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Singing Bernadette's Song to the World: Exile Literature as World Literature

I. Introduction

This essay argues that Franz Werfel's *The Song of Bernadette* (*Das Lied von Bernadette*) is world literature.¹ The novel embodies the natural literary tension between regional content and global readership, which is a characteristic that Thomas O. Beebee suggests is inherent in world literature.² The regional is represented by language and local tradition, as I will later demonstrate. In his discussion of world literature, Beebee also addresses how translation can act as a tool to advance the mobility of specific literary works, creating intersections, or contact zones, between culture, literary works, writers, and their audiences.³ *The Song of Bernadette*, translated into eleven languages, creates such a space. To date most scholars have examined *The Song of Bernadette* for Werfel's perception of Christianity and geographic influences.⁴ I examined it as world literature. According to Beebee, world literature also is defined by its prismatic effects. This article demonstrates that *The Song of Bernadette* created such a prismatic effect. It offered an alternative German voice at the height of Nazi German rule that espouses universally shared values, such as freedom of the individual, that found intersections within its global readership. For Beebee, the literature that lies within these intersections deserves to be considered for classification as world literature.

Beebee's *German Literature as World Literature* examines world literature scholarship in order to situate his model of national literatures' intersections.⁵ To better understand his model, Beebee first examines the formation of national literatures, which "define themselves over, against, and through their others."⁶ This nexus of literary relationships is outlined by Pascale Casanova in *The World Republic of Letters*.⁷ Casanova sees competition, such as between

nation states, inherent in defining a literary identity, even once literature achieved its own space independent of national history. For this reason, to characterize a writer's work, "one must situate it with respect to two things: the place occupied by his native literary space within world literature and his own position within this space."⁸ Born into a Jewish family in Prague during the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Werfel was first recognized for the quality of his Expressionist poetry in Europe. He became an overnight success in December 1911 when his book of poetry *Der Weltfreund* hailed him as a highly respected German-language writer.⁹ Werfel settled in Vienna after serving in World War I. He became a highly respected and prolific author within German literary circles.¹⁰ Rilke and Kafka greatly admired his early work.¹¹ He earned high accolades within the German-speaking world for his expressionist poetry and drama. In 1927 he was awarded the Schiller Prize and the Czech State Prize.

The Nazis derailed Werfel's bright literary career path in Europe. He was forced to leave the Prussian Academy of the Arts in 1933 and his novel *Die vierzig Tage des Musa Dagh* (*The Forty Days of Musa Dagh*) was banned by the German government in 1934. Werfel went into forced exile after Nazi Germany annexed his homeland Austria and burned his books.¹² Rejected by Austria, the land for which he fought in World War I, he went into exile in France where he explored the mysteries of past French hegemonic culture.¹³ This period also marks his turn to the novel form. I also argue that in exile he turned to the novel away from poetry as a genre associated with home. His rejection of the poetry form that had delivered his earlier success can be understood within the context of his professional development. Werfel compares the novel to the liberation he found in poetry: "In a certain sense Bernadette is a personification of the magical powers that do not die out in humanity, any more than poetry does."¹⁴ The novel allows him to share Bernadette's story of humanism. Hans Wagener suggests that the novel was the genre of Werfel's third period of his literary creativity following poetry and plays.¹⁵

I further argue that Werfel challenges the national through the novel as the prized genre of nineteenth century France. Though *The Song of Bernadette* was not Werfel's first attempt in the genre, Werfel's reputation had been built on his success as a poet and playwright. In the late 1920s Vienna he began to work on novels as well as plays.¹⁶ As he states in his personal preface, Werfel employs the novel to depict nineteenth-century France because it speaks to higher shared values that were lacking in an era "which has turned away with scorn and rage and indifference from these ultimate values of our mortal lot."¹⁷ Werfel had captured the attention of the global readership eager to hear an alternative German voice that held these values in esteem. Casanova explains that "Understanding the way in which writers invent their own free-

dom—which is to say perpetuate, or alter, or reject, or add to, or deny, or forget, or betray their national literary (and linguistic) heritage—makes it possible to chart the course of their work and discover its very purpose.”¹⁸ Werfel responded to his situation by writing two novels. The first, *Embezzled Heaven* (1940) and the second, Bernadette's story. With these contributions, Werfel played a part within a larger exile movement.

German exile literature filled a literary void created by the Nazi ideology. Translation of the texts by émigré authors took on particular importance in the worldwide dissemination of German literature during a period in Nazi-controlled Europe that placed little value on its literary contribution to the world. German authors were forbidden from accepting international literary prizes.¹⁹ As a literary alternative to continental German literature, which turned inward during a period of heavy censorship, *The Song of Bernadette* offers multi-layered intersections, written in German by a Czech-Austrian Jew about French Catholic identity. In several passages throughout the novel, Werfel's observations reflect on the common man's expression individual freedom in his ongoing struggle against the will of the more powerful church and state that had the ability to restrict him through education and law. This essay addresses the way Werfel helped fill a void by creating an alternative inclusive German literature to counter the dark era of hatred and blind obedience during the Nazi period. Even today, the novel offers a message that remains ever more valuable in the Western world's return to a politics of hatred that uses religion and ethnicity as valid reasons for suspending law.

Forced to flee because of the *Anschluss* in 1938, Werfel gathered the material for *The Song of Bernadette* in France while en route to the United States.²⁰ Werfel had already started working on notes for *The Song of Bernadette* on his journey from Lisbon to New York. After arriving in New York on October 13, 1940 he actively participated in the literary scene that would become his new home.²¹ There Werfel published the article “Unser Weg geht weiter” (“Our Path Goes On”) in *Aufbau* concerning the rise of anti-Semitism as a global war.²² Once in his Hollywood Hills house in California he began to work on the new novel eight hours a day in January, 1941. He confessed to his sister that he had never worked harder on any other literary project.²³ He finished the first draft in May.²⁴ Besides adopting a new genre for his message, he also worked contrary to his normal writing process by dictating the second draft to Albrecht Joseph, literary historian and former theater director.²⁵

Werfel describes *The Song of Bernadette* as a historical epic narrative of Bernadette Soubirous's visions of the Immaculate Conception in 1858 in Lourdes.²⁶ The novel explores the way that Bernadette's visions transformed her life and her community. Written in German and published in 1941 by German-language exile publishing houses in London and Stockholm,²⁷

Bermann-Fischer simultaneously published translations in French, Spanish, Portuguese, Swedish, and Hungarian.²⁸ The novel was translated by Ludwig Lewisohn into English one year later in 1942. For Beebee, the number of readers a work has on the world stage is an element of consideration for world literature.²⁹ The English version enjoyed a nationwide dissemination in the United States after it was selected for the Book-of-the-Month Club.³⁰ The novel spent thirteen weeks on the New York Times bestseller list in 1942 and boasted over 1 million readers by 1944.³¹ Not only did his newly chosen genre extend his readership but his religious thematic cut through traditionally held religious barriers.

The Song of Bernadette was both one of the largest publishing successes in the United States and Werfel's biggest literary lifetime accomplishment.³² Its success surprised him. Werfel's novel broke through the feelings of religious exclusivity: he did not believe that Protestant America would be receptive to the Catholic miracle in the story nor that the theme would be relevant during the middle of World War II.³³ Though Bernadette's story is in tribute to the beliefs and values of Catholics in Lourdes, Werfel's message was received in an ecumenical spirit.³⁴ Its prismatic effect was far reaching. It inspired a hit song, became a comic in San Francisco's *Herald Examiner*, and was made into a Broadway play performed at the Belasco Theater in the 1940s.³⁵ The novel equally continued to grow in its worldwide popularity in the post-war period when it was sold in Germany³⁶ and reissued in several languages. The novel had already been made into a Hollywood film in 1943, for which it received four Oscars. The critically-acclaimed film was released in German theaters in the fall 1948 and the spring 1949.³⁷

II. Textural Representations of Cultural Identity

In returning to Beebee's observation that the tension between global readership and regional content is inherent in world literature, I argue that language serves as a way to represent the regional in *The Song of Bernadette*. Two passages underscore language's thematic importance. For one, *the lady*, as Bernadette refers to the Immaculate Conception, speaks to Bernadette in dialect, not standard French that emphasizes the national. The novel notes that the lady does not speak proper French but rather the southwest dialect of Bigorre province, in which Lourdes is located, and the nearby Béarn in the Pyrenees.³⁸ Through the lady's use of dialect, the local language is shown to be not only desired, but also symbolic of the value of the individual over the national. Not unrelatedly the lady's linguistic choices signify respect for the girl when she addresses Bernadette with "vous" instead of "tu."³⁹ The lady's

linguistic choices allows for effective communication and highlights the provincial.

Dialect also plays a role in Bernadette's interactions with wounded soldiers at the hospital of Nevers where she volunteers to help sick soldiers during the Franco Prussian War in 1870–71 that led to Germany's unification as a nation-state. Bernadette's dialect is to her advantage in comforting the sick. Sister Marie Thérèse Vauzous, Bernadette's former school teacher and the mistress of the novices, becomes jealous of Bernadette (also referred to in the following passage as Marie Bernarde—the name given to her upon entering the Sisters of Charity, which Bernadette agrees to at the urging of the church) because of the ease with which she communicates with the patients who were from Pau, Tarbes, and all of the Pyrenean districts:

With these Bernadette spoke in the provincial dialect, which she still used more easily and naturally than standard French. Her use of the tongue was so unspoiled, her replies so telling, her jests so full of native country drollness, that wherever her occupation took her she left behind a trail of laughter and of ease. When a stubborn case made trouble, Marie Bernarde was called.⁴⁰

Bernadette's pure dialect is natural and comforting, which contrasts the French nation that called on these men to fight war against the international aggressor Prussia and the North German Confederation.

Language is also addressed on a literary level in the novel through the discussion of writers and their forms. The struggling poet and man of letters Hyacinthe de Lafite, who is characterized for his dabbling in classical Alexandrine verse that had interested him in his youth, is skeptical of the uneducated Bernadette, but experiences a change of heart when he returns from Paris to Lourdes to visit the transformed town that he had earlier left for the sophistication of Paris.⁴¹ Throughout the novel, reference is made to Victor Hugo, who is satirically explained by the narrator to be nearly a friend to de Lafite.⁴² Intertextual reference to Victor Hugo adds a further layer of complexity, as the famous French Romantic poet, novelist, and dramatist who went into voluntary exile during Emperor Napoléon III's reign. De Lafite's character allows for a comparison of a meta-reflective nature with the author Franz Werfel. Whereas de Lafite turns away from the treasure of the regional, failing to recognize the value of Bernadette's song, Werfel recognizes its magic and interweaves the French miracle of Massabielle with part of his own biographical narrative.

The novel does not only emphasize the regional through language but also through traditions. Set during the Carnival season, which in the Catholic

calendar is prior to Lent, Bernadette's father François Soubirous asks at Maisongrosse's bakery for daily work. In the previous Carnival season, François was hired as a porter for the bakery to deliver pastries to the brotherhood's and guild's celebrations,⁴³ but Maisongrosse has lost its business and awaits the end of the Carnival when he no longer has to think about the pastry chef Rouy taking away his seasonal business. Appropriately, the two men speak of time in terms of Carnival: when Maisongrosse asks the day and François replies that it is *jeudi gras* with six days until Ash Wednesday.⁴⁴ These descriptions of Carnival identify the season as an integral element of regional culture and business, because of the additional work that accompanies the celebrations. Philosophically, freedom is inherent in Carnival season: it offers a temporal space outside of ordinary time when folly and pranks are expected and the speech of the folk is unrestrained.

Seen perhaps as a Carnival prank by a fourteen-year-old French peasant child, societal leaders incorrectly assumed that Bernadette sought personal and familial recognition. She must fight against harsh criticism of her visions until her death. After her first vision of the lady, word quickly spreads, first to the neighbors, then to the town of Lourdes, and finally abroad. This publicity instantly transforms Lourdes into a popular pilgrimage site. Before Bernadette's visions, Lourdes was primarily noted as the location for the high provincial court.⁴⁵ The mystical transforms the town's reputation. Locals are curious about Bernadette's communication with the lady whose identity goes unknown until the final visits. After Bernadette uncovers a spring that the Immaculate Conception directed her to find, pilgrims come to be healed. French national pilgrimages to the city began in 1872 after France's loss to the Prussians in 1871.⁴⁶

The Song of Bernadette does not directly reflect Werfel's own personal experiences in a 1941 Nazi-dominated Europe, but instead begins in the year 1858 during the reign of Emperor Napoléon III, which echoes the hegemonic aspirations of Napoléon I.⁴⁷ Casanova suggests that "even the most international authors . . . conceive of themselves, if only by way of reaction against it, in terms of the national space from which they have come."⁴⁸ In specifically addressing the reason Werfel did not write an autobiography, Lore B. Foltin suggests that Werfel wrote in such a way that his works represent his experiences.⁴⁹

Werfel mentions both the Prussians and Germany peripherally in the novel; first, in response to an article in *La Petite République*, in which the French are contrasted to the Prussians and Cossacks: "The French people was a people of independent reason, not of blind obedience. An absolute regime would daunt Cossacks or Prussians, not the great nation of Voltaire and the Encyclopædists."⁵⁰ This quote is highly critical of the Prussians in its illustra-

tion of the French tradition of reason. Leading up to this passage, French cultural identity is described in terms of the value the French workers place on freedom. All are ready—the peasants from the mills, wagon-works, brick-works and distillery, and the slate-miners, stonemasons, woodcutters and road-menders—to defend their rights and to defend Bernadette's rights, the daughter of one of the poorest families amongst them.⁵¹ In making this statement, Werfel makes an implicit contrast to the Third Reich, in which this sense of communal responsibility for the most vulnerable did not exist.

The second mention in the novel appears in the context of Emperor Napoléon III's strategies to advance France's world positioning. As the nephew and heir of Napoléon I, Emperor Napoléon III's plan for France to regain pre-eminence throughout Europe demanded that Germany as well as Italy not become a nation state.⁵² This mention of Germany together with Italy in the context of Emperor Napoléon III's international relations is not without satire. The remark can be explained in terms of Germany's challenges to France's cultural predominance, which as Casanova generally explains, occurred with the advent of German nineteenth century Romanticism.⁵³

Provincial Lourdes vies for Emperor Napoléon III's attention as Bernadette's miracles have achieved national and international news. Ruling as an absolute monarch, free of constitutional restraints, Emperor Napoléon III is called to intervene in opening up the grotto that local corrupt officials had barricaded in an effort to capitalize on Bernadette's vision. They plan to bottle and sell the water from the spring at Massabielle in Lourdes.⁵⁴ The Emperor's Spanish wife Eugénie Montijo leads her husband to support the reopening of the grotto when their son is healed by water that the boy's nurse had collected for him there. Napoléon III's wife argues that the holy is greater than her husband's power.⁵⁵ The irony is that though Napoléon III was successful in retaining power as the longest serving head of French state since the revolution. In this passage, he fears insulting the divine power that had shown him grace.

Compared to the international and domestic politics of Emperor Napoléon III, the French desire for freedom and liberty remains a hallmark of the French character, which is presented in the novel as originating in the provincial. Even St. Joseph, who is mentioned several times in the novel as the saint who allows an easy death is pictured as French. An eighteenth-century painting of the Holy Family in the manger is described as hanging in the vestry at the Sister of Charity's Motherhouse, which had been kept safe during the Revolution. Other royal families were executed in France while the Holy Family was protected by the people. In the painting a provincial St. Joseph is presented as the embodiment of French freedom, sporting a beret instead of a beard. The narrator remarks that it was "contrary to all tradition."⁵⁶ The beret is a hat that was traditionally associated with shepherds in the Basque

country, but it has taken on the larger cultural iconic representation of the average Frenchman while hinting at a strong local association with Southwestern France.⁵⁷

At Bernadette's death, finally free from the state and clerical judgments, she is carried to rest in chapel of St. Joseph.⁵⁸ The novel does not conclude with her death but instead with her canonization on December 8, 1933. The novel ends with a High Mass of Pope Pius who gives the service in high song, singing both Latin and Greek "to mark the all embracing universality of the Church and of the day."⁵⁹ The original title of Werfel's novel, *The High Song of Bernadette*, highlights the vital role of music to tell a story at the event. It is also noteworthy that music, an inherently universal genre which Werfel was expressively fond of, gives this novel its name: *The Song of Bernadette*. Music and prayer have long been intertwined in the Catholic Church, as addressed by St. Augustine of Hippo's statement in the Middle Ages: "he who sings prays twice" (*Qui cantet, bis orat*).

At the ceremony a fellow Frenchman who lives in Rome strikes up a conversation with the Bouhouhorts child—now a 75-year-old man, who is the sole eye witness who has lived long enough to give testimony to Bernadette's achievements. In this conversation the Frenchman compares magnificence to the fleeting glory that rulers experience:

What is any ruler or head of state or dictator in comparison? They're washed up on time's shore and disappear in a hole in the earth. What remains? A name in dust-covered books. Think of our own Napoléon III, Monsieur. Nothing on earth is dustier or, in fact, funnier than a man of might when his might is gone and he can harm no more. The death of a man of might is his final defeat. Great minds are in far better case."⁶⁰

Werfel arguably identifies with the Bouhouhorts child, the first of the many people who are healed after being dipped into the spring. The child owes his life to Bernadette's visions, a shared feeling that inspired Werfel to tell her story: "I vowed that if I escaped from this desperate situation and reached the saving shores of America, I would put off all other tasks and sing, as best I could, the song of Bernadette."⁶¹ The Bouhouhorts child choice of words "great mind," contradicts the description of Bernadette throughout the novel. Much of the skepticism surrounding Bernadette's visions relates back to society's perception of her lack of intelligence. Nevertheless, her devotion juxtaposes the intelligence of Napoléon III who schemed for personal glory and is forgotten.

The Bouhouhorts child also showcases Bernadette's glory through praying the glorious mysteries of the rosary in Rome after Bernadette's canonization.⁶² The novel offers the rosary for others to pray, as its structure is based on the rosary with its five divisions of ten sections each. In this final scene Bernadette, now a saint, used the little freedom that she had as a child to transform her home of Lourdes into town of the healing springs that is known the world over.

III. Final Remarks

Much like Bernadette reshapes Lourdes, so too did Werfel attempt to reshape his home through writing. Forced to flee his homeland, Werfel shifted to the novel while maintaining German as his literary language. Through his choices, he elevated his own writing far beyond the limited readership of German literature.⁶³ For Daniel Purdy "WL [world literature] is a mode of translation as much as it is type of writing."⁶⁴ He explains "The term 'World Literature' has to be understood as a product of the literary culture it describes, namely the heightened and ever expanding circulation of texts that portray places and events that had never before been subject to a printed record."⁶⁵ The *Song of Bernadette* also fits well into Purdy's, Casanova's and Beebee's views of world literature.

Werfel's traumatic personal situation led him to enter world literature. As one of many exiled writers in the United States during the Nazi era and beyond, Werfel became one of the most famous due in part to *The Song of Bernadette*.⁶⁶ This study of *The Song of Bernadette* thus demonstrates a similar finding to Casanova's observation advanced by Beebee that a writer enters world literature because of tension with his/her national literary home.⁶⁷ Werfel's oeuvre of plays, novels, essays, speeches, and poetry represented an alternative German ideal during the years of National Socialist repression in Europe. The publishing of *Bernadette* for an ecumenical society in which the individual can fight for his/her rights and win against the powerful societal institutions was just one of many pieces in which Werfel advances egalitarian values.

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Notes

¹ Franz Werfel, *The Song of Bernadette*, translated by Ludwig Lewisohn (NY: The Viking Press, 1942).

² Thomas Oliver Beebee, "From Nobel to Nothingness: The Negative Monumentality of Rudolf C. Eucken and Paul Heyse," *German Literature as World Literature* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2014), 155.

³ Beebee, "Introduction: Departure, Emanations, Intersections," *German Literature as World Literature* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2014), 2.

⁴ See Lore B. Foltin, "Franz Werfel's Image of America," (300-10) in John M. Spalek and Robert F. Bell, eds., *Exile: The Writer's Experience* (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina, 1982); Hans Von Arnim, "Franz Werfel," (117-34), *Christliche Gestalten Neuerer Deutscher Dichtung* (Berlin: Wichtern-Verlag, 1972); and for a breakdown of the types of research that have been conducted on *The Song of Bernadette*, Jennifer E. Michaels, *Franz Werfel and the Critics*, (Columbia, SC: Camden House, 1994), 100-4.

⁵ Beebee groups the scholarship into five of the most popular definitions of world literature: comprehensive is ideal; hypercanon of the best; anthropological; global competition between world literature authors; and lastly, *weltliteratur* is a new rank or system, as is national, postcolonial literature. See Thomas Oliver Beebee, ed., "Introduction: Departure, Emanations, Intersections," 9-10.

⁶ Beebee, "Introduction: Departure, Emanations, Intersections," 4.

⁷ Pascale Casanova, *The World Republic of Letters*, translated by M. B. DeBevoise (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2004).

⁸ Casanova, *The World Republic of Letters*, 41.

⁹ Monique Sheer, "Catholic Piety in the Early Cold War Years, Or How the Virgin Mary Protected the West from Communism," 129-49 in Annette Vowinckel, Marcus M. Payk and Thomas Lindenberger, eds., *Cold War Cultures: Perspectives on Eastern and Western European Societies* (NY: Berghahn Books, 2012), 138.

¹⁰ Michaels, *Franz Werfel and the Critics*, 1.

¹¹ Michaels, *Franz Werfel and the Critics*, 2.

¹² Martin Mauthner, *German Writer in French Exile 1933-1940* (London: Vallentine Mitchell 2007), 67.

¹³ Casanova explains that Germany and Britain challenged the dominant French hegemony that had dominated the European literary scene until German Romanticism. See *The World Republic of Letters*, 36.

¹⁴ Peter Stephan Jungk, *Franz Werfel: A Life in Prague, Vienna, and Hollywood*, translated by Anselm Hollo (New York: Grove Weidenfeld, 1990), 198.

¹⁵ Hans Wagener, *Understanding Franz Werfel* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1993), 27.

¹⁶ *Verdi: Roman der Oper* was his first novel published in 1925. Michaels, *Franz Werfel and the Critics*, 1.

¹⁷ Werfel, Personal Preface, *The Song of Bernadette*, 7.

¹⁸ Casanova, *The World Republic of Letters*, 41.

¹⁹ Beebee, "Introduction: Departure, Emanations, Intersections," 21, 14.

²⁰ While vacationing with his wife Alma, the widow of Gustav Mahler, Hitler entered Austria in 1938, and they went into exile first in Switzerland before residing for two years in Paris and in Sanary-sur-mer close to Marseille. A month before Hitler marched on Paris in June 1940, Franz and Alma went into flight while they awaited the necessary paperwork to depart for the United States. During their five weeks in Lourdes, Werfel learned of Bernadette Soubirous, who in 1933 had already been named a saint in the Catholic Church by Pope Pius

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XI. Franz often walked to the grotto in Massabielle, where the Immaculate Conception had appeared to Bernadette and he drank the water from the spring that Bernadette located because of her visions. Before leaving Lourdes for Marseille to depart Europe he went to the grotto and made the promise to write a book in the honor of Bernadette if he arrived safely in the United States. The Gestapo did not look for Franz during this period, because he was reported as dead in the *New York Post*, having been shot while fleeing. This report of his death was carried by the BBC, as well. Jungk, *Franz Werfel: Eine Lebensgeschichte*, 274, 276. He crossed the Pyrenees by foot together with his wife Alma, Heinrich and Nelly Mann, and Golo Mann, the son of Thomas Mann. "Bibliography/History" Mahler-Werfel Papers, Kislak Center for Special Collections, Rare Books and Manuscripts, University of Pennsylvania, accessed 20 Dec. 2016, http://hdl.library.upenn.edu/1017/d/ead/upenn_rbml_MsColl575. It is difficult to know which aspects of Werfel's novel are fact and which are fiction, but Werfel's preface speaks to the truthfulness of the novel and Bernadette's own personal account is also available to cross reference the details. See compilations of Soubirous's writings. René Laurentin, *Bernadette Speaks: a Life of Saint Bernadette Soubirous in her own Words*, translated by John W. Lynch and Ronald DesRosiers (Boston: Pauline Books & Media, 2000). Patricia McEachern, ed. and commentator. *Holy Life: the Writings of Saint Bernadette of Lourdes* (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2005).

²¹ He began giving talks and interviews in New York once they arrived. See "Bibliography/History" Mahler-Werfel Papers.

²² Foltin, "Franz Werfel's Image of America," 304.

²³ Jungk, *Franz Werfel: A Life in Prague, Vienna, and Hollywood*, 198.

²⁴ Jungk, *Franz Werfel: Eine Lebensgeschichte*, 291.

²⁵ Jungk, *Franz Werfel: Eine Lebensgeschichte*, 292.

²⁶ Werfel, Personal Preface, *The Song of Bernadette*, 6.

²⁷ James Baaden, "Post-War Saints: 1945-1960," *History of European Ideas* 40,6 (2014): 873-92, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/01916599.2014.881121>, fn. 9, 875.

²⁸ Peter Stephan Jungk, *Franz Werfel: Eine Lebensgeschichte* (Frankfurt a. M.: S. Fischer, 1987), 294.

²⁹ Beebee, "Introduction: Departure, Emanations, Intersections," 14-15.

³⁰ Foltin, "Franz Werfel's Image of America," 305.

³¹ Raoul E. Desvernine, "The Song of Bernadette: A Literary Mystery," *Catholic World* 159, (1944), 248.

³² Jungk, *Franz Werfel: Eine Lebensgeschichte*, 297.

³³ And further, Ben Huebsch, Werfel's American publisher from Viking Press, shared Werfel's skepticism, but decided to published it anyway, given that Viking published all of his other works in English Jungk, *Franz Werfel: Eine Lebensgeschichte*, 290.

³⁴ Also notable was the enthusiastic ecumenical response to the film that followed the novel's literary market success: "Reviewers did not see a film about a French Catholic saint but rather a universal story of spiritual conviction." Paula M. Kane, "Jews and Catholics Converge: *The Song of Bernadette* (1943)," (83-105), in Colleen McDannell, ed., *Catholics in the Movies*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 90.

³⁵ Jungk, *Franz Werfel: A Life in Prague, Vienna, and Hollywood*, 216.

³⁶ Baaden, "Post-War Saints: 1945-1960," fn. 9, 875.

³⁷ Baaden, "Post-War Saints: 1945-1960," 875.

³⁸ Werfel, *The Song of Bernadette*, 130.

³⁹ Werfel, *The Song of Bernadette*, 132.

⁴⁰ Werfel, *The Song of Bernadette*, 507.

⁴¹ Werfel, *The Song of Bernadette*, 530.

⁴² Werfel, *The Song of Bernadette*, 38.

⁴³ Werfel, *The Song of Bernadette*, 119.

⁴⁴ Werfel, *The Song of Bernadette*, 20.

⁴⁵ Werfel, *The Song of Bernadette*, 37.

⁴⁶ Sheer, "Catholic Piety in the Early Cold War Years, Or How the Virgin Mary Protected the West from Communism," 134.

⁴⁷ However, other of his other works, such as *The Star of the Unborn*, is autobiographical. See Foltin, "Franz Werfel's Image of America," 306.

⁴⁸ Casanova, *The World Republic of Letters*, 41.

⁴⁹ Foltin, "Franz Werfel's Image of America," 300.

⁵⁰ Werfel, *The Song of Bernadette*, 394.

⁵¹ Werfel, *The Song of Bernadette*, 393.

⁵² Werfel, *The Song of Bernadette*, 410. Industrial development, such as the expansion of the railways, which is also discussed in the novel, was one step to restoring glory to France.

⁵³ Casanova, *The World Republic of Letters*, 36.

⁵⁴ Werfel, *The Song of Bernadette*, 411.

⁵⁵ Werfel, *The Song of Bernadette*, 416-18.

⁵⁶ Werfel, *The Song of Bernadette*, 485.

⁵⁷ Beverly Chico, "Beret." 48-51. *Hats and Headwear around the World: A Cultural Encyclopedia* (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2013), 50

⁵⁸ Werfel, *The Song of Bernadette*, 571.

⁵⁹ Werfel, *The Song of Bernadette*, 573.

⁶⁰ Werfel, *The Song of Bernadette*, 570.

⁶¹ Werfel, Personal Preface, *The Song of Bernadette*, 6.

⁶² Werfel, *The Song of Bernadette*, 575.

⁶³ Michaels stated that no one in the United States knew of his poetry because it was not translated until a limited selected was translated by Edith Abercrombie Snow in 1945. *Franz Werfel and the Critics*, 3.

⁶⁴ Daniel Purdy, "Goethe, Rémusat, and the Chinese Novel: Translation and the Circulation of World Literature," *German Literature as World Literature* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2014), 51.

⁶⁵ Purdy, "Goethe, Rémusat, and the Chinese Novel: Translation and the Circulation of World Literature," 46.

⁶⁶ Foltin, "Franz Werfel's Image of America," 305.

⁶⁷ Beebee, "From Nobel to Nothingness: The Negative Monumentality of Rudolf C. Eucken and Paul Heyse," 155.