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The South on Thomas Mann's Map of the United States: A Regional Aspect of Twentieth-Century German-American Literary Relations

Studies on Thomas Mann and his relations or interrelations with America are plentiful and largely familiar. Giving this topic a regional slant and focus on the American South, however, appears to be a strangely unfamiliar undertaking. It requires a few preliminary thoughts on the place the empiric phenomenon of regions holds in the investigation of literary exchanges in general and of German-American ones in particular. Therefore this tentative study falls into an overview of previous research and an in-depth examination of our specific topic. This examination will start out from Mann's receptiveness to regions in terms of his German experience and its imaginative presentation. Both may be expected to precondition his receptiveness to a vastly larger region: America's South. This part of the argument will be followed by a textual analysis of creative contact between *Buddenbrooks* and a nineteenth-century Southerner's short story, Edgar Allan Poe's "The Fall of the House of Usher." Other examples of Mann's responsiveness to Poe will also be drawn on. In the chronological order of Mann's later reactions to the South, political ones aroused by Virginia-born Thomas Woodrow Wilson as well as literary-critical ones to Walt Whitman's image of regional America including the South, to H. L. Mencken, and other, younger, contemporary Southern writers from Thomas Wolfe through Tennessee Williams will be discussed. The contemporary present and the past of the South will be shown to combine, in a brief political interlude, Mann's shortlived contacts with Kentucky's Herbert Agar and Virginia's Thomas Jefferson. Admittedly mosaic-like, a picture of Mann's South will gradually emerge. Suffice it to add by way of definition, that "region" as used in this study is conceived of as "the fusion of people and place, of environment, stock, economics, dialect, history, consciousness, and ways of life."[1]

1

Comparison of literatures and studies of mutual impact originated from examining literatures of European nation states or peoples. It would consider local or regional factors only if literary reception, criticism or influence concentrated on major cities, predominantly capitals, commercial centers or university towns and their hinterland. The region would count in studies of imagology, i.e., the images of a country in the literature of another. Regional groups of authors, e.g., the three Silesian schools of the Baroque or the Swabian School of the Romantic Age, were rarely chosen for subjects of comparative study.

The advent of America, in the sense of the United States of America, as target of comparison or partner in literary exchange did not alter this European habit at once. Since, however, early European settlement in America produced such areas as the Old South, New England, and the middle colonies, these emerging regional entities began to attract attention as recipients and donors in European-American literary and cultural exchanges. Immigration history, genealogical and, above all, dialect studies have consistently observed the operation of regional and local factors. Comparative literature, in this study represented by research on German-American literary relations, has reacted more slowly. Admittedly, as for dramatic literature, the reception of German plays especially in New York, Baltimore, Charleston, St. Louis and San Francisco, has met with early and often continuous attention. It has more recently been extended to "The Beginnings of Cleveland's German Language Theatre, 1820-1860,"[2] while *Kriterien amerikanischer Theaterkritik: Zur Rezeption des deutschsprachigen Dramas auf amerikanischen Bühnen und in der Presse nach 1945* predominantly focuses on New York City.[3] The local fuses with the regional in studies like "Brecht in Minnesota."[4] Jointly with philosophy, German literature has been studied for its impact on such regions as New England and the South as well as in such cities as St. Louis.[5] Combined with religion and music, German hymnody, Mennonite hymnody for that matter, has found a niche in research.[6] On the whole, however, the regional angle is not prominent in the field of German-American literary relations.

Is it more prominent in American-German literary contacts? How do German regional factors interest students of such relations? To be sure, a good many will draw distinctions along national lines, and differentiate between Swiss, Austrian, and German areas of America's literary impact, but here national subdivisions of a common-language area are involved. They must not be equated with states or regional groups of states of the United States. America's literary impact on Bavaria, past or present—would it significantly differ from that on the Rhineland or Saxony? These regions seem much too small to attract the comparatist's attention, although millions of people are concerned and a great many of them are recipients of American literature, often via television adaptations of American plays. Wherever German regions were parts of post-World War II zones of American, British, French or Russian occupation, and wherever they now host non-German armed forces,

their different reactions to American literature in point of reception, criticism, and influence might be surprisingly instructive. This would be particularly true for attitudes toward American plays on regional stages.

Studies in such regionally differentiated German reactions to American literature as well as to German regional images of America are curiously rare.[7] While in the neighboring field of language-interference research, inquiries into regional patterning of German reactions to American English have been progressing, students of reactions to American literature have been holding back. In the last few years, only the Rhineland-Palatinate area has been explored for regional characteristics of past and present responses to American literature.[8]

Both the German author traveling in America and his or her American colleague on tour in Germany seem to have been particularly open to peculiarities of regions, and most open to express them predominantly in travel books, diaries and poetry. German regional settings of American short stories or novels, and their American counterparts also reflect mutual responsiveness. Happily, comparatists are just as eager to examine these regional facets of German authors' literary images of America as they are to explore the regional touches of American ones of Germany. Jefferson, Irving, Cooper, Longfellow, Melville, Henry James, Thomas Wolfe, and many others as visitors to the Rhineland, the Palatinate or Bavaria, John Quincy Adams as Berlin resident and observer of Silesia—they all have their German counterparts. Particularly some of the German nineteenth-century literary travelers have a fine eye for the variety of American regions, and they incorporate them in imaginative writings as well. Sealsfield is an outstanding example in this respect. Nowhere has the variety of German views of the American regional area and, occasionally, the prejudice underlying them been pinpointed more amusingly and thought-provokingly than in Harold Jantz's "The View from Chesapeake Bay: An Experiment with the Image of America."[9] To what extent the German author-travelers' vistas and their German readers' reactions to them have been preconditioned by American or German literary or movie representations of these regions poses another problem. As for the past, stereotypes like "the Golden West" or Jack London's Alaska, as for the future, "Dallas"-based images of Texas have to be reckoned with. The image-building function of the Western has been and still is the question most debated by researchers. Even in the shape of conscious resistance to them, the influence of such stereotypes will assert itself by producing new exaggerations or simplifications.

Comparing two or more American regions concerning their responses to, and impact on, German literature has been an adventure risked by but a few explorers. "Northern and Southern Aspects of Nineteenth Century American-German Interrelations: Dickinson and Lanier" may serve as an exceptional example.[10]

So far this overview of research on regions has fixed on their role as givers or takers in literary exchanges. Regions functioning in both roles, however, have not been overlooked. The dual role of New England and the middle Atlantic region has often come up for discussion, but there is

room for in-depth studies. On the German side the Rhine valley area and the Palatinate have received fleeting attention as for their dual function of recipient and donor.[11] In this age of city and regional partnerships on an international scale, studies like "Pennsylvania-Palatinate Informal Folk Cultural Exchanges" should be extended in order to take in literary exchanges.[12] On the local level yet with consequences for the region, Hamburg, Frankfurt, Heidelberg and Munich could be explored as focal points of literary interrelations.

2

Placed in this broad context of scholarship on regional factors in German-American and American-German literary encounters, research on the German author as political refugee of the 1933-45 period can be seen to tend toward a local, metropolitan, or a continent-wide scope of observation rather than a regional one. For obvious reasons, New York City, Chicago, and Los Angeles have already received a great deal of the researchers' attention, but the question whether the regional factor in American life, past and present, has left its reflex in the personal experiences and the imaginative works of prominent German emigrants seems not to have been posed yet.

This study proposes to answer that question selectively. There will be no room for tackling the concomitant question of whether American authors' interest in the regional backgrounds of German refugee writers and their works may have sharpened American awareness of the regional and the local in German literature and have led to explicitly regional and local features in their literary images of Germany or the German-speaking countries altogether. Robert Lowell's touches of Mann's Lübeck in his poem "Exile's Return" points in this direction.[13] Randall Jarrell's *Pictures from an Institution* (1954) and his Salzburg poems as well as Raymond Oliver's verse description of an aristocratic setting, a castle of Lower Franconia, confirm this supposition.[14] At the German end Carl Zuckmayer and Ernst Křenek, to name but these two, come to mind as competent describers of American regions.[15]

2.1

Among German refugee writers in America Thomas Mann is singled out for an inquiry into the signifcance which American regions hold in his receptive, critical, and creative responses to American life, past and present, literary and non-literary. On purpose it is not the West Coast area already mapped out by Jarrell C. Jackman's article "Exiles in Paradise: German Emigrés in South California, 1933-1950"[16] and by other students, but is the South that has been chosen for the present study in regional perceptiveness. After World War I its attractiveness for Germans had been rising for literary and ethnic, including ethno-musical, reasons, and research on this appeal had been increasing as well. The "Southern Renaissance," the "Southern Agrarians," and "Black Culture of the South" have provided catchword-like formulas powerful enough to focus German scholars' attention on this region or

section. A conference on "German-American Literary Relations" held at Duke University in March, 1979, embraced special Southern subjects, and another in Atlanta in October, 1980, concentrated on the South. Both afforded additional stimulation to ongoing research.[17]

In this essay attention will be limited to Mann's reactions to authors and politicians from the South. Strictly personal contacts with Southerners, and reactions to the landscapes of the South, its society, economics, and educational institutions, its newspapers and periodicals deserve a special paper. Non-Southerners like Whitman and Agar, serving Mann as "guides to the South" will be included, however. Even in this restricted field, source materials abound, but many of them still await publication. Of the more intimate kind such as diaries and letters, the five published volumes of the former, at present extending only to 1943, have been mainly relied on. At certain points Klaus Mann's *Briefe und Antworten I, II* as well as his "Lebensbericht," *Der Wendepunkt,* have been consulted.[18]

The choice of Thomas Mann enables us to compare pre-, intra-, and post-World War I reactions to the South before, during and after his years of exile in the United States. Limited space prohibits a look at the other side of the coin, i.e., the Southern reactions to Mann in terms of the reception, criticism, and influence of his work and his personality. Researchers have preferably concentrated on the all-American scope of this topic, mostly neglecting its regional side. A supplementary study of this Southern aspect, though restricted to 1945-50, was published in 1982.[19] Its sequel is in preparation. The pre-1945 period, however, has not been covered yet in its Southern details. A complete account of the Southern fortunes of Thomas Mann, especially in Southern periodicals and critical monographs by Southern writers, and full knowledge of Mann's awareness or ignorance of them might help understand the degree and the trends of his interest in the South.

2.2

Receptiveness to a foreign region may be prepared for by awareness of the regional in one's own country. How does Thomas Mann fare in this respect? Commonly, he ranks among the cosmopolitans of German literature. His own rating of his cosmopolitanism was modest, at least when he took up this topic explicitly, as he did in his reply to the inquiry of a German periodical in 1925, the fiftieth year of his life.[20] This was nine years before his first visit to America. Surely, the local, stepping stone to the regional, held its firm place in his outlook on life as it did in his art.[21] In 1926 he gave an address on Lübeck, his native city, and in the same year he made a public speech on Munich, his adopted city. In Mann's own words the former was the address "eines Lübeckers . . . der als Künstler, als Schriftsteller ein Lübecker geblieben ist." He evidences even his familiarity with the regional as a literary-historical principle guiding Josef Nadler's *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur nach Stämmen und Landschaften* ambivalently calling it "den neuen, merkwürdigen und übrigens sehr deutschen Versuch." In this Lübeck speech he

confesses to a belief in the harmony of what he names "the most personal" with "the national" and "the most human."[22] The Munich talk seems to lead us somewhat closer to our Southern subject. Mann is fully aware of

> der unsterbliche, mehr oder weniger humoristisch gepflegte Gegensatz zum Norden. . . . Hier war man künstlerisch und dort politisch-wirtschaftlich. Hier war man demokratisch und dort feudal-militärisch. . . . Was mußte geschehen, damit dies ganze Verhältnis sich beinahe umkehre?[23]

Certainly, this intra-German South-North tension remembered by Mann and now felt to be inverted, is not a replica of pre- and post-World War I tension between the South and the North of the United States, although some of its characteristics recur, if not in the same distribution. But the ethnic and economic roots of conflict, besides, the historical experience of its explosion in a civil war are, of course, lacking in that German brand of a North-South tension. The short Austro-Prussian war of 1866 holds quite a different, much more modest place in the German national memory than does the Civil War in the American. Differences of geographical sizes and of populations involved are too obvious to render comparison meaningful.

What a region means both culturally and politically had been impressed on Mann before these two addresses in and on a Northern and a Southern German city. It was a Western region of Germany, the Rhineland, that he made a spirited defence of in 1923.[24] A few years later, a southeastern region, Silesia, was celebrated for both its literary and linguistic, dialectal, peculiarities as embodied in Gerhart Hauptmann.[25] With reference to German-European relations, Mann's awareness of the regional is paralleled by Germany's geographical situation in Europe. In 1925 he apostrophizes "Fruchtbare Schwierigkeit der Mitte, du bist Freiheit und Vorbehalt!" In the same essay, "Ein letztes Fragment," added to the enlarged edition of *Goethe und Tolstoi,* he speaks of the German people as "weltbürgerlich-mittleres Volk."[26] German translations of a contemporary Czech poet from what, in 1903, had been the Austrian part of Silesia, the renderings of his "Schlesische Lieder," excite Mann's interest even much later, in October, 1937, his fourth year in Switzerland.[27] When in the United States, he does not lose the sense of the regional in German literary artists. In an American broadcast (1938) of his review of Bruno Frank's novel *Der Reisepaß* (tr. *Lost Heritage*), he introduces the author as "originat[ing] from the South of Germany, from Stuttgart, that part of the country which is the elder and which is democratically-minded."[28]

Therefore Mann's receptivity to the regional element of German life, although not obtrusively pronounced, could be expected to alert him to the regional in American life. So could his thought of Europe in terms of the well-known formula of "unity in diversity" be expected to facilitate an understanding of a nation whose motto is *"e pluribus unum."* According to John Steinbeck's *America and Americans,* "Mottoes have a way of being compounded of wishes and dreams. The motto of the

United States, *'E Pluribus Unum,'* is a fact. This is the strange and almost unbelievable truth; . . .''[29] How far did Thomas Mann come to grasp it?

2.3

More than thirty years before Mann, a resident of Switzerland at the time, paid his first visit to the United States in 1934, the American South, the oldest of the *''plures,''* had entered his imaginative world. Such entrances, but not only of this imaginative domain, would happen at different times and in amusingly different shapes. At the turn of the century a short-story writer whose spell on German translators, publishers, readers, critics, and writers has been more continuous and more varied than any other American author's was the first Southern visitor admitted. Virginia-reared and South Carolina-trained, Edgar Allan Poe found himself not only mentioned or commented upon, but, primarily by motif-borrowing, integrated with Thomas Mann's first novel, *Buddenbrooks, Der Verfall einer Familie* (1901). Even the title of that short story Mann had established contact with, *''The Fall* of the *House* of Usher'' (1839, rpt. in *Tales of the Grotesque and Arabesque,* 1840), rings a related chord. A classic among Poe's stories has left its impress on what was to become a classic among German twentieth-century novels.

> ''Also auch nicht Chemie und Englisch! All right! . . .''[30] . . . . Adolf Todtenhaupt aber, der Primus, wußte alles; . . . . Kai Graf Mölln hatte außer seiner Bibel auch die 'Unbegreiflichen Ereignisse und geheimnisvollen Taten' von Edgar Allan Poe vor sich aufgeschlagen und las darin, den Kopf in die aristokratische und nicht ganz saubere Hand gestützt. . . .
>
> ''Was heißt denn 'deciderant, patula Jovis arbore, glandes'?'' wandte er [Hanno Buddenbrook] sich mit verzweifelter Stimme an Adolf Todtenhaupt. . . .
>
> Kai verfiel in Gedanken, ''Dieser Roderich Usher ist die wundervollste Figur, die je erfunden worden ist!'' sagte er schnell und unvermittelt. ''Ich habe eben die ganze Stunde gelesen . . . Wenn ich jemals eine so gute Geschichte schreiben könnte!''
>
> Die Sache war die, daß Kai sich mit Schreiben abgab. Dies war es auch, was er heute morgen gemeint hatte, als er sagte, er habe Besseres zu tun, als Schularbeiten zu machen, und Hanno hatte ihn wohl verstanden. . . . kürzlich hatte er eine Dichtung vollendet, ein Märchen, ein rücksichtslos phantastisches Abenteuer, in dem alles in einem dunklen Schein erglühte, das unter Metallen und geheimnisvollen Gluten in den tiefsten und heiligsten Werkstätten der Erde und zugleich in denen der menschlichen Seele spielte, und in dem die Urgewalten der Natur und der Seele auf eine sonderbare Art vermischt, gewandt, gewandelt und geläutert wurden—geschrieben in einer innerlichen, deutsamen, ein wenig überschwenglichen und sehnsüchtigen Sprache von zarter Leidenschaftlichkeit . . .
>
> Hanno kannte diese Geschichte wohl und liebte sie sehr; aber er war jetzt nicht aufgelegt, von Kais Arbeiten oder von Edgar Poe zu sprechen.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Als jedoch der greise Rechenlehrer . . . erschien, . . . da sagte er [Kai] . . . ; ''Guten Tag, du Leiche.''
>
> . . . . . .

"Edgar!" sagte Doktor Mantelsack. . . .
Was? Wie war das? Edgar . . . Das war Lüders. . . .
". . . . gegen Sie ist er ein Genie, ein Rhapsode . . ."
. . . . Es war das Englische bei dem Kandidaten Modersohn, einem jungen Philologen. . . .
. . . . Graf Mölln . . . fuhr fort, sich mit Roderich Usher zu beschäftigen. . . .
. . . . der Rhapsode Timm. . . .
. . . . "Verstorben!" rief Petersen. . . .
. . . . "Leider dem Wahnsinn verfallen," sprach Kai. . . .
. . . . Endlich fand sich einer, der weder tot noch wahnsinning war und es übernehmen wollte, die englischen Verse aufzusagen. Es handelte sich um ein Gedicht, das 'The monkey' hieß, ein kindisches Machwerk, das man diesen jungen Leuten, die sich großenteils aufs Meer, ins Geschäft, ins ernsthafte Lebensgetriebe sehnten, zugemutet hatte, auswendig zu lernen.

"Monkey, little merry fellow,
Thou art nature's punchinello . . ."

. . . . als die Lektüre von 'Ivanhoe' an die Reihe kam, konnte eigentlich nur der junge Graf Mölln ein wenig übersetzen, weil bei ihm ein privates Interesse für den Roman vorhanden war. . . .
". . . . Ich will nämlich jetzt etwas Wunderbares schreiben, etwas Wunderbares . . . Vielleicht fange ich nachher in der Zeichenstunde an. . . ."
. . . . Kai schrieb an seiner neuen literarischen Arbeit in dieser Stunde, und Hanno beschäftigte sich damit, daß er in Gedanken eine Orchester-Ouvertüre aufführte. Dann war es aus. . . .
. . . . Er [Hanno] setzte sich und begann eine seiner Phantasien.

Only quotations of this length, scattered as they are across more than twenty pages of the second chapter of *Buddenbrooks*' "Eleventh Part," its last part, can do some justice to the subtlety with which strands from "The Fall of the House of Usher" are woven into the texture of this chapter. The most detailed of its settings described is a Lübeck *Realgymnasium* classroom in a winter morning around 1876. Particularly the English literature class forms the frame of reference in which Poe's story functions explicitly or by hidden allusion. The graded contrast between the interest which such unrelated class subjects as a silly animal poem and Scott's *Ivanhoe* fail to excite collectively, and the stimulus caused by a subject of individual choice, i.e., Poe's "Fall of the House of Usher," is brought out clearly. The author's irony on a pedagogy assigning unsuitable English-language texts of Romanticism and of animal poetry for children to young men of an import-export trade center such as Lübeck is obvious. Just as obvious is the cleavage, unnoticed by the young English teacher-trainee, between his "official" textual materials inflicted on the group, and the "inofficial" Poe text enjoyed by, and creatively stimulating the one of the two gifted Poe "lovers," Kai and Hanno. But it is during the Old Testament class, not the English one, that the world of Roderick Usher is introduced and set against the world of Job, the one world unknown to all high-school students but those two youngsters, the other also miles away from their dreams of business and military careers.

Hanno, the last of a decaying senatorial family, and Kai, the last of an already decayed aristocratic family, are the only ones relating to a Poe story about the last of the "House of Usher." Hanno relates to it as musician and in this respect resembles Poe's Roderick. Kai can empathize with it as a young creative writer. "*Rhapsode,*" linking up with Roderick's "rhapsodies," [31] is used as nickname by a teacher ignorant of its Poesque associations, and knowingly repeated by narrator Thomas Mann. Moreover, Mann's use of "*Phantasien,*" reinforcing "*Rhapsode*" in its associative power, connects Hanno with Roderick. Both are eminently gifted amateurs. Kai, the creative experimenter, however, has Poe, Roderick's creator, for counterpart. Poe, the inventor of "the most wonderful figure," is fixed upon in Kai's first comment. With a knack for the adequate metaphor and its suitable extension, Mann, Kai's inventor, illustrates the characteristics of Kai's imagination. The metaphorics of the subterranean, although associated with contrapuntal motifs of Wagnerian, *Rheingold,* or Novalis-like provenience, also point toward the subterranean layer of the Usher story, its vault, entombment, and surrealist "tunnel" painting.

It is Mann, the author, again who, by the playful art of naming, adds depth to the figure of the exemplary pupil, his name being Todtenhaupt. The name complements the metaphorical, Poesque, "field" of this chapter by a "head of the dead." Mann's allusive invention creates the figure of Lüders, another classmate, whose given name is identical with—Poe's! Nor are the ranks of teachers without such allusive name-giving. Admittedly of sound North German origin and distribution, "Modersohn," the name of the teacher-trainee, suggests the etymological meaning of "mother's son." If understood as "son of mold or decay," *Modersohn* contributes to the linguistic field of interrelated images of death.

Mann's skill in interweaving the Usher story with his narrative of a morning of young Lübeckers in high school excels in letting Kai's absorption in "The Fall of the House of Usher" reverberate in spontaneous outbursts. Kai, Count Mölln, who takes his name from the city in which popular jester Till Eulenspiegel is said to have been buried, shares Mann's sense of the comic, even the macabre. Passing by an old teacher in the schoolyard, Kai has a special greeting for him: "Guten Morgen, du Leiche." Kai's excuse for the feigned absence of a classmate runs "Leider dem Wahnsinn verfallen." In this way the field of death metaphors is rounded out. At the same time the motif of Usher's madness is transferred to a setting of schoolboyish humor.

Naturally Mann's description of that Lübeck high school morning is not a cave of echoes, but reverberations of the Usher story, which is explicitly mentioned, may be detected, passing on from motif transfer to the adaptation of structural features, the paired arrangement of Hanno and Kai on the plane of figures does not reflect that of Roderick and his narrator friend. Roderick combines the musical and the literary interests, which Mann atttributes to one person each, i.e., Hanno and Kai. Nevertheless, it is the one gifted with the narrative talent who "escapes," whereas the other gifted with the musical talent falls a prey to

death. On the whole, Mann's encounter of Poe has left more than one trace in *Buddenbrooks*.

Though its literary consequences were individual, the encounter as such was not. In the years before *Buddenbrooks* was published, many German and Austrian writers and translators had taken an increased interest in Poe.[32] Formerly often separated, now united, the phantastic and the macabre, the grotesque and the symbolic facets, and, above all, the newly discovered psychoanalytical element of Poe's work appealed to authors like Gustav Meyrink, Hanns Heinz Ewers, Karl Heinz Strobl as well as illustrator and author Alfred Kubin. With all of them Poe's influence lasted well into the twentieth century. Poe's "modernity," not the first and not the last stage of Germany's repeated rediscoveries of the American, was firmly established.[33] In those early years of the new century the first complete translation was undertaken by Arthur and Hella Moeller van den Bruck, the same couple that had already translated another favorite of Mann's, Feodor Dostoevski. Book illustrations by Kubin, whom Mann had met in Munich and still remembers in Switzerland on March 30, 1937,[34] gave additional support to this neo-romantic metamorphosis of Poe's stature in Germany. Mann shared this collective redirection of attention but did not wax enthusiastic. The artist of *Buddenbrooks*, in the process of its composition, took over from the artist of a major short story what could be fused with some figures and the motif structure, the imagery and the tone of his own novel-in-the-making. It is only by this limited but firm integration, and by the continuity of his contact with Poe that we can recognize the intensity of Mann's encounter of Poe apparently initiated by his reading of "The Fall of the House of Usher." Probably he read it in a German translation rather than in the American original.

The Americanness of the artistic stimulus does not seem to have been of significance to Thomas Mann. Surely, he had portrayed Kai with a collection of Poe's stories jointly with the Bible lying open in front of him on his classroom desk, an ironical trait making the reader's imagination go out to the Usher story and the Book of Job simultaneously. He had not attached any importance to a New Testament—Book of Revelation—element which Poe had woven into the end of the story.[35] He may have overlooked it altogether. Therefore the Apocalyptic, a lasting, seventeenth-century heritage of American literature, escaped him. The regional roots of Poe's art, the "Southern Gothic" and the world view it expressed, were of no interest to Mann either. Different from Poe's "The Gold-Bug" or the later "Balloon Hoax," the Southernness of "The Fall of the House of Usher" was not on the surface, i.e., unsuggested by a completely or, in part, regional setting, including, as it did in "The Gold-Bug," a descendant from a New Orleans "ancient Huguenot family,"[36] and a black servant. In the Usher story the Southernness was part of a state of mind, easy to escape the foreign eye.

"The Fall of the House of Usher" had offered a literary window opening on the South. The view from it was not taken by Poe's creative German reader. Once again did he act in unison with the literary Poe

enthusiasts in that *fin-de-siècle* Germany. The story was bound to return in his work and loan yet another motif to his novella "Tristan," but direct evidence will be presented much later, and this by Thomas Mann himself in 1933.

However, the 1920s are not without explicit and implicit references to Poe. The explicit one occurs in a thoroughly international context on November 21, 1922. The reference is occasioned by the publication of what Mann calls a "Russische Dichtergalerie," an album reproducing portraits of Russian writers. The international context is furnished by a quotation from Nietzsche.

> Diese großen Dichter, diese Byron, Musset, Poe, Leopardi, Kleist, Gogol—ich wage es nicht, viel größere Namen zu nennen, aber ich meine sie—, so wie sie nun einmal sind, sein müssen: Menschen . . . mit Seelen, an denen gewöhnlich ein Bruch verhehlt werden soll, oft mit ihrem Wirken Rache nehmend für eine innere Besudelung, oft mit ihren Aufflügen Vergessenheit suchend vor einem allzu treuen Gedächtnis, Idealisten aus der Nähe des *Sumpfes*. . . .[37]

Mann identifies with Nietzsche's view of Poe, but combines it with his own portrait of "Dostojewski's bleiches Heiligen- und Verbrecherantlitz."[38] The paradox it contains is of particular interest for its implied equal reference to Poe. While the other international companions of Poe never reassemble in Mann's writings, Dostoevski will return to Mann's later years, especially the ones spent in America.

When he refers to Poe for a second time in the 1920s, he seems to do so implicitly. In his already mentioned Lübeck address of 1926, Mann reminisces on the gestation of *Buddenbrooks*. In this context he mentions "die psychologische short story," not "das Prosa-Epos," as the genre he had come to think himself qualified for.[39] By making use of the Anglo-Saxon generic term "short story"—Briticisms and Americanisms are not frequent with him at the time—Mann may have included in this genre "The Fall of the House of Usher." Anyway, he remained silent on its actual integration with *Buddenbrooks*.

Implicit, too, is the evidence furnished by childhood memories of Klaus Mann. In *Der Wendepunkt* he reports parenthetically: "(Als Kind hatte ich Angst vor seiner [Poe's] 'Schwarzen Katze', seinem 'Mörderischen Pendel', seinem 'Schwatzenden Herzen'; . . .)"[40] Given the interest Thomas Mann took in the literary education of his children, he can be supposed to have read Poe stories to them or encouraged the children to read them.

His interest in the Southern author continued in the 1930s. In Switzerland he read "William Wilson" in early September, 1933, for the first time after he had ordered and received the six-volume edition of Poe's works brought out in German by the reputable Propyläen publishers.[41] By July, 1939, when vacationing in the Netherlands and reading two stories by Robert Louis Stevenson, one of them, "Olalla," reminds him of Poe.[42] The diary entry is too short and vague to allow of an interpretation that Mann's acquaintance with, and appreciation of,

Poe have now raised him to the rank of a critical yardstick by which to measure other authors.

Acquaintance and appreciation once more develop into creative stimulation as they had done with *Buddenbrooks'* Kai more than thirty years before. In September, 1933, Mann, now virtually a refugee in Switzerland, found "reading Poe" (a diary phrase that might comprise "William Wilson," "The Sphinx," and others), more suited to his intended "Faust novella" than to his "Joseph."[43] Less comprehensive and in one respect surprisingly precise is a diary note of September 1, 1933:

> Las im Garten nach vielen Jahren wieder einmal den "Fall des Hauses Usher," der zu meinen frühesten Eindruckstraditionen gehört. Hanno B. zitiert ihn, und es fielen mir Einzelheiten auf, die ich nachgeahmt habe: Das Hindurchgehen der Lady im Hintergrund des Zimmers ist das der Pastorin Höhlenrauch in "Tristan."

As not infrequent with authors, memory of their own works is faulty at places. Kai's role, in part, is attributed to Hanno by a reminiscing Thomas Mann. During Mann's temporary stays in the United States in the mid-1930s Poe does not show up in the diaries. The visit in 1938 (February 21 to June 29) included Mann's first coast-to-coast roundtrip. The experience of the continental expanse and the regional variety of the country still reverberates almost a year later:

> . . . die Bekanntschaft von Land und Leuten des Ostens wurde bald durch Besuche in großen und kleineren Städten des Mittelwestens, durch das lichte Erlebnis der californischen Landschaft ergänzt. . . . Großartig weiträumige Verhältnisse, eine Atmosphäre der Freiheit. . . .[44]

But Poe's South had not been touched by the transcontinental traveler and lecturer.

It is during the 1940s that Mann, as it were, met Poe, for the first time, on American, though not native, soil. That chance, geographically speaking, had been missed in January, 1941, when a short lecture tour from Mann's Princeton base led him beyond Washington, D.C., to Durham, North Carolina, Atlanta, and via Philadelphia back to Princeton. Neither the city of Baltimore nor the states of Virginia and South Carolina, which he crossed twice on his roundtrip, left in his diary a reflex that could be interpreted as a meaningful reference to Poe's life and work.

In early September, 1941, under Southern California skies, two favorites of his European years, Dostoevski and Poe, resume company. "Nach Beendigung von Dostojewskys 'Werdejahre' lese vor Einschlafen Unvertrauteres von Poe" runs a diary entry made in Pacific Palisades on September 7, 1941. It will take five years until Poe turns up again in the same binational context. In the meantime he enjoys an early comeback in mid-October, 1941. In the new function of travel companion Poe joins Mann on his second coast-to-coast lecture tour. Most fittingly, the German author has selected Poe the imaginary traveler for

fellow-tourist. On the train from Los Angeles to San Antonio he is reading in bed "Poe's phantastische Reise-Romane, Das heiße Meer am Südpol." As for the following night, October 15, 1941, he jots down "½ 11 zu Bette u. im Poe gelesen." So it is in the Southwest that Mann is exploring *Die denkwürdigen Erlebnise des Arthur Gordon Pym (The Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym,* 1838; first German tr. 1908). The perusal is continued on October 17 on the train from Austin to New Orleans. The drily factual note says: "Gestern Abend in Poe's Reise-Beschreibungen." Approaching Poe's South at the sign of the Antarctic! "The Gold Bug," with its Mr. Legrand "of an ancient Huguenot family" for hero, would have brought Poe's imaginary South considerably closer to the German traveler. But Mann was rightly fascinated with Poe, the lively storyteller of the Antarctic instead of the casual describer of the Deep South.

The train journey took him nearer to Poe's native Old South when it went across South and North Carolina where in Greensboro, he stopped over at the "King Cotton" hotel.[45] The name, however, rich in associations as it was, did not evoke any responses to, or comments on, the history of the South. Nor did the Virginia and Maryland sections of Mann's continental trip conjure up the figure of Poe. Contrary to the first transcontinental tour of 1938, its follow-up of 1941 is not commemorated as an experience of America's spaciousness but as a job done: "So ist diese verwickelte, stationenreiche, anspruchsvolle Reise abgelaufen und hinter mich gebracht. 6 Wochen, . . ." He adds, however, "aber resultatlos war der produktionslose Zeitverbrauch nicht, . . ."[46] Whether among "the results" there was a further growth of regional perceptiveness, is not explicitly stated.

Poe is not dropped after journey's end. Almost a full year after Mann's return to Pacific Palisades Poe, too, makes his return (October 20, 1942), his second one, to California. It is the most interesting one so far, inasmuch as for the first time something of Poe's supposed Southernness seeps through. It is due to Baudelaire that this occurs. "Baudelaire über Poe. Der Haß auf 'die Demokratie', 'den Fortschritt'. Das war frei, kühn und künstlerisch." Through the eyes of Baudelaire Mann believes he is catching sight of a latent anti-democratic, anti-progress element in the world of Poe. Baudelaire identifies with it, and Mann comments on it, and this with exemplary fairness. It is not marked as Southern, however. The third volume of Mann's edition of Baudelaire in German translation included "Edgar Poe, sein Leben und sein Werk" as well as "Weiteres über Edgar Poe." The two titles probably cover all of Baudelaire's three famous essays on Poe.

After the end of World War II Poe reappears in the company of Dostoevski. A constellation of 1922 and 1941 reestablishes itself. This time, it gains in point of clarity. In an introductory essay "Dostojewski—mit Maßen," (1946) the neo-romantic and the clinical psychologist in Mann's multi-faceted personality unite with the cosmopolitan comparatist in singling out Poe's "William Wilson" and comparing its author's and the Russian's treatments of the "split personality" motif embodied in the figure of the *Doppelgänger.* For its "purer absorption of the clinical

in the poetic'' Poe's treatment is rated superior.[47] In this way Mann's initial interest in Poe as master of the ''psychological short story,'' has survived more than four decades.

Diary evidence on the remaining nine years (1947-55) is not available yet. But what is supposed to be Mann's ''last manuscript'' encompasses the name of Poe and for the first time puts beside it the name of another Southern writer: Thomas Wolfe.[48] New Yorker Melville brings the company up to three Americans: ''. . . und schließlich lassen wir uns, auf der Rückkehr zum Westen, im Nordamerikanischen, bei der krankhaften Intensität Edgar Allan Poe's, bei Thomas Wolfe und Melville nieder.'' Forming part of Mann's ''Geleitwort'' for the anthology *Die schönsten Erzählungen der Welt* (1955), the quoted passage is dated ''Noordwijk aan Zee, Juli 1955.'' Almost exactly sixteen years before, it had been at the same Dutch seaside place that Stevenson's ''Olalla,'' ''das Bedeutendste'' of the tales he had been reading, had ''put him in mind of Poe.'' The comment ''morbid intensity'' strikes a note new in Mann's view of Poe, yet old in the history of his critical reception. As made by Mann, this comment is meant to refer only to Poe, but neither to Wolfe nor to Melville. A later passage of the ''Geleitwort,'' however, includes all three of them, and will often be quoted:

> Diese Angelsachsen wissen zu erzählen—mit einer Sicherheit, einer Drastik und Unsentimentalität, die sehr wohl Raum zur Rührung läßt, einer Kunst zu fesseln, die meine ganze Bewunderung erregt.[49]

The fascination felt by *Buddenbrooks'* Kai has remained, the criticism of Poe is subjectively new, objectively old and mild.

Viewing in retrospect Mann's contacts with Poe from the late nineteenth century through the mid-1950s, from the Lübeck years, recollected in *Buddenbrooks*, through near the end of his life, one cannot fail to recognize the same unswerving loyalty to Poe as has survived all political changes in Mann's native Germany. Yet even when placed by Mann beside Thomas Wolfe, Poe and the regional background he shares with Wolfe elicit no explicit statement on their Southernness.

With diary evidence incomplete as yet, one has to suspend a final answer to the question of whether Mann's 1942 comment on Baudelaire's view of Poe represents Mann's closest approach toward a realization of what links Poe to the South. Mann's slowly grown perceptiveness to the regions of continental America may have promoted this realization. But as his last statement on Poe in the context of world literature implies, that Southern author was still living, as it were, on the supranational top floor of Mann's house of literature with its many national, regional, and local mansions.

2.4

In the chronological order of appearance on Mann's map of the American South a scholar, university reformer, and statesman joins Poe among the German writer's potential and actual American contacts with the South. Hence the next window opening on it is political, not literary. A view from it is offered by Thomas Woodrow Wilson, Mann's senior by

nineteen years. World War I, for the first time in German history, made the United States an "enemy" and an American president a virtual arbiter in inter-European family squabbles of worldwide repercussions. Wilson was a Virginian by birth, not only, as Poe had been, by practical adoption. As to emotional allegiances, he shared them with Poe. So he likewise did university training, unfinished in Poe's case, at the University of Virginia and a part of life in Baltimore, but also professional appointments in the middle Atlantic states. Neither of them, however, was tied to the South by old family traditions,[50] although both grew up in it. Rather than Staunton, Virginia, did Augusta, Georgia, Columbia, South Carolina, Wilmington, North Carolina, and Atlanta, Georgia, afford young Wilson a more varied experience of the region, when compared to Poe's.

Since Mann's published diaries do not start prior to 1918 and those still awaiting publication do not include any earlier ones, it is not until that last year of World War I that readers can get insight into the intimate image of Wilson formed during the previous years. The three references to him in *Betrachtungen eines Unpolitischen* (1918) may take us back to those years, particularly to 1917-18, but they are too brief to illuminate the gradual growth of Mann's view of Wilson.[51] The diaries and passages in two letters (October 9 and 10, 1918) of his correspondence with Ernst Bertram afford considerably more information about Mann's concept of America and German-American relations.[52] It concerns the nearly two-year period from mid-September, 1918, to the end of April, 1920. The views expressed would merit detailed comparison with the contemporary chorus of German opinionists on Wilson. Ernst Fränkel's fine article on "Das deutsche Wilsonbild" could serve for a reliable point of departure.[53] But any hopes of an increasing interest in, and knowledge of, Wilson's Southernness would be disappointed. Southern rhetoric and its long tradition as operating in Wilson's oratory, and Southern Presbyterianism as influencing the world view of the Presbyterian minister's and later theological seminary professor's son lay beyond the scope of Mann. So did the increasingly more effective lecturer and public speaker that Wilson was to become in the course of his legal, academic and political career. Mann's interest in Wilson's religious background occasionally arose but satisfied itself with such an ambivalent term as "the wisdom of a Quaker" in a comment of October 5, 1918:

> Ein wenig hart ist es ja, daß es nun an der Weisheit eines Quäkers hängt, ob Deutschland einen Frieden bekommt, der ihm *nicht* unsterblich Empörung gegen den Weltlauf ins Blut impft. Im Interesse des deutschen Geistes und des Wachbleibens seines Gegensatzes zur demokratischen Civilisation wäre dies beinahe zu wünschen.

How he would have viewed Wilson around the time of the ex-president's death in early 1924, can only be surmised. "The Southerner" will surely have had but a minimal chance, if any at all, to be recognized in the personality of the American.

Aside from the private diary notes and letters, Mann availed himself of a periodical article on "Das Problem der deutsch-französischen Beziehungen" (January, 1922) as a public outlet for his view of Wilson.[54] He did not formulate his opinion himself but identified with an ill-placed characterization of Wilson by Rudolf Pannwitz, another German writer, a dramatist, epic, didactic and philosophical poet.[55]

A balanced view developed much later. The aura of Princeton may have favored it. The same university whose graduate (1879) and president (1902-10) Wilson had been was to serve as host to Mann and confer an honorary doctor's degree on him. Life's more than little ironies had led the Wilson opponent of 1918 to the very university reformed by him. One of these reforms, the "preceptorial," was even mentioned by Mann April 18, 1940, but, understandably, not associated with Wilson. The balanced opinion was voiced in a broadcast of May, 1942. It linked the Atlantic Charter to Wilson's "League of Nations" concept. He alluded to it as "Wilsons Entwurf, für den damals niemand reif war, am wenigsten wir Deutsche."[56] The voice speaking at the time was a voice of memory. As little as it had found room for the Southerner in the American in former years, did it now have time for it. Understandably so, because international, not regional issues were at stake. At the time of the broadcast in which Mann mentioned Wilson, Mann had already become a resident of Pacific Palisades. The question whether his stay in the United States alerted him to the significance of its regions, and the South among them, will once again have to await an answer.

2.5

A third window on the South, around 1900 or earlier, a literary one, may have opened in late May, 1921. The view from this window was not a direct but an indirect one, taken, as it were, from another man's window on the region, the other man being Walt Whitman. His image of the South as presented mainly in his poetry, especially in his Civil War poems, gradually became accessible to Mann. As is well-known, contact between him and Whitman was established by gifted translator Hans Reisiger, a friend of the Manns since 1913. "Am Sonntag Abend war Reisiger bei uns und las aus seinen Übersetzungen, woran sich Gespäche über Whitmans Männerliebe knüpften." This diary note dates from May 31, 1921. Reisiger's first volume of selected and translated Whitman poems had been published in 1919. A two-volume edition, with an introductory essay appended, came from the press in spring 1922. It was reviewed by Mann as "Hans Reisigers Whitman-Werk" in the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, April 16, 1922.[57] If one likes a chanting voice and an eye for characteristic details, Whitman as poetic guide to a great many regions of America is unrivaled. His poetic image of America and especially of the North-South conflict as well as its reconciliation do not seem to have produced in Mann a fast-growing awareness of regional differentiation. It would be outright stupid to simplify matters by thinking that Mann, the Northerner, living in Germany's South, would have developed an empathy with an American "equivalent" of

such North-South tensions as expressed in Whitman's poetry. None of his tributes to Reisiger's translations of the poems testify to such an effect. Admittedly, he notices the poet's close links with New York, calling him "der Sänger von Manhattan,"[58] yet he has to read Whitman's prose tract *Democratic Vistas* (tr. *Demokratische Ausblicke*) to realize the regional ingredients of American life, at least by means of the approximate political expression they find in the "states." He quotes:

> . . . gleichwie wir auf der Einheit der Union unter allen Umständen bestehen, um den Rechten der Einzelstaaten die vollste Lebensfähigkeit und Freiheit zu sichern, deren jedes genauso wichtig ist wie das Recht der Nation, der Union.

Mann, the comparatist and advocate of European unification, immediately adds:

> Es könnte von deutscher Union die Rede sein . . . oder von zukünftiger europäischer. Denn man darf vorhersehen und -sagen, daß freundschaftliche Verhandlungen, wie sie soeben zwischen Bayern und dem Reiche gepflogen wurden, eines Tages zwischen den einzelnen Nationalstaaten und einer europäischen Oberhoheit spielen werden.[59]

In this context Romantic visionary Novalis is placed beside Whitman and claimed as advocate of "demokratischer Pluralism," a mixed German-English phrase. Though perhaps not reechoing America's "*e pluribus unum*," it has a close affinity with it. ". . . er ist von fast amerikanischer Frische" is Mann's comment on this kind of pluralism.[60] All of these passages quoted are to be found in "Von deutscher Republik." This speech made in October, 1922, mentions the "Donnerer von Manhattan" by name more than ten times.[61] Is it by mere chance that the printed text was dedicated to Silesian regionalist Gerhart Hauptmann, and as late as 1954 Mann gratefully remembered Whitman's translator Reisiger as the "Junger Schlesier, . . . in Hauptmanns Sphäre beheimatet," whom he had met "in or around 1906" for the first time.[62]

But let us return from 1954 to those 1920s. In an interview given to the correspondent of the Paris edition of *The New York Herald* Mann, for the first time, placed Poe the Southerner and Whitman, the guide to the regional pluralism of the United States, side by side. For their partner he added Eugene O'Neill, whose plays from the very first have revealed his creative fascination with a region, i.e., New England. The interview seems not to have been reprinted.[63]

Not until December, 1933, do the diaries resume their first mention of Whitman in 1921: "Abends mit K.[Katia Mann], Klaus und Reisiger zur Stadt zu R.'s [Reisiger's] Vortrag über Whitman. Eine angenehme Darbietung, die alle befriedigte."[64] Neither this entry nor another of June 1, 1935, linking Whitman and Reisiger anew, extend the theme of American regions, especially of the South. This does not occur until Mann's first transcontinental lecture tour of 1938. Strangely fitting, this experience of the expanse of the country is the fruit of a lecture trip during which Whitman makes his appearance as early as the second

paragraph of "Vom kommenden Sieg der Demokratie." Although democracy is discussed as a "Gesellschaftsprinzip,"[65] its former American facet of "democratic pluralism" does not recur. Neither in passages commemorating Whitman nor in such as anticipate his [Mann's] personal experience of America's regional variety does "Vom kommenden Sieg der Demokratie" express what the diaries reveal during and after Mann's trip: his already mentioned fascination with the spaciousness of the continent and the regional variety of its cities, fifteen of which he had come to know, not profoundly enough, though, in the course of his trip. The experience resounds in a formulation not yet quoted: "Auf dieser Lecture tour, die mich durch den ganzen ungeheueren Continent Amerika, durch eine große Anzahl seiner Städte geführt hat . . ."[66] In the 1940-43 diaries, the last published to date, Mann's praise of Whitman, and Whitman's guidance to the South do not figure any longer. Whether silence will last in the ones still awaiting publication, remains to be seen.

Beyond the diaries there is at least one sign of Whitman's attraction, continued or revived. Long after 1945, in a published gratulation upon Reisiger's seventieth birthday, Mann returns to Whitman. Reisiger's translation and his introductory essay are praised as they were in 1922, and Whitman is styled "the hymnodist of democracy."[67] The South in no way colors what has become Mann's traditional image of Whitman. So, like Poe, Whitman has followed Mann on his return to Europe and reappears in Mann's last year before his death.

The role he has played in Mann's gradual formation of a concept of the South limits itself to three services. All of them were rendered before 1939. From *Democratic Vistas* or, more precisely, its German rendering, Mann learns "democratic pluralism" as operating, ideally, in the relations between the federal union and the states as political spokesmen of regional interests and ways of life. The poetry is heard as lending voice to the states and regions in his chants on American life, and in expressing the intra-American tension between North and South in a spirit of reconciliation. Whitman's short newspaper days in New Orleans and their disputed reflex in his poems seem to have had no attraction for Mann, provided he was aware of them at all. As little as Mann on his transcontinental and Southern tours was interested in visiting places connected with Poe's life in Virginia, South Carolina, and Maryland, did he feel attracted to Whitman's Camden, New Jersey, during his residence in Princeton. He never worshipped at shrines, political or literary. In spite of his taste for biographies, the biographical frame of his first two literary windows on the South was of no or little significance.

2.6

With Poe the supranational in the artistic sense, with Wilson the national and gradually the international in the political sense, with Whitman the universal joined to the national, the regional, and the local had entered the process of Mann's imaginings about American life,[68]

less so his practical experience of it. With Henry Louis Mencken, a native of Baltimore, literary and cultural critic, an interpreter of Nietzsche and translator of his *Also sprach Zarathustra,* a philologist in the good old sense of a "lover of words," joins in as fourth intermediary between Mann and America's South. He is the first of the four mentioned so far whom Mann had an opportunity to meet in person after he had written about him. True, what he had written amounted to no more than a mere mention of the name in a catalogue of names, interlinked by what Mann thought of as their common purpose. The year is 1929, and the place is Mann's preface to Ludwig Lewisohn's, then an American expatriate's, novel, *Der Fall Herbert Crump* (*The Case of Mr. Crump,* 1926). Mann recommends it as contributing to

> jene Europäisierung Amerikas zu erzielen, die das Gegenstück zu unserer vielberufenen 'Amerikanisierung' bilden sollte und an der die besten Amerikaner heute arbeiten. Zu ihnen, obgleich im Exile lebend, gehört Lewisohn als Romancier und Kritiker: zu den Männern, die, wie Mencken, Upton Sinclair, Sinclair Lewis, der brave Richter Lindsey, die Schriftstellergruppen um den 'American Mercury', den 'Dial', die 'Nation', es sich zur Aufgabe gestellt haben, aus dem schönen, energischen und zivilisierten Kindervolk der Amerikaner erwachsene und reife Menschen von Kultur zu machen.[69]

There is no place for such a modest problem as the *regional* roots of Mencken! Two topoi of the contemporary European concept of *American-European* relations, "Kindervolk" vs. "erwachsene und reife Menschen," and "Amerikanisierung" vs. "Europäisierung," join a *German* extra, the topos of "Zivilisierte" vs. "Menschen von Kultur," and together they hold the stage.

Erika and Klaus Mann had met Mencken in New York in late 1927. The portrait of him, which Klaus Mann was to paint later in *Der Wendepunkt,* is much more detailed but, like his father's mention of him, reveals no interest in his Southern background. Thomas Mann's and Mencken's personal meeting—the juxtaposition of their names may amuse the etymologist—came about during Mann's first stay in the United States (May 29-June 8, 1934).

> Mit Knopf in seinem Ford zum Souper auf der Dachhöhe eines französischen Restaurants. Die Stadt in Lichtern. Mencken. Der Herausgeber der Saturday-Review. Die angesehene Schriftstellerin—links von mir, Mrs.[?] Kleine Tischrunde. Vorzügliche Küche und Weine. Später in die hübsche Stadtwohnung der Knopfs.[70]

Mencken figures like in a party snapshot skilfully arranged. "Aufzeichnungen zu machen war völlig unmöglich," Mann states in retrospect when already on the voyage back to Europe.[71] Those hectic days of his short visit to the United States did not leave time for more than a bare mention of a Southern celebrity. A masterly use of irony, the art of the witty epigram, a profound knowledge of Nietzsche and modern international literature, even memories of World War I Germany where Mencken had worked as war correspondent in 1916-17 linked the former editor of the *Atlantic Monthly* and the German visitor. Mann's brief diary

note invites many guesses on their mutual reactions and repeated meetings, if any, during those fourteen days of Thomas and Mrs. Mann in the New York area.

When five years later, on April 16, 1939, he arrived from Princeton for a Baltimore lecture on Faust, the city did not evoke any memories of, or associations with, "the sage of Baltimore," let alone Poe.

> Die alte geschminkte Hausfrau, pro Franko, anti Roosevelt, wie eher auch unsere Wirte und, unserem Eindruck nach, die Baltimorer Gesellschaft. . . . Sehr glänzende Veranstaltung, Abendkleider und Fracks. Der Sozialismus wurde geschluckt. . . . Ankunft Trenton 12 Uhr . . . Regenwetter, scharfer Temperatur-Kontrast gegen Baltimore.

It would be rash to conclude that in "asides" like these there surfaces a somewhat more general feeling which subliminally hampers a more spontaneous relationship with even the northern fringe of the South.

Mencken has a comeback in a diary entry of December 18, 1940. Once again the setting is a private, though larger, party than in 1934, once again publisher Alfred Knopf and his wife are among the participants. They now include Sigrid Undset, Mann's predecessor, by one year, as Nobel prize winner, Mann's follower, by more than one year, as refugee in America, and Nathan, whom the diary annotators, rightly or wrongly, identify with the New York phantasy writer Robert Gruntal Nathan,[72] and not with Mencken's co-editor of *Smart Set* and co-founder of *The American Mercury,* George Jean Nathan. For the third time Mencken remains a mere name. His political views, which Klaus Mann's *Wendepunkt,* in its tenth chapter, "Der Vulkan 1936-1939," understandably feels bitter about,[73] came to the fore as little as his Southern literary traits. No more after 1940 does Mencken's name turn up in Mann's published diary volumes. To go by them, the "Southerner in the flesh" who was born and died in Baltimore, had excited even less interest in his region, its life and literature than had Poe, the other literary Southerner, who found his end in Baltimore.

2.7

References to further literary Southerners, contemporary with Mencken, turn up much later than Mann's earliest mention of him in 1929. In chronological order they concern Thomas Wolfe from 1936, Julien Green in 1937, James M. Cain in 1939, Richard Wright in 1942, Faulkner and Caldwell in 1951, and Tennessee Williams in 1952. Upton Sinclair, a native of Baltimore, and Lillian Hellman, born in New Orleans but grown up in New York, rank in a special group of "ex-Southerners" although one of the latter's most popular plays is deeply rooted in the South. Pennsylvania-born Marc Connelly resembles Whitman in serving as a non-native literary guide to the South. Strangely, Carson McCullers, with whom Klaus Mann had become acquainted in June, 1940, and Golo Mann often met from March through July, 1941, both being tenants in the same house in Brooklyn,[74] never turns up in Thomas Mann's diaries, speeches and critical essays.

Of all these literary contemporaries from the South only Thomas Wolfe arouses more than fleeting interest on Thomas Mann's part. In view of the fact that Wolfe's German vogue began with Hans Schiebelhuth's translation of *Look Homeward, Angel* (1929) as *Schau heimwärts, Engel* (1932), Mann's reaction is late. It is caused by *Von Zeit und Strom* (1936), the German version of Wolfe's *Of Time and the River* (1935). On April 6, 1936, the diary entry ends with the item "Es kam von Rowohlt der zweibändige Roman von Th.Wolfe *Von Zeit und Strom,* der hoch gerühmt wird." The entry sounds factual but there is a small admixture of curiosity. "Is this high praise justified?" seems to be the question implied. Whether Mann actually read *Von Zeit und Strom* cannot be gathered from the diaries. But almost exactly one year after the first reference to Wolfe, Mann jots down "Nacht-Lektüre Wolfe's *Schau heimwärts, Engel*" (April 4, 1937). Three days later Mann is aboard the *Normandie* bound for the United States. During the home voyage reading is resumed. The novel earns the diary note "*Schau heimwärts.* Gut, kräftig." On April 30, while still aboard the *Ile de France,* Mann reports "Mit dem Roman von Wolfe dieser Tage fortgefahren." As factual and non-committal as the first diary remark rang, does the last pre-World War II entry sound. When in 1955 Wolfe crosses Mann's path again, it is not the author of two panoramic novels but the short-story teller to whom Mann reacts. Significantly, Wolfe now turns up in the company of Mann's favorite Southerner, Poe, and of Melville. Their summary praise has already been cited in the Poe section of this paper. The last word on Wolfe is left to the writer of an introductory essay, not to the diarist. Hopefully, the as yet unpublished volumes will fill part of the gap (1938-54) in the record of Mann's reactions to Wolfe. With him he got closer to the South's contemporary literature than ever before.

"Vorm Einschlafen lese wieder *Minuit* von Green, das Schönheiten und Merkwürdigkeiten enthält" runs a diary note of March 23, 1937. Julian or, French-spelled, Julien, Green was the Paris-born son of American parents, whom Klaus Mann had met and become acquainted with in the late 1920s.[75] Brother of Georgia-born writer Anne Green, Julian wrote his novels in French and later in English as well as in French. His play about the south, *Sud,* was not performed in Paris until 1953. Thomas Mann's reading contact with Green may or may not have been assisted by Klaus's personal relations with him. It was well before Green's years of refuge in the United States (1940-45) that he reread *Minuit* (1936; tr. *Mitternacht,* 1936).[76] Green's ties with the South strengthened during World War II, but neither the person nor the work figure in the 1940-43 volume of Mann's diaries while they do, and very much so, in Klaus Mann's *Der Wendepunkt* and *Briefe und Antworten.* Thus Green can be discounted among Mann's guides to the South, unless the as yet unpublished diary volumes modify this conclusion.

Whether James M. Cain, a native Marylander, should also be disregarded in this role, is debatable. His favorite, yet not exclusive domain is the psychological crime story. In this way he does continue a part of the Poe tradition in Southern writing. But neither his novel *Serenade* (1937), whose speedy German translation *Serenade in Mexiko*

(1938) Mann starts reading in Princeton on February 20, 1939, nor the story *Career in C major* quite fit into this category. *Serenade in Mexiko* is found "attraktiv" and occupies his mind for the next days. "In den letzten Tagen viel mit Cains *Serenade,* starker Eindruck."[77] Amazingly, such praise resembles that of Wolfe's *Schau heimwärts, Engel.* The "strong impression" is lasting enough to lure Mann to *Wife, Husband and Friend,* the screen version of *Career in C major,* on a Detroit Sunday, March 12, 1939. "Sänger-Ehe-Geschichte reizvoll gespielt. Gut unterhalten" is a comment Hollywood productions or stage adaptations of literary works do not usually draw from Mann.

His next literary encounter will prove this point. The author encountered is Richard Wright, the only Black Southern writer the diaries ever mention. As the entry of November 28, 1942, indicates, he comes across *Native Son* (1940) not in its original, novelistic, shape but in a stage adaptation. "Nachher in [New York's] Majestic Theater: *The Native Son,* sehr verfehltes Negerstück von sozialer Bravheit. Bier schließlich in der Bar." This comment of November 28, 1942, by its very brevity, is telling enough. The in-migration of Black Southerners and Chicago's Black belt, with Bigger Thomas for one of its products, did not direct the attention of his German namesake Thomas to the South.[78]

Not in the diaries but in a book review do Faulkner and Caldwell come up for mere mention of names in 1951. The subject of the review is Albert J. Guérard's, a French-American's, monograph on André Gide. Similar to Mann's presenting of Poe in the company of Dostoevski in 1922, 1941, and 1946, his reference to the two Southern moderns is made in a binational context. This time, however, Mann does not compare a European to an American artist. Rather he studies the role of a European, a French literary intermediary, in the French reception of two American writers. Faulkner and [Erskine] Caldwell are grouped with three old New Yorkers, Whitman, Melville, and Henry James, beside two contemporaries, Hemingway, a Midwesterner, and Steinbeck, a Californian. The binational frame gives way to a trinational one. As was Poe before, so are now all of his countrymen assembled with Dostoevski by cosmopolitan Mann in Gide's hospitable house so well connected with world literature. The inclusion of Joseph Conrad introduces a Pole of British nationality. All of them, James excepted, are looked upon as "importations of strong and demoniacal energies" into France's "precious and exclusive culture."[79] As often before, a comparatist's eye rather includes than concentrates on modern Southern authors.

The same holds good for Tennessee Williams, the youngest of them to swim into Mann's ken. In his case, however, the comparative context is German-American, and the yardstick of comparison is Gerhart Hauptmann.

> Irgendwie trug dieser Dichtermensch die Bluthistorie der Menschheit, insonders auch der deutschen, in sich—gequälter, leibhaftig leidender als irgendein anderer. Michael Kramer: "Sehn Se, da liegt einer Mutter Sohn!—Grausame Bestien sind doch die Menschen! . . . Ihr tatet dasselbe dem Gottessohn! Ihr tut es ihm heut wie dazumal! . . ."—Bei einer jüngsten Wiedereinstudierung dieses Stückes hat die deutsche Presse

> etwas gemerkt. Sie fand, da zeige sich deutlichst nun doch, daß lange vor Tennessee Williams (und anderen von heute) Gerhart Hauptmann war. Und, wollen wir hinzufügen, mit ganz anderer Herzenskraft doch wohl und ganz anderem Griff.
> Leiden—Blut—der Schrecken der Nacht: und daraus denn nun, inbrünstig verschlungen damit, das Verlangen nach Schönheit, Licht, nach dem "lösenden Jubel der Sonnen". Daraus, zusammen damit—die Liebe zum Frühling Griechenlands. . . .[80]

With this speech commemorating the ninetieth anniversary of the late Gerhart Hauptmann's death, a speech delivered in Frankfurt on November 9, 1952, exactly thirty-four years after the outbreak of the German November revolution, Mann returns to his older contemporary from Silesia. A dramatist deeply rooted in his region is made to challenge, if only for a moment, comparison with a Southern dramatist just as deeply rooted in *his* region. Yet the frame of reference is not the common sense of place but "die Bluthistorie der Menschheit." Mann was unaware at the time how poignantly he defined affinities between the Silesian regional universalist and the Mississippian whose equally universal themes were sounded in regional and even local tunes. And do not the Orpheus and Phoenix motifs in Williams' dramatic work hearken back to the same Greek antiquity conjured up in Mann's speech? The label "von heute" attached to "Williams (and others . . .)" overtones of a critical judgment on the transitoriness of Williams' German popularity nearing its height in those early 1950s, if compared to Hauptmann's "immerwährende(m) Dasein."[81] The chance of an in-depth comparison in German-American terms, regional or national, was not taken just as it had not been in the case of Thomas Wolfe.

So far Mann's selective contacts with Wolfe, Cain, Wright, Faulkner, [Erskine] Caldwell and Williams, as had been his unsevered links with Poe, were thoroughly in keeping with trends of selective reception observable in pre- and/or post-World War II Germany.[82] In spite of his travels across a continent, Princeton and Pacific Palisades, East and West Coast residences of Mann and part of his family remained places unlikely to open entirely new, idiosyncratic vistas on the South, its literature and its life, past and present. In two respects, however, pre-war Switzerland and, during the war, Hollywood and New York offered access to the literary South by doors temporarily closed to Germans by dictatorship and international conflict.

Switzerland kept a door open for William Keithley's movie version of Marc Connelly's play *The Green Pastures* (1939), which, in its turn, rests on Roark Bradford's *Ol' Man Adam and His Chillun* (1928). In spite of the two prisms intervening between Mann and the original, the German Old Testament user on the grand scale enjoyed this Deep-South transformation of Biblical materials. After the publication of *Joseph in Ägypten* (1936) he was on the way to *Joseph der Ernährer* (1943). "Nachmittags mit K. (Katia) ins Cinéma *Nord und Süd*: origineller und gewinnender Neger-Bibel-Film" runs the pertinent part of the diary entry for March 12, 1937. The exclusively Black cast took Mann on an imaginary journey to Louisiana. Another tour to the South was guided

by native Louisiana woman Lillian Hellman. A January 22, 1940, performance of *Little Foxes* produced the following impression: ". . . war interessiert vom Spiel, einem derben Familienstück düster-kritischer Färbung von einer Verfasserin in Hollywood, das schon seit einem Jahre läuft. (Little Foxes)." What a pity that death prevented him from seeing much later Tennessee Williams' *Cat on a Hot Tin Roof* (1955). The comparison would have been illuminating. "Nur kurz geruht und ½ 4 Uhr Liesl Frank abgeholt, eine Privat-Aufführung des Films *Little Foxes* im Studio zu sehen,"—this diary note of December 10, 1941, testifies to Mann's continuing interest in a powerful play of social criticism now available in a screen adaptation.[83] The performing arts opened a third door to the South, although this time a Northerner was at the center. In the company of Caroline Newton, psychoanalyst and friend of twelve years' standing, Mann went to a New York production of *Harriet,* Florence Ryerson's and Colin Clements' play about the authoress of *Uncle Tom's Cabin.* But the brief comment "angenehmes Stück" (November 10, 1943) avoids any resumption of the North-South conflict theme brought home to him in Whitman's poetry, and inextricably linked with the novel and its writer.

With Upton Sinclair and Willa Cather it is not literary images of the South conveyed by dramatists and/or movie makers but living persons whose Baltimore boyhood memories, in Sinclair's case, and Virginia childhood reminiscences in Cather's might have served Mann as "aids to reflection" on the post-bellum South. True, Mann's familiarity with Sinclair's work is evidenced by references to him in 1925 and 1928, and in the diaries his name will turn up as that of a personal acquaintance in 1938, and from 1941 through 1943.[84] *Dragon's Teeth,* Sinclair's most recent novel, is referred to more than once.[85] So is personal correspondence with him. But, as in Mencken's case, there is neither an explicit nor an implicit hint of the South and Sinclair's native Baltimore. The same is true for Willa Cather and her Virginian childhood. Contacts with her begin late, i.e., in 1936, and at first are literary ones as with Sinclair. As with him, they lead to personal meetings, though not in California but in New York, in April, 1937, and May, 1938.[86] Alfred Knopf was of great assistance, both belonging among the authors published by him. What makes the Cather-Mann relationship of singular value to this study is the fact that here German-American relations for the first time turn into German-American *inter*relations. Of all the contemporary American writers she is the only one to have published on Thomas Mann, and this before they met. "Gespräch mit Miss Cather unter vier Augen über den *Joseph*" (March 8, 1938) may easily have touched upon her article, "The Birth of Personality: An Appreciation of Thomas Mann's Trilogy," published in *The Saturday Review of Literature,* June 6, 1936. Under the title "Joseph and His Brothers" it was included in her volume of essays, *Not under Forty* (1936). "Willa Cather in demselben Blatt *(The Saturday Review of Literature)* über Joseph als 'The Birth of Personality', Auszug aus einem größeren Essay, der als Broschüre erscheinen soll," indicates Mann's early reaction in a diary note of June 26, 1936. In that essay a dual aspect of Thomas Mann, the "forward-goer" and his "backward-

ness,'' are of special interest to Cather.[87] It would be rash, however, to surmise that this dual vision may be part of her Southern heritage.

Of contemporary authors associated with the South not by family traditions but personal loyalties due to early life in neighboring regions, T. S. Eliot appears to be the only one mentioned in Mann's diaries. The native St. Louisian, as editor of the London *Criterion* had published Mann's essay ''Die Stellung Freuds in der modernen Geistesgeschichte'' (1929) in an English translation.[88] Mann the diarist had chronicled the event on July 28, 1933. Eliot, not the editor but the critic interested him nearly a decade later when, in Pacific Palisades on October 11, 1942, he was reading *American Harvest,* a collection of essays, by Edmund Wilson and T. S. Eliot. Mann's reaction, ''hochstehende Kritik,'' is rare praise. Eliot the poet is encountered when Mann received from an old Washington, D.C., woman friend, a copy of the first, London, edition of *Four Quartets* (1943). The diary jotting of June 21, 1943, registers its arrival. Later entries include no comment. When and if reading, ''The Dry Salvages'' section of *Four Quartets,* Mann would have empathized with the brilliant evocation of the Mississippi River, as dominant a geographical feature of Eliot's St. Louis as of the Deep South. The impression created by this quartet would have compensated for the dissatisfaction he had felt in Kansas City at the showing of a color film adaptation of Twain's *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer.* He had seen the motion picture on March 13, 1938, and thought it ''zu süß.'' In the diaries, lectures, and speeches as well as in the essays he never mentions Twain's *Life on the Mississippi* and *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn.* Thus a late nineteenth-century access to the Deep South, provided by another Missourian, was not made use of, and Southern humor as an ingredient of Twain's works was missed.

This brings to an end the story of Mann's literary and, in part, personal contacts with contemporary or partly contemporary American literary authors as Mann's actual or potential guides to the South.

2.8

In the very midst of these encounters, which had started with first reactions to Thomas Wolfe in 1936 and ended, maybe temporarily, with an unfavorable comparison of Tennessee Williams to Gerhart Hauptmann, in 1952, two political voices joined with the literary ones in offering Mann additional vistas on the South. The first voice was contemporary and of non-Southern origin, the second rang from the past and was the voice of a Virginian founding father of the United States. Both spokesmen, Herbert Agar and Thomas Jefferson, wrote political prose of literary rank.

Jotted down in Chicago on November 26, 1940, Mann's diary entry runs: ''Las nachher [nach dem Lunch] Zeitungen. Bewegender Artikel von Agar in den Daily News. High tide for intervention in this country now.'' Probably he had met Agar at committee meetings for the formulation of the manifesto *The City of Man: A Declaration on World Democracy* (1940).[89] The plan for such a manifesto is already hinted at in

a diary note of January 19, 1940, but Agar is not mentioned yet. Both, he and Mann, belong among the signers of it. The Chicago newspaper article Mann refers to in November, 1940, *The Lotos Eaters,* speaks for itself. It advocates intervention. Four months later, a Pacific Palisades diary passage of April 27, 1941, says: "Abends in den Ausgaben der *Nation.* Guter Artikel von Agar über die Typen der Appeaser." After that, Agar disappears from the pages of Mann's intimate chronicle. There is no indication so far that Mann was aware of Agar's involvement in Southern politics, literary, cultural and economic. Never was Mann so near to the South of the 1930s and of 1940 as in the person of Agar. To the historian of pre-World War II Southern literature and culture he is well-known as a staunch non-Southern member of the "Southern Agrarians" and co-editor, with Allen Tate, of *Who Owns America?* (1936). Born in New Rochelle, New York, and trained in Princeton University, he had worked for two Louisville papers as London correspondent during the depression years of 1929-34. In 1940 he was appointed editor of one of them, the *Courier-Journal.*[90] In this journalistic, professional, capacity Mann came to know and appreciate him. The former advocate of a neo-agrarian South did not interest or escaped him. As with Mencken, it was the American, not the Southern critic that appealed to him in the person of Agar. The national, nay, international issue pushed the regional one into the background.

In this respect Thomas Jefferson fared the same way in the world of Thomas Mann. Not the author of *Notes on the State of Virginia* but the actual writer of the Declaration of Independence matters to him. His responses to the political theorist and statesman are brief but, for around four months in 1943, rewardingly intense and moving. Most probably they were occasioned by the bicentennial of Jefferson's birth. "Gelesen über Jefferson in Büchern aus der Bibliothek" (January 26, 1943) introduces the three diary jottings and the two references in Mann's public statements which evidence the intellectual encounter of a Virginia gentleman of Enlightenment and Revolutionary times by a sixty-seven-year old Lübeck senator's son, now a refugee in California's Pacific Palisades. However, he may have come across Jefferson's political theories and activities around two years earlier. "Von Borgeses die *Documents of American History* mit drolliger Widmung vom Enkelkind" was confided to the diary on December 22, 1940. At that time Henry Steele Commager's renowned collection crossed Mann's path. "Nachmittags über Jefferson. Vorbereitung zu einem Broadcast nach Australien" resumes the Jefferson theme sounded in California, and indicates the context of his Jefferson study (January 31, 1943). ". . . nach dem Frühstück die australische Message beendet, die zugleich als statement über Lincoln dienen mag" (February 2, 1943) is of linguistic as well as psychological interest. Mann's German has come to accept outright transfers from English, and a mental slip reveals the close association of Jefferson and Lincoln, with the Civil War hero replacing the Revolutionary hero in Mann's mind or rather on his tongue. There is cogent proof for it in that the actual broadcast, Mann's contribution to the series "America Talks to Australia," includes a reference not to

Lincoln but to Jefferson. His birthday, April 13, 1943, was due for commemoration.

> There is a straight line running from Thomas Jefferson, the author of the immortal document called the Declaration of Independence to Henry A. Wallace who on May 8th, 1942 delivered his famous speech about the Century of the Common Man . . . If we ask ourselves, however, what is the conserving and all-pervading characteristic element of America's political philosophy, the answer is: it is the principle that "men are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights" and that among those inalienable rights is the "pursuit of happiness."
>
> Happiness as a natural right of man . . . belongs to the optimistic pioneer spirit of America. Schopenhauer, a German philosopher, has called optimism "ruthless" and declared all life to be essentially suffering; and that to speak to man about happiness was to deride him.[91]

German-American relations, here established not by reception or literary impact but by comparison, surface even in this document of Mann's mind. He does not gloss over "all antagonism and differences of conviction which naturally divide even this country" but among such "natural divisions" the regional ones find no place in a talk from continent to continent. The American Civil War, a war of two sections, is replaced in Mann's speech by "this civil war of humanity."[92]

His occupation with Jefferson continues after the anniversary of the great Virginian's birthday. "Beschäftige mich mit van Loons Buch über Jefferson . . ." (April 22, 1943). This note refers to Hendrick Willem van Loon's recent book *Thomas Jefferson: An Intimate Biography* (1943). Van Loon, a Dutch-American journalist and author, with a Ph.D. degree from Munich (1911), had been among Mann's American hosts in June, 1935, and become a close acquaintance.[93] His support given German political refugees was most generous.

Many sentences of Mann's "Message" to Australia, in which Jefferson had figured, reappear literally in the original version of "Kindness," an article Mann wrote for *Good Housekeeping* (September, 1943). In it Jefferson reappears, too. The Declaration of Independence is now looked upon as "ein spezifisch amerikanisches statement, geboren aus dem Geiste der "Kindness." Although also in this magazine essay the factors "which naturally divide even this country" are not hidden, regional ones do not count. "Amerikanische(s) Leben . . . amerikanische Menschlichkeit" are words used at the very beginning of this essay.[94] Jefferson the Virginian does not fit into it. The American has replaced him entirely. So even this intense appeal he has for Mann opens no window on the South. Like Mencken, Wolfe, Faulkner, Caldwell and Williams, Jefferson remains a potential not an actual guide to a complex region.

Mann's contacts with Southern periodicals—his very close ones with the proprietor of the *Washington Post* and with his wife are of no interest here although Mrs. Agnes E. Meyer was the sender of the *Four Quartets* copy[95]—do not modify the over-all picture of Mann's responses to Southern authors and non-Southerners associated with the region. Louisiana-based, *The Southern Review* interests him for a moment on

April 19, 1939, when Harry Slochower's contribution "Thomas Mann and Universal Culture: An Interpretation of his Joseph Cycle" elicits the dry comment "merkwürdig."

An invitation of *The Virginia Quarterly Review* for Mann to contribute an article in German reached him in Princeton on March 11, 1941. Work on it was begun on April 24, 1941, and continued the following day. The pertinent note (April 25) mentions the title found for the essay as "Denken und Leben." The diary entry of May 6, "Nach dem Post und Zeitschriften, *Nation, Virginia Quarterly,*" indicates reading in these two periodicals rather than progress of work on Mann's contribution to the latter. By that date the essay may have already been completed and mailed to Charlottesville, Virginia. A later note of May 25, "Die Korrektur des Artikels für *Virginia Quarterly,*" refers most probably to the arrival of the proofs, because the diary note of June 18, 1941, chronicles "*The Virginia Quarterly* mit meinem Artikel." An entry of June 30, 1943, and the preface (March 1952) to Mann's *Altes und Neues* (1953) signal his continued attention to articles in this journal and to his essay "Denken und Leben" published in it. The close interest with which Mann had followed the way of his philosophical and political essay from the beginning through its publication and even remembers it eleven years later shows no sign of curiosity about the regional background of American academic periodicals. By now it would have been foolish to expect such signs. It would be equally foolish, however, to explain their lack by pointing to a diary jotting like "Die Inkoherenz [Mann's spelling] der amer. Bevölkerungsgruppen. Zusammengewürfeltes Kolonial-Land mit Technik" (June 30, 1941). Here Mann confides to his secret diary conversation over the tea table of the Aldous Huxley household, on a day when he was "tief niedergeschlagen" on account of "Böse Nachrichten aus Rußland," and felt "Das Verhängnis wird seinen Weg gehen." Not the right moment to sound the optimistic theme of Whitman's "democratic pluralism" of America's states and regions, or to anticipate the "optimistic pioneer spirit" as hailed in the "Message" to Australia.

2.9

So far this paper has followed the reception, criticism, and creative influence of the South. Its imagology in Mann's work, i.e., its scenic or figural image embodied in individual novels or stories, has as yet been neglected. At least once Mann has risked in a story of his the portrayal of an American inclusive of his regional ties.[96] Of Mann's Americans Ken Keaton, the young American in the German-American constellation of persons central to the late work *Die Betrogene* (1953), was born "in einer kleinen Stadt eines östlichen Staates."[97] After graduation from high school he went to college in Detroit, Michigan. If native, his retroflex *r*, represented by *-rr* in the German text, points to one of the middle Atlantic states of the East, if acquired, to Michigan. Anyway, Ken is not a Southerner. Cautious as Mann will be in giving literary shape to Americans altogether, he avoided with particular care a region of the

United States that would have taxed the experience and imaginative empathy of any contemporary German author, whether still in American exile, a returnee to Europe or without any longer residences overseas. For some reason or other, falling into the trap of clichés seemed to be exceptionally easy in that area. The more ironical it is that in this very story about Rosalie von Tümmler and Ken Keaton Mann's affinity with a Southerner, Tennessee Williams as author of *The Roman Spring of Mrs. Stone* (1950), is remarkable. The universal theme of "das gefährliche Alter" is reshaped by both authors, though in entirely different settings, leave alone other differences.[98] The Mississippian and the man from Lübeck, for a second time, meet at unexpected moments, and now on the level not of reception, criticism or influence but artistic affinity.

3

Southern Gothic as created by Poe, Southern oratory and a Southern Presbyterian world view with Wilson for spokesman, the Civil War and democratic pluralism for reconciliation of regional divisions given a lyrical and a prose voice by Whitman, the Southern rebellion against a mainstream culture, to Mencken's mind still permeated with Northern "Puritanism," the contemporary Southern novel in four variations—Wolfe, Cain, Faulkner, and Caldwell—the international success of Southern drama, with Williams incorporating in it so much of the "Southern myth," Southern neo-agrarianism advocated by Agar, and Southern revolutionary energy in the person of Founding Father Jefferson—surely, the South has its place on Mann's map of America. The owner of this map, however, was, on the whole, not aware of, nor interested in the regional heritage or the regional loyalty of the persons mentioned. Mann's links with the South, a few firm, the majority but tenuous, do multiply in the course of his life. Certainly, the South *is* on the map, yet it is not the peculiarities of the region or section that are noticed and appreciated or criticized. It is its overall Americanness that is taken for granted.

This conclusion is tentative, subject to modification by Mann materials still awaiting publication, and by studies in his non-literary and strictly personal contacts with Southerners as well as by research on his responses to Southern landscapes, climate, society, and folk-culture, both white and black. Jazz and Blues are not absent from the total image gradually building up in Mann's mind and work. Two features of the picture drawn in the present study bid fair to remain essentially unchanged by future research: Mann's creative affinity at one moment of his contacts with the South was with the youngest, Williams, while his creative response was limited to the oldest, to Poe. So Klaus Mann was not too far off the mark when, in order to win over a badly needed rich sponsor to finance his projected journal, he tried to persuade his father to let out that Mann, Sr., together with "a first-rate American" would figure as "Editorial Advisor." The front page of the journal would feature "Editorial Advisors, Th. M. und [sic] Edgar Allan Poe"![99]

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Notes

[1] Max Lerner, *America as a Civilization* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1957), p. 182.

[2] Helmut J. Kremling, in *Papers from the St. Olaf Symposium on German-Americana,* ed. La Vern J. Rippley and Steven M. Benjamin, Occasional papers of the Society for German-American Studies, No. 10 (Morgantown, WV: Dept of Foreign Languages, West Virginia Univ., 1980), pp. 79-86.

[3] Renate Hücking, Geistes- und sozialwissenschaftliche Dissertationen, No. 58 (Hamburg: Lüdke Verlag, 1980).

[4] Arthur H. Ballet, *Drama Survey,* 3 (1963), 141-51.

[5] See Hans Galinsky, "Rezeption unter den Aspekten 'Epoche,' 'Gattung,' 'Volksgruppe,' 'Region,' 'Altersgruppe,'" in his *Amerikanisch-deutsche Sprach- und Literaturbeziehungen: Systematische Übersicht und Forschungsbericht 1945-1970* (Frankfurt: Athenäum, 1972), pp. 101-03.

[6] Ada Kadelbach, *Die Hymnodie der Mennoniten in Nordamerika (1742-1860),* Diss. Univ. of Mainz 1971, 285 pp.

[7] Galinsky, *Amerikanisch-deutsche Sprach- und Literaturbeziehungen,* pp. 50-52.

[8] Hans Galinsky, "Amerikanische Dichter und amerikanisches Englisch in und aus Rheinland-Pfalz," *Universität im Rathaus,* ed. Präsident der Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz, I (Mainz: Pressestelle der Universität, 1981), 81-117.

[9] *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society for April 1969* (Worcester, Mass., 1969), pp. 151-71.

[10] Hans Galinsky, in *American-German Literary Interrelations in the Nineteenth Century,* ed. Christoph Wecker (München: Fink, 1983), pp. 124-65.

[11] See note 8.

[12] William T. Parsons and William K. Munro, *PF,* 30 (1980-81), 120-22.

[13] *Lord Weary's Castle and The Mills of the Kavanaughs,* Meridian Books, M 107 (New York: Meridian Books, 1961), p. 1.

[14] "II: Nachmittag im Schloß," *Southern Review,* 13 (1977), 579-80.

[15] Carl Zuckmayer, *Als wär's ein Stück von mir. Horen der Freundschaft. Erinnerungen* (Frankfurt: Fischer, 1966); Alice Herdan-Zuckmayer, *Die Farm in den Grünen Bergen* (Hamburg: Toth, 1949); Ernst Krenek, *Gedanken unterwegs* (München: Langen-Müller, 1959).

[16] *Southern California Quarterly,* 61 (1979), 183-205.

[17] Hans Galinsky, "The Current State of German-American Studies in Germany: Resources and Research," in *The Harold Jantz Collection,* ed. Leland R. Phelps, Occasional Paper Series, No. 8 (Durham: Duke University Center for International Studies, 1981), pp. 71-91.

[18] Thomas Mann, *Tagebücher 1918-1921, 1933-1934, 1935-1936, 1937-1939, 1940-1943,* ed. Peter de Mendelssohn (Frankfurt: Fischer, 1979; 1977; 1978; 1980; 1982). Klaus Mann, *Briefe und Antworten I, II,* ed. Martin Gregor-Dellin (München: Ellermann, 1975); *Der Wendepunkt* (Müchen: Ellermann, 1976). [This is an enlarged version of *The Turning Point* (New York: Fischer, 1942).]

[19] Hans Galinsky, "The Give-and-Take of an American Section: Literary Interrelations between the American South and Germany in the Early Post-War Period (1945-1950)," in *Die amerikanische Literatur in der Weltliteratur, Themen und Aspekte: Festschrift zum 60. Geburtstag von Rudolf Haas,* ed. Claus Uhlig and Volker Bischoff (Berlin: Schmidt, 1982), pp. 363-91.

[20] "kosmopolitismus," Moderne Klassiker, Fischer Bücherei (subsequently abbreviated MK/FB), 117, p. 145.

[21] E. Keippel, "Regional and Autobiographical Elements in the Works of Thomas Mann," M.A. thesis Nortwestern Univ. 1934.

[22] "Lübeck als geistige Lebensform," MK/FB, 119, p. 178, ibid., 183.

[23] "München als Kulturzentrum," MK/FB, 117, p. 161. Cf. p. 162.

[24] "Der 'autonome' Rheinstaat des Herrn Barrès," ibid., pp. 130-32.

[25] "Gerhart Hauptmann," MK/FB, 115, p. 270. Cf. ibid., p. 266.

[26] "Goethe und Tolstoi," MK/FB, 113, p. 217.

[27] "Beschäftigung mit den 'Schlesischen Liedern' von Petr Bezruč," *Tagebücher 1937-1939,* p. 118.

[28] Ibid., p. 869; cf. p. 677.

[29] (New York: Viking, 1966), p. 13.

[30] Exempla Classica, 13 (Frankfurt: Fischer, 1960), p. 484. Subsequent quotations are from pp. 488, 491, 493, 494, 498, 501, 502, 503, 504, 509.

[31] *The Complete Works of Edgar Allan Poe,* The Virginia Edition, ed. James A. Harrison (New York, 1902; rpt. 1965), III, p. 284.

[32] Best survey to date in Gerhard Hoffmann, "Edgar Allan Poe and German Literature," *American-German Literary Interrelations,* ed. Wecker, pp. 52-104.

[33] Franz H. Link, *Edgar Allan Poe, Ein Dichter zwischen Romantik und Moderne* (Frankfurt-Bonn: Athenäum, 1968).

[34] *Tagebücher 1937-1939,* pp. 47, 577.

[35] Poe's "there was a long tumultuous shouting sound like the voice of a thousand waters," the next to last sentence of the story, echoes Rev. i.15, and xiv.2. The preceding "blood-red moon" passage points to Rev. vi.12.

[36] This motif is sounded in the very first paragraph of the short story.

[37] MK/FB, 113, p. 121.

[38] Ibid.

[39] MK/FB, 119, p. 179.

[40] *Der Wendepunkt,* p. 129.

[41] *Tagebücher 1933-1934,* p. 164.

[42] *Tagebücher 1937-1939,* p. 429. Cf. pp. 813, 814.

[43] *Tagebücher 1933-1934,* p. 166. Cf. p. 164 ("Mittwoch den 20. VIII. 33"): "Von Fischer kamen bestellte Bücher: Don Quixote und die schöne, sechsbändige Poe-Ausgabe des Propyläen-Verlages. Ich suchte die scharfsinnig-phantastische Geschichte von der 'Sphinx' und las sie K[atia] und ihrer Cousine vor. Las dann für mich Weiteres."

[44] "Dankrede bei der Verleihung des Ehrendoktors der Universität Princeton," (May 18, 1939), *Tagebücher 1937-1939,* p. 902. See also note 66.

[45] *Tagebücher 1940-1943,* p. 340.

[46] Ibid., p. 353.

[47] MK/FB, 115, p. 17.

[48] Ibid., p. 377.

[49] Ibid.

[50] *Dictionary of American Biography,* (New York: Scribner's, 1946), XX, 352-53.

[51] MK/FB, 116, pp. 74, 362, 395.

[52] *Tagebücher 1918-21,* see Index, *sub* Wilson (around 40 references); *Thomas Mann an Ernst Bertram: Briefe aus den Jahren 1910-1955* (Pfullingen: Neske, 1960), p. 80. *Die Briefe Thomas Manns* (see note 72), II, pp. 246, 251, 252, 254.

[53] *Jahrbuch für Amerikastudien,* 5 (1960), 66-120.

[54] MK/FB, 117, pp. 77-93.

[55] Ibid., p. 90.

[56] MK/FB, 118, pp. 227-28; cf. *Tagebücher 1940-1943,* pp. 1041-42; cf. Index, *sub* Wilson, p. 1198.

[57] Thomas Mann, *Gesammelte Werke* (Frankfurt: Fischer, 1974), X, 626-27.

[58] MK/FB, 117, p. 128.

[59] Ibid., p. 117.

[60] Ibid., p. 120.

[61] Ibid., p. 115.

[62] MK/FB, 119, p. 408. But cf. *Tagebücher 1918-1921,* p. 646, and *Tagebücher 1935-1936,* p. 419.

[63] MK/FB, 119, p. 121.

[64] *Tagebücher 1933-1934,* p. 268.

[65] MK/FB, 118, p. 10.

[66] "Ansprache bei der Verleihung des 'Cardinal Newman Award'" *Tagebücher 1937-1939,* p. 872.

[67] MK/FB, 119, p. 409.

[68] Joel A. Hunt, "Mann and Whitman: Humaniores Litterae," *Comparative Literature,* 14 (1962), 266-71.

[69] MK/FB, 113, p. 350.

[70] *Tagebücher 1933-1934,* p. 436.

[71] Ibid., p. 437.

[72] *Tagebücher 1940-1943,* p. 799. He was president of the U.S. PEN Club. See Mann's letter to him (June 6, 1940), *Die Briefe Thomas Manns: Regesten und Register,* ed. Hans Bürgin and Hans-Otto Mayer, II, 1934-1943 (Frankfurt, 1980), p. 418. See also *Der Wendepunkt,* p. 470.

[73] *Der Wendepunkt,* pp. 402-03.

[74] Ibid., pp. 455, 470, 481, 513. Golo Mann, "Erinnerungen an meinen Bruder Klaus," in Klaus Mann, *Briefe und Antworten, II, p. 337.*

[75] *Der Wendepunkt,* pp. 263-66.

[76] *Tagebücher 1935-1936,* pp. 406-08. The year before he had read *Der Geisterseher.* See ibid., pp. 75, 79.

[77] *Tagebücher 1937-1939,* pp. 363, 364, 365.

[78] As for a Black couple in the Manns' Princeton household see Katia Mann, *Meine ungeschriebenen Memoiren* (Frankfurt: Fischer, 1974; Fischer Taschenbuch, 1976), p. 121. As regards "Gussy," a Black help, see *Tagebücher 1940-1943,* Index, p. 1142.

[79] MK/FB, 115, p. 262.

[80] Ibid., p. 269.

[81] Ibid., p. 264.

[82] Galinsky (see note 19), pp. 364-70.

[83] *Tagebücher 1940-1943,* September 15, 1943, p. 626, mention Herman Shumlin's screen adaptation of Hellman's play *Watch on the Rhine* (1941).

[84] MK/FB, 119, p. 104; 113, p. 350. *Tagebücher 1937-1939,* p. 210, *1940-1943,* pp. 374, 523. *Die Briefe Thomas Manns* (see note 72) list one letter each for 1936-38 and 1940, three for 1942, one for 1943.

[85] *Tagebücher 1940-1943,* pp. 368, 374, 523.

[86] *Tagebücher 1935-1936,* p. 321; *1937-1939,* pp. 54, 186, 222, 224.

[87] James Woodress, *Willa Cather, Her Life and Art* (New York: Pegasus, 1971), p. 254.

[88] *Criterion,* 12 (1932-33), 549-70.

[89] *Die Briefe Thomas Manns,* June 19, 1940, mention a letter to Agar.

[90] *Twentieth Century Authors,* ed. Stanley J. Kunitz and Howard Haycraft (New York: Wilson, 1942), p. 11; (1st Suppl. 1955), p. 7.

[91] "(Radio-Botschaft nach Australien)," *Tagebücher 1940-1943,* p. 1080-81.

[92] Ibid., p. 1081.

[93] For references see *Tagebücher 1935-1936* through *1940-1943;* see also *Die Briefe Thomas Manns* (14 letters from 1936 through 1943).

[94] Rpt. in *Tagebücher 1940-1943,* pp. 1089-93.

[95] Ibid., 591.

[96] Wolfgang Leppmann, "Der Amerikaner im Werke Thomas Manns," *German Quarterly,* 38 (1965), 619-29; rpt. in *Deutschlands literarisches Amerikabild,* ed. Alexander Ritter (Hildesheim-New York: Olms, 1977), pp. 390-400.

[97] Thomas Mann, *Sämtliche Erzählungen* (Frankfurt: Fischer, 1963), p. 709.

[98] Carl F. W. Behl, "Das gefährliche Alter," *Deutsche Rundschau,* 80 (1954), 86-88. Affinities with *The Glass Menagerie*—the four-person constellation consisting of mother, daughter, son, and visitor, the physically handicapped daughter, the mother-daughter relationship—should not be overlooked. See Katia Mann, *Meine ungeschriebenen Memoiren,* p. 91, as for the source of *Die Betrogene.*

[99] *Briefe und Antworten,* II, p. 139.