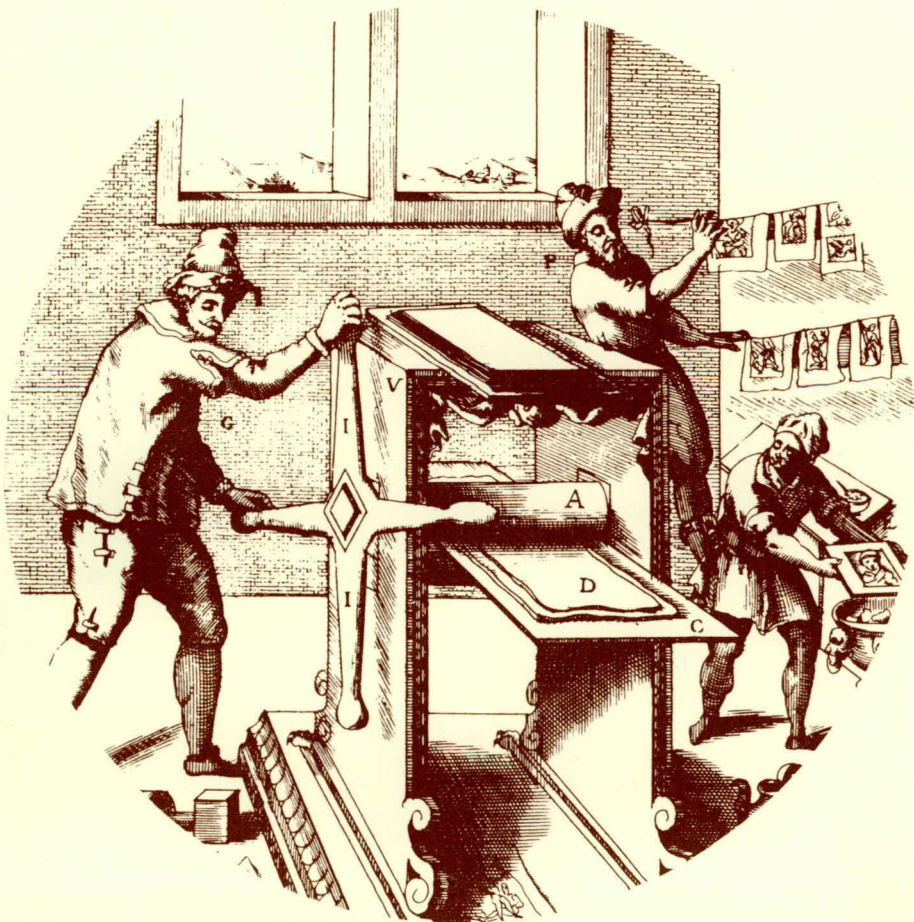

THE INDIANA UNIVERSITY
BOOKMAN

March, 1982

Number 14

Published by
THE LILLY LIBRARY, INDIANA UNIVERSITY



THE INDIANA UNIVERSITY
BOOKMAN

March, 1982

Number 14

Published by
THE LILLY LIBRARY, INDIANA UNIVERSITY



FOR THE BOOKMEN OF INDIANA
AND THE FRIENDS OF THE LILLY LIBRARY

**The
S. Fischer Verlag Papers**
in
The Lilly Library, Indiana University



Described by
Albrecht Holschuh and Sandra Taylor

Bloomington
The Lilly Library
1982

COPYRIGHT 1982, BY INDIANA UNIVERSITY
BLOOMINGTON, INDIANA

Contents

Introduction	1
Acknowledgements	18
Note on the Collection and Guide	19
Abbreviations	20
S. Fischer Verlag Correspondence Files	21
Appendix: Writings in the Collection	95

Introduction

In 1977 the Lilly Library acquired from Brigitte and Gottfried Bermann Fischer their private archives of letters and manuscripts. Brigitte is the daughter of Samuel Fischer, founder of the S. Fischer publishing house in Berlin, Germany. In 1926 she married Gottfried Bermann, a physician whom Samuel named as his successor. Gottfried and Brigitte guided the family enterprise through the perilous times of the Nazi regime, exile, World War II, and reconstruction. In the sixties the Fischers retired and transferred the leadership to persons and business interests outside the family. They are United States citizens and maintain a residence in Connecticut, but spend the larger part of the year in their villa near Camaiore in Tuscany, Italy.

When Samuel Fischer left Vienna for Berlin in 1880, he was nearly twenty-one years old and had just completed a lengthy apprenticeship as bookdealer. He had been born and raised in a quiet corner of the Austro-Hungarian empire and was neither wealthy nor particularly well educated. Nothing in his background pointed to his future as one of Europe's most influential publishers.

Vienna was a fabulous and lively city with a venerable tradition, but for a young man from the provinces, Berlin, metropolis of the new Wilhelminian empire, held greater promise. Within three years Fischer became a partner in a very small publishing business connected with a bookstore, and three years later, in 1886, established himself as an independent dealer and publisher. By this time, young writers were speaking of a coming literary revolution, but their audience was small and the literature as yet unimpressive. Fischer knew a number of them, for he belonged to their generation and was looking for promising authors. In spite of his limited formal schooling he had read many books and possessed a keen sense of literary quality. He opted for the new art but not for its apprentices, and he did not become their publisher. However, four of the six titles he issued in his first year were by foreign models of these naturalists, as they came to be called: two by Ibsen and one each by Zola and Tolstoi.

The same year brought the first comprehensive international copyright convention. By acquiring exclusive rights Fischer became the literary agent of his foreign authors. From the start he regarded

himself as the publisher of selected authors rather than of individual books. His first choice was Henrik Ibsen, and with determination he gathered and issued the works of this then quite controversial writer. In 1889, he began to publish a collection of Ibsen's writings in several volumes, and in 1897 brought out his complete works.

In 1889, a small group of theater enthusiasts, including Fischer, founded an association called *Freie Bühne* (Free Stage) for the sole purpose of producing plays without interference from the public censor. The first performance presented a work by Ibsen; the second, on 20 October a play by an unknown young German named Gerhart Hauptmann. That performance ended in a near-riot and is today considered a milestone of German literary history. Hauptmann emerged as the leader of the German naturalists and Fischer, who became his publisher, was identified with the same movement. Hauptmann turned to other styles, and for Fischer the label was never truly appropriate, but their names were now before the public.

Three months later Fischer and some of his acquaintances started a weekly literary magazine, which they also named *Freie Bühne*. Its mission was to be a forum for the new literature, free from directives of traditionally-oriented editors, but it was not connected with the theater association. As the publication matured it developed into a monthly and became known as *Neue deutsche Rundschau* and finally *Die neue Rundschau* (The New Review or Overview). For close to half a century it was one of the most prestigious literary and intellectual publications in Germany. Under the National Socialist regime it gradually lost its independence and finally its paper allotment. When *Die neue Rundschau* reappeared after World War II as a quarterly, it regained its respectability, but not a dominant role in literary life. Even though this magazine cannot have been a major financial success at any time, it was important and beneficial to the publishing house as a proving ground for new authors, as a bridge to those who published their books elsewhere, and as a showcase for new works, in excerpt and review. It also contributed substantially to the firm's reputation for high intellectual quality.

With Ibsen and Hauptmann, with his role in the theater group, and with the magazine, Fischer had laid the foundation for his life's work in one decade and within less than four years from the start of his own firm. He was young enough to act boldly when the oppor-

tunity arose, and at the same time displayed a trait which gave his firm its particular character: standards as high in literary quality as in the conduct of business. His name was associated with an aura of open-mindedness and utter respectability and thereby recommended itself not only to artists but to the business world and the educated bourgeoisie in general. Within German society, knowledge, especially of the arts, was an indicator of social status as was wealth, nobility, or military rank.

Fischer regarded himself as personally responsible for his authors, and he read their manuscripts himself, sought their acquaintance, and conducted wide personal correspondence. He could feel quite hurt if one of his protégés doubted his motives or was tempted to place a book elsewhere. Of course, all this care and struggle for the best in literary arts for which Fischer has often been praised did not preclude the accumulation of considerable wealth.

In 1893 he married a businessman's daughter, Hedwig Landshoff. His business was still modest in size, and some of his authors had to fear the censor, but he already was a man of success, reliability, and great promise. The marriage demonstrated that he had "made it," but its significance for the publishing house went beyond that. The Fischers often invited writers and others into their house for dinner, readings, or chamber music, and met with some of them on vacation. The families, including the children, became friends. In times of need Samuel and Hedwig could provide assistance, spiritual support, counsel, and care packages. The range and volume of Hedwig's correspondence probably exceeded that of her husband's. She too read manuscripts and transmitted her very personal thanks and impressions to the authors. A veritable clan, or family, developed around the determined young patriarch, in large part thanks to Hedwig's warmth, skill, and effort.

Hedwig and Samuel had three children. Gerhart, named after their friend and "first" author Hauptmann, was born in 1894; Brigitte ("Tutti") in 1905; and Hildegard ("Hilla") in 1916. Gerhart showed musical talent and a strong artistic disposition, and Samuel realized that his only son would not follow in his footsteps. At the age of nineteen, Gerhart succumbed to a sudden illness. The parents' sorrow is reflected in the letters of their friends, and it was said that Samuel never fully recovered from this blow. He looked for his successor among the best of the younger editors and publishers, and

made various plans and even offers, but in the end always withdrew or was turned down.

The publishing house and its influence grew steadily over the first decades, its contacts reaching well beyond Germany and well beyond the business of book production. Authors, at this period, did not engage literary agents, and there were only three theater agencies. Foreign publications, translations, and serial printing in newspapers or periodicals were arranged either by the publisher or by the authors themselves. At the turn of the century publishers also began to act as theater agents. Fischer followed the trend by creating a separate theater branch within the firm, applying the principle of total care for his writers—even though not all his early authors gave their stage rights to him and he represented others whose dramas he did not print.

This new venture which further extended his connections with the cultural world grew steadily from an established base. Book-dealers in general were well read, and thought of themselves as cultural agents for the buying public. Even today, a German bookstore serves some of the same needs as does an American public library, arranging readings or offering advice and information, thus influencing the reading public. A good publisher kept the dealers' interests in mind and maintained a dialogue with them through advance announcements and special information services. The publisher was also careful not to undercut their sales of regular stock with early cheap editions, and provided sufficient copies of a drama about to be performed on a stage of their town, for people liked to read dramas in advance and even took copies to the performance. For the theater agency Fischer therefore merely had to name a good dealer in each location as his representative. Creation of this network increased the identification of dealers with his own interests. In time, the theater division became an important factor in German drama production.

The start of the war in 1914 has often been likened to the outbreak of a storm—an emotional storm even more than one of military confrontation. The publishing business did not remain unaffected. Although the nature of Fischer's publications—carefully prepared books and a well-mannered cultural monthly—usually precluded journalistic responses to the news of the day, *Die neue Rundschau* showed the effects of the general intoxication with war,

and a number of writers started book-length reports from the front. Fischer's image went well with the widespread conviction of German cultural quality, if not superiority. After the initial national euphoria and excitement had subsided, the firm continued almost as before, doing what it did best, including publishing books from enemy countries.

Near the end of the conflict, labor and materials grew scarce and book prices began to rise, but all in all the publishing house emerged from the war remarkably unchanged. The revolution at the end and the unstable life of the Weimar republic affected everybody, yet the Fischer firm continued operating, even when inflation raised prices from day to day and the postage for one letter exceeded one million marks. At the conclusion of the inflation phase the mark possessed one-trillionth of its prewar value, and production in the Fischer firm had fallen to half the level of the war years. With a new currency the economy stabilized, until the effects of the American depression and the legacy of the World War pulled the first German republic into a whirlpool from which it did not emerge.

Inflation forced Fischer to change the structure of his firm from a purely private business to a corporation which could issue stocks. However, he retained virtually total ownership of the stocks and detested the thought of outside influence so much that when the corporation had to seek financing, he sold personal property to provide the funds himself. It was not until 1929 that the corporation actually assumed a short-term loan from the outside. That occasion marked the change of generations in the firm.

When Dr. Bermann asked for Tutti's hand in 1925, Fischer was sixty-five and had not found a successor. Bermann abandoned his medical career and quickly found his way into the new profession. In 1928 he was placed in charge of the whole operation. He and Tutti had begun early to build their network of personal connections with authors. To this publishing house the trust of new and established authors and above all, of the members of the inner "family", was essential and Bermann had a few years to earn and nurture it. Samuel Fischer continued working, retaining the power of final decision and corresponding with his authors, whereas Bermann approached the center of operations from the side of management. As Fischer aged, he gradually withdrew from day-to-day activities. By the time of his death at seventy-four the reins had been taken over fully by his son-in-law.

As an outward sign of entry into the family and in order to stress continuity, Bermann wrote his name in hyphenated form: Gottfried Bermann-Fischer. When he was naturalized as an American citizen after World War II, the hyphen was dropped, and "Bermann" became his middle name: Gottfried B. Fischer. Tutti follows the same practice, calling herself Brigitte B. Fischer or Brigitte Bermann Fischer.

Publishers have often taken a hand in the final shaping of a work; through their commentary and through commissions they have influenced creation in many ways. In 1900 Samuel Fischer received a novel manuscript of unwieldy length, liked it and informed the author of his willingness to consider publication, provided it was cut to half its length. The author was young and little-known, and a book with S. Fischer would mean a step ahead in his career. A small volume of his novellas published by Fischer two years earlier had sold fewer than 500 copies, but the novel held greater promise. The publisher was of the reasonable opinion that a novel in three or four volumes by a person without a reputation would not attract buyers. The author recognized the argument but believed length to be an indispensable feature of his work. Even in the face of Fischer's superior experience and the possibility of losing the contract he persisted, and Fischer relented. The opinions of both were to be proven right.

Upon the editor's recommendation the manuscript was reworked and Fischer compressed it into two volumes. As predicted, it did not sell very well, but one year later he found technical ways to issue it in one heavy but less expensive volume, and now its success dwarfed all he had ever done. The change in appearance and price had opened the gate to success. The main title was *Buddenbrooks*, and its author, Thomas Mann, found himself catapulted to fame. Now all of his writings sold and were acclaimed—including a novella, *Tristan*, which Fischer's own magazine had first rejected in 1901.

As the decades went by, Thomas Mann's fame grew to match and surpass that of Gerhart Hauptmann. During and after the exile years the Fischers treated Mann as their main asset, because by then it was his international reputation which gave luster to their firm endangered by the political catastrophe. The life-long union lasted beyond the golden anniversary but had its stormy days. One dispute concerned another unusual edition of the same novel, and it,

too, can be regarded as the beginning of a new chapter in the firm's history.

In 1929 a publisher proposed to print one million copies of *Buddenbrooks* and sell them at a fraction of the usual price, not just in regular bookstores as was the custom, but also in department stores, railroad stations, and wherever pulp novels were offered. Thomas Mann was to receive a huge royalty payment. S. Fischer refused to bid against the offer, but neither did he want to let his author accept it. He considered the proposal debasing and ruinous to the serious book trade. He feared the public would begin to look for low prices instead of high quality. In that he was right, but his author also had a point: his book would reach one million additional readers, many persons who could not afford the regular price. Each was motivated in part by concern for literary culture.

Mann might have broken with his old friend, but Gottfried had taken over most of the business, and he finally persuaded his father-in-law to agree to a counter-proposal, at the same price and with a higher royalty rate, but without a guarantee of one million copies. The first one hundred and fifty thousand copies were sold out on publication day, and the total eventually surpassed one million. Germans of that time were not familiar with the bestseller phenomenon in serious literature, but as the depression took the country in its grip, one million people bought the long-winded saga of a wealthy bourgeois family. It may not have been a coincidence that the edition was released four days after Mann won the Nobel Prize.

The mass edition and the short-term financing necessary to cover the immense production costs signaled the transition from S. Fischer to Gottfried. The character of the firm had been set forty years earlier and had developed through the decades. Gottfried adapted its business practices to a new and very difficult time. In the course of his life he was to divide the firm, create and shift subsidiaries, move to different countries, and still preserve the core of the legacy. As a result there is today again a major publishing firm in Germany by the name of S. Fischer.

As the political effects of the depression devastated Germany, economic and political issues claimed an increasing share of the book market and of space in Fischer's magazine. At the end of 1932 a new editor took over *Die neue Rundschau*. One month later the political structure of Germany collapsed when Hitler assumed the

chancellorship. The hunt for leftists and undesirable intellectuals began almost immediately, and authors and friends of the Fischers began to flee. The new regime could only have a negative view of this publishing house, because of its obvious opposition to National Socialism, its high intellectual level, and because the owners were Jewish. Peter Suhrkamp, the new magazine editor, was not a Jew, and some said he had been hired to pacify the antisemites—although nobody seems to have doubted his political integrity.

It would have been an easy matter for the new authorities to close the publishing house, but they must have wanted it alive because it had an outstanding international reputation and also earned foreign currency. During its first years, furthermore, the regime was not as efficiently organized as might be thought in view of later developments; there were inner contradictions, notably in the cultural sector, which allowed for some maneuvering. In May 1933 books were burned in public throughout the nation by university students, and blacklists of complete works and individual books were issued, in some cases contradicting each other. Titles could be removed from lists or could be sold in spite of their indication there, although perhaps not put on display. At first the lists were not binding, but they could serve as pretexts for harassment, confiscation, and arrest. It was a deadly game; people had begun to disappear.

Thomas Mann had left Germany and could not return, but his essays and books were still being printed there. Authorities began to require loyalty declarations to the person of the chancellor and to his party line, and so raised the inescapable question: could one feign allegiance without being tainted? Gottfried managed to be granted a waiver for Mann. Suhrkamp permitted articles in praise of the "movement" and issued editorials which could compromise him in the eyes of uninvolved later readers. Gottfried allowed the official pressures to be channeled through his firm to the authors. On the other hand many of the books, including Mann's novels on the biblical Joseph, could otherwise not have appeared in Germany, and Suhrkamp did not ban from *Die neue Rundschau* articles which were bound to displease the regime. The circle of writers and the staff did not include true Nazis, but after one year a government directive in effect forbade literary activity—authorial as well as editorial—of undesirable persons, and a number of staff persons

had to be dismissed. Political books referring to Germany disappeared from the publication lists. In general production became restricted to inoffensive *belles lettres*. Some works carried a hidden message of opposition, but a crucial question raised later was whether all writings not banned should be considered acquiescent.

Gottfried strove to maintain the tradition of the house by protecting what he considered to be the best of German literature. Open defiance would have meant the loss of the firm and all its authors still appearing in Germany, including Mann, Hauptmann, and Hesse. It cannot be denied that all those involved also had financial concerns; writers and publishers live by the sale of books. Many who had fled and had lost their property and income thought ill of this attitude, and the exile press accused Gottfried of collaboration; but he was not free to act, and not just for business reasons.

S. Fischer would not have agreed to leaving Germany. He died in 1934, and his widow Hedwig, the new principal owner, refused to leave. Meanwhile manuscripts by old friends had to be rejected because their publication would have endangered the firm, and new and old stock was confiscated. After attempts at caretaker arrangements and at affiliation with other publishing houses, a solution was found in 1935 to which both Hedwig and the government agreed. Gottfried and his family were allowed to emigrate in 1936, taking with them the rights and stock of unwanted authors. At the same time, and at the suggestion of Peter Suhrkamp, a new firm by the old name of S. Fischer was created, financed by sympathetic sources in Germany and led by Suhrkamp himself. It took on the authors whose works remained behind, among them Hesse and Hauptmann.

Gottfried's firm was not permitted to settle in Switzerland but found a home in Vienna, Austria. The publishing rights brought from Germany, however, were placed in a newly founded Swiss holding company. Hedwig and her younger daughter Hilla stayed in Berlin in the mansion built by the Fischers. The intellectual and artistic elite had met there on countless occasions; now the house was quiet, and for the most part one had to be grateful for that. Thus ended the first half-century of the S. Fischer publishing house, 1886-1936.

Vienna was a comparably pleasant place to be, and Tutti and Gottfried enjoyed the contact with many old and new friends,

German refugees and Austrians alike. The firm took the name Bermann-Fischer Verlag and as an emblem the heads of two black horses in place of the fisherman with his net who in several variations adorned the books of the old house. The operation was much smaller than in Berlin, to be sure, but not insignificant. For the most part the market now consisted of Austria and Switzerland and a diaspora throughout the world, but some authors, including Thomas Mann, until his citizenship was revoked, could still be sold in Germany.

Two years later one blow destroyed the new firm; Austria was occupied by German soldiers, with enthusiastic support from parts of the Austrian population, and was joined with the main empire. This time there was no question of a deal with the authorities. The Fischers managed to escape, but many others did not. All stock ready for sale and the physical property of the firm, as well as of the family, were now in the hands of the Nazis.

The contracts which had come with Gottfried from Germany were still being held in Switzerland, and presumably some funds as well. Also, the Vienna firm had prepaid royalties to authors whom the German authorities could not touch. Gottfried again asked for permission to do business in Switzerland and again was turned down. Even Thomas Mann now wanted him to yield to a more promising competitor. Gottfried considered moving to the United States and to begin anew in affiliation with other companies, but Mann pointed out that the years spent in Nazi Germany, after other publishers had left in 1933, would be held against him. Gottfried replied that the treatment he was receiving now demonstrated the Nazis' wish for revenge against him; he had not been a collaborator but had worked to undermine the regime from within its borders.

The solution he found was daring, but it worked, and it gives witness to the sense of cultural responsibility of a Swedish publisher. Bonnier in Stockholm accepted Fischer as partner in a new firm which carried the Bermann-Fischer name, was operated by Gottfried but half-owned by Bonnier (51%). The Austrian market was closed, and Switzerland alone was too small to offer a sufficiently large buying public, a reason why the Swiss trade had objected to the immigration of such a powerful rival. Stockholm therefore built an extensive file of potential buyers throughout the world and carefully cultivated the widespread exile market. It was

helped by the misfortune of others, because Vienna had been a favorite location for German-language houses, and all of these competitors now had vanished. Since Swedish typesetters could not handle German manuscripts very well, books were printed in Holland where good cooperation and a joint publication series developed with two other exile firms. The stock was held there too because it was easier to ship from Holland and an interim transport to Stockholm would have added to the costs.

Confiscation of the publishing houses in Austria had left a number of writers homeless who now joined Fischer in Stockholm. Royalties were low and sales prospects small, and authors could hardly expect to survive on their payments from Stockholm, yet there was no reasonable alternative if they wanted to see their books printed. They were strongly motivated to preserve their culture and to counteract the effects of the Hitler regime.

When war broke out in 1939 people had been expecting it. This was not 1914; there was no joy, not even relief, except from the prospect that the terror inside Germany would sooner or later come to an end. For the firm, war paradoxically brought an advantage—elimination of the last competition and interference from within Germany. Publications were conducted as planned. However, the political climate in neutral Sweden changed, the influence of victorious Germany on the Swedish government grew, and although operation of the firm was not impeded, the Fischers began to consider moving on. In April 1940 Germany invaded Norway. The Fischers found a hole in the net they saw closing around them: a travel route through Latvia, the Soviet Union, and Japan to the United States where they had been granted visitor's visas. The usual route across the Atlantic was closed by war activity.

Three days before the departure from Stockholm, Gottfried was arrested as a witness to illegal activities by a foreign power. He had had contacts with members of the British Secret Service who had instructions to destroy the harbor of Stockholm in case of a German invasion—an assignment of which he was not aware. When he was released in late June the German armies had overrun France and, of particular importance to him, Holland. In expectation of such a development part of the stock had been brought to Sweden, but the remainder, the Dutch sister firms, and another part of the market were lost. The publishers caught in Holland went to concentration camps.

The Fischers were now expelled by Sweden and completed their world tour across the Soviet Union and Japan. The trip by plane, the Transsiberian railroad, and boat took many weeks, but the family arrived safely on the West Coast and for the moment settled in Santa Monica, California, near the Thomas Manns.

The Stockholm firm meanwhile continued to operate, managed by a German-born Swedish citizen. It was the only surviving major exile house. One of the German-Dutch publishers and also a relative of the Fischers, Fritz Landshoff, had been on a visit to London when the German troops came to Holland. When he arrived in the United States he still held the rights to another set of German writers because these had been placed in a subsidiary in the Dutch Indies. Stockholm began to publish them on his behalf. The Dutch Indies were invaded by Japan.

At first it was not clear how or where the Fischers would earn their living in the States. They found that they needed to be near the East Coast so that they could maintain contact with Stockholm and also because of the concentration of the book trade there. They moved to Old Greenwich, Connecticut, within commuting distance of New York. This time an American publisher gave them a helping hand: Alfred Harcourt offered the use of his office and some assistance with sales.

Gottfried and Landshoff opened an office together in the garment district. The firm in Stockholm was not likely to maintain them by itself, and its future was not secure, so they founded still another publishing company, this time an American one with a program in English: the L. B. Fischer Publishing Corporation, with the initials standing for "Landshoff" and "Bermann." The name pointed to the Fischer trademark with its solid international reputation, and in their announcement they could state that among the authors they had published in translation were Ernest Hemingway, Sinclair Lewis, Harold Nicolson, John Dos Passos, Franklin D. Roosevelt, George Bernard Shaw, Vincent Sheean, Lytton Strachey, and Walt Whitman. The corporation remained small but did publish, among others, William Bradford Huie, Vice President Henry A. Wallace and, in an anthology, early pieces by Richard Wright, Norman Mailer, Ralph Ellison, Arthur Miller, and Tennessee Williams. There were also translations from German and a book which Klaus Mann, son of Thomas, had written in English, *The Turning Point*. After the war the New York company was sold.

Remarkably, contact with the Stockholm office was never broken. Manuscripts and proofs crossed the Atlantic in both directions, slowly but without a loss. The new books reached readers all over the world—almost everywhere except in most of Europe. Communication with anyone inside the German-occupied countries was out of the question, yet hope for a future German market motivated the continuation of business under such difficult conditions. By continuing to care for the works of important authors, Gottfried built a legal and psychological claim for the time after the war. Fischer would then be the only continuously functioning non-Nazi publisher, with the rights to a major part of the literary elite. Gottfried also drew up plans for the reeducation of Germany; it was easy to predict a great need for politically acceptable publications, even though the destruction of Germany and the period of reconstruction were hard to imagine. In cooperation with American authorities he also issued pocketbooks in German for prisoners of war in the States. That project did not start until a few months before the surrender, but it was very successful and built still another bridge to a future public in Germany.

The end of fighting in May 1945 did not lead to an immediate change. Civilians were not permitted to enter Germany or do business there. Later in the year the first letters reached their destinations on both continents. The reports from Germany were heartbreaking, but among the friends who had survived was Peter Suhrkamp. He had managed to keep the firm alive, although the name had to be changed first to "Suhrkamp, formerly S. Fischer" and then to "Suhrkamp" alone. In 1944 he had been trapped by an *agent provocateur* whom he had turned down but not reported to the police. From prison and concentration camp he had emerged in very poor health but eager to begin work again.

Suhrkamp was given a publisher's license while Gottfried, now a U.S. citizen, could not have received one. They agreed to cooperate for the time being in an informal arrangement. Fischer granted reprint licenses to Suhrkamp, and the latter was to deposit royalties and fees in a German account where they would be held for future disbursement. Suhrkamp also published books by his own authors. However, economic conditions in Germany worsened after the war, and it became difficult to find materials and functioning printshops and binderies. The cooperation grew in scale when Gottfried was

able to assign licenses initially to the U.S. Army, with the proviso that the execution be granted to Suhrkamp alone together with adequate allotments of materials.

Stockholm meanwhile had greatly increased its output since the European market outside Germany and Austria was open again, and in Austria the old firm had been reopened, at least in name. Landshoff's firm was again operating in Holland. Gottfried flew to Europe for the first time in 1946, but was not allowed to enter Germany until 1947. Berlin, with its exposed position deep in the Soviet occupation zone, was no longer a promising or even safe location for the firm. A new one, still under Suhrkamp but tying the two names again as "Suhrkamp, formerly S. Fischer," was launched in Frankfurt in the American zone.

Next the office in Vienna was built up to a fully functional company for the Austrian market and for new Austrian writers. A further step brought the creation of an umbrella organization in Holland which oversaw all European branches and bought Bonnier's interests in the Stockholm operation. It was directed jointly by Landshoff and Fischer. Stockholm was closed, and its work taken over by Amsterdam. Thus the two German-speaking occupied countries now had their own companies, and Amsterdam published for the rest of the world. No other German-language publisher could match this combination of markets.

As restrictions upon commerce were gradually eased, international business became relatively normal, and the loosely-built multinational organization lost some of its rationale. That opened the door to a severe crisis. Gottfried and Suhrkamp, two independent publishers with strong opinions about their trade, increasingly differed on the conduct of the Frankfurt firm, and in the end Suhrkamp refused to surrender it as he had planned to do. The personal arrangement no longer held, the trust was gone, and the conflict headed for the courts. A settlement was reached in 1950 which split the firm but preserved the essential spheres of each party. Fischer opened business under the old name in Frankfurt, assuming the assets and obligations of both Frankfurt and Berlin. Suhrkamp directed an independent publishing company under his own name. Rights acquired by Fischer in exile remained with Fischer, and authors (or their estates) who had been transferred to Suhrkamp in 1936 or had joined the German firm since then were asked to opt for

one of the two successors. Hauptmann's heirs, for example, chose Fischer (but then went elsewhere), whereas Brecht, Hesse, and T. S. Eliot stayed with Suhrkamp. For more than thirty years now the two major publishing houses have operated separately, and the Suhrkamp firm has become a giant in its own right.

Gottfried and Tutti moved into the firm's building in Frankfurt but kept their house in Connecticut. During the years abroad Tutti had increasingly performed the tasks of a publisher, and that work now continued. She also took a particular interest in the education of young Germans in the principles of democracy and furthered public projects to that end.

Hedwig had left Germany late, in 1938, and had gone with Hilla to Stockholm. She did not want to move to America, but finally followed her daughter's family via the Siberian route. Although she never again took the position of first lady of the house, authors continued to correspond with her. During the exile she suffered from depressions. She returned to Germany with the firm, and died there in 1952.

Once the publishing house had reestablished itself in Germany under its original name and was able to conduct international transactions from there without hindrance, the offices in Vienna and Amsterdam were closed. Landshoff sold his share to the Fischers and joined Harry N. Abrams in New York. All operations were now conducted from Frankfurt, including *Die neue Rundschau*. The magazine had first reappeared in Stockholm, then in Amsterdam, and finally moved to its present home in Frankfurt.

In the mid-sixties Gottfried and Tutti retired, and the firm was opened to outside interests under the leadership of Georg von Holtzbrinck and his family. As their letters show, Gottfried and Tutti were not in accord with some of the changes which followed. A family business was completing its transformation into a large corporation.

More information about the S. Fischer Verlag and about the Fischers is available in three books, published in German. Gottfried wrote an autobiography devoted almost exclusively to his years as a publisher: *Bedroht-bewahrt: Der Weg eines Verlegers* (Threatened and Preserved: A Publisher's Life; 1967). It is an indispensable source, and a thought-provoking account of the middle decades of our century. In the pages which follow it will be referred to as Gottfried's

book. Three years later followed Peter de Mendelssohn's *S. Fischer und sein Verlag* (S. Fischer and His Publishing House). This monument not only to a great publisher but also to the immense and admirable effort of its author forms the foundation of much of this report. Most recently, Tutti has written a book about her own life, *Sie schrieben mir—oder was aus meinem Poesiealbum wurde* (They Wrote to Me: or What Became of My Scrapbook; 1978). It contains a large number of letters, poems and other short texts by writers she knew, and is told from the special vantage point of a publisher's daughter, a publisher's wife, and a publisher herself. It will be referred to as Tutti's book.

The archives of the old S. Fischer publishing corporation were assigned to Gottfried in 1936, but Suhrkamp did not release them, citing his own needs and the threat of interference by the authorities. An attempt to divide the files might have triggered an investigation with disastrous consequences for everyone still in Germany. The archives were burned during the last days of the war when a small group resisting the occupying Soviets after the surrender of Berlin barricaded itself in the Fischer building which was then destroyed.

The collection in the Lilly Library consists of an uneven assortment of files. Hedwig and S. Fischer retained some of their personal correspondence, often letters from friends and of a social nature. Luckily and curiously, certain files contain extensive exchanges on works and other business matters. The collection apparently sustained losses when Hedwig left Germany and during the decade abroad.

Gottfried and Tutti had taken some files along when they went to Vienna, among them that of Thomas Mann. It is not apparent which principles or forces determined the retention, in their private custody, of specific files after that time. In certain cases we are dealing with personal correspondence, but others refer primarily to business matters. That collection, too, was affected by its travels. Some pieces, presumably stolen after the flight from Austria, later came onto the market and are now located elsewhere. In a few cases the files reach up to 1977, and the earliest ones start in 1889, the year of the *Freie Bühne* society.

The total collection involves well over two-hundred correspondents, but half of the files contain less than a handful of documents.

The more extensive ones and a few of the short files are described on the following pages. In the text Hedwig, Tutti, Hilla, and Gottfried are usually referred to by their familiar names, and the founder of the firm by his trademark: S. Fischer.

The descriptions are meant for the audience of *The Indiana University Bookman* and omit many bibliographical and other scholarly references; those are available upon request. The Lilly Library has an index file of this collection, in English, and for a number of authors there are also electronically stored summaries of all items, in German.

Albrecht Holschuh, Chairman
Department of Germanic Languages
Indiana University

Acknowledgements

The editors wish to acknowledge their gratitude to Indiana University and to the American Council of Learned Societies for assistance during the writing of the text. We also extend our appreciation to Albrecht Grabenstein for the descriptive entry on the Gerhart and Margarete Hauptmann file, and to Judith Van Sant for her valuable assistance. Special thanks are expressed to the many student assistants who have worked on the processing of the S. Fischer collection since its arrival at Lilly Library and on the preparation of this guide.

Note on the Collection and Guide

The S. Fischer Verlag collection is divided into three series: correspondence, pictures, and writings. The correspondence files are arranged alphabetically by author. Copies or drafts of correspondence from any of the Fischers or the firm are interfiled with the letters of a particular author. Consequently, anyone interested specifically in Gottfried's correspondence would need to check many of the files.

The picture section is quite small and has not been listed separately in the guide. Included in the files are photographs of Max Dauthendey; Brigitte, Gottfried, and S. Fischer; Gerhart Hauptmann; Iven Heilbut; James Jones; Eugene O'Neill; and Ernst Penzoldt. Other photographs are scattered throughout the correspondence as enclosures and may be located through manuscripts department in-house files.

The writings are also filed alphabetically by author and have been listed in the appendix to this guide. In the case of multiple manuscripts by one author, the secondary arrangement is alphabetical by title or first line. The one exception is the Hermann Hesse file in which the works are arranged chronologically. Those manuscripts sent as enclosures of letters have been retained with the letter and may be found in the appropriate correspondence file.

The guide which follows provides a complete list of the correspondence and writings in the S. Fischer Verlag Mss. Unless otherwise indicated, all letters and documents are in German. Each entry includes the author's full name or the established name entry according to the *Anglo-American Cataloguing Rules*, second edition, dates of birth and death where determinable, and major occupation.

Inquiries about the collection should be addressed to Sandra Taylor, Curator of Manuscripts. Copies of *The Indiana University Bookman* describing the S. Fischer papers may be ordered from the Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana, 47405, for \$2.50 each.

Abbreviations

A	Autograph
AC	Autograph Card
ACS	Autograph Card Signed
AD	Autograph Document
ADS	Autograph Document Signed
AL	Autograph Letter
ALS	Autograph Letter Signed
APc	Autograph Postcard
APcS	Autograph Postcard Signed
D	Document
DS	Document Signed
L	Letter
ms.	manuscript
mss.	manuscripts
n.d.	no date
p.	page / pages
Pc	Postcard
S	Signed
T	Typed
TD	Typed Document
TDS	Typed Document Signed
TL	Typed Letter
TLS	Typed Letter Signed
[]	information supplied from a source other than the document or manuscript itself, or English translation of material in another language

S. Fischer Verlag

Correspondence Files

Adorno, Theodor W., 1903-1969, social philosopher

1 ACS, October 1963 (calling card)

Thank-you note.

Aicher-Scholl, Inge, 1917-

1 card, 29 February 1960. Printed announcement with draft of Fischer reply appended.

Aichinger, Ilse, 1921- , poet

21 items, 1947-1968. Includes four carbons of Brigitte Bermann Fischer to Aichinger and two notes from Ilse's husband, Günter Eich, 1907-1972, to the Fischers.

[see appendix for writings in collection]

"Since you have been here, the whole city shines in a new light," wrote Ilse Aichinger to Tutti in 1947. It was impossible immediately following the war to operate the business in Germany, and the Fischers had chosen Vienna where permits, paper, and printshops were available, and where there was access to the Austrian writers and market. The Fischers were particularly interested in young Austrian writers, whose style had not been influenced by the Nazis, and Aichinger's first novel had just been accepted by them for publication. Aichinger was to develop into one of the most remarkable and original writers of the postwar decades.

The letters reveal the friendship between Aichinger and Tutti. At one point Aichinger wrote, "it helps me so much to know that you exist. . . . I know you know everything I want to say." In later letters Aichinger addressed Tutti in the familiar form, a practice usually limited to very close friends, but which Tutti and Gottfried extended to a larger circle. After the publishing house was reestablished in Germany, Aichinger's letters concerned her work, her children, and her husband Günter. As she and her husband became better known as writers, the letters discussed prizes, lectures, translations, new editions, and other details of publication plans. The 1960 correspondence related the attempts by the Fischers to

strengthen the contact between Aichinger and another famous Austrian writer of her generation, Ingeborg Bachmann.

Albee, Edward, 1928- , playwright

4 items, 1972-1975. In English

The file includes a program from the Austrian premiere of Albee's *Alles vorbei (All Over)*, signed by the author and his director/ translator Pinkas Braun. The other items are social notes and greeting cards.

D'Albert, Eugen, 1864-1932, composer

1 ACS, n.d.

Social note.

D'Albert, Hermine Finck, voice teacher

3 ACS, 1912 and n.d.

Social and thank-you notes to Hedwig Fischer.

Altenberg, Peter, 1859-1919, writer

7 items, 1899-1905.

Around the turn of the century Altenberg drifted through the parks and coffee houses of Vienna. He turned his observations into vignettes, one-to-three page sketches full of sadness, thought, and understanding. They looked as if composed for newspapers, but appeared as collections with Fischer, in eleven volumes. In their time, these sentimental yet sensitive pieces moved readers to tears; today they are nearly forgotten.

The earliest item from Altenberg is a postcard addressed to Otto Erich Hartleben, a fellow author and one of S. Fischer's close friends. Altenberg stated that he was quite ill, did not have any clothes in which to go out, and consequently was losing friends. Hartleben sent the card to Hedwig. In another letter, Altenberg declined an invitation on the grounds that he had broken both wrists, then suffered from sleeping-pill poisoning, and had been generally ill for four months. He felt nervous, shy, melancholic about his "tragic economic condition," and unable to travel.

In 1901, S. Fischer and the critic Alfred Kerr issued a public appeal on Altenberg's behalf which brought donations from fifty-

four persons, including Thomas Mann, Otto Brahm, and other celebrities. Hofmannsthal had his contribution transmitted by Brahm in the latter's name. The file contains both the printed appeal and a detailed receipt. The last item, written in 1905, is Altenberg's desperate application to the Schiller Foundation for money.

Andreas-Salomé, Lou, 1861-1937, writer

9 letters, 1900-1931. Includes one copy of letter from Hedwig Fischer to Andreas-Salomé.

Nietzsche's admonition (from *Zarathustra*) to a man about to visit a woman is famous: "Don't forget the whip." Less well known, however, is a photograph of Andreas-Salomé playfully raising a whip behind Nietzsche and a friend of his, who are tied to her wagon. Of the men whose lives she decisively influenced, the most famous were Nietzsche and Rilke. Her husband, a scholar of Asian languages, was a remarkable person himself, although he paled beside the woman whose life has been much described and discussed.

Andreas-Salomé's letters discussed the usual topics of cultural life, and their style suggests the power of this personality. Her own books and essays often dealt with the special role of women; they were not published by Fischer. To Hedwig she wrote about the premiere of a play by Carl Hauptmann, brother of Gerhart, and briefly about her friend Rilke. She inquired about a writer, Lucia Doria Frost; a book by Frost later appeared with Fischer. In 1916 Andreas-Salomé and Hedwig exchanged letters about Angela Langer, a recently deceased Fischer author about whom Andreas-Salomé wanted to write an article.

Hedwig particularly liked Andreas-Salomé's 1921 novel *Das Haus* (The House), "as a woman and a Jew." She was surprised and pleased by its conservatism in family matters, and she praised it in contrast to the fashion of expressionism.

Andres, Stefan Paul, 1906-1970, writer

14 items, 1945. To Gottfried Bermann Fischer. Includes three letters by Mrs. Dorothee Andres, one by Andres' sister-in-law, and three carbons of Gottfried's letters to the Andreses.

After World War II Gottfried wrote to Andres, a German author living in a small Italian town, saying that he intended to reopen the

firm in Germany and that according to his information, Andres had continued to write during the war. Andres received the letter six weeks later and responded immediately. His wife wrote separately in English, confirming the contact. In that fashion they hoped to overcome the uncertainties of censure and the postal service.

Andres had completed three volumes of the four-part novel *Die Sintflut* (The Deluge), which he described in detail, as well as a novel about France written in 1938-1940. He enclosed a few poems, wrote that he would send a drama with the *Sintflut* manuscript, and concluded with a long statement dissociating himself from the deposed Nazi regime.

From the beginning Andres tried to persuade Gottfried that he and his family needed an American visa for six to eight months. He wanted to conduct research for the fourth volume, planned to publish in the United States, needed to improve his living conditions, intended to found an international magazine, had to supervise the translations of his works into English, and so forth. A Canadian relative provided an "official" invitation for use at the passport agency.

However, the primary motive probably was the desire to escape from post-war Europe. Andres asked for food packages instead of royalties, listing specific items. His wife repeatedly requested typing supplies so that she could copy the third volume. They also asked for a lady's comb and some rubber bands, and the Fischers complied with their requests.

As the weeks passed, Andres offered more titles and the stage rights to his plays. The file breaks off, however, without the expected conclusion. Andres did not become a Fischer author, but found his success elsewhere.

Annunzio, Gabriele d', 1863-1938, writer

8 letters, 1899-1903. To Samuel Fischer. In French
[see appendix for writings in collection]

S. Fischer issued German translations for this Italian writer and also served as his agent. The occasionally animated correspondence dealt with business matters such as rights and royalties or the choice of translators or illustrators. D'Annunzio paid a good deal of attention to the outer appearance of his books. He noted that Fischer was doing his best where translators were concerned, but wrote, "I will not tolerate such deformations of my work."

An admirer of actress Eleanora Duse, d'Annunzio had given her the Italian rights to the production of his drama *La Gioconda*. When she scheduled performances in a German-speaking area, there was a conflict with an agent holding the German rights. Fischer had to untangle this and other matters. D'Annunzio had also dedicated the opening poems of a volume to Duse and insisted that only the poet Stefan George was capable of translating them adequately into German. George, however, did not respond, and Fischer was sent after him.

At one point Fischer must have objected to the complaints, because d'Annunzio assured him repeatedly that he had never doubted his integrity. He nevertheless hinted that another publisher was making tempting offers, and hoped that Fischer would match these.

Aron, Raymond, 1905- , writer

2 items, 1964 and 1968.

A carbon copy of Gottfried Bermann Fischer letter to Aron, explaining future plans of the firm; a short note from Aron [in French] regarding possible German translation of one of his works.

Bachmann, Ingeborg, 1926-1973, writer

2 letters, 1958 and 1965. To Brigitte Bermann Fischer.

Social notes with some comments about her current writing projects.

Bahr, Hermann, 1863-1934, writer

127 items, 1889-1937. Items after June 1933 are from Anna Bahr-Mildenburg. Included are four typed transcripts of Samuel Fischer letters to Bahr, 1893-1894.

Bahr composed his novels, dramas, reviews, and essays so quickly that a reader of his letters may be confused by the numerous projects and titles mentioned. In addition to his writing talents, Bahr had an uncanny sense for the promise of beginners and for literary developments. Through his work as a critic he became known as the "midwife of German literature."

The correspondence opens with Bahr's uninhibited self-assessment and a contract proposal. Between one and four books a

year by Bahr were published with Fischer for most of the following thirty years. There were, however, occasional serious disputes between Fischer and Bahr, one of which even had to be settled in court, in favor of Bahr. Nevertheless the two men remained allies and Bahr later acted as intermediary for virtually all the great Austrians who published with the firm.

Bauer, Fritz, 1903-1968, judge

1 TLS. 6 March 1963. To Gottfried Bermann Fischer.

Declined invitation.

Bebel, August, 1840-1913, politician

Photocopy of ALS. 23 February 1893.

Discusses political atmosphere in Germany and France.

Beer-Hofmann, Richard, 1866-1945, writer

30 letters, 1905-1941.

Beer-Hofmann, a friend of Schnitzler and Hofmannsthal, wrote slowly and carefully, for a select and refined audience. His first Fischer book appeared in 1900 and the last posthumously in 1956. In 1963 Fischer brought out a collection of his works and in 1972 published his correspondence with Hofmannsthal.

The Fischers seem to have enjoyed his and his wife's company. There are greetings, congratulations, plans for vacations and get-togethers, and news about the children. Twice the correspondence went beyond pleasant social exchange. In 1929, when Hofmannsthal died, Beer-Hofmann abandoned his reserve, and in August and September of 1913 he wrote movingly and reassuringly to the Fischers about their son Gerhart's illness.

Beradt, Martin, 1881-1949, lawyer

2 items, 1937 and 1945. To Brigitte Bermann Fischer.

Social and thank-you notes.

Bernhard, Thomas, 1931- , writer

3 letters, 1960. To Brigitte Bermann Fischer.

Concern an unsuccessful plan to place a work with S. Fischer Verlag.

Bertaux, Denise (Supervielle)

1 ALS, n.d. To Gottfried Bermann Fischer. In French
Thank-you note.

Bertaux, Pierre Felix, 1907- , educator

1 ALS, 24 September 1973. To Gottfried Bermann Fischer.
Thank-you note.

Bie, Oscar, 1864-1938, art critic, writer

1 ALS, n.d.
Greetings.

Bienek, Horst, 1930- , writer

11 items, 1960-1977. Includes five carbons of Gottfried Bermann Fischer to Bienek.

Bienek's first letter, written from Villa Massimo in Rome, a retreat maintained by the German government for the benefit of artists, spoke of a lecture given by Annette Kolb in the firm's Frankfurt building. The others, including the responses by Gottfried, are personal letters centering around Bienek's novel *Die erste Polka* (The First Polka). Bienek was collecting material for the second volume which was set in Gleiwitz, Gottfried's home town, and he asked Gottfried to provide information about his father who had been a physician there. He also wanted very specific details, including a description of the house and its rooms. Gleiwitz no longer had a German, let alone a Jewish population, and was not easily accessible to visitors. Gottfried complied and thus preserved information about his youth which would otherwise have been lost.

Billinger, Richard, 1893-1965, writer

3 items, 1937 and n.d.
Holiday and other greetings.

Björnson, Björn, 1859-1942, dramatist

8 items, 1913-1938.

The Norwegian writer and dramatist Björn Björnson was the son of Nobel laureate Bjørnstjerne Björnson, whose collected works had appeared with Fischer. Björn and his wife Eileen were good friends

of the Fischers, and the few cordial notes in the file confirm this relationship. There is also a short poem which Björn wrote at the time of his fiftieth birthday.

Blei, Franz, 1871-1942, writer

4 letters and cards, 1910-1916. To Hedwig Fischer.

Primarily a journalist, Franz Blei published only one comedy with Fischer, but the personal letters from Blei to Hedwig reveal his affection for her. In one letter Blei enclosed four poems written for Hedwig which speak of loneliness and a longing for a motherly savior. In another letter he thanked Hedwig for a crucifix she had given him, which he had placed upon his desk. Blei also sent a card showing him in World War I uniform.

Bobrowski, Johannes, 1917-1965, writer

4 letters, 1964.

When Gottfried agreed to publish the novel *Levins Mühle* (*Levin's Mill*), Bobrowski wrote describing how much the news had relieved him. Few East German writers were recognized in West Germany at that time, and anxiety over the book's fate had affected his ability to write. In subsequent letters he commented both on the novel and on stories submitted to *Die neue Rundschau*. He later reported that *Levins Mühle* disappeared from East Berlin bookstores within two days, presumably sold out.

Bölsche, Wilhelm, 1861-1939, writer

2 cards, 1922, 1931.

Thank-you notes.

Bonnier, Tor, 1883- , publisher

6 items, 1938. Includes one letter from Karl Otto Bonnier, 1856-1941, and one draft of a telegram from Gottfried Bermann Fischer to Tor Bonnier.

After leaving Austria, Gottfried wrote to Swedish publisher Karl Otto Bonnier to suggest affiliation. Bonnier's was a large and highly respected firm known to be sympathetic to the writings of Germans in exile. Bonnier, however, was retired and forwarded Gottfried's letter to his son Tor in Switzerland. Tor was quite interested in the

suggestion, but felt that a joint enterprise should be located in Switzerland rather than Sweden. However, since the Swiss continued to oppose the importation of a rival German-language firm, he changed his mind and met Gottfried in Geneva. Following that meeting, the details were settled with astonishing speed. This file spans less than one month, and concludes with a note of welcome to Gottfried upon his arrival in Stockholm.

Borgese, Giuseppe Antonio, 1882-1952, professor

8 letters, 1945-1952. Includes one carbon of Gottfried Bermann Fischer to Borgese and an enclosure of a poem by Borgese, "Where the ocean ends". In English

A year before the end of World War II, publication of *Die neue Rundschau* was finally halted in Germany. One year later Gottfried resurrected it in Stockholm, beginning with a special issue for Thomas Mann's seventieth birthday. In his letter to Borgese, Gottfried explained that Borgese's contribution had been lost at the time of the printing and was being pasted into each copy. In that contribution, Borgese told how in 1938 he had come to Princeton to seek Thomas Mann's support for a "free association of philosophers and poets, self-appointed leaders of democracy toward victory and global peace," and how he had become the husband of Mann's daughter Elisabeth ("Medi").

Borgese's faith in the political power, or at least potential, of the cultured mind remained strong. In 1946, while professor at the University of Chicago, he wrote as Secretary of the "Committee to Frame a World Constitution." In 1947 he felt that the world government project was "advancing vigorously." A letter from 1950, written on the letterhead of a "Congress for Cultural Freedom" held in Berlin in June of that year, speaks of finally getting the little "constitutional book" out by November. In the year of his death he still used the Committee stationery, but crossed out the letterhead.

Bottéro, Jean, 1914- , historian

1 TLS, 4 February 1965. In French
Social note.

Bötticher, Hans, 1883-1934, writer (Joachim Ringelnatz)

1 ALS, 1 October 1918. To Samuel Fischer.

Greetings on the Fischers' 25th anniversary.

Brahm, Otto, 1856-1912, theater manager, critic

52 letters, 1889-1912.

If complex cultural developments can be reduced to a few discernible strands, both the beginnings of a new age in German literature and of Fischer's publishing house can be traced to the interaction of Brahm, Fischer, and Hauptmann. Brahm was a theater critic in his early thirties when Fischer began publishing. It was Brahm who had the idea of founding the drama society *Freie Bühne*, and he became its director and Fischer its treasurer. Brahm also initiated the periodical *Freie Bühne* (today *Die neue Rundschau*), published by Fischer. The periodical became a vital operation for the publishing house, and Fischer retained it after Brahm's resignation in 1891.

Most of the file covers the exciting years of the firm's beginning, 1889-1892. Later, when Brahm was leading one of the great theater houses of Berlin, he occasionally sent notes of regrets or invitations. Only two letters after 1892 deal with literary issues, the longest being a tribute to Fischer on the occasion of the firm's twenty-fifth anniversary. In it he reflected upon their first meeting.

Broch, Hermann, 1886-1951, writer

2 TLS, 1945. To Gottfried Bermann Fischer.

Relate to current Thomas Mann publications and writings of Broch.

Buck, Pearl (Sydenstricker), 1892-1973, writer

2 TLS, 1940, 1945. To Gottfried Bermann Fischer. In English
Note of appreciation; dinner invitation.

Bunsen, Marie von, 1860-1941, writer

1 ALS, 29 October 1934. To Hedwig Fischer.

Letter of condolence.

Burckhardt, Carl Jacob, 1891-1974, historian

1 ALS, 16 July 1965. To Gottfried Bermann Fischer, with enclosed carbon of Burckhardt letter to S. Fischer Verlag, same date.

Note of appreciation for efforts on his behalf in a disagreement with the firm.

Calvino, Italo, 1923- , writer

1 ALS, 23 December 1959. To Brigitte Bermann Fischer. In English Social and travel note.

Carossa, Hans, 1878-1956, writer

2 ALS, 1934 and 1938. To Hedwig Fischer.
Thank-you and social notes.

Cassirer, Bruno, 1872-1941, publisher

2 items, 1927 and 1933.
Printed wedding invitation; letter of appreciation.

Cassirer, Ernst, 1874-1945, writer

15 items, 1938. Includes eight carbons of Gottfried Bermann Fischer to Cassirer.

When the Fischers had settled in Stockholm, one of their first projects was the publication of Cassirer's book *Descartes*. The file records publication details: content, title and manuscript preparation, translation, contract and royalties negotiations, etc. It is evident from this exchange that authors could not expect much income from the limited Stockholm firm. Other writings by Cassirer, who was a professor of philosophy, are mentioned only briefly.

Cassirer, Paul, 1871-1926, art dealer, publisher

2 items, 1906 and n.d. To Hedwig Fischer.
Invitations.

Celan, Paul, 1920-1970, poet

15 items, 1960-1964. Includes two carbons of Brigitte Bermann Fischer to Celan.

Celan wrote some of the most difficult and demanding German poems since 1945. He was marked by the Holocaust in which he lost his family, his homeland, the joyful side of his faith, and trust in his language. He taught at the *École normale supérieure* in Paris and rarely went to Germany.

From a literary and cultural point of view his letters are among the most valuable in the archives. They document continued intense involvement in completed works, fear of persecution, alienation from himself, and a need to stay away from people. Once he wrote that he would travel to Frankfurt, arriving close to midnight, and asked that the Fischers leave the door unlocked so that he could enter quietly and by himself. With them he shared grave pessimism about Germany's future, speaking of an age of "marching mediocrity." Similar sentiments can be found toward the end of Gottfried's autobiography.

Nevertheless, in 1964 Celan wanted to come to Germany for up to a year. He and his wife visited Walther Killy for two weeks, and he thought of becoming an editor, perhaps with Fischer, but the plan did not come to fruition.

A number of contemporary books and authors are mentioned in his letters. Readers familiar with his poetry may be surprised to see how interested he was in literary life. To the Fischers he expressed his views freely; he trusted them "in this not always human time."

Cohen, Albert

1 ALS, 8 November 1934. To Hedwig Fischer.
Letter of condolence.

Corinth, Lovis, 1858-1925, artist

7 letters and cards, 1903-1912.

The painter Corinth sought S. Fischer's opinion concerning a portrait he was working on in 1903, that of the actress Gertrud Eysoldt in the role of Oscar Wilde's "Salomé." Other items in the file are social notes and mutual invitations. Also present is a postcard with a pencil drawing, "souvenir du bal," showing two costumed dancers.

**Coudenhove-Kalergi, Richard Nicolaus, Graf von, 1894-1972,
writer**

2 APcS, 1925.
Social notes.

Craig, Edward Gordon, 1872-1966, producer, stage designer

6 letters, 1906-1907. In English
All relate to meetings or appointments with S. Fischer.

Curie, Eve, 1904- , writer

30 items, 1938. Includes exchanges with Denyse Clairouin, literary agent, and carbons of Gottfried Bermann Fischer's letters. In French

Shortly after the Vienna firm had published the German translation of the biography *Madame Curie* by the scientist's daughter Eve, the German army marched into Austria, and the entire business had to be abandoned. Because of an arrangement made earlier with the Swiss Büchergilde Gutenberg, a special edition of four thousand copies was available to Fischer within months of the takeover, and thus the biography became the Stockholm firm's first publication.

The German publisher Knaur approached Eve Curie with a contract proposal for the market in Germany. Although the publisher had made a good impression on others such as Thomas Mann and Hermann Hesse, Gottfried was not pleased by the prospect of this contract, but finally consented, with reservations. Knaur had to pay royalties to Curie, but under German law could transfer funds to France only to the extent of foreign earnings. Curie was therefore persuaded to approach Gottfried concerning the cessation of his rights to the German-language market outside Germany.

Knaur apparently tried to add emphasis to his wishes by uttering vague threats against Hedwig, who was still in Berlin and in obvious danger. The Fischers were incensed by this blackmail attempt, common as such threats must have been in Germany at that time, and Gottfried tried to use Curie's indignation over the incident to make her cancel the first contract with Knaur. She did not do this, but did extract an assurance from Knaur that the German firm had not been responsible for the threat.

However, at the time of the contract Knaur had also bought the original rights from the expropriated Vienna firm, and now demanded that Gottfried cease publication and repair all damages done to the "rightful" owner of the contract. Gottfried not only refused to accept that interpretation, but his lawyer also pointed out that since the translation had been done by a Jew, Knaur could not use it. There the matter seems to have ended.

Dallapiccola, Luigi, 1904-1975, composer

1 ALS, 11 February 1964. In French
Thank-you note.

**Dauthendey, Max, 1867-1918, artist, poet, and Anna (Johanson)
Dauthendey, 1870-1945**

48 letters and cards, 1911-1917; 1927-1934.

Though his books were published elsewhere, Dauthendey and his wife Anna were friends of the Fischers. During a visit to the Fischer house in early 1914 he heard Hedwig sing compositions of her son Gerhart, who had died a few months earlier. His impression of the scene, including a painting by Max Liebermann above the piano, grew into a novella, which he sent to Hedwig—not for publication since this might have embarrassed both the author and the publisher, but as a memento.

He soon left on a voyage to Java and from aboard ship wrote of tales he had heard about that area, of natural and cultural wonders, and also of plague and cholera. In June 1914 came an enthusiastic account of his first inland excursion. He had planned to turn back, but changed his mind and decided to travel in the area until September. When the declaration of war came, Dauthendey as a German citizen was forbidden passage on a Dutch ship, and he was thus forced to stay in Sumatra against his will. He died in Java shortly before the war's end.

Although Anna's letters mention correspondence between Max and the Fischers during his years in Java, nothing from him after November 1914 is in the file.

The majority of Anna's notes, 1914-1917, concern her husband's detention in Sumatra and Java and her many efforts to collect money for his subsistence there. The file breaks just prior to Dauthendey's death and does not resume until a decade later. The last letters are primarily social and literary notes documenting how Anna devoted herself to her husband's legacy. In 1930 she traveled to Java to visit all the places he had been, and to arrange for the return of his remains to his hometown Würzburg, where he was buried with official honors.

Dehmel, Richard, 1863-1920, poet

329 items, 1902-1939 (items from 1919-1939 are by Ida Coblentz Dehmel, "Frau Isi")

Dehmel's file, extensive and virtually complete, is one of the best of the collection. Dehmel was already a prominent poet when he came

to Fischer, and their first project was a unified edition of his works, 1906-1909. The correspondence in the file shows that Fischer, who clearly preferred cordial relations with other firms, was willing to enter litigation in order to secure the rights from Dehmel's former publisher.

After the details of the contract had been settled, Dehmel promptly went to work, sending manuscripts, corrections, and many dozens of requests concerning layout, choice of paper, type, pagination, cover design, selection of binding materials, ribbon for bookmarks, etc. Fischer had made the mistake of contractually granting him a veto in all matters of design, and the poet exercised it frequently. However, Dehmel was a warm-hearted and friendly person, and the exasperated Fischer must have found it difficult to be cross with him.

When World War I began, Dehmel, impulsive and idealistic, volunteered for military duty. The famous poet became the Imperial Army's oldest recruit, proud that he could outperform the youngsters of his unit. He spent the first years mostly in the trenches and in part as a propaganda speaker behind the lines, and then for health reasons was sent to a censorship unit and finally the home reserves.

The letters he wrote from the front give a fascinating account of a patriot's education. He rejoiced when he was first sent out, but as the months went by the reports grew more thoughtful and subdued, his admiration for the officers' corps gave way to disillusionment, and he thought of the Frenchmen suffering on the other side.

After long years of disappointments his dramatic works also gained acceptance. He died, mourned by the nation, at the age of fifty-six. His wife edited two volumes of his letters, some of them in this collection. Dehmel was an excellent letter writer, and these books are still a pleasure to read, as are many unpublished items in the file.

Dernberg, Bernhard, 1865-1937, colonial politician

1 ALS, 8 January 1922. To Hedwig Fischer.

Thank-you note.

Déry, Tibor, 1894-1977, writer

28 items, 1963-1977.

During the time of this correspondence, the Hungarian writer Déry and his wife Böbe were living in Budapest and later near the Platten-see. Déry's letters show his rebellious and youthful spirit even while documenting the growing infirmities of age, the decline of the political and cultural situation, and unsatisfactory developments within the publishing firm. At the age of 76 he called himself a revolutionary compared to younger writers. Even his last letter, which expressed pessimism about the future of the world, shows his mind and will undiminished.

Déry extensively discussed changes within the firm. He did not think much of the new management after the Fischers retired, and in 1970 was ready to break his connection with the publishing house, which he described as a mere business not interested in authors for their merits, and a poorly managed one at that. The Fischers apparently soothed his feelings, and explained why they had left.

A number of Déry's letters deal with his travels to Dubrovnic, Paris, Frankfurt, Berlin, and Zürich. Others include a lengthy exchange concerning a plan to hire a Hungarian housekeeper for the Fischers.

There is also in the file a sketch Déry wrote about the Fischers in which he depicted Tutti and Gottfried at breakfast in an angelic realm, contemplating the day's work on earth. Gottfried is about to leave on his pair of wings, to tend to so many writers and readers. The dialogue, written when Déry was 71, relates how he met the Fischers, and what they meant to him. The piece also humorously suggests that Gottfried might give a little less attention to the eternal Thomas Mann, and a little more to the still living Tibor Déry.

Dessoir, Max, 1867-1947, philosopher

1 APcS, 18 November 1922. To Samuel Fischer.

Thank-you note.

Diederichs, Eugen, 1867-1930, publisher

2 ALS, 1911 and 1926.

Congratulatory notes.

Döblin, Alfred, 1878-1957, writer

14 items, 1926-1938, and 1950. Includes four carbons of Gottfried Bermann Fischer to Döblin, 1938.

When Döblin came to Fischer in 1916, he had already made a name for himself in literary circles. He was a restless thinker and artist, quickly developing forms and views which the public often had difficulty following. Today he is regarded as one of the foremost German artists and theoreticians of fiction; at that time, however, he approached Fischer only because no one else wanted his newest work. He did not fit in very well with the Fischer group, and even attacked prominent Fischer authors within Fischer's own *Die neue Rundschau*.

Fischer did not mind eccentricity if it was paired with quality, but after a decade he tired of Döblin's polemics, and wanted him out of the firm. At precisely that point Döblin presented part of his new novel, *Berlin Alexanderplatz*, which was to become a bestseller and to bring him fame, and Fischer changed his mind. As strange as it may appear in this context, Döblin's first letter is a declaration of admiration for his publisher.

The second letter was written in Paris one year after the Nazi takeover. His books had been banned and burned, but some of them were still available in Germany. Although he discussed his personal affairs in the letters that followed, he was too much of an essayist and historian not to view the business of the day in its historical frame of reference. He was convinced that Hitler was bringing back the defeated army of 1918, and that World War I would be continued.

Only one novel of his appeared with Fischer during the exile years, but he was always concerned about the firm's welfare after the Fischers had left Germany. He praised the achievements of the Vienna operation and after its loss gave much thought to the firm's future. As soon as Gottfried had made arrangements in Stockholm, he wrote Döblin an optimistic letter about his prospects, including connections in the States, and proposed that *Berlin Alexanderplatz* be reissued in an inexpensive series he was starting with his partners in Holland. During the subsequent months they considered various other publication projects, but the correspondence breaks abruptly with a copy of Gottfried's letter in which he asked when he would see the manuscript and included greetings for 1939.

In the last letter in the file, written in 1950 from an editorial office in Mainz, Germany, Döblin pointedly congratulated Gottfried on the separation of S. Fischer from Suhrkamp.

Domin, Hilde, 1912- , poet

1 TLS, 12 March 1966.

Personal greetings appended to "In den Uffizien" [a poem for Gottfried Bermann Fischer]

Durieux, Tilla, 1880-1971, actress

2 ALS, n.d.

Thank-you and social notes.

Ebner-Eschenbach, Marie von, 1830-1916, writer

1 ALS, 24 September 1900. To Samuel Fischer.

Thank-you note.

Edschmid, Kasimir, 1890-1966, writer

3 letters and cards, 1960-1965.

After Edschmid had received a copy of *In memoriam S. Fischer* from Gottfried, he thanked him and added that he also had contributed to numerous issues of *Die neue Rundschau*. He wrote that during World War I, S. Fischer had offered him a job as an editor which he could not accept because he had just been hired by Paul Cassirer. The other two pieces, identical printed cards with hand-written additions, thank the Fischers for remembering his seventieth and seventy-fifth birthday.

Egidy, Emmy von, 1872-1946, writer

1 ALS, 17 November 1911. To Samuel Fischer.

Congratulations on twenty-fifth anniversary of the firm.

Ehrenstein, Albert, 1886-1950, poet

1 ALS, 31 March 1944. To Hedwig Fischer.

Suggests Hedwig write her memoirs.

Einstein, Albert, 1879-1955, physicist

13 items, 1928-1937. Includes some from Elsa Einstein to Hedwig Fischer.

Albert and Elsa wrote greetings and also thank-you notes for books the Fischers had sent. Einstein had a warm and playful sense of humor. About Hauptmann, whose work he admired in general, he

quipped: “. . . but when he gets into symbols he looks like a peasant in white tie and tails.” Einstein, incidentally, was not only one of the Fischers’ illustrious acquaintances; he was also a Fischer author. An article by Einstein had appeared in a 1925 issue of *Die neue Rundschau*.

The letters record that while Einstein was teaching in Berlin, he fell seriously ill and had to stay in bed for several months to rest. They also describe the Einsteins’ first visit to the United States and include a photograph of them in the California desert at Palm Springs.

Einstein, Alfred, 1880-1952, musicologist

1 TLS, 16 April 1942. To Hedwig Fischer.

Social letter with brief comments on his activities and on the war.

Eisenhower, Dwight David, 1890-1969, President of U.S.

1 TLS, 9 November 1949. To Brigitte Bermann Fischer. In English Thank-you note.

Eisner, Olga Schaeffer, 1887-

1 ALS, 30 November 1967. To Gottfried Bermann Fischer.

Discusses Eisner’s correspondence with Peter Nansen. Includes two enclosures: letters from Vagn Jensen to Frau Eisner, 1963, also about Eisner/Nansen correspondence.

Elias, Julius, 1861-1927, literary, art historian

1 ALS, 12 January 1914. To Hedwig Fischer.

Letter of condolence.

Fischer, Gottfried Bermann, 1897- , publisher

TLS (photocopy), 18 August 1938. To Sigmund Freud.

Hopes to publish a book by Freud someday.

Flake, Otto, 1880-1963, writer

114 items, 1913-1936, 1949 and 1952.

[see appendix for writings in collection]

Flake published a number of novels and well over a hundred essays on ethics, philosophy, and politics, most of them in *Die neue Rundschau*. The letters to Hedwig and S. Fischer closely parallel

Flake's autobiography. They draw the reader into lively discussions, mostly with Hedwig, of Flake's and others' works, of his theories of literature and its future course, and of his personal life and loves. In his novels and essays Flake devoted much attention to women and their emancipation. His letters to Hedwig throw a sharp light on this theme as he frequently discussed his women friends and wives, and the need for the individual's emotional and financial independence.

Flake rarely resisted the opportunity to criticize a fellow writer or a member of Fischer's editorial staff. Repeatedly he tried to gain an editorial position for himself at *Die neue Rundschau* and elsewhere, but was unsuccessful. However, he remained a close acquaintance and frequent visitor of the Fischers and was one of the few authors who maintained contact with Hedwig during her years of persecution.

Fontane, Theodor, 1819-1898, writer

1 ALS, 14 October 1895. To Hedwig Fischer.

Thank-you note.

[see appendix for writings in collection]

Fry, Christopher, 1907- , dramatist

1 ALS, 10 November 1953. In English

Discusses contract arrangements for Fry's works in German.

Gaul, August, 1869-1921, sculptor

1 ALS, 15 March 1917. To Hedwig Fischer.

Declines invitation.

Gaulle, Charles de, 1890-1970, President of France

1 TLS, 10 January 1957. To Brigitte Bermann Fischer. In French

Expresses pleasure at the German publication of his *Appels et discours*. . .

George, Jeanette Simon (Mrs. Manfred George)

1 ALS, 6 September 1966. To Olga Eisner.

Thank-you note.

George, Stefan, 1868-1933, poet

1 ALS, April 1902. To Samuel Fischer.

Cannot do d'Annunzio's translation.

Germain, André, 1881- , writer

4 letters, 1930 and n.d. In French
Social notes to the Fischer family.

Giono, Jean, 1895-1970, writer

3 letters, 1931 and n.d. In French

S. Fischer published several of Giono's books, primarily novels. Giono's first letter gives a sweeping authorization to S. Fischer for all of his works in Germany. The other letters contain little beyond pleasantries.

Goes, Albrecht, 1908- , clergyman, writer

22 letters, 1948-1951; 1960-1977.

[see appendix for writings in collection]

During World War II Goes was a Lutheran army chaplain. While caring for the wounded and the inmates of Nazi prisons he published his first Fischer book, with Suhrkamp, and he was one of the first authors to reappear with Suhrkamp after the war. Tutti and Goes met in 1948 and planned a series of joint lectures and discussions, the object of which was to bring together the American spirit and reborn, hopeful Germany. Goes and the Fischers became friends; his letters reflect affection and a reliance on shared values.

During the first postwar decade Christian art and thought found wide acceptance. Goes continued to care for his small congregation near Stuttgart and occasionally traveled to lecture. Several times he was honored publicly, but by the time he received an honorary doctorate in 1974, his audience had been reduced to the conservative establishment.

The file offers information on the Fischer family, the publishing house, Erika Mann's funeral, and on his own literary production while a pastor.

Gold, Käthe, 1907- , actress

1 ALS, 18 January 1938. To Hedwig Fischer.

Declined invitation.

Goldmark, Carl, 1830-1915, composer

2 ALS, 1911-1912. To Hedwig Fischer.

Social and thank-you notes.

Gollwitzer, Helmut, 1908- , theologian

1 ALS, 23 April 1960. To Brigitte Bermann Fischer.

Congratulations on the Mendelssohn book about S. Fischer Verlag.

Gravenhorst, Traud, 1892-1968, writer

3 letters, 1937, 1950 (with manuscript enclosure), and n.d.

Gottfried had published Gravenhorst's first book in 1935. Her letters are only brief greetings and thank-you notes, but the manuscript contains a lively and impressive account of how she came to Fischer at the beginning of the Nazi era. The piece was intended for newspaper publication upon the return of Hedwig to Germany. It was rejected, however, so she sent it to Hedwig as a gesture of welcome.

Greene, Graham, 1904- , writer

1 ALS, 18 September 1961. To Gottfried Bermann Fischer. In English

Requests meeting with Fischer at Frankfurt book fair.

Großmann, Stefan, 1875-1935, writer

46 letters, 1915-1934.

Großmann and his wife were friends of Hedwig and S. Fischer. The first letters, written during World War I, were primarily social notes, describing vacations, relating family news, and mentioning the food shortages. In 1920, Großmann founded the political and cultural weekly *Das Tage-Buch*, within the new (the second) Rowohlt publishing house. This move was significant, since before the war Fischer had considered Rowohlt a potential successor. A year later Großmann wrote Fischer a letter of eight pages, in which he expressed disappointment in him, because Fischer had rejected at the last moment an agreement which would have linked *Das Tage-Buch* and the Rowohlt enterprise with the Fischer firm. Großmann felt that all of his writing projects for the future would be affected by the rejection. He defended himself against presumed enemies, and emphatically defended and praised Rowohlt.

A year later, Großmann, this time without Rowohlt, attempted again to negotiate an agreement. *Das Tage-Buch* finally became independent and flourished until 1933. Its successor, *Das neue Tage-*

Buch in Paris, was run by Großmann's co-editor Leopold Schwarzschild, while Großmann settled in Vienna.

During Moritz Heimann's lengthy illness, Großmann contacted Fischer concerning Heimann's anxiety about Gertrud Heimann's stay at a sanatorium. Later Großmann asked Fischer to help him set up Heimann's son in business as a photographer. In 1929 he thanked Fischer for an unusual gift on the occasion of the Großmanns' silver anniversary—a Ford motorcar.

After his escape to Austria in 1933, he asked Gottfried to send him books to review and perhaps give him other assignments. He was pleased with Vienna, but as an emigré he had difficulty finding enough work to support him and his wife. He advocated Gottfried's continued presence in Germany, even if it would force him to publish "some gifted nationalists."

Grosz, George, 1893-1959, artist

7 letters, 1929-1945. Includes one carbon of Gottfried Bermann Fischer to Grosz.

The early notes are all of a social nature, but the last two items, an exchange with Gottfried in 1945, are of more interest. Grosz was living in New York and Gottfried sent him a bi-weekly publication, *Der Ruf*, written by German prisoners of war, containing an article on Grosz. Grosz responded that he had little to say in favor of exile literature, with the exception of Heinrich Hauser's writing.

Gulbransson, Olaf, 1873-1958, illustrator, and Grete (Jehly) Gulbransson, 1882-1934, writer

16 letters, 1913-1930

Gulbransson, a well-known Norwegian illustrator and cartoonist, worked primarily in Munich. His few notes to S. Fischer that are present here reveal little about him. In 1928 he and Fischer haggled over an assignment for a drawing of Thomas Mann, which was to be used in a luxury edition of *Buddenbrooks*. The file also contains several of his cartoons.

The majority of the letters are from Grete, Olaf's second wife. In 1914, Fischer published a volume of Grete's poetry, for which she thanked him, and later she sent a poem written to her unborn child. After her divorce from Olaf she struggled to make a living as a

writer, but was unable to support both herself and her son. She took the boy to Olaf, then living in Oslo with his new wife, because she wanted him to grow up in a "happy milieu." The correspondence shows that she continued to treasure Olaf's friendship and never expressed bitterness toward him. Although her letters reveal her difficult times and misfortune, they are full of spirit and determination.

Gulielmo, Henrico, artist

2 items, 1938 and n.d.

Thank-you note, and pen-and-ink drawing.

Hadzi, Dimitri, 1921- , artist

1 ALS, 25 September 1970. In English

Thank-you note.

Halbe, Max, 1865-1944, writer

2 ANS, 1915 and 1935. To Hedwig Fischer.

Thank-you notes.

Halifax, Edward Frederick Lindley Wood, 1st Earl of, 1881-1959

1 TLS, 24 June 1942. To Gottfried Bermann Fischer. In English

Thank-you letter.

Hamilton, Sir Denis, 1918- , editor, publisher

1 ALS, 29 July 1975. To Gottfried Bermann Fischer. In English

Birthday congratulations; also signed by Mrs. Olive Hamilton.

Harcourt, Alfred, 1881-1954, publisher

1 ALS, 2 February 1946. To Brigitte Bermann Fischer. In English

Social letter.

Hart, Julius, 1859-1930, playwright

1 ALS, 1911? To Samuel Fischer.

Late congratulations on the anniversary of the firm.

Hartleben, Otto Erich, 1864-1905, writer

14 items, 1893-1904. Includes Paul Remer's eulogy for Hartleben.

[see appendix for writings in collection]

Hartleben was one of only a few friends who could address S. Fischer as “Sami” and in the familiar form. Their friendship dated from the first year of the publishing business. Hartleben’s books did not always sell well, and not all of them were published by Fischer, but there never seems to have been any ill feeling between them. His letters are full of *joie de vivre*, and are a joy to read. They deal with his books and writing, literary plans and details of production such as book jackets, and with his constant need for money.

Hauptmann, Gerhart, 1862-1946, writer, and Margarete (Marschalk) Hauptmann, 1875-1957

686 items, 1890-1949.

[see appendix for writings in collection]

This file, second in volume only to Thomas Mann’s letters, spans nearly six decades, from the high point of German naturalism to the years immediately following World War II. The letters provide insight both into the relationship between the publisher and the writer who was to become Fischer’s first Nobel Prize-winning author (1912) and, on a more private level, the relationship between the two households as revealed primarily in Margarete’s letters to Hedwig. Since Margarete often wrote for Hauptmann—and this holds true especially in the Twenties and Thirties—her letters contain frequent references to business matters and works in progress which are of interest to the literary scholar as well.

The first four letters written at short intervals in January 1890 reveal that Hauptmann was involved in a struggle concerning royalties for his second play, *Das Friedensfest* (*The Coming of Peace*); apparently Hauptmann was not willing to yield until after Fischer had rejected his demands. Hauptmann’s uncompromising stand in financial matters led to several such disputes, the most serious of which occurred in April and May of 1923. It was caused by Hauptmann’s contract negotiations with Fischer’s competitor Ullstein for a luxury edition of his very successful novella *Der Ketzer von Soana* (*The Heretic of Soana*). The fact that Hauptmann did not even deem it necessary to inform his friend and publisher about his contract talks caused Fischer to remind him that after 33 years of dedicated service for Hauptmann’s cause he deserved at least a word about an undertaking which might be directed against him, before anything of a contractual nature was concluded.

Throughout the 1890s Hauptmann's letters dealt almost exclusively with official business, such as requesting galley proofs and copies of manuscripts, royalties, arranging financial support for colleagues, relatives, and friends (among them Johannes Schlaf), complying with requests for complimentary copies of his works, questions of foreign rights to his works, etc. For the literary historian the letters permit precise dating of various stages in the creation of a literary work of art as well as its subsequent success or failure. A few letters reveal Hauptmann's evaluation of some of those works which did not find immediate public acceptance (*Florian Geyer, Der rote Hahn* [The Conflagration], *Die Insel der großen Mutter* [The Island of the Great Mother]). Several others, especially between 1895 and 1900, show Hauptmann's obsession with the idea that his texts be kept from public scrutiny until after the first performance. The letter dated 8 December 1911 gives a rather negative commentary on Hofmannsthal's *Jedermann* (*Everyman*), considering it literary bijouterie without consequence or substance.

Personal matters do not appear until after the beginning of Margarete's correspondence with Hedwig following the birth of Margarete's and Hauptmann's son Benvenuto (1 June 1900). Even though the two families became better acquainted and frequently visited each other, it was not until 1917 that Hauptmann and Fischer used the familiar *Du* in their correspondence. Although some of Hauptmann's letters were written during periods of social and political crises, they rarely contained any references to these events.

Margarete's correspondence with Hedwig is indispensable for any attempt to trace Hauptmann's steps from the time of her first letter, dated 27 October 1900 and still signed Margarete Marschalk (their relationship was not legalized until 1904), to the time of his death in 1946. They not only mention dates and places but, more importantly, the people with whom the Hauptmanns mingled during their seemingly endless journeys. In March 1909 they met Cosima Wagner and Houston Stewart Chamberlain in St. Margherita; on the island of Hiddensee they shared a house with Thomas Mann and his wife Katia (who later complained that Hiddensee had been awful) during the summer of 1924; in Rapallo, where they spent their winters during the Twenties and Thirties, the Hauptmanns regularly got together with Franz Werfel, Fritz von Unruh, Herbert Eulenberg, the painter Leo von König, and the Fischers themselves.

Many of Margarete's letters concern the upbringing of Benvenuto whom one could also consider Hedwig's foster son during the years of his childhood. He became a Fischer author himself when in 1924 he published impressionistic sketches of his journey to London and a few years later did some translations of Joseph Conrad. Since Margarete was Gertrud Heimann's sister her letters also reflect the numerous crises of the Heimann family throughout the Twenties and Thirties.

Although Margarete was not overly interested in politics, her letters do contain at least some references to political and historical events during World War I and especially during the early years of the Third Reich. The most outspoken of these occurs in the letter of 27 November 1933, in which she relates that Fritz Heimann, the son of Gertrud and Moritz Heimann, had applied for a position in Turin, Italy. As a "non-Aryan" he no longer could maintain his photography studio or find any form of employment in Germany. Since there also was a decline in Hauptmann's revenues through Fischer (i.e., a Jewish publisher), with income from the theaters decreasing as well, Margarete considered Hauptmann unable to assist Gertrud and Fritz financially.

Her last letters, written between 1946 and 1949 to both Hedwig and Tutti, are of special value. They provide information about Hauptmann's last works, in particular about "Die Finsternisse—Ein Requiem" ("The Darkness—A Requiem"), written in 1937 to honor his Jewish admirer and sponsor Max Pinkus who had died in 1934 and at whose funeral the Hauptmanns had been the only "Aryan" participants. The letters are sad and resigned in tone, fitting for a woman whose world had vanished in the ravages of war. The file also contains a document from the immediate postwar period of an unknown author who describes his futile attempts at establishing contacts with the Hauptmanns in Agnetendorf between June 1945 and June 1946.

In addition to Hauptmann's and Margarete's letters, there are a number of thank-you notes and social pleasantries by Edith Cox and Elisabeth Jungmann (two of Hauptmann's secretaries), Benvenuto, Eva Bernstein Hauptmann (Hauptmann's daughter-in-law), and Ivo Hauptmann (Hauptmann's eldest son).

Hausmacher, Abraham, professor

1 ALS, 7 October 1970. In English

Social letter about various artists and exhibitions.

Hausmann, Manfred, 1898- , writer

51 letters, 1929-1938, 1945-1948, and 1967-1973.

[see appendix for writings in collection]

Hausmann's earliest postcard in the file was sent soon after the first contract had been signed, from a ship *en route* to America, and his second card gives a skillful brief sketch of Havana. *Kleine Liebe zu Amerika* (Affection for America), the book which resulted from that trip, was a great success, and so were Hausmann's novels. During the Nazi years he stayed in Germany, where prudence would have suggested withdrawal from his old circle. Instead, Hausmann made it a point to demonstrate his faithfulness to his Jewish publisher by speaking at S. Fischer's funeral, visiting Hedwig and inviting Hilla into his home, and continuing to write to Gottfried and Tutti, all gestures involving risks.

The letters, written primarily to Hedwig, contain family news and information about his work, and they document his concern for the fate of the publishing house. In 1935-1936 Hausmann acted as intermediary in an unsuccessful approach to other German publishers. He praised the books Gottfried was producing in Vienna though he did not think much of the young Austrian writers. Shortly after the German annexation of Austria, Hausmann wrote of his concern about what Gottfried would then do.

His letters after the war indicate that he deplored the moral and spiritual destruction of Germany more than the physical collapse. At that time emigration looked desirable. In 1948 he became involved in a bitter public quarrel over "interior" versus "foreign" emigration and the return of Thomas Mann to Europe. Hausmann attempted to dissolve the negative consequences of the polemics, but nonetheless was attacked by many, including Tutti.

The last letters in the file show disappointment over the changes in the firm, both generally and because his own books were no longer being printed, so that by 1973 he parted with S. Fischer Verlag.

One long letter from 1931 is of particular literary interest. In it Hausmann gave Hedwig a detailed report of an incident involving

his and two other sail boats in a storm. Later he assigned that incident a prominent place in a novel.

Hausmann, Hermann, 1879- , lawyer

1 ALS, 21 October 1934. To Hedwig Fischer.
Letter of condolence.

Heckmann, Herbert, 1930- , writer

39 letters, 1960-1969.
[see appendix for writings in collection]

Heckmann was an editor of *Die neue Rundschau* during the Sixties, together with Golo Mann, Harry Pross, and Gottfried. He considered assuming a larger role in the firm in order to attempt to restore some of the lost grandeur of the Fischer house. However, following a tour of the United States in 1965 he accepted a teaching position at Northwestern University where he stayed for two years. Later in Germany he became deeply unhappy with the new leadership and direction of the firm and in the end decided against his previous plan. After a brief return to the States to marry, he settled near Frankfurt.

Heckmann was a friend of Gottfried and Tutti, and his letters mixed business with personal matters. He often discussed his writings, recalled visits with the Fischers, and made detailed comments on the persons involved with the firm.

Heer, Friedrich, 1916- , cultural historian

2 letters, 1958 and 1964. To Brigitte Bermann Fischer.
Thank-you note and suggestions for a summer advertising campaign.

Heimann, Gertrud (Marschalk), 1872-1951

5 letters, 1904-1948. To Hedwig Fischer.
Social and thank-you notes.

Heimann, Moritz, 1868-1925, editor, writer

117 items, 1894 and 1900-1925.
[see appendix for writings in collection]

The file opens with a humble note from a 26-year-old writer submitting a manuscript, and ends three decades later with thirteen pages

of discussion and advice concerning *Die neue Rundschau*. Heimann was a remarkable figure and, next to S. Fischer himself, exerted the strongest influence upon the publishing house.

Heimann wanted most to be a successful writer, and Fischer did publish a number of his works, but they were not welcomed by the public, probably because of their intellectual, essay-like character even in dramatic or fictional form. One year after his first manuscript submission Fischer hired him as general editor. The position provided a narrow financial base for an aspiring artist and, more importantly, because of Fischer's new yet undisputed reputation, offered exciting opportunities for literary work.

In the beginning Heimann may have been helped by the fact that Gerhart Hauptmann and the less well-known Emil Strauß were his brothers-in-law (Hauptmann officially only a decade later), but he soon acquired his own stature as Fischer's advisor and as the precise critic and benevolent mentor of many writers. He not only accepted or rejected manuscripts; he apparently never tired of providing the authors with incisive observations and suggestions. Heimann delighted in instructive discourse. Many manuscripts became acceptable with his help, and he even had a hand in the final shaping of *Buddenbrooks*, which is surprising in view of Thomas Mann's early literary mastery and independence.

Fortunately, Heimann conversed with Fischer in writing as well as in person. His letters, often a kind of inter-office communication transmitted by the postal service, give excellent accounts of moments in the firm's editorial development and of the intellectual life of his time. He discussed numerous books, projects, and persons.

Gradually he and his employer became close friends. Heimann's personal concern and affection for Fischer are visible in the correspondence. The letters discuss both families and relate many of Heimann's private misfortunes. He was much too tactful and modest to complain or rebel, but his wife's and his own illnesses sometimes forced him to ask for advances or loans. Further, their son Fritz found it hard to establish himself in life, and once, when he suddenly lost his job, Heimann gave him all the money he had and in turn asked Fischer for a substantial loan.

Heimann's final years were marked by a progressive illness. When he was no longer able to fulfill his regular duties, Fischer awarded him a pension and Heimann retired to the village in which

he had been raised. Despite pain and morphine injections, Heimann continued to work whenever possible, and his letters remained strong and lucid to the last.

Heine, Thomas Theodor, 1867-1948, cartoonist

1 ALS, 11 May 1906.

Warning to Fischer that Albert Langen is trying to steal two Fischer authors, Hermann Hesse and Emil Strauß.

Heinemann, Gustav Walter, 1899-1976, President of Federal Republic of Germany

1 TLS, 22 December 1970. To Gottfried Bermann Fischer.

Thank-you note.

Heller, Erich, 1911- , professor

1 ALS, 30 June 1975. To Gottfried Bermann Fischer.

Congratulatory letter.

Henze, Hans Werner, 1926- , composer

2 items, 1950. To Brigitte Bermann Fischer.

Provides information about a piece of music; a short musical score.

Hesse, Heiner, 1909- , illustrator

4 items, 1967 and 1971.

Re: Hermann Hesse literary permissions.

Hesse, Hermann, 1877-1962, writer

62 letters, 1926-1950. Includes five carbons of Gottfried Bermann Fischer to Hesse, 1938-1939.

[see appendix for writings in collection]

Hesse had been with Fischer ever since his first novel's surprising success in 1904. He moved to Switzerland in 1912 and later became a Swiss citizen. As such he was not subjected to the same persecution as his German colleagues when the National Socialists began reshaping their culture. When Gottfried was forced to take his "unwanted" authors out of the country, Hesse's books were not released and stayed with Suhrkamp. Most, but not all, of his books continued to appear in new German editions.

As soon as Gottfried was established in Stockholm he asked Hesse to move from Suhrkamp's operation over to the Swedish firm. Hesse refused on the grounds that he did not wish to break his contract with the faithful and courageous Suhrkamp and that the connection with readers in Germany should be maintained as long as the Nazis permitted it. When his last novel *Das Glasperlenspiel* (*Magister Ludi*) was completed after eleven years, the war was in its third year, and Suhrkamp was not granted a paper allotment. Although Hesse gave the book to a Swiss publisher rather than to Gottfried, his attempts at contact with the Fischer family continued.

At the war's end, Gottfried wanted to reopen the German publishing house and gave Hesse an optimistic account of his possibilities. He wrote that Suhrkamp would be head of operations, and Hesse responded that he was happy to receive even brief word of Suhrkamp. However, he did not want to make any decisions without consulting Suhrkamp himself.

When Gottfried and Suhrkamp parted ways in 1950, Hesse repeatedly refused to be drawn into the struggle. By now he had become the third German Fischer author to receive the Nobel Prize, and to Gottfried the potential loss of this author must have appeared as a financial threat and an embarrassment. As the correspondence shows, Gottfried succeeded, after months of persistence, in presenting his side of the argument in person. Hesse, who had been on close terms with him since 1930, listened and then decided he would remain faithful to Suhrkamp, who had "achieved and suffered so much in the resistance against the Nazis." One could argue that he had in fact not been a Fischer author since Gottfried's departure in 1936.

Hesse was ardently independent and never compromised in ethical matters. During both World Wars he laid his work aside in order to provide for the helpless. His earliest letter concerns one of his humanitarian operations. It dates from 1917 and is not contained in his file but rather in that of Richard Dehmel. Hesse was organizing a collection of books for German prisoners of war in France and asked writers and publishers for help. Dehmel used the back of Hesse's appeal letter for instructions to the firm that fifty copies of his books be sent to Hesse at Dehmel's expense, and Fischer responded by charging only half price; he also provided works by other writers. Hesse also hand-copied and illustrated a fairytale of

his, sold it to collectors and used part of the proceeds to help the needy. During the last months of World War II, he jokingly told Tutti on a postcard that for some time now he had been living solely on his gifts to others.

Hesse, an accomplished artist, occasionally adorned his letters with water-color sketches or hand-colored woodprints taken from his sketches. In his later years arthritis prevented him from continuing that practice.

Heuser, Kurt, 1903-1975, writer

28 letters, 1938 and 1945-1973.

[see appendix for writings in collection]

No file offers more information and thought about World War II and the decade of reconstruction than that of Kurt Heuser. As a young man he worked in Africa, and in 1927 sent his first story to *Die neue Rundschau*. A few months later he arrived in Berlin, but evidently found it difficult to concentrate on literary production. During the next few years he wrote two novels, and then began producing film scripts, an occupation regarded as unworthy by many of his acquaintances. Two decades later he still defended his work, explaining that although he regarded it as categorically different from literary creation, two months of script-writing provided him with sufficient income for a whole year of literary work. Over the years he repeatedly felt obligated to report that he was working on a novel, which he once called "Der junge Schwede" ("The Young Swede"), but it was never completed.

His association with the firm began at about the same time as that of Gottfried, and he and the young couple became good friends. During tense moments in 1933 he hid Tutti and the children in his house outside Berlin, and later accompanied them on a temporary escape to Switzerland. When the Fischers left Austria he stayed behind and wrote them a letter which, due to its place of origin, served as a double farewell: it was written in the small town where Zuckmayer had lived until the takeover, and it referred to his house, now standing empty. There was no response.

After the war he tried two more times, and finally succeeded in reaching Tutti. His letters resemble diaries or editorials. The first few reach back to recover the reality and spirit of the dark years, and then speak of the present, the people in their mental misery, and the

new life. Letters seem to have taken the place of fiction and essays for him. They are worth publishing and indeed cover eleven pages of Tutti's book (pp. 271-281).

In 1964 Heuser was drawn into the discussion about the future of the firm, including the need and impossibility of finding a "second Moritz Heimann," and the change from family enterprise to corporation. Along with other literary friends Heuser considered the case lost and the pain inevitable. He praised the Fischers for their continuing struggle, but recommended retirement to Camaione.

Included in the file are also an angry polemic poem by Heuser, attacking the belittlers of the Holocaust, copied for Tutti, and a consoling letter after the fatal accident of the Fischer's oldest daughter Gabi.

Heuss, Theodor, 1884-1963, President of Federal Republic of Germany

2 TLS, 1954-1955.

Thank-you note to Gottfried Bermann Fischer; letter to Thomas Mann about possible publication by S. Fischer of Mann's talk on Schiller.

Heymel, Alfred Walter, 1878-1914, poet

1 TLS, 13 February 1912. To Hedwig Fischer.

Arrangements for a visit to the Fischers.

Hirsch, Rudolf, 1905- , writer

2 ALS, 1966 and 1969.

Thank-you note to Gottfried Bermann Fischer and a letter re: Hofmannsthal's literary effects.

Hochhuth, Rolf, 1931- , playwright

4 letters, 1964. To Brigitte Bermann Fischer.

This short sequence of letters deals with the literary resurrection of Otto Flake, a project to which Hochhuth devoted much time and energy. While he was trying to place, and edit if necessary, a large number of Flake's works, the Fischers' influence upon their firm was waning. He did succeed in saving Flake from oblivion, but not in making him popular.

Höflich, Lucie, 1883-1956, actress

1 ALS, 11 February 1917. To Hedwig Fischer.
Thank-you note.

Hofmannsthal, Gertrud (Schlesinger) von, 1880-1957

9 letters and cards, 1909-1939. To Hedwig Fischer.
Social notes.

Hofmannsthal, Hugo von, 1874-1929, writer

14 letters, 1902-1929.

Considering Hofmannsthal's literary significance and the extent of his affiliation with the publishing house, it is regrettable that the file does not contain more of his letters. His first publications were welcomed and admired in Vienna even before it became known that he was a teenager writing under a protective pseudonym. Hofmannsthal made early contact with Fischer, but they did not reach a firm agreement for some time. In fact, the publishing house rejected one of his prose pieces, just as it had turned down Schnitzler's first submission. Seven years had passed and Hofmannsthal was twenty-five before the first contract was signed. After that Fischer remained his primary publisher. The pale-blue volumes of the Stockholm edition of Hofmannsthal's works, begun under difficult circumstances during World War II, represent one of the most daring and most successful undertakings of the Stockholm firm.

Hofmannsthal did not like to commit himself fully to a relationship, and with regard to the somewhat possessive S. Fischer, he preserved greater freedom than any other "family member." He insisted on his option to write for other periodicals and publishers, and told Fischer that some works could not have been created in the atmosphere of the house of Fischer.

The letters in this file deal with professional and personal affairs in a polite, cordially reserved manner. Only twice did he become more expansive and direct. In 1922 he defended his independence in a very long statement, and in his last year he reflected in detail upon his literary beginnings.

Hollaender, Gina (Meyer), actress

1 ALS, 17 October 1934. To Hedwig Fischer.
Condolence letter.

Holtzbrinck, Georg von, 1909- , publisher

1 ALS, 8 July 1969. To Gottfried Bermann Fischer.

Reviews how he got into the book business and eventual association with the Fischer firm.

Holz, Arno, 1863-1929, poet

1 ALS, 25 October 1926. To Samuel Fischer.

Congratulatory note.

Huch, Ricarda Octavia, 1864-1947, writer

1 ALS, 21 November 1937. To Hedwig Fischer.

Might consider publishing something with Fischer in future.

Huchel, Monica (Mrs. Peter Huchel)

1 ALS, 4 December 1963.

Thank-you note.

Huchel, Peter, 1903-1981, writer

1 ALS, 4 December 1963.

Thank-you note and mention of offer from University of Frankfurt.

Huizinga, Johan, 1872-1945, historian

6 items, 1938. Includes one carbon of Gottfried Bermann Fischer to Huizinga.

Huizinga had promised an essay for the series *Ausblicke*, but after both he and the Fischers were displaced in 1938, he suggested that the contract be voided. When the Stockholm firm was established he quickly agreed to honor his obligation, and the small volume, *Der Mensch und die Kultur* (Man and Culture), appeared in the same year.

Hull, Cordell, 1871-1955, U.S. Secretary of State

1 TLS, 25 June 1942. To Gottfried Bermann Fischer. In English
Thank-you note.

Ibsen, Henrik, 1828-1906, playwright

Printed calling card, n.d.

Ibsen, Sigurd, 1859-1930, writer

2 ALS, 1913 and 1920. To Samuel Fischer.

Letter of condolence; arrangements for payment of royalties.

Janouch, Gustav, 1903- , writer

1 TLS, 11 November 1967. To Gottfried Bermann Fischer.

Thank-you note and discussion of future publication plans.

Jensen, Johannes Vilhelm, 1873-1950, novelist

3 ALS, 1911-1912, and 1935.

Thank-you notes and Christmas greetings.

Jerusalem, Else (Kotányi), 1877- , writer

1 ALS, n.d.

Declines invitation because of illness.

Jessner, Leopold, 1878-1945, actor

2 TLS, 1926 and 1929. To Samuel Fischer.

Congratulations on 40th birthday of firm and on 70th birthday of Fischer.

Jones, James, 1921-1977, writer

3 items, 1960 and 1964. In English

The 1960 exchange with Brigitte Bermann Fischer involves arrangements for Jones' lecture in Munich and subsequent reading in Frankfurt at the S. Fischer Verlag. The 1964 letter from Jones consists of social pleasantries and travel news.

Kainz, Margarete (Nansen), actress

20 letters and cards, 1908-1914. To Hedwig Fischer.

Social notes and pleasantries; one brief note from Josef Kainz, 1858-1910, actor.

Kantor-Berg, Friedrich

see **Torberg, Friedrich, 1908-**

Kaschnitz, Marie Luise, 1901-1974, writer

2 ALS, 1965-1966. To Gottfried Bermann Fischer.

Re: possible publication by S. Fischer Verlag.

Kästner, Erhart, 1904- , librarian, writer

3 letters, 1937 and 1948. To Hedwig Fischer.

Kästner, a writer and friend of Hilla Fischer, was for a time secretary to Gerhart Hauptmann. In 1937, writing from Hauptmann's home, he explained that the latter intended to sell his summer house at Hiddensee, but not his main residence in Agentendorf where all his manuscripts and archives were stored. Eleven years later, having spent the entire war in the military and two years as a prisoner in Egypt, Kästner wrote about his activities during those years. The final letter contains an instructive account of life during the first weeks under the D-Mark, the new West German currency.

Kellermann, Bernhard, 1879-1951, writer

3 items, 1934, 1950, and n.d.

Condolence letter; letter to Suhrkamp Verlag breaking relations in favor of the refounded S. Fischer Verlag; a n.d. card signed Zwilling Brausias.

Kerr, Alfred, 1867-1948, drama critic

1 TLS, 10 November 1944.

Brings Mrs. Fischer up to date on his activities during the war and on those of his family.

Kesten, Hermann, 1900- , writer

1 ALS, 29 July 1957. To Gottfried Bermann Fischer.

Birthday greetings and congratulations.

Key, Ellen Karolina Sofia, 1849-1926, writer

2 ALS, 1909 and 1914.

Birthday greetings to Samuel Fischer; letter of condolence on death of Gerhart Fischer.

Killy, Walther, 1917- , professor

6 items, 1965-1966. Includes two drafts of Gottfried Bermann Fischer letters to Killy.

During the Fifties and Sixties Killy, one of the most prominent scholars of German literature, worked closely with the publishing house as advisor, author, and editor of some very successful collec-

tions and series. After Gottfried's virtual departure from the firm in 1965 Killy wanted to terminate his contract as consultant. Gottfried, harboring some hope for positive change in the firm, wanted him to stay, but then consented. One year later Killy received a tempting offer from Harvard University. Gottfried encouraged him to accept, but Killy eventually turned it down, partially because of doubts about emigrating at age 50. The file also shows the Fischers' disappointment and uneasiness about the development of the new Germany, particularly the return of nationalism and some electoral successes of a neo-Nazi party.

Kolb, Annette, 1875-1967, writer

21 items, 1934-1966. Includes two carbons of Brigitte Bermann Fischer to Kolb.

Fischer had begun publishing Kolb's works in 1913. Although she left for Paris in 1933, her books could still be published in Germany—one of the reasons Gottfried wanted to maintain the firm in Berlin. On her account, Gottfried became the object of an attack in the exile press. Her novel *Die Schaukel* (The Swing) contained an openly defiant footnote praising the Jewish contribution to German culture. When it was removed in later editions the firm, and in particular Gottfried, were accused by persons outside of Germany of selling out to the Nazis. Kolb came to the rescue by writing a letter of explanation to the editor of the journal in which the accusation appeared. A year later, she again defended Gottfried in an open letter which she wrote with Thomas Mann and Hermann Hesse.

Most of Kolb's letters, however, are pleasant social notes which reveal her to have been an intelligent, sensitive, fearless and open, but modest person. In her mid-eighties she still went on lecture tours. Slowly her eyesight deteriorated, and her handwriting grew larger until a page held fewer than thirty words. In her last years she often expressed in her letters the hope that "you can read me."

Kühnel, Max

2 letters with enclosures, 1960.

Kühnel was an employee in the Berlin house during the Nazi years and after the war. The letters to Gottfried give detailed and very critical accounts of Suhrkamp's handling of his office, and Kühnel's

assessment of Suhrkamp is so negative that the papers probably could not be published even today. The materials do not reverse the well-known image of Suhrkamp, but give it unexpected depth. The treatment of Oskar Loerke receives particular attention. Kühnel enclosed a copy of Loerke's testament, itself a literary document, and a copy of Suhrkamp's address at Loerke's funeral. Suhrkamp once quoted from a letter similar to the testament but obviously did not relate its bitterness to himself.

Lagerlöf, Selma, 1858-1940, novelist

1 ALS, 23 February 1939. To Bermann Fischer Verlag.
Grants permission to publish one of her stories.

Landauer, Walter, 1902-1944

1 APcS, 11 June 1940. To Brigitte Bermann Fischer.
Greetings.

Le Fort, Gertrud, Freiin von, 1876-1971, writer

1 ALS, Oct? 1956.
Thank-you note.

Lehmann, Lotte, 1888-1976, singer

3 items, 1945, 1948-1949. To Hedwig Fischer.
Thank-you notes.

Lernet-Holenia, Alexander, 1897-1976, writer

11 letters, 1950-1969.

This prolific Austrian writer's relationship with the publishing house left hardly a trace in the small file. He published a book with Fischer practically every year from 1926 to 1948, and occasional titles thereafter. His letters, however, are virtually all social notes with infrequent comments about his works and writing plans.

**Lichnowsky, Mechtilde Christiane Maria (von Arco-Zinneberg)
Fürstin von, 1879-1958, writer**

14 letters, 1935-1939 and 1954. Includes one carbon of Gottfried Bermann Fischer to Lichnowsky.

Princess Lichnowsky did not join Fischer until late in her career, although she and the Fischers had known each other for many

years. Between 1930 and 1936 Gottfried published four novels by her, the last of them in Vienna. The letters to Hedwig are polite and pleasant, but show none of the witty directness with which she sometimes treated her correspondents. Most of the letters were written to Gottfried in 1938, first about sales and royalties, and then about the uncertainties of publishing her books after the loss of the Vienna firm. Gottfried tried his best to convince her not to give a book to Suhrkamp or another publisher, assuring her that he had found a way to pay royalties through a Swiss company and that it was to her benefit, in terms of book sales, to remain with one publisher. Her note of thanks that followed her seventy-fifth birthday in 1954 is addressed to the firm rather than to the family, indicating that she had remained an outsider.

Liebermann, Max, 1847-1935, artist

11 items, 1898-1934.

Hedwig and S. Fischer were acquainted with the painter Max Liebermann and his wife, and Liebermann's letters reflect little beyond that relationship. In the middle of the First World War, he painted a portrait of the publisher, for which he received four thousand marks. He was interested in literary life and praised Altenberg, and even gave money to Hermann Stehr, a writer in distress. One note, expressing gratitude and apologizing for having used the Fischers' automobile, is adorned by a half-page ink sketch of that vehicle on a dark city street.

Liebknicht, Wilhelm, 1826-1900, socialist activist

Photocopies of 2 ALS, 1897. To Samuel Fischer.

Business letters re: payments and contract.

Lin Yutang, 1895-1976, writer, educator

4 items, 1953-1954. Includes carbon of one Gottfried Bermann Fischer letter to Lin. In English

In 1954 the writer Lin Yutang, then Chancellor of Nanyang University in Singapore, corresponded with Gottfried concerning the contract and proofs for the German edition of *Eurydice's Chance*. He also requested a copy of the German translation of *The Red Chamber Dream*, published by Insel-Verlag.

Lindbergh, Charles Augustus, 1902-1974, aviator, and Anne Morrow Lindbergh, 1906- , writer

1 item, 27 March 1954.

Signatures on a handwritten Chinese menu, New York.

Lipchitz, Jacques, 1891-1973, sculptor

2 items, 1969-1970. In English

New Year greetings; comments about payment for constructing a road up to his house in Camaiore.

Lippmann, Walter, 1889-1974, editor and publicist

2 TLS, 1967. In English

Social note; permission to reprint an article.

Liszt, Franz von, 1851-1919, professor

1 ALS, 3 March 1895.

Response to a question Fischer had posed earlier.

Loerke, Oskar, 1884-1941, poet

7 items, 1920-1936.

[see appendix for writings in collection]

Loerke is remembered as one of this century's outstanding poets. He worked in the Fischer publishing house for more than twenty years, at first with Heimann, and later as chief literary editor; he retained that office until his death in 1941. In order to protect the firm, its authors, and its cultural mission, Loerke allowed himself to appear as a Nazi sympathizer. The ensuing conflict of conscience left him a broken and bitter man by the time of his death. Documentation relating to this particular issue can be found in the Max Kühnel file.

In two letters from the early years Loerke described the health of Moritz and Gertrud Heimann, about whom he was as concerned as the Fischers were. The file also contains editorial reports about schoolbook editions of Hauptmann and of a novel by Wilhelm von Scholz, as well as a toast by S. Fischer in Loerke's honor and a bookplate for Loerke designed by Emil Orlik.

Ludwig, Emil, 1881-1948, journalist, writer

3 items, 1923 and 1931.

Social notes and verses.

Ludwig, Paula, 1900-1973, poet

1 ALS, 27 January 1930. To S. Fischer Verlag.
Thank-you note.

Maass, Joachim, 1901-1972, journalist, writer

56 items, 1939-1964. Includes 7 carbons of Gottfried Bermann
Fischer letters to Maass.

[see appendix for writings in collection]

Joachim Maass, whose brother Edgar was also a writer, belonged to the second Fischer generation. Gottfried published his first novel in 1930, and when the third novel appeared in 1935, Hermann Hesse called him the most gifted and most promising of the younger German writers. Thomas Mann, whom he visited one year later in his Swiss exile home, also liked him, and noted that his views of the political and literary situation in Germany resembled those of a refugee.

Maass was not persecuted in Germany and did not have to leave. Fearlessly he visited his banished friends, repeatedly seeing Hedwig Fischer in Berlin, and even visiting Gottfried and Tutti in Stockholm, at considerable risk to himself. He helped others to leave Germany, and in 1939 emigrated to the United States. From 1940 to 1945 he taught at Mount Holyoke and at Haverford.

The first letters in the file were written during his last months in Germany. Maass reported on a visit to Hesse's home in Switzerland and on Suhrkamp's activities in Berlin. He defended Suhrkamp's actions, never doubting his political integrity, but after the war once remarked that he had not trusted his character. Throughout the correspondence Maass discussed affairs of the New York and Stockholm publishing houses. He suggested and evaluated manuscripts, eased approaches to writers, and offered praise and criticism. He began working as an editor of *Die neue Rundschau* in 1945, but in 1950, after criticizing the periodical's new format, he asked rather pointedly whether Hirsch, the new editor, was better liked than he had been.

Maass became close friends with both Fischers. He stayed at their home in Connecticut with their children and housekeeper when they first returned to Europe. His relationship with Tutti in particular transcended that of an author and his publisher; no other file reflects such intimacy between correspondents. At times he

vented his anger over Gottfried or Suhrkamp, but far from indicating dissonance, these passages bear witness to his deep affection for Tutti and his boundless trust in her. The letters reveal Maass to have been an intelligent and eloquent man deeply affected by the nightmare which had befallen his country, and by the persons around him. His frankness makes his one of the most memorable files in the collection.

His relationship with Thomas Mann and the Mann children was occasionally close, but at times clouded, and Tutti helped to smooth things over. He also wrote about authors of whom there is little other trace in the archive, such as his friend and Thomas Mann's secretary, Hans Meisel, and William Bradford Huie, whose novel *Mud on the Stars*, published by the unknown L.B. Fischer Company in New York, shocked the American public in 1942.

Mackay, John Henry, 1864-1933, writer

72 letters, 1891-1899 and 1903-1929.

Although once well known as a writer and intellectual anarchist, Mackay was virtually forgotten before his death, and today few people know that the Scottish name belongs to a German writer. He claimed to have been the first German naturalist and the rediscoverer of the philosopher Max Stirner.

People believed him to be rich and haughty, but Mackay was neither. His works reveal a sensitive, vulnerable, idealistic, and fundamentally unhappy character, and his letters show him to be impeccably ethical and quite poor. Several times he asked Fischer for small loans, but he obviously disliked having to beg and paid the money back quickly. In 1892, believing to have reached a new stage in his life, he approached Fischer with a proposal for a general five-year contract, beginning with a volume containing all of his verse. Fischer, having only a short list of major authors, agreed. The correspondence from the following years concerns the loans, repayments, and the announcements of new books. The personalities behind the letters surface only occasionally. In June 1897 Mackay vented his considerable anger over an unfavorable interpretation of his contract.

When Mackay again changed publishers (not for the last time), the correspondence subsided. In 1899 Fischer must have expressed disappointment over the loss of a relationship of trust, as Mackay

emphatically assured him of his undying gratitude and apologized for not having been a better author. The few remaining items consist of social and thank-you notes.

MacLeish, Archibald, 1892- , poet

2 TLS, 1940 and 1942. In English

Refusal to let his name be used; thank-you note.

Madelung, Aage, 1872-1949, writer

48 letters, 1909-1936.

Madelung's works were better known in Germany than in Denmark, his home country, but even there he was awarded honors, prizes, and a lifetime pension from the state. His most successful book, *Zirkus Mensch* (Circus/Man), was read by his countrymen in German translation, since it had never been published in the original language. He was grateful to Fischer for his German fame.

His letters are written in admirable German, and in a tone sometimes reminiscent of a preacher, with quotes from Scripture. His wealth allowed him and his wife and daughter Mirjam, of whom he was quite fond, to lead a comfortable life. He wrote about Mirjam growing up and about her illnesses, and later about her training as a pianist.

During the summer, Madelung liked to hike through Sweden, and his books depicted the strong and simple life of Swedish peasants. He greeted World War I as the dawning of a new age of strength and simplicity, with "our" side emerging as the more powerful one. As a war correspondent, he reported from Hungary, S. Fischer's homeland, and in 1915 and 1916 Fischer published his reports. The letters do not record Madelung's reaction to the German defeat.

Mann, Erika, 1905-1969, journalist

2 items, n.d.

The two items in the file are no indication of Erika's eventful life and career. The first is a letter of thanks after the older children of Thomas Mann had visited the Fischers, and the other is a rhymed address from the same period, delivered at a family celebration.

Mann, Golo, 1909- , historian

12 items, 1938-1939 and 1960-1977. Includes one carbon of Brigitte Bermann Fischer to Golo Mann and one carbon of Gottfried Bermann Fischer to Mann.

The correspondence begins a few months after the Fischers had moved to Stockholm, with a letter of reference for a young refugee, Gerhard Scholz. Thomas Mann's son Golo was in Zürich, waiting for a visa to the States, but also preparing for the editorship of *Maß und Wert* (Measure and Value). He was in good spirits and praised the work in Stockholm. The second letter, written a year later and still from Zürich, dealt extensively with the affairs of *Maß und Wert*, particularly in relation to Fischer's publication plans.

By 1960 Mann had become a professor of history and a Fischer author. The letters discuss his work and health, the health of his mother Katia, financial arrangements, and the slightly difficult matter of the writings of his sister Monika. He and Gottfried discussed *Die neue Rundschau*, whose deficits were a displeasure to the new partners in the firm. Golo did not think a change to a yearbook format advisable and suggested a merger with another periodical in financial difficulties, the *Merkur*. In the end, however, *Die neue Rundschau* remained a quarterly as it had been, and Gottfried withdrew further from the business.

Mann, Monika, 1910-

2 letters with enclosures, 1968.

The letters transmit two manuscripts to Gottfried Bermann Fischer: "Meilein" and "Horst Stefan: Brief eines jungen Deutschen an den Vater". [Manuscripts present in file]

Mann, Thomas, 1875-1955, author, and Katia (Pringsheim) Mann, 1883-1980

895 items, 1906-1976. Includes carbons of Gottfried Bermann Fischer to Thomas or Katia Mann, and a few copies of letters from Brigitte Bermann Fischer to Thomas or Katia.

[see appendix for writings in collection]

This is the most extensive and important file in the archive. The majority of the correspondence has been published in *Thomas Mann, Briefwechsel mit seinem Verleger Gottfried Bermann Fischer, 1932-1955*,

edited by Peter de Mendelssohn (S. Fischer Verlag, 1973). The unpublished material consists primarily of letters to Hedwig or S. Fischer which deal with both social and business matters. The file begins in 1906 with notes from Thomas Mann to Hedwig that relate family news and travel plans, and convey holiday greetings. Later letters to S. Fischer concern contracts, an inexpensive new edition of *Buddenbrooks*, and plans for the publication of *Der Zauberberg* (*The Magic Mountain*). Several of Mann's letters also discuss financial arrangements and occasional dissatisfaction with the manner in which his affairs are being handled by Fischer. The possibility of changing publishers is mentioned from time to time, but the disagreements were always resolved before such a move was made.

Both Thomas and his wife Katia continued to write to Hedwig following S. Fischer's death. The letters most often relate social and cultural news, but many of Thomas' also concern his current writing projects, particularly details about the Joseph volumes. Katia's letters, some of which appear in the Mann/Fischer volume, discuss family affairs, providing excellent documentation about the lives and activities of all the Manns. The letters indicate that she served as social secretary for her husband, and they provide a vivid commentary on people and events of the day. Despite the interrelationship with her husband's correspondence, however, her letters do not play the essential role in documenting Mann's activities and personal affairs that Margarete Hauptmann's do for Gerhart.

The letters of Thomas and Katia to Gottfried and Tutti that were not published concern both business and family matters. Details about translations and the pricing of certain titles for better sales, requests for other volumes published by Fischer, contracts for English or other foreign rights to publications, and the forwarding of pages or portions of manuscripts occupy much of the correspondence. While most of the items are not necessarily vital to the documentation of the Mann/Fischer relationship, they do contribute to and enrich the story as presented in the published correspondence.

**Marini, Marino, 1901-1980, sculptor, and Marina (Pedrazzini)
Marini**

17 cards and notes, 1967-1973. In Italian

Virtually all of the personal letters and cards were written jointly by the painter-sculptor and his wife. The Fischers' home above Camaiore lies in the ancient and still famous quarry district of Tuscany, and a number of artists settled there, including Henry Moore, Jacques Lipchitz, and Marino Marini. The Fischers were in contact with them both as neighbors and as colleagues, since Gottfried in recent years has spent much time as a sculptor.

Martin du Gard, Roger, 1881-1958, novelist, playwright

1 TLS, 4 February 1945. To Gottfried Bermann Fischer. In French
Comments on his admiration for Thomas Mann and regrets he
could not write something in time for Fischer's special issue of
Die neue Rundschau for Mann's 70th birthday.

Masereel, Frans, 1889-1972, wood engraver

1 ALS, 25 May 1950. To Brigitte Bermann Fischer.
Response to letter from Tutti that asked about something she had
lost to the Nazis.

Maurois, André, 1885-1967, writer

1 TLS, 8 August 1932. To Hedwig Fischer. In French
Thank-you note and comments on his *Cercle de famille*.

Maurois, Simone (Arman de Caillavet), 1893-1968, writer

1 ALS, 12 May 1930. To Hedwig Fischer. In French
Thank-you note.

Mehring, Walter, 1896- , writer

2 ALS, 1968. To Gottfried Bermann Fischer.
Thank-you note; comments about his publications with Fischer.

Meid, Hans, 1883-1957, artist

1 ALS, with enclosures, 30 January 1932. To Hedwig Fischer.
Thank-you note with etchings enclosed as token of his gratitude.

Meier-Graefe, Julius, 1867-1935, art critic, writer

41 letters, 1906-1935. Includes one letter from Riquette Meier-
Graefe and one from Anna Marie Meier-Graefe.
[see appendix for writings in collection]

Meier-Graefe's first novel appeared with Fischer in 1893. Although Fischer published six of his books, the bulk of his writings, particularly on art, appeared elsewhere. The personal and professional ties to Fischer, however, remained strong, and the file offers a good deal of relevant information.

Meier-Graefe was involved in founding and editing several periodicals, and in 1906 asked Fischer if he wanted to take part in one of these ventures. At times it seemed as if he were one of Fischer's own editors recommending promising books or commenting on newly published ones.

He reported on his travels, including a trip to the United States—where he was quite impressed by a Ford assembly plant—and an unscheduled excursion to Siberia. Early in World War I he had gone to the Eastern front to deliver gifts to soldiers, lost his way, and was picked up by the Russians. They sent him to a camp, and in 1915 a letter from his wife informed Hedwig of an attempt to get money to him through the German Asiatic Bank in Tientsin.

When Meier-Graefe and his wife Riquette separated, he gave the Fischers an account of the reasons. He settled with his second wife in France before the Nazis came to power.

Several of the letters refer to his feelings about Hauptmann, whom he had always admired, but never without reservations. The file shows that after he had drafted a *laudatio* for Hauptmann's sixtieth birthday, his wife thought the text too critical, and he asked S. Fischer for advice. The answer is preserved at the bottom of Meier-Graefe's letter, in Fischer's hand: he liked the piece very much but Mrs. Meier-Graefe was right in that the criticism should be tempered, because on the day of celebration the sometimes sensitive Hauptmann would not expect to be criticized. In 1933, Meier-Graefe joined the Fischers and a number of their friends in Rapallo, Italy, where they discussed the new order and its consequences for their work. There Meier-Graefe witnessed what he considered to be the most embarrassing manifestations of Hauptmann's political blindness. After this encounter, Meier-Graefe wrote to Hedwig that he would be pleased to meet there again, but not with Hauptmann.

When Klaus Mann started an anti-Nazi periodical in Amsterdam, he tried to enlist the cooperation of his father, of Meier-Graefe, and of others including Meier-Graefe's friend René Schickele. Unlike Thomas Mann and Schickele, Meier-Graefe saw the political

intent and its potential consequences and declined to have his name used. He thus escaped the embarrassment of having to withdraw in order to save the contact with readers inside Germany.

Schickele had settled in the same area (as did Thomas Mann for a while), and his affairs fill much of the later correspondence. Meier-Graefe intervened with Gottfried on his behalf when Schickele was in a difficult financial situation.

Meitner, Lise, 1878-1968, physicist

1 TLS, 3 April 1946.

Agrees to sell the book rights to an article originally written for *Fortune*.

Mendelssohn, Peter de, 1908- , writer

4 items, 1969. Includes carbon of one letter from Brigitte Bermann Fischer to Mendelssohn.

All four letters deal with final arrangements for the then virtually completed book *S. Fischer und sein Verlag* (S. Fischer and his Publishing House): the dedication to Gottfried and Tutti, motto, epilogue, and disposition of materials used. Later the correspondence discussed future publications, primarily editions of letters to S. Fischer and of the correspondence between Thomas Mann and Gottfried.

Menuhin, Yehudi, 1916- , musician

10 letters, 1959-1966. Includes an exchange between Brigitte Bermann Fischer and Menuhin's secretary and one letter from Menuhin to Pierre Felix Bertaux. In English

After a concert in Frankfurt Menuhin wrote to his friend Pierre Bertaux (in French), reminiscing about Bertaux' mother who had died recently, and mentioning that the Fischers were out of town. Bertaux knew both Fischers well and had known Tutti since her youth, and Menuhin enclosed a manuscript called "Art and Science as Related Concepts. . ." which he wanted shown to the Fischers. After a few months he concluded that Bertaux had not written to the publishing house on his behalf, and therefore mailed a copy himself. Tutti worded the rejection very carefully and suggested that he try *Atlantis* in Zürich. The remaining letters in the file are social notes.

Menzel, Adolph, 1815-1905, artist

1 ALS, 20 March 1891.

A note to the editor of *Humoristisches Deutschland*.

Moissi, Alexander, 1880-1935, actor

2 telegrams, 1912 and 1930. To Samuel Fischer.

Expressions of appreciation.

Moissi, Johanna Terwin, 1884- , actress

1 ALS, May 1935. To Hedwig Fischer.

Thank-you note.

Moore, Henry, 1898- , sculptor

33 letters and cards, 1964-1977. In English

The sculptor Moore met the Fischers in Italy and had a very pleasant visit with them at their home at Camaiore. The file begins with a letter to Tutti recalling that visit and denying that he was going to write a book on Michelangelo.

When the opportunity arose to buy a farm near the Fischer home, Moore was most interested, but first acquired a small house in Forte dei Marmi where he could deal with the matter of the farm's purchase and its refurbishing. When a new British law forbade ownership of more than one house abroad, the Camaiore project stalled. With the Fischers' assistance, the farm was finally purchased in the name of Moore's daughter Mary. The letters comment on the proceedings and the subsequent construction work, and they also offer much detail about Moore's travels, exhibitions, and some of his work.

Molo, Walter Ritter von, 1880-1958, writer

1 TLS, 23 December 1929. To Samuel Fischer.

Congratulations on 70th birthday.

Musil, Robert, 1880-1942, writer

13 items, 1914-1915 and 1938. Includes one letter from Martha Musil and two carbons of Gottfried Bermann Fischer letters to Musil.

Several of Musil's prose works reflect his experiences in World War I in their settings, and the first group of cards and letters dates from the war. Musil was stationed in the Southern Alps where life was at times endangered but generally quiet. His wife was able to stay near him, and in a letter to Hedwig Fischer, Martha described the conditions and assured her about the safety of the area.

For decades Musil worked on one of the great novels of this century, *Der Mann ohne Eigenschaften* (*The Man without Qualities*). The Vienna firm acquired the novel from Rowohlt and published the volumes as they were completed. After the loss of the publishing house in Vienna in 1938, Musil, as an Austrian, did not feel as threatened as Gottfried and the other Germans who had to flee, nor as much as he should have. Although everyone agreed that he should leave Austria soon, Musil demanded financial guarantees which Gottfried could hardly offer in view of the sales prospects for the foreseeable future. A patron was found who was willing to take him into her house in Luxembourg and, together with others, support him during several months of each year, but again he raised demands which could not be met. When the war began a year later, help became virtually impossible, and Musil died in extreme poverty without completing his novel.

Nansen, Peter, 1861-1918, writer

142 letters, cards, and telegrams, 1897-1918. Includes three letters to Olga Schaeffer Eisner.

From 1893 until 1899 Fischer published at least one book by Nansen every year, making him as popular in Germany as he was in his native Denmark. Nansen also worked for newspapers, and in 1897 became director of the Gyldendal publishing house in Copenhagen. Because of his recommendations, many Scandinavian writers' works were published by Fischer. Nansen played a crucial role in the preparation of the great Ibsen edition and the introduction of Herman Bang to Germany. It was Fischer who recommended the expansion of Gyldendal to Norway, and Nansen who had the idea for the seminal "yellow" novel series of Fischer. In 1913 Nansen proposed that Fischer invest in a common film company, but that venture had to be abandoned later.

Nansen was a good observer and talented critic. Through his letters we meet Bang, Björnson, Schnitzler, and Hauptmann,

among others. Nansen was also known as a ladies' man, not only because of his books, but also because of his life style. He was well into his fifties when he failed to return from a summer vacation as scheduled, and he explained to Hedwig that he had fallen in love with a twenty-year old German, Anna Boehm. Waiting at home were a Russian princess and his Danish girlfriend, he wrote, and presumably also his wife. Understandably, he did not want Miss Boehm to follow him to Copenhagen, and the affair was resolved in a series of almost daily love letters.

During the war years Nansen and Fischer conducted their affairs at a scale unthinkable in World War II. Through neutral Denmark Nansen transferred payments and messages on behalf of his friend. He sent the Fischers Danish butter in quantity and requested wine in return. His last order in March 1918 specified thirty bottles of Rhine and twenty of Moselle. In April he was still hoping for a German victory, but by June he wished for an end to the fighting and wondered: "when will people cease to be so stupid?"

After 1916 he was no longer with Gyldebrandt. The separation had not been amicable, and just before his death he completed a book of memoirs relating "the tragedy of a creative talent struggling with the capitalist system." He intended to print it in only twenty copies for his friends, and agreed in his last letter to let Fischer see the volume, but it would have to be returned after a while, for "it is written without art."

An episode of 1911-1912 deserves separate attention. Through Fischer, Nansen heard that Olga Schaeffer, a mutual acquaintance, had her children baptized, and he wrote long letters to her, discussing Christian Jews. His grandfather had left the ghetto as a boy and had become a Jewish leader and reformer in Copenhagen. He was granted permission from the king to have his children baptized "with the semi-noble name Nansen." "Few educated Jews are orthodox," he wrote. "They are free thinkers. Race means something to them, but not religion."

O'Donnell, Edwin Patrick, 1895-1943, writer

2 items, April-May, 1939. In English

Exchange with Gottfried Bermann Fischer re: manuscript and possible contract for publication of a book by O'Donnell, with comments on Hitler and Germany.

Oppenheimer, Elsbeth (Kaulla), librarian

1 ALS, 5 April 1968. To Gottfried Bermann Fischer.

Relates the death of her husband Fritz Oppenheimer; encloses a newspaper obituary and a copy of a report by Oppenheimer.

Oppenheimer, Fritz E., 1898-1968, lawyer

1 ALS, 17 September 1937. To Gottfried Bermann Fischer. In English

Concerns Hedwig's situation in Germany and plans for her leaving.

Orlik, Emil, 1870-1932, painter, etcher

2 ALS, 21 July 1920 and n.d.

Thank-you note; travel postcard.

[see Loerke file for a bookplate designed by Orlik]

Osborn, Max, 1870-1946, art critic, writer

4 letters, 1911, 1914, 1938, 1942.

The earlier letters in this file are to Hedwig Fischer. The first, in the form of a poem, was composed in honor of both the firm's twenty-fifth anniversary and their own personal relationship. The second is a letter of condolence on Gerhart's death. The remaining letters are to the Bermann Fischers, first in Stockholm, then Connecticut, and concern Osborn's departure from Germany, and his later visit to New York.

Otten, Karl, 1889-1963, writer

32 letters and carbons, 1938-1939. All between Otten and Gottfried Bermann Fischer.

In 1938 Fischer published Otten's *Torquemadas Schatten* (Torquemada's Shadow), one of the first titles to be issued from Stockholm. Otten based the novel on the Spanish civil war, and considered it to be as revolutionary in its form as in its setting. He had intended to draw "the greatest revolution of all times which is surrounding us" into the text.

Otten was a determined anti-Nazi agitator. His intimate contacts with the British government and the Secret Service allowed him to give well-informed assessments of the political situation, and

he was able to make recommendations for his friends. However, contact with Otten also had its dangers as when one of Gottfried's letters to him was used by a British Secret Service agent as an introduction to Gottfried. That contact led to Gottfried's incarceration in Sweden on suspicion of sabotage.

Literary plans discussed in the correspondence included an international satirical periodical, which Gottfried did not think feasible, and a collection of letters by émigrés. Items in several other files refer to the latter project, and some basic documents can be found in an appendix to the published correspondence between Gottfried and Thomas Mann. In a letter written just prior to the outbreak of the war, Gottfried proposed that Otten write a book on the tense political situation and include an outlook on the new Europe which had to emerge from the expected catastrophe.

Ottlik, Géza, 1912- , translator

1 TLS, 10 November 1963. To Gottfried Bermann Fischer. In English
Thank-you note.

Oudot, Georges, 1928- , sculptor

1 ACS, 3 February 1960. To Brigitte Bermann Fischer. In French
Refers to payment of a bill.

Pasternak, Boris Leonidovich, 1890-1960, poet

16 items, 1958-1960. Many accompanied by photocopy and typed transcript.

[see appendix for writings in collection]

Fischer published the German translations first of Pasternak's *Doctor Zhivago* and later of other works. The letters are quoted in Tutti's book almost in their entirety. In them, he regretted that his earlier works, which he considered inferior, were now laid bare as a consequence of his sudden fame. He wrote of his hopes for new book projects, and he hinted at the difficulties of an author unwanted in the USSR. He was not permitted to accept the Nobel Prize, his mail was read and often destroyed, and it was obvious that he was being observed constantly.

Pasternak often praised other people: writers, actors, his publishers, and in particular his German translator. He liked to please

people and show his appreciation with gifts. One person above all was singled out in his letters not only to Gottfried and Tutti but also to the publisher Kurt Wolff. Mrs. Becker, a gas station operator in Marburg, had written to him after reading *Doctor Zhivago* and had sent him presents. At one time in her life she had composed a manuscript of her own. Pasternak gave elaborate instructions on how she was to receive books and a big cake or some other suitable present, and he asked Wolff to make sure that Fischer carried out the request.

Penzoldt, Ernst, 1892-1955, writer

2 APcS, 1937. To Brigitte Bermann Fischer.

Thank-you note; New Year's greetings.

Politzer, Heinrich, 1910- , professor

1 ALS, 11 October 1966.

Social letter.

Rathenau, Walther, 1867-1922, industrialist

6 letters, 1917-1922. Also present, one letter from Rathenau's sister to Gottfried Bermann Fischer, 1927.

Rathenau's political role and violent death have kept his name alive, but the dozen books he published with Fischer are today known to very few. In their time, however, they sold well and were widely and ardently discussed. Rathenau was one of the wealthiest and most influential German industrialists, and his fellow businessmen thought his interest in essay writing peculiar. They were scandalized by what they considered to be his "leftist" views. He argued sharply and out of concern for Germany's future, and grew more famous than popular. He lived near the Fischers, was a frequent guest at their house, and knew many of their friends.

The letters touch on some of his writing, but too few of them remain to give a useful record. In 1917 when Rathenau was fifty, Fischer prepared the first collection of his works, in five volumes. The contents were arranged, and Rathenau planned to devote part of the summer at the castle he had acquired from the imperial court to a revision of the texts. He also proposed the creation of a new periodical, and its title offers a glimpse at his political philosophy:

Der Volksstaat: Monatsschrift für sittliche Wiedergeburt (The People's State: A Monthly for the Rebirth of Ethics).

In 1920 *Die neue Rundschau* invited him to write an essay on the Versailles peace treaty, but he declined. The settlement was harsh, and many people blamed it for Germany's suffering and eventual collapse. Rathenau was a member of the national cabinet, and supported compliance with the terms of the treaty. The rightist terrorists who in 1922 ambushed his car not far from the Fischer home were aiming at the government and the treaty, at leftist ideas, and at a Jew:

The final item in the file is a letter to S. Fischer from Rathenau's sister, E. Andreae, regarding her brother's estate.

Redslob, Edwin, 1884-1973, art historian

1 TLS, 12 October 1927. To Samuel Fischer.

Note of apology re: planned commemoration of Rathenau.

Reinhardt, Max, 1873-1943, actor, producer

1 telegram, 13 October 1926. To Samuel Fischer.

Thank-you note.

Reinig, Christa, 1926- , writer

8 letters, 1963-1967.

Social and travel notes following her emigration from East Germany.

Reisiger, Hans, 1884-1968, writer, translator

19 letters and postcards, 1925, 1946-1953.

[see appendix for writings in collection]

"Reisi" was a popular figure with his contemporaries, and references to him appear frequently in the letters of others in this collection. Hedwig Fischer and Thomas Mann in particular treasured his company and invited him to share their vacations. Reisiger was on such familiar terms with the Fischers that in writing to Tutti he called her parents Pappi and Mammi. To Mann he was an audience, a listener to works in progress.

It is regrettable that so little correspondence has survived. His letters are long chronicles, with extensive recollections and discussions of mutual acquaintances. Reisiger had stayed in Germany

after the Nazi takeover and had been imprisoned for a time. He subsequently tried to get help from the Fischers then in Stockholm, and they were able to make plans for him to leave Germany, but Reisiger did not do so. Contact between the Fischers and Reisiger was lost completely during the war.

In 1946 correspondence resumed and he described for the Fischers the physical destruction, the losses, the reunions, and the changes that had taken place in Germany. Beginning in 1950, Reisiger was able to support himself through a translator's position with *Reader's Digest*, but his primary concern was to rewrite some of the manuscripts lost during the war. Despite poor health he completed what he believed to be his best work in 1951, the novel *Äschylos bei Salamis* (Aeschylus near Salamis), and declared to Hedwig that it was "a guaranteed worst seller."

Remarque, Erich Maria, 1898-1970, writer

1 ACS, n.d.

Has finished corrections for his book.

Reuter, Gabriele, 1859-1941, writer

3 ALS, 1913-1914.

Sends a gift to Tutti; thank-you notes to Samuel and Hedwig.

Rilke, Clara Westhoff, 1878-1954, sculptor

103 cards and letters, 1906-1952.

The young sculptor Clara Westhoff and Rainer Maria Rilke were married and had a daughter, but their attempt at family life did not last. Even after their official separation, Clara continued to regard them as a family, occasionally travelling to meet with Rilke, and even caring for him during times of illness.

Although Rainer never became a Fischer author, Clara wrote to Hedwig and S. Fischer, seeking help, advice, and confidence. It was hard for her to accept financial responsibility for her household, and virtually impossible to survive on the income from her art work and payments by Rainer's publisher. Many letters deal with her assignments for busts of S. Fischer (a misunderstanding), Tutti, Hauptmann, and Dehmel. She also wrote of her attempts to establish herself in Berlin and Munich. Her daughter first stayed in the care of the maternal grandmother, and that seems to have led to

some adjustment difficulties later. There were illnesses, setbacks, and periods of despair.

The letters following Rainer's death often mentioned his estate and plans for publication of his correspondence. The few later items in the file are all brief social or thank-you notes.

Rilke, Rainer Maria, 1875-1926, poet

35 letters, cards and telegrams, 1903-1924.

For a brief time Rilke received a stipend from Fischer, but it is unlikely that he would have given his works to Fischer, as the relationship with his own publisher was very close. The contact and hence the correspondence with the Fischers was of a social nature, and the file consists of book requests, pleasantries, and family news.

Ringelnatz, Joachim

see Bötticher, Hans, 1883-1934

Rinser, Luise, 1911- , writer

5 letters, 1948, 1961 (enclosure), 1964, and 1970.

One could not guess from this small file that Rinser became one of Fischer's most prolific fiction writers of the 1950s and 1960s. The letters offer details about some of Rinser's feelings and beliefs, including her position on the "Jewish question" and thoughts about old age. The 1961 letter enclosed the original manuscript of "Erste Liebe" (First Love), written in June 1945.

Rittner, Rudolf, 1869-1943, actor

7 letters and postcards, 1904-1911.

Thank-you and social notes.

Roda Roda, Alexander Friederich Ladislaus, 1872-1945, writer

2 TLS, August - September 1912. To Samuel Fischer.

Requests end to contract with S. Fischer Verlag; thank-you note for granting request.

Rokeah, David, 1913- , writer

1 ALS, 12 June 1964. To Gottfried Bermann Fischer.

Social letter.

Roosevelt, Eleanor (Roosevelt), 1884-1962

1 TLS, 22 August 1953. To Gottfried Bermann Fischer. In English

Requests a meeting in New York.

Rowohlt, Ernst, 1887-1960, publisher

3 items, 1929, 1930, and n.d.

Social and thank-you notes.

Salten, Felix, 1869-1945, writer

10 letters, 1913-1914, 1934, 1939-1941.

Salten is perhaps better remembered today for his children's novel, *Bambi*, than for his serious works. As a young Viennese author, Salten was an associate of Beer-Hofmann, Schnitzler, and Hofmannsthal. Later he became an editor for a Viennese periodical which exchanged advertisements and shared authors with *Die neue Rundschau*. Before and during World War I Fischer published a few volumes of novellas, dramas and essays by Salten.

The Fischers and Saltens sometimes met on vacation, and the letters prior to 1939 are chiefly social notes. After Salten moved to Zürich, however, he wrote in more detail about his life, and the letters provide useful information about the Fischer family and a number of other writers such as Mann and Werfel.

Schaffner, Jakob, 1875-1944, writer

1 ALS, 23 December 1929.

Thank-you note.

Schallück, Paul, 1922-1976, writer, drama critic

1 ALS, 28 November 1956. To Gottfried Bermann Fischer.

Thank-you note.

Scheyer, D

2 TLS, June-July 1932. To Hedwig Fischer.

Requests loan of Hauptmann manuscript for exhibition; thank-you note for the material.

Schickele, René, 1883-1940, writer

12 letters, 1923-1934. Includes draft of one letter from Gottfried Bermann Fischer to Schickele.

During the war of 1914-1918, and particularly during its first half, *Die neue Rundschau* supported the war effort. At that time Schickele was editor of a rival publication which was openly pacifistic and frequently attacked the Fischer camp. After the war, however, the participants on both sides became friends again, and in 1929 Schickele's own books began to appear with Fischer. The first half of the file reflects the cordial social relationship of that time.

Schickele, like Flake an Alsatian by birth, was in France when Hitler became chancellor in 1933, and he decided not to return to Germany. He resisted attempts by Gottfried's office to have him sign loyalty declarations required by the new regime and to change texts in order to pacify the censor. He did, however, agree to a statement dissociating himself from Klaus Mann's exile periodical *Die Sammlung* (The Collection).

The issue was compounded by serious financial disagreements. Schickele had been quite ill and needed money, but Gottfried did not feel he could provide it, and charges were met with countercharges. In the course of the exchange, which also involved Loerke and Meier-Graefe, Schickele accused Gottfried of compromising him for the firm's benefit and told him he should have left Germany himself in 1933. In a frank and extensive letter from Switzerland and hence beyond the reach of censors, Gottfried explained why he was staying in Berlin with the firm. Today his personal statement serves as a good source of information about the publishing house.

Schleich, Carl Ludwig, 1859-1922, physician

4 letters, 1912, 1916, 1920, 1921. To Hedwig Fischer.
Social notes.

Schlenther, Paula Conrad, 1860?-

2 ALS, February and May 1930.
Birthday greetings; thank-you note.

Schlittgen, Hermann, 1859-1930, artist

1 ALS, n.d. To Samuel Fischer.
Discusses the painter Erkmann.

Schnitzler, Arthur, 1862-1931, writer

1 ALS, 23 July 1929. To Hedwig Fischer.
Social letter.

Schnitzler, Heinrich, 1902- , professor, editor

2 letters, July 1938. To Gottfried Bermann Fischer.
Reports family news.

Schuschnigg, Kurt, 1897-1977, politician

5 items, 1946. Includes three carbons of Gottfried Bermann Fischer to Schuschnigg.

In 1946 Gottfried asked Schuschnigg, the last chancellor of pre-war Austria, for the German rights to his memoirs. When the manuscript arrived, Gottfried made requests for extensive revisions. He wanted to cut the contemplative sections drastically, expressing more interest in chapters on Schuschnigg's friends and adversaries. He also wanted Schuschnigg to write more of his experience in the concentration camp. Schuschnigg agreed to many of the changes, but felt he could not be more explicit about events in the camp. When Gottfried, as an American, did not gain permission to do business inside Austria so soon after the war, their plans were abandoned.

Schwarzschild, Leopold, 1891-1950, economist, editor

1 ALS, 14 September 1941. To Gottfried Bermann Fischer.
Apology for a statement concerning Gottfried's independence from Nazi influence.

Schweitzer, Albert, 1875-1965, physician

4 letters, 1955 and 1957.
Re: Fischer edition of *The World of Albert Schweitzer*; acceptance of an invitation.

Silone, Ignazio, 1900-1978, politician, writer

1 ACS, 30 April 1968. In Italian
Thank-you note with comments on Gottfried's autobiography.

Slevogt, Max, 1868-1932, artist

1 ACS, 1928.

Thank-you note.

Solti, Heidi Oechsli (Mrs. Georg Solti)

1 ALS, 5 August 1953. To Brigitte Bermann Fischer.

Social note. Postscript added by Sir Georg Solti, 1912- , conductor.

Speidel, Hans, 1897- , general

2 items, 1959-1960.

Speidel sends his address to the Fischers; carbon of letter from Tutti about her pending visit to Paris.

Stehr, Hermann, 1864-1940, writer

3 ALS, 1908, 1911, 1913. To Hedwig Fischer.

Birthday and anniversary greetings; condolences on death of Gerhart Fischer.

Sternberger, Dolf, 1907- , political scientist, writer

1 ALS, 20 February 1949. To Brigitte Bermann Fischer.

Social letter.

Strauß, Emil, 1866-1960, writer

47 letters and cards, 1901-1933. Some are from Elisabeth (Marschalk) Strauß.

Strauß entered Fischer's circle at the beginning, and first published with him in 1899. His fiction did not achieve popularity, however, and he became resentful of presumed neglect. In 1929 he informed his old patron via postcard that he had signed with another publisher. This move proved fortuitous in 1933 when he was regarded by the Nazis as having moved away from a "Jewish" publisher before such was popular.

The letters show that Fischer, far from neglecting him as he believed, treated him quite favorably, granting royalties reserved for his most successful authors. Toward the end, Strauß complained of not having received advances when he hinted he might need them, but his sales and productivity hardly justified such generosity.

Strauß wrote about his family, village life, and gardening. His letters are amusing, as when he described his approach to *Buddenbrooks*: a terrifyingly fat book which he had sniffed at for a long time, pawing it back and forth, pushing it away and picking it up again before finally digging his teeth into it. He asked whether one should take Rilke's "ceremonious as a broomstick" poems or Altenberg's "jokes" seriously. He was quite unhappy that the publisher had not told him to change the title of his novel *Der nackte Mann* (The Naked Man) before it was printed, as most customers were hesitant to ask for the book, except for a prostitute who had returned her copy, complaining that the book was not what she expected.

There are also three short notes in the file from Strauß' wife Elisabeth, relating to visits or invitations.

Strauss, Richard, 1854-1949, composer, conductor

1 ALS, 20 May 1930. To the general director of the opera theater in Chemnitz.

Thank-you letter for putting on a courageous production of *Frau ohne Schatten* (Woman without Shadow)

Suhrkamp, Peter, 1891-1959, publisher

4 letters, 1947-1949. To Hedwig Fischer.

Although the file has very little about Suhrkamp's crucial role in the Fischer saga, it does contain an instructive report to Hedwig about the difficult beginnings after the war and Gottfried's return. All financial accounts from before 1945 were frozen so that work had to start without capital. Suhrkamp mentioned his poor health and heavy work schedule. He would have liked to see Hedwig return to Berlin in 1947, but acknowledged that life there would not be easy for her. In 1949 he expressed pleasure that her memoirs were now ready for publication, and commented on the disagreement between Thomas Mann and Manfred Hausmann.

Thimig, Helene, 1889-1974, actress

1 ALS, n.d. To Hedwig Fischer.

Thank-you note.

Tiemann, Walter, 1876-1951, artist

1 TLS, 8 January 1930. To Samuel Fischer.

Seventieth birthday greetings.

Torberg, Friedrich, 1908- , writer

9 letters, 1948, 1950.

[see appendix for writings in collection]

In 1948 Torberg edited the collection celebrating the ten-year anniversary of the Stockholm firm. However, when the Fischers asked him two years later to become editor for the first *Almanach* of the reestablished German house, he declined on the grounds that he was not an "old" Fischer author and had also been away from Germany too long. His first publication with Fischer had been a novella which appeared during the war, followed by two novels, in 1948 and 1950.

He and the Fischers developed a cordial relationship which included professional concerns during their stay in America. Torberg played a role in the editing of the revived *Die neue Rundschau*. He was instrumental in the acquisition of the German rights to the works of Franz Kafka, a major achievement for Fischer's new firm in Germany. The correspondence deals with the Kafka rights, with the plan to publish the letters of Franz Werfel, and with Torberg's own writings.

Tully, Grace G., 1900- , secretary to Franklin Delano Roosevelt

1 TLS, 23 June 1942. To Gottfried Bermann Fischer. In English
Thank-you note on behalf of the President for a book received.

Unruh, Fritz von, 1885-1970, dramatist

2 ALS, 1913. To Samuel Fischer.

Condolences on death of Gerhart Fischer; thank-you note for book.

Unsold, Siegfried, 1924- , publisher

3 items, 1959-1960.

An exchange with Brigitte Bermann Fischer re: reestablishment of friendly relations between Suhrkamp Verlag and S. Fischer Verlag.

Van Loon, Hendrik Willem, 1882-1944, writer

22 letters and telegrams, 1938-1943. In English

[see appendix for writings in collection]

Van Loon, a popular Dutch-American non-fiction writer, did not publish with Fischer. In the first letter in the file he wrote that he had given up all his literary work in order to devote himself entirely to anti-Hitler agitation. There was only one thing to do, he felt: "get us into war with Germany." He was also instrumental in the shipment of money and arms to Finland for its fight against Russia; in one letter he reported, "this morning we got 100,000 from Rockefeller" for this purpose.

He helped numerous refugees, among them the Zuckmayers and Fischers. In April 1939, at a time when many people expected war to break out, he invited the Fischers to his home in Old Greenwich, Connecticut, the town where they would eventually settle. Van Loon thought that it would be preferable to remain in Stockholm as long as possible, but in June 1940 he urged immediate departure for the States or even Canada if necessary, and made arrangements for visas and connections. Soon thereafter Gottfried was released from the Swedish prison and not only permitted to leave, but expelled.

Van Loon helped during the first years in America, but the file gives little evidence of this. An amusing exchange concerned the New York Women's Trade Union League. Tutti, who is a trained calligrapher, had done a scroll for a testimonial dinner in honor of Eleanor Roosevelt, and the League asked Van Loon how one could compensate the "poor immigrant." He suggested a bottle of gin.

Viertel, Luise (Mrs. Berthold Viertel)

1 TLS, 21 November 1953. To Brigitte Bermann Fischer.
Thank-you note.

Vollmoeller, Karl Gustav, 1878-1948, writer

1 ALS (photocopy), 17 September 1911. To Samuel Fischer.
Plans for publication of *Turandot* and a "small poem".
[see appendix for writings in collection]

Von Braun, Wernher, 1912-1977, engineer

3 items, 1965, 1969.
Thank-you notes.

Waldau, Gustav, 1871-1958, actor

1 ALS, n.d. To Hedwig Fischer.

Thank-you note.

Walter, Bruno, 1876-1962, conductor

24 items, 1926-1939 and 1946-1954. Includes five carbons of Gottfried Bermann Fischer to Walter, 1939.

Walter's file consists chiefly of social notes. There is, however, a lengthy exchange with Gottfried in 1939 relating to a new printing of Walter's essay "Von den moralischen Kräften der Musik." Details about the essay's release by the first publisher, conditions for the new publication by Fischer, and copies of the contract between Walter and Fischer are present. Two of the 1946 letters also discuss the publication of Walter's autobiography which appeared the following year.

Wassermann, Jakob, 1873-1934, writer

314 letters and cards, 1899-1934.

In his last years, Wassermann was nearly as popular as Hauptmann, Thomas Mann, Hesse, Schnitzler, and his other friends publishing with Fischer, but his life was filled with many setbacks and depressions interrupted by brief periods of euphoria. His fear of failure and rejection was as extreme as his sense of being reborn, of "finally" having found himself. The letters give a fascinating account of a stormy inner life.

Wassermann wrote lengthy novels, and at times worked on several at once. His own judgment and the criticism of his friends, however, caused him to reject much of his own writing. Moritz Heimann particularly influenced him. One novel was reduced by more than half, and others were recast or abandoned. Once he told Hedwig how he had written the first part of a novel twenty-two times. He even reworked books years after they had been published.

Wassermann regarded Hedwig and S. Fischer as intimate friends, even when their business connection was strained. Time and again the letters anxiously ask about the meaning of a delay in response: did they not love him any more? He wrote openly of his feelings for them, of his family affairs, and of his relationships with other people.

Wassermann was greatly troubled by the effects of the dissolution of his first marriage. His former wife remained in the good graces of Hedwig who often spoke on her behalf, but Wassermann insisted that he was the real victim. Indeed, after a lengthy series of legal attacks, he lost most of his possessions as well as his peace. It was Thomas Mann, a writer not given to exaggerations, who said that "this madwoman has literally hounded him to death." Details about the eight years of divorce proceedings occupy many of the letters after 1919.

The final item in the file is a printed announcement of Wassermann's death, 1 January 1934.

Weizsäcker, Carl-Friedrich von, 1912- , physicist, philosopher
1 TLS, 9 May 1960.
Thank-you note.

Wells, Herman B, 1902- , educator
1 TLS, 11 March 1977. In English
Thank-you note with comments on the *Almanach*.

Werfel, Alma Schindler Mahler, 1879-1964
53 items, 1923-1960. Includes 8 carbons of Gottfried Bermann Fischer to Alma Werfel.

"Do you recognize Alma Mahler-Werfel on the reverse?" The other side of the postcard to Tutti shows a painting by Oskar Kokoschka with a reclining man and nude woman amidst stormy swirls. Its title, "Die Windsbraut," can be rendered in English either as "The Tempest" or as "The Bride of the Wind." It is quite appropriate to depict Alma Werfel as a tempest. A list of her three husbands merely hints at her impact on the world of art: Mahler the composer, Gropius the architect, and finally Werfel the writer.

The file begins in 1923, six years before her marriage to Franz. She and Werfel went into exile in 1938, and after a perilous escape from France reached the United States in 1940 where they settled in Beverly Hills, California. After Franz' death Alma moved to New York where she lived for nearly two decades, surrounded by friends and mementos.

Alma often wrote short, impulsive letters, occasionally mentioning Franz' work, but never fully revealing an independent

image of herself. The exchange of letters with Gottfried in 1939 involved a manuscript, written by an acquaintance, that she had forwarded to Fischer for possible publication, and her efforts to aid Franz in getting the Nobel Prize. Gottfried promised assistance in the prize matter but warned that it might well be given to someone else out of anti-German sentiment.

Werfel, Franz V., 1890-1945, writer

89 items, 1938-1945. Includes 38 carbons of Gottfried Bermann Fischer to Werfel.

[see appendix for writings in collection]

Werfel's books had been published in Vienna by Zsolnay who lost his firm to the Nazis. Gottfried, Otten, Werfel, Zweig and others believed that Zsolnay then cooperated with the Nazis and worked as their undercover literary agent in London. The file offers information on Zsolnay's activities and on Werfel's attempt to confront him.

Werfel agreed to join the emerging Stockholm operation in May 1938, and the letters show him establishing contact for Zweig and Torberg. Separating Werfel from the Zsolnay publishing house was not easy. The whole exchange of terse business letters between the firms of Zsolnay and Fischer is included in the file, and nothing was resolved before the summer of 1939.

The letters reflect Werfel's literary activities. They show how he interrupted work on a major novel in order to compose a little *divertissement* for the benefit of his publisher, and how that little piece grew into the novel *Der veruntreute Himmel* (*Embezzled Heaven*). Incidentally, Gottfried objected to that title as long as he could, but Werfel persisted.

In July 1939 Gottfried gave a full account of his publishing plans for the coming season and invited Werfel to the PEN congress in Stockholm, in part because he wanted his help in organizing the members of the Austrian emigration. At first Werfel was not very interested, but on 25 August he urgently telegraphed agreement. He sensed the approach of war and wanted to escape from France, but it was too late. During the months which followed, both parties tenaciously worked to maintain contact and to continue publishing and book distribution activities. The correspondence breaks off just prior to Werfel's escape from France. The last two items are tele-

grams to Gottfried, in 1943 and 1945, thanking him for comments about new books.

Wichert, Ernst, 1831-1902, magistrate, writer

1 ALS, 7 February 1895. To editors of *S. Fischer*.

Response to letter written to him 30 January.

Wiecke, Paul

1 ALS, 23 October 1926. To Samuel Fischer.

Congratulations on fortieth anniversary.

Wilder, Thornton, 1897-1975, writer

18 letters, 1940-1967. Includes one from Isabel Wilder. In English

In the first letter Wilder encouraged Gottfried's plan to launch an American publishing business and gave permission for the use of his name in promoting it. The remainder of the items are social and travel notes and testify to Wilder's affection for the Fischers.

Wolf, Eugen, 1850-1912, writer

1 ALS, January 1898. To Samuel Fischer.

Thank-you note; comments on opinions of African colonizers on the "treatment of negroes."

Wolff, Kurt, 1887-1963, publisher

12 letters, January-July 1960. To Brigitte Bermann Fischer. Includes three carbons of Brigitte Bermann Fischer to Wolff.

After their emigration to America, Kurt and Helen Wolff became the publishers of Pantheon Books. The majority of the letters discuss Boris Pasternak and translators of his works, particularly Dr. Keil. One concerns the Fischers' effort to place an English version of Golo Mann's history of nineteenth-century Germany with Wolff. Despite its many merits, Wolff found the book unsuitable for the American market.

Wolfskehl, Karl, 1869-1948, writer

4 letters, with enclosures, 1946. Includes one carbon of Gottfried Bermann Fischer to Wolfskehl.

In 1946, writing from Auckland, Wolfskehl submitted a manuscript of poetry, accompanied by a long explication, to Gottfried for possible publication. He wanted his poems to appear as a separate volume, not in *Die neue Rundschau*. Gottfried replied that he could not publish them as a book, and sent a few issues of the revived *Die neue Rundschau*. Wolfskehl then mailed a manuscript about Beethoven, and a few months later inquired about its fate. Both manuscripts are present in the file.

Zimmer, Heinrich Robert, 1890-1943, scholar

42 items, 1939. Includes twenty carbons of Gottfried Bermann Fischer letters to Zimmer and one to Gertrud von Hofmannsthal.

Hofmannsthal's daughter Christiane married Zimmer, a professor of Sanskrit at the University of Heidelberg. One of Hofmannsthal's four grandparents had been Jewish, but Christiane had managed to gain a declaration of "Aryan" ancestry for him and hence for herself. That move, advantageous as it may have appeared originally, prevented the release of Hofmannsthal's books by Nazi authorities to an exile publisher; he was "one of theirs" officially, even though they did not particularly favor his writings.

The correspondence chronicles the difficulties that arose in the transfer of Hofmannsthal's works to Fischer's Stockholm firm. The case was complicated by Zimmer's and Christiane's desire not to disrupt sales inside Germany and by the presence of Hofmannsthal's widow, Gerty, in German-annexed Austria. When Gerty was permitted to leave and thus no longer in danger of being taken hostage, Gottfried could act more boldly. He conducted extensive deliberations to gain the release of not only the publication rights but also the large stock of already printed volumes.

The declaration of war in effect settled or ended negotiations, and Gottfried prepared the big Stockholm edition of Hofmannsthal's works.

Zola, Émile, 1840-1902, writer

1 ALS, 3 November 1888. To Samuel Fischer. In French
Regrets he has already discussed rights to German adaptation of *Rêve* with someone else.

Zuckermandl, Victor, 1896-1965, musicologist

31 letters, 1938-1962. Includes original letters of Gottfried Bermann Fischer and Brigitte Bermann Fischer to Zuckermandl.

Zuckermandl worked for the Vienna firm and remained there after the Fischers fled. Following the Nazi takeover he was fired by the new management, and there could be no doubt that he was in serious danger. He later left for Sweden and in 1940 moved to the United States where he taught at Wellesley and then at St. John's in Annapolis. Fischer published his writings on music, and Zuckermandl often acted as consultant to the Fischer firm.

This file also offers material unmatched by others in the collection: the original letters written by Gottfried and Tutti which describe their own work and life, beginning in 1940 when they arrived on the West Coast. In 1947 Tutti wrote her impressions of Europe and reported on the rebuilding of the German firm. She also tried to engage Zuckermandl in her plans for a model school in Ulm, building on the new *Geschwister-Scholl-Schule*.

As a music critic Zuckermandl once wrote a long and admiring letter to Thomas Mann, lauding the treatment of music in *Dr. Faustus*. A copy of that letter is in the file.

Zuckmayer, Carl, 1896-1977, writer

199 items, 1931-1977. Includes some carbons of Gottfried Bermann Fischer and Brigitte Bermann Fischer and a few letters from Alice Zuckmayer.

[see appendix for writings in the collection]

The earthy vitality of Zuckmayer's plays made him a popular and sometimes controversial figure long before he and his family had to flee from Austria in 1938. During the months following his escape he and Gottfried maintained a lively correspondence. Their letters dealt mostly with Zuckmayer's own writings and with the marketing and success of his works at that difficult time. The correspondence also provides a good record of his changing plans; theater work, film script writing, translation plans, all are explored and described in long detailed letters.

In midsummer 1939 the Zuckmayers moved to a backwoods farm in Vermont where they pursued the life of farmers for the next few years. In 1944 Zuckmayer began writing prodigiously again,

and his letters were as informative as before the war, reporting on new works and new productions of old ones. Immediately after the war his plays were again produced in Germany, with gratifying success. He returned early, at first as a cultural officer in the American occupation zone so that he could witness some of the stage productions. One of his plays, *Des Teufels General* (The Devil's General), was particularly successful. Characteristically, it treats a flying ace who becomes involved in sabotage against the German air force. The hero represents a reformed German ideal, being both a good soldier and a fearlessly ethical person.

Zuckmayer's popularity made him, in his own words, "the best horse" in Fischer's barn. In his later years he was treated by the Fischers almost as a successor to Hauptmann and Thomas Mann, as "first author" of the firm. Although there are gaps in the correspondence, this is one of the most valuable files of the archive.

Zweig, Stefan, 1881-1942, writer

32 items, 1926, 1938-1939. Includes ten carbons of Gottfried Bermann Fischer to Zweig.

[see appendix for writings in collection]

Zweig, a well-known Austrian novelist and essayist, lost his publisher in 1938 and subsequently became affiliated with the Stockholm firm. As his books had been burned in Germany in 1933, Zweig no longer had a German audience. Prior to the Austrian annexation he moved to London and later became a British subject. Fischer began to issue his collected works, a project which was not completed until long after the return of the publishing house to Germany.

The preparation of the contract in 1938 filled a number of letters. The acquisition of the works of two such important authors as Werfel and Zweig, at the weakest point in the long history of the publishing house, constituted a major victory for Gottfried. But the benefits of the new relationship transcended those of Zweig's own *oeuvre*. London was a center of international activity, and Zweig had excellent contacts. His letters provided literary and "political" advice, he played a role in the creation of the *Forum* publication series and in Gottfried's futile attempt to wrest the German rights to the works of Pearl S. Buck from a German agent. The correspondence ended after the outbreak of the war.

There is one letter to S. Fischer, written on the occasion of the firm's fortieth anniversary in 1926. Zweig was not a Fischer author then. He expressed his admiration, tracing it back to his teenage days when books from Fischer already possessed a special value for him, a mark of quality.

Appendix: Writings in the Collection*

Agnon, Samuel Joseph, 1888- . AD. 5p. [excerpts or quotes from other authors: "Nicht alles, was man denkt, ist recht zum Sagen"; "Wer ermisst des Ewigen Geistesflug?"; *Ans Licht gebracht; Besser ist es für ein Buch, wenn der Verfasser arm ist; Richtige Schreibung*]

Aichinger, Ilse, 1921- . 5 poems.
"Der Philippshof, Zweige" [1st line] ADS. 1966. 1p.
Um diese Zeit. ADS. 1p.
"Die Vögel flöten im Herbst" [1st line] TD. 1p.
"Die Welt ist aus dem Stoff" [1st line] TD. 1p.
Winterfrüh. ADS. 1p. plus TD copy.

Annunzio, Gabriele d', 1863-1938.
Sogno d'un mattino di primavera. ADS. 33p.

Bierbaum, Otto Julius, 1865-1910.
"Im heroischen Altertume schickten. . ." [1st line] ADS. 1p.

Blaich, Hans Erich, 1873-1945. *see* Hesse. *Zehn Gedichte*. 1939.

Fischer, Hedwig, 1871-1952.
Manfred Hausmann. TD. 1p. [memoir]; [transcript of two letters from Hausmann, 12 Dec. 1934 and 23 Aug. 1947] 6p.

Flake, Otto, 1880-1963.
Irene. TDS. 17p.

Fontane, Theodor, 1819-1898.
Wie denken Sie über Rußland? AD. 6p. [for *Neue deutsche Rundschau*, issue 4, 1895]

*This list does not include manuscripts sent as enclosures of letters. Those have been kept with the letters and may be found in the appropriate correspondence file.

Goes, Albrecht, 1908- . 15 items.

Erfüllter Augenblick. TDS. Feb. 1950. 2p.

Fische und Sterne. ADS. 18p. [speech on opening of new building of S. Fischer, 30 Apr. 1955]

Mignon, zum erstenmal. T(carbon)DS. 4p.

Orplid und Zauberberg: Eine Rundfunksendung zum 6. Juni 1950. Süddeutscher Rundfunk. T(carbon)S. bound.

Poems: *Aber im Winde das Wort*. ADS. Oct. 1948. 2p.

Berliner Ostern, 1916. TDS. 1949. 1p.

. . . , *Blick auf Latium*. ADS. Fall 1974. 1p.

Die unablösbare Kette. TDS. 2p.

Das Sankt Galler Spiel von der Kindheit Jesu. T(carbon)DS. Easter, 1949. 46p. bound.

Thomas Mann: Die Entstehung des Doktor Faustus [book review] TDS. [1949] 4p.

Thomas Mann und die Deutschen [transcript of discussion of 13 June 1949 on Radio Stuttgart by Hans Reisiger, Hermann Mostar, Albrecht Goes] TD. 1p.

Über ein Gedicht von Moerike. TDS. Christmas, 1950. 16p.

Väter und Söhne. TDS. 5 Mar. 1970. 4p.

Von Mensch zu Mensch: Begegnung und Bindung. Ein Vortrag. T(carbon)DS. [end of 1951] 26p. bound.

Hartleben, Erich Otto, 1864-1905.

Der Halkyonier: Ein Buch Schlußreime (1897-1903). ADS. 134p.

Hauptmann, Gerhart, 1862-1946. 9 items.

Elektra. TDS. 4 Nov. 1944. 21p.

Festspiel, TD. 84p. bound.

Das Friedensfest: Eine Familienkatastrophe. ADS. 22p. bound.

Also corrected proof sheets for pp. 19 & 20 from *Das Friedensfest*. 2p. printed.

Deutschland [radio speech of 25 June 1931, Berlin] TD. 10p.

Prolog ("Zur Wiedereröffnung des Deutschen Theaters in Berlin, Sept. 1894"). AD. 3p. [poem]

Rose Bernd. T(carbon)D. 126p.

[Speech of 28 May 1927 on opening of international bookprinting exhibition in Leipzig] TD. 3p.

Die versunkene Glocke [fragment of Act 2 and 3, copied by GH's first wife.]. AD. [1897] 40p.

Menzel, Gerhard: *Rede, gehalten am 4. Sept. in Breslau zur Feier des siebenzigsten Geburtstages Dr. Gerhart Hauptmanns*. TD. 3p. [speech]

Hausmann, Manfred, 1898- . 5 items.

Abel mit der Mundharmonika. TD. 162p. [in 2 vols]

Die Achterbahn. A and TD. 57p. [presentation to Gottfried Hermann Fischer]

Für Frau Hedwig Fischer. AD. 29 July 1931. 1p. [poem]

"Er ass bei Tisch" [1st line] ADS. 21 Jan. 1933. 1p. [poem]

Ganz ergebenste Geburtstagsadresse an den hochwohlgeborenen Herrn S. Fischer. AD. 24 Dec. 1932. 4p. [birthday poem, illustrated]

Heckmann, Herbert, 1930- . 17 items.

[Dedications] ADS. 2p. with illustrations.

[*Der kleine Fritz: Ein Roman für Kinder und solche, die es werden wollen*]. TD. 98p.

Nur einen Augenblick Gehör, dreimal verfluchtes Publikum. ADS. 1p.

[Poems]: *Dort der Tintenpfuhl*. ADS. 1p.

5 Gedichte für Tutti: Versuch einer Buchstabenbeglückung. ADS. Christmas, 1963. 5p.

"leergeschwätzt ist der Himmel" [1st line] TD. 1p.

"mein liebes Seelchen laß uns leben" [1st line] TDS. 1p.

"Meine Augen fangen Feuer" [1st line] ADS. 10 Dec. 1962. 1p. plus TD copy.

mit tauchenden Blicken. Für G.B.F. TDS. 7 Aug. 1963. 1p.

"Schnee loescht die Erde" [1st line] TDS. 1p.

"Schwarzgeschrei" [1st line] TDS. 17 Sept. 1962. 1p.

"der Staub einer Nacht auf dem Tisch" [1st line] TDS. 1p. *der Tabakladen*. TD. 1p.

"taub" [1st line] TDS. 12 Apr. 1963? 1p.

"Westwind jagt den Winter aus den Furchen" [1st line] TDS. 1p.

Fischer, G.B.: *Vorlesung Heckmann* [speech] AD. Dec. 1964. 1p.

Heimann, Moritz, 1868-1925. 2 items.

Hospes Exulibus [poem for dedication in anniversary *Almanach* of S. Fischer 1886-1911] TD. 22 Oct. 1911. 1p.

[*Grabrede am Grabe Gerhart Fischers*. 1913] AD. 1p. plus typed transcript, 1p.

Hesse, Hermann, 1877-1962. 20 items (in chronological order)

Neue Gedichte. TDS. 1908. 24p.

Gedichte von Hermann Hesse. TDS with water-color and pen-and-ink sketches. Christmas, 1918. 26 leaves.

Piktors Verwandlungen. Ein Märchen. TDS with water-color illus. Christmas, 1922. 15 leaves. sewn.

Blumen nach einem Gewitter. TDS with water-color. June 1933. 2p.

Träume des Gärtners. T(carbon)DS. 1 July 1933. 1p.

Häuser am Abend. TDS with water-color. July 1933. 3p.

Besinnung. TDS. 20 Nov. 1933. 1p. Signed presentation 1 Jan. 1934.

Heißer Mittag. T(carbon)DS. 1933? 1p.

Sommerabend in einem Tessiner Waldkeller. T(carbon)D. 1933? 1p.

Föhn - Nacht. TDS. Feb. 1938. 1p.

Nachtgedanken von Hermann Hesse. TD. Nov. 1938. 2p.

Ein paar Gedichte. ADS with water-colors. Easter, 1939. 7p.

Zehn Gedichte. Printed DS. July 1939. 14p. Inside cover: 6 line poem by "Dr. Owlglass" [Hans Erich Blaich, 1873-1945], praising Hesse's *Zehn Gedichte*. T(carbon)D; inserted at pg. 10, TD of poem printed on that page.

Gruss zu Ostern [2 poems] TDS. 1940. 3p. and cover.

Skizzenblatt. TDS. 5 Dec. 1946. 1p.

Herbstgeruch. TDS. 2 copies - Sept. 1947; fall 1947. each 1p.

Ein Satz ueber die Kadenz. TDS. [1947] 1p.

Ballade vom Klassiker. TDS. n.d. 2p. [presentation to S. Fischer]

Besinnung. TD. n.d. 1p.

Stufen. TD. n.d. [on verso of *Besinnung*]

Heuser, Kurt, 1903-1975.

Gruss an das Unwiederbringliche. TDS. 9p.

Holitscher, Arthur, 1869-1941.

[2 selections from Holitscher's memoirs] TDS.

Huchel, Peter, 1903-1981.

[Christmas card from S. Fischer Verlag, with three autograph poems by P.H.] ADS. 1962? 4p.

Jones, James, 1921-1977.

"Pvt. Bell. . . " ADS. 27 Oct. 1960. 1p.

Lagerlöf, Selma Ottiliana Lovisa, 1858-1940.

Herrn Arnes Schatz. AD (pencil) with pen-and-ink and water-color illustrations. 11p. [All in unknown hand]

Loerke, Oskar, 1884-1941. 4 items.

Abstieg nach Süden. AD. 1p.

An die Grundmächte. ADS. 1p.

Pompejanischer Abend. AD. 1p. [Copy made on occasion of Hedwig Fischer's birthday, 8 Sept. 1924]

["Tischrede von Loerke zu Ehren von Regina Rosenbaum, Oktober 1933"] TD. 2p.

Maass, Joachim, 1901-1972. 2 items.

Das Beet: Ein Zyklus früher Gedichte. TD. 9 Mar. 1939. 34p.

[4 poems]: *Ein Lebenslied, Tränen, Die Nacht des Einsamen, Der Spuk von ehem.* TDS. July 1949. 1p.

Mann, Thomas, 1875-1955. 20 items.

Ansprache im Goethe-Jahr. TDS. 26 July 1949. 24p.

["Auf den Tod S. Fischer's"] T(carbon)D. 28 Oct. 1934. 2p.

Die Betrogene. TD. 70p.

Deutsche Hörer: 8 Sept. 1941. ADS. 4p. plus photocopy; 28 Oct. 1941. TD. 2p.

Deutschland und die Deutschen. TD. 30p. [address at Library of Congress, 29 May 1945]

Die Entstehung des "Doktor Faustus". TD. 211p. [printer's ms.]

Die Erotik Michelangelos. ADS. July 1950. 14p.

"Faust" von Goethe: *Vortrag für Studenten der Universität Princeton* TD. Sept.-Oct. 1938. 45p.

Franz Werfel. Photocopy of ADS. 3p.

Goethes Werther. TD. 18p.

Hermann Hesse. T(carbon)D. 18 Apr. 1947. 9p.

Ich bin der Herr dein Gott. TD. 1944. 87p. [printer's ms.]

Joseph der Ernährere. TD. 510p.

"Joseph und seine Brüder." *Ein Vortrag.* [Given 17 Nov. 1942 in the Library of Congress] TD. Sept. 1942. 33p.

Der Künstler und die Gesellschaft. Photocopy of TD. Aug. 1952. 11p. [lecture]

[*Leiden an Deutschland*] T(carbon)D. 86p.

Little Grandma. TD. 1942. 10p.

[*Lotte in Weimar*—chapter 7] AD plus photocopy. 5p.

[“Thomas Mann, Ehrenbürger von Lübeck”] TD. [1953] 4p. [address]

Also: 4 folders of clippings by and about Thomas Mann, memorabilia relating to his 70th and 80th birthday celebrations, and to the 100th anniversary of his birth.

Meier-Graefe, Julius, 1867-1935.

[Essay on Hauptmann on his 60th birthday] TD. 3p.

Menuhin, Yehudi, 1916- .

Art and Science as Related Concepts (an attempt at their comparative anatomy as revealed in various fields of human endeavour). Photocopy of TD. 18p. [in English]

Palten, Brian, 1946- .

Fireflies [poem]. ADS. July 1973. 1p. [in English]

Pasternak, Boris, 1890-1960.

[*Wenn es aufklart*—Additions to the poems] A and TDS. 7 Feb. 1959. 10p. [in Russian]

Table of contents and bibliographic information. T(carbon)D. Mar. 1959. 6p. [in German]

Reisiger, Hans, 1884-1968. 2 items.

“6 Gedichte handschriftlich.” A and T(carbon)S. 1924? 16p.
Genfer See. AD. 9p.

Rinser, Luise, 1911- . 3 items.

Aus “Septembertag”. ADS. Christmas, 1963. 4p.

Sie zogen mit dem Stern: Ein Weihnachtsspiel für Kinder. ADS. Christmas, 1950. 35p. [Premiere 6 Jan. 1951 on Radio Baden-Baden]

Zwischen den Zeiten. ADS. 1964. 15p.

Torberg, Friedrich, 1908-

Autor, Verleger und Buchhändler [Address to booksellers conference, Vienna, 29 Mar. 1952]. T(carbon)D. 5p.

Innere und äussere Emigration: Ein imaginärer Dialog. T(carbon)D. 16p.

Van Loon, Hendrik Willem, 1882-1944. 2 items.

[Christmas Eve radio address] T(carbon)D. 1940. 5p. [in English]
"Late that night Pontius Pilate. . ." [opening phrase] AD. 5p. [an Easter story; in English]

Vollmoeller, Karl Gustav, 1878-1948.

Giulia: Drama in einem Aufzug. TD. 19p. bound.

Wassermann, Jakob, 1873-1934. 3 items.

"Helles Herz," [opening phrase] ADS. Feb. 1908. 1p.
(*Mit einem Feuerzeug*) ADS. 24 Dec. 1927. 1p.
Der siebzigjährige S. Fischer. ADS. Dec. 1929. 4p.

Werfel, Franz, 1890-1945. 4 items.

Ballade von der Krankheit. AD. 2p.
Morgensturm. AD. 1p.
Traumstadt eines Emigranten. AD. 1p.
Die wahre Geschichte vom wiederhergestellten Kreuz. T(carbon)D. 41p.

Zuckmayer, Carl, 1896-1977. 9 items.

Des Teufels General. T(carbon)DS. [3rd act only of play]
"Entwurf zu einer planmässigen Sammlung des produktiven und unabhängigen Deutschtums in der Emigration." T(carbon)DS. Oct. 1938. 7p.
[Poems]: *Elegie von Abschied und Wiederkehr* (1939). T(carbon)DS. 1p.
Das Alter. ADS. 8 Sept. 1946. 2p. Also: TD. 1p.
Spruch auf diesen Tag. TD. 29/30 Mar. 1947. 1p.
"Der Bäcker bäckt, der Drucker druckt" [1st line] ADS. Oct. 1965. 1p.
Rinder-Legende. ADS. Christmas, 1966. 1p.
Der Seelenbräu: Erzählung. TD. 116p.

Zweig, Stefan, 1881-1942.

Schachnovelle. T(carbon)DS. 21 Feb. 1942. 63p.

