

**"Creating 'New Americans':
WWII-Era European Refugees' Formation of American Identities"**

D I S S E R T A T I O N

zur Erlangung des akademischen Grades
Doktor der Philosophie
(Dr. phil.)

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der Philosophischen Fakultät I
der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin

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Tag der Disputation: 2. Juli 1997

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Introduction:

Creating "New Americans":

WWII-Era European Refugees' Formation of American Identities

From 1939 to 1943, 185 refugees from Nazi-ruled Germany, Austria, Poland, France, Czechoslovakia, Russia, Hungary, Luxembourg and Latvia found refuge at Scattergood, a temporary hostel in what had been a Friends [also known as "Quaker"] boarding school near West Branch, a village on the Iowa prairies. Those fleeing Europe included not only Jews, but also political opponents of the *Nationalsozialisten*, religious dissenters, former Reichstag members and Berlin *Senat* staff, judges, lawyers, journalists, merchants, artists, elderly ladies and single young men, students and children. With the help of volunteers, the refugees-Quakers preferred calling them "guests"- sought to overcome the trauma of their experiences in Europe, find a niche for themselves in a foreign society and generally adapt to life in the New World.

Sponsored by Philadelphia-based American Friends Service Committee [AFSC], the hostel strove to rehabilitate, integrate and assimilate the refugees who came to it seeking assistance. Reflecting their native culture and the era in which they lived, the Quakers who operated the hostel believed that the best way to help newcomers was to prepare European émigrés for integration and assimilation into U.S. culture-in their words, to "create 'New Americans'". Friends did so to help exiles join American society-and thus avoid isolation or provoking natives' anti-foreigner sentiment-while some of refugees sought to adapt to their new environs as a means of basic survival. The Quakers' over-riding goal of Americanizing their guests guided almost every aspect of the hostel's program: instruction in American life and institutions as well as the English language, work in the garden and house, freetime activities, etc; their efforts had far-reaching effect and yielded mixed results. Concurrently, their guests had to juggle who they had been on one hand with new identities they were building on the other; like other refugees at that time, some of the exiles sojourning at Scattergood Hostel attempted to become "Americanized".

This dissertation examines four basic questions relevant to the process through which World War II-era European refugees formed new identities in America: through what means and to what degree did refugees become "Americanized", what did it mean to them to

become "American" and how did their relationships with America change over time?

Scholastic Considerations, Perspectives and Goals

0.1 Scholastic Considerations

Although it focuses above all on one particular Quaker refugee project, this study does not exist in isolation. On a larger level the questions it raises involve the formation of cultural identity in general-but in this case in regard to identity specifically as affected by refugee integration and assimilation. It concentrates on Scattergood Hostel, however, primarily for two reasons-the practical one being that in researching the rehabilitation, integration and assimilation of refugees fleeing Nazi-ruled Europe, I found less than twenty centers where those being served actually lived on the premises. Numerous Jewish, Christian or other agencies offered exiles day-program assistance- English lessons, short-term employment or the chance to sew torn clothes- but hardly any attempted to take refugees in, expose them to American life, culture and institutions or, indeed, cultivate "New Americans". Few agencies helped refugees integrate or assimilate¹ through comprehensive immersion programs *per se*; as most left that to chance or "fate". Where integration and assimilation were left to chance, the minutiae of those processes also were left largely unrecorded-and therefore difficult to analyze systematically. Relative to other residential centers I researched, the refugees and staff at Scattergood left proportionately far more material behind than any of the others.

Also, all refugees landing in America had to adapt to some extent to the society they found in the New World-and presumably they couldn't help but be changed as people through that experience. What was different about the refugees who passed through Quaker refugee centers, however, was that they underwent conscious, organized exposure to

¹ Besides facilitating integration and assimilation, Friends' efforts served a second vital role. While Quaker efforts on behalf of refugees in America were "unique, concentrating as they did on orientation and Americanization", their importance did not stop there. Even if only smallscale pilot projects, they "signaled to the big relief agencies the way that refugees should be treated"- with respect and the whole person in mind (Genizi, 1983, p. 193).

America and Americans.² The new identities they formed, therefore, might be described as the products of "accelerated assimilation": they were not left to assimilate by chance but were encouraged to do so through intent.

Quakers didn't have to force their guests to adapt, however, as most of them welcomed the opportunity. Émigré Gerhart Saenger wrote: "the refugee of today is the American of tomorrow". Before a newcomer to the United States could become "one of us", however, she or he had to learn

American manners, customs, and ideals. The more he becomes assimilated, the more he will feel at home and be able to take his place in the social and economic life of the nation. We cannot become members of a society before we have learned its standards of right and wrong, its aspirations and its religion, its traditions or cultural heritage.³

Saenger described "Americanization" as largely a "learning process". Unless she or he was still a child upon arriving in the New World, for the immigrant, however, adjustment to American society was "difficult". An adult refugee had been

indoctrinated as a child into a society whose customs and ideals [had] become part of his own personality. Now he must relearn and forget, suppressing his old way of living. Moreover, many refugees must undergo this process of adaptation to a new manner of life at a time when learning is no longer easy.⁴

Above all-according to this premise-refugees first had to adapt to new or at least altered positions in life before they could become "Americans". The "mere learning" of American customs or manners, "mere intellectual penetration" into American culture alone was not enough: "inner emotional acceptance" of the refugees' situation on the one hand and "the

2 While this study considers the formation of "American" identities, in theory similar experiences might have been true for European refugees who fled Nazism and landed in a "New World" countries: Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, Argentina, Brazil, etc. One reason for focusing on those who landed in the U.S. is that more refugees settled there than in all the other countries combined (Kirk, 1995, p. 171). From "Greater Germany" alone-taking statistics from Germany as of June 1933 through the end of 1941 and from annexed Austria from 1939 to 1941- 104,098 refugees made their way to the United States (Kent, 1953, pp. 11-12). Wyman claimed that from 1933 to 1945 "something like 250,000 refugees from Nazism reached safety" in the U.S. (1968, p. 209).

3 Saenger, 1941, p. 103.

4 Ibid.

American system of values" on the other were of "tantamount importance".⁵

As shall be substantiated in Part II, compared to sociological studies such as those compiled by Davie or Kent, Scattergood Hostel guests mirrored the backgrounds and experiences of WWII-era European refugees as a whole; their integration or assimilation, though, involved more deliberacy or intensity than that of most émigrés. To understand what adapting to life in the U.S. and forming new identities there might have meant to those who did it, one must consider what "truth" about nameless masses can be distilled from the varied experiences of a select group of individuals from diverse backgrounds—a best-available "control group" being the refugees who spent time at Scattergood Hostel. Based on my research into WWII-era residential refugee centers and refugees, I believe that the 185 individuals who passed through Scattergood represent experiences common to the main refugee groups: political refugees, exiled artists, intellectuals, religious dissenters, "non-Aryans" and refugees from Nazi occupation. I would like to be able to "prove" the representivity of the individual cases I have woven into this study but, in a "scientific" sense, I simply can't: human beings are too diverse and their experiences too unique to maintain that those at Scattergood *absolutely* represent an imaginary whole. Thus the degree to which my findings are "representative" or "typical" depends on readers' willingness to deduce generalizations from specific cases. There are, however, inherent dangers in such an approach—one of which entails maintaining a balance between the individual and the group. We can consider the entire refugee migration as a whole—including those aspects common to it—but in such an approach we risk overlooking a central fact: any group is composed of individuals, each of whom is ultimately unique and thus faces somewhat different if not distinct problems. As John Rich, an AFSC refugee-relief and -resettlement worker, put it:

The moment you consider the tangled affairs of an individual refugee, the whole pattern changes color. It ceases to be a vast economic and social involvement and becomes a moving human drama fraught with deep spiritual significance.⁶

While history does not consist merely of biographies, without biographies history could not exist. At the same time, exclusive focus on individual fates might yield compelling reading but little of orthodox academic or historical significance, while focus on the purely

⁵ Ibid., p. 111.

⁶ John Rich, "Why, Where, Who- the Refugees?", *Survey Graphic*, November 1940.

political events behind those individual fates overlooks the microcosmic ripples caused by macrocosmic developments. As this study explores the microcosmic against a sketch of the macrocosmic, it provides historically grounded insight into a broad, multi-faceted subject: the formation of new identities by individuals who find themselves in a new cultural context, for whom past, culturally specific identities no longer suffice.

0.2 Scholastic Perspectives

This study initially involved the *Problematik* of WWII-era European refugee integration into American society. As research into it progressed and a more critical perspective evolved from my findings, I realized that I had to narrow the focus, as "integration" was an insufficient term. Did "integration" mean simply the procurement of naturalization papers and ultimately a passport issued by the host country? Did it assume "successful" placement in a professional career in the new country-or at least a steady source of self-support? To what degree did it imply that "newcomers" made on-going social connections which offered them a sense of belonging-such as religious, political or other affiliations which provided meaning in the context of a new cultural setting? Some refugees received U.S. passports-for example-but later returned to Europe or emigrated to Israel; they hardly could be seen as having "successfully" integrated. Some older male refugees found positions which were the envy of many natives; others, though, later reported feeling "homesick", "at odds" or "lonely" in the midst of otherwise agreeable work; in their cases "successful" professional placement did not equate successful integration. Still other adult refugees lived in the U.S. for decades and became pillar members of religious or political organizations, yet requested burial in their lands of birth upon death; their last wish spoke volumes about their real feelings toward America. It seemed, then, that the validity of any of the above-mentioned as measurements of "integration" were contingent upon the degree to which "New Americans" were able to form solid, self-determined identities as "Americans" which allowed them not just to survive, but to thrive in their adopted homeland. "Successful" integration depended less on external, "hard" criteria, but rather more on internal, "soft" ones-as will be explained shortly.

One-time refugee children, however, are a different matter-in various ways. For one thing, they arrived in the new culture early enough in their development that their personalities were less set, more flexible. As children learn much through example,

"Scattergood kids" mimicked the environment they saw around them and in the process absorbed many dominant behaviors, values or life-choices modeled in their new communities. They were able not only to "integrate", but moreover to "assimilate". The words "integration" and "assimilation" possess crucially different qualities. One can integrate into a given society ["to make or become whole or complete; to bring (parts) together into a whole"] without assimilating ["to become like or alike; to be absorbed and incorporated"].⁷ In America some of the childrens' parents were able-for example-to "bring together parts (of their lives) into a whole": they built careers, bought houses, established friendships and earned citizenship; in short, such individuals built respectable replicas of the lives they had known in Europe. The adults, though, largely remained Europeans transplanted into American society. Their children, in contrast, much more "became like (or alike)" native-born Americans and were "absorbed and incorporated" into American culture; they generally became individuals who seemed "very American" when visiting Europe-according to former Scattergood Hostel children themselves-and not particularly "European" in their daily lives in America.

In short, truly assimilated European refugee children became virtually indistinguishable from their American counterparts-true to the original definition of "assimilation", which began as a biological term describing the process by which food is made a part of the body. Adapted to sociological use, it refers to the process by which a non-member of a society is incorporated into the "social body". As in the case with assimilated food, when the process is complete

the ingested body is indistinguishable from the absorbing body. Putting it in different terms, when the refugee becomes so Americanized that among native Americans he [or she] passes unnoticed as being foreign, he is assimilated. Assimilation...consists of little things, even though the end result is no little thing.⁸

Regarding "successful" assimilation, I am uncomfortable claiming to know what it "should" mean. Subjective definitions used to gauge WWII-era European refugees' "Americanization" posed for me one of the most difficult, unsatisfactory aspects of this project. I have resisted defining one or another standard for measuring "successful" integration or assimilation when dealing with something as intimate as an individual's sense

7 Both definitions come from Webster's *New World Dictionary*, New York: 1989.

8 Kent, 1953, p. 8.

of Self. For cues I looked to the rich biographies of former Scattergood children. Irmgard [Rosenzweig] Wessel-for one-established a noted reputation for herself as a counselor at Yale. Pierre Shostal, for another, graduated from Harvard and became a well-traveled diplomat with the U.S. State Department-even serving as consular general in Hamburg. Ernst [Malamerson] van den Haag became a renowned conservative economist and lecturer, as well as psychoanalyst and close friend of Henry Kissinger. Hanna [Deutsch] Clampitt's early experiences led her to feminist psychology, while her brother Michael worked with disturbed high schoolers. Erhard Winter studied orthopedic surgery and volunteered his skills in a Tel Aviv hospital for a year. Besides a teacher and multiple times a foster mother, Edith [Lichtenstein] Morgan became a member of her town's school board-an appointment she considered to be one of the most important of her life. In these and other cases one-time refugees established themselves in the American professional world and made important contributions to American society. Were they "successful"? In a culturally defined sense, of course-but they also had the attendant traits of other human beings: divorce, bouts of alcohol or other substance abuse, spells of depression, rebellious children, etc. If "successful" meant "perfectly adjusted", then *none* of the refugees qualified. If it meant that the refugees *themselves* thought that they had learned how to lead engaging, satisfying, socially useful lives in America, then they *had* succeeded. If it also meant that in a crowd of peers they seemed like "just another achiever" and did not stand out as *not* being Americans, then they *had* succeeded.

The drawing of conclusions regarding WWII-era European refugees' formation of American identities ultimately depends on 1.) what criteria one uses and 2.) which criteria one finds most interesting. Of these two main kinds of criteria, one consists of a more "objective" approach-which is to say it uses hetero-perceptions ("successful" integration or assimilation as judged by persons other than the one in question) and looks for "hard" evidence: adequate language skills, a U.S. passport, a place of employment, a house, comfortable furnishings, friends, etc. The other consists of a more "subjective" approach-which is to say it uses auto-perception (assessment by the person in question) and looks for "soft" evidence: feelings, memories, dreams, values, goals, desires, etc. The former lends itself to graphs or charts, statistics, "scientific" surveys and the like; the latter lends itself to journal entries or poems, letters, informal interviews and the like. Differentiating between the "objective" and the "subjective" belongs to my method as doing so facilitates categorization of available data. While it considers "objective" evidence when relevant, this

study is fundamentally oriented to "subjective" over "objective" factors involving the identities which WWII-era European refugees formed after arriving in the U.S. Given the dearth of material dealing with refugees' internal reorientation upon physically establishing themselves as "New Americans", it is good so. Tens of thousands of studies document the "hard" experiences of refugees from Nazi-ruled Europe (their escape, passage to host countries, living conditions in their new homes, etc.), yet few document "soft" experiences (first impressions of American upon arriving contrasted with those of decades later, personal assessments of "what being 'American' means", the degree to which one-time refugees feel at home in their adopted country, the future they hope for their children, etc.). This work ventures into an area avoided by most "historical scientists": it explores the subjective qualities of "objective" historical "facts".

In this work, I sketch the backgrounds of refugees from Nazism in the context of persecution and flight, the various receptions residential refugee centers offered them and- for those who sojourned at Scattergood Hostel- what sort of work or other conditions faced them upon first wading alone into American daily life. After considerable documentation I compare and contrast similarities as well as differences between the various forms of assistance provided them in the process of settling into a new culture and building new lives in it. Finally, I outline basic conclusions regarding WWII-era European refugees' formation of American identities-specifically, means through which Scattergood guests were "Americanized", ways in which some of them were able to "successfully" integrate or assimilate, what the new identities of those who did entail and how their relationships with America have changed over time.

0.3 Scholastic Goals

One might inquire: why is it important to better understand WWII-era refugees' formation of new-in this case "American"-identities? Thousands of volumes have been written over the rise of Nazism, over the Third Reich's expansion and the expulsion of those elements rejected by the Nazis or over the Holocaust and the demise of European Jewry. While numerous volumes have documented the persecution, flight or-to a lesser extent-the reception of refugees abroad, few studies have dealt with refugees' formation of new lives, let alone new identities once they had found safe haven. [See "Reference to Sources" for a sampling.] What remains sorely missing is a comprehensive yet grounded exploration of the means

through which such refugees formed new identities upon arriving in host countries and of the reoccurring-or "representative"- results of that process. Although the pool of persons present at Scattergood Hostel was limited, their varied experiences were thoroughly-yet diversely- documented through closely kept AFSC records, staff reports, refugees' essays and letters, the hostel's monthly newsletters, various individuals' journal entries, newspaper articles, taped interviews with survivors, etc. As explained in Part II, Scattergood Hostel's "guests" were typical of refugees of that period in numerous ways: in this case a well-represented microcosm can shed light on an ill-recorded macrocosm-namely, the dramatic experiences of about a quarter-million unnamed, mostly forgotten unfortunates who fled Nazi terror and landed in host countries far removed from *Mittel Europa*. Given the little research done till now on WWII-era European refugees' formation of new lives and identities once they were safe from Nazi terror, the few published sources pertaining directly to that subject and the passing of the last living participants of the event itself, future historians will suffer from too few sources dealing with refugees' post-flight lives and identities. This paper strives in a small yet concrete way to address that problem.

References to Sources

As historians interested in WWII-era European refugees' formation of new identities suffer from a dearth of available sources, Part I refers to the few which do exist-most written within a few years of the war's conclusion. They include Maurice Davie's landmark survey, *Refugees in America: Report of the Committee for the Study of Recent Immigration from Europe* (1947); a work co-authored with Samuel Koenig, Davie's earlier, helpful yet less-insight-giving study is *The Refugees are Now Americans* (1945): both tomes focus primarily on "objective" criteria and refugees' "hard" experiences regarding the process of integration/assimilation. Rex Crawford's book *The Cultural Migration: the European Scholar in America* (1953) offers a collection of more "subjective" and "soft" sources related directly to former European scholars' adaptation to the U.S.-as does Donald Fleming and Bernard Bailyn's collaboration *The Intellectual Migration: Europe and America, 1930-1960* (1969). In a similar way, Donald Kent's *The Refugee Intellectual: the Americanization of the Immigrants of 1938-1941* (1953) explores how exiled intellectuals became "New Americans"-as does Helge Pross's *Die deutsche akademische Emigration nach den Vereinigten Staaten 1933-1941* (1955). Written somewhat later but by and about those who actually experienced exile, Laura Fermi's colorful review

Illustrious Immigrants: the Intellectual Migration from Europe, 1930-1941 (1968) offers her own insights as well as biographical notes regarding various "illustrious" newcomers to the New World; written mostly secondary sources, Jarrell Jackman's *The Muses Flee Hitler: Cultural Transfer and Adaptation, 1930-1945* (1983) also recounts the experiences of better-known refugees.

An early work which refers to refugees from Nazism more in passing than in-depth, William Carlson Smith's *Americans in the Making: the Natural History of the Assimilation of Immigrants* (1939) does offer clues to the integration/assimilation processes of that era; also worth mentioning is Norman Bentwich's *The Rescue and Achievement of Refugee Scholars: the Story of Displaced Scholars and Scientists, 1932-1952*. (1953) and *They Found Refuge: an Account of British Jewry's Work for Victims of Nazi Oppression* (1956), as in addition to valuable historical accounts of events, both books include commentary on adjustments required by émigrés to "successfully" join host societies. Other sources largely deal coincidentally with exiles' formation of-if not new identities-new cultural images and values, such as Carl Zuckmayer's *A Part of Myself* (1984), Albert Einstein's *Ideas and Opinions* (1954), Colin Holmes' *Immigrants and Minorities in British Society* (1978), R.H. Billigmeier's *Americans from Germany: A Study in Cultural Diversity* (1974) or Judith Tydor Baumel's *Unfulfilled Promise: Rescue and Resettlement of Jewish Refugee Children in the United States, 1934-1945* (1990). Only the first nine of the above-listed titles deal directly with the formation of new identities; the other seven do so indirectly-albeit more so than the 222 titles consulted in the course of this research which are not listed here [see the bibliography].

Secondary sources from books quoted in the text can be found listed first in the footnotes by author and year of publication, then in the bibliography under "Selected Titles"; secondary sources from magazines are cited in full in footnotes on pages where reference to them occur. Secondary sources consulted during research but not quoted in the text are listed under "Suggested Titles". See the bibliography's first page for an explanation of abbreviations used in source-reference throughout this work. Regarding quotes from primary sources who later changed their names: former names are used in contexts concurrent to the period in question and their current name with original surname in brackets in contemporary contexts. As for quotes taken from German authors: because the targeted audience is international and thus mostly English-reading, when English versions of German authors' works existed, they were used; when not, translated passages were included in the text, with

original German versions appended immediately preceeding the bibliography.

While Part I uses standard, secondary sources in the sketches of WWII-era European refugees' persecution and flight, as of the descriptions of the reception at residential refugee programs which those fleeing the Nazis encountered, Part I largely uses primary sources-out of necessity, given the narrow pool from which to choose. Those sources are listed in footnotes and correspondingly in the bibliography according to accepted standards. When letters were used, they are listed in the footnotes in their entirety and can be found at the American Friends Service Committee Archives, 1501 Cherry, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19102-1479 USA.

Especially in Part II, this dissertation refers to material documented at length in *Out of Hitler's Reach: the Scattergood Hostel for European Refugees, 1939-1943* : numbers listed in brackets and accompanied by "OHR" indicate the corresponding page in that document where a specific reference can be found in context and reviewed in full. Individuals wanting a copy of the book should send \$20 to Phyllis Luick, 15118 Lark Avenue, Mason City, Iowa 50401 USA. Parts II and III utilize many primary sources-especially letters, interviews, unpublished memoirs, etc.; AFSC possesses copies of all of them, as well as articles and unpublished reports refering to Quaker-sponsored projects cited in this work.

Part I:
Persecution, Flight and Reception
of WWII-era Refugees

A fundamental criterion in offering the Scattergood Hostel refugees in specific as "representative" of WWII-era European refugees in general is the degree to which they proved "typical"-the degree to which their experiences reflected those common to the basic types of refugees of that period: political refugees, exiled artists, intellectuals, religious dissenters, "non-Aryans" and refugees from Nazi occupation. Also, the hostel itself must be compared with other kinds of residential refugee centers of its time in order to identify which of its traits reoccurred elsewhere. To those ends Part I examines first the persecution and flight of refugees from Nazi-occupied Europe in general, with examples of Scattergood Hostel refugees woven into it. It is a summary of a theme that could be a dissertation in itself but here will be only sketched, as the goal of this work is not to recap the rise and impact of the Nazis, but rather to explain, illustrate and analyze the formation of new identities on the parts of persons who fled them. Second, by outlining the basic types of residential programs-rest homes, agricultural projects, boarding schools, hostels and government-sponsored camps-in which other refugees found reception, one can gain a better sense of how similar or unique Quakers efforts at integration and assimilation were. To identify Scattergood Hostel's significance, one must hold it in the light of its historical context; to understand its legacy, one must sift meaning from small, subtle signs found in its day-to-day routine as well as in singular events which took place there and compare it with other centers.

Chapter 1 Persecution and Flight of WWII-era Refugees

General Comments

The creation of refugees in Nazi-occupied Europe closely followed political developments. Of those who successfully fled, they not only came from various backgrounds, but encountered different routes of escape, varied reception and a range of possible options for the future. Mainly, such people consisted of political opponents of *Nationalsozialismus*, various artists and intellectuals unwilling to conform to touted "German" images of art or culture, religious dissenters, individuals of "non-Aryan" origin and persons fleeing Nazi-occupied territories. Each of these categories is represented by two (as in the case of religious dissenters) or more refugees who landed at Scattergood Hostel: documented cases of persons fleeing due to primarily political convictions consist of 15, the term "artist" or "intellectual" could be applied to at least 30 of the refugees and 25 persons fled non-German-speaking, Nazi-occupied regions [including multi-lingual Czech provinces]. "Non-Aryans" are difficult to count, depending upon what definition one uses. The bogus nature of Nazi concepts of "race" disqualify them from use and many of the "Jews" belonged either to mixed marriages, were atheists or practicing Christians. Also, Quaker staff at the time did not always record refugees' religious affiliation and surviving staff resisted "naming names", deeming such information as "unimportant". Still, 107 of the 185 refugees who were at Scattergood Hostel are known to have been either practicing or "ethnic" Jews.

Just as a reliable, precise number of "non-Aryans" who sojourned at Scattergood Hostel alludes use in this study, historians have failed to reach a concrete figure of Jews among refugees fleeing "Greater Germany" (including annexed Austria) generally. Already soon after the event, sources disagreed over the number of Jews who fled Greater Germany, with one having admitted that "the exact number of Jewish and non-Jewish immigrants is not known" since the Immigration and Naturalization Service did not classify migrants by religion. During the period from June 1933 through 1944, however, the INS did classify by race and labeled one group "Hebrew". During that time 78,189 (76%) of arrivees from Germany and Austria were so classified.⁹ Another claimed that from "51.5" to "67.6%" of the estimated total number of

⁹ Kent, 1953, p. 17.

refugees from Nazi Europe were Jews—depending on which estimates of total immigration one used.¹⁰ In his resignation letter, a one-time High Commissioner for Refugees placed the number of Jews among all refugees at 80%.¹¹ Yet another source held that Jews were 90% of all refugees from "Greater Germany" in Britain.¹²

If they do not provide an exhaustive sampling, the stories of persecution and flight of some Scattergood Hostel "guests" do reflect assorted experiences of the nameless thousands who survived but whose stories remain unrecorded, if not lost completely. Groups persecuted by the Nazis which are not documented as having been among at Scattergood Hostel include homosexuals, "asocials", the handicapped and "gypsies". The uncertainty regarding the first has—not surprisingly—much to do with social mores and conventions of that period. While two one-time refugees (an adult and a former child) alleged that a leading staff member was homosexual, none of the guests can be documented as sharing the same characteristic. A few of the personalities lend themselves to supposition—say, middle-age "bachelors" who showed traits commonly attributed to homosexuals or who made suggestive comments—yet listing them here as refugees escaping the Nazis' unmerciful persecution of sexual minorities would be academically as well as ethically untenable. Thus, the number of primary categories of persecuted refugees who fled Nazi-occupied Europe presented in this study remains at six.

References to Specific Examples

How could members of the main types of refugees fleeing Nazi-occupied Europe escape? Correspondingly, who were the "guests" at Scattergood Hostel—what were their names, gender or ages and what had been their professional and social backgrounds in Europe? From which countries did they come and under what conditions did they leave their homes? Although each of the 185 individual refugees at Scattergood had a unique tale of increasing misery under the Nazi regime and of eventual flight, it must suffice to examine the most telling experiences of a few, yet see them as representative of both general travails and particular problems facing the WWII-era European refugees as a whole. The following cases woven into the wider context of refugees of their "type" are included here, then, as illustrative, not definitive.

1.1 Political Refugees

Political developments inside what as of March 1933 became the Third Reich fundamentally

¹⁰ Davie, 1947, p. 34.

¹¹ James McDonald, Letter to the League of Nations Secretary General, 1935.

¹² Wasserstein in Jackman, 1983, p. 250.

dictated emigration patterns, numbers and destinations of refugees fleeing Nazi persecution. Since their inception, *Nationsozialisten* had shown boiling contempt for their political opponents-indeed, for the very political process itself. Hitler had argued since his obscure beer-hall days that it had been Jews (i.e., those holding government posts), *Sozialdemokraten* and "pascifists" who had "betrayed" Germany in the last days of the Hohenzollern dynasty. For the Nazis such individuals had no place in a "New Germany" and would face ugly fates should the Nazis command power.

Even before the *Machtergreifung*, Brown Shirts and supporters of the *Kommunisten*-as well as other political factions-slugged it out literally in the streets in an open struggle for the "hearts and minds" of German voters preceding the numerous elections in the shaky late Weimarer Republik. In such a climate, public officials and political candidates became targets of hate and often violence-as did left-leaning or liberal newspaper editors and staff, office workers of opposing party headquarters, etc. Club-welding Nazi thugs repeatedly clashed with supporters of opposing political parties or ideologies; once the Nazis succeeded in taking possession of the German government, they wasted little time in settling old scores. Already in 1929 Goebbels had remarked that capital punishment shouldn't be reserved only for murders, but also for "profiteers, traitors to the *Vaterland* and violators of the honor and of the existence of the *Volk*": "Whoever deserves death should have it. Whoever cries against such an act is immediately suspected of also deserving it".¹³ To cite but one example of Nazi score-settling: before Adolf Hitler came to power, the baker's apprentice Siegbert Kindermann had been attacked by Nazi thugs. A member of the Bar Kochba Jewish Sports Society, he cooperated with legal authorities so that his attackers were brought to court and convicted. On 18 March 1933 he was taken to a SS barracks in Berlin and beaten to death; his body was then thrown out of a window into the street and "those who found his body discovered that a large swastika had been cut into his chest".¹⁴

At the same time, many of those the Nazis wanted to eliminate wasted little time disappearing once Germany's turn to dictatorship became final. Even as the ballots of the 5 March 1933 election were being counted, leading left and centrist political figures began

¹³ Lehmann, 1976, p. 33.

¹⁴ Gilbert, 1987, p. 33.

For an account of Nazi persecution of Austrian *Sozialdemokraten* and of their press in exile following the *Anschluß*, see Scheu (1968, pp. 5-9 and 34-39) or Goldner (1977, pp. 17-32); for persecution and flight of Austrian political refugees in general, see Maimann (1978, pp. 1-22).

preparing for exile. As soon as the results were in, the choices became unsettlingly clear: exit-hastily-or become a statistic. Given such a scenario, many political opponents of Nazism chose to flee rather than perish. The problem was, they often were unsure where to find secure, long-term refuge or how to get there. They were certain of only one thing: get out of the New Germany-and as soon as possible.¹⁵

In the first wave of German emigration following the Nazis' ascension to power-which consisted predominantly of political dissidents and artists- countries absorbing the largest numbers of refugees included France (21,250 by April 1934),¹⁶ Palestine (10,000), Poland (8,750), Czechoslovakia (3,500),¹⁷ Holland (2,500) and Switzerland.¹⁸ Sources estimate that in

¹⁵ Being some of the Nazis' most hated enemies, political figures hoping to escape the Reich could not submit applications to the state and await official permission to leave. If they left with intact and appropriate papers at all, many of them did so with falsified passports or other documents. See Schwarz and Wegner's description of that phenomenon (1964, pp. 15-20).

¹⁶ The Paris Assistance Committee reported in September 1934 that it alone had registered 20,000 German émigrés. In May 1935 it held that from a total of approximately 65,000 émigrés in Europe, 40-45,000 were Jews. Those numbers could not be confirmed: "One may well assume, however, that already in 1933 the number of émigrés went at least into the tens of thousands". *Sozialdemokratische* exiles alone were estimated at being 6,000 in all of Europe- half of whom received assistance from aid organizations (Matthias, 1952, p. 18). See Davie, *Ibid.*, pp. 113-114 for information on organizations which assisted political exiles.

In absolute numbers, France was Europe's largest receiver of émigrés and the second largest in the world (Fabian, 1978, pp. 15-16). According to Tartakower and Grossman (1944), the total number of German-speaking refugees from Nazism from 1933 to 1943 totaled circa 285,000- which, if correct, means that more than half of that number passed through France.

¹⁷ Partially German-speaking and on main rail arteries between Berlin and Vienna, Prague seemed a natural site for *Sozialdemokraten* in exile: "One could illegally slip behind Bohemia's frontier forests into Bavaria, Saxony, central Germany and Silesia. Also, there existed an intact German workers' movement in the frontier areas of Bohemia and Moravia which provided a basis- albeit small- for the support of worker opposition in Germany". With Austria's annexation in May 1938, the party transferred its operations to Paris (*Ibid.*, p. 20).

¹⁸ In the first wave of German refugees, about 2,000 persons fled to Switzerland. Their numbers gradually increased during the 1930s and rose to "somewhere between ten and twelve thousand" following the annexation of Austria in 1938: "Because the refugees were constantly encouraged to proceed to other countries", only 7,100 foreigners were living in Switzerland in September 1939- not counting various diplomatic corps. During the six years of war, "some 300,000" fled to Switzerland, "a figure that included many military refugees and deserters" (Pfanner in Jackman, *Ibid.*, pp. 236-237). Refugees from the Reich did not only end up in European countries. Ultimately, Brazil and Argentina absorbed some 10,000 each, 9,000 found a temporary haven in the Chinese port of Shanghai, Australia took in 7,000 and South Africa 5,000 (Kwiet in Pehle, 1988, p. 139). [Bergman (in Jackman, *Ibid.*, p. 284) claims 17,000 German or Austrian refugees came to Shanghai.] Canada accepted "a grand total" of some 5,000 refugees, of whom "just over thirty-five hundred were Jews" (Abella and Troper in Jackman, *Ibid.*, 259) and 1,500 were internees (*Ibid.*, p. 275). Statistics of German/Jewish refugees reaching circum-Caribbean countries remain unexact: between 1939-40 2,914 immigrants of all origins entered Venezuela and 597 came between 1941-44 (from the total of

April 1933 England had absorbed some 2,000-although this may have been lower than the actual figure.¹⁹ The League of Nations' figures indicate that some 65,000 individuals fled Germany from 1933 to the end of 1935. That number included 40-45,000 Jews, 5-6,000 *Sozialdemokraten*, 6-8,000 *Kommunisten*, 2,000 "pacifists", 1,000 Catholics and some 2,000 individuals not fitting in specific categories. Till 1935 the majority of those fleeing Germany did so for reasons other than "racial"- including individuals of Jewish descent who fled as political opponents of Nazism.²⁰ Of those who left, by July 1939 10,882 had been "de-naturalized" per Hitler's personal order.²¹ With denaturalization came the loss of passport and property, the cancellation of academic degrees and inheritance, withdrawal of public or private assistance and the categorization of being a "criminal".²² In such conditions many a refugee applied for residency abroad-only to discover that she or he officially had become "stateless".²³

In some respects, many of the political refugees from Nazi Germany became "stateless" well before Hitler ever got around to officially declaring them to be so. A prime example of such refugees consists of Marie Juchacz, a staunch *Sozialdemokrat*, founder of the *Arbeiterwohlfahrt* (a workers' welfare agency) and the first female member of the post-WWI German parliament. She served in that contentious house from its inception under the Weimarer Republik till its emasculation in 1933. To avoid persecution and internment under the brutal new Nazi regime,

whom six hundred were "overt Jews"); 3,695 Jews immigrated to Columbia from 1933-43 (of whom 2,347 were German-speaking); "no more than seven hundred German-speaking Jewish refugees" settled in Mexico during the "peak migration years"; "about eight hundred" refugees lived at Sosua, a Jewish settlement in the Dominican Republic; between "twelve and twenty thousand" Jewish exiles arrived in Cuba between 1933 and 1944. Of the last group, 49% came from "Greater Germany", one-quarter were "intellectual professionals" and 2.6 percent "described themselves as artists" (Elkin in Jackman, *Ibid.*, pp. 293-297).

19 Wasserstein in Hirschfeld, 1984, p. 69.

By April 1939 Britain had admitted 20,300 adult and more than 4,800 child refugees from Germany, annexed Austria and former Czechoslovakia; by the time war broke out, the number had doubled (Carsten in Hirschfeld, 1984, p. 13). According to Hirschfeld (p. 2), "just under 300,000 people escaped from Germany (excluding Austria and the Sudetenland) between January 1933 and October 1941, before an official ban on emigration was declared. Thus circa 10 to 15 per cent of them found refuge in Great Britain. The majority of these refugees were of German-Jewish origin". See Röder (1968, pp. 20-26) for numbers of pre-war refugees in the UK.

20 See Matthias (1968, pp. 25-47) for a thorough outline of the German *SPD* in exile.

21 88% of those rendered "stateless" were of Jewish origin (Tutas, 1975, p. 158-159).

For a review of Nazi Germany's "denaturalization" of citizens, see Lehmann (1976, pp. 47-54).

22 *Ibid.*, pp. 62-65.

Juchacz left Berlin as Hitler took power in March 1933. She retreated first to Saarbrücken, where the 54-year-old woman created a refuge for former party and Reichstag members. When a plebiscite returned the Saarland to Germany in 1935, she moved across the German border to Mulhouse in Alsace, so that her "connection with the homeland through personal contacts could be maintained".²⁴ In France Juchacz found herself running a household full of fellow emigrants. With war's outbreak in September 1939 she moved to the next station of her involuntary journey—a small village in the South of France. When it became clear after the occupation of north France, however, that the German *Führer* wanted de facto tenancy of Vichy territories, she and her little band planned to flee once more—this time over the Pyrenees. The Vichy government finally granted Juchacz an exit visa in March 1941 and sailed to the French Antilles island of Martinique, where she waited several months before receiving permission to pass on to her next destination, New York. There she set about her on-going, self-appointed task of helping her fellow émigrés.²⁵

At the same time that future Scattergood Hostel resident Marie Juchacz was working her way point-by-point from the plains of Prussia to the prairies of Iowa, other political figures in Nazi Germany were immersed in escape actions of their own. Some political enemies of the Nazis', however, fled likely persecution, imprisonment or possible death through routes other than that chosen by Juchacz—two primary ones being via Prague or Paris. Such was the case of Ernst and Ilse Stahl,²⁶ who were "black sheep...political refugees and from the *very* left side".²⁷ A Breslau native, he had supported the Spartacus movement in the months following the collapse of the Hohenzollern dynasty and served time in a Weimarer Republik prison for running guns during the *Kommunisten's* attempt to plant a Soviet republic on German soil. Ernst and Ilse Stahl's leftist political convictions and activist past provided ample reason for the Nazis to want to persecute them both. Already before the burning of the Reichstag, police

²³ See Zuckmayer, 1984, p. 331.

²⁴ Lemke in Grassl, 1979, pp. 24-28.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Upon request, the names have been changed. All material in this section comes from an interview with "Ilse" conducted by George and Lillian Pemberton, and Earle and Marjorie Edwards in October 1994. After some 55 years in America, Stahl still spoke English with a broad German accent; her lingual mistakes and idiosyncracies have been left intact.

²⁷ Stahl later maintained: "Everybody- even the Friends- had difficulties to accept us. Honestly! The Friends didn't make it difficult for us [though], because they were the last ones to whom we were handed and they didn't want to go out [and fail us] completely" (Ibid .

came searching for Ernst Stahl-who fled out a back window and through the attached attics of *Hinterhäusern* behind his and wife's flat while Ilse Stahl stalled the pushy police officers at the front door.

Upon Ernst Stahl's escape, other members of the communist cell to which they belonged informed Ilse Stahl that "nobody knew her":

All people, all our friends-they are not to know us, because [the Nazis] search for Ernst. So when I saw somebody approaching, I would not make 'hello': I would look straight and sometimes even a little bit to the other side in order not to be tempted. Other friends did the same-that was our *rule*: that we would not give one friend through another friend to the police. So, I was totally isolated by choice, more or less. Because that was our *rule* and we followed our rules.²⁸

Unbeknownst to Ilse Stahl, her husband set out for France by walking across the Thuringer mountains to Czechoslovakia, using a false passport. The Nazis detained him and a companion on the border-charging them with espionage and other "crimes against the state", even though they remained unaware of whom they had in their custody. Although Ernst Stahl could not drive and spoke "very bad French", he eventually won his freedom by posing as the *chauffeur* of the mayor of Strausbourg, who cooperated by writing a letter of inquiry and support on his behalf.

In the meantime, Ilse Stahl led a precarious, dangerous life in Berlin in constant fear and without means of economic support. The police ordered her to register with them daily and she simply bid her time until she received word from her husband and could flee Germany herself. The British chapter of the Salvation Army often fed her, as she was undernourished and "just was tumbling over...and weighed less than 80 pounds and had to walk three miles to work every day". Despite being marginalized professionally-and thereby economically-as an "enemy of the people", Ilse Stahl found a job washing car windows until receiving retraining and finding employment as an apprentice in an "Aryanized" Jewish-owned lithograph-picture

²⁸ The Communists were not the only German political party to exhibit solidarity; the *Sozialdemokraten* did, too- if of a different nature. A former secretary of Dresden's local SPD chapter and later a Scattergood Hostel guest, Gertrude Hesse reported: "our party is violently opposed to Hitler and his gangster methods and when he came to power in March 1933 one of his first steps was to occupy the offices and newspaper buildings of the Social Democratic Party and to burn all their books in public places by his storm troops. Many of our active members, no matter whether Jews or Aryans, men or women, were arrested, badly treated and imprisoned [sic] for years: only because they have been members of our party. In spite of all that, we tried to keep in contact with our membership, we collected money, to help those families where the supporter was in jail or in a concentration camp, we sent small parcels to the prisoners, gave information about the real situation to our friends in foreign countries and so on" (Gertrude

plant. Through legal trickery, she eventually got forged papers and made her way to the Rheinland, where she arranged illegal passage into France via a valley along Germany's western border. With her clothes held in a bag above her head, she and the guide-who "comrades" had organized to smuggle her out of the country- waded breast-deep through a marsh in order to reach French territory. Once both of them were in France, the Stahls spent six months in Strasbourg and a teachers' union took "good care" of them until they moved on to Paris. When the *Wehrmacht* rolled into France in spring 1940, they fled once again and kept running-till via Spain and Portugal they reached New York and later a most unlikely destination, Iowa.

The Stahls were not the only German political dissidents to use France as an escape route. A Jew, Julius Lichtenstein irritated the Nazis most of all because of his political convictions. A judge in Limburg, he moved his family to Paris in late March 1933-having been already in prison for his politically activism, ignoring house arrest and going to "court and continuing to sentence the young thugs [the Nazis] were using to intimidate".²⁹ Once established in the French capital, Lichtenstein and his converted "Bavarian-Lutheran" wife Elizabeth did not withdraw from political activism. Rather, their home became a political center visited by volunteers on their way to fight Fascists in Spain. Daughter Edith [Lichtenstein] Morgan heard "lots of political discussions" as a child and understood that

'if we stopped them in Spain we might have a chance', because [the Nazis] were using that as a testing ground: if nobody did anything, then they figured they had it made. If we had stuck with the agreements we made with the various alliances to support the democratic government in Spain, maybe that would have been enough of a message.³⁰

Once international armed conflict in Europe erupted, however, the life the Lichtensteins had known as resident refugees in Paris came to an end. Julius Lichtenstein fled soon after the declaration of war to avoid landing in a French camp. In the course of trying to save her children from the on-coming Germans some ten months later, his wife and their children set out on foot and headed south in the hopes that they could stay ahead of the Wehrmacht, but usually were not more than 15 or 20 kilometers ahead of them-"and *walking!*" The Lichtensteins remaining in France walked south to Limoges, where they stopped as the armistice was signed, then later made their way to Marseilles, where they eventually rejoined their activist husband and father.

Hesse, Speech Transcript, 5.XI.41 .

29 ELM, Interview with MLT, 27.X.95.

Other political opponents of Nazism who later landed at Scattergood Hostel also stumbled across some luck in their attempt to flee dangerous Europe, for despite whatever travails they might have encountered along the way, at least they survived to tell about their adversities in exile. Whether or not they had sojourned since their hasty departure from Germany, those refugees who fled the Third Reich early in its existence enjoyed advantages that later ones did not. Namely, although the circumstances of departure with their "discouraging and harassing bureaucratic procedures" certainly were bad enough, but

refugees who fled in 1933 or a little later (that is to say the prominent people), had not experienced the exhausting anti-chambers of consulates and shipping firms, the queuing for police and finance offices or the customs office's clearance of property [for] the longer one waited, the greater the robbery was.³¹

That belonged to the everyday-life experiences of refugees as of approximately 1935. The later their flight from the Third Reich, the more refugees sacrificed in terms of property and possessions-as well as the "psychological burdens" connected with abandoning one's homeland and native culture. In contrast to the majority of those who had fled soon after Hitler's seizure of power, later emigrants experienced discrimination and discouragement, with most also experiencing the loss of profession and work, mistreatment and concentration camp imprisonment. After the *Novemberpogrom* of 1938, emigration no longer was "the alternative to persecution, but connected to terrifying recognitions".³²

Indeed, among the 15 guests at Scattergood Hostel identified as having been political refugees, all are recorded as having left Nazi-occupied areas soon after the Nazis seized control. That did not mean that such individuals immediately found a new *Heimat*. To the contrary, none of them stayed in the first country in which they initially found refuge and most of them sojourned in two if not three or more host countries enroute to their final stop, the United States. Rather than German, the children of political refugees more often than not had learned French or some other European tongue as a street language. In fact, by the time they had reached Scattergood Hostel, between them the children of political refugees at the hostel had attended schools in Germany, Austria, the Netherlands, Switzerland, France, Czechoslovakia, England, Poland, Italy, Belgium, Spain, Morocco and Cuba-among others!

30 Ibid.

31 Benz, 1994, p. 12.

32 Ibid., pp. 12-13.

The ostensive reason why the children had fled their homelands in the first place, however, involved their parents. As recounted, Marie Juchacz was the founder of the *Arbeiterwohlfahrt* and a member of the Reichstag-as was Leipzig native Paul Frölich. While Ernst and Ilse Stahl had not held political office, they had held political posts in the *Kommunist* party and had been key members in their local *Kader*. Similarly, Julius and Elizabeth Lichtenstein had been political activists-but non-aligned ones. Other politicians at the hostel included the former secretary of Dresden's *Sozialdemokraten* Gertrude Hesse, Vienna's *Stadtrat* member Fritz Schorsch, Berliner *Senat* statistician Kurt Schaefer, left-wing editor Ludwig Hacke, labor activist Marta Schmidl and Robert Keller, a provincial SPD party director in Halle. Each of them had been subjected to Nazi persecution and each of them had passed through more than one country in their respective flights from occupied Europe. As political refugees, they were closely followed in their exit by artists and intellectuals who could not co-exist with the Nazi regime.

1.2 Exiled Artists

Although the democratic election which legally handed the reins of power to dictatorial thugs took place only three weeks before, already on 28 March 1933 Minister of Propaganda Goebbels gave a talk at Berlin's Kaiserhof in front of the *Dachorganisation der deutschen Filmschaffenden* (DACHO) in which he outlined "German" uses and goals for "German" film in the "New Germany"-claiming that while "art is free" in the Third Reich, "it must get used to certain norms".³³ Similarly, Goebbel's boss Adolf Hitler also dabbled in culture-in turn dictating "Aryan" cultural standards, commenting on visual arts or approving architectural projects planned for the made-over capital of the 1,000-year Reich, "Germania".³⁴ Indeed, the *Führer* had his own sculptor (Josef Thorak) and his favorite conductor (Wilhelm Furtwängler), his official film-maker (Leni Riefenstahl) and his approved architect (Speer). In fact, soon after he became *Kanzler* Hitler created the *Reichskulturkammer* ("Imperial Chamber of Culture") under Goebbel's directorship. Later, at the Greater Germany Art Exhibition in Munich in 1936, the

³³ Jacobsen, 1993, p. 120.

Two days after Goebbel's speech, the regime forbade the release of Fritz Lang's *Das Testament des Dr. Mabuse*, maintaining the film "endangered public order and security". Six weeks later on 10 May, the regime sanctioned burning thousands of books by "degenerate" or "non-Aryan" authors in Berlin. The event gave unmistakable notice to Germany's literary and intellectual circles of Nazi aims of cultural control. (See Wittmann, 1991, pp. 329-330)

³⁴ See Beyerchen in Jackman (Ibid., pp. 36-38) for examples of both men's ideas on "culture"; see Poliakov and Wulf (1959) for samples of the Nazi elite's *Weltanschauung*.

Nazi "school" went so far as to offer its own version of "Aryan" art-in contrast to the sampling of "degenerate" art which it showed in a nearby building to much bigger and more enthusiastic crowds. At the same time, the Nazis decried jazz (what they deemed "nigger music"), as well as jazz' later off-shoot, swing.³⁵ Theater, too, became an organ of the regime's propaganda machine, with stage productions mirroring the regime's values and agenda.³⁶ In short, Nazis well understood the innate social-*ergo* political-message behind various forms of cultural expression. Thus, they made it a priority to censor, control and cultivate art at all levels and use it as an effective tool to sway the masses and curb dissent.³⁷

Artists in Germany saw the threat behind the Nazis' squawking about "decency" verses "degeneracy"-behind their muscle-man and doting-maiden statues, behind their ideologically loaded films and their singing of stylized nationalistic hymns, behind their rewritten schoolbooks and their tampered texts in the sciences or the humanities at universities. In those pre-television days the written word remained a dominant means of mass communication;³⁸ thus the Nazis targeted especially writers in their feverish campaign to control public opinion- and writers quickly felt the pressure.³⁹ Already in 1933 the Prussian Academy of Arts Poetry

³⁵ See Bessel's section on *Swing-Jugend* (1987, pp. 37-40). See Wulf (1983, chapter 7) for documents related to political developments in the Third Reich in 1933 regarding music.

The Nazis' purge of musical life in Germany "was executed swiftly and ruthlessly, legally or violent". Brownshirts staged demonstrations to voice disapproval of "undesirable" conductors, operas or stage performances. Authorities dissolved existing professional music organizations such as the *Deutsche Konzertgeberbund* and replaced them with "pure" German ones such as the *Reichsmusikkammer*: "Great artists, rooted in German tradition, were dismissed overnight, mostly on racial grounds... Having been affiliated with a leftist political party or associated with Jewish or radical artists was also sufficient cause for discharge. Tenure rights were abrogated, and appeals were ignored, although everything went through pseudolegal "channels". The Nazis coined the term *Kulturbolschewismus* to "denote a type of unacceptable modernism or leftist tendency. Whether performers or composers, critics or authors, publishers or impresarios, teachers or scholars, everybody was subjected to questionnaires, investigations, and denunciations" (Schwarz in Jackman, *Ibid.*, p. 136).

³⁶ See Daiber (1995, pp. 19-32) or Snyder (1976, p. 345) for descriptions of the co-opting of German theater by the *Nationalsozialist*-state machine.

³⁷ See Stephan (1993) for an outline of the Nazis' control of German culture after 1933.

³⁸ The Nazis' *Literaturpolitik* directly reflected the regime's longterm political aims; see Barbian (1995) and Beutin (1994) for a review of literature's role in the Third Reich. For an account of German writers' struggle to continue their craft in exile, see Anders (1962).

³⁹ The majority of Germany's writers who fled after Hitler's *Machtergreifung* left the country in 1933: "The flight of [writers]- as opposed to other refugees- was set into motion after 30 January and climbed after waves of arrests which followed the burning of the Reichstag on 27 February and after the burning of books on 10 May"(Wegner, 1967, p. 31). See Brenner in Kunisch (1965) for a review of the distribution of German writers in exile.

Division's president Heinrich Mann wrote in *Der Haff* that a "violent, loud-mouthed minority" had succeeded in "conquering the country, if not the people" of Germany.⁴⁰ His nephew Klaus⁴¹ went further, explaining from exile that whether or not German émigrés liked admitting it, they knew that the dictatorship was popular among the masses: they did not, however, want to admit it, so maintained the opposite, that

'Hitler is not Germany'...The 'real' Germany, the 'better' one was against tyranny -we obstinately assured the world. In our articles and manifestos the German opposition took on tremendous dimensions. It was millions -we insisted-who risked life and freedom in the struggle against the hated system. We did not fib: we *believed*. Our real-if naive-belief in the strength and heroism of the domestic resistance movement gave us the moral stability, the lift which we in our isolation and helplessness so desperately needed.⁴²

The Manns and others engaged in cultural creativity-in art-saw beyond the hollow facades the *Nationalsozialisten* so adeptly sold to the masses and they wanted no part of it. And, many did not stay. They resigned themselves to the only choice they saw remaining: to leave.⁴³ If, that is, the choice had not already been made for them.

Where did the distinction lie between "choosing" to leave Nazi Germany and being "shown the door"? German detractors claimed that actress Marlene Dietrich-for example-*chose* to

40 Heinrich Mann, 1983, p. 140.

The Nazis forced Mann to surrender his post at the Prussian Academy of Arts in 1933.

41 Klaus Mann once wrote: "emigration was not good. In this world of nation-states and of nationalism a person without a nation- a stateless person- feels sick. He has unaccept-abilities; the officials of the receiver country treat him with mistrust; he will be harassed. Also, possibilities of being of service don't easily offer themselves. We should take in the banned? Which authority defends his rights? He has "nothing behind him"- no organization, no power, no group. He who belongs to no group is powerless in this world of the collective, of the masses. He who belongs to no community is alone". (*Die Emigration war nicht gut. Das Dritte Reich war schlimmer*, from the manuscript *Der Wendepunkt*. Städtische Bibliothek Munich

42 Klaus Mann, Ibid.

While Mann spoke of the "real" or "better" Germany, exiled German *Sozialdemokrat* Otto Wels coined the phrase *das andere Deutschland* in August 1933 in Paris at a conference of the Socialist Workers International (Matthias, Ibid., pp. 165-166 and 282).

43 Many prominent visual artists of the Weimarer Republik era left Germany with the rise of the Nazis: Paul Klee returned to Switzerland, Wassily Kandinsky went to Paris, Oskar Kokoschka moved to England, Max Beckmann settled in Amsterdam and George Grosz emigrated to America. Exiled Germanic literary figures included Bertolt Brecht, Joseph Roth, Stefan Zweig, Carl Zuckmayer, Ernst Toller and members of the Mann family. Many of those in exile initially believed or at least hoped that the Nazi regime could not last. By 1935-36, however, "it became clear to émigrés how very much they had deceived themselves concerning the actual political and economic strengths of the Third Reich... The clearer it became, that an immediate collapse of Fascism couldn't be counted on, the more [German exiles'] writings

emigrate to the U.S. and betrayed Germany by performing in anti-Nazi propaganda films; if one allowed creative energies to be proscribed from a central, ambitious authority, though, what kind of life was that supposed to be? Some writers who remained in Germany throughout the Hitler years argued that their flown colleagues should have stayed and fought Nazism from within; many of them

overlooked the fact, however, that for the clear majority of the emigrated writers there was no choice between the two possibilities-flee or stay. Moreover, the majority of the exiles had to see to their own way which escaped arrest or total banishment.⁴⁴

To remain in Nazi Germany and be an artist meant either accepting the implicit gagging of individual creative freedom or opening oneself to an ugly array of "visits" to or from ill-intentioned officials. In such a cramped, stifling atmosphere, artists could create little of real artistic value.

While some artists "chose" to leave, others did so only under duress. One of the latter was Grete Baeck⁴⁵-who received a telephone call late one evening soon after the Nazis' *Machtergreifung* in spring 1933. The caller told her to catch the next train for her native Vienna. Sensing danger, she did. A Jew and a leading actress at the German capital's left-leaning *Volksbühne* theater, Baeck fled so swiftly with a single bag that she had not even time to locate and tell her "Aryan" army-officer husband of three years of her going.⁴⁶

Landing in her native Vienna, Baeck re-established herself, so at least there were some compensations. She had some money and was

back home again. Grete [had always been] a foreigner in Germany; she was always made to feel it. Austria was home... The Vienna theater was still prosperous and it welcomed [her]. In her work she could forget some of the heartaches.

She could not, however, forget them all. For one, she finally received word from her husband: they should meet on the mountainous German-Austrian border. After an eight-hour

backed away from open attack and a spectacular exposure" (Pasche, 1993, p. 9).

44 Wegner, Ibid., pp. 42-43.

45 Sources disagree on the spelling of her name, using both "Baeck" and "Beck".

46 All information about Grete Baeck in this section comes from Keith Wilson, "Spotlight and Reel", in an unnamed Omaha, Nebraska, newspaper's Sunday edition, 8.V.42.

Like Baeck, a large number of Scattergood Hostel's Jewish guests came from Berlin- either as native or as adopted Berliners. This makes sense, given that of 499,682 Jews in Germany in 1933, almost one-third (160,564) lived in the German capital (Kirk, 1995, p. 167)

climb, they did-with border guards listening to every word. They agreed to annul their marriage, for it would have been sure suicide for her to return to and professional death for him to leave Germany.

With the German *Anschluß* of Austria in March 1938, Baeck lost even more. The large mountain home she renovated after fleeing Berlin and all her money remained behind when she fled to Prague, where "the flame of the theater still burned brightly". A new member of the growing list of exiled Germans and Austrians in the Czechoslovak capital, she found herself amidst numerous dramatic greats. Others with whom she had performed in Berlin, though, already had removed themselves to America-Peter Lorre and Lionel Royce to name two. Baeck resisted following them because she had never learned English "for no other reason than she just didn't care to. She knew French, German, Italian, Czech and Hungarian well. Not a word of English". Eventually, Baeck's decision was made for her. In September 1938 Britain and France sacrificed the so-called Sudetenland of Czechoslovakia to Hitler and Baeck fled Prague for Paris, where after a fortnight she secured passage to New York. Landing with \$3 in her pocket and no knowledge of English, she turned for help to the Quakers, who sent her to Scattergood Hostel, hopeful that she could more quickly find the keys to acculturation living among rural folk in Iowa than running among urbane German speakers in Manhattan.

While Grete Baeck had fled immediately upon a tip from a friend, Boris Jaffe left the Third Reich resistingly and at the very last moment upon threats from the Nazis. Russian-born, he had served the Czar as an army officer in the first World War until he was wounded, captured and interned in northeast Germany.⁴⁷ Later, after the Bolsheviks overran the Russian government, Jaffe remained in Germany rather than face the communists in Russia; he became regional distributor of American films in Germany for Warner Brothers and married a Lithuanian-born Jewess. By 1933 the couple had three young children and had moved into a comfortable house in the outskirts of Berlin.

This enviable life could well have continued, except that with the advent of Nazi dictatorship Jaffe found himself increasingly persecuted. Although the son of Jewish parents, he had always claimed his religious affiliation as "Greek Catholic"; a Jewish wife, however, meant Jaffe was the father of three children unescapably held in contempt by those in power and as a Russian he himself always would be seen as an *Untermensch*. On top of that, given that

⁴⁷ All information about Boris Jaffe in this section comes from Felicity Barringer, "Flight from Sorrow", *Washington Post*, 31.V.81.

he peddled films from Hollywood labeled by the Nazis as "decadent", Jaffe's career was slowly wrested away from him by a series of Nazi decrees. Warner Brothers soon discontinued its operations in Germany but sent Jaffe a stipend for several years, although he already had begun work for smaller firms.

Jaffe received the first notice from the Berlin police ordering him to leave the country in 1937 but somehow lingered on eighteen more months, leaving on 27 October 1939-five days after his daughter turned seven and only two days before his visa expired. Riding a train to Copenhagen and then a steamship to New York, 47-year-old Jaffe took a prized photo album with him but left his family behind-likely either because of the prohibitive \$200-per-ticket trans-Atlantic passage or due to successfully restrictive immigration laws.⁴⁸ The album was filled with "crinkled-edged, black-and-white pictures of picnics and parties, boys dressed in *Lederhosen* and a dimpled, curly-haired Tamara clad in ruffles". As one biographer later put it: "For more than six years, [it] would be the only family he had" upon landing in New York, alone.⁴⁹

Technically a Jew, a Slav and a "dealer of decadence", Boris Jaffe had been forced to leave Berlin due to professional and "racial" unacceptability. On the other end of "Greater Germany" in the former capital of a former country, Viktor Popper of Vienna did not fit into the New Germany for similar reasons. Although persecuted primarily not as an artist but rather as a Jew, Popper's story nonetheless illustrates the impact of Nazi persecution on artists and the arts-by banning Jews from participating in the cultural life around them or from attending artistic events and confiscating the tools of their craft.

Born in "very comfortable circumstances" to a wealthy family, as a child Popper enjoyed the amenities of having an English governess-and thereby learned to speak her language "without accent, and very nearly perfectly".⁵⁰ He passed through *Hochschule* and *Technische Hochschule* to the *Universität Wien* with plans to be an engineer. A serious illness and the handicap of a nearly hunched back, however, made him change his mind in favor of a career in music, "less because it was necessary...to earn a living than because [he loved] music, and...wanted to make others

⁴⁸ Years later, filing an indemnification suit against the German government, Jaffe explained only: "My family stayed in Berlin" (Ibid .

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Information about Viktor Popper in this section comes from Margaret Hannum, "Our Enemy Aliens", *Goucher Alumnae Quarterly*, May 1942.

love and understand it, too". Popper initially experienced difficulty, but then more and more pupils sought him out. In turn, he himself became the pupil of two renowned psychologists who shared his interest in music. Thus he began dividing his life between these two interests, with four or five evenings a week spent at the opera or in concert halls and Sunday afternoons at a gathering of amateur musicians. He also visited musical festivals such as those held in Bayreuth and Salzburg, and began a doctorate degree in music at the *Universität*. All seemed set.

Then the German Nazis arrived and Austria disappeared-along with Popper's dreams, for he was a Jew. First, he could no longer instruct "Aryan" pupils, then the *Universität* closed its door to him, as did the opera and concert halls soon after. Finally, more and more public spaces became off-limits to Jews till the situation degenerated to the point where even in conversation with an American, Popper had to admit: "Oh, yes, I know the movie of which you are speaking; I read reviews of it. But I didn't see it, for it appeared in Vienna after the moving-picture theatres were closed to non-Aryans". On top other insults, Popper had to move from his comfortable flat. He took his mother to live in a smaller one in a poor quarter of the city, but "as it would be too great a concession" to have let him stay there he had to move yet again, to an even smaller accommodation. In the process Popper had to part with many of his possessions until he was stripped of nearly everything he once had owned. Worse, he was informed that he soon would be "transported" to Poland, which Popper knew "meant slow starvation under unthinkable living conditions".

Nazi officials were not averse to bribes, however, so Popper escaped that fate and wrote letters until he secured an affidavit from an American willing to be legally responsible for his keep. Once he received his quota number, he packed his belongings-"music and books and a few personal effects"-but to conserve space he tore apart some of the books, removing bindings and whole sections in order to keep only what he could not part with. As he was forbidden to take money with him, he packed along a few pieces of silver. Popper also left behind his library of opera scores, manuscripts of compositions, symphonies and chamber music-"making a careful and totally unsatisfactory selection". As for his grand piano, that already had been "abandoned".

While making these preparations to leave what once had been Austria, Popper read in the newspaper that the ship on which his brother, sister-in-law and their children had been sailing to Palestine was sunk in the harbor of Tel Aviv-within sight of land. He had not seen that brother for more than a year, as when he left for Czechoslovakia it had been in a sealed train. Despite that Popper had stood for hours at a station through which the train was to pass in the

middle of the night "in the faint hope of catching a glimpse" of the brother from behind locked windows. Popper chose not to tell his mother about the loss of her other son, thinking that his own departure was enough for her to bear-although it was she who had bid him to leave, reasoning that he was in greatest danger. Just before his departure, though, word from Switzerland came that the brother and his family had "miraculously escaped drowning" and were among the few to save themselves by swimming ashore-only to land in an internment camp. The news reassured Popper and with it he allayed part of his mother's anxiety. His own leave-taking, though, remained dramatic enough, given that he had to travel several days in a sealed train from Vienna via Berlin and Paris to Madrid, then later on to Lisbon. After several days of impatient waiting and trying to arrange the shipment of the trunk carrying his music and books, he finally secured passage to New York.

1.3 Intellectuals

Like artists, after the *Machtergreifung* of March 1933 intellectuals soon found themselves subject to unbending criteria of "acceptability" under the new regime. Already on 7 April a "Law for the Reconstruction of the Civil Service" allowed the *Nationalsozialist* dictatorship to release all civil servants who due to political or ethnic reasons did not fit Nazi criteria. The four grounds given for dismissal consisted of: 1.) past membership in the communist party, 2.) likelihood of future socialist or communist involvement, 3.) the lack of a "guarantee" that in the future the individual in question would represent the *Nationalsozialist* state "without hesitation" and 4.) "non-Aryan" origin. Clause #4 did not apply to veterans who had fought in the World War, to the fathers and sons of such veterans or to civil servants who had entered the civil service before 1 August 1914. Such exceptions, however, were eliminated in November 1935 when the criteria for civil service were raised. In January 1937 further grounds for dismissal became the failure to swear an oath of allegiance to the *Führer* or being married to individuals of "non-German or related blood".⁵¹ The law especially targeted Jews, who-although constituting less than one percent of the German population-held 12% of all university professorships.⁵²

⁵¹ Pross, 1955, p. 11; for an analysis of the law, its supplements and successors see Mommsen (1966) or Hilberg (1961).

⁵² Fermi, 1968, p. 42.

For an exhaustive list of "Displaced German Scholars" as of 1936, see Kravetz (1993).

As university professors in Germany were and still are civil servants of the state, the law meant the forced "retirement" of thousands of intellectuals. Many of them were well-known and respected in their fields-some had even earned Noble Prizes. The Nazis' policy of dismissal more than decimated the ranks of those staffing the country's universities. The numbers of those affected staggered the minds of critics of such actions both in Germany and abroad. During winter semester 1934-35 alone, 1,145 (14.34%) of the whole teaching body of German universities or technical high schools lost their posts. In 1938, sources estimated that one-third of all those holding such positions had been dismissed, forced into retirement or replaced; by 1939, supposedly 45% of pre-Hitler post-secondary posts had been "reoccupied".⁵³ Those who had been dismissed experienced great difficulty in finding new positions-for the same reasons that they had been dismissed in the first place. Specialists such as economists, chemists or physicists-for example-perhaps could find new employment with industry or in related branches. Intellectuals from the social sciences, however,

with their seldom practically applicable knowledge...bumped into great difficulties. In their case, dismissal often meant that previous university instructors had to do unfamiliar work and begin an entirely new existence.⁵⁴

Of course, intellectuals occupied not only lecture halls or university laboratories. Figures prominent in private- or state-funded research institutes, industrial associations, leading *Stiftungen* (foundations) or other centers of advanced thought fell under the scrutiny of Nazi standards of "acceptability", "correctness" and "German-ness". Mathematicians,⁵⁵ chemists,⁵⁶

⁵³ Pross, *Ibid.*, p. 12. See Hartshorne (1937) for exhaustive figures.

⁵⁴ Pross, *Ibid.*, p. 13.

Exiled intellectuals had at least limited help available to them. The *Notgemeinschaft deutscher Wissenschaftler im Ausland* [Emergency Society of German Scholars Abroad] and *Comité International pour le Placement des Intellectuels Réfugiés* in Geneva, the Academic Assistance Council [later Society for the Protection of Science and Learning] in London, the League of Nations' High Commission for Refugees in the Haag, Princeton's Institute for Advanced Study and New York's New School of Social Research all helped relocate as many stranded European intellectuals as they could. (See Fermi, *Ibid.*, pp. 61-92 or Davie, *Ibid.*, pp. 109-112 for background information on organizations which assisted exiled intellectuals

⁵⁵ The dismissed professors who wished to enter the U.S. could do so under a specific exemption from immigration quotas in section (4)d of the Immigration Act of 1924. The clause provided that if an applicant possessed the assurance of a post, he [as mostly was the case] could appeal for accelerated admission. Princeton's newly formed Institute for Advanced Study and a few other universities directly hired mathematicians from Nazi Germany; the Rockefeller Foundation and the Emergency Committee for Displaced German Scholars [later Displaced Foreign Scholars] also made use of the provision. By 1939 the number of mathematicians from "Greater Germany" who came to America had reached 51; by the war's end the number totaled

biologists,⁵⁷ physicists,⁵⁸ engineers, medical specialists, lawyers or judges, journalists⁵⁹ or other highly trained professionals who for political or "racial" reasons did not pass in the "New Germany" found their lives threatened professionally if not ruined completely. The Nazi regime rooted out intellectual political dissidents and, over time, enacted increasingly restrictive laws which expelled Jews from law or medical practices, dentistry, journalism and eventually all other professions. Those professional intellectuals who could, adapted to the new conditions in order to survive. Ultimately, however, many of them found the intellectual as well as social climate under Nazism a fate approaching death. Those dissenting intellectuals in the Third Reich who reflexively accepted self-censorship often encountered "ever-growing difficulties". One of their own kind indicted intellectuals for "treason to their destiny" and accused them of "betraying the very moral principles which made their existence possible". In a modern society such as early-20th-century Germany, one trend involved the transformation of the intellectual into a functionary of the society through a process of creeping "bureaucratization" which extended "unquestionably" to the intelligentsia, whose "Socratic function" became endangered

"somewhere between 120 and 150" (Reingold in Jackman, *Ibid.*, pp. 205-206). The Emergency Committee alone sponsored 277 individuals- 26 of whom were mathematicians (*Ibid.*, p. 206).

⁵⁶ Sources estimate that chemists constituted the largest disciplinary group among scientists who fled Nazi Germany. They represented, for example, nearly one-fifth of the 424 scientists categorized by discipline in Davie's landmark study, *Refugees in America* (1947). In terms of total immigrants to America, chemists also scored high; in the years 1933 to 1937 they numbered 100 and from 1938 to 1950 142. Carroll said: "The population of refugee chemists during the 1930s numbers at least in the hundreds and may exceed a thousand. While some may quibble with this assertion- it is universally conceded that the available statistics are not too reliable- there is no arguing that America's immigrant chemists in general, and her chemist refugees from fascism in particular, have been relative large groups with a relatively small press" (Carroll in Jackman, *Ibid.*, pp. 190-191). At the same time, not all immigration of chemists "can be laid at Hitler's door": except during the war years themselves, Canadian and English chemists "continued to stream in... Clearly, the Nazi phenomenon was but an overlay upon existing patterns" (*Ibid.*, p. 196). Of those from "Greater Germany", eight either had won or later were to win Nobel prizes in chemistry, physiology or medicine (*Ibid.*, p. 199).

⁵⁷ For a list of "non-Aryan" biologists dismissed by or who left the Third Reich, see Deichmann (1995, pp. 36-43).

⁵⁸ See Beyerchen (1977) and Kevles (1978) for reviews of the role of physics and physicists in the Third Reich.

⁵⁹ Whereas those in the sciences relatively easily could transfer their expertise from one culture to another, journalists faced a fundamental hurdle posed by working in countries where foreign tongues were native ones. In the U.S., for example, of 23 refugee journalists in one study, 15 were linguistically adaptable enough able to work in their chosen profession; three of them could remain employed due to translation and the rest "were lucky enough to work for German-language newspapers" (Kent, *Ibid.*, pp. 28-34). While in theory exiled journalists in had the possibility of finding a job in America's print media, "the reality looked considerably more discouraging: there was neither a large choice of positions nor could one find many commonalities between journalistic work in Germany and in the U.S." (Hardt, 1979, p. 321).

and thus

defenders of the status quo. It is this change in the status of the intellectual and the change in the social environment which makes the transfer from one to another national culture so difficult a process. This trend culminates in the totalitarian state [which] cannot be satisfied with the control of the traditional means of coercion.⁶⁰

If it were to exist as a dictatorial system, the *Nationalsozialist* state had to exercise considerable control over its subjects' thoughts-so it transformed culture into propaganda. Few self-respecting intellectuals could withstand the systematic degradation of thought, yet inner emancipation under such dire, draconian conditions meant total renunciation of intellectual activity. This kind of "escape" came to be called an "inner emigration".⁶¹ One intellectual who fled abroad saw limits to such a response and after Fascism's fall asked "What are the intellectual products of the inner emigrants of Germany and Italy?" and answered himself: "The answer must be: None," as the desks of the

inner emigrants were empty. There were no manuscripts written during dictatorship, hidden in desks and waiting to be published after the overthrow of the totalitarian régimes. This is not said to attack anti-Nazi intellectuals, but rather to explain why there was no intellectual production [in the Third Reich]; why the sole remedy for those intellectuals opposed to a totalitarian régime could be but physical emigration.⁶²

"Physical emigration", however, entailed hardships and limitations of its own. If an intellectual surrendered his or her country, that individual did more than change residence. He or she also severed the Self from a historical tradition and definitive collective cultural experiences or contexts; also, such persons had to learn a new language fluently enough to approach a level of articulate expression necessary to communicate the very ideas which

60 Neumann in Crawford, 1953, pp. 11-12.

61 Pross portrayed "inner emigration" as "the situation in which the opposition intellectual who felt obligated to participate in public intellectual life continued his intellectual activity in isolation and secret. His previous intellectual and instructional function stolen, he had ripped from him his usual way of life. Cut off from earlier contact with students and from exchange with colleagues, he was economically restricted and socially avoided. Surrounded by distrust, and seen by the ruling political and intellectual climate inwardly as the worst sort of enemy, the university instructor who lived in inner emigration existed separate from society because of his own protest (which need not be expressed in open resistance) and opposition to the environment. The deeper total dictatorship forced its way into private life through pedagogy and propaganda, the sharper became his isolation. To the degree that it could be mitigated through contact with like-minded, the nature of the isolation depended on external forces. Big cities allowed more freedom of movement and encounter than small- or mid-sized towns, which had developed into fortresses of *Nazismus*... Inner emigration [however] suffocated mental production" (pp. 13-14).

62 Crawford, *Ibid.*, p. 12.

distinguish "intellectuals" from "non-intellectuals". In short, such refugees had to create a totally new life: "It is not the loss of a profession, of property, of status-that alone and by itself is painful-but rather the weight of another national cultural" to which the refugee had to adapt. Emigration meant the risk of going into

an unfamiliar abyss which offered as little guarantee as inner emigration for some continuation of previous work and for further practice of intellectual tasks. This partially explains why the number of voluntary [German] emigrants was so low.⁶³

Adjustment was even harder because emigration represented flight from an intolerable situation. Hatred of *Nationalsozialismus* only complicated the psychological burdens attendant to emigration. "Political scholars" such as historians, sociologists, economists, political scientists, philosophers⁶⁴ or those in related fields were compelled to deal with "the brutal facts of politics". Specifically, political scholars faced

psychological difficulty; for being political, they fought-or should have fought- actively for a better, more decent political system. Being compelled to leave their homeland, they thus suffered the triple fate of being a displaced *human being* with property and family; a displaced *scholar*; and a displaced *homo politicus*.⁶⁵

Still, despite the losses and complications, they went-and in droves. Of 104,098 individuals of "Greater Germany" who entered the U.S. between June 1933 and the end of 1941, 7,622 (7.3%) were classified as "professionals" by U.S. immigration authorities.⁶⁶ Later statistics, however, suggest a very different picture. One German study⁶⁷ claims that of that hundred and four thousand, approximately 500 were writers; in addition, the compilation says 1,500

⁶³ Ibid., p. 15.

⁶⁴ Philosophers by nature must be political creatures. Following the war, America's adopted star theologian Paul Tillich spoke of the sobering humiliation German religious philosophers suffered under the Nazis, for "it happened that, at the end of the road of German philosophy and theology, the figure of Hitler appeared. At the time of our emigration it was not so much his tyranny and brutality which shocked us, but the unimaginably low level of his cultural expressions. We suddenly realized that if Hitler can be produced by German culture, something must be wrong with this culture. This prepared our emigration to [the U.S.] and our openness to the new reality it represents. Neither my friends nor I dared for a long time to point to what was great in the Germany of our past. If Hitler was the outcome of what we believed to be the true philosophy and the only theology, both must be false. With this rather desperate conclusion we left Germany. Our eyes were opened; but they still were dull, unable to see the reality.[In such a state] we can to this country" (Tillich in Crawford, Ibid., pp. 142-143).

⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 13.

⁶⁶ Kent, 1953, pp. 11-12.

⁶⁷ Röder in Bade (1992), p. 349.

musicians, 3,569 professors or teachers, 1,900 scientists, 702 "sculptors or artists" entered America from 1933 to 1944. Of the 7,622 known "professionals" from Germany or annexed Austria, 1,000 were classified as educators, 2,353 as medical personnel, 811 as lawyers, 465 as musicians, 296 as "plastic artists".⁶⁸

The predominance of intellectuals among those who entered the U.S. from "Greater Germany" shows itself in the proportion of both professionals and families. Before 1933, immigrants to the U.S. were mostly under 40 and single men; in contrast after 1933 comprised a majority and many were over 40. Also, traditionally the bulk of immigrants consisted of unskilled or semi-skilled workers, with less than three percent consisting of professionals. After 1933, though, more than seven percent were professionals and less than a fourth were semi-skilled laborers.⁶⁹

Whether or not they exaggerated their former positions, on average the refugees from Greater Germany were, indeed, better educated or trained than their predecessors. One study indicated that most of them had progressed beyond elementary school and that nearly half (44.3%) had attended schools equivalent to the American college level or had done graduate work. Indicative of the outstanding quality of the group, twelve had won Nobel Prizes and about a hundred of them had listed in *Who's Who is America* and over two hundred in *American Men of Science* despite the short time they had been in the U.S. at the time of the mentioned study.⁷⁰

In addition to high levels of education attained by post-1933 immigrants, another feature which distinguished them from previous immigrants was the fact that intellectual refugees often made their way to the United States via one if not two or three countries enroute to their final stop. The Scattergood Hostel guests who might be designated as "professionals" or "intellectuals" illustrate the indirect succession of their migration to America. Limburg judge

⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 54.

Strauss noted: "It is not possible to project the American figures onto the entire movement of artists and intellectuals. But at least some intimation of the breadth of the intellectual migration may tentatively be gained from such figures" (Ibid., pp. 54-55).

⁶⁹ Kent, Ibid., p. 14.

Kent noted: "These figures may be somewhat distorted: the statements of the refugees [polled in the study used were] the basis for the classification and, and immigrants on some occasions [exaggerated] the importance of previous positions". He added: "The tendency to 'put one's best foot forward' in entering a new country is natural" (Ibid., pp. 14-15).

Julius Lichtenstein, for one, took his family to Switzerland and France soon after the *Machtergreifung*, before fleeing to the United States. Berlin *Senat* statistician Kurt Schaefer-to name another-spent almost half a decade in England and cooperated with British trade unions before moving to America. Vienna journalist Otto Bauer and his wife had to sojourn in Cuba until the U.S. State Department granted them entry visas. German-born painter and art teacher Ilse Stahl fled the Third Reich for France, where she joined her communist-activist husband, who had fled via Czechoslovakia. Economics student Ernst Malamerson lived in Italy, France and Switzerland before going to America.⁷¹

The last example cited entails a subset question regarding the flight of intellectuals from Europe to America during the Nazis' reign. At Scattergood, for example, 13 young refugee men had either interrupted or postponed their university studies in order to save their lives. Although they had not yet proven their intellectual powers, they possessed considerable intellectual potential -potential which sprouted but would not bloom on Old World soil. They are mentioned as would-be intellectuals, however, even if "exposure to American schools counteracted the foreign background of the young immigrants to degrees not always determined by age".⁷² In fact, some of the oldest in this group, especially if-separated from their families in America as was true in Scattergood Hostel guests Ernst Malamerson's case-

made deliberate effort to remove any trace of their foreignness and became 'more American than Americans'. On the other hand, some of those who were too young to have been affected by the environment in their homeland developed European traits after coming [to America], under the influence of family traditions and habits and of family ties with Europe.⁷³

The source of the above quote considered it "futile" to attempt to judge whether and to what extent the contributions of these "younger intellectuals" were determined by their

⁷⁰ Davie, *Ibid.*, p. 36.

⁷¹ The first four examples of "professional intellectuals" at Scattergood also relate to a problem central to refugee categorization. While clearly a "professional intellectual", Julius Lichtenstein fled for political reasons rather than because of being professionally marginalized. Besides being politically unacceptable, the Nazis informed Kurt Schaefer that - unbeknownst to him- his grandfather had been a Jew. In addition to being a journalist, Otto Bauer also was a "Religious Socialist". Art teacher Ilse Stahl was also a communist. Between them, the four counted as refugees due to being: 1 in politics, 2 in the arts, 3 intellectuals, 4 a religious dissenter and 5 "non-Aryans". I struggled to decide which category should have predominance over the others or which statistics a discerning historian "must" include.

⁷² Fermi, *Ibid.*, p. 373.

⁷³ *Ibid.*

European backgrounds, for measuring their "degree of Europeanness" would be an unwieldy assignment due to its subjectivity. Rather than "measuring" one rather should speak of "mixing", as their role as "mixers of cultures" seems more relevant: the essential fact remains that the wave of intellectuals set into motion by Nazi persecution carried numerous young men and women to America who later featured prominently on their host country's intellectual scene:

In the give-and-take between European and American cultural patrimonies, the taking was on the average greater and the giving smaller than in the case of the older [intellectual émigrés]. Yet, whether intentionally or not, they [became] a strong link between the two cultures.⁷⁴

A cultural leaking of some of the greatest gray matter Germany had, the drain of intellectuals fleeing the Third Reich came at a crippling price to their native land. Although in adopting policies and blessing acts of repression or persecution which drove intellectuals abroad Hitler sought what many of his supporters wanted—a purge of *Internationalisten* who might weaken the *Vaterland* exactly as Germany tried to render the Versailles Treaty irrelevant and overcome the worldwide Depression—the *Führer's* actions were short-sighted and self-defeating, as the spectacle of "muses fleeing Hitler" can best be understood as "the manifestation of a demand for cultural homogeneity so strong that, in order to obtain it, the population was willing to forfeit creativity and excellence [at] price of the intellectual decapitation of Germany".⁷⁵

1.4 Religious Dissenters

The Nazi regime not only attempted to force intellectuals and artists in the "New Germany" to fall into ideological line, but religious figures, too. As its own political survival was paramount to the cynical *Nationalsozialisten*, they justified all means to that end—even to the point of twisting public images of religion into perverse remnants of their former selves. While many clergy endured the bastardization of civil religion for fear of deadly retribution, a few found the courage to contradict the official dogma propagated by the Nazis. Of course, such individuals won first the contempt, then the wrath of the regime and either fled or were

⁷⁴ Ibid., pp. 374-375.

⁷⁵ Beyerchen in Jackman, Ibid., p. 41.

imprisoned-if not silenced through execution.

The disenchantment of religious dissenters in the Nazis' Third Reich, however, was neither universal nor immediate. At the beginning of Nazi rule numerous church leaders as well as lay of both Catholic and *Evangelisch*⁷⁶ bodies hoped that the new regime would repel "Red persecutions"; to Hitler they accorded the dubious status of "rescuer" who would allow the free exercise of religion.⁷⁷ Indeed, already on 21 March 1933-the *Tag von Potsdam*-Hitler and recently appointed Minister of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda Goebbels attended mass; a day later, Hitler purported in the Reichstag that "Christianity would be the foundation for German culture and the German state".⁷⁸ In July of that year Hitler achieved a first diplomatic *coup* by striking with the Vatican the so-called Concordat,⁷⁹ in which the Nazis pledged the integrity of Catholicism and the autonomy of Catholic schools, youth groups and cultural societies-as long as they refrained from political engagement.

To Hitler's glee, a voluntary band which assumed the presumptuous name *Deutsche Christen* ("German Christians") lent its support to the new regime, which wished to co-opt them in hopes of unifying the 28 independent Lutheran *Landeskirchen* ("provincial churches") and various confessional groupings thereof into one *Reichkirche* ("imperial church"). Also alarming to leftist and centrist Lutherans was Hitler's appointment in late April 1933 of Ludwig Müller-an unknown East Prussian pastor-to a post dealing with Lutheran affairs. Many church figures found *Deutsche Christen*-sponsored moves to adopt an *Arierparagraph* as church policy unacceptable; that "Aryan clause" would have required all Lutheran clergy prove their racial "purity"-to document the lack of Jewish ancestry as far back as their grandparents. Most

76 Two branches of western Christianity dominated German culture at that time, as members of the *Evangelisch* ("Lutheran" in English) church comprised 63 percent of the population, Catholics 33 percent, Jews just under one percent, non-official Christian sects .05 percent and "other" just over four percent of the total German population (Kirk, *Ibid.*, p. 101). For differing reasons, the Nazis harassed or imprisoned two religious groups in particular, the Jehovah Witnesses and Quakers; see Frei (1987) and Otto (1972) or Bailey (1994).

77 Snyder, *Ibid.*, p. 291.

According to van Roon: "As the former state church, [Lutherans] still clinged heavily to national traditions. By a great majority, church leaders celebrated the events of January 1933; a strong connection with the Weimarer Republik had never existed. That was ultimately a legacy of the 1918 Bolshevik Revolution which had destroyed the *Kaiserreich* and the union between crown and altar" (1994, p. 79). Indicative of the political capital that Hitler enjoyed upon assuming power, even later-nemesis Martin Niemöller became a *Nationalsozialist*.

78 Fischer, 1993, p. 199.

79 Studt, 1995, p. 103.

outrageous of all,⁸⁰ however, was the meeting of the Prussian *Generalsynode* in Berlin in September 1933, when the majority of the representatives appeared wearing Nazi uniforms. At that point, church chair Martin Niemöller called a *Pfarrernotbund* ("emergency union"), which won the support of more than a third of all Lutheran pastors;⁸¹ in spring 1934 Niemöller and others founded the *Bekennende Kirche* ("Confessional Church"), which renounced the beliefs as well as goals of the *Deutsche Christen* and refused to obey Hitler-appointed bishops. In addition, members of the *Bekennende Kirche* declared Christian doctrine incompatible with the Nazi *Weltanschauung*. At that point began the Nazis' persecution of religious dissenters in earnest.

At first, Hitler decreed Nazi supremacy over the Lutheran church: he closed church-run schools and confiscated church property. Then, he forbade certain pastors from preaching and aimed to undermine Protestant opposition through a process of gradual erosion. While some pastors coalesced through fear, a few resisted. Bonn-theologian Karl Barth-for one-lost his post, as he refused to open his lectures each day by raising his arm and saying 'Heil Hitler!'⁸² In Berlin, Niemöller came under arrest for sedition, yet was cleared of charges and released; he fell into unfriendly hands later, however, and landed in Sachsenhausen. Fellow pastor and counterspy Dietrich Bonhoeffer was charged with "subversion", imprisoned and shortly before the war's end executed. With time, then, the Lutheran church grew impotent and quiet.⁸³

80 Actually, the outrage continued. In 1934 Ernst Bergmann issued "Twenty-five Points of the German Religion", which held that the Jewish Old Testament as well as parts of the New Testament were not suitable for a new Germany. Furthermore, Jesus was not Jewish but a Nordic martyr murdered by the Jews- a "warrior" whose death rescued the world from Jewish influence. Adolf Hitler, then, was the new messiah sent to earth to save the world from the Jews- so the swastika should supercede the sword as the symbol of German Christianity- which itself consisted of "German land, German blood, German soul and German art". Equally distasteful was the religious philosophy of Alfred Rosenberg, who espoused Positive Christianity, which he promised would purify the German "race"(Synder, 1976, p. 271 and 291).

81 van Roon, Ibid., pp. 81-82.

As *Deutsche Christen* gained majorities in increasing numbers of Lutheran parishes, many pastors- among them Niemöller and Bonhoeffer- asked themselves if one could belong any longer to "such a church" (Ibid., p. 80). In 1934 circa 7000 Lutheran clergy belonged to Niemöller's *Pfarrernotbund*, circa 2000 to the *Nationalsozialist*-linked *Deutsche Christen* and the remaining 9000 pastors belonged to neither (Kammer and Bartsch, 1992, p. 32).

82 Snyder, 1976, p. 292.

83 The Catholic Church also fell out of favor with Hitler, who violated the terms of the sham Concordat. His regime arrested monks and nuns on bogus charges of smuggling gold out of the Reich, censored the Church press, banned religious processions, forbade pastoral letters, confiscated schools, closed monasteries and tried priests on faked charges of "immorality" (Fischer, Ibid., pp. 199-202, Kammer, Ibid., pp. 168-169 and Snyder, Ibid., p. 58).

More than the likes of a Niemöller or a Bonhoeffer, though, suffered Nazi persecution as religious dissenters. Among them, two Scattergood Hostel guests fled Greater Germany primarily for religious reasons. One-Otto Bauer, a middle-aged Catholic "Religious Socialist"-fled Vienna in 1938 with his family. Another was Jewish-descended Franz Nathusius, a member of the *Bekennende Kirche* in Berlin who by 1940 made his way to the United States. Both men chose to face uncertainty abroad rather than Nazi wrath at home.

1.5 "Non-Aryans"

While the Nazis persecuted political opponents, "Aryan" as well as "non-Aryan" artists and religious dissenters with severity, their persecution of the Jews showed characteristics not found in that of the other groups. As Hilberg has emphasized, in contrast to the others, the persecution of Jews involved not just brown-shirted thugs with clubs, but an intricate array of "perpetrators" who collectively comprised the mechanics of systemized murder, as well as "bystanders" whose silent witness granted those more active a free hand. Of course the "perpetrator par excellence" was Adolf Hitler himself, as he led the whole action "as the leading architect", without whom it would have been

inconceivable. But even if Hitler had stood in the sidelights, the cooperation remained predominantly in the shadows, executed by countless usual functionaries and ambitious novices. At the head of leadership were also academicians, under whom were willing lawyers and doctors. As the process [of Jewish persecution] seized all of Europe, the machinery of annihilation became international, as then the governments and numerous collaborators in occupied countries played into German hands.⁸⁴

Despite eventual collaboration in a pan-European pursuit to rid Europe of Jews-enthusiastically assisted, for example, by Polish peasants, French traitors or Hungarian police-the fact remains that persecution of the Jews in Nazi-occupied territories was endorsed, encouraged and orchestrated from Berlin. Indeed, the Nazis wasted no time in setting legal restrictions into effect once they took office. To provide just a sampling: already on 22 March 1933 the new government under Hitler established a department of "Racial Hygiene" within the Reich's Ministry of Interior. From 1 to 3 April the Nazis conducted a nationwide boycott of Jewish enterprises and on 7 April they declared a "Law for the Restoration of a Professional Civil Service"⁸⁵ which meant compulsory "retirement" for all Jewish civil servants and

⁸⁴ Hilberg, 1992, pp. 9-10.

⁸⁵ For Adolf Hitler, *der Jude* and the loathed *Internationalist/Pacifist* were virtually

dismissal for Jewish workers or clerical staff in public service. A "Law against the Overcrowding of German Schools and Universities" on 25 April limited the proportion of Jewish pupils or students to 1.5 percent of any one school's total population.⁸⁶ In July of the same year, all "oriental" Jews-i.e. from Russia or Poland-were stripped of German citizenship and in October 1933 Jews were expelled from journalism. As months, then years passed during which the Nazis enacted decree after law after regulation aimed at making life for "non-Aryans" in lands under Berlin's rule unbearable if not impossible, the Nazis effectively eliminated Jews from: owning residential properties, stores⁸⁷ and electrical, mechanical or optical appliances or equipment (including radios, phonographs, typewriters and cameras), marrying "Aryans", serving in the armed forces, practicing a profession, operating pharmacies, collecting insurance compensation or pensions, sending their children to public schools, participating in cultural events, swimming at public beaches, possessing precious metals or stones, jewelry or the license to drive a car, using public transportation, parks, sports facilities, air-raid shelters or telephones, sleeping in *Liegewagen*, keeping pets, riding bicycles, subscribing to newspapers or magazines, visiting either "Aryan" bookstores or public libraries, carrying weapons or sending carrier pigeons, attending exhibitions, theaters, films, concerts or fairs, patronizing cafés or "Aryan" hairdressers, selling old books, clothes or furniture on the open market, collecting over-time pay, expecting rent-rise control, registering a patent or appealing to courts or police for legal protection. In addition, Jews ultimately lost the use of rationing cards for cigarettes or staple food items as the war wore on and had to observe strict curfews and limited shopping hours. They also had to wear a "Star of David" and insert "Israel" or "Sara" as middle names

synonymous- with all three blamed for having "betrayed" the *Vaterland* in 1918 (Jaeckel, 1969, p. 69). According to the Nazis' *Weltanschauung*, Jewish culture was a breeding ground for Communism ‡ la Karl Mark, Leon Trotski and Rosa Luxemburg- with even the likes of *Sozialdemokrat* Walter Rathenau being "proof" of inbred Jewish left-wing biases. To annihilate the Jews, then, would be to purge the world of the "Bolshevist plague". One of the first places to oust the communist "rot"- obviously- was among Germany's civil service.

⁸⁶ The law clearly altered Germany's university-student population. From a total of 127,580 students in summer semester 1932 (15.7% of whom were women), by summer semester 1934 the number of students fell to 92,622 (13.7% of whom were women) (Kirk, *Ibid.*, p. 107). See Grÿttner (1995, pp. 101-154) for a thorough outline of student-related statistics at that time. See Davie, *Ibid.*, pp. 114-115 for information on organizations which assisted exiled students.

⁸⁷ The liquidation of Jewish property occurred with breathtaking speed. Of the circa 100,000 Jewish-owned businesses in operation as of January 1933, by spring 1938 60-70% of them no longer existed or had been "Aryanized". The "Aryanization" of retail businesses took place especially quickly: of over 50,000 Jewish shops recorded in 1933, by July 1938 only some 9,000 remained- and 3,637 of those in Berlin (Pehle, *Ibid.*, p. 96). For a description of this process as experienced by Scattergood Hostel guest Sigmund Seligmann, see pp. 70-72 of *OHR*.

and have a large "J" stamped into their passports-measures intended to further isolate and hinder Jews in Greater Germany.⁸⁸

If various laws⁸⁹ aimed at stripping Jews of their wealth while shoving them to the margins of the wider society were longterm and relatively subtle, the cynically orchestrated⁹⁰ *Kristallnacht*⁹¹ of 9-10 November was quick and unmistakably blunt. It marked a turning point in several respects-not only in the history of Nazi Germany. The violent assailing of Jewish property, persons and propriety meant "a regression to barbarism". In one night, "the achievements of the Enlightenment, the *Emanzipation*, the idea of the legal state and the concept of individual freedom" were despoiled. There had not been such Jewish persecution in Central Europe since the fifteenth century, when Medieval pogroms took place as

uncontrolled aggressions from assembled masses of people in which social and economic tensions were released against a background of religiously motivated animosity toward Jews. Before 9 November 1938 there had not been such an anti-semitic riot [so] orderly programmed and set into motion by state bodies.⁹²

In the course of the efficient Nazi offensive against German Jewry, two days of nationwide madness resulted in the murder of 91 and the detention of 25,000-30,000 individuals, the ransacking of between 7,000 and 7,500 shops, the burning of 101 and demolition of 76

⁸⁸ These measures are outlined in Kirk (Ibid., pp. 159-166), Moser in Pehle (Ibid., pp. 118-131) or Adam (1972, pp. 72-82). Note that Swiss authorities suggested that Nazi officials stamp a large "J" in German Jews' passports (Pfanner in Jackman, Ibid., pp. 237-238).

So thorough were Nazi efforts to marginalize and torment those Jews remaining in their reach, they stipulated- as examples- that doctoral dissertations mark quotes taken from Jewish authors, that blind Jews forfeit wearing a yellow armband designating their blindness "because a German might possibly be caused to be helpful" and that Jews quit using all state-granted titles- with the exception, oddly, of academic ones (Moser in Pehle, Ibid., pp.127-129).

⁸⁹ In autumn 1935 Hitler defined the legal status of Jews (including non-practicing "non-Aryans" and "mix-bloodeds"); the so-called Nÿrnberg Laws on Citizenship and Race embodied his efforts. (Among others see Adam, Adler, Gilbert, Hilberg or Jochmann

⁹⁰ Pehle, Ibid., pp. 74-75. For an outline of the political course of events from 7 to 10 November, see pp. 76-80; for a description of the event's planning and execution, see pp. 83-88; see Adler (1974, pp. 36-41) for an outline of the Nazis' close administration of its "spontaneity".

⁹¹ Called *Reichskristallnacht* in German ("Imperial Night of Broken Glass"), the event bears a quasi-poetic name which- like the event itself- remains tainted with hate. The same post-war generation of Germans which began questioning their elders' participation in *Nationalsozialist* culture, daily life and crimes (Bessel, Ibid., p. 69) also reconsidered the name which the Nazis had given this pogrom- said to romanticize the sight of shards of glass resulting from raids on Jewish property- and found it unacceptable. I use "*Kristallnacht*" because in the U.S. and Britain it remains the common term of reference to this incident.

⁹² Benz, 1993, p. 499.

synagogues, and the ruining of thousands of Jewish homes or businesses.⁹³ An insult to injury, the regime demanded that the Jewish community "contribute" one billion Marks to aid in "repairs and clean-up". In its entirety, the event served as final notice to German Jews that they were unwanted in the "New Germany".⁹⁴

Such relentless, in-humane, well-organized abuse overwhelms one's ability to grasp what Nazi persecution of the Jews meant on a daily, personal level to those who encountered it. The experiences of a few of the "non-Aryans" who eventually found a safe haven at Scattergood Hostel, however, personify it. Karl Liebman of Frankfurt-am-Main-for one-had been gassed by American doughboys at Verdun in 1918. Unexpectedly, that brush with a death in the armed forces saved his life two decades later. A former *Leutnant* of an artillery unit, following the first World War, Liebman "tried his hand at several business enterprises" before passing law exams and being accepted into a firm.⁹⁵ On 1 April 1933, however, he went to work in the morning to find a boy Brown Shirt standing beside his office door. Neither said a word, "but that was Liebman's introduction to the fact that Adolf Hitler had come to power". Soon thereafter the law firm received rules dictated by central powers; subsequently some members of the firm

93 Burleigh and Wippermann, 1991, p. 89; Snyder, 1976, p. 201. Moser held that circa 7,500 Jewish-owned shops and business were damaged (in Pehle, 1988, p. 121).

It was not the Nazis' first planned "spontaneous" anti-Jewish action. The boycott of Jewish businesses on 1 April 1933- according to Goebbels "an imposing spectacle" (Gilbert, *Ibid.*, p. 35)- served as a "first example of the *Nationalsozialist* orchestration of such actions. The party core reserved enough free space in order to allow pent-up aggressions to be released and the give the impression of spontaneity. At the same time, the Jews' fanatic enemies were to get the signal, that the new regime was determinedly pursuing its racial-political goals" (Jochmann, 1991, p. 240).

94 The numbers of Jews fleeing the *Altreich* (Germany before Austria's annexation) mirror changing realizations of peril. In 1933 Germany had 499,682 Jews as registered in the census by religion; they were 0.8% of the population (Kirk, *Ibid.*, 167). One-fifth of Germany's Jewish population was foreign-born (*Ibid.*, p. 168). By 1935 110,000 Jews had left the Reich- of which supposedly 10,000 returned (Tutas, *Ibid.*, p. 105). At the beginning of 1938 from 350,000 to 365,000 Jews remained; they were in 1,400 communities, of which more than 730 consisted of "emergency communities" in the process of liquidation. Over 65% of Germany's Jews at that time lived in seven of the country's largest cities- with 140,000 (circa 40%) living in Berlin alone (Barkai in Pehle, *Ibid.*, p. 96). A large wave of flight followed *Kristallnacht*: 115,000 *Altreich* Jews fled from 1938 to 1939 (Kwiet in Pehle, *Ibid.*, p. 139). Of the 164,000 Jews who remained as of July 1941, half were over 50 years old (one-third of those over 60) and 20,669 under 18; women outnumbered men by 20% (*Ibid.*, pp. 139-140). Noticable discrepancies between the various sources reflect conflicting statistics made at the time- for example, concerning disagreement whether Germans were "Jewish" by religion or by roots. If one adds the number of non-practicing/non-aligned "non-Aryans" the number of Germans affected by the Nazis' persecution of Jews approached 875,000 (Strauss in Jackman, *Ibid.*, p. 47).

95 Donald Grant, "Like Discovering a New World: Once Gassed by the Doughboys, Nazi Refugee Befriended Here", DMR, 28.I.40.

were forbidden to practice because they were Jews. Liebman, however, "was shown special consideration". First, although his father was a Jew, his American-born mother was a Christian—as was he. Second, as a medaled veteran he "had friends in the army" so that after being deprived of the legal right to practice law, he remained employed as a law clerk. Due to his military connections he never saw "what the inside of a concentration camp looked like". Instead, Liebman "only felt the fear, the ever-present, gnawing, looming threat of violence, of nameless terror reserved by the Nazis for the Jews". At night in the building where he and his wife lived he could hear "the tramp of hobnailed boots" and knocks on his neighbors' doors, followed by "the screams and protests of the women" as his neighbors were dragged off by storm troopers to concentration camps. "They came to every door in our apartment house but mine" he recounted, adding "maybe they forgot me". It took more than a year before the Liebmans could secure the papers necessary to flee Nazi Germany. By the time they did their remarkable luck had been stretched: the ship they finally boarded for America arrived in New York on the last day of August 1939—one day before war broke out in Europe.

It was not easy for families to flee Nazi Germany. Individuals or couples without children could be more flexible in exploring or selecting possible options and had fewer bureaucratic hurdles to jump than did families trying to arrange complete sets of forms, certificates, tax receipts, affidavits, visas and -finally-tickets for passage. Also, flight for one cost much less than flight in quantity. At the same time, mates or children might provide not only comfort but motivation to endure the tribulation of arranging one's own survival.

The impetus to emigrate from the Third Reich arose within the first days of the ascendance of the Nazis in March 1933. Over time and with the expansion as of 1938 of anti-Jewish decrees aimed at both expelling the Jews from Greater Germany and milking them of most of their wealth in the process,⁹⁶ the push to leave became only that much more urgent. A majority of the threatened rationalized, though, that-being a "civilized" land-Germany was their rightful home and they could count on a liveable future there. For such people only after the devastating *Kristallnacht* pogrom of 9-10 November 1938 would it become unmistakably clear that their hopes for a return to saner days were illusionary and that the need to leave was real.

Louis and Grete Rosenzweig of Kassel were two of the many German Jews caught unawares by the political landscape's rapid deterioration under Adolf Hitler as "changes which

⁹⁶ For a diverse documentation of the Nazis' economic exploitation of German Jewry, see Poliakov and Wulf (1983), chapter 1: "*Raub und Plünderung*" (pp. 7-80).

nobody ever had anticipated came about".⁹⁷ The Rosenzweigs had always considered themselves "German citizens in the first place, Jews by religion" and had "just as many close non-Jewish friends [as] Jewish ones".⁹⁸ Initially the shift of political winds in Germany was barely perceptible and "only felt as a bad undercurrent creating uneasiness among the Jews and forcing Gentiles into organizations and actions". Eventually, however, the Nazis' presence became pervasive. The first "upsetting sight" Grete Rosenzweig caught of the frightful new social order came when she met daughter Irmgard's teacher in full Nazi uniform-and that at a time "when not all people were yet forced into uniform and organizations". Then, as it became increasingly "difficult for a Jewish boy to attend school and not be able to associate with his classmates", the Rosenzweigs decided to send their older child, Ernst, to a Swiss boarding school; he later went to England to attend a Jewish agricultural school for boys "who were going to emigrate", but then was interned as an "enemy alien". Meanwhile, Louis Rosenzweig's firm dismissed him due to "race"-an act which Grete Rosenzweig saw as ironic, given that a Jew had founded it. Her husband subsequently opened his own tax-and-auditing consulting office. This whole time life for German Jews

got harder and tenser by the day. Jews in small country communities felt the pressure of the Hitler system sooner and harder [and for them] it began very early to be unbearable... Jews looked for chances to leave Germany where they were not wanted and finally were in danger. [As the] emigrating people needed help and advice.

Thus Louis Rosenzweig's new business flourished. He became knowledgeable with the many new anti-Semitic regulations and earned the title "currency lawyer" under the new legal system. His, however, "was a dangerous job", as every morning he had to report to the Gestapo and "he never knew if he would be able to come home again or would be sent to prison". For that reason, his suitcase was "always packed". Grete Rosenzweig appreciated her husband's tenuous status because of his being in a "leading position among the Jews": as chairman of the Jewish orphanage and president of the congregation he was in "a very exposed situation".

The first drastic development to occur in Kassel involved the Jewish orphanage. On 6

⁹⁷ Grete Rosenzweig, Unpublished memoirs, "My Life Told for My Grandchildren", 1974.

⁹⁸ Grete Rosenzweig was not alone in feeling fully "German" as a Jew living in Germany. Ilse Davidsohn Stanley- daughter of the chief kantor of Berlin's Fasanenstraße temple- once said that her people seemed rooted "endlessly deep in German soil, language, art and German thinking" and that they felt so German that they considered themselves to be like the legendary oak "and one couldn't simply say to a German oak, "As of today you are no longer a German

November 1938 Nazi supporters attacked the building and broke the windows; by the time they had their fill of destruction "much damage was done". Soon after the orphanage's destruction, the Rosenzweigs received a phone call in the night with the message: "The temple is burning!" Leaving their adolescent daughter in the charge of her grandmother, Louis and Grete Rosenzweig rushed to the city center, where they found "an overwhelming sight: the synagogue in flame, a huge fire outside on mainstreet, all the books from the temple...carried outside and thrown into the flames and burnt up". Grete Rosenzweig said that they were "fortunate that the Nazis did not pay any attention to us and that we got home safely". The next time, however, the Rosenzweigs did not escape Nazi thuggery unscathed.

As Grete Rosenzweig walked home at dusk in the late afternoon of 9 November,⁹⁹ she saw obscure shadows jump into the bushes near her house as she approached. The incident gave her such an "eerie feeling" that she went inside and watched "all evening from a dark window, but seemingly all had calmed down". The family retired to bed, but

it was not long that we heard a terrible pounding on the entrance door-crash-it gave way and a horde of Nazis came tramping up the stairs and rang our door bell. It was the night which no German Jew will forget.

The intruders came to haul the family to the police station-including Grete Rosenzweig's elderly mother.¹⁰⁰ Then, when the Nazis demanded the house keys from Grete, the scene turned ugly: she answered "How did you get in?" and for her insubordination they began "beating down" on her. Then- with Louis Rosenzweig *sans* dentures and Grandmother's silk slip draped over Irmgard's arm-the Rosenzweigs were whisked away in a truck to the Kassel police headquarters, where "after waiting and having been questioned" the men were kept, while the women and children dismissed.

By the time Louis Rosenzweig's office was to open the next morning "women and more women came who wanted help". Grete discovered that "ALL the Jewish men had been taken

oak! Pull your roots out of the earth and go away!" (Stanley, 1964, p. 83).

⁹⁹ In her account of events Grete cites the date as having been 8 November, which I initially assumed was a mistake of memory. Upon asking her daughter for confirmation, however, she replied: "My recollection is that Nov. 7, 8, and 9 were anxiety-ridden nights and that the Nazis in Kassel were ahead by one night of *Kristallnacht*. We had a child and staff member from the orphanage with us one night. The next night they went back to the orphanage because my parents were uneasy. That was the night the synagogue was set on fire (Nov. 8, I believe). The attack on our apartment was Nov. 9th... Since my birthday is Nov. 12, and I was to get a bike then for my 13th birthday we did nothing to celebrate..." (Note to MLT, fall 1995).

¹⁰⁰ Grete's mother, Hedwig Katz Kaufmann, perished in Theresienstadt in 1943.

away including the rabbi". Stating that she could "tell for hours about all the happenings during these days of horror", she mentioned as representative that in the Rosenzweig home "most of the windows, all the mirrors and lamps were broken, the floor soiled, furniture ruined [and] the little bird which we loved, was gone".

On that first night of what would be a two-day nationwide pogrom, Grete Rosenzweig learned that her husband had landed in army barracks, where she managed to have his dentures delivered. As they waited for his return she and daughter Irmgard "stayed together day and night", only to find that the tormented Jewish men had been sent to concentration camps. Unexpectedly, however, Grete found a way to ensure her husband's return. A Catholic doctor used his influence to convince the Nazis that "deportation would be fatal" due to Louis Rosenzweig's bad health; upon his release, he returned to Kassel and remained bedfast for a few weeks. Grete Rosenzweig later lamented that although they did not own their home, they had to restore it at their expense and "After all the repairs were done we were forced to move". She noted: "from then on we had to move and move".

After the minutely planned and cynically orchestrated "Night of Broken Glass" pogrom, the only course of action for the Rosenzweigs consisted of leaving Germany as fast as haste flung at rigorous bureaucracy would allow. Like them, the Seligmann family of Heidelberg also concluded that the only option left for them was to abandon the entire locus of their lives and begin again abroad. This decision was not easy, for Sigmund and Friedel Seligmann were both about 50 years old and had two children. Thus they found the process of arranging leaving Nazi Germany discouraging and exhausting-a rigorous emotional and financial gauntlet. Although they had explored emigration possibilities and had resigned themselves to remaining in the Third Reich, for the Seligmanns "with the events of November, the slow and merciless death of existence" as they had known it came to "a sudden and final end".¹⁰¹

As early as 1937 Sigmund Seligmann realized that the fact that his wife Friedel was of "Aryan" descent and both children had been raised Christian didn't change a situation which had become critical. On top of that, the children had reached the age where they had to suffer from "the regression of the system in and outside of school". By heritage a Jew and by profession a seller of chemical fertilizers as well as being a self-employed horticultural consultant, with the implementation of a general anti-Jewish boycott Sigmund Seligmann lost

¹⁰¹ Information about the Seligmanns in this section comes from Sigmund [Seligmann] Seaman's unpublished account titled "*Verfolgungsvorgang*", 5.VI.57.

more and more customers, to the point that he had to declare 1937 a *Verlustjahr*-a "year of losses". As his business had been a thriving one, this strangulation of the family's livelihood had devastating effects.

As of spring 1938, then, the Seligmanns sought to relocate. "All attempts to enter another European country failed"-Sigmund Seligmann's occupation being "neither important nor my wealth great enough to open a door somewhere"; thus nothing else remained but to think about moving overseas. Sigmund Seligmann's sister had migrated to Australia, so for a while they considered joining her-until they received the reply that they were no longer young enough and "didn't have enough children!" Next, they turned their attention to America, where the husband of Friedel Seligmann's cousin signed a crucial affidavit of support. Unfortunately it was non-transferable, which meant that Sigmund Seligmann would have had to leave his family behind.

Separating the family remained unacceptable-until the pogrom of November 1938. The Seligmanns were not spared a house search and "the destruction and confiscation of the apartment by the SS", nor Sigmund Seligmann's deportation to Dachau, where he languished for five weeks. He later avoided disclosing the details of his stay there, other than saying: "the name 'Dachau' alone suffices to evoke the treatment-or better, the mistreatment-to which I along with the other internees were exposed". At least, Friedel Seligmann managed to arrange his release. What should have been a joyous return home, however, was dampened by the realization that the family of a former Dachau inmate could not remain in the housing estate of the Associated Union of Employees, where the Seligmanns once had bought the right to live with the help of matching public-aid monies.¹⁰² Although they did so voluntarily, the Seligmanns forfeited their investment, left their single-family home and moved to a crowded shared flat.

After Sigmund Seligmann's return in December 1938 only the liquidation of his firm remained-which impoverished the company's cash-strapped accounts.¹⁰³ He sold the stock at

¹⁰² For a detailed account of a similar experience, see Ganz' *In Deutschland unerwünscht* in Schwarz (1964), p. 28-32.

¹⁰³ The later that Jews fled the Third Reich, the more wealth they lost. On average, Jews who left in 1933 lost a surmountable 23% of their wealth (Ginzel, 1993, p. 222). In late 1934 emigrants forfeited on average 60% of their property; in 1939, 96% (Kwiet in Pehle, Ibid., p. 135). From fiscal year 1938 through fiscal year 1940 alone, the Nazi regime gathered 1,126,612,496 RM from departing Jews in the form of customs duties (Hilberg, 1961, p. 101). See Adam (Ibid., pp. 172-177) to review of the expulsion of Jews from Germany's economy or

clearance prices to a concern in Worms which absorbed his customers without compensation. Friedel Seligmann had sold the company car at a bearable loss during his incarceration; these additional forfeitures, however, along with other "expenses and obligations"-such as circa 2,000 Marks in the form of a *Judenabgabe* (Jew tax)-exhausted the firm's finances.¹⁰⁴

After realizing the Nazis' intentions, Sigmund Seligmann understood that he had to undertake all possible actions until he could escape impending disaster. Thus, he pressed on with efforts to flee Germany until, finally, way opened. A local pastor, in conjunction with a visiting American Quaker¹⁰⁵-the husband of a woman who later would serve as director of Scattergood Hostel- came to his aid. They granted Seligmann a decisive favor: they vouched for his character-that he was a worthy and fully acceptable candidate for life in America. Only then did the American consulate in Stuttgart issue Sigmund Seligmann a visa. It provided entry, however, for him *only*.¹⁰⁶

It was a heavy shock to come home with the decision that I provisionally had to emigrate alone [and] the family had to stay [behind] despite the state of war. Through this separation,

Barkai (1995) for an overview of how appropriation of Jewish property served the Nazis' economic plan.

¹⁰⁴ By 1940 the Nazi regime had collected circa 900 million Reichsmarks through the so-called *Fluchtsteuer*- or "flight tax" (Kwiet in Pehle, Ibid., p. 135).

¹⁰⁵ He was Robert Balderston, who volunteered after the first world war to help feed European children and after Hitler seized power traveled to Germany to try to assist victims of Nazism. He also was on hand in Antwerp in June 1939 when the ill-fated refugees on the *Saint Louis* returned from its unplanned tour of the New World's closed ports (Nawyn, Ibid, p. 345).

¹⁰⁶ The difficulties Seligmann faced in securing visas to America were typical of those encountered by European refugees of that period. According to Benz, "the most important and desired countries of exile were Palestine and the USA. For different reasons, it was difficult to reach them". Palestine was a British mandate and the Zionists who wanted to immigrate were only admitted "in minimal numbers according to a complicated quota system". Immigration quotas also constituted for many an insurmountable barrier to the U.S. Until 1939, the yearly quota was not once fully utilized. Causes were both currency regulation in Germany as well as the restrictive policies of the American immigration officials. After the pogrom of November 1938 the restrictions indeed were loosened, "but for many it was too late. If at first it was the fear to be burdened with impoverished Jews from Central Europe, with the outbreak of war came the additional fear of Nazi spies who could have trickled in in the stream of refugees. In any case, before permission to immigrate to the USA could be had, bureaucratic hurdles of considerable dimensions had to be overcome. Despite that, the United States was far and above the most important country of exile, in which over 130,000 German and Austrian Jews found refuge" (Benz, 1994, pp. 38-39). According to Daniels, between 1933 and 1940 the U.S. accepted 100,987 German immigrants; "had all the German quota spaces [including those of Austria] been filled, the total would have been 211,895" (Daniels in Jackmann, Ibid., p. 66).

its accompanying uncertainty over fate and complications connected with my first [days] in the USA, the persecutions had an effect across time and space.¹⁰⁷

As Sigmund Seligmann soon learned, with the granting of a visa his work had just begun. The necessary last transactions involved tremendous expenditures, such as requisite exit taxes to be paid at the *Landesfinanzamt* in order to receive permission to take property with him. In addition he had to post bonds assuring his solvency for possible debts at Heidelberg's *Finanzamt* -where officials found "reason" for again levying a tax of circa 2,000 Marks. Following the payment of all compulsory taxes and fees, he still had to trek to Karlsruhe, Stuttgart and Berlin in order to retrieve corresponding documents from the Imperial Union of Jews or similar social-service offices-as well as tickets for passage aboard a Dutch steamer. During a visit to the Imperial Insurance Institute of Employees, Seligmann discovered that his claims for compensation for previously made, self-employment insurance payments had been nullified-as were those regarding life insurance policies for him, his wife and their family. So arbitrary and exorbitant were the costs involved with leaving Germany that by the time he actually reached Rotterdam in February 1940 for the long-awaited voyage, Seligmann had the equivalent of 10 Marks.

Sigmund Seligmann safely reached America, but what of the rest of his family?¹⁰⁸ His wife and children remained behind, suffering inadequate living arrangements and the barest of budgets, given that their husband and father had been unable to leave much money with them. They survived until their own trip across the Atlantic through the support of relatives, friends and the pastor of a local Heidelberg church. Away from harm in the U.S., Sigmund Seligmann worked to secure his family's passage as soon as possible. Given the handicap of his age and rather specialized training, he thought himself lucky to locate work first on a farm in Maryland and later at a nursery in Iowa where he worked for meager pay. At that rate, it took time for him to save enough to pay the \$950 tickets necessary to-in effect-ransom his family.

The Seligmanns-who "Americanized" the name to "Seaman"-found direct and relatively brief passages to the New World. Other future Scattergood guests, in contrast, did not. The Weilers, for example, had to travel a total of 27,000 kilometers in order to end up on the Iowa

¹⁰⁷ Seligmann, Ibid.

¹⁰⁸ After Sigmund's departure his oldest sister, Erna, was arrested in Freiburg-im-Breisgau, deported to Gurs concentration camp in southern France and later sent to a death camp in "the East", where she perished. Similarly his father, Salomon, also of Freiburg, met an "unnatural end in Poland"; word of his fate came via a phoney death certificate sent to Sigmund's wife Friedel- along with a bill for the "ensuing costs"!

prairies. As one reporter put it: "The man went out the front door, his wife and little daughter departed by the back way and they were reunited on the other side of the world".¹⁰⁹

Like most German Jews, under Nazi rule Gus Weiler of Neustadt could not continue his profession-by-training, so the former butcher took to trading livestock-a livelihood which the regime eventually also forbade him. At that point he and his wife Rosl decided they had no future in the "New Germany". They were able to secure a visa, but, as with the Seligmanns, only for the head of the family. In their case, too, the man of the family fled solo-on 1 May 1940, aboard an Italian passenger ship bound for the United States. Upon landing in New York Gus Weiler stayed with his fellow-refugee brother before heading to Iowa to wait at Scattergood until his wife and their daughter could join him-a reunion he was not sure ever would occur.

In the meantime, before Gus Weiler's family could follow, the war in Europe intensified, so Rosl Weiler decided to undertake an alternative route. First, the two went to the East Prussian city of Königsberg and boarded a train for Lithuania, which had not yet fallen prey to Hitler's push for *Lebensraum*. On the border, however, Nazi officials forced her to forfeit her money. Initially, the Russians refused the pair admittance when a soldier discovered that the routes outlined in their passports did not jibe with that of their tickets. After a night in a bare room without food or water, however, the next morning the two were granted permission to proceed to Moscow. There, upon a guarantee by Quakers that the German government would be repaid, the Moscow consulate of the German foreign office provided them with money-"after three days of red tape had delayed the journey". For eight days and nights Weiler and her daughter rode a trans-Siberian train "bearing many refugees" and in which "everyone was sick". There they changed trains and proceeded to Pusan in occupied Korea and secured a two-day passage to Japan. They then continued on to Seattle-a trip which required 12 more days. From the Pacific Northwest the duo rode a bus literally across more than half of North America in order to rejoin Gus Weiler-some four months after the family first had separated.

Despite the tribulations they encountered in the process, Jews with the means and luck to do so left Nazi-occupied Germany. Already before World War II began, Germany and annexed Austria lost half of their pre-war Jewish populations, either through emigration or murder.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁹ All information about the Weilers in this section comes from anonymous article "Forced to Flee Germany-3 Refugees Travel 18,000 Miles", DMR, 8.IX.40.

¹¹⁰ See Bracher et al, 1983, pp. 529-532.

Once the *Wehrmacht* rolled into Poland,¹¹¹ Nazi persecution of the Jews took on a new, more active incarnation in the form of mass executions and deportations. Also, from April through June 1940 whole Jewish populations in Denmark, Norway, the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg and France fell prey to Nazi designs. As the war then moved eastward, Jews in the Soviet Union, the Baltics, Hungary and the Balkans also were subjected to persecution and annihilation. Those with enough money and clarity of what fates might befall them sought to escape the Nazi menace. The majority of European Jews, however, perished.

While during the first wave of emigration in 1933 300 to 400 German Jews entered Britain each month, the volume declined to about 100 per month in 1934. After the declaration of the sweeping Nuremberg Laws in September 1935, the level of Jewish emigration rose again from 21,000 in 1935 to 25,000 in 1936. At the same time, refugees' destinations other than Britain began closing their doors. Out of the 106,000 German Jews who emigrated between 1933 and 1936, Palestine absorbed 23,963-until, that is, a serious Arab rebellion against the British mandatory government in Palestine in 1936 prompted London to severely restrict Jewish immigration. From 1937 to 1939 the number of Jews entering Palestine declined to 11,864, out of a total German Jewish emigration of 141,000. As barriers to immigration in Palestine and other countries went up, Britain felt increased pressure to take action.¹¹² Eventually, so did the United States. But it was too late: by the war's end the Nazis succeeded in annihilating two-thirds of Europe's pre-war Jewish population.¹¹³ The Nazis' had been one of most thorough, efficient murder machines in world history. Wherever they went in the West, the Germans found collaborators or just plain opportunists willing to betray or herd up Jews living in newly conquered states. In the East, Nazi occupying forces were preceded by merciless *Einsatzgruppen*, corps whose job it was to "liquidate" as many Jews in occupied territories as possible. This they did with amazing speed, accuracy and heartlessness. For them, any targeted individuals in Nazi-occupied zones were fair game. Any such individuals who could, fled.¹¹⁴

111 Already in a Reichstag speech on 30 January 1939, Hitler promised to treat the Jews "with all terrible consequences" in case of war in Europe (Jochmann, *Ibid.*, p. 256).

112 Wasserstein in Hirschfeld, 1984, p. 69.

113 According to Kirk, the exact percentage of all European Jews murdered during the Nazi period was 68 percent (*Ibid.*, p. 172).

114 Fleeing to America, though, did not mean an end to anti-Semitism. According to Laura Fermi, the wife of an exiled Italian physicist, while Jews were persecuted by European dictatorships, "in democratic America they were subjected to a much subtler form of anti-Semitism, a form which can be summed up in the word 'restricted'. European Jews did not

1.6 Refugees from Nazi-Occupation

Although many were, not all individuals fleeing Nazi occupation were Jews. Some were ordinary civilians hoping to escape being caught in crossfire. While the majority of Scattergood's guests fled Nazi-held lands before warfare could disturb their lives even more than creeping social stigmatization and later persecution already had, half a dozen actually witnessed armed conflict. One of that number was Magdalene Salmon of Warsaw, who remained in her hometown on the Vistula even while the *Wehrmacht* pounded the Polish capital to dusty rubble during the Poles' valorous but vain attempt to stave off the on-coming Germans. A social worker in the municipal family-services office, Salmon used her post to keep abreast of developments-as far as the city government had an inkling of what was happening, given that the situation changed so quickly, without warning and in a vacuum created by a crippling lack of functioning infrastructure. Still, she saw the basic sequence of events and daily-life conditions following the Nazi invasion on 1 September 1939.

Already on 11 September, as German troops approached Warsaw, the defeated Polish military command decided to capitulate, then withdrew in the direction of Lublin. Salmon later recalled: "Contrary to this decision the civil government of Warsaw decided to defend the town and created the Committee of Warsaw Defense".¹¹⁵ Lingered soldiers and "workers' battalions formed by civilians" were to protect the besieged city-a noble if quixotic assignment. Salmon stayed, as the decision to defend Warsaw supposedly "expressed the will of the population". The besieged Poles did not know that on 17 September the Polish government had left Poland, that the Russian army had occupied the east part of Polish territory and that "all Poland was a victim of aggression". On the contrary, the people of Warsaw hoped that British or French armies would attempt to invade Germany. In the month of September, then, "nobody would say that the bombardment would be too strong to stand, but despair after the surrender was universal".

It was winter when Salmon took her baby, left her work and made her way to Russia, which she crossed on the Trans-Siberian Railroad enroute to America. In the weeks before she left

know this word and learned it with great shock. In Europe their lives had been in danger; America threatened their self-respect. In most European countries the blame for the excesses against the Jews could be put on a few. In America the majority was responsible, though for a much lesser sin" (Fermi, *Ibid.*, p. 16).

¹¹⁵ Information about Magdalene Salmon comes from "The Defeat of Warsaw", SMNB, 17.IX.41.

Poland, however, she watched as the invading Germans took over the city-and with them

came hunger and misery. In Warsaw there was no coal; all the windows had broken panes. In the night began to assemble outside my office the people asking for help. We gave them the money for one kilo of bread a month. To receive this amount of bread hundreds of people would stand for hours in the cold and rain. And this-to see the people starve-was the worst of all.

Magdalene Salmon was not the only Polish Scattergood Hostel guest to see firsthand the ravages of war. Unlike Magdalene, however, Stanislaw Braun was not living in his native Warsaw at the time of the German invasion and subsequent destruction of the Polish capital, as he had been living in Paris since his graduation from secondary school. Once Poland had been attacked, however, he enlisted in a Polish division of the French army and moved to the French front, on the western edge of the Nazis' intimidating Reich; he and his fellow Polish soldiers were in military service "to kill Germans, to avenge the honor of Poland".¹¹⁶ The young father, however, was to be disappointed. When the Germans entered Belgium in a spearheaded action centered at that gap in the Maginot Line, Braun helped the French try to stem the attacks with mule-drawn equipment-inadequate to hit the low-flying German planes. The weak French front soon collapsed and Braun fled to Paris. Learning that his wife and their six-year-old son had preceded him to the South of France, he pushed his way across the chaotic French countryside until he reached them there. Officially, German demands issued at the time of the Nazi-dictated armistice stipulated that all foreigners who had fought with the French were to be placed in concentration camps. The clever Pole, however, found a friend-an officer in the French army-who drafted a fictitious certificate claiming that Braun was "in the process of being demobilized". As foreign-born soldiers could not be interned until they had been demobilized, Braun thus possessed technical immunity. Amazingly, the puzzled French officials who stopped Braun for questioning honored the order, allowing the trained economist-statistician to reach the still-unoccupied South, where his family secured American visas.

¹¹⁶ Information about Stanislaw Braun in this section comes from George Shane, "Scattergood Refugees Can Tell Much: French Army Surprised Pole". DMR, late 1942.

Chapter 2 Reception in Residential Refugee Programs

General Comments

After the prolonged turmoil they had endured while trying to flee Nazi-occupied territories, once refugees reached what appeared to be a safe haven, their journeys did not end-and for some, really only then began. Those still in Europe had to find further passage, either because they were unwelcome as long-term resident foreigners or because they sensed that the Nazi menace would not be satiated with those lands already under Berlin's control. Some unwittingly landed in detention camps, with little power to secure their own release; those who succeeded in leaving the camps still had myriad hurdles to overcome in order to please bureaucrats who might-or then again not-grant a reprieve from danger. Those who reached islands of refuge safe from Nazi invasion-for example, Cuba or the United States-still had to locate shelter and means of support, or, ideally, the agencies willing and able to facilitate locating both. Only after meeting their basic needs could refugees consider the process of integrating into an adopted culture. The most fortunate of them did so with the help of one of a few existent residential refugee centers.

To discern to what degree Scattergood Hostel's overall experience was representative or exceptional in comparison to that of other voluntary refugee centers then operative, one must examine the basic organization and offerings of comparable residential refugee programs. Who or what organizations ran the programs-and with what motives or goals? What subjects of instruction did they offer-and to what end? What role did freetime activities play in the rehabilitation of the refugees? Based upon what model did the centers function: "democracy", "dictatorship" or a mixture of the two? How did respective forms of "government" prepare refugees for functioning in non-dictatorial societies? In general, did the various programs meet "success" or "failure" in reaching their goals in terms of refugee rehabilitation and reorientation? What sort of basis for later refugee integration or assimilation did the programs provide?

To qualify for comparison, programs had to have been residential, voluntary and comprehensive; other refugee centers existed besides those presented here but either kept those residing there by force-as in the British "enemy alien" internment camps or the French detention camps in operation both before and following German occupation-or only offered

basic services, thereby being only part of coincidental processes of refugee integration or assimilation. Such centers cannot be compared to the deliberate, far-reaching program offered at Scattergood Hostel and cannot be compared in terms of how they facilitated or hindered refugees integration or assimilation. What follows are a sampling of thirteen contemporary voluntary residential refugee centers.

References to Specific Examples

The fates of refugees from Nazi-occupied Europe varied tremendously. The examples offered here suggest important differences as well as similarities between thirteen residential refugee programs. While they indicate what sort of reception refugees from Nazi-occupied territories met, they are limited to the case studies for which enough material could be located to merit using them and are listed according to the approximate chronology of their existence.

2.1 Agricultural Projects

As of November 1929 the western world found itself in an economic sink hole spurred by the collapse of Wall Street markets. As trade, then industry shrunk to shadows of their pre-Crash selves, a "back to the land" movement attracted interest in several industrialized countries. Mainly, its adherents saw industrial civilization as precarious in its abilities to provide long-term for humans' basic needs and well-being. The radical philosophies of Scott and Helen Nearing in America's urban Northeast or John Seymour in England's Midlands struck resonant chords: they preached agrarian living as a means to achieve spiritual purity as well as material self-reliance; the social ecology they peddled blended small-scale socialism with radical provincialism. 'Theirs' was a blend of old-fashioned agrarian common sense wedded with *avant garde* revisionist philosophy born of over a century of urban-based industrialism. For them agriculture was a return to cultural roots as well as a march forward.

As a decentralized, non-secular school of thought, the "back to the land" ethic lent itself to Zionist' aims of exciting European Jews to emigrate to what was then British-ruled Palestine. Zionists saw agrarian-based socialism as the key to establishing sustainable settlements in the inhospitable Middle East and thereby re-establishing a long-vanished "Israel". The human brain as well as brawn needed to sprout *kibbutzim* on "Israeli" soil would have to be cultivated, as European Jews long had been an urbane, commercial people-not tillers of the land. Thus leading Jewish business and cultural figures underwrote the founding of agricultural schools to

prepare Jewish youth and young adults for eventual settlement in Palestine.¹¹⁷ Meaning "pioneer" in Hebrew, *Halutz* comprised the largest movement sponsoring such schools. A cross between a Zionist hotbed and a refugee evacuation agency, it organized hundreds of programs and touched the lives of almost ten thousand young Jews.¹¹⁸

In contrast, Quaker-sponsored agricultural projects-while obviously confident that agrarianism could solve problems or offer possibilities which urban culture could not-lacked the religious underpinnings of Zionist hopes behind "making the desert bloom" as a vehicle for rebuilding Israel. Still, that Quaker philanthropists and relief agents alike turned to rural refugee projects suggests that they trusted the land's ability to absorb thousands of "unwanted" persons from Nazi-held territories. Remarkably, they and the Zionists did so virtually from the start of Nazi rule.

2.11 *Halutz* Agricultural Schools

Already before 1933, *Halutz* existed with the hope of resurrecting the Israel of the Jews' ancient ancestors. At that time the movement included a few hundred individuals and worked in tandem with similar organizations in Eastern Europe-thereby acquiring experience with retraining those who came from various professions for physical work. With the rise of Nazism, *Halutz* appealed to thousands and its fortunes soared even while that of Jews in Germany generally suffered. At that point, the *Reichsvertretung*¹¹⁹-which organized in September 1933 to represent German Jews in the face of growing attack from the recently empowered Nazi regime-cooperated with British and American Jewish organizations to accelerate the transformation of Jewish young people from urban Europeans into Middle Eastern agrarians. This tri-national Jewish front recognized at the beginning of Nazi rule the importance of preparing younger generations for physical work in agriculture and other productive occupations as a condition of large-scale Jewish emigration from Germany. It intended to

¹¹⁷ The *will* to settle Jews in Palestine did not equate the *ability*. See Diner in Blasius (1994, pp. 138-160) for an in-depth review of measures taken to restrict Jewish immigration.

¹¹⁸ Except where noted, information in this section comes from Bentwich (1956). Norman Bentwich served as Attorney General of the Mandate Government in Eretz Israel from 1920 to 1931. From 1931 to 1951 he taught as Professor of International Relations at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and from 1933 to 1936 acted as Director of the League of Nations Commission for Jewish Refugees from Germany (Patkin, 1979. p 15).

¹¹⁹ German Jewish leaders named their organization the *Reichsvertretung der deutschen Juden*, but had to rename it the *Reichsvertretung der Juden in Deutschland* as dictated by the Nyrnberg Laws enacted in autumn 1935 (Blasius and Diner, Ibid., p. 125).

convince

a large part of an urban and middle-class population to change their outlook in life, to re-educate them for occupations they had never known, to organize the centres and institutions for the training of sixty thousand young men and women.¹²⁰

In the first few months of 1933 a "large number" of training institutes, agricultural centers, farms and workshops were hurriedly established, so that by the year's end over six thousand individuals were receiving initial training or were being retrained as agricultural workers or artisans. Despite such effective organization prowess, *Halutz* stumbled upon difficulty coming from the Nazi government. In fact, numerous administrative hurdles and Gestapo *Aktionen* frequently interfered with the training programs undertaken in *Halutz* schools.¹²¹ After committing large investments for equipment and in physical plants to be used as training sites—for example—permits suddenly were withdrawn, often without explanation. The Gestapo's surveillance of *Halutz* activities was carried out "maliciously", with the intent to "disorganize" efforts to prepare Jewish youth

for a new life in other countries... The difficulties in establishing sufficient training places in Germany, the continual obstacles created by the German authorities, and the necessity of saving the young who were in danger of imprisonment and concentration camps, compelled the extension of the activities into neighbouring countries.¹²²

At the same time, *Halutz* had to take "great care" in view of the danger of returning to Germany any who were not fit for physical work. Only those who already had been trained for a certain time in Germany and could prove the necessary qualifications returned.

To realize its goals, *Halutz* submitted proposals to the *Reichsvertretung* regarding the organization and administration of its programs. The Central Jewish Organization, the American Joint Distribution Committee and the Central British Fund all agreed to contribute monies which could not be collected locally and guaranteed that pupils would not become public charges. The Jewish Agency for Palestine, in turn, promised to provide immigration certificates for those completing training. Once the necessary bureaucratic arrangements were in place, *Halutz* established centers for German Jewish youth in Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, France, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Latvia, Poland, Sweden, the United

¹²⁰ Bentwich, 1956, p. 86.

¹²¹ See Adler (1974, pp. 3-5) on Nazi ambivalence regarding Jewish emigration.

¹²² Ibid., p 87.

Kingdom and Yugoslavia. From 1933 to 1939 training did not take place in all countries at the same time and as of 1939, "owing to the increase of political tension in Europe", centers in France, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania and Yugoslavia were discontinued. Despite that, thousands received training. Due to political instability, however, some of the trainees received their preparation in two or even three countries because the supply of immigration visas to Palestine or to other countries was never sufficient to provide for all who had completed their training. Trainees then had to transfer to a new country where they could continue their training for another eighteen months. It was a difficult, cumbersome undertaking, but those who withstood it left "as highly skilled workers in their own fields".¹²³

Hitler's annexation of Austria on 13 March 1938 necessitated expanding *Halutz'* program to include young Jews from Germany's ill-fated neighbor. Together with the Germans enrolled, between 1933 and 1939, 9,213 individuals -roughly two-thirds males and one-third females- received training outside the Third Reich.¹²⁴ Of 9,213 young Jews who trained abroad before September 1939, 5,414 completed their course and emigrated. Of them, 4,600 joined agricultural settlements in Israel; 814 emigrated to the USA or other countries overseas. Of the rest 2,768 found haven in England and Sweden, but 1,031 were trapped by the German occupation of Holland, Belgium and Poland: "Some were saved by wandering eastwards in the flight from the advancing German armies, but hundreds perished in their attempts to reach safety for the second time". Those remaining in England and Sweden continued agricultural work during the war years. At the war's end most left for their final destination.¹²⁵

Although *Halutz'* aim was to train young adults between the ages of 18 and 25, the increasing severity of Nazi anti-Semitic persecution led it to accept juveniles under age 18 as well. Because Latin American and British Common-wealth countries gave preference to agricultural workers, about 90 percent of the trainees received instruction in agriculture or-for women-"domestic science"; the other ten percent qualified as artisans. According to one account, the "overwhelming number" placed in agriculture was due also to financial considerations, as training in agriculture proved to be cheaper and required a shorter period than training for any other occupation suitable for the countries of immigration.¹²⁶

¹²³ Ibid., p. 88.

¹²⁴ Ibid., p 89.

¹²⁵ Ibid., p. 91.

¹²⁶ Ibid.

Establishing large new agricultural training centers called for "inventiveness and flexibility". Those responsible for the aggregate project had to adapt their program to each country separately because conditions of training, labor laws, guarantors' responsibilities and the willingness of the Jewish communities to participate in the scheme varied. In some countries paid employment with private farmers was permitted, while in others it was relatively easy to rent farms or to establish special institutions of their own.

Of over nine thousand young people trained, 4,145 worked as apprentices with private farmers. Most of the rest served as resident interns at various training centers. What did those training centers look like? Ranging in sizes which accommodated a dozen to several hundred trainees at a time, they included rented, purchased and "specially adapted" sites. The *Stichting Joodische Arbeid* of Amsterdam-for example-sponsored one such site on the Zuider Zee. It was there

on the virgin soil which the Dutch reclaimed from the sea, and where Dutch farmers had refused to settle, [that] Jewish boys and girls from Germany, driven from their homeland, were the first to cultivate the new stretch of land, and proved that it could be done with outstanding success.¹²⁷

By 1938 the *Halutz*-sponsored *Werkdorp* was a "happy" community of 400 young people who had created a model agricultural settlement, and themselves had to undergo "physical and mental changes, just as the land they worked was changed from a saline wilderness to fertile fields and gardens".

A second example of a *Halutz* center could be found on the opposite side of Europe on a barren hill in Yugoslavia. *Pushta Golonice* lay four hours from the nearest railway station; a group of *Halutzim* who finished their training on the farm dubbed it *Kibbutz Bamidbar*- "in the desert". Despite its marked remoteness, 120 young men and women moved into the site's derelict house and endured "primitive" living conditions:

work in the heat of the summer and in the cold, long months of winter [which was] unbelievably hard. It speaks for the courage and perseverance of the children from the

¹²⁷ Another enterprise in Holland, the *Vereeniging Tot Vakopleiding Van Palestine Pioneers* placed trainees with Dutch farmers and, being near the German frontier, it "rescued many who had to leave Germany suddenly because of [Gestapo] persecution...and were often unable to receive travel permits". Reuben Cohen and his wife were "the heart and soul" of that movement: "They devoted themselves to the well-being of the groups whom they placed, and saved many hundreds from a bitter fate, but they could not save themselves. When the Germans invaded Holland, they died in a concentration camp" (Ibid, p. 90).

middle-class Jewish families who lived there, nearly isolated from the outside world, that none left the farm before completing the training.¹²⁸

"Almost all" of those who passed through *Puszcza GOLONICE* went to Palestine to join one of the growing number of collective settlements.

In all, *Halutz*-sponsored agricultural training centers provided a means of escape from Nazi persecution, while concurrently preparing young refugees to integrate at least professionally into the countries where they later would find safe haven. Jews, however, weren't the only religious body to turn to the land as a place of refuge.

2.12 Land Settlement, Perpignan, Eastern Pyrenees, France

In response to the increasingly clear threat the newly installed Nazi governing apparatus posed to individuals not in agreement with it, in summer 1933 the Germany Emergency Committee [GEC] of London Yearly Meetings' Friends Service Council (a relief and reform organization) moved to create a safe haven for the first victims of the *Nationalsozialist* regime. Two members of GEC donated most of the funds necessary to realize German and French Friends' plans to resettle German refugees in the Eastern Pyrenees.¹²⁹ One of the donors went in September of that year to the South of France to investigate the possibilities available. Near Perpignan she discovered a small derelict farm, unoccupied and available at low rent; a resettlement project was seeded.

Soon after Hitler's *Machtergreifung* a number of non-Quaker Germans had contacted Friends at the Quaker Centre in Frankfurt-am-Main. After the procurement of property at Perpignan some of those individuals were contacted and in November six Germans—a teacher and his wife, their small daughter and three young men—moved to Perpignan. The teacher—whose pacifism had cost him his job—leased the land on the group's behalf and received grants for rent, for initial stock or equipment and for maintenance till harvest. As the teacher had "a keen sense of service and hoped to build a community which would play an active part in the social life of the district", the initial settlers agreed to run their community as a cooperative and soon won the friendship of their neighbors. The village *curé* lent them furnished accommodation

¹²⁸ According to Bentwich, "the Jewish community in Zagreb were responsible for that undertaking" (Ibid., pp. 90-91).

¹²⁹ Although records do not reveal if lessons were offered at the settlement— for example in French or agriculture— or if other efforts were made to assimilate the refugees, it is included here because 1 the refugees mostly intended to settle in the area and 2 as shown by their

while they put the farmhouse in order and helped them in other ways; at Christmas they joined in local festivities, singing French or German songs with locals.¹³⁰

By the end of that first year the farmhouse became "passably habitable" and a group of eight people moved in. As the farm included enough pasture for some 50 goats and a few cows, and as a good market existed for milk, butter or cheese, the group decided to run a dairy. In also it grew fruits and vegetables for the household. Under the schoolteacher's leadership, the settlement's residents set to work "with great energy and determination" clearing scrub and a neighbor plowed the fields in return for use of fodderland. The settlers sowed seeds and planted fruit trees and bought initial livestock, including a mule for transport. Within months the farm had improved "beyond all knowledge"; the refugees soon realized that, after further improvement, it might be difficult to renew the lease and they might find themselves homeless, so in September 1934 the main donor-a British female doctor-purchased the farm, in effect as a trust.

The settlement, however, was not without its troubles. The three young men soon left, as "they were not fitted for the life there". The activist agency *L'Entr'Aide* chose others to fill their places, but had difficulty in obtaining work permits for them and arbitrary expulsions from France being carried out by French authorities at that time caused further loss of workers. By February 1935 the schoolteacher was the only man on the farm; during that month an epidemic among the goats killed all the kids. In March another refugee arrived and later that year two parties of English schoolboys came to work briefly-in the summer months, though, the farm really needed four men to get through all the work. Despite personnel problems, in autumn 1935 the farm was able to feed the four people living there-until, that is, during the winter the wholesale price of milk fell sharply and "further subsidization" was necessary. The following autumn doubt arose whether the settlement could be self-supporting, so the core group made a "radical change", converted the mixed farm into a fruit farm occupied by the schoolteachers' family and planted 500 new fruit trees. Situated amidst "lovely country", they also made a modest income by accommodating visitors and providing camping sites; that enterprise was developed along with the fruit-growing: "Soon the prospects began to look brighter".¹³¹

contact with locals, the refugees were willing to adapt at least partially to the local culture.

¹³⁰ This account comes from Lawrence Darton's unpublished report, "Friends Committee on Refugee Affairs" (found at Friends Library, Friends House, London), pp. 21-22.

¹³¹ Ibid.

Until, that is, war erupted. At that point the family undertook housing and teaching refugee children sent to them by French and American Quakers, a task in which they were "well qualified and...very successful".¹³² While the settlement succeeded in cultivating amiable relations with its neighbors, the degree to which the refugees who lived there were able to integrate into the local milieu, however, depended on external forces. After war broke out in Europe, agriculturally based refugee projects in general assumed new, complicated characteristics.

2.13 Holwell Hyde

Disproportionately involved in the German refugee crisis, British Quakers sought to relieve as well as rehabilitate those coming to them for assistance. Of primary need was shelter-before any effort could be made of helping exiles from the Continent plant new lives on British soil. Toward that end Friends founded numerous small refugee centers. Most were temporary and limited in scope; the three substantial ones included here represent British Friends' efforts at running residential refugee programs. The first, Holwell Hyde near Hatfield, consisted of an 11-acre farm with a house, a cottage and a separate recreation facility operated by the Friends Committee for Refugees and Aliens [FCRA-formerly known as the German Emergency Committee]. Its primary goal was to provide individuals fleeing broken lives on the Continent with the means of supporting themselves in Britain. Given language as well as professional barriers to establishing careers in wartime Britain, Friends pinned their hopes as well as the refugees' futures on agricultural employment.

Before war broke out, Franciscans had used the site to house vagrants, who had worked on the farm. Under war-time conditions, however, "these people had ceased to exist as a class".¹³³ In March 1940 FCRA assumed control of the site's implements, fodder and a modest assembly of livestock. It also kept the previous wardens to run the place as an agricultural training center for about 20 persons. Holwell Hyde lent itself to such a use, as it already was under cultivation and in neighboring towns existed a "good market" for fresh

¹³² This state of affairs continued until almost the end of the war when- just as the Germans were leaving France- the man was deported to Germany and later Russia. Nothing was heard of him till some three years later. According to the report from which this account is taken, "after many efforts to secure his return, he was repatriated to France in 1948 and went back to the school, which his wife had carried on in his absence". Shortly afterwards the man became a Quaker and in 1949 the donor transferred the property to him and his family.

¹³³ The material in this section comes from Darton, *Ibid.*, pp. 97-101.

vegetables and flowers. Thus, under the eye of three "older and experienced" refugees, Friends offered trainees training in agriculture, horticulture, stock- and poultry-keeping, and periodically organized lectures on those subjects. The combined influences of safe haven and wholesome work, sound training and agreeable camaraderie made an immediate difference and it soon became noticeable that "without exception" the trainees "greatly improved in health and physique during their stay... All [were] keen on learning English" and several joined English or French classes. Four conversation and reading groups were held each week by a volunteer who also gave separate lessons to three "backward members" of the community. The conversations often took the form of a discussion "on some subject of interest".

Just three months after the hostel's opening many of the men there were interned due to fear of "enemy aliens", but the project was saved by the "excellent work" of the wardens, one of the leading refugees and "Brother Andrew"-the tractor. Allegedly the center became "a haven", as the police and the War Agricultural Committee

simply wouldn't let it be closed [as the specified refugee] was, among other things, a skilled tractor driver [so] he and his wife were spared from internment, and under the wardens he took charge of the agricultural training. 'Brother Andrew'...not only made it possible for the refugees to receive mechanical training,

but enabled "everything to be very well advanced" when authorities inspected the center during the "critical" months of May and June 1940.

Staff compensated for the depleted number of residents by introducing young refugees who escaped internment. Despite the lack of experienced help a "high standard" was apparently maintained, for a year later a visitor noted that both the chairman of the War Agricultural Committee and a Ministry of Agriculture inspector recently visited the farm and "congratulated the Management on the forward condition of their work and the quality of their stored crops. The Government is purchasing the residue of the potato crop... [Generally] the refugees were happy and were benefiting from the training".

Despite the refugees' positive reception of the program at Holwell Hyde, by 1941 it had only about ten trainees and in early 1942 it closed as a program. Most of its residents were able to find positions in agriculture. It had met the needs of adult refugees-but what of those of children who also had fled Nazi terror? Altogether different institutions offered them refuge in a world grown dangerous and often inhospitable.

2.2 Boarding Schools

Although between 1933 and 1939 about 60,000 Jews entered Great Britain -which some at the time deemed "very generous"-at first it received "only a modest part" of the total number of would-be German refugees from the Third Reich due to restrictions on immigration even to those fleeing persecution: only those who brought "the means of supporting themselves" could enter.¹³⁴ From 1933 to 1938 less than ten thousand exiles were admitted. Following the *Kristallnacht* pogrom, however, the British people were deeply moved, and renewed the tradition of asylum for the persecuted". From November 1938 till the outbreak of the war in September 1939 the total number of refugees which Britain admitted approached 60,000. Of those, more than three-quarters were Jews and ten thousand were children unaccompanied by parents.

Leaders of the Anglo-Jewish community promised the government that they would incur much of the expense of assisting fleeing Continental Jews. The academic-sponsored Assistance Council helped find positions for scholars at British universities and private citizens such as Harold Macmillan or Lord Baldwin provided shelter to numerous refugees at their estates. Quakers in England responded to appeals from German Jews by sending representatives to Germany to organize the removal of children to safety in the U.K., as it would have been too dangerous for British Jews to have gone. The subsequent Movement for the Care of Children from Germany arranged for the rushed emigration of ten thousand children. While teenage children could go abroad unaccompanied, the younger ones were chaperoned on *Kindertransporte*.¹³⁵ Quakers often hosted children when they arrived-and later adopted some of the orphaned ones; children not placed with private families were entrusted to the care of other sponsors, "farmed out" to agricultural schools or housed in boarding schools-including the likes of the New Herrlingen School at Bunce Court or the Cedars at Waddesdon, both located in the south of England.

2.21 Bunce Court

Upon finishing a German education, Anna Essinger of Ulm went to America, became a qualified teacher and lectured at Madison's University of Wisconsin, where she also ran a

¹³⁴ Bentwich, 1956, p. 25; see Blasius and Diner, *Ibid.*, p. 141.

¹³⁵ See Tydor, 1990.

For descriptions of *Kindertransporte* from occupied-Germany accompanied by future Scattergood Hostel guests, see pp. 60-63 in *OHR*.

student hostel. After the first world war she returned to Germany with a Quaker-sponsored *Kinderspeisung* program and opened *Sozialen-Frauenschulen*-community-focused schools for women- near Stuttgart. In 1911 her sister and her general-practitioner brother-in-law had established a children's hostel in Herrlingen, a Swabian village near Ulm; wishing to found a boarding school for those children, Essinger joined them. With the help of two other sisters, she opened the school in 1926 with 18 pupils. In 1927 an Education Ministry report described her as "extremely competent" and said she taught in a "very skillful, fresh and stimulating way, exploiting the material with a dedicated precision linked with resolute practice".¹³⁶ Essinger's progressive school thrived until 1933.

A Jew, Essinger received notice after Hitler's ascendancy to power that her first pupils- who were then the age for it-would not be allowed to sit the *Abitur*, the German state school-leaving examination. Furthermore, for the *Führer's* birthday in April 1933 it was announced that the Nazi swastika was to be flown over all schools: Essinger obeyed the order but sent the children on a day-long outing. A nephew later recalled: "A flag flying over an empty building could signify so much, and that is what my aunt intended".¹³⁷

Recognizing that her school had no future in the New Germany, in summer 1933 Essinger- then 54-took 13 of her pupils to England and re-opened the school in Bunce Court, a country estate at Otterden in Kent. Having been denied a chance at the *Abitur* in their own country, the pupils sat the London Matriculation and nine passed-three with distinction! With help from two sisters, Essinger proceeded to develop a school which closely reflected her dynamic personality. According to one Kent historian, Anna Essinger was

the-then-English idea of a typical German headmistress, short, stout, with very thick spectacles, a brisk and efficient manner, 'homely' [in the British sense of the word] and very kind to the children, but a strict disciplinarian to teaching staff and pupils.¹³⁸

Autumn 1933 found another 65 pupils and their teachers fleeing Nazi Germany via three separate routes so to avoid official notice. Along with these new arrivals came much work. Part

¹³⁶ Michael Smith. "'hat the Lady Did' Gives Hope for the Future". *Education Magazine*, 2.XII.94.

¹³⁷ Ibid.

¹³⁸ Alan Major. "Bunce Court, Anna Essinger and Her New Herrlingen School, Otterden- Parts One, Two and Three". *Bygone Kent* 10 #8-10 (1989).

In Part One, Major explains that much of the financial support for Essinger's move to England came from well-heeled friends in the aristocracy and British Quakers (p. 550).

of the school's curriculum was practical work and in the following two months pupils had plenty of that, as they had to work in the house and garden.¹³⁹ A Committee of Friends organized to assist the school and erected a big wooden dormitory in the grounds for twenty senior boys. Even so, the children suffered from crowded living conditions that first winter. Some contracted diphtheria or scarlet fever; one boy died in November from polio, causing further anxiety in following months whether others might develop it, so Bunce Court was put into isolation for weeks. Provisions were left at the gates and short meetings with parents were restricted to the open air.¹⁴⁰

Although at first rough, conditions at the school eventually improved and a state of normality took shape. As the situation in Germany deteriorated, the school increasingly became home to Jewish youth sent abroad by worried parents; the children's unsettled lives and Essinger's progressive pedagogy created an atmosphere of community-based scholasticism.¹⁴¹ Still, even in such a self-contained, thriving environment, events beyond the garden gate impacted everyday life, as the school body included Jewish refugee children first from Germany, then annexed Austria and occupied Czechoslovakia, followed by children from Poland and Hungary. As a group, they lived in "new-found security as 'citizens of the United Europe of the future'". Some were

¹³⁹ The New Herrlingen School possessed its own mini-farm, with the children mostly in charge of its "large garden and two greenhouses with numerous frames, all with heating", five hundred hens, some pigs and hives of bees. "The pigs were fed on kitchen waste and [one group of pupils], who were entirely responsible for them, ran an old motor-car on the proceeds from the sale of the piglets" (Ibid., p. 627).

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 551.

¹⁴¹ This is no random claim, but one backed by Major's research. In October 1937, several inspectors from the government's Board of Education visited the school for three days and filed a subsequent report. Their comments are revealing, as they were "amazed at what could be achieved in teaching with limited facilities and convinced it was the personality, enthusiasm and interest of teachers rather than their teaching 'apparatus' that made the school work competently". At the time of the inspection, 68 pupils attended the school- 41 boys and 27 girls, with 65 being boarders and 12 being English. From 1933 to 1937, 26 children left the school for other countries- mostly the U.S. or Palestine- but for other schools in Britain, too. The inspectors also noted "the considerable trouble Anna went to so that those pupils wanting to do so could have further training for a chosen career". By the school's closure pupils had entered "a wide range of careers and during the war some had joined the Services or did war work in Britain" (pp. 628-629). Besides reviewing educational activities, the inspectors reported that "the discipline being that of a large family rather than that of an institution, the pupils go about the House freely and use as day rooms not only the classrooms and library, but also the rooms of the staff, including the Head Mistress's own sitting room" (p. 630).

almost ill with homesickness and the older children anxious for parents, brothers and sisters left in Germany. A Quaker worker told...of parents' agony of mind who could only choose one of several children to go to England for safe education and which to select-the most brilliant, most fit, or one most vulnerable and unlikely to survive?¹⁴²

In *Kristallnacht's* wake Essinger helped Jewish families leave Nazi Germany. She had two new dormitories built at Bunce Court and even billeted children with local families. Eventually the need became to be so great that she and the staff barely could respond to it, for as conditions worsened in Germany and the number of refugee children swelled, demand on the school's resources grew. The school's council advised against taking children without definite financial arrangements, though the school "always had up to a dozen children" without them. Many children were taken "on good faith", in the hope that parents would pay when they could or themselves escaped. Another problem involved locating British teachers able to deal with emotional needs

of Jewish children taken from parents, homes and native country. At that time... Britain was still a peaceful, secure country and few realised what was really happening in Germany and were thus unable to comprehend why Anna [brought the] children out of Nazi Germany.¹⁴³

Sometimes, though, "problems" at the school consisted not of spacial or health or psychological limitations-but lingual ones. The official language at the school had to be English in deference to the children's futures, but German remained the de facto *lingua franca*-a state which caused struggles as well as smiles. In an attempt to enforce the use of English, new British teachers were told they must not learn any German for a year-but they usually did, as the unofficial language of the school was still German for a considerable time. One of the teachers, however, devised a way of reminding the children of the rule of only English at meal times by hanging a miniature Union Jack over the dining-room mantel; at the sound of a German word the teacher pressed a button connected to a light bulb, which illuminated the flag and buzzed a bell. Another daily event that also took place at meal times was a brief "touching of hands" around the table. This was intended to unite the whole body of the school for a short time before meals-"a sort of silent, non-religious grace-before-meals". Furthermore, there was no school uniform, as anything which reminded staff or pupils of "uniformed Nazi Germany was anathema".¹⁴⁴

¹⁴² Ibid., p. 550.

¹⁴³ Ibid., p. 553.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 625.

Indeed, at least for them personally, Nazi Germany was behind the young exiles-necessitating them to adapt to a new country and culture. To that end Essinger emphasized participation in groups with foci beyond the front lawn. The school welcomed guest speakers from the League of Nations Union-for example-and from the Workers' Education Association. From the latter came a local mail carrier one cold, rainy night to "face what seemed an endless sea of children's faces". Describing himself as a "bundle of nerves", he "was nearly overcome with stage fright", but managed to get through his "party piece".¹⁴⁵ On a larger scale, as soon as the school had become firmly established its contacts with the local community increased and "its fame spread further afield". The staff decided in summer 1934 to hold an Open Day in the last week of July. During it the children performed the Aristophanes play "Peace"-with the stately manor house as background-and made all of the costumes and props. Some 250 visitors came to see the school and the play -among them Lord Samuel, who in a address welcomed the children to England. Due to this exposure children were invited to stay with host families for holidays. Open Days were held every year up to and after the war.¹⁴⁶

The war, however, would disturb more than merely the amicable Open Day. As of September 1939 the owner of the estate fretted how the war might mean the appropriation of Bunce Court and end her income from it, so the Committee of Friends organized for Essinger to purchase the property from her. Then, the following May, with the advance of the *Wehrmacht* into France all German male staff and pupils over 16 landed in "enemy-alien" internment camps-soon followed by the school's cook and girls over 16.¹⁴⁷ In June 1940 military authorities issued the school three days' notice to leave the premises, as it had been declared a Defence Area: the army had requisitioned Bunce Court. After intense pleas the government reconsidered-granting a week's notice to move an entire school! Not surprisingly, a suitable replacement could not be found, so the school body split-with the smaller part joining another

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., pp. 625-627.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 627.

¹⁴⁷ According to Major, "this was seemingly a short-sighted and needless act as none of the staff or pupils, having left Germany in such unhappy circumstances, had the slightest allegiance to Nazi Germany or would do anything against the interests of their new-found home, England. Some of the staff and older boys were despatched for internment to Australia, where they were housed in camps for a time, living in conditions little better than the Nazi concentration camps they had avoided by leaving Germany, a fact that created a rightful bitterness for years afterwards over such treatment. The schoolboys from Bunce Court, however, were soon released on arrival in Australia as they were below the age of 18. There was no government provision for their return to England and some had extraordinary adventures before arriving in the USA or joining the British army!" (p. 654).

school and the larger part moving to empty Trench Hall in Shropshire, where the school stayed until the war's end. After "much effort" the school re-opened at Bunce Court in June 1946. Immediately after the war it accepted a number of children and young people who had been prisoners in Nazi concentration camps or had similar wartime backgrounds. This, among the

underlying and unavoidable fact that eventually there would be no more Continental children coming from Europe... Possibly it was at this stage that Anna Essinger felt the original purpose of the school in England was no longer relevant; another may have been that [at almost 70] she was now elderly and considered her work done.¹⁴⁸

Bunce Court school closed in 1948-having served some 900 pupils. Indeed a unique place, it belonged to a specific time. It's rich legacy, however, survived in the form of Continental children assimilated into "British" adults who made important contributions to their adopted homeland. Not only Bunch Courtians, however, went on to lead lives marked by achievement.

2.22 the Cedars

Markedly different from those of adult refugees, the needs of children fleeing Nazi Germany included the basics-food, clothing and shelter-but also needs more complex and subtle: financial sponsorship in lieu of income, adult guidance and educational instruction, thoughtful guardianship, etc. One response to those needs had its roots in the land not of the Magna Carta, but of the Reformation. The *Philantropin* began in 1804 in Frankfurt-am-Main when a senior clerk at a Rothschild's bank and three others convinced local Jews to contribute to a school fund for poor Jewish children. The institution's first director served for half a century and during his leadership the school grew to include children from the newer part of the city beyond the limits of the traditional ghetto limits and began offering instruction in German. With the relaxation of restrictive laws forbidding Jews to take up apprentices, classes in "practical subjects" also took their place in the curriculum. The *Philantropin* became "one of the most modern and progressive schools in the country".¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 655.

In 1943 Essinger wrote: "I have been justified again and again in my belief that the "human element' is much more important in successful teaching than any amount of technical equipment. It has been one of the great joys...to see how with the help of a good and co-operative staff much has been made of little. While it was not always easy to help uprooted children over their difficulties, the knowledge that the School enabled them to grow up decently has encouraged me to continue this work" (Unprinted book titled "Bunce Court School, 1933-1943", p.14, found in London's Weiner Library).

¹⁴⁹ Helga [Steinhardt] Brown. "The Cedar Boys", unpublished narrative report dated 1989,

In 1908 the school moved into a spacious building created for it. The new facility had up-to-date workshops, libraries, laboratories, classrooms and play grounds. The school became a *Reformrealgymnasium*, the motto of which was "Enlightenment and humaneness". The *Philantropin* was now able to provide an education for children from *Kindergarten* to university and "many eminent scholars received their education there". So established, the school flourished -until the advent of Nazism, when Jewish children were forbidden to attend "German" schools and life was made "too uncomfortable for them".¹⁵⁰ As parents did not wished their children's education to suffer, many in the area sent them to Frankfurt, where the *Flersheim Sichel Stiftung*¹⁵¹ was able to accommodate some of them while they attended the *Philantropin*. In the New Germany's changed political climate, the school's staff realized that it also must change, as academic qualifications alone would be of little use either in Palestine or in countries where work permits were unobtainable. The school employed two English teachers and offered the Cambridge School Certificate to interested pupils. The staff placed more emphasis on practical courses such as carpentry and increased the number of Hebrew lessons.

All the academic adaptation in the world, however, could not stop the madness spilling onto the streets beyond the schoolyard. In October 1938, for example, all staff and children at the school of Polish origin were deported to Poland-which denied them entry, forcing some of them to remain in border camps.¹⁵² Furthermore, there were "continuous visits" from the SS at six in the morning. Then, on the morning of 10 November, the pupils were sent home because synagogues, Jewish shops and buildings had been set afire. On 12 November 27 of the

p. 5 (located in London's Weiner Library).

¹⁵⁰ See Wetzel in Benz and Benz (1993, pp. 92-102) for a review of conditions faced by Jewish pupils in Nazi Germany.

¹⁵¹ "Julius Flersheim...never had a family himself, but wanted his money to [set] up of a Jewish orphanage for boys, who would be provided with a stable background and religious upbringing... In the same city...some years later a Home with similar ideals was set up on the death of Mr. Ignatz Sichel. Both men stipulated that the boys should attend the *Philantropin* as day pupils and that children of high intelligence should be admitted, so that they could develop their potential to the full and gain the same advantages as boys from a [stable] background. In 1919 it was felt that an amalgamation of the two orphanages would be advantageous. Ten years later an ex-pupil who had emigrated and settled in London where he accumulated some wealth, very generously contributed sufficient funds for the setting up of a...Home on the outskirts of the city... The building was one of the most modern in the city and overlooked the Taunus mountains. It was surrounded by a large play area and gardens and every new boy planted a tree in his first week. The Home consisted of small dormitories, study areas, workshops for carpentry and metal work, hobby rooms and the most up to date bathrooms, launderettes, kitchens, offices and staff quarters" (Ibid., p. 9).

¹⁵² Helga [Steinhardt] Brown noted the boys "could not speak the language" (p.11).

school's male teachers and some of the boys over 16 were taken to concentration camps. The school re-opened without them but soon thereafter fifteen more teachers left to emigrate. Some of those who had been to concentration camps returned, but of those, two died that term and others

never regained their health [and] the Director returned... with a broken leg... The school continued to function with about two hundred pupils until 1941 when the remaining fifteen members of staff were deported and ultimately perished.¹⁵³

Nazi persecution did not touch only the lives only of *Philantropin* staff, but also the directors of the new *Flersheim Sichel Stiftung* home,¹⁵⁴ Hugo and Lilli Steinhardt. Having been dismissed as a *Gymnasium* department head in Butzbach-Hessen in 1933 and thereafter having given private tutorials to children barred from public schools, Hugo also taught English parttime at the *Philantropin* until being deported to Buchenwald. At that point his daughters wrote letters to "anyone abroad who might be able to help". One of those letters reached Lord Rothschild in London, who mentioned the boys' plight to James de Rothschild. By happenstance, a large manor house called the Cedars on the Waddesdon Estate, Buckshire, stood empty at that time. The parties involved agreed to transfer the boys and the Steinhardt family to Waddesdon; a Jewish Refugee Appeal representative traveled to Germany to interview the children, their parents and to negotiate with the German authorities:

Thanks to him and the magnanimity of [the Rothschilds] after much filling in of forms, the party was granted leave to emigrate. [Hugo Steinhardt] was freed from Buchenwald and able to accompany them, although he never regained his health.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵³ Ibid., p. 7.

¹⁵⁴ According to Brown, "between 1933 and 1939 the nature of the Home changed. Although some of the children were still from one-parent families, the majority were sent by their parents to continue their education at the *Philantropin* because the schools in their home towns and villages refused to admit them. Numbers at the Home increased dramatically. Where in 1927 there had been fourteen boys, by 1938 there were thirty-two. The money which had been donated by the founders had long been insufficient for the upkeep of the Home and the Board of Governors had to devote much time to pleading for financial assistance" (p.10).

¹⁵⁵ In March 1939 Julius Floerschim and his wife took over the Home. Brown wrote: "Sadly the family and the children together with the Governess were deported...and perished".

The issue of the degree to which Jews not in Nazi-occupied Europe assisted those who were warrants special attention, as after the war international Jewish as well as non-Jewish opinion differed considerably- and at times, angrily. Many revisionists (see Bauer, 1981; FFeingold, 1985; Lookstein, 1985; Morse, 1967; Saperstein, 1987 and Trunk, 1979) have argued

that the latter group of Jews did too little- that they failed to "shake heaven and earth,

A party of 21 boys age eight to 13 plus the four Steinhardts left Frankfurt in March 1939. They crossed the English Channel on the same boat as a *Kindertransport*-children who were coming to England "unaccompanied by their parents...many of them only tiny and very apprehensive". Upon arriving at Waddesdon the Steinhardts and their charges were "warmly welcomed" by some of the residents of the community who had prepared meals and beds for them. Soon after their arrival, the boys began English lessons as preparation for attending the two village schools. While some older boys had remained in Frankfurt awaiting further arrangements, a month later Lilli Steinhardt's sister arrived; she had been in charge of the kitchen in Germany and was to fill the same role at the Cedars. In May the director of the *Philantropin* sent his son to join the group until he could arrange his own plans for emigration. In June eight more boys arrived.¹⁵⁶ Daily life at the Cedars slowly evolved and took durable form. Although the estate's house was large, it became necessary to find lodgings for some of the boys in the nearby village; supportive neighbors offered accommodation, which was "gratefully accepted". While younger boys adapted quickly to their new schools and surroundings, older ones began work on Waddesdon Estate's farm, dairy and gardens. One boy who with academic aspirations continued his studies at a grammar school in the area.¹⁵⁷ All this time, James de Rothschild paid weekly visits to discuss problems and

interview individual boys who profited from his advice [and] the representative agent on the Estate was also a valuable friend and adviser. [Hugo Steinhardt] welcomed this assistance as

echoing the agony of their doomed brothers". There were notable exceptions- such as the Rothschilds, alluded to here- who gave time and money and emotional capital to help fellow Jews and often non-Jews escape the Nazi threat. The majority, however, rarely took personal action. Of those in America, Breitman and Kraut have offered an apologetic explanation for their behavior: "In spite of the accusation that not enough was done and the assumption that if more had been done many Jews who died might have been saved, there is abundant evidence to suggest that, during the 1930s, American Jews did their best, using every means at their disposal, to provide European Jews with a haven. During this critical period, when the Nazi Final Solution was not yet a reality, American Jewish leaders tried private entreaties, mass meetings, public protests, and political pressure both formal and informal to recast American immigration policies and procedures so that European Jews might enter the United States. They met with staunch opposition from the State Department, the Congress, and the public at large. Even President Roosevelt, though generally sympathetic and sometimes helpful, refused to support an assault on the quota system. Some of the opposition was anti-Semitic, but most of it was grounded on the widely held belief that restrictionism was in the national interest, especially in light of the depression" (Breitman and Kraut, 1987, p. 81).

¹⁵⁶ Brown, *Ibid.*, p. 13.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

his health was rapidly deteriorating. Mr. de Rothschild arranged for him to see his personal consultants, but his condition did not improve.¹⁵⁸

The well-watched Cedars community was not static. As parents of some of the boys found their way out of Germany, they trickled through Waddesdon -sometimes staying with "kind neighbors". A rabbi who once had taught at the *Philantropin* also visited and conducted services at the Cedars. As time passed some of the boys left to join family in the U.S. or Palestine. They were lucky, for those remaining in May 1940 were interned for several weeks as "enemy aliens". As the war intensified, younger boys participated in the war effort by collecting salvage in the area or by "digging for victory". As rationing by that point affected everyone, they planted the lawns and flower beds into vegetables and kept chickens in the back garden-looked after by the boys who then felt "some reluctance at eating them". As of 1942 the eighteen-year olds enlisted in the Services. At first they were only accepted by the Jewish Brigade and the Pioneer Corps, but the following year other companies admitted them; they had to change their names to "British-sounding ones".¹⁵⁹ Ironically, some of the boys who earlier had gone to the U.S. later returned as GIs and visited their friends at Waddesdon. The majority of those who emigrated stayed in contact and some had married by that time; they sent Lilli Steinhardt photos of their wives and children. While many of the Cedar's former residents thrived, Hugo Steinhardt's condition grew worse, till he died in October 1942-

a harrowing time for his widow, who now had the task of coping with teenage boys and her family on her own. She was grateful for the support of Mr. de Rothschild in these difficult times. Unfortunately it was a particularly stressful year as one member of the group was seriously ill and hospitalised while another was suffering from a mental breakdown and alternative accommodations had to be found for him.¹⁶⁰

For most of the other Cedar Boys, however, the future seemed bright.¹⁶¹ Of the 30 boys who passed through the Cedars' doors, 15 eventually settled in the U.S., six remained in Britain, four went to Israel, one moved to Canada. They became-for example-teachers and professors, engineers and factory owners, a dental mechanic, a silversmith,a landscape gardener, a diplomat

¹⁵⁸ Ibid.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 15.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

¹⁶¹ Brown noted that the future was bright for the boys personally. Of their families: "Communications with parents and relatives in Germany had ceased after 1941 and although the full implication of the Holocaust was not realised, there was little hope that the children would be reunited with their parents. In 1945 it was confirmed that fourteen of them had lost their nearest relatives, fathers, mothers, brothers and sisters in concentration camps" (p. 16).

and a building contractor. The boys not only integrated within the cultures which they later claimed as their own, but were able to assimilate with them. A chance meeting between two of the Cedars Boys in New York in 1983 led to a reunion in Waddesdon attended by 15 alumni. An *International Herald Tribune* reporter who was on hand reported that the reunion seemed like most

any gathering of old school chums. There were gasps of recognition and remarks about one man's waistline or another's hairline, ribald laughter at memories of teen-age trysts with village girls in the orchard, stories of adult success or missed opportunities. But never far away were the reminders of childhoods wrenched by war.¹⁶²

2.3 Rest Homes

2.31 Falkenstein

In November 1933 British Friends opened an *Erholungsheim* which they deemed a Rest Home-a "friendly little hotel" in Falkenstein-im-Taunus for individuals who "in the passage of the years already had suffered somehow spiritually or physically from the actions of the Nazi Terror".¹⁶³ Persons who found respite there came through personal recommendations independent from "political attitudes or worldviews" and included "non-Aryans" as well as Catholics, Lutherans and "people of all the Left Wing Political parties"¹⁶⁴ -among them Ernst Reuter, a future Berlin *Regierende Bürgermeister*. The "guests"-a term in use not only at Scattergood Hostel six years later, but already at the Rest Home-shared meals, attended silence-based Meetings for Worship and spent much time "recuperating". Per the home's modus operandi, it was paramount that the persecuted gained "distance from their often really horrible

¹⁶² Jon Nordheimer. "Reunion:15 Jews Gather at Their Wartime Refuge in Britain". *International Herald Tribune*. 30-31.VII.83.

Nordheimer quoted one man at the reunion, Rolf Decker, who said: "Each one of us eventually had to face up to the question of why we survived, why we were the fortunate ones".

¹⁶³ Otto, 1972, p. 304.

According to Brenda [Friedrich] Bailey- daughter of important figures in the German Yearly Meeting of Friends before, during and after the Hitler regime- "the idea had come from Herta Kraus, a German Friend, who felt that people discharged from concentration camps or who had suffered in other ways could be helped to regain their strength and morale through a retreat with understanding English and German Quaker hosts" (1994, p. 59).

See Sandvoß (1994, pp. 277-281) for a description of German Quaker aid or resistance.

¹⁶⁴ Howard, 1941, p. 50.

past experiences". In one-to-one conversations staff attempted to find "a new possibility of existence-physically and spiritually- instead of resigning to desperation and lack of courage".¹⁶⁵

Elizabeth Howard of England had visited Germany numerous times since the first world war as a relief worker and after the Nazis took power she served at various times as the Rest Home's House Mother. She described the restorative effect of such quiet time as found there by the guests, who arrived in "a weary, nervous condition", not knowing what they would find among

unknown friends who had invited them out of the blue... but a few days of rest, sleep and freedom from immediate anxiety, and the discovery that there were people who respected them and only wished them well, worked wonders. Colour began to come back to their faces, light into their eyes, and strange miracles of healing happened.¹⁶⁶

Already within nine months of Hitler's *Machtergreifung*, the need for refuge and renewal was pronounced. During Howard's visit several guests who had fallen "under Government displeasure" or been in prisons or concentration camps appeared at the Rest Home. As she related, it was only when they were

safely shut into our private sitting-room at night or, better still, were wandering in the woods or climbing those magically lovely hills, that it seemed safe to listen to the stories of their experiences...[Also] there were glorious woods close by, where we could walk for hours and get right away from people. Many a tragic story could be told in safety while tramping through the forest, with the certainty that no unfriendly ears were within reach.¹⁶⁷

Howard's last point was pertinent, given that the Quakers had informed local officials about the institution to avoid "unwished seizures". Despite proactive measures, though, when guests wanted to return home they had to undergo interrogation by the Gestapo, who were "keenly interested" to know with whom they had been in the Rest Home.¹⁶⁸ The Gestapo wasn't the only Nazi organ interested in the Frankfurter Hof's guests, as during the first weeks of the Rest Home's existence the suspicions of the local branch of the *Frauenschaft*-a Nazi women's organization-were "aroused" and the home's first hostess was invited to one of their meetings to explain what she was doing at Falkenstein. She was introduced by the hotel-keeper's daughter, who spoke on

¹⁶⁵ Otto, *Ibid.*, p. 304.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 48-49.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 304.

the virtues and good deeds of the Quakers. I simply replied that we had known for many years of the hardships endured by many German friends, and when the Quakers in England asked, 'Who will go out and help them?' I said, 'I will, and I will come here, because this is the most beautiful village in this, the most beautiful mountain district in Germany'. And with that, I smiled round the assembled company and sat down.

The women apparently were completely satisfied.¹⁶⁹

Staying for a couple weeks at a time in an atmosphere of "peace and freedom from danger", guests came exactly because of the lack of either "out in the world". Howard told of a dismissed "free-thinking" Jewish judge who had been "on the verge of taking his own life in despair" when an invitation to visit the Rest Home reached him. As he left he said tearfully: "I have regained my self-respect and courage here!", then returned home to face his difficulties. A similar case involved a "non-Aryan Christian" pediatrician who had held "an important post in the city" and had treated "over eighteen thousand cases". His statistics having been confiscated, he was "eating out his heart in inactivity". In addition to "racial suffers", the Rest Home also hosted persons "penalised for their political views". One, a Cologne socialworker,

had been dismissed from her office by telephone, but told that she must continue to go there for three weeks, to initiate her successor, the mistress of a local Nazi leader, into her work. It was almost more than [the social worker] could bear to see her beloved work going to pieces in the hands of an incompetent woman of doubtful character.

The wife of the socialworker's brother-"a dreamy idealist who was in prison as a Communist"-also came. Upon her arrival, to Howard she looked "a mere child", but left at the end of her visit

full of renewed health, and of joy at the prospect of a rare visit to her [husband in] prison. But on the very day she was starting, a letter came to tell her that [he] had been moved to a concentration camp, and that there was no prospect of her being allowed to visit him there. [Howard] found her in floods of tears. Then a happy thought struck me, and I persuaded her to smile, as I took a photograph which she could send to him in her next letter. After some months [her husband] was released, and they came together for him to convalesce at the Rest Home.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁹ Darton, *Ibid.*, p. 7.

According to Howard, "one was...all the time conscious of skating on very thin ice, and one never knew when one was being watched, so that an incautious word, or a name too loudly spoken, might bring all our work into danger, innocent though it was" (p. 49).

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 50-52.

Howard noted: "Let it not be supposed that all our guests were saints or heroes. We cast our net very wide and sometimes caught queer fish! There was an endless call on the tact and understanding of each House Mother, but it was all abundantly worthwhile" (p. 58). Echoing a

The Rest Home later moved to *St. Josefs-Haus* Bad Pyrmont,¹⁷¹ where American Catholic nuns who "understood why guests needed complete privacy for their recovery" supported the Quakers' objectives. As Americans, they also were under less pressure to comply with anti-Semitic laws.¹⁷² A focal point of German Quakerdom, Quakers and their guests visiting Bad Pyrmont frequently joined in weekly Meeting for Worship at the Rest Home while it was housed in that spa town during the spring and autumn months until 1939-at which time it closed because the war severed British Quakers' connection with German friends and "one had even then the feeling that events were moving towards catastrophe".¹⁷³ Although the outbreak of armed conflict overturned Friends' hopes to continue the Rest Home's operation, during the six years it existed it had offered recuperation to some 800 people¹⁷⁴ and touched the lives of "hundred of others" who never had the chance to share "the hospitality of English Friends in this way [but who] were thankful to know of the existence of this 'island far away'".¹⁷⁵ While the Rest Home focused on rehabilitation and not integration/assimilation, it did provide refugees who wished to emigrate with the physical as well as psychological strength necessary to proceed with both means of adaptation upon leaving the Rest Home's protective door.

2.32 Battle and Lavendercroft

After its agricultural project at Holwell Hyde ceased operation largely due to disturbances caused by the outbreak of armed conflict, the London-based Friends Committee for Refugees and Aliens changed its focus, as the needs of refugees appealing to it had changed. In the first wave of centers operated by British Friends the point of the training had been to prepare transmigrants for the type of occupation at which they most readily could earn a living in other countries. The war, however, not only made the prospects of emigration more remote, it created the possibility-which for refugees had not before existed-of immediate engagement in agriculture, the Auxiliary Military Pioneer Corps or government training schemes for various

similar sentiment issued two years later at Scattergood, a former Rest Home guest wrote to her in 1941, referring to that refuge as an "island of kindness amid a storm of wickedness" (p.48).

171 Howard explained that the Rest Home "was later transferred...to a more accessible province of Germany, so that we could lessen the need for very long and costly travel. We always paid the fares for our guests where this was needful" (Ibid., p. 48).

172 Bailey, Ibid., p. 59.

173 Howard, Ibid., p. 58.

174 Darton, Ibid., p. 78 and Greenwood, 1975, p. 262.

175 Howard, Ibid., p. 48.

forms of industrial work. In 1939 FCRA had created ten residential refugee centers for trainees and one for old or infirm refugees. By September 1941, however, it decided that the greatest need for accommodation existed on the part of the old and infirm; by then there was only a moderate need for training centers. Three of the four centers FCRA subsequently opened were intended for the elderly and the fourth one-oddly, called "Battle"-for mothers and children.

Battle, which consisted of a house with grounds of four and a half acres in Sussex, first had been used by British Quakers as a horticultural training center. With the change of services offered by FCRA and after enduring the "usual internment troubles in 1940", it gained new life as a home for girls who were trained in domestic work as well as gardening. By the end of 1941, though, "so many forms of employment were open to young refugee girls" that Battle could not be filled, so it was decided to accept no new trainees. At that point ten children-a few with mothers, "the rest unaccompanied"-came to the hostel. As the mothers gradually found other accommodations, more children were added until a peak of 18 was achieved. The children ranged in age from two to 14 years and several of them were "by no means easy to manage, having very disturbed backgrounds"; the mothers of three of them were in mental homes. Such as the case-for example-with two sisters, Stella and Liselotte. Stella was six years old and Liselotte three when they came to Battle. Their Jewish father had landed in a concentration camp in Czechoslovakia. Their unwedded mother had arranged to come to England before Liselotte was born, but the baby arrived prematurely, so the woman had to postpone her departure; she reached Britain only five or six days before war broke out. She and her children initially were supported by a regional refugee organization. Despite having found assistance, she began to suffer severe depression, accompanied by ideas of persecution and suicide. In 1942 she entered a mental institution, where she died a year later while Stella and Liselotte were at Battle. Liselotte had spent many months in hospital, and both children were rather frail and needed special care. After they had been at Battle for two and half years a foster mother assumed care for them.

Although at the other end of life, elderly refugees from Nazi-occupied Europe often fared scarcely better than helpless children-despite professional or other achievements they might have enjoyed in the prime of their previous lives on the Continent. FCRA's residential care of elderly refugees actually began in spring 1939, when it opened a large, furnished house in Paddington. At that time Quaker relief workers thought it convenient to have a central location, which about 40 refugees soon occupied. When the Nazi government began bombing the British capital in September 1940, however, Friends found it "urgently necessary" to find safer facilities for the elderly and infirm who had been living in FCRA-sponsored

accommodations. Such individuals found their way to Lavender Croft near Hitchin.

Previously, Lavender Croft had housed refugee families whose males were employed locally and who sought accommodation in the neighborhood. Although for a short time the two groups overlapped, the last family soon left. Thereafter the center was run exclusively for elderly refugees who, according to a Quaker report, encountered severe difficulties in coping with the new conditions of their lives:

Uprooted from their homeland late in life, these men and women found it very much harder than did younger refugees to adapt themselves to new ways and to pick up a new language. Though some had relatives in [Britain] who visited them from time to time, for others the reason for their being at Lavender Croft was that they had none. They had, therefore, little to look forward to and little incentive to take an interest in what was going on around them in England. It [was] not surprising that at times the group should turn in on itself, live in the past and make much of minor inconveniences.

The staff felt surprised, however, that its charges did not do so more often and that such a large proportion of them were exceptions to what might be expected to have been the rule. Some of the refugees remained interested in "outside happenings", while a few of the able ones found work in the neighborhood and became self-supporting through part-time employment.

How or the degree to which elderly refugees adjusted to the changes forced upon them or adapted to their new environments depended very much on the individual's specific character as well as chance. A professional violinist-for one-had previously lived as the guest "of a lady of most exalted title". Later, however, the woman made it "abundantly clear" that she did not appreciate his playing his violin and, generally, relations had become strained

beyond endurance. At Lavender Croft [the man] found to his joy that his playing was not only tolerated but even occasionally welcomed; and when presently he was introduced to some English people in a neighbouring town who had similar interests, and was invited to join their ensemble, he took on a new lease of life.

Although Lavender Croft did not accept refugees in need of nursing, many guests were semi-invalid. Most of them were highly educated people "used to living in comfort and accustomed to the luxury of privacy". Some found it "irksome" having to share sleeping-quarters, so-when numbers permitted-a small room was reserved as a private bedroom for use by each of the residents in turn. Wardens did not find running such a household easy, for it required a "rare mixture of tact and firmness". They cultivated contact with people outside Lavender Croft-"both by encouraging the guests...to meet people...and by inviting Friends and others to visit...and sometimes give talks".

The number of resident guests averaged a dozen permanent guests and a half a dozen other

elderly refugees as temporary guests. During summer months, though, younger refugees sometimes were invited to spend short holidays at Lavender Croft; in summer 1944 the number of people in the house rose to 34 as a result of refugees from London on short holiday "in need of a week or so's respite from flying bombs". Friends found that the visits helped keep the usual residents in touch with other people and with outside ideas. Visits from children provided a "special pleasure".

Toward the war's end the number of long-term residents at Lavender Croft declined sharply, with some of the former residents having found residence in nursing homes or "other solutions to their problems". Of those left, "most...had already been living together for too long. Other arrangements were therefore made for each of them". In any case, while the children at Battle presumably were young enough to truly "begin again" and assimilate fully into British society, only some of the elderly at Lavender Croft succeeded in integrating into a society which was not their own and perhaps not even their choice. Above all, adult refugees had to accept that imperial England was no immigration country; their status there would remain one of a foreigner, with little chance of ever being accepted as "British".

2.33 Aberdeen Camp

In contrast, the reception afforded refugees from Nazi-occupied Europe in America was markedly different than in Britain. The arrangements made by Quakers for refugees in the quintessential "immigration country" were correspondingly different from those made by British Friends. Above all, New World Quakers sought from the beginning to "Americanize" the "newcomers", while Friends in England are not recorded as having attempted to Anglicize their charges. Expression of the assumption that the best way to help those seeking assistance was to remake the Europeans into "New Americans" can be found in the first refugee project which American Friends Service Committee [AFSC] of Philadelphia initiated. Indeed, the very first sentence of a promotion letter written to attract "guests" to Aberdeen Camp in summer 1938 promised refugees that they would find

a haven for rest and recreation and an opportunity to study American ways...at Aberdeen, a large property on the Hudson River which has been available to [AFSC]. Here cultured newcomers from abroad and Americans may live together-doctors, layers, teachers, writers, musicians and artists.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁶ Unsigned promotion letter entitled "Aberdeen Camp", 25.V.38.

An AFSC proposal held that "the project is intended to provide a congenial atmosphere in

Quakers intended the project to benefit especially Austrians and Germans "of limited means, who need a congenial home while seeking to establish themselves permanently in the United States".

Perhaps seeking to encourage self-reliance from the start, the letter emphasized that "in no sense is Aberdeen a 'charity' institution". Both foreign and American residents were to pay "a dollar-a-day" toward the expenses. A press release issued about a week later further explained that 35 to 40 persons would live at the camp, including about a dozen Americans drawn from schools and colleges throughout the East and Midwest. Organizers planned Aberdeen Camp as "an experiment in international living and cooperative learning that will be mutually helpful to everyone taking part in it".¹⁷⁷

Located some 75 miles north of Manhattan on a 50-acre tract opposite the "summer White House" at Hyde Park, the Aberdeen estate consisted of a large mansion, a dockhouse and a barn-all "fully equipped and furnished for school purposes"-an extensive library and a workshop.¹⁷⁸ In such a setting, the camp's sponsors held that life at Aberdeen was not intended to be formal and routine. As a cooperative project residents were meant to share household duties and live "in democratic freedom". At the same time, AFSC provided organized activities of two general types. For one, it offered instruction in languages, literature, American civics and government, as well as in "allied economic and social problems". For another, AFSC strove for a work-balanced-with-recreation program consisting of

swimming, tennis and hiking to caring for the garden which will be one of the principle sources of food. [AFSC] enlisted the interest of local Quaker groups [which] ploughed the land and planted an extensive garden which should produce a generous harvest of vegetables.¹⁷⁹

Scheduled to open on 20 June and run until 15 September 1938, Aberdeen Camp was believed to be "the first such venture" in the U.S. designed to meet the problem of "first

which residents may find opportunities for mutual exploration of American and German ways of thinking and living- resulting in a better understanding of each other's cultures".

¹⁷⁷ Press Release, "INTERNATIONAL SERVICE HOSTEL- Aberdeen, West Park, N.Y.", 3.VI.38.

Besides young Americans, the staff also included Katrin, mother of Erhard Winter [both having been given pseudonyms upon request]; a German social worker, she served as Aberdeen Camp's "chief counsellor" and he sojourned at Scattergood Hostel.

¹⁷⁸ Promotion Letter, 1938, p. 2.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid.

adjustment and rehabilitation of refugees".¹⁸⁰ As such it attracted "interested cooperation" and the contributions of several persons or groups-including the proceeds from a concert given by Jascha Heifetz for the benefit of Austrian refugees.

Plans might sound fine and good, but actual results? In his report on the program written in late August 1938, the camp's director held that the "spirit" of the camp-characterized by "harmony amid variety"-was the result of several causes. For one, AFSC was "wise and fortunate" in its selection of staff. The site placed at its disposal-"with its beautiful setting on the Hudson"-also provided opportunities for "wholesome outdoor life" interspersed with periods of garden- and groundwork. English classes and instruction in aspects of American life afforded mental stimulus and were supplemented by occasional evening or weekend discussions led by staff or visitors on "entertaining or educational" topics. Daily periods of sport or play added "buoyancy of spirit".¹⁸¹

As far as the 48 refugee participants themselves, the number of men and women were "almost equal", while the ages of the refugees ranged from eight years to 65, with a dozen of them being under 20. One-third to a quarter of the group's members were Americans, nine were Austrians and the rest Germans. Although a few were Roman Catholic or Protestant, most were Jews. The adult refugees were all "well educated" and the young people had been receiving "a good education" before their exile. Several of the men were physicians, some were lawyers, two were rabbis, one was a banker. Variety in age, religious affiliation, professional or business training, in "abundance of material possessions in the past and to some extent in the present, in past experience and in future outlook" characterized the group.¹⁸² "Harmony" was a "marked characteristic" of their life together.¹⁸³

Perhaps the "characteristic harmony" reflected the refugees' acceptance and practice of

¹⁸⁰ Press Release, 1938, p. 2.

¹⁸¹ Arthur Charles, Unpublished "Report on Aberdeen Camp", 23.VIII.38, p. 1.

¹⁸² As explained in an anonymous report, the variety of people greatly enriched the camp: "The size of [the group] seemed satisfactory. There were not too many to prevent close acquaintance being formed with everyone, and yet it was large enough to offer each one opportunity to find congenial companions and some variety of acquaintance. The presence of children, of youths, and of mature men and women seemed to contribute a wholesome family atmosphere approximating that of a home. Boys and girls of the upper teenage not only enjoyed each other's companionship, but were a source of satisfaction and pleasure rather than of worry to their concerned elders. The age variety as well as its size made the group feel that they were members of large family rather than of an institution"(Unprinted report titled "Suggestions").

¹⁸³ Arthur Charles, Unpublished "Report on Aberdeen Camp", 23.VIII.38., p. 1.

Quaker silence. Reports suggest that shared stillness wove together program activities with refugees' need to integrate their recent experiences. At least the director thought the meetings for worship-held briefly each weekday morning, longer on Sundays-proved to be "a valuable and valued element of our camp life". One "beautiful Sunday morning" the group drove to a nearby mountain stream, made breakfast over a fire and then shared a meeting for worship in which there was "centering down" and a

worshipful spirit felt by all, with a general regret...that the hour was so soon over... Our non-Quaker members...readily adopted and appreciated the...meetings for worship irrespective of previous practice and experience. While there has not been any tendency to too much vocal expression, a freedom in speaking has been felt...by all, and used by a considerable number of both Americans and Newcomers. The latter have understood that they should feel at liberty to express themselves in their native tongue if they desired to do so as at first they did, but there has been an increasing tendency to speak in English even when dealing with matters so intimate as the ideas and emotions of religion.¹⁸⁴

2.4 Hostels

As "successful" as it might or not have been, the well-received summer camp at Aberdeen lacked the time, resources or long-term planning necessary to tackle more directly the task of refugee integration or assimilation. Toward those ends Quakers in the United States established larger, on-going hostels- two of which resembled the prototype Scattergood Hostel upon which they were modeled, yet involved significantly different organizational components or goals. All Quaker hostels, however, shared the ultimate goal of helping newly arrived European refugees integrate or assimilate with the cultures in the lands of their ultimate destinations.

2.41 Finca Paso Seco

A rare blend of "ideas and emotions", Aberdeen Camp did offer refugees a crash-course on becoming "New Americans". But what of those who had not yet been able to reach America's shores? The Quakers sought to help such individuals as well. At the time one of the best ways to do so was from Cuba, where exiled Europeans could wait until-or, in the event that-the U.S. State Department granted the coveted visas necessary to enter the country.¹⁸⁵ To house and

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., p. 2.

¹⁸⁵ An AFSC "Memorandum Concerning the German Refugee Project in Cuba" (4.V.39 noted: "As of March 20, 1939, there were about 4,000 refugees in Cuba, of whom 600 were on relief. Naturally there is a wide range of age and occupation. No refugees are allowed employment except when self-employed in farming, trade, or industry. Very few have been able to start such enterprises except boarding houses. Practically all refugees are centered in a slum

meet other basic needs of such castaways, AFSC established Finca Paso Seco near Havana. AFSC volunteer Emmett Gulley of Newberg, New York-who must have seemed a spectacle to the Cubans, given that he stood almost two and a quarter meters!-drove with his family via the World's Fair in New York City to Miami in July 1939, then flew to Cuba to serve as director of the project. As he later wrote, the founding of Finca Paso Seco was possible because Cuba had "opened her doors" to exiled Europeans, but on the condition that each post \$500 bond to guarantee that she or he would not become a public charge. Those fleeing arbitrary Nazi tyranny then had to sign an agreement

that they were entering as tourists and would not accept pay for work. Since the refugees were desperate for any place to land, they had to agree. This left them in a terrible condition [with] no money and no way of earning money.¹⁸⁶

As Gulley-a former Quaker relief agent who had fed the needy in civil war-torn Spain-discovered, most of the refugees previously had applied to enter the United States based on national quotas permitted under U.S. immigration laws. Thus, Cuba became a tropical waiting station while the refugees waited "for their numbers to be called".¹⁸⁷

To house them, AFSC rented a farm which had a house with 27 rooms and five bathrooms. With this as a center, American Quakers operating the place began assisting "as many refugees as possible", which proved to be about 60 people at a time-mostly men for, as Gulley saw it, in a time when work for passy was forbidden, men had the "greatest problem". In their case, they could not occupy their time, so would

district in Havana due in some measure to a housing shortage outside Havana. Deterioration of morale is rapid and extremely serious".

186 Gulley, 1973, p. 76.

187 Ibid.

Gulley related: "the U.S. Consul in Havana came to observe our work and became quite interested and proved to be a good friend. These refugees who expected to enter the U.S. had to take their turn as their assigned number came up to the head of the list. However, there was a rule to the effect that where there was a married couple signed up with different numbers they were allowed to enter together if the husband's number came up first but not if the wife's came up first. We had just such a case. They, of course, were anxious to go. [The Consul] got out the book of regulations and said, 'I'll tell you what the book says, now let's see how we can get around it.' He then found that in certain 'hardship' cases, the Consul was permitted to use his judgment, and in this case he did so" (p. 77). One couple who came to Cuba to await necessary documents to enter the U.S. consisted of Otto and Rosa Bauer of Vienna. In their case they sought re-entry, as they already had spent five months at Scattergood Hostel (see p. 150-OHR).

congregate in groups on the streets of Havana and talk about the trouble they were having, what they had passed through and express apprehension about the future. On the other hand, the women could keep busy about the house, [tending to] handwork and caring for their dependents. The strain on them was minimal compared to the men.¹⁸⁸

AFSC had very specific refugees in mind in creating Finca Paso Seco, as it saw the project as the center of a diversified service and training program which emphasized training younger refugees to meet the needs of their new lives in foreign countries. The center also served the purpose of a transit camp and provided a basis for the "orderly immigration" of young men and women who were neither children nor adults ready or eligible for independent immigration. AFSC hoped to offer the first group the "advantage" of

assisting in the preparation of temporary buildings for dormitories and workshops and participating in their equipment with new home-made and reconditioned second-hand furniture, affording plenty of opportunities for trade training as well as service.¹⁸⁹

AFSC provided later groups with as much work of this kind as available and both groups received the more common training in connection with farming or techniques which "might enable them to establish themselves in industry and possibly to introduce new industries into their country of final settlement".

As it did with all of its refugee centers, AFSC sought to run Finca Paso Seco cooperatively and to provide a comprehensive array of services. The staff offered English and Spanish lessons, as well as instruction in "wood turning", carpentry and machinery. The resident refugees also helped in the garden and kitchen, washroom and office. Manual labor, though, seemed to be something new for them, as most of the refugees were "were people of wealth and position in their own countries": as Gulley noted, they included bankers, lawyers and judges, businesspeople, teachers, musicians and others from

nearly all of the white collar walks of life. It was a great trial for many of them to have to work with their hands on [the] farm. [Also] the idea of democracy was bewildering. When I went out and worked with them, I lost face. I was no 'leader' they said. Their idea of

¹⁸⁸ Ibid.

According to Rosa Scheider- a Czech woman who later became a Scattergood Hostel resident- "Families were not accepted, only young men, who had to be retrained and given a home. But families were always welcome guests and so the Finca Paso Seco became a beloved goal for Sunday trips. I shall never forget these Meetings in the cool shadow of the porch, with its view of the tropical park around the building... After the Meeting we used to lie down under the palms behind the building and enjoy a peaceful day" (Rosa Scheider, "Cuban Experiences", SMNB, 17.XII.40 .

¹⁸⁹ AFSC Memorandum, 4.V.39.

leadership meant sitting behind a desk and giving orders but never getting [your] own hands dirty.

Still, the Quaker staff tried to run the hostel according to democratic principles so that the refugees might "begin to learn to participate" rather than be dictated to. Curiously, the refugees voted to rise

in the wee hours of the morning! All of activities were decided by discussion and vote. It took nearly three months for them to really begin to appreciate the democratic idea of participating in [decision-making]. When they understood the meaning of democracy and how every individual was respected, they became enthusiastic about it.¹⁹⁰

Common life at Finca Paso Seco did not consist, however, only of work: the community also shared freetime activities as a group. An article in the *Jüdische Rundschau*, for example, indicated the atmosphere of the place. Its author related:

It was already dark and only by the outlines of the trees and palms could we notice that we were outside of Habana in the open country... Soon we saw from a great distance the brightly lighted castle-like building, and as we entered the yard by the large gate we were at once surrounded and greeted heartily by cheerful people. On our questions, asking about the state of their health and general feeling, the answers came almost in a chorus: 'Very well-excellent-I am happy to be here-I did not think it to be so nice.' The looking and the faces of those people confirmed their words.

The performances were carried out by the very excellent pianist Mr. Franz Rotter¹⁹¹ and by [two accompanying] violinists. A small but well-instructed chorus as well as piano pieces...completed the program...given with love and eagerness... After a short pause the

¹⁹⁰ Ibid., p. 78.

¹⁹¹ Signing his name as "Frank Rotter", three days after the "music-evening" he penned a letter to "Mr. Society of Friends of Philadelphia" in which he wanted to offer thanks "for the founding of such a wonderful working-community. Until now these people wandered about in the small streets of Habana, without any definite goal and plan. Now, given the chance to work, it is made possible for them to gain practical knowledge of many business-branches. And hence this happens without any constraint, the psychological result is unmeasurable. With joy and devotion they take part in every thing; how they enjoy when the plants set by themselves grow up in the field ploughed by themselves, how they enjoy joining in building usefull [sic] things in the carpenter-shop, how happy we were, when the car completely rebuilt by ourselves was running. Everyone gets to know the sense of duty, and the working together in community. He gets acquainted with the soul, thoughts and the idea of Quakerism. If I were to say everything concerning the already noticeable influence upon the souls of the people living here, my report would fill up too much space [as] we all who have the luck to be here, have the firm believe [sic], based upon the influence of the Finca-life, that we, in our new homeland, living in a new social order, shall become good, real and efficacious American citizen [sic]. I express my very deep thanks" (Franz Rotter, Open Letter, 6.XI.39).

great surprise of the evening came. The guests in their turn gave performances, the artistic level of which would have given honour to any public concert... The audience thanked with stormy applause. The music evening on the Finca was an adventure, which will have a thankful and pleasant memory. We would have liked to remain in the circle but the necessity for rest for the Finca-people, who have to get up very early for work, as well as the leave of the last train to Havana caused our departure. We felt the sincerity of the farewell '*auf baldiges Wiedersehen*' and equally sincere was in us the wish to be as soon as possible in this circle again.¹⁹²

Not only guests at the farm but other outsiders also played a major role in Finca Paso Seco's daily life. Cuban officials, for example, soon proved to be "suspicious".¹⁹³ The center also had visits from armed police, Department of Justice representatives, Army and Navy Intelligence agents and others. Each time, a "quiet talk" and the offer to show them "everything" resulted in

dispersing their fears. The refugees themselves were jittery and fearful. They were all fleeing from a dreadful persecution in Germany and Central Europe. Few had any money to speak of and nearly all of them had relatives who had been left behind. We were entreated to help them. Some of the pitiful cases, we tackled.¹⁹⁴

In one case, a young couple had married only a week before the man sailed to Cuba, leaving the woman in the Netherlands. He expected to find a way to send for her but before he could Cuba "closed its doors to all European refugees". The Quaker staff at Finca Paso Seco found a government official "with a heart" and upon his advice the woman sailed to Panama, from where she was allowed to enter Cuba and the couple was re-united. Millions of other refugees, however, were not so lucky. The most fortunate of them managed to squeeze through the tightly locked door of entry to the United States, where some of those in turn ended up at Quaker-sponsored centers meant to help the refugees begin the long, complicated processes of integration or, perhaps, even assimilation into their adopted culture.

192 Translated article, "Music-evening on the Finca", *JYdische Rundschau*, 3.XI.39.

193 In the first days of Finca Paso Seco's existence, the community "enjoyed frequent calls from the police [who were] all afraid we were hiding refugees or starting a little counter-revolution. Laborers had to be drafted as interpreters to explain how harmless [the refugees] were, and every last man had to go to the county seat to report in person before all fears were allayed!" (Eleanor Slater, Unpublished Essay entitled "The Quaker Star in Cuba", 5.IX.39 .

194 Ibid., pp. 77-78.

Gulley later lamented: "Our year in Cuba passed all too quickly, for we were extremely busy. Supervising the program on our refugee farm, [nurturing] contacts with the U.S. Consulate to help clear up troubled cases, dealing with Cuban officials [or] business men, supplying food for our group, meeting visitors and many other things kept us on the go" (p. 78).

2.42 Quaker Hill

Though modeled after Scattergood Hostel, the Friends-operated refugee center at Quaker Hill differed in key ways from the prototype upon which it was based. Sheltered in a large, white-pillared house donated by a wealthy Quaker manufacturer, the hostel was located in Richmond, Indiana—a Midwest town of 33,000 with a large Quaker heritage and population, as well as home to Earlham, a small Friends college. Much more so than rural Iowa, Richmond suggested the milieu typical of the industrialized, relatively densely populated Lower Midwest stretching from the Mississippi to the headwaters of the Ohio. There, AFSC and volunteer staff who organized Quaker Hill hoped to more easily and fully integrate that project into its surrounding community.

Undertaken at the "urgent request" of Jewish organizations and others working with refugees, Quaker Hill operated on the assumption that a group of people unknown to each other before might learn to live together and work

cooperatively in peace and harmony. The housekeeping, care of the grounds and buildings are shared by all. In addition, all members of the group contributed three hours of work daily—hard physical work—to the hostel. Thus, a sound balance between mental and physical activity was sought.¹⁹⁵

In contrast to the site on the wind-swept Iowa prairies, in the rolling South-Indiana woods AFSC hoped to place more refugees directly into industrial positions. Located almost equidistant between Cincinnati and Indianapolis, Richmond's 55 manufacturing facilities employed some 4,000 people and produced a diverse assortment of lawn mowers, school bus bodies, metal castings, caskets, farm implements, etc. While occupation retraining per se was not offered, the philanthropist who had given the hostel site to AFSC also made provisions for some of the refugees to work at an adjoining four-story oil mill for refugees with business experience

around whom could be developed one or more small business enterprises, which would employ other refugees [or facilitate] some project like putting together pre-fabricated houses...in conjunction with the city of Richmond and also the U.S. Government.¹⁹⁶

Quaker Hill's overseers intended not just the mill to be a vehicle for *default* occupational

¹⁹⁵ Undated, unsigned broadsheet, "Quaker Hill as a Hostel for Refugees".

¹⁹⁶ Isaac Woodward, Letter to John Rich, 20.XI.40.

therapy, but-like at Scattergood-that the reconstruction of the site¹⁹⁷ itself would offer an

opportunity for the work element found to be desirable in the daily program of [a] Refugee Hostel, as well as the [focus of a] program of the Peace Camp and similar activities for young Friends. A competent foreman [was] secured to direct this work of reconditioning who [could] use tactfully and helpfully the service of these people.¹⁹⁸

The work component of Quaker Hill, however, often ran better than the educational one at the hostel. Mary Lane Charles-who had volunteered at Scattergood until she transferred to Quaker Hill-reported the Richmond site had endeavored to "fulfill the refugees' need for English in as large a variety of ways as possible". The backbone of the program had been individual tutoring and classes, but the "chief demand" remained that of instruction in English grammar, vocabulary and pronunciation. Although the mostly young Quaker volunteers at the hostel "frequently" offered subjects such as American history, sociology or geography, Charles reported: "our efforts met with little response, except for a class in American literature, given once a week by a teacher from Richmond". During most of the year the staff held two classes daily-one for those with "slight knowledge of English" and one for advanced pupils. Twice a week students from Earlham College's Speech Department visited to give individual phonetics lessons. In addition, refugees were entitled to an hour's tutoring a day if so desired and "most of the residents took advantage of this opportunity". The staff even organized a special table for "beginners" presided over by one of the Civilian Public Service volunteers at Quaker Hill. Various staff shared the responsibility for being available

for conversation in the parlor in the evenings. During several months short current events talks were given after dinner by residents and occasionally by staff-members. This was finally given up on the request of the residents, as many of them were distressed at having to dwell on war news.¹⁹⁹

The hostel did sponsor a series of panel discussions focused on "subjects of current interest", such as "Economic Causes of the Present War" or a review of "American and European Etiquette". Frequent public-speaking appearances and the writing of articles for local newspapers gave refugees practice in using English skills they were developing at Quaker Hill.

¹⁹⁷ The site consisted of the main house, a shop, a new CPS-built frame dormitory and an assembly building, situated on 25 acres "of beautiful grounds and gardens [which] add to its charm and usefulness" (Isaac Woodward and Millard Markle, Report titled "Quaker Hill: A Friends Service Center", 1.I.42).

¹⁹⁸ Murry Kenworthy and Frances Doan Streightoff, Report titled "Meeting of the Friends Peace Camp Project, held at Richmond, Ind., March 14, 1940".

Staff encouraged residents to attend lectures or other programs both at Earlham College and at Quaker Hill itself. The hostel held over 30 lectures, often "by someone from Richmond" on aspects American life such as the educational system, journalism in the U.S. or "illustrated travel talks on some region of America". At other times visiting Friends talked about Quaker relief or reform work and gave news of conditions in Europe. In a more informal mode, the staff also hosted teas to which Richmondites were invited-

most of which included a talk by an American guest, usually an Earlham professor, on subjects such as Quakerism, American music, etc... Richmond friends cooperated generously in inviting residents to their homes for tea or dinner and introducing them to other Americans of similar interests.²⁰⁰

If it were not perfect, Quaker Hill's program at least earned praise at least from the New York German-language Jewish newspaper, *Der Aufbau*, which claimed that refugees who had found a haven at Quaker Hill could

plan in peace and safety, under experienced leadership, a new life... Reinforced in soul and body with new confidence in the future, these new Americans have found a new field of working.²⁰¹

The *Aufbau*'s claim was not exaggerated, as examples of refugee placements secured through Quaker Hill abound. To list a few: doctor Alex Szittyta became a resident physician at a general hospital in Chester, Pennsylvania. Johann Suskind located a sales job and drove a delivery van in Indianapolis. Friedrich Schweiger was appointed foreman at company in Evansville, Illinois- while Franz Foges also found employment in that Chicago suburb. Walter Ellinger landed a job at a Cincinnati cookie factory and Gus Ferl a job in Indianapolis. In a less laborious vein, Norbert Silbiger had "a very successful year" directing plays at Richmond's Civic Theater and Earlham College.²⁰²

Quaker Hill operated from July 1940 till September 1941, at which point it closed "due to immigration restrictions". As its own last report assessed, the hostel had given the 55 refugees- "victims of Europe's terror"-who sojourned there during that time "a chance to find

199 Mary Lane Charles, Undated report titled "The Educational Program at Quaker Hill".

200 Ibid.

201 "Quaker Hostels", a previously translated article from *Der Aufbau*, 21.II.41.

202 Quaker Hill's monthly newsletter, *The Quaker Hill Post*, August 1942.

themselves, and to become adjusted and ready for American life and citizenship".²⁰³

2.5 Government-sponsored Camps

Government-sponsored refugee camps ranged considerably in scope and quality. While ignoring those of pre- and post-occupation France or elsewhere due to the involuntary nature of their "guests'" stay, the "friendly" government camps in pre-war Britain and the U.S. toward the war's end mirrored larger political developments at the time. Britain's Kitchener Camp represented a clear case of goodwill on behalf of London's ruling elite. Created before the outbreak of armed hostilities, it offered a transit point for mostly male refugees enroute to other destinations. Under such friendly circumstances, individuals who found refuge there considered themselves to be very lucky.

Those refugees from Nazi-occupied Europe who landed at Fort Ontario in Upstate New York, on the other hand, eventually felt anything but lucky- even if at first the almost one thousand "rescued" refugees thought themselves exceptionally lucky. Their pronounced change of perception had everything to do with American politics, governmental turf wars, bureaucratic inertia and just plain bad luck. The story of those refugees who ended up in the small town of Oswego is a sad yet insight-shedding one.²⁰⁴ Perhaps more than any other, it is

²⁰³ Isaac Woodward and Millard Markle, Report titled "Quaker Hill: A Friends Service Center", I.I.42.

²⁰⁴ A sketch of Fort Ontario in Oswego, New York, is included to illustrate what sort of reception refugees from Nazi Europe might have encountered upon leaving their homes. It is beyond the scope of this paper, however, to minutely explain the history behind the camp's formation, the climate of anti-Semitism which prevailed in the United States at that time and its influence on determining the fate of Jewish refugees, or the complicated final dissolution of the camp. Whole books could be and have been written on these points- the best of which are Ruth Gruber's *Haven* and Sharon Lowenstein's *Token Refugee* (see Selected Titles); other resources also exist which complete this story. That I have chosen to offer only a summary touches upon an important point: in the course of my work, numerous others have wanted to co-opt this project for their own purposes. An American graduate student doing research at the Oxford Centre for Postgraduate Hebrew Studies who critiqued what I had written till the point of our meeting- for one- insisted I include in-depth summaries of the U.S. State Department's criminal behavior during that era in blocking as many Jewish refugees from entering the U.S. as possible. While worthy of scholarship, that subchapter of the Third Reich/World War II saga lies beyond the goals of this paper on WWII-era European refugees' formation of American identities. In a similar way my *Doktorvater* would have been glad to have had more reference to the Holocaust per se; while fully valid, such an undertaking would have led me far from the central issue at hand: through what processes were "New Americans" created?

Although the refugees at Oswego basically were interned, in contrast to those who met similar fates in Britain once war erupted, they *chose* to enter the camp *voluntarily*; also, the federal and local governmental bodies deliberately tried to assist the refugees to either

an example of how government-sponsored refugee "assistance" can inhibit rather than facilitate newcomers' adaptation to a host country.

2.51 Kitchener Camp

Parallel with private efforts to save refugees from Nazi Germany before World War II began, a movement arose in Britain which lobbied Whitehall to rescue young men who had been thrown into concentration camps during *Kristallnacht* or who were in danger of landing in camps unless they fled the Third Reich at once. In a rare act of relative generosity, the Berlin regime agreed to release such men upon the condition that they immediately left the country. According to Hans Hammerstein-a Jewish *Pädagoge* from Stettin- in mid January 1939 he and some 50 other inmates stood before a KZ commandant wearing striped convicts' garments, their heads

close-cropped to near baldness and, after spending sixty days in this inferno, hearing, yet not hearing: 'Don't think you are released because your bill is settled. The contrary is the case. We give you "leave" so that you can pack and clear out of Germany. If not, we will take you in here again.' But how could [they] leave Germany without proof that some other country would let us in? What about wives and children? The many 'good' countries, so proud of their respect for human rights, had closed their doors to German-Jewish refugees.²⁰⁵

The difficulty in helping such individuals was that it was nearly impossible to find countries of permanent resettlement for the thousands in "mortal peril. What was required [then] was a temporary city of refuge".²⁰⁶

The *Reichsvertretung* in Berlin pleaded the Council for German Jewry -an organization of Jewish communities in Great Britain and in the British Commonwealth-to help get endangered young men out of the Nazis' reach. With financial as well as political backing from prominent British Jews such as the director of the British department-store concern Marks and Spencer or Shell's former managing director, the Council obtained use of the Kitchener Camp.²⁰⁷ A coastal depot adjacent to Richborough in Kent, the installation "was celebrated both in ancient and modern British history"-first as a famous Roman fortress, later during World War I as the

integrate or assimilate with the existing national culture even before they were allowed into it.

²⁰⁵ Patkin, 1979, p. 11.

²⁰⁶ Bentwich, 1956, p. 102.

²⁰⁷ The total cost for each individual- including sixpence pocket money- was less than ten shillings a week. The total cost of the camp to the Jewish community for the eighteen months of its existence was £100,000. For that sum "5,000 men, and in many cases their families, were

site of one of the country's largest camps for training engineers and for sending munition to France.²⁰⁸

In February 1939 one hundred skilled workers-"the first batch of the rescued"-were brought from Germany to rebuild and prepare the camp.²⁰⁹ First they furnished Kitchener Camp, consisting of 48 barracks-each capable of holding 48 persons-and two dining halls, each with a capacity of 1,500. The men then established Haig Camp, which became a center of "education and entertainment". That the men were offered instruction and freetime activities emphasized the stark contrast between the concentration camp from which many had been rescued and the

construction camp in which they waited for the start of a new life... The men were free to move, they governed themselves, arranged their work, their play and their education. Above all, there was respect for the human person.²¹⁰

Once the two-headed camp-for Kitchener and Haig really served as one facility-were inhabitable, additional men arrived. The British Home Office allowed block permits for transports from the Continent, without requiring individual passports or visas; in turn, the Council assured Whitehall that those admitted would not stay permanently in Britain nor would accept paid work without securing special permission. In addition, the Council set the following conditions for acceptance into the camp: one had to (a) be between the ages 18 and 40; (b) have a documented prospect for overseas emigration; and (c) prove an urgent need to depart Nazi-occupied territories. Of the camp's 3,500 places, 2,000 were assigned to German and 1,000 to Austrian Jews, and 500 to "non-Aryan" Christians or refugees from Italy, Belgium

saved" (Ibid., p. 103).

208 Ibid.

209 According to Bentwich, "It was unwittingly a useful preparation for the work before them that the men made concrete roads in the camps, laid pipes, constructed water towers, built huts and wash-houses, and installed electric light and a drainage system. They were encouraged to work by slogans displayed in the huts, as, for example: "England expects everyman to do his duty. You are not Englishmen, but you should do your duty.' It was another feature that the policing was done by the inmates. The experience in the camp with its communal life was also a valuable transition for the Army discipline to come" (Ibid., p. 28).

210 Ibid., pp. 27-28.

Later in life Hans Hammerstein commented that "the camp was a magnanimous and grand contribution to the solution of the refugee problem". It could accommodate about 3,500 men and he was "sure that very large sums of money were collected in England, America and elsewhere to feed, clothe and house us. I wonder if we realized this at the time and were grateful for it. Nor do I know if any of us had previously ever done enough for our Jewish brethren anywhere" (Patkin, 1979, p. 16).

or Czechoslovakia.²¹¹

Regardless of who came or from where, the refugees had to establish a workable communal life. Toward that end the men adopted the principles of a collective community. Few had private possessions besides trunks of clothes they might have brought with them. Any money they earned through agricultural work, technical training or artistic talents went into a common fund. Each man received a small, equal amount of pocket-money; if he needed the fare to London or elsewhere, for example, he received it from common funds: "The place, brimming with good will, was a model for camps which in the grim years to come were to be the habitations of millions of men and women deprived of a home".²¹²

Besides a form of collective organization, the men had to develop a daily routine incorporating work, education and freetime. Many were engaged in the work of the camp itself, while others worked as temporary hired hands on neighboring farms or received agricultural and technical training within the compound. At the same time, each had English lessons for two hours a day- partly by "Linguaphone" records, partly through classes in basic English. English school teachers in the neighborhood volunteered their time and each night a

relay of men and women came to instruct; on the day of rest [they] came in their cars to take their pupils for a drive and show them the beauty of Canterbury, Dover, Margate or Ramsgate. Every evening the men organised entertainment: a lecture on a country of prospective immigration, or on England and English life, a concert or a play.²¹³

In terms of semi-formal instruction and cultural life, the camp included "a wealth of talents in the arts": music, drama, dancing, etc. Among the exiled Austrians-for example-were first violins from the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra and singers who had been "the pride of the city's cafés". In addition, camp artists supplied musical and dramatic entertainment for

²¹¹ Bentwich, *Ibid.*, p. 28.

²¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 28-29.

Not everyone found the camp "brimming with good will". Hans Hammerstein said: "Because the inmates of the Kitchener Camp were nearly all Jews, one would rightly have expected some kind of united Jewish spirit' to develop amongst the thousands of refugees, to enable them to comfort each other and ease the burden of common misery. But the contrary was the case. It started with the camp authorities, who did not call it a Jewish refugee camp' but a camp for refugees from Nazi oppression'. True, there were a dozen or so non-Jews and some baptised Jews, but their fate under the Nazis was the same as that of Jews who were not baptised. The animosity between different groups and sects was also strong and made the situation irritable and offensive" (Patkin, 1979, p. 13).

²¹³ Bentwich, *Ibid.*, p. 29.

neighboring coastal townfolk-which "made the refugees popular. Through that popularity it was possible to bring "some hundreds" of the men's wives to England to be domestic servants in Kentish homes.

Besides English, Hebrew was taught to those waiting to emigrate to Palestine and Spanish to those preparing to go to Latin America. The camp included a significant "intelligentsia" and organized a "popular university" in which scientists and writers, lawyers and former communal leaders, gave lectures in the evening-some in German, some in English. The men also produced an English-language magazine featuring advice and entertainment. Through the gift of a the head of the British film industry and the founder of the Odeon circuit, the camp had a film theater which run by the residents.²¹⁴

This rich, almost idyllic existence proved to be short-lived, however, as the eruption of war in September 1939 brought a transformation if not an end of many of the camp's activities. The last week preceding the outbreak the camp saw "feverish activity" to bring from the Continent as many more individuals as could be rescued before "the gates were closed and barred". Those in the camp immediately became engaged in defence work in surrounding coastal towns. Restriction was imposed, however, on their movement and there was talk of internment. The refugees suddenly became "enemy aliens" and subject to restrictions "required for national security".²¹⁵

In May 1940 "talk" of internment became the imposition of internment and the model camp that Kitchener had been became-in effect if not in name -a prison. As soon as it could be arranged, the men who resided there left either to serve the Royal Army in the form of the Auxiliary Military Pioneer Corps, or for formal internment on the Isle of Man or elsewhere as

²¹⁴ Ibid., pp. 29-30.

²¹⁵ Ibid., p. 30.

Refugees from the Third Reich living in Britain were classified according to three categories. "A" category comprised of those about whom there were "serious doubts" and numbered about 600; such individuals were interned. "B" category numbered about 7,000 and were restricted in their movement. "C" category numbered about 67,000 and enjoyed complete freedom of movement; approximately 55,000 "C" aliens were classified as "refugees from Nazi oppression". According to Patkin: "Most of the aliens classified by 120 [government] tribunals operating in Britain were Jews. Criticism of various tribunals' decisions grew in intensity, as some well-known anti-Nazis were included in 'A' and 'B' categories. Following numerous protests, a review of the classifications was ordered by the Home Office, but this did not begin until May 1940" (p. 13).

"enemy aliens".²¹⁶ At the point that armed hostilities erupted, any hopes the dejected men had of finding a niche in British society shattered.

2.52 Fort Ontario

While events in Britain drastically altered the reception refugees from the Continent found across the Channel, individuals in the U.S. government- such as Assistant Secretary of State Breckenridge Long- adamantly opposed allowing additional immigrants in general, Jews in specific, into the country beyond those already allowed by the National Origins Quota System²¹⁷ Act of 1924, legislation which purposely discouraged new arrivals from Southern or Eastern Europe and halted altogether would-be Asian immigrants. Tellingly, during a hearing to consider permission for 20,000 non-working-age refugee children to enter the country as an emergency measure, the wife of the U.S. Commissioner of Immigration testified: "Twenty

²¹⁶ For information about the organization of and daily life at Kitchener Camp, see Irwin Blumenkranz' narrative [pp. 53-55]; for an account of internment on the Isle of Man, see Martin Kobylinski's narrative [pp.55-56]- both in *Out of Hitler's Reach*. Regarding both sites and how they mirrored the British government's refugee policy, see Sherman (1973).

Once hostilities broke out between Nazi Germany and the Allies, the nature of British refugee camps changed completely- literally overnight. From the *Kristallnacht* pogrom of November 1938 till September 1939, the British government opened a door to those fleeing the Third Reich. Even during the so-called Phoney War, refugees as well as Nazi supporters stranded in England due to war's outbreak were allowed free movement. As the *Wehrmacht* rolled over the Lowland Countries in May 1940, however, the nation's mood shifted to one of pronounced alarm. When France swiftly fell to Hitler's onslaught and Britain's troops evacuated the Continent via Dunkerque, the Brits panicked. Winston Churchill growled "Collar the lot!". Public sentiment echoed his and within days first German and Austrian men between the ages of 16 and 60, then women and even children found themselves subjected to arrest, questioning and imprisonment- this time not at the hands of a totalitarian dictatorship but a "liberal democracy". Even if Whitehall meant most of those interned no harm, thousands of lives ground to a halt and innocent individuals were denied freedom (Gillman, 1980). It isn't true, as some claim, that Britain's internment or deportation of 27,000 (Kushner, 1993) "enemy alien" was "harmless enough". Hundreds of the imprisoned lost their lives in the process of deportation. Britain sent over 7,000 (Burletson, 1993) to the "dominions": the *Arandora Star* was torpedoed enroute to Canada, with the loss of some 1,200 lives; on the Australia-bound *Dunera*, 2,542 refugees as well as imprisoned Nazis (Patkin, 1979) were subjected to months of poor food, beatings and robbing at the hands of the soldiers appointed to guard them. Upon arriving in Australia, many watched in horror as military personnel rifled through their luggage and demanded their jewelry, money and other "liquid assets".

²¹⁷ For Jews the National Origins Quota System proved to be catastrophic in its failure to distinguish between immigrants and refugees- "people with time and resources to proceed according to customary bureaucratic practice and persecuted people thrust into dire circumstances". An amendment proposed in 1921 would have excepted victims of religious persecution from quotas, but it received little support and was not reintroduced as "Liberals were hesitant to made demands that would provoke restrictionists" (Lowenstein, 1986, p. 3).

thousand children would all too soon grow up into twenty thousand ugly adults".²¹⁸ Despite pleas from influential Jewish or Christian bodies such as the National Refugee Service and AFSC, Congress would not budge²¹⁹ from its stance of no visas issued outside the quota system-the truth being that for several of the years between 1933 to 1939 several European countries' quotas went unfilled.²²⁰

In such a decidedly anti-immigrant climate,²²¹ President Roosevelt's announcement on 9 June 1944 that "approximately 1,000 refugees should be immediately brought from Italy to this country" came most unexpectedly.²²² Issued with an air of royal prerogative, the move

²¹⁸ Feingold, 1980, p. 150.

Assumptions that refugees from Nazism equated Jews relied on false premises: "The widespread notion that the great majority of the refugees were Jewish allowed anti-Semitic restrictionist groups to disregard the existence of non-Jewish refugees", despite the fact that Christians constituted some thirty percent of the refugees who reached America (Haim Genizi. "American Interfaith Cooperation on Behalf of Refugees from Nazism, 1933-1945". *American Jewish History* 70#3 [1981], p. 352).

²¹⁹ If the U.S. government insisted on being derelict in rescuing European refugees, a number of private relief organizations determined to undertake the mission. Given strapped staff and limited funds, however, they had to perform diplomatic triage. Some found it a most distasteful assignment, for among thousands of artists or intellectuals gathered in havens like Marseilles, they were instructed to "rescue the top two percent, or five percent, or whatever; the object was to pick the best ones. One gets the awful picture of somebody saying: "Bring me your folder of art, and if I think it's good, we can save your life" (Jackman, *Ibid.*, p. 18).

²²⁰ Lowenstein, *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7; see Wyman (1968, 1984).

According to Lowenstein, "total quota utilization during the Nazi years ranged from 5.3 percent in 1933, when Jewish arrivals numbered 2300, to 40.6 percent in 1939, when Jewish immigration reached 43,000". The number of Jewish immigrants dropped after America entered the war and in 1944 again totaled 2300. Except for those from Germany and Austria, most Jewish refugees came from countries assigned the smallest quotas- and even those quotas remained 60 percent unfilled. By 1943, when more than 4,500,000 Jews had been killed or transformed into refugees, approximately 811,000 had found refuge. However, many were in European states later occupied by the Nazis: "one hundred ninety thousand, 23.5 percent, obtained temporary or permanent admission to the United States"(p.7).

²²¹ Polls during the period mirrored the pervasive anti-Semitic feeling in the U.S. In 1937 and 1938 one-third to one-half of those polled thought that Jews had too much money, power or influence in Germany and the U.S. In fact, ten percent claimed Jews were fully responsible for Nazi persecution and nearly half thought Jews to be partially responsible (Cantril, 1951, pp. 381-83). A survey in December 1943 found that one-third of those asked thought that FDR had appointed "too many" Jews to government posts (Lowenstein, *Ibid.*, p. 383).

²²² The announcement specified that the refugees would remain at Fort Ontario "under appropriate security restrictions...for the duration of the war" and that at the war's end they would be "returned to their homelands" (Marks, 1946, p 1). Marks held: "Had the [camp] been located in Africa, or even in the Virgin Islands...these two conditions could probably have been carried out with little question". The shelter, however, was located within the U.S., where some of the refugees found relatives, friends or organizations interested in their welfare.

confirmed what some critics already had concluded: FDR was "a politician first, then a humanitarian".²²³ The decision, though, was not made out of compassion. According to Edward Marks, Jr., a U.S. War Refugee Program [WRP] officer who later wrote a report about Fort Ontario, the Oswego project was undertaken primarily

to further long-range rescue objectives of the War Refugee Board. A secondary motive was to relieve overtaxed Allied supply lines in Italy. One purpose, of course, was to assist the people involved, but at the time the project was conceived this was not one of the major considerations.²²⁴

In any case Roosevelt's sudden action set governmental machinery into motion which resulted in the Department of Interior-the Federal agency in charge of parks, public works, petroleum, mines, fish and wildlife, Native Americans, Alaska, Hawaii, etc.-assuming the task of selecting 1,000 from tens of thousands of refugees swarming over Italy to sail to America. To escort them across the dangerous North Atlantic, the agency chose Ruth Gruber, a young New York journalist and daughter of Polish Jews who spoke German and Yiddish in addition to English. Once arriving in South Europe, she and her assistants set about interviewing candidates with criteria outlined by FDR himself: "include a reasonable proportion of various categories of persecuted peoples who have fled to Italy [and] for whom other havens of refuge are not immediately available".²²⁵ Beyond that, the War Refugee Board [WRB] made additional suggestions regarding the selection process:

(1) that the persons chosen be taken in family groups, community groups, or groups that had worked together; (2) that those in the greatest need be selected; (3) that an attempt be made to obtain a cross section of skills that would make the shelter as nearly self-sustaining as possible.²²⁶

The WRB also emphasized that nothing should be offered to the refugees beyond "safety and subsistence" and that every precaution should be taken to avoid any statements that might

²²³ Ruth Gruber. "The Road to Oswego", *Dimensions* 8#2 (1994), p. 15.

²²⁴ Marks, *Ibid.*, p. 1.

Winning the war was the Allies' main priority, so anti-Semites within the British and American governments were able to portray saving refugees as interfering with winning the war. Stalin, Churchill and Roosevelt gave little attention to the Jews' fate, as helping them appeared to divert resources and attention from defeating the Germans. Both America and Britain "offered excuses or gestures rather than help for Jewish refugees" (Harvey Strum, "Fort Ontario Refugee Shelter, 1944-46", *American Jewish History*, V.LXXII#4, 1984, p. 420).

²²⁵ Marks, *Ibid.*, p. 9.

²²⁶ *Ibid.*

lead later to accusations of "broken promises". As the process of selection developed, additional criteria determined which of the many applicants would be accepted for transference:

1. No families with healthy males of military age.
2. No families including members with contagious or loathsome diseases
3. No separation of family groups.
4. As many as possible from camps, if they filled other requirements.

To avoid misunderstandings, candidates had to sign a statement translated into German, French and Italian: "I declare that I have fully understood the following conditions of the offer of the United States Government and that I have accepted them:

A.I. I shall be brought to a reception center in Forth Ontario in the State of New York, where I shall remain as a guest of the United States until the end of the war. Then I must return to my homeland.

II. There I shall live under the restrictions imposed by the American security officials. **III.** No promise of any kind was given to me either in regard to a possibility of working or permission to work outside the reception center, or in regard to the possibility of remaining in the United states after the war.

B. I declare further, since I cannot take along any *valuta* under existing laws, that I shall accept in exchange for my *valuta* the same amount in dollars, which the authorities in the United States will eventually pay me after my arrival in America.²²⁷

Of the 1,000 initially selected, second and third interviews disqualified 18 as alleged "Fifth-Columnists" or spies. Those remaining refugees designated for evacuation hailed from 18 countries, with most of the 982 individuals coming from Yugoslavia (369), Austria (237), Poland (146), Germany (96) or Czechoslovakia (41).²²⁸ This diversity of nationalities would

²²⁷ Ibid., p. 11.

Marks maintained: "In spite of these precautions, it later became apparent that some of the refugees had regarded the restrictions as a formality, while others hoped that they would never be actually enforced. Some...doubtless decided the make the journey either because they had relatives [in the U.S.] or because they had made previous application to enter the [U.S.]. It is difficult to know whether these persons actually misunderstood the statement, or were simply willing to gamble on a change occurring in their status after they reached the [U.S.]" (p. 12).

²²⁸ Lowenstein, Ibid., pp. 55-56.

The other countries each had less than 20 citizens represented and consisted of Russia, Romania, France, Turkey, Danzig, Spain, Greece, Libya, Bulgaria, Belgium, Hungary, Italy and Holland. Of the total, 436 officially were "stateless"; 874 were Jewish, 73 Catholic, 28 Orthodox

prove to be more disruptive than at first expected; already on the ship during the crossing to America the War Relocation Authority [WRA] representative on-board noticed

the Yugoslavs are the most articulate, antagonistic, and difficult to deal with... They have a strong group consciousness, but every one of them seems to be most interested in himself, and their experiences do not seem to have induced any marked degree of willingness to sacrifice for the welfare of the group.²²⁹

Although they have lost temporary control of properties and some had been in concentration camps for a period, the Yugoslavs interviewed had not suffered the torture or physical hardships which other groups had experienced. "Even the Orthodox Jews of the Yugoslav group" noted a report, "seem to maintain a national rather than a religious affiliation".²³⁰

Cultural and lingual differences repeatedly would play a divisive role in the future of Fort Ontario. In the early stages, however, such differences paled in contrast to the excitement of having been offered what the refugees saw as a reprieve from Nazi persecution. As their ship entered New York Harbor on 3 August 1944 the exiled Europeans waved at the Statue of Liberty "joyously, tearfully, as if she were a granite Mother welcoming them to the new homeland".²³¹ After spending a night on the ship, undergoing a thorough medical check and a shower of DDT,²³² being tagged with a luggage slip and facing a tightly controlled meeting with the press, the refugees filed into a train bound for upstate New York. In doing so, although on the other side of the world, some of the refugees experienced flashbacks to rides in cattle cars which had taken them to concentration camps.

In the early morning came to a stop on a rail siding next to Fort Ontario in Oswego.²³³

and seven Protestant. (Ibid Marks noted that "the citizenship of 447 individuals, making up 270 family units, had been lost mainly through racial or religious decrees" (p. 48).

²²⁹ Ibid., p. 15.

²³⁰ Ibid.

²³¹ Gruber, Ibid., p. 106.

²³² As Marks reported the incident, "the chemicals used in the disinfestation process proved too strong for the worn clothing of a number of the refugees, with the result that many garments did not survive the process" (p. 17).

²³³ Marks said the arriving refugees presented a "sorry spectacle. Their years of privation were accentuated by the discomfort of the sea voyage and the overnight ride to the shelter. Many looked haggard, unshaven and generally unkempt. A few wore conventional summer attire, but in many cases their clothing was frayed and soiled...A large number of the children were barefoot and many adults wore the simplest kind of handmade sandals" (p.19).

Similar to the previous night, some refugees experienced dread-laced anxiety when they might have felt happy anticipation:

'A fence! Another fence!' a man gasped... For there, stretching as far as [one] could see, was a tall hurricane fence of chain links, topped with three rows of barbed wire. [A second man] reached forward, [asking] 'How could you do this? In the free America! It's another concentration camp!' The train grew ominously silent. 'It's an old army post.' [Gruber] tried to dispel some of the fear. 'All army camps in America have fences.' [But] the words had no effect. The silence persisted, awkward, nervous, disbelieving.²³⁴

The refugees' fear soon turned to excitement, however, as the army gave permission for them to disembark and as they did, they noticed that "dozens" of Oswegonians were watching them from the roof of a nearby tank factory, while other citizens of the town hurried out of the houses lining the street along the camp. Reporters from distant as well as local newspapers "swarmed" around the refugees, photographers snapped their shutters and movie cameras rolled,

catching the weary and frightened eyes of the elderly, the tentative smiles of teenagers, the lost look of children still without shoes, a violinist clutching his fiddle in a broken case, the knapsacks and torn boxes tied with rope in which many carried their most precious possessions, the flotsam and jetsam of the war, wearing their cardboard tags: 'U.S. Army-Casual Baggage.'²³⁵

Perhaps the Europeans felt like "casual baggage", given the extent to which they had been tossed about since leaving their respective Old World homes. Now, though, they found themselves in an unfamiliar albeit pleasant setting: Fort Ontario occupied 80 "lush acres" overlooking the Great Lake from which it received its name and "stately shades trees" protected rows of two-story white barracks that provided a backdrop for red brick homes surrounded by a broad green parade ground. The scene was one of "idyllic beauty".²³⁶ Used

²³⁴ Gruber, *Ibid.*, p. 117.

²³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 118.

²³⁶ Lowenstein, *Ibid.*, p. 38.

Upon arrival the refugees found "barracks, mess halls, a barbed wire fence- familiar reminders of life in other camps. But in other respects, they found Fort Ontario in summer a charming place: the parade ground was cool and green; the battlements of the old Fort fascinated the children, and the lake view was a delight. On the first evening they walked around- soothed and refreshed. They were happy about the place and well satisfied with the arrangements that had been made to receive them" (Marks, *Ibid.*, p. 20). Fort Ontario indeed had a colorful history. Earlier during World War II Oswegonians watched apprehensively as dark-skinned troops arrived for training, followed by illiterate soldiers: according to the local department store's Jewish owner, "each group turned out better than we expected. Now its our job to make sure the town takes the same attitude toward the refugees" (Gruber, *Ibid.*, p. 145).

by the British against the French in the 1750s, the original Fort Ontario itself sat nearby in partial ruins. The refugees would have a much longer-than-expected chance to become acquainted with the physical plant; for the time being, however, more pressing concerns demanded their attention.

"Ravenously hungry" because they eaten little the previous day, the refugees soon were led to white-washed mess halls with tables "stacked with pitchers of steaming hot coffee, bottles of rich cold milk, giant boxes of cornflakes, loaves of white bread, jars of peanut butter and bowls overflowing with hard-boiled eggs".²³⁷ The refugees busily descended on the tables. Gruber later recalled that one woman-her mouth stuffed with one egg-"reached into the bowl for another [saying] 'We never got fed like this in Gurs'".²³⁸

Following breakfast, the camp observed a customs inspection-"fast and cursory". Some of the customs officials were

misty-eyed as they looked into torn suitcases that held nothing but newspapers, or family photos wrapped in frayed underwear or rags. A customs agent who found only one torn shirt in a battered bag copied the man's name from his tag, spent his lunch hour in a shop and bought the man a pair of pants, a shirt and a jacket.²³⁹

The refugees then were free to move into their new accommodations- accompanied by "an explosion of euphoria". Gruber went with some of the people to their new homes in the made-over barracks. One woman stared at the entrance of her apartment and marveled: "Such efficiency. Only America can do this". Amazed that her family's name already hung on the door, she said "I feel already it's mine. My first apartment". Another woman raced downstairs, exclaiming "*Fräulein* Ruth-this is more beautiful than anything in Europe. I have a villa by the sea!"²⁴⁰

As the European exiles soon were to discover, however, not only the physical aspects of

²³⁷ Ibid., p. 119.

²³⁸ Marks reported that during the first weeks, the camp's staff learned something of the behavior of people who had lived "by their wits in an economy of scarcity. When food appeared, they gorged themselves. One man, for example, consumed eight eggs during one meal. They simply could not believe that there was enough for everybody. They had been in too many lines where supplies had run out before their turn was reached" (p. 23).

²³⁹ Gruber, Ibid., p. 119.

²⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 119-120.

The modest apartments were furnished "GI style" with two metal cots, a table, two chairs and a metal locker (p. 120).

Fort Ontario would impress them-at least, at first-but the human ones, too. "How can you have a fence in America?" some of the refugees who were still angry confronted Gruber. She, though, was focused on others, "born survivors" had already had turned the fence into a "bridge". Peering through the chain links, the refugees inside the fence talked and motioned in sign language to the people of Oswego who were talking and

gesticulating just as animatedly outside the fence. Some Oswegonians sprinted home, armed themselves with clothing, especially with children's shoes, and tossed them like baseballs over the top of the fence. Others shoved cookies and candy through the metal chains. A sweet-faced nine-year-old...brought her Shirley Temple doll for a wistful little girl her own age.²⁴¹

Initially the government quarantined the refugees for fear of disease and they had to remain inside the fence which surrounded Fort Ontario. That did not stop them, however, from making acquaintance with the townspeople. The two groups "swapped accents and souvenirs" and in time "curiosity and generous impulse" led to friendship. Later, to celebrate the end of quarantine, an open house was held at which almost 5,000 Oswegonians and others were invited to the fort. The open house was intended as a get-acquainted gathering, but also to disabuse the people of Oswego of the misconception that the refugees were living "in the lap of luxury". The visitors freely walked around, saw some of the apartments and judged for themselves the scale on which the fort was being operated-in stark contrast to the image evoked by rampant rumors.²⁴²

Even as Americans from the surrounding area came into the camp, the children from the camp went out into the surrounding area-to attend school. Many of older ones had not had any "school experience of a normal character" for some years, while most of the younger ones either had never been inside a school or had only brief periods of "impromptu schooling" during their years of flight,²⁴³ sometimes in the very camps in which they were confined. Therefore, from the beginning, the camp's administration wished the children to attend Oswego's schools. Normally the public school system would have been unable to absorb additional children in its regular classes. The town recently had lost population, however, so teacher-pupil ratios had declined and the addition of a few children in each class actually helped the flagging school system qualify for state funds granted on a per capita basis. Private agencies

²⁴¹ Ibid., p. 122.

²⁴² Marks, Ibid., p. 22.

²⁴³ Ibid., p. 29.

also offered to transport refugee children to schools that were not within walking distance and to furnish them with school books, others supplies and hot-lunch money. Once all arrangements were in place, several weeks passed between the decision that the children could attend the school and the actual opening of the schools. This was a busy period, with school officials "unstintingly" giving time to register and grade students from the shelter. Theirs' was a difficult task due to the variety of languages involved and the gaps in school attendance for most of the children. School officials wished to avoid placing older children whose experience had matured them in classes with children who were very much younger but had had constant schooling. There was thought of establishing special classes, but WRA representatives as well as parents, private organizations and school officials agreed that much of the value of having the refugee children attend public school would be lost if they were in segregated classes. In order to bridge the gap, private agencies arranged for several weeks of intensive English instruction for the children before the school year began. This, together with "a knack for picking up languages gained during their refugee years", enabled many of the children to catch on quickly and be assigned to a grade commensurate with their age.²⁴⁴

As the novelty of their new lives wore off and as unfounded assumptions that they would enjoy freedom of movement in the United States dissolved, the refugees slowly grew restless and impatient as weeks of confinement turned into months-and eventually more than a year. As WRP officer Marks later testified, despite its many "windows to the world outside", Fort Ontario never resembled a normal community. Its residents

slept and ate and worked and studied and took part in leisure-time activities. They married, had babies and died. But they lacked the one thing that they wanted most- freedom. They were permitted outside the shelter only for certain hours each day and could not go beyond the city's environs. It was not simply that they were confined, but that their detention was of such an indeterminate nature [that they lived in] a kind of limbo... The experience was the more tantalizing because they were prisoners on the very brink of liberty. Many were able to take a rational view and keep their resilience. But others who could not accept the fact that

²⁴⁴ I *bid.*, p. 30.

Once they had established themselves, the children's first report cards showed that they had, for the most part, been "successful in passing their school work, although a few were still hampered because of language difficulties". School officials spoke of "intense interest" which refugee children gave their work and said that in many cases refugee children served as an incentive to children from the town. At least one refugee child was elected president of his or her class (p. 51). The superintendent of Oswego's schools rated refugee children's scholastic performance "superior", their achievement "amazing". The high school principal emphasized that eight of about 40 high school refugee students had qualified for the National Honor Society; a teacher of 22 years said: "These boys are the finest I have ever had in my home room" (p. 57).

they were actually enjoying less freedom [in the U.S.] than abroad showed signs of deterioration. At times they were restless, moody, rumor-ridden, even childish in their behavior.²⁴⁵

As the war in Europe drew to an end, the refugees' dread of detention was increasingly replaced by fear that they would be repatriated to lands for which they had come to feel revulsion. They feared persecution in their home-lands, as well as returning to communities in which they had lost family members or friends. The atmosphere at Fort Ontario grew so grim that in December 1944 the government brought a psychologist in to interview some of the refugees and issue a report. The consultant-who possessed "a marked bias against the operation of camps when any more normal type of living arrangement [was] available"-identified the following as reasons why the camp seemed "unhealthy and the refugees restless and dissatisfied":

isolation and loss of freedom, together with too close contact with an unchanging group; loss of money and social position; envy of people with freedom to live more fruitful lives; and the indeterminate nature of the detention.²⁴⁶

New daily-life restrictions combined with old prejudices ignited an inflammable acrimony which eventually fell upon Fort Ontario's internees. Whatever the sources, after some time the refugees began to complain first about cultural differences and "inadequacies" of their American hosts, then -in an uglier vein-about fellow refugees of other nationalities: the former seemed mostly innocuous, the later painfully divisive. As one man complained to Gruber,

'Those two slices of white bread they give us...they're on one tooth. We want bread you can cut yourself with a knife.' He circled his left arm as if he were embracing a round loaf; then, with his right hand clutching an imaginary knife, he sawed through the bread, his eyes shut as if he could still smell the delicious aromas of the bakeshops of his childhood.²⁴⁷

A columnist thereafter charged that the camp's mess had been serving the refugees "uneatable white bread and undrinkable bitter tea" and the issue of what kind of bread the camp served became a *cause célèbre*. Finally, the camp director agreed to install a black-bread bakery on the premises-thus quickly squelching a would-be Bread Riot. He failed later, though, to so easily extinguish a bigger, more explosive outbreak of discontent and malice: on the last Friday evening that Gruber served at the camp, a certain rabbi led the service who spoke

²⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 2.

²⁴⁶ Ibid., pp. 44-45.

²⁴⁷ Gruber, Ibid., p. 140.

Hebrew, Ladino (used by many Balkans Jews) and Serbo-Croatian. When he began his sermon in the last language, two women behind Gruber leaned forward and complained to her. A few men then walked out of the chapel; a devout Mormon, believing the service was over Fort Ontario's director followed them. When the service ended Gruber heard a small cluster of men protest: "How dare he give a sermon in a language not one of us understands?" An Austrian Jew explained to her that while "most people" in the camp-"even the Yugoslavs"-understood German, only the Yugoslavs understood Serbo-Croatian. At that point a Yugoslav

waved his fist at some of the Germans. 'You are Germans first, then Jews. You want to inflict the German language on everyone. Remember, out of seventy-thousand, the Germans have wiped out sixty-six thousand Yugoslav Jews. We want to kill the German language in our minds, in our hearts, in our souls. We have the right to our language. But in this camp the hated German language is constantly thrown at us.'

Bitter resentment stored up for generations had broken the Sabbath peace.²⁴⁸

One refugee later commented: "Look what's happening to us... That we can have a fight over such a little thing. There's a war against us in the world, and we fight among ourselves. It's a disgrace". Despite the threat such a development represented, the refugees slid into intra-camp demoralization. Besides squabbling with each other and resigning en masse from the refugee-elected Advisory Council, the refugees simply fell more and more away from the camp's common life. In winter 1944-45, for example, the director found it increasingly difficult to recruit refugees for essential maintenance tasks, especially tasks involving heavy outdoor labor. Camp residents resisted work-ing outdoors in the frigid Oswego winter, so the camp lacked able-bodied men to unload coal, shovel snow, and perform roads and grounds maintenance. Residents even briefly went on strike against unloading coal.²⁴⁹

The main explanation for such self-destructive behavior consists of the refugees' stagnate status. Officially they had reached America as "guests" of FDR's, who made the gesture to

²⁴⁸ Ibid., pp. 147-148.

Later realizing his mistake, the camp director issued a written apology: "I went to the service happy to worship in reverence, happy to worship a common God who knows no difference of language and nationality; and proud to worship with people I thought shared a common bond of humility and devotion. Racial or national and religious differences have no place in Fort Ontario or anywhere in America. I, of a faith different from yours, came to worship with you a common God; and I hope you will respect that difference as surely as you must the differences among yourselves which result from the many cultures represented".

²⁴⁹ Strum, Ibid., p. 409.

appease American Jews and their supporters "without antagonizing restrictionists".²⁵⁰ The State Department, however, strongly disapproved of the move and resisted granting the exiles immigrant status. Congress acted hostile towards immigrants in any case and the public - although mostly sympathetic-could not be aroused to take the refugees' fate to heart enough to motivate effective popular action. In effect, the Europeans interned at fortified Fort Ontario became prisoners of their own "freedom". According to WRP officer Marks, despite the WRA's efforts, private relief and social service agencies, the refugees, their relatives or friends it took 18 months before a satisfactory solution could be found to the dilemma at Fort Ontario. It took a Congressional investigation, an inquiry by three government departments and finally action by FDR's successor, President Truman himself, to release the refugees. But, Marks noted, when the time came for them to leave,

most of them faced the future with confidence. Their health was improved. They had learned the language and many of the customs of America. Although their only point of vantage was the main street of a small town in upstate New York, they had acquired a surprising sense of values and perspective about their chances in the days ahead.²⁵¹

²⁵⁰ Strum, *Ibid.*, p. 420.

²⁵¹ Marks, *Ibid.*, p. 3.

Part II:

Documentation and Analysis of Scattergood Hostel

To understand ways in which Scattergood Hostel's "guests" approached the process of integration or assimilation—depending on the age or inclination of individual émigrés—one must be familiar with the hostel's origins as well as the basic premises and execution of its core program. Part II examines both. In addition, chapter 9 contains narratives from a select group of former guests; the first set presents their initial impressions of America, while the second set focuses on their later attitudes toward America. Both document the refugees' changing relationship with their adopted homeland—a relationship in part formed by the refugees' early experiences at Scattergood Hostel.

A basic criticism of the Scattergood Hostel operation might be that in the void created by mostly inexperienced staff, an ever-changing program and flawed job-placement, the Quakers' blind albeit well-intended and enthusiastic efforts to "Americanize" their guests provided staff a convenient distraction from deeper, more serious and complicated issues or problems. Looking at the hostel's record retrospectively, however, one might keep in mind what a new and unusual phenomenon it was, taking in large numbers of strangers who recently had escaped exceptionally upsetting experiences. One then better understands the staff's inadequacies and mistakes by remembering into what unmapped seas they were sailing. Under such conditions the expected awkwardness of not knowing how to respond to horrible, incredible stories gave rise to the knee-jerk response of peddling adaptation. Mindful of such reactions, Scattergood Hostel's most glaring shortcoming might have been its lack of experience or expertise. That the newness and urgency of their work encouraged staff to "Americanize" adult and child European refugees alike was understandable—if at times their reactions were pat or disorganized.

Still, the Quakers acted as pioneers; they felt their way into a field with few authorities and even fewer role models. They offered their guests language training, social events and varied cultural offerings, health care, practical tips for post-hostel life and job placement—all while providing for the taxed exiles' housing, food and other basic needs. This work was performed largely by idealistic young Friends fresh out of college and assisted by local farmers—both groups having had no direct connections to the people being helped other than their common humanity.

Chapter 3 Scattergood Hostel as Refugee Center and Integration Program

3.1 Friends' Motives

To gain a grounded appreciation for Scattergood's accomplishments as well as inadequacies as a hostel for refugees and subsequently the results of its efforts to create "New Americans", one must review the main motives behind its founding, organization and operation. With a sense of *why* Quakers acted as they did, one can better understand *how* AFSC's refugee program at West Branch, Iowa, attempted to meet its goals. While including here an in-depth history of Quakerism would be superfluous, the following brief summary of its basic tenets indicates the socio-spiritual worldview which led Friends to assist refugees from Nazi-occupied Europe:²⁵²

In some respects similar to mainstream Protestant denominations, over some 350 years of existence Friends gradually discarded their most peculiar cultural traits which once distinguished them from "the world"-e.g., so-called plain speech and dress, rejection of alcohol, drugs or the wearing of jewelry, etc. Theologically, however, Quakers have been distinctive yet "liberal" in their own historical teachings such as pacifism or radical equalitarianism. Quakers have believed that to be valid, religion must be experiential, so dogmas are relatively unimportant-if not unessential. In their worldview, religion- indeed "God"-can be experienced through the "Inner Light" which Quakers hold exists in each woman and man: there is within each person a divine "seed", a part of "God"-and this is true for *all* people, regardless of how much "evil" may have outwardly seized control of an individual life. Such beliefs have led Friends to view human nature optimistically: humans are not essentially evil, but rather have potential for goodness because they are part of the Divine.

The Quaker conviction that all persons contain "that of God" within has given rise to a belief in the oneness of all humanity and commanded Quakers to respect all persons, regardless of creed or country. This basic respect precludes violence or war and, ideally, leads to at least an abstract-if not concrete and active-sense of love for all humanity. For Quakers, the core of their "religion" is love, which is

²⁵² For a sociological summary of Quaker life and tenets, see Punshon(1984), pp. 1-2.

an absolute, the only absolute. Love, and goodness, are the means to the creation of a new society, a social order based on justice and righteousness, because [all people] and nations are capable of responding to love as well as goodness.²⁵³

Their beliefs have led Quakers to engage in social action born of social concern, for they believe that religious experience and social concern are unseparably related and that in its highest form the latter is divinely inspired.

Friends' faith-based efforts impressed British Jewish activist Norman Bentwich. The author of three books and numerous articles about refugees, he singled them out as exceptions to Christian indifference to the plight of Jews, as they "worked devotedly and untiringly" to help the refugees from Germany "without distinction of race, creed or community".²⁵⁴

Correspondingly, Friends aim for impartiality. In a memorandum issued in July 1939 as part of a delegation to Nazi Germany—for example—Rufus Jones, Robert Yarnall and George Watton emphasized they had

kept entirely free from party lines or party spirit. We have not used any propaganda, or aimed to make converts to our own views. We have simply, quietly, and in a friendly spirit endeavored to make life possible for those who were suffering. We do not ask who is to blame for the trouble which may exist, or what has produced the sad situation. Our task is to support and save life and to suffer with those who are suffering [and] we do not come to judge or to criticize or to push ourselves in.²⁵⁵

Prior to the 1930s, American Quakers demonstrated their spiritually based concerns in such areas as the treatment of criminals and the insane, equal rights for women, just dealings with Native Americans, the abolition of slavery, various peace/anti-war campaigns, etc. The rise of Nazi brutality and terror in Germany, however, presented American Quakers a challenge unlike any they had ever faced. True to definition, the challenge presented the need for special effort and opportunities as well as danger.

²⁵³ Nawyn, 1981, pp. 316-317.

According to Nawyn: "Concern often induces service, that is, concrete efforts to reform evil conditions and to help those who are suffering on account of them.. Quakers have been attracted...to limited pilot projects as a visible way of demonstrating their convictions and goals...in a particular area of concern. Service is also frequently viewed as an alternative to participation in coercive measures prescribed by society, especially military" (p. 317).

²⁵⁴ Genizi, 1983, p. 177.

²⁵⁵ AFSC report, "1938 Delegation to Germany".

3.11 Find an Outlet for the Application of Quaker Values

Their centuries-old, religious-based commitment to respond to "that of god" in others moved Friends in the United States to establish a program for refugees fleeing Nazi-occupied lands. Not only did this commitment sustain their efforts, but they yielded unique results-with one-time Scattergood Hostel volunteer John Kaltenbach declaring the place a "training center for the life of the spirit" [p.160-OHR].

AFSC Refugee Section staff member John Rich²⁵⁶ said that in "its chosen field of work, insofar as refugees...are concerned" AFSC was motivated by "ideals that spring from the heart of Quakerism that is forever seeking to build a cooperative and peaceful society".²⁵⁷ This Quaker concern for creating a godly kingdom on Earth manifested itself in relief and reform projects since the first days of the Religious Society of Friends; by the 1930s the passage of some three centuries had not dampened Quakers' zeal for social justice and action. If they sought a fitting outlet to "let their lives speak" [p. 6-OHR] at Scattergood Hostel, Friends succeeded. According to a report in summer 1942, the project at West Branch brought to the people of Iowa a clearer understanding of

the situation in Europe, a new appreciation of friendship, of their responsibility in helping others, a closer contact with Quaker projects, [volunteer service] camps and other work throughout the country. This work is also a practical demonstration of Friends' belief in the value of human personality, of toleration, and an example of living in 'that spirit that takes away the occasion for war'.²⁵⁸

3.12 Rehabilitate Refugees

Friends' desire to express in tangible ways their religious-born concern for the well-being of their fellow humans led them to seek ways to alleviate the suffering of Jews and others unwelcome in Nazi Germany and in German-occupied territories. In response to *Kristallnacht* pogrom, U.S. Quakers began "looking about for a place where newcomers to [America] could go for a few weeks or months to recover a little from the effects of persecution, regain their confidence, improve their English, and...start re-training themselves for some new line of work

²⁵⁶ During World War II John Rich was in charge of AFSC work in India and China, "where he made important contributions in this work" (RB, Note to MLT, 18.XI.95 .

²⁵⁷ John Rich, Unpublished essay entitled "Americanization Through Quaker Hostels", 1940, p. 1.

²⁵⁸ "Scattergood Hostel Report", 12.VIII.42.

before seeking a permanent place in American society".²⁵⁹ As they undertook a subsequent project, however, Quaker leaders realized that the process of rehabilitating refugees would not be easy. Therefore, "since social, psychological, and spiritual adjustments come slowly, and often more easily in a group", AFSC's Refugee Section began experimenting with a pattern for re-training which took such factors into account: "Scattergood Hostel [was] the result".²⁶⁰ If "rehabilitation" meant helping refugees heal from the effects of persecution, loss and trauma, it constituted only part of any program which Quakers might offer those fleeing Nazi-occupied Europe. The task consisting only partly of temporary relief, it required two additional steps to be complete- those of helping the refugees integrate or assimilate in an adopted homeland.

3.2 Friends' Goals

3.21 Integrate and Assimilate Refugees

Personal convictions are by definition subjective and remain difficult to scrutinize. This dissertation, therefore, accepts religious motivations at face value. What can be reviewed more critically, though, were American Quakers' motives to Americanize the 185 refugees who landed in their care. The concept of and belief in "Americanization" was no Quaker invention; perhaps Friends took cues from a book published in the same year that they founded Scattergood Hostel. According to author William Carlson Smith, when the U.S. entered the first world war it became evident that thousands if not millions of immigrants "had not been fused in the melting-pot". According to Smith it was then that the "Americanization" theory came into vogue. It held that immigrants should

divest themselves of their heritages immediately and take over a standardized American pattern for their lives. The immigrant's racial inheritance, no matter how much it may mean

²⁵⁹ Unsigned essay entitled "A New Use for Scattergood", 29.V.39.

Emil Deutsch attested: "It certainly is hard for many [European refugees], affected in their nervous balance by the horrible experiences and the constant strain of the last years, to fit into new and strange conditions. Moreover, many people, accustomed to regular work and efficiency, suffer from lack of it harder than anything else. Many difficulties, arising among residents of the Hostels [sponsored by the Quakers, of which by the time of Emil's writing there were a few], are based upon this fact. They are hard to overcome before the final goal of everybody's staying at a Hostel is reached, the job, and a new start in American life. But we have to find a way to adapt ourselves to our new life. It is a vital condition of our living in a new country" ("The Refugee and American Life", SMNB, 17.III.41 and 17.VI.41 .

²⁶⁰ Anonymous, undated and untitled leaflet, circa 1940.

to him [or her], becomes, upon his arrival in America, a 'foreign' impediment which must be forthwith cast away.²⁶¹

In the thinking of adherents of such beliefs, genuine assimilation aimed to make foreign-born individuals similar to Americans in language, dress, customs, religion and stressed formalized, legal "Americanization" through naturalization. It also insisted that immigrants "at all times use English and put away their native customs, ideas, and ideals as soon as possible".²⁶² In effect, assimilation tended not only to be a process of standardization, but "largely a negative process of denationalization".²⁶³ From the outset, then, in establishing a refugee program American Quakers sought to "Americanize" those who landed in their care. In this respect cultural and political-not just religious-worldviews of Quaker leaders or their supporters played big roles in determining any undertaking's structure as well as ambiance: cultural biases or political leanings are much fairer game for critique than mystical leadings.

In light of the positive atmosphere which later reigned at Scattergood, it would be easy to forget that individuals' lives and identities were being shuffled and traded like so many cards. Without recorded exception, all mention of the refugees' integration/assimilation assumed that their transition from having been Europeans to becoming "New Americans" would be a positive, welcome development. Friends recognized that their guests faced numerous difficulties in adjusting to life in a new land and culture. Concurrently, however, they apparently blindly accepted that the best survival skills they could cultivate in the newcomers consisted of blanket cultural adaptation contra co-existence.

American Quakers were, after all, Americans. Themselves immigrants to North America three centuries earlier, they were not immune to the image of American society as a "melting pot" where immigrant groups gradually assimilated and assumed "American" identities-forsaking or at the very least diluting cultural traditions they had brought with them. On top of that, in the context of the depressed, distressed and dangerous 1930s, the desire to prove oneself patriotic and "truly American" was particularly strong.

Beyond their own cultural assumptions, American Quakers believed that in the best interest of the persons they hoped to help, conforming to the local milieu would be the most rewarding strategy for finding a satisfying life in the New World. From their point of view

²⁶¹ Smith, 1939, p. 115.

²⁶² Ibid.

a new community, new work, a strange school, a different standard of living-all require individual adjustments. Such adjustments become great hardships when they must be made in a new country where the language and customs are unknown, when economic security and self-confidence are lacking. Yet 'New Americans', refugees from political and racial persecution in Europe, are faced with just such problems.²⁶⁴

Thus in the opinion of that essay's author, a refugee hostel would make the transition period from "the old life to the new" easier by providing a temporary refuge, a center of "orientation in American ways and customs for individuals and families needing such assistance before taking their places as self-supporting members of American communities".²⁶⁵

In retrospect, over five decades later Friends' efforts to "Americanize" refugees from Nazi-occupied Europe represent perspectives and values seen through current lenses as uninformed or politically unacceptable-former Scattergood Hostel staff even disagree with their own, albeit defacto policies of that time or with contemporary assessments of them. Robert Berquist, for one, maintained that it was the "newcomers" who determined how much "cultural co-existence" they would achieve in America-

not the Scattergood Hostel staff. The staff helped them learn about this country and then [refugees] could use that information in making their own adjustment to life here, in determining how in the future how their native culture and their new environment could be brought together. They would have to determine themselves about holding onto the culture in which they had grown up-that would be up to them to determine.²⁶⁶

Berquist claimed the staff did not want "in any way to influence the newcomers to reject the culture which had so much meaning to them"-such as music, art or other aspects of culture such as literature, religion, language. He said staff members strove to orient them "to life in this country", but did not want to "Americanize" them in the conventional sense of that word, to make

' good Americans' out of them. I think we wanted to help them to adjust to life in this country. I don't *know* [if the staff succeeded, but] I hope *so*... My impression is-partly from what I've read in the newsletter and...from articles that [guests] wrote-most of them really appreciated this and felt it was an opportunity... They were open-minded and intelligent about all this and they felt this was an honest effort to adjust... and not to make 'good

²⁶³ Ibid.

²⁶⁴ Anonymous, undated mimeographed essay entitled "An American Welcome for New Americans".

²⁶⁵ Ibid.

²⁶⁶ RFB, Interview with MLT, 13.XI.95.

Americans' out of them. We wanted them to adapt their ideals and principals to living in a new country-but that'd be up to them.²⁶⁷

One-time staff not only came to see their own policies and participation differently, but took exception to the very premises from which some of the permanent AFSC staff operated. In 1995 former Scattergood Hostel volunteer Earle Edwards, for example, critiqued the 1940 article in which John Rich outlined AFSC's official goals and was "astounded" by it. He subsequently emphasized that Rich was a "public-relations person" who later had his own "fund-raising outfit" with a staff hired by colleges and other institutions to help run funding campaigns,

so his orientation was always on that side [of promotion]... I was *very* surprised with the way he described things. It just didn't fit in with any of *our* experience or any of what we *knew* what was on the minds of people in the AFSC. We were young at that point... but the way in which people functioned-with anything we had anything to do with-was quite consistent with all the rest of our AFSC experience [and] I spent most of my life doing one thing or another with the AFSC.²⁶⁸

Fellow former staff George Willoughby also claimed decades after the fact that "all the time" he was at Scattergood Hostel he

never felt there was any pressure on the refugees to become Americanized. There was pressure to adjust so they could get jobs and begin to take care of themselves, but I never felt any of that and in talking to them I never felt that any of them really felt we were trying to make super-duper Americans out of them.²⁶⁹

Similarly, Robert Berquist held that "Americanizing" the guests was not the "principal reason" for the educational program and he objected to the word "Americanize", as he thought that Quakers

had a different conception of 'Americanization'...than people now would have using that term. And they were thinking of helping the people to adjust to living here and becoming active participants in this country, rather than just imitating people who were natives of this country.

Berquist also thought that "some of John Rich's statements wouldn't have been fully

²⁶⁷ Ibid.

²⁶⁸ EME, Interview with MLT, 1.XI.95.

George Willoughby concurred: "John Rich didn't spend much time at Scattergood: he was an organizer, he was a promoter, he had to raise money, he had to sell this; he was a salesperson and so he sold it partly on the basis that a lot of people would say "This is good".

²⁶⁹ Interview with MLT, 31.X.95.

accepted by many of the staff.²⁷⁰

North American Quakers often take collective social action through the auspices of AFSC and in this case it decided that an extensive refugee-services program most effectively would "speak to the condition"-to use a common Quaker phrase-of those in need in Nazi Germany. Following *Kristallnacht* in November 1938 and a subsequent AFSC appeal for aid, support for creating a refugee program arose swiftly. In response to resonant replies, AFSC drafted a letter in which it explained that while one of the main services suggested in its initial letter had been the need for hospitality for those fleeing persecution, it had become evident that the technicalities of immigration and the refugees' reactions to entirely new ways of living necessitated

a more deliberate placement of individuals and families than was at first anticipated. The problems of readjustment [however] are not to be considered lightly or in great haste, while at the same time, the pressure of the numbers needing assistance makes it necessary to move as quickly as possible.²⁷¹

As they embarked upon a subsequent project, Friends realized that the process of integrating or assimilating refugees would not be easy. In helping refugees heal from their travails in Europe, Quakers saw "Americanization" commensurate to the disorienting loss of home and health, wealth and well-being that those fleeing Europe had suffered. Early in its refugee program, AFSC secretary John Rich wrote an essay explaining the main motive behind "Americanization Through Quaker Hostels". He acknowledged that such centers "serve only a small fraction of the newcomers to America", yet at the same time if the sum of their service was solely the "Americanization" of the residents they accommodated,

they would not be a significant contribution to the solution of the refugee problem. However, the Quaker Hostels intend more than to benefit the group they can accommodate. They are a symbol and the outward evidence of a point of view that is important to all Americans.

Although well-educated and "liberal", Rich exhibited the bias that for European refugees becoming an "American" was preferable to remaining a non-conforming foreigner. Based on AFSC-sponsored refugee projects, he held that living with Americans²⁷² and speaking English,

²⁷⁰ RFB, Ibid.

²⁷¹ Julia Branson, Open Letter to North American Quakers, winter 1938-39.

²⁷² "Compared with any other group of refugees", Emil Deutsch said "residents of Scattergood lucky in more than one way. They have more opportunity to improve their English

residents would quickly

learn the language. Three months or less will polish a refugee without the slightest knowledge of English into a presentable American with an interesting accent. Gone are the continental mannerisms, the clicking of heels, the bowing from the waist.

According to Rich, this transformation was accomplished through

good-natured banter and close and constant tutoring. American civics [and] history, current events, practical economics are some of the subjects the refugees study with zest and wonder. Above all, they learn to drive a car. Probably this looms more important in their minds than any other accomplishment. It is the mark of an American; proof that you can take your place in society, once you have secured a driver's license.

While ascribing the non-committal adjective "interesting" to the accents with which guests might emerge from an immersion in American culture, Rich's use of "presentable" hinted at his indelible bias regarding how "real Americans" should sound. He spoke of the shedding of outward expressions of formerly learned, internalized social behavior as one might speak of a habit such as nail biting. Did "good-natured banter" actually entail cloaked reprimand? And finally, he bestowed the debateable attribute of possessing a driver's license the status of "proof" of fitting into American society.²⁷³

This implicit disregard for the refugees' cultural backgrounds and specific histories irritated at least one refugee. Future guest Vienna-born Walter Shostal later would identify what he came to regard as a

very real flaw in the SH undertaking. That it totally ignored and misunderstood the European experiences of these people. As if life had begun for them the day they set foot on American soil. As if their previous life had been part of a previous and lesser incarnation the quicker forgotten, the better for it.²⁷⁴

Shostal admitted, though, that "we, the newcomers, had been a willing prey to that

than any Americanization school, even in big cities, is able to offer. They have the advantage of being in steady contact with Americans, of imitating and learning their manners, different from European ones, their ways of speaking and approaching problems"(Deutsch, Ibid .

273 George Willoughby held that learning to drive "was a very important step forward in being accepted and becoming a part of the American society. To get the right to drive meant "I've come much further", "I'm in it now!" I could see just this in the face of some of the men particularly. [It was] like a kid holding a lollipop up, saying "I got it, I got it!". It was so exciting to see this and it was good to know that you could teach older people to drive. At times we did climb the trees [and] go into the ditches, but nothing serious happened. And people pursued the driving with great eagerness and *real* effort to learn" (Interview with EME, September 1994).

274 WS, Letter to AMLT, 6.VIII.95.

construction and did our best to live up to the expectation of the natives".

Shostal reflected on this theme more than fifty years after the fact: many basic conditions had shifted since his arrival as an exile. Writing at the time, one of his fellow refugees saw the situation much differently. Lotte Liebman said that the Americans-"all of them are young people"-helped their guests "in a real exceptional, nice and friendly spirit". Above all, they helped them "get accustomed to all American habits", as well as to the language and

many things concerning common life, politics, etc... Perhaps the most valuable part of their help is that they show us by good example how to live in America. 'Keep smiling', 'Don't worry', 'Take it easy' are the three first commandments in America. Without keeping them, you will never succeed in doing anything in America, whatever qualities and abilities you may have. You have to learn to practice them in this small community in order to succeed in your profession or whatever you do afterwards²⁷⁵.

In those pre-Vietnam War, pre-Watergate days, America and things American held great appeal. Those already living in the United States, as well as most of those migrating to it, were intent on achieving and maintaining an air of "American-ness"-even at the price of minimalizing real differences. Given the era in which it existed, Scattergood Hostel succeeded in its efforts to excite the desire of the refugees who lived there to integrate or assimilate. At that time doing so was seen as requisite for survival and therefore a service, not a slight to foreigners.

The staff uncritically cooperated with the hostel's pervasive program of "Americanizing" its guests-at least once to the point of creating open conflict. When questioned about any tensions that might have existed between refugees and staff, former Scattergood staff members Earle and Marjorie Edwards answered that "relations between residents and staff were remarkably good", with Camilla [Hewson] Flintermann concurring.²⁷⁶ Flintermann added that "on the whole" refugee-staff relations were positive-except for sensitivity to attempts to "correct" them, as in the episode of staff Leonore Goodenow and "table manners".²⁷⁷ The cited incident involved "the uproar when she tried with best intentions to 'correct' table manners and

²⁷⁵ Lotte Liebman, Letter to Mary Rogers, 7.III.40.

²⁷⁶ EME, Letter to MLT, 25.IX.94.

Both parties said relations between refugees and staff were better than those between Germans and Austrians, with Flintermann explaining: "This was not blatant, but often conveyed in a subtle way, a comment, or a look. Differences in pronunciation, for example, were obvious, and sometimes referred to slightly" (CHF, Letter to MLT, 2.VII.94 .

²⁷⁷ Ibid.

have guests hold utensils American style, not European, so they would 'fit in' more comfortably in American society. There were some hurt feelings".²⁷⁸

Flintermann maintained that the incident involving Leonore Goodenow stands out because it was "not so typical"; as far as she knew, staff did not say "Forget your German culture, forget who you are, be a new person":

A 'New American', yes, but my experience was what [refugees] said: 'We wanted to not stand out as different, we wanted to be welcomed and made a part of this new situation'. I have no memory-aside that one little incident-of people being pressured.

When reminded of the hostel's language-instruction motto "Speak English and be Proud of it!", Flintermann responded

but that's *survival*. You know? These folks at Scattergood were a very tiny minority in a great big country and they *wanted* to be absorbed. Another reason why refugees would have been anxious to be absorbed would be because of anti-German feeling. They *did not* want to stand out as Germans in that time. People who were knowledgeable and understanding certainly did [realize that the refugees were victims of Nazism]. But, say, go out to a job in Cedar Rapids, go to a grocery store and try to buy your food-not in a supermarket, but you had to go up to the counter and tell the clerk what you wanted-in a thick German accent: you would *not* get happy glances. This would subject them to a certain amount of prejudice. People who knew what they were and why they were there would be different [but one] first would notice the difference; you had to get beyond the difference to get to the person... I think that's why they didn't want to stay so different.²⁷⁹

Adults were not the only refugees subjected to tests of conformity. Children, too, commanded the scrutiny of the hostel staff. Its desire to insure that the children were armed-or in one case, "shoed"-with the means to compete on the social scene led it to champion funds for outfitting them per local norms. In September 1940, for example, just as the West Branch school district had resumed classes, director Martha Balderston petitioned AFSC's Refugee Section secretary Mary Rogers to maintain the \$2-per-week allowance which children received beyond the costs of room and board-the same sum budgeted for adults. She did so with the children's chances of assimilation in mind. Regarding cuts in the hostel's budget as proposed by AFSC and other agencies which financed the refugees' stay, she protested: "we do not approve

²⁷⁸ CHF, Letter to MLT, 30.VI.94.

²⁷⁹ CHF, Interview with MLT, 7.XI.95.

Indeed, anti-German sentiment in the U.S. during that period complicated German-speaking refugees' plight- especially after America joined the war. At a Hollywood café in 1942- for example- Alfred Döblin and Ludwig Marcuse "were told by the angry proprietor to stop speaking German or get out" (Jackman, 1983., p. 19).

of a cut. The ability to do what the others do helps a lot in their adjustment and Americanization. Besides that they must meet charges on books, note-books and gym shoes etc., etc".²⁸⁰

Generally, the refugees responded receptively, even eagerly, to the staff's efforts to introduce them to American life and culture, to inculcate them with more an American sensibility than a Continental one and to impregnate them with a positive image of their new homeland. As seen in guest Emil Deutsch's laudatory-if apologetic-essay on "The Refugee and American Life" [pp. 262-264-*OHR*], the staff succeeded in producing "New Americans" well on their way to feeling that they belonged to their adopted country by the time they passed through the hostel's front gate for the last time.

Regardless of its reasons or means for wanting to "Americanize" European exiles in the Heartland, AFSC responded realistically when it admitted how complicated the varied needs of immigrants could be. Of the deluge of applicants for assistance it had received, most had already arrived in the U.S. and were awaiting help in finding new lives to replace shattered old ones. The pool of people seeking aid consisted mostly of professionals- physicians, lawyers, social workers, dismissed government officials, teachers, *Kindergarten* pedagogues, business people-yet almost no farmers, artisans or unskilled laborers. This fact only complicated the task of placing new workers in a job market still anemic from the debilitating Depression which had begun almost a decade earlier. If their ironic "over qualification" were not enough of a handicap, some of the Europeans could read a bit of English but -as French was still the dominant *lingua franca* of international diplomacy, trade, scholarship and culture, few could speak English fluently-many not at all. As a further reflection of pre-war, Old-World culture in contrast to the already automobile-addicted Americans, most Europeans did not possess a car (those wealthy enough to do so often hired a chauffeur); virtually none of the newcomers had valid drivers' licenses nor even the training to qualify for one.

Reflecting humankind in general, the aggregate of the dispossessed included individuals ranging in age from younger than six to sixty, men and women, families and singles. Many of the younger single men either had already begun university careers in Europe and interrupted them in order to save their lives, or were on the verge of beginning their studies but now found themselves in a country where-unlike in Europe-education was mostly self-financed. In contrast, a number of the older men had careers of distinction behind them, but at their age

²⁸⁰ MB, Letter to Mary Rogers, 23.IX.40.

and with rather specific certificates in law or medicine, they faced the humiliating prospect of never again being respected for skill in their chosen fields or reaching economic self-reliance. In addition, having enjoyed the status as well as monetary rewards bestowed on them for their positions in degree- and title-obsessed Europe, those fortunate enough to have found an escape route from Europe were forced to abandon the fruits of decades of achievement. Combined with namelessness on the American professional scene, such individuals faced a debilitating situation.

AFSC already possessed active files of several hundred individuals with whom it had been working; instead of isolated efforts to help each of them specifically, a program designed to accommodate the refugees en masse would be required. Therefore, AFSC quickly commandeered an Iowa Young Friends' idea of a short-term summer workcamp involving ten to 15 refugees from Germany or Austria. AFSC converted it into the impetus for a larger, more comprehensive long-term refugee program intended for 30 or more displaced persons from numerous Nazi-occupied countries.

Once it had decided what its best course of action would be, AFSC moved speedily to realize it. As a model for a bigger, all-encompassing facility, it turned to a center for uprooted Germans which it had sponsored for eight weeks the previous summer at Aberdeen Camp on the Hudson, upriver from Manhattan. Homer Morris wrote to one Iowa Friend that it had been a

valuable experience for refugees who have gone through such difficult times in Europe. A combination of study, physical labor, periods of meditation and lectures on American life proved to be a most valuable orientation period for their introduction to getting settled in American life.²⁸¹

The experiment had seemed so successful that AFSC's newly formed Refugee Section felt it prudent to integrate the model into its program. At the same time, Morris noted the necessity of providing such a center to which refugees could go as soon as they arrived Stateside-not just once they had become established. He argued, however, that given "so much congestion of refugees in the environs of New York",²⁸² it seemed desirable that such a center should be

²⁸¹ Homer Morris, Letter to Catherine Williams, 14.XII.38.

²⁸² According to Genizi, two-thirds of the approximately 7,000 immigrants who arrived in 1936 remained in New York (1984, p. 64).

Crammed into New World émigré enclaves, European refugees were unsure if they would ever be able to return to their native lands. Concurrently, frustrated by changes or difficulties

located "entirely away from the New York area where there might be greater possibility of the new arrivals finding their way into American life".²⁸³

3.22 Settle Refugees in the Midwest, Away from the Northeast

What values or beliefs guided AFSC's goal of coaxing emigrants beyond the Hudson? Presumably they mirrored the policies of other refugee agencies at the time, which knew of the perceived threat posed by and the difficulties of the more than quarter-million Europeans arriving from Nazi-occupied Europe during the Hitler era-with 30,000 arriving in 1939 alone, the majority of which settled in New York.²⁸⁴ In terms of professional competition, the influx of thousands of non-native doctors, dentists, scholars, artists or skilled workers during several years of stubborn economic depression and record unemployment spurred strong anti-alien and anti-semitic feelings.²⁸⁵ In such a social climate charges that "radical" immigrants were

in their new everyday lives, exile often brought out "what was most petty and futile in them: there was a great deal of backbiting, jealousy, and outright anger vented against Americans and fellow émigrés as they attempted to adapt to new lives" in the U.S.. The largest exile communities formed in New York and Los Angeles, but because "these cities were decidedly different from their homelands, the émigrés often clung to their exile groups, even if they did not always get along with one another" (Jackman, *Ibid.*, p. 19).

²⁸³ Quakers were not alone in seeking to lure immigrants beyond the Hudson: in the late 1930s the National Refugee Service and other Jewish agencies avoided resettling Jewish children in or around New York City, thereby accelerating their assimilation into American society and avoiding the formation of noticable groups of refugee children. This policy was an outgrowth of the general resettlement policy of the NRS ["New York is big, America is bigger"] to actively encourage immigrants to settle in areas outside the east coast in general and New York in particular. The policy stemmed partially "from a fear of encouraging the general trend of anti-semitism which, compounded by xenophobia, could serve as a potential threat to continued immigration and successful resettlement" (Baumel, 1990, p. 92).

²⁸⁴ Wyman, 1968, p. 219.

Some agreed that "too many" refugees in an area would incite undesired reactions and reasoned "if the flow of immigrants into an area is slow and gradual they are more readily accepted. They can be absorbed without causing any serious disturbance in the existing order. Immigrants already adjusted assist their compatriots in sloughing peculiarities that might cause resentment. The old settlers of native stock are accustomed to members of this particular ethnic group and an additional arrival now and then causes no excitement. If, however, the aliens come in large numbers the natives become fearful; they fear competition and a lowering of their standard of living; they fear that their institutions cannot digest so much new material and will be destroyed in the attempt; and they fear that everything for which they have struggled and sacrificed will be trampled under foot by inferior peoples... The fears, due to causes real or imagined, raise impassable barriers of prejudice against the newcomers and they are denied all wholesome contacts with the old residents. This attitude tends to solidify the immigrant group and they become more interested in continuing their old ways of life than they would be otherwise. The prejudicial attitude of the natives is no solvent that will tend to reduce the old-world customs of the immigrants" (Smith, 1939, p. 154).

²⁸⁵ According to Sherman, popular opinion at the time held that "one refugee is a novelty,

entering the country illegally and taking jobs from native Americans

were widely circulated. Refugee aid organizations made strenuous efforts to challenge these accusations by initiating propaganda campaigns not only to refute misconceptions concerning the character of the newcomers, but also to give precise numbers.²⁸⁶

Through vocational training, relief agencies tried to place their clients in noncompetitive positions. Furthermore, resettlement outside of New York's metropolitan area was an attempt to reduce anti-alien feelings on one hand, while placing refugees in proper jobs on the other. Placement of refugees in local communities was supposed to help them not only economically, but also to facilitate their social and cultural absorption.²⁸⁷

Friends' view that New York was home to a disproportionate share of Jews had some basis: to be precise, about 90% of the German-Jewish refugees and an even higher percentage of the Austrian ones settled in large cities in the East (New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore and Washington, D.C.), the Middle West (Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, Cincinnati and St. Louis) or the West (San Francisco and Los Angeles). This generally reflected existing patterns of American Jewish settlement-but with two major differences. In the two main East or West Coast ports of entry (New York and San Francisco) the relative concentration of refugees was higher than that of American Jews in general. Eighty-thousand or 57% of the German-Jewish refugees and 40,000 or two-thirds of the Austrians temporarily remained in New York; its total Jewish population of 2,300,000 equaled 45% of American Jews. Following the war, Jewish refugees from Shanghai disembarked at San Francisco. There, respective numbers were 5,000 or 1% of American Jewry. Conversely, while 28% of the American Jews were domiciled outside the country's 13 largest cities, redistribution of German-Jewish refugees in smaller urban or rural areas did not exceed 14,000 (10%), with smaller absolute and percentage figures for

ten refugees are boring and a hundred refugees are a menace" (1973, p. 264).

Public debate over immigration owed its breadth to foreign-news reporting, which had increased since the first World War, suggested interest in world events and led to a "world-open news policy". Among other things, that meant that newspaper readers had been informed about Germany since 1933: "That dimension of reportage is important in view of events which led to emigration and subsequent domestic political discussions connected with immigration policies. Newspapers and later radio transmissions gave access to basic information which American had to rely upon in their judgment of the political situation". (Hardt, 1979, p. 318)

²⁸⁶ Haim Genizi. "New York is Big- America is Bigger: the Resettlement of Refugees from Nazism, 1936-1945". *Jewish Social Studies* 46#1 (1984), p. 61.

²⁸⁷ Ibid.

Mirroring dominant relief-agency sentiments of the time, University of Iowa professor Clyde Hart spoke at Scattergood Hostel in autumn 1942 and the editors of the *Scattergood Monthly News Bulletin* chose to write about his comments-not without reason. An excerpt from their report indicates the guiding principles which often went unstated at Scattergood, yet determined the hostel's program. As a method of avoiding "the development of prejudice", "Dr." Hart suggested that members of "minority groups" settle in regions

where their numbers are not too large, and that they try to become assimilated as thoroughly as possible in the usual pattern of American life. [Hart] suggested that one of the best places for newcomers to America to settle is in the Mid-West [sic] where conditions will be most favorable to their assimilation.²⁸⁹

AFSC's own words-found in a pamphlet it published concurrently in English and German in 1940, complete with a map on the back cover meant to entice recent European arrivals to move past the lure of Big-City lights-offer further indication of the premises from which it worked. According to it, New York and other "over-populated" cities in the East were

difficult places for newcomers to America [whereas arriving exiles] do not realize the advantages that await them outside of New York. Those who try to settle in this great, swarming city must pay high prices for food and high rent for rooms. They must seek employment in competition with thousands of other people, facing hostility and disappointment.²⁹⁰

Writing on AFSC's behalf, Refugee Section staff member Jean Reynolds urged readers "go West and you will find flourishing cities, friendly towns and villages", where supposedly living expenses were lower and the people more open. According to AFSC: "There are as many opportunities for employment as in the East. Because fewer refugees have gone to the Middle West, there is less fear of them as competitors, less hostility against them as foreigners".²⁹¹

The chosen terminology spoke volumes. Words and phrases such as "over-populated", "swarming" or "hostility against...foreigners" indicated that despite being Easterners themselves, AFSC staff had very definite prejudices about immigrants settling in the Northeast. How "over-populated"-for one- was New York, really? Compared to the centers of pre-war

²⁸⁸ Rosenstock, 1955, pp. 14-15.

²⁸⁹ Anonymous, "Prejudice", SMNB, December 1942.

²⁹⁰ Jean Reynolds, Pamphlet "Scattergood Hostel, West Branch, Iowa", 16.I.40.

Berlin, London or Paris, the New York City boroughs of the Bronx, Queens, Brooklyn and Staten Island were veritable Garden City-esque paradises. This concept was clearly culturally specific: what to an American might have been cramped quarters might well have constituted ample accommodation to a space-taxed German. Also, high urban density might have provided the refugees with the urbane milieu which might have made them feel at home-as opposed to the empty evening Main Street of even the busiest Midwest county seat.

It might have been true that costs of living were high in big cities, but so were chances that refugees might find social-service or other agencies which had more stake in and experience with their plight than those in the Anglo-Saxon-settled Heartland. Job competition in urban areas might have been fierce, but so was the uninformed prejudice against outsiders of any kind- especially the Jewish or intellectual variety-which existed in insulated, Protestant-dominated provinces.

In any case, refugees quickly perceived the very definite anti-East-Coast bias which prevailed at Scattergood Hostel. According to Walter Shostal, it was made clear that New York was

not really America, not a place where we would quickly and completely become truly American, which was the goal that our hosts had in mind and this was also the goal that we had set for ourselves. We refrained from being nostalgic for the past: we were looking to the future...like most recent arrivals, we had immediately applied for our first papers, the first step to becoming citizens five years later.²⁹²

Besides the wish to transplant its European guests in Midwest soil, a second factor guided the world's largest Quaker social-action agency in its coaxing refugees away from the U.S.'s Eastern Seaboard. It was no secret that AFSC designed its refugee program to get the recent immigrants out of New York City, where the majority had settled and services for them were overwhelmed. For AFSC, though, even larger issues were at stake. It planned to use hostels

as physical evidence to counter the arguments of those who sought to halt the influx of immigrants from Europe.²⁹³ Opponents often charged that the newcomers were unable to

²⁹¹ Ibid.

²⁹² WS, Unpublished Memoirs "American Beginnings", 1994.

²⁹³ Opponents of immigration usually overlooked the fact that from 1 July 1932 to 30 June 1938, 4,000 more persons left the United States than entered it (American Friends Service Committee, "Refugee Facts", anonymous undated report, circa 1939).

adapt fully to [American] society and that they lacked the knowledge, dedication and even the social skills required of true citizens.²⁹⁴

AFSC also lobbied Congress long, hard and in vain to pass the Wagner-Rogers Bill, which if enacted would have allowed for 20,000 refugee children to enter the United States beyond the number allowed by firmly observed quotas.²⁹⁵

AFSC's attempt to counter anti-foreigner sentiment in general, though, proved unfruitful in the face of economic pressures and pure racism. Its own executive secretary, Clarence Pickett, served as the head of the committee which drafted the Wagner-Rogers Bill to be as non-threatening as possible- stipulating, for example, that private agencies would provide for the children at no cost to the government. To counter charges that the young exiles would compete for American jobs, the committee solicited endorsement of the bill by the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations.²⁹⁶ Despite the bill's tactful presentation, the American public strongly opposed it. Only 26% of those responding to a Gallup poll in early 1939 approved of the entry of 20,000 German refugee children-66% opposed it; eight percent had no opinion. Regarding the admission of refugees of any age, an Opinion Research Corporation poll in March 1938 (the month Nazi Germany annexed Austria) found only 17% agreeable to admitting "a larger number of Jewish exiles from Germany"-75% were opposed; eight percent had no opinion. In the week of *Kristallnacht* the same question drew a slightly more favorable response of 21%-71% were opposed; eight percent had no opinion.²⁹⁷

Regardless of its reasons for wanting to draw European exiles to the Heartland, the fact remains that AFSC and Scattergood staff mostly proved unable to transplant firmly enough most of the refugees' roots in Midwest soil. If "resettled" refugees didn't stay in Small Town

²⁹⁴ Trachtenberg, 1993, pp. 79-80.

Earle Edwards: "I don't remember anything [regarding an anti-East Coast attitude]. The Protestant, Catholic and Jewish committees that financed quite a number of the refugees... appreciated the hostel to a large extent because it looked at if it might help *some* people to keep the number of East-Coast refugees from increasing because it was a *real* problem for them. If it was a problem finding jobs in the Middle West, in the East- where you had so many- it *certainly* couldn't have been easy and probably would have been harder" (Interview, 1.XI.95).

²⁹⁵ For an in-depth review of the bill's history and goals, see Wyman (1968, pp. 75-98).

²⁹⁶ Trachtenberg, Ibid., p. 69.

²⁹⁷ Wyman, Ibid., p. 210.

America long-term, however, that didn't mean they didn't try. Lacking funds of their own, though, they had to go where a place could be found. Records of the National Refugee Service-which handled the largest volume of individual cases-showed a steady increase in the number of those resettled. More than 3,540 persons were established in communities outside New York City in 1939, as opposed to 1,256 in 1938 and 400 in 1937. In the first nine months of 1940, 4,098 were resettled. Fifty percent of the 1,522 persons resettled in the first quarter of 1941 went to 13 regional committees, which distributed them among 250 communities.²⁹⁸

Over the long term, however, relatively few of those refugees "resettled" away from East Coast metropolitan concentrations to Midwest or other areas remained in there. To some degree this inability to find acceptable niches for the newcomers in the Heartland reflected some basic flaws in the program's organization, for Scattergood Hostel's initial lack of clear leadership and of effective job placement efforts-for one-did little to endear the Midwest to its foreign-born guests.

To his credit, one-time acting director John Kaltenbach did consider the best options for "commercial and professional types", whom he thought most suitable for positions in industry. Later Scattergood job placement directors scoured the Midwest for positions for the refugees-in the process roaming the industrial belt from Duluth, Minnesota, to Akron, Ohio, via Milwaukee, Wisconsin, and Gary, Indiana. Despite a reputation for fruitfully exploiting millions of acres of its abundant rich land, at that time the Midwest served as a powerhouse of industrial production, ranging from the processing of coal, chemicals, soybeans and lard to the manufacturing of iron, automobiles, fine hosiery and poultry-plucking machines. It was reasonable to hope, then, that satisfying careers could be found in Midwestern cities or small towns.

Scattergood Hostel job placement directors' efforts to place its working-adult guests in commercial, industrial or professional positions avoided the futile, romantic urge to find agricultural employment for them [see 3.23]. They glaringly failed, however, to take into account one additional important factor in placing the refugees: culture. Almost without exception, European exiles came from middle- or upper-class backgrounds and large cities;²⁹⁹ even with ideal occupational placement, the presence or lack of street cafés, theaters, museums, libraries

²⁹⁸ Isabel Lundberg, "Who are These Refugees?", *Harpers*, January 1941.

²⁹⁹ See Ruth Mann's "The Adjustment of Refugees in the United States in Relation to their Background" (*Jewish Social Service Quarterly* 16#1 [1939], pp. 19-28) for a review of this.

or other hallmarks of urban culture played a decisive role in whether or not refugees would remain long-term in a chosen community. As seen in the case of former Berlin actress Grete Baeck [p. 236-*OHR*]-for example-finding oneself in a community too small to offer resources and facilities which one used to take for granted, or which influenced whether or not one could be happy, proved unbearable. One can only wonder what became of choir master Hans Schimmerling, who worked at the Lumberman's Credit and Warehouse in Kalamazoo, Michigan, or of the "marvelous pianist" Gunther Meyer, who offered private music lessons in Cedar Falls, Iowa [p. 257 and p. 235, respectively-*OHR*].

As it happened, over time-usually only a year or two-the majority of those placed in smaller Midwest communities usually trickled if not to New York, then to Chicago.³⁰⁰ Those who stayed consisted of either families or young men who married local women. Of the former, upon retirement parents often moved to East Coast collegiate communities where at least one child happened to be living: in the case of both the Lichtensteins and Rosenzweigs, their daughters reported that especially their fathers enjoyed the use of nearby university facilities, with both parents enjoying the varied cultural offerings.³⁰¹

Half dozen Scattergood guests ended up in the U.S. Southwest-Arizona or California-and another handful emigrated to Israel or returned to Europe following the war. Of the latter, most had a specific reason for or goal in returning to the *alte Heimat*-for example, former Reichstag member Marie Juchacz to revive the *Arbeiterwohlfahrt* or Fritz Schorsch of Vienna to rejoin his wife [p. 92 and chapter 7 of first draft, respectively-*OHR*]. Except for those cited in the next-to-last footnote, no other guests are documented to have remained long-term in the rural Midwest-which from the start was a primary target of AFSC's refugee-resettlement program.

While Quakers thought that settling exiles from Nazi-Europe in small numbers in mid-sized

³⁰⁰ Verified exceptions to this included the Arntals (Shenandoah, Iowa), the Deutsches (Des Moines, Iowa) the Drakes (Davenport, Iowa), Franz Nathusius (Hammond, Indiana), Harry Ostrowski-Wilk (Des Moines), Hans Peters (Rockford, Illinois), the Rosenzweigs (Eureka, Illinois), Kurt Schaefer (Iowa City, Iowa), the Seamans (Des Moines and Ames, Iowa), Fritz Treuer (Yellow Springs, Ohio) and the Weilers (Rock Island, Illinois).

³⁰¹ In his retirement, Walter Shostal moved with his second wife to Charlottesville, Virginia- home of the University of Virginia and a few hours' drive from Washington, D.C., where son Pierre retired in 1995. Shostal wrote: "We like the friendly people and the warmer climate [than in Peekskill, New York. Charlottesville's] prestigious university supplies an aura of the larger life, even if we can no longer make use of it; its very good library...is sheer delight to me. But most important, it is the aura of Thomas Jefferson which makes us love the place. His statue stands in front of the university which he founded and designed, and we have a good feeling when each spring the students still celebrate his birthday" (WS, *Ibid*).

Midwestern communities would facilitate their integration or assimilation into American society, Friends' writings at the time did not indicate that they foresaw the isolating effect of such a policy. In assessing Quakers' resettlement aims almost 55 years after being personally effected by them, one-time Scattergood Hostel guest Walter Shostal cited a "very practical flaw" in AFSC's thinking, as "individuals do not live and prosper (or perish) in a vacuum". Reasoning that humans live their lives in a network of relationships-"family, friends from school or college, churches, civic groups and more"-the lack of such a network posed

probably the greatest problem for the newcomer. To solve it [the refugee's] surest anchor is his ethnicity. Take the Polish, Danish or Jewish groups as they have formed and stuck together providing not only human warmth and companionship but also practical help on the economical level. Think just of the old boy network of the Eastern elite. The newcomer needs its equivalent and [AFSC in] Phila. and SH did its best to deny it to them. Today I see in this attitude the basic flaw of the SH experiment.³⁰²

If at least one former refugee identified the dissolution of ethnic blocs as Scattergood Hostel's "basic flaw" over five decades later, at the time another now-forgotten "basic flaw" involved East Coast Friends' lack of understanding regarding the potentials for as well as limitations of refugee resettlement in the agrarian Midwest.

3.23 Establish Kibbutzim-style Settlements in America

The goals of moving refugees away from the Northeast or of reforming adults' table manners and supplying school children with "acceptable" gym shoes in the hope of avoiding natives' derision for being markedly different were defensible-perhaps even innocuous. The goal of settling refugees from the Third Reich on the Iowa prairies as farmers *à la* the *kibbutzim* model was neither. East-Coast Quakers little-experienced with life in the Midwest hosted impossible dreams of transferring newly arrived Europeans-in other words, Jews "infected with Zionist fever"-from the crowded seaboard to the openness of the plains. Acting director John Kaltenbach set about disabusing his Philadelphia-based superiors of their delusions soon after arriving at West Branch [pp. 120-122-OHR]. In early June 1939 he wrote to Reed Cary:

I feel rather as if I had not been seeing the field for the corn stalks... The only way I out that I can see for those who are thinking of us as an opening into mid-west agriculture [such as Vienna stationer Fritz Treuer] would be a cooperative farming venture which would have to be financed practically in toto by some outside group. It would be extremely difficult to get

³⁰² WS, Letter to MLT, 26.XI.96.

any local capital into such a venture. This would call for a whole set of revised aims for those whom we hope to settle in rural districts.³⁰³

Kaltenbach advised that in the meantime, AFSC refrain from sending "anybody out here with the hope of getting more than a hired hand's status in agriculture". Referring to his fondness of "the community experiment idea", he went on to suggest an alternative solution for "this agricultural problem" and "present farmer-hopefuls" based on a model he had encountered in North Carolina and which reminded him of the plan worked out there, as it could "possibly fit" the needs of individuals like Fritz Treuer. Kaltenbach wrote:

That effort is a small one, but I feel that it will be one of the most valuable for us in this particular phase of the refugee problem, particularly because the South needs new blood more than the Plains, and because the land situation is such there that small agriculture with limited capital investment is more feasible than here.³⁰⁴

Kaltenbach explained further that he thought the project in North Carolina should be "followed more closely" and added that Iowa offered much more for

people who are interested in small industry... People spend there [sic] spare nickels for fertilizer in Iowa. Roadhouses and shops belong to the East. I think we must concentrate on industrial development for this region if we are going to make the kind of creative contribution we hope for.³⁰⁵

He went on to advise that "this ought to be in mind in picking Scattergoodians". Kaltenbach thought that if a number of the refugees AFSC sought to help- "and there may be more than we think among the Jews who have been affected by the New Palestine movement"-appeared at its New York or Philadelphia offices, they should be sent to the South. He also noted: "I understand that most of this type [of] refugee is going to Australia, and I suppose most of the cases we will handle will be those of commercial and professional types. We have recognized this latter point, but I wonder if we are taking the best path for adapting professional people to their future in America".³⁰⁶

John Kaltenbach's musings to Reed Cary expose numerous weaknesses in the initial concept of Scattergood Hostel's mission, not to mention realistic potentials. For starters, the Philadelphia office shipped disabled refugee Fritz Treuer to Iowa apparently before *any* AFSC

303 John Kaltenbach, Letter to Reed Cary, 7.VI.39.

304 Ibid.

305 Ibid.

306 Ibid.

staff had confirmed the wisdom of such a move-and thus Kaltenbach's detailed rejection of such an act. Next, one must wonder if the 23-year-old tactician merely acted diplomatically in his letter to the head office in suggesting an alternative to what he saw as an impossible fantasy for the Iowa program, or if he truly pondered spawning an experiment in Dixie. If the latter, he was acting extremely naively, for the Ku-Klux-Klan-long a vocal, deadly presence in the South-and local authorities would have had something to say about Northerners shipping scores of Jews past the Mason-Dixon line. Were he really being so unreflective, then he was guilty of propagating the same poorly-thought-through visions his older-if-not-better-informed counterparts sitting in isolated East Coast offices nursed.

Another weak link in the chain of arguments for agricultural refugee colonies in Iowa consisted of the lack of capital, to which Kaltenbach referred. The fact was, from start to finish Scattergood Hostel existed on a slim budget and usually teetered on the edge of insolvency. At one point it even requested an Iowa business leader, a Minneapolis religious figure and the editor of the Des Moines *Register* to issue a joint appeal to the public for contributions. The kind of project hinted at by individuals like Cary-far exceeding the scope and cost of the program at Scattergood-would have required unavailable capital, thus insuring its failure. Such plans were dropped early, however, so instead of attempting to plant *kibbutzim* in America's Heartland, Quakers focused on the more pressing business at hand-rehabilitating, then integrating or assimilating their refugee guests.

Chapter 4 Scattergood Hostel's Guests

The extent to which Scattergood Hostel guests reflected the "typical" exile from Nazi Europe or to which they differed from the norm affected AFSC's ability to "Americanize" them. How the hostel staff treated guests also effected the latter's rehabilitation, integration or assimilation; special characteristics of that treatment had institutional roots found in official AFSC or hostel policy.

4.1 Characteristics "Typical" of Refugees from Nazi-occupied Europe

First of all, the refugees who stayed at Scattergood Hostel came from much of Nazi-occupied Europe. Most consisted of Germans (86)³⁰⁷ or Austrians (67). Eight Poles also found their way to West Branch, however, as did seven French nationals [their ethnicity not confirmed as French]. Czechs and Russians each totaled six, Hungarians five. Four Luxembourgers and a Latvian completed the list. In age the guests ranged from six months to 60 and by occupation they ranged from butcher to banker. One AFSC staff explained that most of people with whom AFSC worked were from professional groups-

physicians, teachers, lawyers, social workers and former government officials. Recently there have been quite a few business men and persons employed in business, ranging from clerks to executives in large concerns. There are practically no farmers or farm hands among this group, very few skilled artisans and no unskilled labor.³⁰⁸

Out of a total of 185 persons, 68 consisted of couples. Sixteen of those 34 couples had among them 23 children. Three additional children came with single parents. The rest of the hostel's refugee population consisted of 47 single men over 30, 26 single men under 30 and 15 single women.³⁰⁹ Of the last group, most seem to have been over 30: perhaps reflecting

³⁰⁷ In terms of German Jewry, those from the Third Reich who reached America mimicked the majority of Jewish-descended German refugees: out of 7,155 such individuals who emigrated in 1937, 5,040 had the United States as their destination; in 1938 10,173 out of 16,561 had the same, as did 6,325 out of 22,706 in 1939 (Kirk, 1995, p. 171).

³⁰⁸ Julia Branson, Form Letter to Friends Meetings in North America, late 1938.

³⁰⁹ Herta Schroeder - also a single parent with a child at the hostel- is listed as single women, as her son Gerald was in his early 20s and therefore listed as a single young man.

Sources for the lists of ethnic composition and age-gender classification included the "Chronological List of Guests at Scattergood Hostel", the "Alphabetical List of Scattergood

etiquette at the time which discouraged inquiring about a woman's age, most of their ages are not known.

Raw statistics, however, can hide a great deal of differentiation as well as commonality among people. Regarding the refugees' experiences, many were typical of European exiles of that period in general. Grete Rosenzweig's account of her family's suffering at the hands of Nazi thugs on *Kristallnacht* [pp. 67-70-OHR], for example, mirrored that of thousands of Jewish families across "Greater Germany". That Louis Rosenzweig lost a directorship and Sigmund Seligmann his business or that Karl Liebman was demoted at his law firm [both **1.5**] and pianist Viktor Popper barred from Vienna's music halls [**1.2**] only echoed developments too common to the proclaimed enemies of the German *Volk*. Of course Jews were not the only categories of ostracized groups in Hitler's Germany-as suggested by the presence at Scattergood Hostel of former Reichstag members Marie Juchacz and Paul Frölich³¹⁰ or political activists Ernst and Ilse Stahl, Ludwig Hacke, Fritz Schorsch, Julius and Elisabeth Lichtenstein, Marta Schmiedl, Otto and Rosa Bauer, Robert Keller and Gertrude Hesse. The case of Marie Juchacz mimicked thousands of others who fled Nazi terror in stages, moving-in her case-first to the Saar, then, following the plebiscite which returned that contested territory to Germany, to Mulhouse in neighboring Alsace; upon the *Wehrmacht's* invasion of France, she moved again, this time to the "unoccupied" Pyrenees, then to the French Antilles island of Martinique before landing in New York and finally in Iowa.

Like so many other political émigrés from "Greater Germany", those at Scattergood Hostel often remained actively politically engaged-even if from afar-in German politics. Kurt Schaefer, for one, collaborated with British socialists and labor organizers while he sojourned in England before moving on to America with the help of AFSC. Julius and Elizabeth Lichtenstein-to cite two more examples-opened their home-in-exile in Paris to politicians sheltering in the French capital or passing through there on their way to fight Fascism in Spain. The daughter Edith [Lichtenstein] Morgan later recalled that she heard "a lot of political discussions" as a child because there was "a lot of that kind of thing going on in our house".³¹¹

In comparison with the post-war fates of political exiles who eventually landed in the U.S.

Guests and Nationalities" (both circa 1943 and compiled by either Scattergood or AFSC staff) and interviews with three dozen surviving Scattergood guests, staff and others in 1994 or 1995.

³¹⁰ See "Frölich" in Röder and Strauss (1980) for a detailed description of Frölich.

³¹¹ ELM, Interview with MLT, 27.X.1995.

generally, those refugees at Scattergood Hostel who fled Nazi-occupied Europe due to political beliefs or affiliations were typical in that almost a third of them are recorded as having returned to Europe following the war. According to one historian, while for Jewish exiles emigration usually meant a life-long decision and the

definite end of Jewish acculturation in German-speaking *Mitteleuropa*, the political emigrant from the Third Reich survived outside the Nazi realm of power predominantly with 'the face towards Germany' and returned after the war's end in large numbers-and usually with the first available possibility-in order to contribute to German reconstruction.³¹²

Post-war political dynamics so emerged that returned communist exiles predominantly settled in the Soviet-occupied zone of Germany, whereas *Sozialdemokraten* or representatives of other political groups predominantly chose to reside in the western zone. Of approximately 7000 *Sozialdemokraten* who emigrated between 1933 and 1935, roughly half quickly returned after the war's end. If one takes into account the number of those who died in exile or who due to age or health reasons were no longer able to return, the number of re-migrants would be correspondingly higher. Of four former Scattergoodians documented to have returned to Germany or Austria following the war's end, all were *Sozialdemokraten* and the two of the three Germans among them settled in western Germany.³¹³ One of the Germans, Robert Keller, settled in the eastern zone in February 1947 and became active in the *Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands* [SED] because he believed that the SPD's policies "hadn't changed much and was afraid that a Nazi rebirth would be the result of that policy". He also thought that "quite a few former Nazis had entered the Social Democratic Party and [so he] couldn't work within that party".³¹⁴

312 Benz, 1990, p. 64.

Lehmann confirms that for most Jews emigration meant a permanent decision: a mere 1-2% of surviving Jewish refugees are estimated to have returned to Germany between 1945 and 1949 (1976, p. 155). Regarding German refugees' return generally, see pp. 154-157. Marks reported that of 496 heads of families at Fort Ontario, 304 wished to remain in the U.S., 68 sought repatriation, nine sought passage to "a country of established residence other than country of last citizenship, 22 wished to go elsewhere than the [U.S.], the country of last citizenship, or of established residence, and 93 were uncertain or had no plans" (Marks, 1946, p. 47).

313 Marie Juchacz lived in D'Ysseldorf, while Paul Frölich lived in Frankfurt-Main. Fritz Schorsch returned to Vienna.

314 Robert Keller became an important figure in Soviet-controlled Germany. He edited the SED's party newspaper *Vorwärts* from 1947 to 1949, *Neues Deutschland* from 1949 to 1952 and the *Berliner Zeitung* 1952 to 1953. In 1950 he went to Moscow and Leningrad- as well around the newly proclaimed German Democratic Republic- on party business. By February 1953,

Like so many other political exiles, those at Scattergood Hostel remained very much involved-mentally if not physically-in events taking place in the *Heimat*. As early as July 1942-before the Russians repelled the *Wehrmacht* at Stalingrad-some Scattergood Hostel guests assumed that the Allied forces would win the war and already were devising scenarios for rehabilitating their native land. Apparently the ties which bound them to the land of their births ran deep and remained strong, despite the madness which had erupted there and the personal pain they had experienced as rejected citizens. Although he had left the hostel almost a year earlier, former Reichstag member Paul Frölich-for one-penned an article for inclusion in the hostel's *Bulletin*. He titled his essay "Education for Democracy" and wrote:

I know by experience that there are things in which even well-meaning people are likely to be misled. There is the question of re-education for democracy. That seems to be a very humane measure in the interest of the German people as well as in the interest of world peace. But I am convinced that it is a very dangerous one. Has there ever been a people which had been educated for democracy? I know no one.³¹⁵

Unable to forget the home which had meant so much to them, four of the twelve refugees who had fled Europe primarily for political reasons returned following the war. In respect to post-war country-of-choice generally, however, former residents of Scattergood Hostel resembled refugees as a group, who on the whole sought to identify themselves with America. One study found in 1945 that circa 95 percent of them had no intention of returning to Europe. The proportion, however, varied depending on nationality and occupation:

Practically no German wants to return, with only a few Austrians, Poles and Russians. More Czechs, Italians, Belgians, Netherlands, and Frenchmen indicate that they want to go back. Artists, scholars, and political leaders predominate among those who wish to return. Jews are almost unanimous in their intention not to return.³¹⁶

Additional examples of ways in which Scattergood's guests resembled other refugees abound. One commonality which Scattergood guests shared with Germanic refugees in general during that time was the loyalty they felt for their old *Heimat*. Several of the men who landed at

however, he "didn't conform with the SED policies on many issues" and fled first to West Berlin, then Frankfurt-am-Main, where he died in 1972, having served as press secretary for Frankfurt's police department (Robert Keller, Letter to Annette Keller, April 1954). See 9.25.

315 Paul Frölich, "Education for Democracy", SMNB, 15.VIII.42.

316 Davie and Koenig, 1945, p. 18.

As with any group, there is danger of grouping "Jews" together into rigid clichés. See Aryeh Tartakower's "The Jewish Refugees: A Sociological Survey" (*Jewish Social Studies* 4#4 [1942], pp. 317-348) for review of the considerable variety or difference among Jewish refugees.

the hostel, for example, had served a Hohenzollern or Habsburger *Kaiser* in the first world war, including Karl Liebman, Louis Rosenzweig and Richard Guttman-the first and last of whom had been awarded medals for courage or exceptional service and devotion to the state. The men's dedication to their Germanic homelands reflected what Grete Rosenzweig described as her family's feeling of being "German citizens in the first place, Jews by religion". She maintained that even though there "had always been a slight anti-semitism in certain circles, it had not been a general feeling or action towards an individual Jew". She noted: "We had just as many close non-Jewish friends [as] Jewish ones".

Typical of German Jews in the degree to which they felt culturally assimilated, the Rosenzweigs' attitudes suggest why so many German Jews initially found the idea of Nazi political accession implausible and-once the Nazis took power-why many reacted non-chalantly so long to the threat posed by the Hitler regime. More incredible-yet not unheard of-was the degree to which some Jews who fled the Third Reich continued to believe in Germany or the superiority of "German-ness" despite having been rejected by the dominant culture in the land of their birth. Twenty-one-year-old Donald Hopf-for one- exhibited such naiveté. A concert violinist and a Jew whose father had lost a mathematics professorship at Aachen Universität, at least initially he failed to see through Nazi facades of legitimacy or sense what Hitler's reign would mean for him and millions of other so-called "non-Aryans" in the Third Reich. Interviewed by Iowa's leading newspaper while at Scattergood Hostel, Hopf offered a most unsophisticated political perspective, excerpts of which include:

No, I do not hate Hitler... I think Hitler is all right for Germany, but he should not be permitted to go beyond his lines. It probably is the WISH of refugees from Germany that the German people do not agree with Hitler. I believe, however, that at least 70 per cent, young and old, are patriotic and support him. I do not think they favor war, but they support him. I have no personal feeling against Hitler or his government. And I hope that, if someone does shoot him, it will not be a Jew. Jews should stay out of it.³¹⁷

Regardless of their religious or political backgrounds, like the 75-80% of the refugees surveyed by Davie,³¹⁸ the vast majority of Scattergood Hostel guests came from at least middle-class backgrounds. Reflecting the bourgeois milieu which existed in western Europe from 1871 till 1914 and from which most of the hostel guests came,³¹⁹ as products of monied

³¹⁷ Anonymous article, "Prep Student at Drake: Happy to Be in U.S.: Donald Hopf a Refugee", Article in DMR, 15.IX.39.

³¹⁸ Davie, 1947, p. 40.

³¹⁹ The few exceptions included the likes of the German butcher Gus Weiler or the

families the majority of the men had attended universities or secured professional titles; their background directly affected their choices and abilities to adapt upon reaching the U.S. On a practical level, Scattergood volunteer Camilla Hewson noticed "especially men had real trouble adjusting to their loss of status, having been respected in their professions and well-off".³²⁰ Even light chores or household work were foreign territory for the mostly urbane European men and thus they were unaccustomed "to lifting a dish towel or folding laundry". Many of their distaff counterparts had enjoyed the help of paid servants, so the loss of a bourgeois lifestyle and social status challenged men and women. Their struggles with both proved decisive in the degree to which they could build satisfying new lives in the New World. Scattergood Hostel staff members reported that some of the men from suffered de facto demotion, as some of them had been prominent judges, doctors or other titled professionals in Europe and their credentials were not automatically transferable nor their advanced ages an incentive for being hired. Camilla [Hewson] Flintermann said years later that "for the most part" they adapted to changed roles with "good grace-only a few 'stuffed shirts' tried to pull rank on the basis of their professional backgrounds, etc."³²¹

In a different vein: before they ever reached the New World and could dream of building new lives, several Scattergood guests spent time in a Nazi concentration camp. Louis Rosenzweig and Sigmund Seligmann-to name two-were interned at Dachau following *Kristallnacht*. Although sources did not know in which camp he had been, Ewald Peissel arrived at the hostel still traumatized from his experiences and was observed to "wolf down his food" when first arrived there, having been in a camp where "food was scarce".³²²

Like so many other male refugees from the Third Reich, Boris Jaffe and Sigmund Seligmann, Gus Weiler and Walter Shostal were all granted U.S. visas, but for them alone, with

Austrian auto mechanic Frank Schloss- the only "workers" recorded at Scattergood Hostel.

³²⁰ CHF, Letter to MLT, 2.VII.94.

The role that refugees' social backgrounds played in their integration or assimilation in America should not be underemphasized. According to one refugee, the effect "of a middle-class philosophy of life was still recognizable in many European [exiles] when they landed in America and its ethical values were still important to them. The European background is relevant to an understanding of their performance" in the U.S. (Fermi, 1968, p. 32). For a review of the historical context behind the European bourgeoisie from which most refugees from Nazi-occupied Europe who reached America came, see Fermi (Ibid., pp. 32-39).

³²¹ CHF, Ibid.

³²² Ibid.

no provisions offered for their families [pp. 46, 72, 73 and 93-*OHR*]. Giving a visa only to male heads of families represented one way U.S. State Department officials used to discourage large numbers of Jews from entering the U.S. For many guests-as attested by Kaethe Aschkenes' narration of trying to procure visas in chaotic Marseilles [p. 59-*OHR*]-the wait to secure passage to the New World took months if not years. Once they left their homes-either voluntarily (as with Friedel Seligmann) or through force (as with Viktor Popper's brother [pp. 73 and 49, respectively-*OHR*])-their routes often entailed criss-crossing Europe by rail in sealed passenger or freight cars.

As in the case of Rosl Weiler [pp. 73-74-*OHR*], even once permission to leave the Third Reich had been obtained, refugees had to surmount a gauntlet of trials. Those included being stripped at the border of German-occupied areas of ration cards and money (with hollow promises that the latter would be "forwarded"), or being forced to "contribute" to the Nazis' sham *Winterhilfe* campaign or supposedly to the Red Cross. Like Weiler, many arrived at stopover destinations with incorrect or insufficient tickets, too little money or with reservations on over-booked means of continuing their journeys. Like the Seligmann family or Werner Selig, Rosl Weiler and her daughter Bertel once again saw their husband and father Gus only upon reaching Scattergood.

If future Scattergood guests weren't being separated from their families enroute to America, they were stuck in wartime Europe and found themselves in various forms of military service-such as Stanislaw Braun along the Saar with a Polish division of the French border guard or Walter Shostal in the deserts of North Africa with the French Foreign Legion [pp. 66 and 76-80-*OHR*]. Depending on their pre-refugee occupations, some found themselves serving emergency roles, such as Alfred Adler being put in charge of medical "care" for 30 blocks of 25 barracks each at Gurs in the South of France [p. 57-*OHR*].

Epitomizing the experience of thousands of refugees who fled Nazi-run Germany and later Austria, Irwin Blumenkranz and Martin Kobylinski spent time in British refugee camps-the former at a voluntary one in Kent, the latter at an internment center on the Isle of Man [pp. 53-55 and 55-56-*OHR*]. A spin-off of refugee camps, *Kindertransport* enabled thousands of children to flee continental Europe for Britain, the United States or other destinations. A number of later Scattergood Hostel guests participated in these transports as chaperons, including Mariette and Jack Schumacher [pp. 60-63-*OHR*].

Children were not exempt from the pain of Nazi persecution nor the trauma of war. The Gestapo dragged off Erhard Winter's father and beat him to death when the boy was 11; this

set into motion a series of events which led him not only to stow away from America to Britain, but to Scattergood Hostel's gate [pp. 33-35-*OHR*]. Along with their mother Magda, Pierre and Claude Shostal came under fire while fleeing German bombing raids over suburban Paris [p. 82-*OHR*], and Magdalene Salmon witnessed her people's helplessness against the *Wehrmacht's* assault on doomed Warsaw [pp. 64-66-*OHR*].

Like many other refugees, numerous Scattergood Hostel guests fled Europe deeply disillusioned with the Old World. Emil Deutsch, for one, vowed never to return to Austria after the Nazis forced his brother-in-law to scrub the capital's sidewalks with a toothbrush-even when his grown daughter begged him to join her in a trip to Vienna in the 1970s.³²³ Other refugees did not wait until old age to express disappointment with the *Heimat*: already in 1941 Kaethe Aschkenes included a letter from a young French girl in Scattergood's monthly newsletter in which the lass declared that

Old Europe, tender and sympathizing to those who were loving grace more than force, dreams more than the material, tenderness more than cold reason, art and beauty more than profits-this Europe is dead, dead for she has been killed.³²⁴

Even if European refugees concluded that "Old Europe...is dead", they did not automatically desire removal to the United States. Among the exiles at Scattergood Hostel, several admitted that they fled to America only as a last resort.³²⁵ Herself a refugee and later the author of a study of exiled European intellectuals, Laura Fermi maintained that among other reasons, they did not know far-removed and then-obscure America. Moreover, while still in Europe, many future German émigrés "did not think much of American culture". It was not that they

actively dispised it or believed America to be a cultural desert, but rather that the very positive opinion in which they held their *Kultur* and its ancient roots prevented them from paying attention to an intellectual society as young as the American, which committed the sin of still be preoccupied with practical matters. German scholars were then convinced...that there was only one humanism, one Protestant theology, one philosophy, and one way to look at social questions-the German.³²⁶

323 HDC, Interview with LPW, 10.XI.94.

324 Anonymous Letter to Kaethe Aschkenes in SMNB, 17.X.41.

325 This was confirmed- among others- by Walter Shostal, Edith [Lichtenstein] Morgan and Ernst [Malamerson] van den Haag. See Marcuse in Schwarz (1964) for an account of one exile's resistance to fleeing to America.

326 Fermi, *Ibid.*, p. 100.

Once the European exiles had forsaken their homelands and made their way to the U.S., their difficulties did not end. With notable exceptions (such as Albert Einstein,³²⁷ the Mann family, Billy Wilder and relatively few others), all refugees had to begin again upon reaching America's shores-and usually on the lowest of the professional rungs (as seen in the likes of Boris Jaffe or Jakob Winkler [pp. 47 and 243-*OHR*]). Like hundreds of thousands of others, most future Scattergood Hostel guests struggled long and hard to sink new roots in their adopted homeland. That process included finding not only new jobs, homes or friends, but also new identities. Unlike many others, however, they had help. Even with help from native-born Americans, though, not all refugees proved able to cope with the stresses of a lost past, a difficult present or an uncertain future. In an interview with former staff, Earle Edwards remembered once reminiscing with a fellow former staff and discussing a number of one-time guests who later took their own lives. Upon questioning, however, he and his wife Marjorie could name for sure only Oskar Kovacs, whom they described as "unstable".³²⁸ Suicide among refugees, nonetheless, was not unheard of.

If the stress inherent to refugee life did not lead them to contemplate suicide, at the least it extracted a tremendous price in terms of spent nerves. One émigré claimed that refugees had to "learn anew how to stand, walk, eat, sleep". A newcomer to America-Martin Gumpert said-was "at once dead-tired and excited". He complained that only a few grasped that

so tremendous a readjustment resembles a state of physical illness. Ignorance of the simplest customs and formalities, the difficulties of communication, uncertainty as to your own situation and worry about those for whom you are responsible-all these only serve to heighten your state of confusion.³²⁹

In addition to difficulties created by tension and insecurity, refugees' taxed states of mind

Fermi continued: "Once in [America], the Germans were surprised at the high academic level of their American colleagues. Most Germans were swiftly won over by the friendliness, benevolence, and tolerance of those with whom they came in contact. [The] Germans rapidly reconized the good features of the American cultural patrinomy and did not try to supplant American methods and ideas with their own but strove to fuse them, promoting understanding between the two traditions" (Ibid., p. 101).

³²⁷ See Fermi's description of Einstein in exile (Ibid., pp. 104-105).

³²⁸ Interview with MLT, 23.X.94.

Although not a Scattergood guest per se, Regina Deutsch's 7-year-old niece Ruth Feigel visited her there and later attended the reopened Scattergood School "for a year or two, but didn't graduate"; as an adult she committed suicide (RB, Letter to MLT, 2.III.95).

³²⁹ Martin Gumpert. "Immigrants by Conviction", *Survey Graphic* 20(September 1941).

further isolated them from the Americans among whom they found themselves. Preoccupied with problems in Europe, refugees often had too little time or energy to concentrate on aspects inherent to everyday life in America and at first likely had little in common with a "pleasant, busy, polite American community which seemed little concerned with the war-torn world" which refugees still felt very much a part.³³⁰ Refugees "worried constantly" over the fates of relatives or friends still in Europe and over efforts to help them escape "before it was too late".

Such psychological strain induced character changes in many exiles. Himself one, Lion Feuchtwanger³³¹ held that "many refugees deteriorated" and referred to their "bad characteristics", which "in good times [were] hidden and guarded", but once pushed

into the light of day enveloped their good ones. Who had been cautious became cowardly, courageous criminal, thrifty miserly; generosity became a swindle. Most were self-obsessed, lost judgment and scale, no longer differentiated between the allowed and the not allowed-their misery became for them justification for every lack of restraint or arbitrariness. They also became complaining and quarrelsome. Kicked out of secure conditions into insecure ones, they wriggled and became at the same time cheeky and servile, confrontational, demanding, all-knowing.³³²

Feuchtwanger compared such individuals to "fruits which one had torn too early from the tree-not ripe, rather dry and rancid".

Indeed, records reveal that not all Scattergood Hostel guests were well-behaved. Just as children project feelings of security and love onto their parents, so some of the refugees project their fears of inadequacy and reproach onto Scattergood Hostel's staff. Even after the Scheider family of Prague had left the hostel following a three-month stay, wife Rosa very much cared what her Scattergood "mother" thought of her. She wrote to Martha Balderston about one month after her lawyer husband Georg[e] took a job as a ski instructor at a resort in Maryland and moved Rosa and their 10-year-old son out East in late 1940. In a four-page, single-spaced missive, she reported the joys as well as frustrations of being once again a "family" of three and not 40, as at the hostel. At the end of her letter, the 30-something Spanish teacher admitted

we behaved very badly [at the hostel]. When George left...he excused himself that he had often done what he himself had known to be wrong. It seems to me we had to use all our energy to keep up our minds the 2 years long before we came to Scattergood. And there we

³³⁰ Davie, *Ibid.*, p. 85.

³³¹ For a description of Feuchtwanger's own exile, see Kantorowicz (1949, pp. 103-124).

³³² Lion Feuchtwanger. *Größe und Erbärmlichkeit des Exils*, from *Das Wort*, Notebook 6, 1938. This passage appeared in a reworked form in his novel *Exil*.

had the feelings we could relax and nobody would blame us if we would behave like naughty children, who did not get up in time and did not do what they were supposed to do. We had the feeling of being with a very loving and understanding mother...so often abused the kindness and felt very guilty for it. But we hope our dear mother has understood however that we learned from her how to do our duty and how to overcome misfortune by helping other people who need help and encouragement.³³³

Rosa Scheider admitted her and her husband's "naughty" behavior; some hostel guests, however, preferred focusing on similar behavior in others. Not the only refugee to do so, Erhard Winter arrived at Scattergood Hostel with a sizeable chip on his shoulders. For one thing, he did not regard himself a refugee because-according to him-the term "entailed passivity, dependency, being a victim". Likewise, he did not consider himself a Jew-although his father was one-for he himself was uncircumcised, with no religious training nor inclinations. "For the most part" he found Jews at Scattergood "a whiny, complaining, smart-alecky bunch who were never satisfied", with whom he felt he had nothing in common, whom he disliked and with whom he "wished to have nothing to do. They were" in his opinion, "shirkers". He claimed:

Whenever...a tough or dirty job needed to be done, all the Jews disappeared and it ended up being done by staff or by one of the non-Jews. Many of the Jews at S.H. found its simple lifestyle and accommodations somehow demeaning; some expected staff to wait on them; few expressed gratitude, mostly they expressed irritation and self-pity.³³⁴

While Erhard Winter's views must be viewed through the scratched and distorted lens of a 17-year-old lad's deep wounds, other, perhaps less disturbed Scattergood guests also found the behavior of some of their fellow refugees unacceptable. Edith [Lichtenstein] Morgan recalled five decades later that her parents were "embarrassed somewhat" by the

haughtiness and demanding behavior of a lot of the refugees who felt that since they had suffered something, everybody should hand them everything... I think that's one of the reasons why my parents tried to stay away from [other refugees] because they had somewhat different feelings about these things.³³⁵

Similarly, Ernst [Malamerson] van den Haag also kept his distance from other refugees-whom he said often felt cloaked disdain for one another. He claimed later in life that "on the

333 Rosa Scheider, Letter to MB, 12.I.41.

334 "Erhard Winter", Interview with AMLT, 25.X.94.

Fifty five years later he said: "I found Scattergood Hostel a rather tiresome affair and stayed there no longer than I had to" (Ibid .

335 ELM, Interview with MLT, 27.X.95.

whole" the refugees "disliked each other considerably". He was not "particularly interested in any of them", as he thought they were

psychologically anti-America [as] they felt-as a reaction to the strange and new culture, and to being deprived of whatever positions they had had in the past-a certain superiority in many, many respects. At the same time, they also doubted fully their ability to re-establish themselves, so they were all ambiguous. My own feeling of, not really dislike, but lack of interest in these people? ...I felt not superior, but that I was from a different social strata. And they? Well, each one felt that the other did not recognize his or her importance in view of their position.³³⁶

In addition to coping with the daily-life stresses of new biographies they still were in the process of crafting, refugees had to deal with remnants of the lives they had known-and with the memories of friends or family they had lost to the Nazis. Very much on the run-if not from hunting authorities, then from haunting memories-Boris Jaffe did not have an easy time at the hostel. The "mysterious Russian"³³⁷ moved around the place at times almost ghostlike, lost weight, by day brooded and by night paced the Main Building's upstairs corridors. Placement director Giles Zimmerman's wife Lynn later recalled: "In the dead of night, I would hear him walking back and forth; I would go and walk with him".³³⁸ Similiar dread over the fate of a family member also plagued Wilhelm Feist of Berlin, whose nine-year-old daughter Martina was "lost" in Belgium; while at Scattergood he tried in vain to locate her, but later succeeded only after having left the hostel. Like too many other refugees- especially, but not only Jewish ones-numerous Scattergood guests lost family in a Nazi death camp: Grete Rosenzweig a mother, Sigmund Seligmann/ Seaman his father and a sister, the Hackel family a daughter, sister and aunt, etc. True to the tough-upper-lip mentality of their generation, the refugees exhibited a "general reluctance to talk about their experiences", which young Camilla Hewson assumed was because "the memories were too painful".³³⁹

Perhaps as a socially sanctioned means of processing her experiences, upon reaching Scattergood Hostel Magda Shostal composed a 25-page account of her family's travails. Echoing the example of more famous émigrés,³⁴⁰ she concluded it by writing about the

³³⁶ EMH, Interview with MLT, 25.X.95.

³³⁷ So he was labeled by volunteer Camilla [Hewson] Flintermann (CHF, Letter to MLT, 30.VI.94 .

³³⁸ Felicity Barringer, "Flight from Sorrow", *Washington Post*, 31.V.81.

³³⁹ CHF, Ibid.

³⁴⁰ Bertolt Brecht, for one, found something unsettling about surviving when others had

ambivalence she felt regarding their fate:

I am well aware that all that happened to me was not the worst because there was a happy end: we are all together and safe in this country. But a great deal of our life and energy, even of our health, remains [in Europe] and we can't be as happy as we have reason to be, thinking of our friends who live there under terrible conditions. Sometimes I feel ashamed that we escaped.³⁴¹

4.2 Ways in Which Scattergood Hostel Guests Differed from the Norm

In the 1930s Friends had as few members and "attenders" [the name given to those who attend meeting for worship but are now members] as they do today-roughly 300,000 worldwide. Still, Quakers were disproportionately active among those assisting Jews and others escape Nazi-occupied Europe. In their work they made contact with thousands of refugees- including some whose lives Scattergood Hostel later touched.³⁴² Katrin Winter, Sigmund Seligmann, Ernst Feibelman and Kaethe Aschkenes [pp. 34, 72 and 59-OHR] -to name four-all had contact with Quakers in Europe³⁴³ before arriving in the U.S. and followed those leads upon landing on America's shore. There, in turn, they or members of their families found a

not. He wrote the following poem (Jackman, 1983, p. 18) in Southern California:

I know of course: it's simply luck
That I've survived so many friends. But last night in a dream
I heard those friends say of me: "Survival of the fittest"
And I hated myself.

³⁴¹ Magda Shostal, Unpublished Memoirs "Through the Occupation of France 1940", 1942.

³⁴² AFSC compiled over 50,000 case files of refugees seeking safe haven to prove to U.S. government agents that Jews seeking asylum could be identified (Pickett, 1953, p. 149). One of those was Paul Frölich, who "in spite of all" never saw among Quaker volunteers in Marseilles "the slightest sign of red-tapeism. They did not ask their clients what they thought and what they did in the past. They often asked a lot of questions, but one soon became aware that it was for the purpose of finding the most effective kind of help. To all appearances they made it a goal to find in every case an individual solution which gave not only aid for the moment but a certain security for the future" (Paul Frölich, "How I See the Quakers", SMNB, 17.VIII.41 . Wyman- otherwise critical of non-Jews' apathy toward the plight of European Jewry- did concede that "the AFSC occupied a strategic position in the American refugee aid effort" (Wyman, 1968, p. 277). Barry Trachtenberg- who reviewed AFSC's refugee program in his study of "Christian rescuers"- said: "Next to the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, the most active rescue organization was unquestionably the American Friends Service Committee; its importance to the entire rescue movement cannot be exaggerated. Whether by processing claims, documenting cases, appealing for help, urging the government to change its policies, or by providing immigrants with the skills and training they would need to become full citizens, the AFSC displayed great humanitarianism in a time of indifference and despair" (Unpublished Thesis, University of Vermont, 1993, pp. 72-73).

³⁴³ Quakers even were present in occupied Poland, where the *Generalgouvernement* allowed them- along with the Red Cross- to undertake relief work; see Adler (1974, p. 144).

welcome at Scattergood Hostel.

Another way in which refugees came to West Branch following their arrival in the U.S. consisted of AFSC screening applicants or of referrals seeking resettlement assistance. Once refugees had been interviewed and accepted, they had to await a free place as well as the means to pay for their stay at the hostel either through their own resources-were they so able-or through sponsorship from one of several organizations (Jewish, Catholic, Brethern, professional, etc.). The mere fact that they made it to Scattergood Hostel distinguished the Quakers' guests from the migrant masses: although thousands had made contact with AFSC in Europe, most refugees became lost to that organization over time. Instead, they relied on other agencies, relatives or their own fortune as they tried to find entry into American life. One might say, then, that the 185 guests who found haven at Scattergood Hostel belonged to a select group-but "select" in what sense?

From the "active file of several hundred people" with whom AFSC was in touch, Mary Rogers and those who assisted in selecting future residents for the hostel chose only certain individuals or families.³⁴⁴ No documents telling of or individuals privy to AFSC's criteria survive.³⁴⁵ The closest consists of John Rich's essay "Americanization Through Quaker Hostels", in which he offered merely a passing word concerning

how a refugee is selected for hostel residence. This is largely done in the [American Friends Service] Committee's New York office, in cooperation with the several refugee agencies. The general practice is for these agencies to recommend candidates.³⁴⁶

Other, more discriminating guidelines, though, might be assumed or deduced based on the sorts of refugees who ended up there. The merits of the first five guests to arrive, for example, are clear. Their mission consisted of readying the former school to open as soon as possible as a refugee hostel; each of the five men knew this and agreed to engage in strenuous work. Of

³⁴⁴ Branson, *Ibid.*

³⁴⁵ Former staff Earle Edwards said "we never knew" AFSC's criteria for selecting guests: "Obviously, there were a lot of people who wouldn't have benefitted from [a stay at the hostel. AFSC] did have pretty-well trained social workers on that end of things...and I have no reason to think that they didn't understand what people would be getting into in Scattergood. How well they could size people up who were candidates, I don't know. Of course we know there were some people who really were not very enthusiastic about the prospect of being there. For example, Ilse Stahl said she was *miserable* as she *thought* about having to live there; now as it turned out, she was very *glad* she got there: her whole future life related to that experience" (Interview with MLT, 1.XI.95 .

³⁴⁶ Rich, *Ibid.*, p. 4.

them, Fritz Treuer-while reportedly a willing and contented field hand-had been lured from the East with promises of realizing agrarian dreams. He left with them as unmaterialized as when he arrived. Still, AFSC had precisely such would-be farmers like him in mind when it nurtured idealistic goal of establishing *kibbutzim* on the prairies. Once it dropped those plans it also quit choosing guests on the basis of their eagerness to push a plow.

In the early days some refugees asked to go to the hostel because they had no other prospects-or at least no compelling ones. Erhard Winter chose to accompany co-director-elect Anne Martin to Iowa as a lesser evil than that of remaining at his mother's boardinghouse in suburban Philadelphia to stoke the furnace and mow the lawn [p. 35-OHR]. Upon landing in America Hans Peters had lost his wife and his luck; at Scattergood Hostel he sought time to sort out his life and to set himself back on a track leading to somewhere where he wanted to go [p. 238-OHR]. Members of the Rosenzweig family ranged in age from almost 60 to barely 15, with little prospect of employment for any them; as daughter Irmgard later recalled, her parents went to "the Jewish committee that resettled people" and were told

in no uncertain terms that they had resettled enough people and they really weren't interested in people like my parents-my father was 50, plus-and they had enough people like that: New York was full of people like that. They sent them down the hall to the Friends Service Committee: [it was a] 'Try the next door' kind of approach.

The Quakers offered to send the Rosenzweigs to Scattergood Hostel, in a place of which they never had heard. They gave the family time to consider the idea, during which Louis and Grete Rosenzweig decided that they didn't want to be "a burden" to relatives living in New York. At any rate, they judged that they had "nothing to loose but everything to gain, and it was at that point that the decision was made". Irmgard Rosenzweig was sure they were "going to go where the lions and elephants were; I had no idea about 'Iowa'-people convinced me that it was safe, but...."³⁴⁷

Some Scattergood guests came only because those advising them saw no better other possibilities-as in the case of Ernst and Ilse Stahl, who were German-communist political refugees. Ilse Stahl remembered decades later that soon after arriving in the United States, American Quakers showed the couple pictures of Scattergood Hostel and she responded,

I didn't want to go; I didn't want to go... This gray-haired lady took my hand and said, 'That's the best you can [do]'. 'I don't want to go to the camp they showed! Let me sit here! Dump

³⁴⁷ IRW, Interview with MLT, 30.X.95.

me in the water!' and things like this. Total hysterical-I mean, I was just *finished* with *everything*. If you would know how we came on the boat, you would not wonder. We were over two weeks on the boat... [Ernst] didn't feel too good, but he wanted to calm me down: I was out of my senses. I didn't want food...and everybody could see-I was 82 pounds weight: that was much too little for me... But I was absolutely dormant. Finally, 'Okay, okay, okay, okay, okay'...³⁴⁸

Although Martha Balderston once explained that the hostel "obviously [does] not want wish to accept...anyone who for fundamental reasons has not been placeable elsewhere",³⁴⁹ apparently often those were exactly the cases the hostel received. At least that was so with Max and Rosa Schiffman, whose hostel involvement began when Scattergood received the following telegram:

New York office American Friends Committee suggests sending families to you. We are referring Max Schiffman 52 storekeeper, wife 50 housewife. Speak little English. Have no funds. Sabbath observers. Please wire Western Union when couple may be sent.³⁵⁰
Arthur Fishzohn
NRS Seattle, Washington

To which Balderston replied:

Assume NRS supports Schiffmans. Need confirmation and more detail. Sabbath observance possible but cannot furnish Kosher food. What placement plans in mind? Send details airmail.³⁵¹

The Schiffmans ultimately stayed at the hostel on three separate occasions. They were not, however, the only ones to leave Scattergood and return following unsuccessful placements. To that list belongs also the Winklers and a dozen other, unmarried guests. Despite Balderston's

³⁴⁸ "Ilse Stahl", Interview with the Edwardses and Willoughbys, X.94.

³⁴⁹ The letter suggests that AFSC had a set of criteria, but Scattergood Hostel staff were not fully informed what those were. Martha Balderston wrote: "The telegram from Seattle raised questions in our minds. We obviously do not wish to accept for Scattergood anyone who for fundamental reasons has not been placeable elsewhere. On the other hand, to have them come for a short period of rehabilitation and study is another matter... This couple may have already passed your referral tests. In that case we should be satisfied, but if they have had no interview to ascertain their adaptability for Scattergood we feel justified in asking for further information. At the same time we do not wish to jeopardize your relations with the NRS by causing repetitious procedure here or making unnecessary demands for information Can you enlighten us on the whole matter? Is this type of referral to be a more common one in the future, and if so what kind of safeguards have been made for Scattergood? Or shall we judge each case as it comes along? Perhaps you should send us word when you advise such referrals from other centers so we have something to guide our decision" (MB, Letter to Louise Clancy, 14.VIII.40 .

³⁵⁰ Ibid.

³⁵¹ Ibid.

protest, it seems that some AFSC staff in Philadelphia thought that sending difficult-to-place or troubled individuals to a rustic setting "for a few weeks or months to recover a little"³⁵² wouldn't do any harm. At times such staff exhibited rather flippant attitudes about the sorts of individuals being sent to Scattergood. AFSC staff member Jean Reynolds was "delighted" that local communities which had received former hostel guests thought they might relieve New York City of "some of the halt and the lame"; she assumed that AFSC would receive

more referrals of people who have health problems, are insecure emotionally for one reason or another, need a tremendous amount of encouragement, interest, etc. The [refugee-assistance] committees are coming to think of the hostels more for the use of such people where they can find themselves and then perhaps take a firmer grip on things and get established in this country.³⁵³

Reynolds then betrayed her true bias concerning the role of the proposed chain of sixteen AFSC-sponsored refugee hostels planned but never completed. She assumed they might be used primarily to help refugees adjust to the "fact" that

they have to make further adjustments before they can finally settle down with any degree of success. Just as Cedar Rapids [Jewish agency workers sent] Philip Weiss to learn English and then took him back with the responsibility of placing him, so I think people might be sent from New York to pull themselves together, as it were, and then move on to a local community which will be responsible for the placement.³⁵⁴

Not an inspiring function, Scattergood seems to have served at times as dumping grounds for refugees unable to find their way in America on their own or whom other agencies felt unable to help. Despite what Balderston and perhaps other staff at the hostel wished, at least a number of AFSC staff in Philadelphia willingly accepted and sent on to Iowa refugees who had serious handicaps and few other possibilities. If those individuals thought the AFSC program in Iowa could accommodate such cases without detriment and transform, the results suggest otherwise.

Of course, not all of the refugees arriving at Scattergood came under such conditions or else the hostel never would have succeeded at all. A further criteria consisted of selecting individuals who might flourish beyond the East Coast—in other words, good candidates for adjusting to the essentially rural Midwest. One could see this as a process of *self*-selection, for those refugees who agreed to leave the cosmopolitan bustle of Eastern cities departed sharply

³⁵² Unpublished and unsigned essay entitled "A New Use for Scattergood", 29.V.39.

³⁵³ Jean Reynolds, Letter to Giles Zimmerman, 6.XI.40.

from the norm. Like Lotte Liebman, they might have expected "everything would be simple and not very comfortable",³⁵⁵ yet overcame initial hesitations and tried anyway-whether out of bravery or desperation. While the majority of refugees clung to Eastern urban centers, Scattergood guests set out into the "real" America-a move which indicated willingness to assimilate; New York would have offered plenty of chances to hide in German-speaking enclaves and more distractions from personal, existential travails than quiet Iowa.

Visiting an Iowa Scattergood Committee executive board meeting, Mary Rogers outlined factors she saw as inhibiting refugees from venturing west to Scattergood Hostel:

1. It is very hard for some Europeans to forget the cast [sic] system. They dislike the idea of all classes living together.
2. Some think they would rather live in homes than in a Hostel group.
3. Jealousy among church groups in sending their people to a Friend's Hostel.
4. Fear that staff members may be too young and unskilled to teach them.
5. Fear of having to stay too long before placement.³⁵⁶

Once those who AFSC could entice to sojourn at Scattergood had arrived, the Friends in charge strove to make their guests feel rested and at home. To ensure those ends, both AFSC and hostel staff adopted corresponding policies.

4.3 Official Quaker Policies Regarding the Treatment of Guests

From the very beginning, AFSC and Iowa Quakers wanted the refugees they sponsored to thrive. They also wanted those involved superficially with the hostel to be supportive. Shortly before the first five guests appeared mid April 1939, Sara Pemberton wrote Reed Cary: "As [their arrival] in a certain sense marks the real initiation of the Hostel, we certainly hope that those who come may be congenial with all concerned".³⁵⁷

Their desire to show their first guests a hearty welcome and the novelty of having European refugees in their midst led Iowa Friends to pamper the newly arrived émigrés. A reporter at the scene the night of the guests' arrival described how they enjoyed "trays of Iowa farm food

³⁵⁴ Ibid.

³⁵⁵ Lotte Liebman, Letter to Mary Rogers, 7.III.40.

³⁵⁶ "Executive Committee Minutes", 21.VII.42.

³⁵⁷ SHP, Letter to Reed Cary, 6.VI.39.

which Quaker housewives offered to [the] wanderers far from their homes".³⁵⁸ This indulgence, though, only encouraged the likes of Erhard Winter to charge that some of his fellow refugees were "shirkers", etc. As the newness of the situation faded and additional guests increased the number of mouths to be fed and clothes to be washed, however, the hostel staff soon learned to delegate work to their guests.

Who should cook or clean, however, constituted a very different matter than how the refugees should be prepared for their imminent departures from the artificial environment of Scattergood Hostel and entries into American society-particularly in terms of the world of work. Within two months of the hostel's opening, acting director John Kaltenbach observed a tendency among the staff to do what he saw as "'too much' for our 'hostages'". He suspected that many of the refugees expected to start their American careers

at the top of the pile, to transfer to this country and take up at the same place they left off over there. Whether we would like this to be or not, John Q. American has different ideas, and a number of refugees are in for a prolonged bump. If we can bump them first and do it gently, we may be doing them a greater service than we would by treating them with kid gloves.³⁵⁹

At least one refugee agreed with this assessment: upon receiving word of the hostel's closing, former guest Charles Bukovis (née Karl Buchowitz) wrote to Josephine and John Copithorne with "deep regret" over the hostel's closure, as he had hoped that Scattergood might have proved to be

an eternal refuge [where] there were still a few persons interested in one's matters and that you only have to apply to them in order to get advice or help. In any case you have done there a magnificent job, sometimes...even a too good one because you pampered us refugees too much and considered us persons worth of more help and consideration than average people. In fact we refugees having escaped the murderous atmosphere of Europe are just plain people to be envied since we are living in the most wonderful country of the world and this one who does not get along here or at least tries hard as he can is just a good for nothing.³⁶⁰

Two and a half years later, placement director Giles Zimmerman continued to argue from a perspective similar to John Kaltenbach's-that of honestly assessing refugees' skills and potentials in regards to the American job scene, then *telling* the guests that "truth", even if

³⁵⁸ Howard Dobson, "Strong Stories Told in Faces of 4 Refugees: Find Iowa Haven After Hitler", Des Moines *Register*, 17.IV.39.

³⁵⁹ John Kaltenbach, Letter to Reed Cary, 7.VI.39.

³⁶⁰ Charles Bukovis, Letter, 16.II.43.

painful. He specifically referred to "grand people" who lacked a "great deal to offer in a commercial way", by which he meant abilities which "attract immediately". Zimmerman thought that one of such people's greatest handicaps was their

improper mental attitude and an exaggerated opinion of themselves and a lack of understanding of opportunities in various communities. All this could be learned, but it will keep one advisor more than busy and I fear that [the program] will not get the proper results as quickly as [planned]. Then, the good American public, while very interested in these persons, often encourage these improper attitudes through lack of understanding. Encouraging them into fields where some of us know they can not fit, making a fuss over them, when what they really need is a frank understanding and explanation of possibilities and limitations.³⁶¹

Perhaps in an effort to help the refugees appreciate "reality", in 1941 the staff decided to encourage them to attend at least two days of the Grinnell Institute of International Relations and they anticipated "a psychological benefit to the Germans if they pay the \$1 registration fee".³⁶²

The staff knew that its guests would leave the hostel soon enough. Its concern for their well-being, however, didn't stop once they left the front gate for the last time. Giles Zimmerman-for one-sought Jean Reynolds' advice on what to do in the event of placing National Refugee Service clients with non-Jewish groups "and vice versa, and what happens in breakdowns".³⁶³ She replied that in that event, he should notify a local NRS area director that a placement had been made in such a community; in turn, that person would notify the local group in charge of a specific community. Reynolds explained that the U.S. was "covered" by such local committees, even though they were

not located in every community. Therefore, a person would be covered by some local group. I don't know what procedure you have worked out with the Area Director about a person's applying to a local group should he [or she] lose [a] job. I think the individual would be told where [to] go in the event that any problems arise, loss of job, sickness, or whatever.³⁶⁴

Still, staff members could not anticipate every situation which might arise once hostel guests had moved on to new lives. As it was, the staff had other matters to consider-namely, the guests still living at Scattergood. For all their skills and deficiencies, enthusiasm and exhaustion,

³⁶¹ Giles Zimmerman, Letter to Mary Rogers, 8.XII.41.

³⁶² Untitled Report on Scattergood Committee executive board meeting, 25.IV.41.

³⁶³ Giles Zimmerman, Letter to Jean Reynolds, 6.XI.40.

³⁶⁴ Ibid.

the staff remained the core resource behind the entire Scattergood Hostel program. Without them, nothing.

Chapter 5 Scattergood Hostel's Staff

While it consisted mostly of energetic, idealistic young people with diverse interests, Scattergood Hostel's staff suffered from a lack of diversity. Difficulties in conducting extensive recruitment-given first the Depression-borne desire to find secure longterm employment and later the workforce's wartime disruption-ensured that Anglo, mostly middle-class new graduates dominated the staff roster. Given its lopsided demographics, the Scattergood staff's ultimate performance must be assessed in terms of how its composition affected the hostel's overall performance. The following review of relevant aspects of staff composition-organized by categories-examines strengths and weaknesses found in each.

5.1 Religious Affiliation

Even if supported heartily by individuals of other denominations-such as Methodist pastor James Gable of West Branch or Congregationalist pastor David Nelson Beach of Minneapolis, Minnesota-Scattergood Hostel clearly arose through Friends' initiative and remained a Quaker project throughout its existence. At the same time, the five non-Quakers on the staff (all of whom later became "convinced" Friends) could not have provided its guests with a well-rounded view of the American religious landscape, given that each came from heritages or convictions sympathetic to a Quaker *Weltanschauung*.

A staff more representative of American society would have included- for instance- fundamentalist Protestants, Catholics more mainstream than "worldly" Lynn Zimmerman,³⁶⁵ convinced atheists and, obviously, Jews. The glaring absence of Jews on the Scattergood staff did not facilitate sensitivity to the cultural backgrounds or future needs of many hostel guests. Still worse, records suggest that those in charge of personnel even discouraged Jews from joining the staff-as in the case of Esther Levine.

Key parts of the relevant correspondence are missing, but from what remains it is disappointing at the least that an applicant's "race" influenced her being rejected as possible staff. The scandal spreads when one considers the bogus concept of Jews constituting a separate "race"-or that such absurd ideas seeping out of the Nazis' toxic *Rassenkunde* found

³⁶⁵ CHF, Letter to MLT, 30.VI.94.

receptive audience in American society, too. Still, as reported by Martha Balderston, an enthusiastic would-be volunteer named Esther Levine was voted by the "whole family" as

'not fitting into the picture' altho she felt she understood just how they felt and could fit into any job we had to be done. I did not want to decide on a race basis but that did enter in to our consideration of the proposition; Giles [Zimmerman] had just discovered more anti-Scattergood feeling in the neighborhood than we had been aware of.³⁶⁶

"Anti-Scattergood feeling" may have meant "anti-Semitic feeling". If so, Levine might have been the victim of Friends' own fears of seeming too "pro-Jewish". Unlike Northeastern cities and Southern backwoods, Iowa never has had a reputation for being rabidly anti-Semitic: why, then, were Quakers at the hostel so sensitive to this issue? And why did they exhibit such contradictory behaviors—first going to incredible lengths to save European Jews, then acting apologetically about those people's ethnicity? This unexplained schizophrenia showed itself in various aspects of hostel life. While the staff taxed practicing guests of any faith to church or synagogue in West Branch or Iowa City—for example—only once was a Jewish religious ceremony reported to have been held at the hostel.³⁶⁷ Were the Jews among the exiles really so non-observant or did the Scattergood staff fail to accommodate fully and on-goingly non-Quaker religious observance? At least sources do confirm that the Friends did not proselytize nor press their guests to attend Sunday meeting for worship.³⁶⁸

At the same time, Scattergood Hostel did try repeatedly to facilitate greater understanding

³⁶⁶ MB, Letter to John Rich, 30.IX.40.

Although no excuse, Mary Rogers did later confirm the Scattergood staff's decision, saying "apparently we had the right hunch on Esther Levine. I felt awfully sorry for her and hope she will succeed in finding some sort of work" (Letter to MB, 16.X.40).

³⁶⁷ Asked some five decades later about why her family celebrated Hanukkah in their bedroom and not in a public space, Edith [Lichtenstein] Morgan responded: "I can't think of a reason... I'm trying to think if it was a matter of size or what. I mean, there was no reason to hide: it wasn't a question of fear, particularly. There was no pressure to become a Quaker or any of that kind of thing; at least I don't recall any pressure— and that wouldn't have worked anyway: my parents would have done what they wanted to do" (Interview with MLT, 27.X.95).

³⁶⁸ In his essay "Americanization Through Quaker Hostels" (p. 1), John Rich noted that the refugees included Christians and Jews: "Many have been through experiences that have shattered their spirits and shaken their faith. It is not the Quaker way to proselytize or inject an unwanted religious note, but in the daily opportunity for fifteen minutes' silent worship has been found the strongest factor for rebuilding morale. These silent gatherings, rarely broken by a few brief words from any one of the worshippers, are occasions that the refugee residents seem especially to treasure. Scattergood Hostel is fortunate to have on its grounds a tiny, unused Quaker Meeting House that was once a part of the school. Here the refugees will gather for 'a time apart'. In tribute to the spirit of that place, they recently contributed materials and labor to renovate its leaky roof".

between refugees and native-born Americans. State University of Iowa professor and refugee Kurt Lewin-for instance-shared his "experiences in adjusting to American life, hoping they might be of help to others" in the form of a special lecture in which he spoke about "fundamental differences between life in the old Germany" and life in the Midwest. At one point AFSC executive Clarence Pickett emphasized to Sara Pemberton the importance of interpreting "our life and thought to Jewish groups whenever we can".³⁶⁹ On the occasion of receiving a sizeable contribution from the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, Pickett maintained Quakers were already

deeply indebted, as Christians, for the way in which Jews have helped us to carry on our work, but it is because of the common purpose to serve the needs of humanity, that many of us share, that we venture to offer this opportunity of cooperation.³⁷⁰

Sincere gratitude, cooperation or attempts to expand understanding between various groups, however, did not compensate for the lack of a truly integrated hostel staff.

5.2 Age

As cited, young adults comprised most of the Scattergood staff. When those young adults committed *faux pas*, older Friends at the hostel or AFSC's Philadelphia office rarely scolded-except in the case of Mildred Holmes and her mis-stated appeal for affiants. Indeed, elders involved with the Scattergood project also made great efforts to explain away John Kaltenbach's age-blamed indiscretions or human-relations blunders. In general, then, older staff members-in West Branch and Philadelphia-seem to have appreciated the prevailing presence of youth among them. With, that is, one exception.

On 1 July 1941 Sara Pemberton wrote to John Rich concerning "the very serious problem" of bringing in "young girls just out of High School" and

keeping them there more than a few weeks. I think that a few weeks for these girls may have many advantages. Their youth and their lack of ability does something to put new life and encouragement into the Germans who are also learning, and it often relieves the American staff of many little odd jobs or errands. But on the other hand, the girls soon learn to take

³⁶⁹ Sources for the previous three quotes were: "Scattergood Hostel Report of Lectures and Field Trips for January and February, 1941"; Anonymous, "Chit Chat", SMNB, 17.II.41. and Clarence Pickett, Letter to SHP, 30.I.40.

³⁷⁰ Haim Genizi. "American Interfaith Cooperation on Behalf of Refugees from Nazism, 1933-1945". *American Jewish History* 70#3 (1981), p. 357.

advantage of their age and the work or lack of work (which they are willing to undertake) makes it become a play house for them.

Remarkably, except for two cases (this and involving John Kaltenbach), out of the thousands of surviving pages of Scattergood Hostel documents, not a single comment or reference suggests any criticism of staff members because of their age. To the contrary, guests wrote glowing assessments of their young hosts. Lucy Selig thanked the staff, who she said "not only...stand behind us and give us back the confidence in life and human beings that we have lost by the experiences of the last years [but also offer] a new sense of life if we only are willing to understand their way of living".³⁷¹ At their young age, the staff didn't do this by dipping into years' worth of experience, but, rather, simply by being their vibrant, dedicated selves. And vibrancy they had, for as former volunteer staff member Robert Berquist later explained, Scattergood's was a volunteer staff consisting mostly of "idealistic young people [for] in the early years of the [AFSC], they put great stress on volunteer service. People would take a year or several months to work in various relief projects".³⁷²

5.3 Profession

The young staff might have been inspiring models of American ways of living and full of idealistic vitality. They were not, however, adequate models of American professionals. Of the eight staff members age 30 or over, three had been homemakers, two teachers, two boarding-school caretakers and-to use a contemporary term-one an activist. Even though Scattergood guests toured dairies and butcher shops, woolen mills and newspaper-publishing sites as part of the hostel's education program, they did not "rub shoulders" in an in-depth way with professionals. They heard visiting lecturers speak about contemporary issues and often sat with those individuals at dinner; deeper, on-going contact, however, went begging.

Scattergood Hostel could have arranged the presence of experienced professionals among the refugees as it strove to prepare them for entry into the work world. Mimicking internships or resident artists programs common in private schools, it might have invited lawyers, engineers, business people, secretaries, those engaged in health-care, etc., to live temporarily at the hostel or even in nearby West Branch. Whether for a long weekend, a fortnight or a season, such individuals could have given presentations on conditions in their fields, answered

³⁷¹ Lucy Selig, Report titled "A Quaker Project", spring 1940.

³⁷² RFB, Interview with MLT, 13.XI.95.

questions of guests who wished to pursue corresponding careers or offered advice on points which their audience even could not foresee. As it was, despite dedicated job placement efforts the staff simply lacked the experience to offer adequate practical professional assistance to its guests.

5.4 Training

Robert Cory-one of the hostel's several education directors-knew that he and his peers suffered from important professional deficiencies. Toward the end of his ten-month stay he wrote a "personal letter" to Mary Rogers, as he felt worried about Scattergood's English-teaching program:

I have had to disillusion several Europeans by explaining that we do not have any experienced language teachers and that our theory is based on the idea that Europeans will learn by living with Americans. Still many of them are dissatisfied and I myself have not been satisfied with the results we are getting.³⁷³

He conceded: "What we need in Scattergood is a professionally trained director of English teaching-but I know that such a rare bird would be impossible to catch within the net of our budget". As Robert Berquist later saw it, at that time AFSC staff in Philadelphia "getting organized more as they are at the present time, with professionally trained people-at least as the directors of the various sections-but at that time, they still depended a lot on volunteers, people who took time".³⁷⁴ Despite indications to the contrary, however, Berquist thought that "for the most part" staff seemed "really very 'wise' or very mature in their approach to the refugees. Most of us were fairly young" he noted, "but that doesn't mean that we weren't fairly mature, as

³⁷³ Robert Cory, Letter to Mary Rogers, 20.V.42.

³⁷⁴ RFB, Ibid.

Regarding its use of volunteers, Earle Edwards said: "AFSC had a lot of experience in appointing young people to work in a wide variety of situations as volunteers in Mexico or among Native Americans or in the coal fields and so on. Out of that kind of thing, they probably knew something about these people. For example, Marjorie and I [as students] spent summers [working on AFSC projects]. So somewhere in the organization, there were people who were accustomed to reading people's curriculum vitae and making some judgements and I'm sure they had something to go on in their files- at least in our case and in some of the others... Everybody wanted to be useful and I don't think there were any people [on the staff] who had big egos. The interesting thing in retrospect is how much the staff enjoyed one another. I think that was the thing that made the whole thing feasible [because] you knew that everybody was investing as much as possible. It was around the clock "opportunity": you never knew when [you'd be called]". He noted: "There *weren't* any booklets [for orientation], as far as I know" (Interview with MLT, 1.XI.95 .

well. [We were] self-selective just because of concern and interest.³⁷⁵

The volunteers may have been "self-selective", but good intentions and a genuine willingness to serve do not automatically suffice in serving victims of acute trauma and are in need of competent help. If it weren't bad enough that all but eight of the volunteers came to Scattergood with little job experience, the lack of organized orientation or professional training while engaged at the hostel only worsened what already had begun to be a decisive weakness in the staff's overall constitution. Not offered what presently are known as "in-service training sessions" and "staff retreats", it was uncertain that individuals who comprised the staff could improve their knowledge or technique while working at the hostel.³⁷⁶ They had too many daily distractions to polish their lacking professionalism; stress also extracted a heavy toll.

Visitors who spent time at Scattergood could sense the effects of stress, both on the staff and the guests. The former's effectiveness and patience wore thin from too much to do in too little time-with the latter suffering the results. During her stay at the hostel in spring 1942, short-term visitor Gertrude King wrote to tell Mary Rogers that she thought there should be more free time for refugees and staff alike, when they might

sit outside enjoying the sun and the quiet and when they can take it easy. Perhaps a trip to hear some music would be relaxing. Then I believe that is it absolutely essential that the staff meet to discuss things as they do usually on Mondays, but also to compare notes on teaching of English; and that they should have time away from Scattergood every week. They tend to get tired and irritable and this sometimes affects the Europeans adversely. Also Scattergood is more or less isolated and so all the problems take on a larger size. Of course the transportation problem makes this difficult but some way should be found for them to

375 RFB, Ibid.

376 When asked about this point, George Willoughby wondered "Where would we get experience running refugee hostels other than by doing it- would we go to the university [and if so] what would they have known about it? There's a difference in attitude: one is, 'we do it'- a Quaker approach: we learn, by god, how to do it. The other is 'first you gotta learn'... At Scattergood there was this difference, which is characteristic of Quakers [even if] it has problems. Even for the misfits who came to Scattergood and didn't fit in very well, it was a home, it was a refuge. I can compare Scattergood with the resettlement of Japanese-Americans because... I spent a year working with the War Relocation Authority, which ran the relocation centers; we didn't have the guts to call them 'concentration camps'. Scattergood was vastly different. There was no barbed wire around it, you could go in freely- it was a home, whereas War Relocation Centers were camps. They were devoid of real physical violence but there armed guards around: they weren't very conspicuous, but there was barbed wire, there were lights on the periphery and you had to have some sort of identification to get in. And yet, it didn't provide a refuge for those people from a world that was very angry and hostile toward the Japanese Americans" (Interview with MLT, 31.X.95 .

have time off. They tend to feel that they aren't achieving anything and the Europeans...feel that there is too much manual labor.³⁷⁷

5.5 Ethnicity

If the Scattergood staff did not represent a diversity of work experience, it certainly didn't reflect the multi-ethnic composition of American society. The little diversity present consisted mostly of Irish-born Canadian John "Shaun" Copithorne; at least Walter Shostal found that "Scattergood would not have been the same interesting and positive place without him".³⁷⁸ Besides Copithorne's Canadian-born wife and a British short-term volunteer, the other 45 staff members were all white, Anglo Americans. This being the case, how did Friends expect to expand the refugees' understanding of and sensitivity to the history and contemporary needs of non-whites in the context of the multi-ethnic United States if all discussions about such groups remained purely theoretical? The hostel staff did organize programs-usually in the form of [presumably white "liberal"] university lecturers-but is not recorded as having taken guests to the Mesquakie Native American settlement in Tama, to Cedar Rapids' African American or Czech neighborhoods, or to China Town in Chicago. The closest semblance of an outing to an "ethnic community" consisted of taking guests each spring to *German-speaking* Amana colonies!

The lack of sensitivity to issues of ethnic diversity had very much to do with Iowa's predominately white-Anglo ethnic composition, which in 1940 comprised 99.3% of the state's total population of 2,520,691, with .6% consisting of "Negroes" and .03% consisting of "other".³⁷⁹ By 1990 the situation was little different, with white-Anglos comprising 96.6% of the state's total population of 2,829,252, followed by 1.7% consisting of "African-American", 1.2% consisting of "Hispanic" and .26% of "Native-American".³⁸⁰ Before various alternative movements of the late 1960s and early 1970s altered popular awareness, most Americans assumed their country to be above all a "White Anglo-Saxon Protestant" one; during the hostel's existence, many of the future proponents of "multi-culturalism" had not yet been born.

At the time, AFSC's idea of diversity consisted of recruiting local volunteers as Scattergood

³⁷⁷ Gertrude King, Letter to Mary Rogers, 23.VI.42.

³⁷⁸ WS, Unpublished Memoirs "American Beginnings", 1994.

³⁷⁹ These figures come from the 73rd edition of the Department of Commerce and the Bureau of the Census' *Statistical Abstract of the United States*. Washington, D.C., 1952.

³⁸⁰ *World Almanac*. New York, 1996.

staff. Reed Cary wrote to Sara Pemberton to emphasize the desirability of having the population of Iowa

represented among the young volunteers at Scattergood... Of course, here in the East we are not acquainted with the merits of Iowa young Friends, and I am wondering whether thee would not be willing to look into this matter and send us thy suggestions.³⁸¹

Pemberton responded:

I am very much interested in the volunteer workers at Scattergood, and think that if these guests are to be permanently placed in the middle west, it might be quite well to have some of the helpers from this part of the country.³⁸²

Despite Friends' assumption that the origins of the hostel's staff would be key to the refugees' understanding of American-or Midwestern-life, the make-up of American society in general would be most important. All of the Europeans at Scattergood had urban, educated backgrounds: they may have seen-for example-black people before arriving in the United States, yet presumably few had experienced the degree of ethnic diversity within one society which they would find as "New Americans". Unfortunately, their Quaker hosts did not prepare them enough for that later exposure. Even if they benefitted from a sense of close community at the hostel, that community was not ethnically diverse. A vital key to understanding the refugees' new culture, then, went wholly unprovided.

³⁸¹ Reed Cary, Letter to SHP, 9.V.39.

³⁸² SHP, Letter to Reed Cary, 21.V.39.

Chapter 6 Scattergood Hostel's Community

The sense of community which arose out of the interactions between guests and staff helped or hindered guest rehabilitation and integration or assimilation. The community spirit which developed at Scattergood, however, was not the only relevant sense of "community". Quaker or non-Quaker neighbors-farmers and West Branch inhabitants-as well as individuals from farther afield deeply affected the hostel's mood, activities, goals and effectiveness, both for good and for ill. In the first case refers to an "intentional community", the second to a geographical one.

6.1 Community Spirit within the Hostel

As documented at length in *Chapter 8* of *OHR*, Scattergood staff, guests and visitors all recognized a special spirit at the hostel. Still, as Lucy Selig attested, it was "not easy to talk about Scattergood because Scattergood means a certain spirit, a certain sphere, a certain attitude. Scattergood Hostel...is based on community life".³⁸³ Not merely a center where émigrés could find a bed and blackboard, Scattergood Hostel evolved into a colorful, extended community. Technically created as a program for refugee rehabilitation and integration or assimilation, Richard Schuber saw Scattergood as

no abode of retraining in the conventional sense. It is a retraining, a transformation, of souls. Restless ones become peaceable, imperfect ones enriched, heavy-laden and burdened ones free men [and women], asocial ones contributing. An invisible clockwork is running, into which each little wheel can finally be built in. Quietly and imperceptibly a good spirit lives and moves in Scattergood, and everybody becomes woven in. Those being unwilling, incredulous, skeptical, become collaborators, believers, affirmers.³⁸⁴

Following the refugees' departures, many experienced *Heimweh* for the hostel. As Rosa "Mimi" Scheider saw it, they were "at home at Scattergood" even after they had left it, for there the refugees felt they could

relax and nobody would blame us if we would behave like naughty children, who did not get up in time and did not do what they were supposed to do. We had the feeling of being with a

³⁸³ Lucy Selig, Transcript of a Talk given in the second half of 1940.

³⁸⁴ Richard Schuber, Unpublished Essay, February 1940.

very loving and understanding mother, who spoils her children because she knows that they would soon leave her and have a hard time to go thru.³⁸⁵

Visitors confirmed the guests' special sense of Scattergood. Fellow exile and short-term visitor Vita Stein was "very impressed" by the "fine spirit and the peaceful atmosphere everywhere". She felt privileged

to share this spirit and to learn from the Friends how to live the supreme truth of life. We struggling and persecuted people are sometimes in danger to lose our belief in humanity. An experience like Scattergood helps to regain the belief that 'God created man in His own image'.³⁸⁶

After calling upon the hostel for a visit, AFSC's Mary Rogers praised

the spirit of helpfulness and understanding, the belief in the right of human beings to be different and to contribute to the common good from that very diversity of belief and of culture... The spirit of dedication of those who started Scattergood has been carried on by many since then and the splendid part of this heritage is that it is a cooperative product. Neither Americans nor Europeans could have created alone this new entity, this Scattergood.³⁸⁷

Rogers continued in a spiritual-philosophical vein:

When huge forces seem to be blocking out those things in which we believe so intensely the value of a small demonstration of another way of life is increased. One candle shining in a lighted room may be passed over, but a candle in a darkened room becomes of great moment... If our candle is burning low we can be grateful for this demonstration of the way of light.³⁸⁸

Not everyone had endless praise for the community-spirit said to abound at Scattergood. One guest who perceived a lack of community at the hostel was Ernst Malamerson, who- perhaps projecting-maintained that the refugees themselves, "on the whole, disliked each other considerably".³⁸⁹ He noted that he himself was not "particularly interested" in any of them

³⁸⁵ Mary "Mimi" Scheider, Letter to MB, 12.I.41.

³⁸⁶ Vita Stein, Letter to MB, spring 1942.

³⁸⁷ Mary [Middleton] Rogers, Letter to SH, April 1941.

³⁸⁸ Ibid.

³⁸⁹ At least one other refugee- the German youth Erhard Winter- also held some guests in disregard- and specifically Jews, despite being one himself. He complained: "For the most part [were] a whiny, complaining, smart-alecky bunch who were never satisfied". Winter erroneously felt he had nothing in common with them and "wished to have nothing to do [with them]. They were shirkers" he claimed: "Whenever...a tough or dirty job needed to be done, all the Jews disappeared and it ended up being done by staff or by one of the non-Jews". He maintained that "many of the Jews at S.H. found its simple lifestyle and accommodations somehow demeaning;

and thought them

psychologically anti-America. If you had asked them they certainly would have said they were grateful, pleased and so on. And they were; that was also true. But they felt- as a reaction to the strange and new culture, and to being deprived of whatever positions they had had in the past-a certain superiority to them in many respects. At the same time they doubted fully their ability to re-establish themselves, so were ambiguous.³⁹⁰

And Malamerson's own feeling of-if not disdain-of "lack of interest in these people"? As he explained it, they were mostly older than he, as well as being

from a different social strata-middle-class notions and things like that. And I felt, not superior, but that I was from a different social strata. And they? Well, each one felt that the other did not recognize his or her importance in view of their position.³⁹¹

Regarding a sense of community at the hostel per se, Malamerson thought that while the Quakers "tried very hard to form a community", they "didn't really succeed" because the refugees "were Europeans and to form a new community would be for them psychologically to renounce-to finally renounce totally-their European status. And that was a struggle for them". According to him the refugees at Scattergood didn't form a true community, although they pretended to-"partly to please the staff and partly because, well, there was nothing [else] you could do".³⁹²

Similarly, as an adult Edith [Lichtenstein] Morgan looked back on her childhood experience at Scattergood Hostel and assessed that for at least from her family's point-of-view, relations among the refugees seemed less-than-ideal. As she freely acknowledged, though, the Lichtensteins were not

overly friendly with the other refugees. We didn't really have that much in common with [them:] just by virtue of being refugees thrown together didn't mean we had really anything in common. We were in a new country; we were not really interested in establishing any kind of relationships with the older ones. I am not sure if it was deliberate or not, but...the people that we kept in touch with, they were *all* staff.³⁹³

some expected staff to wait on them; few expressed gratitude, mostly they expressed irritation and self-pity". Winter found the pronounced personality of one of the other guests- for example- particularly offensive and later labeled him "a greasy Jew", referring to the man's attempts to straighten his naturally wavy, dark hair (Letter to CHF, spring 1994).

390 EMH, Interview with MLT, 25.X.95.

391 Ibid.

392 Ibid.

393 Morgan, Ibid.

When asked for further explanation why her parents largely avoided the other refugees, Morgan added that they felt "somewhat" embarrassed by the

haughtiness and demanding behavior of a lot of the refugees who felt that since they had suffered something, that everybody should hand them everything and [they] were also going out of their way to use the language, which must have been frightening to some of the native population. I think that's one of the reasons why my parents tried to stay away from [other exiles] because they had different feelings about these things.³⁹⁴

While the presence or lack of community spirit seems debatable and different from the perspective of then as opposed to of today, Scattergood Hostel remains unique among more-traditional, less-idealistic comparable projects. If nothing else, its inherent promise of social witness and action distinguished it from other refugee programs. Hostel staff member John Kaltenbach hoped that some of the "permanent" aspects of the hostel would be felt "throughout the community", for at Scattergood Quaker

worship and service ideals have been given a geographical focus, which, augmented by the contributions of spirit which have come from a suffering Europe, has raised a powerful witness to meet the condition of our time. It will be good if Scattergood can continue its place as a home for troubled souls and a refuge for all in need, at the same time developing the power so many of us have found there as a continued training center for the life of the spirit.³⁹⁵

If Scattergood Hostel's mission consisted partly of rehabilitating the refugees who came looking for a safe haven in which to rebuild shattered lives, any sense of community it offered them went a long way in helping do that. In terms of providing a quiet, caring environment, Scattergood Hostel excelled. As with most strengths, however, this dynamic also contained inherent weaknesses. As John Kaltenbach and Giles Zimmerman alluded,^[4.3] "kid-gloving" the guests ultimately did more harm than good. At what point did the presence of a nourishing community stop equipping the refugees with a means to salvage what remained of their former lives and start disarming their determination to construct new ones?

Life at Scattergood *could* be very comfortable-perhaps *too* comfortable. Of course healthy,

³⁹⁴ Ibid.

³⁹⁵ John Kaltenbach, Letter to SH, April 1941.

Apparently guest Hans Peters had experienced this spirit at the hostel on a profound level, for after he left he later advised "if you go to Scattergood, someday, to visit the folks there, be open-minded and prepared for the things you cannot see, you cannot touch. I mean the spirit, the atmosphere...". For him, that "spirit is still alive, moving on to responsible service among human society, inspiring greater action in this life" (Hans Peters, "Alumnus Returns", SMNB, 17.I.41 .

adjusted adults seek autonomy. Still, at the hostel those who had known so much hardship and often deprivation found a tranquil daily life, plenty of rich food, an entertaining program of cultural and social events, nice staff to tend to details, agreeable neighbors and more. Lest a number of their guests would stay too long and grow too dependent on the hostel, the staff had to strike and maintain a fine balance between making the refugees cozy and knowing when subtly to nudge them toward their futures. That balance did not prevail in every case; as previously cited, sixteen guests stayed at Scattergood repeatedly and while the average stayed just under four months, a number of them remained at the hostel longer than a year.

6.2 Outside Sentiment Toward the Hostel

Regardless how long they stayed, each of the refugees constituted "those foreigners" living in isolation in the midst of Middle America. The volunteers watching over them remained well aware of the special status their charges held in the local community and fully realized that in the day-to-day problems of the hostel, community support could be "invaluable". Neighbors would

drop in with baskets of peaches or apples. Invitations come from across the state for a refugee to spend a week-end with an American family, play an instrument in an amateur orchestra or address a public meeting. These natural opportunities for fellowship are priceless aids to exiles endeavoring to regain a sense of belonging to the people amongst whom they live.³⁹⁶

Thus the Scattergood Hostel staff practiced flexible restraint in responding to outside events and influences. Both, however, often were more numerous and threatening than admitted publicly.³⁹⁷ On various occasions the hostel and AFSC's staff responded to or worried about negative impressions outsiders might have had of their refugee program. A few of the incidences which arose out of outsiders' resentment or rumor-mongering warrant retelling here:

Before it ever opened the hostel received a cautious reception from some of its neighbors-Quaker and otherwise. This contributed to great sensitivity on the part of some of those in charge to changes in public opinion regarding the project. Just four days after the first hostel guests arrived, Sara Pemberton reassured AFSC's Homer Morris that local opinion was rallying

³⁹⁶ Rich, *Ibid.*, p. 3.

³⁹⁷ Indeed, those hidden fears and resentments surfaced just at the point that the Scattergood staff attempted to transform the closing refugee hostel into a center for displaced Japanese-Americans; unreceptive, negative response in the community shattered those plans.

around the project:

Some very pleasant things happen sometimes. Thy last letter came at a very opportune time. We...have often said to each other, 'Homer Morris told us in the beginning that we would have many problems.' We have already had some of them but with prayer and endeavor not to rush things too much, we are still proceeding, also gaining the support of some of our strongest opposers in the beginning.³⁹⁸

Elsewhere in her letter, however, Pemberton hoped that he might return to the Midwest "some time in the not far distant" and visit the Quaker community at Whittier, Iowa, as Scattergood as a school already had been

so much a part of the people there both older and younger, we are afraid they are dwelling too much on sentiment and maybe losing sight of the vision of service, and benefits to ourselves in the present work at Scattergood. [Still] most of the people in this neighborhood are so closely connected with the work, that we feel our opposition even in the [local] community is gradually breaking down.

It must have been breaking down *very* gradually, for shortly thereafter the hostel's executive board recommended "checking some of the publicity, which we feel has been a detriment to the hostel".³⁹⁹ The report did not indicate if the project's image needed management for the sake of the Quaker or non-Quaker public. By late July 1939 at any rate, John Kaltenbach was worried about of the former. Following the debacle with Albert Martin's ill-received directorship [pp.113-118-*OHR*], he informed Reed Cary that on that very morning he had discovered a "bug in the ointment" in regards to Scattergood Hostel's

future relations to Iowa Friends [while conferring with two Conservative Yearly Meeting members] about money for wiring, insulation and outside painting. They both feel that there will not be another penny forthcoming from this group and that there is little hope in appealing to them in any connection before Yearly Meeting time [in October] at the earliest.⁴⁰⁰

It seems the "reverberations" from the director-centered drama which had played out at Scattergood "hit harder in some quarters" than staff expected or were willing to admit.

For a fuller report on the events surrounding the ensuing controversy, see the epilog of *OHR*.

398 SHP, Letter to Homer Morris, 19.IV.39.

In the mentioned letter from Homer Morris, he had said: "I am sure that you will find a great many difficult problems to work out in connection with the development of this hostel. We always do in any such work. We have found, however, that the Quaker method of "proceeding as the way opens" is a good one to follow" (Letter to SHP, 17.II.39 .

399 "Minutes of the Executive Board of the Scattergood Hostel", 10.V.39.

400 John Kaltenbach, Letter to Reed Cary, 28.VII.39.

Kaltenbach resigned himself to beginning again, as he felt that "all of the groundwork which we laid at the outset has been plowed up in the interim and we shall have to sow our seed all over again. I look forward to a fall and winter of rebuilding and realigning the support".⁴⁰¹

Despite the hostel staff's best efforts, however, sentiment in the larger community toward the hostel was not always positive. Floyd Fawcett, a nearby Quaker farmer and member of the local Scattergood Committee, recalled over five decades later that a common first reaction to the announcement of the hostel's creation consisted of individuals exclaiming

' Well, they're sending all these people out here to take our jobs and they're gonna give them money to buy our farms' and all this. And that was the 'anti-' sentiment that was in a certain part of [the community]. You know, you can't go into a small community of 700 and bring a hostel in within two miles and not have a little [resentment, which] died out pretty soon because people realized that the people who came out here were professional people. I mean, they were doctors, attorneys-people that wouldn't farm; that would be the *last* thing in the world they would do. But the first reaction [regarding] bringing all these people...from New York City that had been some in concentration camps and all that and bring them out in the Midwest. [As] I look back, I think it was probably harder for *those* people to be brought out into the corn country, out here in *completely* different surroundings than they'd been used to. We were pretty corny out here at that time.⁴⁰²

Regardless of its neighbors' degree of acceptance, by December 1940 Scattergood faced a public relations crisis much bigger than that created by the brief presence of controversial Albert Martin as hostel director. A core group centered around a certain Mrs. Dilling had taken upon itself the task of exposing "communists" and other "un-American" elements in the local area. An alarmed Martha Balderston wrote to Mary Rogers:

There seems to be a fresh outbreak of the 'FBI arresting two spies at Scattergood' stories, and so far as I can tell, they originate in [nearby] Tipton. The other day Carl Mather, a lawyer in Tipton and Chairman of the county peace group, asked me about these stories. I told him we had decided the less we said about them the better, but it was for friends of Scattergood such as he to help us by denying them. About the same time Mrs. Davidson [a hostel friend from Stanwood, Iowa] wrote to [staff] Marjorie Edwards. [In turn, Scattergood Committee executive board member] Jay Newlin wrote a letter about the stories to Jim Jordan, the Iowa City representative of the Des Moines *Register*. This brought Jim right out here to know what was what. He has always been very friendly and loyal to Scattergood and, we feel, sincerely interested so I think we are in a strong position with the newspapers. I know there are one or two persons in Tipton who are rabid supporters of Mrs. Dilling and

⁴⁰¹ Ibid.

⁴⁰² In retrospect, however, Fawcett could look back at that period and see it as "very helpful", for after West Branchians "got to know the people it was helpful for the community and I hope we contributed something to help these people who came out here. I thought, while we were involved, that it was a very interesting time" (Interview with MLT, 17.XI.94).

her 'red net-work', and I suspect they are at the bottom of these stories. The stories seem to be the same in every case.⁴⁰³

At least, every time such charges "sprang up", the staff noticed "an increased number of invitations to speak to worthwhile groups".

Balderston's letter followed one sent to Mary Rogers by William Davidson of Stanwood, Iowa, in which he claimed that there was "so much opposition" to the refugees at Scattergood that he felt compelled "clear up some of it if I had some exact information".⁴⁰⁴ Asking first for a list of AFSC work-camps and "what they did in the last two years", he noted that "some people think the A.F.S.C. only does kind deeds for Foreigners". He inquired about the quotas for immigrants from Germany and "the countries she controls [sic]" as well. He concluded his letter, saying that if Rogers mentioned in her reply any AFSC or Scattergood Hostel efforts which were

recognized or encouraged by our government I would be glad. Someone suggested that perhaps the Philadelphia office did not know what was going on out at Scattergood. What do you have to say about that. I want more information to use when people speak unkindly of Scattergood or the A.F.S.C.

In her reply, Rogers expressed interest in Davidson's comment that "there is opposition in Iowa" to the hostel, but said she had expected some "criticism",

as there always is of everything and particularly at this time when Fifth Column hysteria is growing so rapidly... Frequently it is a good thing to take some of the people who are so critical over to the hostel and introduce them to the refugees. When they see the type of people they are and learn what they have suffered, I think they have an entirely different point of view. Many of the refugees can teach us Christianity in the way in which they have met the inhumanity of men toward them.⁴⁰⁵

⁴⁰³ MB, Letter to Mary Rogers, 2.XII.40.

⁴⁰⁴ William Davidson, Letter to "My Dear Sir", 17.XI.40.

⁴⁰⁵ Mary Rogers, Letter to William Davidson, 27.XI.40.

Rogers noted: "You also said that some of our critics thought perhaps we did not know what was going on at Scattergood. Scattergood has been visited by [five specific visitors] and several other members of the staff. I have been there twice, having just returned... I would be very much interested in what they think is going on that we can take exception to".

Altruistic appeals alone would not win the confidence or favor of the locals. As Robert Berquist noted, "One thing...that did help was the fact that Scattergood was dependent upon local businesses for various kinds- for coal, repair of plumbing, grocery items- and [it] did a lot of business in West Branch. This brought West Branch to the hostel and they in that way could understand it better and become acquainted with some of the people and find they were really some interesting people and pleasant people to visit with". A local farmwoman and Quaker,

Rogers attached the following note to copies of William Davidson's letter which she sent to Martha Balderston, as she was unsure how extensive the actual criticism was which he mentioned

nor how far away he lives from you but perhaps you can invite him over and perhaps he may be able to bring one of the chief objectors with him... Where do your groups come from who are visiting Scattergood for week ends? If we can win some of the young people over to the idea they may be able to meet the objections which their elders seem to have so much difficulty in overcoming.⁴⁰⁶

If American adults distrusted European adults, it seems that the children of the former had a much easier time trusting the children of the latter. Asked if she had sensed any prejudice while attending the West Branch elementary school as a child refugee at Scattergood Hostel, Ilse "Elizabeth" [Seligmann/Seaman] Chilton responded: "If there was feeling against refugee children, I was certainly unaware of it" In fact, she found the teachers and other children at the school to be "friendly and helpful". Her fellow refugee Gunther "George" Krauthamer did, too. He felt "astonished" by

how kindly the other pupils [at the West Branch school] acted towards me. Coming into a new school in Europe, it was very difficult to be considered one of them. The first days they usually treated the new pupil as badly as possible. I was very afraid it would be the same here, and how different it turned out.⁴⁰⁷

Krauthamer felt "doubtless" that he would "like it much better in an American school".

Helen Fawcett added: "On the other hand, the women were invited and did come to our homemakers' meetings, which was the women of the community [who] met with the Farm Bureau and had talks about how to do things at home: sewing and cooking and this sort of thing. I remember, too, that some from the hostel came up and we put on a play or something at the high school and there was some interaction [with the local community] that way. I know I took an art course which one of them gave at Scattergood... We all went in and they taught us how to make apple *Strudel* the way the Germans did... It was a way we had a one-to-one interaction with local people" (RFB and Helen Fawcett, Interview with MLT, 17.XI.94 .

⁴⁰⁶ Mary Rogers, Letter to MB, 27.XI.40.

⁴⁰⁷ George Krauthamer, "First Impressions of an American High School", SMNB, 15.IX.42.

Despite the two youngsters' impressions, *some* neighborhood children remained less than "kindly". According to a visiting reporter, "a class of war refugees lay on blankets in the shade of a big maple tree at Scattergood hostel [with] their attention...on John Kaltenbach, 24, youthful Pennsylvania-Dutch Yale graduate and hostel director who was giving a lecture- in English- on the Declaration of Independence. Fifty yards away, on the road, a bright yellow school bus roared by, raising a cloud of dust. The heads of school children stuck out of all the bus windows toward Scattergood. They were yelling wildly. "Hi, yi! German spies. Hi, yi! German spies!" The reporter jerked his head quickly toward the road- then back to the solemn-faced group of refugees. The expressions on their faces did not change. And Kaltenbach, without a change of expression, continued his lecture" (Herbert Owens, "Refugees Learn of U.S.; Hostel

Also doubtless was that "school" had begun really the day he and his family arrived at Scattergood, where a comprehensive program incorporated many aspects of daily life into the refugee's rehabilitation and preparation.

Chapter 7 Scattergood Hostel's Work, Education and Freetime Programs

Seen in the context of Scattergood Hostel's daily life, the areas of work, education and freetime provided a major vehicle for the program's efforts to rehabilitate and integrate or assimilate its guests. Each area contained aspects of both success and ineffectiveness. The most representative of those aspects must be examined in the context of the underlying goal of the hostel: to prepare recovering refugees for life in a new country with often unfamiliar customs, norms, values, expectations and ways of living.

7.1 Work

The division of labor at Scattergood Hostel among refugees and staff offered the guests a diversion from months if not years of emotional strain or -paradoxically-forced idleness. Richard Schuber, for example, celebrated what he described as an "opportunity to spend our time with people and things after a day's work which has been done under no pressure and coercion".⁴⁰⁸ Fellow Scattergood guest Lucy Selig went farther, explaining that there was "no sharp distinction" between American staff members and the refugees, as

all share in the tasks of lectures, household and fields... In the very beginning of the Hostel it was difficult to...train city people to work in the fields. Because until now the Refugees were using their heads too much and their hands too little. They tried to live with only their brain functioning. But at Scattergood a curious thing happened to most of them: they feel a deep satisfaction during their work time; they lose all thoughts of worry and sorrows and you may imagine what that means in our special situation.⁴⁰⁹

The tremendous amount of work necessary for the hostel's operation also provided an excuse to attack its guests' assumptions about class, labor and status. Many had come to America as professionals, few as semi-skilled workers. In Depression-battered America, though, if they were to survive they had to reconsider gender roles, their own professional

⁴⁰⁸ Richard Schuber, Unpublished Essay, February 1940.

⁴⁰⁹ Lucy Selig, "A Quaker Project", SMNB, 17.X.40.

Refugees initially did have difficulty adjusting to the amount of hostel work: "At first, we were greatly astonished at the huge quantities of everything- dishes to be washed, shirts to be washed and ironed, and food to be prepared. But since we work in teams (the men help with every work), we got used to it very soon" (Lotte Liebman, Letter to Mary Rogers, 7.III.40 .

worth and possible future careers. Regarding cultural assumptions about work based on gender, Grete Rosenzweig remarked that

men in Europe do not take part in household tasks, but the right idea of the Quakers was that husband AND wife should attend to household duties since-to get a new start-both members of the family had to go to work, so men washed, ironed, cooked, washed dishes and cleaned together with the women.⁴¹⁰

Margot Weiss concurred, saying that "an overwhelming impression was to see men doing jobs which in Europe were considered far beneath their dignity, such as dishwashing, scrubbing floors, laundering, etc. Some of them worked with real skill and pleasure".⁴¹¹

Staff members-both at the hostel and AFSC-realized that "for many a European man to don apron and dish-towel" was a "novel experience", but more importantly "soon it dawns on them that this is the 'American Way', that one can be proud of knowing how to handle an axe, wield a paint-brush or hoe a row of corn. Nothing has done more to win the respect for foreigners in the mid-west [sic]" AFSC's John Rich claimed, "than for American visitors to the hostel to find the whole group hard at work".⁴¹² For their part, the guests well understood that they had to find "a way to adapt ourselves to our new life. It is a vital condition of our living in a new country".⁴¹³

Despite the exiles' eagerness to adapt, American staff members realized that their guests came to them with very different, culturally specific ideas about individual rights as well as responsibilities. Despite difficulties on the refugees' parts at first to adjust, the staff persevered in efforts to encourage the Europeans to operate from new, self-directed modes of behavior. For that reason, AFSC had as an adopted policy "to avoid imposed discipline", as one of the most difficult

but important adjustments that Europeans must make to the American way of living is the acceptance of the practice of individual freedom. How often the refugees have asked in a body that orders be given and leaders be appointed to see that the orders are carried out. But

⁴¹⁰ Grete Rosenzweig, Unpublished Memoirs "My Life Told for My Grandchildren", 1974.

⁴¹¹ Margot Weiss, "Impressions of Scattergood", SMNB, 17.VII.41.

⁴¹² Rich, Ibid., p. 2.

⁴¹³ Emil Deutsch, "The Refugee and American Life", Essay in SMNB, 17.III.41.

that is not the Quaker way nor the way life should be lived in a democracy. The day's work should be accomplished by voluntary cooperation, not by compulsion.⁴¹⁴

7.2 Education

The educational program at Scattergood reflected the same hands-off philosophy which guided the work program. Even if a hostel motto consisted of "Speak English and be proud of it!" and one staff member sat at each table to encourage the refugees to hold English-based mealtime conversations, no other attempts even resembling force to prod the Europeans to improve their English are documented to have taken place.⁴¹⁵ To short-term summer staff member Gertrude King this attitude seemed too lax. In her view, such a loose approach did not suffice, as various groups of refugees performed differently, with the poorer of them suffering from the lack of a coherent, professional teaching plan-in addition to their own inner barriers. King cared enough about the success of the Scattergood program to write several single-spaced pages to Mary Rogers. Her impressions warrant being quoted at length:

The young people under 30 or those with a purpose and aim in life who are between 30 and 45 can learn English and learn it well. They remember what you tell them and give you real encouragement when you notice their progress. But they would have been able to learn English anywhere, although perhaps not as quickly as they do at Scattergood. There are however three other groups who are the problem students: those who come with bad habits; the old ones and those who can't seem to learn any more... especially those over 60.⁴¹⁶

King held that older refugees learn "very slow and get easily discouraged" in the process. She said they saw little progress-"and there is little". She said they found it "hard to remember" and for many of them, after having come from Europe, where they

⁴¹⁴ Ibid.

⁴¹⁵ As Peter Curtis- grandson of AFSC-staff Reed Cary- saw it, "One requirement of living in a new country that all could agree to at once was the need to learn anew language, history and literature. From the very beginning classes were held in all these subjects, taught by staff members. Coupled with them was an effort...to ensure that the predominant language used at the hostel would be English. The minutes of one staff business meeting after another are filled with exhortations to try to impress on the residents the importance of using the language of their adopted land in their daily conversation. That they were not doing so was clearly the product of habit, not intention. English language classes were the best attended and considered by all to be the most important at the hostel" (Essay "*The Scattergood Refugee Hostel and Iowa Friends*, 1938-1943", p. 6).

⁴¹⁶ In a letter she wrote to "Trudy" King on 3 June 1942, Mary Rogers admitted that "the problem of teaching English to older people is one that is almost insurmountable. I don't wonder that the staff becomes discouraged".

had to struggle to exist and therefore found existence worthwhile, now that they have a moment to think and relax, they see little prospect ahead of them. What types of jobs can they obtain besides household positions, for they are rather old to be retrained and often they have heart trouble or are weak for some other reason. Also they have probably been accustomed to a great deal of intellectual stimulation and how are they going to get this in their job; granting that they can even land a job. So they see little hope of a job ahead and little hope of an interesting one; as one said life was no longer interesting to him. None of them in particular want to live to an old age. So their English progress is very slow and painful and occasionally they weep on your shoulder.⁴¹⁷

Besides age and professional prospects, gender seemed to affect the refugees' ability to learn English, too. It seemed that women had more difficulties learning than men, for in many cases the women had had very hard lives "over there", "keeping the family together, walking across France with the children and finally meeting up with their husbands who came out of the camps. Now that they are here it is comparatively quiet and they relax; it is an effort to learn English".⁴¹⁸ As might be expected, the subject being taught helped determine how easy or difficult learning English was for the refugees, as-for example-in history classes, where the refugees paid "a great deal" of attention, as they found the lectures "interesting". King said that

even the oldest Europeans can remember what they hear in these classes. In the grammar classes, some of the people profit a great deal remembering what has been said and applying the rules whenever possible. But the grammar really seems to sink into the minds of the problem students. The older people do pay attention and get something out of the classes but on the whole they do not seem to be as effective as the history classes. Phonetics is another matter, for although they all learn the phonetic alphabet and know how to use it and sometimes even speak correctly in the class, they do not seem to carry this over to outside of class.⁴¹⁹

Finally, the setting also had an influence, as "a great deal" was learned outside of the classes in the context of informal contacts while doing lunch preparation, which usually was "rushed"-

but good discussions can be held over the washing, ironing and mangling. These occasionally become so involved that all work stops while you finish the discussion. Paradoxically they often seem to learn more when their main attention is focused on something else. The evening lectures are usually good and useful for they stir up a great deal of discussion. The public speaking is also a good idea although that is also discouraging. Europeans, staff members and visitors can speak and they are all criticized in public. But it

⁴¹⁷ Gertrude King, Letter to Mary Rogers, 23.V.42.

On a positive beat, Gertrude noted: "On the whole... Scattergood is doing a great deal for the people there now. [Refugees] meet Americans in very informal settings and get to know our customs and our idiosyncracies. We all do the same things together, play, work and learn. Most of them like Iowa when they get there but are disappointed not to find any Indians" (p. 4).

⁴¹⁸ Ibid., p. 2.

⁴¹⁹ Ibid.

is somewhat of a torture to have your mistakes pointed out publicly, to be torn apart in front of the whole group. Some speeches lead to discussions.

According to King, often the impromptu discussions were the most interesting learning activities at Scattergood and the subjects they covered ranged from

the history of the individual Europeans to sharecroppers in East Prussia, the difference between American and German standards of living, what is necessary to make a man handsome, is there a system to play Chinese checkers, should women's place really in the home, what are the implications of the Christian revolution, are work camps a realistic approach to life, can one be a pacifist after hearing L's life, what is a Quaker, what are the implications of the American backing of the social revolution which may take place in the Far East, and when do you think I will get a job.⁴²⁰

The range of topics visited during hours of instruction at Scattergood may have been wide, but that instruction does not seem to have been deep. This point, however, involves difficult and conflicting considerations. For one thing, the average guest stayed less than four months; juggled with outdoor or house-hold work, social obligations in both the surrounding Quaker and non-Quaker community, job interviews, etc., the number of hours available for serious, in-depth instruction remained limited. As this partial list of duties indicates, education had to compete with other demands on guests' and staff members' time. Given the amount of time available, the staff had to choose which topics were essentials: those included English of course, but also driving lessons, cooking per American ingredients or measurements, U.S. history and culture and government and-as "extras"-special topics such as current events, labor or race relations, etc. With these restraints, how possible was it *really* to offer the exiles serious, in-depth instruction? Was such training crucial and to what extent did it play a decisive role in first rehabilitating, then integrating or assimilating the refugees? The adults among them came to America mostly as well-educated, highly motivated people; beyond language skills, any gaps in their education relevant to the task in front of them consisted mostly of gaining information specific to navigating their way through American society. As AFSC's John Rich explained, "The study courses offered at Scattergood...are intended to give the residents a realistic understanding of America".⁴²¹

7.3 Freetime

As with education, freetime-besides restoring both guests and staff- was meant to

⁴²⁰ Ibid., pp. 2-3.

⁴²¹ Rich, Ibid., p. 2.

complement the on-going process of "Americanizing" refugees. John Rich explained that recreation at AFSC-sponsored hostels consisted of "simple, unaffected pleasures" he labeled as "characteristically American":

Picnics, outings to points of interest in surrounding cities, amateur theatricals, music. The hostel group delights in impromptu parties [which often] had weeks of preparation and rehearsal and, with German ingenuity, [became] a professional performance that demanded public attention. Thus the community has been drawn into musical and theatrical events that have done much to increase confidence and respect.⁴²²

Of course, freetime was not used as a tool for propagating American pastimes only; the refugees also used the time simply for their own pleasure. Both objectives, however, often were met concurrently. Visitor Gertrude King observed that there was no problem concerning recreation, as

the children have their roller skates, swing, sandbox and can always make up their own games, build Indian houses and so forth. The old people do not want anything strenuous and enjoy talking, reading, playing games such as Chinese checkers, croquet or listening to the radio. The frequent parties are a welcome diversion as are the trips to Iowa City. Baseball after supper can be enjoyed by the more strenuous ones and later there may be some picnics and swimming excursions.⁴²³

As seen in King's mention of building Indian houses and playing baseball, freetime also lent itself to "Americanization". Complete success in "Americanizing" the refugees would have been for nothing, though, had it not augmented the chances that the "New Americans" would find an agreeable niche in their adopted country. Esthetic considerations aside, however, there remained the very practical consideration of how well the rehabilitated guests would be integrated or assimilated into American life professionally: the success or failure of job-placement went a long way toward determining that.

⁴²² Ibid.

⁴²³ Gertrude King, Letter to Mary Rogers, 23.V.42.

Chapter 8 Scattergood Hostel's Job Placement Program

Scattergood's job-placement efforts produced both pronounced failures and hope-inspiring success stories.⁴²⁴ Ultimately, the hostel's job-placement record indicates the degree to which the premises upon which it operated facilitated or hindered Quakers' wish to welcome, restore and assist refugees.

8.1 Premises

From the outset, Friends realized that the ultimate mark of successfully integrated or assimilated "New Americans" would depend on the degree to which their guests found suitable, satisfying work. For refugees to be well-placed, however, Scattergood Hostel required a competent placement director. That appointment proved most difficult to fill. Leaving such crucial work to a staff member whose express duties did not include job-placement-in this case John Kaltenbach [p. 227-*OHR*]-resulted if not in disaster than in clear failure. While slow to secure a job-placement director, AFSC did realize the positions' importance, as in June 1939 Reed Cary told Scattergood Committee executive board members that "the success or failure of the Scattergood Hostel now depends upon getting the right placement man, and the result of his work".⁴²⁵

Reed Cary made his remarks during Giles Zimmerman's visit to the hostel with his wife Lynn as the Scattergood Committee interviewed several candidates. Being chosen over two other applicants, Zimmerman served as the first of two appointed job-placement directors during the hostel's existence. Upon his departure some 14 months later, the affable, reportedly able man was asked to outline some of the qualifications he considered "essential" in his replacement. He thought that a

1. Quaker view point is almost essential.
2. Business contacts not too important
3. One of the biggest assets is to be able to analyze the people here.
4. Selling experience is needed. (Ability to talk to businessmen without fear.)

⁴²⁴ Securing work and establishing a career were fundamental steps in adjusting to life in America. See Davie, *Ibid.*, pp. 129-142 for information on "occupational adjustment".

⁴²⁵ "Report of the Executive Board, June 22nd and 23rd", 1939.

5. To be there on the follow up. Let the Europeans know you remember them.⁴²⁶
6. To be able to get the cooperation of the people here.
7. You have to know business well enough to understand the business man.⁴²⁷

Whoever the committee chose, the person would be busy, for the position meant "scouring the countryside" to find interested community groups, churches, private institutions or commercial/industrial employers willing to consider refugees' qualifications. Many openings were "self-offered", while others were secured through cooperation with refugee committees in Midwestern cities. All were filled with emphasis on "the suitability of the [person] for the job".⁴²⁸

AFSC also realized that not only the placement director, but placement itself constituted a decisive element in the process of securing the guests' professional futures. Reed Cary told Sara Pemberton that regarding the appointment of a placement director, the more AFSC considered the matter, the more important job-placement efforts appeared, for it tried to ascertain that

no serious difficulties are going to arise in connection with this project up to the point where the 'guests' have stayed what we believe to be their allotted time and are ready to go out and take their places in the various communities. At this point we need to marshal all our knowledge of communities in the 500 mile radius, all our friends and all the strength of all cooperating local communities to see that the newcomers are filtered in in such a manner as to provide them with a livelihood and yet not interfere with the livelihood of any worthy local individuals.⁴²⁹

⁴²⁶ Regarding follow up, Lynn Zimmerman wrote: "The Scattergood placement worker has always made at least one call for follow up. This call was usually arranged at the time of the placement. Judging by the number of minor difficulties straightened out (some might have resulted in dismissals if not corrected before the misunderstandings became too great) this follow-up with the employer and refugee is absolutely essential to successful and permanent placement. This pre-arranged call usually takes place about six weeks from the date the refugee starts work. In all cases except one...all refugees have had five or more follow up calls. When the placement worker is in the vicinity he always calls on refugees who have been placed. He only sees employers at request of refugee after the first follow-up call. On one occasion the employer sent for him. Many refugees are placed in [nearby larger] cities... where the placement worker makes frequent calls looking for new positions; these refugees therefore receive calls every few weeks, although such frequent calls are not necessary. The placement man always calls on special request as soon as possible. There is a close contact maintained by letters to the persons placed. There is at least one letter a month, and frequently more" (Essay, "Placement Analysis, Scattergood Hostel, West Branch, Iowa", 21.VII.40 .

⁴²⁷ "Minutes of the Executive Board", 27.X.41.

⁴²⁸ Rich, *Ibid.*, p. 3.

⁴²⁹ Reed Cary, Letter to SHP, 6.IV.39.

If Friends worried about arousing anti-foreigner sentiment from natives who felt threatened by potential foreign-born competitors for jobs, at least the experiences of one refugee

The final factor in the refugee-to-"New American" equation, obviously, consisted of the refugees themselves. A personalized combination of skills, ambition, optimism, perseverance and flexibility determined whether or not each woman or man would find an acceptable assignment. According to Giles Zimmerman as he parted, the job-placement program would not have been successful without the "full cooperation" of the refugees themselves for, in many cases, they had to be willing to accept positions which

greatly reduced their previous standard of living; to perform work that taxed their physical abilities; to work under the handicap of not knowing the language. A few cases [were unable] to do the job secured for them, and another had to be found; in other cases, they had to remain in an inferior position until something better was secured. In nearly every instance, they have been able to better themselves within six months or twelve months by an increase in salary or a better position⁴³⁰.

8.2 Failures

From the records available-and despite any rosy pictures presented by parting staff-it seems one of the greatest weaknesses in Scattergood Hostel's job-placement efforts laid in those most responsible for it. As mentioned, John Kaltenbach-while exceptionally gifted in other areas-simply lacked the time and attention necessary to do the task due justice. Giles Zimmerman's record remains unstained by a single complaint among the sources consulted; that of his replacement, however, does not. Laurence "Par" Danforth arrived at the hostel enjoying important political capital: his predecessor had worked with him all of December 1941 and thought Danforth capable of "a very splendid job. He comes to us with much experience in public relations, has a deep interest in this work, and will, I know, receive the cooperation of all

contradicted such fears. Said Hamburg professor of art history Erwin Panofsky: "No foreign art historian has, to the best of my knowledge, ever displaced an American-born. Immigrants were either added to the staffs of college or university departments already in being...or were entrusted with the task of instituting the teaching of the history of art where it had been previously been absent from the scene. In either case the opportunities of American students and teachers were widened rather than narrowed" (Panofsky in Crawford, 1953, p. 92).

⁴³⁰ In the previous paragraph, Zimmerman had written: "In carrying out our program, we have tried to keep our wage-earners in their former lines of work, whenever possible. In many cases this could not be done; and while they now may be far below the standard they had in Europe, at least they are in their own field, in a position to make the best contribution possible to our way of life, and are thus given an opportunity to proceed on their own merits- the chance they ask of us. In other cases, they have had to use an avocation or a hobby for a start in this country, and in a few cases, they have had to try something entirely new to them. Many different fields have accepted our New Americans, including: engineer-ing, teaching, music, farm products, business, manufacturing, sales, advertising, institution-al work and individual enterprises" ("Scattergood's Placement Record", SMNB, 12.XII.41 .

of you".⁴³¹

Perhaps Danforth did receive the cooperation of all; he did not, however, earn the respect of all. Walter Shostal, for one, placed much of the blame for what he perceived as Scattergood Hostel's failed placement program on Danforth. As he told it, upon being invited to reside at Scattergood Hostel,

nothing was specified as to the length of stay or where we would go from there. 'You have a good rest and relax. Catch your breath after what you have been through. As to the future, we shall see'. The general expectation was that the Hostel would help us to find a job and to be resettled somewhere. At least that was the general idea.

As Shostal explained, however, the ideal did not always match the reality. As he recalled, he and his family were "happy" at Scattergood, where they savored

peaceful surroundings, the friendly people, the relaxed mood. We were, however, also worried and tense about our future. Where would we go from here and when would we leave? It was a strange situation; the future was not discussed [but] veiled. The Hostel had been operating for a few years; 'guests' had arrived and left. What had become of them? They had been settled somewhere and had been placed in jobs. What kind of jobs? It was not discussed. It seemed taboo-a little like sex in our post-Victorian morality... It was the same with our length of stay: there was a mystery about it.

Shostal described the bearer of vital job-related news as an "Angel of Death" who would "give you the sign when it was time to go". That role, he said, was played by Danforth, about whom he maintained there was "indeed something mysterious about his coming and going". Supposedly Danforth was

the man who was out beating the bushes to find jobs for us. He would stay at the Hostel for a few days and then be gone for weeks. It must have been a difficult assignment to find jobs for this motley group of middle-aged recent immigrants, who mostly were well-educated intellectuals. The country was still in the throes of the Great Depression; the armament of America had only begun.

Although claiming "I am in no position to judge", Shostal said the whole affair

was all so hush hush; where people moved to, what became of them... This part of the Hostel undertaking-I am tempted to say-was an utter failure. Maybe Par was at fault, but more likely it was the philosophy underlying the undertaking. Par was a strange man, distant and cool. He [had personal problems which complicated his work]. The main problem lay, however, in the [Quakers'] basic concept. At the time we did not understand the problem; we knew too little of the ways in which American society and economy functioned... I suspect that the policy-making people at the AFSC had the wrong concept who their guests would be. They confused then with the 'huddled masses', the immigrants of past decades who had

⁴³¹ Zimmerman, Ibid.

built the railroads and peopled the sweatshops. These guests at Scattergood Hostel were in most cases highly-educated individuals who were able to find a niche in American society where they could make a valid contribution and build for themselves an economic position. It was wrong...to tell them: 'What you did in the old country has no value here; you have to start at the bottom again, washing dishes and digging dishes. You are a *tabula rasa* and have to become a new person, so as to become an American'.

In contrast to the placement of Scattergood guests in general, to elaborate his point that Danforth's efforts to place him lacked creativity, Shostal offered "our own cases", which consisted of two Europeans holding Ph.D.s. He asked:

would it not have made sense to try for a spot at a small college or on the faculty of a boarding school? As far as we knew, no such attempt was made. Years later [wife] Magda taught at a small prep school not far from New York City for very little money. My qualifications to teach would have been less secure, but I could have given German, world history, philosophy and also Latin. Or, was it entirely absurd to think of a job as a photo editor or picture researcher? At the time, I had no idea such jobs existed.

After months of looking unsuccessfully for employment for Shostal, busy Par Danforth finally located an assembly-line factory job in Davenport, Iowa- which the former Vienna- and Paris-based photo agent later quit. Despairing, Shostal returned to Scattergood for the long Christmas weekend, where he and his wife Magda had "a long talk", as they felt the need to make a decision:

We were not told that we had to leave Scattergood, but we felt that the time had come. What should we do? That thing in Davenport seemed completely futile. We did not like the idea, but we could not see another way but back to New York. A few weeks earlier I had written to *Time* magazine, applying for an editorial job. I had a rather hazy idea what qualifications were needed as a journalist. I was hoping that my knowledge of European life and politics were an asset and that my newly-acquired knowledge of English might suffice. I got a polite answer from *Time* magazine: if I were to come to New York, I should come by for an interview. I did not have any real hope that this promised much, but I played the optimist when talking to Martha Balderston. Reluctantly she agreed to my wish to go back; Scattergood would pay the fare.⁴³²

Shostal left the hostel assuming that Danforth had dismissed him as "an abject failure", but his experience may not have been universal among the refugees-especially those who sojourned at Scattergood prior to Danforth's stint as job-placement director. Upon reading Shostal's account, former-volunteer Camilla [Hewson] Flintermann took exception to his analysis:

I don't think the 'secrecy' re: job plans & moves was there in [placement director Giles Zimmerman's] time-that may have been partly Par's way of operating-& maybe wartime

432 WS, Ibid.

difficulty? [Danforth took over as job-placement director three weeks after the bombing of Pearl Harbor.] We always knew where people were going, what jobs, etc.⁴³³

At least Danforth saw his job-placement efforts as successful, for a year after the hostel closed he declared in the *Scattergood News Bulletin's* special 1944 edition that it had been his "joy and good fortune" to have visited "a great many" of the former refugees "in all parts of the country" since the hostel had closed. He exclaimed:

sometimes I've scarcely been able to believe how well things have been turning out for everyone. A marvelous story of success and a new zest for living could be told if it were only possible to gather us all together for a few days once more at West Branch. Maybe it would take longer-a week perhaps. But no matter how long it took, it would be worth it, for it would warm your heart exceedingly.

Like it did with the position of director, AFSC betrayed the position of job-placement director. Both played crucial roles in the success of the hostel, yet neither received the priority, time nor funds it deserved. Establishing hostels where Europeans fleeing Nazi terror might find a safe haven was a noble and worthwhile goal. If American Quaker bodies lacked the resources necessary to operate such centers as well as required, however, one might argue that they should have reconsidered the endeavor before undertaking it. Then again, given the urgent, desperate plight of the victims of Nazism, maybe offering less-than-perfect refuge was preferable to taking no action at all-the response of far too many silent bystanders at the time.

8.3 Successes

Scattergood's overall program of refugee rehabilitation, integration or assimilation might have been less-than-perfect, but it was not without its successes. Several of the hostel guests fared exceptionally well-as seen in the placements of Martha Schmidl, Louis Koropatnick, Erhard Winter and Karl Buchowitz [see chapter 12-*OHR*]. Most helpful of all were cases in which hostel staff might not have landed their guests an ideal placement, but at least set them off equipped with skills which prepared them to adapt to conditions or opportunities they might find. Even the "failure" of not finding a quick job-placement increased the refugees' chances of later success, as it meant a longer stay at the hostel, where they might acquire the knowledge necessary for later entry into American life. As staff member Ruth Carter saw it:

Although it is hard for some to 'wait' so long, such a wait may also be a contribution both to the orientation of the individual and the growing community life of the hostel. Thus the

⁴³³ CHF, Letter to MLT, 25.XI.94.

feeling of 'belonging' somewhere is developed at the same time that the individual is being prepared to leave this temporary home⁴³⁴.

According to two-time guest Ernst [Malamerson] van den Haag, the primary value of having been at Scattergood consisted of "slowly becoming aware" of American ways of life and "ready to adjust". He admitted, though, that was not easy, as "on the whole" adjusting to America meant surrendering the pretense

that you're still in Europe. That's what most of us did, in fact, because we came...from a marvelous paradise compared to what [refugees] had here at least in the beginning and most of them were very tempted to give up [and] reject the 'inferior' American lifestyle... At Scattergood they met a very friendly... accepting, tolerant and even a warm environment-the type that helped them. What Iowa gave to them was a sense of acceptance and a sense of hope which they needed-and that was very important.⁴³⁵

In most cases, it was exactly this "safe haven", this place to find "a sense of acceptance and a sense of hope" which most benefitted refugees in regards to their future professional lives in America. Few of them, though, went directly from Scattergood Hostel to their Dream Career; their first work, then, would be a "job" which only later might lead to an "occupation" in the New World.

8.4 Specific Examples

Despite the obstacles facing them, most Scattergood Hostel guests were able to find a niche-however satisfactory or not-in the American world of work. To "prove" Scattergood Hostel's successes, however, it is not enough to simply make abstract claims; those claims must be substantiated by specific examples-thus this section considers a few [each can be found in *Chapter 12-OHR*]. Davie's landmark study of refugees in the U.S. as a group considered their experiences under a number of categories. Using some of those categories and adding some others yields the ten following headings:

8.41 Scholars, Intellectuals, Students and Scientists

One-time Berlin *Senat* statistician Kurt Schaefer did not have to roam far from Scattergood Hostel to find a promising position; eighteen kilometers away, he landed first a half-time, later a full-time position teaching economics and geography at the State University of Iowa in Iowa

⁴³⁴ Ruth Carter, Report titled "Scattergood- August, 1939".

⁴³⁵ EMH, Interview with MLT, 25.X.95.

City. Before his life ended in tragedy, Schaefer greatly increased awareness of international and political issues across the Upper Midwest through public-speaking tours and articles commissioned by the *Des Moines Register*. Perhaps for him the most significant project he ever undertook, he also produced a post-humously published major article, "Exceptionalism In Geography: A Methodological Examination" [pp. 227-229-OHR].

Former Hamburg journalist Richard Schuber—who wrote several colorful, moving pieces about Scattergood and Quaker practice while at the hostel—eventually found a niche for his talents at a publishing house in Elgin, Illinois [p. 153-OHR]. A man similarly intrigued with concepts of community, Otto Bauer—once also a journalist, in his native Vienna—remained active in social-change work after leaving Scattergood Hostel.

All three above-cited men were over 35; much younger men interested in intellectual pursuits seemingly fared better. Erhard Winter, Gerry Schroeder, Donald Hopf, Friedrich Lichtman, Ernst Malamerson and Peter Lustig—all but Vienna-born Lichtman being Germans—received college scholarships and later specialized in orthopedic surgery, business management and accounting, chemistry, economics and veterinary science, respectively [pp. 232-235-OHR]. Interestingly, female guests at Scattergood also left the hostel for higher-learning or research, with both Vienna's Sabine Hirsch and Warsaw's Sonia Braun later landing chemistry-related research positions in laboratories in Minneapolis, Minnesota.

8.42 Teachers

In some cases, individuals who had not necessarily taught in Europe took advantage of specific skills or interests and did so in the United States. Pianists Gunther Meyer of Hamburg and Hans Schimmerling of Vienna both gave lessons to interested persons, while former Berlin-*Volks Bühne* actress Grete Baeck accepted a position at the Omaha Children's Theater where she modelled stage management for aspiring starlets. Given more conventional appointments, Ludwig and Kaethe Unterholzer went from West Branch to Versailles, Kentucky, to teach music appreciation and piano, gymnastics and swimming in a private school. Theodor Frankl and Magda Shostal—both Vienna natives—later accepted positions at parochial schools in New York's Hudson Valley—the former at a Catholic, the later at an Episcopal institution [pp. 235-237, all-OHR].

At a higher level, Walter Baron of Berlin and Sonia Braun of Warsaw both offered instruction at the State University of Iowa; Vienna-born Peter Grünwald completed his studies in economics via a teaching assistantship, then taught at the Iowa State College in Ames. Judge

Julius Lichtenstein of Limburg, Germany, eventually found teaching posts Minnesota's Twin Cities, first at the University of Minnesota in Minneapolis and later at Macalester College in Saint Paul [p. 237, all-OHR].

8.43 Lawyers and Judges

Very specialized professionals, lawyers and judges experienced much more difficulty in finding work in America related to their field of expertise in Europe. Renaming himself "Louis Croy", young Jewish Viennese lawyer Louis Koropatnický remade his career, too-by enrolling in law courses at Topeka, Kansas' Washburn College. Upon requalifying to practice law while at the University of Wisconsin, he went to work for a firm in Manitowoc-"the best (earning)...in this part of the state". He wrote to the Scattergood staff:

I am very fond of my job, and, as a matter of fact, I never have liked a job better. I am quite successful, and my work is appreciated by the members of the firm. However, I am not yet a member of the Bar, since I am not a citizen.⁴³⁶

In his 50s and unable to requalify his law degree, former Berlin lawyer Martin Kobylinski left Scattergood for a bookkeeping job in Iowa City. Two years later, though, he was reported as working as a legal editor of a "well-known monthly edition of new laws...together with a number of lawyers in Chicago". Former-lawyer Leo Keller of Vienna fared less well, finding work first in a jewelry firm and later in a factory "dyeing and cutting belts and suspenders"; Ernst Turk-a former Berlin judge-took a job in at a Chicago bookstore by day and studied law by night. Fellow German judge Walter Lenzberg did accounting for a Chicago clothing factory by day and attended accounting courses at Northwestern University by night [pp. 240-243, all-OHR].

8.44 Social Workers

Marianne Welter had collaborated in Berlin with the renowned social *Pädagoge* Walter Friedlander in a daycare center for unemployed youth; in the U.S., then, she decided to pursue related work. First she did undergraduate training at the University of Chicago's School of Social Work Administration- by coincidence during former Scattergood Hostel staff Earle Edwards' last year of graduate studies there-and spent a summer as housemother at the Ridge

⁴³⁶ "Scattergood Hostel News- Special Alumni Number", April 1943.

Farm Preventorium near Deer Park, Illinois.⁴³⁷ Returning to her studies in fall 1942, Welter did graduate work at Cleveland's Western Reserve University, then worked at a settlement house in the same city before moving to New York, where she became the first white staff member of a residential Afro-American school. Following the war she returned to Germany with the Unitarian Service Committee as director first of a hostel for displaced children from various countries⁴³⁸, later of a retraining program for German social workers who had been certified by the Nazis. After half a decade she returned to Cleveland to earn a doctorate, then to New York to research the degree to which inter-racial or -cultural adoptions succeeded or failed. Thereafter Welter worked at Long Island's Adelphi University, where she started a program to train undergraduates to become masters of social work after one year [p. 238-*OHR*].

Having been sorely critical of Scattergood Hostel's staff, Hans and Heidi Ladewig became caseworkers at the Kickapoo Friends Mission near McCloud, Oklahoma-an assignment worlds away from their native Berlin in more ways than one. Dresden's Hans Peters first tried his hand at landscape gardening, then landed in the U.S. Army and later indulged a passion closer to his heart-high school counseling in Rockford, Illinois [p. 238, both-*OHR*].

Perhaps one of Scattergood's happiest job-placement success stories, Martha Schmidl of Vienna left the hostel "with much regret". Her regret could not have lasted long, however, as she took an "attractive position" in New York, with the mission of collecting data on social and working conditions of laborers in various countries and preparing a comparative study from the data. From her post she wrote: "I like this kind of work, I am very much interested in the results, and am happy that I finally achieved it to work in a line that is close to what I was in in Europe" [p. 239-*OHR*].

8.45 Physicians and Medical Workers

Frankfurt-am-Main natives Alfred and Martha Adler-he a doctor and she a nurse-were found posts at a state-run sanatorium at nearby Oakdale, Iowa. Just down the road in Iowa City, Lucy Selig of Würzburg found a brief appointment at the State University Hospital's Psychopathic Clinic, while Moscow-native Eugenia Landycheff accepted a laboratory assistant

⁴³⁷ Nora Hackel was already working in the same capacity in a house there containing 28 children and her mother Hedwig was serving as a cook; in her spare time, "Omi" also did embroidery work while looking after little Nicole, who by then was 4 years old.

⁴³⁸ Marianne had experience running children's homes: after she and Nora Hackel fled Berlin- both "militant" SPD members and the latter a Jew- the two established a home for

position at Brooklyn's Beth-El Hospital. Hamburg's Paul Singer worked as an operation-room assistant at New York's Mount Sinai Hospital and German-born Rosa Schiffman also worked "long hours in her hospital job" in the same city. Formerly of Kassel, Grete Rosenzweig engaged in "practical nursing" while working also as a dietetic assistant at Eureka College in the Illinois town of the same name [pp. 239-240, all-OHR].⁴³⁹

8.46 Business People

Various guests at the hostel gravitated toward business. Vienna-born Ewald Peissel tried his hand as an assistant at a Cedar Rapids, Iowa, jewelry store, only to return later to West Branch, from where he set out to find his fortune in the nearest metropolis, Chicago. The Benndorfs-Elly and Oskar from Hamburg-also went to work in Chicago, where she did alterations at a department store, he sales for a grocers' wholesale. Down the road in Danville, Illinois, "Jack" and Monique Shumaker of France were offered department-store jobs. Otto Dreyer of Bielefeld, Germany, followed the flood of Scattergood guests flowing to Chicago and worked as an accountant with a "forwarding company" and took an evening course in "Higher Accounting" at the LaSalle Extension University. In a city seemingly full of German-speaking refugees, 60-ish Ernst Feibelman added one more to their number when he left the hostel for a "position in an insurance company" in Chicago [p. 240, all-OHR].⁴⁴⁰

8.47 the Self-employed

Some guests turned to self-employment as a means of self-maintenance. The scale of their enterprises, however, differed. On a micro-level, young Rudi Schreck first went to Corning, Iowa, as night clerk at Hotel Bacon, a "small country inn"; when that did not last, he sold Fuller brushes in Iowa City. Late in the hostel's existence, Pole Michael Krauthamer took his family to Duluth, Minnesota, to open a restaurant. Julius Neuman of Budapest started training in

refugee children in the French capital (Marianne Welter, Interview with MLT, 23.X.94 .

⁴³⁹ For detailed statistical or visual descriptions of refugee physicians in the U.S., see articles "The Problem of the Refugee Physician" and "Immigration of Alien Immigrant Physicians" (*Journal of the American Medical Association* 25#8 [1939]) or the photo-essay "Refugee Doctor" (*Look*, 29.III.46 . Additional material can be found in the National Refugee Service's special-issue booklet called "Pilgrims in Our Time" (April 1946) and Kathryn Close's "A Place to Call Home" (*Survey Graphic* 30#12 [1941]).

⁴⁴⁰ Having been a business person in Europe, in America Rolf Arntal found employment at someone else's business; he worked for the Henry Fields Seed and Nursery Company in Shenandoah, Iowa, for more than 20 years before retiring (RFB, Letter to MLT, 13.III.96 .

watchmaking in Chicago; Theodor Tuerkel of Vienna competed with him, as he took up watchmaking in the same city. Fellow Austrian and confection-connoisseur Claire Hohenadl-Patek tried to fill a niche in the market catering to the American sweet tooth: first working in the famous Helene Rubinstein Kitchens of Manhattan, she then was a partner in a new business which made *Oblatten* and candies. Stanislaw Braun-although a trained statistician and economist-learned the economics of American small business and opened a typewriter repair shop in Minneapolis, Minnesota. Similarly, German leftist Ernst Stahl of Breslau opened his own small electrical business in bourgeois Swarthmore-a suburban Quaker stronghold outside Philadelphia-where customers considered him a "capable, dependable person" to take care of their household electrical problems.⁴⁴¹ Klaus Asher of Berlin left Scattergood Hostel to start a phonograph record business in Chicago [p. 241, all-OHR].

8.48 those Engaged in Manufacturing

Manufacturing also employed a number of one-time Scattergood Hostel refugees. The first to find such a job was Heidelberg's Arthur Drake, who became a tool engineer and designer for one of the world's largest agricultural machinery producers, the John Deere Company of Moline, Illinois. The next was Vienna-born Albert Beamt, who worked as an engineer at a Chicago firm which produced air conditioners. Until the young Vienna native was drafted into the army, Adolf Bardach worked for a construction firm in Des Moines, Iowa. A trained electrical engineer, Berliner Wilhelm Feist accepted a job at a precision-instruments firm in Rock Island, Illinois. A manufacturer of paper bags in his native of Vienna, Richard Guttman left Scattergood for Saint Louis, Missouri, to "work with paper boxes". Though not manning a machine, Otto Joachim of Vienna worked as a bookkeeper/accountant for a Minneapolis manufacturer. Also from Austria's capital, Paul Schwarz sold dry goods at a Chicago department store before switching to manufacturing-in the payroll-personnel department. Vienna's Wilhelm Leitersdorfer found a lucrative position in steel-tool manufacturing in

⁴⁴¹ Ernst and Ilse Stahl came to Scattergood as political refugees. Two other recorded political refugees at Scattergood Hostel, *Arbeiterwohlfahrt's* founder Maria Juchacz and Paul Frölich of Leipzig- both one-time Reichstag members- were already in their 50s by the time they arrived at West Branch. The hostel's job-placement director could find suitable positions for neither and both eventually returned to New York, where Juchacz lived with relatives and awaited her chance to return to Germany once Hitler had fallen. When she did, she worked to revive the well-respected *Arbeiterwohlfahrt* and served as its honorary chair until her death in Bonn in 1956. At the time of her return to Germany in 1949, the Berlin *Stadtparlament* officially welcomed her to the divided former German capital. In her reply of thanks, she said: "It is a miracle, that despite Hitler and everything else which has befallen us, here today there is still- or, again- so much joy and love among people" (see Grassl, 1979).

Burlington, Iowa-where wife Hedy worked as a nurse, then made slip covers professionally. Women were indeed engaged in industry during the war, as Hamburg-native Günther Tradelius discovered upon getting a new job "working in a factory with 40 girls, keeping 8 machines in order" in Chicago. Having left Scattergood to accept a shared management position at Iowa City's Hillel House, the Austrian couple Jakob and Melanie Winkler later also went to Chicago, where Jakob worked as a draftsman. Austrian Karl Polzer landed a hand-and-machine compositor job at a New York printing plant. Similarly, Charles Bukovis (née Karl Buchowitz) secured a position in Chicago with "the finest art printing Company of America", where he had an "interesting and responsible office job, pretty fair pay and...a social and business position which I would not change with anything I used to be in the old country". Franz Nathusius of Berlin found work in a factory-warehouse in Hammond, Indiana [pp. 241-243, all-OHR].⁴⁴²

8.49 Semi-skilled Laborers

As AFSC's Julia Branson pointed out [4.1], few of the refugees consisted of semi-skilled or agricultural workers. Of those few who did, Neustadt, Germany's butcher Gus Weiler cut meat and staffed the sales department of a meat-packing plant in Moline, Illinois-while his wife Rosl found unspecified work in nearby Rock Island. A former government-licensed ski instructor and trained auto mechanic from Austria, Frank Schloss left Scattergood Hostel to work as a farmhand. He next found a low-paying job in an auto garage in small Quaker settlement in Iowa, but soon realized that it was little more than a pleasant, paying apprenticeship for learning how to work on big American cars. He then moved to Cedar Rapids for a Dodge dealership position which never materialized, forcing Schloss to sell coffee door-to-door before becoming a live model for the University of Iowa's Art Department. He next accepted from a stranger a position minding a sporting goods store and giving ski lessons in Arizona, where he stayed for the rest of his life [pp. 240 and 230-231, respectively].

After the trauma of making their way out of Nazi Germany, a number of young refugee men seem to have pursued physical, low-stress short-term jobs. Peter Schick of Vienna left Scattergood to work on an Iowa farm for three months before enrolling at the Western State Teacher's College in Kalamazoo, Michigan. Originally from Berlin, Ernst Malamerson had been a student in Italy-where he was imprisoned as an anti-fascist-then fled via France and Portugal; he landed at Scattergood long enough to make his way to the nearby university in Iowa City,

⁴⁴² Refugees did not only "take" manufacturing jobs, but also created them- as explained in the article "Refugees Build U.S. Industries" (*Business Week*, 27.IV.40).

where he worked as a dishwasher to finance graduate studies in economics. Fellow Berliner Peter Siedel also studied for a time in Iowa City, then found a apparently menial but "grand job" in Detroit [p. 232, all-*OHR*]. One other student, Peter Lustig, also came to Scattergood seeking a diversion before pursuing higher education. Two or three days after arriving at the hostel, he left to acquire the hands-on knowledge required of a competent veterinarian by working for a summer on an Iowa farm [pp. 233-235-*OHR*].

Chapter 9 Scattergood Hostel Refugee's Changing Relationship to America

To judge more fully the effect of Quaker integration and assimilation efforts at Scattergood Hostel-as well as its effect on their "guests"-one must review refugees' impressions of their adopted country shortly after arrival, then contrast those with their later images of it based on the lives they were able to build in there. "New Americans'" changing relationships with America mirror important aspects of the integration or assimilation process, for an individual's relationship to a culture is like that with another human being: it evolves and changes over time, depending on new information and personal experience. Also, with time the refugees formed more removed, perhaps more "objective" perspectives of the land where they had found haven.

Presented here are a sampling of initial impressions of America on the part first of adults, then of one-time children. While in preceeding sections of Part II direct quotes have been distilled to their essence, here selected refugees speak for themselves in the form of extensive narratives. Idiocyncracies and individual color in each narration indicate much about the acculturation of each of those quoted here. Similarly, various details which other historians might have been edited out have been left to add character to each portrayal of refugees' initial and corresponding later impressions of America. In the first section, the narratives are arranged so as to give a flowing account from the point of disembarking at Ellis Island and navigating America's East Coast to landing at Scattergood Hostel. In the second, the adults' narratives emphasize both practical and abstract realities of integration-negative as well as positive ones-while the former children's illustrate common results of assimilation.

9.1 Initial Impressions of America

Adults

9.10 Walter Shostal

Walter Shostal and his family arrived in America after a series of time- and money-consuming difficulties. Once there, the meager and discouraging conditions of their first months in the New World remained vivid in Shostal's memory. In summer 1994-at age 86-he

took pen in hand and recorded his memoirs, which he aptly named *American Beginnings*, He wrote:

The last stop [after a long, segmented journey] was our destination, New York. We had arrived-or almost. It was late fall, 1941. We were anchored in the Narrows, not far from the Statue of Liberty, and in front of us was the Manhattan skyline-an incredible view, exactly like the postcards all of us had seen. And, an icy wind blew.

Official-looking people came on board. Some of them were from the harbor police and the health department. They shoved a thermometer into everybody's mouth, including mine. I had not known that I was running a temperature; I only knew that I had a constant toothache. They found out about my temperature and they knew about the cases of typhus [at sea], so we were not permitted to land but were sent to Ellis Island. No hardship for me, as I rather enjoyed my stay at the infirmary. I was in a clean bed and got plenty of somewhat strange-tasting food-real luxuries, which I greatly enjoyed after the rigors aboard ship. I also had a neighbor with whom I played chess.

Life on Ellis Island, however, was less enjoyable for poor Magda. She had to spend her days in that large central hall with hundreds of people with nothing to do but to wait and suffer the hopeless task of keeping two lively youngsters with nothing to do and without toys from running wild. After four or five days and a thorough exam, the authorities decided that I did not seem a threat to the health of the country and we were permitted to go on land. But, for weeks the health services kept checking by telephone and visits: how were we doing? Any temperature or headaches, etc.?

At our arrival we had but ten Dollars and a debt of 1,600 Dollars-the money [brother] Robert had lent me to pay for the ship tickets. That was a large amount of money at the time, when a cup of coffee cost a nickel, and a subway or bus ride a dime.

Still, even so poorly equipped for the task, the Shostals went ashore and waded into new lives they could not have imagined while waiting at Ellis Island.

9.11 Erhard Winter

Shostal's recollections involve the very first impressions of America upon arrival: what about those of an immigrant who had been in the country already for a short while, yet unhappily so? Perhaps a reflection of trauma he suffered after the Gestapo brutally murdered his father, Erhard Winter's early relationship with America included disdainful arrogance which survived into later years. At age 75 and in third-person, he related that his conclusions that

' America was a great place to visit but he wouldn't want to live there', i.e. his sense of his unfitness for America, and America's unfitness for him, persisted; and indeed has persisted to this day [1994]... [At age of 17 he] decided that America didn't need him and he didn't need it; and that there really wasn't a useful place for him in this polyglot, vulgar, money-mad, pleasure-seeking, amoral & hedonistic society that was in the process moreover of racial mongrelization; a society that lacked cultural standards & principles and whose cities...were ugly, utilitarian, and dirty, dull rectangular squares without interest or grace or charm. And so he felt was the rest of American life, such as he had seen and experienced.

And even the best of Americans were like overgrown children, full of a sense of silly optimism⁴⁴³ but lacking a sense of history, culture... America, the historical dumping ground of Europe's (and the world's) 2nd sons, misfits, psychopaths, con-men, swindlers, criminals and other losers.⁴⁴⁴

It is astonishing that such an individual could do so well professionally in America-indeed could acquire most all the vestiges of the touted American Dream-and still remain so bitter and unsatisfied. Winter was not, however, the only refugee who failed to become fully comfortable in his adopted country.

9.12 Emil Deutsch

A year and four months after leaving Scattergood Hostel to begin a new life in Des Moines, Emil Deutsch published a three-and-a-half-page essay in two issues of the *Scattergood Monthly News Bulletin*. In it, he went to great lengths to cast his adopted land in a bright light. Deutsch clearly felt a need to defend America and the Americans. Perhaps reflecting inner struggles, excerpts from his treatise show the complex, passionate arguments he put forward in an attempt to reconcile "The Refugee and American Life"⁴⁴⁵:

⁴⁴³ "Optimism" either pleases or irritates- depending on the beholder. Later the head of Hitler's unsuccessful attempt to build a nuclear weapon, in 1929 Werner Heisenberg sailed to America to lecture on quantum theory in Chicago and later reported that "the new world cast its spell on me right from the start. The carefree attitude of the young, their straightforward warmth and hospitality, their gay optimism- all this made me feel as if a great weight had been lifted from my shoulders" (Heisenberg, 1971, p. 94).

⁴⁴⁴ "Erhard Winter", Letter to CHF, spring 1994.

⁴⁴⁵ This is not only my opinion, but also that of Emil's son-in-law, Phil Clampitt (brother of Scattergood volunteer staff Amy). Upon reading this essay, Phil said: "That didn't sound like the Emil Deutsch that I knew- the one who wrote those glowing things about America: I just never saw him that way. I think he was maybe trying to wish, to see America in the best light that he could and hope that it was true; then he found out that it wasn't" (Interview with MLT, 10.XI.95). As opposed to this essay's treatment in *OHR*, all sexist passages are left in their original, non-inclusive language.

Emi Deutsch wasn't the only exile from "Greater Germany" who cited non-conforming images of America. Upon returning from a professional trip to America in spring 1921, Albert Einstein offered "My First Impressions of the U.S.A.": 1 Contrary to widespread stereotypes, there is in the U.S. not a preoccupation with materialistic things, but an "idealistic outlook"; "knowledge and justice are ranked above wealth and power by a large section". 2 The superiority of the U.S. "in matters of technology and organization" has consequences at the everyday level; objects are more solid, houses more practically designed. 3 What "strikes a visitor is the joyous, positive attitude to life". The American is "friendly, self-confident, optimistic- and without envy. The European finds intercourse with Americans easy and agreeable". The American lives for the future: "life for him is always becoming, never being". 4 The American is less an individualist than the European- with "more emphasis on the *we* than the *I*". Thus, there is more uniformity of outlook on life and in moral or aesthetic ideas. But,

The American way of life and Americans are pretty different from what newcomers to this country have experienced before. At the same time they are different from what [Europeans] have learned or heard about America. 'America is a young country' was one of the slogans in Central Europe. 'Without traditions.' Most Central Europeans felt pretty adult, cultured, and superior to those people whom they believed uneducated, childish, and without judgment in questions of taste. Nothing is more awkward than this superficial statement.⁴⁴⁶ Did anyone of those who promulgated it think how old the living traditions of Europe...are? Yes, America and the Americans are young in their mind. But they are not childish as highbrow Europeans deem, but child-like. As to children every new country, new book, new person they get acquainted with is an 'experience' to them. They are willing to learn, and never believe themselves too old for it-what some European cultural thinkers believed to be the very essence of a creative genius: not to lose and forget his own childhood and child-like attitude, here amazingly we find it in a whole people. Like children they live more in the present than in the past and in the future. They enjoy life and its small pleasures. They worry less than we used to. They do what they can at present. And like children they know about the importance of gaiety and smiling. They are kind and helpful, willing to give everybody his chance. But everybody has to make use of it himself.

The Americans impressed Deutsch, as he found them to be a "democratic people":

They are free. It is natural for them to be so. It is in their political history. They are tolerant, tolerant to an extent that is amazing for us. There is one God in this country. Only the ways of worshipping him are different. Everybody appreciates and considers the other fellow's belief and conscience. But not only the general attitude toward life and our fellow men is absolutely different from Central Europe. Manners, behaviors are so, too, to a considerable degree. Here we are approaching the main question touching us as refugees. The Americans are able and willing to learn, to change, to adapt themselves to every new situation and necessity. The inability of others to do so appears to them as unwillingness. Being young in their minds up to their very old ages, they find it hard to understand that people of forty or fifty or even younger ones should not be able to do so. It must look hostile to them, ungrateful, inconceivable.

Grateful to have survived Nazi persecution and for the chance to live in America, Deutsch took care not to offend his new neighbors-and to convince his fellow refugees to do the same. "Let us free ourselves" he pleaded,

from the prejudiced belief that Central Europe surpasses America by far in all realms of art. The University and the libraries of Iowa City offer to the residents possibilities that very few

therefore, one can also find more cooperation and division of labor, essential factors in America's economic superiority. ⁵ The well-to-do in America have impressive social consciences, shown, for example, in the energy they throw into works of charity. ⁶ Last but not least, "I have warm admiration for the achievements of American institutes of scientific research. We are unjust in attempting to ascribe the increasing superiority of American research work exclusively to superior wealth; devotion, patience, and the spirit of comradeship, and a talent for cooperation play an important part in its success" (Einstein, 1954, pp. 16-19).

⁴⁴⁶ Deutsch was not alone in disdaining European provincialism. Exiled theologian Paul Tillich claimed: "America can save [transplanted Europeans] from European and other provincialism, but it does not necessarily make you provincial itself. There was and there still is a give and take in [the U.S.] which makes the growth of an American provincialism extremely difficult. This is a summary of my experience and, I believe, of that of other theological and philosophical refugees" (Tillich in Crawford, *Ibid.*, pp. 138-139).

refugees could find elsewhere. Look at Grant Wood's paintings, read [the famous Iowa writer] Paul Engle's poems or Hemingway's novels. I wonder how much of the European opinion of superiority will last after such an experience. Even if you should think of culture in the quite too narrow meaning of art and literature you will find that America is able to hold its own in this respect, also. Appreciation does not mean that we have to look at everything in America through rose-colored glasses. There is a lot to improve still. But the hard task of adapting ourselves to the conditions in which we are would be harder for us, perhaps impossible to handle, if we stress too much the features which do not satisfy us or even the Americans. There is so much to appreciate and to affirm. Let us take an affirmative attitude toward our new surroundings and our new neighbors. For our own sake we have to emphasize in our minds the possibilities of life and happiness which are offered to us in this free and tolerant country. We have to learn to look at things from the American point of view. We must try to forget looking at things from the European angle any time. Our experience might help us and others to see institutions and facts from a new angle and to bring more light and more knowledge into life later on.⁴⁴⁷ It cannot be stressed enough how important it is for newcomers to this country to learn to look at life from the American point of view. Even the most democratic and advanced one in Central Europe was influenced still by the general medieval attitude denying to man his inalienable rights. Fortunately for us, we have forgotten already to some extent most of the horrible things we went through. On the other hand we remember too much the secure and nice positions, the experience in our occupations, the contacts we had over there. We have to start anew. Let us try to find the right mental attitude for this start.

Above all, Deutsch seemed to have understood the significance of his fate-the good fortune of being offered a chance to build a new life out of the rubble of a ruined, violated one. He reminded his readers that they were

unhappy victims of Nazism. Many Americans are descendants of victims of oppression who found refuge in this free and tolerant country. So they realize our situation and our needs. Nobody here has called for us. It is the chance we are offered, and which we have to assume and make the best of. Let us forget what we were over there before that nightmare came. It is gone. Let us try to be American in the sense of experiencing the new situation. Let us be thankful that we are able to live in this free country, safe, unoppressed, appreciated. Let us appreciate ourselves her institutions, her ways of thinking and living. And let us prove ourselves worthy of the help which is extended to us. Let us try to become Americans.⁴⁴⁸

9.13 Ernst Malamerson

Emil Deutsch's piece-spurred by his valued, on-going connections to Scattergood-involved the reflections of a man who had been in his adopted country for less than five years. But what about refugees' impressions of America after decades of personal contact? What about later understandings of early experiences of adapting to life in America? Some 55 years after having arrived for the first of two stays at Scattergood Hostel, Ernst [Malamerson] van den Haag

⁴⁴⁷ Exiled French literary figure Henri Peyre echoed Deutsch's conclusions: "Some of the differences between cultural conditions in the United States and Europe are valuable ones and should be preserved; others can be eliminated through the mutual acquisition by each of what is best, and assimilable, in the other" (Peyre in Crawford, *Ibid.*, p. 54).

⁴⁴⁸ Emil Deutsch, "The Refugee and American Life", SMNB, 17.III.41. and 17.IV.41.

recaptured initial attitudes about America and Americans-as well as some of the finer aspects of trying to adapt *despite* those first impressions:

[Upon first arriving] I was under the impression [of being] doubly superior, first as a Marxist [as] I felt I didn't really have to learn economics because I already knew better than my teachers [at the State University of Iowa]... And second, I felt...fairly educated and I thought that Americans were ignorant... At the same time, I didn't know where I belonged... I had no friends and no ability to make friends on my own intellectual or educational level. I didn't know anyone. And furthermore, I felt deeply humiliated because my English was very bad, of course. I can still remember how annoyed I was that I couldn't follow a joke. I not only couldn't tell a joke...but I couldn't understand a joke and had to pretend that I had understood it. Simple conversation was very difficult. On the whole, I think I did feel superior, because we learned that. When I wrote to my parents in Italy that I might end up in America, I remember my mother broke down, crying 'But you can't even drive a nail into the wall'-which was quite true, probably. But [he laughed] 'There must be other things I could do'. I really didn't believe in myself. My idea of America was sort of Wild West... Again, this is where Scattergood helped me a great deal-not in any direct fashion at all, but incidentally. I didn't see how I could ever be more than a bus boy or something like that... I think that experience occurred with many people. I was totally penniless and arrived with less than \$15. I think the normal reaction-which also was mine-is when you feel you are not going to be accepted, you're not getting anywhere, you reject in turn. And that's exactly what I did, psychologically. As time went on, this changed.⁴⁴⁹

Unable permanently to maintain a psychological barrier around himself or to avoid practical considerations, the sharp-minded young man experienced a "great shock", as his parents were "well-to-do" and in France he

made a haphazard living for two years, but I thought it was a temporary matter. Here for the first time I was confronted with 'How will I eat tomorrow'. I was unaccustomed; I'd never been hungry -the idea that you didn't have a bank account or a family or something to fall back on was totally strange. It is not strange in America, [where] people do feel they are on their own. And they manage. But I had never had to manage and I suspect that was true for most Europeans.

From his narrative, one senses deep, viscerally upsetting existential conflicts- concerning one's past, one's present well-being, one's possible future. van den Haag's experiences were not unique among refugees, but rather the norm.

9.14 Marianne Welter

Marianne Welter also struggled with the inner tension inherent in-on one hand-peering over her shoulder at fragments of what had been a complete and fulfilling life, while on the other looking forward to a new one in a new land. The 34-year-old, Essen-born social worker had fled Berlin in 1933 with the Nazis' accession to power. During the half year that she stayed at

⁴⁴⁹ EMH, Interview with MLT, 25.X.95.

Scattergood, she attempted to put into words some of the swirling images which raged inside her conflicted mind:

You see, when we had to leave country and people on the other side, we did leave them as a very part of them. Even though one tried to exclude us from all that was happening, we did take part in all those happenings and problems-in people's conditions of living- in their despair and their hope. When we arrived here, we remained rooted over there. Thus it was and is a part of our conviction that frontiers between people do not have any meaning, at least not for ourselves; we actually felt completely forlorn and isolated. All was horribly strange; everything was so different from all we had seen and heard and thought before. There was a large and deep gap, which seemed unbridgeable. So we came to Scattergood-being still on the other side of that gap. It was by Scattergood's kind and good and still ways that a first bridge could be built. A very human, a very natural process-and yet you hardly may guess what it meant to us, how important and precious this experience was! How good it was! On that first small fundament, it was possible to come closer to this country's specific character, to listen to this new rhythm and become interested in its problems. We may have very different ways, where to go- very different places and fields in which to work, according to our different capacities, beliefs and convictions; but you must know, this, I would like to say, first meeting with friends will never be forgotten.

Children

Being inexperienced and therefore not yet mature, children experience new lands differently than adults-namely, on practical, day-to-day levels. The few children who left records of their first impressions of "America"-which is to say, really, of Scattergood Hostel-wrote or related memories about school and the American children they met there. In only two of the six cases presented here did one write as an adult about her inner childhood experience and a second speak during an interview about the delicate, strained adolescent relationship she had with her newly reunited family. Still, each story reflects "initial impressions of America" in so far as they reveal what was impressive and important for each at that time as little "New Americans".

9.15 Frank Keller

For road-weary European refugee children who arrived at Scattergood, life on the Iowa prairie presented welcome diversion in the series of sojourns -long-term or temporary-they had spent with their families since fleeing Nazi-occupied Europe. As children, their experiences in Iowa represented for them a fresh, often awesome introduction to new lives in America which they had yet to build. Their first impressions of America, then, were intimately intertwined with their first experiences at Scattergood Hostel and remained vivid for years. The son of German political exiles, 12-year-old Frank Keller later wrote of his family's stay at Scattergood:

For us children, it was a wonderful time, especially after the deprivation in Europe. I rode a horse, we went to a baseball game, we went swimming in a river and had jello and homemade strawberry ice cream. For us children 'Americanization' worked great. The adults

were very, very grateful for the peace and quiet and lack of tension that the immigration had been.⁴⁵⁰

Keller indicated-tongue in cheek-that the refugees, however, did not appreciate all aspects of their adopted culture. He explained that people of "political, urban backgrounds" were "a little bemused by American Midwest farm life. I remember specifically that there was a large lawn that had to be mowed (as part of the Americanization process) and all men tried various schemes to short-cut or ease this seemingly non-sensical chore".⁴⁵¹

Despite any criticisms of the culture, though, the refugees noticed the efforts Friends made to make their guests feel welcome. As Keller recounted, Quakers' efforts to prepare the refugees to integrate or assimilate in America were "much appreciated, well-intentioned and [their] effect depended on the individual and their background".

9.16 Edith Lichtenstein

Given that children play an extremely important role in each other's internal constellations, the West Branch school left indelible impressions on the Scattergood children. Eleven-year-old Edith Lichtenstein found school life in America so interesting that she wrote an essay for the staff-and-guest-written hostel newsletter. "When I first came to the United States" the young native of Limburg confided, "I laughed much about the children with red nails or lipstick, but I got used to it. I was, like any other child would be, a little lazy, and was glad that we didn't have any lessons to write and learn at home".

Lichtenstein soon formed the impression that "all children, little or big, called their mothers by telephone, and I thought that was wonderful". She also admitted, however, "I usually love to go to school, but I didn't know enough English at the beginning to go in a higher grade...although I was ahead of all the children in arithmetic"-and added that "in France we study harder than here". It would be social and cultural differences more than academic ones, however, which would command Lichtenstein's attention; she complained: "I don't like this habit of calling two children 'boy friend' and 'girl friend' as soon as they play together. This wouldn't happen if boys were separated from girls like in Europe, because they learn other types of work than girls do. But after all" she went on to concede, "I liked school very much and we can't compare it with other schools, each school having its own advantages".

⁴⁵⁰ Frank Keller, Letter to MLT, 31.X.96.

9.17 Ilse Seligmann

Eight-year-old Ilse Seligmann of Heidelberg later would not recall "all that much" about the four months that she, her brother and their mother spent at the hostel. She would remember very well, however, her time at West Branch's school. Both her parents arrived in America speaking English and Seligmann had received English instruction in Germany in preparation for eventual emigration, but she still had to have some English lessons at Scattergood before she could attend the local school. Once that requirement was sufficiently met, she waited with the other hostel children for "the yellow school bus at the end of the road, which" she later remarked, "was certainly a new experience for my brother and me".

Ilse Seligmann "liked" the school, even though she had to begin the first grade over. A problem more serious than at what level she could begin scholastic training at the school consisted-strangely-of how others there would address her. The teacher was "unable" to pronounce her name or, as she openly speculated, "thought it was too German during war time" and demanded that the little foreign girl spell it "Elsie". She recounted later: "This troubled my mother. Not only was Elsie not my name, but Elsie the Cow was a prominent Borden advertisement. So Mother and I changed my first name to Elizabeth, after my Aunt Elisabeth". The teacher also thought the thoroughly Teutonic name "Helmut" would be more palatable to American ears and tongues as "Harry", but "Elizabeth's" 12-year-old brother "simply refused". Once those involved had settled on permanent names for the two new pupils, their careers took a turn for the better and "Liz" found the teachers and other children at the school to be "friendly and helpful. If there was feeling against refugee children" she later reflected, "I was certainly unaware of it".⁴⁵²

9.18 Pierre Shostal

While older children seemed to remember their stay at Scattergood largely in relation to their experiences at the West Branch school, many of the others were too young to excel in school. Little Pierre Shostal, for example, retained sharpened memories about his *relationship* with the other children, rather than the *children* themselves. Even at his young age, he sensed that their reactions to him had very much to do with his being an "outsider"-as was evident in the

⁴⁵¹ Ibid.

⁴⁵² After serving in the air force, Helmut attended Iowa State College and became an architect, while Ilse/Elizabeth became a teacher, then a tutor for learning-disabled children.

celebration of his fifth birthday party:

I do remember the West Branch school fairly well [as] it was one of these experiences where I felt...really very different. If you can imagine these kids from Europe and Iowa farm children [together]-you know, it took a while before we managed to feel a little bit more accepted. But I do remember how hard my parents and the people at the hostel worked to try to organize a birthday party for me...a few weeks before we left. They worked awfully hard to try to locate all these kids and I was rather vague: I knew their first names, but I didn't know any last names of course. They identified them and did a birthday party for me and I remember how pleased I was that somebody even showed up, because for those kids it must have been really a journey into unknown country coming out to the hostel where all these 'foreigners' lived. But they came. I started there in September [1942]; by February [1943] I really felt a sense of acceptance that these kids did come to the party... I think [the staff] really wanted me to feel... that we were accepted, that we had friends. Part of the problem, I think, was distance, because we would be picked up by school bus and deposited by school bus, so we would disappear into this world very different from the world the other children came from. The other children, I assumed, had their playmates and friends and that they stayed together, whereas we stayed in this rather separate world.⁴⁵³

In any event, the future State Department career diplomat found his family's eight-month stay at Scattergood formative enough to say: "For me, the time in Scattergood was a real introduction to life in what later became known as Middle America"-a place far removed from future assignments in corners of the world as far-flung or diverse as Hamburg, Germany, or Kigali, Rwanda.

9.19 Hanna Deutsch

Coming to America represented a major turning point in the lives of the hostel's youngest guests. Six-year-old Hanna Deutsch, for one, had suffered the disorienting loss of her home, her native environment and a culture which till then she had perceived as her innate own.⁴⁵⁴ Her stay at Scattergood Hostel would come to symbolize a turning point between a biography she once had and one which she had yet to assume. In writing and speaking about her

⁴⁵³ Pierre Shostal, Interview with MLT, 26.X.94.

⁴⁵⁴ As an adult, Clampitt said: "I think one the most difficult adjustments for me somehow was leaving my home... It seems like the after-effect mostly was turning out to be a very shy, retiring, unsure person. When we got to Scattergood, somehow that was the first place that seemed like home- partly because it was green and where we lived in Vienna, in Grinzing, is also green. Later, after I had gone back to Vienna in 1983 and came back to visit Scattergood again and I turned around to look at the landscape on the way back from the farm, I realized that the topography of the land was the same as I saw from my backyard in Vienna... I think the hostel was the first place I felt secure and like I had a community again. I don't think I was aware of any problems among the guests at the hostel because of political backgrounds or the staff. My own response was, I really loved a lot of the staff; I can still pick out their names and I don't really even remember their faces very much, but somehow they were very special" (HDC, Interview with LPW, 10.XI.94 .

experiences decades later, she openly shared images reflecting scars left by being uprooted at such a vulnerable age:

Going to Iowa: first of all, our relatives thought that we were going to find Indians out there and we'd better careful that we'd not be scalped. I don't know if that was a joke or it was half serious [but] they thought they were sending us off into the wilderness. The welcome we got there by the Quakers was incredible [and] that was the first place in this country where I felt at home and I suspect that my parents must have felt similarly because it was green and it was open and there was real human contact. New York seemed very impersonal and inhuman in many ways.⁴⁵⁵

Deutsch remembered later that one the most difficult adjustments for her involved

leaving home... It seems like the after-effect mostly was turning out to be a very shy, retiring, unsure person. When we got to Scattergood, somehow that was the first place that seemed like home-partly because it was green and where we lived in Vienna, in Grinzing, is also green. Later, after I had gone back to Vienna in 1983 and came back to visit Scattergood again and I turned around to look at the landscape on the way back from the farm, I realized that the topography of the land was the same as I saw from my backyard in Vienna... I think the hostel was the first place I felt secure and like I had a community again.⁴⁵⁶

The changes and traumas which rocked the little girl left a considerable wake. Deutsch attended the local West Branch elementary school with the other refugee children, yet did not thrive there because of her vague struggle to integrate an upsetting, lost past with a difficult-to-comprehend present.⁴⁵⁷ As an adult she remembered that

somehow, being an immigrant, that messed up school for me a lot, because there...I felt shy and had an awful time reading. We took the school bus...and I often didn't want to get up. I also remember once missing the school bus and walking to school. Reading continued to be a problem for me, as [did] writing. Even though I managed [as an adult] to get a master's degree, it's been a struggle always and I spent so many sleepless nights writing; I would not

⁴⁵⁵ HDC, Interview with MLT, 31.X.94.

⁴⁵⁶ HDC, Interview with LPW, 10.XI.94.

⁴⁵⁷ While emotional problems might have made them seem conflicted, the external manifestations of internalized trauma did not meant that the youngest "New Americans" were not intelligent. In August 1939, for example, some 50 refugee children living in New York were guests of Vermont families for a fortnight. One host later wrote: "As we came to know them, we thought them unusually smart children, as might have been expected when you remembered that most of their parents had been exiled for the crime of being successful. For of course the refugees now being driven out from totalitarian counties are the intellectual and cultural cream of their fatherlands" (Dorothy Canfield. "New Americans in Vermont", *Readers Digest* 26#214 [1940]).

want to tell...how many nights I stayed up all night doing it [but still earned] a master's degree in psychology...when I was 53 years old.

9.01 Irmgard Rosenzweig

Being already an adolescent by the time she arrived in America, 15-year-old Irmgard Rosenzweig had somewhat different struggles, needs and experiences than younger fellow Scattergood children. As she put it,

I had two issues: one [was] to be in America, the second one to be reunited with my parents, because I'd been away from them for about a year and a half [having been removed to England via a *Kindertransport*]. There was an interesting period where my parents became very concerned about my dating and doing things like that: the staff had to explain to them that...it was safe to go out on a date. The whole reunification with my parents was interesting because we had one room, so I slept in the same room as my parents, which was sort of awkward and maybe children should not have been sleeping with their parents: I don't know, but as I think back on it, under the circumstances it was not the best of all worlds and nobody questioned it. Nobody would have known what to question-people didn't question anything; everything was sort of... [Her voice faded] People were subservient to the Quakers, rather than speaking for themselves [due to uncertainty] and also having been so intimidated in Germany.⁴⁵⁸

That the Rosenzweigs left New York and came to Scattergood Hostel in the first place was a curious development, as her parents visited a Jewish-sponsored committee which resettled refugees and were told "in no uncertain terms" that the committee already had resettled enough people and was not

interested in people like my parents-my father was 50, plus-and they had enough people like that: New York was full of people like that. They sent them down the hall to [AFSC]: 'Try the next door' approach. Then they had time to think about it and decided they didn't want to be a burden to [relatives in New York], so they thought they had nothing to lose but everything to gain, and at that point that the decision was made.⁴⁵⁹

While still in New York, Rosenzweig "was sure we were going to where the lions and elephants were; I had no idea about 'Iowa'-people convinced me that it was safe, but.... We went on a bus and going from New York to Iowa on a bus was an experience; I was sick at every other stop."⁴⁶⁰

Once in Iowa, Rosenzweig discovered that she had to adapt in more ways than she had imagined. One time, for example, the family was taken to Cedar Rapids to meet a Jewish

⁴⁵⁸ IRW, Interview with MLT, 30.X.95.

⁴⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁰ Ibid.

couple and spend

the High Holidays with him and his wife... I think they had lost a daughter due to some illness and so I was really the drawing point as a teenager. They owned a fur store and they gave me their daughter's old fur coat. It was not really something that I wanted, really, but again, you took what people offered you-you didn't want to offend anybody. So there was a kind of compliance, I think, on the part of people-including myself.⁴⁶¹

Perhaps Rosenzweig was able to tolerate compliance because-as she later realized herself-her family's tentative, complicated existence at Scattergood hung against the backdrop of a structure, as the Quakers had allowed their guests to retain their own value system, but

within a very rigid structure-and the structure was that men had to do the laundry and wash dishes, and the women had to pick corn-which was kind of silly when you think of it, 'cuz how many of us ended up on a farm?-but nevertheless there was a regime; the kids all went to school. So within a structure of the American culture, there was also a lot of diversity and a lot of opportunity to be individualistic: if people wanted to have study groups, they didn't always have to be in English-oh, people talked German or Polish or whatever language. Certainly music was a unifying force; there were several people had good voices or played instruments. Meals were unified. I mean, there *was* a *very* rigid structure: breakfast, lunch and dinner and what you did in between, but a lot of room to be yourself and to believe whatever you wanted to believe. [The refugees enjoyed an allowance for diversity] within a structure.⁴⁶²

9.2 Later Attitudes toward America

Adults

9.20 Walter Shostal

Following decades of striving to realize his own version of the fabled American Dream and "making it", Walter Shostal reflected on the question of how his family did

with regard to the melting pot? Let's take stock. Many years ago [older son] Pierre told me that at a certain time in his youth he had been uncertain whether he should be an American or a European. He had married a French girl with a great deal of charm and few other qualities. As he progressed in life his doubts vanished and he became accustomed to officially represent the United States [as a foreign service careerist]. His second wife in a very happy marriage is British-born... After many years of foreign assignments they are definitely settled in the States [and] in the mainstream. There was never any doubt about [younger son] Claude's being American. When in the military he spent three years in Germany, travelled in Europe and saw its sights, but escaped without deeper emotional dents. He still roots for the home team and opens his newspaper at the sports page. His main

⁴⁶¹ Ibid.

⁴⁶² Ibid.

interests include [New York] city and state politics as well as the environment and ecology. He is married to a girl from the Texas Panhandle with nothing but American-even a bit of the native kind-in her. How do I stack up in terms of the melting pot? Had I been asked a quarter of a century ago, I may have deserved a grade 'A'-possibly an 'A-', because of my persistent accent. I spoke only English, thought in English, read only English-with occasionally a little French in between-and [after wife Magda's death in June 1965] dated a nice woman with Mayflower credentials in her genealogy. We might eventually have married, even though I proclaimed loudly I would never marry again. All this changed when I met most romantically another woman on a cruise to the Greek Islands... As I [have] acknowledged, the melting pot may not rate me any longer with an 'A', but I hope I am still good for a 'B+'. When we arrive at JFK after seven months spent [every summer at Shostals' lakeside cottage in Austria] and a friendly customs inspector greets us with a 'Welcome home, folks', we have a very, very good feeling. Yes, we *are* coming home.

America may have come to feel like "home" to this seasoned-nomad, but that has not stopped him from being critical of it. In correspondence regarding this study which suggested ambivalence, Shostal mentioned that while as newcomers he and other refugees colluded with the Scattergood staff's efforts to "Americanize" them,

today we know better. The picture of the American dream has changed. It is no more the dream of an Anglo society with its rural roots of Main Street and elm-shaded clapboard homes. We only have to walk our inner cities or any campus of our major universities to see that America's present and future are different, that we are a multi-ethnic society and becoming it more and more and if the American dream still has a meaning it must be found and created by us by a spirit of tolerance and good will.⁴⁶³

9.21 Erhard Winter

As an old man, Erhard Winter openly acknowledged his discontent with America, despite the fact that over the decades of living as an "American" he

earned and received degrees and diplomas and certificates and fellowships in 'Learned Societies', and awards and credentials sufficient to paper one wall of his library. Another Horatio Alger story? Well, no & yes. He was not a 'joiner'. In those organizations, clubs, profess[ional] societies he was obliged to join he was never elected to positions of leadership. In all his life, he never stayed or lived in one place longer than 10 [years] until the move [to the town of his residence as of 1994].⁴⁶⁴

For him, despite the trappings of "success", Winter's failure to find a fulfilling niche in American public life seemingly has soured his other, impressive accomplishments.

463 WS, Letter to MLT, 6.VIII.95.

464 Ibid.

9.22 Emil Deutsch

Emil Deutsch's essay lauding American culture and institutions seems even more obviously an act of self-delusion when one considers how his adult daughter described his later experiences in and subsequent attitudes toward America. Although Deutsch left no narratives at the end of his life from which to hear his perspective in his own words, the assessment provided by Hanna [Deutsch] Clampitt sheds insight into how at least one "new American" came to see his adopted country. She explained that for her father, the move to Des Moines, Iowa, from Scattergood Hostel was "very difficult" because of the work he found through the Quakers at Pioneer Hybrid Corn Company, where he stayed almost 25 years:

at first he was hopeful that it was going to be a good experience, but somehow he didn't transplant well.⁴⁶⁵ He was very critical of the profit motive, about how people treated each other to get ahead [or] maybe he was just frustrated that he couldn't use his talents better in his work. He started a course to become a [certified public accountant] but he never finished it. Instead, he started doing the bookkeeping for Friends House and the [American] Friends Service Committee office in Des Moines. It appeared to me that he actually was a very bitter person. I attribute that somewhat more to his very, very early years even than the emigration-but it kind of all folded in together.

After a point, it indeed became difficult to differentiate between which of Emil Deutsch's behaviors had to do with the process of cultural integration into American society or had to do with the process of personal disillusionment with his own life. His daughter recalled that Deutsch was

very unhappy: he would throw rage tantrums about life-about his life, the injustice of how black people were treated and immigrants were treated... He personalized it to his work, but I think in general he saw a lot of injustice: he talked a lot about man's inhumanity to man. He was an idealist-and that was part of the problem.⁴⁶⁶ My father became quite

⁴⁶⁵ Clampitt tried to account for Deutsch's professional misfortune, but admitted: "It's very difficult for me to tell what had to do with his personality and what had to do with the actual situation- whether he really was sort of passed over at work or what that was about. I don't know... I almost had the feeling that [his bosses] would have liked to have helped him more, and I don't know what was in the way. I have the feeling that a lot of my father's bitterness was already within him and the circumstances kind of ripened it- that it had a lot to do with his base personality. It was a mix: it *was* a situation where maybe he wasn't valued enough, but he also didn't know how to bend or relate to those people- because in Vienna, he was a very prized part of his company" (Interview with MLT, 10.XI.95 .

⁴⁶⁶ Clampitt elaborated: "He *was* a political creature: he spent hours, hours writing letters to Congressmen and he wrote poetry... I think he was disillusioned [with America] before the [McCarthy era in the] '50s... He just became very negative about [everything, but] on the one hand, if he liked somebody and thought somebody was wonderful, then he was very [doting]... He spent a *lot* of hours doing the books for [AFSC] in Des Moines and donated that service- you know, kind of giving back what the Quakers gave to him (Interview, 10.XI.95 .

disillusioned because he expected to get further in the American culture than he ever did-and that may have been a combination of circumstances... He never 'got ahead' and he became quite bitter. He became critical of Americans' behavior. He didn't like the materialism and he felt that people were quite hypocritical: they would say one thing... I think that might have been related to the way he interpreted his work experience. They would, say, be cordial, but not acknowledge that he was capable to do more. He [also] was very critical of the military [but differentiated between Quakers and Americans in general] and I think his particular bent was the silent Quakers. And particularly he felt that the Quakers lived what they preached, what they said. He didn't see that in the rest of American culture.⁴⁶⁷

Hanna [Clampitt] Deutsch realized that despite the difficulties her father had in adjusting to America, the very people who had sponsored her father during the first months of his stay in the New World also were the ones where he found the most comfort and fullest sense of identity for the rest of the life-even to the point of becoming a Quaker and marrying one following the death of his first wife.⁴⁶⁸ As Hanna [Clampitt] Deutsch explained,

in a sense, Scattergood and the Quakers [were] an anchor for both my parents [but] in a different way. For my father, it also provided him an intellectual outlet, because he was always very interested in the [AFSC-sponsored] international institutes [held in Iowa] and the ideas that were exchanged. One of the reasons my father felt at home at Scattergood was because...he loved the out-of-doors and being able to walk. I recall going to a quarry to swim...and my father...must have been there, too... I think what I remember most about him was him talking with people, exchanging ideas. I think some of his frustration was that he loved to climb the mountains and go skiing and none of those things were financially or in terms of appropriate places available in Iowa. I think they always turned back to Quakers because of their world view, feeling that Des Moines was a bit provincial... So I think basically he felt like a fish out of water and the Quakers helped as much as anything to go against that feeling.⁴⁶⁹

Emil Deutsch had not chosen to come to America; fate had forced him. Early on, he argued against the arrogance which so many of European exiles held toward America, yet himself eventually fell victim to extreme negativity about his adopted country. To what degree was it possible to integrate conflicting, ambivalent feelings toward a place and its people? How could a refugee eventually reconcile the loss of the known and the peculiarities of the new? Could one, indeed, ever become truly happy where one found oneself?

⁴⁶⁷ Interview with MLT, 10.XI.95.

⁴⁶⁸ According to Clampitt, Emil "felt ill at ease at the Jewish synagogue and he felt that Quakerism was a real way to live, so he wanted to become a Quaker- which for my mother, having been raised orthodox, presented quite a problem" (Ibid . Furthermore: "My father had [a] problem with the socio-economic background of the Jews in Des Moines, who were all very wealthy and didn't have the Quaker values which somehow seemed to fit in a lot more for my parents than those of the wealthy Jewish community [there]- and so they became Quakers". Clampitt became a Quaker, too, and married a "birthright Friend" at Friends House in Des Moines- "but now we are not attending Quaker meeting: I call myself, though, a "Jewish Quaker"" (HDC, Interview with LPW, 10.XI.94

9.23 Ernst [Malamerson] van den Haag

Explaining that his earlier arrogance eventually gave way to increased emotional honesty and genuine adaptation, Ernst [Malamerson] van den Haag admitted late in life that

now I feel, quite to the contrary, that much of American scholarly activity, etc., is quite superior to what we have in Europe. There's also been much change: when I arrived it was difficult to get a good cup of coffee. There were, of course, very, very high-priced good restaurants, but they were few and you didn't get good food anywhere-certainly not in Iowa. But across the country, things have greatly changed. You can get a good cup of coffee-as good as in Italy-around the corner, practically. You get a good meal almost anywhere; it'll cost you in gourmet places, but the whole style has changed -and considerably-since the Second World War. In a sense I am tempted to say that America has become somewhat Europeanized; again this may go too far, but in many ways that has been the case. When I arrived it was really a totally different world.⁴⁷⁰

It's one thing for America to have changed-perhaps, to have become more "Europeanized"-but what of van den Haag's personal experience: to what degree did he come to feel "Americanized"? After more than half a century in the New World, he developed definite feelings regarding his relationship with America:

I wouldn't want to live anywhere [else]. I go to Europe once a year most years and I have new friends there...I love it, but as for living there, my friends are here and I feel American-particularly when I'm in Europe. [Laughing] Once I'm here I feel in some respects European-but in New York there's lots of people like that... I wouldn't want to live in Europe now; I could manage, probably, but I feel too old to make new friends- and I like it here...⁴⁷¹ I don't find any objections to American life; all the objections I used to have when I first came were really pretexts. When you are not fully accepted you find reasons for not fully accepting those who reject you-it is a subconscious, psychological process, but it's self-defense. Once you've dropped that you have no more reason to defend yourself.

The feeling of personal strength and security which allows one to drop earlier defenses does not mean, however, that one returns to being the person one was before the crisis which provoked such extreme response. After the fact, one has changed-never to be the same. Once he'd finally felt adjusted to "the strange and new culture", van den Haag realized that he had gained an entirely new sense of "home" and personal identity-even if mixed ones:

I guess in many senses my allegiances have become quite American-not anti-European by any means, but I feel as an American. The word 'Americanized' is ambivalent-it means so many different things. Politically I feel certainly assimilated; culturally, yes I do feel in

⁴⁶⁹ HDC, Self-recorded Monolog, 31.X.94.

⁴⁷⁰ EMH, Interview with MLT, 25.X.95.

⁴⁷¹ At that point van den Haag joked: "I sometimes have told friends that I go to the Berlitz School to renew my European accent- [laughing] I'm really from Brooklyn" (Ibid .

many ways, but in some ways probably not. Psychologically I feel quite American, but I feel as an American in the same way as I would feel as a German or an Italian. There are many parts of Italian life I wouldn't like a bit, and there would be many activities and so on that I would dislike-and so would be true in Germany or of course in America.

9.24 Marianne Welter

Perhaps more than most other adults who had sojourned at Scattergood Hostel, Marianne Welter had to actively come to terms with her German origin, given that she returned to Europe not to live and not as a repatriated European, but for a limited time as an "American" volunteer on assignment to help rebuild war-torn Germany. Already at West Branch she had written eloquently about the struggle inherent in leaving loved ones and a familiar world as an exile; later as head of a Unitarian Service Committee relief team,⁴⁷² she experienced first-hand the uncomfortable dissonance between having been once a "German", having become an "American" and having to reconcile the two. As Welter explained:

I felt quite often-and even now, when I say I'm of German background-I can sometimes sense there is a kind of 'Oh, German, eh'. Sometimes I don't respond to it further but sometimes I add 'I left Germany in 1933 when Hitler came to power' or 'I had to leave' or whatever. During our workshop [for retraining German social workers] we had work with a lot of denial reactions on the part of the Germans: 'Oh, we didn't know -we didn't know'. Then we tried to get underneath that. 'What were *some* encounters when you wondered what was going on?' And I remember, sometimes we sat in groups together until *deep* into the night to get people to really get in touch with any feelings and the realities that they had isolated themselves from and pretended that just they didn't know anything about [what was going on in the Third Reich]-when that was basically impossible.⁴⁷³

Whose feelings was Welter *really* trying to get to the bottom of in those "all nighters"? To what degree was she facilitator and to what degree participant in those encounter sessions? Certainly, while playing the former role, the others present at the program forced core

⁴⁷² Welter said of work in post-war Germany: "It took some doing emotionally" to be there after all that had happened to her personally and "after I had my [U.S.] citizenship. It helped me a great deal to with my emotions in regard to my return in that I found that I made connections with the *Arbeiterwohlfahrt*- which had been banned and were rebuilding their own organization and their work and their services. In Bremen, friends from here had referred me to an underground person who in the meantime had become the *Bürgermeister* of Bremen, so my connections were very, very helpful in my return [and] in working with what our assignment was- [namely] to...bring the young social workers who had been exposed to fascism and didn't know any other approach, really, than that- to bring that other world to them and, also, to acquaint them with our team: a psychologist, a psychiatrist...I was a social worker expert, our administrator and so on... We had a comparable team in those fields of Germans, so we held these "institutes" for several years for three months during the summer. Out of that grew the establishment of the Bremen neighborhood social-settlement house" (Marianne Welter and Nicole Hackel, Interview with MLT, 23.X.94 .

⁴⁷³ Ibid.

questions concerning past and present, self-perception and -identity.

Welter lived-at various times-for several decades with the Hackel family, which consisted of "Omi" Hedwig, her daughter Nora and Nora's girl, Nicole.⁴⁷⁴ Regarding Welter's uncomfortable struggle inherent in her work and out of her intimate familiarity with Welter's life stories, Nicole Hackel related that in the setting of Welter's post-war work in Bremen, German staff

were the bottom of the bottom: they were *really* getting it after the war, so that...even the rations [were affected]: Americans would get the biggest rations, then the refugee staff members would get [theirs] and then the Germans would get the least... She sort of led a mini-revolution and as director she said 'Everyone's going to get equal rations'... She said it caused a lot of consternation. On the one hand, because she came with the Unitarian Service Committee, she was aware of the power she had as an American Unitarian to lay that down, but the fact that she was born a German and spoke German -it was so unsettling to everybody... particularly the other European staff members.

Indicative of the ethnic-nationalist resentments and tensions present at the site of Welter's post-war work in Germany, Hackel went on to tell

this incredible story of Christmas Eve where the dinning room was really tense...and people really weren't quite talking to each other, although they had made all these decorations and everything... The people sat in their own nationality groups and one group started singing. [Welter had] a wonderful voice and she started encouraging it and gradually it evolved into this evening where everybody did what they did at Christmas: the Germans did their's and [so on].⁴⁷⁵

⁴⁷⁴ As a grown woman, Hackel "had a hard time admitting that I'm an American - in a funny way. I'm more American...in terms of the culture I've absorbed in my life: I am really am an American, so when I go outside of America, I realize "Oh my, a lot of my perspective is "American"...but I don't quite believe it. I don't think I have ever totally accepted being an American. And most certainly, not in that "Super American' way, that "America's right'. It's much more a self-conscious position of being in critical opposition: "we're not going to be hoodwinked by any sort of government line', no matter where it comes from. Maybe I'm not grateful enough to this country, really. That's what Marianne said about me; she said "You know, this country has its faults and everything, but it really saved us and its true that we have to criticize and so on- but we have a lot to appreciate. She really thinks I'm too cynical. I can be modest about the appreciation, whereas I'm quite vocal about my criticisms. [Marianne] calls herself American with some kind of pride. It's not snobbery- she's not snobbish about being an American, but I think she is proud of it" (Nicole Hackel, Interview with MLT, 31.X.95 .

⁴⁷⁵ Ibid.

Former Children

9.25 Frank Keller

As extensions of their adult parents, refugee children could not help but personalize their elders' struggles as their own. Frank Keller-as mentioned earlier-noted that the results of the Quaker effort to integrate and assimilate their guests "depended on the individual and their background".⁴⁷⁶ He added: "It worked for my mother, not for my father".⁴⁷⁷ Keller shared impressions of America which he offered as his own, yet some of his father's bled through time and space to influence his perceptions. Keller said that after 54 years of living in the U.S., he did not feel at home in America because of "the emphasis on materialism. I remember my father being insensed at a newspaper headline which described some sort of local disaster, '2 Die, 1 Million Dollars in Damages', as if the two had some sort of relationship".⁴⁷⁸ This sense of detachment led Keller to look to the land of his birth for a sense of belonging- yet he could not find it. He explained:

⁴⁷⁶ Frank Keller, Ibid.

⁴⁷⁷ Robert Keller returned to Germany in 1947 and- according to son Frank- the marriage "floundered on this issue. My mother did not want any more hardships. We three children stayed with her in the U.S. My parents never divorced and...we children always hoped for a reconciliation. Our mother, despite illnesses, struggled very hard to make a life for us & discovered that the streets [in America] are not paved with gold" (Ibid . Robert, on the other hand, later wrote a narrative for his children in which he explained: "After the defeat of Nazi Germany in 1945, the question of returning to Germany came up for many German political refugees. [The Kellers] discused that problem profoundly. Dadd was of the opinion that his return was necessary because so many of his political friends [in Germany] who had worked with him against the Nazi system after 1933, had even lost their lives in this hard struggle. Dadd was of the opinion that his staying in the States would be some kind of political desertion, as he had had a big responsibility in fighting the Nazi system". He later regretted this decision, though, and concluded his essay: "Dadd's misfortune has been that he entered German politics. German politics are a bad thing. Almost nobody can feel happy in German politics except men without any scruples" (Robert Keller, Letter to Annette Keller, April 1954).

⁴⁷⁸ Frank Keller, Ibid.

Robert Keller was not the only refugee to disdain aspects of American materialism. Exiled composer Arnold Schoenberg often felt appalled by what he saw in Southern California. He once wrote to Oskar Kokoschka in New York: "You complain of lack of culture in this amusement-arcade world [of America]. I wonder what you'd say to the world in which I nearly die of disgust... Here is an advertisement by way of example: There's a picture of a man who has run over a child, which is lying dead in front of his car. He clutches his head in despair, but not to say anything like "My God, what have I done?" For there is a caption saying: "Sorry, now it is too late to worry- take out your policy at the XX Insurance Company in time.' And these are the people I'm supposed to teach composition to!" (Jackman, Ibid., p. 97)

I do not feel like a European living in America, but like a person whose roots have been severed and is now rootless... My wife & I visited Germany twice. I felt at home with the language & food, but out of place otherwise. It's as if my home had been taken over by strangers who spoke my language. *'Die Heimat'?* Where they wanted you dead?⁴⁷⁹

After more than half a century in the America, Frank Keller still felt ambivalence toward his adopted country: it seemed to him to be a "home of residence", if not of the heart. His ambivalence and struggle to adapt, however, were not unique.

9.26 Edith [Lichtenstein] Morgan

For Edith [Lichtenstein] Morgan and her family, their first years in America presented a severe challenge of how and to what to degree to adapt to the new country-the third in which they had lived since leaving Limburg in March 1933. On the one hand, the Lichtensteins maintained a strong sense of their German roots, but, on the other, they acknowledged that they no longer had a place in the land of Goethe and Schiller, Goering and Hitler. As Morgan saw it, her family tried to assimilate

up to a point [but] 'assimilation' is a peculiar term. They felt duty-bound: if a country took you up...you owed [it] a certain amount of gratitude for treating you decently. I have to say the French and the Swiss both treated us decently: we were not hunted, we were not discriminated against there because we were Jewish-none of those things happened. You know, as a payback, there was always a feeling: it's kind of like when you go visiting somebody else's home, you don't go in there and maintain [that] you're going to do your own habits and do everything your way. You learn the language, you learn the habits of the people, you try to give something back: it stands to reason; it's common decency. And after all, they didn't ask for us to come there.⁴⁸⁰

In addition to seeing "assimilation" as "common decency", it also seemed to be the key to survival. Like many of those from Nazi Europe who made it to America, the Lichtensteins first landed in a German-speaking ghetto in New York where

there were so many immigrant kids and so many kids who spoke both German and French, that I didn't learn any English. I had no conception of what the broader culture was about. It wasn't until we came to Iowa that we had some understanding that America was wholly different from these immigrant neighborhoods in New York. In one respect, I think it was a noble aim of [the Quakers to take refugees away from the Northeast]. Nowadays you [should not] look at this thing from the standpoint of where people are now; we've wandered away from assimilation-where that's *now* a dirty word: I don't think it was *then*. [It was] not only necessary, but it could very well have been desirable. In those days it was a noble end, to enable people not to get ghettoized and to be forever trapped in some ghetto in some big city. I think [the Quakers'] aim was to bring us out there where we really could flower out

479 Ibid.

480 ELM, Interview with MLT, 27.X.1995.

fully as Americans. Of course my parents weren't quite ready to do that, because they thought Americans-Englishmen, too-[or] anybody else except the Germans, was terribly uncultured.⁴⁸¹

Despite their fears, Julius and Elizabeth Lichtenstein did make contact with *sympathische* Americans with whom they found common interests and shared values. Morgan held that despite "those biases which they brought with them from Germany", her family was "very lucky" because its sponsors in Saint Paul, Minnesota, were

very cultured, very educated families and their friends...were also the educated elite. And so we found somebody to bond with. It might have been more difficult, but, you know, my parents maintained European culture-the best of it-and they selected. People over here who are cultured also maintained the best of that Western culture-you know, it would be Shakespeare and Brahms and Bach and that stuff...paintings from France and Italy and music from all those countries... My mother came from a very proud evangelical Lutheran family and didn't reject that part of the culture. They never rejected Goethe and all the great things that people associate that part of Germany with... After we'd been settled here for awhile, they got some relatives to send them complete volumes of Goethe and Schilling; we used to read all that stuff at home in the evening-I can still remember my father doing *Morgenstern* and all that stuff, so we were brought up in the best of that. We always listened to classical music; my mother sang all of Brahms' songs, I know most of the Schubert songs and my dad played the violin... It was not being proud of being German, but appreciating and maintaining and keeping alive that part of German culture which was worth preserving. And *that's* international -you can take that anywhere; anybody who is educated anywhere in the world knows Goethe, knows Brahms, knows Beethoven, knows Schubert, knows Mozart, knows I-don't-know. [The family] maintained what they felt was the best of German culture-or at least, the old, good European culture-and added on.⁴⁸²

As an adult looking back from the perspective of over five intervening decades, Morgan said her family engaged in deliberate cultural selection,⁴⁸³ not "'assimilation'-that's the wrong term-but 'adaptation' or 'adding on', learning wherever you are: *that's* the thing". If Morgan's version reflects what truly happened, the Lichtensteins were caught in a bind: on one hand, they conceded the need to adapt and to co-exist with those living around them, but on the other, they considered most Americans to be inferior and thought people

⁴⁸¹ Ibid.

⁴⁸² Ibid.

⁴⁸³ For example, Morgan told how her family coped in France, where they lived from April 1933 to August 1941: "So when we were in France, we learned French; we learned French culture; you know, anyone who's educated in Germany knows...all the French painters and all the French artists. We were there when I was three and...went to public school. My parents entrusted us to the school, but they never left us with anybody else: 'The school is okay'. So we spoke French outside and we spoke German at home. For some reason, French never caught on at home, because my parents were much more comfortable with it. And then we added French food to German food: you know, we ate the best of both" (Interview with MLT, 27.X.95).

were pretty crude over here-the general public was pretty crass and materialistic and ill mannered. [But] you don't assimilate to an entire culture-they never assimilated to the entire culture in France. They never assimilated-they picked and chose. You can pick and choose and do things at home: remember, we lived in poor Catholic neighbor-hoods almost all the time until I got married,⁴⁸⁴ and yet an awful lot of those people weren't even aware that we were Jewish because...we did our holidays at home. They sort of peripherally knew it but they didn't know it...and if they would tell us all they knew about Jews, we would say they had all the standard prejudices and then we'd remind them we were Jewish and then they would say, 'But you are different'. That's how it goes, because when you learn prejudice against a certain group then if you meet a member who doesn't fit certain prejudices, you say 'Well, you must be different'. And since there wasn't a huge group of us...they could say that since we were alone: we were the only Jewish family that most of those kids knew...⁴⁸⁵

Julius and Elizabeth hadn't come to America by choice⁴⁸⁶ and, had their two children as young adults agreed to join them, following the war they would have preferred returning to France or emigrating to Israel. Still, they stayed. Upon leaving Scattergood Hostel, Julius Lichtenstein first worked in a home for juvenile boys in suburban Saint Paul, Minnesota, then taught American soldiers German for use in the European theater. Following that he secured a teaching position at a small college in Saint Paul. After completing their studies, both children found jobs in Massachusetts and in the late 1960s their parents moved there to be near them and Jewish-founded Brandeis University. The mother or foster-mother of several children and divorced, Morgan became a member of the Worster, Massachusetts, school board and engaged in local activism. By the time she reached her mid-sixties, she could say emphatically,

I have my roots here, I'm not going anyplace else. I married an American, I wandered from being Congregationalist to being Quaker, to being... [Morgan laughed] Things go full circle!

⁴⁸⁴ As the Lichtensteins were to discover, *where* they lived in America made a crucial difference in *how* they lived in America and how they perceived their adopted country. The first Lichtenstein residence in America was "a 'cold-water flat' in the downstairs of a house and we had a little potbellied coal stove and my mother lugged coal up from the basement everyday in a bucket in the morning in the wintertime and lit that little stove before any of us got up. And she would put a candle under the cold water tap to melt that- so it wasn't an easy life for somebody who had never had to do these kinds of things. It was pretty primitive... My dad worked at various jobs; my mother stayed home and took care of us- and was a *great* manager. We never went hungry and never went without clothes; she saved everything, she was very frugal. Which was interesting because she was the baby in her family, she never had to do anything, she was spoiled rotten as a child. And then her parents died and all this happened: somehow or other, *she* managed to survive. And my dad was just a real scholar, he didn't have a clue: he couldn't boil water" (Ibid .

⁴⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁸⁶ The Lichtensteins were not alone in not freely choosing the United States as a refuge. Writer-playwright [*Blue Angel*] Carl Zuckmayer once admitted that he "did not think about America" upon fleeing occupied Austria in March 1938: "No, we said like obstinate children. One flight is enough. We're Europeans and we'll stay in Europe. What would we do in a country where people pour ketchup on beef and where our greatest linguistic achievement would be to say in English: 'I am not able to express myself?'" (Zuckmayer, 1984, p. 78).

I practiced in a quiet way myself my Judaism, but now I've got Buddhist foster children from Vietnam; I've had Catholic foster children...I have a little grand-daughter from one of my foster children from Cambodia... But to me, *that's* 'America', you know-and basically I say to them, we're all Americans. All of us do this: we maintain portions of our culture that we think are good, we bring it here, it adds to the rich mix here. [What it means to be an American] always puzzled me, because I married a Midwest Kansan who was born in Oklahoma-so that's about as 'American' as you're gonna get [but] there was no sense of tradition, no sense of-you know. 'I'm married to an American': what does that mean? 'Who are you and how's that different from what I am?' I never got quite a definition.⁴⁸⁷

Reflecting her own process of coming to terms with her identity, Morgan tried a "little experiment" once in a college class she taught

with about 26 students. And I started around just for the heck of it, at the beginning as an ice-breaker I asked 'What nationality are you?'. Now these were all American-born students who had never been out of the country-probably second-third-fourth generation [and] didn't know any other language other than English. The first 24 or 25 all said 'Oh, I'm Italian', 'I'm Irish'-this and that. Then all a sudden one of them-the next to the last one-his face lit up and he said 'I'm an American'. I said 'Thank god somebody here is an American'.⁴⁸⁸

Ever since, Morgan has used the indicative results of that "experiment" as a partial answer to the question

'What constitutes being an American?' None of us really know for sure. I think there's a loose set of rules here, traditions and understanding of the Constitution, a loyalty to- you know-the values...the *best* values that this country stands for. I have a belief, also, that there's something in the mix, something in the continuing bringing in of new ideas and the lack of rigidity that protects this country from ever going over the hill like lemmings-the way Germans did, the way some other countries do. And I think that's why I'm in favor of some of the diversity-not some of the stuff that's going on now-*not* saying that Ugandan culture is as good as our's. Thing is, if you accept the way a lot of the cultural diversity is being taught, you don't criticize any other culture. If we don't warn our kids that there are differences-and dangerous differences-that everything is *not* the same, then they can't make intelligent judgments. Then they're probably in danger of becoming lemmings, too.⁴⁸⁹

When asked pointedly what being an American means to *her*, Morgan answered not with a positive answer of what to her being an American *is*, but more with what it is *not*:

For me, being an American-and I'll *never* be fully an American because I wasn't born here and I still in some crowds feel partly like a stranger, except that I understand that a lot of tenth-generation Americans also feel like strangers sometimes, because the culture is constantly changing: there's no *set* culture, there's no set totally-shared cultural value here. That's okay. It's a country of laws, there's a set of shared beliefs about what's right and wrong and there's a set a certain shared behaviors-they are less in evidence now and I think we're trying to bring them back. The school system was responsible for that; for me, I think

487 Ibid.

488 Ibid.

489 Ibid.

the school is the main agency for creating some kind of common core of what was defined as 'being an American'. Everybody outside the school could do whatever they darned well please, but in the school you learned how to communicate with other people who were here in the country at the formal level. That was the school's job and it did that. [The idea of such a curriculum was] to believe in diversity, but also to subscribe to a common core so that you can go anywhere in this country and feel comfortable.⁴⁹⁰

9.27 Elizabeth [Ilse Seligmann/Seaman] Chilton

Ilse-or "Elizabeth", as she was renamed-[Seligmann/Seaman] Chilton was eight years old when her family came to America. At that age her personality and identity were still fluid and malleable enough that, meeting her as grown woman, one cannot tell that she was born anywhere but in the Midwest; her own husband did not realize she was born elsewhere until after they had dated for some time. Still, like other former Scattergood Hostel children, as an adult Chilton had to wrestle with rather unsettling questions regarding "Who am I?" and "Where do I belong?". She mentioned casually, yet tellingly, that

someone once said, 'Once a foreigner, always a foreigner' and I think for an adult, that must be true. So in a sense, [America] was never really home. Father took out papers immediately: we were immigrants; we weren't going back-except to visit. There was never any thought of going back.⁴⁹¹

Still-likely betraying their own ambivalence and sense of uprootedness-both of Chilton's parents requested to be buried in Germany.

Like the Lichtensteins, the Seligmann/"Seaman" family felt it best to accept their fate as it was and to make the best of it. Even if they remained emotionally connected with Germany, they consciously immersed themselves in America. As one example of the reaction to being permanently "abroad", Chilton related that her mother had "distant relatives" in Chicago who her family sometimes visited, yet the Seamans felt "always glad" that they did not

move to Chicago and live in the German community in Chicago. I think Mother and Dad were glad not to do that and certainly for me, I'm glad we didn't do that... [I decided that] if I'm going to be American, I'd just as soon be an American and speak as an American. [Not being ghettoized was a blessing because] I didn't particularly want to stand out because we were immigrants: I didn't want to be a foreigner. Everybody in Ames [Iowa] knew we were foreigners, but I didn't bring it up in conversation.⁴⁹²

490 Ibid.

491 ESC, Interview with MLT, 28.X.95.

492 Ibid.

Chilton's attempts to pass as a "native" and not "stand out" succeeded- at least externally. Despite any vague uncertainties about her personal identity, she felt so integrated that-in sharp contrast to her brother Helmut, who is director of the Wisconsin *Männer Chor* and has "many German friends"-she considered herself

pretty American. Well, what does it mean to be an American? I suppose its an outlook and lifestyle which makes you feel comfortable in this country. I feel like I'm part of this country; I certainly don't feel like I'm part of Germany. You can believe anything you like: personally, I grew up in a liberal household and I would describe myself as a 'liberal'.⁴⁹³

As an example of how that "liberal household" molded the person she became in America, Chilton noted that once they had moved to Ames, Iowa, her parents became members of Collegiate Presbyterian Church-although her father was a Jew and her mother had been reared a Lutheran. Later, both of Chilton's parents left money to the Quakers in their wills and she and her husband attended both Congregationalist and Presbyterian churches.

9.28 Pierre Shostal

Despite the initial difficulties his father had in finding a foothold in American professional life, both Pierre Shostal and his father eventually did very well in terms of mainstream American standards of "success". Not only did Walter Shostal resuscitate the family's former Vienna-based photo agency with new life on American soil, but his oldest son worked his way through the Federal government's complex personnel hierarchy to become a foreign service careerist-even serving as the U.S. consular general in Hamburg, which he once described as a kind of reconciliation of his family's past.

Regarding the impact Scattergood Hostel had on his development, Pierre Shostal identified later in life-shortly before his retirement-ways in which that early experience fostered in him

a sensibility toward people being responsible for each other. The fact that people at the hostel took in others who they had no connection with at all, is a kind of a standard or a kind of example that I'd like to try to emulate or at least be worthy of-especially now that my working life, my career is coming to an end. I'd like to continue, in a sense, to be in public service. I'm very happy and proud of the professional life I've had, but the idea of public service and service to others is something that I find very appealing and that I want to continue... Only as I've gotten older and looked back [has he thought] about why I became the person I've become. What were the influences? Certainly some of the people who we met there and we remembered-like [one-time Scattergood staff] Peggy Hannum and Roger Craven-are very fine examples of human beings at their best. I know that having been through [the hostel] experience, it certainly did have an impact on the way I've led my life

⁴⁹³ Ibid.

and the things that I've done. I think there was a strong connection between that and going into diplomacy and spending in fact a great part of my time working on European affairs. To me it's been a particular satisfaction to work on German affairs-in a sense as a kind, also, of reconciliation.⁴⁹⁴

At a point that he was taking stock in general, Shostal also considered the hostel's impact on the rest of his family and concluded that his parents "came away with a great respect for Quakers and the Quaker tradition, and I think with a great degree of...a sense of responsibility for others". As a family, the time he, his brother and parents spent at Scattergood Hostel became

part of our personal history and I think it's part of [the wider] modern history. I know it wasn't perfect and I know there were problems, but it was still an example of one of the finer sides of the American character, of what America means to me, which has been a country of openness and tolerance and readiness to give shelter to others.⁴⁹⁵

Despite his gratitude toward and faith in America, Shostal's sharp social sensibility-which he maintained was cultivated partially at Scattergood Hostel-gives him cause for concern. Indicative of a wider, more complex belief or value system which has developed over decades and in many diverse cultural or political contexts, he reviews the political scene today and is

just appalled how far our public life has come from that [model of openness and tolerance and helpfulness at Scattergood Hostel]. I say to myself, "If this is the kind of political atmosphere that we have during relatively good times, what's it going to be like the next time we go into recession?" And I find that kind of scary.⁴⁹⁶

Still, his British-born second wife and he could choose to live literally almost anywhere in the world, yet chose Arlington, Virginia-the city opposite Washington, D.C.-as their retirement community.⁴⁹⁷ Shostal often visits his elderly father in Charlottesville, Virginia, as well as his

⁴⁹⁴ Pierre Shostal, Interview with MLT, 26.X.94.

⁴⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁹⁷ Pierre is not Walter Shostal's only son with definite preferences regarding his place-of-residence. Asked about the economic and social health of the New York metropolitan area which as head of the Regional Plan Association he knows well, Claude Shostal explained that "the reason the best and brightest chose to be here is because it's still the most exciting place in the world- with the highest concentration of talent, media, communications, technology, magazines, publishing. When we talk to large companies, we find that quality of life is of paramount importance. Our economy is going to be built by creative people, and in an increasingly mobile society we have to give those people a reason to be here. So [attracting and retaining people] boils down to improving quality of life to keep the best and brightest in New York as opposed to Boise or Denver" (Kenneth Wapner, "Risk Assessment: A Stroll Up the Mountain with Regional Plan Association Chief Claude Shostal", *Woodstock Times*, 11.IV.96

environmental-activist brother in Manhattan. For the Shostals, being "at home" at America now seems as natural as life itself.

9.29 Hanna [Deutsch] Clampitt

The psychological gauntlet of cultural adjustment which Hanna [Clampitt] Deutsch experienced during her first months in America did not end upon leaving Scattergood Hostel. Once her family reached its next home and settled into new lives, the children especially struggled to integrate the worlds and lives they had known in Europe with those they found themselves enveloped in as "New Americans". Like other first-generation Americans, with time Deutsch felt ambivalence regarding her parents and their cultural identity-as she explained as a mature woman some 55 years later. She said:

in junior high years [in Des Moines, Iowa], I was torn between love and respect for my parents and wanting them to be different.⁴⁹⁸ I treasured long walks home from down-town with my father; hearing the Saturday afternoon opera while he gardened; his Viennese, Tyrolean, Jewish, Czech, and Polish jokes, all told in different dialects; his stories of mountain climbs; and long recitations in German of passages from Homer, Wilhelm Busch, or his own poems. I loved my mother's warmth, interest and laughter, her way with people; her Viennese cooking and clothes she sewed for me, though I felt beholden. But I was torn. I wanted them without their accents, their self-effacing ways, their protectiveness toward me, and I wanted the lifestyle of the 'popular kids'. On the one hand, I was filled with deep embarrassment and resentment at how our home was different from other homes, and my parents different from other parents and, on the other hand, I defended and protected them from others and from my own censure. Often it felt like I was cut in two, and I wore embarrassment and self-rejection.⁴⁹⁹

As Deutsch's early internal struggles attest, children have difficulty *not* perceiving subtleties in their surroundings. To what degree, then, were the assimilation experiences of children who entered American society through Scattergood Hostel affected by the experiences of the adults in their lives? Also, to what degree were they a mixed blessing to their parents-on the one hand providing the adults around them with lively distraction, but on the other also reminding them

In sending the above article, Walter Shostal suggest that I might "contrast Claude's vision of the future of America and his concept of the melting pot with the...parochial concept of it by which [Scattergood Hostel] operated. Remember, by Sc.H. standards NYC was a definite No-no, where people could never be "real Americans" (WS, Letter to MLT, 3.V.96 .

⁴⁹⁸ Clampitt elaborated: "Probably the biggest obstacle to adjusting to American life was feeling different and feeling that my parents were different... When we lived in Des Moines, at school I never felt like I fit in...very much. "It just was always uncomfortable' is the best way I could describe it, and it did feel like my parents were different and at that time I probably was ashamed- and I didn't want to speak German at home" (HDC, Interview with LPW, 10.XI.94 .

⁴⁹⁹ HDC, Thesis titled "The Experience of Inner Conflict as Described by Women Between 40 and 60", Center for Humanistic Studies, 1987, pp. 4-5.

of painful memories or truths which their elders rather would have forgotten? How did this dynamic complicate the role of young people in their own assimilation process? As Deutsch retold her story, she could not divorce her personal experiences and memories from those of her father. She said, for example, that when the family moved to Des Moines they

lived in a little two-room place-a living room and a tiny kitchen and then a shared bathroom. I remember that place very clearly, but I don't remember [her father's] attitude very much there. But then we rented a little house and the basement was a dirt floor and [he] painted [it] and I don't think in Europe he ever have to do those things-but he did it all! I remember our bedroom was wallpapered... but it took him time to do all of that... Then he tried to study to be a [certified public accountant] and he never finished that. So, somewhere in there, he kind of lost his steam and then he put all his energy in the [American Friends] Service Committee.

Like all children, Deutsch did not exist only in relation to her father, but accumulated her own experiences-independent of her family-which helped determine for her not only what sort of American, but what sort of *person* she would become. As she so openly shared, the result of loss, flight, resettlement and adaptation took its toll on her and fundamentally affected her personality -in her case, most noticeably her ability to think or communicate. Deutsch's

earliest vivid memories of inner conflict are from my home in Vienna when I was five or younger. I see myself sitting in the window of my bedroom looking out, feeling sad, empty, alone, forlorn, but it is a dull, unformulated feeling. I want people, activity, interaction; this also feels unformulated, as though this is a pre-verbal memory. But I do not move... Throughout my life, when caught in inner conflict I have often been immobilized. In one case, I cannot even remember the resolution. Perhaps this was my parents' conflict which I made my own. It was the conflict between leaving our loved home-people, beautiful countryside and city, the known-or risking death at the hands of the Nazis. I have many memories before and after our departure, but none of packing or leaving. In this case I did not even acknowledge the alternatives, inner pulls; I just 'checked out'.⁵⁰⁰

⁵⁰⁰ Expectably, Clompitt's memories of that time remain fragmented, as she explained: "I remember [after the *Anschluss*] waking up at night and having somebody pounding on the door and saying "You better get out of here!"- "*Ihr mußt weg gehen!*" And actually, my father talked about Nazis in our neighborhood taking care of us by doing that- that people would do that, that Nazis would "take care" of their local Jews by telling them to get out of there. I don't know if that was true in other places, but we went to another part of the city before we could leave. And my uncle- my mother's oldest brother- had to scrub the streets. We were among the last people to get out of there- it was September or October of '38. I don't know, but that was pretty close to when people couldn't make it out, so [Hanna's voice trails off]. And I can't remember leaving: I can remember lots of stuff before we left and I can remember England after that, but I cannot remember leaving. I don't know *what* happened in there. Someone told me that some children were given sleeping pills or something so that they couldn't make noise: I don't know if that happened or not..."(Interview, 31.X.94 . In a similar vein, Hanna reported: "my parents pretty much shut out their past in the sense that I wanted my father to go back to visit Vienna with me after my mother passed away: he *would not go*. They didn't talk much about... [Hanna's voice fades out] Well, that's not true: there was a whole refugee community in Des Moines and those folks got together- and some of them were from the hostel...but...I don't really

One of the ways in which Deutsch coped with this tendency to "check out" involved disavowing things which seemed to her at that young age to be associated with the unmanageable trauma-even if that meant disowning her mother tongue. According to her, as far as refugee children were concerned,

no, we did *not* want to speak German and, yes, we *did* want to get assimilated. When I was a kid in elementary school, I didn't want to speak German [not even at home]: no way, José! I wanted to be like the other kids; I was embarrassed about my parents- again, more my father than my mother, I guess because he was uncomfortable in his skin a lot. I loved him dearly, but... [Deutsch's voice trailed off]⁵⁰¹

Even as an adult, Deutsch finds speaking German to be a disorienting experience. Following an interview session, we went for a walk and she self-consciously asked if she and I could speak in German, since she doesn't feel comfortable doing so around her family. As we conversed in what for her is a native tongue and for me a second language, she made mistakes and asked me repeatedly for an elusive word or the correct grammar. When we returned to her home, I turned on the cassette recorder and asked her how it felt not being able to speak German fluently as an adult, to which Deutsch responded

it feels very *frustrating* and disconnected... There's a part of you that got left back there and it doesn't catch up. [I feel like a] different [nationality] at different times, probably. When I'm with someone who's speaking German, that's probably when I might feel more German-but then I don't quite fit because my German doesn't work as well. And there are probably times when I'm completely immersed in life here-which is most of the time-when the question doesn't consciously arise. But I think the work that I do [as a high school counselor] is informed by all that experience-that I relate to the kids who don't feel like they fit in, that they don't belong and they have troubles connecting and their life has been turned up-side-down and all of that. And that's not conscious. But I'm aware that it goes on there: it's part of me that communicates so well. [I work] with kids basically that have trouble fitting into the high school and most of them have found friends with other kids who have met the same predicament. There are groups: there are Albanians and there are Italians and there are the 'Burnouts' and the kids who live in the trailer park and, you know-they find each other and they all have different... [Her voice faded out] They're not the 'Mainstream', you know: the jocks and the kids who put out the [school] newspaper and are in the plays and do all of those things.⁵⁰²

As the years since her emigration passed and she matured into an autonomous adult, Deutsch came to suspect that this dissonance between having been an Austrian and having become an American

know how much they talked about what had been in the past" (HDC, Interview with LPW, 10.XI.94 .

501 HDC, Interview with MLT, 10.XI.95.

502 Ibid.

may [have gotten] better because I understand it more. I think when I said earlier it was so confusing for me at school [it was] because I don't think I understood what was going on, why I felt so 'out of it'-so to speak. So I think it's better [now].⁵⁰³

9.02 Irmgard [Rosenzweig] Wessel

At the time of an interview with Irmgard [Rosenzweig] Wessel in 1995, "multi-culturalism"-especially regarding how that school of thought affects public education and curricula-commanded much attention in the various media, in schoolboard meetings and around coffee tables across the U.S. Early in the interview, Wessel declared:

I'm very clear about how I feel about [multi-lingual public schools] because first of all I think America is a quilt made up of different people... and we have to accommodate many languages-as much as was done at Scattergood [where] many languages were spoken and people helped each other. It was not always easy.⁵⁰⁴

Wessel's perspective on multi-culturalism closely mirrors her own particular view of America, coming to it as she did from outside at an age when she was still young enough to be thoroughly, indelible influenced by the culture and people she found in the U.S. Therefore, she used the term "quilt" to describe American society and saw Americans as having

certain threads that connect one to the other, but there are tremendous differences. I guess the question always comes up, 'What is the predominant culture?' and 'Was Scattergood'-which is sort of Middle America-'was that predominantly the culture of America?' and I think the answer has to be, 'That is *part* of it, but not all of it'. But there *is* something, I think, in terms of materialism in America, where we're fairly all unified no matter who we are: everybody wants a car (public transportation is terrible in most places so having a car becomes a value system), having a television-even in the poorest parts of the United States where people have very little, they will have a television. That has a vast impact on the whole country because if you see [for instance] the O.J. Simpson trial no matter where you live, then everybody can have an opinion on it. I think we *are* very materialistic and some people believe it's good for the economy. It depends where you live and it depends who you are.

⁵⁰³ Ibid.

⁵⁰⁴ All of the quotes in this section come from an interview with MLT, 30.X.95.

No reactionary conservative, given her biography Wessel has grappled with questions of identity, nationality and group membership. As an example of her own process of becoming comfortable identifying herself as an "American", she told of the time "a very good friend came and asked me to register to vote as a Democrat and I was registered to vote, but as an Independent. I got very emotional and we had a big discussion [with the family] who thought I was stupid not to register as a Democrat. I said, 'Well, how can I register as a Democrat- I might want to vote as a Republican on *some* issue and I could be deported'. I ended up bringing up the Bill of Rights and all kinds of things to convince everybody that, you know, 'You can be deported if you do the wrong thing'. That was when I think I was fairly rational as an adult, but still that fear that something could happen, I think, has stayed with me. But it's changed".

It's one thing to try to distill a working definition which captures the essence of a country, but quite another to find one that accurately reflects the complex, often vague nature of one's Self. Despite that, Wessel said without hesitation that she sees herself as being "an American... as somebody who's *very much* an American [and] very much identified with America... I probably threw out much of the German language as a way of assimilating-or [as a way of] rejecting the German part of me". She pointed out as a tale-tell sign of rejecting her former "German-ness", that as an adolescent she was

very unfair to my father; my mother spoke fairly good English and learned it very quickly. My father was having a lot more difficulty. He was traveling around doing the accounting for small counties for the political system and he had to write reports. He would write the report and then I would sort of have to correct his English. I was awful; I mean, [I was] *very* intolerant of his inability to learn the language. Later on I realized how impossible I was... I think I did not talk very much to my parents.

In revisiting a past which mentally so determined her present, Wessel freely admitted that

probably for many of the older people it would have been-having all the losses of [what they had] achieved for themselves-very difficult. For the younger people like myself, who then built their own families, there's very much an identity of America-although it's interesting to note that two of our sons have married daughters of parents who are either refugees or holocaust survivors. Now how do you put that in? Our son in California is married to a woman [descended from individuals] who barely made it out of the camps and our son in Washington is married to a woman whose mother and I very much had the same background [and two of the four children are practicing Jews].

Along with its stubborn influence on the present, the pain of having had to surrender one identity and assume another-even if not by choice-remained vividly clear. Wessel remembered that upon leaving the hostel people who had been refugees at Scattergood

kept in touch and then nobody did anything for a while. I think people sort of went their own way-almost to forget it maybe. [On top of that, the] German Jews were pretty obnoxious-everybody, including my parents I would say, [as] German Jews by and large felt they were better than any other Jews. For a humorous part of it: my husband's background is Russian-his mother was a Russian Jew-and it was not too accepted to marry a German Jew. There were other reasons, too, but there's always been this kind of German-Russian-Polish [intra-Judaic rivalry].

By the time the children who had been at Scattergood Hostel's became adults-and Americans-however, Old World rivalries and other realities which had so influenced their parents' attitudes or actions seemed ancient and quaint. In the span of a very few years, at some indefinite point the young refugees stopped being foreigners and became-as is possible in "immigrant countries" such as Australia, Argentina, South Africa, etc.- "naturalized natives". With help from Friends, they integrated into and assimilated with the culture of their adopted homelands and, in the process, did indeed become "New Americans".

Part III:
Comparisons of Refugee Programs and
Refugees' Formation of American Identities

This dissertation has explored four questions relevant to the process through which World War II-era European refugees formed new identities in America: through what means and to what degree did they actually become "Americanized", what did it mean to them to become "American" and how did their relationships with America change over time? Part I briefly reviewed the backgrounds, persecution and flight of said refugees-as well as the reception they found at various residential refugee centers. Part II documented and analyzed Scattergood Hostel as a refugee center and its program of refugee integration/assimilation. Part III weaves together findings of Parts I and II. In order to ascertain how typical or unique the means as well as results of Scattergood's efforts to help refugees integrate or assimilate, one must know how similar or different those efforts were at some comparable residential refugee centers-thus Chapter 10 examines the dissertation's first question by identifying methods meant to facilitate refugee integration or assimilation and comparing certain aspects of life at Scattergood Hostel with those of residential refugee programs outlined in Part I. Chapter 11 looks at the remaining three questions-all of which ultimately involve aspects of new identity formation itself. While chapter 10 is more "objective" and thus more straight forward, chapter 11 is more gripping, speculative and provocative. The findings of the latter chapter ultimately comprise the *raison d'être* of this entire project.

Chapter 10 Comparisons of Refugee Programs

Except for the Rest Home in Falkenstein, all of the refugee centers in this study assisted their charges begin the integration or assimilation process -even if unconsciously. In each of those twelve centers, once they had "caught their breath", refugees set about understanding conditions in the host country and adapting accordingly. In turn, staff helping them undertook efforts to help them piece together the shards of shattered biographies and begin casting new ones. Some were more deliberate than others, some had more resources with which to work than others, some had more "success" than others. The specific respective conditions or means meant to assist refugees integrate or assimilate differentiate the centers-and thus their impact-from each other.

European refugees who fled Nazi terror landed in various countries with differing needs, restrictions, possibilities, etc. One aspect common to the centers involved each trying to adapt to conditions if not in the country where it was located then in the country of an individual refugee's targeted destination. *Halutz'* program to train agriculturalists and artisans-for one-took into consideration the visa-granting provisions for territories as diverse as British-ruled Palestine and the Dominican Republic. Similarly, Bunce Court and the Cedars both offered their pupils English lessons even before they reached England, assuming their wards would need to know the native tongue of their adopted homeland. Quakers in Britain tried to integrate refugees into that country's wartime economy as agricultural or industrial workers, while American Friends at Scattergood Hostel or its spinoff Quaker Hill attempted to familiarize their European charges with American life and culture. Quakers in the U.S. realized their "guests" might be seen as potential competitors in a job market still limited by the Great Depression's last gasps and accordingly tried to preempt such charges even before critics could make them: "progress" in acculturation and subsequent job placement was intended to refute claims by detractors that refugees posed a threat to native-born Americans.

Regardless of the refugees' destination, all of the centers except for the Rest Home offered instruction in areas deemed necessary to adaptation to new circumstances in a new country. At Holywell Hyde that meant in farming, at Aberdeen Camp in American social studies, at Scattergood Hostel in driving. While some of the courses were taught by novices and some by experienced professions, in each case a center's organizers assumed that native staff had something of value to impart to the "newcomers". In Europe, that something usually had to do

with job or language training; in America, where both Quakers and the U.S. government (in the latter case, belatedly) assumed that refugee integration equated "Americanization", classes also as often as not considered civics, labor and inter-racial relations, economics, etc. As cited below, such assumptions were in keeping with dominant American values of breadth contra depth; cultivated as "New Americans", European refugees accordingly were exposed to American life and culture in formal classes as well as informal fieldtrips, social outings or calls on native-born Americans.

Embedded in a historical context of economic hardship and social crisis, several of the centers wedded instruction in "practical training" with self-reliance in the form of smallscale agriculture. Besides the *Halutz* program, those of Holywell Hyde, Aberdeen Camp, Finca Paso Seco and Scattergood Hostel used refugee labor to provide refugee sustenance; initially, AFSC staff even nursed illusions of propagating *kibbutzim* on the Iowa prairies. Camp Oswego's organizers also selected refugees based on "skills that would make the shelter as nearly self-sustaining as possible", for, besides learning to live in a new land, the refugees had to eat. In addition to encouraging self-reliance, politely forcing former professionals, artists, political activists or other urbane categories of émigrés to dirty their hands, trade their suit for an apron or pick up a dishtowel helped prepare refugees for changed social roles or status in the future. While none of the centers is recorded as having had a psychologist as permanent staff, each clearly understood that exiles' former lives could not be recaptured and saw the value of making complete breaks with past rank, lifestyle or privilege. More than other centers, however, Scattergood Hostel integrated such a carrot-and-stick method as official, cultivated policy.

As far as assisting exiles to integrate professionally, all of the programs except the Rest Home offered some kind of practical training, even if minimal. While *Halutz*'s program included training for artisans and domestics, the one at Holywell Hyde offered instruction in agriculture, horticulture and related fields. Refugees at Finca Paso Seco learned furniture building, "wood turning", carpentry and machinery, while those at Quaker Hill explored the mechanics of manufacturing pre-fabricated houses. Even pupils at Bunce Court and the Cedars were put to work in projects like poultry raising and grounds maintenance, with practical aspects of both seen as useful training. Still, only Scattergood Hostel and Quaker Hill are recorded as having had job-placement directors on their staffs or having actively sought career leads.

Not only adults, though, had to find effective means to adapt to their new environment.

Children, too, underwent both deliberate and coincidental exposure to the new culture. The administrations of both Fort Ontario and the town of Oswego, therefore, went to great effort to integrate the refugee children in the local school system so that they might begin the assimilation process. Scattergood's director supported "Americanization" through enrollment at the local school-to the minute point of championing funds from AFSC to ensure the children's "ability to do what the others do [which aids] their adjustment and Americanization". At least six one-time "Scattergood kids" are recorded as either having been deeply involved in the life of the West Branch community school at the time of their stay at the hostel or later in life attributing to it considerable lasting influence. More than for their parents, the formation of refugee children's evolving identities as "New Americans" directly depended on existing American social institutions-in this case, West Branch's school.

To build a new life in a new environment-to form new identities- refugees needed not only to study English or civics, to learn to use a hoe, drive a car or write an American-style résumé. They also needed to relearn how to participate in both small or large groups, to be members of social bodies unlike ones they had known in their native, authoritarian countries and to grasp the mechanics of power in the U.S. As some of the refugees hailed from European lands where they had spent all their lives under a dominating *Kaiser*, a feeble "democracy" or a dictatorship hostile to liberal political values and institutions, refugees from such countries had to learn patterns of social interaction and governance anew which fit the American experience and scene. The mode in which the program from which the émigrés sought assistance and cues was of great importance. Rather than "dictatorship", refugee centers mostly opted for "democracy" as the preferred if not always practiced mode of operation. A form of pure or majority consensus reigned at least half of the centers; on practical levels, that meant refugees were involved in matters as diverse as planning the curriculum, bookkeeping matters, corresponding with sponsoring institutions and individuals or deciding how the maintenance of the physical plant should be undertaken. In some programs, refugees even became the *Betreuer* of newly arrived exiles or took key positions with relief agencies; at Kitchener the men voluntarily operated their camp as a commune. Tellingly, at Scattergood Hostel refugees requested "leaders be appointed to see that the orders are carried out", yet the Quakers refused, arguing that "is not the Quaker way nor the way life should be lived in a democracy". Experience exiles harvested in such situations helped them in adapting to life in the communities where they later settled.

Just as in normal, private life human existence does not consist only of work or training for work, residential refugee centers incorporated cultural activities and socializing into their

general program of refugee rehabilitation and integration/assimilation. Christmas festivities at the land settlement near Perpignan, concerts at Finca Paso Seco, plays at Bunce Court, visitors from London holidaying at Lavender Croft, lecture-teas at Quaker Hill, openhouse at Camp Oswego and parties at Scattergood Hostel all reflected the desire of the centers' organizers as well as resident refugees to weld cultural activities to socializing with outsiders. Not wanting to exist in isolation, except for Camp Oswego, all of the centers integrated visitors into daily life. That Grant Wood and the van Trapp Family Singers came to Scattergood Hostel, that professors from nearby Earlham College lectured at Quaker Hill, that exiled musicians passing time in Havana performed at Finca Paso Seco, that the representatives of political organizations spoke at Bunce Court and that other centers also welcomed visitors to participate in their "educational" programs arose out of the centers' commitment to expose their charges to members of the society awaiting the refugees on the other side of the front door. Adjustment to the new society could not be accomplished in seclusion; some of the most important first steps to refugee integration/assimilation consisted of contact with the natives-even if in the somewhat artificial form of arranged visits.

Besides *what* they did, however, *how* refugee centers did what they did played a fundamental role in enabling or disabling refugee rehabilitation and integration or assimilation. Perhaps the most basic of basics involved the financial resources with which the various centers operated-which varied considerably, although generally almost all of the centers could have done much more with modestly more funding. The luckiest centers were personal projects of well-heeled individuals, such as the Cedars (a former Rothschild estate) or the land settlement at Perpignan (endowed by a female English Quaker doctor). *Halutz* also enjoyed relative solvency, given that the Jewish committees of three different countries backed its operations both materially and spiritually. Most centers, however, were not so lucky. Anna Essinger "financed" Bunce Court "creatively"-so much so that her staff regularly had to work for gratis and the school continued at all only because a "Committee of Friends" assumed the task of fund-raising. Admittedly, Quaker programs largely received underwriting from British or American Quaker bodies, but in no case was subsidization adequate to cover all costs. At least at Scattergood Hostel if not elsewhere, the refugees themselves-or agencies which sponsored them-contributed toward their keep. Such self-maintenance was no simple ploy to cultivate appreciation among the refugees for the actual costs of keep; Quaker projects genuinely lacked deep pockets. As it was, Scattergood often operated in the red and only-three months before the decision to discontinue as a hostel- by issuing a Midwest-wide appeal in Iowa's largest newspaper did it briefly see black-budget days. Had Scattergood had more monies at its disposal, it not only

could have expanded its program, but could have equipped that program with-for example-more, perhaps better books, generous furnishings, etc. As it was, Scattergood's bare-bones budget and hand-to-mouth financing did inhibit its ability to help the refugees it wished to serve.

Besides additional funds, Scattergood Hostel's staff strove to attract more individuals willing to sign the affidavits necessary to secure visas for would-be emigrants from Nazi-held territories. While staff of few of the other centers are documented as having engaged in affidavit-procurement, staff at Scattergood actively solicited volunteers in order to rescue refugees from occupied Europe. Once again, however, Scattergood's staff had too few resources too late to do as much as it would have liked in terms of refugee relief and rehabilitation.

In terms of pure rehabilitation-independent of integration/assimilation -*who* centers tried to help made almost as much difference as *how*. Programs at Battle for orphaned children or Lavender Croft for the elderly both stretched British Quakers' abilities to adequately respond to the special needs of both age groups; although well-intentioned, perhaps Friends were overly ambitious in choosing to offer comprehensive care to such special-needs segments of the overall refugee population. Then again, had Quakers not acted, it is uncertain that either a private or government agency would have assumed such work. At Scattergood a prevailing balance between children, the elderly, single young men and childless couples helped maintain a cross-generational atmosphere conducive to restoring refugees' abilities to cope. One "guest"-for example- expressed gratitude that "three very insisting little gentlemen...and one very excited little girlÉkept us from getting sentimental" at the hostel's Christmas-1942 celebration. Besides providing distraction from emotional fallout inherent to the traumatic experiences which their elders had encountered in Europe, children at Scattergood helped fulfill its mission of offering refugees a place to rebuild shattered lives in that they offered incentive to strive for better days.

One deficient area at Scattergood Hostel involved the staff itself. Unlike at *Halutz* centers, the Cedars or Bunce Court-the last of which was headed by a woman deeply influenced by Quakers and who closely worked with them- none of the other ten centers presented in this study is documented as having had Jews on its staff. While obviously such programs catering to refugees from Nazi-occupied Europe involved above all Jews, only the first two above-named, Jewish-sponsored centers actually had Jews filling most key administrative positions. In the case of Bunce Court, director Anna Essinger was a Jew, as by extension presumably were her

sisters; sources did not specify any telling characteristics about the rest of the staff other than that the British ones were asked *not* to learn German during their first year of teaching at the school-a proviso made irrelevant mostly by default. At least in America, if refugee centers wished to expose their charges to American society on a microcosmic level, then they could have started by forming staffs more representative of that society-which is to say, including African-Americans, Hispanics, Native Americans, Asians or non-Anglo-Saxons such as Celtic, Slavic or Southern-European Americans, Catholics, fundamentalist Protestants, etc. At least Scattergood Hostel failed dismally in this regard and such a sore lacking deeply colored its influence to acculturate its "guests".

One characteristic Scattergood Hostel did have, however, which centers such as the ones at Kitchener Camp, Fort Ontario or-technically speaking- the land resettlement program at Perpignan did not share were spiritually (Quakerism) or politically based (i.e. to remove refugees from urban areas in order to lessen backlash against continued immigration of refugees) motives. In formulating and researching this study, it was never the intent to focus on Quaker-sponsored centers over non-Quaker ones; it simply was the case that at that time, Quakers more actively established *residential* refugee programs than did Jews. Is the reason for that not clear? Friends' efforts were propelled by the concern that "that of god" which they believed to be in every human being was being fundamentally violated in Jews by their Nazi persecutors. Once such individuals landed in Quaker care, core Quaker principles such as consensus, the lack of coercion, collective silent reflection, simplicity, etc. were woven throughout *every* aspect of their program. In this regard, it was a positive trait that the staffs at Scattergood Hostel as well as Aberdeen Camp, Finca Paso Seco and Quaker Hill consisted almost exclusively of Quakers, for one-time refugees and staff themselves spoke of a compatibility and a consensus among staff which facilitated an effective, largely distress-free working environment in which refugee-focused activities could unfold mostly uncluttered by in-house intrigues, petty squabbles or simmering dissension. At the same time refugees at Scattergood Hostel and other Quaker-sponsored centers repeatedly reported that they were never pressured to become Friends: "expose, yes-impose, never!" Not only would that have violated Quaker norms, but it likely would have fanned the departure of refugees as soon as they felt able to withstand it- a phenomenon which is not documented as having been the case.

While admittedly too few sources exist to document the same at other refugee centers, one well-documented aspect of Scattergood's program which played a fundamental role in the means and to the degree refugees became "Americanized" involved the singular sense of community which existed at the hostel. Refugees, staff and visitors all commented on the

prevailing, decisive atmosphere of harmony, cooperation, authenticity, comfort and support which Scattergood Hostel enjoyed. That feeling of one-ness and belonging partially explains why so many one-time "Scattergoodians"-either "guests" or staff- repeatedly returned to the hostel over Christmas or Easter or on their way past West Branch, wrote so many open letters and cards to the staff, sent their children to the re-opened school following the war or contributed to it or AFSC even decades later, so willingly cooperated with this project-the examples are multitudinous. If refugees' first in-depth, significant impressions of America included those they formed while at Scattergood and if what it meant to them to become "American" involved the native-born role models they encountered at the hostel, then AFSC's shelter on the prairies "succeeded". In explaining how their relationships with America changed over time, several of the surviving refugees referred to Scattergood Hostel-its earlier impact on them as well as its lasting legacy in regards to their formation of comprehensive, evolving identities as "New Americans".

Chapter 11 WWII-era European Refugees' Formation of American Identities

As explained in the introduction to this study, the conclusions drawn regarding WWII-era refugees' formation of American identities-which is to say the results of Quaker as well as the refugees' own integration/assimilation efforts-rest upon "the willingness of the reader to deduce generalizations from specific cases" [see p. iii]. Since referring primarily to non-specified cases, clever but inaccurate assertions or second-hand sources of information would be too abstract, conjectural or removed to be useful, conclusions presented here focus foremost on the personal experiences of refugees who in their transitions from having been Europeans to becoming Americans sojourned at Scattergood Hostel. The experiences of individuals featured here suggest the experiences of other, undocumented refugees and thus warrant review in their own right, for they provide concrete examples to substantiate claims. Conclusions drawn here-while made in the context of Scattergood Hostel-indicate the degree to which refugees became "Americanized", what becoming "Americans" meant to them and how their relationships with America changed over time.

Before continuing, though, two points warrant review. The first regards which criteria one uses in judging the degree to which the former refugees "succeeded" or "failed" in their efforts to "Americanize", to form new identities. For example, when meeting Walter Shostal-a native of Vienna, an adopted Parisian for seven years and later a resident New Yorker for almost half a century-he seems a kindly old European gentleman with an endearing accent. While his son Pierre-born French-speaking in Paris-appears and sounds fully American, not only does Walter Shostal betray his foreign birth as soon as he speaks, but his whole demeanor suggests a well-bred European. At the same time, though, he says that when he and his second wife arrive at New York's John F. Kennedy International Airport after seven months spent every summer at their lakeside cottage in Austria's Salzkammergut region "and a friendly customs inspector greets us with a 'Welcome home, folks', we have a very, very good feeling. Yes, we *are* coming home..."⁵⁰⁵ If Walter Shostal considers America to be "home", how can one contest his sense of self-identity -*who* can deny *him* his feeling of being an "American"? Moreover, not only do the surviving Scattergood Hostel "guests" hold differing opinions and beliefs, but they came to

⁵⁰⁵ WS, Unpublished Memoirs "American Beginnings", 1994.

America with differing personalities, needs and desires. After leaving their Iowa F/friends, they also had differing experiences. One must ask, which specific mix of views, beliefs, personality traits or experiences "should" have resulted in creating "true Americans"? What combination of qualities constitute a "successfully" formed American identity? Identity is relative and fluid: how can one impose a standardized definition on some one else's personal-let alone national-identity?

Second, what was the touted "New American" supposed to be in the first place? According to AFSC's John Rich-whose criteria numerous former Scattergood Hostel staff categorically rejected in the mid-1990s-a transformed "newcomer" adopted American social etiquette, lost as much of her or his foreign accent when speaking English as possible, learned to drive a car and generally became competent enough to take "their places as self-supporting members of American communities".⁵⁰⁶ Are such criteria inclusive enough to define the members of a given nation? Do they account for individual difference as well as collective diversity? What constitutes a "satisfactory" set of criteria regarding what matters most in terms of being an "American"? As outlined in the introduction to this work, one can use either an "objective" or a "subjective" approach, "hard" or "soft" evidence to form conclusions. Or, more realistically and accurately, one can use both. Doing so, though, does not result in distilling "neat", "scientific" findings, as human beings *are not* "neat" rational creatures and thus defy categorization systems which lend themselves-for example-to minerals or genes. Indeed, while considering the questions "who is qualified to judge" and "what constitutes 'successful' refugee integration/assimilation" remain complicated, they are crucial to understanding WWII-era European refugee's formation of new identities.

With these two points in mind, one can better consider the results of the Quakers' efforts to Americanization the European exiles in their care-albeit more carefully and humbly.

⁵⁰⁶ Anonymous, undated mimeographed essay entitled "An American Welcome for New Americans", p. 1.

Staff members' zealously to instill "correct" etiquette in the refugees resulted in Leonore Goodenow's ill-received suggestion to hold one's tableware other than in Europe [3.21]. Regarding the newcomers' accents: this was not an imagined, but rather very real detriment to living undisturbed in war-time America- as Camilla [Hewson] Flintermann noted: if a refugee went into a shop and made an order with a "thick German accent", she or he "would *not* get happy glances" (Interview with MLT, 7.XI.95). At least George Willoughby thought that mastering car driving *was* an important step in the integration process (Interview with the Edwardses, September 1994). In terms of the Scattergood "community", Friends attempted to coax the Europeans among them to "Speak English and Be Proud of It!" [CHF, Diary, 5.III.39].

11.1 Means of "Americanization" through Adaptation and Adjustment

11.11 Externally Referenced Processes of Social Adaptation

Tellingly, much of Scattergood Hostel's program utilized very practical means of facilitating adaptation on the part of its guests. Such everyday chores as washing the dishes, for example, helped psychologically prepare refugees for altered gender and social roles in their post-hostel lives. These aspects of the Quaker's refugee program comprised the "hardest" measurement of whether or not the refugees were "successfully" integrating/assimilating- "evidence" such as naturalization papers, a driver's license, improved English skills, contacts with natives, initial job placement, etc. The program offered those means, however, on very basic levels. As Grete Rosenzweig noted, "men in Europe do not take part in household tasks, but the right idea of the Quakers was that husband AND wife should attend to household duties since-to get a new start-both members of the family had to go to work, so men washed, ironed, cooked, washed dishes and cleaned together with the women";⁵⁰⁷ both the refugees and staff noted that American gender roles were different than those common in Europe. Work in the garden, too, helped the newcomers realize in a "hands-on" way that in the New World they must be ready to seek and accept work which due to their social or professional positions in the Old World they never before would have considered doing.

Not only aspects of personal conduct, but also of public interaction, had to be learned and practiced in order to adapt to new conditions and form ways of being which could accommodate those new conditions. Thus, the education program at Scattergood was crucial to the integration process. In autumn 1942 hostel education director George Thorp emphasized that a "vital" part of "Scattergood training" was its educational program. He noted that in its "formal aspects" it included both individual and group instruction designed

to accelerate mastery of the English language and to present as complete a picture as possible of the varied aspects of the American scene. In its less formal approach the program merges largely with the other phases of life at Scattergood. In the process of sharing the work program, household duties and other essential activities and through daily social intercourse and more pretentious social affairs this side of the program supplements in innumerable ways the more formal part of the educational plan.⁵⁰⁸

⁵⁰⁷ Grete Rosenzweig, Unpublished Memoirs entitled "My Life Told for My Grandchildren", 1974.

⁵⁰⁸ George Thorp, "The Scattergood Educational Program", SMNB, Oct.-Nov. 1942.

Not just English instruction, but also American history or civics lessons instilled in the refugees concepts of how their new homeland functioned and why, as well as how they might participate in that process. Hedwig Hackel maintained that "one of the most important" classes in the hostel's education program was the history class because in it refugees became acquainted with the historical development of America since its discovery by Europeans:

Having studied the problems of American democracy, the institutions of local and federal governments [and] the Presidents, we finished our class with the Social Reform Program... It seems to me that all we learned in our history class will be the best base for our becoming American citizens.⁵⁰⁹

Even "freetime" lent itself to the integration of Scattergood Hostel guests, given that they often enjoyed "cultural excursions" which provided important links between the lives they had led in the Old World and the ones they were yet to form in the New. As Paul Singer and his refugee bride Elsie Kepes wrote,

Scattergood is like an island, but not an isolated island, for it is connected with the wide world. The residents have opportunity enough of learning the American way of living and working, not only at home, but also outside [and] renders us the best occasion for delving into the sources of the American culture.⁵¹⁰

Besides work, education and freetime components of Scattergood's integration efforts, the sense of community fostered by the Quakers there also helped refugees to "recover a little from the effects of persecution [and] regain their confidence...before seeking a permanent place in American society".⁵¹¹ The healing atmosphere of an *Ersatzfamilie* which at least some refugees felt at Scattergood Hostel aided rehabilitation and encouraged integration. It was the reprieve from practical worries which allowed the refugees to concentrate on matters besides their most basic of physical needs. Richard Schubert-for one-expressed gratitude for the

⁵⁰⁹ Hedwig Hackel, "Scattergood Studies American History", SMNB, 15.VI.42.

⁵¹⁰ Paul and Elsie Kepes Singer, "Cultural Excursions from Scattergood", SMNB, 16.II.42.

⁵¹¹ Unsigned essay entitled "A New Use for Scattergood", 29.V.39.

Emil Deutsch wrote: "It certainly is hard for many [European refugees], affected in their nervous balance by the horrible experiences and the constant strain of the last years, to fit into new and strange conditions. Moreover, many people, accustomed to regular work and efficiency, suffer from lack of it harder than anything else. Many difficulties, arising among residents of the Hostels [sponsored by the Quakers, of which by the time of Emil's writing there were a few], are based upon this fact. They are hard to overcome before the final goal of everybody's staying at a Hostel is reached, the job, and a new start in American life. But we have to find a way to adapt ourselves to our new life. It is a vital condition of our living in a new country" ("The Refugee and American Life", SMNB, 17.III.41. and 17.VI.41 .

"exemption" from being forced to "tremble forth into the next days" in New York. He rejected the thought of these "securities" as not

decisive and relevant, as precious as they incontestably are. Precious as food and shelter if one has none, precious as the consciousness of being protected against the possibility of lying on the street one fine morning after a lost job. For nobody is hard-heartedly left here to shift for himself and be surrendered to an uncertain fate. All is devised in affectionate friendship: our nursing by which our first steps are led into English; the opportunity to spend our time with people and things after a day's work which has been done under no pressure and coercion; the restless care taken for our settling, trying to find work and earnings for us. This is much indeed, but it is not all.⁵¹²

Perhaps Walter Shostal knew what Schuber meant, for he once wrote that for "the first time in my life" he had met people "who are good". He didn't mean "just kind and helpful"-qualities "already rare enough though I have found them before". Rather, Shostal meant

really good in the Biblical sense, living up to a moral postulate, to which I never thought people could...This goodness, direct and natural as it is, seems to be distilled through a sieve of tact. There is no aggressiveness, coercion for anybody to fight or submit but simply an atmosphere to breathe.⁵¹³

Similarly impressed by the community which she sensed existed at the hostel, Lucy Selig claimed that it was not easy to talk about Scattergood because it consisted of a "certain spirit, a certain sphere, a certain attitude". She said the hostel was based on a community life without sharp distinction between the American staff and the refugees:

all share in the tasks of lectures, household and fields. The group of Refugees [is] now stripped of all money, possessions and occupations, and exiled from their countries because they hold liberal ideas-what you call American ideas-or because they are Jewish. Now these different kinds of people are living together, united by the same past fate and the same aim, to become real Americans and to find a productive work in this country.⁵¹⁴

⁵¹² Richard Schuber, Unpublished Essay, 1.III.40.

⁵¹³ WS, Unpublished Essay, 6.VIII.42.

⁵¹⁴ Lucy Selig, Transcript of a Talk given in the second half of 1940.

Visitors to the hostel rarely left with anything other than the most glowing impressions of the place. Herself a refugee, Vita Stein visited briefly in spring 1942 and later wrote director Martha Balderston to "tell you how very much I enjoyed my short stay at the Hostel [sic]. I was impressed very deeply by the fine spirit and the peaceful atmosphere everywhere. It's a unique experience for me to see this living example of the Spirit of fellowship and brotherhood and the more I see it the stronger becomes my longing to be allowed to become a member of a group which lives religion as a way of life. I feel it is a great privilege to share this spirit and to learn from the Friends how to live the supreme truth of life. We struggling and persecuted people are sometimes in danger to lose our belief in humanity. An experience like Scattergood helps to regain the belief that "God created man in His own image" (Letter to MB, spring 1942).

In aggregate, the atmosphere at Scattergood Hostel seems to have gone far in readying the refugees for the integration/assimilation process awaiting them upon their departure. It helped them most in tangible ways to adapt to a new life which they were yet to form in a new environment. While it could help them with externally referenced processes of social adaptation, however, the internally referenced processes of behavioral adjustment were to be on-going, ultimately personal and much more difficult.

11.12 Internally Referenced Processes of Behavioral Adjustment

Above all, the formation of new-let alone of "American"-identities unavoidably involved the fundamental process of change; for refugees change equated both loss and gain, restrictions and new opportunities, dashed hopes and realized dreams. On a material level, the European exiles had lost their homes, jobs, most of their personal property (e.g., clothes, furniture, books, photos), savings and other tangible signs of a full life established over decades. On an emotional front they also were forced to forfeit former friends and family members to Nazism. On a psychological level, fate stripped the Europeans of previous social positions and status, the comfort of living in the realm of their native cultures and languages, their ties nurtured over years or generations to a familiar place-in short the pillars of daily life which generally form human awareness of a separate, intact Self. By the time the exiles reached America's shores, they had been reduced to mobile biographies without accompanying props and accessories which normally confirm the "authenticity" of a specific, individuated identity. In the New World they had to cope with in state where almost anything could have happened and where through "luck" or "fortune" they either unconsciously became or consciously might have assumed one of a number of new personalities. In the land of "unlimited possibilities", they set about the process of choosing personal paths which they thought might lead to an imagined array of possible futures: the conscious or coincidental process through which they pursued any one path represented their own particular means of integration or assimilation.

As noted, though, the process and patterns of changes differed for adults and children. As seen repeatedly-in the testimonies of Erhard Winter, Ernst [Malamerson] van den Haag or Edith [Lichtenstein] Morgan-adult refugees often arrived in the United States with a score of solidly rooted stereotypes and prejudices which retarded their abilities to perceive their adopted country more objectively or which inhibited easily shifting from one "world" to another. While

the newly arrived Malamerson considered Americans "ignorant",⁵¹⁵ Morgan said that her parents thought them to be "pretty crude [and] crass and materialistic and ill mannered".⁵¹⁶ Young Winter saw his new compatriots in as poor-if not poorer-a light and complained that America was a

polyglot, vulgar, money-mad, pleasure-seeking, amoral & hedonistic society in the process of racial mongrelization; a society that lacked cultural standards & principles and whose cities...were ugly, utilitarian, and dirty, dull rectangular squares without interest or grace or charm. And...even the best of Americans were like overgrown children, full of a sense of silly optimism but lacking a sense of history [or] culture.⁵¹⁷

At the same time-as documented in chapter 9-over time van den Haag came to own his projected anger and sense of dejection, Morgan's parents Julius and Elizabeth Lichtenstein made friends with "cultured people" and Winter made peace with the land which initially seemed to him to be his nemesis.

If Walter Shostal's experiences are indicative, however, adult refugees struggled with some degree of cultural dissonance their whole lives-in his case even after having lived in the United States for over 50 years. As an elderly man, he still felt uncomfortable with, for example, the American penchant for informality. In the course of his professional career in America, he was taken aback on occasions when "a guy whom I had never met would immediately firstname me".⁵¹⁸ Given such impressions of or attitudes toward their adopted homeland, WWII-era European refugees reported difficulties in adjustment.

On top of deep psychological currents which influenced or inhibited their formation of new

⁵¹⁵ EMH, Interview with MLT, 25.X.95.

Ernst van den Haag admitted he "was under the impression [of being] doubly superior, first as a Marxist- I felt I didn't really have to learn economics because I already knew better than my teachers...and it took me a while to get rid of that. And second, I felt quite educated. I was a fairly educated person and I thought that Americans were ignorant and so on".

⁵¹⁶ ELM, Interview with MLT, 27.X.95.

European refugees apparently not only sometimes found Americans "uncultured", but also hard to meet and befriend. Robert Keller complained that he and his wife "felt very lonely in Milwaukee" and subsequently moved to more cosmopolitan, more "European" New York (Robert Keller, Letter to Annette Keller, April 1954).

⁵¹⁷ Erhard Winter, Letter to CHF, spring 1994.

⁵¹⁸ WS, Letter to MLT, 20.VIII.95.

Shostal conceded: "True, it was all in the world of publishing and advertising where people did not any longer report to work in grey suits and ties, but in jeans and sport shirts".

identities, adult refugees were confronted with myriad unsettling details concerning a career-or at least employment-which would provide for them and their charges. To secure work and income, they had to attain a minimal level of competency in the English language-not to mention a bare level of sellable skills corresponding to the specific positions to which they applied. In effect, they had to sell a Self which no longer contained solid emotional boundaries, socially approved behaviors or values, professionally recognized training or culturally acknowledged accomplishments. At one and the same time they were starting anew in America as public *nichts*, yet could not sever from their innate Selves the personal *alles* which had accompanied them on the passage from Europe; this contradiction left them in a bind: how to reconcile what one was with what one has not yet become?

The process of personal reconciliation with one's own fate-and with the environment in which one's fate unfolded-determined the degree to which refugees integrated or assimilated in their new homeland. The process of reconciliation, however, differed for adults and children. Of the adult refugees who returned to Europe following the war, it is difficult to judge how many trickled back because they loved Europe and how many made their way home because they hated America. Tellingly, those who returned had left primarily for political-one might say, passionate-reasons. For such persons a clean severing of emotional ties and cultural roots was implausible; they preferred facing hardship and uncertainty back in Europe rather than learning to cope with relative comfort in unfamiliar America. Walter Hacke-the son of a left-wing party newspaper editor-explained difficulties common among people such as his father Ludwig, who upon leaving Scattergood worked for awhile in a small Iowa town called Lone Tree as a linotype operator, but found that "life in conservative rural Middle West didn't suit him": he eventually returned to New York. *Sozialdemokrat* activist Robert Keller stayed in Milwaukee for a while, but also returned to New York before going back to defeated Germany in February 1947.⁵¹⁹ According to Walter Hacke, the adult refugees at Scattergood Hostel were

political, mostly intellectuals. They had left Germany to survive the Hitler regime... As intellectual and political, the refugees were often suspected of being 'leftist' in conservative America, and never felt at home here and had the intention of going back to their homeland after the war. With the advent of the 'witch hunt' of the McCarthy era, many of the political refugees felt ill at ease in the U.S.⁵²⁰

⁵¹⁹ Walter Hacke, Letter to MLT, 8.XI.96.

⁵²⁰ Ibid.

Ludwig Hacke was not alone in wanting to yet not managing to leave during that period.

Indeed, figures like *Arbeiterwohlfahrt*-founder Marie Juchacz, Reichstag member Paul Frölich, Vienna city-council member Fritz Schorsch and SPD activist Robert Keller eventually left the U.S. Walter Hacke's father "likewise wanted to go back", but was unwilling to leave his 17-year-old son behind. For his part, Walter Hacke "had no roots in Germany and had no desire to go there as I was brought up and schooled in France, where I would have felt more at home".⁵²¹

Feeling "more at home" or growing "comfortable" was central to refugee children's assimilation as "New Americans" and differentiated them from their parents-who despite best intentions or efforts could never be anything other than Europeans resettled on American soil. Their offspring, though, mostly were able to reconcile themselves with their new environment and thus "succeeded" in forming identities which allowed them to live harmoniously in the New World-albeit with pangs of cultural ambivalence due to exposure to and membership in other cultures early in life. Still, in their letters, during interviews or visits, one-time refugee children exhibited a sense of Self which resonated with cultural traits commonly attributed to America. While many of them were reflective about their identities, when pressed each emphatically asserted her or his "American-ness". Since arriving in America, each had been exposed to influences or stimuli which resulted in such a development.

When asked over fifty years after arriving in America as a boy what "becoming an American" meant to him, Walter Hacke-for example-stated that he feels "more at home here and have grown accustomed to American ways". At the same time, he admitted that he remained "European" in many ways-"culturally, language wise and [in] manner of living". As his French wife and he have spent much time in France, he finds

that I can adapt quite easily to the way of life over there. It would not be the same in Germany. I was there for a month or two in 1962 during a prolonged trip in Europe. I couldn't live there without feeling homesick for America or France.⁵²²

Although exhibiting ambivalence, Walter Hacke was not alone in his equating the level of

Edith [Lichtenstein] Morgan recalled: "a couple of times in the '50s my parents [were] ready to move to Canada because the McCarthy thing sounded an awful lot like what happened in Germany in the beginning- labeling people, calling everybody a 'Communist' and diverting everybody's attention from what they were doing, which was happened in the late '20s in Germany" (Interview with MLT, 27.X.95 .

⁵²¹ Walter Hacke noted: "Originally we came to the U.S. on a visitor's visa which was automatically renewed until war's end. In 1947 or '48 we obtained an Immigration Visa- my father, although he applied, was never granted U.S. citizenship. I became a citizen in 1954".

⁵²² Hacke, Ibid.

"cultural comfort" he felt residing in the United States with the degree to which he had become "successfully Americanized". When Elizabeth [Ilse Seligmann/Seaman] Chilton rhetorically asked "what does it mean to be an American?", she answered herself: "I suppose it's an outlook and lifestyle which makes you feel comfortable in this country. I feel like I'm part of this country".⁵²³ Teacher and schoolboard-member Edith [Lichtenstein] Morgan maintained that schools in America historically have cultivated a sense basic "cultural comfort" among the country's youngsters-especially among "New Americans". For WWII-era European refugee children, the school was the "main agency" for creating

some kind of common core of what was defined as 'being an American'. Everybody outside the school could do whatever they darned well please, but in the school you learned how to communicate with other people who were here in the country... That was the school's job... [The idea was] to believe in diversity, but also to subscribe to a common core so that you can go anywhere in this country and feel comfortable.⁵²⁴

"Comfortable", however, does not mean "blind" or "uncritical". Nicole Hackel-who came to Scattergood Hostel as a three-year-old with her mother Nora, grandmother Hedwig and close family friend Marianne Welter-tried to describe the ambivalence she feels as an adult regarding her adopted country. Her vague, disjointed sense of that ambivalence, though, spoke louder than the few ideas she was able to articulate semi-clearly. She spoke of having had "a hard time" admitting that she is an American-"in a funny way". She felt

more American in terms of the culture I've absorbed in my life: I am really an American, so when I go outside of America, I realize 'Oh my, a lot of my perspective is "American"...but I don't quite believe it. I don't think I have ever totally accepted being an American. And most certainly, not in that 'Super American' way, that 'America's right' [way]. It's much more a self-conscious position of being in critical opposition: 'we're not going to be hoodwinked by any sort of government line', no matter where it comes from.⁵²⁵

At the same time, Hackel speculated that "maybe I'm not grateful enough to this country, really". At least, Marianne Welter informed her: "You know, this country has its faults and everything, but it really saved us and its true that we have to criticize and so on-but we have a lot to appreciate". She told Hackel that she was "too cynical. I can be modest about the appreciation" Hackel said -"whereas I'm quite vocal about my criticisms".

As apparent in the reactions refugees had to their new lives in America, the diversity of

⁵²³ Ibid.

⁵²⁴ Morgan, Ibid.

⁵²⁵ Nicole Hackel, Interview with MLT, 31.X.95.

experiences among them ranged considerably. Thus, labeling which experiences had to do solely with the process of integration and which had more to do with individual maturation or existential adjustment becomes difficult when one considers each biography more closely. Erhard Winter, for example, rebelled against his immigrant mother in ways similar to many youth in 20th-century Western societies; how does one not know that he would have stowed away *to* rather than *from* America had his father lived and he had enjoyed a completely settled, quiet life in Northern Germany? [p.33-35-OHR] Was the path of emotional recovery described by Ernst [Malamerson] van den Haag the product of having to flee several European countries one step ahead of the Nazis or would he-as the specific person he was as a young man-have suffered the nervous breakdown he had in Iowa even had he stayed in the Old World and continued to enjoy his family's privilege and wealth? [9.23] Walter Shostal, for another, left Vienna originally not because of Nazis but because of customers, as the photo-agency he operated with his brother had saturated the Austrian capital's market, so he and his wife removed to Paris: were they at that point economic or ethnic refugees-or "just" emigrants? [p. 74 -OHR]

Some struggles, however, appear to have been consequences of having been a refugee. Marianne Welter, for one, wrestled with vague yet emotionally explosive questions concerning her inherited German roots which seemed at odds with her chosen American branches. While obviously the settings in which she found herself-ranging from wartime refugee internment to post-war de-Nazification centers-forced certain questions, were she differently inclined from temperament and character, she simply could have ignored the voices in her head like so many others at the time seemed capable of doing. Did her personality, though, predispose her to entertain uncomfortable "why's" and "what if's" which perhaps might have overwhelmed or devastated others? In drawing conclusions from her experience, does one conclude that Welter's individual process of soul-searching in regards to cultural ties or affinities constitute one of "refugee integration" or one of "personal individuation"? The same must be asked of Emil Deutsch's pronounced disappointment with the United States, as his own children later wondered if such a development would not have taken shape even had the family remained in Austria.

Children, however, faced an altogether different set of problems as well as possibilities. Compared to their elders they arrived in the New World as *tabula rasa*. The same openness, however, which allowed them to slip more easily into an evolving *persona* also predetermined them for later emotional confusion-vis-à-vis Hanna [Deutsch] Clampitt's feelings of "inner conflict" or of being "immobilized". In addition to functional or other behavioral problems,

former refugee children consistently reported feelings of ambivalence not only regarding their "American-ness" contra cultural roots, but toward their own parents, who represented the closest surviving tie to their own European roots and-even if subconsciously-the reason for their having to come to America in the first place.⁵²⁶ This classic confusion between what once was known and later was experienced figured into Irmgard [Rosenzweig] Wessel's struggle with her parents over dating, [9.01] Hanna [Deutsch] Clampitt's resisting speaking German at home with in Des Moines, [9.29] Günther Krauthamer's not wanting to be seen with his mother in the streets of New York by American schoolmates⁵²⁷ or Nicole Hackel's embarrassment over her grandmother's thick accent-despite "Omi's" ability to speak half a dozen languages in *de-facto* mono-lingual American society.⁵²⁸

11.2 Results of "Americanization" Process

Despite whatever ambivalence they might have developed regarding their parents and adopted homeland, with two known exceptions⁵²⁹ almost all of the two dozen children who passed through Scattergood's door later pursued "helping" careers as teachers, counselors, social workers, childrens-theater directors, psychologists, etc. Even if they were not clear about their own inner landscapes, as adults virtually all of the hostel children assisted others in ordering theirs. One can assume that this desire to help as adults sprung from their experiences as children, for at least Pierre Shostal directly attributed his motives as a former foreign-service representative abroad as arising from his time at Scattergood Hostel and the model passively modeled if not actively advertised by the Quakers there.[9.28]Hanna [Deutsch] Clampitt considered her and her brother's career choices as direct results of having been refugees [9.29].

⁵²⁶ Children were not the only ones to feel ambivalent toward their adopted homeland, as adult refugees often did, too. Sigmund and Friedel [Seligmann] Seaman- for example- requested burial not in their adopted Midwest, but in their native Germany (EC, notes, 1995).

There were others, who "despite all desire to adapt remained foreigners in the second *Heimat*. Emigration had allowed new national feelings to grow; it also made Germans into Americans (where psychological conditions for assimilation or being grafted to the population were most conducive), into Swedes, into Zionist Jews, but also homeless and inwardly rootless. Still, these behaviors are not typical of emigrated *Sozialdemokraten*. What's typical seems the behavior of those who until the war's end remained united with their emigration organization and who- even if they felt themselves to be Europeans and citizens of the world- during the whole of their exile stood "with their face toward Germany'..." (Matthias, 1952, p. 282)

⁵²⁷ Margaret [Hannum] Stevens, Interview with MLT, 28.XI.95.

⁵²⁸ Hackel, Ibid.

In addition to what professions they eventually chose, many of the socio-political beliefs and values of the former refugee children today stem from their peculiar constellations of former lives and later biographies as affected by both emigration and immigration as children. Edith [Lichtenstein] Morgan -for instance-adamantly defended what in America today likely would not seem a "liberal" point of view regarding multi-cultural education. Based on her own experiences, Morgan believed that a given culture must have unifying elements which fundamentally bind, not divide those who people it: therefore, she opposed introducing "across-the-board multi-cultural education"-and as a school board member she had the requisite influence to have her point of view aired.⁵³⁰ Similarly, Elizabeth [Ilse Seligmann/Seaman] Chilton⁵³¹ and Irmgard [Rosenzweig] Wessel⁵³²-both self-identified "liberals"-clearly felt uncomfortable with what opponents of "wily-nily multi-culturalism" in the U.S. have labeled "Balkanization". During interviews, each offered her immigrant background as a basis for supporting or opposing multi-cultural curricula in schools, etc.

Its culturally diverse nature aside, the former refugee children were able to see basic threads which unite American society-which Wessel called a "quilt". For Morgan those threads included concepts of America as "a country of laws", where "there's a set of shared beliefs about what's right and wrong and there's a set a certain shared behaviors".⁵³³ Meanwhile, Pierre Shostal assessed America as a "country of openness and tolerance and readiness to give shelter to others".⁵³⁴ At the same time, however, how can one feel "part" of something which-as Morgan noted-"is constantly changing", as "there's no *set* culture, there's no set totally-shared cultural value here [and] that's okay".⁵³⁵

Some of the former refugee children's responses to questions were more concrete than others, yet each of them contained a noticeable element of open-endedness, a degree of uncertainty or even an unwillingness to commit to a specific opinion or preference. Considering what adults at Scattergood Hostel later said about America in comparison with the

⁵²⁹ They involve two boys who later became an architect and a government inspector.

⁵³⁰ Morgan, Ibid.

⁵³¹ ESC, Interview with MLT, 28.X.95.

⁵³² IRW, Interview with MLT, 30.X.95.

⁵³³ Morgan, Ibid.

⁵³⁴ Pierre Shostal, Interview with MLT, 26.X.94.

⁵³⁵ Morgan, Ibid.

impressions or values their children voiced, most adults spoke concretely and in detail. With the exception of Edith [Lichtenstein] Morgan, however, the former children avoided issuing detailed statements and even Morgan herself, while speaking at length, often spoke in abstractions. Emil Deutsch outlined American literature and political institutions, Ernst [Malamerson] van den Haag offered a critique of American academics or coffee and Walter Shostal spoke of his inability to mimic a perfect English "w", but the Scattergood Hostel children all remained consistently non-committal in their assessments of the country they had come to know as their own.⁵³⁶ This conclusion corresponds with what detractors of America had labeled "superficiality", but Librarian of Congress Daniel Boorstin preferred to describe as "vagueness". He saw it as a "great resource" of America, for

American uncertainties, products of ignorance and progress, were producers of optimism and energy. Although few acknowledged it, in the era between the Revolution and the Civil War this vagueness was a source of American strength. Americans were already distinguished less by what they clearly knew or definitely believed than by their grand and fluid hopes. If other nations had been held together by common certainties, Americans were being united by a common vagueness and a common effervescence. Their first enterprise was to discover who they were, where they were, when they were, what they were capable of, and how they could expand and organize. Their America was still little more than a point of departure. The nation would long profit from having been born without having ever been conceived.⁵³⁷

While Boorstin wished to see a positive fertility in this trait, in any event it differs from-for instance-characteristics often attributed to German culture such as *Gründlichkeit* ("thoroughness") and *Genauigkeit* ("accuracy" or "exactness"). If "vagueness" or "superficiality" is an American trait, Europeans who came to the U.S. as adult refugees seem to have been largely immune to it, while their children without exception acquired it.

That "Americanized" refugee children differed so greatly from their exiled European parents closely mirrored the pronouncedly different historical experience of the children's adopted compatriots. Whereas Western Europe had consisted for centuries of relatively crowded, tradition-bound societies, the open physical environment and social climate which Europeans had found in America since its discovery flew in the face of Old-World norms, traditions and structures. Under such fluid conditions a unique American national character could not help but evolve out of the numerous European ones which tried yet failed to survive

⁵³⁶ One exception is Frank Keller, who admitted: "I do not feel at home in U.S. culture & society because of the emphasis on materialism" (Frank Keller, Letter to MLT, 31.X.96).

⁵³⁷ Boorstin, 1965, p. 219.

transplantation intact. According to Boorstin, nothing did more to keep an American

open to outrageous novelties and happy accidents than the indefinite arena of [her or] his life. Of course he expected the unexpected. Even so, American experience held a still vaster stock of the unpredictable than he dared imagine. Never before had so populous a modern nation lived in so ill-defined a territory.⁵³⁸

In a setting of unbounded geography unfettered by rigid social restraints, in their formative years Americans lived "not at a verge, but in myriad fuzzy-edged islands". Thus the push West did not occur along a solid line but rather isolated dashes and American life-like the physical nation itself-was

distinguished by its lack of clear boundaries. The continent was covered by penumbras, between the known and the unknown, between fact and myth, between present and future, between native and alien, between good and evil.⁵³⁹

Just as European mentalities had been determined by entrenched political hierarchies, solidly established state churches, set social orders and the like, corresponding American mentalities were determined by utter lack of such.

Theologian Paul Tillich-himself a refugee from Nazi Germany-once accredited differences between European and American minds to historically determined differences he described as "directions", for the "whole history" of America had turned the American mind in a "horizontal direction". The conquest of a land with a

seemingly unlimited extension, the progressive actualization of infinite possibilities in man's dealing with nature and himself, the dynamics of Calvinism and early capitalism, freedom from a binding tradition and from the curses of European history

combined to produce "a type of thinking" which Tillich deemed "quite different from the predominantly vertical thinking" in Europe. The latter-he said-had been indelibly influenced by a feudal system which restricted individuals to predetermined fates, allowing "rare possibilities of horizontal progress". If life in Europe entailed "a fight in the vertical line between divine and demonic forces", in America it involved a struggle for the "progressive actualization of human possibilities". While Tillich conceded that such stark contrasts are never absolute, he held that they represent a "predominant attitude of great theological significance"-with the danger for

⁵³⁸ Ibid., p. 221.

⁵³⁹ Ibid., p. 222.

Europe being "a lack of horizontal actualization" and for America "a lack of vertical depth".⁵⁴⁰

The formation of "American" identities on the parts of former refugee children and their elders facilitated their abilities to think in "horizontal directions"-for example, to cope with diversity and to develop higher comfort levels for ambiguity than traditionally was the case in Europe. One example of coping with cultural diversity consists of the fluid nature of the [Seligmann] Seaman family's religious associations: Elizabeth [Seligmann] Chilton noted that once they had moved to Ames, Iowa, her parents became members of Collegiate Presbyterian Church-although her father was a Jew and her mother a Lutheran; later, both of Chilton's parents left money to the Quakers in their wills, while she herself attended a Congregational Church. Another example of feeling comfortable in diverse cultural contexts coincidentally also involves religion: although reared a Jew, Edith [Lichtenstein] Morgan

wandered from being Congregationalist to being Quaker, to being... [Morgan laughed] Things go full circle! I practiced in a quiet way myself my Judaism, but now I've got Buddhist foster children from Vietnam; I've had Catholic foster children...I have a little grand-daughter from one of my foster children from Cambodia... But to me, *that's* 'America', you know-and basically I say to them, we're all Americans.

Regarding religion, at least some of the refugees thought becoming assimilated included assuming "American" religious affiliations. Ernst and Ilse Stahl, Hans Peters, the Deutsch family and Heid Ladewig-despite having been disappointed with her stay at Scattergood-all became "convinced" Quakers after leaving Scattergood Hostel. Also, Walter and Magda Shostal- reared Jewish and Catholic, respectively-sent their sons to Protestant Sunday school classes as well as Cub Scout meetings, while they themselves joined a leading American voluntary organization-the Parent Teacher Association. Similarly, as a teenager in America Irmgard [Rosenzweig] Wessel struggled over whether to be a Democrat or a Republican, for she had the impression that following the "wrong" party could result in deportation. Also, at least Emil Deutsch, Ludwig Hacke and Robert Keller found "McCarthyism" appalling, while Kurt Schaefer subjected himself to self-censorship-convinced that FBI agents were following him and that thus he could lose his academic post.

Besides changing their religious or political affiliations if not attitudes, many of the refugees also felt it necessary to change their sur- if not also first-names in the process of assuming "American" identities. Some changes were minor-for example, dropping the "c" from the Middle-European family name "Schostal", or changing "Friedrich" to "Frederick" or even the

⁵⁴⁰ Tillich in Crawford, 1953, pp. 146-147.

informal form of "Fred". Other name changes were more drastic: the surnames "Unterholzer", "Grünwald" and "Lichtman" respectively became "Underwood", "Greenwood" and "Lister"; "Karl Bukowitz" and "Ljubover Koropatnický" became "Charles Bukovis" and "Louis Croy". Some refugees altered their names to seem *more* American, while others did so to seem *less* Jewish, as in the cases of the Seligmann family and Ernst [Malamerson] van den Haag.⁵⁴¹ If changing a name might seem like "hard" evidence of refugee integration/assimilation, doing so was possible only due to initial *internal* shifts in Self-perception which allowed such a dramatic *external* sign of cultural adaptation.

Moreover, such changes in religious or political affiliation, name, etc., all indicated a change in mentality-in the "direction" of former refugees' thinking. That such a change was requisite to integration in American society or to assimilation as Americans cannot be overlooked. Contrasts between the attitudes of adult refugee children and their parents, however, repeatedly resurface. While subtle and thus difficult to "prove" with "hard" evidence, as quoted in this study's introduction, "assimilation...consists of little things, even though the end result is no little thing".⁵⁴² Indeed, as products of myriad "little things", the mosaics which are the present identities of one-time refugee children directly reflect a process consisting of influences and experiences that have created "New Americans" through the very way that they see the world. In turn, their view of the world directly reflects not just their own experiences in America, but the aggregate experiences of all those individuals who have found themselves either through birth, through immigration or through exile in a land at once vast, open, multi-faceted, loosely united and thinly defined.

While in the process of becoming Americans former refugee children might have assumed a rather amorphous, often ambivalent sense of what belonging to their adopted nationality entailed, adults who passed through Scattergood Hostel tended to see the essence of being "American" differently. In the early phase of his new life, for example, Emil Deutsch may have focused on the classically European criteria of "culture": literature, music, visual arts, "manners", etc.⁵⁴³ Later, however, after the onset of increasing disillusionment with America, he focused not on ways of *thinking* (i.e. how one perceives the Self in a wider context), but on

⁵⁴¹ ESC, Ibid. and EMH, Ibid., respectively.

⁵⁴² Kent, 1953, p. 8.

⁵⁴³ Deutsch's fellow refugee Lucy Selig alluded to "liberal ideas" as "American ideas"; she, too, spoke of concepts rather than behaviors in describing America (Selig, Ibid.).

ways of *acting* (i.e. how one normally behaves in set contexts)-such as some Americans' emphasis on profit, acts of racism, displays of "materialism", etc. Somewhere he shifted from perceiving identity mainly as a matter of mind to being more a matter of behavior: from "being" to "doing". At least Walter Shostal exhibited the end results of this process, for in his own assessment how he and his family fared "with regard to the melting pot", he reflected not on identity as attitudes or values (again, *being*), but on the implied cultural traits communicated through actions (*doing*). For example: although his eldest son Pierre once told him that "at a certain time in his youth he had been uncertain whether he should be an American or a European", Walter concluded that as his son "progressed in life his doubts vanished" - reflections of which supposedly included Pierre's officially representing the U.S. as a member of the foreign service or the fact that Pierre and his British-born second wife chose to retire in America and are "definitely mainstream."

Super-achiever Erhard Winter also spoke of his "American-ness" not in terms of personal attitudes or values, but socially recognized accomplishments or status. For him, reasons for discontent with his fate in the New World were mirrored by his failure to have been elected to leadership positions in various "organizations, clubs [or professional] societies he was obliged to join"⁵⁴⁴ in the course of pursuing the "American Dream" and also by his not residing in one given community for more than ten years until moving to the town where he recently had retired. This, in sharp contrast to attitudes or values he exhibited in Berlin in the spring of 1995 while on "pilgrimage" to Germany to revisit his "German past"-which included sites of his grandparents' home life or his father's studies or his own intellectual development as a teen. While he spoke about his degree of "American-ness" in terms of assignments in this famous hospital or that prestigious practice, his children's marrying "real Americans of good standing", his own late-in-life resumed post-secondary education or his acquisition of numerous rental properties which generate much money, he spoke of his deep-rooted "German-ness" in terms of "refined tastes" or certain "cultural affinities", of inherited legacies or familial traits, of ethnic ancestry and an early instilled ideological orientation. Although he epitomized this dichotomy, Winter didn't even realize he was engaging in it: he flipped back and forth-for instance-between English and German without notice, yet the two "Erhards" which the two languages conveyed were very distinct, one from the other. The fluorescent-green John Deere farmer's cap from the American Heartland which rested on Winter's forehead only added to the dissonance.

⁵⁴⁴ Winter, Ibid.

Similarly, although they might have symbolized for him cultural traits, Ernst [Malamerson] van den Haag discussed America in terms of "scholarly activity" or the quality of coffee sold and his own "success" being reflected in having held numerous academic posts or having "lots" of friend- with no mention of cultural ties which might or might not hold them together. Again, van den Haag offered *doing-or having-over being* as indication of one's "American-ness". Sitting in his 16th-floor, Upper-West-Side apartment with a generous view of Manhattan and speaking with a hybrid German-British accent about his close friendship with Henry Kissinger and the "chances of success" in America, van den Haag cast an image of the American Booster-a "true-blue Yankee Go-Getter". When the theme shifted to his student days as a communist in Italy, however, he spoke as a displaced European intellectual, his face assumed another expression and he imparted an all-together different impression. It seemed, then, that his identity at any given moment depended on which of the two contrasting cultural contexts he concentrated.

Closing Comment

One-time Scattergood Hostel refugees who remained in the United States following the war's end all became "Americans" at least in terms of passport if not passion; their membership in American society, however, was granted by default, in that they forever remained Europeans transplanted in American soil: some of them integrated, but none of them could assimilate. While former refugee children are virtually indistinguishable from other Americans of similar class, education and age, one nonetheless can wonder how deep their American identities *really* run, given that they themselves struggle to define and articulate consistent, coherent senses of what it means to be "American". Perhaps they know-but then again, being "Americans", perhaps they don't.

Appendixes

Refugees' Parting Comments

When Scattergood Hostel closed its doors, refugees it helped mourned its passing. Announcing the closure via mass-mailed letter, the staff immediately received telegrams, letters, post- or greeting-cards from Iowa Friends, former staff and a few local supporters-but most of all from the refugees themselves. Director Martha Balderston excerpted some of them to indicate the program's success. The communiqués she made public consisted of various reactions ranging from disbelief to deep gratitude. Würzburg socialworker Lucy Selig exhibited the shock and denial common to those experiencing great loss:

I cannot think of the Hostel becoming closed; it seems as if a solid ground [were] giving way under my feet, as if we would lose something like home for the second time. Scattergood became a part of my life and an important one and I do feel that it became a spiritual and uniting center for all of us. No one whoever lived there close to the cornfields, the white still nights, the beauty of the moonlight, the silence of the meetinghouse-close to the eternity of nature and the love of Quakerism will ever get rid of this atmosphere. Sometimes I long for one of those moments there that are gone more than for all that the days to come hold in their close-shut hands...

Similarly, nurse Martha and doctor Alfred Adler of Frankfurt-am-Main felt

deeply concerned about the news that Scattergood cannot continue to function as a Hostel for European refugees. We are touched so much the more because we cannot believe that Scattergood has outlived its usefulness. We know too well what Scattergood meant and means for us, what Scattergood gave and gives us. We came to Scattergood nearly broken in health and spirit after the hardship of the last years in Europe. It was at Scattergood where we had the opportunity to recover from the distress we had to go through. We found there friends eager to help us in our difficulties. They showed us American way of life and taught us to speak English. With help and kindness we found ourselves again and became again self-confident. So we realize what we owe to Scattergood.

Former Vienna music-store operator Egon Mauthner regretted that Friends'

wonderful work has now found its end. But I feel with you how satisfying it must have been to have helped so many, many people in their first steps in this country... The Quaker idea will give you more and more work in these times which need so much toleration and mutual understanding. I myself shall never forget what you Friends did for a stranger.

An unnamed individual not only wished to deny Scattergood Hostel's end, but held that its essential spirit was inextinguishable:

You are right to hate to say farewell, [but] it is no reason too to say this word-why?-Scattergood isn't gone, Scattergood isn't dead, no, Scattergood exists, now as before... Scattergood surrounded by peace and freedom. Scattergood exists as the sun too, they belong always together and no one can divide them. The spirit of Scattergood exists-the

spirit of Scattergood is not a merchandise, you cannot buy it, it cannot be sold, too-but you can have it, if so, then you get it forever.

Instead of subsiding, Latvian photographer Rose Eliasberg thought that the need for centers like Scattergood would increase once the war ended:

For all those enslaved, imprisoned or in concentration camps for the time being, many, many centers with the spirit of Scattergood will be a necessity when the peace is won. These refugees, like all those who went through Scattergood, will appreciate the peaceful atmosphere, the cordiality and the good will to remedy and re-adjust those persons who have suffered persecution, starvation and torture. May Scattergood soon be reopened!

Like Eliasberg, Austrian lawyer Louis Croy remembered Europe, too, but from a different perspective, for he reflected upon what had happened to him in the Old World and the person he had become since coming to a New one:

Looking back to my first year in this country I realize the decisive and beneficial rTMle of Scattergood in my new life here. I got shelter and friends in the time of my greatest stress, I learned the ways of this country when I was a complete stranger, and a way for my future was paved which proved successful, in spite of my pessimism in the beginning. But Scattergood did more than this. I escaped the European nightmare with little confidence in humanity. Scattergood taught me that I was wrong. The generosity and unselfishness of Americans at Scattergood was one of the most valuable experiences I ever had.

"Scattergood" evoked different images for different people whose lives it had touched. Some saw the meetinghouse as an apt symbol for the community of souls which had gathered there. Berlin lawyer Martin Kobylinski maintained that

the symbol of love and humanity, of helpful kindness and friendship, of mutual understanding is this little, simple Meetinghouse, which united all these different people in silence and worship. These meetings have bound us together more than many words. When we left Scattergood we had got a deep love for America thanks to that wonderful work done by the Quakers. We had found friends and had learned what that means: Society of American Friends. So I am happy...to say you that my connection with Scattergood and the American Friends is not bound to building and time, [but] will last forever.

Newly married, the secretary of Dresden's banned *Sozialdemokratische Partei* Gertrude Hesse Liepe also spoke of the meetinghouse, but in the form of a wish of well-being for the remaining staff:

Your letter...distresses us not a little. But we hope another feeling is prevailing, that you and your staff have completed a great task. We are very anxious to know what your further plans will be, personally and for the hostel. There may come back one day new tasks for it; the Meetinghouse, we hope and think, will remain a precious meeting-place, saved by what was done during these years... When your divisions are done you will have a fire in the little stove and you will sit there, not alone. All who ever were there with you will be there -you will feel it.

The overriding image the refugees held of Scattergood, however, was- as Frankfurt-am-Main lawyer Karl Liebman and his wife Lotte described it- one of being

our home, the place you could go to for a rest, maybe the only place where you would be always welcome and where there would be always somebody who would have understanding for your troubles, difficulties and grief. I wish this feeling can remain until the day when Scattergood starts again to be a refuge for people who will need a place from which they can start all over.

Calling it "a monument to friendship in many many hearts", Viennese baker Rudolf Schreck characterized Scattergood very well, saying

Scattergood has given so much to everyone of us who went there to find a place of security in a strange, bewildering new world-as America was to many of us-a place of human understanding, help, advice. A place of peace in a world of war, a haven amidst a world of hatred.

German Versions of Passages Used in Text

Part I: Persecution, Flight and Reception of WWII-era Refugees

page 4, footnote 5

source: Lehmann, 1976, p. 33.

[Goebbels z.B. hatte 1929 in einem weitverbreiteten Zeitungsartikel die Todesstrafe nicht nur für Mörder gefordert, sondern sie auch] ‚Schiebern, Wucherern, Vaterlandsverrätern und Verbrechern an der Ehre und an der Existenz des Volkes angedroht. ‚Wer den Tod verdient, der soll den Tod haben. Wer dagegen anschreit, der ist dringend verdächtig, daß er ihn verdient.‘

page 5, footnote 8

source: Matthias, 1952, p. 18.

Man darf aber wohl annehmen, daß schon 1933 die Zahl der Emigranten zum mindesten in die Zehntausende ging.

page 11, footnote 23

source: Benz, 1994, pp. 12-13.

[Die Umstände der Ausreise] mit ihren demütigenden und schikanösen büro-kratischen Prozeduren [waren allerdings schlimm genug, und die zu übergehen, würde die Wahrheit auch verkürzen.] Das aufreibende Anti-chambrieren bei Konsulaten und Reedereien, das Anstehen für polizeiliche und finanzamtliche Unbedenklichkeitsbescheide, die zollamtliche Abfertigung der Habe (die je länger desto mehr eine Beraubung war) hatten die 1933 oder wenig später Geflohenen-also die prominenten Emigranten-noch nicht erlebt... [Die Auswanderung war minde-stens für alle jüdischen Deutschen nach dem Novemberpogrom nicht mehr] die Altern-ative zur Verfolgung, sondern sie schloß sich an schreckliche Erkenntnisse an.

page 12, footnote 25

source: Jacobsen, 1993, p. 120.

Die Kunst ist frei. Allerdings wird sie sich an bestimmte Normen gewöhnen müssen.

page 13, footnote 31

source: Wegner, 1967, p. 31.

Von der großen Zahl deutscher Schriftsteller, die nach Hitlers Machtergreifung aus Deutschland emigrierten, verließen die meisten das Land bereits im Jahre 1933. Die Flucht der Intellektuellen setzte anders als die Emigration der übrigen Flüchtlinge schon unmittelbar nach dem 30. Januar ein, steigerte sich nach den Verhaftungswellen, die dem Reichstagsbrand in der Nacht von 27. zum 28. Februar folgten, und nach der Bücherverbrennung vom 10. Mai.

page 14, footnote 33

source: Klaus Mann, *Die Emigration war nicht gut. Das Dritte Reich war schlimmer*, from the manuscript *Der Wendepunkt*. Städtische Bibliothek München.

[Die Emigration war nicht gut. Das Dritte Reich war schlimmer. Die] Emigration war nicht gut. In dieser Welt der Nationalstaaten und des Nationalismus ist ein Mann ohne Nation, ein Staatenloser übel dran. Er hat Unannehmlichkeiten; die Behörden des Gastlandes behandeln ihn mit Mißtrauen; er wird schikaniert. Auch Verdienstmöglichkeiten bieten sich nicht leicht. Wer sollte sich des Verbannten annehmen? Welche Instanz verteidigte sein Recht? Er hat ‚nichts hinter sich‘, keine Organisation, keine Macht, keine Gruppe. Wer zu keiner Gemeinschaft gehört, ist allein.

page 14, footnote 34

source: Ibid.

[Ob die Emigranten es nun zugeben oder nicht, die Diktatur ist populär bei den Massen, das deutsche Volk steht hinter seinem Führer.] Wir geben es nicht zu. ‚Hitler ist nicht Deutschland!‘... Das ‚eigentliche‘ Deutschland, das ‚bessere‘ war gegen den Tyrannen, wie wir der Welt eigensinning versicherten. Die deutsche Opposition nahm in unseren Artikeln und Manifesten gewaltige Demonstrationen an: Es waren Millionen (wir bestanden darauf), die im Kampf gegen das verhaßte System Leben und Freiheit riskierten. Wir flunkerten nicht: Wir *glaubten*. Unser echter, wenngleich naiver Glaube an die Stärke und den Heroismus der innerdeutschen Widerstandsbewegung gab uns den moralischen Halt, den Auftrieb, dessen wir in unserer Isoliertheit und Hilflosigkeit so dringend bedurften.

page 14, footnote 35

source: Pasche, 1993, p. 9.

[Um das Jahr 1935/36] wird deutlich, wie sehr die Emigranten sich über die tatsächliche politische und ökonomische Stärke des Dritten Reiches getäuscht hatten. [Ernüchterung wird spürbar: die finanziellen und juristischen Schwierigkeiten in den Gastländern verschärfen sich...] Je klarer wird, daß mit einem unmittelbaren Zusammenbruch des Faschismus nicht zu rechnen ist, desto mehr rückt die Literatur vom offenen Angriff und der spektakulären Enthüllung ab.

page 15, footnote 36

source: Wegner, 1967, pp. 42-43.

Fast immer übersahen [jene Kritiker] jedoch die Tatsache, daß es für den weitaus größten Teil der emigrierten Schriftsteller keine Wahl zwischen zwei Möglichkeiten, der Flucht oder dem Verbleiben, gab. Vielmehr mußten die meisten in der Emigration den einzigen Weg sehen, sich einer Verhaftung oder einem totalen Schreibverbot zu entziehen.

page 21, footnote 46

source: Pross, 1955, p. 13.

[Geisteswissenschaftler,] mit ihren nur selten praktisch verwertbaren Kenntnissen, [und alle, die durch ihre bisherige politische Tätigkeit direkt gefährdet waren,] stießen auf größere Schwierigkeiten. Hier bedeutete Entlassung oft, daß bisherige Universitätslehrer berufsfremde Arbeit leisten und eine ganz neue Existenz beginnen mußten.

page 22, footnote 51

source: Hardt, 1979, p. 321.

[Während der deutsche Journalist im amerikanischen Exil zumindest theoretisch die Möglichkeit hatte, in den Medienbetrieb, in die deutschsprachige Presse, oder in die Exilpresse beruflich einzutreten,] sah die Wirklichkeit beträchtlich entmutigender aus; es gab weder eine große Auswahl an freien Stellen, noch konnte man viele Gemeinsamkeiten zwischen journalistischer Arbeit in Deutschland und in den Vereinigten Staaten finden.

page 23, footnote 53

source: Pross, 1955, pp. 13-14.

Die innere Emigration [kann man vielleicht definieren als] die Situation, in der der oppositionelle Intellektuelle, dem politischer Druck die Teilnahme am öffentlichen wissenschaftlichen Leben verwehrt, in der Isolierung und im Geheimen seine wissenschaftliche Tätigkeit fortsetzt. Seiner bisherigen wissenschaftlichen und erzieherischen Funktionen beraubt und aus seiner gewohnten Lebensweise herausgerissen; abgeschnitten vom früheren Kontakt mit Studenten und vom Austausch mit Kollegen; ökonomisch beengt und gesellschaftlich gemieden; umgeben von Mißtrauen und innerlich dem vorherrschenden politischen und geistigen Klima zutiefst feindlich gesinnt, gehörte der Universitätslehrer, der in der inneren Emigration lebte, nicht mehr zur Gesellschaft, sondern war durch eigenen Protest (der sich nicht in offenem Widerstand auszudrücken brauchte) und die Gegnerschaft der Umwelt von ihr getrennt. Je tiefer die totale Diktatur durch Erziehung und Propaganda in das Privatleben eindrang, desto schärfer wurde seine Isolierung. Wie weit sie durch Kontakt mit Gleichgesinnten gemildert werden konnte, hing weniger von der Haltung des Isolierten, also von den Umweltfaktoren ab. Großstädte erlaubten mehr Bewegungs- und Begegnungsfreiheit als Klein- und Mittelstädte, die sich häufig zu Hochburgen des Nazismus entwickelt hatten... Innere Emigration erstickte die geistige Produktion.

page 24, footnote 55

source: Ibid.

[Emigration war ein Wagnis,] ein Gang ins unbekannte Nichts, das so wenig wie die innere Emigration irgendwelche Garantien für eine Fortsetzung der bisherigen Arbeit und für weitere Ausübung intellektueller Aufgaben bot. Das erklärt zum Teil, warum die Zahl der freiwilligen Emigranten so niedrig war.

page 29, footnote 69

source: van Roon, 1994, p. 79

Als ehemalige Staatskirche hing sie noch stark an nationalen Traditionen. In übergroßer Mehrheit hatten die Kirchenführer den Ereignissen des Januar 1933 zugejubelt. Eine starke Bindung an die Weimarer Republik hatte nie bestanden. Diese war schließlich ein Erbe der bolschewistischen Revolution von 1918, welche das Kaiserreich und den Bund zwischen Thron und Altar zerstört hatte.

page 33, footnote 80

source: Moser in Pehle, id., pp.127-129.

[Blinden Juden war es nicht erlaubt, die gelbe Armbinde zu tragen,] weil möglicherweise ein Deutscher veranlaßt werden könnte, ihnen behilflich zu sein.

page 33, footnote 84

source: Benz, 1993, p. 499.

[Das Novemberpogrom, als ‚Reichskristallnacht‘ im Umgangston verniedlicht, bedeutete den Rückfall in die Barbarei;] in einer Nacht wurden die Errungenschaften der Aufklärung, der Emanzipation, der Gedanke des Rechtsstaates und die Idee von der Freiheit des Individuums [zuschanden. Seit dem 15. Jahrhundert hatte es in Mitteleuropa solche Judenverfolgung nicht mehr gegeben, aber nicht nur dies, dem die mittelalterlichen Pogrome fanden statt als] unkontrollierte Aggressionen zusammengelaufener Volkshaufen, in denen sich soziale und wirtschaftliche Spannungen auf dem Hintergrund religiös motivierter Judenfeindschaft entluden. Regelrecht programmiert und in Szene gesetzt von staatlichen Instanzen war vor dem 9. November 1938 kein einziger solcher antisemitischer Aufruhr gewesen.

page 34, footnote 85

source: Jochmann, 1991, p. 240.

[Der Boykott vom 1. April 1933 war dann auch ein] Beispiel für die national-sozialistische Regie solcher Aktionen. Die Parteibasis erhielt genügend Freiraum, um aufgestaute Aggressionen loszuwerden und den Eindruck der Spontaneität zu vermitteln. Zudem sollten die fanatischen Judenfeinde ein Signal bekommen, daß das neue Regime seine rassenpolitischen Ziele entschlossen verfolgte.

page 36, footnote 90

source: Stanley, 1964, p. 83.

[...] unendlich tief in deutscher Erde, Sprache, Kunst und deutschen Denken verwurzelt... Und man konnte doch einer deutschen Eiche nicht einfach sagen: "Von heute an bist du nicht mehr eine deutsche Eiche! Zieh deine Wurzeln aus dieser Erde und geh fort!"

page 41, footnote 98

source: Benz, 1994, pp. 38-39.

Die wichtigsten und begehrtesten Exilländer waren Palästina und die USA. Aus unterschiedlichen Gründen war es schwer, dorthin zu gelangen. Palästina war britisches Mandatsgebiet, und die einwanderungswilligen Zionisten, meist junge Juden, die sich gemeinsam auf das Siedlerdasein vorbereiteten, wurden nur in geringer Zahl nach einem komplizierten Quotensystem zugelassen... [Nach dem Novemberpogrom 1938 wurden die Restriktionen zwar gelockert,] aber für viele war es zu spät. War es erst die Sorge, von verarmten Juden aus Mitteleuropa belästigt zu werden, so kam nach Kriegsausbruch die Furcht vor Nazi-Spionen dazu, die im Flüchtlingsstrom einsickern konnten. Auf jeden Fall waren vor der Einwanderungserlaubnis in die USA bürokratische Hürden von beträchtlichem Ausmaß zu überwinden. Trotzdem waren die Vereinigten Staaten das wichtigste Exilland überhaupt, in dem über 130 000 deutsche und österreichische Juden Zuflucht fanden.

pages 39 and 41, footnote 93 and thereafter

source: Sigmund [Seligmann] Seaman's unpublished account "*Verfolgungsvorgang*", 5.VI.57.

Das langsame und unerbittliche Abstreben der Existenz kam mit den November- ereignissen [sic] zu einem plötzlichen und entgültigen Ende.

[Die Tatsache, dass meine Ehefrau Friede geb. Hartmann, aus Eberbach a. Neck. ‚arischer‘ Abstammung war, und die beiden Kinder Helmut und Ilse christlich erzogen wurden, änderte nichts an der kritisch gewordenen Lage. Zudem waren die Kinder in das Alter gewachsen, da sie] in der Schule und auch ausserhalb die Zurücksetzungen des Systems zu erleiden hatten.

Alle Versuche, nach einem anderen europ. Lande zu kommen, schlugen fehl: [meine Tätigkeit war] weder wichtig, noch mein Vermögen gross genug, irgendwo eine Türe zu öffnen. [So blieb nichts übrig, als an Übersee zu denken. Wir versuchten es mit Australien, wo ich eine ausgewanderte Schwester hatte. Diese Bestrebungen, die sich durch endlose Monate erstreckten, führten nicht zum Ziel: wir waren nicht mehr jung genug,] hatten nicht genug Kinder!

Der Name ‚Dachau‘ genügt allein, um an die Behandlung oder besser Misshandlung zu erinnern, denen ich mit den anderen Insassen ausgesetzt war.

[Bald nach der Rückkehr von Dachau war ein Umzug notwendig geworden:] die Familie eines ehem. Dachauers konnte nicht mehr in der [Franz Knauffstrasse] Siedlung des Gew. Bundes der Angestellten wohnen bleiben, wo wir unser Wohnrecht einmal mit einem Baukostenzuschuss [oder der gleichen] erkaufte hatten.

Mit der Entscheidung nach Hause zu kommen, dass ich vorläufig alleine auszuwandern hatte, dass die Familie trotz des Kriegzustandes einstweilen in Heidelberg zu verbleiben

hatte, war ein schwerer Schock. Durch diese Trennung, die damit verbundene Ungewissheit des Schicksales, die Erschwerungen, die sich für mich für die erste Zeit in USA daran knüpften, reichten die Verfolgungen über Zeit und Raum hinaus.

Part II: Documentation and Analysis of Scattergood Hostel

page 124, footnote 34

source: Hardt, 1979, p. 318.

Das Ausmaß der Berichterstattung ist wichtig im Hinblick auf die Ereignisse, die zur Emigration führten und die darauffolgenden innenpolitischen Diskussionen, die auf die Probleme der Einwanderungspolitik hinweisen. Zeitungen und später auch Rundfunkübertragungen, bildeten den Zugang zu Basisinformationen, auf die sich der amerikanische Bürger in seiner Beurteilung der politischen Lage verlassen mußte.

page 136, footnote 61

source: Benz, 1992, p. 64.

[Während für das jüdische Exil die Emigration im allgemeinen eine endgültige Lebensentscheidung und] das definitive Ende der jüdischen Akkulturation im deutschsprachigen Mitteleuropa bedeutete, überlebte die politische Emigration das Dritte Reich außerhalb des nationalsozialistischen Machtbereichs überwiegend ‚mit dem Gesicht nach Deutschland‘ und kehrte nach Kriegsende in großer Zahl und häufig mit der ersten sich bietenden Gelegenheit zurück, um am deutschen Wiederaufbau mitzuwirken.

page 144, footnote 81

source: Feuchtwanger. *Größe und Erbärmlichkeit des Exils*, from *Das Wort*, Notebook 6, 1938.

Viele von den Emigranten verkamen. Ihre schlechten Eigenschaften, im Wohlstand versteckt und behütet, drangen zutage, ihre guten schlugen um. Wer vorsichtig gewesen war, wurde feig, der Mutige verbrecherisch, der Sparsame geizig, Großzügigkeit wurde Hochstapelei. Die meisten wurden ichbesessen, verloren Urteil und Maß, unterschieden nicht mehr zwischen Erlaubtem und Unerlaubtem, ihr Elend wurde ihnen Rechtfertigung für jede Zügellosigkeit und Willkür. Auch wurden sie jammerselig und zänkisch. Aus sicheren Verhältnissen ins Unsichere gestoßen, verzappelten sie sich, wurden frech und servil zugleich, streitsüchtig, anspruchsvoll, besserwisserisch. Sie wurden wie Früchte, die man zu früh von Baum gerissen hat, nicht reif, sondern trocken und ranzig.

Part III: Comparisons and Summary

page 257, footnote 22

source: Matthias, 1952, p. 282.

[Wieder andere beschlossen zwar, nicht mehr nach Deutschland zurückzukehren, sind jedoch]-trotz allen Anpassungswillens-in der zweiten Heimat Fremde geblieben. Die Emigration hat neue Nationalgefühle wachsen lassen; sie hat Deutsche zu Amerikanern (hier waren die psychischen Bedingungen für eine Assimilierung, für das Hineinwachsen in ein

Volk, das noch im Werden begriffen ist, am günstigsten), zu Schweden, zu National-Juden, aber auch zu Heimatlosen und innerlich Entwurzelten gemacht. Doch alle diese Haltungen sind nicht typisch für die Emigrationssozialdemokratie. Als typisch erscheint die Haltung derjenigen, die bis zum Ende des Krieges in ihren Emigrationsorganisationen vereinigt blieben und die-auch wenn sie sich als Europäer und Weltbürger fühlten-während der ganzen Zeit ihres Exils ‚mit dem Gesicht nach Deutschland‘ [(dieser Ausdruck war ein Lieblingswort des in Paris verstorbenen 1. Vorsitzenden der SPD Otto Wels)] standen.

(end)

ABBREVIATIONS

AFSC	American Friends Service Committee
CHF	Camilla [Hewson] Flintermann
CRG	Cedar Rapids Gazette
DMR	Des Moines Register
EME	Earle and Marjorie Edwards
EMH	Ernst [Malamerson] van den Haag
ESC	Ilse "Elizabeth" [Seligmann/Seaman] Chilton
HDC	Hanna [Deutsch] Clampitt
ICPC	Iowa City Press-Citizen
IRW	Irmgard [Rosenzweig] Wessel
IYMF(C)	Iowa Yearly Meeting of Friends (Conservative)
IYMF(P)	Iowa Yearly Meeting of Friends (Programmed)
LPW	Lillian [Pemberton] Willoughby
MB	Martha Balderston
MLT	Michael Luick-Thrams
RFB	Robert Berquist
SH	Scattergood Hostel
SHP	Sara [Hinshaw] Pemberton
SMNB	Scattergood Monthly News Bulletin
TBOS	The Book of Scattergood
WBT	West Branch Times
WS	Walter Shostal

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DEUTSCH, Michael; 29.X.94 and 10.XI.95
LICHTENSTEIN, Louis; 11.XI.94
MAUER, Betty [Balderston]; 30.X.94
MEYERDING, Esther; 6.XI.94
MORGAN, Edith [Lichtenstein]; 30.X.94
PALMER, Ruth [Coppock]; 28.X.94
SEAMAN, Helmut [Seligmann]; 6.XI.94
TABARI, Doris [Arntal]; 28.X.94
van den HAAG, Ernst [Malamerson]; 27.X.94
WEISS, Sally [Zimmerman]; 10.XI.94
WESSEL, Irmgard [Rosenzweig]; 24.X.94
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*copies of the recorded interviews are on file at AFSC

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Acknowledgments

I give thanks to all who have helped me in one way or another in this project: to Camilla Flintermann (and Peter), who did so much, from distributing the first questionnaires to sharing precious tales of Scattergood from the heart; to Robert Berquist for supplying me with the initial list of survivors, for cozy respites in West Branch and for unfailing accuracy; to Walter and Ilse Shostal for having me in their Alpine home and being patient as I conducted my first hostel-related interview; to Lillian and George Willoughby, Nicole Hackel, Marianne Welter, Earle and Marjorie Edwards, Susan Copithorne Robinson, Ernst Solmitz Somers (and Bernice), Robert Cory (and Sally), Pierre Shostal, Hans Peters [now deceased] (and Doris), Margaret Stevens (and Ed) and Lisa Hausen for in-person interviews; to Ernst Malamerson van den Haag, Edith Lichtenstein Morgan, Ilse/Elizabeth Seligmann/Seaman Chilton, Irmgard Rosenzweig Wessel and Hanna Deutsch Clampitt (and Phil) for providing interviews both per telephone and in person; to Marydel Balderston, Robert Burgess, Joyce DeLine Ball, Esther [Smith] Meyerding [now deceased], Peter Curtis, Elinor Cloe Darwin, Michael Deutsch, Paul Hagerty, Louis Lichtenstein, Betty Balderston Maurer, Esther Meyerding [now deceased], Ruth Coppock Palmer, Helmut Seligmann/Seaman, Peter Stern, Doris Arntal Tabari, Sally Zimmerman Weiss and David Zimmerman for insightful telephone interviews; to Robert Anthony, Leola Bergmann, Leanore Goodenow, Mary Lane Hiatt, Ruth Kaltenbach, Nona Swope and Nancy Zimmerman for useful correspondence; to Rachel Kinworthy and Joyce DeLine Ball for providing original copies of newspaper articles and photos of the hostel; to Harry Wilk for excellent Scattergood Hostel photos; to David Conklin for the kind favor of copying over 110 photos for an amazing low price; to Barry Trachtenberg and Brenda Bailey, who nudged me back on track when I strayed; to Sita Yoder and Becky Calcraft for their thorough editing; to Mary Bennett of the State Historical Society of Iowa in Iowa City and Jack Sutters of the American Friends Service Committee Archives in Philadelphia for invaluable assistance in locating myriad important documents; to Josef Keith and Sylvia Carlyle of the Friends House Library, to David Irwin and Christine Patel of the Weiner Library (both institutions in London) and to Dianne Spielmann of New York's Leo Baeck Institute for being so patient with my numerous requests or questions; to Ruth Rauch, Helen Ritter, Cyma Horowitz and Michele Anish of the American Jewish Committee and to David Rosenstein of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (both being in New York), and to Gail Farr, Jennifer Coleman and Jeremy Carrion of Philadelphia's Balch Institute for Ethnic Studies for research assistance; to Frauen Talay and Wagner of Munich's *Institut für Zeitgeschichte* for setting

me on fruitful searches; to Herrn Reese of Berlin's *Luftbrückendank Stiftung* for assistance in funding a first stateside research trip; similarly, to AFSC's Tom Conrad, to Philadelphia Yearly Meeting's International Outreach Committee and to Iowa Yearly Meeting of Friends (Conservative) for helping provide the financial means to make first in-person contact with numerous survivors in autumn 1994; to Sally (and Chuck) Campbell, Doug Alderfer, Joe Izzo, Mark Dupont and Minneapolis' Omega House folks for providing accommodation on two trips Stateside; to Jane Strange and clan for hospitality while undertaking research in England; to Frau Tolksdorf for helping me find necessary refer-ences; to Herrn Pragst and Frau Haselow of Humboldt Universität's *Referat Weiterbildung und Nachwuchsförderung* for guidance in procuring a generous *Stipendium* while I wrote this *Dokumentation*; to Herrn Hohls and Hans Luedecke for advice on how to do the project justice by German standards; to Gerhard Stiglmaier, Yvonne Houy, Kiran Patel and Chris Scharfen-kamp for their academic "proofing"; to Frau Großmann for all her *kleine Bemühungen* on my behalf; to Herrn Doktor Kaelble; to Herrn Doktor Herbst of Humboldt Universität zu Berlin for overseeing this project, but moreover for having faith in me as a *Doktorand* in *Deutschland*.

Deepest thanks to Monika Ruhnke for encouragement as a special friend; to Wolfgang Wagner for suffering me while I obsessed with this labor of love; to INGO Drespe for caring.