on a timeless voyage. (57)

Stappler expresses feelings of utter solitude and isolation afterwards (58). "He could leave as he had come, in secret and alone...he had, he felt, to establish his identity again, make his presence known." (59) He meets Sam in the Hotel Victoria, who asks him whether he is "from the old country":

"You're a reg'lar wanderer," he said. "Like me. You aren't Jewish by any chance?" [...] And then, he was again alone, but no longer quite unknown. He had, as it were, simply by talking to Sam, established his identity again. (60f).

The urgency in validating one's identity via a 'thou' is even more strongly represented in the novel when Stappler establishes contact with Mark Lerner and in the long passages when Stappler tells him the narrative of his flight and of the death of his loved ones in the Shoah. Thus, survivor testimony is represented as a necessity and as the most stable element of the post-Holocaustian identity formation.

The dystopic version of such an attempt at community and communication as the affirmation of identity is negotiated in Weiselberger's "Der Heimkehrer", with the additional dimension of a thwarted homecoming. The nameless protagonist - and internal focalizer of the story - returns home and "geht wie ein Fremder durch die

Strassen". Leaving the train station, he enters a number of telephone boxes. To affirm his identity, he leafs through the telephone register, using this archive of the city's present for a meaningful connection to the remembered past, but in vain. Instead of the names he is looking for there are blanks:

Kein Wunder, sie sind fort wie er, und die Telefonbücher sind seither vier, fünf, sechsmal umgedruckt worden. Wo sind ihre Namen? [...] [D]ie Namen, die Namen, die da und da, genau an dieser Stelle da, an der sie sich einschieben sollten, und die nicht da sind, die man aus dem Alphabet geworfen, ausgebürgert, ausgesperret, verschickt, verschlagen, getötet...Nein, nicht einmal ihre Schatten sind da. (2f)

The departure from each telephone box he visits becomes another affirmation of his own status as outcast. The glassdoors once shut, he is thrown out of the community of the lost names ("wirft ihn aus der Gemeinschaft dieser Namen", 3), with the additional allusion of the implicit feelings of guilt of the survivor, who is frightened by his own cold and immeasurable loneliness ("vor der kalten, unermesslichen Einsamkeit seiner selbst", 3). His efforts to find someone he knows ("von früher") become desperate, while it becomes increasingly difficult to differentiate between vision and reality when his focalising transgresses the real. After finding a familiar name - a woman from his past - he decides not to call but to visit her; the ensuing sexual contact, however, becomes the dystopic peak of his impossible 'homecoming'. When he finds out that he has slept with a lifeless puppet, the sexual encounter - synonymous with his attempt to ensure his identity - becomes the dystopic confirmation of the exile's non-belonging, of his exclusion from any community. The act of recreation as travesty is situated in a space devoid of life and communication. The story closes at the train station

again, the place of possibility becoming the place that confirms his exclusion from any living community:

Was soll er hier? Abfahren? Zurückfahren?
Wohin? Wozu? Da drüben steht ein Telefon-
Automat. Vielleicht sollte man jemand...Aber es
sind ja keine lebendigen Menschen in dem Buch.
(15)

2. Language in exile and language shift

For the exile, loss of the former language is decisive. In the context of exile from the Third Reich, linguistic assimilation of the exile to the host society is often discussed in relation or even as equivalent to the loss of identity.

The prominent scholar of German exile studies Manfred Durzak still argued in the mid-1970s that as long as exiles kept their language, they did not give themselves up, by this displaying pre-modern thinking which sees an intrinsic link between language and identity, indebted to Johannes Leo Weisgerber's conception, developed in the 1920s, that a language shift entails a loss of self (Utsch, 37). The influence of such a pre-modern - and pre-constructivist - idea of one's identity being engrained in one's first language, so that the loss of this language necessarily leads to alienation and loss of self, but also the refusal of such an essentialist idea, becomes apparent in (divergent) positions of both Kreisel and Weiselberger. In times, the notion of such an intrinsic link is upheld (as in Weiselberger's article "Story about an Artist Who Casts No Shadow") or contested (e.g. in Kreisel's essay "Language and Identity"), where these two - directly and indirectly - comment on the crisis of language brought about by exile. Whereas Kreisel in this long autobiographical essay comments on his changing perceptions of the relationship between language and identity, a number of Weiselberger's articles in the *Ottawa Citizen* show different positionings towards the loss of language and language change. The crisis of language and its effect on the exile, especially on the exiled writer, is, however, negotiated in Kreisel's as well as Weiselberger's creative work.

With Kreisel, Koch, Wassermann and Weiselberger, language shift is connected with both the necessity to change to a different language and to the possible deliberate refusal to use the German language, while embracing the new language English. Instrumental and affirmative positions towards language come to the fore, to differing degrees with each of these writers.

Early on, Kreisel decides to abandon German, and all his writings from the internment except letters to his mother are already in English. It was a decisive and determined step. As Wassermann and Koch did not pursue any creative writing during internment, their language shift becomes apparent only later. Whereas according to his autobiographical comments, Kreisel's changing languages already at the time of his language shift displays a personal motivation and an affective attitude towards language, Wassermann's and Koch's positioning towards language change is more difficult to ascertain. Neither commented on the personal ramifications of their language change, but soon after their release started to work in Canada and use English for their professional purposes, displaying an instrumental attitude towards language change. Like Kreisel, Koch never returned to German as a language for either journalistic or creative production; although he published with German publishing houses, he never wrote in German or translated any of his works himself into his mother tongue, thus displaying an affective attitude towards language at the core of his language change. Wassermann's creative writing, however, and also his successful book on Canada, *Kanada - Land der Zukunft*, were undertaken for German publishing companies and in German. He effortlessly switched between languages, both professionally for his broadcasting and journalistic writing - for instance his work as an Eastern Europe correspondent for Radio Bern - and

creatively, in view of his many radio plays for the CBC, on the one hand, and the books of light fiction such as *Der Journalist* or *Die Nacht der Hellen Stunden*, on the other. With Wassermann, language change or meandering between the two languages is never problematized. His early mastery of English, the effortless production of texts in either language during the same periods, whichever suits the occasion, display a cosmopolitan author who masterfully and regularly uses both languages.

Carl Weiselberger's use of English for his creative writing sets in comparatively late. He writes solely in German during the internment, creating almost 100 of his short stories. In spite of starting his second career as a journalist with the *Ottawa Citizen* in English soon after internment, many of his newspaper articles up to the fifties display a struggle with the new language, just as early attempts at creative writing in English - attempts that became more and more frequent and successful over the years - strongly testify to this struggle.¹⁹¹ What links him to Wassermann, is writing in English and German at the same time, whereas Koch and Kreisel both stopped writing in German altogether.

As mentioned before, it is notoriously difficult to accurately date Weiselberger's creative writing. Besides factors such as the texture of the paper or the typewriter used, an investigation of the improvement of Weiselberger's English is an additional method that allows establishing an approximate chronology of his creative works. Here, a comparison with the language of his published and thus accurately datable newspaper articles is of great help. Only a comprehensive dating of

¹⁹¹ Many of the early stories in English show grammatical inconsistencies, incorrect use of prepositions, wrong phrasing, Germanisms, and the like. Cf. the mini-drama "Lot's Wife". It also affects his journalistic writing and even the published articles from 1946 up to the mid 1960s - which were certainly proofread.

Weiselberger's writing which would have to employ these methods in preparation for a critical edition of his collected works could be entirely satisfactory. Unlike German born Walter Bauer, who was at a comparable age when he came over to Canada and started writing in English creatively only very late after his arrival in Canada, Weiselberger apparently attempted using English for sporadic creative works as early as the mid to end 1940s, for instance in some of his stories dealing with the Holocaust investigated in chapter III.1. Thus it can be assumed that there was a long phase in which Weiselberger used both English and German for his creative production. Unlike Koch or Wassermann, Weiselberger did not follow direct instrumental incentives (i.e., publications for a German or English speaking publishing house), as he did not publish creatively during his lifetime apart from articles in the *Ottawa Citizen*, some of which closely resemble short short stories (Kürzestgeschichten).¹⁹² There are interesting instances in Weiselberger's work in which the choice of either English or German becomes obvious for a particular creative purpose. Though written very late in his life, Weiselberger's 'Dichterkameen' are in German, at a time when his brilliant command of English also for his creative writing is displayed in the (later) Stonegate stories:¹⁹³

Diese Schattenrisse österreichischer und deutscher Dichter sind in einer kanadischen Stadt gezeichnet worden, in deren kalten Mauern es keinen Hölderlin, Stifter, Grillparzer, Lenau, Raimund, Schnitzler, Kafka gibt. Eine Raum- und Zeitkluft von sechstausend Kilometern und dreißig Jahren trennt mich von ihrer Sprache. Sie leben nicht in dieser Atmosphäre. Sie sind höchstens in ein paar „Schulausgaben“ für fremdsprachige Studierende. Mit Wörterbuch

¹⁹² E.g. Weiselberger, "Circe in the Beauty Parlor".

¹⁹³ They were posthumously published by Walter Riedel with the title *Zum Olymp, wenn ich bitten darf! Zwölf Dichterkameen*.

und Anmerkungen. In *Spiritus*, sozusagen. [...] Ich zeichne diese Schattenrisse, um die Verlorenen zurückzubringen - die beinahe Schattenhaft-Verdünnten, aus denen die fremde Luft, die fremde Sprache das Erinnerungs-Mark herausgesogen. (*Zum Olymp, wenn ich bitten darf*, 6)

By means of the German language, Weiselberger here tries to close the gap of thirty years and six thousand kilometers between him and those who do not live in this 'atmosphere'. It is an instance of the deliberate use of the mother tongue to re-live cultural memories (See also the chapter "Weiselberger - From early transcultural optimism to exilic despair", 190).

Even more remarkable is Weiselberger's use of German for his particularly relevant though never published late short story "Die Heimkehr" (not to be confused with his short story mentioned above, "Der Heimkehrer"), in which an old man returns to his home country, which he had left as a young man, and finds it difficult to use the old language: "Und als er seine Gedanken in ihre, das ist in die eigene Sprache übersetzte, kamen ihm die Worte steif und unnatürlich vor" (1). This narrative rupture between the old language of the protagonist ('their', and only on second thoughts, 'his'), his mother tongue and himself, is reflected on the linguistic level, when Weiselberger deliberately uses Anglicisms and 'wrong' German translations of English expressions in the text (e.g. the maids in the hotel he stays at in his home town speak "seine erste Sprache" - a word-for-word translation of the English term "first language" for mother tongue, which is not used in German). The existence of the *Dichterkameen*, written in German in the mid to late 1960s, which displays Weiselberger's immaculate command of his mother tongue, betray this ingenious play of language in "Die Heimkehr" as a deliberate one.

3. Men without shadows

Loss of language is negotiated in both Kreisel's and Weiselberger's use of Adelbert von Chamisso's figure of Peter Schlemihl, the man who lost his shadow. In his article "The Lost Shadow", Walter Riedel already alludes to their incorporation of the figure of Peter Schlemihl, influential in German literature, into the North American context.¹⁹⁴ Riedel points to both Kreisel and Weiselberger as writers who, having experienced the rupture of exile themselves, use the motif for the representation of the experience of exile, showing that "especially writers who themselves experienced the lack of belonging related to exile [...] should readily identify with both Chamisso and the symbol's connotation of aspects of loss of identity." (221). He thus argues for a complementary corrective of the predominantly "anti-biographic canon of German Chamisso-criticism" (213), which sees the story of Peter Schlemihl and the significance of the motif of the man without a shadow as not related to exile.

Whereas Kreisel's use of the man without a shadow is restricted to his early radio play "He Who Sells His Shadow", written before 1950 and broadcast by the CBC in 1956 (Kreisel, *Another Country*, 207), Weiselberger's allusions to and incorporations of the lost shadow as an inscription of exile experience are less overt, but actually more frequent. Riedel locates two of them in his essay mentioned above. The first allusion to the loss of

¹⁹⁴ A different example of a transatlantic adaptation of Chamisso and the motif of the lost shadow also in the context of exile writing is Klaus Mann's first book written in English, *Distinguished Visitors*, in 1939, a portrayal of the USA from the point of view of visitors, such as Sarah Bernhardt, Franz Kafka, and Adelbert von Chamisso, which stages Chamisso's trip to California in 1816 as a transcultural encounter, in which Mann alleges that Chamisso had written the Peter Schlemihl story as an autobiographical metaphor. In the course of the book, however, Chamisso-Schlemihl changes from being an outsider to an important cultural mediator (Utsch, Susanne: "Vergnügen und Qual des Englisch-Schreibens").

shadow, as a means to explain Weiselberger's own situation, occurs in an autobiographical article in the *Ottawa Citizen* in 1947, "The Man without a Shadow":

If you have lost your 'shadow', that is your proper language, what would be the first thing to do in this practical world of ours? Naturally, you go and build a plank patched up of dictionaries, a narrow bridge of careful translations, through which to reach others...

At first you feel the new language like a stranger's coat on your body uncomfortable, embarrassing, with sentences too long or too [sic] short like misfitting arm-sleeves while the buttons of verbs and conjunctions which should close two thoughts are missing. Years of struggle until you get used to wear [sic] the new idiom. Your genuine shadow lost [!], you grow an artificial one. And a bit proudly, you walk your small ersatz shadow through the columns of English newspapers when all of a sudden something unexpected happens. The old master calls you from beyond the ocean, waving at you, with your original shadow in his hand, willing to return it to you!

[T]here are thousands and thousands of Peter Schlemihls wandering through the world now, people who have lost their shadows, striving, each in his way, just to be like the others, the majority, the ordinary human beings who are not ghostly spectres but cast black, earthly shadows in the sunlight.

But what happens? After a while that siren-like call comes to them from the old land stirring up temptation, nostalgic feelings, uncertain wavering between the present and the past.

They had better not look back like Orpheus or they will lose Eurydice again. Because Time flows. And, as the ancient philosopher says, you cannot step twice into the same river.

(Weiselberger, "The Man without a Shadow")

As already mentioned, Weiselberger is the only one of these writers who had published in German before coming to Canada; together with the fact that he was not in his teens but already in his late 30s and early 40s when his diasporic movement began, this accounts for his struggling hardest with linguistic estrangement. With the

image of Peter Schlemihl, he equates the loss of the shadow with his personal loss of language. The above passage reveals his uncertainty - involuntarily also on the linguistic level, with several grammatical inconsistencies - but also his pride in his ability to accommodate himself to the new language. At the same time, Weiselberger compares a possible return to his former 'heimat' and language, as alluring as it might be, with the help of the mythical disastrous weakness of Orpheus' glance backward. It is a strong image for the impossibility of his own return to a place which has ceased to signify home, where the well-known and familiar mother tongue has been transformed to the seductive yet fake calling of sirens.

A somewhat more hidden allusion to the notion of exile as the loss of one's shadow, appears in the preface to *Zum Olymp, wenn ich bitten darf. 12 Dichterkameen*. Here, Weiselberger expresses the wish that by writing these cameos, he might regain the shadow lost to the devil:

Und wer weiß, mit ihrer Benennung mag der Zeichner selbst mit einem Schlag wieder lebendig, wieder wirklich werden und den Schatten zurückgewinnen, den er an den Teufel verlor.

(Weiselberger, *Zum Olymp, wenn ich bitten darf*, 6f)

Walter Riedel, who edited this posthumous publication of Weiselberger's cameos, refers to the use of the lost shadow motif and, with some justification, reads the cameos as Weiselberger's attempt to "regain his lost shadow" ("Lost Shadow" 219). The ramifications indicating that Weiselberger regards his work on the cameos as an attempt to establish his own identity become obvious in view of the late date of production of the texts, comparable to Kreisler's haunting justification of

his creative writing as attempt "to break the silence" ("Language and Identity", 128). Both these quotes by Kreisel and Weiselberger point towards the acknowledgement of a life-long struggle, initiated by flight and exile.¹⁹⁵ For Weiselberger, it also marks a changed position towards the mother tongue. Late in his life, Weiselberger again uses German at least for some stories in the last two years he spent in Victoria, where he was again separated and thousands of miles away from Ottawa, the place where he had lived and worked for the last twenty years - and very deliberately turns back to his 'Welt von Gestern'.¹⁹⁶

Two other texts of Weiselberger's voluminous oeuvre in which he uses Chamisso's figure in the context of exile have hitherto remained unnoticed: "Story about an Artist who Casts no Shadow" and the unpublished biographical fantasy "Der Mann ohne Schatten - Erinnerung an den Freitod Stefan Zweigs" (briefly alluded to before). "Story about an Artist Who Casts no Shadow", published in the *Ottawa Citizen* on Feb 11, 1961 - Weiselberger was sixty at the time - is an example of a very pessimistic attitude concerning language shift, strongly reading linguistic alienation as loss of identity. With regard to his biography, this surprisingly comes at a time when Weiselberger had managed to successfully shift to English for both his journalistic and much of his creative writing, and almost 25 years after he had left Austria. It was accepted for his weekly column "Carl Weiselberger talks about the Arts", but it is the fictitious story of a 'cosmopolitan artist' Weiselberger encounters at an Embassy reception in

¹⁹⁵ The twelve 'Dichterkameen' of Weiselberger are dedicated to Frederick Kriegel, with whom he was in touch once he moved from Ottawa to Victoria in 1968. This is a further indication that he worked on them late in his life, even if they were not all conceived and written in Victoria.

¹⁹⁶See also chapter III.4.

Ottawa. Suddenly, the image of the celebrated artist, who modestly admits being fluent in five languages, changes for the onlooker: "I suddenly had the impression the grey-haired gentleman did not 'have' four or five languages - they had him!" He is described as an artist without a shadow. The fame and success of this cosmopolitan are only superficial, more profound are the irretrievable loss of home, and especially the impossibility of using one's "native tongue": "And the more widely travelled you are, the more abundantly equipped with ersatz languages and lands, the paler the shadows you are likely to cast." Alienation from the mother tongue here signifies a loss linked to a crisis of identity, when Weiselberger, who deliberately figures as the first person narrator of the article, continues by praising those who live in their mother tongue: "You are more firmly, more solidly at home than those 'cosmopolitans' with their artificial book-tongues!" Weiselberger praises the "strong, robust, natural shadows" of the native languages, and prefers them to the "slim, meek, grey little shadow" of the "ersatz languages". When asking for directions after the end of the reception, Weiselberger lets the artist experience an instance of linguistic estrangement:

[T]ired from too many conversations in too many languages, he failed to 'communicate'. His pronunciation of the street name, although impeccable, sounded particularly foreign and strange. 'Wat cha say - Don't get cha!' the husky young man said, much less impeccably, and walked on quickly. Involuntarily I looked at the feet of the famous artist. They cast no shadow in the bright light of the lamp-post.

(Weiselberger, "Story about an Artist Who Casts no Shadow")

In the Stefan Zweig story, Weiselberger lets the protagonist Stefan Zweig muse about Chamisso's Peter Schlehmil just before his suicide; Zweig interprets the

loss of the shadow explicitly as "Verlust der Sprache, der Heimat, des festen Ursprungs" (4):

[D]er Einbruch der Nacht war zu ungeheuer, und wenn man sich nicht zum Untergrundkämpfer eignete, und nicht willens war, "sich eine neue Existenz aufzubauen" - unter Preisgabe des Schattens, so blieb einem bloss eines übrig... (4)

'The only thing left' he refers to in the quote is his suicide. It is relevant that in the protagonist Zweig's reasoning, the creation of an existence in the new country is equated with the willingness to sacrifice one's shadow - thus again an enlargement of the symbol of the shadow as identity engrained in the first language.¹⁹⁷

4. Language and identity

Henry Kreisel decided to use only English for his writing at the age of eighteen, never employing German for any of his creative or academic writing.¹⁹⁸ His very early attempts in the internment camps, even his diary, are already written in English and testify to a thorough language shift.¹⁹⁹ In Kreisel's creative writing, linguistic alienation is hardly ever negotiated in the context of exile. In *The Betrayal*, the protagonist Theodore Stappler's alienation and uprootedness find expression rather via his complex and problematic relation to (linear) time than via linguistic estrangement. His Canadian counterpart Mark Lerner describes Stappler's voice as "crisp yet not unmelodious", a voice which hardly betrays his past: "Its

¹⁹⁷ There is an interesting parallel between the two stories, when Weiselberger alludes to the cosmopolitanism of Zweig "der aller Welt Freund war (...) der überall zu Hause war, in jeder Stadt, in jedem Lande, in jeder Sprache" (1).

¹⁹⁸ This is a decision Kreisel had made at the age of 18 in the internment camp in England (Kreisel, "Language and Identity", 119).

¹⁹⁹ Late in his life, one of his short stories "The Almost Meeting" was translated into German by Maria Clay-Jorde with the title "Fast eine Begegnung" and published in the Austrian newspaper *Die Presse* in 1988. To this, Kreisel gave his consent and was pleased by it.

modulation and inflection led me to surmise that he had spoken English first in England, but that his native language was another - German perhaps, perhaps French - it was difficult to tell" (26). Stappler effortlessly uses English to draw Lerner into his past.

Kreisel's essay "Language and Identity: A Personal Essay" (1979; 1982), however, occupies itself from a very personal perspective with the effects of his personal language shift on his position as a writer and an inter/transcultural individual. Written comparatively late in his career, the text offers comments on his (early) struggles with language change, especially in the context of his work as a creative writer. Its title already betrays his interest in the link between identity and language:

But I knew that I would never return to Austria to live, that henceforth my life would be lived in English-speaking countries, and that I wanted therefore to embrace, totally, the language, and with it the attitudes, the cast of mind, the way of thinking and feeling, of English civilization. I was only dimly aware that this would mean, on a very deep level, an entirely different approach to feeling, and therefore an alteration of basic parts of one's identity, but it would not be until very much later that the full dimensions of that decision were to manifest themselves and to produce a crisis that caused me much anguish and that was, in one form or the other, to persist for some years, and that would re-occur from time to time throughout the whole of my adult life. (120)

In comparison with Weiselberger's shifting positions shown above with regard to language and identity, Kreisel's essay reflects his own radical language shift and its cultural ramifications from a position in retrospect. It is that of the elder academic and writer looking back on the weighty decision taken at such an early age and the ensuing chaos he had to face, the

recovery of a struggle which, however, is no longer. The passage above displays the connection Kreisel sees between language and identity, and how he envisions language shift as a fundamental change of cultural identity, which can be related to a premodern notion alluded to at the beginning of the chapter. Seemingly inherent to these observations is a degree of essentialized thinking that regards cultures as somewhat fixed entities, especially when he refers to his early wish to embrace the new language and with it "English civilization" (120).²⁰⁰ Kreisel's mindset at the time of the language change in the late 1930s and early 1940s is thus implicitly disclosed in the essay - at the time he did not endorse ideas of cultural hybridity, but betrays to some degree a thinking along lines of cultural essentialism. The essay documents how at the outset that cultures were envisioned as solid and identifiable blocks and as determined by language, when he refers to the new "attitudes", the "cast of mind" and the "way of thinking and feeling" as all coming with the new language. This essentialist thinking, however, undergoes a revision, implicitly stated though not highlighted in the essay, both in the essay itself and in his own later perception of culture(s).

An interesting rupture occurs early in the text, which undercuts an essentialist position and already vaguely points towards a transcultural one, when Kreisel approaches the relationship to the old language (and culture). Even though Kreisel's language shift can largely be attributed to an affirmative position towards English, and with it to the vague notion of "English civilization", his urge to embrace "language" and "attitudes" is not accompanied by an utter refusal of

²⁰⁰ Note that he was not concerned with a 'Canadian identity' here, implicitly evoking the idea of a pan-Commonwealth identity 'English civilization'.

German. Referring to people who regarded the German language as corrupted by the Third Reich, Kreisel opposes their willingness "to tear out the very roots of their psychic being, to obliterate the very core of consciousness of which language is the prime instrument" (122). Kreisel regards such a stance as a double defeat. There is a visible rupture between his unwillingness to sacrifice "the language of Grillparzer, of Goethe, and above all of Schiller" which "belonged to me by right", on the one hand, and his language shift in order to "reduc(e) my psychological dependence on my native language" (122), embracing the new language and its new cast of mind that comes with it, on the other; a rupture, thus, between the essentialist idea that one gives up one's identity with one's language, his simultaneous stance that language change constitutes a make-over of identity, and his affirmation of the German language.

Above all, this meandering between different positions points to a crisis of language and identity involved in the situation of exile, to which Kreisel explicitly refers in the longer quote above. The impossibility of being aware of the effects of his language change on his self construction at an early age, and the crises he refers to connected to this, resemble to a certain degree the inconsistency of Weiselberger's positions towards language change, sometimes embracing the free-floating cultural exchange it entails, but more often condemning the identity-destroying power of language change, represented most notably in "The Artist Who Casts No Shadow". Whereas Weiselberger's last texts, the 'Dichterkameen', written in German again in an attempt to regain his shadow - symbol here both of his language and of re-connecting with at least the 'shadow' of his own self, from which exile has alienated him - are an exercise in looking back both temporally to pre-exilic

times and spatially to Austria and Germany, Kreisel in "Language and Identity" arrives at a position as a writer between and - cautiously - even within cultures:

With hindsight, and the experience of nearly forty years, I have come to the conclusion that I have never fully resolved all the difficulties inherent in a situation that arose when I tried to render European experience in an adopted language. And it was to take many years before I dared to tackle essentially Canadian material. (120)

He regards writers who managed to write successfully in a language different from their mother tongue, such as Joseph Conrad, as 'writers' writers'; they became incentives for him to dare a language shift in his creative writing. Conrad, however, is as important as a model as his position is also one with which he cannot identify. Kreisel quotes a passage in which Conrad comments upon his self-chosen exile and language change and its effects, in which he also muses in retrospect about his language change, about "arguments and charges made thirty-five years ago", about the "mysteriousness of his impulses" at the time for his language change, and the unprecedented case of "jump[ing] out of his racial surroundings and associations". As close as this passage is to Kreisel's early musing about the relation between language and identity at the beginning of "Language and Identity", he significantly does not relate to it, which further opens up the interesting rupture in the essay. Although Kreisel acknowledges Conrad's influence, he also states that Conrad could not be a model for him. He quotes a different passage, in which Conrad asserts that he "was adopted by the genius of the language" rather than the other way round, and that the new language "fashioned my still plastic character" - again a passage in which an implicit equation of language and identity is pointed to, a process "too mysterious to explain"

(Conrad, *A Personal Record*, qtd. in Kreisel, "Language and Identity", 126). For Kreisel, however, there is nothing magical in his language shift in retrospect, only hard work (127).

The non-existence of Conrad's 'Polish identity' in his writing, then, is for Kreisel the main difference from his own position, again, thus, a repudiation of the equation of language and identity. As another crucial element in Kreisel's self-positioning in and between cultures, his belief that language is not equivalent to identity becomes apparent in his wish to "render European experience in an adopted language" (120). It becomes manifest in the help sought and found in "the presence in my imagination" of A.M. Klein, the Jewish Canadian poet, who became his real model, teaching him how to include the entirety of his various cultural influences in his creative work, who "showed me how one could use, without self-consciousness, the material that came from a specifically European and Jewish consciousness." (127). What Kreisel ultimately grapples with in this essay, is how identity can be strongly but not overwhelmingly linked to language, that a new language can be used to express a different cultural identity, at least partly. Here, he arrives at a non-essentialist position of identity²⁰¹:

I began to understand that identity was not something forever fixed and static. It was rather like a tree. New branches, new leaves could grow. New roots could be put down, too, but the original roots need not be discarded. [...] Thus language and identity could be brought into focus, each modifying the other, but without the one destroying the other.

²⁰¹ This is different from Kreisel's earlier text "Problems of Writing in Canada" (which he prepared in the mid-fifties), and which mainly expresses ideas of cultural essentialism and a struggle with problems such as representing one culture in a different language, which is in this text equivalent to different culture. This text, which not even implicitly expresses ideas of cultural hybridity can be seen as an early stage in Kreisel's process of positioning himself between and in cultures.

And the new language could be made to express the old as well as the new. It was a constant struggle. (127)

Kreisel approaches a transcultural view, always, however, slightly stuck in a dual cultural conception, talking about a double perspective, allowing him to see "European experience through Canadian eyes, and Canadian experience through European eyes" (127).

5. Time in exile

The common experience of exiled writers of different place and time is strongly connected with their involuntary displacement from the former home and with linguistic estrangement. Investigations of both notions and their negotiation in the cultural production of exiled writers are often core elements of studies of exile literature in general. That exiles, however, also experience a rupture in time is less focused upon. Sophie McClennen's *Dialectics of Exile* suggests taking into account the complex questions around the concept and different notions of time (alongside the concepts of space, nation, language as constitutive for cultural identity) which writers in exile face and towards which their protagonists are positioned:

[T]hese writers explore the notion that they have been excluded from present history...[I]n each of these writers' work, exile is a condition which has created a complicated relationship to time, and, specifically, to the exile's ability to participate in linear history. (64)

The concept of time has been applied only implicitly in investigations of German exile literature, namely in inflexible binary conceptualizations of the exile's position of either embracing the host country, or suffering from one's absence from home (e.g. Strelka's differentiation, see chapter 3.1.3). Whereas the latter

lives in a nostalgic backwards glance to the lost home and thus in the past, the former rejoices in the host country's present.

McClennen uses notions of time developed in poststructuralist and feminist thinking when she envisions exile's time as "caught between linear history and cyclical repetition" (McClennen, 73). She reverts to Kristeva's conception of women's time, in which time becomes conceptualized via motherhood as eternal and cyclical, removed from historical and linear time occupied by dominant patriarchal hierarchies. Women's time fluctuates dialectically between the two poles of history (linear, historical time) and ahistory. McClennen finds similar positions in writers of the Latin American exile: "[T]hese writers explore the notion that they have been excluded from present history", and that "their experience is not historical but a cyclical repetition" (64).

Exile has existed throughout history in countless political constellations as a state of being violently deprived of one's former home; envisioning the individual exile as being part of the ahistorical existence of exile approximates conceptions of cyclical repetition. Protagonists in both Weiselberger's and Kreisel's works are depicted as belonging to the community of exiles of all times and nations, when the common bond of exile is alluded to. Weiselberger's "New York", e.g., shows the eternal plight of the Jewish exile. A sensitivity both to the specific historical and cultural context of the situation of exile (historical time) is related to the time-transcending sameness of the situation of the exile (cyclical time). Both writers narrate situations when time has become a problem for their characters, when time, e.g. appears boundless or

without progression, and an uncertain present finds expression.

Stappler's diasporic movement in Kreisel's *The Betrayal*, his "typical odyssey of our time" (39) as he casually refers to it as a communal experience, affects time. Asked whether he comes from Austria, Stappler retorts:

"Oh that," he said, very offhand. "That's such a long time ago. Some things in the past seem so long ago that they're no longer real. Others, mind you, that happened long, long ago are very real. They dominate the present. The past is a curious phenomenon. I have lived in Austria and in Italy and in France and in England and in Canada. When a man moves about constantly, as I've done, time and places begin to play tricks. [...] Already it seems as if I'd left Toronto months ago. I was born in Vienna, but that - my youth that is - seems lost in a prehistoric fog. It's not real to me any more...Well, that isn't true. Some things are very real. It must seem confusing to you."

(28)

This quote, which is his first statement concerning his past and almost the first thing he says in the novel, directly introduces the crisis of time for the exile. In the scope of these few lines, the exile Stappler deliberately contradicts himself and deconstructs statements just made. Without arriving at a model or concept, it points to a dialectical situation of the exile towards time, exile as both primordial (cyclical and eternal) and historically determined. With Stappler, exile and trauma - the past betrayal and its insoluble ramifications in the present - are both historically determined and determinants excluding him from linear time. "The tension between (the) multiple time 'frames' is a common thread throughout exile narrative" (McClennen, 64).

In *The Betrayal*, the image of the wandering Jew is strongly alluded to in Stappler's subconscious self-description in his recurrent dream (62). This reversion to the monumental time of the mythical figure to describe the exile is enhanced when the figure of the exile is extended to the alienated human in general, which Stappler becomes as modern nostalgia is aroused with the intertextual allusions to Eliot's "Waste Land", which the exile Stappler inhabits. On one level - though not on an all-encompassing one - the exile thus becomes a refiguration and image of modern man. Only by reverting to pre-modern conceptions of time - Stappler's ultimate fulfillment in the North, which represents a mythical space and becomes home for him - in the "Postscript", in which Stappler takes on the equally time-transcending role of the healer who heals himself by healing others, also undoing history by enacting the role of his father, the famous Viennese doctor who killed himself in the wake of Nazism, can Stappler overcome the alienation and fragmentation of identity brought about by the spatial, temporal, and linguistic displacement and estrangement of exile. From letters he receives from Stappler years after the encounter with the former perpetrator Joseph Held, Mark Lerner assumes that he has found "a kind of peace" in the Far North. In the "Arctic wilderness" the former haunted "Luftmensch" experiences community, a "sense of unity with elemental forces. [...] [H]e was struck by the immensity of the landscape, by its great silence, by its timelessness" (216f).

The description of Stappler's vision of the Arctic and what he constructs of it, represent the transformation of the exile's crisis of time and his exclusion from historical time to an affirmative embrace of mythical and ahistorical time:

After a while you see that the surface of the ice is constantly changing. So all is movement and all is still. So it has been for billions of years. Time and silence acting together have produced a no-time. [...] Perhaps I should say that time does not exist. Particularly here, in the great silence, in the great stillness. There is no movement by which you can measure time. Time has been abolished, has been swallowed up in space. [...] But for me there is a great peace there. (217)

The exile Stappler needs to envision the Far North outside historical time in order to find in it a place where he, shut off from linear time, finds communion. He is integrated into both the landscape and the community of the Inuit, for him also inhabitants of mythical, ahistorical time. In the time-transcending figure of the healer, he can re-create his being via his activity, "to free himself from the burden of self" (218). Once he was involuntarily excluded from historical time, represented in his recurrent dream wandering the "desolate landscape" of rocks, dried-up cactus plants, caves, hot breeze but no water, a corrupted nature from which "gaseous fumes arose and poisoned the air" (63). Leaving time behind intentionally this time, however, represents an act of agency - deliberately entering the realm of ahistorical time becomes a self-empowering move for the Holocaust survivor.

The frequent intertextual allusions to exiles of different temporal and historical constellations in creative - but also autobiographical - texts in Weiselberger and Kreisel is also an instance of a conception of time transcending historical and linear time. Both Kreisel's and Weiselberger's use of the motif of the man without a shadow with explicit reference to (linguistic) alienation and exile are deliberate allusions to the ahistorical situation of exile.

Kreisel's radio play "He Who Sells His Shadow" becomes a different version, linking himself via the intertextual relation to the exile Adalbert von Chamisso when he uses the figure of Peter Schlemihl directly as a symbol of exile and loss of home, one who belongs to the "marked men, the displaced men, forever hunted and forever shunned, wandering forever like that poor and wretched Jew" (239). In Weiselberger's autobiographical essay "The Man without a Shadow", partly quoted before, the intertextual reference to Chamisso is used when referring to his own flight:

After I had fled from Austria nine years ago, leaving behind me relatives, earthly possessions, treasured memories, the most tragic loss was perhaps that of my language. I had lost it just as Peter Schlemihl in the fairy-tale had lost his shadow, condemned to wander through the world without casting a shadow as any other ordinary being does! This classical fairy-tale of Peter Schlemihl who lost his shadow to the Devil had been written, very characteristically, by a German poet of French origin, Adalbert Chamisso, who as a child had fled with his emigré parents from revolutionary France to Germany [...].

(Weiselberger, "The Man without a Shadow")

The direct reference to the historical exile of Chamisso as well as to the "fairy-tale" points towards the dialectics between the sameness of the situation of exile and its ahistorical dimension, as it does to the cultural and historical specificity and the unique dimension of the new situation of exile within historical/linear time. Empathy with the fate of other exiles is equally present in Weiselberger's "Der Mann ohne Schatten - Erinnerung an den Freitod Stefan Zweigs", already discussed in chapter III.2.2.1. After having decided to end his life, the protagonist Zweig comes across Chamisso's text among his books; as if by chance, it literally falls from the shelf

when he reaches for a different book. In the text he perceives a description of himself in exile: "entdeckte er, dass die Wiederentdeckung des Buches ein wichtiger Fall, und kein Zufall war. Sein Fall. Sein eigener Fall" (3). Weiselberger's staging Zweig's autobiographical reading of the Schlemihl story of the loss of the shadow as the fate of an exile and, thus, his own, doubly enhances the recognition of the universal similarities of the individual cases of exile.

Cyclical time as an answer to loss, perceived as a recurrent experience e.g. in Weiselberger's "Kain und Abel in Kanada", can also be read as an empowering act of the individual who faces adversity brought about by involuntary exile, but finds strength in new beginnings, necessitated by a prolonged series of losses. Abel, the interned writer whose work has been destroyed and burned by the Nazis, derives strength from creating anew, whereas Kain does not. When Kain burns Abel's new work in the internment camp in an act of wilful destruction, Abel finds ways to cope with this substantial blow:

Es ist offenbar so, daß er immer wieder von vorne anfangen und sich mühen und immer wieder mühen muß. In der Fremde. In immer neuer Fremde. Doch er weiß: das Opfer ist angenommen worden. Und Kain hat ihn nicht erschlagen. Nicht einmal sein Werk. Denn es ist in ihm. Schon wiederum in ihm. Wenn auch noch aus der Tiefe zu heben, in all seiner Schwere. (73)

Apart from the significance attributed in the text to the hope in storytelling as an empowering means of the individual in exile, Weiselberger portrays two extreme reactions towards the loss of one's former life by making use of the parable of Cain and Abel. Kain is destroyed by the losses exile has brought for him. His realm is the past, which has been taken away from him (specifically, by the burning of his books), which makes him a being outside time, characterized only by his dislike for Abel,

whom he hates for inhabiting the present: "Kain hasst Abel, weil Abel nicht am Ende ist, sondern immer wieder anfängt" (70).

Abel gains new strength for his creative ends, and confirms the possibility of agency and confirmation of self in the most adverse situation. Here, exile is not presented positively but as an adverse situation used productively; it is used to signify growth and an affirmation of the self. Gaining strength through his losses, Abel becomes even more self-determined and gains agency through concentration on himself. In Kain, the exile who is destroyed by exile is depicted. He only resembles his former self but is lost, "die bloße äußere Schale, war durch einen Zufall entkommen, wie ein welches Blatt von dem großem Brande abgeweht" (65). Weiselberger's incorporation of and intertextual allusion to the Old Testament in this story, thus negotiating the exile writer's conflict in the realm of mythical time, at the same putting it in the very different but distinct spatial and temporal context of the Canadian internment, is yet another dialectical move between ahistorical and linear time.²⁰²

Theodor Stappler in *The Betrayal* can also be seen as inhabiting mythical time. The retribution he seeks on Joseph Held, who betrayed him and his Jewish mother during the Third Reich, puts time, as it were, on hold and transposes it:

Often I imagined us - don't ask me why - meeting in some desert. Only sand and sky. And nothing else. [...] I would appear to him like a man who has come back from the dead.

(48)

It is staged in a timeless no-man's land. In all parts except the "Postscript" discussed above, Stappler does

²⁰² A crisis of linear time due to exile, as a loss brought about by the situation of being cast off from one's former place, is also relevant in Weiselberger's "Die Zauberinsel" discussed above.

not *belong*, neither spatially nor temporally. His present is defined by the past betrayal and its relations to his assessment of personal and alien guilt, Held's and his own respectively. Apart from the desired confrontation he seeks with the old perpetrator, *The Betrayal* also continuously stages Stappler's confrontation with his own traumatized self as if outside time:

But always, no matter how I started, no matter how I twisted, I always ended up in the same narrow alley, and I had to go up this alley and at the end of it there wasn't Held, there was just Stappler. Theodore Stappler. I myself, facing an emptiness. (125)

Stappler's realm is thus that of both mythical and cyclical time. The notion of mythical time becomes apparent in the employment of time-transcending prototypes such as the Flying Dutchman (27) and especially in Stappler's allusions to *Hamlet* - his self-stylising as Hamlet, the noble friend and true confidant Horatio-Lerner, and the guiltlessly suffering, agency-less heroine Katherine-Ophelia (160). Cyclical time appears in Stappler's perception of the betrayal as a recurrent and ahistorical constellation and his urge to assess it as such - "The action must be judged entirely by itself" (117) - in his demand that the deed needs to be seen in isolation and the historical context must not be used as an excuse.

As a contrast to the exclusion of the exile from linear time (Stappler), Mark Lerner, as his Canadian alter ego, is employed in complex ways: the history professor Lerner as 'curator' of historical, linear time, the master of history, and the able judge - the balance between irony and reality is always kept. His self-construction as a historian - with which the novel significantly sets in - is not affected by post-WWII ideas of the end of history, or a questioning of the

values of Enlightenment. Even if the effects of WWII and Nazi Germany are tremendous ("The aftermath will be with us for a long time", 16), this has not brought about a fundamental rupture in his idea of history or his belief in the validity of comparing historical events:

I attempted to draw a distinction between the violence unleashed by the French Revolution, which, however destructive, also released positive forces, and the violence of the Hitlerite movement in Germany, which was essentially negative and nihilistic. (4)

Openly despising the incorporation of the individual's psychological and thus de-historicized motivations - "And don't psychoanalyse her", he advises one student (12) - he regards psychoanalytic methods as especially dubious. His academic approach as a university teacher and his focus on historical and cultural contexts point towards his rootedness and belief in linear time, e.g. when he advises Katherine on her paper: "Analyse the political situation which made a Marat and a Corday possible. This is not so dramatic, but it leads to understanding" (12). To Stappler he once says: "At least I am anchored to a place" (211).

However, due to his growing involvement with Stappler, Lerner - "mon semblable, mon frère", as Stappler calls him - overwhelmed by the crisis he witnessed encircling both Held and Stappler, experiences a crisis of time himself. He is drawn into it by his involvement:

For a moment I felt as if I had stepped out onto a strange and unknown street. [...] It seemed the dead end of the night. [...] Slowly, like a sleeper returning to consciousness, I began to place things. [...] But though things moved, in a curiously slow and stately procession, through my mind, they really did not seem to matter" (192).

This involvement, which also leads to a doubling of the crisis of time Stappler profoundly experiences in *The Betrayal*, is explicitly negotiated in Lerner's ensuing dream. It is doubly signified and linked to Stappler via his recurrent dream of the wandering jew in the desert and via Stappler's interpretation of the Emily Carr painting. In the dream, Lerner encounters two men whose faces are always out of focus. They ask him to help free them from "creeping roots". "But how could I help them? I was myself entangled" (194). Thus, Lerner is confronted with his own helplessness and involvement, also pointing to an important parallel between Lerner and Stappler, which is discussed in III.4.3.4. "Henry Kreisel - transcultural formations of self and protagonist".

9. Jewish Worlds

This chapter tries to see the writers concerned within the context of a Jewish Canada and their different cultural productions in their relations to their Jewishness/es. In the discussion of their cultural and biographical contexts, the divergent Jewish realms each of these writers occupied prior to arrival in Canada has already been alluded to. Henry Kreisel's parents came to Vienna's Leopoldstadt, the site of the former Jewish ghetto and a traditional destination for Eastern Jews who moved west, especially after 1881, from Russia and the eastern crown provinces of Austro-Hungary respectively. In an interview with Mervin Butovsky in 1980, Kreisel extensively alludes to the influences of his Jewish socialization in the 'urban shtetl' of the Josefstadt:

I don't come from an assimilated Austrian or German family but from a very strong Yiddish family and my roots emotionally go back to Eastern Europe, in the shtetl.

(Butovsky, "Interview with Henry Kreisel", 177)

In the same interview, Kreisel talks about his strong Orthodox background, from which he "long since moved away" (177), but also testifies to his early inhabiting and meandering between different worlds: Leopoldstadt, with its "strong Eastern European shtetl atmosphere", but he felt he and his brother "also belonged to Viennese culture, because we went to the public schools" (177). This exposure to both Orthodox Jewish and Viennese cultures - one of the latter's most productive multi/cultural determinants in the early Austrian republic was to be found in the influence of Jewish culture - might have had a catalyst in the constellation of an Orthodox mother and a father who "saw himself as a modern man" (177). It included education, as Kreisel did

attend a regular and not a Jewish school in Austria and went to Cheder School in the afternoon - a school which teaches the basics of Hebrew and Judaism, and finishes with the bar mizvah. Although German was spoken in the family, Kreisel at least rudimentarily knew Yiddish from his grandmother. It also included the awareness and exposure to different theatrical traditions, as both the Yiddish theatres but also to the "great state theatres" (178) were common sites of cultural socialization, where Kreisel got to know the canonical German-speaking playwrights, whose works, as he testifies in his essay "Language and Identity" quoted before, he did not allow to be taken away from him by the Third Reich (122).

Biographical details of Carl Weiselberger's Vienna are sparse; what is known, however, points towards a far more assimilated Jewish middle class upbringing (see II.2.2.), also suggested by his moving into journalism. His cultural production in Canada displays enormous knowledge of the canon of the (German) humanist tradition, including especially the Arts, but also music, and German literature, about which he wrote in his arts journalism for the *Ottawa Citizen* and which he creatively incorporated in his short stories, his cameos being just one case in point. Allusions to a tradition of Jewish (Yiddish or Hebrew) culture pale in comparison. He uses, for instance, Heine's "Loreley" in a very deliberate intermedial way as a Jewish texture in his Holocaust story "I fear we'll forget too soon", but Heine is strongly part of the German (high) cultural sensibility out of which Weiselberger writes. Some short stories written during internment include negotiations of Orthodox Jewry and most often take a narrative perspective from outside or that of a protagonist who witnesses Orthodox Jewish ceremonies for the first time. Such topics are largely confined to the cultural

production during internment, in a period, thus, in which Weiselberger was confronted with a variety of different Jewish lifestyles, customs, and emanations. Some of these stories will be looked at in this chapter. Almost none of his stories after internment negotiate divergent Jewish Canadian realities to any comparable degree as these stories do. The articles he writes for the *Ottawa Citizen*, even those which reveal that he is an exile from Austria, never let on that he is Jewish.

Charles Wassermann stems from a family of very liberal and enlightened Jews, his mother a psychoanalyst and in her writing an activist for liberal and feminist sexual ethics, his father, the novelist Jakob Wassermann, famously negotiating his simultaneous fascination for and alienation from more Orthodox emanations of Jewishness in *Mein Weg als Jude und Deutscher*. Marta Karlweis, Jakob's second wife, was also Jewish and came from a Viennese artist family; her father had been a playwright and actor, her brother an actor in Vienna before and, after his return, also after 1945. Jakob Wassermann moved to Altaussee in 1912, where he became one of the centers of a vibrant circle of artists and intellectuals who either spent their summers in the 'Salzkammergut' or followed Wassermann's example and settled there.²⁰³ Early on in Altaussee, he developed an interest in Roman Catholicism: when he died in 1934, the burial ceremonies were conducted both by a rabbi and the Catholic priest of the village parish, whom Wassermann befriended. Even these short allusions point towards a Jewish socialization of Charles that was significantly different from that of Henry Kreisel, whose Jewishness still incorporated heavy

²⁰³ The Literaturmuseum Altaussee is devoted to the history of the "literary Altaussee", which since the 19th century has attracted artists and writers to either spend time there during summer or, like Wassermann, settle there. That its current president is the renowned Austrian writer Barbara Frischmuth testifies to the role of this valley within the Austrian literary landscape.

exposure to the traditions of Eastern Jewry; unlike him, Charles did not have a Jewish religious education or display any exposure to Yiddish literary traditions.

Eric Koch comes from an enormously wealthy Jewish family in Frankfurt, where he attended a prestigious humanistic public school. Jewish religion did not play a role in the Koch family, his stepfather Emil Netter was an atheist. The largely autobiographical book *Hilmar and Odette* shows a highly assimilated Jewish family belonging to a German cultural bourgeoisie and being enthusiastic about Richard Wagner. Their Jewishness before the Holocaust was largely limited to not marrying gentiles.

This chapter will delineate the Jewish contexts which they met in Canada, initially in the internment camps and then outside the barbed wire in the Canada of the forties and fifties, both in the attitudes of the majority culture(s) at the time - in which anti-Semitism was still a reality - and the actual Jewish communities and organisations in Canada. The following provides a short historical treatise on Jewish Canada in order to locate the authors concerned in a Jewish Canadian context. We shall then see how these writers position themselves ethnically in their - creative and/or professional - work after the war. The location of the writers at different border lines concerning fields such as ethnic communities or affiliations brought about by their exile and migration can also be seen in the different strategies they employed when negotiating various emanations of Jewish selves in their texts.

1. Jewish Canada

In important aspects, the history of Jewish immigration to Canada parallels that of the Jewish immigration to the United States. Up to the late 19th century only a few thousand Jews lived in the territories

of today's Canada, in the two main eastern urban centers Montreal and Toronto, and also in Victoria. Most of these Jews belonged to an anglicized elite (Margolis, 150). After the assassination of Czar Alexander II in Russia, a wave of immigration set in when the ensuing pogroms triggered off unprecedented Jewish migration from Russia and Eastern Europe, beginning in the 1880s. Unlike that to the United States, Jewish immigration to Canada became especially strong only a couple of years later, around the turn of the twentieth century, and ceased to exist in mid-1920, when immigration was cut off.

The Jews who came about a generation later than those settling in New York were mainly Eastern Jews, for whom Yiddish became the lingua franca. The first network of Jewish organisations and associations developed in the first two decades of the twentieth century, the Canadian Jewish Congress being founded in 1919 (Abella and Troper, "The Line Must Be Drawn Somewhere", 55). Most Jewish immigrants at that time settled in urban areas, with the largest Jewish center being Montreal, to a lesser degree in Toronto and in Winnipeg. It is the time when the Jewish centers in Toronto, Kensington Market, and Spadina and the Jewish quarter around St. Urbain Street in Montreal come into being. In 1920, more than half the total Jewish population lived in Montreal.²⁰⁴

As the Canadian frontiers during the Third Reich were shut tight for Jewish refugees, almost none could enter except the Jewish internees sent via the UK. Thus, from the mid-twenties up to the mid-forties, there was almost no Jewish immigration to Canada except that of the camp boys in the early forties. This arguably had important ramifications for the non-creation of a specific communal identity of these Jews, who were the

²⁰⁴ Cf. Diamond, "Sanctifying Suburban Space" for a closer look at the development of Jewish Toronto.

only ones to enter Canada at that time. After WWII, a number of Holocaust survivors came to Canada. Those who came before and after WWII, i.e. the European refugees and survivors of the Shoah, soon moved into the middle class, as can also be seen with the four writers concerned, which, on a larger scale, is not noted as an instance of upward mobility but rather as an instance in which those Jewish immigrants succeeded in the host country in returning to a way of life comparable to their former lives in Europe (Diamond, 195).

More recently, there has been Sephardic or Mizrachi immigration from North Africa, and immigration from Israel and Russia. (Menkis, 18). Today, Canadian Jewry is actually on the rise, making it the only one to grow within the Jewish Diaspora. While the Jewish population of the United States is the largest, the Canadian one already ranks 6th with 350,000 (Weinfeld, 6).

2. Anti-Semitism in Canada and (Jewish) self articulations

Just as in the United States, the increase of Jewish immigrants in Canada in the early twentieth century also led to an increase in anti-Semitism in Canada. There was religious anti-Semitism all over Canada, and also instances of Nativist and 'intellectual' anti-Semitism, embodied for instance in Goldwin Smith, whose anti-Semitism influenced both Vincent Massey and Mackenzie King, the latter being prime minister of Canada serving for the third period in the precarious years of 1935 to 1948 (Tulchinsky, "Goldwyn Smith", 43-72). Smith's views in Canada "helped set the stage for twentieth-century anti-Semitic prejudice while giving such views a gloss of respectability" (Weinfeld, 325).

Anti-Semitism did not suddenly vanish after the end of the Second World War, it also remained a reality in post-War Canada. Weinfeld comments:

In the 50s anti-Semitism was the dominant issue of Canadian Jewish life. Jews in Canada, and indeed in the United States, were part of a still profoundly marginal and insecure community. [...] [T]he key issue facing Jews in their private and public lives was discrimination, in its many forms. Quotas, formal and informal, still operated in universities and corporate boardrooms. [...] Negative and demeaning stereotypes about Jews were wide-spread in all segments of the Canadian public. [...] Jewish Holocaust survivors still had to overcome resistance to enter Canada after the war. (319)

Anti-Semitism in Canada was a reality with which also the writers concerned were faced to certain degrees. It is never focused upon in great detail in autobiographical writing or creative texts, but there are revealing comments, e.g. by Eric Koch and by Henry Kreisel, which allude to this reality, if only, for instance, in a precautionary measure taken by his academic mentor in Toronto, A.S.P. Woodhouse: while studying, Kreisel did not have a university career in mind, as in the mid-forties universities had not yet opened up and he knew that "they certainly never hired a Jew" ("Interview with Henry Kreisel", 185). Upon completion of his Master's with distinction, and the expansion of universities especially due to the fact that veterans were coming back to Canada, teaching at university became a reality. Woodhouse, a highly influential figure within English literary studies at the time, supported his student Kreisel and arranged for a post at the University of Alberta:

And, he said, "I will give them only your name," and the reason for that as he told me later, was that if he gave them two names there was a possibility they would not take the Jew."

("Interview with Henry Kreisel", 186)

Eric Koch once speaks about the irony of having experienced the paradoxical situation of finding oneself confronted with prejudices in Canada both due to one's German and one's Jewish ethnicity ("Enemy Aliens in Canada", 91).

Equally relevant for the issue of anti-Semitism are patterns such as hiding one's Jewishness. This is an issue for which more than one single cause can be isolated. Thus, it remains speculation how far the fear of potential anti-Semitism is behind Charles Wassermann's consequent glossing over his own Jewishness in virtually all of his radio scripts and autobiographical texts. In the years 1953 to 1955, Wassermann wrote and broadcasted reports on Austria and Germany for the CBC, 34 broadcasts in all, with the impressive total playing time of almost 22 hours. In all these broadcasts, he does not as much as mention once that he is not Canadian born, that he is Jewish, that he has been to Austria before, let alone that he was born and brought up there. He acts as if he were an undetached Canadian visiting Europe for the first time. He does not mention the Holocaust even once, even though it happened less than ten years before. It is even more astonishing that he comments on the "ethnic make-up" of Vienna with its "large settlements of Czechs, Croats, Slovenes, Hungarians, Bulgarians and Poles" going back to the Austrian-Hungarian monarchy, which "have not failed to leave their imprint" ("Radioscript about Vienna" [Untitled], 1955) in one of the two broadcasts on Vienna, but completely omits the importance of the Jewish contribution to the city, the Holocaust, and the almost complete extinction of Viennese Jewry. In his radio broadcast "Visit to Germany" in three parts, broadcast in the year 1953, he focuses strongly on the will on the

part of the Germans he meets to survive and to reconstruct their country. Again the deportation and extinction of millions of Jews is conspicuously missing:

They [the Germans] manage as best they can...and one cannot help noticing that the German people do so without complaining. Whether one looks upon them as the enemy of two wars, as now-important political partners, as perpetrators of war crimes, or as a nation who produced Beethoven, Goethe and Schiller, whether one sees in them potential enemies or friends...this must be something for individual judgment. The impression my wife and I gained during our visit coming to Germany, with probably the same prejudices most of us have after six years of World War II, was, that the Germans are a hard-working people...able people who have a great burden to bear at this time...and who bear it without complaint...there are many Germans who have nothing today and live only for tomorrow...but they do so without hesitation...and are more inclined to laugh than cry. (Wassermann, "Visit to Germany")

Aspects of the Shoah are completely absent. Wassermann's sole focus is on the hard-working Germans. Again, his position is that of the utterly uninvolved observer from across the Atlantic.

This is striking; it needs however, to be juxtaposed with Wassermann's ardent efforts to get "The Inner Landscape" published in the *New Yorker* (See the chapter "Writing the Holocaust"), for example, which strongly testifies to a Jewish sensibility and also to the conviction that amnesia is as problematic as commemoration is valuable. Also passages in his *Kanada - Land der Zukunft*, published in the mid sixties for a German audience, are revealing in this respect. In the section on Canadian congregations ("Kirchen"), the passage on the Jewish Canadian (Orthodox) community and in "Kultur" that on the Jewish Canadian literary contributions are especially long and differentiated

(186f; 196f). If anything, these examples - such as the radio play "The Valley of AltAussee" (in detail later to be discussed) - allows one at least to exclude that for Wassermann's decision to downplay his Jewishness in his radio reports solely interior reasons, such as a certain lack of interest or even feelings of complete alienation from his Jewish ethnicity, were relevant, but that exterior reasons certainly did play a role. In general, Weinfeld states that "Canadian Jews in the 1950s played down their Jewish identity, still insecure in their new-found middle-class suburban status" (320), an observation fitting for Wassermann's position in those years.

The realities of Canadian post-WWII anti-Semitism constitute an apparent contrast to the (comparative) ease with which all of the writers concerned were able to forge themselves a successful career in post-WWII Canada. This paradox was not confined to the former Jewish refugees and Canadian internees, but also included Canadian Jews in general, as Weinfeld comments for the period of the thirties and forties: "Yet during the very period when anti-Semitism was a real force in Canada, Jews were breaking out of the poverty and marginality of the immigrant generations" (319). This process was to be found at accelerated speed for many of the former Jewish internees, to a degree including a rapid (outward) acculturation, made possible by the fact that they belonged to an invisible minority, thus having the opportunity to tie in with the English Canadian norm of the day. As white skin Ashkenazi Jews, they

can pass as white, or more appropriately as White Anglo-Saxon Protestants, and as such, are afforded the privileges of the hegemonic culture of white supremacy. However, other Jews, including Ashkenazi Jews, are not assimilated, and do not pass. Jews with more explicitly "Jewish features" (a product of ethnic differences and anti-Semitic constructions of otherness) are not afforded

the same privileges in the relation to the hegemonic culture. [...] [T]he relationship of the Jewish people to white supremacy is complicated. (Brenda Cossman and Marlee Kline, 106)

There is a conceptual dilemma to imagine, for instance, Carl Weiselberger, the successful journalist and art critic of the *Ottawa Citizen*, also as potential victim of Canadian anti-Semitism. Weinfeld argues that up to the 1950s "Jews lived in a profoundly Jewish solitude, for reasons of choice and reasons of solitude" (319), and while this generalization seems less valid for the writers concerned, the effort to 'mask' one's Jewish identity - "Canadian Jewish in the 1950s played down their Jewish identity" (Weinfeld, 320) - is certainly perceivable, at least for some of them and when it seemed opportune.

Still, in those years it was not impossible for Jews to obtain influential positions in Canada. The four writers were confronted with a Canada in the mid- and late forties, and actually for some of the following decades, which was not yet particularly welcoming towards Jews, had not at all shed ideas of Anglo supremacy, and only slowly began to revise its position towards its minorities. Anti-Semitism had certainly decreased, but, according to a Gallup Poll in 1946, Jews still belonged to the "least desired group of immigrants" (Troper and Weinfeld, 374). This is juxtaposed with the relatively quick success of all of them in different professions. Weiselberger's rise to the *Ottawa Citizen's* leading art critic, a position he held until his retirement in 1968, seems exemplary. A combination of factors were responsible for his career and the question can certainly not only be approached from the perspective of ethnicity. It is evident that Weiselberger - especially in early articles up to the

fifties - made no bones about his status as a former refugee from the Third Reich and strongly and early opposed immigration of former Nazi sympathisers to Canada. His being Jewish, however, not necessarily marked for the readership by his name, is always glossed over. However, it was not always indispensable for a Jewish critic to veil his Jewishness. The eminent Canadian art critic Nathan Cohen, born in 1923 in Nova Scotia, his name marking him as Jewish, was highly successful in Canadian letters, print, and television after WWII until his early death in 1971. In Cohen's case, it certainly helped that his mission was the promulgation of a 'Canadian voice'.²⁰⁵ This tied in strongly with the English Canadian nationalism of the Lester Pearson era (especially in opposition to the United States), trying to focus on the unifying features of Canada and less its regional, let alone ethnic differences:

Rather, I have simply seen myself as a Canadian - and it has always bothered me that so few of us genuinely feel that way...and have regional rather than national ties. We need radio and TV programs that point out, entertainingly, what the things are we have in common. I am not saying these things will be decisive in making us feel more like members of the one country, the one community. But they will help - which makes them worthwhile. We have lasted one hundred years. That's encouraging. We can become a truly unified state with a voice the world will know and welcome."

(Cohen qtd. in Edmonstone, 4f.)

In his aim of instructing Canadians via radio and TV, Cohen actually becomes an interesting foil not so much for Weiselberger as for Wassermann in his pan-Canadian

²⁰⁵ This can be found, e.g., in Cohen's support of the short-lived but important Jupiter Theater in Toronto, dedicated to the establishment of a forum for Canadian playwrights and the "emergence of a truly Canadian voice in the theatre". Cf. Richard Partington, "The Jupiter Theatre's Canadian Content and the Critics, 1951-1954".

vision. The latter's highly successful CBC Radio Show *Canadian Primer Series* was laid out as a Canadian classroom, with a pupil from every province in it, trying to teach its audience about Canada (See chapter III.4).

3. The Holocaust in Canadian consciousness

Even though anti-Semitism was gradually decreasing after 1945, a general acknowledgement of the Holocaust in public and official Canada set in comparatively late: "Throughout the fifties, the Holocaust had remained a Jewish memory and war criminals a Jewish concern" (Troper and Weinfeld, 406). In the late forties and early fifties, Canadian Jews and especially the Canadian Jewish Congress tried to prevent Canadian authorities from letting former Nazis immigrate to Canada - in vain. A particular grave example was the contested decision to let in a group of Ukrainians, former members of a Waffen SS unit, all of whom had volunteered to become members of the SS and were with all likelihood at least partly involved in crimes against Jews. The Canadian cabinet, however, only half-heartedly responded to the Jewish concerns, demanding specific accusations, and finally let the group enter Canada. It took until 1961, when the Eichmann trial in Jerusalem and its worldwide media attention brought the Nazi atrocities (back, and to important degrees, for the first time) to public attention, to start a process of nation-wide rethinking (Bialystok, 290):

It sensitized Jews and non-Jews alike to the reality of the Holocaust as no previous event had done...After the Eichmann trial, thoughtful people could no longer dismiss the Holocaust as the momentary excess of a few Nazi extremists run amok, it was now revealed as the centerpiece of a political and racial ideology with deep historical roots, an ideology that commanded the loyalty of millions.

(Troper and Weinfeld, 406)

Still, as late as 1963, when *The Modern Age*, a voluminous compulsory course book for contemporary history, appeared, the Shoah was mentioned only in the scope of merely five lines, testifying to a delayed impact on public education (Bialystok, 303). As far as Canada's preoccupation with regard to its role in the years in question is concerned, only the publication of Abella and Troper's *None is Too Many* in 1982, which minutely delineated the unabashedly racist and anti-Semitic sentiments underlying Canada's restrictive immigration policy of the time, led to a strong response: "The book was a wake-up call for the Canadian Jewish community [...], question[ing] the Canadian myth of tolerance and acceptance" (Bialystok, 286):

In the mid-1960s the frontier [i.e., raising public awareness of the Holocaust, my comment] seemed impassable. The problems were manifold: insufficient public awareness and consciousness; a Jewish community preoccupied with responding to antisemitism; and, most important, an antiquated Anglocentric education system. A decade later, the frontier was being explored. Interest in and knowledge of the Holocaust was rapidly increasing; the Jewish community was better organized. [...] By the mid-1980s, the frontier had been crossed. In Ontario, the Holocaust was on the provincial curriculum, adult education programs were proliferating." (302f)

How did the writers concerned in this investigation relate to such reluctance in Canada with regard to Nazi atrocities? As we have seen in the chapter *Writing the Holocaust*, Kreisel and Weiselberger soon started writing creatively on issues such as the Holocaust. These attempts were, however, certainly not promotive of rousing awareness in Canada, as Weiselberger's short stories, most still written in German, did not have the prospect of ever being published, although Weiselberger used different strategies in order to make the Canadian

public aware of the implications of the Shoah in post-WWII Canada.

Although predominantly working for the art section in the *Ottawa Citizen*, Weiselberger still managed - sometimes very early - to get articles published whose obvious intentions were to draw attention to the ramifications of the Shoah as highly relevant for post-WWII Canadian society, such as the highly problematic policy of letting former Nazi criminals enter Canada. In his article "Europe's Tragedy is not ended" from 1946, Weiselberger uses the case of a young Polish Holocaust survivor to fervently illustrate that only less than one and a half years after the end of WWII, Nazi atrocities are already regarded "outdated material which movie producers no longer consider important and in accord with their schedule", as "stale stuff". Eva Kurein, a 14-year-old Jewish orphan from Poland, set fire to herself because she wanted to die like her father and brother, who had been gassed and cremated. Weiselberger pleads that it is necessary to keep in mind

the millions of victims who, strange to say, were not only material for statistics but real human beings! A dangerous coating of oblivion and complacency seems to close over the horrors of 1933-1945, just as if they had happened 150 years ago, hardly in reality.

("Europe's Tragedy is not ended")

In 1946 in "Militarism and Macaroni", Weiselberger uses the case of a Nazi turncoat who wants to immigrate and thus downplays having been a member of six different Nazi organisations:

Give Herr Haeutle a new Fuehrer or Kaiser, with a new uniform and new militant organizations, rider-corps, titles and decorations, and you will be surprised to see Herr Haeutle jump to his nationalist feet with the quickness of a circus-clown, ready to march again.

By this, Weiselberger - apart from articles published in Jewish newspapers such as the *Montreal Gazette* - provides a particularly early, probably even unprecedented example of journalistic resistance against the immigration of (former) Nazis to Canada. He takes up a similar agenda in "Nazi Fanatics for Canada?", when he warns of the risks of accepting former SS troopers as immigrants, and criticizes authorities for their only lukewarm activities to prevent former Hitler SS troopers from being admitted to Canada. Weiselberger's reference to a then-recent debate in the House of Commons in the article is a strong indication that he alludes to the admittance of the Ukrainian former Waffen SS unit mentioned above. In another article from 1946, "The War: Lest we forget", he demands constructive remembering and coming to terms with the past. Interestingly, here he also implicitly alludes to Wassermann's "The Inner Landscape" and the failed attempts of his fellow ex-internee to get it published.

4. Reconstructions of worlds lost

When comparing these politically conscious articles by Carl Weiselberger with Charles Wassermann's reports about Germany and Austria investigated above, the contrast is striking, and it would thus be easy to dismiss the latter's journalistic works as escapist and naïve. In the reports alluded to before, Wassermann appears 'masked as a Canadian'²⁰⁶, displaying utter ignorance concerning pressing Jewish issues inseparably related to the topics he discusses. However, these instances in Wassermann's work as a reporter cannot only be juxtaposed with his futile efforts to get "The Inner

²⁰⁶ I am alluding to the title of an interview with the famous German English journalist Sebastian Haffner, who immigrated to England in the thirties. Sebastian Haffner. *Als Engländer maskiert*.

Landscape" published (see the chapter "Writing the Holocaust").

Another important juxtaposition refuting the view of Wassermann as a politically non-committal writer, is his monumental radio play "The Valley of Altaussee", which did reach the Canadian public. It was written and broadcast in 1949. As in Kreisel's *The Rich Man*, Wassermann here re-constructs the realities of a specific, largely Jewish world lost, very different from the one in *The Rich Man*, but, as with Kreisel, one Wassermann knew intimately: that of Jewish artists and intellectuals who either lived or spent their summers in the village of Altaussee in Salzburg. The play mainly focuses on the author's father, Jakob Wassermann.

Wassermann evades direct focus on the Third Reich. Like Kreisel, he negotiates the time before the Anschluss. The radio play is set in the second decade of the twentieth century, Jakob Wassermann's moving to Altaussee from Vienna coincides with the advent of the Great War. The famous German Jewish novelist acts as the narrator and reflector of the play, whereas other important protagonists include Arthur Schnitzler, Hugo von Hofmannsthal, but also members of the rural population of Altaussee. Some of these - such as Hansl Klein, who appears as a teenager in the play and later becomes the local Nazi leader - already display early xenophobic and anti-Semitic traits, rooted in the popular scape-goat rhetoric of the day. The majority of the rural population is depicted as chinless and prone to accepting any scapegoat as an explanation for their misery, prefiguring a population which was to large parts to become an easy prey for the totalitarian ideology of the Hitler regime. Wassermann powerfully juxtaposes this with the description of the artistic elite gathering in Altaussee:

Look at these names, Jakob Wassermann, Hugo von Hofmannsthal, Arthur Schnitzler...Richard Beer-Hofmann, Franz Werfel, Thomas Mann. It was a great drama which these men unfolded at your feet. Do you remember, when the world-flood started...what a fight those men put up to stop it...right there, at your feet? Do you remember? You couldn't help them...but you watched them, didn't you...hopelessly stemming the tide...you watched them, at the end...being scattered to the ends of the earth...or dying in the efforts.

(1)

Wassermann was conscious that he was recording an unwritten piece of history for whose narration he was singularly well-prepared:

It has long been my feeling that the strength of the impressions of Alt-Aussee, this little-talked-about cradle of an important era in central European culture, indicates that there is a story there...a story which no one else has written, and which few people could write today. (Wassermann "Note on the Valley of AltAussee" [untitled])

In "The Valley of AltAussee" Wassermann describes acts of resistance made by people who believe in art as a medium arousing political awareness and humanism. The Great War is depicted as a tragedy, as is its aftermath for the newly-founded Austrian republic. A former painter, shell-shocked after WWI, becomes the representative of both the meaningless waste of human potential and of Austria in general:

[A]nother man, a good creative man, beaten down to a scarcely living shadow! It's like this entire country! Beaten, completely beaten! And it manifests itself in every way, in every walk of life, in every place! (5)

It is here that the Austrian dramatist Hofmannsthal, author of *Jedermann*, is given a central part in the radio play. As someone who believes in an independent Austria, whose foundations he sees endangered, he strongly opposes the idea of Austria's incorporation into Germany, already

advocated soon after WWI: "We must somehow stop this monster, defeatism in this country: It must be done! Austria is an idea. It is a necessary force in Central Europe...not politically but culturally, and this force must be kept alive." (2). In the fourth part of the radio play, the founding of the 'Salzburger Festspiele' is presented as a vital means of promoting this necessary cultural awakening of Austria, with Hofmannsthal's instrumental role in its realization. The play ends with central passages of *Jedermann* translated into English.

Wassermann's employment of Hugo von Hofmannsthal as a main figure besides his father in this play needs further explanation. Although Hofmannsthal was married to a Jew and had a Jewish grandfather himself, his position towards Jews is not uncontested, and some of his comments have been read as anti-Semitic. His political agenda was mainly defined by Austrian monarchism and his belief in an independent 'Austrian Kulturturnation'. Certainly, he strongly opposed the idea of an 'Anschluss' to Germany as portrayed in the play, even before the Third Reich, an idea which was popular among many Austrians in the twenties, regardless of their political affiliation.

In the radio play, the negotiation of anti-Semitism is not yet related to that of Nazi Germany. In the figure of the rural teenager Hansl Klein, unreflected stereotypical fears of Jews who control everything or might take away his job are expressed. This representation of such a more general anti-Semitism probably seemed more suitable to Wassermann. Anti-Semitism which had its source in vague feelings of Jewish superiority and regarded Jews as people who took away jobs certainly corresponded to an anti-Semitism not uncommon in a post WWII Canada, one Wassermann may have even experienced himself. The representation of such a comparatively 'lighter' version of anti-Semitism was also

more accessible to a Canadian audience than the devastating anti-Semitism of the Third Reich, as the latter might be dismissed as not relating to a Canadian reality. To juxtapose the crude image nurtured by the young and inexperienced teenager, Charles Wassermann uses the image of his sensitive, wise and humanist Jewish father Jacob, who in conversation with Hansl dismisses and deconstructs the teenager's illogical anti-Semitic reasoning.

Like Wassermann, Eric Koch also worked for the CBC, although in positions which allowed far less creativity than the planning and broadcasting of autonomous radioplays or broadcasts; in an article of the early 80s, Koch slightly dismissively referred to the role he played in the business as that of a "CBC bureaucrat" ("Enemy Aliens in Canada", 87). In the same article he talks about his reluctance to tackle topics taken from his past as a refugee, his willingness to "grow roots" in Canada instead of "[o]pening old wounds" (88). Koch's independent creative writing started, just as Wassermann's, as a side project. He started writing comparatively late, with the publication of *The French Kiss* in 1969. From then on, however, he regarded himself as a writer, albeit an unsuccessful one. After publishing his non-fiction book *Deemed Suspect* in 1980, the first book-length account of the internment of the 'enemy aliens' by an ex-internee, Koch started confronting his transatlantic past in his writing. His later novels almost exclusively incorporate and often solely focus on (his) transcultural past. It is in the German past, never in the Canadian realm that Jewish experience is represented: in looking back to his family's history, as in the strongly autobiographical short story collection *I Remember The Location Exactly*, in the novel *Earrings*, or

in *Hilmar and Odette*. In *Earrings*, a historical novel set in the summer retreat Baden-Baden in the late 19th century, peopled with the who-is-who of the then-contemporary European aristocracy, Koch retraces the steps of his Jewish grandfather, the jeweler Robert Koch, partly the reflector-character of the novel with a loose detective plot involving attempted blackmail with precious earrings, the genuineness of which - they belong to the Empress Josephine from the House of Baden - is verified by Robert Koch. It is mainly young Robert Koch's rise - thanks to his talents, wit, but also good fortune - to become one of the most eminent court jewelers of his time with charters from Germany's high aristocracy that is portrayed (*Earrings*, 42). Robert moves about within the aristocracy of the day with relative ease, and even manages to return the earrings to the empress. His being Jewish neither becomes an impediment, nor is it negotiated in the context of anti-Semitism. Although anti-Semitism at the time is mentioned, it is rather frowned upon as a slightly vulgar occurrence in these aristocratic and upper class circles, whereas the importance of the Jewish impact on culture is acknowledged (184). Only the "Postscript" to the book, which briefly comments on the historical accuracy of the novel, on the development of the jeweler's store founded by Robert Koch and its aryanization in 1938, and also on its last owner, one of Koch's grandsons who survives incarceration in a concentration camp, alludes to what was to come (208).

Such allusions, although equally sparse, become more frequent in Koch's *I Remember The Location Exactly*. His technique here, as briefly referred to before in "Writing Holocaust" (108), is that of including a short paragraph after the respective short story or scene he describes: "The Record", also used in *The Man Who Knew Charlie*

Chaplin, which both evokes historical authenticity, and, most often in the case of *Location*, becomes a eulogy of many of the different German Jewish characters who perished in the Holocaust. Rather than focusing on this, Koch portrays a specific German Jewish reality of the first part of the twentieth century; another Jewish world lost due to Nazi Germany, yet again different from the Jewish artist bohème of Weiselberger's Altaussee or of Henry Kreisel's Leopoldstadt in *The Rich Man*:

As you entered the eight-room apartment on the second floor of Rusterstrasse 20 in Frankfurt, my parents' bedroom was on the far right. To get there you had to pass the carved seventeenth-century armoire in the hall. When you opened its doors lights went on automatically, illuminating my father's collection of antique watches. One of these was made of filigree gold and opened up like a tulip. Opposite the armoire was the dining room dominated by an oil painting of the Frankfurt ghetto by the local painter Anton Burger, proudly placed there in 1911, when my parents moved in, to remind them and their guests - and their future children - how well their ancestors had done since they had emerged from the "Jew Street" about a hundred years earlier.

(Koch, *Location*, 1)

It shows a (very) upper class German Jewish reality of the turn of the century, with the following markers of social status: the size of the apartment and its reputable Frankfurt address, antiques as a sign of wealth and participation in predominantly refined German cultural standards, the display of the exclusive and expensive whim of the father; the collection of watches, luxuriously laid out and illuminated. These signs of power and prestige, tickets to then-current German upper-class, are juxtaposed with the reminder of the origin of their ancestors in the painting by Anton Burger, the most influential painter in Frankfurt at the time, thus

bearing the double-connotation of humble past and prestigious present.

Unlike in the Baden Baden world conjured up in *Earrings*, anti-Semitism is prevalent from the onset in *I Remember The Location Exactly*. The father, an officer in the Great War, is distressed by remarks about "Jewish shirkers and profiteers" by fellow officers, although they cannot wipe out his own patriotism (Koch, *Location Exactly*, 5), even though his "Jewish qualities" had almost prevented him from becoming an officer (9). All the same, it is a world by and large untampered by the hardships of the aftermath of the Great War in Germany, hardly hampered by the Depression, a world which afforded summer resorts and skiing holidays in the winter (13), governesses for the children, and chauffeurs. Its history - having been the jewelers of the European aristocracy for decades - makes the family part of a society still breathing the air of former glories. The early stories, set in the 1920s and early 1930s, often have a tone of relative security about them, such as the third story "Nix-Nix", about their well-loved young governess Annelies - yet they are always contextualized by a short paragraph, set after the story and providing the Holocaust context. Here, it is the fate of Annelies' Jewish fiancé in France, where the couple had sought refuge. Once it is occupied by German troops, he is deported and killed in a concentration camp (17).

The Jewish community presented in the book does not include religiously Orthodox Jews, but is an enlightened one, both financially and socially secure. It is represented by young students such as Robert Heilbrunn, both pleasure-loving and intelligent, for whom only the sky of the Weimar Republic was the limit, even until the late 1920s (46f). For those, the record often contains

not a history of deportation but one of exile and diaspora (49).

The increasing pressure to hide one's Jewishness, or if that is impossible, to prove one's 'Germanness' and patriotism by assimilation even in such socially secure havens as the world of the extended Koch family represented in the short stories, is depicted in "The Twilight Letter", a story that is a fictional letter commenting on a mixed marriage within the Koch family shortly before the Nazis came to power in 1933:

If any family is ripe for assimilation, they are. They certainly deserve it. There is not the slightest reason why Christian society should hesitate for one minute to welcome them with open arms. Any unseen observer listening to their conversation at the party I attended would not have been able to register a single discordant note to which a patriotic German might take exception. And the casualties the family suffered in the war were no less numerous than those in many of our families. They paid the price. [...] They were celebrating the first so-called "mixed marriage" in their history - no doubt the first of many to come. No wonder they celebrated in grand style. They have arrived. I bet you any money that, other things being equal, those young cousins of Rudolf, Robert and Otto, will also marry Christians. They are on their way!

(65)

As already alluded to, Weiselberger frequently mediated the extreme situation of internment in his writing produced in the camps. He wrote an astounding number of short stories in the camp, which often transcend the surface level - the depiction of life in the internment camps - with topoi of exile and isolation standing at their core.²⁰⁷ It is the literary

²⁰⁷ In Weiselberger's collected papers at the University of Victoria, there are about 100 German stories which were written during the time of Weiselberger's internment, and well over 80 English stories written in Canada, among which some of the more creative texts written for the *Ottawa Citizen* are not even included.

representation of exiles in existential situations which in Weiselberger are time and again defined by loss of home or community, by the profound inability to relate to the new (diasporic) life and, significantly and ultimately, by loss of identity (see chapter "Writing Exile"). The negotiation of loss of identity in Weiselberger is contrasted with a counter movement which is prominent in the short stories written during internment: constructive attempts to explore and find identity in a constructed dichotomy between the poles of secular/liberal and Orthodox/traditional Jewishness. With the author coming from an assimilated Jewish background, this can be seen as the his personal confrontation with previously less familiar Jewish traditions and Orthodox belief systems in the internment camps. The fact that secular and Orthodox Jews were interned side by side led to an intensified preoccupation with Jewish Orthodoxy in his writing. This is apparent only in stories written during internment and not a recurrent element in his later writing. Many of his internment stories, however, are peopled with rabbis, Talmudic scholars, or secularized Jews, with their differing views and beliefs standing side by side.

Weiselberger's "Der Rabbi mit der Axt", the first published collection of Weiselberger's German short stories which was shortly after his death sent to various literary institutions occupied with German exile studies in the unsuccessful attempt to raise awareness of his creative work²⁰⁸, is such an approach to a sympathetic reconstruction of the inner world of an Orthodox Jew in the Canadian internment camps. Its main preoccupation is with

²⁰⁸ Cf. the letters sent by Hartmannshenn and Kriegel including Weiselberger's short story "Das Gebet" to institutions such as the Research Center for Canadian Ethnic Studies or to the Hamburger Arbeitsstelle für deutsche Exilliteratur. Mostly, only a friendly but indifferent letter of acknowledgement followed. (3/7 working file, UVIC Archives)

the conflictual situation of a young Orthodox rabbi who is forced to do fatigue work, something from which the Orthodox Jews in the camps had been spared before:

Offenbar hatte es nicht genug Freiwillige gegeben, so kamen sie zu ihnen hereingestürmt, in die orthodoxe Hütte und holten sie. Holten sie von den heiligen Büchern. Mit blitzenden Gewehren. [...] Sie rissen sie von den heiligen Büchern weg, mitten aus dem Lernen heraus - Gott der Gerechte! [...] Mit drohend gefällten Gewehren standen sie da, Reschoim, auch sie --- es ist überall auf der Welt das gleiche.

(2)

It is the "Reschoim" (enemies of Jews), here embodied by the guards of the camps, who lead the group of Chassidim and Jeschiwoh-Bocher to fell trees outside the confines of the internment camp:

In seinem Kopf spukte, glomm noch die Frage, ob ein Jude niedrige Arbeit tun sollte? Wenn du dich nicht zum Knecht machst --- Aber im Gehen, im Stolpern zerriß die Gedankenkette und die Axt zerschlug sie, zerschnitt die Reste --- es war schrecklich. Es war ein verlorener Tag. Er wäre mindestens bis zum 33. Kapitel gekommen, wenn man ihn nicht gestört hätte! Holzhacken - Sagt nicht der Rabbi Nehoroi: „Ich lasse alle Berufe der Welt fahren und lehre meinen Sohn einzig und allein Tora. Sie ist dem Menschen Genuß in dieser Welt und der Grundstock in der zukünftigen. Bei allen anderen Berufen ist das nicht so“.

(4)²⁰⁹

Empathy with the younger Orthodox Jews - "[I]ch bin älter und kräftiger als die kleinen Jungen, dachte er bei sich" (5) - helps him in his decision not to refuse the menial work, and thus to see the felling of the trees as 'Mizwoh' (i.e., a godly act), as do passages of the Talmud that enter his mind ("Wenn du dich nicht zum Knecht des Erdbodens machst, wirst du nicht satt zu essen

²⁰⁹ Rabbi Nehoroi is quoted in the Gemara, a compilation of the various rabbinic discussions on the Mishna, and as such completes the understanding of the Mishna; both Gemara and Mishna can be found in the Talmud. Cf. Teitelbaum, "A Jolt From Below. A Warning From Above!" and Spiro, "The History of the Talmud".

haben", 12), contrasting his earlier refusal. He even allows himself to rejoice in the manual work under the open sky outside the small hut of the internment camp, the forest becoming inspirational 'scripture' to him with its objects of contemplation ("Wunderbar ist das, ein Wald [...] Ganz, ganz feine weiche Pflänzchen bildeten das Moos. [...] Was Gott alles vermag!", 9), but also opening up thoughts about his future, such as a possible immigration to the States ("Da drüben liegt Amerika. Große Städte mit Millionen von Juden, mit Synagogen, Schulen, Büchern, mit der berühmten Jeschiwoh, auf der er sitzen würde", 10), and a life outside the camps. Unlike any other of Weiselberger's stories, "Der Rabbi mit der Axt" displays acute knowledge of Orthodox Jewishness, and is in its representation a sympathetic combination of the pitfalls of an overtly regulated Orthodox Jewish life, in which every action needs to be backed by passages of the sacred texts or rabbinical commentaries on them, and respect towards Jewish Orthodoxy.

This agenda is taken up in a different internment story, "Das Gebet" (*Rabbi*, 13-34), which juxtaposes two different Jewish conceptions of life in the camps. The protagonist in "Das Gebet", a secular/liberal Jew around forty - Weiselberger was about that age when he wrote the story - joins the Orthodox celebration of Roscha-ha Schana, the Jewish New Year, in one of the huts in an internment camp. The story unfolds according to a pattern Weiselberger frequently uses in his internment stories: the main character wrestles with an unsolved problem, which is revealed step by step while he is reflecting on what is happening around him. One (or, a few) event(s) outside deeply influence(s) the line of the protagonist's thoughts; they become revelations that help him solve his problems.

When the protagonist in "Das Gebet" joins the congregation of the Orthodox Jews, his attitude is that of the marveling outsider:

Juden beteten hier, Juden aus Deutschland, aus Österreich, aus der Tschecho-Slovakei, aus Ungarn, Juden, die in England gelebt hatten und die vor der Invasion aus Frankreich und Holland und Belgien nach England geflohen waren, „orthodoxe“ und „liberale“ Juden, arme und reich gewesene, Handwerker und Intellektuelle, junge und alte, aber jetzt, in der Gebethütte, waren sie alle ein und dasselbe: betende Juden.

(20)

He admires the faithful unity displayed, which seemingly renders their differences insignificant. Yet the feelings of the secular protagonist towards the congregation are depicted as ambiguous. The ceremony is not solely sublime but also repulsive to him, the congregation once compared to a swarm of locusts. Still, the protagonist transcends the stage of mere repulsion and starts questioning his own rationalist stance, which prevents his immersion in the ceremony. Thus, he expresses the desire of the exile for repatriation - if not into the country from which he has been expelled, then into the community and tradition of Orthodox Jews. The congregation of Orthodox Jews stands for a collective identity he longs for. He ponders whether joining them would mean complete immersion in the ancient tradition of his forefathers whose performance he witnesses, and if he should abandon his own individual way as a secularized rationalist:

Wenn ich mitgehe, wenn ich mit euch mitgehe bis ans Ende, ohne mich zu verlieren, werde ich umgewandelt. Vielleicht muß ich das. Vielleicht gehöre ich doch dazu. Gehörte nicht mein Großvater, mein Urgroßvater, die ganze lange graue Kette zu ihnen? Wenn man Buchstabe für Buchstabe mitgeht, wird man heil und ganz.

(25)

This is linked to a central focus in Weiselberger's work, the negotiation of identity, here expressed not so much as loss of identity, but as the (illusory) wish of the exile for inner and outer stability. With the help of a young man, the protagonist finds the passages in a prayer book (containing the texts of the ongoing liturgy), which correspond to what is going on during the ceremony, and he momentarily feels completely at home within the congregation. However, it still remains unclear as to which stance he will have to take to be true to his Jewishness. This dilemma of immersion and emancipation is finally overcome when outside in the field of the internment camp he sees an adolescent Christian internee trying to chop a tree with self-endangering blows: "Aber nein, dieser Junge lebt und ist kein Gespenst. [...] Auf und nieder - das ist sein Gebet" (31). Disregarding the commandment not to do any bodily work on the Sabbath, the protagonist takes the axe from the boy and chops the tree for him. Only then does he recognize in him the young man who had helped him in the synagogue and the meaning becomes apparent. He finally comes to see the community of the Orthodox Jews and the assimilated ones like him in a kind of symbiosis, realizing the validity of both approaches, and though isolated from those strict in their religious observance, the protagonist is nonetheless in community with them: "Aber jetzt wußte er, daß ihr Weg und sein Weg zuletzt in eine Straße führten." (34)

Shut off from outside influences, the trans/cultural encounter within, that of Orthodox and secular Jewishness, finds in the Canadian wilderness its unmediated stage. Underneath the surface level, the direct encounter of Orthodox and secular Jewishnesses in the camps presented here also equals one of existential encounter: exile as immediate quest for one's own

identity. This quest then, is negotiated in Weiselberger here in the duality between the poles of Orthodoxy and (relative) Jewish secularization, and it is made to end in their final and successful resolution within the protagonist. Of relevance here is Weiselberger's negotiating between secular individualistic (self)-positions and Orthodox community, the expression of a necessity to position oneself within a community in the personal diasporic situation, and to mediate between individual self positions and communities. Questions of identity and of Jewishness appear here side-by-side, or rather, inseparable. Notions of identity become pressing in a situation of displacement, as do notions of Jewishness. Both notions intersect in "Das Gebet", thus encapsulating the pre-occupation with questions of identity in times of crisis, and the negotiation of Jewishness in a dialectics of individual self definition and communal stability.²¹⁰

Weiselberger never incorporated Jewish Orthodoxy in his texts written after internment, the sole exception of the German short story "New York". It is evident from the quality of the paper and the key for the 'scharfes -ß' that the text was written after the internment; a more exact date, however, is difficult to determine. In the early fifties Weiselberger had started to increasingly use English for his creative production (with few but important exceptions), so that a date of production sometime before the early fifties can be surmised.²¹¹

Set in the Brooklyn of the early twenties (the narrator once refers to the Russian pogroms as having

²¹⁰ This is something that Weiselberger's works share with some of Kreisel's, as will be shown.

²¹¹ Contrastingly, Weiselberger uses the term "Pogroms" in the first paragraph of the German text instead of the German plural "Pogrome", which might be regarded as an indicator of longer distance to his mother-tongue. The text is one of the instances in which only a thorough analysis of the paper and the type writer used could recover a more precise date of production.

happened forty years ago: "vor vierzig Jahren, als in Russland und Rumänien Pogroms in den Städten wüteten", 1), an old rabbi is sitting in front of the book 'Sohar', which is used intertextually. Between the wisdom of his books and the pressing problems outside, his son is discriminated against in the factory he is working in - "aber wir fallen eben immer auf, was wir auch tun mögen" (2) - and loses his job although he desperately tried not to be conspicuous. The actual misery is juxtaposed with the timelessness of the old scriptures the rabbi is reading. Standing in the tradition of the ancient religious nexus, also the Jewish pain is negotiated in an ahistorical context:

Das steinalte Haupt mit dem weißen Bart, mit den klugen, in tausend Leidensfältchen eingebetteten Augen, ging über dem noch älteren Buch auf und nieder, leise summend, trällernd, blabbernd. Jetzt gingen die Augen beinahe zu, das heißt, sie lasen über die heiligen Zeilen hinaus, über den Rand des Buches hinweg, über die Familienbilder, die an der Wand hängen: seinen Vater, den sie in Kiew bei dem Pogrom erschlagen und seinen Sohn, den die Deutschen in Prag zu Tode gemartert. Seine Augen gingen über die Wand hinaus, das heißt, sie wurden gleichsam durchsichtig, und hinter ihr schienen andere Wände auf, eine hinter der anderen durchschimmernd, Wände mit Bildern von Erschlagenen, Gepeinigten, Verfolgten...über die Stadt, die Städte, die Länder, die Zeiten gingen seine Augen hinaus, in die Zeittiefen hinein. (3)

He envisions "schemenhafte Gestalten [...], zitternd wie in Rauch, also tanzten sie in der erhitzten Luft über dem Ofen in der Ecke" (4), clear allusions to and, in the set time of the fiction, prefigurations of the Shoah, paralleled by dystopic visions of the eternal dominance of those controlling the power structures:

Peitschen, Geiseln, Ketten hielten sie in der Hand, und jedesmal ward, wer in der Minderheit war, zu Boden getrampelt und mit dem Fuße

fortgestoßen wie ekliges Aas. Immer wieder eine Peitsche in einer Hand, immer in einer anderen Hand (4)

Orthodoxy is here not negotiated in a positioning related to identity formation but as the demand of the rabbi that the seemingly eternal vicious circle of oppression and violence might be broken.

The evocation of a Jewish reality in the New York of the 1920s is an exception not only in Weiselberger's work but in almost all the works of the writers investigated here. Usually, their evocation of Jewish worlds is strongly confined to those for which they have to look back: the urban shtetl in *The Rich Man*, the Jewish artists in "The Valley of AltAussee", the singular community of Orthodox and secular Jews in the internment camps in Weiselberger's internment stories such as "Der Rabbi mit der Axt" or "Das Gebet", Eric Koch's fleeting reminiscences of the wealthy German Jewish upper-class of his family in *Location* and *Hilmar and Odette*. The only other exceptions to this general characteristic of 'looking back' happens in Kreisel's work, in the depiction of *The Betrayal's* narrator Mark Lerner, and in "Chassidic Song".

"Chassidic Song" is one of the eight short stories which collectively appeared in Kreisel's *The Almost Meeting*. All these short stories are concerned with attempted encounters between people living in different worlds, separated by spatial, cultural, and religious differences, never really being able to overcome this divide, always almost touching the other but ultimately failing to do so. These 'almost meetings' happen between the Canadian woman and her younger sister, who left Canada for Florence and is now completely absorbed in the European cultural tradition, leading to a gap between the two which both are unable to bridge ("Two Sisters in

Geneva"). They happen between a liberal/secular Jew, significantly a scholar returning from a James Joyce conference, and an Orthodox Chassidic rabbi, as in "Chassidic Song", or between the Ukrainian Canadian farmer, who still believes the earth to be flat, and his son, a celebrated geographer renowned for his scientific work on the curvature of the earth in "The Broken Globe". What all these failed encounters have in common, however, is that they are not necessarily regarded as failures but rather accepted as what they are: signs of the attempt at human communication even in a situation in which this seems impossible.

"Chassidic Song" is especially relevant in the context of Jewish Worlds in the negotiation of divergent Jewishnesses, and can on this level be related to Weiselberger's "Das Gebet". Via intertextual allusion(s), the text additionally puts itself into a tradition of Jewish Canadian writing by referring to A. M. Klein.²¹² "Chassidic Song" makes complex use of both language and food as ethnic/cultural markers and identifiers in this 'almost meeting' between the two different Jews in a plane flying from Montreal to New York.

The meeting in "Chassidic Song" is that between Arnold Weiss and the Chassidic Jew Josef Shemtov. It takes place in a plane and is thus a chance encounter. Weiss finds himself surrounded by a number of Orthodox Jews, whom he identifies as Chassidim. He figures as the reflector character in the story and, gaining access to his thoughts, we see him start using Jewish expressions in his description of the Chassidim, such as *yarmunkle* (the black skull cap worn by Orthodox Jews), thus displaying intimacy with and hinting at his own

²¹² "Chassidic Song" is not the only story in the collection paying tribute to A.M. Klein. Strong allusions to Klein can also be found in "The Almost Meeting" (Cf. e.g. Kloos, "Jewish Writers of the Prairies", 91f).

background. Hebrew and Yiddish words and expressions frequently occur in the text; they are printed in italics and hardly ever translated, but their meaning can mostly be inferred from context; ethnicity is inscribed in the text via language.

In postcolonial texts, language, one's mother tongue, is frequently used as a marker, e.g. to express a sense of home. In "Chassidic Song" it is a specific religious term that establishes communication between the two protagonists, a word whose meaning they share:

Are you going to a *Farbrengen*? [...] Arnold Weiss heard himself speak, the words shaping themselves almost involuntarily as if it was someone else's voice that was speaking.

(27)

Farbrengen is later explicitly explained in the text as "a kind of gathering where Chassidim come together, to eat and to drink, to talk and to listen. And to sing" (27). Language works here to undermine the obvious surface division between the Chassid with his caftan and black hat and the secular Jewish scholar Arnold Weiss.

The Jewishness of Arnold Weiss is expressed via his descent - he talks about his Jewish grandfather in Poland, whom he used to visit from England, where he grew up with his parents and heard about a *Farbrengen*. His is a remarkable history of personal displacements. This might easily be overlooked in the short story, as the indications are very sparse, but from the little information that is given a diaspora from Poland to England to Canada can be traced. The image of the wandering Jew is thus alluded to, although in a less radical version than for instance in Theodor Stappeler in *The Betrayal*. Arnold Weiss is taking his flight back to New York after having attended an academic conference - "You might say that I was at a kind of *Farbrengen*" (31) - on James Joyce, specifically on "the Jewishness of

Leopold Bloom", thus again a link and representation of Arnold as the Jew as Everyman, uprooted, modern man. In his second protagonist Kreisel thus inscribes an alternate model of Jewishness in modern society. The deliberate evocation of James Joyce, however, might be seen as a voluntary allusion to A.M. Klein, who extensively worked and published on *Ulysses*.

In Klein's novel *The Second Scroll*, the protagonist Melech is in search of his uncle, whom he never manages to meet, thus also constituting an almost meeting. At the beginning of the chapter "Leviticus" Melech goes to Israel by plane. Through the use of a structural parallel - the plane used in Klein as a "symbol which shrinks diasporic distances" (Greenstein, *Third Solitudes*, 22) and in Kreisel as setting for the almost meeting of liberal and Orthodox Jews, echoing the beginning of the "Leviticus" chapter on the content as well of the word level - Kreisel deliberately puts his text into a tradition of Jewish Canadian writing.

With the help of the shared language, Arnold establishes a connection - not only with the word *Farbrengen*, but also with the other Yiddish and Hebrew words used in the reflector-character passages. Besides actual language, also the (shared) language of food as marker of ethnicity is imprinted into the text. At first, it is used to depict division. To emancipate himself again from the all-imposing Shemtov, who has started to enquire whether he still keeps the faith, has married 'out of the faith', and tries to draw him into an imposing discourse on Orthodoxy, Arnold deliberately accepts food served on the plane, non-kosher food, and with this outward sign distances himself from the group of the Chassidim.

The language of food or eating is later taken up again, this time, however, to describe the opposite move.

Reading the action of Arnold Weiss, Shemtov reacts by talking about his personal history, which is one of Jewish suffering, of expulsion, tough escapes, and of betraying his religious convictions in order to survive a prolonged diaspora. This evocation of shared Jewish history and identity is responded to with a gesture of Jewish sensibility and respect, this time on the part of the protagonist: "Arnold Weiss had stopped eating. The ham sandwich lay untouched on the tray" (33). By refraining from eating the non-kosher food, Arnold again establishes a bond between himself and the Chassid. Jewishness is inscribed in the text by using the two cultural markers language and food. Both notions work either as unifiers or divisions within the relation, the 'almost meeting' of the secular Jew Arnold Weiss and the Chassid Josef Shemtov.

A very early preoccupation on the part of Kreisel with Jewish Orthodoxy appears in the short story "Two Streets" written during the Canadian internment in May 1941 and published for the first time in *Another Country*. The story is overtly autobiographical, looking back to the time Henry Kreisel spent in Leeds after his flight from Austria, before internment. The protagonist, "a young boy of about sixteen, who came from Vienna" (93), later referred to as Henry, wants to become a writer but struggles with the fact that his English is not good enough. Significantly, the story, negotiating the wish of the protagonist to become a writer despite obvious obstacles, has its climax in a Jewish scene which can be read as the protagonist's (or Kreisel's) vocation to (still) become a writer. While taking a stroll with a young girl, he notices an old Jew on the street:

The old Jew looked up and down the street as if he was searching for something, and he looked like a general after a victorious battle. Once more his eyes met the eyes of the young

refugee, and he seemed to say: "Do not worry, my son, the name of Hitler will be wiped out and forgotten, but Jews will always be."

(98)

Henry is so impressed by the old Jew that he completely forgets the girl who is accompanying him and goes home to write: "I saw one Jew in Chapeltown Road today [...] and it was like seeing a million. For such was the power that came from the one" (99). The incident represents Kreisel's vocation as a writer; significantly, and actually prefiguratively, the text also writes preoccupation with (his) Jewishness into this vocation, already pointing, e.g., towards his ingenious evocation of the urban shtetl Leopoldstadt in *The Rich Man*.

What about Jewish Canadian realities presented in the creative production of the writers concerned? So much of this can be found, for instance, in Mordecai Richler's work and its evocation of St. Urbain Street, in *The Street, Son of a Smaller Hero*, or *Duddy Kravitz* but also in Matt Cohen's *Typing: A Life in 26 Keys*, an evocation of Jewish Toronto, a move, in Ravvin's words, "towards a remembrance of old Spadina" (Ravin, 481), an old Jewish Spadina, a "celebration [...] for its cultural and social delights" (479). None of the writers concerned in this thesis does that - for Canada. A number of their works, however, become evocations of certain, if highly divergent, Jewish spaces and milieus of the pre-WWII Austria and Germany: most notably Henry Kreisel's evocation of the Leopoldstadt at the time between the wars as urban shtetl culture; Charles Wassermann's radio play *The Valley of Alt-Aussee*, Koch's explorations of his family's past, extending chronologically from *Earrings* to some glimpses in *Hilmar and Odette* and most recently in *I Remember The Location Exactly*, recovering the reality of a liberal upper class Jewish family, highly assimilated

to a pre-Nazi humanist German upper class; Weiselberger's Jewish worlds in the internment camps. All these are rich explorations and evocations of divergent transatlantic Jewish pasts. In their works, the evocation of a specific, rooted Jewish present in Canada is almost non-existent. Kreisel's encounter of his secular Jewish Joyce scholar Arnold Weiss with the Chassid and Holocaust survivor Joseph Shemtov fittingly happens above Canada, in the limbo of the air passage from New York to Toronto. Mark Lerner's Jewishness in *The Betrayal* provides him with a particular sensitivity towards issues of the Holocaust such as the positions of war criminals and trauma of the survivors at a time - the main part of *The Betrayal* is set in the early fifties - when this was largely uncommon in Canada (Bialystok, 285f). Yet he represents someone who has left the place of his childhood and his Jewish parents in Toronto and gone west to Edmonton, and is no longer a practising Jew. His community is that of his university colleagues and not a Jewish community, we learn nothing about any affiliation to Jewish circles. The only other Canadian Jew in the novel is Sam, the receptionist at Hotel Victoria whom Lerner significantly gets to know only via Stappler. This is not to say that Kreisel, did not evoke a particular Jewish Canadian reality, albeit according to many common criteria, such as language, religion, or intermarriage (Lerner is not married, but unsuccessfully woos the gentile Katherine Held after Stappler's departure), it is a comparatively assimilated one in the urban Anglo Canadian West of the 1950s and 1960s.

Mark Lerner's sensitivity towards the Holocaust, however, makes him a prefiguration of a later generation in Canada, especially since the seventies, when highly secularized Canadian Jews identified their Jewishness

mainly via the Shoah.²¹³ Weinfeld says that "in recent years, the Holocaust has [...] emerged as a central cultural theme of Diaspora Jewish life" (212), an agenda that started with some delay in the sixties (218), and was in full swing in the eighties: "the institutionalization of the Holocaust was an unmistakable aspect of Jewish ethnic identity by 1985" (Bialystok, 287). Thus, in the representation of the Canadian Jew Mark Lerner, for whom the commemoration of the Holocaust is already the strongest link to his Jewish identity in 1956, the time when most of the book is set, we find a prefiguration of a contemporary secularized Jewish identity.

Additionally, the writers' early occupation with the Holocaust in their texts at a time when public commemoration of the Holocaust was not yet an issue of any proportion is relevant in this context. Henry Kreisel's *The Betrayal* was, compared e.g. to famous survivor texts by Jean Amery, Elie Wiesel, or Primo Levi, a very early book focusing on the Holocaust when it came out in 1964. Kreisel had intended to write a Holocaust novel far earlier and worked on it in the late forties and early fifties, but finally abandoned it largely because it would have been published so particularly early and he felt that others - survivors of concentration camps - had more right to write such a book. Out of this abandoned attempt the later short story "Homecoming" developed (Butovsky, "Interview with Henry Kreisel" 198f). Although Weiselberger's Holocaust stories were published much later than they were written, they are also a case in point showing that the commemoration of the Holocaust was an early agenda for him which can be

²¹³ Lerner comments on the relation between the Holocaust survivor Stappler and himself: "[A]s if I were a younger brother of his, one who had been spared the agony, was not therefore directly involved" (Kreisel, *The Betrayal*, 67).

compared to the preoccupation with the Holocaust of Jewish generations to come as an integral feature of Jewish identity formation (See chapter "Writing the Holocaust").

Besides the occupation with the Holocaust, the Jewish worlds these writers turn to in their creative writing are ones that are on the other side of the Atlantic. They go back to the Jewish worlds they know and inhabited prior to coming to Canada. This also relates them to a phenomenon within (recent) Canadian literature that transcends the topic discussed in this chapter: the literary preoccupation of Canadian narratives with the incorporation of divergent histories and their commemoration. This is one of the main foci of the concluding chapter.

10. Inter- and transcultural writing

In this concluding chapter, the writers and their works shall be located with the help of a transcultural focus, which will serve to bring about additional perspectives and complement the readings undertaken so far in this thesis with their respective focus on Holocaust representations, exile, and negotiations of Jewishness. Using transculturalism as a paradigm here is instrumental in providing the most inclusive perspective on these writers, also drawing on the work undertaken in the previous chapters. Additionally, it helps locate their cultural production even more in the realm of Canadian literature and criticism, and thus aims at opening up room for possible further investigations on these writers and their works. In this thesis, the incorporation of transcultural theories marks a deviation from the practice of previous investigations of the cultural production of refugees and exiles from the Third Reich. In the contemporary Canadian cultural space transcultural theories find an especially ample area of operation, reflecting the socio-demographic changes Canada has undergone since the mid-forties of the past century especially since the implementation of the official policy of Multiculturalism.

As a theoretical concept, transculturalism develops an approach towards culture which acknowledges the increasing impossibility of neatly identifying and separating single cultures from each other, pointing towards the fusion of all cultural frontiers. Heinz Antor defines transculturality as

das Ergebnis eines Jahrhunderte alten und im Zeitalter der Globalisierung drastisch beschleunigten Prozesses kultureller Hybridisierung, der sowohl aus der extremen

Binnendifferenzierung immer komplexer werdender moderner Kulturen als auch aus deren sich ständig weiter verzweigenden externen Vernetzungen resultiert und immer weiter andauert. (Antor, "Multikulturalismus", 29)

This quote indicates that transculturalism per se is not necessarily entirely new, but - due to processes linked to globalization - comparatively new on a broad scale. On the level of the individual and in specific situations processes resembling those of today's transculturalism might have taken place far earlier. The key notions of the concept, which differentiate it from concepts of multiculturalism and interculturalism, are the idea of culture as process exemplified in the suffix 'trans', the hybridity of cultural formations which it alludes to, and the interconnectedness of cultural formations, all of which no longer allow for the idea of insular cultures as autonomous and separable entities. Within transcultural thought, the net-metaphor as developed by the German philosopher Wolfgang Welsch is instrumental for conceptualizing a transcultural imaginary. It helps transcend the late Enlightenment conceptualizations of the 'Volkskulturen' of Herder as insular cultures which are characterized by clear borders and a socially and ethnically consolidated homogeneity, still powerful in both descriptive and normative ways (Antor, "Multikulturalismus", 30). Wolfgang Welsch opts for a transcultural model for the conceptualization of culture(s):

Das Konzept der Transkulturalität zielt auf ein vielmaschiges und inklusives, nicht auf ein separatistisches und exklusives Verständnis von Kultur. [...] Nun verändert sich unter den Bedingungen der Transkulturalität der Modus der Vielheit. Vielheit im traditionellen Modus der Einzelkulturen schwindet in der Tat. Statt dessen entwickelt sich eine Vielheit unterschiedlicher Lebensformen transkulturellen Zuschnitts. Auch sie ist durch hohe

Individualisierung und Differenzierung gekennzeichnet. Die Differenzierungen folgen jedoch nicht mehr geographischen oder nationalen Vorgaben, sondern kulturellen Austauschprozessen. [...] Die neuen kulturellen Formationen überschreiten die Festmarken, erzeugen neue Verbindungen. Dies bedeutet auch, dass die Welt im Ganzen statt eines separatistischen eher ein Netzwerk-Design annimmt. Unterschiede verschwinden dadurch zwar nicht, aber die Verständigungsmöglichkeiten nehmen zu. (Welsch, 88)

One advantage of the category of the transcultural is that it emphasizes cultural hybridity, something that is less strong within the terms multi- and interculturalism. Although Welsch acknowledges the tendency of both multi- and interculturalism to leave behind separatisms and foster understanding between cultures, he also points towards what he regards as their shortcomings: the idea of cultures as separate entities often implicitly remains, as does the terminological separation between cultures, although multiculturalism refers to the diversification and difference between cultures within one nation or society, thus opening up the perspective on pluralities of cultures. Despite its respect towards other cultural groups, the existence of distinct cultural entities can still be inherent in conceptualizations of multiculturalism.²¹⁴ Antor stresses one particular normative shortcoming of multiculturalism both in theory and in practice: the non-interconnectedness of cultures side by side, without the idea of a transforming dialogue between them, focusing on transcending boundaries and border-crossing (Antor, "Multikulturalismus", 29). Especially in the context of -

²¹⁴ Cf. also Kulyk Keefer, "Writing, Reading, Teaching Transcultural in Canada" and her demand that multiculturalism should be a site for border crossing, transaction, and transformation, and should prevent ghettoization and ethnical purity (181). These demands on multiculturalism approach what the concept of transculturalism has come to include.

or rather: in reaction to - the policy of Multiculturalism in Canada, the notion of transculturality in times came to be employed as implicit criticism and in order to overcome the conceptual shortcomings of the official, politically sanctioned Multiculturalism. Ambivalent positions towards Canadian Multiculturalism are frequent. For the Ukrainian Canadian writer and scholar Janice Kulyk Keefer, for instance, the Canadian Multiculturalism Act is problematic as it fosters a "museum-wise" form of multiculturalism, while she also acknowledges that the policy brought about a "sense of creative possibility" for the Canadian literary landscape (Keefer, "Writing", 183).

One particular momentum of the concept of transculturalism is its implicit focus on the agency of the individual, constructing itself as a (trans)cultural subject. As Schulze-Engler puts it (referring to the Swedish socio-anthropologist Ulf Hannerz):

Kultur ist nicht länger eine Ansammlung territorialer Container, sondern eine vernetzte Gemeinschaftsresource, aus der sich Individuen oder auch soziale Gruppen bedienen, um spezifische kulturelle Eigenarten auszuformen.

(Schulze-Engler,
46)

This way of envisioning transculturalism can be linked to the concept of cultural agency, which also becomes obvious in the way Schulze-Engler compares transculturalism with the concept of interculturalism. He states that the difference between the concepts can be found in the "Verlagerung vom Interesse, was unterschiedliche Kulturen mit dem Menschen tun zur Frage, was unterschiedliche Menschen mit der Kultur tun" (Schulze-Engler, 46). In the context of the writers focused upon, this is one feature of the concept which to me seems especially productive for an investigation of the individual (cultural) work, especially when those

individuals lived and worked before a time in which transculturalism is discussed as a general paradigm.

These general features of the notion of transculturalism - cultural hybridity, a non-essentialized approach to culture, the deconstruction of national cultures as stable and clear entities, and the focus on individual agency - also provide a toolkit for an inclusive perspective on the writers investigated in this thesis. Transcultural thought helps to imagine the writers and their identity work neither as monocausal cultural formations, nor as simplified cultural hybrids, part 'Old World' and part 'New World', but as subjects who select from cultural offers what they require, always mindful of the potential agency or lack thereof provided by the larger cultural, social, and political space in and with which they inter/act. Any discussion of exile will profit from such an additional focus on cultural hybridity, especially when it lasts long, even in the extreme case of the exile confronting the host society negatively, and imagining the new country as a monocausal entity s/he rejects.

1. Fluid Exile

In the investigation of both the cultural formation and cultural production of the writers in this thesis, transcultural thought also intersects with and informs a notion I have repeatedly referred to as fluid exile. Fluid exile takes into account that it is exile as involuntary displacement which marks the beginning of the diasporic movement of the writers concerned with here. Antor states that "[v]ielmehr definieren und positionieren wir uns durch multiple und transgressive Identitäten, die quer über die Grenzen bisheriger Kulturreservoirs hinweg reichen" (Antor, "Multikulturalismus", 30). This reasoning ties in with my

fluid concept of exile, which I feel has to be employed when the discussion of exile includes a particularly long time in the host society.

The accentual difference between the notions of transculturalism and fluid exile, however, lies in the involuntariness and actual 'pain' exile brought about, which is not necessarily, and very often not part of transculturalism. Fluid exile as term helps not to gloss over the important determinant which triggered the transcultural journey of the individual; the exile experience is thus inscribed in the notion. Furthermore, the notion of fluid exile shifts the perspective concerning the individual's positioning towards the process of (personal) hybridity and interconnectedness of one's own cultural formation. Whereas in transcultural thought, for instance, according to Welsch in "Netzdesign der Kulturen", the development of an increasing hybridization of the subject is responded to with an affirmative position by the individual, the notion of fluid exile also helps to incorporate contrary developments. In Henry Kreisel, as we shall see, a prefiguration of a transcultural understanding of identity becomes perceivable.²¹⁵ With Carl Weiselberger, however, the (negative) experience of exile, especially in view of what has been lost by the transatlantic move, can again become of decisive influence for cultural/identity formation, decades after the moment of the dislocation brought about by exile. This stands in seeming contrast to early articles for the *Ottawa Citizen*, in which Weiselberger embraces what he sees as early multiculturalism in Canada. Some of these articles

²¹⁵ His line of argument in his essay "Language and Identity", a reading of which is presented in "Writing Exile", can be read as such a position. In this chapter here, Kreisel's deliberate incorporation of autobiographical material in *The Betrayal* for both the Canadian protagonist Lerner and the Austrian refugee Stappler shall complement this reading.

are almost prefigurations of the transcultural, when he, for instance, attests that all he values about 'my country' are things he might enjoy in Canada as well (e.g. Weiselberger, "How do you like Canada?"). Such thought, however, is diametrically opposed, for instance, to his position in the introduction of his *Zum Olymp, wenn ich bitten darf! Zwölf Dichterkameen*. After years of using English for his creative writing, these deliberate German re-creations of his (former) Eurocentric pantheon of culture was motivated by his wish to re-gain transatlantic memory, his 'shadow', and mother tongue, and, with it, identity. Descriptively, the notion of the fluid exile acknowledges the liberty of the individual also to return to positions appearing essentialist or culturally conservative. Especially in the situation of exile, cultures might become envisioned (again) as insular cultures by the individual, and may be subjectively compared and valued, as Weiselberger does both in English and German texts, for instance, in stories such as "Das Rosenwunder von Colmar" or "Circe in the Beauty Parlor".

It is the tremendous and potentially traumatic significance of the loss of home these writers suffered which makes me employ the usage of the notion of the fluid exile and not (solely) that of 'transcultural formation', which does not semantically point towards the (often painful) experience of exile. It is a differentiation that can be compared to McClennen's refusal/unwillingness to imagine the Latin American exile writers she investigates in the realm of what she calls the 'ludic postmodern', in which exile becomes a liberating and empowering stance. In the situation of a migration brought about by - for lack of a better word - 'involuntary' exile, pain and trauma are at least potential factors in the social formation of the

individual and in their cultural production. The chapters 'Writing Exile' and 'Writing the Holocaust' have already attempted to illustrate this.

2. Transculturalism in Canada

Transcultural thought in the Canadian context is linked to the multiculturalism debate. The Canadian Multiculturalism Act (1988) implemented a policy whose origin goes back (at least) to the 1971 Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, installed under the administration of Pierre Elliot Trudeau. Already then, Kulyk Keefer argues, the notion of Canada as a pluralist society was a commonplace ("Polylogue", 62). As Canada's literature has a long history of writing that is expressive of difference and otherness, there is a continuum, including - among many others - Grove, Ostenso, Kreisel, and Walter Bauer. However, in allusion to Kroetsch, Kulyk Keefer calls the period between 1925 and 1981 - the year Kogawa's *Obasan* was published - the period when "silence predominated over speech", as almost exclusively English or French Canadian experiences were voiced, and "[e]ven if transcultural voices were speaking out, few ears were tuned to hear them" (66). This changed dramatically in the 1980s, and was certainly related to the policy of Multiculturalism in Canada. Joy Kogawa's novel about the Japanese internment during the Second World War has become the clearest illustration of "coming into voice", followed by many other novels which participate in what Kulyk Keefer calls "the assertive and insistent mode of transcultural discourse [...] on the subjects of difference and belonging in Canada" (67).

As an official policy in Canada, multiculturalism has had an enormous impact on the literature written and

published since the seventies. With reference to texts incorporating divergent ethnic and cultural experiences by 'hyphenated' Canadians, such as Michael Ondaatje's *In the Skin of a Lion*, or Nino Ricci's *The Lives of the Saints*, Kulyk Keefer says:

These texts, I would argue, would never have been published and received as they have without that paradigm shift that occurred between the years 1971 and 1988, [...] a shift from an Anglo- or Franco-centric to a far more comprehensive vision of the very nature of Canada. ("Transcultural in Canada", 183)

In addition to the motivation by the work of transcultural writers' writers such as Joy Kogawa, Keefer herself was motivated by Canada's multicultural policy to confront her own ethnic past:

The chief reasons that I have been able to recuperate and write about ethnicity has to do with the influence of Multiculturalism on the Canadian cultural scene; the sense that to write about my hyphenated, Janus-faced experience is no longer to commit myself to the limbo of the margins. ("Transcultural in Canada"182)

For Canadian literature produced around the end of the twentieth century, David Staines writes of a prevalence of a cultural production which examines the "personal and collective past by the immigrant voices of present-day Canada" ("Canadian Literature at the Millenium", 33), and of a new paradigm not characterized by an interest in the creation or recuperation of a unitary myth for Canadian identity: "Now the unique dimension of the contemporary Canadian literary scene is a new question no longer 'Where is here?' but instead 'What is there?'" (33). Although Staines evades the notions of inter/transculturalism, his reading of the

contemporary Canadian literary landscape testifies to similar mechanisms.

Parallel and complementary to this, another phenomenon within transcultural literary Canada shall be alluded to, as its perspectives are relevant also in the discussion of the writers concerned. Writing about other ethnic heritages and not (only) about one's own - as Staines suggests above - gains momentum.²¹⁶ An early and widely known example is the representation of the marginalised history of the Macedonian immigrant workers and their contribution to Toronto in the building of the Bloor Street Viaduct in Sri Lanka-born Michael Ondaatje's *In the Skin of a Lion* (1987). Similar mechanisms, namely representing the experience of ethnic groups different from one's own, can be found in works of the writers concerned with here: for numerous series of his radio plays (e.g. *Fiddle Joe's Yarns*) Charles Wassermann drew on French Canadian folk tales and legends; Eric Koch's first novel, the "tongue-in-cheek political fantasy" *The French Kiss*, occupies itself entirely with the events around De Gaulle's notorious visit to Quebec in 1967 and attempts to represent divergent Quebecoise positions at the time. By writing about various ethnic groups, a display of a transcultural understanding of national identity can become perceivable, as well as a constructive attempt to overcome confining definitions such as the label 'ethnic writing' by which identity is reduced and defined only along racialized lines.

Ethnic 'hyphenation' has been criticised due to its implicit acknowledgement and perpetuation of a certain norm which remains unmarked - implicitly referring to Anglo Canadian - all deviations of which are then labelled "ethnic" Canadians. The hyphenation of those

²¹⁶ A different example among many others is, for instance, Jane Urquhart's novel *The Stone Carvers* (2001) in which she mainly focuses on the experience of German immigrants in Ontario.

whose immigration to Canada neither happened long ago nor via England (or France), attributes ethnicity only to those who do not conform to an imaginary, unmarked 'Canadian norm', which for Anglo-Canada for long was equivalent to White Anglo-Saxon Protestant. Such a conceptualization also creates cultural and ethnic 'containers', marking alterity along essentialized and racialized lines. Here also, transculturalism, with its focus on the hybrid subject using different cultural offers for the creation of its individual cultural formation, and its focus on what Antor calls 'Binnendifferenzierung' (interior differentiation) within a culture (Antor, "Multikulturalismus", 29), is instrumental in overturning such essentialized and static cultural 'containers'.

3. Koch, Kreisel, Weiselberger, and Wassermann as transcultural writers

Within current discussions of transculturalism, one differentiation has hardly ever been made which appears relevant when the notion is used or tried to be made productive for a cultural production that set in before the theoretical discourse of transculturalism, but which seems to me relevant regardless of the time of production of transcultural writing: on the one hand, contemporary transcultural creative writing is often 'theory-conscious' writing, thus deliberately joining a discourse of transculturality as a (political) stance, be it in the attempt to deconstruct previously official historical readings by presenting 'other' hi/stories and the perspectives of marginalized (ethnic) groups, be it by a celebration of hybrid forms of cultural interconnectedness.²¹⁷ On the other hand, there is

²¹⁷ There are numerous examples, such as Wayson Choi's writing or that of Larissa Lai, e.g. her *When Fox is a Thousand*.

something one might call a 'transcultural disposition' of a text, which includes every text by a writer with a transcultural identity formation, regardless if an explicit transcultural agenda is pursued or not. Kulyk-Keefer, for instance, points towards the fact that also before *Obasan* there was more than only WASP literature in Anglo Canada; it was at the margins, but nonetheless existent. What I call a 'transcultural disposition' becomes evident for each of the writers investigated with help of the focus I employ here; it is due to their biography, their double or triple socialization, their writing between languages, and their location between and within cultures. The cultural productions of each of them constitute different examples of different formations of inter/transcultural writing.

Some of the cultural works of Kreisel, Weiselberger, Wassermann, and Koch can be read as conscious attempts to mediate between (two) cultures, in which national cultures are descriptively presented as homogeneous and separate entities. This is sometimes dictated by the specific genre of the text, such as Wassermann's *Kanada. Land der Zukunft*, or Weiselberger's assessment of the then-contemporary Canadian art in "Ein Junges Land sucht seine eigene Kunst" for the Austrian journal *Wiener Schau* in 1954. Other examples of such a mediating - although, as it were, in the opposite direction - are Wassermann's presentations of Austrian and European culture for the CBC in the fifties. Some other texts, however, occupy themselves less with the idea of mediating between cultures as separate entities. They approach negotiations of inter- and transcultural competence, when elements of the transatlantic cultural past are incorporated into the Canadian present as integral parts of this present. Here, a culturally plural Canada draws from multiple cultural histories for an inclusive present which imagines

difference and alterity no longer predominantly along the lines of ethnicities.

As divergent as the cultural works presented in the following are - not only from each other, but also due to the point of time of production and the respective socio-political discourse in which they were produced²¹⁸ - one aspect is written into each of them, namely what Keefer defines early as transculturality: an assertion "to their creators' liminal position between two or more countries, communities, cultures" (Keefer, "Transcultural in Canada", 192). The following sections will provide readings of their works and relate their cultural production to the realm of transculturalism.

²¹⁸ Whereas in the readings of their texts as Holocaust literature or exile literature it was relevant to show how these writers often revisited similar agendas regardless of the point in time, a discussion of transculturalism needs to be aware that the earliest texts investigated here date from the time of internment, thus the early 1940s, whereas most of Koch's texts were produced from the nineties onwards, the most recent one in 2006. This is a period of 65 years, in which the larger national cultural context in which these texts were produced changed completely.

Weiselberger - from early transcultural optimism to
exilic despair

A close look at Weiselberger's work from the beginning of his writing in Ottawa up to his late writing undertaken in Victoria shows a dialectic meandering between early positions of radical transatlantic optimism for Canada, and sometimes for the post-WWII world at large, and expressions of individual despair, isolation, and homesickness for a place he knew had been taken away from him and had, in fact, long ceased to exist. After having been interned in camps in Quebec and New Brunswick for three and a half years, during which he wrote almost one hundred short stories, Carl Weiselberger secured a position as the *Ottawa Citizen's* main art editor only five years after his release. At the time, for a man with his Third Reich refugee background and advanced age (he was in his mid-forties), this was an unlikely and uncommon professional rise, and certainly one to be proud of.

In the articles Weiselberger wrote for the *Ottawa Citizen* between the mid-forties and mid-fifties, it is astounding to see how often he incorporated topics of a highly personal kind, that of a recently arrived immigrant or "New Canadian" in Canada meandering between different cultures. Many of these articles can be read as autobiographical writing in the public space, and as negotiations of the self as diasporic subject.²¹⁹

²¹⁹ In this chapter, I will look at numerous newspaper articles Weiselberger wrote for the *Ottawa Citizen*, the *Evening Citizen*, the *Montrealer Nachrichten* or the Austrian paper *Neues Österreich*. Copies of all these articles can be found in the Archives at the University of Victoria, where Carl Weiselberger's collected papers are preserved. None of these articles, which are all separately listed in the bibliography of this thesis, exceed one page. I will thus in the following cite the title of the article at the beginning of each separate discussion, the following quotations then are taken from the respective article, unless marked otherwise.

A very early example of Weiselberger's commenting on his coming to Canada and leaving Europe behind is the article "Yes, he's a Canadian now!", first published in the *Ottawa Citizen*, and also in the Nova Scotia paper *New Glasgow* in early 1946. Weiselberger uses the actual incident of 'naturalization', of obtaining Canadian citizenship, to ponder extensively on the ramifications of 'becoming' Canadian. In the article he significantly acts as the neutral narrator, whereas most of the text comprises the comments of such a freshly naturalized Canadian. The protagonist, however, has a lot in common with Weiselberger; comparatively older than the rest of the group of recently naturalized immigrants, he feels different from them. He describes their positive attitude and compares it with his own:

[...] They are just happy now. [...] No, they won't look behind. They will look forward. Their road is so clear; a job..a girl..a business..a home..a car..[...] 'How are you doing? - they say that and think they are very Canadian. [...] For me, unfortunately (I hope you won't mind my becoming so personal) for me English is a never-ending experiment, exciting, hazardous, confusing, exalting, depressing, wide and vast like the sea. And it's not only the language, it's the different ways of life, traditions, history, folklore. A grey-haired man, I have to learn the meaning of 'Apple-Day' and 'Halloween' and why the school girls wear those colored ribbons on certain occasions...There are so many many little things I have to get into my mind!

Weiselberger lets the older immigrant elaborate on his difficulties to adapt, on the peculiarity of inhabiting something he describes as a "threshold between cultures", and the ensuing change of cultural perspectives:

But have you some idea how extremely difficult it is to take roots again, if I might say so, roots in a new soil? Most probably one's roots were to [sic] deeply set in the old language, culture, tradition...It's such a peculiar feeling to stand on a threshold between nations, no

longer there and not yet quite here.

When he is asked whether he likes it in Canada, a transatlantic comparison becomes a devastating attack on 'Kultur' and its impotence to prevent Europe from the past atrocities. Implicit allusions to the reasoning of the *Dialectics of Enlightenment* are strong:

"I love it", he answered firmly, "It is so new, so fresh, so strong. [...] It is true there are no gothic cathedrals here nor houses with memorial tablets indicating that Beethoven or Michel Angelo or Goethe lived in there by person. [...] But may I ask you, what was the good of all this? Of Dante and Goethe and Titian and Kant, of libraries, or lecture halls, universities, Bohemian cafes crowded with wits and wiseacres? What was the good of it? What came of it? Could they, with all their overflowing intelligence and knowledge protect Europe from slavery, darkness and hunger? Could they? I tell you one thing - to me, one happy child in this country is worth more than all that dusty, maggoty wisdom over there!"

The text, i.e. the monologue of the represented newly arrived European immigrant, takes a highly interesting turn towards a transcultural vision of a Canada changed and shaped by its culturally pluralist influences, and a remarkable plea for an enrichment of Canada via immigration, which, in the late forties, was all but conventional:

Canada in particular will grow something entirely new out of the old - no, a kind of combination. [...] We, the newcomers to this land, with different origins, idioms, races, customs, background, we might play an important part in this! [...] The more affluent and tributaries - the broader and richer the main river Canada! [...]"

"So you are in favor of immigration?"

"Do you think I am one of those selfish persons, who once they get on a crowded bus, consider the ones who follow as disagreeable

intruders? Besides, our bus won't be crowded yet for a long time..."

"Travelers in a Wayward World", written in 1948, is an example in which Weiselberger transcends the individual immigrant's position to transpose his culturally inclusive agenda to a more general level. Here, Weiselberger talks about letters from one of his friends who also fled the Nazi regime and now teaches music in Hawaii, from a former refugee in England who has returned to Austria where she reports that there are "no visible signs of Nazism left", an enthusiastic letter from a former Hungarian journalist now big in the cotton business in Rio de Janeiro:

I do not know whether another friend, a Czech refugee lawyer toiling as dish-washer or waiter in Shanghai, feels the same way about his professional re-orientation - Strange "turnovers" of persons and nations!

Weiselberger reflects on migration, the post-WWII camps filled with displaced persons, in which "many thousands are impatiently waiting to leave for other countries, continents", without "the faintest idea of what in the end may become their homeland, their language. [...] Nationality, citizenship are not more than an accidental gift". The ancient migrations of "Marcomanni, Quades, Goths, Huns" pale in view of today's mass-migrations: "And has not each of the new homeless experienced things against which the novelistic imagery of Balzac, Dickens, Dumas, Tolstoy, fades to a colorless adventure cliché?" Again, the article ends in an affirmation of this new transcultural blending:

The German architect who builds in Sydney, Australia; the Viennese who teaches Brahms and Beethoven to Hawaiians; the Hungarian meat packer and the Dutch diamond-cutters who opened new industries in Canada; the British, Norwegian, Russian, farmers arriving in Halifax, while Canadian Mennonites leave for

Paraguay and Jugoslavs from Manitoba for Serbia and Croatia - they all carry the seeds of foreign civilizations towards the gigantic exchange of human thought and development.

Weiselberger's multi/transcultural agenda at this early time is also strongly perceivable in articles which demand cultural tolerance and in which he uses his authority as refugee and survivor of the Third Reich with almost didactic purpose.²²⁰ In "Our Racial Melting Pot" from 1947, Weiselberger praises Canada's polyethnicity and significantly also the contribution of non-European immigrants, and warns of the danger of a Nativist Canadian nationalisms, which "seems to be born less of love for Canada than of hatred of those whom they would like to ban from being Canadians".

So far they have not succeeded. And they will not as long as Canada manages to keep the spectre of a serious depression out of her doors, prevents mass poverty and discontent in the wake of which, as we know, minorities always become the scapegoat. [...] In fact, as long as they enjoy their freedom, there is peace and happiness in this country - not only for the Rabinovitches, the Levitskys, the Wongs, and Kowalskis, the Sedlaceks and Farkas' but also for the great majority with more familiar names - the Browns, Smiths, MacKenzies, O'Gradys.²²¹

In some early articles, Weiselberger compared his new home Canada with what he had left behind without as much as an allusion to the catastrophe of the Third

²²⁰ Cf. also Weiselberger's short story "Too grim for Mozart" set in the future about a 12-year-old boy with a French-Irish-Hungarian-Polish background who becomes a Canadian 'Mozart' when he composes a "six part, neo-dodecaphonic tone poem for contralto, chorus, orchestra, and autoharp entitled 'Under the Palm Trees of Montreal'", once climate change in Canada enables creativity. Probably more interesting than Weiselberger's tongue-in-cheek assertion that the weather is to blame for the perceived lack of creative genius in Canada is the ethnically polyhybrid origin of the future Canadian composer Weiselberger imagines in the short piece.

²²¹ Compare Weiselberger's articles discussed here in the chapter "Jewish Worlds", which condemn radicalism and anti-Semitism.

Reich, but as an assessment of what appeared to him as features of the respective cultures. It is part of the appeal that Weiselberger often tackles such topics with journalistic wit and lets a current incident trigger off such intercultural observations as in "Seeking a Homeland", published in the *Evening Citizen* in 1946. Here, Weiselberger contemplates the apparently strange case of a Canadian war veteran of German descent who wants to settle in Germany after the war. Refuting ethnic explanations, Weiselberger ponders that the veteran might have found something that he lacks in Canada:

Perhaps he had met there more people who do not look upon life as one gigantic bingo-game in which to win "money", "success", "careers", "opportunities". People who do not speed from place to place just to "get" somewhere, or to "get" something. People who often enjoy just "having a time" and who wouldn't sit on stools at a bar counter swallowing quickly a mass-manufactured meal under the roaring of a jukebox - the plague of this continent! - but who expect to find even in the drabest suburb a quiet little restaurant with an "extra room" for the guests - guests not just customers! [...] Most probably the young Canadian saw what is left of Europe's old, historical towns [...] Maybe over there he became a bit sceptical about the North American style of life where everything is mass-manufactured, standardised and commercialized; not only the toothpaste and razor-blade, but also the wedding-ring ("bridal pair"), the "Welcome, Son" flag for the returning hero, the literary "market" and the "bestseller" on which to "base" the movie "hit of the season".

As is often the case, however, this criticism of what Weiselberger perceives as a de-individualized consumer culture in Canada is prevalent, it is not bitter - at least not until the mid-1950s. In the article referred to above, he urges the young Canadian not to leave Canada, but to share in the building of the nation,

which again would be one that takes its influences in a transcultural vein, from everywhere:

[I]t seems as though we were on the threshold of a more cosmopolitan era where the accident of birthplace may no longer split men into sharply distinguished races, nations, clans, haunted by suspicion of everything which is "abroad", that is "off their road".

All these affirmations of the possibility of a Canadian transcultural utopia date from the late forties; a turning backwards or a reflection on problems of adapting is rarely to be found at that time. The almost singular example from this period is "The Man without a Shadow", published in 1947 and already discussed at length in the chapter "Men without Shadows" (III.2.2.1). In this article, Weiselberger elaborates on the difficulties to adapt for the migrant, such as the new language. On the other hand, he warns against returning to Europe, even if an invitation is as alluring as the one he received from the editor of *Neues Österreich*, who had invited him to write for him again.²²² Weiselberger, however, felt estranged from his former 'heimat': "Now that Austria's *Anschluss* was over, I realised I had lost my personal *Anschluss* with Austria" ("The Man without a Shadow").

For a long time, Canada as the better and more just society remained Weiselberger's focus, also often expressed in relation to the country's art. In "How do you like Canada?" in 1949, he also positions himself against what he perceives as the "Canadian inferiority complex", sometimes instilled by immigrants from Europe who "nurse their chronic comparing complex" of "now and then, here and there". Referring to a British war bride, he remarks that "[e]very day she will climb the invisible

²²² The letter of invitation can be found in the correspondence folders at the Weiselberger Archives at the University of Victoria. (Letter from Rudolf Kalmar to Carl Weiselberger, May 31 1948.)

stairs of her Culture Tower to look down at the cultural backwardness of her new country", thus instilling in her Canadian husband the "Canadian inferiority complex" - not even knowing, however, the riches to be found in the National Gallery just across the street. He sees Canada as a "young country", yet one which has already "produced a surprising number of talented scientists, artists, musicians, poets":

Besides, is it not a healthier state of affairs, to have *not yet* produced a Beethoven or Bach than to produce them *no longer*? Sometimes I regret that I am not young among the young, not young enough for this young, thriving land.

Optimism for the future of Canadian art and again a transcultural vision are blended in "A Golden Age for Canadian Art?" from 1947:

History also teaches us that a country's economic rise goes hand in hand with a golden age of art. Is it therefore a Utopian dream to expect Canada to play a major part in the realm of the arts? Canada's art may well become a strongly "modern art", anything but a small, idyllic, provincially-bound art. No, to the despair of many who are suspicious of "foreign ideas" and "imported ideals", it may become a cosmopolitan art, gaining strength and color from the numerous roots and races of a population, shall we say, upwards of 50 millions, binding the most different Old World traditions and styles to an entirely new, fascinating Canadian style of expression. Canada's art will probably be a One World-art, free, broadminded, progressive.

Such an outright praise of a utopian transcultural hybrid art is almost certainly singular for a Canadian cultural commentary written in the mid-forties. Both interest in and strong identification with the host society and the ideal of art that incorporates as many different experiences as possible, are voiced. Although mainly alluding to the divergent artistic expressions of first

world immigration - in this way certainly reflecting the real-political conditions of Canada in the forties, which was still far from opening up the borders to Asian and East-Indian migration - Weiselberger does touch on a 'hotchpotch' vision of "Canada as a mediator between America, Asia, and Europe" and, on a different level, on the New Literatures and arts of English, when envisioning Canada also as a "mediator between this continent and Great Britain and its Commonwealth" (Weiselberger, *A Golden Age of Canadian Art?*). The article constitutes the most remarkable instance in which Weiselberger projects Canada as a transatlantic utopia, a place where artists can draw from and incorporate all kinds of influences ("the numerous roots and races") to create their "cosmopolitan art", "One World" and "progressive".

Although Weiselberger won his fame as the arts critic of the *Ottawa Citizen* thanks to his stupendous knowledge of European art, his stance was not culturally conservative, as much of his arts criticism documents. "Art has always been in a crisis", which appeared in 1961, for instance, presented, among others, the Austrian sculptors and painters Fritz Wotruba and Herbert Boeckl, and even tried to initiate an exhibition of contemporary Austrian art in Canada. Refuting pessimistic voices concerning contemporary art, he goes on the offensive, maintaining that the moment art stands still and the artist feels comfortable in a "completed style" which pleases the buyers, the moment art is no longer "questioned, criticized, tossed about on the waves of crises", it is no longer "living art". Similar patterns are perceivable in an article about the action painting of Jean-Paul Riopelle in "Canadian tastes once backward are unflinchingly modern today" from 1962. The title refers to Henry James's short story "The Tree of

Knowledge", in which a Torontonion couple is presented as utterly devoid of taste:

How times have changed! The conceited, somewhat snobbish American-English writer would not believe his eyes if he saw what has become of Canadian awkwardness and backwardness in the arts!

Interestingly, some of his late articles do display a certain disdain for modernity, such as "The Munsinger Case and Pop Art" from 1966), where he derisively argues that much of Pop Art consists of "ripples from the 'Merzbau', which Kurt Schwitters threw into the quiet art pond half a century ago".

Although Weiselberger had early tried to convince his readers - and more importantly himself - that it is "not good to look back" and had written about the problematic nature of "stepping into the same river twice", what was lost to him gradually became staged more often.²²³ In "Who Says it's Gay Vienna" from 1949, Weiselberger - "[f]rom the bottom of my ex-Viennese heart" - tries to present a different Vienna, away from the then pervading Hollywood cliché of Waltz-infused gaiety, describing the typical pessimism of the Viennese, "their perpetual nagging, grumbling, their ironical attitude towards the world and, most of all, towards themselves":

Dissonances. Half-way between the exuberance of the Viennese three-quarter time and the pistol of the suicide stands nostalgic resignation, self-pity, sarcasm, a unique talent to belittle the world, and, in the first place, to belittle oneself, a literature full of morbid, bored, playfully weary heroes like Schnitzler's Anatol.

²²³ In "The Man without a Shadow" in 1947, Weiselberger ends the article thus: "They had better not look back like Orpheus or they will lose Eurydice again. Because time flows. And, as the ancient philosopher said, you cannot step twice into the same river."

"Not All Story, Viennese says" from 1956 seems to share similar agendas in the presentation of Vienna in a differentiated way. Here, Weiselberger stages an encounter between himself - during his first visit to Vienna after 18 years - and a retired civil servant (a 'Hofrat', presumably) he meets at a 'Heurigen'.²²⁴ The ensuing dialogue touches upon similar topics, as the Hofrat is at pains to "avert another story about Vienna, the beautiful dream city, for the readers of your great, young country of Canada." This is an agenda fitting even more for Weiselberger, who must have been frustrated with the constant reproduction of an image of Austria and Vienna in North America that also Henry Kreisel had already implicitly referred to and criticized in *The Rich Man*. In tone, however, the article also betrays a degree of conflicting melancholia on Weiselberger's part, who ends the article as follows:

Down in the valley, in the blue-golden mist of the dying light, lay Vienna with her towers and cupolas and bridges across the Danube - too beautiful a sight not to say something "beautiful" about her for all her puzzling conflicts and contradictions.

This unmitigated melancholia expressed above was to become stronger over the years, not only regarding Vienna but also with respect to the richness of a European culture Weiselberger saw less and less as exhausted and void as he had done in his early articles - "Europe is old and has reached an impasse. We must begin all over again!" ("Yes, he's a Canadian now", written in 1946). Now, memory re-constructs it as his stimulating home

²²⁴ In an *Ottawa Citizen* article from June 1954, "Travelogue with Reservations", Weiselberger writes about his difficulties in visiting Europe, which he had not again done at that time: "If I went to Europe, I'd have to carry the heavy freight of practically my whole life; painful memories; wounds which might suddenly bleed again; the loss of dear ones and of time irretrievably gone with the wind and the woes caused by too much world history for one little Austro-Canadian."

which he had lost and longed for, whereas Canada as a place brimming over with (cultural) potential recedes into the background.

The sense of loss for Weiselberger, discussed at length in the chapter "Writing Exile", became more dominant in his later work, directly proportional to his growing criticism on North America. In the year 1956, Weiselberger returned to Austria for a visit; had he before detested the idea of re-settling in Austria, his attitude regarding this possibility also changed. According to a letter written by the former editor of the Austrian daily *Neues Österreich* Rudolf Kalmar in 1960, it becomes apparent that Weiselberger was considering a return to Austria.²²⁵ In the forties Kalmar had invited Weiselberger to write for his paper again. Now, however, Kalmar had moved on and was working for Austria's Federal Ministry of Education. He did not advise Weiselberger to return to Vienna, let alone offer him a job. As sparse as biographical information concerning Weiselberger is - additionally, he is the only one of the four writers investigated here who did not leave behind any outright autobiographical text at all - a reversal trend is perceivable at this time, which continued until Weiselberger's death in Victoria, where he never felt at home, and suffered acutely from loneliness instead.²²⁶

Criticism of the shallowness and consumerism of North American society is perceivable time and again, both in his journalism and in fiction; the short story "Das Rosenwunder von Colmar" - written in German, and significantly published in (and possibly written for) the German Canadian newspaper *Montrealer Nachrichten* in

²²⁵ *Neues Österreich* was the first Austrian daily newspaper after 1945; it ceased to exist in 1967.

²²⁶ Compare also Weiselberger's late poem "The Seagull's Song" (Weiselberger, *Bridges*, 170f.) quoted at length at the end of this chapter.

December 1956 - is symptomatic of a harsh criticism, which is no longer dialectically balanced or juxtaposed with any expression of hope.

The story is set in Colmar, where the French painter protagonist Robert spends his entire money - originally assigned for the dinner afterwards planned with his wife and his friend - on the lighting apparatus installed for the tourists to see the famous altar-piece in the church. The juxtaposition between the cultural value and its commercialization as one between Europe and North America is revealed when an American tourist, a witness of the scene wearing an absurdly gaudily colored shirt and tie "auf der die Mona Lisa, Marilyn Monroe und die Freiheitstatue von New York aufgemalt waren" (175), offers to pay ten times the sum spent on the lights for the drawing of Colmar, which the painter had begun just outside the church. In an act appearing like prostitution - actually unwilling to sell his drawing, but finally allured to it as the money would still enable the projected dinner - the European artistic sense suffers its ultimate defeat by American capitalism and consumerism: "Und der kunstbegeisterte Amerikaner verstaute Roberts expressionistisches "Alt-Colmar" in seinem funkelnageneuen Cadillac": a condensed metaphor for the consumption and appropriation of the 'old culture' by American consumer culture, with the bland but all-pervading symbol of the Cadillac. The intended audience is relevant here: German-speaking immigrants living in a North American metropolis - an audience of his - then newly-found (?) - peers.

Significantly, in the 1960s, Weiselberger started writing a number of articles for the *Montrealer Nachrichten* using the pseudonym Carl W. Berger. There is for instance a translation and revision of his article "Not All Story, Viennese says" discussed above,

originally published in the *Ottawa Citizen* in 1956. The German version, now entitled "Grüß Gott, Herr Hofrat" and published in 1964, displays far stronger melancholic sentiments, e.g. when Weiselberger remembers the time "wie anno dazumal, als ich mich selbst noch einen 'richtigen' Wiener nennen konnte" (Weiselberger, "Grüß Gott, Herr Hofrat", 233).

There is one story that Weiselberger ultimately did publish in *Neues Österreich*, in the year he visited Vienna, in 1956. In its agendas, "Circe und ihre Liebhaber" is very close to the one just presented: appropriation of the 'real European artist' for the purposes of the bland mass cultural machinery, an instance of negative cultural transfer, with the allure of easy Hollywood money ('Circe'!) profoundly changing a former musical revolutionary genius, who had to flee the Third Reich, into a saturated, rich arrangeur of movie sound tracks in Hollywood. The intertextual allusion to the Circe story shows the dehumanizing transformation of the individual: "Er war der selbe Mensch und er war es nicht" - thus picking up a recurrent element in many of his stories negotiating exilic situations; here, however, only the gaze from outside reveals the dramatic loss of self of the individual who appears satisfied with his new status. This attitude is not restricted to Weiselberger's German stories. In the Adrian Stonegate Story "The Works of Mercy" (91), he stages the case of a once highly promising Canadian painter who ends up in Italy, where he stops painting but is happy: "You Canadians and Americans think a man must always do things - paint, work, teach. But life is not like this, at least not in Italy" (98). He finds his freedom by breaking the circle of pre-fabricated career plans - according to measures of success a failure, but individually having found happiness.

All these stories are prefigurations of the increasing feelings of alienation of an artist for whom 'listening to European music in Canada' ultimately did not seem enough.²²⁷ They find their culmination in the collection of Weiselberger's cameos of artists, posthumously published as *Zum Olymp, wenn ich bitten darf! Zwölf Dichterkameen*. Weiselberger's preface to the collection contextualizes the 'Dichterkameen' not so much in the sense of a text that finds in Canada a secure haven to ponder about one's own ethnic and cultural past²²⁸, as Eric Koch explorations and historical fiction set in the Germany of the 19th and early twentieth century do, but as a nostalgic or rather wistful 'looking back'. It is not so much the curious re-discovery of an ethnic heritage other than of the majorities in Canada, but an impossible and indispensable re-writing of individual history and re-orientation, with its outspoken agenda of a re-formation of identity with the help of 'turning back', and an utter refusal of Weiselberger's own early assertion that one "can't step into the same river twice" (Weiselberger, "The Man without a Shadow"):

Diese Schattenrisse österreichischer und deutscher Dichter sind in einer kanadischen Stadt gezeichnet worden, in deren kalten Mauern es keinen Hölderlin, Stifter, Grillparzer, Lenau, Raimund, Schnitzler, Kafka gibt. Eine Raum- und Zeitkluft von sechstausend Kilometern und dreißig Jahren trennt mich von ihrer Sprache. [...] Ich zeichne diese Schattenrisse, um die Verlorenen zurückzubringen - die beinahe Schattenhaft-Verdünnten, aus denen die fremde

²²⁷ In a decisively autobiographic article for the *Evening Citizen*, Weiselberger had written in 1949: "Homesickness for Europe - that is, real, painful, lasting homesickness not just occasional fits of nostalgia? No! What was actually great and good in my country I can get here too. The music of Mozart and Schubert (in between Bob Hope and Red Skelton). I do not need the streets and houses in which Brahms and Haydn physically lived, the show cases with yellowed sheets on which they wrote their thoughts. I am not longing for a Beethoven house which had been desecrated by a poster-picture of der Führer." (Weiselberger, "How do you like Canada?").

²²⁸ Cf. Staines, *Beyond the Provinces*, 27f.

Luft, die fremde Sprache das Erinnerungs-Mark herausgesogen. [...] Und wer weiß, mit ihrer Benennung mag der Zeichner selbst mit einem Schlag wieder lebendig, wieder wirklich werden und den Schatten zurückgewinnen, den er an den Teufel verlor.

(Weiselberger, *Zum Olymp, wenn ich bitten darf*, 6f.)

In the introduction, Weiselberger's constructs himself as dominated by his feelings of isolation in the last years of his life in Canada, which by then had become more place of involuntary exile than "Bilderbuch Canada" (Weiselberger, "Bilderbuch Kanada", 213). A melancholic gesture and backward glance - "Ich winkte aus der Ferne - von einer Einsamkeitsklippe zwischen einem Wolkenkratzer und einem Getreidesilo" (Weiselberger, *Zum Olymp, wenn ich bitten darf*, 6) - points to feelings of isolation in which his loneliness is portrayed in a causal relation to the alienating forces of mass production and life in the modern metropolis.

The individual cameos collected in *Zum Olymp, wenn ich bitten darf* do not attempt to present a rounded image of the poets portrayed there. They are rather snapshots with a number of allusions to both life and works of the writers. What is striking is Weiselberger's ability to imitate the specific tone and way of writing of the respective author. The poets and their particularity are captured within only a few pages, reminiscent of Chinese paintings, created with/in only a few delicate 'lines'. The scenes presented are sometimes decisive historical moments in the life of the poet, such as the dramatised suicide of Raimund or Hölderlin's being taken to the Narrenturm in Tübingen. They are sometimes fictional, as the invented meeting between the old Austrian Franz Grillparzer and the young Arthur Rimbaud in "Der Dichter und die Sphinx (1871)".

As mentioned, late in his life, Weiselberger moved from Ottawa to Victoria, this time a voluntary migration of almost 5,000 km, though within the confines of the same nation state. Weiselberger did not like Victoria, about which the late poem "The Seagull's Song" is very explicit, additionally showing Weiselberger's (exilic) frustration in his last years:

I am perched on a cliff at Victoria, B.C.,
an old, fat frustrated gull,
gazing across the sea
at the Olympic Mountains.
(what's so 'Olympic' about them?)

I'm lonely.
I'm the last Seagull
on Vancouver Island
[...]
Oh, how I loathe Victoria!
The elderly ladies in the Empress Hotel play bridge;
The elderly gentlemen in faded sea captain's caps
Talk to each other about the faded glories of the
British Empire,
Bold voyages in the Malayan Archipelago,
Important posts they held in India
Or with the Trade and Commerce Department in Ottawa.
Then they go home and turn on the TV.

I, the old seagull, am the truly last Victorian in
Victoria,
perched on a cliff in Oak Bay,
fed up with the tourist-infested
famous Sunken Gardens of Mrs. Butchart!
[...]
Sometimes I think I should hitchhike
across the Great Lakes,
down the St. Lawrence River
right to Ottawa, to the National Museum...
to be stuffed, lifelike, for a diorama
"Seabirds, Vancouver Island,"
perched on a cliff,
old, fat, but no longer frustrated.
(Weiselberger, *Bridges*, 169-170)

Wassermann - Austrian Canadian cosmopolitanism

*The CBC has asked Charles Wassermann, Canadian radio writer, to examine the state of Canadian literature. (...) Will you give us the results of your investigations, Mr. Wassermann?*²²⁹

Whereas Weiselberger strongly negotiated himself as being a diasporic subject in his media work and creative writing, a study of Wassermann's enormous output for his work at the CBC reveals an entirely different picture: almost everywhere, Charles Wassermann completely glosses over his cultural hybridity and Middle-European past, performatively acting as an English Canadian broadcaster. Both Weiselberger and Wassermann managed to incorporate reports about their birthplace in their newspaper and radio work. For instance, in the years between 1953 to 1955 (the latter being the year in which the Allied occupation of Austria came to an end), Wassermann produced the impressive number of 34 broadcasts on Austria, lasting a total of 21.5 hours, which displays individual freedom of choice concerning content and composition of his broadcasts. At this time the CBC was really starting out, and the individual producer's and broadcaster's freedom was decisively stronger than today.²³⁰ Still, Wassermann decides to hide his former nationality in all his reports. Even in a report on Altaussee - not the radio play "The valley of AltAussee" discussed in the chapter "Jewish Worlds" - he refrains

²²⁹ This was the recurrent introduction of Wassermann at the beginning of the radio series "The Printed Page".

²³⁰ CBC Radio was founded in 1936, replacing the CRBC founded four years earlier. The CBC International Service for which Wassermann did series such as "Canadian Primer" was founded in 1945, the first FM stations opened in Montreal and Toronto in 1946. Canadian TV service opened in 1952 (Cf. "CBC/Radio-Canada Milestones").

from revealing that he was brought up there, choosing the focus of a Canadian who visits and discovers Austria for the first time for these broadcasts.

What Wassermann shares throughout his career with Weiselberger is the latter's - if only initial - interest in and hope for the 'project Canada' as a young nation full of potential. Weiselberger paradigmatically entitles his German book-length study *Kanada. Land der Zukunft*, referring to and re-producing in post-WWII times Wilfrid Laurier's iconic assertion that the twentieth century belongs to Canada.²³¹

In some of his early radio broadcasts, Wassermann implicitly and explicitly propagates the issue of a Canadian nationalism as important for remaining independent from both GB and the US. His early work also shows a tendency to write against what he perceived as a Canadian cultural inferiority complex - again something he shares with Weiselberger. In 1947, Wassermann, barely 23 at the time, was commissioned to write and broadcast two series: "The Printed Page", and "The Lively Arts". It was apparently his own idea and incentive to choose Canadian literature for these broadcasts. It is highly relevant that Wassermann does so at a time when Canadian literature itself was a marginalized and almost frowned-upon entity, when literature departments in Canada would hardly incorporate, let alone primarily focus on Canadian Literature in their courses.²³² In the programs, each of which lasted for fifteen minutes, he discusses authors

²³¹ The actual phrase Laurier used in 1904 was the following: "The 19th century was the century of the United States. I think we can claim that it is Canada that shall fill the 20th century", but it became proverbial as quoted above (Cf. Lougheed, "A prediction that belonged to the 20th century").

²³² Cf. for instance, Henry Kreisel's essay "Has anyone here heard of Marjorie Pickthall?", where he reminisces on his studies of English literature in the Canada of the forties.

who in 1947 had not yet become canonical names (as he also points out in the program).

The program on Sept 29, 1947 entitled "What are they writing?", is about "Canadian Writers, Readers and Critics", focusing on Hugh MacLennan, the Jewish writer Gwendalyn Graham, W.O. Mitchell, and Gabrielle Roy; the latter was to win the Governor General's Award for the English translation of *The Tin Flute* only a few weeks later. Wassermann comments that those were the writers who were "top of my list", all of them being in their early or late thirties at the time. What the young 'New Canadian' Charles Wassermann focuses on in the program is their self-confident "writing about Canada", which, to his mind, make them prototypes of a new Canadian literature, leaving behind "idealized interpretations of man's fights against nature" of "the days of our settlers". Wassermann joins and explains the discourse of Canadian nationalism:

Canada didn't have a sufficiently integrated society to form a background...or a basis for serious writing. Today Canadian writers are aware of that. They are also aware of the difference between then and now. That difference developed with the Second World War. Canadians had to face national issues...together. We began to see the development of a national conscience, a national character... Canadians wanted to read about themselves, and they did not want to read about themselves as trappers, cowboys and Mounted Policemen, - but as real people who faced real problems.

(Wassermann, "What are they writing?")

The writers Wassermann focuses upon in his report - whose differences among each other he acknowledges - form a group for him, as they are protagonists of a "growing sense of national identity which has come to Canadian literature", writers who are actually "writing about Canada", and who display both "self-confidence" and "the

feeling that the country is behind them". It seems relevant with regard to interculturality that with Gabrielle Roy, Wassermann includes a French Canadian author, with McLennan's *Two Solitudes* presents a novel negotiating the problems of English and French Canadian relations, and that he also includes Graham's *Earth and High Heaven* and its issue of anti-Semitism.

A further example of Charles Wassermann's promulgation of what he and many at the time perceived - or wanted to perceive - as a renewed sense of Canadian identity in the years after WWII, is a series on Canadian historical events: "Now it's History", with topics such as the Battle on the Plains of Abraham, early Confederation, or the "Patriots of 1837", done in 1950, when Wassermann was still only 26. Two programs he conceived and arranged for the CBC's International Service are of special interest: "Canadian Primer" and "Canadian Legends". The latter comprises Wassermann's recreations of legends and tales from different regions of Canada, such as the two Albertan mining mysteries "The Legend of Frank Slide" and "The Story of the Lemon Mine". The series "Canadian Primer" is a staged mock all-Canadian classroom with Wassermann as headmaster and one student from each Canadian province - actually radio commentators presenting basic and less basic facts about Canada - that ran regularly for one and a half years until May 1951 and included 'primer' information on topics such as education, nightlife, banking, oil, and unions in Canada. The very first program set the direction for the highly successful "Canadian Primer", which in 1951 won a Columbus Award at the annual American Exhibition of Educational Radio Programs:

As Canadians, we feel we're beyond the Kindergarten-stage of Canadian information. And as our overseas listeners, so are you, of course: nevertheless, it's time we all brushed

up on some things we think we know about Canada. How and where we live and work, what things look like in Canada, our rivers lakes and towns. And so for overseas and for our own benefit, we've compiled this - Canadian Primer!
(Wassermann, "Canadian Primer")

Whereas Wassermann's work shows a strong suspicion of racially and ethnically determined nationalisms in a pre-WWII European sense, his broadcasts of the forties and fifties promulgated the image of a positive Canadian nationalism. Especially the demand for a peaceful and understanding cooperation of the 'two solitudes', English and French Canada - a dominant paradigm in the forties and fifties in Canada - is not only the basis of Wassermann's most popular broadcast "Fiddle Joe's Yarn" for CBC Montreal radio, but constitutes a constant and recurring element in his radio work.

The early radio drama "The Waters of the Earth are Cold" was placed in the "Canadian Chronicle" series and broadcast on Oct 20, 1946. A fantastic transposition of the settlement of Canada becomes an interesting criticism of the egotism of nationalism. Wassermann depicts the early settlement conflicts as a conflict staged between fish which one day decide to go on land, but immediately start fighting about property. The appeal of the only inhabitant, "a limbo, the prehistoric thing", to cease all fighting as "everytime you fight, you will therefore lose something of your old selves, a change never for the better", does not hinder them from claiming trees, stones, everything they find and arguing about the supposed authority of their claims:

I was here first, long before you. And I was the one who suggested coming here in the first place, so actually all this belongs to me and not to you at all. I am going to have as much fruit as I like!

(Wassermann, "The Waters of the Earth are Cold")

The short drama ends in a projected disaster, as the arguments of the small creatures approach nationalist ideologies and war rhetoric. The initially cute stuffed-animal-like creatures change into cruel monsters, each willing to fight for its "rightful ownership" and "my Canada". The play is not a particularly refined piece of writing, but for the format it was intended - an easy-listening radio play - it works well, and is relevant for its early criticism of separatist and isolationist tendencies, which are clearly, despite the chosen realm of fantasy, set in Canada.

The troubled relationship between English and French Canadians which Wassermann experienced in Canada, only implicitly alluded to here, is directly negotiated in his short radio drama "In Search of Loyalties" (1949). In this radio play, the history of a Scottish immigrant and his antecedents becomes an instance of the interchange of cultural influences between the 'two solitudes'. Whereas he himself had married a French Canadian and become an integral part of French Canadian society, as did his offspring, a reversal has now taken place: in the then-contemporary part of the mini drama, many of his great-grandchildren marry English Canadians, which is seen as a danger to "their culture" and as a revocation of their cultural 'loyalties'. Wassermann, however, ends the piece by putting this into context with an appeal to embrace cultural hybridity, voiced by the narrator at the end of the mini drama:

My family came from Scotland, and was absorbed by French Canada, and became an integral part of it. And now, my generation is going back the other way. There are many who do not approve of this change. [...] And this makes it a problem...for we must decide where our loyalties are...with French Canada...with English Canada...or...maybe with...well, just with Canada. It is a problem...but I think we will resolve it.

And I think the story of my family is living proof to that! (Wassermann, "In Search of Loyalties")

Both radio dramas might be read as pieces of criticism mainly directed against separatist movements in Quebec. Wassermann, however, in a cosmopolitan agenda, devoted a considerable part of his energy to the mediation between English and French Canada. When working for the English-speaking CBC in the fifties, he included numerous programs in which he tried to present his English Canadian audience with French Canadian traditions and lifestyles, even though it is doubtful whether the figure 'Fiddle Joe' in the radio dramas "Fiddle Joe's Yarns" was particularly helpful in undermining the image of the rustic, music-loving, slightly backward Quebecois constructed in Anglo-Canada. In these programs, Wassermann tried to introduce "folk stories of French Canada [...] with folk music arranged" ("Fiddle Joe's Yarns") to his English-speaking audience. The mode is always that of oral narration, with changes to staged dialogue in between, the narrator is always Fiddle Joe:

[H]e'll put away his fiddle 'n bow,
And tell you all you ought to know,
The Story Teller, Fiddle Joe!
(Wassermann, "Fiddle Joe's Yarns")

The program "Canadian Primer" in 1950 also devoted one broadcast to Quebec, in which Wassermann as headmaster argued that "we must recognize that the rest of Canada has many ideas and imaginary pictures of Quebec...some of them quite misguided". In the program, Wassermann voiced problems that had to be overcome, such as the difficulties of many English Canadians caused by the different language, or that equal language rights and

equal status did not always "work out the way the laws lay it down".²³³

As stated before, Wassermann made use of the relative freedom he had as a radio journalist and broadcaster in his choice of topics to 'turn back' to his former - and soon again to be²³⁴ - home country. Unlike the highly differentiated, openly and individually problematized image of Austria conveyed in Carl Weiselberger's work, Charles Wassermann extensively used the opportunity to broadcast positive reports from and about Austria, thus displaying a comparatively untroubled relation to his (former) home and its immediate Nazi past. Other elements add to this. It would be a somewhat hopeless attempt to find causalities in these facts. One, however, might rather see them as producing a hermeneutic circle, each influencing the other by degrees: his early return to Austria in 1954, one year before the end of the occupation by the allied troops, and permanent settlement there; a return to a country he had left at the age of fourteen directly after the 'Anschluss', including a relatively shorter exposure to Nazism, the shortest time behind barbed wire in Canadian internment; his buying into and perpetuation of the Austrian 'victim-myth' - Austria seen as the first victim of Hitlerite expansionist policy - in a number of broadcasts. In the broadcasts on Austria made in the years between 1953 and 1955, Wassermann completely refrains from any criticism and presents Austria as a tourist paradise:

[I]t can certainly be said that Austria offers more scenic variety than almost any country in

²³³ Written in 1950, this is of course long before the Bilingual Act of 1968. Thus, contrary to what Wassermann states, this was a time in which also the legislative was far from ensuring equal language rights and equal status for French and English Canadians alike.

²³⁴ He made Altaussee his (almost) permanent home with his wife Jacqueline in 1954, hardly ever returning to Canada, probably also due to his later blindness which he contracted due to food poisoning in 1961; two years later, he was completely blind (Cf. Seliger, 125).

Europe ideal for the past-time for which so much of the country is actually geared: holidays.

(Wassermann, "Scripts on visit to Austria")

Political issues are rare, and only present in the two programs on Vienna. Besides presenting it as the "fabulous city of music and song"- with marked difference to both Kreisler in *The Rich Man* and Weiselberger in his early *Ottawa Citizen* articles - he also evokes the stereotypically light spirit when he perpetuates the image of Austria as the innocent victim of German Nazism:

Besides this music...which graces Vienna, besides a mention of the intrinsic gaiety of its people, there is of course one other thing which belongs to Vienna. The Viennese waltz. And the waltz really belongs to Vienna...the city has seen hard times...German occupation, war, four-power occupation...but the spirit remained undaunted, and the day the memories of the immediate past are being wiped away, and that spirit of lightheartedness, Gemütlichkeit, and also a real and earnest effort to work, to establish new horizons in the social, economic, and cultural fields, these things are everywhere in evidence, and so Johann Strauss's and his successor's contribution to Vienna's heritage, the waltz, is not out of place.

("Scripts on visit to Austria")

What appears like thorough amnesia on the part of Wassermann, and a deliberate evasion of the presentation of a more differentiated image of Austria, focusing instead on an Austria undisturbed by the immediate past, is once implicitly laid open as a strategy:

This is Charles Wassermann. - Nowadays when people talk of Austria, the first thing that comes to mind is the struggle and hopes of this republic to end four power occupation and regain full independence. These largely political issues, which affect not only Austria but all of us in one way or another, tend to overshadow the contributions in fields other than politics which Austria makes to our

present world scene. This is a great pity, because these contributions are considerable particularly in the arts and sciences.

(Wassermann, "Scripts on visit to Austria")

In this display of frustration with what he regards as a one-sided public presentation of Austria, a serious motivation for Wassermann to present a divergent focus on Austria might be found, one that is not so much determined by the immediate past but by what he at the time felt as particularly relevant.

Once Wassermann returned to Austria soon after the end of the Allied occupation, Wassermann did not leave Canada behind mentally. He kept his interest in and optimism for Canada - just as he kept his passport and Canadian nationality. He freelanced for CBC radio, and, after 1956, also for television, covering events in Eastern block countries, such as the Hungarian Revolution. Additionally, his transatlantic work shifted to 'propagating' Canada in German-speaking countries, acting as a reporter for the Swiss Radio Bern and as an Eastern European correspondent, but also extensively reporting about Canadian politics and publishing the two books mentioned on the History of the CPR and Canada.

Eric Koch - bringing the contested German Jewish heritage to the Canadian literary landscape

As mentioned, Eric Koch did not start using his transatlantic past in his creative writing until the mid-80s. This stands in contrast to the time of production of the works of Wassermann, Weiselberger, and Kreisel, who no longer wrote at the time Koch was actually starting out as a creative writer. In the chapter "Cultural Contexts", I have alluded to the turning point *Deemed Suspect* (1980) represents for Koch's creative writing: by writing about the historical constellations of Jewish refugee internment in Canada, Koch provided an indispensable positioning for himself and also his fellow ex-internees and, together with Abella and Trooper's publication of *None is Too Many*, placed the history of Jewish refugee internment on the map of the Canadian consciousness. It was only afterwards that Koch was able to turn to topics he had found "were too close to the bone" before (Koch, "The Genesis of *Deemed Suspect*", 88).

An additional reason for this turning point must be seen in the tremendous changes within the make-up of both Canadian literature and criticism during the last decades of the twentieth century, some of which are briefly discussed in the introduction to this chapter. Koch is the only one who still wrote and actually became prolific at a time when the policy of official Canadian Multiculturalism was in full swing. This opened up room for the use of divergent histories, the representations of marginalized experiences in creative writing. Although negotiations of the Holocaust and exile are also an important focus in Koch's post-*Deemed Suspect* work, his novels can also be seen as part of a literature that deliberately uses Canada as a secure place to investigate the past²³⁵. Additionally, Canada also becomes the

²³⁵ Cf. Staines, *Beyond the Provinces*, 38.

'recipient', the place where Koch demands an audience for this past that is different from that of the hegemonial majority groups and their master narratives.

To envision Koch as a transcultural writer demands explanation, as his works, for instance, do not do not stage multivocal transcultural encounters.²³⁶ Koch, however, finds "fertile soil" for his explorations of his 'Old World' in Canada, thus bringing his personal memory and individual aspects of a German past to the site of the Canadian contemporary literary landscape. This move constitutes a strong display of a transcultural condition. Thus, Koch's novels add to the "multivocality of Canadian fiction" (Neumann, 106) in its entirety.

The (almost exclusive) focus on the past of one's former (in his case, German) home on the one hand, and the fact that Koch's novels are works of English fiction written in Canada by a Canadian writer who has been in Canada for well over 60 years and thus the better part of his life, on the other, make me regard his agenda a transcultural one. Koch's writing is as much transcultural work as, for instance, Indian Canadian director Deepa Mehta's film *Water*, which draws exclusively on her former nation's history and tradition, bringing the fate of Hindu widows in India in the 1930s to Canadian screens. It is an indication of the acceptance of transcultural thought and Canada's polyvocality that Mehta's movie was Canada's official entry for the 79th Academy Awards for the Foreign Oscar in 2007. Koch brings one and a half centuries of German history of thought, as well as - in its entirety - the

²³⁶ The simultaneous negotiation of divergent (ethnic) versions of history by means of multivocality can be found in numerous recent Canadian novels, e.g. in Jack Hodgins' *Broken Ground* (1998). Neuman sees this multiperspectivity as a particularity of the category of 'sociobiographical fictions of memory' (Cf. Neuman, 121).

profound changes within the official perspective on German Jewry to a Canadian audience.²³⁷

Approaching this material did not come easy to Eric Koch. He made his first attempt at incorporating historical material from Nazi Germany in fictionalized form after the publication of *Deemed Suspect* in the partly detective, partly historical novel *Kassandrus*, in the 1980s. Whereas a German translation of the novel done by Walter Brumm appeared in the German Heyne Verlag in 1988, the novel was never published in Canada in its original English version. *Kassandrus* shows strong similarities to Koch's later book *The Man Who Knew Charlie Chaplin*, so much that it can be assumed with considerable certainty that the latter is actually a substantial rewriting of the former; it was published in 2000, about fifteen years after *Kassandrus* was written.²³⁸ Although the plot is presented from a temporal distance, Eric Koch uses the form of direct diary entries in both novels. In *Kassandrus*, a speech by Hitler in the Hofbräukeller in Munich is represented in an unmitigated and direct way, standing in stark contrast to the careful mediation via the Canadian narrator Lerner in Kreisel's *The Betrayal*. Apart from the comparatively early attempt of *Kassandrus*, six fictional publications by Koch can be seen in the context of a transcultural looking back: *Hilmar and Odette*, *Arabian Nights*, *Earrings*, *Icon in Love: A Novel About Goethe*, *I Remember The Location Exactly* and *The Man Who Knew Charlie Chaplin*, most of which have already been partly discussed in various earlier chapters. In this section, I shall briefly focus

²³⁷ Each of Koch's works preoccupied with Germany - from *Earrings*, *Arabian Nights 1914*, to *I Remember the Location Exactly* and *Hilmar and Odette* - reflects a different phase in the German Jewish relationship.

²³⁸ In the acknowledgements to *The Man Who Knew Charlie Chaplin*, Koch thanks his publisher "for rejecting the first versions of this book and for not accepting it until he was satisfied" (*Chaplin*, VIII), presumably a reference to *Kassandrus*.

on Koch's *The Man Who Knew Charlie Chaplin* as an example for the transcultural agenda employed in Koch's recent creative writing.

The novel is the story of the fictitious philanthropist Peter Hammersmith from New York, who goes to Berlin in 1929 to find out about the potential danger Adolf Hitler and his movement might pose, and is eventually killed during this visit. The novel brims over with historical detail, attempts at historical accuracy and authenticity are constructed by its narrative composition: the novel is made up of excerpts from Peter's diaries and notes, then-contemporary newspaper headlines and short articles (e.g. 13), newspaper clippings (25), letters and telegrams to Peter Hammerstein (e.g. 34, 94), passages as if taken from his personal notes such as his Berlin timetables (e.g. 23f), a passage from Charlie Chaplin's actual autobiography (71), or the fictional report Peter Hammersmith writes for the American president (143). Whereas the bulk of the text consists of passages entitled either "Diary" or "Notes"²³⁹, each chapter usually starts with an authorial narrative passage, and throughout the text there are brief passages providing hard historical facts, each entitled "The Record", in which the narrative self recedes in favor of an authorial voice claiming authorship (e.g. 69: "Teddy Lindhoff is an invented character.").²⁴⁰

The novel proposes ways which might help make the situation in which Nazism could become dominant comprehensible. Koch portrays the spectrum of political opinions in Germany during the late 1920s by presenting

²³⁹ The difference between the two is somewhat loose. Notes often contain passages of direct speech and dialogue, Diary usually does not.

²⁴⁰ In turn, similar statements are employed to enhance the historical credibility of other figures and passages.

different people inhabiting influential positions in the Weimar Republic a few years before Hitler assumed power. The protagonist Hammersmith meets with all these people who voice their divergent perspectives on the political development and on Germany's future. Many of these portrayals become cameos of figures of a somewhat hidden historiography. These representations of resistance, from Kurt Tucholsky to Ernst Toller, the US ambassador Jacob Gould Schurmann to the Jewish president of the police in Berlin, Bernhard Weiss, who defied countless anti-Semitic attacks by Goebbel's paper *Der Angriff*, become tributes to people who at the time were able to see the writing on the wall and tried to react.

Thus, unlike Kreisel in *The Rich Man*, Koch focuses on comparatively 'big names' such as Kurt Tucholsky or Ernst Toller and not on people at the margin. In the context of contemporary Canadian fiction, written for a contemporary Canadian audience, these figures are certainly not (well-)known. By letting them enter the Canadian literary landscape and giving them a voice, they are thus inscribed into Canadian history as world history. It is Koch's incentive to make these committed people and their early resistance known, people who could have made a difference but whose agency was erased and even the memory of some of them was blotted out by the Nazi regime. Koch gives them a face and a voice in a Canadian novel.

By presenting a time before the advent of Nazi Germany, Koch also manages to overcome the dichotomy of 'agency-less victim' and 'merciless perpetrator' that set in once the Nazis seized power. By this, Koch achieves a historification of the development towards the Third Reich, focusing on a time in which German history could still develop differently, thus allowing for a view that the Germany tragedy did not necessarily have to happen.

Koch advocates the necessity and sense of individual political and social commitment. To achieve this even when the subject matter approaches the Holocaust, Koch's equally ingenious and intelligent move is to present a historical time which still allowed agency. A dichotomy between Nazism and agency-less victims is not yet present in the novel, thus helping to transcend a victim/perpetrator dichotomy in (our) mental constructions of the time.

Henry Kreisel - transcultural formations of self and protagonists

*I began to understand that identity was not something forever fixed and static. It was rather like a tree. New branches, new leaves could grow. New roots could be put down, too, but the original roots need not be discarded.*²⁴¹

In Henry Kreisel's creative and critical work as well as in his scattered autobiographical writing - such as the essay "Language and Identity", discussed at length in chapter III.2. "Writing Exile" and from which the quote above is taken - affinities to and prefigurations of inter- and transcultural thought are abundant, well before it became a paradigm in Canadian criticism. There are transcultural encounters for instance in a number of the stories in his collection *The Almost Meeting*, and an interest in representing experiences of different ethnic groups, such as the Ukrainian Canadian father and son in the story "The Broken Globe". Personal notes display Kreisel's early willingness to participate in and further the cause of disenfranchised cultural groups and communities - for instance that of the Cree Nation in the fifties (Kreisel, "Notes on Indian Convention", 159).

Additionally, an early general critical interest in the margin as a site of creative productivity becomes visible. This interest can be discerned in his willingness to discover the Canadian literary landscape in the forties, the apparent neglect of which at the time of his entering Canada he was later to write about in "Has anyone here heard of Marjorie Pickthall?", first published in 1984 in the anniversary edition of *Canadian Literature*. With this essay, Kreisel might have helped to inscribe the literary Canada of the forties or fifties as

²⁴¹ Kreisel, "Language and Identity", 127.

a 'terra incognita', a view which is not uncontested. In the article, Kreisel talks about the difficulties he encountered when trying to discover Canadian literature in the 1940s, remembering a collegiate professor in Toronto who held the view that, as a young country, Canada had not yet produced any literature of significance (112), and even at university level the course he took on American and Canadian literature only included a negligible number of Canadian texts. Whether Kreisel's encounters of the neglect of Canadian literature are entirely valid for the way Canada regarded its own (national) literature in the forties or not, Kreisel's interest in the marginal is remarkable, such as this interest in Canadian writing seemed to him at the time he reflects upon.²⁴² Incidentally, this also forges an interesting link between him and Charles Wassermann's early media work, in which the latter presented contemporary Canadian writers in the CBC programs "The Printed Page" and "The Lively Arts".

His interest in non-mainstream cultural productions remained strong throughout Kreisel's academic career and refers back to his own development and experience. In an interview in 1974, he states that as "a personal response to my early feelings of alienation and exile", he later on "always felt the need to make a contribution to the wider society" (Kreisel, "Certain Worldly Experiences", 172). This coincides with his interest in agendas such as 'ethnic' or 'minority' writing within Canadian criticism long before they moved to the center of attention. At a conference on American and Canadian Western literature held in Edmonton in 1978, three years before the publication of Joy Kogawa's *Obasan*, he remarks:

²⁴² Kreisel was the first to teach a course exclusively on Canadian literature at the University of Edmonton. Cf. e.g. Banauch, "Henry Kreisel".

[...] as became painfully clear to me in one of the panel discussions I attended, there is the enormously interesting field "minority literature" - Chicano, Native American, Asian-American in the United States, and the literature produced by so-called "ethnic" writers in Canada - that is virtually *terra incognita*. Many frontiers *inside* the two countries remain to be crossed. (Kreisel. "Summing Up", 139)

Similarly, in Kreisel's last interview, one year before his unexpected death in 1991, he reasserts his belief in the importance of transcultural writing in Canada, especially the significance of non-European cultural influences. He also refers to his own position as one at the margin advancing such a view:

It was often people, outsiders like myself, who saw the possibilities in Canadian literature, and were attracted to it. [...] I am very excited about that new stream that's feeding into the mainstream. That will enrich Canadian literature in a new way because, after all, Canadian literature, from the beginning, was like American literature, originally an offspring of European literature. ...They [people of non-European ancestry; *my comment*] bring a new kind of consciousness, a new kind of approach to fiction. Their consciousness has been formed in other than European countries. I think we will be seeing a new way of looking at things. (Hesse, "Interview with Henry Kreisel", 84)

In short, an investigation of Kreisel's creative and critical work shows traces of a transcultural condition: an acknowledgement of his own cultural hybridity, interest in the marginalized and the disenfranchised, and the will to work towards an intercultural competence. His critical essay "Language and Identity" (1979) investigates his double socialization and transcultural self.

So far, critical investigation of *The Betrayal* has largely focused on the re-configuration of the Holocaust

and its aftermath in a Canadian setting discussed above. Unnoticed as yet by critical investigation, the novel published in 1964 also suggests a reading as a highly personal investigation of the intercultural formation of Kreisel's own self, this time within creative writing.

In the novel, Kreisel meanders between two positions of (his) self, not only via the exile and refugee Theodor Stappler but with help of both protagonists of *The Betrayal*, as references to his negotiating of and coming to terms with his double socialization - what he later calls his "double experience" (Kreisel, "Certain Worldly Experiences", 171). Read autobiographically, *The Betrayal's* two protagonists Theodor Stappler and Mark Lerner are not yet the representation of a synthesis of the transcultural self as found in the concept of hybridity, but can be regarded as a process towards the acknowledgement of Kreisel's own cultural hybridity, which he later expressed in "Language and Identity", e.g. in the passage quoted at the outset of this chapter.

It is not my intention to doubt the validity of reading Kreisel's *The Betrayal* primarily as a Holocaust novel, as e.g. Michael Greenstein does in his excellent and still unsurpassed interpretation in "Perspectives on the Holocaust in Henry Kreisel's *The Betrayal*". Greenstein diligently delineates the doubling of Stappler and Lerner to help Kreisel 'perform' the drama of the Holocaust and its aftermath on the supposedly innocent stage 'Canada'. Greenstein interprets the 'doppelgänger' motif of the two protagonists as a means to shrink the "phenomenological distance" in order to draw the Canadian realm into the Holocaust (288). Robert A. Lecker, who reads *The Betrayal* largely as a "failed quest for freedom" (Lecker, 316), also detects the 'doppelgänger' motif but reduces it to the question of responsibility: "It is primarily in their approach to existential

responsibility that Lerner and Stappler are twins" (312). This he interprets as lack of commitment and refusal to act. Neither Greenstein's nor Lecker's interpretations read *The Betrayal* as an elaborate autobiographical positioning - a 'Verortung' - of Kreisel's own self, somewhere in the midst of a dialectics stretching from the Holocaust survivor to that of the Canadian spectator/onlooker. Although Greenstein once alludes to a parallel between Stappler and Kreisel - both being "effective tellers of stories" (Greenstein, "Perspectives, 289) - he lets the case rest with that.

What I want to suggest in the context of a double socialization and prefigurative acknowledgement of hybrid identity formation, is that Kreisel in *The Betrayal* negotiates his own highly complex relationship towards the Holocaust in a manner that indicates the trans-lating of cultural boundaries, as being both involved and outside. He does so by lending autobiographical traits not only to one of the two characters, but to both of them: to Stappler, with his history of expulsion from Austria and even the actual betrayal, but also with very direct autobiographical allusions to the figure of Mark Lerner.

Both Mark Lerner and Henry Kreisel were highly successful students at the University of Toronto, and both started lecturing at university level at an early age, even at the same institution, the University of Alberta, Edmonton. The "Postscript" of *The Betrayal* shows that Mark Lerner continues to stay there, just as Kreisel did. Additionally, they share a predilection for the stage. Like Lerner ("There is something in me, I think, of the actor", *The Betrayal*, 1), Kreisel frequently performed in theater productions at the University of Alberta (*Another Country*, 206). A particularly strong autobiographical link is their age. On page 8 in *The*

Betrayal, Lerner's age, thirty, is revealed, as is the year in which the story is set, namely 1952. This information is given in an almost awkward way by the narrator Lerner, as if to ensure that it is not missed: Mark Lerner is exactly the same age Henry Kreisel was in 1952.

The 'doppelgänger' motif of Stappler and Lerner has been alluded to, and textual evidence for it can be found throughout the novel. Especially strong instances are Stappler's exclamation on meeting Lerner "Mon semblable, mon frère!"²⁴³ (*The Betrayal*, 52), and Lerner's apprehensive declaration that he was afraid of the involvement Stappler demanded, but: "I could not, even at the moment, deny that a bond had been created between us. In an obscure way I identified myself with him" (46). In a clever double-bind referring back to Kreisel, those things that set the two fictional characters apart, make them doubles of Henry Kreisel: whereas Lerner shares distinct features with the young Canadian academic Henry Kreisel, the Austrian refugee Stappler shares those of the alienated and uprooted exile Heinrich Kreisel, even the diasporic move and internment in England and Canada (39). Both Stappler and Lerner are, thus, representations of split selves of Kreisel in reference to his double socialization - each one being an extreme representation of his first and second socialization, of his "double experience".

²⁴³ This is yet another intertextual allusion in a novel that brims over with intertextuality (esp. references to T.S. Eliot's "Waste Land"). Charles Baudelaire's "Au Lecteur", the final verse: "C'est l'ennui! - L'oeil chargé d'un pleur involontaire, / Il rêve d'échafauds en fumant son houka. / Tu le connais, lecteur, ce monstre délicat, / - Hypocrite lecteur, - mon semblable, - mon frère!"

11. Postscript

Every preliminary ending has its obligation for new beginnings; via the identification of the subject matter undertaken in this study, it is my hope that both a space and a point of departure for additional and complementary explorations into the cultural production of Third Reich refugees to Canada has been created. I have tried to approach the writers both from a - modified - German exile studies perspective and from one rooted within Canadian Studies in implicit acknowledgement of the necessity of regarding these texts and their producers as being in some kind of dialectical relation to national literatures (Austrian, German, and Canadian). By this, my readings have shown a specific potential of the texts to point towards a radical questioning of the very notion of the concept of fixed borders between national literatures.

This potential stretches beyond the confines of my investigation. The cultural production of Koch, Wassermann, Kreisel, and Weiselberger urgently demands for interdisciplinarity; a purely (German) exile studies investigation of these writers would fall short as would our imagining them within a Canadian multi/intercultural and multi-ethnic polyphony without a strong focus on the shared moments of involuntary expulsion, dislocation and internment.

Creating the notion of 'fluid exile' as an inclusive approach - which at the same time semantically points to exile as determinant at the beginning of the cultural contact with Canada - provides a chance to integrate highly divergent constructions of selves. The centrality of the concept of 'fluid exile' in this thesis is necessary when using exile as a frame for an investigation covering such a long period of time,

including the earliest texts produced in 1940, and the most recent one in 2006. In Weiselberger's shifting positions, for example, exile is something that might come back to haunt and relativize earlier transcultural constructions of the self or ones that display that acculturation processes towards the host society might be superseded. As conceptualization, fluid exile is thus not a one-way street, but rather a complex system of many crossroads, many directions of which might be chosen, even ones leading into an impossible past; it includes constructions of the self as a process which is not necessarily a movement towards coming to terms. Additionally, such a non-static concept of exile allows for the incorporation of chronologically different subject positions; it accounts for performative elements within and between cultures, such as Charles Wassermann's cosmopolitanism with its temporally simultaneous occurrences of situatively variable ethnic affiliations.

Fluid Exile ensures that in such an investigation as undertaken here a re/inscription of exile does not promulgate a view of these cultural producers as solely influenced by this exile experience. They are neither reduced to mourning nor rejoicing exiles, but rather imagined as transcultural selves oscillating between Jewish, Canadian, Austrian, and German worlds and their manifold crossings, in and as texts which become 'contact zones'. Fluid Exile becomes an undeniably important frame for such an investigation, pointing towards exile as the dominant determinant at the beginning of a cultural contact with Canada. This is significant both for the individual cultural producers and for their creative writing, newspaper articles, radio plays, or in their academic work - as Kreisel says, as "an attempt to understand the forces in the modern world that led to

exile [...] to understand my own situation" (Hesse, "Interview with Henry Kreisel", 82).

The close reading of the texts revealed various strategies for their representations of exile and its many agendas. Narrations of exilic selves in a dialectics of exile towards time, language, and space/home have been recovered; they are not confined to the writing produced during the years of internment but sometimes remain lifelong recurrent tropes. Especially in the early texts written at the time of the double exile of internment, testimonial writing is prominent as the only possible gesture of agency, often focussing on the fragile, fragmented, and agency-less identity and self. The readings of the texts show that they escape a binary logic of either indulging in a boundary free post-national existence, or solely turning backward to the lost home. Not only can both directions be recovered, many texts occupy various positions in between, thus deconstructing the notion of exile as being exclusively liberating or paralysing for the (narrative) self.

The investigations of their cultural production in "Writing the Holocaust" shows Kreisel, Weiselberger, Koch, and Wassermann as inhabiting a position 'in between', located midway between the categories of the eyewitness and the successor generation; also the internment in England and Canada at the hands of their 'liberators' biographically puts them in a group of their own. This might be made to account for the centrality of as well as their careful evading strategies in their representations of the Holocaust. Whereas explicit autobiographical references to trauma are remarkably rare, narrative selves haunted by unreconciled pasts abound in their fiction. Transatlantic dimensions and refigurations of the Holocaust (in Canada) are additional characteristics, as are representations of the

precariously endangered identity of the Holocaust survivor in exile, and a focus on the de-individualizing effects of the overwhelming discourse of a totalitarian ideology.

Jewishness as a subject position represented in many texts can be linked to what has been said about evading strategies in Holocaust representations. The focus is overwhelmingly on Jewish worlds lost: "The Valley of AltAussee", *The Rich Man*, Eric Koch's *The Man Who Knew Charlie Chaplin*, or *Earrings*. In the context of the negotiation of Jewishness, these attempts are joined by Weiselberger's representations of the Jewish world of the Canadian internment camps in his short stories. Read together, they constitute a remarkably rich and variegated array of 'Old World' Jewish spaces and milieus produced but so far largely overlooked within the Canadian literary landscape.

Investigations in the field of German and Austrian Jewish refugee exile literature in Canada have so far been dormant; in this thesis I have time and again tried to suggest more feasible agendas, and a clearer view on possible and necessary fields of inquiry to instigate further investigations. For me it has become a major academic and personal motivation to make these four marginalized authors known. Investigating their works has revealed a rich potential for ancilliary effects both for German exile studies and for contemporary transcultural agendas.

12. Future fields of German Canadian exile studies - muses 'outside' the barbed wire

In this study, the limitation to writers whose initial contact with Canada was from behind barbed wire is a conscious decision, but not per se self evident in the context of German Canadian exile studies. Nor is it true that methodologies and perspectives developed within the study of German exile literature can productively be invested only for those writers who entered Canada as 'enemy aliens'. There are other (Jewish) refugees who came to Canada (staying for a while or eventually staying on) after having fled Nazi Germany - during and also after the years 1933 to 1945, sometimes after exile in different countries.²⁴⁴ These 'non-internees' include the writers Monique Bosco, Marta Karlweis, Anna Helene Askanasy, the Yiddish writers Rachel Korn and Melech Ravitch, and Joseph Wechsberg. The following survey shall introduce these writers, as they are relevant for a comprehensive survey of Third Reich refugees and writers in Canada. Three other Canadian internees who pursued writing after their Canadian internment, Peter Heller, Ernest Borneman, and Anthony Frisch, are only peripherally included in the thesis, but their work might also be productively read with the help of exile studies

²⁴⁴ Cf. Abella & Troper, *None is too many* for the extremely restrictive immigration policy of Canada in the respective years.

methodologies. They are also included in the following survey.

Helene Aszkanazy (st. Askanasy), born in 1893, author and playwright, was active in the international women's movement and movement for peace after WWI. In 1931, she published a philosophical study entitled *Spinoza und de Witt. Neun Bilder vom Kampf der "Freiheit" um die Republik*. After WWII she lived in Switzerland at least during the 1950s. A small fraction of her papers can be found at the Women's Library of the London Metropolitan University. She spent some time in Vancouver and wrote at least one book in exile there, *Empress of Byzantium* (1952), for which she used the pseudonym Helen Mahler. One of her plays originally written in German was translated into English entitled *The Magnificent Banker* (Strelka, *Des Odysseus Nachfahren*, 153).

Ernest Borneman, born in Berlin in 1915, fled to London as early as 1933 as he had been active both in Communist and Socialist youth organisations in Germany. Borneman worked in many fields: as jazz musician, scriptwriter, and cameraman. In 1940, he was interned as enemy alien and sent to Canada. Upon release in June 1941, he remained in Canada until the end of the war and worked with John Grierson on ethnological films about Inuit and Native Canadians. Although he became a Canadian citizen in 1947, he migrated to London in 1950. In the German-speaking world, Borneman has become a household name owing to his work as a sexologist mainly since the 1960s; in the 1970s and 1980s, he acted as a lecturer at the University of Salzburg (Bolbecher, 100f). Borneman was a man of highly diverse talents and output: he published novels in English already in the late forties in Great Britain, as well as Jazz and Blues criticism. One of his novels, *Tremolo*, circles around the fictitious

Jazz clarinetist Mike Sumerville, and displays Borneman's intimate knowledge of the history of early Jazz. Due to the combination of a relatively short period of time he spent in Canada and the fact that he was already in his mid to late-twenties when he was interned there, Borneman and his novels are not included in this thesis. His life and work, however, would be a fascinating topic for a more comprehensive study.

Born in Vienna in 1927, Monique Bosco immigrated to Marseilles as an infant. After her immigration to Québec in 1948, she worked as a highly successful and critically acclaimed creative writer. Besides central motifs such as isolation, solitude, and the breakdown of interpersonal communication, her oeuvre negotiates the problematic mediality of the Holocaust. Monique Bosco died in May 2007.

Anthony Frisch proved to be the most elusive of the writers relevant for this thesis and for an investigation of Canadian Exile Literature in general. Frisch published four small volumes of poetry in Canada, and one, the above-mentioned collection of *Steine aus Kanada*, in Austria in the late forties and early fifties. All of these volumes are hard if not impossible to find; there are no archives holding his collected papers, and it is unknown if he wrote creatively at all after the publication of his last poetry volume *Poems*, allegedly published in 1954.²⁴⁵ The difficulty in obtaining his poems does not correspond with their actual relevance. The collection *The House*, for instance, comprises poems in three languages: most of the poems are written in English, but there are also two German and even two French poems in the collection. One publication that is comparatively easy to obtain via used bookstores is one

²⁴⁵ The only reference to this volume can be found in Frisch's *First Flowering* in the list "Published Works of Anthony Frisch".

that he edited in 1956: *First Flowering. A Selection of Prose and Poetry by the Youth of Canada*. In the introduction, Frisch calls the book the "first national anthology of High School Prose and Poetry ever attempted", and explains that the texts published in the collection were chosen from the more than 5000 entries of a nation-wide high school writing competition. Accidentally, it thus comprises the first published poetry by the Canadian poet Dennis Lee.

The scattered details here and there that my efforts to find out more about Anthony Frisch brought to light are as interesting as they have so far proven to be impossible to verify; they certainly point to an object of high relevance. Frisch was born in Naples as the son of a Bohemian father and a Hungarian mother. His father was doing scientific work at the time in Italy (Wassermann-Karlweis, "Zum Geleit", 7). After being interned in England in 1940 under unknown circumstances he was sent to Canada. Upon release, he studied in Montreal at the McGill University. In the fifties, he taught English at a high school, presumably in Ottawa. There are at least two fascinating personal connections worth investigating: Frisch seems to have befriended the later Canadian Prime minister Pierre Elliot Trudeau. In his slim volume of poetry published in 1950, *The House*, Frisch thanks him "for his scrubbing the French poems"; additionally, Walter Riedel confirmed in conversation (with the author) that Frisch befriended Trudeau, presumably also at a time when the latter had already become prime minister. In *The House*, Anthony Frisch even thanks Thomas Mann for his encouragement. This connection might have come about by Marta Wassermann-Karlweis, who knew Thomas Mann from Altaussee. All these relations are so far all but thoroughly researched.

Many of Frisch's poems talk of the (lyrical) self's location between and within two cultures; there is one poem in the collection *Though I Speak* published in 1949, "Arrivals", which brings to the fore the British internment, the passage to Canada, and internment there. "Arrivals" is in all certainty the first 'narrative' or poetic account ever published of the Canadian internment of German and Austrian refugees:

When Dunkirk was afire
Not far from Britain's shore,
They put behind barbed wire
A thousand men and more.
[...]
Those who had to England fled
The German hell alive,
The British had arrested
That Britain might survive.
[...]
Next day they march us to a ship,
A suit-case each had we,
To visit on our little trip
Dominions beyond the Sea.

And those who first are in the queue
Follow the setting sun.
The others (but this no one knew)
Did the Australian run.

They did not tell us whither we
Would go, to what far shore.
We sailed aboard the Sobieski
With Prisoners of War.

They hold the fo'c'stle, we are aft -
Bad friends with whom to be.
The Poles who manned the vessel laughed
At Boche and Refugee.

[...]
We leave the island and not far
Is the Canadian shore.
We land, and here we also are
But Prisoners of War.
[...]
Some went to learn and some to pray,
And some to teach or hoe.
And some have to the present day
Remembered their old foe.

Some have forgotten, some were glad
To heed the call to arm.
But all those who died are dead
Lest Britain come to harm.

The poem's simple but unmitigated form conveys many of the issues of internment: the haphazard imprisonment, the prolonged loss of agency, a diaspora whose direction was out of the subject's control, and the internment in Australia or Canada. It is interesting that the poem's more accusatory passages are directed against Britain: it ties in with Kreisel's remarks that many internees mainly blamed Britain for their fate and not Canada (Butovsky, "Interview with Henry Kreisel", 182).

Marta Karlweis, Austrian writer and psychoanalyst, emigrated to Montreal in 1938, where she was offered a contract at McGill's University, later working as a psychoanalyst in Ottawa. According to Strelka, she died in Lugano, Switzerland, in 1965 (Strelka, *Des Odysseus Nachfahren*, 153). It is unclear how long she stayed in Canada. She was a successful writer in Austria, with four novels published in the 1920s in Germany, among them her most successful novel *Amor und Psyche auf Reisen* (1928), whose (female) protagonists act against traditional sexual morals and for a self-determined female sexuality. She also published a travelogue *Eine Frau reist durch Amerika* in 1928. After her migration to Canada, Karlweis continued to publish for German academic journals such as *Psyche*.²⁴⁶ No pieces of creative writing by her are known after her arrival in Canada, and Karlweis certainly did not publish after 1939. However, she wrote an introduction to Anthony Frisch's collection of German poems written in Canada, *Steine aus Kanada*, in which she

²⁴⁶ At least one article written by her appeared in post-war Germany, under her married name: Marta Wassermann, "Zur Frage der Post partum-Neurose".

highlights the historical importance of the collection (Karlweis, "Zum Geleit", 12). Karlweis came from a highly artistic family, her father being the Viennese dramatist Carl Karlweis and her brother Oskar, a famous theater actor in Austria before but also after the years of the Third Reich. Her second husband was the important German Jewish novelist Jakob Wassermann - their son being Karl/Charles Wassermann.

Both Rachel Korn (also Rokhl Korn) and Melech Ravitch were eminent Yiddish writers born in Galicia when it was still part of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. They share a diasporic movement. Born in 1889, in Podliski, Galicia - where the largest part of the Jewish population was living around the turn of the century - Korn fled to Sweden in 1939, later to the Sowjet Union. She became the first Yiddish writer to be invited to the PEN club in Stockholm. In 1948 she migrated to Québec, where she continued working as a poet, essayist, and novel writer until her death in 1982.²⁴⁷

Born in 1893, Melech Ravitch moved to Vienna in early 1910, after having decided to become a Yiddish poet, publishing four volumes of poetry there but also translating the Jewish expressionist Else Lasker-Schüler into Yiddish. He moved to Warsaw, then the international center of Yiddish literature, which was the first of his many diasporic moves: in 1936 to Melbourne, in 1938 to Buenos Aires, New York and Mexico and in 1941 to Montreal, where he stayed until his death in 1976. Largely due to his influence, Montreal was for long one of the main centers of Yiddish literature. His oeuvre is immense; besides numerous volumes of poetry and more than twenty books of prose and essays, his colossal

²⁴⁷ For more detailed information on this almost forgotten writer outside the Yiddish world (only a number of her poems appeared in English) and some of her poetry, see the homepage *Rachel Korn - Undiscovered Jewel* (<http://www.rachelkorn.com>).

autobiography *doss majsseh-buch fun majn lebn* in three volumes can be seen as his most important publication, providing in its more than 1300 pages an account of an enormously rich and productive life led on four continents. A selection of it was published in German in 1995, thus making it available for a non-Yiddish speaking audience (Ravitch, *Das Geschichtenbuch meines Lebens*).

A special case is that of Hans Eichner, who emigrated to London in 1939 and was first interned in England in 1941; shortly afterwards he was shipped to Australia and interned in the camp in Hay, in the south-eastern bush of Australia, for roughly two and a half years. He returned to England in 1943, where he completed his studies and later on his PhD. In 1950, he started working and teaching at Queen's University in Kingston, Ontario. In 2000, he published his novel *Kahn und Engelmann* - written in German - with Picus, an Austrian publishing house, with the help of the 'Österreichische Exilbibliothek'. The novel brings alive a pre-WWII Jewish Vienna, weaving autobiographical material into a fictional account, in which one merges into the other. Eichner tells the hi/story of a Jewish family leaving the shtetl on foot to seek their fortune in fin-de-siècle Vienna, an account partly based on the story of his own family. Eichner's tale becomes especially autobiographical when the first person protagonist - in a distancing move named not Hans Eichner but Peter Engelmann - recounts Eichner's actual flight via Belgium to England, where he is interned, sent to Australia on the *Dunera* together with German prisoners of war, back to London, and finally to Canada. Eichner does not share the biographical momentum of internment in Canada.

In the Viennese-born Harry Seidler, Eichner has a highly interesting 'negative', important with regard to his diasporic move. A student in Cambridge at the time,

Seidler was interned in 1941 and sent to Canada. During his internment in various camps in Great Britain and Canada he kept a diary, parts of which were eventually published in 1986, together with an oral memoir. It was, however, published neither in Austria nor Canada, but in Australia. After 17 months of internment in Canada and after having studied architecture at Winnipeg, Harvard and New York, where leading architects of the Bauhaus movement such as Walter Gropius and Joseph Albers were among his teachers, Seidler migrated to Australia in 1948. Today, Harry Seidler is regarded as the most influential and eminent Australian architect. His diaries written during the Canadian internment belong to the most important documents of this facet of Canadian history, and are here extensively used in chapter II. 1.2.

In so far as Seidler did not stay on in Canada after the internment, his case is similar to Peter Heller's, who was also interned in Canada but left after his release - after a quick spell of studies in Montreal - for the United States, where he set out to become both full professor of German and a creative writer. His short stories in *Der Junge Kanitz und andere Geschichten* published in 1998 in Austria, take their point of fictional departure from his internment in Canada and, together with Carl Weiselberger's internment stories, constitute the essential fictionalizations of the internment experience written by (former) internees.²⁴⁸ Although Peter Heller left Canada even before the end of the war, one of his stories is also included in this work due to its relevance in this respect.

²⁴⁸ There is no novel that negotiates the internment experience using the historical instance of Jewish refugee internment in Canada, unlike the Japanese internment in Canada with Joy Kogawa's immensely influential novel *Obasan*. There is one recent novel published in the UK dealing with the internments in Great Britain in 1941 by the Jewish writer and British TV celebrity David Baddiel: *The Secret Purposes* (2004).

Austrian-born Joseph Wechsberg immigrated to Montreal via New York in 1938, but returned to the States after a year, where he was later to become a successful journalist for the *New Yorker* magazine, alongside publishing light fiction in English. His is an example of a very successful language change, both for journalistic and creative writing.²⁴⁹

As a preliminary coda to those names which need to be included in a future general investigation of 'Exilliteratur in Kanada', I would like to briefly comment on one writer whom I do not include. Peter C. Newman, a prominent and highly popular Canadian writer of non-fiction (e.g. biographies of former Canadian politicians), is sometimes seen as a writer with Austrian roots due to the fact that he was born in Vienna in 1929.²⁵⁰ In fact, he stems from an affluent Jewish Czech family who were able to afford a Viennese hospital for their son's birth. Although Bohemia belonged to the Austro-Hungarian monarchy until 1918, which could be a reason for arguing that (old) Austria was a formative determinant in his cultural and social development, other factors strongly speak against it: the family was Czech and did not speak German, the father was a Czech nationalist and an ardent supporter of Edvard Beneš. After the incorporation into the Third Reich in 1940, the family fled to Canada when Peter Newman was ten years old

²⁴⁹ Cf. Graml, "Kulturtransfer zwischen Österreich und den USA" for more detailed information on Wechsberg's journalistic and creative career in North America.

²⁵⁰ Thus, he is, e.g., to be found in the finding aid in the Exilbibliothek of the Österreichisches Literaturhaus as an Austrian exile writer. In the New York based emigrant journal *Der Aufbau*, an article written by Walter Jelen with the title "Peter Newman, kanadischer Bestseller-Autor" published in the late seventies, refers to Newman's alleged Austrian roots, the misleading subtitle of the article significantly being "Einer von uns". Cf. also "Hesse, "Interview with Henry Kreisel", 82f., where Henry Kreisel is asked to compare himself to Newman but hardly sees any parallels between himself and Newman.

(thus being significantly younger than the Canadian internees).

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14. Index

A

Abella, Irving 22, 61, 156, 162, 209, 229
acculturation, 8, 12, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 81, 123, 159, 218
Adorno, Theodor 47, 85, 91, 229
agency, 25, 43, 44, 64, 75, 91, 102, 109, 123, 129, 132, 149, 150, 151, 183, 212, 219
alienation, 10, 36, 75, 77, 78, 103, 126, 130, 132, 135, 141, 142, 148, 149, 154, 159, 199, 214
Altaussee, 29, 40, 159, 164, 165, 174, 202, 220, 226
amnesia, 7, 8, 45, 49, 159, 208
Anschluss, 16, 33, 45, 54, 55, 60, 90, 92, 93, 104, 109, 111, 132, 164, 165, 194, 207
anti-Semitism, 21, 31, 39, 55, 83, 92, 93, 104, 105, 107, 116, 155, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 166, 167, 168, 193, 204
Antor, Heinz 181, 182, 184, 187, 230, 237
appropriation, 1, 54, 86, 87, 198, 199
Arandora Star, 19, 21, 27, 232

B

Baddiel, David 12, 27, 67, 221
Bauer, Walter 39, 55, 60, 137, 186, 221, 224, 232
Benhabib, Seyla 10, 75, 230
Berendsohn, Alfred 46, 50, 230
Braidotti, Rosi 74, 75, 231

C

Canadian Jewish Congress, 179
Canadian nationalism, 35, 160, 203, 204
Carr, Emily 37, 86, 98, 100, 152
CBC, 12, 36, 37, 39, 40, 41, 72, 117, 136, 139, 158, 161, 166, 188, 202, 204, 205, 206, 208, 214, 231
Celan, 53, 91, 221
Chamisso, Adelbert 59, 138, 140, 141, 149, 236
citizenship, 26, 38, 43, 123, 190, 192
collective identity, 80
cosmopolitanism, 111, 136, 141, 194, 195, 206
cultural essentialism, 143, 145
cultural formation, 4, 184, 187, 243
cultural transfer, 25, 37, 49, 51, 52, 59, 79, 199

D

dialectics, 80, 190
Diaspora, 5, 6, 9, 64, 72, 76, 83, 168, 176, 177
Dunera, 26, 66
dystopic, 93, 100, 101, 106, 110, 111, 126, 134, 174

E

Eichner, Hans 4, 9, 13, 32, 66, 81, 221, 224, 243, 245
Eliot, T.S. 86, 148, 216
enemy alien, 36, 62, 98, 125
estrangement, 122, 132, 139, 141, 142, 146, 148

ethnic, 4, 5, 7, 11, 12, 13, 14, 29, 31, 72, 73, 76, 79, 80, 85, 89, 111, 116, 123, 155, 158, 159, 161, 175, 179, 186, 187, 188, 193, 200, 209, 213, 214, 218, 219
Exile, 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 10, 11, 34, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 52, 53, 54, 58, 59, 61, 62, 69, 74, 75, 76, 77, 83, 87, 89, 90, 91, 97, 102, 104, 122, 129, 146, 147, 169, 184, 185, 197, 213, 219, 226, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 243, 247
Exilliteratur, 4, 9, 45, 50, 51, 53, 57, 58, 59, 67, 69, 170, 231, 232, 237, 238, 239, 243, 245
Exilstudien, 44
eyewitness, 52, 84, 90, 91, 118, 219

F

Fackenheim, Emil 24, 89, 221
Fluid Exile, 2, 5, 6, 9, 51, 73, 78, 81, 123, 184, 185, 218, 219
fragmentation, 129, 148
Frankfurt, 4, 16, 29, 40, 47, 104, 155, 167, 168, 221, 224, 229, 230
Freud, Sigmund 28, 29, 111, 130, 221, 232
Frisch, Anthony 9, 54, 61, 62, 63, 65, 83, 221, 224, 227

G

German Exile studies, 5, 7, 8, 9, 15, 51, 69, 79, 135, 170, 218, 220
globalization, 76, 181
Greenstein, Michael 6, 83, 94, 97, 176, 215, 221, 233
Gstrein, Norbert 12, 27, 221

H

Hebrew, 57, 153, 154, 175, 177
Heller, Peter 4, 9, 12, 13, 43,
44, 61, 67, 81, 122, 126, 132,
221, 224, 243, 245
Hofmannsthal, Hugo von 29, 164,
165
Holocaust, 1, 2, 4, 5, 13, 15, 17,
34, 41, 52, 62, 84, 85, 86, 87,
88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 96,
97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103,
104, 107, 111, 112, 113, 114,
117, 121, 137, 149, 154, 155,
156, 157, 158, 159, 161, 162,
164, 167, 168, 178, 179, 180,
181, 185, 189, 209, 212, 215,
216, 219, 225, 230, 232, 233,
238, 239, 243, 245
Holocaust Fiction, 86
Holocaust Literature, 84, 87
hybridity, 10, 31, 143, 145, 181,
182, 183, 184, 202, 206, 214,
215
hyphenation, 186

I

identity, 4, 10, 12, 13, 14, 27,
30, 31, 32, 36, 37, 45, 46, 59,
70, 72, 75, 76, 77, 78, 80, 83,
99, 100, 101, 103, 104, 106,
122, 123, 124, 126, 127, 128,
129, 130, 131, 133, 134, 135,
138, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144,
145, 146, 148, 156, 159, 160,
169, 172, 173, 174, 177, 179,
180, 183, 184, 187, 188, 200,
204, 213, 216, 219, 220
Igersheimer, Walter 4, 14, 18, 19,
20, 23, 44, 222, 231, 243, 245
Inner emigration, 118
intercultural, 53, 193, 215, 218
interculturality, 204
internment, 1, 11, 12, 14, 16, 18,
19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 25, 26, 27,
28, 29, 31, 33, 34, 36, 39, 40,
41, 42, 43, 44, 61, 63, 64, 66,
67, 71, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 90,
102, 103, 104, 109, 122, 123,
124, 125, 126, 127, 129, 132,
135, 136, 142, 150, 151, 154,
155, 166, 169, 170, 171, 172,
173, 174, 177, 178, 186, 189,
207, 209, 216, 218, 219
internment camps, 18, 27, 71, 169,
220

J

Jewish Canada, 2, 80, 153, 155
Joyce, James 81, 175, 176, 178

K

Kaminsky, Amy 11, 53, 75, 76, 234
Klein, A M. 13, 81, 83, 87, 88,
145, 164, 166, 175, 176, 222

Koch, Eric 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 8, 9,
11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 17, 18, 19,
20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 29,
31, 32, 36, 40, 41, 42, 44, 45,
54, 58, 59, 60, 72, 80, 81, 83,
87, 88, 89, 90, 92, 95, 112,
113, 114, 115, 116, 121, 122,
135, 136, 137, 155, 157, 158,
166, 167, 168, 169, 174, 178,
181, 187, 188, 189, 200, 209,
210, 211, 212, 218, 219, 222,
224, 225, 232, 243, 245
Kogawa, Joy 11, 67, 124, 186, 214,
222
Köhlmeier, Michael 26
Kreisel, Henry 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7,
8, 11, 12, 13, 14, 17, 18, 19,
20, 22, 23, 24, 26, 29, 30, 31,
32, 33, 44, 54, 55, 57, 58, 59,
64, 67, 71, 77, 80, 81, 83, 86,
87, 88, 89, 90, 92, 93, 96, 97,
98, 99, 100, 101, 104, 109, 113,
116, 117, 121, 122, 125, 133,
135, 136, 138, 140, 142, 143,
144, 145, 146, 147, 149, 152,
153, 155, 157, 162, 164, 167,
173, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179,
181, 184, 186, 188, 197, 203,
207, 209, 210, 212, 213, 214,
215, 216, 218, 219, 222, 225,
230, 233, 235, 236, 243, 245,
246
Kristeva, Julia¹⁰, 146
'Kultur', 85, 110, 159, 182, 183,
191, 237
Kulyk Keefer, Janice 13, 182, 183,
185, 186, 234

L

language shift, 2, 135, 140, 142,
143, 144, 145
Leopoldstadt, 30, 31, 93, 153,
167, 178, 235
liminal, 189
linear time, 146, 147, 148, 149,
151
loss of self, 101, 126, 129, 135,
199

M

Mandel, Elie 88, 225
Mann, Thomas 37, 46, 47, 48, 63,
78, 124, 127, 131, 138, 140,
149, 164, 223, 227, 228, 238
marginalization, 8, 46, 75
McClennen, Sophia 11, 74, 75, 76,
77, 78, 122, 129, 146, 147, 185,
235
memory, 15, 37, 42, 45, 53, 70,
78, 86, 91, 96, 100, 101, 111,
116, 161, 185, 197, 209, 212
Migration Studies, 1, 5, 11, 69,
70, 72, 73, 78
Montrealer Nachrichten, 73, 190,
198, 199
multicultural, 12, 36, 186

multiculturalism, 79, 181, 182,
185, 186
Multiculturalism Act, 79, 183, 185
mythical time, 151

N

narrative selves, 91, 123, 219
Neues Österreich, 35, 36, 190,
194, 197, 198, 199, 227

O

Orthodox Jews, 80, 81, 168, 169,
170, 171, 172, 175, 176, 231
Ottawa Citizen, 12, 29, 34, 35,
73, 103, 106, 117, 125, 135,
136, 137, 139, 140, 154, 160,
162, 169, 185, 190, 196, 197,
199, 207, 224, 227, 228, 229

P

performative, 4, 12, 37, 72, 73,
218
postmodern, 5, 9, 10, 27, 74, 75,
77, 78, 84, 128, 129, 185
poststructural, 10, 11, 74, 75, 78

Q

Quebec, 20, 22, 29, 38, 40, 73,
187, 190, 206, 231

R

Ravvin, Norman 83, 96, 114, 178,
235, 236
recognition, 52, 133, 150
resistance, 39, 42, 47, 55, 56,
76, 81, 95, 102, 116, 117, 118,
121, 124, 157, 163, 165, 211,
212
Richler, Mordecai 82, 83, 88, 178,
223
Riedel, Walter 3, 5, 32, 34, 59,
63, 79, 137, 138, 139, 140, 224,
236

S

Schlemihl, Peter 138, 139, 149, 150
Schnitzler, Arthur 137, 164, 197,
200
Schulze-Engler, Frank 183, 237
Seidler, Harry 4, 14, 18, 20, 21,
22, 23, 32, 44, 66, 67, 80, 223,
226, 243, 245
Shoah, 34, 71, 84, 85, 86, 87, 93,
96, 97, 99, 100, 101, 112, 117,
156, 159, 162, 174, 179
shtetl, 12, 30, 66, 81, 95, 96,
153, 174, 178
socialization, 4, 8, 11, 32, 39,
44, 70, 72, 90, 96, 113, 122,
153, 155, 188, 215, 216, 217

space, 4, 28, 37, 48, 70, 77, 93,
126, 133, 134, 146, 148, 181,
184, 190, 218, 219
Spalek, John 46, 50, 51, 58, 237
Stadler, Friedrich 11, 56, 60, 237
Ständestaat, 92, 93, 95

T

testimonial, 90, 91, 92, 96, 101,
114, 115, 219
transatlantic, 14, 19, 32, 39, 42,
92, 93, 94, 99, 103, 107, 110,
113, 124, 138, 166, 178, 184,
189, 190, 191, 195, 208, 209
transcultural, 2, 4, 5, 8, 26, 49,
52, 73, 78, 87, 93, 98, 137,
138, 142, 143, 146, 152, 166,
181, 182, 184, 185, 186, 187,
188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 194,
195, 209, 210, 213, 214, 215,
218, 219, 220, 244
transculturality, 6, 11, 36, 81,
181, 183, 188, 189
trauma, 7, 25, 74, 90, 91, 92, 99,
103, 104, 147, 178, 185, 219
Troper, Harold 22, 61, 156, 160,
161, 162, 229, 238

U

Ukrainian, 13, 79, 163, 175, 183,
213
uncanny, 111, 113, 130

V

Vienna, 3, 4, 17, 29, 30, 31, 33,
36, 37, 39, 44, 55, 56, 57, 62,
65, 66, 67, 71, 80, 83, 89, 93,
95, 96, 99, 111, 125, 132, 147,
153, 154, 158, 164, 177, 196,
197, 198, 199, 207, 223, 225,
226, 229, 233

W

Wassermann, Charles 1, 2, 4, 5, 7,
8, 9, 11, 12, 16, 17, 29, 31,
35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 44, 53, 57,
58, 63, 65, 72, 73, 80, 81, 83,
87, 89, 90, 117, 118, 119, 120,
121, 122, 123, 124, 135, 136,
137, 154, 155, 158, 159, 161,
163, 164, 165, 166, 178, 181,
187, 188, 202, 203, 204, 205,
206, 207, 208, 209, 214, 218,
219, 223, 224, 226, 227, 237,
243, 245
Weimar Republic, 41, 113, 114,
168, 211, 222
Weinfeld, Morton 156, 157, 159,
160, 161, 162, 179, 229, 238
Weiselberger, Carl 1, 2, 4, 7, 8,
9, 11, 12, 13, 17, 19, 20, 29,
30, 31, 33, 34, 35, 36, 43, 44,
54, 57, 58, 59, 60, 67, 71, 73,
78, 80, 81, 83, 88, 89, 90, 91,
102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107,

108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 117,
122, 124, 125, 126, 127, 129,
130, 131, 133, 134, 135, 136,
137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142,
143, 144, 147, 149, 150, 151,
154, 160, 161, 162, 163, 167,
169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174,
175, 178, 180, 181, 184, 188,
190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195,
196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201,
202, 203, 207, 209, 218, 219,
224, 227, 228, 229, 236, 243,
245
Welsch, Wolfgang 182, 184, 239

Wiechert, Ernst 118, 224
Wiesel, Elie 84, 179, 239

Y

Yiddish, 30, 61, 65, 94, 153, 154,
155, 156, 175, 177

Z

Zweig, Stefan 69, 78, 96, 131,
141, 142, 149, 224

Abstract

The thesis "'Home' as a Thought between Quotation Marks" is the first comprehensive approach to investigate exile literature by Jewish Third Reich refugees in Canada. It defines the subject matter for a study which is long overdue within the particular field. It combines various methodologies from different disciplines, and is intended to be a point of departure for further studies.

The cultural production of the Jewish, Austrian, German, Canadian writers Henry Kreisel, Eric Koch, Carl Weiselberger, and Charles Wassermann, who all came to Canada as internees in the 1940, and stayed on in Canada after 1945, is investigated. Although the readings undertaken here mainly concentrate on these four writers, also other Canadian writers or former Canadian internees of Austrian or German descent such as Helene Askenasy, Marthe Karlweis, Walter Jelen, Peter Heller, Anthony Fritsch, Hans Eichner, Ernest Borneman, Walter Igersheimer, and Harry Seidler are read in this context. The writers I investigate here have been on the margin concerning critical and popular reception of their works in Germany and Austria and, with the exception of Kreisel, also in Canada. Literary historiography usually passes them by, and apart from Henry Kreisel, scholarly articles on any of them are scarce within Canadian criticism; within Austrian/German literary studies they are virtually non-existent. The thesis investigates for the first time a very large body of both creative and journalistic texts, many of which have never been published.

"'Home' as a Thought between Quotation Marks" uses a dual approach. On the one hand, it makes use of German Studies' 'Exilliteratur' investigations, but modifies its approaches by methodologies developed in Latin American exile studies, Holocaust Studies, and poststructuralist

conceptualizations of exile. 'German Exilliteratur' sees the biographical moment of expulsion and the diasporic movement they share as a determinant for their cultural production and their constructions of self. A part of the thesis explores why a comprehensive study of Canadian Exile Literature has never been undertaken. On the other hand, methodologies of Canadian Studies, especially current theories of inter- and transculturalism, are employed. As the temporal scope of the investigation includes more than 60 years, an investigation of the host society needs to think context not as a static concept but take into account the tremendous changes within the Canadian socio-cultural formation from the early forties to the beginning of the new millenium.

Covering such a long period of time also necessitates a new theoretical notion, the concept of 'fluid exile'. It is used as an inclusive approach which at the same time semantically points to exile as determinant at the beginning of the cultural contact with Canada. It thus provides a chance to integrate highly divergent constructions of transcultural selves meandering between and negotiating Jewish, Canadian, Austrian, and German worlds and their manifold crossings, in and as texts which become contact zones.

Deutsche Zusammenfassung

Die vorliegende Arbeit "‘Home’ as a Thought between Quotation Marks" legt zum ersten Mal eine eingehende Untersuchung der Exilliteratur jüdischer Flüchtlinge aus dem Dritten Reich nach Kanada vor und schließt damit eine Lücke innerhalb des Feldes der Exilforschung. Die Anwendung und Kombination unterschiedlicher Methodologien weist darüber hinaus in neue Richtungen für mögliche weitere Forschungsarbeiten in diesem Bereich.

Es wird die kulturelle und literarische Arbeit der jüdischen, österreichischen, deutschen, kanadischen Autoren Henry Kreisel, Eric Koch, Carl Weiselberger und Charles Wassermann untersucht, die als Internierte und sogenannte 'Enemy Aliens' im Jahr 1940 via Großbritannien nach Kanada gelangt und dort nach 1945 auch geblieben sind. Die Arbeit bezieht weiters auch andere SchriftstellerInnen und ehemalige Internierte in Kanada, wie Helene Askenasy, Marta Karlweis-Wassermann, Walter Jelen, Peter Heller, Anthony Fritsch, Hans Eichner, Ernest Borneman, Walter Igersheimer and Harry Seidler mit ein.

Diese Schriftsteller sind bislang sowohl in der populären als auch kritischen Rezeption als marginalisiert zu beschreiben, sowohl in Deutschland und Österreich, als auch, mit der Ausnahme Henry Kreisel, im kanadischen Raum. Viele der Texte, die hier untersucht werden, sind nie publiziert worden. Das große Korpus der Untersuchung umfasst neben der kreativen Arbeit der Autoren auch deren journalistische Texte.

"‘Home’ as a Thought between Quotation Marks" ist durch eine doppelte Herangehensweise gekennzeichnet. Die Untersuchung verwendet zum einen Arbeitsweisen, die innerhalb der deutschen Exilliteraturforschung entwickelt worden sind, und inkorporiert Methodologien der

lateinamerikanischen Exilforschung, der Holocaust Studien, und poststrukturalistische Konzepte von Exil. In Anlehnung an die deutsche Exilforschung sieht die Untersuchung das biographische Moment der Vertreibung, welches die vier Schriftsteller teilen, als einen wichtigen Konstituenten für die kulturelle Produktion und die Konstruktion von Identität. Ein Teil der Arbeit widmet sich hier auch der Frage, warum eine Untersuchung des kanadischen Exils bisher unterblieben ist. Zum anderen komplementieren als zweite Herangehensweise Methodologien der Kanadastudien, vor allem aktuelle Theorien des Inter- und Transkulturalismus, die Arbeit. Da der untersuchte Zeitraum mehr als sechzig Jahre umfasst, wird der Frage nach den sich wandelnden sozio-kulturellen Kontexten in Kanada zwischen den frühen 1940er Jahren und dem Beginn des 21. Jahrhunderts im Zusammenhang mit der kulturellen Produktion Wassermanns, Kreisel, Weiselbergers und Kochs entscheidend Rechnung getragen.

Die Untersuchung eines so langen Zeitraums verlangt auch eine neue terminologische Klammer: die Arbeit stellt daher das Konzept des 'Fluiden Exils' vor. Dieser Begriff wird als inklusive Herangehensweise betrachtet, wobei diesem aber semantisch das Exil als Auslöser für den Beginn des Kulturkontakts in Kanada eingeschrieben ist. Das Konzept bietet die Möglichkeit, ausgesprochen divergente Konstruktionen transkultureller Identitäten zu integrieren, die unterschiedliche Entwürfe jüdischer, deutscher, österreichischer und kanadischer Welten in ihren Texten hybrid verhandeln und so zu kulturellen Kontaktzonen werden.

Akademischer Lebenslauf:

Eugen Banauch studierte an den Universitäten Wien, in Sussex, Brighton, und Ottawa Anglistik und Amerikanistik und Germanistik und schloss diese Studien mit einem MA (Sussex, 2000) und einem Mag. Phil (Wien 2001) ab. Nach zwei Jahren in der Erwachsenenbildung, als externer Lektor am Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik in Wien und als wissenschaftlicher Projektmitarbeiter, arbeitet er seit dem Wintersemester 2003 am Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik Vollzeit als wissenschaftlicher Assistent in Ausbildung.

Im Zuge der Arbeit an der vorliegenden Dissertation hat er an Bibliotheken und Archiven in Montreal, Ottawa, Toronto, Winnipeg, Vancouver and Victoria geforscht, und Vorträge an der Universität Marburg, der Suny New York State University in Cortland, dem Charleston College, an der University of New Orleans, dem St. John's College in Oxford, der Simon Fraser University und an der Universität Wien gehalten.

Seine Lehr- und Forschungsinteressen umfassen folgende Themengebiete: Jewish Canadian and German Canadian Literatures, Exile and Transculturalism, Transatlantic Relations, American Song, Blues, Bob Dylan, (Canadian and US-American) Cultural Studies, Contemporary Austrian literature.

Gemeinsam mit KollegInnen der Anglistik und Romanistik der Universität Wien bzw. der Universität Marburg fungiert er derzeit als Organisator des Nachwuchsforums der Gesellschaft für Kanadastudien (www.nachwuchsforum.net). Er ist Member of the Board und Vereinskassier der österreichischen Gesellschaft für Amerikastudien - Austrian Association for American Studies.