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**The impossible legacy: identity and purpose in recent
(1970-95) English and German language
autobiographical children's literature set in the Third
Reich and the Second World War.**

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In memory of my parents and of Silvia, my first German friend.

Abstract

It is the aim of this study to explore the phenomenon of recent (1970-1995) English and German language autobiographical writing for children in which writers' childhood experiences during the Third Reich, the war years and the immediate post-war period provide the basis for a fictionalised reconstruction of childhood. The complex relationship between childhood and adulthood evident in these texts is one forged by the particular social and historical circumstances of wartime, as many writers affected by the last world war are engaged in a process of reassessing their own identities in accordance with changing perspectives on the past. Current ideologies inevitably shape the adult narrator's reconstruction of the historical events which a child could not understand fully at the time. In these texts, recording experience for the next generation serves a therapeutic as well as a didactic purpose, for each enables the writer to regain contact with the childhood self in a contained and clearly focussed narrative.

A detailed thematic and stylistic analysis of selected texts is informed by a survey of studies on the history and purpose of autobiographical writing about childhood, an examination of the role of writing as therapy in the psychoanalytical tradition, and the position of language in the autobiographical process. In particular, the work of Jung and the reinterpretation of Freud by Jacques Lacan has illuminated discussion of these issues. Comparisons are made between retrospective accounts of wartime childhood by German, Jewish and British writers; differences in the nature and volume of autobiographical writing in German and English are related to the timing of these accounts and the decision to write for a child audience. In passing stories on to the next generation, writers' selection of content and control of narrative perspective are indicative of both national and personal preoccupations. Finally, the interplay between a historically evolving reevaluation of the past and the developmental history of the self is related to aspects of the reception of texts and the purposes they are expected to fulfil.

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Bibliographical notes:

1) Since the timing of autobiographical writing is crucial to the argument of this study, all dates of publication of autobiographical texts cited within the body of the thesis are those of first editions. Where quotations from texts are made, page references are those of editions listed in the bibliography.

2) All translations of quotations from German texts are my own unless stated otherwise. Titles of primary German texts discussed in the thesis have been translated literally where no published translation has been traced. As titles discussed in some detail have only been translated the first time they occur, the following list is included for quick reference: full information on each text is included in the bibliography.

Finckh, Renate: Mit uns zieht die neue Zeit . The new era starts with us.

Fuchs, Ursula: Emma oder die unruhige Zeit . Emma, or turbulent times.

Gehrts, Barbara: Nie wieder ein Wort davon? Never say another word about it?

von der Grün, Max: Wie war das eigentlich: Kindheit und Jugend im Dritten Reich . What was it really like? Childhood and youth in the Third Reich.
(Published in the USA under the title Howl Like the Wolves)

Hannsmann, Margarete: Der helle Tag bricht an: ein Kind wird Nazi.
The dawn is bright: a child becomes a Nazi.

Nöstlinger, Christine: Maikäfer flieg! Published in the UK as Fly Away Home.

Nöstlinger, Christine: Zwei Wochen im Mai . Two weeks in May.

Pausewang, Gudrun Auf einem langen Weg. A long journey.

Pausewang, Gudrun: Rosinkawiese: Alternatives Leben vor 50 Jahren Rosinka meadow: an 'alternative' lifestyle fifty years ago.

Pausewang, Gudrun: Fern von der Rosinkawiese. Far from Rosinka meadow.

Pausewang, Gudrun: Geliebte Rosinkawiese. Die Geschichte einer Freundschaft über die Grenzen. Beloved Rosinka meadow. The story of a cross-border friendship.

Recheis, Käthe: Lena: Unser Dorf und der Krieg. Lena: Our village and the war.

Richter, Hans-Peter: Damals war es Friedrich. Published in the UK under the title Friedrich.

Richter, Hans-Peter Wir waren dabei. Published in the UK under the title I was there.

Richter, Hans-Peter: Die Zeit der jungen Soldaten . Published in the UK under the title The Time of the Young Soldiers

Ross, Carlo: ...aber Steine reden nicht. ...but stones can't talk.

Schönfeldt, Sybil Gräfin: Sonderappell 1945 - Ein Mädchen berichtet.
Special Roll Call 1945 - A girl reports.

Schwarz, Annelies: Wir werden uns wiederfinden. We will find each other again.

von Staden, Wendelgard: Nacht über dem Tal. Night over the valley.

Ungerer, Tomi: Die Gedanken sind frei: Meine Kindheit im Elsass.
Thoughts are free: My childhood in Alsace.

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Introduction

The future is nothing, but the past is myself, my own history, the seed of my present thoughts, the mould of my present disposition.

-- R.L. Stevenson¹

The year 1995 marked the fiftieth anniversary of the end of the Second World War; the contrast in emphasis between the public celebration of VE day in Britain and the acknowledgement of 'fifty years of peace' or 'fifty years of freedom from fascism'² in Germany was evident to anyone spending time in both countries during the early summer of that year. Children's literature reflected this inevitable difference in perspectives on the past, as a series of opportunistic visits to bookshops revealed. During May - VE day festivities took place in Britain on May 8th - bookshops in Frankfurt³ mounted displays of accounts and novels by German and Jewish writers based on their childhood experience during the Third Reich; no displays of children's books on British wartime childhood were encountered in London in the same period. A range of new publications and new editions of older titles were available in Germany⁴, whereas to the best of my knowledge the only republication on the British market was Robert Westall's collection of wartime childhood memoirs, Children of the Blitz (1985), reissued in 1995

¹ Essays of the Road. R.L. Stevenson, cited in Bielenberg (1968).

² A phrase used, for example, as the banner headline on the cover of a collection of essays for children on the political and social legacy of the Third Reich: Teuter, Abraham (ed.) (1995). Freiheit na und? (literally: Freedom, so what?). Frankfurt: Alibaba .

³ In Hugendubel, a large bookshop in the city centre, a table in the children's book department was devoted to an exhibition of books on National Socialism including representations of the Jewish experience; in Eselsohr, a smaller specialised children's bookshop, books on the theme were displayed both in the window and inside the shop.

⁴ In addition to Sonderappell: 1945 - ein Mädchen berichtet (literally: Special Roll Call: 1945 - a girl reports, 1995) by Sybil Gräfin Schönfeldt, republications included: Annelies Schwarz (1995) Wir werden uns wiederfinden (literally: We will find each other again) München: dtv; Carlo Ross (May 1995), Im Vorhof der Hölle (literally: In the forecourt of hell), and Ingeborg Bayer (1995) Ehe alles Legende wird (literally: Before it all becomes a legend), Würzburg: Arena. Examples of new publications for children were a collection of short stories edited by Harald Roth (1995) Verachtet, verstossen, vernichtet: Kinder- und Jugendjahre unterm Hakenkreuz (literally: Despised, rejected, destroyed: childhood and youth under the swastika) Würzburg: Arena, and a series of personal accounts of childhood during the war years edited by Silvia Bartholl (1995) Inge, David und die anderen: Wie Kinder den Krieg erlebten (literally: Inge, David and the others: children's wartime experiences), Weinheim: Beltz.

with a new foreword in which Westall, who died in 1993, takes a nostalgic view of wartime childhood. Although this snapshot of responses in commercial publishing and bookselling for children does not claim to be exhaustive, there are clear indications both of the comparative position of children's literature within the two cultures in the reassessment of the past, and the role played by autobiographical writing in this process.

In a study concerned with autobiography, it is of particular relevance to include brief autobiographical insights into how the questions of British and German perspectives on the war years became issues of interest to the writer⁵. 1995 also marked the passage of thirty years since my own first visit to Germany as a school exchange student, the starting point for a lifelong engagement with Germany and the Germans. Such close contact has brought great pleasure and enlightenment personally and culturally, yet there has been a persistent undertow which never quite disappears: the Third Reich continues to cast its shadow on attitudes towards Germany and result in the ambivalent position adopted by many Germans towards their own national history and identity. In the years since that first acquaintance with Germany in 1965, in studying German language and literature to MA level, and in extended periods of living and working in Germany, I have found that questions of culpability and atonement resurface periodically in my own mind or in discussion, both in Britain and Germany.

A mosaic of impressions and anecdotal evidence gained in adolescence and young adulthood has formed the basis for a quest for a better understanding of Anglo-German relations, and speculation as to the role of ordinary Germans during the Third Reich. I was, for example, taught German at school for a time by a German national who assured us that the vast majority of Germans had been unaware of the existence of concentration camps during the Third Reich. A contrasting response to this denial of the complicity of ordinary Germans in the atrocities of the period was represented by the decision of a German friend who, although she was only born in the last year of the war, accepted an inherited responsibility by

⁵ There is a growing recognition of the exploration of one's own life-history as a means of analysing the ideological and cultural position a writer or researcher occupies; see Bruner (1990) and Rosen (1994) and further discussion of this issue in chapter one.

learning Hebrew as a teenager as a personal act of atonement . At the same time, intimations of the deprivations suffered by German citizens in the immediate post-war period came from the mother of this same woman, who had spent the last weeks of the war hiding in a cellar, or the story of another friend who, as a four year old child, had become obsessed with rumours of cannibalism circulating amongst the hungry German population. When told the precious meat she had been served was that of a sheep whose name sounded just like that of a young friend, she thrust the plate away and declared furiously that she would not become a 'Menschenfresser' (cannibal). Alongside personal accounts of post-war experience and retrospective responses to the crimes of the Third Reich, knowledge of the full horror of the holocaust had a devastating impact on my developing understanding of the era. Documentary evidence of German war crimes and - never to be forgotten for its detailed description of medical experiments carried out in Auschwitz - the television broadcast over twenty-five years ago of a translation of Die Vermittlung (The Investigation, 1965) by Peter Weiss, revived doubts about the possible complicity of Germans I had met who belonged to my parents' generation. An awareness of the differentiation of German experience, and the paradoxes of denial, national shame and personal trauma was matched by evidence of the residual British mistrust of Germans. This was reflected in a variety of ways, including the unease of members of my own family at my decision to study German, and the signs of lingering anti-German sentiment amongst the children in the infant school class I taught in the late 1970s: a swastika appeared on a desk on the day a German visitor was due. On the other hand, a counter-current to the simplistic view of the war years in Britain which had dominated my own childhood - that a just war had been scrupulously fought against an evil enemy - also provided food for thought. Periodic interrogations of the decision to fire-bomb Dresden or the use of atomic weapons in Japan, together with doubt cast on allied conduct in plays written by a German and staged in the UK, Rolf Hochhuth's Der Stellvertreter (The Representative, 1963) and Soldaten (Soldiers , 1967), focussed attention on the moral grey areas of the allied campaign.

Historical complexities and affective personal experience formed one strand

of a developing enthusiasm for German language and literature which continued beyond MA studies. This interest found a niche in my time as a classroom teacher in the reading of German children's books in translation to young children, and later their promotion within children's literature courses in a higher education institution. The decision to undertake a sustained research project offered the ideal opportunity to bring together an interest in children's literature and an exploration of Germany's recent past, a chance to venture into that emotive territory through the exploration of writing addressed to the young. As time passed my own relationship with Germany had been less frequently disturbed by troubling undercurrents; nevertheless, they carried the 'seed of my present thoughts'⁶ (Stevenson in Bielenberg, 1970, p.5), and therefore underpin the writing of this thesis.

Defining the investigation

The story of the development of this thesis is that of a gradual refining of focus. Extensive reading of children's fiction in German and English set in the Third Reich and the Second World War enabled me to pinpoint autobiographical writing as the most fruitful area of investigation in relation to the continuing interrogation of the past I had experienced both in Germany and the UK. It seemed that the essential complexity of this process of re-evaluation - reflected in my own developing understanding of the period - was exemplified in all its diversity in the literary recreation for a child audience of wartime childhood in English and German. In passing the story on to the next generation, what is deemed to be significant by the writer in the choice of content and the control of narrative perspective is indicative of prevailing ideologies and both national and personal preoccupations. It therefore became the aim of this study to explore the representation in fictionalised autobiography of the experience of German, Jewish or British children growing up during the war years and the Third Reich, and to consider why writers have chosen to direct their work at a child audience. It has been my intention to investigate the language and function of autobiography in identity formation and the historical interpretation of

⁶ The epigram which heads this chapter is taken from the account by Christabel Bielenberg of her life as an Englishwoman in Berlin during the early years of the Third Reich. (Bielenberg, 1968, p.5).

wartime childhood by paying detailed attention to the texts themselves and the ideological and psychological processes they reflect. The interplay between a historically evolving reassessment of the past and the developmental history of the self lies, after all, at the heart of autobiographical writing.

Setting the parameters of the study

1) Timing

Since the point at which an autobiographical text is written and published is of key importance in examining its purpose, narrative perspective and audience, texts discussed have been confined to those published within the last twenty-five years⁷. By 1970, even those who were very young children during the war years had reached their early thirties, so that autobiographical writing for children published since that date is the work of mature adults reflecting on the past and deliberately shaping a narrative for the first, second or even the third generation born since the war. With this opportunity for retrospective evaluation of history and the childhood self in mind, an examination of thematic trends in children's fiction indicates changing ideological perspectives which relate closely to autobiographical writing on the period. There appears to be an increasing preoccupation with the reassessment of the war years in children's fiction in the last quarter of a century. There has been an increase in the publication in the UK of children's fiction set in the Second World War after a comparatively barren period in the 1950s and 1960s⁸, and a marked increase in the volume of children's literature on the Third Reich published in German since the early 1960s.⁹ In the recently united Federal Republic of Germany, almost two hundred new titles or new editions of older titles on this subject appeared on

⁷ More detailed reference is occasionally made to texts which fall outside this period in the interests of tracing development, notably to Hans-Peter Richter's seminal autobiographical novel Damals war es Friedrich (1961, published in English as Friedrich, 1970).

⁸ For an outline of thematic trends in the publication of Second World War fiction for children in the UK in the 1940s and the 1970s see Cadogan and Craig (1978) pp.213-71. Egan (unpublished MA thesis 1985) has surveyed children's Second World War novels written during the war and since, offering a comparison with selected European - particularly French - texts.

⁹ For statistical details and discussion of the changing focus of representations of the Third Reich in post-war German children's literature see Otto (1981); Dahrendorf in Dahrendorf and Shavit (1988) and Sannes-Müller in (ibid.)

the market between 1990 and 1996 (Steinlein, 1996, p.88) : reunification in 1989 lent an added urgency to the reassessment of national identity. As statistical evidence to be discussed in chapters four and five demonstrates, the passage of time has also resulted in changes in the themes addressed in fiction set in the war years. In German writing there has been a shift from recording personal suffering in the immediate post-war period to a preoccupation with childhood in the Third Reich and the persecution of Jews, while there is a greater differentiation in the subjects of British children's literature set in the period.

In specifically autobiographical writing published since 1970, there is a parallel process at work. Shifts in ideological perspectives on the past have taken place; the proportion of children's literature written in English and German which can be classified as 'autobiographical' reflects social, personal and ideological developments and reinterpretations of history. Dahrendorf emphasises the autobiographical nature of much of the German children's literature set in the Third Reich: 'überhaupt (steht) die KJL zu dem Thema vollständig im Banne des Autobiographischen' ('children's literature on this theme is completely dominated by autobiography', 1980, p.7). It is certainly the case that the majority of German texts published since 1970, as well as those by Jewish authors written in German or English, are autobiographical; this is not true of children's literature by British writers concerned solely with the British experience of war. The limited number of such autobiographical texts published has affected the development of this thesis in that the British texts became a point of comparison, illuminating the key position of German texts in the socio-historical context of the aftermath of the Third Reich. At the outset of this study in 1990, research was open-ended, so that autobiographical texts written between 1990 and 1995 have been included as they were published¹⁰. The period leading to the celebration in 1995 of the passage of half a century since the close of the war was significant in focussing public attention on the past, and in confronting those who lived through the war years and the Third Reich with the question of the relevance of the era for the young. In relation to the

¹⁰ Texts discussed in this study published since 1990 include: Tomi Ungerer (1993) Die Gedanken sind frei, (literally: Thoughts are free), Käthe Recheis (1990) Lena: Unser Dorf und der Krieg. (literally: Lena, our village and the war), and Robert Westall (1994) A Time of Fire.

autobiographical writing of the last five years, it must also be remembered that those who were children in the war years have now reached old age and their numbers are steadily decreasing.

In order that adult response to the key formative experiences of childhood could be investigated, the selection of texts chosen for analysis was not limited exclusively to those set in the war years 1939-45. Although British authors have written primarily about wartime childhood, the autobiographical accounts of German and Jewish authors are dominated by the trauma and challenges of the entire period of the Third Reich (1933-45) and of the immediate post-war period (1945-6).

2) Political and cultural boundaries

At an early stage in the research which informs this thesis, decisions had to be made concerning its extent in terms of geopolitical boundaries. In order to keep texts within a reasonably coherent ideological framework, German examples are taken from texts published in the Federal Republic of Germany (including those first published in Austria) between 1970 and 1989, and in the new Federal Republic since 1989. Texts published only in the former German Democratic Republic have not been considered, since the ideology of that state as represented in autobiographical texts would necessitate a detailed comparison between the differing historical interpretations of the Third Reich in the two German republics. Such a comparison is beyond the scope of this study, although it does, of course, highlight the significance of the adult writer's perspective on the past in autobiographical texts. It is interesting to note, for example, that in the first twenty-five years after the war, the number of children's books (including non-fiction) devoted to National Socialism published in the GDR outnumbered those published in the Federal Republic (225 titles in the GDR and 125 in the FRD)¹¹, and that these books had a largely anti-fascist bias. In the earlier post-war period the emphasis in GDR literature was on resistance within Germany - including Jewish resistance - and the attribution of blame for the atrocities of the Third

¹¹ Steinlein (1996). In the Berlin exhibition on the representation of National Socialism in children's literature 1945-95 (19.5 to 4.6 1995) books published between 1945 and 1989 were displayed thematically with GDR and FRG titles on adjoining shelves so that comparisons could be made. Further details of the differences between the children's literature of the two German republics can be found in the exhibition catalogue: Steinlein et al (1995).

Reich to fascism as a political force. It was only in the 1970s, and particularly since the publication in 1976 of Christa Wolf's seminal adult novel Kindheitsmuster (A Model Childhood), that a more differentiated approach in GDR children's literature became apparent.

Autobiographical texts set in the war years and written in English also raise issues central to this thesis. Accounts of childhood during the Third Reich written in English by Jewish writers are of key importance in considering the hiatus between childhood and adulthood as reflected in the adoption of a second language. The language of exile then assumed the status of the primary - or even sole - means of communication. Many of these texts were first published in the USA (Koehn, 1977; Reiss, 1972) because the authors left Germany to live there some years after the war; selected titles from this group are *limited to those which have also been published in the UK*. Children's literature based on wartime experience in other English-speaking countries has not been included: the focus on German, British and Jewish childhood experience as represented in texts available to the young in the United Kingdom and the Federal Republic of Germany is sufficiently broad for a study of this length. It should also be noted, particularly in view of criticism of the lack of attention paid to concentration camps and the slaughter of Jews in German children's fiction on the Third Reich (Shavit, 1988, 1995) that autobiographical accounts of such experiences written for children are rare, and those which exist do not necessarily fall within the boundaries of this study.

3) Definitions of children's literature

'Children's literature' is used throughout this study as a generic term for literature addressed to a child or juvenile audience in accordance with accepted practice; there is no English equivalent of the German term 'Kinder-und Jugendliteratur' (children's and juvenile literature) or KJL. The perceived inappropriateness of the term 'children's literature' has been reflected in recent decades in the targeting by publishers and librarians of literature for a specifically 'teenage' or 'young adult' audience, categories which encompass many of the texts discussed in this study. Indeed, the

complexity of identifying the audience for accounts of childhood in the war years and the Third Reich leads to some crossing of boundaries between adult and children's literature. Charles Hannam's autobiographical texts (1977 and 1979), for example, are shelved in the adult biography section in Westminster City libraries, yet Hannam himself has indicated in conversation with Margaret Meek¹² that he had a teenage audience in mind. Wendelgard von Staden's Nacht über dem Tal (1979), which was reissued in 1979 by the publisher dtv as a paperback on its adult list, is nevertheless included by Ernst Cloer (1988) in his analyses of fifty books for the young on the subject of the Third Reich. On the other hand, the same publisher, dtv, has marketed many titles relevant to this study on its children's list under the 'dtv pocket' imprint, aimed specifically at socially and politically conscious young adults. Some titles have even been transferred from adult to children's lists (Steinlein et al, 1995, p.69), particularly autobiographical accounts of the period. Such anomalies reveal the complexity of the audience for memoirs of wartime childhood to be discussed in the final chapter; at this point a definition of the texts included in this study is necessary. It was decided to select texts which have been identified as addressing a child audience *at some point during their production or reception*. Autobiographical accounts of the war years which make some reference to childhood have therefore only been included when there is an indication on the part of author, publisher or reviewer that they are appropriate for a young audience.¹³ Titles where there is some doubt as to the implied audience (Michael Foreman's War Boy, 1989), or where sequels imply a shift from child to adult audience (Judith Kerr's trilogy, 1971, 1975 and 1978), are then analysed to discover the relationship between changing perceptions of the target audience and the writer's underlying purpose.

¹² Personal communication of August 1993 based on conversations about the book with Charles Hannam when he and Margaret Meek were colleagues in Bristol in the 1970s.

¹³ For a comparison of examples of adult and children's literature on the Third Reich written in English and German 1980-1992 see Pachler (1992) pp.150-226; Dahrendorf has undertaken a comparative study of German adult and children's literature on fascism in Dahrendorf/Shavit (1988) pp124-40.

Research methodology

Allusions to the historical and ideological developments of the past twenty five years which provide the framework for this study are drawn both from direct personal experience of attitudes and opinions, and the historical and political debate which has come to the attention of a British citizen who is a frequent visitor to Germany. This ethnomethodological approach¹⁴ rests on the sustained collection of evidence from press cuttings, attendance at relevant public lectures, exhibitions, and the recording of observations and anecdote on Anglo-German relations and changing perceptions of the war years and the Third Reich. As a starting point and catalyst for a systematic investigation of one aspect of recent literary history, this approach is entirely in keeping with the focus on the personal construction of history which lies at the heart of this investigation. The study itself is inferential in design, since its purpose is to explore the phenomenon of a clearly defined body of retrospective autobiographical children's literature arising from the exceptional circumstances of wartime - and specifically World War Two - childhoods. Statistical evidence available in secondary sources was consulted in order to establish a corpus of autobiographical children's literature written in German and English on the Third Reich and the Second World War, and to trace general quantitative and thematic developments. Quantitative and qualitative analyses have in fact been integrated; existing statistical data constitute a basis for broad thematic comparisons, which are then complemented by detailed case studies of selected texts, and illustrative passages of textual analysis.

Research on recently published literature can present particular challenges in the lack of secondary literature or database records: there were significant differences in this respect in the focus of critical attention devoted to texts written in German and English. Information on German texts was more easily accessible: political and pedagogical approaches to enlightening the young about the nation's past history through literature in Germany have resulted in the publication of a range of annotated booklists, which will be discussed as an indicator of didactic purpose in the final chapter of this

¹⁴ For a definition of ethnomethodology as the collection of data and observations in the course of everyday life, see Bogdan and Biklen (1992) pp.40-1.

thesis. Ernst Cloer's (1983 and 1988) analyses of eighty children's books on the Third Reich offer detailed information on each title, including indications of autobiographical strands. The two most recent editions of the lists of children's literature on fascism and National Socialism compiled by the Roter Elefant group before its demise in 1992, and continued by Dahrendorf et al in the 1994 edition, were sources of more recently published autobiographical titles. Booklists for teachers published by the government funded Stiftung Lesen on National Socialism and the war years and post-war period (Payrhuber, 1993 and 1995) provided additional titles. The BISMAS database at the Frankfurt University Institut für Jugendbuchforschung was consulted; childhood during the Third Reich was the subject of fourteen of the twenty-eight titles published since 1989/90 listed under 'Autobiographie'¹⁵. Information currently (June 1996) available on the database only dates from 1990, so that a complete survey of the period 1970 to 1995 could not be obtained. A list taken from the database of all children's books on National Socialism and the Second World War including autobiography published between 1990 and 1995, has, however, proved useful in indicating recent trends to supplement the detailed thematic survey in statistical form undertaken by Otto (1981) and discursive thematic surveys by Sannes-Müller and Dahrendorf in Dahrendorf/Shavit (1988). Such surveys of developments in fiction provide a context for the autobiographical writing which is the subject of this study, and which is in any case the dominant mode in German children's literature on the Third Reich. Sources of texts no longer in print included the Germanic Institute and the Goethe Institute in London, public libraries and the Frankfurt University Institut für Jugendbuchforschung.

In attempting to identify autobiographical children's literature on the Second World War or the Third Reich written in English and published between 1970 and 1995 in the UK, it became clear that the corpus of autobiographical writing on the British experience is far smaller than its German equivalent, and that regularly updated booklists are not a feature of the institutionalised promotion of children's literature on the subject as is the case in Germany.

¹⁵ Ten of these fourteen autobiographical accounts are by Jewish writers, including four translations from English (a trilogy by Janina David and one other autobiographical account), and three from Hebrew. For further discussion of the phenomenon of accounts by Jewish writers translated into German see chapter 6.

Sources consulted include Taylor's American-based bibliography The Juvenile Novels of World War Two (1994), Egan's unpublished MA thesis Children's Second World War Novels (1985) and published lists taken from the database of the Young Book Trust Library on 'The Second World War in fiction, non-fiction and autobiography'. Since the autobiographical basis of Second World War fiction is not always indicated, the next step was to undertake a survey of post-1970 British children's fiction set in the Second World War. My intention was to search for any indications in editorial comment, prefaces or journal articles that texts might include autobiographical material. In rare instances - Michael Foreman's War Boy (1989) for example - the autobiographical nature of the text was explicit; in British novels selected for this study most authors have chosen not to acknowledge the historical basis of their fiction, a phenomenon which is discussed in chapter five. Accounts written in English are not confined to the British experience, however; the discussion of novels and autobiographical accounts by Jewish writers forms a central strand of this study, since for these writers the gulf between the adult and childhood selves is particularly profound. The persecution and questioning of their identity suffered as a result of the antisemitic policies of the Third Reich and the cultural readjustment of exile lead to the therapeutic expression of lingering insecurities. This process is crystallised in language, the subject of chapter three: bilingual Jewish writers reconstruct in one language experience lived in another.

The selection of primary texts as case studies then proceeded on a qualitative basis, maintaining as far as possible a representative selection in terms of gender, timing of publication, degree of fictionalisation and genre. The exploratory approach to the autobiographical process governed choices; texts written in German and those by Jewish authors were selected according to evidence of changing ideological perspectives on the Third Reich embedded in narratives of childhood. The limited number of novels identified as representing the British experience resulted in a minimal selection process, although titles discussed are distinctive precisely because of the diversity of literary approaches to the past they display. The possibility of conducting interviews with the living writers of the texts selected

was considered, but finally rejected as not germane to an examination of the reconstruction of the childhood self in autobiographical writing. There is also the danger in conducting interviews of allowing the authors' stated intentions to dominate response to the texts themselves - the so-called 'Intentional Fallacy' (cited in Lodge, 1989, p.73). A renewed probing of childhood memories could also lead to the discovery of discrepancies between the text and oral accounts, or a reassessment of the ideological position adopted; both are avenues of research well worth pursuing. It was decided, however, that the author's position as represented in the text at the time of writing and narrative strategies employed were the focus of interest. To take into consideration subsequent changes of viewpoint would be to add a further dimension to a study concerned with autobiographical *writing*. Supporting documentary evidence originating from writers themselves has therefore only been cited where it already exists in the form of prefaces, afterwords, footnotes or - in the case of Judith Kerr - a radio interview providing largely factual background information.

Theoretical perspectives

As the reading of texts progressed, hypotheses concerning the therapeutic role of autobiographical writing in identity formation and the determining influence on narrative perspective of differing British and German attitudes to the war years began to emerge. In order to explore the theoretical background to such speculation and to gather evidence from close investigation of selected texts, primary literature from a number of disciplines was read alongside primary and secondary literature in the field of autobiography. The structure of the thesis itself therefore reflects a narrowing of focus from the general discussion of theoretical issues - with relevant exemplification - to a detailed thematic and comparative analysis of primary texts and, as a significant coda, evidence of ideological preoccupations in relation to the reception of texts.

In the first part of the thesis, theoretical insights offered by studies on the history and purpose of autobiographical writing are addressed, and the role

of language in the autobiographical process examined. Once the position of primary texts within the tradition of autobiographical writing had been established, a theoretical framework for the detailed analysis of authorial purpose became essential. The hypothesis that the writing process may be a therapeutic one in autobiographies of childhoods dominated by the consequences of war or the policies of the Third Reich, is explored in textual analysis informed by discussion of relevant aspects of the psychoanalytical tradition. Eagleton (1983, p.179) argues that psychoanalytical literary criticism can broadly be divided into four categories, depending on the degree of attention devoted to the author, the content of the text, to its formal construction or to the reader. The first three areas are particularly significant for this study. Eagleton links the speculative psychoanalysis of his first category, the author, to the pitfalls of assumptions divorced from the text itself which characterise the 'intentional fallacy' discussed earlier. However, the texts which are the subject of this study are more appropriate for such analysis in two respects: their autobiographical nature and the focus on childhood. The author is more or less explicitly present in the narrative, so that analysis of the manner in which the self is represented remains anchored in the text. Since the discoveries of Freud, childhood as a formative period for the psyche has become an accepted premise; the recreation of childhood experience is therefore of great psychological significance.

The consideration of Eagleton's second and third categories - content and the formal construction of texts - from a psychoanalytical perspective has also proved to be enlightening. Evidence in these texts of trauma and defence mechanisms points to parallels with classical psychoanalysis. So, indeed, does confirmation by writers in prefaces, afterwords or within the texts of the therapeutic function served by the shaping of both emotionally charged memory and imaginative inventions into a clearly defined narrative. The selection, repression and recreation of memory and experience are reflected both in narrative structure and in the literary and linguistic strategies writers employ. Insights taken from psychoanalysis serve to emphasise the part played by autobiographical writing in the construction of an identity within the social world, and the key role of language in this

process. In particular, the reflections of Carl Gustav Jung on oral and written autobiography, and the emphasis on language in the reinterpretation of Freud by Jacques Lacan, have illuminated discussion of primary texts.

Analysis of the changing ideologies which create a tension between adult narrator and the child's perspective on historical events is informed by Althusser's work on the social transmission of ideology (1971), and John Stephens' examination (1992) of the place of ideology in children's literature. Both in the exemplification of these theoretical issues and subsequent case studies, discussion of narrative point-of-view and the range of purposes fulfilled by stylistic effects is supported by reference to literary theory. It is the effectiveness of literary devices in the creation of a developmental history of the self which is at issue rather than any assessment of literary quality, although this has inevitably become an incidental product of textual analysis and discussion of reader response. Those authors who write well and make inventive use of the linguistic and literary forms appropriate for a child audience have produced texts which have proved to be the most fruitful for analysing the autobiographical process in the case studies undertaken in chapters three, four and five.

Since comparisons are made between texts written in English and German at various points in thematic analyses and case studies, it is important that reference is made at the outset of this study to comparative literature and - in considering the reception of autobiographical texts in the final chapter - to translation studies. In her recent critical introduction to developments in the field, Susan Bassnett (1993) defines comparative literature as: 'the study of texts across cultures', explaining that: 'it is interdisciplinary and that it is concerned with patterns of connection in literatures across both time and space' (Bassnett, 1993, p.1). This study clearly conforms to all aspects of this definition, with the proviso that what links the texts to be studied is the response to a major historical event in texts produced by representatives of the cultures directly involved. In addition, it is important that 'patterns of connection' are defined by differences as well as by similarities. The implied child or juvenile audience provides a further, critical link between the cultures studied here; as Emer O'Sullivan (1996) argues in her exposition of

the relevance of a comparative approach to research into literature for the young, cross-cultural influences have characterised western approaches to children's literature since its inception. Thematic and content-based comparisons adopted from traditional methodologies are complemented by the examination of issues specific to children's literature, in particular the effects of its marginalisation within the literary polysystem (Shavit, 1981) on the reception and publication of translations. Linguistic analysis has also been applied to the work of bilingual writers who are themselves involved at moments in the act of writing in a translation process of a particular kind, so that traces of two languages and cultures can be detected. Although comparisons are made across cultures, it must be categorically stated that this is not primarily a comparative study with equal attention devoted to the cultures under consideration. In the course of research it became clear that the limited number of autobiographical texts on the British experience would lead inevitably to a shift in emphasis towards the treatment of British texts as a point of comparison, illustrating the particular ideological significance of the autobiographical process in German texts.

Finally, the historical content of autobiographical texts is a strand of this study which merits some theoretical consideration. Adults engaged in recording their wartime childhoods are conscious that as children they and their families were involved in making history. The compulsion to bear witness and inform or warn the next generation is reflected in the documentary evidence and chronologies included in many autobiographies of wartime childhood, particularly those written in German. Such additions serve to authenticate or contextualise personal experience: the child as focalizing character within the text often reflects a confused and misleading version of historical events. The adult narrator then assumes the responsibility of conveying an interpretation of the historical period. The continuing debate on theoretical distinctions between fiction and history (Seamon, 1983) is raised in the first chapter, since autobiographies of wartime childhood range in their presentation to a young audience across the entire spectrum from historical accounts with a cohesive autobiographical strand (von der Grün, 1980), to fiction which conceals its autobiographical nature (Bawden, 1973).

Stevenson's dictum that the past is both the seed of his present thoughts and the mould of his present disposition begs the question of the wider historical, social and political forces at work during his lifetime. In the narratives to be examined as case studies in this thesis, the interplay of shifting ideologies and therapeutic purpose conditions and shapes the autobiographical act for British, German and Jewish writers. The future - discounted by Stevenson - is represented by the child audience to which these accounts are addressed: the urge to record the past before it is too late fulfils both a personal need and a didactic intention. In the recording of childhood experience during World War Two and the Third Reich, autobiographical writing for children has become the vehicle for a complex expression of adult purpose.

1 'A Small Person Far Away': Autobiographies of Childhood

Childhood persists as something which we endlessly rework in our attempt to build an image of our own history.

-- Jacqueline Rose¹

A Small Person Far Away (1978) is the title chosen by Judith Kerr for the last novel of her trilogy based on childhood experience as a Jewish exile from Nazi Germany. In this final volume, Kerr attempts to fulfil one of the many purposes of autobiographical writing about childhood: to re-establish contact with her childhood self. As an adult, she has only been able to regard that child as a 'small person far away' - almost an alien being - which nevertheless carries the seeds of her present self. The novel takes as its theme the development of the relationship between Judith Kerr's childhood and adult selves, a relationship determined by the social and historical circumstances of wartime and exile. The adult narrator, writing several decades after the events she describes took place, is engaged in the reconstruction of a childhood self against a political background which was beyond the child's comprehension. On reviewing childhood from the comparative calm of peacetime western Europe, the direct and indirect impact of historical events on psychological development can be traced. The decision to write for a child audience is fundamental to this rediscovery of the childhood self. For Judith Kerr, as well as for many other writers in this study, it was essential to immerse the adult self in childhood; to think, feel and write with children in mind. Recording experience for the next generation has enabled the writer to regain contact with the past in a contained and clearly focussed narrative.

This recreation of the past may be accompanied by a didactic purpose, particularly in the case of German and German-Jewish writers whose intention is to inform the young reader, as well as to move or shock their audience into reflection and vigilance. Writers who were children during the

¹ Rose (1994, p.12)

Third Reich are in a position to review the past as their thoughts turn to the future of the next generation. The desire to prevent the recurrence of the atrocities of the Third Reich becomes more urgent, a desire which is not the *primary* motivation of authors who spent their childhood solely in Britain. The differences between the wartime experiences of German and British children affect both the potentially therapeutic and didactic purposes of the autobiographical writing to be examined in this study. These purposes are in turn inevitably shaped by contemporary culture and changing interpretations of the past at the moment of writing. Jerome Bruner (1990) summarises this dynamic in his recent study of concepts of the self: 'Self too must be treated as a construction that, so to speak, proceeds from the outside in as well as from the inside out, from culture to mind as well as from mind to culture.' (p.108) The writing to be introduced later in this chapter - that of Judith Kerr and other writers who have 'reworked' the experience of their childhoods for a child audience - is the result of a dynamic autobiographical process in which culture and mind interact at all levels in the composition of a narrative.

A developing critical interest in autobiography in the latter half of the twentieth century has highlighted both the complexity of this interaction and the range of purposes served by autobiographical writing. Traditionally the preserve of the rich, powerful and famous - a tradition which is continued in the autobiographies of sports personalities, film stars and public figures - autobiography has shifted its position within western culture during the course of this century, with the result that the nature of the writing itself, its purpose and its audience have become more diverse. Community initiatives, for example, have resulted in the recording of the experiences of working people, ethnic minorities and women. The lives of those who do not command power and influence within society have gained recognition in publications such as those of the Hackney Centerprise project in London.² The audience for such writing may be small, yet it shares with all autobiographical writing the quest to come to terms with the life lived so far, often accompanied by - or indeed resulting in - a search for inner renewal.

² Centerprise Bookshop Community Project, 136 Kingsland High St. E8 2NS. Published autobiographical accounts include *A Hoxton Childhood* by A. S. Jasper; *Hackney Memory Chest* by George Cook, and *The Austrian Cockney* by Martha Lang, a 'refugee from fascism' who arrived in England in the 1930s.

Whatever the starting point for the writing itself, this quest frequently leads to a sustained reflection on and reconstruction of childhood as the source of the emotional foundation and subsequent course of the writer's life. The web of interaction between culture and mind described by Bruner extends into the past and takes account of changing social as well as emotional perspectives on the nature of the self.

To understand the process of autobiographical writing and the reconstruction of the childhood self - that 'small person' located within a dynamic and changing culture - it is important to examine briefly the history, purposes and dilemmas of autobiographical writing as well as developments in theoretical perspectives. Few authors of autobiographies ignore their childhoods, and - particularly since the dissemination and popularisation of Freud's theories of the relationship between childhood experience and the unconscious³ - childhood events are regarded by many as the source of subsequent emotional states and therefore an essential element in any autobiography. This developing recognition of the significance of childhood experience is reflected in the autobiographical writing of Rousseau (1782), Wordsworth (1805) and Goethe (first published between 1816 and 1831), writers who set the scene for autobiography which focuses solely on childhood. Attention paid to childhood experience also raises the question of the possible therapeutic purpose of autobiography, which is to be the focus of subsequent discussion of autobiographical children's literature on the Second World War in later chapters.

As a survey of all aspects of autobiography would not be pertinent to this study, information has been condensed and selected so that relevant developments can be noted, and a focus on writing about childhood maintained. The novels and accounts which are the subject of this study have all been written within the last twenty years, and reflect both contemporary developments in autobiographical writing about childhood and the influence of established traditions. A consideration of these developments and traditions will lead to a survey of the corpus of autobiographical British and German children's literature related to the Second World War, its purposes and location within the range of

³ For a more detailed discussion of Freud and childhood see Rose (1994, pp.12-3)

autobiographical genres.

Early developments in the history of autobiography

In his seminal study, Design and Truth in Autobiography (1960), Roy Pascal puts forward the view that autobiography is a peculiarly European phenomenon dating from the 'Confessions' of St. Augustine in the fifth century A.D. In his Confessions, Augustine set out to write about his early career in an attempt to overcome a sense of disorder in his spiritual life. The therapeutic nature of autobiographical writing and its potential to initiate a journey of self-discovery was, therefore, established early in the history of the genre. Of equal significance for this study is the starting point of the enterprise: Augustine's early years and adolescence, a period in his life which the adult writer retrospectively condemns as depraved and lacking the stability and guidance of a profound faith. One particular childhood misdemeanour is singled out for extensive commentary, namely the stealing of some poor quality pears from an orchard. This playful act is regarded by Augustine as a sinful one precisely because of its pointlessness. Teresa of Avila, writing in the sixteenth century, is also critical of the preoccupations of her childhood and youth - in her case with worldly honour and physical appearance - from the revised viewpoint of humility and a complete lack of concern about the opinions of the outside world. Her autobiography is written as a confession of sins with a didactic purpose. Like Augustine, she reassesses the past in order to recover and reassert the strength of her faith, openly ascribing to autobiography a therapeutic intention which was to re-emerge in the twentieth century with renewed vigour.

The development of autobiographical writing from the time of Augustine is, however, rather fragmented until the advent of what Pascal refers to as the 'classical achievement' in autobiography. He cites in particular three autobiographical works which have had a lasting influence on the development of the genre: the Confessions of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, William Wordsworth's Prelude, and Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's Aus meinem Leben: Dichtung und Wahrheit (literally: From My Life: Poetry and Truth). The primary concern of these three men of letters is the inner life,

although their starting point is very far removed from the spiritual and religious agonising of St. Augustine. As writers and poets, they attempt to convey the development of the imagination and the artistic sensibility, regarding childhood and adolescence as formative periods in this process. There is what Pascal calls 'a kind of wonder and awe' (p.50) at their own gifts, a sense of being uniquely chosen, and it is this uniqueness which marks them out from the earliest days of self-awareness. Accounts of childhood are an important element in these autobiographies because specific incidents both reveal the writers' special qualities and talents and determine the course of their future lives. A recognition of the key influence of childhood is one of the major strands in the development of autobiography from this 'classical age' onwards.

The tradition of autobiographical writing outlined so far is that which takes as its theme the development of the inner life, an approach continued in the era of Romanticism. A parallel tradition of autobiographical writing existed, however: the recording of achievements and of a life lived in the public domain. Autobiographical writing of this kind by politicians, leaders of military campaigns, scientists or explorers - for example Benjamin Franklin's (1706 - 1790) account of his life as a practical social being and, later, Darwin's (1809-1882) accounts of his scientific expeditions - may or may not include reference to the writer's childhood. These are self-made men whose achievements are the result of scholarship, scientific investigation or public service, rather than the consequence of a unique artistic temperament. The role of childhood is not, therefore, regarded as a significant one within the life as a whole. In Franklin's autobiography an enjoyable account of youthful errors is somewhat marred by their later 'correction' in the light of the moral code he evolved for himself and to which he strictly adhered. Franklin sees his purpose in life as the successful execution of public duties, and youth was simply an aberrant phase to be left behind. At the time that he wrote his autobiography (first published in 1793), the role played by childhood in later development was in any case not generally acknowledged. Autobiographies of public figures written before the twentieth century did not often accord childhood more importance than that of a preliminary phase to the 'real' story to be told. Achievements and discoveries are the focus,

rather than psychological or spiritual development.

It is apparent from the brief examination of published autobiography that up to this point the genre was dominated by male writers. Women's autobiographical writing was on the whole confined to the private and domestic spheres of letter and diary writing and, with few exceptions⁴, did not reach a wider public. The position of childhood in life histories, on the other hand, has been tenuously established; Richard Coe (1984) has traced the development of a genre he calls 'the Childhood' from the work of St. Augustine through to the twentieth century, defining this specific literary genre as the 'developing awareness of the self as an individual' (Coe, 1984, p.9) from first consciousness to maturity. Coe places particular emphasis on the development of the poetic sensibility and literary autobiography: it is the representation of the childhood self in the classic autobiographies of three men of letters - Rousseau, Wordsworth and Goethe - which begins to set the context for the focus on childhood in autobiography and the novel in nineteenth and twentieth-century Europe.

The 'classical achievement' of autobiography and the representation of childhood

Jean-Jacques Rousseau strongly advocated a return to nature for the young child in his writing on education (Émile 1762); the source of this conviction is revealed in one of the most influential of all autobiographies, Rousseau's Confessions, published in 1782. Borrowing St. Augustine's title, Rousseau regarded his autobiography as the absolute expression of the truth about himself in the face of misinterpretations of his conduct by the outside world, the revelation of the dark side of his character and the passions of his soul. The opening words of the Confessions announce to the world Rousseau's rather grandiose view of himself as a pioneering spirit in the field of autobiography:

⁴ Autobiographical writing by Madame de Staël (1766-1817) was published in her lifetime, for example Dix Années d' Exil (1804). Mitzi Myers (1988) p.202 refers to semi-autobiographical fiction (Mary and Original Stories) by Mary Wollstonecraft (1759-97), in which there are indications that she views childhood as the key to knowledge and society.

Je forme une entreprise qui n'eut jamais d'exemple et dont l'exécution n'aura point d'imitateur. Je veux montrer à mes semblables un homme dans toute la vérité de la nature; et cet homme ce sera moi. (p.21)

I have planned an enterprise for which there exists no model and which will never be imitated. I wish to reveal to my equals the unadorned truth about one man, and I shall be that man.

The first 'book' of the twelve which constitute the autobiography takes the reader through the first sixteen years of Rousseau's life. A substantial part of his childhood was spent in a small village outside Geneva under the tutelage of an uncle, and it is here that Rousseau's lifelong love of the countryside was to develop. Other formative childhood experiences are presented and interpreted. There is, for example, the wrongful punishment of Rousseau himself, accused of breaking a comb which he had not touched, and stubbornly maintaining his innocence through a series of beatings. He describes lying in bed with his cousin, also beaten for an involuntary misdemeanour, and embracing him as they howled their innocence in unison. Almost fifty years later, at the time of writing his autobiography, Rousseau comments on this incident as a turning point in his life, a moment when those he cherished and who had always behaved kindly towards him acted with an implacable cruelty which he could never forgive. He asserts that this incident was the source of his passionate commitment to liberty and emotional reaction to any form of injustice or tyranny. Rousseau himself is anxious to establish links with his later and immensely influential work Le Contrat Social (1761) in which he advocates negotiated and democratic laws and freedoms. Childhood is reconstructed as an explanation of adult behaviour, reflecting the causal narrative momentum which governs much autobiographical writing. The concept that 'childhood experience made me what I am' which underpins the autobiographical writing in this study finds early expression in Rousseau's work. In addition, Rousseau's belief in the beneficial and educative effects of a childhood spent, like his own, at one with nature and learning through the senses had a profound influence on European attitudes to childhood and education.⁵ The granting of freedom to a child to develop in a natural

⁵ For a summary of Rousseau's influence on educational ideas and the developing concept of childhood, see Curtis, S.J. and Boulwood, M.E.A. (1953). A Short History of Educational Ideas (4th. edition) London: University Tutorial Press, pp.262-289

setting was a revolutionary concept, and was instrumental in setting in motion the process of the 'discovery' of childhood.

The emphasis on childhood experience coincides with the individualism of the Romantic movement which was taking hold throughout Europe at the end of the eighteenth century. There was a tendency to idealise childhood and regard adult life as a falling off from this state of grace, rather than to undertake the post-Freudian scrutiny of childhood as the source of subsequent malaise. Wordsworth's The Prelude or: Growth of a Poet's Mind: An autobiographical poem (1805) is a key text in this Romantic view of childhood. The writing of The Prelude represented an attempt to recapture the imagination and visionary power of a childhood and youth spent amongst the Cumbrian hills and lakes. For Wordsworth, as for Rousseau, nature had played an important role in the process of self-exploration, leading in Wordsworth's case to the discovery of the imagination and divinity. In the poem he recalls a particular moment of epiphany which occurs when he is rowing on a lake. A cliff suddenly comes into view from behind a crag, rising up and appearing to stride after the rower, who 'with trembling hands' returns to his mooring place. This vision preoccupies the young Wordsworth for many days, as the 'living' cliff becomes a metaphor for the grandeur and enduring qualities of life and nature which outlast the ephemeral emotions and achievements of man. It was in childhood that Wordsworth was granted this understanding, by a divinity to whom he addresses his thanks:

not in vain
 By day or star-light thus from my first dawn
 Of Childhood didst Thou intertwine for me
 The passions that build up our human Soul,
 Not with the mean and vulgar works of Man,
 But with high objects, with enduring things,
 With life and nature, purifying thus
 The elements of feeling and of thought.
 (1: 404-11)

Wordsworth describes in The Prelude the loss - and the rediscovery - of this powerful childhood imagination and the spiritual crisis brought about by his

attraction as an adult to reason and logic. During his studies and travels as an adult he has lost the 'eagerness of infantine desire' (Book 2 l.26), and the separation from the childhood self is perceived as complete, although the unreachable essence of that self remains a tantalising presence:

so wide appears
The vacancy between me and those days
Which yet have such self-presence in my mind
That, musing on them, often do I seem
Two consciousnesses, conscious of myself
And of some other Being.

(2: 27-33)

This loss of connection recalls Judith Kerr's 'small person far away', a person who can perhaps be reached - or re-created by the adult self - by recording intense personal experience. It was by writing The Prelude that Wordsworth was able to rediscover and create for the reader the intensity of the imaginative experience of his childhood.

In his wide-ranging study on autobiographical writing, Being in the Text (1984), Paul Jay points to the parallels between The Prelude and Freud's approach to analysis. Both identify the power of significant moments in childhood as the key to crises in adulthood. These moments represented for Wordsworth positive and life-enhancing experiences, while for the majority of Freud's patients they were negative and contained the seeds of future neurosis. For many of the writers in this study there exists a gulf between their past and present selves of the kind Wordsworth describes, yet the quest for the childhood self may represent - particularly for German and Jewish authors - an attempt to come to terms with trauma and to prevent the recurrence of the historical situation which caused it, rather than a desire to recapture visionary experience. Within the English tradition of autobiographical writing, on the other hand, the Wordsworthian view of the past has developed into the popular tradition of the retrospective idealisation of childhood. This view is characterised by a nostalgia for the intensity of the child's experience and response to the natural world, and is represented in the autobiographical novels of Laurie Lee (Cider with Rosie, 1959), Rosemary Sutcliff (Blue Remembered Hills, 1983) and Dirk Bogarde

(Great Meadow, 1992). There are echoes of this Romantic tradition in some of the English novels on the Second World War to be discussed later in this study, notably Michael Foreman's War Boy (1989), and Nina Bawden's Carrie's War (1973) and Keeping Henry (1987). Although Coe (1984) argues in his study of autobiographies of childhood that the quest for a lost paradise only rarely descends into mere nostalgia, the positive view of aspects of wartime childhood and the emphasis on the pastoral setting in these British novels represent significant points of contrast with German texts.

The Romantic movement caught the imagination of writers across Europe. Rousseau's ideals of freedom and liberty were enthusiastically embraced in Germany by Goethe and Schiller in their youthful romanticism, during a period of heady and feverish literary production in Germany known as 'Sturm und Drang' (storm and stress) which lasted from the late 1760s to the late 1780s. At this time, while in his mid-twenties, Goethe began to write the first version of his influential autobiographical novel Wilhelm Meister (published between 1795 and 1821). The four volumes of Wilhelm Meister constitute one of the earliest and most influential examples of the 'Bildungsroman' in the German literary tradition. This sub-genre of the novel is often autobiographical in content, taking as its theme the development of the writer's life - or that of the central character - from childhood or youth into adulthood, and in particular a detailed account of formative influences and experiences.⁶ Entitled Wilhelm Meisters Theatralische Sendung ('Wilhelm Meister's theatrical vocation'), the earliest published draft of Goethe's novel reflects his childhood experience of theatrical events staged by French theatre groups during the French occupation of Frankfurt. There is evidence in the novel of the backstage gossip which the child Goethe overheard, and the plays he performed with his own puppets at home. These experiences, also described in his autobiography Aus meinem Leben, Dichtung und Wahrheit (1816-31), were significant in awakening Goethe's lifelong fascination with the theatre, and establishing his 'playful' attitude to life. 'Play' is used here in the Froebelian sense as a term for a child's intellectual work in satisfying curiosity and experimenting with materials, a field of

⁶ Landmarks in this tradition include Gottfried Keller's Der Grüne Heinrich (1854-5), Adalbert Stifter's Der Nachsommer (1857), and Thomas Mann's Der Zauberberg (1924).

activity which is of immense significance in the individual's physical, spiritual and intellectual development.⁷ Goethe himself subsequently recognised the significance of this 'playful' openness to experience in his childhood and, as Richard Friedenthal (1963) points out, strove to maintain this outlook throughout his life. Goethe's childhood experience has been interpreted as forming attitudes to life and learning, although there is no attempt to seek a renewal of the adult self through the kind of sustained reconstruction and examination of childhood experience undertaken by Wordsworth. A contrast can also be made between childhood as the source of a general approach to life in Goethe's autobiographical writing, and Rousseau's disingenuous view of specific childhood experiences as pivotal in the development of clearly defined social and political beliefs.

Childhood and the development of autobiographical writing in the twentieth century

In autobiographical writing in the twentieth century this focus on the significance of childhood is maintained and extended: childhood experience is interpreted with a variety of intentions by the adult narrator. The novel has become the site of some of the most passionate accounts of childhood: in My Childhood (1913), Maxim Gorky relates the horrific and de-sensitizing events of his provincial childhood in order to restate his faith in the creativity of the Russian people, in their potential to overcome the debilitating poverty he describes and to live dignified lives in the future. By way of contrast, Marcel Proust's childhood, spent in the radically different environment of the French haute bourgeoisie, is fictionalised in the first volume of A la Recherche du Temps Perdu (In Search of Time Past, 1913-1927), where the narrator's topographical portrait of his world, centering on the small village of Combray, lays the foundation for the odyssey of memory which is to come. The child's carefully mapped world is later revealed to represent a fragmentary understanding of the complexities of the social and personal relationships between the important figures of his childhood. A distorted picture of the social world is, however, accompanied by moments of intense

⁷ For detailed discussion of the Froebelian concept of play, see Liebschner, Joachim (1992) A Child's Work, p.114 Cambridge: Lutterworth Press

sensory experience - the blossoming hawthorn hedge which so overwhelms Marcel, for example - in which 'trivia' (Coe, 1984) assume a transcendental significance. Such intensity is usually lost to the adult who pays only selective attention to impressions; in childhood autobiography set in wartime it is often the apparently insignificant detail which dominates the child's memory and carries the emotional weight re-experienced by the adult narrator. Both Gorky and Proust are reviewing childhood experience as adult narrators from a particular social and ideological standpoint, yet neither is in any doubt as to the intensity of early childhood experience and its influence on the development of the narrator's current ideology and sensibility.

Proust's famous tasting of the 'madeleine' scene acts as the trigger which enables the adult Marcel to re-experience his childhood; rediscovering childhood and its secrets can, however, be a difficult and lengthy process. During the twentieth century, the work of Sigmund Freud has made the significance of childhood experience into a paradigm for the interpretation of adult behaviour, so that there is for many writers of autobiographies the motivation of seeking in childhood clues to explain current states of mind. Marilyn Chandler's study A Healing Art: Regeneration through Autobiography (1990) traces the development of the therapeutic purpose of autobiography, including Carl Jung's discovery in his old age of the healing properties of autobiographical writing. Chandler takes as one of her case studies the autobiographical novel Kindheitsmuster (A Model Childhood, 1979) by the East German writer Christa Wolf. The novel is addressed by the adult author to her younger self, the child who spent the post-war months as a refugee travelling across Germany with her family. In the opening pages Christa Wolf, as narrator, can only refer to her childhood self in the third person, although she longs to re-establish contact and come to terms with the past. The child has been abandoned by the adult: 'Er hat es hinter sich gelassen, beiseite geschoben, hat es vergessen, verdrängt, verleugnet, umgemodelt....' (the adult has left the child behind, pushed it aside, forgotten, repressed, denied and transformed it, p.16) .

The sense of discontinuity between the childhood and the adult selves

expressed by Wolf is experienced at times by most adults and is clearly reflected in autobiographical representations of childhood, whether the early years of life are dismissed (St. Augustine), or the subject of idealistic yearning (Wordsworth). It is the awareness of this repression and its registration in the narrative which characterises twentieth-century autobiography and leads to a greater self-consciousness on the part of the autobiographer. Christa Wolf's quest to reach a childhood self which is perceived as lost, alien and irretrievable, takes the form of a sustained narrative; a similar sense of detachment is intermittently revealed in other autobiographical novels written in the latter half of the twentieth century. In La force des choses (The Force of Destiny, 1963), the third volume of Simone de Beauvoir's sequence of autobiographical novels, the gulf between adult and child is so great that she can only describe it in terms of death:

The little girl whose future has become my past no longer exists. There are times when I want to believe that I still carry her inside me..... She has disappeared without leaving even a tiny skeleton to remind me that she did once exist

(quoted by Kathleen Woodward in Benstock (1988), p.100)

Judith Kerr's 'small person far away' is here not merely distant, but lost forever. De Beauvoir describes an extreme sense of alienation from childhood similar to that of many of the writers who have chosen to re-experience the traumatic events of a wartime childhood.

The late twentieth century has also witnessed the publication of a body of autobiographical writing by previously marginalised groups, which has contributed to a marked increase in published autobiographical writing. These groups include ethnic minorities, writers of working-class background, women and adults, many of whom recognise and acknowledge the importance of childhood experience. Jane Marcus points out in Benstock (1988) that Virginia Woolf had proposed a theory of autobiography as 'the genre of the oppressed' in her essay 'The Lives of the Obscure' (1925). Autobiography represents a political act for those writers who regard themselves as paradigms, while for other individuals autobiographical

writing is an attempt to affirm a life which has not been registered in the public domain, and which would otherwise remain unrecorded. Community projects support writers who seek recognition for a hard-fought struggle for existence. Much of this writing does not achieve mainstream publication, but is nevertheless assured of a local and family audience.

Women's autobiographical writing in particular is achieving publication at both community and mainstream levels. Developments in women's writing in the latter half of the century have included a preoccupation with the autobiographical genre as an extension of women's traditional position as diary and letter writers. Reflecting on women's life histories has become the starting point for an analysis of the male-dominated power structures within society. The development of feminism as a political movement and Women's Studies as a recognised academic discipline have contributed to the interest in and demand for accounts of women's lives. Feminist analysis of masculinity has inspired a recent initiative in male autobiography: the critical exploration by men of their own life histories (Jackson, 1990)⁸. Critical assessments of boyhood behaviour - although not necessarily of masculine identities - are evident in this study in the work of German writers confessing to the military attractions of the Hitler Youth and, obliquely, in the questioning of boyish manifestations of anti-German sentiment in the novels of Robert Westall. Many of the novels and accounts which are the subject of this study are, however, written by women: both women's autobiographical writing and children's literature have been marginalised throughout the history of literature and literary criticism. The increase in critical attention accorded to both genres reflects changing attitudes to social and historical processes and the role played by individuals in society.

Autobiographical writing for children

The autobiographical writing on childhood considered so far has been addressed to an adult audience. Simone de Beauvoir and Christa Wolf wrote about their childhood selves for adults, so that the mature reader is

⁸ Published as the first volume in a series edited by Jeff Hearn and entitled 'Critical Studies on Men and Masculinities'.

allied to the narrator in a retrospective view of the child. Judith Kerr, on the other hand, chose children as the audience for her account of a wartime childhood. Despite the third person narrative, the point of view in When Hitler Stole Pink Rabbit (1971) is that of a child, inviting children and young people to identify with the main character. The third volume of her trilogy, with its more complex psychological perspectives and adult central figure is described on the book jacket of the first edition (1978) as Kerr's 'first novel for adults'. However, publishing policy appears to have changed, since a recent paperback edition of the trilogy (1993, HarperCollins) has been marketed for children and young people. This raises questions about autobiographical writing for children. Does the narrative always end with the onset of adulthood, and is this necessarily appropriate? What are the attitudes to children represented by authors who decide to extend their initial account of childhood in wartime into adolescence or adulthood by writing sequels (Judith Kerr, Charles Hannam, Christine Nöstlinger)? How far does the marketing policy of publishers determine the audience for autobiographical writing which spans both childhood and young adulthood? These questions are to be discussed in case studies and in the final chapter of this study devoted to the audience, purpose and timing of autobiographical children's literature on the Second World War. At this point a brief survey of the nature and purpose of autobiographical writing for children is necessary to contextualise the novels and accounts to be discussed.

It is certainly the case that children enjoy hearing or reading a 'true' story about a writer's or storyteller's childhood; children's delight in hearing tales of their parents' or grandparents' childhood days is easily observed. Writing for children almost always involves writing about childhood, for which a writer's primary source must be his or her early experience. Philippa Pearce has argued that children's literature is suffused with both the imagination and the experience of the writers' own pasts: 'In children's books we should be prepared to find the fantasies as well as the realities of the author's childhood' (Pearce, 1962, p.76). Fictionalised accounts of authors' childhoods have been recognised as an important strand within the canon of children's literature. The sequence of novels written by Laura Ingalls

Wilder (published between 1932 and 1943) is based on Ingalls Wilder's own childhood as a member of a loving family of settlers in the inhospitable mid-West of America in the 1870s and 80s, offering the child reader a fundamental sense of security despite intermittent dangers and hardships⁹. In Mildred D. Taylor's novel about her father, Roll of Thunder. Hear My Cry (1976), the central figure, Cassie, also relies on the security of her family when trying to maintain her dignity in a climate of racism and fear in the southern United States in the 1930s. Turning to a different cultural setting, the relationship between the young Erich Kästner and his mother is the central theme of Als ich ein kleiner Junge war (literally: When I was a little boy, 1957), a delightful account of childhood in which Kästner relates for children his memories of hikes with his mother across the German landscape lasting several days. The emotional focus in these texts, as in much of the autobiographical writing on the Second World War, is on the family unit. The writer's interpretation of the past also offers the reader insights into the wider social world; the mature adult is able to review the past with nostalgia and humour or, indeed, with a didactic purpose in mind. Mildred Taylor, for example, offers the message that racism and social injustice cause immense suffering, but that black children should preserve their courage and integrity.

This didactic purpose is shared by German writers reviewing childhood in the Third Reich whose work has added a socio-political dimension to autobiographical writing for children. In all countries affected by the Second World War, authors reaching middle age within the last two decades who choose or are driven to record their childhood experiences for children are almost certain to concentrate on the war years as a time of dramatic - at times exciting - events, family separation and, in some cases, enduring trauma. I intend to argue in this thesis that a quest for self-knowledge and a socially acceptable identity lies at the heart of these texts, a quest which recent writing on autobiography takes into account. The nature and purpose of this self-exploration has been the subject of critical attention in the

⁹ The essential unreliability of autobiographical writing - to be discussed later in this chapter - is highlighted in an article by Ingalls Wilder's daughter, where the accuracy of her mother's portrayal of family relationships is questioned. See Clair Fellman, Anita. (1990). Laura Ingalls Wilder and Rose Wilder Lane: The Politics of a Mother-Daughter Relationship, Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society, vol. 15 no.3.

expanding theoretical literature on autobiographical writing.

Theoretical perspectives: an overview

Throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries autobiography has continued to reflect an exploration of the inner self as well as fulfilling the need to 'set the record straight', to make one's mark and to give an account of achievements. The study of autobiography as a literary genre is, however, a comparatively recent development. In addition to Roy Pascal's early historical and thematic study (1960), research in the field has been widely influenced by the theoretical approaches of George Gusdorf and James Olney. In his essay Conditions and Limits of Autobiography (1956), Gusdorf attributes the increase in autobiographical writing to the cultural precondition of individualism in post-Renaissance western societies. James Olney acknowledges this individualism, stating in Metaphors of Self (1972) that autobiography is an affirmation of the individual's uniqueness, an individuality which underlies any emotional development or change in historical or social circumstances. While accepting that these changes occur, Olney asserts that the individual is nevertheless an 'unrepeated and unrepeatable being' and that: 'there is a oneness of the self, an integrity or internal harmony that holds together the multiplicity and continual transformations of being' (p.6).

Later developments in writing on autobiography have taken a radically different view. The endeavours of structuralist and post-structuralist literary critics to uncover the social forces and semiotic codes which shape any text have influenced writing on autobiography, leading to a questioning of the author's stated intentions and of his or her position within the narrative. It is no longer considered possible to regard the writer of an autobiography as a unique and essentially unchanging soul recounting its fate. These changes in perspective are evident in the collection of essays edited by James Olney himself in 1980. In his introductory essay, Olney points out that since the work of Jacques Derrida, Michel Foucault, Roland Barthes and Jacques Lacan, the text has taken on a life of its own. He then summarises a view which clearly contradicts his own earlier emphasis on the essential truth

underlying the individual's life story: 'The self, then, is a fiction and so is the life.....' (p.22). The 'self', contrary to Olney's earlier belief in its fundamentally unchanging uniqueness, is regarded as a construction, as is the autobiographical narrative and the past which is its subject. Michael Sprinkler, in an essay in the same collection entitled 'The End of Autobiography', takes this argument to its logical conclusion in describing the 'collapse' of writer, self and subject in the act of creating a text'. He quotes the example of the final volume of Proust's A la Recherche du Temps Perdu where 'the origin and the end of autobiography converge in the very act of writing' (p.342). It is, he argues, the act of writing itself which lies at the heart of autobiography, regardless of the author's stated intentions, point of view or concept of self. This extreme self-consciousness about the act of writing one's own fragmented story is exemplified in the work of Michel Leiris, discussed by John Sturrock in The Language of Autobiography (1993). For Leiris, autobiography has become his life's work, a continuous search for the self and a story which is never complete, 'self-knowledge being the end of autobiography and not its source' (Sturrock, 1993 p.258). The successive construction of identities which characterises the writing of Leiris is of particular relevance when considering the work of writers engaged in reviewing one past identity, that of the childhood self, from the apparent vantage point of the mature adult. The adult perspective which appears to be definitive is simply that of the most recent link in the chain of identities: a subsequent reinterpretation is always possible.

Other writers engaged in the study of autobiography are extending the boundaries of autobiographical writing by conducting and recording short interviews with families (Bruner, 1990), or outlining a possible taxonomy of types of autobiographical writing (Rosen, 1994). As has already been mentioned, women's autobiographical writing in particular has been the subject of numerous recent studies and collections of essays, reflecting the increase in critical attention paid to the writing of the marginalised. In an attempt to reclaim lost ground, Susan Stanford Friedman in her essay 'Women's Autobiographical Selves' in Benstock (1988) also takes issue with the emphasis placed by George Gusdorf (1956) on individuality, and cites

instead Nancy Chodorow's concept of women's 'fluid ego boundaries'.¹⁰ She draws on the work of other feminist theorists in her assertion that: 'The very sense of *identification, interdependence* and *community* that Gusdorf dismisses from autobiographical selves are key elements in the development of a woman's identity, according to theorists like Rowbotham and Chodorow' (p. 38). It is this sense of interdependence and community which is evident in many of the autobiographical novels written by women to be analysed in later chapters, in particular the refugee novels by German women who, as children or adolescents, often had to take on the responsibility of caring for younger siblings and supporting adults in the struggle for survival. In Judith Kerr's trilogy, too, Anna's anxiety for her father's state of mind at times takes precedence over considerations for her own future.

Autobiography, fiction and the illusion of historical truth

Autobiographical writing as a literary genre is extremely fluid and encompasses a range of forms from autobiography per se to diaries, letters, essays and novels. James Olney does not even attempt a definition in his study on the meaning of autobiography, Metaphors of Self (1972):

definition of autobiography as a literary genre seems to me virtually impossible, because the definition must either include so much as to be no definition, or exclude so much as to deprive us of the most relevant texts (p.38)

Olney later (1980) insisted that there may well be no way of 'bringing autobiography to heel' as a literary genre. There is, however, a commonly held view (supported by the Shorter Oxford Dictionary definition: 'the writing of one's own history') that an autobiography is a faithful account of one's life as lived up to the point of writing. This definition clearly does not apply to the writing under consideration in this study, since in the majority of cases the focus is a limited period within the writer's childhood, albeit a period with profound and lifelong consequences. Where sequels continuing the story

¹⁰ Chodorow, Nancy (1978). Psychoanalysis and the Sociology of Gender Berkeley: University of California Press, p.44.

into adulthood have been written (Judith Kerr, Johanna Reiss, Hans Peter Richter), it is precisely these consequences which are emphasised in their effects on many aspects of the writer's subsequent life. Roy Pascal (1960), in his opening chapter 'What is autobiography?' refers to 'autobiographies' which are limited to one experience which has : 'laid bare the core of the personality' (p.12), citing as examples travel, spiritual experience and war. Childhood wartime experience as described by the authors reviewed in this study clearly falls into this category. The intensity of wartime experience has acted as a catalyst; Coe (1984) refers to instances of the effects of war and revolutionary situations on the time-scale of 'the Childhood', since in such situations: 'the whole process of maturation was speeded up to a quite abnormal extent' (p.7). Autobiographical writing is limited in these cases to a particular aspect of the self at a particular time. In view of these limitations to the boundaries of autobiography reflected in the texts to be discussed, and the general difficulty in defining the genre, the terms 'autobiographical writing' and 'fictionalised autobiography' will be used throughout this study.

The difficulty in defining autobiography as a genre lies in part in the dilemmas inherent in all autobiographical writing, dilemmas highlighted by recent critical analysis. The notion that an autobiography can ever be a faithful account of one's past life is suspect, since the subjective recording of the writer's own experience cannot be verified, and the memories on which the writing is based are a reconstruction by the writer of the past according to his or her current philosophy and concerns. As adults we are anxious to make sense of our lives, to devise a developmental scheme and a persona in the light of which we reassess the past. Social and historical changes govern this reassessment, as Goethe himself was one of the first to recognise:

one may well say that each man, were he born a mere ten years earlier or later, would have become a quite different person, as far as his own inner development and his effect on the outer world are concerned
(From the preface to Dichtung und Wahrheit, quoted by Pascal (1960)
p.48)

Goethe gave expression to the fictional nature of autobiographical writing in

the title of his own autobiography. The use of the two words 'Dichtung' (poetry, fiction) and 'Wahrheit' (truth), points to the complex relationship between the past as it actually happened and its reconstruction by the author, an interpretation echoed by Roy Pascal in the title of his Design and Truth in Autobiography (1960). Although expressed in these titles as a dichotomy, design and truth in autobiography are in practice inseparable aspects of the process of reconstructing a life history.

There is, then, inevitably a fictional dimension to all autobiography in the recreation of past experience. Historical truth is forever elusive; even the writer's medium, language, does not remain static as meanings shift in accordance with changing ideologies. James Olney (1980) refers to the three layers of time present in any autobiography: 'the time now, the time then, and the time of an individual's historical context' (p.19). Time now and time then can be viewed in terms of emotional and psychological development, particularly in the case of autobiographies of childhood when an experienced adult is reviewing the past. In the autobiographies of wartime childhood considered in this study, the historical context is also sharply divided between the trauma and chaos of the wartime years and the relative peace and prosperity of western Europe in the late twentieth century. It is the earlier historical context which gave rise to the writing, and the contemporary context which allows for the fulfilment of the writer's quest to come to terms with the past. The autobiographical process is not, then, primarily concerned with the factual history of the past self, but rather with an aspect of the psychological history of the contemporary self. Hence the unreliability of memory and the alteration of past events of which writers themselves are only too aware. In The Prelude Wordsworth asks of memory:

what portion is in truth
The naked recollection of that time,
And what may rather have been call'd to life
By after-meditation (3: 645-48)

Those authors who have explicitly chosen to write fiction based on their own experience have decided to emphasise the impossibility of maintaining

factual and historical accuracy. In addition, an author who sets out to write fiction is involved in the construction of a narrative which does of course have structural demands of its own. The reader's attention must be gained, maintained and a satisfactory conclusion reached by the means of narrative devices which will themselves have an effect on the representation of actual experience. Autobiographical fiction is the particular form chosen by many of the writers represented in this study, although boundaries between genres are fluid. The terms 'story' (in the subtitle of Gudrun Pausewang's Fern von der Rosinkawiese, literally: Far from Rosinka meadow, 1989), 'report' ('Bericht' on the cover of Hans Peter Richter's Die Zeit der jungen Soldaten, 1976, published in English as The Time of the Young Soldiers, 1978) and 'historical writing' (in a review quoted in the publisher's blurb to Michael Foreman's War Boy, 1989) are used of autobiographical writing which represents a range of approaches and forms, from Richter's factual soundbites to Foreman's nostalgic, humorous and primarily visual account. This writing does not fit comfortably into literary categories, since divisions between fact and fiction become blurred in the process of reconstructing the past.

The past exists for adults writing about a wartime childhood as emotionally charged fragments of memory which drive them to construct a narrative; the therapeutic purpose of this reconstruction will be the subject of the next chapter. First, however, it is necessary to introduce the authors and the corpus of autobiographical novels written on the Third Reich and the Second World War in English and German, and to relate examples to discussion on the history and nature of autobiographical writing.

The corpus of autobiographical children's literature in German and English set in the Third Reich and the Second World War

The authors

It is likely that many of the authors in this study would never have become

writers, or would not have written about childhood, had they not experienced early in life the loss of security and traumas occasioned by war. For Robert Westall (1975), Ilse Koehn (1977) and Annelies Schwarz (1981), for example, the publication of novels based on their wartime experiences acted as the catalyst for a series of novels written for children. Robert Westall has reworked memories of his wartime Tyneside childhood in a range of novels and stories, including The Machine-gunners (1975), Fathom Five (1979b), Echoes of War (1989a) and The Kingdom by the Sea (1990a), at the same time extending his range by writing successful fantasy novels. Ilse Koehn's account of her childhood in Germany, Mischling. Second Degree (1977), was followed by a romantic novel set in post-war Berlin (Tilla, 1981). Wir werden uns wiederfinden (literally: We will find each other again, 1981), the story of a German family's flight from Czechoslovakia into western Germany, was the first novel written for children by Annelies Schwarz. She has subsequently written a sequel (1984) set in the immediate post-war years, and several other novels for children. One of these, Hamide spielt Hamide. Ein türkisches Mädchen in Deutschland (literally: Hamide plays Hamide: A Turkish girl in Germany, 1986) takes as its theme the life of a young Turkish girl in Germany, a subject which to some extent mirrors the author's own youthful experience as an exile and refugee. In each of these cases wartime experience has provided the basis or starting point for a writing career for children.

For other, more established children's authors, writing about wartime experience has been a later development. Judith Kerr, an artist by training, had already established a successful career as the author and illustrator of picture books for younger children, for example Mog the Forgetful Cat (1970) and The Tiger Who Came to Tea (1968), when she started work on a trilogy of novels based on her childhood as a Jewish refugee in Europe and her new life in England (1971), (1975) and (1978). These were her first (and so far her only) longer novels written for children, young people and adults. The German writer Gudrun Pausewang was already well-known as a children's author when she wrote an account of her early childhood and her family's 'alternative' lifestyle: Rosinkawiese - Alternatives Leben vor 50 Jahren (literally: Rosinka meadow, an 'alternative' lifestyle fifty years

ago, 1980). However, it was not until the publication in 1989 of Fern von der Rosinkawiese that the story of the curtailment of this experiment in alternative living and the family's post-war flight from northern Czechoslovakia into Germany was fully told. Narratives which touch on those traumatic post-war months have punctuated Pausewang's writing career; the third volume of her trilogy, Geliebte Rosinkawiese. Die Geschichte einer Freundschaft über die Grenzen (literally: Beloved Rosinka meadow - the story of a cross-border friendship, 1990), records an act of reconciliation with the Czech people.

In addition there are writers who are successful authors in other fields; Charles Hannam has published texts on education and Hans Peter Richter on social psychology. Whether these authors are completely new to writing for children, established children's writers or published writers in other areas, there is at some point in each life a particular moment or impulse which results in the autobiographical novel or account of wartime childhood. These are stories which have to be told. The impetus to write for children results from a desire to pass the story on to the next generation (Gudrun Pausewang and Johanna Reiss, author of The Upstairs Room, 1973, wrote specifically for their own children), and because the writers themselves were children at the time. The issue of choosing a child audience will be explored in later chapters, alongside the adult perspective which shapes and controls the retelling. Several decades have intervened between the experience and the writing, so that actual historical events are interpreted by the adult writer in ways which were not possible for the child. For the child or adolescent the focus had to be on the immediate family, the home and friends rather than on any attempt to make sense of the chaos which was directly affecting their lives at the time. In surveying the corpus of recent autobiographical writing in German and English I intend to establish general perspectives, themes and purposes and to introduce the varied forms in which historical events and autobiographical material are presented.

The Third Reich: The German and Jewish experience

On surveying recent autobiographical writing for children in German and English, the most striking finding is the imbalance between the number of publications which take as their theme childhood under the aegis of the Third Reich in Germany and occupied Europe, and those which focus on the British experience. The extensive range and volume of writing in German - or in English by exiles from Germany and central Europe - has its origin in the nature of the German and European experience of the war years and the power of National Socialist propaganda. The effects of events in Germany and continental Europe on children and young people, as well as the shifting perceptions of the past in recent German political life, have resulted in a preoccupation with the past which is reflected in children's literature. For children and young people growing up in Germany during the 1930s and 1940s the 1939-45 war itself formed only a part of a lengthy period of social and political change and upheaval which began in the late 1920s and continued into the post-war period.

Jewish children experienced the direct effects of these changes long before the outbreak of war; those who escaped the holocaust have recorded the early days of persecution in novels and accounts written in English, German and the other languages of German-occupied Europe. The majority of the novels by Jewish writers examined in this study are those written in English, since the enforced hiatus of exile leads to a revealing exploration of the relationship between past and present selves in autobiographical novels. The authors in question had left Germany and occupied countries either during the 1930s while emigration was still possible, or during the early post-war years, and had settled in English-speaking countries: for example Judith Kerr (1971, 1975 and 1978) and Charles Hannam (1977, 1979) in England, and Johanna Reiss (1973, 1976) and Ilse Koehn (1977) in the USA. Their novels and accounts form part of a body of literature by holocaust survivors, published in the language of the countries to which the writers emigrated before or after the war. The autobiographical account in two volumes by Carlo Ross (1987, 1991) of pre-war persecution and daily life in

Theresienstadt concentration camp is exceptional in that it was written for a young audience by a German Jew who has continued to live in Germany. Some Jewish children taken to Israel during the war years have written about their experiences in German, for example Joel König (1967) and Malka Schmuckler (1983).

For Jewish children the war - in the form of persecution - started early. Carlo Ross in ...aber Steine reden nicht (literally: ...but stones can't talk, 1987) catalogues the growing evidence of anti-semitism and the accelerating limitation of his own opportunities in the Westphalian town of Hagen, culminating in the burning of the local synagogue and attacks on Jewish businesses during 'Kristallnacht'¹¹. The first chapter of Judith Kerr's novel, When Hitler Stole Pink Rabbit, opens in early 1933 with a discussion between Anna, Judith Kerr's childhood self, and her friend Elsbeth about Jewishness in the context of Nazi propaganda. Within ten days of this conversation the Kerr family decides to leave Germany for a life of exile. Charles Hannam (1977 and 1979) left Germany some years later, and is therefore able to write about the developing manifestations of anti-semitism during the later 1930s as they affected him. He describes his first-hand experience of the tactics of Nazi stormtroopers when they break into the family home in search of his father. The content of these autobiographical novels by Jewish writers covers a considerable time span, and centres on the experience of persecution and exile as well as the deeply ambivalent relationship of the narrators with both the German (or, in the case of Johanna Reiss (1973 and 1976), Dutch) and Jewish cultures.

For many non-Jewish German authors too the focus of their autobiographical writing is the pre-war period and the rise of the National Socialist Party. Renate Finckh in her novel Mit uns zieht die neue Zeit (literally: The new era starts with us, 1978) gives a detailed and compelling account of a young girl's passionate support of Nazi ideology and committed membership of its youth organisations, despite disquieting evidence of the party's anti-semitic

¹¹ 'Kristallnacht', usually referred to in English as 'the night of the broken glass', took place on 9th. November 1938. NSDAP members throughout Germany wrecked and looted Jewish synagogues and businesses. The pretext for this organised action was the shooting of the German ambassador's secretary in Paris by a Jewish youth. This turning-point also features in German (non-Jewish) accounts of the period, for example Hans-Peter Richter's Friedrich (1960).

practices. Klas Ewert Everwyn in Jetzt wird alles besser (literally: Now everything will get better, 1989) offers a similarly honest and open statement of his youthful support for the regime, concentrating principally on the pre-war period. The socialist writer Max von der Grün in Wie war das eigentlich: Kindheit und Jugend im Dritten Reich (literally: What was it really like: childhood and youth in the Third Reich, 1980) has written a factual and carefully documented account of his childhood during the Third Reich in which he evaluates and questions his own conformity and acceptance of the regime.

The commitment to Nazi values continued into the war years for many of these young people. The two directly autobiographical accounts by Hans Peter Richter (1962 and 1976) - as well as the novel Damals war es Friedrich, 1961, which is also loosely based on personal experience - chart in a laconic and understated narrative the author's enthusiastic membership of the Hitler Youth movement¹² and his subsequent career as a volunteer soldier and amoral opportunist. For girls, there existed the female equivalent of the Hitler Youth, the 'Bund deutscher Mädel' (German Girls' League) and adolescent girls were - often willingly - drafted into a kind of 'land army' to undertake 'Reichsarbeitsdienst' (National Labour Service) or 'Osteinsatz' (a period of service supporting ethnic Germans in eastern Europe). Renate Finckh (1978) describes her experience of 'Osteinsatz' and her enthusiasm for the BDM, which offered a sense of community and identity to a shy girl dominated by a tyrannical father. Not all young people, however, were enthusiastic supporters of the NSDAP regime: there are several autobiographical accounts written by those who themselves or whose families supported resistance movements. The execution of Barbara Gehrts' father's for 'demoralization of the armed forces' dominates the narrative in her novel Nie wieder ein Wort davon? (literally: Never say another word about it? 1975), while the passive but nonetheless dangerous resistance of her doctor father is an important strand in the novel Lena, unser Dorf und der Krieg (literally: Lena, our village and the war) by Austrian writer Käthe Recheis (1990).

¹² See Appendix 1 for a diagram representing the different branches of the Hitler Youth and the hierarchy of its organisation.

Lena, the central figure in the novel by Recheis, is caught between her family's political position and the usual pressure to join the BDM. Other writers take the opportunity of writing for the young to describe a change in their initial response to the attractions of the Hitler Youth and the persuasiveness of propaganda directed at them as children. Wendelgard von Staden, a member of the German nobility who spent her childhood on the family's farm and estate, also found the patriotism and camp-fire romanticism of the Nazi youth organisations irresistible, in spite of her mother's reservations about the regime. However, she describes in her autobiographical novel, Nacht über dem Tal (literally: Night over the valley, 1979), how disillusionment began to set in when she worked in the fields with prisoners of war and victims of Nazi forced labour policies. Her mother, a committed Social Democrat, engaged Wendelgard in her plans to provide work and food for inmates of a nearby concentration camp.

An honest appraisal of the past and an acceptance of guilt are not always evident in accounts of childhood in the Third Reich. Writers concerned with their own personal experience as children may subscribe to a demonisation of Hitler and the Nazi hierarchy, or maintain a child's uninformed perspective on events unfolding around them. This is particularly true of novels and accounts set in the post-war period, when the consequences of war were most directly experienced by many children in Germany, since the country was in the process of being divided between the occupying powers. Tens of thousands of German-speaking citizens were expelled from the border areas of Poland and Czechoslovakia and fled to the west. In addition, families which had been evacuated from large cities during air raids attempted to return home, and the propaganda-induced fear of occupation by Russian troops resulted in mass movements of refugees from the eastern parts of Germany. Convoys of women, children and old people set off into the unknown of a devastated Germany, often travelling hundreds of miles on foot and scavenging for food wherever they could, while subject to changing regimes and the unpredictable behaviour of occupying troops as they travelled through the different zones of post-war Germany. It is almost exclusively women who have written about their experiences as child refugees. Annalies Schwarz (1981 and 1984) and Gudrun Pausewang

(1989) both describe their gruelling journeys across the Czech-German border. In all these refugee novels, it is the loss of home and security which is emphasised as much as the physical hardships endured. The narrator's position on the underlying cause of this wholesale migration and the responsibility of the German people for the atrocities of the Third Reich exists - as will be pointed out in subsequent chapters - either as a sub-text or - for Pausewang - a driving force of the narrative.

The British experience

In comparison with German and Jewish texts there are very few autobiographies of wartime childhood set in Britain. The time-span considered is also limited: for most British children events with the potential to disrupt childhood security - the fear of invasion and the experiences of evacuation and bombing - happened during the war years 1939-45. The political developments which led to war did not impinge on the lives of children to the extent that the establishment of the National Socialist regime, with its accompanying propaganda, youth movements and dominant ideology, affected the young in Germany. The immediate post-war years in Britain represented for children a time of a gradual return to normality in contrast to the collapse of national purpose, physical hardships and mass migration resulting from the redrawing of national boundaries experienced in Germany. Children in Britain were certainly directly affected by reintegration into the family of soldier fathers returning from the European continent or the Far East and, indirectly, by the political upheaval of the post-war years, yet this period appears not to be the subject of autobiographical writing. These fundamental differences in the nature of pre-war, wartime and post-war experience for British and German children are discussed in chapters four and five.

Novels and accounts for young people published in Great Britain which are primarily autobiographical and which concentrate directly on the British wartime experience include Michael Foreman's War Boy (1989) and Roald Dahl's Going Solo (1986). Both are written by well established children's authors, with a focus on excitement, adventure and humour. Foreman's

War Boy tells the story of his very early childhood spent 'on the front line' of the East Anglian coast with a sensitivity and delight reflected both in the text and the delicate pen-and-ink drawings. Dahl's Going Solo is concerned with his exploits as a trainee RAF pilot in the Eastern Mediterranean during the war years rather than with childhood experience, although the account was written with a child audience in mind. The tone is one of high adventure in contrast to Foreman's provincial idyll. In addition there are novels which draw on the authors' wartime experiences rather than reflect them directly, for example those of Robert Westall (1975, 1979b, 1989a, 1990a). Westall grew up on Tyneside during the war and experienced at first hand what he describes as the 'light' bombing of Tynemouth, which for him represented a taste of adventure which was never equalled in his adult life (Interview in The Guardian 28.3.1991). Nina Bawden, too, draws on her own experience as an evacuee in a Welsh mining village in her novels Carrie's War (1973) and Keeping Henry (1988). In Carrie's War, which Bawden states is only 'loosely' based on her wartime experience (afterword to 1993 Puffin edition), evacuation represents both a new-found freedom from parental constraint and the source of guilt at a youthful misunderstanding. Susan Cooper has chosen to distance herself from her childhood experience of air-raids by transposing the setting and fears of her own childhood to a young boy, the central character of her novel Dawn of Fear (1970). Other writers have woven their own memories or those of relatives, acquaintances and friends into novels which include traces of autobiographical writing. Jill Paton Walsh, for example, has dedicated her novel The Dolphin Crossing (1967) to a Mr. N.L. Braund and the memories of family and friends who helped her to write the book.

Autobiographical children's literature on the Third Reich and the Second World War and the tradition and purposes of autobiographical writing

It is clear from this overview of the content of autobiographical writing for children on the Second World War that the material itself - the experiences of German, Jewish and British children - may vary in kind, but that in each case there is a disruption of daily and family life which is the focus of the child's concern. The material itself may consist of a mixture of verifiable evidence, the child's own remembered experience and the memories of others, all of which are interpreted by a narrator who is motivated by a range of purposes. Ernst Cloer (1988), in his second collection of commentaries on children's literature on the subject of the Third Reich, cites Dieter Baacke's categorisation of autobiographical material into four 'levels'.

These are:

1. Objective events and facts;
2. Subjective experience;
3. Subsequent memories and their linguistic structure;
4. Reflection, commentary and attempts at interpretation.

(Cloer, 1988, p.55)

These categories provide a useful framework for the consideration of the historical authenticity and purposes of the corpus in the light of the historical and theoretical developments discussed in the first part of the chapter. Baacke's first two levels - the representation of objective facts and events and of subjective experience - will be followed by a discussion of the tradition of autobiographical writing in relation to the substance of the third and fourth levels, namely the reconstruction of memory and retrospective comment and analysis.

Historical authenticity: 'Objective' facts and events

As far as the 'realities' of experience and the representation of actual historical events are concerned, there is no doubt that marketing plays its

part in emphasising the supposed 'truth' and historical representativeness of recorded personal experience. The thriving autobiography industry of recent decades has been accompanied by the promotion of life histories as a successful product. A 'true story' always attracts readers - but it must still be a 'story'. The Puffin Plus edition of Mischling. Second Degree by Ilse Koehn (1977) is billed as 'A true adventure story' in a quotation from The Observer on the back cover, while in the summary on the first page the novel is described as a 'memorable document', the word 'document' lending the book an air of authenticity. Authors themselves are often anxious to emphasise the autobiographical aspect of their writing by providing historical information, explanatory footnotes and introductions authenticating the historical basis of their work. Annelies Schwarz (1981), for example, introduces her account of her childhood experiences in 1944-5 with a foreword which briefly lists relevant historical facts, followed by four pages of maps which chart the movements of her refugee family.

Nevertheless, historical events in these novels are usually perceived from the child's point of view within the narrative itself. Reference is occasionally made to press or radio reports, but only in so far as these directly affect the child. The Upstairs Room by Johanna Reiss (1972) opens as six-year old Annie attempts to gain the attention of her father who is listening to an announcement on the radio about the events of 'Kristallnacht'. She asks questions about the meaning of the word 'Kristallnacht', although her primary concern is the increasing taciturnity of her father, and his reluctance to play with her. Snatches of radio announcements are overheard by children in many of these novels but they are rarely understood: it is the effects on parents which are anxiously awaited and observed. In the novels by Jewish writers in particular, there is an awareness of the possible devastating consequences of political events. In the first volume of Judith Kerr's trilogy When Hitler Stole Pink Rabbit (1971) Anna knows that the fate of her family depends on the announcement of an election result; as soon as the latest NSDAP triumph is established Anna, her mother and brother do in fact leave Germany to join her father. Historical events have a direct effect on family life, and are for that reason of concern to the child and an important element in the narrative.

Since the media inevitably become channels of propaganda during wartime, the child's view of historical events is in any case distorted as well as fragmentary. Occasionally, however, there is evidence of a shift in the child's attitude at the time, resulting from access to information and evidence not distributed through the usual propaganda channels. Wendelgard von Staden's (1979) disillusionment with the Third Reich begins with the discovery of a concentration camp adjoining the family estate, and is fed by her mother's accounts of the forbidden Swiss news bulletins to which she secretly listens. For Charles Hannam (1977), the opportunity to compare German and British media accounts of contemporary events leads to a reappraisal of NSDAP propaganda. While living in a hostel for refugee Jewish boys in Ramsgate, Hannam (1977) reads the Picture Post and begins to realise that there is an interpretation of historical events quite different from the one he had enthusiastically embraced in Germany. In the pages of the Picture Post the Spanish Civil War is reported as an attack on a legitimate government, while in Germany Franco had been regarded as a hero fighting a war of liberation. At this point the young Hannam begins to have doubts about the German leaders whose values he had previously found rather attractive, despite his Jewish family background. Cartoons by Low of these leaders seem quite shocking: 'It had certainly never occurred to Karl that those who had governed him could be either absurd or lunatic' (p. 155). Such developments in understanding in the course of the narrative are, however, rare, and it is usually the adult narrator who seeks to provide explanatory information and to interpret his or her childhood reactions to historical events. German writers have often felt it necessary to include footnotes to explain the terminology of the Third Reich (see, for instance, Nöstlinger, 1973), while others have provided chronologies of historical events (Ursula Fuchs, 1979), maps (Annelies Schwarz, 1981 and Gudrun Pausewang, 1989), or photographs (Gudrun Pausewang). In each case the documentation is selected by the adult reflecting on the circumstances of his or her childhood with the intention both of authenticating past experience and, more importantly, extending the child reader's understanding of the period.

Comprehensively documented accounts include those of the socialist novelist Max von der Grün (1979), whose factual account of the Third Reich and his youthful infatuation with NSDAP values includes both documentary and photographic evidence. Von der Grün is concerned to interpret his own past behaviour, as well as that of his fellow Germans, by making clear to his young audience the full horror of the NSDAP state and its edicts. In contrast to this sombre didactic approach, Michael Foreman's War Boy (1989) presents a range of documentation for a different purpose. Posters, cigarette cards, photographs of Foreman as a toddler dressed in the uniform of the King's Own Scottish Borderers, an evacuation notice and detailed drawings of bombers all add a note of authenticity and reflect both Foreman's own artistic interests, and the preoccupations of his boyhood. The tone is light, the impression created is that of an enjoyable childhood touched only occasionally by the sadness of war. Unlike Max von der Grün, Foreman's aim is not that of presenting carefully researched background material with the didactic intention of explaining a historical situation and preventing its recurrence. This difference between the approach of German and English writers in their reconstruction of childhood and the diversity of childhood wartime experience are fundamental to this study.

Subjective experience

Historical objectivity within autobiographical writing is, as Roy Pascal (1960) points out, both elusive and and illusory. Wordsworth's 'after-meditation' plays its part even in the selection of historical documentation; both subjective experience at the time and the author's current attitudes form part of the process of selection and reconstruction which takes as its raw material memories and records of historical events. The subjective experience in question is that of childhood subjected to the force of circumstance at a time when complex and apparently bizarre historical events added a further dimension to the child's active engagement in making sense of the world. Annie's questions about anti-semitism in the first pages Johanna Reiss' The Upstairs Room (1972), or the discussion on the same subject between Anna and her friend in the opening chapter of Judith Kerr's When Hitler Stole Pink

Rabbit (1971), are attempts to rationalise the incomprehensible. Particularly for a child as young as six-year-old Annie, anti-semitism is an inexplicable aspect of life dominated by concern for the continuity of family security. From the child's point of view this is one more puzzle to be unravelled in the process of understanding how people relate to each other. In the novels by these Jewish writers children's questions often have to remain unanswered while attention is directed to more immediate and pressing concerns.

Uncertainty, fear and a sense of loss (of a parent or of domestic security) lie at the centre of children's subjective experience in these accounts and novels. Wartime is, however, also experienced as a period of excitement and change. The tone of Michael Foreman's War Boy (1989) is one of pleasure and amusement at the various characters who enter his life as a result of the war. Roald Dahl's account in Going Solo of his experience when a young man as an RAF pilot has a flavour of excitement and danger. The general atmosphere of excitement and euphoria in the early days of the Third Reich, with mass rallies, singing around camp-fires and a compelling sense of purpose in the Nazi youth groups are described by several of the German writers, including Wendelgard von Staden (1979), Renate Finckh (1978) and Max von der Grün (1979). Even a precarious refugee existence had its attractions: in Fern von der Rosinkawiese (1989) Gudrun Pausewang, a young adult of seventeen at the time, refers to the fulfilment of her long-cherished desire to travel despite the hardships of the nomadic refugee life, and is adamant that she does not wish to return home when the family is unable to cross the border into the British occupied zone. For some young people, susceptible to propaganda and experiencing an adolescent yearning for a new direction in their lives, the wartime years at times provided the long-desired challenges.

The autobiographical tradition and the recording of wartime experience

The term 'autobiography' in the traditional sense of a comprehensive survey of the author's life is not appropriate in texts devoted to a limited time-span. Indeed, the impossibility of a precise definition of autobiography to which

Olney (1980) points becomes apparent on surveying the range of forms in which autobiographical material is presented. The autobiographical writing under consideration in this study ranges from the factual and carefully documented account of Max von der Grün (1980), to the novels of Robert Westall in which the author's wartime experience provides a starting-point for fiction, and Michael Foreman's War Boy, where the illustrations are more important than the text. Nor could it be said that any of these writers is simply 'telling the story' of his or her childhood, since the adult author's interpretation of the past is always implicitly or explicitly present in the text.

Earlier in this chapter it became clear that in autobiographical writing on childhood there has long been a recognition of the significance of childhood for later life, with an emphasis in the Romantic tradition on childhood as the source of spiritual and aesthetic sensibility. It is not this Romantic view of the child as visionary or the desire to return to childhood for spiritual renewal which motivates the autobiographical writing in this study. Far from a sense of being at one with the natural and physical world, many authors experienced at some point in their childhood a period of severe dislocation, followed in adulthood by a retrospective analysis of events and attitudes. The authors in this study are seeking not the state of grace represented by childhood, but rather the seeds of the present self and the therapeutic effects of a re-examination of the past. There are in fact closer parallels with the tradition of a greater realism in writing about childhood which developed in the early years of industrialisation, and of which Charles Dickens was the most notable exponent. The world is experienced as a confusing, insecure and at times terrifying place by the children in Dickens' novels, just as it was for the young Dickens himself. The child is, in Dickens' novels, at the mercy of powerful social and historical forces which cannot be understood or controlled; there are clear parallels with approaches to children's experience during the Third Reich and the Second World War.

The publication of accounts of children's wartime experience reflects a recent development in the autobiographical tradition: a recognition of the lives of those previously marginalised in social terms. These are not 'Childhoods' written by those destined to become artists or writers (Coe,

1984) , nor are they the autobiographies of 'great men', of the generals and politicians who had some control over the direction of the war itself. They are accounts by the completely powerless, those who suffered the consequences of war with little understanding of its causes and no chance of influencing events. Prior to the Second World War, very little autobiographical writing about childhood experiences of war had been published, since the wartime experiences of children - along with those of women - had been discounted in contemporary published accounts. The general theme of autobiographical accounts of war in the nineteenth century had been the heroics of the battlefield and military tactics; it is only in autobiographical accounts of the First World War that a change of tone can be detected. The novels of Robert Graves (1929) and Erich Maria Remarque (1929) spare the reader none of the horror and degradation endured by the ordinary soldier. Remarque's Im Westen nichts Neues (All Quiet on the Western Front) is dedicated to the generation whose lives were destroyed by the war even though they escaped the grenades. The lasting effects of wartime experience on survivors are at last being recognised in these novels. Throughout the First World War women's experiences were recorded in a variety of ways, and there now exists a substantial body of writing and oral narratives by women about their lives during both World Wars.¹³

Autobiography and children's fiction on the theme of war

It is only after the Second World War, however, that autobiographical writing about children's lives during wartime has been published for children. Children's literature with a wartime setting had previously been largely directed at boys, taking as its theme the heroic exploits and daring deeds of those adults directly involved in conflict. The 'Biggles' series written by Captain W.E. Johns and set in both the First and Second World Wars were read avidly by generations of boys¹⁴. British 'Girls' stories' set in the First World War emphasised fortitude, adventure and gentility. Wilkending, in the

¹³ See, for example, Hartley, J. (ed.) Hearts Undefeated: Women's Writing of the Second World War, and Owings, A. (1995) Frauen: German Women Recall the Third Reich.

¹⁴ For an overview of the most popular themes of children's literature on both World Wars to 1978 see Cadogan, M. and Craig, P. (1978) Women and Children First: The Fiction of Two World Wars.

history of German children's literature edited by Wild (1990), outlines the nationalistic basis of German First World War children's fiction for girls (pp.246-250), while Eckhardt points to the patriotism, heroism and self-sacrifice advocated in books for boys (pp.190-192). A contrasting and exceptional example is Rudolf Frank's pacifist novel for the young, Der Schädel des Neger Häuptlings Makaua. Kriegsroman für die junge Generation (1931)¹⁵ (published in English as: No Hero for the Kaiser), in which the full horror of war is depicted for the young reader and the fourteen-year-old Polish hero disappears rather than accept a military honour for what he regarded as humanitarian rather than military actions. It is hardly surprising that as a result of this pacifist message the book was banned in Germany in 1933.

Children's fiction on the Second World War written at the time and during the early post-war period maintained a tone consistent with that of contemporary propaganda in both Britain and Germany. Spy-catching and evacuation were the two main themes of British stories written in wartime; even after the war the serious issues of the period were not considered a suitable subject for children's literature (Cadogan/Craig, 1978, p.238). The position of children's fiction in Germany had, of course, been determined by the draconian censorship of the Third Reich and the publication of literature designed to promote National Socialist youth policies. A key text of the era, Der Hitlerjunge Quex (1932) by Karl Aloys Schenzinger, is the story of a young boy's conversion from young communist to ardent supporter of the Hitler Youth movement and had reached a publication figure of 325, 000 copies by 1942¹⁶. The post-war period was characterised by a reversal in censorship policies, so that militaristic and National Socialist children's literature was banned by the occupying powers (Kaminski in Wild, 1990, p.299). Erich Kästner's pacifist and anti-fascist fable Die Konferenz der Tiere (1949) and Lisa Tetzner's remarkable nine-volume history of the shadow cast by the Third Reich on the lives of a group of Berlin working-class children (written and published in exile between 1932 and 1948) marked a new beginning for German children's fiction, and a revival of the pacifist

¹⁵ Republished in 1982 under the title Der Junge, der seinen Geburtstag vergass.

¹⁶ For a comprehensive survey of the manipulation of children's literature during the Third Reich see Kamenetsky (1984): Children's Literature in Hitler's Germany: The Cultural Policy of National Socialism.

tradition. It was, however, the dialectic of personal experience and national identity which came to dominate retrospective German children's literature on the war years.

In both autobiographical writing and fiction set in the Second World War the focus in children's literature has shifted in the post-war era from the battlefield to the private domain, although there is of course a continuing tradition of war stories in boys' comics. A significant proportion of the novels and accounts discussed in this study are written by women, a development consistent with the much earlier divide between men's and women's autobiographical writing outlined earlier in this chapter. Women's awareness of community and group identity within the private sphere affects both the purpose and structure of their autobiographical writing. Both Johanna Reiss (1972) and Gudrun Pausewang (1989) address their autobiographical novels to their children. Johanna Reiss' novel was never intended for publication, and Gudrun Pausewang frames her account with the opening and closing paragraphs of a letter to her son. Nancy Chodorow's concept of 'women's fluid ego boundaries' is reflected in their writing and will be explored in the more detailed case studies in later chapters.

The purpose of autobiographical writing for children on the Third Reich and World War Two

Given the domestic focus of much of the writing about childhood wartime experience, the question arises as to what kind of truth about the past the authors are trying to establish. Autobiography has been described as 'Design and Truth' (Pascal 1960), yet, as has been repeatedly asserted in recent literature on the subject, the 'truth' itself is elusive and suspect. Baacke's third level of autobiographical material, the linguistic structures involved in the reconstruction of memory, points again to the unreliability of memory, and the significance of the form in which it is communicated. Despite attempts to provide contemporary child readers with historical background information, it is not on the whole carefully documented

historical facts which publishers or writers wish to emphasise, but rather the emotional truth of childhood experience in a time of extreme stress and disorientation. It could be argued that these writers are searching for a deeper emotional truth about past experience which underlies the events they describe. In her opening statement about her novel The Upstairs Room (1972), Johanna Reiss states quite categorically: 'I have not tried to write a historical book, although it may have some historical value. What I *did* try to write was a simple, human book' (p. 6). These autobiographical novels and accounts are set in a historical period which is extensively documented, and some participants and witnesses are still alive today. Nevertheless, at the affective level historical events as described in autobiographical fiction for children are marginal to the central concerns of the writers' childhood selves. Fictionalisation is one way to achieve some form of emotional truth, and several writers have chosen not only to use the form of the novel, but also to give the central character another name. Giving oneself another name makes a statement about the fictional nature of the account; the positioning of the self within the narrative will be examined in some detail in the next chapter. These indications of the tensions which exist between fiction and historical authenticity are essential to the act of reconstruction involved in any autobiographical writing. There is therefore a need on the part of some writers to fictionalise in order to distance themselves from experience, and to express feelings about the past without the impediment of having to achieve historical accuracy.

Gudrun Pausewang undoubtedly drew on her own experience as a refugee in her novel Auf einem langen Weg (literally: A long journey, 1978), in which two small boys become separated from their parents at the end of the war and make their way westwards alone. In a prefatory note she states that the events described actually happened in Germany, and that many adults can remember the terrible times she describes. It was not until 1989, however, that her account of her *own* experience, Fern von der Rosinkawiese, was published. There are clear parallels between the novel and the autobiographical account, particularly in the burden of responsibility carried by the older child in each case. Gudrun Pausewang has fictionalised elements of her own experience in the first novel, and gives expression to

her own response to life as a refugee at a distance. By transposing her own memories on to the two (male) central characters in the novel she has achieved the purpose of representing the emotional truth of the refugee experience. On the other hand, the impact of wartime experience may be woven into a number of works of fiction without ever being directly represented; this approach in the work of Robert Westall will be analysed in chapter five.

Representation of the child's emotional responses at the time of the events described is accompanied by Wordsworth's 'after-meditation'; the adult storyteller is the shaping force of autobiographical writing and holds the key to its purpose. The writers in this study have meditated on - or in some cases repressed - their childhood experiences for many decades, so that the timing of their writing is significant in understanding its purpose. The past has been reassessed, and there is an implicit - and sometimes explicit - didactic purpose. The emphasis in Baacke's fourth category is on the structuring and interpretation of the past by the contemporary writer. There are also links with Olney's third layer of time in autobiographical writing: 'the time of an individual's historical context', a context which shapes the interpretation of the past. Baacke's fourth category is concerned with the attempt to make meaning from the experiences of the past. When children are the audience, the focus of the act of reconstruction and interpretation is often a desire that a lesson should be learned. The didactic nature of children's literature has, of course, been an aspect of the purpose of writing for a child audience since its inception. Telling the story of the past to the next generation has always encompassed a range of purposes. As well as the didactic function, there is also the desire to preserve experience so that the writer or teller's life will not be completely obliterated by death, and cultural and historical continuity will be maintained. Both are aspects of the attempt to interpret and make meaning of experience which serves an underlying therapeutic purpose.

Resuming contact with childhood and uncovering emotional truths about the past are implicit in many novels and accounts of a wartime childhood. The exploration of the inner self, which begins with St. Augustine and continues in the classical age of autobiography in the eighteenth century, has

developed since the dissemination of psychoanalytic theory into a quest for the sources of the emotional as well as spiritual, intellectual and aesthetic aspects of consciousness. At the same time, past identities are being reconstructed - or indeed constructed - in accordance with changing social patterns and ideologies. Gusdorf's (1956) view that the precondition for autobiography is a 'conscious awareness of the singularity of each individual life' (Gusdorf, 1956, p.29) has been challenged by those who regard any text as a construct, a product of prevailing social conditions. It is here that Baacke's (cited in Cloer, 1988) fourth level of autobiographical writing comes into play, namely the analysis of past personal experience and social and historical events in the light of contemporary interpretations of the past. Even where personal need predominates and there is a minimal concern with representing historical accuracy, each writer's story is - as Bruner (cited in McLeod, 1992) has pointed out - a historical product: 'Although autobiography is the most personal kind of writing, it is where you locate yourself in a culture. There is no sharp cut between fiction and history, between the personal and the social' (p.113).

It is my intention in the remaining chapters of this study to explore the dynamic of personal and socio-historical purposes which underpin autobiographical writing on the Third Reich and World War Two. In the following chapter autobiographical writing as therapy and its role in identity formation will be examined in an attempt to understand why authors have chosen to record their wartime memories for children, and why autobiographical writing about wartime childhood has increased in recent years. In subsequent chapters, the current flood of autobiographical writing in Germany will be discussed against the background of an unexpiated national guilt, and contrasted with evidence in selected texts of current British attitudes to the Second World War. Autobiographical writing as a reflection of changing social and historical perspectives will be considered in relation to narrative viewpoint and the language in which the story of wartime childhood is told.

2 The Representation of the Childhood Self: Narrative as Therapy

An autobiography is so difficult to write because we possess no standards, no objective foundation, from which to judge ourselves.

-- C. G. Jung¹

Autobiographical writing about childhood is often accompanied by an act of judgement on the writer's early years, an evaluation of behaviour and the social conditions by which it was governed. The ability to stand apart from the immature self is demonstrated, for example, in the sovereign stance towards the excesses or misjudgements of youth taken by Augustine in his Confessions. Reflection on one's own past behaviour and experience in autobiography may indeed lead to a clearer understanding of the younger self. It should not, however, be forgotten that the mature adult who undertakes that reflection is engaged in the creation of a narrative. The act of narration is an attempt to make meaning and sense from the fragmentary and chaotic nature of memory and historical events. In his examination of the relationship between narrative genres in history and fiction, Roger Seamon (1983) discusses Hayden White's emphasis on narrative as the merging of the 'true' with the 'real':

'the implication is that "narrativity" is separable from events in themselves, and that it is only when we put the events into a narrative structure that we believe that we have the truth of the past.' (pp.202-3) This belief that we have established the 'truth' and can make a judgement on the past rests on a shaky foundation. Any storyteller has to select, simplify or embellish the raw material of experience in constructing an account: a reinterpretation takes place according to the needs and culturally determined values of the current psyche. We all share the assumption that we can 'judge' our past histories, since it is easy to forget the dependence of that evaluation on the narrative process. Telling the story of the past serves current interpretations and ideologies. As Jung points out, we lack objective standards against which to judge ourselves in the continuing process of development and re-evaluation.

¹ Memories, Dreams, Reflections (1963, p.17)

In this respect the links between the autobiographical writing under consideration in this study and psychoanalysis are evident; both are concerned with a reassessment of the past. The underlying affective content of any particular writer's approach may combine a range of forms: nostalgia; a sensation of exhilaration and adventure; national or personal guilt; fear of bombing; fear of persecution, or the emotional consequences of an accelerated transition into adulthood or loss of family security. All these responses can be detected in both English and German texts with marked differences of emphasis according to the individual's experience of the wartime years. To re-experience these emotions in the act of writing a narrative parallels the rather more fragmentary recreation of the past which takes place during the course of Freud's 'talking cure'. The 'talking cure' is an aspect of the confessional impulse or 'autobiographical urge', an urge to come to terms with or justify both past and current behaviour and attitudes. Elizabeth Wilson (1988), in her essay on women's confessional writing, examines the concept of 'confession', the title first applied to autobiographical writing by St. Augustine and adopted by Rousseau and many other writers. Psychoanalysis has, she points out, added a new dimension to this concept, in that both 'confession' in autobiographical writing and the process of psychoanalysis involve 'a constant reworking of the notion of 'self' ' (p.26). Both are processes which can never be said to reach a point of true completion, and both involve 'telling stories'. The point at which a final evaluation of one's life can be made is never reached, since the past is constantly re-interpreted and the story of the self is only completed by death: the continuously revised and updated autobiographical oeuvre of Michel Leiris exemplifies this dynamic².

When childhood is the primary subject of autobiographical writing, developmental changes should also be taken into consideration. The importance of the establishment and maintenance of early relationships and the development of autonomy in adolescence are significant in autobiographies of wartime childhoods. The attachment of 'hidden child' Johanna Reiss to her second family while living on a Dutch farm, or the fear of losing domestic security to be discussed in case studies represent key aspects of a young child's psychological development. Erikson (1980)

² For an account of the work of Leiris see Sturrock (1993) pp.256-92.

regards identity formation as a psychosocial process, leading to the struggle towards autonomy in adolescence. This process, as analysis will reveal, is evident in the autobiographies of Judith Kerr, Gudrun Pausewang and Nina Bawden, where independence and freedom from parental constraint at times override a preoccupation with difficult circumstances. Childhood and adolescence are characterised by developmental stages which affect the nature of the therapeutic process involved in autobiographical writing.

In applying psychoanalytical perspectives to writing about childhood in general, Tucker (1992) suggests that a therapeutic process may be involved: 'Children's authors can therefore become their own psychologists when reconstructing their own childhoods and that (sic) of the imaginary characters they invent' (p.156). The reconstruction of childhood under consideration in this study is limited to a chosen fragment of the writer's experience rather than a whole lifetime or even an entire childhood. The 'reworking of the notion of self', therefore, is focussed on specific childhood events and - either implicitly or explicitly in the narrative - their effects on the narrating adult. The narrative is confined to a period of time which was for many writers the most traumatic of their lives. The nature of children's experiences at a specific historical moment of instability in the world order condition the autobiographical writing produced in later years. The narrator evaluates these events and the child's responses to them, yet there can only be a recognition and coming to terms with trauma: its effects cannot be erased. The narrative forms part of a therapeutic and evaluative process which is itself subject to the influence of changing perspectives on historical events and psychological processes. Evidence taken from accounts of the experiences of German and British writers, together with comments made by the authors themselves, are discussed in this chapter in the light of psychoanalytical perspectives on writing as therapy, the reconstruction of childhood identity and the positioning of the self within the narrative. The repression of national guilt in Germany and the quest for a stable identity within the social world of exiled Jewish writers are examined as particular examples of the reworking of collective and individual trauma in narrative form.

Narrative, autobiography and classical psychoanalysis

Psychoanalysis is often characterised as 'the talking cure', a cure which involves telling stories or fragments of stories from one's past in order to understand and accept troubling and painful emotions and responses. That the 'talking cure' has been popularly extended into a 'writing' cure is indicated in a recent ironic comment in a review by Helen Fielding: 'There are many ways to distinguish between autobiography and therapy. One is that with therapy the subject pays someone to listen to them regress, whereas with autobiography it is the other way round.'³ The underlying comparison between therapy and autobiography rests on the role of the chosen medium - narrative, spoken or written - and the function of the audience. The influence of psychoanalytic theory on the interpretation of both autobiography and imaginative writing generally has reinforced this connection. Paul Jay (1984) refers to Freud's own recognition that the progress of therapy depends on a process of imaginative reconstruction of memory rather than the establishment of verifiable events. Jay quotes Freud's reference in Moses and Monotheism (Standard Edition 23:71) to memories as 'products of the imagination.....intended to serve as some kind of symbolic representation.' (Jay, 1984, p.149). It is not surprising, therefore, to find in Bruno Bettelheim's (1992) essay on Lionel Trilling's discussion of literature and psychoanalysis a consideration of the importance of the 'suspension of disbelief' in both fields. Bettelheim quotes a lengthy passage from Beyond Culture in which Trilling describes Freud's acceptance of the invented stories patients told him. These stories enabled him to probe the emotional truth - in Freudian terminology the workings of the unconscious or the id - underlying such imaginative inventions. The 'talking cure' itself is viewed as a creative act, the creation of texts to be reworked and interpreted in the interests of the patient's mental health. This imaginative construction is, according to playwright Dennis Potter, both beautiful and functional: 'analysis is a whole construct of myth, beautiful and creative in its own way. It's a very good way of looking at certain dramatic forces within us as people.' (cited by Brooks, 1995). The 'creative act' can in turn lead to the reinterpretation of events and changes in the subject's subsequent

³ Review of Eating Children by Jill Tweedie in The Independent, 6th. June 1993.

behaviour.

The parallels between this view of psychoanalysis and autobiographical writing lie in the selection by the conscious and unconscious minds of aspects of the story to be told, and the formation of a narrative based on these reconstructed memories. The selection process is accompanied by a tension 'between what is told and what is tellable' (Spence, 1984 quoted in Bruner, 1990, p.166), so that the analyst has to interpret a created narrative which both shields and affords glimpses of traumatic memories. It is not my intention in this study to draw on the full range of theoretical approaches to psychoanalysis, but rather to select terminology and particular approaches which offer insights into the role of language in the developing concept of the self, and the potential cathartic effects of the writing process. Terms associated with the selective operation of memory are used in textual analysis; reference is made to the concepts of repression, denial, and defence mechanisms which include displacement, regression and ritualism. The two developments in psychoanalytical theory to be explored in more detail are the later work of Carl Gustav Jung devoted specifically to autobiographical writing, and the interpretation by Jacques Lacan of Freudian theory in relation to identity formation through language.

Carl Gustav Jung acknowledged the creativity of the autobiographical process in the prologue to his own life story Memories. Dreams. Reflections (1963). He describes his initial decision, at the age of eighty-four, to entrust the telling of the story to a biographer, Aniela Jaffé, who was to record his 'personal myth', his 'stories'. It was not his intention to achieve authenticity: 'Whether or not the stories are "true" is not the problem. The only question is whether what I tell is *my* fable, *my* truth.' (p.17) Jung's use of the words 'myth' and 'fable' divorces his writing from the factual recording of events: he is at pains to stress the primary importance of the inner life, the unconscious. The act of autobiographical writing became for him a catalyst, resulting in a reassessment of his early years. The oral narration of childhood memories led to a period of 'inner turbulence', resulting in the decision to record those memories himself. This writing soon became a compulsion, as revealed in the following remark recorded by Jaffé: 'It has become a necessity for me to

write down my early memories. If I neglect to do so for a single day, unpleasant physical symptoms immediately follow.' (p.10) This drive towards the autobiographical process and the 'inner turbulence' caused by the act of writing are echoed in the experience of several writers to be discussed in this chapter. The discovery by the octogenarian Jung that the exploration of early experience is essential for the wellbeing and full understanding of the psyche affords insights into the impulse to rediscover childhood through writing evident in many autobiographies - those of Goethe and Rousseau, for example - which precede the era of psychoanalysis.

Autobiographical writing as part of a healing process has been explored further by the Jungian therapist Ira Progoff, a pioneer of therapy through diary writing. The diary represents a continuing dialogue with the self, an exchange which Progoff regards as central to the therapeutic process. Marilyn Chandler (1990) discusses Progoff's claim that the unconscious becomes directly accessible through the dialogue between the 'inquiring' and 'answering' selves in any form of autobiographical writing (p.117). Writers engaged in representing wartime childhoods have many unanswered questions, since events at the time were often not fully explained and remained beyond their comprehension. Although an understanding of historical events may have been gained subsequently, the uncovering of emotional truths about past experience is the primary concern of the 'inquiring' self. The process of answering those questions about the past may reveal a level of response in the unconscious which the writer had not expected. Jung himself (1963) felt that his autobiography had taken 'a direction quite different from what I had imagined at the beginning' (p.10). The interrogation of the past and the developing dialogue between the questioning and answering aspects of the self determine the direction and speed of the autobiographical process. Ilse Koehn was kept in ignorance as a child of her status as a 'Mischling' (the NSDAP terminology for those with part-Jewish ancestry) and the dangers she was exposed to, yet her awareness of some indefinable mystery and the constant questioning of her parents' behaviour are evident throughout her account. Telling this story as an adult, finally fully aware of the secret, Koehn is engaged in an attempt to come to terms with a deception which resulted in a deep sense of

insecurity. It took her ten years to write Mischling. Second Degree (1977), a length of time symptomatic of the painful process of interrogating the past and revealing a tenuous possession of identity. At times this dialogue takes place within the text itself. When Ilse is evacuated to Czechoslovakia she receives only unconvincing explanations for this move from her parents, and questions their motives: 'They said they didn't want me to go, so why did they let me go? Maybe they wanted to be rid of me. No. They love me. I know they love me. But why? I'm crying, and that won't do any good.' (p.44)

Homesickness is intensified by a more fundamental anxiety caused by her parents' secrecy and fear, an anxiety which continues to cause pain and anger in the adult writer.

The 'autobiographical impulse' and the trauma of wartime childhood

Eva Figes, who left Berlin with her family in 1939 at the age of six and whose Jewish grandparents were deported and killed, has written in a recent article about the increasing intensity of childhood trauma: 'as I get older the past gets closer, more immediate, and the pain gets worse.' The particular focus of her anxiety and guilt is the unknown fate of her grandparents who were left behind when the family fled. As a young woman she 'had a life to live, children to raise, books to write', so the post-war nightmares ceased for a time. Now, however, at a later stage in her life, the pain has resurfaced.⁴ The compulsion to write increases in urgency with advancing age, as it did for Jung himself. It is this renewed intensity of childhood memory, the need to conduct a dialogue with the past and to channel pain or retrospective guilt which is the driving force behind the writing of many of the autobiographical accounts discussed in this study. The manifestations of trauma can in fact be classified in psychoanalytical terms. There is, for example, the displacement of affection to a squirrel in Nina Bawden's Keeping Henry (1989) and a doll in Emma (1983) by Ursula Fuchs; the regression to infancy reflected in Ilse Koehn's (1981) adoption of a foetal position in bed while living in evacuation camps, or Annie's at least partially psychosomatic inability to walk after her years spent in hiding in the account by Johanna Reiss (1979) of her wartime childhood. Charles Hannam (1971) resorts to

⁴ Article in The Observer, 13 February, 1994

ritualism in order to bring about the destruction of his anti-semitic persecutors, uttering a 'magic word' (p.72) while touching an object three times. Each remembered manifestation of anxiety is revisited as authors are able to return to their own childhoods and both address and question the child within their adult psyche. Childhood, as Jacqueline Rose (1994) argues in her study of the relationship between child and adult in children's fiction, 'is never simply left behind' (p.12). Particular memories are revisited - or even invented - as the writer's current vested interest in reviewing the past controls and shapes memory.

In view of the intensity of wartime experience and its consequences for many children, it is not surprising that the 'autobiographical impulse' (Rosen, 1994) experienced in later life should lead to a lengthy therapeutic process. It has already been pointed out that Ilse Koehn's account, subtitled 'My Childhood in Nazi Germany', had a gestation period of ten years. Johanna Reiss, too, found that writing an account of her years secreted in an 'upstairs room' on a Dutch farm hidden from German soldiers had to be undertaken at a slow pace. In an interview published in the Longman edition of The Upstairs Room (1991) she comments on the reasons why it took three years to complete the book which was rewritten three times: 'it was scary to put myself there again. I couldn't take too many hours of looking back each day.' (p.7) The constant fear of arrest and close physical confinement of those war years have a direct effect on the writing process, as the writer seeks to 'manage' the aftermath of childhood trauma. Fear itself, unaccompanied by direct suffering such as that of physical confinement, could be just as constraining. Käthe Recheis, the daughter of a dissenting Austrian doctor, writes in the postscript to her autobiographical novel Lena (1990) that: 'Das Zurückgehen in die Vergangenheit nach über 40 Jahren war mühevoll, oft quälend' ('My journey into the past after more than 40 years was difficult, often painful', p.334).

For other writers the autobiographical process was a gradual one in a different sense: personal experience is distanced and fictionalised in the first instance, before a more directly autobiographical account is attempted. Roy Pascal (1960) writes of the 'inner necessity' to write autobiography in

modern times in order to free oneself from the 'weight of experience' (p.59), while Harold Rosen (1994) in his more recent reflections on autobiography, discusses the 'autobiographical impulse' as a necessary part of our daily lives. When a traumatic childhood memory is the focus of an autobiographical piece, however, the drive to recount it may be tempered by the conflict between what has possibly been regarded as 'untellable' and the form in which it might be told. Past experience associated with pain or guilt has to be shaped into an account or a narrative to be addressed to children. Fictionalisation is a possible approach, yet developments towards a more direct account of the past can be observed in the work of several writers as they reshape their childhood stories.

The neverending story

Nina Bawden has written one adult (Anna Apparent, 1972) and two children's novels (1973, 1978) based on her childhood experience as a wartime evacuee, as well as an account of the same period in her autobiography. These publications span a period of twenty-two years and offer a paradigm of the writer's shifting emphasis and interpretation of past experience in different written accounts, a pattern followed by several British and German writers. In Nina Bawden's case, positive and troubling aspects of wartime childhood are both fictionalised and 'recorded' in the form of autobiographical writing. She explains in her autobiography that thirty years had intervened between the experience and : 'the moment I decided that it might be interesting to write about it' (p.42) - the first retelling in Carrie's War (1973). The autobiographical impulse is not explained or discussed any further - Bawden simply does not wish to discuss the novel's gestation at this point. Nevertheless, timing is significant . Thirty years have elapsed before it becomes 'interesting' to write about wartime childhood: 'interesting' is an appropriately unspecified description of what is undoubtedly a complex tissue of motivation. Fifteen years later, Bawden returns to a different aspect of the theme in a central chapter of her autobiography. These are childhood events of great significance; events which were both liberating and troubling - stories which have to be told and

retold.

Carrie's War is a retrospective novel about the evacuation of a brother and sister to a Welsh mining community. In the afterword to the current Puffin Modern Classics edition (1993), Nina Bawden's explanation that the novel is only 'loosely' based on her wartime experience is quoted. She states quite categorically that Carrie's story is not her own:

but her feelings about being away from home for the first time are ones I remember. I had a photograph of my mother with me. So did the children in Carrie's War, but they don't look at it much. (p.171)

It is the separation from her parents and loss of family security which are the focus of the autobiographical element of the novel, 'feelings' which in the course of the novel are both positive and negative: homesickness and the excitement of a new-found freedom from parental constraint. In Keeping Henry (1988) however, published fifteen years after Carrie's War and described on the back of the Puffin edition as 'a true story', the narrator's mother is present throughout, evacuated to a Welsh farm along with her children. Nina Bawden writes in a prefatory note that her novel: 'is the story of my mother, my brothers and me, and of the farmer's family that we lived with while our father was away at sea in the war.' (p.1) Thus she readily concedes that the second novel is autobiographical, while maintaining a distance from the fictional representation of herself in Carrie's War. In her autobiography, In My Own Time (1994), Bawden continues to deny that Carrie's story is her own, except in so far as most novelists 'make use of their lives, cannibalising rough odds and ends of experience to make a tidy whole' (p.40). Carrie is 'both more anxious and more composed than I think I was in 1940' (p.42). Bawden cannot be certain about her past self - she 'thinks' that she was quite different from Carrie, yet on the same page accepts the resemblance to her younger self almost by default. When describing the replacement of her own image of Carrie by that of the actress who played the role in the television adaptation, Bawden refers to Carrie as a 'protean' figure, changing with every new cover illustration of the novel: 'varying interpretations of a girl I had perhaps seen, originally, as myself' (p.42). Once again the use of 'perhaps' betrays a hesitation, an uneasiness

at the relationship between a fictional reconstruction and the other, 'actual', childhood self. At the heart of that relationship lies the trauma of family separation and childhood guilt.

In Carrie's War Nina Bawden alludes to significant events and emotions in her evacuee experience: the recognition that it was time to be separated from her mother for a while; the awful moments spent waiting to be 'chosen' by a host family, and her 'betrayal' of the rather odd but not unkind Welsh family she and her friend Jean stayed with in Aberdare. The young Nina Bawden's complaints about this household met with an instant response: she and Jean were moved the next morning as the family looked on, bewildered. 'It felt like the worst, the cruellest thing that I had ever done' (p.51). A second betrayal takes place as the result of a complaint in a letter to her mother about the food provided by her host, Mrs. Jones: 'I can remember the bitter taste in my mouth. The taste of guilt.' (p.59) It is this guilt which provides the underlying theme of Carrie's War in the fictional guise of Carrie's misinterpretation of the actions and motives of her host, Mr. Evans. The guilt is then reinforced at the end of the novel when Carrie mistakenly believes that she is responsible for the burning down of a house. Emotions which continue to preoccupy the adult - the childhood not left behind - are diverted, given form and expressed in fiction. The adult can no longer be certain about remembered events or emotional responses. Nina Bawden describes her dismay at being unable, as an adult, to find her way around the mining town of Blaengarw where she had been billeted for a week as a child, yet her description in Carrie's War had led a BBC production assistant working on the filming of the novel straight to that very town. There is a similar ambivalence towards emotional memory in Bawden's amazement at her own insouciance when faced with bombing: 'Of course some emotions fade from memory, or sometimes, if remembered, seem unbelievable after a lapse of years. Did I, did *she*, feel that? How can it be?' (p.62) An imaginative reconstruction of the past results in alienation from the childhood self.

Nina Bawden was able to join her mother and the rest of her family during the school holidays in the room they had rented in a Welsh farmhouse. It is

this experience she draws on in Keeping Henry, where anxiety about the whereabouts of the absent father, a naval officer are displaced and focussed on the pet squirrel, Henry. The point to be made here is that the childhood trauma in question - the loss of family security - is a significant autobiographical theme in both novels, and that autobiographical material has been revisited and reworked after a lengthy interval. The later novel is perhaps acknowledged as a 'true' account since its thematic content is less problematic for the central character's self-image. Carrie is not Nina Bawden, yet the burden of guilt belongs to both. The autobiographical - and indeed the therapeutic - process has been a gradual and continuing one, with an ostensible shift towards a more immediate account of personal experience.

As indicated in the previous chapter, a similar development towards a more direct treatment of autobiographical material can be observed in the work of Gudrun Pausewang (1987 and 1989) and Hans-Peter Richter (1961,1962,1980). Childhood wartime experience is reshaped and retold in a variety of more or less autobiographical forms by other authors, for example Robert Westall (1975, 1979b, 1989a, 1990a). Making use of Freud's own description of the progress of therapy, these retellings can be regarded as the 'products of the imagination', serving as a 'symbolic representation' of the emotional response to past experience and trauma. The therapeutic process requires a reassessment of the troubling experience, resulting in the invention of a new narrative, sometimes after the passage of considerable periods of time. Fifteen years separate Nina Bawden's two novels, while Hans-Peter Richter's sequel to his account of his childhood in the Third Reich was published after eighteen years had elapsed. Joan Lingard's novel The File on Fräulein Berg (1980) retraces a personal childhood guilt, that of the suspicion and stalking by a group of school friends of a German teacher who was subsequently revealed to be a refugee. It was some years later that she wrote the two novels (1989,1991) based on her husband's experiences as a wartime refugee and exile from Latvia. A confessional retrospective novel on the treatment of one refugee is followed by the detailed story of the fate of others - both focussing on emotionally distressing wartime experience. War has altered or disrupted

the childhoods of these writers to such an extent that their stories cannot always be told in one definitive account. There are always facets of a wartime childhood or adolescence which have not yet been considered or interrogated, as well as tensions between the 'untellable' and the changing shape of the narrative through which attempts are made to reach that elusive emotional truth.

Neither the autobiographical impulse nor the talking cure can be easily contained. Therapy is a process which has no clear boundaries, hence the adoption of different forms or indeed the extension of the initial story in many cases into one or more sequels. James Olney (1980) discusses the trend towards the publication of sequels in autobiographical writing, making reference to the continuing interrogation of the self: 'there is never an end to this dialogue of a life with itself in search of its own absolute...' (p.48). He cites the autobiographies of Maya Angelou, Simone de Beauvoir and Doris Lessing, each running to several volumes. The initial autobiographical impulse often leads to a compulsion to continue the story. The 'inner turbulence' occasioned by Jung's first venture into reliving his childhood experience empowered him to write the story himself, just as it has driven many writers in this study to extend the story of their wartime childhood into the post-war years, adolescence and adulthood. Judith Kerr's When Hitler Stole Pink Rabbit (1971) was followed by The Other Way Round (1975) and A Small Person Far Away (1978), in which her development during adulthood and marriage is traced, with the re-establishment of contact with her German childhood self as the focus of the final volume. The difficult experience of being caught between two cultures is also the subject of Charles Hannam's two autobiographical novels (1977 and 1979).

Sequels which follow the child subject into the post-war period may reflect a personal disenchantment with peacetime. For Johanna Reiss (1972 and 1976) this period proved to be as traumatic as the time she spent in hiding from the Germans. The breakdown of family life and her father's remarriage in Journey Back do not match Annie's expectations of restored normality. The sequel to Christine Nöstlinger's Maikäfer flieg! (1973, published in English as: Fly Away Home), published eight years after the first volume

(Zwei Wochen in Mai, literally: Two weeks in May, 1981), also takes as its theme post-war family relationships, in this case Nöstlinger's disappointment at the behaviour of her beloved father. Christel herself finds the adjustment to peacetime life problematic until she meets and falls in love with Hansi. It is this relationship which her father destroys, an act for which - so she declares in the last lines of the novel - she cannot forgive him to this day. In each instance cited above, the aftermath of war has had severe effects on the author's psyche, either in the establishment of an identity within a new culture, or the disappearance of family security. The 'writing cure' takes its course in the form of a sequel or sequence of novels.

German writers and the repression of national guilt

'It is not your memories which haunt you.
It is not what you have written down.
It is what you have forgotten, what you must forget.
What you must go on forgetting all your life.'

James Fenton A German Requiem⁵

The trauma - and on occasions the exhilaration - experienced by writers who were children or adolescents during the Second World War takes many forms. Loss of family security or liberation from parental control; the reorientation and adaptation of exile or evacuation; fear of bombing, and the questioning of their identities by Jewish children: these are experiences which continue to preoccupy the child within the adult and which determine the duration of the writing process. Powerful emotions such as those evoked by childhood wartime experience are often accompanied by guilt, either within the confines of family relationships or on a wider scale: the guilt caused by the denial of Jewishness to be discussed later in this chapter, for example, or indeed guilt at one's survival when others have died. For German writers seeking to record their childhood experience of the Third Reich and wartime, however, the writing process has a further, defining dimension: that of a sustained and unexpiated national guilt for the crimes of the holocaust. This is not guilt which was experienced at the time and is now being recalled - it is rather an issue of retrospective guilt of which adult

⁵ Fenton, James (1982). A German Requiem, The Memory of War. Edinburgh: Salamander Press, p.11.

writers, particularly those addressing a child audience, cannot fail to be aware. The confessional tradition in autobiographical writing is evident, contradicting Coe's (1984) assertion that it no longer has any importance in a permissive society: 'as a serious motivation for the writing of autobiography - and above all, of the Childhood - the confession is dead' (p.117). The confession of national guilt and personal complicity takes varied forms, yet it is clearly a motivating force underpinning the work of many writers. The intended child audience creates a direct link between confession and didacticism as young people are made aware of the insidious rise of fascism and its consequences (Pausewang and von der Grün).

A German writer's view of the past is inevitably filtered through the post-war assessment of the Third Reich, the revelations of the Nuremberg trials and a world-wide condemnation of the attempted extermination of all Jews. Events and consequences of which the child was unaware at the time have to be taken into account - or repressed - by the adult narrator. The child could not be expected to share the guilt of its parents' generation, yet a contemporary audience demands that it be acknowledged. It could be argued that the killing of hundreds of thousands of German civilians in the bombing of Dresden and other major German cities, or complicity in the use of atomic weapons in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, should not be ignored by British writers. Nevertheless, the prevailing national attitude to the war in this country is one of pride and celebration. The tone of Foreman's War Boy (1989) is one of positive nostalgia, whereas Tomi Ungerer's picturebook account of his wartime childhood in Alsace, Die Gedanken sind frei (literally: Thoughts are free, 1993), includes an image of which the adult cannot be proud: a childhood caricature of a Jew, drawn during the German occupation⁶. Ungerer also finds it necessary to comment on the anecdotal nature of the book which, in view of the tragedies of the time: 'könnte auf den ersten Blick fast beleidigend wirken' (might at first sight seem to be an insult, p.8). This awareness in the adult narrator that a child's excitement at certain wartime events must be qualified by a consideration of the tragedies of the period reflects a confrontation with the policies of the Third Reich during occupation. Similarly, it is not possible for the German writers whose work is discussed in this study to regard the positive experiences of the wartime

⁶ See Appendix 4, figure 2

years with unalloyed nostalgia. It is this manifestation of national guilt and malaise in autobiographical accounts written for children which is of significance in a consideration of writing as therapy. While there is little evidence of its presence in the work of British authors, some German writers do take the opportunity to confront the issue of national responsibility and their own youthful enthusiasm for Nazi ideology by adopting a confessional approach; others attempt to repress or divert its consequences. The reconstruction of the childhood self in autobiographical writing is part of a complex therapeutic process at both a personal and national level.

In order to contextualise the retrospective response to the era of the Third Reich by German writers, it is necessary to summarise both the political pressures to which German children and young people were subjected and relevant literature which takes a point of view derived from psychoanalysis. Phrases such as 'die unbewältigte Vergangenheit' (the past with which one has not yet come to terms), and 'die Gnade der späten Geburt' (the blessing of a late - i.e. wartime or post-war - birth), coined relatively recently by Chancellor Kohl, are common currency in the German language. There is a permanent sense of unease that there has not been a full acceptance and expiation of national guilt, an unease which Kohl - himself a young child during the war - considers he has been fortunate to escape. Yet national responsibility cannot be abdicated so easily since, according to Ralph Giordano (1990), guilt is inherited by the next generation. Giordano, a Jewish writer, dedicates his book Die Zweite Schuld. oder Von der Last, Deutscher zu Sein (1990) (Secondary guilt, or the burden of being German) to: 'Den schuldlos beladenen Söhnen, Töchtern und Enkeln' (to the sons, daughters and grandchildren in their tainted innocence'). Giordano argues that it is precisely the preoccupation of Kohl and others of his generation with the Third Reich which betrays the lasting effects of its ideology and propaganda on their childhood and adolescence. The years between 1933 and 1945 in Germany represent a black hole exerting its magnetic force even on those born after that time, as well as on those who, it could be argued, were too young at the time to accept retrospective responsibility for the horrific events which took place.

Between the years 1933 and 1945 children in Germany were the targets of political propaganda to an unprecedented degree, the majority becoming members of the carefully planned and highly structured Nazi youth movements. The Nazi party leaders were not slow to recognise the importance of ensuring the supply of future party members, or to capitalise on the adolescent's need for peer support and group identity. The Hitler Youth or the Bund Deutscher Mädel ⁷ represented for many a chance to step outside the family unit and experience a different kind of belonging, the submerging of an as yet fragile identity in the exhilaration of mass rallies and the illusion of a common purpose. Many German writers acknowledge the excitement of participating in these groups (von der Grün, von Staden, Koehn, Richter, Finckh). The collapse of the Third Reich destroyed for this generation the security provided by a mass movement and its values. Loss of personal security was often compounded by the disappearance of a set of ideals suddenly revealed to be deeply suspect. When a youthful enthusiasm for Nazism is at issue, the opportunity to revisit feelings and hopes which were subsequently disappointed may hold some surprises. The potential for self-deception is revealed in one example of an adult's review of her own contemporary account. Susanne zur Nieden (1993) has collected and analysed German women's wartime diaries, including those of adolescents. Lieselotte G., fourteen years old when she began her diary in 1942, was quite shocked on re-reading her diaries for the first time in 1989 to note her adolescent expression of political opinions: 'Sie hatte geglaubt, dem Nationalsozialismus weitaus distanzierter gegenübergestanden zu haben' (She thought she had adopted a far more sceptical approach to National Socialism - p.129). There are implications here for the autobiographical writing in this study: denial and self-deception may mask a problematic past.

Renate Finckh provides one of the most honest and revealing indictments of a Nazi childhood and the subsequent sensations of emptiness and guilt in her justification for the writing of her autobiographical account for young people Mit uns zieht die neue Zeit (literally: The new era starts with us 1978)⁸ :

⁷ See Appendix 1.

⁸ Finckh's account was republished in the anniversary year 1995 under the title: Sie versprachen uns die Zukunft: Eine Jugend im Nationalsozialismus (literally: They promised us the future: a Nazi childhood). München: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag.

Ich habe viele Jahre gebraucht, nachdem der ganze Spuk des Naziregimes längst vorbei war, um nach einer solchen Jugend meine eigene Identität zu finden. Danach drückten mich Schuld und Scham den Mund. Doch auf ihre Fragen bekamen meine Kinder nirgends anders eine Antwort.....Da erkannte ich, dass ich mich, wenn ich weiterhin schwiege, aufs neue schuldig machen würde.

(cited in Giordano 1990, p.363)

it was only after many years, when the nightmare of the Nazi regime was long gone, that I could rediscover my own identity after such a childhood. For a long time guilt and shame kept me silent. But my children could find no answers to their questions. I realised that to maintain my silence would make me guilty for a second time.

Giordano cites this passage as an exceptionally explicit admission of responsibility for the crimes of the Third Reich, resulting from a long period of reassessment of past behaviour and values. Giordano's thesis is that, unlike Renate Finckh, the majority of those who were sufficiently mature to accept responsibility have failed to do so. They have chosen the path of denial, hence the inheritance of an unexpressed guilt by the next generation.

The post-war ideological vacuum in Germany and the denial and repression of collective guilt are the subjects of a seminal essay - to which Giordano makes repeated reference - entitled Die Unfähigkeit zu Trauern (literally: The Inability to Mourn , 1967) by the psychoanalysts Alexander and Margarete Mitscherlich. They argue that the process of mourning which has not been completed encompasses both the disappearance of a dominant ideology and an acceptance of guilt. The Mitscherlichs attribute this loss of national direction in Freudian terms to the disappearance of the father figure represented by Adolf Hitler. Whether one accepts this position or not, there is no doubt that Hitler himself - after years of being idolised - became for many a convenient scapegoat , a means of avoiding collective responsibility for the crimes against humanity committed during the Third Reich. There are signs in the work of several authors considered in this study that blame for the excesses of the regime can be attributed to Hitler and the Nazi hierarchy alone. In the foreword to her account , Annelies Schwarz (1981) describes the life of her childhood self at the end of the war 'den Hitler begonnen hatte'

(p.6) ('which Hitler had started'), while the mother in Ursula Fuchs' Emma (1979) responds to her daughter's anger at the English and American enemy by declaring: 'Aber der Hitler ist schuld am Krieg!' (But the war is all Hitler's fault! p.122) The displacement of responsibility is apparent in the representation of attitudes displayed at the time (Fuchs), or in the position taken by the narrator many decades later (Schwarz).

The Mitscherlichs argue that the determination with which the rubble was cleared from German cities, and the dedication to the rebuilding of the German industrial base which resulted in the 'economic miracle' of the 1950s and the 60s, were also displacement activities. Such a commitment to economic regeneration, they claim, masked a fundamental inability to mourn the loss of an all-embracing ideology, or to confront an unexpiated national guilt at the murder of millions of Jews. Susanne zur Nieden (1993), in the concluding remarks to her analysis of German women's diaries written between 1943 and 1945, points to the silence in these diaries on the fate of the Jews as the terrible proof of an 'autobiographical pact' (p.199) with National Socialism. This silence is the first phase in a pattern of denial consolidated in the boom years of the post-war era. The de-nazification programmes of the occupying powers were not effective in removing all NSDAP officials from civil service posts (Giordano, pp.86-114) - indeed it was undoubtedly in the interest of western governments to support the economic revival of the Federal Republic, in order to create a strong buffer zone against the Russian sphere of influence. The climate was not one of self-recrimination and soul-searching: there was work to be done to ensure survival at the most basic level for most Germans, as well as to support the interests of the western powers in the developing Cold War. Christa Wolf comments in her autobiographical novel Kindheitsmuster: 'Niemand hat Menschen so vieles vergessen sollen, um funktionsfähig zu bleiben' (never did people have to forget so much in order to function - cited in zur Nieden, 1993, p.199).

This, then, is the background to the writing by German authors on their childhood in the Third Reich. Although written almost thirty years ago, the Mitscherlichs' essay remains a frequently cited indictment of German

attitudes to the past. Some of its arguments are echoed in a recent debate - to be discussed further in chapter six - between the Israeli academic, Zohar Shavit, and the German researcher on children's literature on the Third Reich, Malte Dahrendorf. Shavit (1988) is critical of much of German children's literature in its avoidance of any discussion of the holocaust. The relevance of this debate lies in the expectation - an expectation which Shavit believes has not remotely been fulfilled - that German authors should in some way atone for the past in their accounts of the wartime years. Expiation and atonement for a collective guilt may or may not result from the therapeutic recording of personal trauma. Certainly as far as autobiographical literature is concerned, writers who are recording their experience as children from a child's point of view are unlikely to have been aware at the time of the full extent of the holocaust. For many German children it was precisely the post-war period which brought the insecurity and fear that marked wartime experience for them, and from which they seek to recover. The dilemma which then faces the adult narrator or author is how to contextualise these dominant experiences within the broader historical framework.

In considering writing as part of a therapeutic process, the denial of certain deeply painful aspects of the past is as important in the reconstruction of the childhood self as the areas of the individual's story which are chosen and retold. The adult writer is engaged in an unconscious selection process as well as a conscious one, a process which is governed and directed both by personal trauma and changing cultural assumptions and values. The immediate psychological effects for the child of the disintegration of the family as a result of bombing, evacuation or enforced migration may be the primary concern in some accounts, yet each writer's own ideological stance towards the past becomes apparent in the narrative. Even when experiences are similar, the process of reflecting on the past is determined by the writer's own ideological position towards the Third Reich. Contrasting approaches to the enforced migration of German families from Czechoslovakia are evident, for example, in the work of Gudrun Pausewang and Annelies Schwarz.

Annalies Schwarz and Gudrun Pausewang lived as children within fifty miles of each other just south of the border between Czechoslovakia and the south-eastern corner of Germany. Both describe gruelling journeys across the border and through Germany after the expulsion of their families from Czechoslovakia at the end of the war. Annelies Schwarz was a young child, six to seven years old, yearning for the return of her father and family security: the tone of her retrospective narrative in Wir werden uns wieder finden (literally: We will find each other again, 1981) is one of barely contained outrage at the injustice perpetrated against the Sudeten Germans. Her account is subtitled 'die Vertreibung einer Familie', an emotive phrase which translates as the 'driving out' of a family. The grandmother in the account complains bitterly about the behaviour of the Czechs, an attitude which is not contextualised at any point in the narrative or foreword: Germany had, after all, annexed the Sudetenland to the German Reich in 1938. Indeed the narrator's own position becomes clear when she describes the transportation of Germans across the border in railway wagons: 'um sie in Deutschland auf eine Wiese zu entlassen, wie das Vieh auf die Weide' ('to deposit them in a meadow in Germany, like cattle put out to graze', p.78). Annelies Schwarz's own anger at the treatment of her family surfaces here as it does in her foreword to the account when she speaks of the 'Diskriminierung der Deutschen' ('discrimination against the Germans', p.6). Reference is even made in the commentary at the end of the account to the plight of refugees in the Third World: a comparison rendered safe by distance, rather than the immediate and obvious ones of the razing of villages on the eastern front by German soldiers and the fate of the Jews. There is, however, an acceptance towards the end of the account by the grandmother that the allied bombing of Dresden must be regarded as a revenge attack for the German destruction of villages and shooting of civilians. In response to Liese's questions she admits that children, too, were shot. This is a key moment in the account, when the narrator comments that there is : 'nichts mehr vor uns Kindern zu verheimlichen, zu beschönigen und zu verbergen.' ('no more secrets to be kept from the children, nothing to be glossed over or hidden' , p.95). The process of interrogating the past appears to be taking place within the account, both in manifestations of personal anger and the first signs of an acceptance of

collective guilt.

Gudrun Pausewang was, at seventeen, considerably older than Annelies Schwarz at the time of her family's trek across Germany; she had to take on the role of her mother's partner after the death of her father on the Russian front. The chaos and danger of a refugee existence, accompanied by the collapse of the ideology engendered by National Socialism and the gradual recognition and acceptance of national guilt have been the driving force behind much of Pausewang's writing for the young, leading to a very different narrative perspective from that adopted by Schwarz. Gudrun Pausewang is well known for her hard-hitting novels for young people on ecological and political themes. It is not surprising, then, that her account in Fern von der Rosinkawiese (1989) of the refugee existence does include an acceptance of the irony of the situation, emphasising the effects of Nazi propaganda and its legacy: 'Und noch sahen wir - trotz all dem Unrecht und den Greueln, die während der Nazizeit und keinesfalls heimlich verübt worden waren - das deutsche Volk mehr als Opfer denn als Täter' ('And yet, despite the injustice and atrocities of the Nazi regime which were visible to all, we still regarded the German people as victims rather than oppressors', p.158). The adult narrator is able to make a retrospective judgement on the post-war legacy of Nazi ideology to which at the time she subscribed without question. This judgement can never be final, however, since there are changes in the direction and emphasis of Pausewang's atonement as she continues to produce narratives initiated by the events of her childhood. Pausewang's work to date exemplifies both the incomplete nature of the therapeutic process and the seriousness of her didactic intention.

This recurring preoccupation with the past is centred in Pausewang's Rosinka trilogy which straddles the boundaries between adult and juvenile literature, although Fern von der Rosinkawiese (1989) is specifically addressed to a juvenile audience. Since completing the Rosinka narratives, Pausewang has written for the young a harrowing and detailed account of the final journey to the gas chambers of a group of Jews, told from the point-of-view of a young Jewish girl (Reise im August, 1992); a novel which depicts a future in which the current extreme right-wing tendencies in

Germany have taken hold (der Schlund, 1993), and, most recently, a novel set in the Sudetenland in which a young girl, herself a member of the Hitler Youth, hides an escaped Russian prisoner-of-war (Die Verräterin, 1995). Pausewang's two most controversial novels, Die letzten Kinder von Schewenborn (1983, published in English as The Last Children), and Die Wolke (1987, published in English as Fall-out), also undoubtedly draw to some extent on her own memories of mass destruction, and the refugee struggle for survival and the absence of any form of social order in the immediate post-war period.

The complexity of coming to terms with the past for a German writer is illustrated both in the content and narrative perspective of Pausewang's novels for children and critical response to them. Before the publication of Pausewang's indirect acknowledgment of German national guilt in Fern von der Rosinkawiese, she was taken to task by Zohar Shavit (1988) who cited a passage from Pausewang's earlier novel set in the aftermath of a nuclear war, Die letzten Kinder von Schewenborn (1983). The narrator, an adolescent boy, curses his grandparents for accepting nuclear weapons when they had already experienced the horrors of war 'wenn ihr Krieg auch fast harmloser im Vergleich zu unserem Bombentag gewesen ist' ('even if their war was almost harmless in comparison to the day our bomb dropped' Shavit, 1988, p.15). Shavit comments that this extract is symptomatic of the silence in German children's literature on the subject of the holocaust. The cursory dismissal of the Second World War as comparatively harmless of which Shavit is justifiably critical, is tempered by Pausewang's recognition of national guilt in the later account of her own wartime experience (1989). A misjudged comment made in the interests of stressing the enormity of a nuclear catastrophe reinforces Jung's point that we possess no 'objective foundation from which we judge ourselves'. The background to our judgements constantly shifts, so that therapeutic writing becomes part of a process. Pausewang's writing bears witness to this process. Post-war visits to her childhood home in Czechoslovakia from 1964 onwards are described in the third volume of her trilogy, Geliebte Rosinkawiese. die Geschichte einer Freundschaft über die Grenzen (literally: Beloved Rosinka meadow. The story of a cross-border friendship, 1990). As suggested in the title,

Gudrun Pausewang regards these visits as a means of re-establishing Czech-German understanding and friendship. Pausewang's son, a representative of the next generation, is closely involved in the process of healing: on one of the visits to Czechoslovakia mother and son visit the Jewish cemetery in Prague and an exhibition of children's drawings from Theresienstadt concentration camp. On leaving the exhibition they are overwhelmed by the responsibility of being German: 'Da standen wir nun, Angehörige der Nation, die diese Schuld auf sich geladen hatte. Ich wunderte mich, dass uns keiner der Passanten feindlich anstarrte' (There we stood, citizens of the nation which had burdened itself with this guilt. I was amazed that the passers-by did not greet us with angry looks, p.126). The impulse behind such attempts at atonement and reconciliation lies in childhood trauma and the subsequent acceptance of national guilt; for Pausewang there is a powerful urge to record each step of the therapeutic process in writing.

Childhood wartime experience and the development of a concept of self

Fundamental to this therapeutic process of rediscovering the childhood self through writing is the quest for an identity, the establishment of a self-concept which may have been distorted or undermined by wartime experience. Renate Finckh, in the passage cited above, refers to her search for an identity after the collapse of the heady aspirations fuelled by Nazi youth movements. She is not alone in regarding her wartime childhood and adolescence as a time when it was impossible to separate her own slowly emerging identity from the collective, national identity. In Germany, once that collective identity was shattered, the process of regaining a concept of self was for many young people associated with national guilt. Dahrendorf (1988), in his comparison of adult and children's literature on fascism, points to the painful reconquering of childhood identity subjected to a collective process of denial and repression. The Mitscherlichs (1967) discuss the concept of a collective identity in the Germany of the Third Reich, an identity personified for many in the figure of a 'kollektives Ich-Ideal' (a collective ideal ego - p.34), namely Adolf Hitler. The development of an individual

identity was subordinated to the collective ideal, a process reflected in the use of the third person plural pronoun in the women's diaries reviewed by Susanne zur Nieden. She cites instances of the intermittent use of 'wir' (we) instead of 'ich' (I) when the focus shifts to the fate of the German people and public and private selves are hardly separated: 'Wir stehen im 5. Kriegsjahr und warten täglich auf eine baldige Entscheidung' ('We are in the fifth year of the war and expect a result any day now', p.86) The collective pronoun 'wir' encapsulates the notion of a people acting and reacting as one body, a sensation of belonging and sharing a common fate which is only rarely experienced in peacetime. The sense of a collective identity which prevails in wartime - although there are, of course, always voices of dissent - is a heightened form of the national identity created in any country by society, culture and history. The pursuit of a national purpose, of territorial expansion and - to use a more recent and telling term - the ultimate form of 'ethnic cleansing' in Germany - had its counterpart in Great Britain in the goal of defeating the armies of the Third Reich and preventing an invasion. In both countries the public foregrounding of national identity undoubtedly had a powerful effect on the natural process in the young of separation from the family and the establishment of an identity of their own.

The fluctuation between 'ich' and 'wir' noted in some of the wartime diaries examined by zur Nieden is one aspect of the process of self-definition which takes place in autobiographical writing. The process of stabilising one's identity, experienced so acutely in adolescence, is a continuous one. Erikson (1980) has defined identity as a psychosocial process within the life cycle: during adolescence external pressures and an inner need to be recognised by the community combine to establish commitments 'for life' (p.119). These commitments may, however, be subject to review at a later stage of development, since the self never does become a fixed, single subject. Proff (in Chandler, 1990) as discussed earlier, points to the interrogation of the past via the 'enquiring' and 'answering' selves, while Bruner (1990) refers to the self as storyteller, 'a constructor of narratives about a life' (p.111). However the process is described and whatever form it assumes, a dialogue takes place between the self and the 'other', a dialogue which is informed and shaped by the social conditions within which

it takes place. The writer may even create an imaginary 'other self', as is the case in the semi-autobiographical novels of Marcel Proust, in an attempt to reach the supposed emotional truth lost in the past. The work of the psychoanalyst Jacques Lacan has been illuminating in its analysis of the foundation of the concept of identity in childhood and language acquisition, and the inevitable repression of aspects of the idealised self as the social self comes into being.

Lacan (1977) describes identity as a social construct which is created through the medium of language. He identifies a crucial point in the young child's developing concept of self - the 'mirror stage' - when the child has the repeated experience of seeing him or herself reflected in a mirror, and is consequently able to view the body and the self as an 'ideal unity'. Lacan describes this experience - which normally takes place between the ages of six and eighteen months - as a 'jubilant' one, an opportunity to regard oneself as a unified whole which precedes the fragmentation brought about by the assumption of a second, social identity through language. The establishment of that identity is in fact already taking place, as Halliday (1975) has indicated in his study of the functions of his infant son Nigel's proto-language between the ages of nine and eighteen months. Through a combination of sound and gesture the infant is beginning to take its place within the social order via a rudimentary language. However, Lacan asserts that once the 'social I' is established, the individual is constantly striving to recapture the ideal but illusory wholeness of the mirror image through confirmation of the self within the social setting. This leads to a succession of images of the self established for periods of time, each one regarded as a stable 'identity', and each masking a fundamental lack - described by Lacan as 'an organic insufficiency in his (man's) natural reality' (1977, p.4). There is, then, no stable identity, so that the self 'can be grasped only as a set of tensions, or mutations, or dialectical upheavals within a continuous, intentional, future-directed process' (Bowie, 1979, p. 131). There are parallels here with recent theoretical perspectives on the autobiographical process discussed in the previous chapter, particularly in criticism of the concept of a unified and fundamentally unchanging self.

The self as a process is contrasted by Lacan with Freud's topographical view of the self (id, ego and superego) where fundamental emotional truths residing in the 'id' can be uncovered. He regards these emotions and their repression as culturally mediated, and any attempt to reveal them as part of that continuing search for a stable identity. This overwhelming desire to understand the self and recapture its wholeness results from the emphasis placed in western society on individuality, an emphasis which created the conditions for the discoveries of psychoanalysis. Lacan regards this quest for a stable identity as a struggle between the tensions and redefinitions of the self through language (the Symbolic order) and the search for identification and confirmation of the idealised self in the social world (defined as the Imaginary). The Symbolic order and the role of language in the reconstruction of the childhood self will be the subject of further discussion in the following chapter. Lacan's description of the Imaginary - the pursuit of a confirmation of the self through identification with others in the external world - is, however, of relevance to a discussion of the wartime experience of collective identity and the retrospective review of that experience from the standpoint of a revised concept of self. The nostalgic and positive perspective on the past in Foreman's picture book (1989) and Westall's novels, for example The Machine-gunners (1975), is conditioned by the identification of the self with the powerful and idealised figure of the British Tommy, together with the all-encompassing goals of the 'war-effort'. The first two photographs in War Boy are of the very young Michael Foreman dressed in sailor and soldier uniforms which he wore when 'drilled' by soldiers in his mother's shop. Play is the province of the Imaginary: the identification of the self with a powerful member of the social order. Similarly, German children and adolescents were able to act out fantasies of power within the rituals and mass rallies of the Hitler youth movements (Finckh, von der Grün, von Staden), and to identify with individual, usually older, members or the 'idealised I' of Hitler himself. In their autobiographical accounts, however, German writers review that past identification with the power of the Third Reich from the position of a newly constructed identity within an entirely different social order, an identity governed in some cases by a moral judgement on the past, in others by denial and repression.

A question of identity: Jewish writers and the quest for social acceptance

The development of a concept of self for Jewish children in Germany and German-occupied Europe was subjected to increasing scrutiny as their very right to a place within society was questioned. The desire to identify with powerful figures in the social order assumed a deadly seriousness as Jewish identity - which may or may not previously have assumed great importance in the children's lives - suddenly became the key factor of their existence. Adult writers concerned to redefine a stable view of the self follow the process of questioning, redefining and seeking confirmation of an identity which had been called into question. There is inevitably a tension for German Jews between the German and Jewish aspects of the self, the irony of owing allegiance both to the persecutors and the persecuted. In addition, Jewish writers have to contend with the inescapable guilt at having survived the holocaust experienced to a greater or lesser extent by all exiles and survivors. George Steiner, whose family fled Paris in 1940, has commented during a television interview (Memento, Channel 4, 13th. May 1994) that everything he does is an attempt to answer two questions: why was he spared, and why did these things happen? It has already been noted that the impossibility of answering these questions results in the repression of past experience and a lengthy gestation period for autobiographical writing, as well as a compulsion to continue the story in sequels. The time lapse necessary before the full extent of trauma can be assessed is discussed by Bruno Bettelheim, who in his essay Children of the Holocaust (1992) states quite categorically: 'It requires a distance of twenty or more years to comprehend how the particular tragedy one experienced in childhood has transformed one's life' (p.216). The personal and social trauma suffered by Jewish children is the subject of the work of three writers who have all recorded their experience for a child audience at least twenty-five years after the end of the war.

The novels to be discussed are: A Boy in Your Situation (1977) and Almost an Englishman (1979) by Charles Hannam, born as Karl Hartland to a wealthy Jewish banking family in Essen; When Hitler Stole Pink Rabbit

(1971), The Other Way Round (1975) and A Small Person Far Away (1978, revised 1989) by Judith Kerr, daughter of the eminent theatre critic Alfred Kerr; and The Upstairs Room (1972) and The Journey Back (1976) by Johanna Reiss, who spent two years in hiding on a Dutch farm. Judith Kerr and Charles Hannam both fled Germany before the outbreak of war, Judith Kerr with her family and Charles Hannam as part of the 'Kindertransport' programme, whereas Johanna Reiss chose to emigrate to the USA after the war. All three writers have written in English, the language of the countries in which they have spent their adult lives as a result of exile or personal choice. The recording in one language of experience lived through the medium of another is of particular interest in considering the therapeutic nature of autobiographical writing, and will be the subject of discussion in chapter three. For these three writers the sudden focus on their Jewishness as the most significant element in their identity - more important even than being German or Dutch, the child of a wealthy banker or of a famous writer - constituted an unfathomable change in society which undermined their sense of childhood security. Judith Kerr, Charles Hannam and Johanna Reiss all describe the changes in official and local attitudes towards themselves as Jews and how they were forced to reflect on and question their own identity.

In her trilogy Judith Kerr creates an imaginary alter ego who is given the name Anna, a distancing of childhood which only appears to be resolved in the final volume. In a lecture delivered in Berlin in 1990 Kerr uses the image of bottled or preserved fruits: 'eine eingeweckte Kindheit' (Kerr, 1990, p.20) to suggest a childhood which was for many years frozen in time, inaccessible and without connection to her present self. Alienation resulted both from an abrupt change in cultural setting and the self-examination forced on the child by political developments. In When Hitler Stole Pink Rabbit (1974), it is evident that for Anna the process of questioning her own identity starts early. Her father is a famous public figure who has openly stated his opposition to the NSDAP, and decides therefore that first he and then his family must leave Germany in 1933, two years before the publication of the Nuremberg laws. In the first pages of the novel Anna is urged to confront her Jewishness by a sceptical schoolfriend : after all, the

friend argues, Anna doesn't have a 'bent' nose and doesn't attend a special church on Saturdays:

There was a pause.

"I suppose....." said Anna, "I suppose it's because my mother and father are Jews, and I suppose their mothers and fathers were too. I never thought about it much until Papa started talking about it last week"
(Kerr 1971, pp.8-9)

As a member of a non-practising Jewish family, Anna's Jewishness had not featured prominently in her life until that conversation with her father, when he had told his children (Anna and her brother Max) never to forget that they were Jews. Her friend concludes that the whole thing is 'silly' anyway, and Anna is fortunate to be able to leave Germany with her family soon afterwards. However, persecution follows the family to Switzerland, where a German couple will not allow their children to play with Max and Anna because they are Jewish. Anna, like her friend, views the question with a child's logic: 'Why did they have to have all this business of decisions and taking sides?' (Kerr 1971, p.74).

Anna's father continues to encourage his children to be proud of being Jewish, believing that they have to strive to behave better than other people in order that Nazi lies and propaganda should have no foundation in fact. His dignified if rather naive attempt to defeat Nazi propaganda evokes a child-like response in Anna. She carries his moral advice to extremes in her determination to gain social acceptance and the approval of the most powerful figure in her life - her father. She is mortified at her own moral lapse in not pointing out to a shopkeeper that he had undercharged her for a pencil, and resolves to wash her neck with soap so that at least it would not be possible to claim that Jews have dirty necks. Anna regards these acts of affirmation of her identity as her own small response to the lies around her. Later, as an adolescent refugee growing up in London, Anna's natural preoccupation with her appearance is still affected by the residue of anti-semitism. At the beginning of The Other Way Round (1975), she gazes at her reflection in a mirror with irritation, resenting her dark hair and green eyes: 'Why couldn't she at least have been blonde? Everyone knew that blonde hair was better. All the film stars were blonde, from Shirley Temple to

Marlene Dietrich' (p.1). Blonde hair was fashionable in post-war Britain of course, yet Anna's desire carries echoes of Third Reich propaganda.

Like Judith Kerr, Johanna Reiss opens her first novel, The Upstairs Room, with an account of the bewilderment experienced by a child who finds herself the target of a campaign of persecution which appears to make no sense. The opening page is dominated by the adult narrator's formulation of Annie's unspoken questions as her father listens to a radio broadcast about Hitler, thus clearly establishing the novel's narrative perspective. Why, she asks silently, does this Hitler not like German Jews? Why can the Jews only go shopping at certain times and why are they being sent to camps? She feels frustrated that her father is too preoccupied and her mother too ill to answer her questions, yet is temporarily consoled by the fact that all these events are taking place in Germany rather than Holland. Later, after the German occupation of Holland, Annie experiences the growing anti-semitism of the Dutch as well as that of the occupying Germans and continues to question what is happening. When a Dutch supporter of the Nazis spits at Annie and her older sister Rachel, she cannot understand how he knows that they are Jewish. Rachel tells her that they look different - darker - and Annie decides to test the truth of this statement as soon as she reaches home and a mirror. The mirror image, as in Judith Kerr's novel, provides an opportunity to confront an image of oneself which is then found wanting according to distorted social expectations. The examination of the image in a mirror occurs in other accounts of wartime Jewish childhood⁹. Although well past the age of Lacan's 'mirror stage', these children are nevertheless trying to re-establish a sense of wholeness and security in their own image.

This experience, common to most young people at the approach of adolescence, is compounded by the fragmentation into distorted features ('ears sticking out', 'darkness', 'hooked nose') demanded by the most pernicious propaganda. The Jewish children in these accounts seek a reflection of the self which is acceptable in society, or wish to identify those aspects of the self deemed unacceptable.

⁹ In the French author Claude Gutman's novel, The Empty House (1991, p.34), the first of a trilogy of novels based on his Jewish family's wartime experiences, the young boy at the centre of the narrative searches his features in the mirror for signs of the 'hooked nose' described in anti-semitic propaganda in the newspapers.

As the novel develops, each new stage of isolation from society and the spiral of persecution is described: the withdrawal of permission for Annie's father to trade cattle; Rachel's dismissal from her job; the curtailment of Annie's schooling; the stamping of a 'J' on the family's identity cards and the yellow stars they are forced to wear. The text no longer includes questions from Annie, who simply seems to accept the consequences of being Jewish and even quite enjoys wearing the yellow star. Annie may not be able to find answers to the larger political and moral questions posed by her treatment as a Jew, but can quite understand that wearing a yellow star makes it much simpler to recognise Jews. In particular, the star has confirmed an important aspect of her developing self-concept: it makes her feel quite grown up, since children under the age of six do not have to wear one. What cannot be understood eventually has to be put aside and repressed in the interests of reverting to one of childhood's principal concerns - the desire to get ahead in the race to grow up, to identify with one's more powerful (i.e. older) peers.

In Charles Hannam's novels the childhood self, named Karl Hartland, belongs to an orthodox Jewish family and celebrates his barmitzvah before leaving for England. He is made directly aware of his Jewishness and its consequences at school where, as part of the Jewish quota, he is subjected to teasing from pupils and sarcasm from some teachers. As the Nuremberg laws take effect, non-Jewish servants have to leave the household, and Karl finally has to leave his school. There is little comment by Karl on his Jewishness as such, except when he is sent to a holiday camp for Jewish children early in the novel: 'here Karl's crime seemed not being Jewish but not being Jewish enough' (Hannam 1977, p.82). Karl is concerned above all with establishing himself in the world and gaining acceptance. In contrast to Judith Kerr's novel, there is no evidence in the text that he is encouraged by his family to reflect on his Jewishness and Nazi propaganda.

Hannam's attitude becomes increasingly clear in the second novel, Almost an Englishman, in which his alienation from his sister's circle of Jewish refugee friends and relatives is a central theme. Hannam's introduction to this second volume represents an apology for his behaviour towards these

people who represented a part of himself he wished to deny: 'Since the beginning of the Nazi persecution Karl had learnt to hate the Jewish part of himself' (Hannam 1979, p.9). This process began with an examination of his physical appearance: 'Was his hair not fair and straight, his eyes blue and his nose uncrooked?' (1979, p.9) Once again the mirror image, the view of oneself reflected in society, assumes primary importance. Hannam as a young boy had been seduced by the images projected by the Third Reich of the supremacy of blond hair and blue-eyes and admits that his anger at being classified as Jewish was directed, not at the persecutors, but at the Jewish refugees themselves: 'He detested their bad English; their mixture of German, Yiddish and English words seemed to him alien' (p.9). He confesses to feeling convinced at that time that the Jews must have done something to deserve their fate. His reaction to persecution is one of denial, which takes the form of blaming the victim rather than face the question of the persecutors' motivation. He is unwilling to spend time with other refugees, and makes a huge effort to lose all trace of a German accent. This denial of his identity as a German Jew continues in Hannam's determination to gain acceptance in British society, culminating in his decision to join the British army and his ready acceptance of a new 'English' name. It was, Hannam confesses, only many years later that he could accept his Jewishness as an essential part of his identity. The introduction to Almost an Englishman summarises the therapeutic process represented by the writing of the two autobiographical novels. The creation of a new identity - even a new name - has alienated Hannam from his childhood self to such an extent that he was unable to write a first person narrative: 'It was all so removed from the person I am now that I could not use the personal pronoun and I began to write about myself as 'Karl' in the third person' (1979, p.9). He regards the positioning of the self within the narrative as symptomatic of the alienation from childhood he is forced to acknowledge through the act of writing.

The positioning of the self within the narrative

It is evident in the autobiographical novels of Charles Hannam that the need for affirmation of the concept of self through identification with one's peers and powerful figures within society was experienced particularly acutely by Jewish exiles. Lacan's view of the socially constructed and 'learned' nature of identity is illustrated both in Hannam's determined and conscious striving towards a socially acceptable persona as well as the play and symbolism of Foreman's imaginary mascot role. The confirmation of identity in the Symbolic order takes place through adoption of society's linguistic definition of the self. To refer to oneself as 'I', 'me' and 'myself' is to regard oneself as an entity in society's terms, Lacan would argue, rather than in terms of the subject's own reality. Hannam's reluctance to use the first person pronoun is not surprising in view of the adult's retrospective assessment of the identity his younger self was engaged in constructing. The self, Lacan argues, becomes objectified as part of the social order or 'collective'. Anthony Wilden stresses this point in his explication of Lacan's theories of Speech and Language in Psychoanalysis: 'Lacan seeks to rebut the notion of the unconscious as an individual, intrapsychic entity, and to restore it as a function to the collectivity which in fact creates and sustains it' (1968, p.265). The tensions between the demands of that 'collectivity' and the process of seeking to establish a stable identity are reflected in the positioning of the self within the narrative in the autobiographical accounts of German, British and Jewish writers. The creation of an identity in narrative is part of the therapeutic process of writing autobiographically and takes a variety of forms in accounts of childhood: first or third person narrative; retrospective commentary by the adult writer; narration from the child's point of view; or the creation of a second self with a new name in some fictionalised accounts. The identity created forms a link in the chain of identities proposed by Lacan, while the act of fixing or stabilising past and present selves in a narrative is both therapeutic and affirmative.

Lacan considers that to use the personal pronoun 'I' is to regard oneself from the outside, to view oneself objectively as a whole - albeit an illusory whole. In retrospective autobiographical writing the illusion is confirmed in

the ambiguous use of the first person pronoun: 'I' refers both to an earlier self as well as the self who is the contemporary narrator. In the narratives and accounts reviewed in this study, the present 'I' is reviewing the actions and experience of a past 'I', a distinction which is part of a narrative tradition outlined by Catherine Belsey (1980) in her discussion of Wordsworth's The Prelude. The writing of the poem itself represented for Wordsworth an attempt to 'create a unified identity' (p.87) - the eternal search to regain an illusory wholeness described by Lacan - in that the past self was to be regarded as the source of the present self. In this way the past and present selves could be regarded as aspects of a whole rather than separate beings. The attempt to create a unified identity through the composition of a text may be visible to the reader in the adoption of a first person narrative referring both to past and present selves. Alternatively, an apparently objective view of the younger self may be adopted throughout the account by means of the third person narrative. Fictionalisation, the attribution of personal experience to created figures, and the adoption of an alter ego add further dimensions to the representation of the self in the autobiographical process. Louis Renza (1980) illuminates the complexity of the positioning of the self within the autobiographical text: 'But if we wish to argue for the artistic constitution of autobiography, the writer's self-cognitive dilemma must be seen to permeate the composition of his text.' (p.270). Far from being the 'easy exercise' Samuel Johnson considered autobiography ought to be because of the 'proximity of subject and object' (cited in Olney, 1972 p.39), the narrative process is characterised by this 'self-cognitive dilemma' and the shifting nature of personal identity.

The choice between fictionalisation of experience and a straightforward account can be a difficult one which centres on the representation of the self in the narrative. As discussed earlier, both Nina Bawden and Gudrun Pausewang have recorded their personal experience of the wartime years in fictionalised form, followed after an interval by a second account in which there is a more direct representation of the childhood self. In Bawden's Carrie's War, the third person narrative focuses on Carrie and her emotional response to evacuation and personal guilt. In Keeping Henry (1988), published fifteen years later and described by Nina Bawden as a 'true story',

she places herself in the position of narrator, although this is not explicitly stated in the novel and the narrator is never named.

The transition in Gudrun Pausewang's autobiographical writing from indirect to direct representation of the self is even more marked. In Auf einem langen Weg (1987, first published 1978), the central figures are Werner and Achim Adamek, young brothers who are separated from their parents and travel alone across post-war Germany. Their story is told by a narrator who plays no part in the narrative, yet there is no doubt that Gudrun Pausewang is drawing on her own adolescent experience as a refugee. Indeed, in a brief foreword she states that what is described in the novel did actually happen to adults who: 'erinnern sich noch genau an diese schlimme Zeit. Die meisten von ihnen waren damals selber noch Kinder' (have an exact memory of those terrible times. Most were children themselves at the time, p.5). Even here Gudrun Pausewang does not mention her own experience - aspects of her emotional response are revealed in the text, as is the case in Nina Bawden's Carrie's War. Fern von der Rosinkawiese, however, is subtitled 'Die Geschichte einer Flucht' (the 'story' or 'history' of a flight' - 'Geschichte' can mean either), and covers the period Gudrun Pausewang herself spent as a refugee. There is no overt intention to fictionalise, and the first person narrative is retrospective: the narrator both explains and comments on the thoughts and actions of the past self. The opening lines set the scene for the reader (represented by the son) and summarise the duality of the narrating self: 'Um die Ursachen unserer Flucht und meine Gedanken während der langen Wanderung verständlich zu machen, muss ich etwas ausholen.' (In order to make clear the reasons for our flight and for my thoughts throughout our long trek, I must first go back in time - p.5). The childhood self is here explicitly shown to be the subject of historical and psychological analysis.

In Fern von der Rosinkawiese the reconstruction of the childhood self appears to be taking place within the text, a narrative device found in 'adult' fiction and autobiographical writing as well. In Dickens' Great Expectations, the older Pip looks back on the younger Pip and charts the gradual failure of his expectations, recognising the folly of his youthful arrogance. Pip views

his former self from the heights of his new-found happiness and security and makes a judgement on his past behaviour. The narrating self assumes the position of the omniscient author, knowing all because the experiences described are his own. In contrast, Christa Wolf in her autobiographical adult novel Kindheitsmuster, attempts to re-establish contact with her rejected childhood self by dividing the narrative into three levels. The adult Christa Wolf narrates, addressing as 'narratee' a second self which is more reluctant to undertake a journey into the past, while the subject of the narrative is the child Christa Wolf and her journey through post-war Germany as a refugee. There is a careful orchestration of these three aspects of the self throughout the narrative as the child is rediscovered and recreated. The novel represents an extreme example of the dialogue between aspects of the self which accompanies the search for a stable identity. Gudrun Pausewang's (1989) commentary on her adolescent years reinforces the gulf between the two identities rather than establishing a dialogue between them. The adult can re-experience the emotions of the time, while maintaining her distance from the social attitudes which she now condemns, namely the German refugees' view of themselves as victims.

Christine Nöstlinger's (1973) commentary on the past takes a different form. The narrative viewpoint in Maikäfer flieg! is that of her eight-year old self, Christel Göth. Events are viewed entirely from the child's perspective, yet laconic chapter headings point to the significance of apparently minor events or snatches of dialogue. These headings take the form of brief phrases listed without commentary: 'Die Blonden und die Braunen' (the blondes and the brunettes - p.77), for example, is the final item of six in such a list, and refers to Christel's relief that she is a brunette in post-war Vienna, whereas previously she had longed to be blue-eyed and blonde. An adult friend has just expressed her delight that her son is not a German but an Austrian citizen, although unfortunately a blond one. The irony implicit in this woman's comment is reinforced by the chapter heading: the author is able to comment on the attitudes of her younger self and their social context without intruding into the narrative. Nöstlinger has decided not to include the adult narrator's voice, yet that voice is apparent in the irony and humour with which the story is told, an irony encapsulated in these telling chapter

summaries.

Earlier in this chapter it was pointed out that a commentary of some kind on the Third Reich is expected of German writers, so that Nöstlinger's decision to write entirely from the child's point-of-view is open to the criticism that difficult issues have been evaded. Nöstlinger, however, inserts the adult voice into the narrative with some subtlety. The narrative viewpoint adopted by Ursula Fuchs, Annelies Schwarz and Hans Peter Richter is also that of the childhood self as narrator and the child's perspective with little evidence in the narrative of commentary by the adult self. In these texts the adult's voice is relegated to the margins of the narrative. Schwarz begins her account with the defensive foreword already cited, whereas Ursula Fuchs' contemporary self surfaces in a brief and ostensibly objective chronology of political events between 1933 and 45 appended to the end of the novel. The rise to power of the Nazi party is described as: 'eine rücksichtslose und gefährliche Machtpolitik' (ruthless and dangerous power politics), and there is an emphasis on the persecution and murder of Jews. The author's current acceptance of national responsibility becomes clear, in contrast to the defensiveness of Annelies Schwarz. Hans-Peter Richter goes so far as to explain the absence of the contemporary self in his prefatory note to Wir waren dabei (1962): 'Ich berichte, wie ich jene Zeit erlebt und gesehen habe - Ich war dabei; ich war nicht nur Augenzeuge. Ich habe geglaubt - und ich werde nie wieder glauben' (Richter, 1962, p.8). 'I am reporting how I lived through that time and what I saw - no more. I was there. I was not merely an eyewitness. I believed - and I will never believe again' (Translation from the English edition, 1972, p.viii). The phrase 'no more' emphasises the objectivity of 'berichten' and prepares the reader not to expect analysis or commentary, although the judgement of the past by the present self is made perfectly clear in the disillusionment evident in this statement.

Those words, 'I will never believe again', appear to be forceful and convincing. The position taken by the author within the autobiographical narrative is once again a judgmental one. The implication is that a new identity has been established, one with a fuller understanding of political behaviour which will ensure the avoidance of past mistakes. During the

intervening years, and in the process of writing his account of childhood and adolescence in the Third Reich, Richter has achieved an understanding of his past. However, narrators are often unreliable, and never more so than in the autobiographical narrative where the self is the 'focalizing character' and representative of the account's underlying ideology¹⁰. David Lodge, (1989) in his case study of 'indeterminacy' in modern narrative in Kipling's Mrs. Bathurst, makes reference to this unreliability in fiction. An author's intention, he argues, may not coincide with the actual effect produced by a particular scene, a discrepancy which - as discussed earlier - has been recognised as an 'Intentional Fallacy' (p.73). Lodge concludes: 'The point is not that the the real author's comments are without interest but that they do not have absolute authority' (p.73). With this argument in mind it is possible to begin to understand the complex and contradictory nature of a text such as Wir waren dabei. Richter's words are undoubtedly sincere, yet how can anyone be certain that the lessons of the past may not be unlearned, and that a degree of self-knowledge has been achieved?

Narrative point of view

It is instructive at this point in the discussion of the positioning of the self within the narrative to survey critical insights into narrative viewpoint in fiction and their relevance to the development of a concept of self in the writing of autobiographical texts. Wayne Booth (1991), in his investigation into how authors communicate with readers and involve their audience in the lives of created characters, makes a fundamental distinction between authors who 'tell' and those who 'show'. Writers who 'tell', he explains, are authoritative guiders of the reader through the text, indicating and controlling appropriate responses to events and characters' behaviour. The 'omniscient author' falls into this category, although response may be controlled less directly. In autobiographical writing the author comments on and directs responses to his or her own past behaviour and attitudes, omniscience depending on lived experience and reconstruction rather than on the creation of fictional figures and situations. Gudrun Pausewang's (1989)

¹⁰ See Stephens (1992) pp.27-9 for a discussion of the role of the 'focalising character' within the narrative.

interpretation and explanation of past events qualifies as 'telling' in Booth's terms. Writers who 'show' attempt to withdraw from the text as far as possible in order to allow the reader to make his or her own judgement, or to create the illusion that the characters are completely free agents. In the case of Schwarz, Richter, and Fuchs it is likely that the intention of this 'authorial silence' (Booth, p.271) was to allow the child reader to experience wartime childhood in all its inexplicability from the perspective of a child - without the controlling voice of an adult narrator - and to trust in the child's or mediating adult's reflection on and superior knowledge of the historical context. As has been pointed out, it is impossible for these writers totally to suppress all commentary on wartime events: it is not just the reader's response which is at stake, but their own self-concept. In autobiographical writing the author cannot withdraw, in that the focalizing character is always an aspect of the self: either the childhood self or figures reliving aspects of the author's childhood experience (Pausewang 1987 and 1989, Bawden 1973 and 1989, Cooper 1974).

Booth charts the historical development in the writing of fiction from the omniscient author who 'tells' to the author who 'shows', culminating in the fragmentation apparent in many narratives of the twentieth century. In parallel with these developments, critical theory has created a taxonomy of authorial stance and reader response: the author creates an 'implied author' and a narrator, controlling the reader's response through the medium of an the implied reader and /or a narratee (Stephens, 1992, p.20). Reader response will be discussed in greater detail in the final chapter of this study; at issue here is narrative point of view as a means of structuring the reader's perceptions of the text. The presentation of the self in different authorial guises is of particular interest. The actual author, an adult reconstructing his or her childhood, creates an implied author who appears in the text as representative of its underlying ideology and provider of historical information. The interpretation of historical events according to a particular ideology may be a central concern (von der Grün), or a peripheral vehicle for the expression of psychological needs (indications of the acceptance of national responsibility for Ursula Fuchs, and the defensiveness of Annelies Schwarz cited above). The narrator may represent the apparently

omniscient and morally judgmental adult self (Pausewang), or the confused and questioning child. The child as narrator is 'unreliable' (Stephens, p.22) in that he or she is not in full possession of historical facts and information, which is gleaned in fragmentary form from adults, radio broadcasts and events witnessed. The child's confusion is particularly evident in the accounts by Jewish writers discussed above. In the opening pages of The Upstairs Room Annie persistently questions her family about her Jewish identity. The unreliability and confusion of the narrator - in this case Reiss has created a third person narrative and given her childhood self another name - creates an equally confused narratee, a child reader who demands answers to the questions.

In The Upstairs Room the reader shares the narrator's emotional response without being overtly directed to do so. Annie, the focus of the third person narrative, is also the focalizing character. Stephens (p.237) describes character-focalization as the dominant narrative mode in historical fiction. This focalizing character, or 'eye-witness' (Scholes and Kellogg, 1966), may have eyes: 'turned inward so that he is his own subject matter or outward so that the other characters or the social scene itself become the dominant interest' (p. 256). In autobiographical writing the focalizing character from whose perspective events are experienced is, of course, always a reconstruction of the self, whether first or third person narrative is adopted. The child in the accounts considered here has eyes 'turned outward' in an attempt to understand wartime events, and - occasionally - inward, as in the case of Jewish writers whose identity has been thrown into question. Fowler (1986) makes a similar distinction when discussing the psychological point of view in narrative. He contrasts 'internal' narration which focusses on psychological processes (usually those of the focalizing character), with 'external' narration where the narrator appears to be objective and declines to comment on inner processes: the writer 'shows' rather than 'tells' the reader what is taking place in the minds of central figures. Once again, it is clear from the autobiographical accounts of wartime childhood surveyed so far, that both child and adult narrators do not dwell extensively on inner psychological processes by adopting a 'stream of consciousness' approach. A child narrator could not be expected to conduct a detailed investigation of

its own psychological responses to events, nor could a child reader necessarily be expected to engage with passages of extended analysis. Telling the story is the writer's principal aim. Nevertheless, the character-focalization itself ensures that the reader 'feels with' the child, and the emotional content of the childhood reconstructed by the adult writer is evident from the chosen narrative perspective.

Autobiography: a healing art ?

In her book A Healing Art: Regeneration through Autobiography (1990) Marilyn Chandler examines the proposition that autobiographical writing is a therapeutic process, offering the possibility of 'regeneration' and healing. The dilemmas associated with the positioning of the self within the narrative and the painfully slow gestation of some accounts or their continuation into sequels, are indicative of the therapeutic process taking place. The question then arises as to how far it could be said that the recognition, rehearsal and reworking of past experience has relieved the writer of inner tensions and that a cathartic 'cure' of some description been effected. Writers have placed faith in autobiography as a regenerative act since its inception as a literary form, seeking spiritual or artistic salvation through writing their life story (St. Augustine and Wordsworth) or even renewal through what Graham Swift (1993) calls 'postscriptive therapy'. Swift claims that one of the principal functions of story-telling is therapeutic, and that: 'By recovering our lost or damaged pasts we also, simply, recover' (p. 24). This conviction - that writing about one's past brings about a renewed energy to face the future after the release of anxiety and tension - is of particular relevance when the source of those tensions lies in childhood trauma which the writer relives after an interval of thirty years or more. At a time when the next generation is approaching adulthood, a concern with the writer's own childhood resurfaces more powerfully than ever. There is a need to write for that wounded child within, to recreate that 'small person far away' as part of a healing process.

Direct indications by authors that an expectation of release and regeneration has determined the writing process are relatively rare.

Towards the end of her autobiographical novel, Margarete Hannsmann (1982) confides to her audience her disappointment that fiction and reality have not merged to bring about relief from the oppression of the past. She had hoped for: 'ein Augenblick des Schreibens.....der etwas Erlösendes hat' ('a moment in the writing process which would cause a sense of release', p.247), when in fact her moral dilemmas are greater and more obstructive than ever. Charles Hannam (1979) views the self-examination involved in the composition of an account of his boyhood more positively, in that he is now able to recognise his youthful arrogance: 'Not only did it take a lot of time, but I find that having looked at the young man I then was I have become mellow and even capable of gratitude', p.11). Hannam hints here that the therapeutic process may cause a change in his behaviour towards the Jewish refugee community he once rejected. While the writing of an autobiographical account may lead to a reassessment of the past and bring a relief from neurosis in some cases, there is little point in seeking evidence of a permanent 'cure' from trauma or the creation of a stable and unwavering self-concept. Freud himself considered therapy to be a process with no clearly defined end-point. Lacan, in his reinterpretation of Freud, goes further in regarding the construction of narratives and identities as therapeutic in themselves, rather than as the means by which the emotional truth of traumatic events residing in the id is uncovered. Memories which have been suppressed trigger autobiographical narrative, just as the analyst's patient constructs a narrative which both reveals and conceals past trauma in Freud's terms, or *creates* it through language according to Lacan. In Lacan's view the trauma itself is created anew from the perspective of the contemporary self - it is no longer possible to experience the trauma as one did in childhood. The importance of 'working through' past trauma identified by Freud has been extended by Jacques Lacan into a perpetual process of redefining the self and its past and seeking reflections of that self in the external world. It could be argued, for example, that Judith Kerr's trilogy - to be examined in greater detail in subsequent chapters - is rather too neatly Freudian in its resolution: the recovery of the childhood self during a visit to the childhood home. The tensions between the view of the self as recoverer of past truths or as a constructor of a narrative are highlighted here in an ironic manner. Judith Kerr has constructed for herself

a narrative and an identity according to the Freudian principles with which she is familiar as an educated member of late twentieth century western society.

The denial and repression of German national guilt or Jewish identity evident in the autobiographical writing about wartime childhood discussed in this chapter are a part of the same process of self-affirmation, as are the varied approaches taken to repression by the narrating adult . The reconstruction of the childhood self is part of the eternal dialogue with the social order, just as therapy is a continuing process, a part of the search for a place in the world. The finality of a complete 'cure' or an unquestionable evaluation of the past self is not achievable. Tensions may be relieved and an understanding of the self refined, yet the dialogue with the self continues, adapting to changing social perspectives. The creative capacity of language is fundamental to this enterprise. An analysis of the role of language in the reconstruction of wartime childhood in the next chapter is followed by more detailed case studies of German and British autobiographical narratives.

3 The Language of Dislocation

Linguistic dispossession is a sufficient motive for violence, for it is close to the dispossession of one's self.

-- Eva Hoffman¹

Our relationship to language is no more fixed and stable than our relationship to childhood itself.

-- Jacqueline Rose²

The one certainty about language is that it constantly changes. Developments take place in all aspects of language, from items of slang dictated by fashion to subtle alterations in the linguistic codes employed within different class or social cultures: vocabulary, syntax and semantics adapt to changes in ideologies and social conditions. Such developments have undoubtedly taken place in both the German and English languages in the decades between the Second World War and the time chosen by adults to record their childhood memories. It is, therefore, of key importance in a study of attitudes to the past and writing as a therapeutic process to ask questions about a writer's language use - to consider the ways in which the language of the writer's childhood is approached within the text. In the novels of Robert Westall, for example, there is a clear intention to blend current language with that of the period in both dialogue and narrative, so that dialect and contemporary attitudes are apparent. Those attitudes were dominated by the nationalistic and patriotic fervour permeating the English language at the time. During wartime, public opinion is deliberately manipulated as language is pressed into service by the ruling ideology in a particularly overt manner; censorship and propaganda within the media operate to unite citizens against a common enemy. Children, too, are susceptible to the rhythms, directness and emotional appeal of slogans, catch-phrases and songs: indeed propaganda was in some instances, particularly during the Third Reich, addressed specifically to them.

In addition to this orchestration of attitude and opinion, the migration and evacuation caused by war meant that children across Europe were made

¹ Hoffman, Lost in Translation (1989), p.124.

² Rose (1994), p.17.

acutely aware of linguistic differences and boundaries. These included dialect differences encountered by evacuees; language differences between German speakers and their neighbours in the border regions of Czechoslovakia and Poland; the language of occupying troops (both in German-occupied Europe and the languages of the allied powers in Germany itself at the end of the war); and the forging of new identities through language by Jewish refugees. In considering the role of language in establishing identity and the therapeutic aspects of retrospective accounts of wartime childhoods, I have chosen to focus in this chapter on two examples of 'linguistic dispossession': accounts written in English by bilingual Jewish writers who 'lost' their first language, and the reflection of the state control of language during the Third Reich in autobiographical accounts by German and Jewish writers. Key texts by bilingual Jewish writers and the 'Nazification' of the German language are discussed in the light of the psychological processes at work in the adult writer's approach to language in recreating childhood.

The psychological processes highlighted in the previous chapter - the continuing search for a stable identity and the therapeutic nature of autobiographical writing - are reflected in the sense of linguistic dispossession experienced to differing degrees by the writers to be discussed in this chapter. For Jewish writers who suffered enforced exile and the necessary adoption of a second language, linguistic dispossession did indeed become 'dispossession of one's self' in the forging of a new identity, a process which, as we shall see, had lasting consequences. During the Third Reich, the control over language exercised by a powerful state at all levels of social life was designed to submerge the identity of individuals. The result for the young was, again, a dispossession of the self which is evident in the alienation from the childhood self permeating retrospective accounts. Linguistic dispossession during childhood is not simply 'close to the dispossession of one's self' - it plays a fundamental role in the creation of a personal identity. Lacan's view that language is the crux of identity - indeed that we can only examine or construct that identity through language - offers insights into the psychoanalytical process which are also of relevance to autobiographical writing: 'Whether it sees itself as an

instrument of healing, of formation, or of exploration in depth, psychoanalysis has only a single intermediary: the patient's Word' (Lacan, 1968, p.9).

The autobiographical process represents just such an exploration of memory and reconstruction of the self, relying on the medium of written as opposed to spoken language. The subject of analysis also constructs stories, relates dream narratives, and pieces together his or her story from the perspective of the present self. This linguistic creation, this 'story', is a kind of autobiography:

What we teach the subject to recognise as his unconscious is his history, that is to say, we help him to perfect the contemporary historization of the facts which have already determined a certain number of the historical 'turning points' in his existence (Lacan, 1968, p.23)

These pivotal 'turning points' are the framework on which the story is constructed during analysis. In the case of the writers in this study, turning points within the psyche are the result of external historical circumstance; the traumas of war, exile or the submersion of individual identity in Nazi youth movements. The individual's particular story, however, remains a construction, whether written or spoken. That Lacan's theory of language encompassed the written as well as the spoken word is evident in his meticulous re-reading of Freud's case-studies, as well as in the textual criticism of the work of a psychotic female writer which formed the basis of his own PhD thesis. It is through language, both spoken and written, that we enter - to use Lacan's term - the Symbolic order, beginning to create the first in a chain of continuously redefined narratives and identities shaped by the pre-existing linguistic and social structures of our culture. A child taking on language is inevitably accepting social practices and roles which are encoded in language, whether in a first language subsequently rejected, or - in the case of children growing up during the Third Reich - the language of a state seeking to control every aspect of its citizens' lives.

Lacan turns to linguistics to find a framework for describing the dynamic interaction between the socially constructed self and the illusory desire for wholeness established at the 'mirror stage', a desire which resides in the

subconscious and to which we have access only through the socially determined medium of language. Indeed, in a now famous phrase, he has referred to the unconscious as 'structured like a language' (cited by Wilden in Lacan, 1968, p.262). To define this structure, Lacan reviews the distinction between signifier and signified outlined by Ferdinand de Saussure in the Course in General Linguistics (1915, first published in English in 1959). De Saussure insists that, even though the sign itself is arbitrarily chosen, a thought and its phonemic representation become inextricably linked. To illustrate this point, de Saussure compares language to a sheet of paper with thought on one side and sound on the other: it is impossible to cut the front without cutting the back at the same time (de Saussure, 1974, p.113). For Lacan this relationship is by no means such a stable or straightforward one. Thought (the signified) slides elusively beneath the word (the signifier), and is in any case contaminated by it. The distinction between signifier and signified, he claims, appears: 'in the very instrument of the word' (1968, p.37). In the case of the bilingual writers to be discussed in this chapter, the relationship between past and present selves is reflected in the intentional or incidental use of snatches of the first language, so that the links between signifier and experience become significant. The present self is organising and selecting this material, however; there is no clearly defined separation between the unconscious as the repository of childhood desires and the adult's perspective. The reconstruction of the childhood self through language serves the interests of the adult narrator. The author, by virtue of his or her bilingualism, has a heightened awareness of the complexity of the relationship between thought and language, as represented by cultural differences encoded in language and the untranslatableability of certain concepts or idioms. Consequently, reflection on the social and personal functions of language and differences between languages becomes a central strand in the history of the self.

Lacan's second 'borrowing' from the field of linguistics defines the axes along which these shifts in the relationship between signifier and signified take place. From the work of Roman Jakobson of the Prague School of linguists he has taken the concept of 'two primary operations of human language' (Eagleton, 1983, p.157), metaphor and metonymy. Each of these

operations is then equated with strategies at work within the psyche to conceal or reveal aspects of consciousness. In using metaphor, one thing stands for another on the grounds of similarity, although that similarity may not be immediately obvious. In the same way, meanings are hidden or hinted at through the use of symbols by the psyche - dreams are the most obvious instance of such a process, a process which Lacan equates with Freud's concept of 'condensation'. In the case of metonymy, the name of a part is substituted for the whole; resulting, in Freudian terms, in 'displacement'. These processes operate directly through language in the unintentional revelations of parapraxis or the subtext of jokes, and can also be traced within texts concerned with the self, whether spoken on the analyst's couch or written as autobiography. Such approaches to the subterfuges of language are of particular interest when there is a sharp division between the writer's present identity and childhood in terms of language itself. What is the relationship between the second language of the adult writer and the first language of the child, or the changing values of those languages in the subject's history?

Language and Identity

The German-Jewish writers Judith Kerr, Charles Hannam and Ilse Koehn have written fictionalised autobiographical accounts of their childhoods in English, their adopted language. As children, Judith Kerr and Charles Hannam became outsiders, while Ilse Koehn's status as a 'Mischling' in the Third Reich - and the danger she had been in - was only revealed to her at the end of the war. For all three writers this resulted in a profound and lifelong alienation from the country of their birth, its culture and their own first language. Judith Kerr and Charles Hannam both became refugees as children, settling in England and becoming English speakers, while Ilse Koehn chose to emigrate to the United States in 1958. This dislocation in their lives created existential anxieties which continue to be negotiated in the autobiographical texts these authors have written for a child audience. All three authors have chosen to write in a different language from the one in which many of the events described took place, so that it is language itself

which holds the key to their attempts to reconstruct childhood experiences.

Recent literature on bi- and multilingualism reflects both a progression from outdated conceptions of limited language capacity and a developing understanding of the social complexity of language choice. Negative consequences of bilingualism for intelligence (Weinreich, discussed in Edwards, 1994, p.67) were called into question as long ago as 1962 in Elizabeth Peal and Wallace Lambert's Canadian study of ten-year-olds in which bilinguals outperformed monolinguals on verbal and non-verbal intelligence tests (cited in Edwards, 1994, p.59). While it is important to remind ourselves of this point, it is the struggle of the individual to establish a social identity through language choice - the field of sociolinguistics - which is of greater relevance for this study. Edwards (1994) classifies a range of types of bilingualism which are dependent on the individual's social situation. These are reduced to two basic categories, 'additive' and 'subtractive' bilingualism: 'In some circumstances the learning of another language represents an expansion of the linguistic repertoire; in others, it may lead to a replacement of the first' (p.59). In the case of 'additive' bilingualism, both languages are used and valued in a range of social situations, while 'subtractive' bilingualism results in the suppression of the first language, as in the case of an immigrant or refugee trying to establish him or herself in a dominant culture. For Judith Kerr and Charles Hannam's younger selves this is clearly the case, as the construction of a socially acceptable identity through language results in at least a temporary denial of the language and culture of their birth. There are, however, individual and gender differences in the nature of this process. 'Anna' in Judith Kerr's novels, although she wishes to take on the English language, remains close to her German-speaking and writing father, whereas her brother Max is anxious to join the British forces and abandon the German language as quickly as possible - as is Charles Hannam in his attempts to become an 'Englishman' (Almost an Englishman, 1979). Both Max and Hannam regard language as the key to their social fulfilment. Language choice is a deeply complex issue, linked to personal commitment to individuals as well as social roles, and it is these complexities which are revealed at both conscious and unconscious levels in the recreation of the past. To return to

parallels with psychoanalysis, the analysand, according to Lacan, verbalises the past in the language of the past and the present: 'Thus it happens that the recitation of the *epos* may include some discourse of olden days in its own archaic or even foreign tongue' (1968, p.17). In the case of bilingual writers that foreign tongue may literally be another language which has been repressed, only to resurface in their narratives.

It is hardly surprising that bilingual writers often reflect in their writing a particular concern with cultural identity. Among those who have expressed that concern and have achieved literary eminence are Joseph Conrad, Franz Kafka, Isaac Bashevis Singer, Samuel Beckett, Vladimir Nabokov and Salman Rushdie. Jane Miller has written about bilingual authors and the faith they place in literature which: 'acquires, I believe, a special quality when that turning to literature comes out of a sense of rootlessness, ambivalence, duality and isolation.' (1983, p.179) The names of Jewish writers therefore feature prominently on a list of bilingual writers, since a sense of rootlessness has for thousands of years been an inevitable part of Jewish culture. For Franz Kafka, for example, the language of the city and people around him was Czech; he himself could speak and write Czech fluently all his life. However, his family was German-Jewish, both German and Czech were spoken at home, and Kafka's domineering father, anxious that his son should make his way in the business world of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, sent him to a German-speaking grammar school. When he started to write, Kafka chose German as the language of his Jewishness and of his education. Like Kafka, each bilingual writer has a particular history which influences the choice of language in which he or she writes. Jane Miller discusses Samuel Beckett's decision to write in French: 'The language did something for him; it separated him from his childhood in ways that he liked - yet when you go back to him in English the language of childhood is very much there' (1983, p.82).

The language of childhood becomes an inextricable part of that childhood: Jane Miller believes that Beckett made a decision to separate himself from his youth. In the case of Jewish writers who suffered the anti-semitic policies of the Third Reich, writing in their adopted language is the result of the

historical and social circumstances which caused the deeply felt separation from early childhood, rather than Beckett's free personal choice. Elie Wiesel has spoken of the difficulties he encountered in attempting to write about anti-semitism in what had become for him the language of oppression:

Had I wanted to write in Hungarian, I would have had an easier task, but didn't want to. I even tried to forget Hungarian. The Hungarian language reminded me too much of the Hungarian gendarmes and they were brutal.

(cited in Chandler, 1990, p.99)

Here language choice is dictated by the pain of past experience. For the three writers under consideration in this chapter, the associations of the German language with persecution and the desire for acceptance in a new culture resulted in a replacement of the first language. Although German was the language of their childhoods, writing in German was not a realistic choice for these writers, particularly since it was only after many years' immersion in a second language that they began to write autobiographical accounts. This raises the question of language choice for exiled writers. While some writers began to publish work in English (Arthur Koestler is a notable example), older well-established German writers who chose to go into exile during the war years continued on the whole to write in German, as does theatre critic Alfred Kerr in Judith Kerr's novels. It is interesting to note that during the period that the family of Thomas Mann spent in exile in the USA, Mann himself continued to write in German, while the indictment of the Nazi indoctrination of schoolchildren by his young daughter Erika, The School of Barbarians (1938) was first written in English³, and she later wrote a novel for children in English (A Gang of Ten, 1942). As a young woman just beginning her writing career Erika Mann moved quickly to the adoption of English, the language of daily social and cultural interchange and the language of her immediate audience. It is inevitable that the young, who have to make their way in a new life and look to the future, should adopt a second language and culture with what may seem surprising speed and make an early, conscious decision to switch languages. For Alfred Kerr and Thomas Mann, both successful writers, such a radical change in the cultural

³ It was, however, published in German in the same year by Querido in Amsterdam, under the title Zehn Millionen Kinder (literally: Ten Million Children).

medium of their life's work could hardly be contemplated, while their children were able to take a more flexible approach. The fact that the writers to be discussed here began their writing careers many years after their break with the German language lends significance to reflections of their bilingualism in the texts under discussion. Tensions between the languages of the past and present constitute further evidence of the therapeutic nature of the writing process.

In the autobiographical novels of Judith Kerr, Charles Hannam and Ilse Koehn there is explicit reference to the role played by language both in their sense of alienation from childhood and their attempts to reassess and rediscover the past. Instances of linguistic awareness, frustration, confusion and humour call attention to the process at work in these texts: the adult's reworking of childhood experience. In the narratives of both Judith Kerr and Charles Hannam, the awareness that language is the key to the adoption of a new identity in the country of exile is a central theme. In Judith Kerr's trilogy, Anna and her family move to Switzerland and then to Paris in a desperate search for work for Anna's father. Learning to speak French is at first a game for Anna and her brother, as they try out the few words they know in shops. Later they have lessons and have to complete exercises unrelated to their actual linguistic and social needs. The children are given the usual standard vocabulary of early foreign language lessons, and asked to write in French. Anna's reaction to having to write a piece about a man who had a horse and a cat is not surprising: 'It was sickening stuff to be turning out when there were so many interesting things she could have written about if only she had been able to write in German' (Kerr, 1974, p.108). This sense of linguistic dispossession is at its strongest when there is no connection with the social world of the second language, and the compulsion to take on a new identity has not yet taken root. The new language is not only unfamiliar but alienating, a sensation beautifully described by Eva Hoffman in her account of life as a young exile caught between two languages and cultures, Lost in Translation: Life in a New Language (1991). Hoffman's family, worried by the position of Jews in Communist Poland, emigrated to Canada in 1959 when she was thirteen. In her first days in Canada she compares the Polish and English words for

'river':

"River" in Polish was a vital sound, energized with the essence of riverhood, of my rivers, of my being immersed in rivers. "River" in English is cold - a word without an aura. It has no accumulated associations for me....It does not evoke. (p.106)

There is as yet no felt relationship between signifier and signified in the English language. English words have no real meaning for Eva, in the same way that Anna can only write about 'interesting things' in German. Language is hollow when there is no sense of inner commitment to it, no social or cultural identity lived through that language. For the young, however, this early stage soon passes as the desire to make contact achieves results, and lived experience in the new language accumulates.

In Judith Kerr's novel, Anna and her brother Max are eventually sent to French schools where Anna struggles at first - achieving the magnificent score of one hundred and forty-two mistakes in her first dictation - until a breakthrough comes quite suddenly. When a French friend asks how Anna had spent her Sunday, she is for the first time able to reply directly without translating the question into German and her reply back again into French. Now she begins to enjoy writing in French: 'It was not a bit like writing in German - you could make the words do quite different things - and she found it curiously exciting' (Kerr, 1974, p.167). Social contact has been established and there is now a sense of purpose and delight in Anna's increasing competence in the French language: she can appreciate its unique qualities. Here we can see a bilingual child's metalinguistic awareness - it is only by comparing languages that an understanding that meanings are constructed in different ways can develop. After the frustration of her early attempts to write French, Anna has come to realise that a new life is possible, and that adopting a new language could be a positive and exciting development. Gaining a command of written French has proved to be therapeutic in raising Anna's self-esteem.

At the end of When Hitler Stole Pink Rabbit comes the next move for Anna's family - to England. By the beginning of the second novel in Judith Kerr's trilogy - The Other Way Round (1977) - Anna is fifteen, has lived in England

for over three years and speaks fluent English without a German accent, although she does refer at one point to the teasing she suffered in the early days at an English school because of her accent - and because she was clever. Anna only speaks German with her father because he speaks little English, and when other refugees in the Bloomsbury hotel the Kerr family occupies speak about Germany: 'Anna closed her mind automatically. She never thought about what it was like in Germany' (Kerr, 1977, p.20). After the period of longing for her home and language described in the first novel, Anna is now denying her own culture which has become a hindrance to gaining acceptance in the family's adopted country. At the heart of this suppression lies the German language; Anna's conversations with her father become increasingly difficult because she asserts that she has 'forgotten' certain words. Nevertheless, she is acutely aware of her father's own situation as 'a writer without a language' (Kerr, 1977, p.22), and admires without reservation his continued use of written German.

A culture and its language cannot, however, be completely denied. There are instances of the unstable relationship between signifier and signified in the novel, as metaphoric associations within the English language are misunderstood by Anna. Walking through Campden Hill Square in London one day, she recalls an incident when an English friend had pointed to the blossoms on a chestnut tree and called them 'candles', an image entirely unfamiliar to her. Thinking of the associations of the German word 'Kerzen', Anna had commented that candles were only to be found on Christmas trees, a remark which had amused everyone present. Later in the novel, Anna is puzzled by a comment made by her employer's son about the state of a dog's coat until she realises that he must be referring to the dog's fur - 'coat' is not used to describe an animal's fur in German. Such linguistic encounters are reminders for Anna of the cultural heritage she is attempting to suppress, and the continuing limitations to her command of English. The metaphoric axis within any given language - as reflected in figures of speech, jokes and the use of imagery - is the most revealing in psychic terms and the most difficult for even the most fluent speaker of a second language to follow.

While Anna's denial of her past is tempered by a poignant understanding of her father's dilemma as a writer whose medium is the German language, her older brother Max is portrayed as a far more radical and single-minded language-switcher. Max has spent four years at public school followed by two terms at Cambridge, taking care to cultivate an English appearance and even claiming that he 'feels' English. Max is hoping that his father will soon be naturalised so that he himself will finally be legally English and can join the armed forces. After visiting the family he speaks to Anna in English the moment they are alone together: he too speaks English without a trace of a German accent. He tells her proudly that one of his Cambridge friends admits to forgetting that Max was not born in England: ' "Sometimes I almost forget myself", said Max so lightly that only Anna guessed how much it meant to him' (Kerr, 1977, p.38). Because he spends most of his time away from the family, Max has not shared Anna's daily confrontation with the stress suffered by their parents. She has adopted the female role of remaining close to the family and taking a secretarial course, while Max appears to expend all his energy in nurturing his Englishness and establishing his position in the new culture. Anna cannot be quite so single-minded about taking on a new identity and language. She is caught in a state of emotional tension between the anxiety for her father which links her to the past, and the desire for acceptance in a new culture which entails a denial of that past and its language.

The effects of this tension resurface in the final volume of Judith Kerr's trilogy when her alter ego, Anna, now a young married woman, is obliged by her mother's illness to return to her past and its language. She has revisited Berlin before, but not at a time when her mother's life was in danger, her own sensitivity heightened by her as yet unknown pregnancy, and the city itself on edge because of a Cold War crisis. Language plays a pivotal role in the novel's underlying tensions. Even before leaving for Berlin, Anna is surprised at her own realisation that she has no idea whether her mother and her new partner Konrad - Anna's father Alfred Kerr has been dead for some time - speak German when alone together. The night before her departure, as Anna and her husband visit friends, the young son of their hosts is told that Anna has forgotten nearly all the words of the language she

knew when his age. The child stares at Anna in disbelief, asserting emphatically that he would never forget the words he knows, even if he went to a country where no-one spoke English, and that in particular he would always remember his beloved guinea-pig Patricia: "And what's more," he said triumphantly, "I'd remember her in English!" (Kerr, 1978, p.27). In this remark is encapsulated the discovery Anna herself is to make during the course of the novel - that emotionally charged experience is inseparable from the language which was its medium of expression. Language lies at the core of Anna's anxieties about her forthcoming trip to Berlin and the confrontation with her childhood, anxieties which surface in a recurring dream about her family during the time before she met her English-speaking husband. She describes to him the next morning the sensation of being caught in a time-warp and the fear that she might remain trapped in the past: "before I'd learned to speak English. We wouldn't even be able to talk to each other" (Kerr, 1978, p.33). Language is equated with identity; Anna has for many years suppressed the claims both of her first language and her childhood. The dreams express her fear that the childhood self may be reborn, enclosing her in a time bubble of language which would render her incapable of continuing to enjoy her current happiness.

On her arrival in Berlin Anna finds her mother in a coma and immediately has to face her own linguistic insecurity. Should she speak to her mother in English or German in an attempt to rouse her? Anna resorts to asking the nurse before trying English first. A turning point occurs when she takes a break from hospital visiting and makes the journey to her childhood home. Here she is quite suddenly overcome by the powerful sensation of her daily return from school to a mother who provided complete security and an answer to all problems: 'The small person did not say, "Is Mama home?" She said, "Ist Mami da?" and did not speak a word of English, and for a moment Anna felt shaken by her sudden emergence' (Kerr, 1978, p.80). This is the 'small person far away' of the novel's title, the childhood self which had been out of reach for so long. From this point in the novel, Anna's thoughts as she relives her early relationship with her mother are recorded in passages of interior monologue which are part German, part English. This 'interlanguage'⁴ is also represented in Anna's conversations

⁴ For a discussion of the term 'interlanguage' see Miller (1983) p.192.

with her brother Max and in the dialogue she attempts to conduct with her mother, where she argues with her in German and commands her not to die: 'Du darfst nicht sterben! (You're not going to die! p.88). Interlanguage and code-switching of this kind are dependent on the degree of intimacy between speakers with a shared history in two or more languages. Anna speaks to her mother in German at this critical time because that was the language of their greatest intimacy as mother and young child, while she and Max revert to the heightened linguistic awareness of their childhood, laughing at the nurse's pompous phrase: 'die Frau Mutter ist von den Schatten zurückgekehrt' ('your lady mother has returned from the realm of the shadows' p.96). The narrator Anna comments that the joy of re-establishing this kind of linguistic contact:

was something to do with their childhood, with having grown up speaking three different languages, with having had to worry so much about Mama and Papa and to cheer themselves up with trilingual jokes which nobody else could understand (p.97).

By the end of the trilogy Anna has rediscovered her childhood identity and with it the German of her childhood. Language is the foundation of particular situations, relationships and emotions, so that a preoccupation with motherhood and death trigger the re-emergence of German on this visit to Berlin. The language had been dormant rather than lost, and has been reawakened when Anna is forced to reassess her uneasy relationship with her mother. She now recognises that while her beloved father sat at his typewriter, it was her mother who had dealt with the practical necessities of life and provided the meagre family income. Anna has to acknowledge her mother's perseverance during the war years as well as her suffering and even a suicide attempt. Although Anna continues to be irritated by her mother once her recovery is under way, she now wonders whether she herself will fulfil the role of mother so well, remembering her own unshakeable confidence as a child when asking, in German, : 'Ist Mami da?' That German question is a rhetorical one because mother always was there, ensuring the family's well-being both in Germany and the years of exile. Only now can the burden of that responsibility be appreciated. The

rediscovery of German for Judith Kerr herself was not complete, however; the first words of a lecture on her own childhood memories of her father given in Berlin in 1990 consisted of an apology for her faltering command of the language in which her father had taken such pride (Kerr, 1990, p.5).

For Anna, rediscovery of the childhood self through language is accompanied by a re-evaluation of the family. Charles Hannam effectively lost his parents on leaving Germany: his mother had already died of cancer, and his father - who remained in Germany to fulfil family and community commitments - was later to perish in Theresienstadt concentration camp. It becomes clear in Hannam's introduction to the second volume of his autobiography that his reassessment of the past constitutes an explanation of and apology for the rejection of German-Jewish identity discussed in the previous chapter. While Anna in Judith Kerr's novels is ambivalent about her German identity, both her brother Max and Hannam's younger self are quite determined in their intention to deny it. The adolescent Karl Hartland in the novels quickly recognises the significance of language in the process of cultural adaptation, so that English lessons from an ancient textbook - exercises include the explication of idiomatic usage such as '*He is in a brown study*' - are complemented by a developing understanding of concepts fundamental to the British way of life. As soon as Karl is sent to a private school and becomes competent in English, the German language is abandoned altogether; he is deeply pained by the mockery of a boy who threatens his status as a prefect by repeating the phrase: 'I vill gif you fifty lines' (Hannam, 1979, p.15) with an exaggerated German accent. Karl has to apply his intelligence both to improving his English pronunciation, and to the task of gaining control of the idiosyncrasies of the English language by making a conscious effort to adopt English idioms. His use of the expression 'That's your pigeon' encounters some resistance from the school matron who is not impressed: 'Funny how quickly you people pick up colloquial English' (p.29). Hannam the narrator comments that this remark was 'spoken spitefully' since it represented a denial of his efforts on two counts: that the English he has learned is condemned as 'colloquial' in the matron's terms, and that he is classified as 'you people', still a foreigner who does not belong.

Karl's determination to be accepted is redoubled. He rejects the Jewish refugees in whose company he spends the holidays, commenting in particular on their use of language: 'He detested their bad English; their mixture of German, Yiddish and English words seemed to him alien' (p.63). Karl despises the use of 'interlanguage', a necessary mode of communication for these refugees from a variety of linguistic backgrounds. He cannot accept this link with his past, finding it odd to have to speak German with these people and making it clear that English has become his first language. He even adopts the strategy of pretending to search for a German word longer than he needs to, in order to disassociate himself from his fellow refugees (p.63), and chooses to spend his holiday labouring on a farm in appalling conditions in order to avoid contact with them. Given this level of motivation, Karl's English improves to the point that on leaving school he meets his own exacting standards. His pronunciation sounds right; he rejoices in practising certain words - 'actually' is one of them - and can relax now that the 'transformation' he had worked so hard to achieve has taken place. In his own terms he has become an Englishman.

Nevertheless, when writing about his German childhood before exile in the first of the two autobiographical accounts, A Boy in Your Situation (1977), the adult Charles Hannam is engaged in a process of translation in the sense that he is writing about experience which was lived in one language through the medium of another. Certain items of vocabulary, expressions and linguistic features cannot be translated and require explanation. Whereas Judith Kerr uses such moments to illustrate a child's reflection on and developing understanding of the differences between languages (the 'candle' and 'coat' instances quoted above), Charles Hannam at times leaves the reader to make sense of the text. These moments of reversion to instances of the first language appear to be the 'accidental' result of the processes of the unconscious, rather than clearly explicated examples chosen by the adult narrator. There are many references to Karl's secondary school as a 'gymnasium' (for example, Hannam, 1977, p.13) - a 'Gymnasium' is the German equivalent of a grammar school - without a translation or explanation of the term. Similarly, Karl's withdrawal at one

point into the directly translated 'winter garden' - the inverted commas may be the result of an editorial decision - may seem puzzling, although a room with plants is indicated. The significance of these slips lies in the indication that Hannam may be remembering his childhood at least partially in German; his first language has not been entirely suppressed.

On the other hand, an acute awareness of the needs of a young audience is reflected in the explanation of the term 'Mutti' at the beginning of the first novel: 'Karl and his sister, like other German children, usually called their mother Mutti' (p.7). The translation of polite and familiar forms of the second person pronoun is also glossed as follows: 'Ella (a servant) was no respecter of persons and would address people with the familiar "thou" rather than the polite and more formal "you" (p.60). Translating 'du' and 'Sie' as 'thou' and 'you' is not entirely satisfactory, however, because of the association of 'thou' in English with biblical, and therefore rather formal, usage. In a more successful example of linguistic explanation, Hannam describes the system of repeating a year in German schools when the pupil does not achieve the accepted standard: "remaining stuck to the same bench" - the boys said' (p.66). The direct translation of this idiom adds a flavour of the source language culture which would amuse and interest its young readership making its way through a different school system. Whether there is an acknowledgment of his audience or not, these examples demonstrate that Charles Hannam, when writing about his past, experiences his childhood at least to some extent in the language of that childhood. Taking on a new language in the interests of self-esteem is a clearly established theme, while the usage of German idioms appears to be less controlled and consistent in terms of the anticipated audience. Hannam's first language, German, is the fabric of the childhood self which has long been suppressed, and is therefore unavoidable in the process of re-establishing contact with the past through autobiographical writing.

Since Ilse Koehn did not leave Germany until long after the end of the war (1958), she is not engaged in describing the adoption of a new language and culture as a refugee in her autobiographical account Mischling. Second Degree (1981), which is set entirely in Germany. Nevertheless, she too

faces some of the difficulties any translator encounters as she writes retrospectively in English about her early life. Koehn has included some German in the text, often to give the reader a sense of the sounds, rhythms and humour of the language of the Berlin working-class milieu to which she belonged. The repetition of consonant clusters in 'Denk'ste Pustekuchen', for example, is lost in English translation. Here, as elsewhere in the text, the German is italicised and an explanation directly addressed to the reader: "'Denk'ste Pustekuchen' - that's what we say when we mean, "That's what you think"' (p.50). The use of 'we' is significant here, indicating that the narrator Ilse Koehn still identifies herself as a German speaker and acknowledges a collective linguistic identity. Directly translated dialect expressions are introduced, for example when Ilse's father talks about paying twenty 'mice' (p.20) - one of the many Berlin slang names for money - for a second-hand book. On another occasion when he asks Ilse what they would do without a little luck: 'Dutifully I supply the end of that silly Berlin saying "Without it, you even lose water from a basket"' (p.64). Koehn also occasionally uses the colloquial language of her childhood without translation. At one point when Ilse and her friends are presented with a plate of food crawling with bugs in an evacuation camp, 'Igitt' (a corruption of 'O Gott' slips in unitalicised amongst the screeches of disgust (p.54). 'Scheisse' (shit, p.80, 81, 83) is often quoted as the favourite swear word in the camp; swearing certainly loses its impact and substance when translated.

Rather than seek equivalents in current American English, Ilse Koehn allows the language of her early years to play its part in the reconstruction of childhood experience, translating only when meaning might be lost. At times it appears that she finds it impossible to use English when German is inseparable from a particular memory. Ilse's grandparents begin to dig their own 'Splittergraben' (literally 'shrapnel hole', p.74) which is defined in English as an 'underground bomb shelter'. The German word reflects the abruptness and urgency of the digging in its literal meaning far better than the rather official English phrase. Later, a telling comment on the German advance into Russia is quoted and translated: "'Das kann nicht gut gehen"' ('That can't turn out well', p.80). This phrase, whispered on the streets of

Berlin, was overheard by a child who already had sufficient faith in the common sense of Berliners to know that their anxiety was certain to be justified: the affective significance of the original German could not be omitted from the text.

Throughout Mischling. Second Degree there is reference in German or direct translation to Nazi Party slogans and the various titles peculiar to the NSDAP hierarchy. Much of this vocabulary is familiar in shape and sound at least to non-German speakers, so that the apparent authenticity of the text and the effect on the reader are greater if German terms are used. Military titles were a particular feature of NSDAP youth movements - each evacuation camp Ilse is sent to has a "Lagermaedelführerin" ('Girl-Camp-Commandant, her official title', p.104). At one camp a visit from the new 'Lagermannschaftsführer' (p.124), the highest rank in the Hitler Youth ⁵, is eagerly awaited. The tasks young people were set also had official titles: 'Arbeitsdienst', the compulsory 'work duty' for all those aged over seventeen and 'Winter Help' (p.19, a direct translation of 'Winterhilfswerk', the organised drive to collect food and clothing for poor Germans). The slogans which became part of every German's language - which Koehn calls the 'standard Führer mottoes' (p.84) - are quoted in direct translation, for example: 'Blood and Soil' (the alliteration of 'Blut und Boden' is lost in translation, p.34), 'Germany protects its future, its youth' (p.44), and 'Tough as leather, hard as Krupp steel, swift as greyhounds' (p.84). Phrases such as these, which became common currency in the German language for a time and some of which are even familiar in other languages, are an essential aspect of Koehn's reconstruction of the past. The irony of the adult narrator's belittling comment does not negate the effects these ready-made articles of faith had in the past, to the extent that they became part of every child's as well as every adult's language.

For Judith Kerr, Charles Hannam and Ilse Koehn, the past is indeed another country - and another language. Writing about their past inevitably involves an act of translation in its widest sense, the recapturing of one culture in the language of another. The culture of their childhood is represented in the first language because: 'it is through language that the subject and the world are

⁵ See Appendix 1.

represented in literature, and through language that literature seeks to define the relationships between child and culture' (Stephens, 1993, p.5). Consequently each writer is engaged either explicitly or implicitly in the complexities of translation in an attempt to revisit the past and to overcome the sense of linguistic dispossession which accompanies alienation from the childhood self. For Judith Kerr and Charles Hannam a sudden dislocation in their relations with the external world manifested itself primarily in language. The need to confront their own rejection of the German language is fulfilled in autobiography, becoming a central theme of the texts. Ilse Koehn's preoccupation with bilingualism is not explicit, since she was not herself forced into exile, yet the autobiographical text which resulted from a painful ten-year process of reflection on the past is shot through with memories encoded in the German language.

It has to be remembered - returning to Lacan's statement that the unconscious is the 'contemporary historization of the facts' (Lacan, 1968, p.23) of a subject's existence - that each writer is engaged in the construction of a 'history', a story framed according to personal need and addressed to a young audience. The sudden re-emergence of the German language in the third volume of Judith Kerr's trilogy, when Anna revisits her childhood home, is a neat narrative device which is likely to be a simplification of the process involved. Charles Hannam makes it clear in the introduction to Almost an Englishman (1979) that he is writing his story to atone for his youthful arrogance, an attitude crystallised in his wholesale rejection of his German-Jewish identity and the German language, while Ilse Koehn attempts in her narrative to come to terms with the secrecy surrounding her own identity as a 'Mischling'. These purposes direct the reconstruction of the past and the language used. For the writer, there is naturally a different relationship between signifier and signified when German is used than for the monolingual reader, even when some terminology - for example that of some NSDAP slogans - may be familiar. The 'interlanguage' used in Judith Kerr's novel, and the tension between the urge to use snatches of German and the need to translate and explain for a young English-reading audience in the novels of Charles Hannam and Ilse Koehn, reflect the therapeutic nature of the writing process. Inconsistency in

the translation or explanation of German phrases points to this tension between personal therapeutic purpose and the construction of a story with a particular audience in mind.

The language of the Third Reich

'Tyranny, oppression, moral degeneration, persecution and mass killing have always and everywhere started with the pollution of the language' (Amos Oz, 1993, p.234). This pollution, Oz continues, renders 'clean and decent' what should be 'base and violent', quoting the phrase 'the final solution' as one example - 'ethnic cleansing' is a more recent instance of this sanitisation. In addition, the concepts of 'Lebensraum' (living space), 'Drang nach Osten' (the drive to the east) or 'Grossdeutschland' (greater Germany) masked the suffering caused by the occupation of countries bordering eastern Germany. Here the mismatch between signifier and signified, the concealing function of language, is at its most extreme. In his commentary to Lacan's Speech and Language in Psychoanalysis (1968), Anthony Wilden discusses Lacan's view of the metonymic and metaphoric functions of language whereby words relate to one another rather than to reality. To exemplify this sliding of meaning he refers to the words of politicians and propagandists: 'One of the prime functions of speech, like Orwell's Newspeak, is not to reveal thoughts, but to conceal them, especially from ourselves' (Wilden in Lacan, 1968, p.241). The propagandists of the Third Reich adopted a kind of Newspeak and a nationalist mythology which fulfilled the function of language to render acceptable the unacceptable, both in the curtailment of individual freedom and the extermination of the Jews. This resulted in the pernicious and extensive pollution of the German language, affecting the spoken and written words of adults and children alike both at the time and in retrospective writing about that period. That the slogans and terminology of the Third Reich became a part of children's language is evident in the work of Ilse Koehn (1981) and, to a greater or lesser degree, all those who have written about childhood in the Third Reich. In reconstructing a Nazi childhood, the question of how to approach the language of the period and make it accessible to a child audience is a

central one. Before examining different approaches to this 'polluted' language in selected texts, it is important to consider points of view on the transmission of ideology through language in order to recognise the uniqueness of the situation in which German-speaking children found themselves.

Language, so linguists constantly remind us, is never neutral. It is not possible to cocoon oneself and ignore the prevailing ideologies encoded in language, as Bakhtin has pointed out: 'No member of the verbal community can ever find words in the language that are neutral, exempt from the aspirations and evaluations of the other, uninhabited by the other's voice' (cited in Hardcastle, p.77). The other - the society to which the subject belongs - conveys its expectations and evaluations in all aspects of language. This ideology is defined by Louis Althusser (1971), drawing on the reinterpretation of the term by Marx, as 'the system of the ideas and the representations which dominate the mind of man or a social group' (Althusser p.158). Language codifies these ideas and representations which are then promoted and enforced on two levels, according to Althusser, by the Repressive State Apparatus of the public domain (government, the army, the police, the prison system) and the Ideological State Apparatuses of the private domain (religion, the education system, the media and culture). The dominant ideology affects the language of both the public and private spheres, although speakers of the language are not always aware of this process. Norman Fairclough (1989) argues that ideology - taking Gramsci's point that ideology can promote itself as 'common sense' practices - is in fact at its most effective when least visible (Fairclough, 1989, p.84). This view can only be argued by those whose experience is limited to citizenship within a pluralist democracy. Repressive regimes such as the Third Reich in Germany operate differently. The appeal to 'common sense' is certainly present, yet state values are made visible in all aspects of language in both the public and private domains: the Repressive State Apparatus is apparent and threatening. The distinction between this state and its Ideological State Apparatuses becomes blurred as - in the Third Reich for example - membership of youth groups becomes compulsory, the organisations take on an increasingly militaristic structure and indoctrination

is overt.

Writing during the Second World War, Maurice Merleau-Ponty reflected on the erosion of the imaginary boundary between the language of the self and that of the external world: 'We live in a world where the spoken word is *instituted*' (cited in Lacan, 1968, p.203). The institutionalisation of the spoken and written word is of course particularly evident in wartime, when it is in the interest of the state to unite its population in a common cause by means of propaganda and a tight control of all channels of communication. Slogans and directives become part of everyday parlance and linger in the public consciousness for decades: 'Dig for Victory' and 'Your Country Needs You' are phrases which are still remembered in this country eighty years after they were first used. Although the language of such slogans clearly marks them as belonging to a past era, and as such they are often the subject of parody, there is no stigma of guilt or shame attached to their use. The language of the Third Reich, however, has to be treated seriously and condemned as the medium through which atrocities against humankind were concealed from or made acceptable to German speakers.

George Steiner, in his controversial essay The Hollow Miracle (first published in 1958) took the extreme position that the German language had 'gone dead' (Steiner, 1967, p.136) in the years immediately following the war. German, Steiner argues, could no longer be regarded as a living, creative language after its bureaucratisation and the corruption of its romantic spirit during the Third Reich. Steiner refers in a footnote to his essay to the linguist Victor Klemperer's standard study on the German language during the Third Reich, first published in 1946 as Aus dem Notizbuch eines Philologen, in which the 'Nazification' of the language is traced in meticulous detail. Steiner even suggests that the German language itself was a ready-made vehicle for the machinations of the Third Reich: 'Nazism found in the language precisely what it needed to give voice to its savagery' (p.140). Leaving aside Steiner's understandable but somewhat emotive argumentation, his thesis that the language had been contaminated is shared by many. The vocabulary of the Third Reich is, after all, familiar to non-German speakers: 'Lebensraum', 'Gauleiter', 'Gestapo'

and direct translations such as 'final solution' and 'concentration camp' are a few of the examples in English; it is interesting to note the use of 'concentrationnaire' - a coinage based on the French word for concentration camp - by Jacques Lacan (1977, p.6) to describe the confining role of the utilitarian thrust of society. This lingering association of the German language with the Third Reich makes even non-German speakers aware of the dilemma experienced by post-war German writers. There is a stark representation of this dilemma in Theodor Adorno's famous dictum that there could be no poetry after Auschwitz, or the anguished lines from Bertolt Brecht's post-war poem An die Nachgeborenen (To those who are born after us):

'Was sind das für Zeiten, wo
Ein Gespräch über Bäume fast ein Verbrechen ist
Weil es ein Schweigen über so viele Untaten einschliesst.'
(What times are these when a conversation about trees is almost a crime,
because it leaves so many atrocities unmentioned, 1955, p.130).

Language had been so fundamentally abused as to render it almost unuseable. The notion of the pollution of the language was shared by many writers and intellectuals who, at least initially, found the enormity of what had happened an impossible subject, while to write about anything else constituted a sin of omission. Brecht himself had spent the war years in exile, sharing Thomas Mann's view that German could no longer be used to communicate human values within the borders of the Third Reich: 'Should a German writer, made responsible through his habitual use of language, remain silent, quite silent, in the face of all the irreparable evil which has been committed daily, and is being committed in my country...?' (cited in Steiner, 1967, p.144). For an anti-NSDAP writer remaining in Germany, silence was the only option once publication had become dangerous. The NSDAP itself was, after all, perfectly aware of the power of language in the hands of subversive writers, instigating the infamous and widely publicised burning of books to take symbolic control of language.

Given this ambivalence towards the German language itself by writers in the immediate post-war years, it is hardly surprising that German writers adopt a range of approaches to the revival of the language of the Third Reich in

attempting to fulfil two linked purposes: a coming to terms with the past and the 'education' of a young audience. Both purposes are reflected in the approach to language of the texts to be discussed, where aspects of the propaganda drive towards encouraging a sense of collective identity are evident. The psychoanalytic perspective of Alexander and Margarete Mitscherlich (1967) on this process and its influence on the child's self-concept, have already been discussed in chapter two in a consideration of the point-of-view of the adult narrator in autobiographical texts. It is now pertinent to focus on the direct representation in these texts of the language of the Third Reich and the linguistic strategies adopted by those in power to give both adults and the young the illusory sense of a coherent identity resulting from a shared ideology.

'Hitler': more than a name

One of these strategies, used quite deliberately in the introduction of the daily greeting 'Heil Hitler' and the collective title 'Hitler Youth' for NSDAP youth organisations - was the investment of the name 'Hitler', or its alternative 'Führer' (leader), with a mystique and power far beyond that of a replaceable state leader. Even within the English language the word 'Führer' has now become synonymous with Adolf Hitler's name. The name and title were carefully used in NSDAP propaganda to lend the German people a coherent identity, as epitomised in the slogan 'Ein Volk. Ein Reich. Ein Führer' (One people. One empire. One leader.) It is the psychological implications for the German people of such exhortations to identify with an 'ideal ego' (ego idea) which preoccupy the Mitscherlichs (1967). Further insights into the idealisation of Hitler may be gained by remaining within the field of psychoanalysis and considering Lacan's analysis of the social control exercised by a powerful male figure. This control, he argues, is a symbolic function fulfilled by 'the name of the father', a function necessary to the establishment of a social order which: 'from the dawn of history, has identified his person with the figure of the law' (Lacan, 1968, p.41). On entering the symbolic order, the child represses desires associated with the mother's body and takes on the laws - the rules, gender and social roles - of

its culture. This development takes place within the family and the wider society to which the child belongs. The importance of patriarchy in this view of the child's discovery of established social roles and practices is of direct relevance in considering the symbolic function of Hitler as both an idealised projection of the self, and a symbol and figurehead of a particular social order. As a 'father-figure' his name could be both loved and hated, worshipped and - later - blamed for the sins committed in his name. A strategy designed to ensure a cohesive national identity was based on psychological processes which continued to serve a purpose long after the Third Reich had collapsed, in providing a target to which blame could be attached.

In German autobiographical children's literature set in the Third Reich the significance attached to the name 'Hitler' or the title 'Führer' can be traced in many instances in the child's developing understanding of its culture and the adult's retrospective evaluation of childhood. The attribution of all blame for the Second World War to Hitler by Annelies Schwarz (1981, p.6) and the mother in Ursula Fuchs' Emma oder die unruhige Zeit (literally: Emma, or turbulent times, 1979, p.122) have already been cited in chapter two. Emma is a particularly revealing example of the effects on a child of the drive towards a collective identity as personified in Hitler's name. It is precisely because Julia - the child at the centre of Ursula Fuchs' account of her own childhood spent moving from place to place to escape air-raids - is just six years old at the beginning of the novel, that Fuchs is able to document the fluctuating emotional response to - and developing understanding of - the verbal concept 'Hitler'. At an age when many verbal concepts are in the process of formation, each new overheard use of a particular term can lead to a modification of a previous understanding or a quest for clarification. In the novel Ursula Fuchs the adult narrator withdraws (although not completely as I intend to demonstrate), accentuating the focus on language by adopting the young child's point-of-view in this first person narrative. There is an uncertainty as to the meaning of many of the words young Julia hears in connection with a major event in the lives of those around her, the outbreak of war. She asks her nanny what the word 'Front' (the eastern front line, p.18) means and imagines that 'Krieg' (war, p.20) must be something

like a huge elephant about to trample her family to pieces. Concrete images are the only solution to desperate attempts to pin these words down, to understand adult anxiety and make sense of what is happening in the world around her.

In the context of this search for images to attach to words, the photograph of Hitler hanging on Julia's classroom wall is a secure fixed point, an image to be linked to a name she had already heard in the 'Heil Hitler' greeting (p.14). Julia describes the salient features of this face which the children greet every morning in brief statements of fact, conveying both the ritualised propaganda delivered by the teacher and her own need to conform and establish certainties: 'Und er hat uns immer zugeguckt. Der Adolf Hitler ist unser Führer gewesen. Er hat die Macht gehabt und alle mussten ihm gehorchen.' (And he was always looking at us. Adolf Hitler was our leader. He had the power and everyone had to obey him, p.21) At the same time, it is significant that the use of the past tense maintains the adult narrator's sense of distance from this childhood awe and obedience. From this point on, Julia's responses to all that is represented in the name 'Hitler' become ambivalent. On the one hand he represents the father figure who must never be disappointed. Tempted by the sight of horse-chestnuts to linger in the school playground rather than hurry to the shelter during an air-raid practice, Julia is taken to the headteacher, made to stand on a chair in front of the whole school and told that the 'Führer' is only interested in obedient children. She is deeply ashamed and resolves never to upset him again. Similarly, she believes that Hitler's personal feelings must be considered when the family's brand-new car is requisitioned, because 'Der Führer braucht jeden Wagen' (Our leader needs every car, p.23). Julia wonders whether Hitler would be sad if he didn't get the car, since her own father is certainly miserable at the loss of his beloved Adler Trumpf Junior. The child's literal interpretation of an overheard statement results in her personalisation of the transaction: she assumes that her father's car is needed by Hitler himself. The statement has different meanings for adult and child, pointing to the illogicality of the adults' use of a name to represent the state and their own personification of political power.

Despite her experience of the constant reinforcement of the name 'Hitler' as the all-controlling father figure at school and at 'Jungmädels'⁶ gatherings, Julia senses and begins to adopt the ambivalence of members of her family towards him. When the family flees to the country to escape air-raids, Julia encounters a fearsome male teacher who makes her hold her hands out towards Hitler's picture as he beats them - a punishment for not knowing her multiplication tables. Julia is moved to curse Hitler under her breath and to equate him with the teacher, Biermann. Later she discovers from Tante Jusch, her landlady, that Biermann is a 'Nazi von der übelsten Sorte' (the worst kind of Nazi, p.85), reinforcing the association with Hitler. This negative view is supported in a section of the novel entitled 'Unser Führer Adolf Hitler' (Our leader Adolf Hitler, pp.117-20), as Julia echoes her mother's sentiments in blaming Hitler for sending her father to war, swallowing the lump in her throat as she and the Jungmädels sit round a camp-fire swearing eternal love for 'den Führer Adolf Hitler'.

The ambivalence of narrative point-of-view becomes intriguing as the transference of responsibility to Hitler alone continues in references to the deportation of Jews to concentration camps. During her stay in the country, Julia befriends a local boy, Johannes, and his grandmother. News arrives one day that the grandmother is to be sent to a camp because she is Jewish, for which Johannes can only offer the explanation 'Der Hitler kann die Juden nicht leiden' (Hitler can't stand the Jews, p.95). Johannes' grandmother herself says that she will be collected by 'Die Leute vom Führer' (the Führer's people, p.94), a phrase adopted by the narrator in describing Julia's position as a witness to the deportation itself. Adults are unable to give the child a rational account of this event, which is simply attributed to a whim of the 'Führer'. The maintenance of the child narrator's perspective and her perception of the 'Führer's' power - encouraged by adults and now represented in the flesh by her sadistic teacher - allow for an absence of authorial comment. The stance taken by the author is to engage children's interest by adopting the child's point-of-view, yet this approach is open to criticism in its lack of contextualisation or historical explanation. The child

⁶ The first phase of the Hitler Youth for girls aged 10 to 14, followed at the age of 14 by promotion to the BDM (Bund deutscher Mädel). See Appendix 1 for further details of the Hitler Youth organisations.

narrator's perception of the name 'Hitler' becomes the reader's, as any wider discussion of the responsibility of the German people is quite legitimately avoided in terms of narrative perspective. Julia and others watch and wave as Johannes' grandmother is taken away: the description of the tiny grandmother being accompanied to a black car by two large men is brief and objective. The child watching the scene cannot respond emotionally to an act she does not understand, an act attributed for both narrator and reader to 'Hitler'.

Narrative point-of-view is not completely consistent, however, since retrospective comment appears briefly elsewhere in the novel. At the opening of the section already discussed entitled 'Unser Führer Adolf Hitler', it is clearly Fuchs, the adult narrator, who remarks ironically on the infamous 'wonder weapon' of 1944, presented to the German people as the means of winning a war which by that time was already lost: 'Die Wunderwaffe V1 ist doch keine Wunderwaffe gewesen und die V2 auch nicht' (The V1 wonder weapon was no wonder weapon, nor was the V2, p.117). Here there is a wisdom after the event which can only be that of an adult, an intimation of an additional narrative voice which has been carefully suppressed in the rest of the novel. Response to the word 'Hitler' shifts from adoration to blame as Julia grows and develops, but authorial comment does not extend to an intimation of the collective responsibility of the German people.

Language and the indoctrination of the young

The attachment of blame to Hitler's name echoes the pattern of denial encoded in the language of NSDAP propaganda itself: the sanitising of the unacceptable referred to by Amos Oz, whereby adults used language to conceal the truth from others and from themselves. That this process should begin early, and that such a regime directed its propaganda at the young in order to ensure its own survival, should come as no surprise. To attract and maintain control of the minds of the young by means of education in its widest sense became the goal of the state. Althusser (1971) himself, in evaluating Ideological State Apparatuses within what he calls 'mature

capitalist social formations' (Althusser, 1971, p.152), regarded the educational ideological apparatus as dominant. In the case of the Third Reich, this 'ideological state apparatus' rested on the basis of a spurious mythology linked to German history and nordic sagas. The emphasis on folklore promoted by the Minister for Science, Education and Folk Culture appointed in 1934, Bernhard Rust, has been carefully researched by Kamenetsky (1984) in her investigation of the role of children's literature in the cultural policy of the Third Reich ⁷. Klönne's (1982) discussion of the syllabus of the Hitler Youth in his survey of youth movements during the Third Reich reflects a complementary emphasis on the glorification of German history and military victories. Although Klönne discusses the subversive youth groups which existed at the time and argues against the view of a one hundred percent commitment to the Hitler Youth (used here as a generic term for all NSDAP youth movements), he nevertheless points out that membership of NSDAP youth organisations became compulsory after the introduction of the 'Jugenddienstpflicht' (compulsory youth service) from the age of ten in March 1939. Before that date propaganda, accompanied by peer and parental pressure (on the part of some parents the result of protective anxiety rather than conviction), had of course exerted an enormous influence, so that by the end of the nineteen-thirties few were able to resist joining the Hitler Youth, the German Girls' League or their feeder organisations the Jungvolk (Young People) or Jungmädel (Young Girls) ⁸.

It is through the language enshrined in the rituals and practices of these groups and the media that the attitudes of the young were manipulated: Klönne cites the NSDAP monopoly of the youth press, special Hitler Youth radio programmes and films which the young were encouraged or taken to see. The teaching of the German language itself became a vehicle for the delivery of political messages. Ungerer (1993) reproduces in his autobiographical text a section entitled 'Sprachgut aus unserer Zeit' (the language of our time, p.66) from the Alsace version of the German language text book for primary schools. Military colloquialisms from the First World War are followed by a list of phrases every child is expected to know, for

⁷ For a diagram representing Rust's concept of interdisciplinary studies in the reformed school curriculum see Appendix 2.

⁸ See Appendix 1.

example: 'Blut und Boden, Adel der Arbeit, Kraft durch Freude, Mutter und Kind' (blood and soil, the nobility of work, strength through joy, mother and child, p.66). Such slogans and references to propagandistic children's literature⁹ as well as to the songs which accompanied mass rallies, flag-raising and camp-fire gatherings should permeate many of the German texts under consideration. As already indicated in the work of Ilse Koehn, 'standard Führer mottoes' and militaristic titles became a part of the child's language to such an extent that in her autobiographical account of a Nazi childhood they are often repeated in the original German. In Hans-Peter Richter's early post-war text Friedrich (1960), the narrative is punctuated with songs and phrases which are either anti-semitic: 'Die Juden sind unser Unglück' (the Jews are our misfortune, Richter, 1960, p.41), or encode an aspect of NSDAP ideology: 'Kraft durch Freude' (strength through joy, Richter, 1960, p.71). The young narrator in the novel is also taken to see the anti-semitic film 'Jud Süß' (Jew Süß) with his class. Richter's more directly autobiographical account Wir waren dabei (1961) follows a similar pattern. Verses from the stirring 'Horst Wessel Lied' (Horst Wessel Song) are cited, and there are references to the reading matter available in the Hitler Youth headquarters. This includes Mein Kampf and the popular Hitler Junge Quex (Hitler Boy Quex, 1932). Richter's perspective on his childhood self is that of an objective chronicler, so that the incorporation of snatches of song, NSDAP slogans and militaristic titles lends the texts the authenticity he seeks.

Written less than fifteen years after the end of the war, Richter's autobiographical accounts represent a milestone in the history of post-war German children's literature, lending significance to his use of NSDAP language and terminology as a possible model. Turning to the more recent novels and accounts which are the subject of this study, there are indications in many texts of both the concealing function of the ready-made language adopted by the young and the dialectic of resistance. In some cases this resistance took place during childhood itself, in others there is an interplay between the language used or experienced by the child and the adult

⁹ For an account of the folk mythology, militarism and religious vocabulary of popular children's fiction during the Third Reich, see Wild, Reiner (ed.) (1990), pp.266-70. On pp.271-274 Wild also discusses the influence at the time of the American 'Indian' stories and the heroic 'inwardness' of their protagonists.

narrator's commentary. It is pertinent at this point to refer once again to the German women's diaries written between 1943 and 1945 collected and analysed by Susanne zur Nieden (1993), and the surprise expressed by several diarists at the level of commitment to NSDAP ideology evident in their own youthful language. Zur Nieden cites the Berliner Aufzeichnungen 1943-45 (literally: Notes from Berlin 1943-45, 1992) by the journalist Ursula von Kardorff as an example of the denazification of diary entries. It is evident from the 1992 edition of the diaries which includes unedited material, that in the earlier 1947 edition von Kardorff had altered terminology ('Führer' became 'Hitler') and omitted nationalistic or derogatory phrases such as 'die rote Pest' (the red plague) as a title for the Russian occupying forces (zur Nieden pp.64-5). It was no doubt expedient to make such changes at the time, whereas in 1992 that 'cleansing' of vocabulary itself is of interest in understanding one individual's self presentation. The language of the Third Reich is at the centre of the continuing dialogue with the self which constitutes the subtext of so many of the autobiographical accounts of childhood in that period by German writers. Discussion of these issues will focus on three aspects of language: the critical reception of NSDAP language, its mystical and emotional effects and the sense of linguistic dispossession experienced by certain writers.

The critical representation of the language of National Socialism

In contrast to Richter's objective reproduction of the NSDAP mottoes, songs and terminology of his childhood, leaving his audience to supply the necessary commentary, Barbara Gehrts portrays her family's cynical attitude to the language of the Third Reich throughout her fictionalised autobiography, Nie wieder ein Wort davon? (literally: Never say another word about it, 1975). In the novel *Hanna*, Gehrts' alter ego, tells the story of the family's life during the war years, dominated by her father's covert membership of the German resistance and his execution in 1943. Resistance to NSDAP propaganda is therefore to be expected, although *Hanna* herself is represented as susceptible to the seductive ease of the propaganda phrase. While she is discussing a possible German campaign

in Russia with friends, a reference is made by one of them, Erik, to butter rationing. Hanna replies with a familiar slogan: "Kanonen statt Butter", fiel ich ihm ins Wort, "ist doch ein guter Tausch. Was willst du denn." Ich sagte das, ohne zu denken.' ('I interrupted him: "Canons instead of butter - that's a fair exchange. Don't you agree?" I had spoken without thinking', p.10). The adult narrator's comment about an unthinking response echoes the condemnatory glance of Hanna's brother at the time, which quickly makes her aware of her stupidity. It is this brother, Hannes, who most forcefully expresses the family's resistance within the text, since the father is a shadowy figure engaged in secret activities. Hannes has perfected the art of imitating the language and posture of Hitler or leading NSDAP figures, making at one point a mock announcement of the German invasion of the Sudetenland in Czechoslovakia with his head thrown back, chest thrust forward and a 'schnarrender Stimme' (growling voice, p.9):

"Die friedliche Lösung der sudetendeutschen Frage fand überall freudigen Widerhall. Begeisterung und Jubel in der Bevölkerung kannten keine Grenzen. Der neue, unblutige Sieg des Führers hat das Vertrauen des Volkes zur Staatsführung und den Glauben an den Führer aufs neue befestigt. Das ganze deutsche Volk steht geschlossen...."

(The peaceful solution of the Sudeten German question met with a joyful response all over the country. The German people's enthusiasm and jubilation were unbounded. Yet another bloodless victory by the Führer has reinforced the people's faith in the state leadership and their belief in the Führer. The German people are determined.....)

In this passage Barbara Gehrts has reproduced the tone, vocabulary and linguistic structures of the many radio broadcasts she heard as a child, demonstrating the ability of the young to absorb and reproduce the rhythms and content of a particular discourse, in this case with ironic intent. The use of nominalisation in the 'solution' of a 'question' removes both the agent in the sentence - and therefore any sense of responsibility - as well as masking the actual activity itself: German troops invading the territory of another country. Nominalisation continues in the description of the people's response which, together with the repetition of 'Volk', is designed to inspire the sense of a coherent national identity required by the figurehead who is both dynamic leader and protective father: his victories are 'peaceful' and

'bloodless'. The bureaucracy of the language ('questions' are 'solved') serves a concealing function, while other lexical items ('enthusiasm', 'joyful', 'jubilation', 'faith') appeal to the emotions, so that the effect is one of carefully controlled and orchestrated manipulation. The passage both illustrates the linguistic strategies adopted in propaganda and the ability of a child growing up in these circumstances to imitate and demystify them.

Gehrts clearly wishes to establish early in the novel the family's subversive stance towards the language of the time. The narrator several times uses the term 'Formulierungen' (formulations, p.50, p.103) as an ironic comment on the standard phrases used in radio broadcasts to summarise progress on the eastern or African fronts. This preoccupation with the language of the Third Reich reaches its climax after her father's execution, when the family is told that 'Die sterblichen Überreste Hingerichteter werden an die Angehörigen nicht herausgegeben' (The remains of those who have been executed cannot be returned to relatives, p.117). This bureaucratic formula is followed by a printed and typed form sent by post, itemising sums due to cover the cost of the execution, the lawyer, the term of imprisonment and even the postage of the form itself. The form is reprinted in the text as the most eloquent testimony to the misuse of language, and to the pain and anger which have surely determined the adult's decision to reproduce for the reader an example of such inhumanity.

Despite her family's anti-NSDAP position, even Barbara Gehrts was not entirely immune to propaganda (the 'canons instead of butter' slip). For children and adolescents whose families supported the regime, and who were caught in the web of language engineered by youth groups and propaganda, any doubts and questions which arose in their minds had to be suppressed. These resurface in some retrospective accounts: the reception of NSDAP propaganda by an ardent member of the Hitler Youth was not necessarily uncritical. Margarete Hannsmann, in Der helle Tag bricht an: ein Kind wird Nazi (literally: The dawn is bright: a child becomes a Nazi, 1982), reproduces extracts from the diary she kept at the time, a diary which gave her a safe opportunity to raise questions, often in the form of a dialogue with her father. She reflects, for example, on the NSDAP slogan of the moment,

'Wille zur Macht' (the will for power, Hannsmann, 1982, p.194):

Was ist Wille? Vaters Satz: Du musst nur wollen dann geht es auch? (Seit ich an Mutters Hand ging, schon:) Macht? Wollen? Spannt man sie zusammen, ergibt es dann Wille zur Macht? Kann ich das auch? Will ich das überhaupt?

What is 'will'? Father's words: If you want something to happen, it will? 'Fine, when I could hold mother's hand' Power? Will? If you harness them together do you get the 'will for power'? Can I do that? Do I want to do that?

(Hannsmann, 1982, p 194)

Hannsmann, the daughter of a tyrannical and NSDAP-supporting father, is struggling here with the meanings and possible consequences of a phrase 'das durch die Köpfe spukte' (which obsessed everyone, Hannsmann, 1982, p.194). Significantly, she returns to early childhood, to an incident when her father had exhorted her to use will power, although it was in fact the security of her mother's hand which made achievement possible. Her deliberation on the structure of the phrase leads to a functional appraisal: What does this mean for me? What do I have to do? The diary entry, which conveys an almost breathless confusion, continues with a consideration of the uses and abuses of power - a train of thought set in motion by an analysis of a motto which has not been accepted at face value.

The mystical appeal and affective power of National Socialist rhetoric

The reprinting of these diary extracts is for Hannsmann - who separates her past and present selves by giving the child in the text the name Ulrike - part of the process of explaining and accepting the Nazi childhood summarised in the book's subtitle, 'ein Kind wird Nazi'. Ulrike's response to one of Hitler's speeches at a mass rally brings us to the second aspect of the language of the Third Reich to be considered in relation to autobiographical writing: its affective power. There are moments in these texts when a distorted romanticism, together with semi-religious or mystical imagery and powerful rhetorical technique, inspire in the young a euphoric and almost

transcendent response. Urike is moved to write a letter to her father after hearing Hitler speak, fighting back tears as she relays the effect of his words: 'es ist alles, alles so wahnsinnig, was da der Führer sagte, so herrlich und rein und gross, so weit noch über das hinaus, wie ein Ideal sein kann' (everything, everything the Führer says is so fantastic, so wonderful and pure and great, so far beyond an ideal, p.132). Klas Evert Everwyn (1989) describes a similar mood, evoked this time by listening to Hitler's radio broadcasts. In his 'most beautiful and powerful dream' Hitler visited the young Everwyn in his bomb shelter, placed a hand on his shoulder 'und ein paar Worte in seiner markigen Sprache sagte, der ich so gern und selbstvergessen lauschte, wenn sie aus dem Radio drang. Mir wurde dabei schlecht vor Ergriffenheit.' (and said a few words in the forceful language I loved to listen to - and could lose myself in - whenever it was broadcast. I felt quite overcome by powerful emotion, Everwyn, 1989, p.26). The response to Hitler's rhetorical style is uncritical and overwhelming. If the name 'Hitler' had an aura of all-encompassing power for a very young child (Ursula Fuchs), the 'Führer', as embodied in his language and voice, becomes a mythical, god-like figure capable of arousing a passionate and mystical devotion in those who are older.

It is the pathos and misplaced idealism of the language in her father's rediscovered diaries and its foreshadowing of the rhetoric of the Third Reich which so shocks Gudrun Pausewang in the final volume of her Rosinka trilogy Geliebte Rosinkawiese (literally: Beloved Rosinka meadow, 1990). The quest for the repossession of these diaries had long dominated her friendship with the Czech owners of her childhood home; their discovery both marks a new understanding of her lost father (killed in action in Russia in 1943), and triggers further reflection on her own enthusiasm for the 'ideals' of National Socialism. The diaries, written in 1920 when her father was a young man, include passages of the kind of language cultivated so successfully by NSDAP propagandists. In one entry Pausewang's father makes an anti-semitic comment, in others he writes of his dreams for the future, constructing metaphors from Germanic sagas to convey the heroic idealism of his life's quest: '...den Drachen will ich mir bald suchen, und ich ruhe nicht, bis ich mich in seinem Blute gebadet! Baldur ringt mit dem

Frostriesen, bald hat er gesiegt.' (soon I intend to seek the dragon, and I will not rest until I have bathed in its blood! Baldur is battling with the ice monster, and soon victory will be his! Pausewang, 1990, p.91) Pausewang is angered by this 'pubertäre Gehabe' (adolescent affectation, p.91), which is so far removed from her own current social and political standpoint. This is the kind of language which was to be the seed-bed of National Socialist rhetoric: 'Später wurden die nationalsozialistische Schreiber und Redner Meister in der Pflege dieses Pathos' (NSDAP writers and orators later became masters in the cultivation of this pathos, p.92).

Pausewang seems to be unable to forgive her father this linguistic transgression, although his commitment to the NSDAP had already been pointed out in the second volume of the Rosinka trilogy, Fern von der Rosinkawiese (1989). It is the confrontation with a document from the past, an actual sample of her father's language, which initiates a further reappraisal of the relationship between her childhood and adult selves. Pausewang has to recognise that she too was susceptible to National Socialist ideology: 'Hat sich Hitler während meiner Jugend nicht meiner ehrlichen und arglosen Begeisterungsfähigkeit skrupellos bedient?' (Did Hitler have any qualms about making use of my honest and unsuspecting enthusiasm when I was young? Pausewang, 1990, p.106). Hitler once again is regarded as the supreme manipulator to whom all responsibility can be attributed. This is nevertheless a significant point in the account, a passage of reflection to accompany the acts of atonement described in the novel: the friendship with the Czech family living in Rosinka meadow, and Pausewang's visit with her son to the Jewish cemetery in Prague. To accept the young diary writer as her father - however alien his words might be to Pausewang's present writerly concern with a straightforward narrative style - would be to accept a part of herself, the adolescent whose identification with National Socialist ideology is recognised in Fern von der Rosinkawiese (1989). For Pausewang, who writes from a position of scepticism towards the 'progress' and consumerism of late twentieth century capitalism, the language of that past self - and that of her father - is unacceptable. As a writer she defines her present ideology in the language she uses, rejecting the word 'Heimat' (homeland) on the first page of Geliebte Rosinkawiese

because: 'Zuviel Schindluder ist mit ihr vertrieben worden' (It has been abused far too often, Pausewang, 1990, p.5). The word 'Heimat' is used, for example, by those who believe that Germany still has a claim to the former German-speaking areas of Czechoslovakia, a view the adult Gudrun Pausewang would not contemplate. What is significant here is her discussion of the term to be rejected *within the text itself*. The reconciliation of past and present selves begins to take place in the very act of writing, of sifting and selecting appropriate language.

The unavailability of certain items of vocabulary is a form of retrospective linguistic dispossession resulting from a perceived abuse of language. In addition to the Jewish writers whose denial or loss of the German language has already been discussed, there are German writers who, according to their own accounts of the past, became acutely aware as children that they could not use their own language freely and unselfconsciously. This is not surprising in the case of Barbara Gehrts (1975), daughter of a father working for the German resistance. A key phrase in the novel - which becomes a question in its title - is 'Nie wieder ein Wort davon?' (Never say another word about it?, Gehrts, 1975, p.67). When the family questions the mysterious disappearance of one of her father's colleagues, Hanna is reminded of this phrase. It had once been used by her older brother Hannes when the two of them were speculating on the gap between the end of their father's working day and his arrival at home. The command never to breathe another word is readily accepted, yet imposes a constraint on the child's curiosity. Käthe Recheis (1990), in her semi-autobiographical account of life in an Austrian village during the Third Reich, suffered similar constraints as the daughter of anti-NSDAP parents. Lena, the central figure, confides in a diary until she realises that this is too risky : Lange Zeit schrieb ich nichts mehr hinein. Ich durfte weder sagen noch schreiben, was ich dachte. Das war zu gefährlich. (I didn't write anything for a long time. I couldn't say or write what I thought. It was too dangerous. p.151). Both Gehrts and Recheis grew up in families where care had to be taken with words used in the public domain. In contrast, Margarete Hannsmann (1982) was the daughter of a committed NSDAP official. Her alter ego Ulrike - whose passionate response to Hitler's speech has already been mentioned, and who is described as shouting with

enthusiasm as books are burned in the yard of a Hitler Youth hostel - nevertheless begins to have doubts about her father's involvement in the pulping of 'forbidden' books. She rescues a book of Heinrich Heine's poetry, infuriating her father by pointing out to him a poem he used to sing to her. This is the starting point of a campaign Ulrike conducts to rescue, read and memorise books as though their survival depended on her alone, spending nights keeping herself awake by crouching or lying across a desk. Her own susceptibility to polluted NSDAP language has not destroyed earlier influences or the potential for a romantic appreciation of literature. A sudden awareness of the dispossession of the literary heritage of the German language leads to the rechannelling of her youthful enthusiasm and drive into a quest to preserve that language at all costs.

The explication of the language of the Third Reich for a child audience

Although language changes are a feature of all retrospective children's literature, the consistent use of extensive glossaries and footnotes to be found in literature set in the era of the Third Reich is unusual. The hiatus in the German language which resulted in the abandonment of many terms and phrases in regular use during the Third Reich - they have become tabu and resurface only in historical texts or right-wing graffiti - causes difficulties for a young audience unfamiliar with them. An awareness of their child or adolescent audience (to be discussed in greater detail in chapter six) leads many writers to highlight changes in the German language and its 'pollution' by the NSDAP by providing glossaries, a trend undoubtedly influenced by Hans-Peter Richter's extremely full and detailed annotations linked to particular pages in both Friedrich (1960) and Wir waren dabei (1961). Explanations of terminology range from the brief list of abbreviations in Gehrts (1975, p.159) or the odd footnote in Schönfeldt (1979, p.6) and Nöstlinger (1973, pp. 20, 30, 59), to a subject index in Recheis (1990, pp.337-344). Recheis' extensive index includes detailed explanations of terms such as 'Konzentrationslager' (concentration camp), 'Gauleiter' (regional leader) as well as political concepts (fascism) or popular epithets ('Hamsterer' for those who had sources of food in the country during the war or the post-war years).

These notes and glossaries serve the primary purpose of informing the young reader, while offering a therapeutic opportunity to highlight the distance between past and present selves in these autobiographical texts. Terms once pregnant with associations for the child become the subject of the adult author's distanced, factual explanation: 'BDM: Abkürzung für Bund deutscher Mädel: Bezeichnung für eine Untergliederung der Hitlerjugend, nämlich die 14-bis 21jährigen Mädchen' (BDM: Abbreviation for the German Girls' League - the title of the branch of the Hitler Youth for 14 to 21 year old girls and young women, Recheis, 1990, p.337). For Käthe Recheis, growing up in an anti-NSDAP family and exposed to the usual pressures to join the Hitler Youth, the initials BDM had enormous significance; here they are the subject of a curt summary.

As an alternative to fictionalisation, socialist writer Max von der Grün takes a historical approach in commenting on his own youthful enthusiasm for NSDAP ideology in Wie war das eigentlich? (What was it really like? 1981). This combination of autobiography and carefully documented historical account includes a glossary of abbreviations, explanations of terms within the text itself, as well as passages of commentary and reflection on language use. The effects of NSDAP propaganda machinery on 'Millionen von verdummten und verhetzten Jugendlichen' (millions of young people made stupid and gullible, p.197) and on the adult population are discussed at length, with the purpose of both enlightening the young reader and soliciting understanding for von der Grün's own transgression against his current political ideology. He documents the extension of military metaphors into everyday life by listing changes in vocabulary:

'Statt Arbeitsvermittlung	- Arbeitseinsatz	
Statt Arbeitsbeschaffung	- Arbeitsschlacht	
Statt Arbeiter	- Soldat der Arbeit	
Statt Arbeit	- Dienst an Führer und Volk'	(p.62)
(Instead of labour exchange	- Deployment of labour	
Instead of work creation	- The battle for work	
Instead of worker	- Soldier of the labour force	
Instead of work	- Service for the Führer and the people)	

Von der Grün comments, too, on Hitler's speeches, on the power of his rhetorical gifts, his projection of himself as a superhuman being, and his use

of religious imagery (p.44). Hitler, he claims, was able to build on the most secret prejudices and desires of his listeners and convince them of the discovery of a new truth. These explanations and reflections on language are related to von der Grün's own family by providing the background to their positive reception, for example, of the NSDAP charge that communists were responsible for the Reichstag fire in 1933: 'Ich bin überzeugt, dass meine ganze Familie daran glaubte, denn damals war die Propaganda schon so stark, dass die Menschen sich dieser täglichen Berieselung oder den lautstarken Reden der NS-Größen kaum noch entziehen konnten.' (I am convinced that my whole family believed this, because at that time propaganda had already become so powerful that you could hardly escape a daily immersion or the deafening speeches of the Nazi leaders' , p.48). The author couches this statement in ironic language which reinforces his current attitudes at every turn; there is a daily 'immersion' or 'spraying' of propaganda, and the speeches are 'deafening'. It is von der Grün's intention that the young reader should be in no doubt about the author's current stance towards his own past and the political manipulation practised by the NSDAP. Manipulation is the theme of one particularly significant speech made by Hitler on 2 December 1938, which von der Grün quotes at length. Here Hitler 'allowed the mask to slip' (p.101), setting out the progress of a child from the age of ten through the different youth groups to a period of national service (for the boys), after which they would be taken immediately into the SA (Sturmabteilung, storm troops), or SS (Schutzstaffel, protection force): 'damit sie auf keinen Fall rückfällig werden' (so that there is no chance for them to backslide, p.101). The next line, which has been adopted in two accounts of childhood in the Third Reich - as an epigram by Richter (1962) and a title by Ludwig Helbig (1982) - is a fitting closure to this section on writers driven to confront the language of their past: 'Und sie werden nicht mehr frei, ihr ganzes Leben' (And they will never be free, for the whole of their lives, p.101).

The reverberations of the intentions underlying that speech by Adolf Hitler have indeed affected the children and adolescents of the period throughout their lives. Whether suffering exile and alienation from their first language as a result of Third Reich policies, or alienation from particular aspects of the

German language, writers have to confront the language of their past in the process of reconstructing their childhoods for a young audience. Writing an account of childhood exile or youth in the Third Reich entails a recognition within the text of the relationship between language and identity (Kerr, Hannam and Koehn), or between language, identity and a visible and pervasive ideology. The role of language in establishing the relationship between past and present identities will continue to be a central strand of the case studies to follow.

4 States of Exile and Lost Childhood: The Jewish and German Experience

In the narratives and accounts discussed in the previous chapter, language marks the separation between the adult writer and the childhood self; a separation which autobiographical writing as a therapeutic act seeks to overcome. The process involves a reappraisal of language as the author, writing from a current ideological position, evaluates in a reconstruction of the past the causes of a disrupted, traumatic or indoctrinated childhood. At the emotional centre of that childhood lies the child's family. Family relationships are of prime significance in all these narratives, whether or not they are disrupted by the circumstances of war: the complexities of the bond between father and daughter are, as we have seen, a central theme in the autobiographical writing of Margarete Hannsmann and Gudrun Pausewang. This concern with the family unit - the cornerstone of most children's lives - raises the issue of the fundamental affective qualities of childhood wartime experience as reflected in autobiographical texts. Is there evidence that fears or sources of emotional anguish or excitement are common to all children, whatever the external realities of their situation? Those external realities varied enormously of course: during the Third Reich and the war years, children became the subjects of persecution and threatened annihilation, the state control of childhood and aerial bombardment. While the childhoods of European-Jewish, German and British children can in some instances hardly be compared - Foreman's nostalgic War Boy (1989) reflects an entirely different order of experience from the painful recollection of life in Theresienstadt concentration camp by Carlo Ross (1991), for example - there are some experiences which were shared, such as evacuation and bombing raids. Whatever events children actually encountered or feared, it becomes clear on reading autobiographical accounts of wartime childhood that for all children there was an overriding concern with family security, and that threats to that security had serious implications for the writer's developing sense of personal identity. The effects of dislocation and exile and a real or threatened disruption to family stability are the sources of pain to which many writers return, in some cases in several different narratives or sequels composed over a number of years .

The timing of the writing of these texts - to be discussed in the final chapter - is itself often connected with the family, in that repressed memories are frequently released in the writing of a narrative intended directly for the writer's own children (e.g. Pausewang, Reiss).

German-based research carried out by Emer O'Sullivan (1990) and Bernd Otto (1981) indicates that family separation and dislocation are the major themes in both British and German children's literature - including autobiographical texts - set in the wartime period. In her study of the image of Germany and the Germans in British children's fiction, O' Sullivan points out that 'the enemy' is paid little attention in these texts : 'the focus of interest is on domestic affairs, with the evacuation scheme being treated more extensively than any other single theme connected with the Second World War, both at the time and retrospectively' (O'Sullivan,1990, p.89). With the exception of novels set in the Channel Islands (Woodford, 1974, Trease, 1987) or children's encounters with grounded pilots, shipwrecked sailors or suspected spies (Westall, 1975 and 1995, Rees, 1976, Lingard 1980), the German enemy remains unreal and of secondary importance in the experience of child characters.

In German children's fiction, too, the major emphasis appears to be on the disruption of home and family. In his socio-political survey of fiction on the Third Reich written between 1945 and 1980, Bernd Otto notes that 47.46 % of all titles published during those thirty-five-years focus on the chaos and refugee existence of many Germans in the immediate post-war period. For most German children the immediate post-war phase was the most dramatic of the war, and the most threatening to their domestic security. Amongst the additional themes Otto identifies is that of 'emigration and exile' (12% of all titles published between 1945 and 1980), which represents another source of domestic upheaval. According to Otto's statistics, these themes predominated in the children's literature of the 1950s, with a shift towards the examination of childhood and youth during the NSDAP regime taking place during the nineteen sixties and seventies. By taking a 'snapshot' of the major themes of all relevant children's fiction still in print in 1978, Otto's survey reveals that fiction on migration from the east and the turbulence of

the immediate post-war years remains the single most important subject: 38.1% of all titles are assigned to that category, with 11.11% to the category of 'emigration and exile'. On examining figures for new titles published in 1979, the shift towards the examination of youth in the Third Reich can be detected: 41.17 % of titles fall into this category; the theme of migration and the post-war years now assumes second place with 17.67% of titles, while emigration and exile maintain a steady 5.89% of titles¹. A change of emphasis has clearly taken place, even though there is inevitably a degree of arbitrariness in categorisation and some overlap occurs. What is striking, however, is the substantial number of titles on the post-war period still available - and therefore still in demand - in 1978, more than three decades after the end of the war.

Although no detailed statistical survey comparable to Otto's has been undertaken since 1980, it is evident, at least from the autobiographical accounts discussed in this study, that the preoccupation with National Socialist childhood continues in the more recent publications of the 1980s and 90s. At the same time, as indicated by Dahrendorf (1995), there is in the late 1980s a renewed interest in children's fiction in the enforced flight at the end of the war of Germans from the east (Pausewang, Heyne and Kurtz, all published in 1989). Otto's figures, together with an overview of subsequent titles, reveal a continuing, if less dominant, interest in migration and its consequences for family cohesion and stability. Migration from the east is not the only kind of exile represented in children's fiction, however. Other 'states of exile' are spread across Otto's categories: novels focussing on childhood and adolescence in the Third Reich also include accounts of evacuation and the conscription of adolescents into NSDAP labour schemes. In addition, another of Otto's categories, entitled 'resistance' and accounting for 3.17 % of titles still in print in 1978 and 11.76% of new titles in 1979, also reminds us of the state of 'inner exile' endured by children of families politically or morally opposed to the NSDAP. Jewish children, too, faced a period of enforced alienation from the community prior to their incarceration in concentration camps, hiding places or emigration and exile. States of exile and alienation and their impact on the domestic setting are

¹ See Appendix 3 for a tabular representation of Otto's seven thematic categories and their distribution in titles in print in 1978 and new titles published in 1979.

therefore reflected in children's fiction in a variety of ways.

The key point to be made here is that in both British and German children's fiction the focus is on the most significant experience for children themselves, that of the domestic dislocation resulting from political resistance, the effects of membership of mass youth movements, persecution, exile, evacuation or enforced migration. This emphasis, to be found in both fictional and autobiographical writing, reflects children's primary emotional concerns, or a retrospective mourning for the family which was suppressed at the time by the more powerful drive to endure and survive. The child's world is almost inevitably domestic in scale and experience since parents and siblings are the providers of physical and emotional sustenance. The child is effectively powerless within society and has to rely on the stability of the domestic unit for survival, unless circumstances are exceptional. During wartime this dependence may suddenly cease as the child becomes involved in real life and death struggles. According to the nature of events experienced, the child may be traumatised but also empowered. The twentieth-century concept of a 'protected' childhood may be lost, but there are compensations in the breaking down of the boundaries between childhood and adulthood, and the elevation of children to the status of equal partners with adults in the fight for survival.

In considering the therapeutic process involved in autobiographical writing, it is the resonance in the text of both trauma and empowerment which is of interest. In the next two chapters the reflection in selected texts of the lasting psychological effects of the Jewish, German and British experience of the loss of home or family members - whether real, threatened, temporary or permanent - will be discussed and compared in the light of the adult writer's current evaluation of the past, an evaluation reflected in the narrative framework or the child as focalizing character. How are the child's perceptions of parents' behaviour and responses to events presented, and is there a shift in the perspective of the adult narrator? Is the child viewed as a victim who has been denied a childhood - a problematic perspective for German writers - or are moments of excitement, adventure and humour to be

found in these narratives? Starting in this chapter with Jewish and German perspectives, a return to the work of Jewish writers will be followed by case studies of German autobiographical accounts in which relocation causes insecurity and a shift in family relationships. The impact on the child or adolescent's self-concept of these different states of exile as reflected in the texts is considerable. In this respect the given historical situation parallels a narrative device identified by John Stephens : 'Displacement or relocation are common strategies in children's fiction by which main characters are forced to come to terms with their own subjectivity through a new context of intersubjective relations' (Stephens, 1992, p.101). When the child's role within the family alters, identity is at stake, so that once again we see the author engaged in the creation of a developmental history for the present self. It is also significant - particularly for Kerr and Hannam - that their accounts encompass adolescence, a period of vulnerability when insecurity and the drive to conform with one's peers become especially intense.

Loss of home and country in the narratives of exiled Jewish writers

The loss of the home or the homeland through exile or rejection by the community and the alienation experienced in an unfamiliar culture lead to the child's search for a replacement, a new set of 'intersubjective relations'. The child wishes to belong to the community, to be accepted and to regain the security which had previously been an unquestioned fact of life. For those growing up in Germany, this attachment to home and country was intensified by the emphasis of NSDAP propaganda on the homeland: the resulting aversion to the word 'Heimat' by Gudrun Pausewang was noted in chapter three. For Jewish writers, questions of homeland and cultural identity are, of course, complex. The position of bilingual Jewish writers struggling to establish a coherent self-image when caught between three cultures - Jewish, German and British - has already been discussed in relation to a sense of ambivalence towards their own Jewish identity, and the part played by language in finding a social role within a new culture. The process of assimilation entails the rejection of the values of the old home in the desperate quest for a new one: domestic security is extended to

encompass the society itself in which the exiled child or adolescent seeks recognition.

In the second volume of Judith Kerr's trilogy, Anna complains that, as an exile, she sometimes feels like the 'Wandering Jew' (Kerr, 1975, p.39). Although their identity as Jews is the ultimate cause of 'lost' childhood, it is in fact the 'Wandering' element of this epithet - the homelessness and loss of routine family life - which so profoundly affects the child protagonists of the four novels now to be discussed. Each of the four has a German or Dutch as well as a Jewish identity. For Judith Kerr and Charles Hannam exile entails the loss of the German language, German culture and the country itself. Even Johanna Reiss and Ilse Koehn, who do not lose the country of their birth through exile during the period of the Third Reich, are alienated from their homeland as a result of the changed attitudes of its people towards Jews. It is significant that both these writers, who were still living in Holland and Germany at the end of the war, chose later to emigrate to America - in Ilse Koehn's case as late as 1958.

For Charles Hannam and Judith Kerr, alienation from their mother-tongue and the country of their birth was the consequence of the emergence and institutionalisation of anti-semitism. However, there are in their novels clear differences in the male and female responses, just as there were in the levels of commitment to adopting a new language. It is Karl Hartland, Hannam's younger self, and Max, the brother of Judith Kerr's alter ego Anna, who are quite single-minded in their determination to become English and deny their German background. For Karl this is linked with denying his Jewishness, while in Max's case there is no evidence in The Other Way Round (1975), the second volume of Judith Kerr's trilogy, that this is a particular concern: his preoccupation is with rejecting his Germanness. It is ironic that Max should be interned as an enemy alien since: '...he hated being forced back into some kind of German identity which he had long discarded' (p.70). After his release, Max tells Anna that he was not at all badly treated, but found it impossible to reconcile himself to the status of 'alien'. Since arriving in England he had experienced: 'a feeling of everything being suddenly absolutely right' (p.94). He could not agree with

those in the camp who were delighted to be spending the war in safety - he would far rather be with his friends in the British Army or Air Force. His next statement reveals the true cause of his anger: 'I'm sick to death of always having to be different!' (p.95) Max is desperate for a home, for recognition and for an end to his life as an alien and a refugee. He is classified as a foreign national and therefore denied a position in the armed forces until an Air Force Marshal, an acquaintance of Anna's employer, uses his influence to enable Max to train as a fighter pilot. The ultimate rejection by Max of his homeland is taking up arms against it, although the reader is left wondering what the psychological consequences of such an act might be.

Charles Hannam offers insights into his own evaluation of a similar process of denial in the preface to the second volume of his autobiographical account. He took the same approach as Max Kerr, making becoming an 'Englishman' his principal goal. In the course of the first volume Hannam describes the change in his attitude towards the political climate in Germany, a view which had remained uncritical despite personal experience of anti-semitism. Karl had regarded political events in Germany with passivity; he had not even demonstrated any particular hostility to the Stormtroopers who raided his family home. Already traumatised by his mother's death and his father's emotional distance, Karl accepts events as they unfold, and it is only in England that he begins to reassess the political situation in his lost homeland.

Once the decision has been made to work towards acceptance in a new homeland, old allegiances have to be discarded and denied, even those to the Jewish community. Hannam explains his hostility towards other Jewish refugees in England in the preface to Almost an Englishman (1979). The death of his mother and his father's unknown fate meant that he 'was always a guest, not quite a member of the family' (p.11). The use of 'family' to represent a sense of belonging to a community betrays Hannam's underlying emotional need which is carefully suppressed throughout the narrative. The strategic interests of establishing support networks demand an emotional numbness towards the humanity of others: 'He had to observe and judge the moods of those on whom he depended and that meant there

was little room for generosity or detachment in him' (p.11). Throughout both novels there is no place for sentimentality or self-pity; Hartland/Hannam has to rely entirely on his own resources and recognises that it is cunning and calculation which will enable him to survive. There is little evidence of the concern for others or the questioning of events to be found in the novels of female writers such as Judith Kerr, Ilse Koehn or, to a lesser extent, those of Johanna Reiss.

Karl soon comes to regard England as a benevolent place which grants equal rights to Jews; this is the 'family' he intends to join. He, like Max, is tired of being a refugee who has no rights and is never fully accepted. The headteacher's wife at his prep school discusses E.M.Forster with Karl, who immediately finds echoes of his own situation in the phrase 'Only connect': 'Karl desperately wanted to ' "connect" ' (Hannam, 1979, p.18). This desire for assimilation into the new culture accounts for the change in tactics from passivity to the pro-active quest to become an 'Englishman' and achieve the requisite fluency in the English language, as was noted in chapter three. Karl, too, wishes to join the British forces but finds it difficult to gain admission; this is eventually achieved at the cost of sacrificing his name. The official advice is that he would be shot as a traitor by the Germans if captured as a German with a German name. The paradox here lies in the confounding of the reader's expectations: Hartland does not demur, since the name change represents a welcome symbolic denial of his German and Jewish identities.

Although Judith Kerr's childhood self, Anna, begins to 'forget' the German language in her desire for acceptance, as a girl growing up during the war she is not able to channel her insecurity and homelessness into a dedicated drive towards a denial of past connections. While Max pursues his aim at Cambridge and in the RAF, Anna is preoccupied with anxiety about her parents and the threat of a German invasion: she does not make a conscious decision to deny her German-ness or to strive to become completely English. She shares Hannam's experience of rejection within the new culture, but does not allow these personal affronts to determine her future. Reflecting on her own image at the opening of The Other Way Round (1975), Anna

remembers that she had been dubbed a 'clever little refugee girl' (Kerr, 1975, p.2) at her school, and had soon realised that this was derogatory. Yet in the narrative this experience is dismissed in a few lines, as Anna is glad to be able to put it behind her. Nor does she allow herself to be disturbed by the inability of the English around her to understand the existence of anti-Nazi Germans. She tries to explain her family's situation to a 'tweedy' woman on the train she takes to visit Max in Cambridge. The woman's inability to understand why the family should want the English to win the war simply makes Anna feel weary. Anna wishes she had said that she came from London rather than Berlin, and is quite aware that: 'Max would never have made such a mistake' (p.32). Max, she knows, never loses sight of his ultimate aim to become 'English' and is far more careful when dealing with such situations. Anna's apparent passivity, in contrast to the shrewd waiting and watching of Karl Hartland or her brother's circumspection, results from a feeling of helplessness and uncertainty about her future. Her honesty and inner debate of the issues render her inactive: she does not share the male anxiety to demonstrate the extremes of conformity by avoiding the complexities of their situation. Anna knows that there are in any case fewer avenues open to a young woman: Max's path to Cambridge and the RAF is not possible for her, and the expectation that she should establish herself in the public domain is not so pressing.

By the end of When Hitler Stole Pink Rabbit (1971) Anna begins to wonder whether she will ever belong anywhere. As The Other Way Round opens, her sense of rootlessness has become even more acute, intensified by the introspection of the adolescent. Anna, the focalising character, is presented as a self-pitying victim in a state of symbolic orphanhood. She looks at herself in a mirror and comments on her appearance as being that of a servant or an orphan, someone with no control over her own destiny. Her position, she reflects, is that of a 'parcel' (p.2), passed on from school to family friends because her parents can no longer afford to support her. Loss of country and home have had a severe effect on her self-esteem, although a positive approach does resurface momentarily as Anna walks through London to visit her parents and enjoys a moment of pride that she is: 'penniless but coping triumphantly' (p.9). It is this fragile pride and

determination which eventually enable Anna to overcome her debilitating anxiety and make some of her own decisions about her future - that she will take a job to help support the family, and start an art evening class. It is ironic that during the attempted seduction of eighteen-year-old Anna by her art teacher, she ascribes her sense of insecurity in this new situation to her loss of country and culture. When invited to the teacher's flat she has no idea how to conduct herself: 'An English girl would know, she thought desperately, she would know exactly. Why couldn't she have grown up in one country like everyone else?' (p.226). She is convinced that her adolescent gaucheness is attributable solely to the gaps in her cultural initiation, an assumption which amuses the reader and throws some light on Judith Kerr's perspective on her self-absorbed youth.

Ilse Koehn (Mishling. Second Degree, 1977), who remained ignorant that she was a quarter Jewish until after the war, did not lose the country of her birth, although emigration is discussed by her Social Democrat family at one point. Leaving Germany is, however, out of the question for a working-class family with no money and no connections in other countries. Nevertheless, a kind of 'inner emigration' takes place as this anti-NSDAP family is alienated from political and social developments taking place around it. Ilse is well aware of the dangers of such a position: listening illegally with her father to radio broadcasts from London she remembers the terrifying voice of Goebbels talking about the 'enemy within'. Throughout the novel Ilse is acutely conscious of the duality in her life, knowing that she is separated from the majority of her countrymen and women by an unbridgeable political gulf. After Germany's invasion of Poland at the beginning of the war, everyone at school is talking about mobilisation and Polish atrocities. This is the exact opposite of what Ilse hears at home, yet the response to her attempt to discuss the conflict with her maternal grandmother is the customary homily on the complete uselessness of school education. Ilse's resentment at being constantly denied any explanation of political events and her family's attitudes is a central theme of the novel: 'And I thought stubbornly that I knew we were different, I was different, and I wished Oma would explain.' (p.36)

Ilse's dual allegiance is put to an even greater test when she is sent to evacuation camps and joins the Hitler Youth. Evacuation results in a profound sense of insecurity at the absence of her parents whose love she begins to doubt, since she is quite aware that they disagree with the NSDAP ideology promoted in the camps. At the first camp the narrator, Ilse Koehn, emphasises her alienation from the regime in her sarcastic use of the italicised third person pronoun when referring to the more enthusiastic camp members: '*They* actually check whether all folded garments are the same height and width - with a ruler!..... *they* ran, faster than any of us.' (p.49). Her father makes her promise never to accept official status; unfortunately Ilse's talent becomes evident and she is sent for special training. Luckily two of the trainers detect and sympathise with her unspoken attitude, and promise to ensure that she will not be made a leader. This alienation from the prevailing culture - an alienation fostered by the very family which sent her away - intensifies Koehn's homesickness. The parents' desire to protect their part-Jewish child by making her conform has lasting consequences, no doubt leading to the ten-year writing process required to produce Mischling. Second Degree. The return of repressed memory in the therapeutic act of writing involves the interrogation of a past during which the felt experience of alienation appeared to the child to have no rational cause.

Loss of family security

It is ironic that at the beginning of The Other Way Round Judith Kerr's Anna should compare her appearance to that of an orphan when she is, in fact, the only one of the four children in these autobiographical accounts by Jewish writers whose family remains intact. She is making a comparison between her sense of statelessness, the collapse of her parents' social status and financial security, and the real loss of family experienced by others. Anna is presented in the opening pages of this novel as a rather self-pitying adolescent unaware of - or not prepared to consider - the privilege of escape from the Third Reich. The use of the orphan image echoes Anna's greatest fear in the previous novel: the possibility of family separation. Her parents, liberal middle-class intellectuals, naturally discuss their emigration plans

with their children. On hearing their first proposal - that they should leave for England to make a new life and send for the children later - Anna is terrified. She even claims to have loved being a refugee, because so far the family has remained together and she had not really felt like one. Fear at the threatened loss of family security extends to a constant concern for the physical and emotional welfare of her parents: Anna as focalizing character registers and reflects family anxiety and neurosis. Her fear for her father's safety permeates the first novel. She hears the story of a famous anti-NSDAP professor who is arrested and kept as a dog in a prison camp. In an instance of the young child's literal interpretation of idiom of the kind already noted in Ursula Fuchs' Emma (1979), she imagines in a dream that the price which has in fact been 'put on her father's head' must refer to a similar torture involving heavy coins raining down upon him.

It is her father's vulnerability and impotence as a writer without a language to which Anna is particularly sensitive in the first two novels of the trilogy. During the family's stay in Paris he suffers nightmares for a time and Anna, not exactly a believer but willing to take a chance, prays fervently that she might have the nightmares for him. Her wish is granted when she dreams that a fearful creature (an enlarged version of her grandmother's spiteful but deceased dachshund) is about to attack her unless she takes a passing policeman's advice and counts its legs - in French! In her desperation to keep the family whole and stable, Anna has adopted the female role of taking on the sufferings of others, although the dream itself incorporates her own linguistic anxiety and the recurring image of the professor treated like a dog. This partial assumption of adulthood - parenting her father - is not, however, openly discussed within the family: she is not at this point operating on equal terms with her parents. It is only at the end of the second volume, The Other Way Round, that Anna is able to take on adult responsibilities in her own right and break the dependence on family security. She experiences the adolescent's sense of moving away from her parents and welcomes the emergence of a new aspect of herself: 'another secret, steely side, whose existence she had never even suspected' (Kerr, 1975, p.175). She is now able to make decisions about her future which fulfil some of her own personal needs. In the final volume of the trilogy, A

Small Person Far Away (1978) the adult narrator finally acknowledges her mother's role in keeping the family afloat, recognising that there were reasonable grounds for her mother's irritability and even her suicide attempt. A central preoccupation with family relationships continues into adulthood, as Judith Kerr reconstructs the narrative of her refugee childhood according to retrospective insights and a re-evaluation of the past.

Charles Hannam's portrayal of his childhood response to family distress in the first part of A Boy in Your Situation (1977) is restrained and objective, in keeping with the experience of a child who could find no emotional outlet in an all-male household. Karl's mother's early death and the minor anti-semitic persecution he suffers at school are described in a matter-of-fact way. His father seems distant and preoccupied with the family banking business, so that when he can no longer attend school Karl leads a very lonely and necessarily self-sufficient existence. There are, however, clear signs within the narrative that isolation and the loss of family life have caused some degree of psychic disturbance as the wounded child seeks security. He builds himself a womb-like 'camp' by the boiler in the cellar of the family home, then spends hours there alone: withdrawal is the only strategy he can adopt which fulfils the expectations of his sex and culture. When Karl is questioned by his grandfather about anti-semitism at school, we are offered a further insight into the mind of a child practised in denying emotion and inventing displacement activities: 'Karl felt he could not say anything. This was his problem and he had to deal with it in his own way. He felt that the answer might lie in magic.' (Hannam, 1977, p.72). His neurosis takes the form of ritualism in which a secret, magic word - as unmentionable as God's name - is used to bring destruction on his enemies. Karl puts this procedure into operation at school when he is the victim of a teacher's sarcasm, knocking the underside of his desk three times and repeating the magic word. This primitive ritualism and faith in the magical effects of language are desperate measures employed to harness the supernatural and regain control of fate through an act of vengeance, since in the real world Karl is the helpless subject of powerful emotional forces - grief and anger - which must be suppressed in the interests of conformity to an expected role.

Once exiled to England Karl eventually loses touch with his father and experiences a sense of relief at his escape from what had become a claustrophobic domestic situation. His relationship with his sister is not particularly close; he has no desire to go to America with her and her new husband because he feels 'stifled' by family. Although he does at times experience sadness, Karl is now free to pursue his chosen path - acceptance as an Englishman. It is paradoxical that while rejecting his own family and past, Karl is nevertheless quite desperate to belong to the extended family of the English nation, hoping to become a 'member of the family' rather than a 'guest' (Hannam, 1979, p.11). It is a replacement family which he seeks, whether at his prep school, in the army or a through a new nationality. Within the narrative framework of Hannam's novels, Karl does not become the seismograph of family tension represented by Judith Kerr's *Anna*: the central theme for the effectively orphaned Hannam is the profiling of his own cultural identity. The urgency with which a new identity is sought results both from the loss of family and the social expectations of the male. Hannam apologises for the resulting ruthless rejection of his fellow refugees in the preface to the second volume, *Almost an Englishman* (1979), yet it is significant in considering the open-ended and incomplete nature of therapeutic writing that he makes no direct reference to his family.

The mother in Johanna Reiss' autobiographical novel set in wartime Holland, *The Upstairs Room* (1972), also dies early, although in Annie's case the first family and home is replaced by another. Like Judith Kerr's *Anna*, young Annie - aged seven at the outbreak of war - has to take on some responsibility for her parents. Although the focalizing character is a very young child confused by the social and political changes resulting from German occupation, she is nevertheless represented as capable of taking her share of family responsibility and repressing her own anxieties. Annie realises the importance of keeping certain items of news from her sick mother when visiting her in hospital, and her reaction to her sister Sini's announcement that their mother is going to die is deliberately underplayed by the adult narrator: 'I found I wasn't surprised' (p.39). Annie is temporarily desensitized to personal pain which has been overtaken by the urgency of

plans to send the sisters into hiding, a move precipitated by the tightening restrictions of anti-semitism. Annie and Sini are taken by their father to a farm where they spend the next three years hidden in an upstairs room. It is not long before they come to regard Johan, his wife Dientje and Johan's mother Opoe as their new family, becoming very distressed when they have to move to another farm for a short time while Johan is away. When Holland is liberated at the end of the war, both the sisters and their adopted family are reluctant to part, delaying the girls' return home by several weeks. The theme of The Journey Back (1976), a sequel to the first novel, is the failed attempt to rebuild the family immediately after the war, a consequence of the disintegration of family ties which had become evident in the postscript to the first novel. We are told in this postscript that Annie's sisters, Rachel (who had been in hiding elsewhere) and Sini, soon left home, while Annie herself eventually emigrated to America, taking with her Opoe's lace cap - a symbol of the attachment transferred from her own blood relatives. In the final section of the postscript, Johanna Reiss briefly describes an important moment in her family history. She takes her own children, for whom the first novel was initially written, to meet her Dutch protectors and substitute family at the farm.

This displacement of family affection from actual parents to 'protectors' was not unusual in cases where Jewish children were literally hidden or 'adopted' by non-Jewish families during the war years. In several of the retrospective accounts collected by Jane Marks in The Hidden Children: The Secret Survivors of the Holocaust (1993) there is an acknowledgement that the replacement family had become the primary one in the child's emotional life. At the end of the war one 'hidden child', Sanne Spetter, was taken from the Christian family which had made her feel 'secure and loved and comfortable' (Marks, 1995, p.93) and, after a period in a Jewish home for children waiting to be sent to Palestine, returned to her real father and his new wife. Her life with them was uneasy, she longed to visit her protectors and felt desperately unhappy at leaving Holland - the home of her wartime family - in order to emigrate to the United States. Marie-Claire Rakowski was also taken from a loving Catholic family by a Jewish organisation to spend years in foster homes in Switzerland and the United States regretting the

loss of her 'hiding' parents: 'the only people I could think of as my real parents' (p.105). Johanna Reiss, like these other hidden children, found affection and security in her new home at a time of great emotional need, despite all the dangers of possible discovery. Acceptance of the guilt experienced at transferring affection has only been possible many decades later, by telling the story: many of Jane Marks' interviewees had never previously given an account of their childhoods, even to their own children. For Johanna Reiss the writing of an account of the period for her own children provided the opportunity to revisit repressed memories about which other hidden children had maintained their silence.

Ilse Koehn's loss of family security is compounded by her family's decision to keep her in ignorance of its causes, judging this course of action to be in the child's best interests. It is not only her Jewish blood which is kept secret: family separation and mental illness are never explained. Ilse's maternal grandparents, the Derecks, persuade her parents to divorce because her father's mother was Jewish. This attempt by Ilse's forceful grandparents to protect their own child and granddaughter results in their daughter's nervous breakdown. After a period in a sanatorium, Ilse's mother returns to live with her parents, and Ilse eventually joins them. This series of events is utterly incomprehensible to Ilse; her father's tears and reassurance that both parents love her cannot alleviate her grief and anxiety. Snatches of overheard conversation, always curtailed by admonishments not to 'talk in front of the child' (Koehn, 1977, p.15), offer unsatisfactory clues. Throughout the narrative Ilse asks questions which are not answered, a process which serves the adult author's attempts to interrogate and understand the past. Even though Ilse Koehn is now in full possession of the facts about her family's behaviour (according to the introductory passage in the Penguin edition: 'Ilse learned the truth about her past when she was fifteen years old.' p.1), the dialogue between the questioning and answering selves - as discussed in chapter two - continues to fulfil a dual function: the recreation of the child's helplessness and the adult's need to alleviate lingering childhood pain.

Ilse's insecurity intensifies when she is sent away to an evacuation camp in

Czechoslovakia; she has to reassure herself that she is loved, and that an attempt is not being made to abandon her. When thinking of the Dereck family home in Leubars near Berlin, Ilse becomes aware of her mother's nervousness and the domination of her grandparents. She suddenly becomes convinced that there is no place for her in the family any more: all the adults are preoccupied with their work and no longer need her. At night she lies in bed fearing the next air-raid and adopts a foetal position: 'I shut my eyes, pull the cover over my head and roll myself into a tight, lonely ball' (Koehn, 1977, p.62). The use of the present tense here - and throughout the narrative - both makes the suffering appear more immediate and authentic and, once again, serves the adult author's purpose in bringing the childhood self into the present, allowing her to 'relive' reconstructed events and the accompanying emotions. The striving for physical security represented by an act of self-comforting foetal withdrawal is also manifested in Ilse's longing for close contact with her father, but - like Charles Hannam's father - his anxiety for the family's future makes him seem distant. This loss of support and comfort affects relationships beyond the family: Ilse even begins to lose faith in her own judgement of people. She is met on her return from special training by two teachers from the evacuation camp, but a 'little devil's voice' (p.146) tries to prevent her from accepting this gesture as a sign that they care about her. This is reminiscent of Charles Hannam's need carefully to gauge the moods of those on whom he depends, leading to a suppression of concern for others. Children whose survival is at stake, who are confused and anxious at the loss of family security, inevitably become wary, suspicious and extremely cautious in placing their trust.

Lost childhood

All four Jewish writers discussed so far manifest the primary concern of any child in extreme circumstances that family unity must be maintained at all costs, or that if this is already irretrievable, a replacement must be sought. An element of cunning pragmatism becomes necessary for a time in order to survive, entailing a denial of emotional response which takes a range of forms in the texts under discussion. These are children forced to grow up

before their time, to take on the responsibility of an adult in absorbing their parents' anxiety or accepting the loss of family life and emotional comfort. The adult writer's representation of this childhood is governed by personal need in seeking an understanding of questionable behaviour (Charles Hannam) or sympathy for childhood suffering and premature adulthood. Johanna Reiss makes a hesitating admission of self-pity in the record of a discussion of her aims in writing The Upstairs Room in the 1991 Longman edition: 'There might have been a dash of self-pity behind it and a good dose of needing to look at that time of my life again' (Reiss, 1991, p.6). She explains in this introduction to the novel her decision to write for her own children once they reached the age at which she herself had to go into hiding and was denied opportunities to 'run and play'. The contrast between her children's lives and her own childhood is extreme: in writing for them she is writing for the deprived child within herself. There are, however, few signs of the acknowledged self-pity in the narrative, which consists largely of dialogue, questions, and briefly outlined developments. Annie as focalizing character reflects in her questions and the logic of the young child's responses to events - her pleasure at being sufficiently grown-up to wear the yellow star, for instance - a sense of alienation from the irrational inhumanity which has made the accepted norms of twentieth century childhood an impossibility.

Within Judith Kerr's trilogy there is an ambivalence in the presentation of the childhood self as victim. Anna does not allow her mood of self-pity and symbolic orphanhood at the opening of the second volume, The Other Way Round (1975), to continue for too long. However, in the first volume When Hitler Stole Pink Rabbit (1971), the pink rabbit itself symbolises the aspects of Anna's childhood stolen by Hitler and his regime. It is hard for her and for Max to have to leave their toys in the Berlin flat which had been home, and at times Anna thinks of herself as having had 'a difficult childhood' (Kerr, 1971, p.32). There is some irony in the description of Anna's deliberation on how she might turn her plight to some future advantage. On reading her collection of biographies for children entitled They Grew to be Great, she notices with satisfaction that all the famous people included had 'difficult' childhoods. Exile might, she believes, be her passport to future success, a

view clearly influenced by her class, education and social expectations. By the end of the novel Anna herself recognises the absurdity of any claim to a truly difficult childhood, accepting contentedly that she will never be famous. The adult's assessment of the situation is apparent in placing her own childhood experience in context. In a BBC Radio 4 interview (8th. May 1995) Judith Kerr acknowledged her own guilt at any consideration of herself as victim. When thinking of those Jews who did not escape the holocaust, she accepted that her own 'little difficulties' meant nothing. Yet to the child at the time those 'difficulties' - loss of security, home and language - were certainly not inconsiderable in emotional and existential terms: the consequences for the child's and adolescent's self-image and developing identity are particularly evident in the last two volumes of the trilogy. There is a tension within the text of the trilogy between the expression of self-pity - particularly at the opening of the second volume The Other Way Round - and an awareness that this suffering is relatively unimportant.

Anna's lost childhood home is represented by her pink rabbit; it is also to their toys - a doll and a teddy bear - that Ilse Koehn and her friend turn for comfort while uttering 'children's curses' (Koehn, 1977, p.105) when chastised for not cleaning their room thoroughly in an evacuation camp. These last vestiges of childhood symbolise Ilse's emotional needs and her awareness of what has been lost. The lost paradise of childhood also offers solace to Ilse as she hides in an underground shelter during the last terrible days of the bombardment of Berlin. In her vision a boy and girl are playing with a ball on a lawn, with a beach nearby: 'Suddenly it's as if someone has stabbed me, the thought that a scene like this is actually taking place somewhere in the world' (p.213). In Koehn's narrative the tone is that of breathless confusion rather than sustained self-pity: the child narrator constantly questions her abandonment and lost childhood rather than passively accepting it. Even when she has been told of her parents' divorce Ilse's response is briefly recorded as a mixture of grief and anger when they refuse to offer any explanation: 'I am left standing there alone with tears streaming down my face. I don't understand. I don't understand.' (p.18). The passive construction expresses her powerlessness, yet there is an underlying determination to find answers, to understand. There is no

sentimentality or further reflection on Ilse's situation at this point: events move quickly in this novel. The reader is not so much invited to pity Ilse Koehn's lost childhood as to relive it in her use of the present-tense and first person narrative: she, too, is writing for the hurt and confused child within herself by re-experiencing past pain as part of a therapeutic process.

'Inner exile', evacuation and post-war migration

The regime which caused the flight from Germany of the Kerr family and Charles Hannam, the confinement of Johanna Reiss, and the family traumas which haunt the narrative of Ilse Koehn, was also responsible for the control and domination of German childhood and family life. NSDAP youth movements and the idealisation of the family may have offered excitement and a coherent identity, but the subsequent historical judgement of that era has resulted for many who were children at the time in the denial of complicity, and consequently a retrospective 'loss' of childhood. The guilt which underpins recent autobiographical writing by Germans who experienced a Nazi childhood has been a major theme of this study. This is a guilt which creates an ambivalence towards childhood memories: a fondly nostalgic account of days spent in the Hitler Youth would simply be unacceptable to a contemporary audience. The impossibility of a romantic and positive view of childhood in the tradition of Wordsworth's The Prelude is further complicated for some writers by a changing perception of their parents' political stance. Family stability is undermined when Margarete Hannsmann (1982), proud member of the BDM, has a change of heart and begins to rescue the literary works which her father - an ardent NSDAP supporter - has been detailed to destroy. At the opposite end of the political spectrum, Max von der Grün's (1979) father is a member of a resistance group who refuses to allow his son to join the Hitler Youth, although Max himself wishes to join his peers in the organisation and his mother sees the advantages of membership for her son's safety.

The consequences of the state control of childhood for family relationships were sometimes complex, especially in a climate where the family was idealised in propaganda and Mother's Crosses were awarded to women who had large families. A distorted and unrealistic romanticism embodied in the concept of the 'Aryan' family undoubtedly had its effect on many who rejected or could not hope to match that image. The emotional repercussions of the Third Reich which permeate autobiographical accounts include an ambivalence towards the regime within families, as well as a retrospective disquiet at the behaviour of the childhood self and the trauma caused by family separation or migration within the shifting boundaries of the Third Reich. For purposes of economy, I have selected a range of representative texts to illustrate different aspects of 'exile', and the author's stance as revealed in the chosen narrative perspectives and stylistic effects. The novels of Max von der Grün (1979) and Barbara Gehrts (1975) illustrate contrasting responses to inner exile; Christine Nöstlinger's (1973) idiosyncratic approach to evacuation appears at first sight to highlight its positive aspects, while the underlying didactic intention of Gudrun Pausewang (1989) informs and shapes her account of enforced exile at the close of the war.

Inner exile

For children whose parents were active in the German resistance to the NSDAP, there was inevitably a tension between family loyalty and peer pressure, leading to the impossibility of being at ease with the wider community already noted in Ilse Koehn's novel. Max von der Grün (1979) describes the taunts he endured at school because he did not belong to the Hitler Youth: 'ich kam mir schon wie ein Aussenseiter vor' (I really felt like an outsider, p.113). This is presented as a brief statement of fact. There is no hint of resentment or self-pity in an account written by the adult von der Grün, a committed socialist who is at pains to present his young audience with an objective, documentary account of the Third Reich in which the autobiographical strand appears to be of relatively minor importance. Emotional response and psychological nuances are not dwelt upon in a

historical narrative where the narrator's self-respect is preserved in his apparent honesty.

A contrasting narrative perspective is evident in Barbara Gehrts' Nie wieder ein Wort davon (1975) - the family's united resistance to the Third Reich is reflected in the children's mockery of the language of the regime already discussed in the previous chapter. Max von der Grün's father denies him the attractions of belonging to the Hitler Youth; the Gehrts children reluctantly join only at their father's insistence in the interests of their own safety: 'Ich machte mir nichts aus dem BDM-Dienst, genausowenig wie Hannes aus der HJ' (I thought as little of service in the German Girls' League as Hannes did of the Hitler Youth, p.14). There is no real conflict within the family or necessity for ambivalence towards childhood, since the family is united in its opposition to the NSDAP. In contrast to von der Grün's account, it is the fortunes of the family rather than historical events which provide the narrative momentum for Gehrts' alter ego, Hanna. Anger at the execution of her father and pain at the death of her conscripted brother as a result of a neglected ear infection are the traumas Gehrts revisits in her account. Her family and a close-knit group of friends appear to form a self-sufficient community, so that little attention is paid in the text to the social tensions of inner exile. It is only at the end of the novel, when Hanna and her mother flee the bombing of Berlin and arrive in a tiny, peaceful village on the North Sea coast, that Hanna acknowledges her role as outsider: 'Nur in der Schule merkte ich, dass ich aus einer anderen Welt kam.' (It was only at school that I realised that I came from another world, p.156). As a member of a family involved in resistance to the Third Reich she has long been an outsider: this role is only acknowledged once the family unit has been destroyed and Hanna and her mother leave the family home. In a new setting, as exiles, they have to regain contact with the wider community. The reader's response to the majority of the German population which did not share the views of the German resistance is mediated by Hanna as focalizing character, a role highlighted during an uneasy moment when she is asked by the teacher in class whether her deceased father - an airforce officer - died in battle. At her qualified reply: 'Nein, aber trotzdem tot' (No, but he's dead all the same, p.157) the teacher looks up and all heads turn in her direction, while Hanna

wonders whether her voice has betrayed her emotion at this question. For her, inner exile has resulted in the destruction of the family, a loss and injustice which has alienated her from those outside her close family circle. Although both von der Grün and Gehrts claim a didactic purpose for their writing, Gehrts' retrospective narrative is shot through with personal grief and anger at a devastated childhood, whereas von der Grün's unemotional autobiographical strand is simply the focal point of an explanatory historical account. Parallels can be drawn with the male/female difference in response to exile exemplified by Judith Kerr on the one hand, and her brother and Charles Hannam on the other. The contrast between the focus on the private and personal as opposed to the wider social and political issues - or the need to establish oneself socially in the country of exile - is evident in the work of these writers.

States of exile: youth camps and evacuation

Children who belonged to families engaged in inner exile from or active resistance to the Third Reich could also become involved in physical exile from their homes as a result of their expedient membership of NSDAP youth groups. In Mischling. Second Degree, Ilse Koehn, belonging as she does to a part-Jewish and anti-NSDAP family, discovers that her sense of 'inner exile' becomes more acute both when she is compelled to join the 'Jungmädel'² by her anxious family and in 1941 when she is evacuated to a camp in Czechoslovakia as allied bombing raids increase. Physical exile and separation from the family lead to an intensification of emotional insecurity and of alienation from a community represented by the rigid evacuation camp hierarchy. These camps³, situated in commandeered hotels, hostels or castles (Koehn, 1977) and run on military lines, constitute one of the two major forms of evacuation described in recent German autobiographical texts. The second is the haphazard flight of families from target areas to friends or relatives or, at the close of the war, to whatever

² Branch of the Hitler Youth for girls aged 10-14 - see Appendix 1 for a breakdown of NSDAP youth organisations.

³ The entire programme was entitled Kinderlandverschickung (KVL), meaning the evacuation of children to the countryside). In Berlin, for example, the first transport of 1,000 children (including Ilse Koehn) took place in 1941.

shelter could be found (Fuchs, 1979, Nöstlinger, 1973, Zitelmann, 1991). In addition, young people were sent away from home in order to sustain the war effort in a number of ways: adolescent boys attended military training camps (Hannes is sent for glider pilot training in Gehrts), while girls were conscripted into the Arbeitsdienst (labour service) programme. This often entailed spending time in camps in the eastern territories of the Third Reich, supporting the wives of local farmers who were away on military service.

Sybil Gräfin Schönfeldt describes just such a period of Arbeitsdienst undertaken in Upper Silesia in Sonderappell: 1945 - ein Mädchen berichtet (literally: Special Roll Call: 1945 - a girl reports, 1979), an autobiographical account of the last year of the war. The narrative perspective is that of growing disillusionment with National Socialism, which is clearly signalled even at the beginning of the novel. On their first night in the Reichsarbeitsdienst camp Charlotte, the central figure in the narrative, and the other new arrivals are addressed by the camp leader. Charlotte, as focalizing character, encourages the reader to adopt a critical stance towards what is to come in an interior monologue anticipating the pattern and tenor of the leader's speech: she has been listening to such exhortations since she first joined the Jungmädels at the age of ten. The camp leader lists duties accomplished by Arbeitsdienst units such as replacing searchlight batteries and clearing rubble from bombed cities, then proceeds to utter 'die wohlvertrauten Redensarten' (the familiar expressions, Schönfeldt, 1979, p.31): 'Erziehung zur Volksgemeinschaft' 'Vorbildung zur künftigen deutschen Frau und Mutter' (education for the national community, training for the future German wife and mother, p.31). Separation from the family and the investment of emotional and physical energy in the nation's future were regarded as the sacred duty of these girls, a preparation for their role as the founders of the families which would ensure the state's continued existence. The irony in the narrator's epithet 'familiar expressions', and the direct quotation of expressions which seem ridiculous to a modern audience, foreshadow Charlotte's disenchantment with such nationalistic goals and ensure that the young reader is aware of the adult narrator's position.

The highly organised evacuation and labour service camps promoting

National Socialist ideology which Ilse Koehn and Sybil Gräfin Schönfeldt describe with some ambivalence, contrast sharply with the uncertain and often hand-to-mouth existence of families fleeing bombing raids. In her novel Emma (1979), Ursula Fuchs relates her own experience - the years spent in exile from the family home - in the story of her alter ego, Julia. While billeted with rural families or staying with relatives, it is Julia's doll Emma which becomes an indispensable representation of domestic security throughout the long period of an uncertain and nomadic existence. Julia is represented as a bewildered and insecure victim of events. Her inability either to understand or respond is reflected in the key scene when she waves goodbye to her friend's Jewish grandmother who is being taken away by two men in a black car. Julia is eight or nine at this point in the narrative, the same age as Christine Nöstlinger's Christel in the autobiographical novel Maikäfer flieg! (1973, published in English as Fly Away Home), yet the position embraced by the adult narrator and the representation of the child's point-of-view towards exile from the home could hardly be more different. Nöstlinger, winner of the international Hans Christian Andersen medal⁴ and highly popular Austrian children's author, presents her childhood self as independent and pro-active, adopting an overtly humorous and positive approach to childhood wartime experience unusual in the German texts encountered in this study. It is therefore important to examine her novel in some detail to discover how the adult narrator signals both the underlying emotional repercussions of the particular state of exile she experienced and her current ideological perspective.

Nöstlinger takes a characteristically robust view of the absurd and extraordinary circumstances in which she found herself as a child. She and her working-class family - her father is a deserter suffering from shrapnel wounds - flee the bombed and burnt-out city of Vienna at the close of the war, finding refuge in an elegant suburban villa. They are joined by the owner's wealthy daughter-in-law, Frau von Braun, and her children, as well as a detachment of Russian soldiers who make the villa and its grounds their headquarters. This unlikely grouping could only occur in wartime, and - to complete the incongruous scenario - young Christel (Nöstlinger's childhood

⁴ Awarded by the International Board on Books for Young People (IBBY) to a living author whose work has made an important contribution to children's literature.

self) falls in love with Cohn, the ugly, smelly and short-sighted Russian cook. Changing relationships and daily events at the villa are observed through Christel's eyes: the developing relationship between Frau von Braun and the Russian major is noted but not deemed worthy of comment, while dangerous and frightening episodes - for example, the drunken Russian sergeant waving a loaded machine-gun around in the kitchen - are related in a matter-of-fact manner. The narrative style of Christel as focalizing character turns this scene into a farcical episode, as she and her sister accidentally stumble into the kitchen where no-one has dared to move. Sentences are short and to the point as significant and threatening information is combined with banal detail: 'Die Maschinenpistole hielt der ordengeschmückte Feldwebel. Er sass am Küchentisch. Auf dem Tisch war eine Weinflasche. Der Feldwebel starrte mich an.' (The sergeant was wearing all his medals and holding a machine gun. He was sitting at the kitchen table. There was a wine bottle on the table. The sergeant was staring at me. p.112). Christel's fear is real and she admits to being a coward, yet fear too is conveyed by means of a lugubrious image: as she stares at it the sergeant's face disintegrates into separate features including a stubby chin and ears which stick out. The child's eye fixes on details which create a comic effect, so that a balance is created in the reader's response between fear and nervous humour, and it is made clear by the adult writer that Christel's fear is not out of control. Unlike Ursula Fuchs' Julia, she is not simply a powerless witness: a determination to end the siege compels her to move towards her parents to tell them where she has hidden the pistol stolen from the same sergeant while he lay in a drunken stupour the night before.

In this scene, as throughout the novel, Christel seeks to take command of the situation despite her fear. She is not presented as victim and there is no trace of self-pity in the narrative: Christel - while aware of her own inadequacies - remains defiantly independent, acting impulsively and courting danger quite deliberately. In addition to the pistol, she steals food for the family from a neighbouring house, cigarettes from members of the SS, and runs away to visit her beloved grandparents by hiding in Cohn's cart. Christel takes charge of her own destiny with little regard for authority, rules, or the dangers perceived by adults. The adult Christine Nöstlinger's

anti-authoritarianism and respect for children's rights⁵ are represented in the narrative point-of-view of her younger self, a child whose independent spirit was able to thrive in the chaos of wartime conditions. Even the ruins of the family's bombed home offer fascinating possibilities for investigation: 'Ich stocherte im Ziegelstaub, zerbröselte Mauern zwischen den Fingern, riss Holzsplitter von Balken...' (I poked about in the brick dust, felt walls crumble between my fingers and tore splinters from wooden beams... p.22)

Evacuation is an adventure: the only disappointment in the von Braun's villa is the opulently furnished drawing room which: 'war zu überhaupt nichts gut' (was of no use at all, p.32). The first person narrative constantly amuses as the audience reads the situation through Christel's eyes. The presence of precious and delicate furniture rules out the use of the room as a playspace, which most children would recognise as a provocative contrast to her parents' likely response to such luxury.

Christel's narrative is complemented by the succinct and often ironic chapter headings summarising events already discussed in chapter two. Here we recognise the adult narrator's voice offering a wider perspective on events experienced in childhood. Nöstlinger also indicates within the text that the domestic instability and social consequences of the war were not quite so unproblematic for her childhood self as might at first appear to be the case. Christel does, it is true, appear to fear a return to normality: her unspoken response to her mother's admonition that she must stop swearing because normal times and school will return is revealing: 'Ich schwor mir, nie damit aufzuhören und nie mehr in die Schule zu gehen und alles dazu zu tun, dass die Zeiten nicht mehr normal würden.' (I swore never to stop and never to go to school and to do everything I could to stop things returning to normal, p.156). Her anxiety is focussed on a future loss of freedom and the necessity of conforming and returning to school; she does not at this point consider the implications of peacetime for the family's safety. Nevertheless, the effects of wartime upheaval are apparent in Christel's relationship with Cohn, the Russian cook. Her love for him is explained in terms of the *absence* of war: 'Ich liebte den Koch, weil er kein Krieg war. Nichts an ihm

⁵ This is reflected in many of Nöstlinger's novels in the outsider and non-conformist characters befriended by children: Christel's friendship with the Russian cook is reminiscent of the relationship between Konrad and the eccentric Mrs. Bartolotti in *Konrad* (1975).

war Krieg, gar nichts. Er war ein Soldat und hatte kein Gewehr und keine Pistole.' (I loved the cook because he was not the war. He had nothing at all to do with the war. He was a soldier without a rifle or a pistol, p.94). Cohn talks to her about daily life in Leningrad: his workshop with the damp walls; the woman in the green headscarf who sells him apples; the family whose son is studying medicine and Cohn's aunt, a fat woman with warts on her nose who dries out goose fat in her loft. These scenes of neighbourhood life in peacetime appear to comfort Christel who soon believes that she knows the whole of Leningrad, an error pointed out by the adult narrator. As the Russian soldiers indulge in bouts of drunkenness, conduct flirtations or indeed mistreat Cohn, Christel seeks in his presence the stability of an unassuming personality and the comforting vision of the ordered existence in Leningrad to which he hopes eventually to return. She rebels against the re-establishment of normality, yet that is precisely what she seeks in her relationship with Cohn.

Christel's desire for a state of equilibrium has led to the formation of attachments both to Cohn and the motley inhabitants of the villa, to the extent that she refuses to leave at the end of the novel. She is furious that the family cannot stay after the departure of the Russian troops, and plans to move into Cohn's quarters, cook in his kitchen and sleep in his bed. As the family finally departs, Christel ignores her mother's advice to take a last look, and the novel closes with the line: 'Ich schloss die Augen' (I closed my eyes, p.199); she cannot bear to look back at what had become her new home. The villa and its inhabitants represented a replacement for lost security, a community in which she can play an important role, just as Max Kerr and Charles Hannam seek confirmation of their identities in becoming 'Englishmen'. In Christel's case the attachment to Cohn is both a substitute for and extension of the relationship with her father which lies at the heart of the novel and has been subtly altered by wartime circumstances. The relationship between father and daughter in the accounts by Margarete Hansmann (1982) and Gudrun Pausewang (1989 and 1990) was dominated by the NSDAP fanaticism of both fathers, whereas Nöstlinger's father was an unwilling participant in the war whose patriarchal power is diminished as a result. Her father's desertion and injuries have caused a necessary

abdication of family responsibility on his part: he frequently has to hide, to avoid drawing attention to himself and to conserve his physical strength which is limited by the suppurating wounds on his legs. He is in constant danger of discovery by German troops in the early part of the novel; Christel is quite aware of the penalty for desertion and is for once rendered silent by her fear of the consequences (p.29). There are moments when Christel adopts the role of protector, for example by keeping secret her knowledge of the route through an underground river possibly taken by Frau von Braun's missing son: she knows that her father would mount a search with dire results for his injured legs.

This necessarily ineffectual father is viewed throughout the narrative through Christel's eyes; his gentle support, understanding and even admiration of his daughter's recklessness are repeatedly demonstrated. He even accepts his daughter's angry criticism of his role as a combatant during the Russian campaign in a scene where the emotionally charged nature of the relationship is revealed, and Christel's ambivalence towards her father's involvement in the war surfaces. When one Russian soldier begins to shoot at the chandeliers Christel is delighted at the spectacle and has to be dragged by her mother to the attic. Her father's fear for her safety results in an uncharacteristic outburst of anger at her lack of caution. Christel's furious response is directed at his own often-stated desire for the end of the war and the defeat of the Nazis by the Russians. The underlying inconsistency of this position - fighting against the Russian army while desiring its victory - is the theme of her final outburst that *she* has no need to hide: "Ich war ja nicht in Russland! Ich war ja kein deutscher Soldat! Ich habe ja keine Russen totgeschossen, ich nicht!" ("I didn't go to Russia! I wasn't a German soldier! I didn't shoot any Russian soldiers, not me!" p.89). The range of emotion and response expressed at this point is complex yet deftly handled in the simplicity of the narrative style and the comic touches which lighten the tone of the passage. Christel's outraged mother moves to hit her daughter but fails to reach her target in the confined attic; her father forbids any punishment and concedes to his daughter's argument. Christel herself maintains an air of injured defiance while regretting the attack on her beloved father: 'In Wirklichkeit schämte ich mich. Weil ich meinem Vater die

totgeschossenen Russen vorgehalten hatte. Das war nicht edel von mir. Ich schloss die Augen' (In fact I was ashamed. Because I had blamed my father for shooting Russians. That was mean. I closed my eyes, p.89). Once again extreme emotion is represented by an apparent denial of response; an exclusion of the outside world by closing one's eyes and withdrawing.

Nöstlinger presents in this scene a cameo of the family's relationships as affected by wartime experience. At another level, there is a comment on wider political issues: why has Christel's father taken part in the Russian campaign when he appears to have little time for NSDAP policies? Because the child has been chosen as focalising character, historical and political perspectives are not foregrounded. Nevertheless Nöstlinger ensures that their presence in the narrative is both consistent with the primary concerns of the child narrator (criticism of the Russian campaign and NSDAP anti-Russian propaganda is implicit in Christel's emotional attack on her father) and reflects her own current ideology. National guilt at the atrocities committed during the Russian campaign and in concentration camps may not be a major theme of the novel, yet there are indications of family complicity with NSDAP policy and the author's perspective is evident in the construction of the narrative. Knowledge of the fate of the Jews is described as reaching Christel through her maternal uncle. She has witnessed an argument between her mother and SS uncle who joked that Jews in concentration camps exit via the chimney. Reporting this argument to Herr Wawra, caretaker of the neighbouring villa belonging to a disappeared Jewish family, Christel receives the response: "Schöne Onkel hast du, pfui Deibel" (' " Ugh - some uncle you've got ! p.42). When the Russian troops first arrive Christel is carried screaming and kicking into the cellar by her father. She finds it hard to explain her own violent response, attributing it finally to two possible causes: her fear of cellars and the touching sight of Herr Wawra still waiting at the gate for the return of his Jewish employer. The perspective remains that of the child fleetingly aware of emotional sensations and associations. However, the assignation of a childhood temper tantrum to an underlying unease at the fate of the Jews - albeit hesitantly - serves the purpose of the adult author who feels bound to comment on this issue: it is impossible to know whether the child actually

responded to Herr Wawra's plight in such a way. The atrocities committed during the Third Reich impinge only marginally on the child's life, but the adult narrator cannot ignore this issue altogether. The construction of a childhood identity in accordance with current ideologies is reflected in the creation of the narrative.

A reassessment of the past in terms of national guilt is, however, peripheral to the development of the central relationships of the novel summarised in its subtitle: Mein Vater, das Kriegsende, Cohn und ich (literally: My father, the end of the war, Cohn and me). The sequel to Maikäfer flieg! has a similarly revealing title: Zwei Wochen im Mai: Mein Vater, der Rudi der Hansi und ich (literally: Two weeks in May: My father, Rudi, Hansi and me, 1981). 'Father' once again takes first place in the subtitle: in this novel Christel's father, the human being in whom she had placed all her love and trust, destroys her first love affair with Hansi during the May of the third year of peacetime. Nöstlinger prefaces the novel with a reflection on the effects of wartime insecurity on her own development: 'Den Krieg hatte ich gut gekannt, im Krieg hatte ich mich ausgekannt. Den Frieden musste ich erst lernen, und ich war keine gute Schülerin im Frieden -Lernen' (I was familiar with the war - I knew where I was in wartime. I had to learn about peacetime, and I was a bad pupil, Nöstlinger, 1981, p.5). Childhood has been irrevocably altered - in some respects positively - by war, so that in this second novel a coming to terms with peacetime is the background to a devastating personal disillusionment. A shift in the relationship between Christel and her father set in motion by wartime circumstance reaches an absolute turning point. A period of readjustment for a child who had adapted only too well to wartime conditions is marked by a personal tragedy. Writing for a child audience has provided the opportunity for a therapeutic reconstruction of the past which continues to haunt the adult author, its pain only too evident in the last lines of Zwei Wochen im Mai. The author recounts the question she put to her father many years after he engineered the departure of her boyfriend: she wanted to know why. His reply that he acted in her best interests is not accepted by the adult narrator: 'Aber das glaubte ich nicht. Bis heute glaube ich es ihm nicht. Er hat es einfach nicht ausgehalten, dass ich jemand anderen genauso stark liebe wie ihn. Nur das hat er nicht zugelassen.' (But I

didn't believe him. To this day I don't believe it. He simply couldn't stand the fact that I loved someone else as much as I loved him. He couldn't allow that.' p.204). The act of writing a humorous and compelling narrative of life in the immediate post-war years has a particular therapeutic purpose as a means of expressing the continuing emotional impact of a failed relationship rather than an act of reconciliation. Nöstlinger's autobiographical texts combine realism in the presentation of the post-war period with the expression of personal trauma and fleeting indications of the author's current ideological position.

States of exile: travelling westward

Throughout continental Europe at the close of the war mass migration was commonplace, with many children travelling alone. The situation in Germany was further complicated by the fact that each of the four allied powers established separate regimes; the behaviour of the advancing allied armies varied and evacuated German citizens seeking to return to their homes or those fleeing to the west had to negotiate border crossings. Advancing allied armies and hundreds of thousands of refugees crossed the country, so that suddenly within Germany the war arrived on the domestic scene.

The women's diaries collected by Susanne zur Nieden already cited in this study act as a seismograph of gathering anxiety as the war draws to its close. As the military situation deteriorates, diary entries increase. This phenomenon is explained by zur Nieden in terms of the response to the immediacy of war: 'Während Männer schreiben, wenn sie in den Krieg ziehen, schreiben Frauen, wenn der Krieg zu ihnen kommt.' (Men write when they go to war, women write when war comes to them, zur Nieden, 1993, p.74). The significance of zur Nieden's statement for this study lies both in the psychological pressure seeking an outlet in writing, and the sudden presence of war - in the form of advancing armies - on the family doorstep. The potential threat to family security and to the home itself was greater than ever before. For women and children this was a frightening

time when many resorted to hiding in cellars or attics (Ilse Koehn hides for days in a cellar at the close of Mischling, Second Degree), and looting and rape were commonplace: it has been estimated that at least two million German women were raped at the end of the war⁶. It is therefore hardly surprising that it is this period of fear and uncertainty which had the greatest impact on many German children, and which is therefore represented as the most common theme of children's literature on the war in Otto's (1981) 1945-80 figures.

The flight from the east, one of the most significant events of this period, had two major causes: NSDAP anti-communist propaganda resulted in attempts to flee the Russian zone, and there was a mass expulsion of German-speaking citizens from the eastern territories of what had been the Third Reich. NSDAP policies to 'Germanise' the east by annexing Polish areas where Germans had lived as an ethnic minority had resulted in mass migration at the beginning of the war. Now, as a consequence of decisions made by the Allies at the Teheran (1943), Yalta (1945) and Potsdam (1945) conferences, the time had come to shift Germany's borders westwards, and to return the illegally annexed Sudetenland to Czechoslovakia. So began the second great migration of the war; it has been estimated that up to twelve million Germans were involved, travelling at a time when transport was unreliable or non-existent.⁷ Convoys of families - often consisting only of women and children since the men were missing or had been taken prisoner - set off into the unknown of a devastated Germany, often travelling hundreds of miles on foot and scavenging for food wherever they could. Christa Wolf's adult novel Kindheitsmuster (1976, published in English as A Model Childhood) has become a seminal work in its representation of just such a family trek as part of a reconstruction and review of Wolf's own childhood enthusiasm for Hitler, and the historical development of fascism in which she played her part. Her 'model' childhood ('pattern' might be a

⁶ These statistics are taken from a documentary film directed by Helke Sander, discussed in Frauen: German Women Recall the Third Reich (1995) by Alison Owings (p.146). The subject of rape is raised in some of the interviews Alison Owings conducted with German women, although the interviewees were reluctant to talk about their experiences.

⁷ For further detail on the political background to the expulsion of Germans from the eastern territories of the former Third Reich and Czechoslovakia as well as personal accounts see Benz, W. (1985). Die Vertreibung der deutschen aus dem Osten (literally: The Expulsion of the Germans from the East). Frankfurt: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag.

more appropriate translation of 'Muster' in this instance) does indeed follow the same basic pattern as that of many German-speaking children of the National Socialist era. The flight to the west - a nomadic state of exile - is reflected in children's literature in a number of novels, for example Schmidt (1983), Donnelly (1986), and Kurtz (1989). According to reviews in Dahrendorf (ed., 1990 and 1994) it is often the case that authors of such fictional accounts maintain a narrow perspective: all three novels, he argues, avoid any reflection on the causes of the war or German responsibility.

Turning to autobiographical children's literature, a similar approach is taken by Isolde Heyne in her semi-autobiographical novel Gewitterblumen (1989) and by Annelies Schwarz (1981) in her account of her family's summer-long trek into Germany from Czechoslovakia. The simplistic equation by Heyne's central character, Tina, of the Nazis with the Communists who had forced her family to flee from Czechoslovakia echoes the sense of injustice which underpins Schwarz's novel and has already been contrasted with Gudrun Pausewang's more historically aware description of a similar journey in chapter two. Pausewang's reassessment of the past in a series of autobiographical texts is reflected in both the narrative point-of-view adopted and a retrospective evaluation of the language of the period, particularly in the central text of the series, Fern von der Rosinkawiese (1989). Addressed to an adolescent audience, this is the story of a turning-point in the writer's life: the Pausewang family's flight across Czechoslovakia and through the eastern half of Germany to Hamburg. It is the effects of the loss of a beloved home, the threats to family stability and the sense of a curtailed childhood with its consequent losses and gains which are of significance in this chapter. The Rosinka meadow itself becomes symbolic of the lost paradise of childhood and of Pausewang's father, who has been killed on the Russian front. Yet there is little evidence of nostalgia: the adult narrator does not allow such slippage: she is in control throughout, orchestrating descriptions of her younger self and commentaries on events viewed from her current ideological position. This adult omniscience dominates the narrative, even though the focalizing character is the young Gudrun Pausewang, with the result that fear and hardship suffered during adolescence are tempered by reflection on historical processes and the didactic intentions of the adult .

Departure from the Rosinka meadow represents not only the end of a secure family life for the Pausewang family, but also the abandonment of an experiment in 'alternative living' in the home built by Gudrun Pausewang's parents themselves. That loss begins with the death of her father. The impact of this event on the young Gudrun is summarised in one line as a loss which caused long-term suffering, followed by quotations from the nationalistic songs which offered her some solace: "*Du sollst bleiben Land - wir vergehn*" oder "*Deutschland, sieh uns: Wir weihen dir den Tod als kleinste Tat.*" (' "*Homeland: you remain when we pass away*" or "*Germany, look at us : We can at least offer you our lives*" Pausewang, 1989, p.26). Once again the language and mythology of the Third Reich dominate: Gudrun's response to her own father's death can only take place through the medium of the readily available language used as a means of political manipulation. In contrast, there is a greater immediacy in the absolute despair experienced at the news of Hitler's death. Pausewang remembers crying desperately, this time without consolation: 'Denn seit Jahren hatte er unser Dasein bestimmt, alles war auf ihn ausgerichtet gewesen. Ohne ihn verlosch der letzte Funke Hoffnung.' (For he had directed our existence for years, everything had depended on him. Without him the last spark of hope was extinguished, p.32). The death of Hitler both reflects and represents that of her father, himself a naively romantic National Socialist supporter, as is revealed in the discovery of his diaries in Geliebte Rosinkawiese (1990).

The reader is not permitted to take this grief at Hitler's death at face value, however. Straightaway the adult narrator's voice intervenes, commenting on the false beliefs of her generation and the propaganda to which she herself had been only too susceptible. This marks the beginning of a long process of coming to terms with the ideological vacuum caused by Hitler's death; a process which takes place during the ensuing journey across Germany and which is closely linked to family relationships. Tensions within the family on political questions were already present before the death of Pausewang's father : young Gudrun had overheard arguments between her parents about the territorial ambitions of the Third Reich in the east and racial purity. Pausewang, in her role as adult commentator, confesses to taking her

father's position in support of National Socialism. The enlightened comments which follow - for example that her mother's scepticism was not compatible with her own youthful romanticism - compel the reader to reflect on historical events as mirrored in the microcosm of the family.

The collapse of Pausewang's youthful ideals at Hitler's death is followed by the first visible signs of social and military collapse with the consequent threats to the security of the Rosinka homestead. Convoys of refugees begin to pass by, including unaccompanied boys from an orphanage and German soldiers marched towards the east by their captors. There are stories of suicides amongst NSDAP officials in neighbouring villages, and of the killing of ten men by Czech partisans in the local town. Pausewang the adult narrator attempts a delicate balancing act in describing the family's inevitable fear of the advancing Czech partisans and Red Army troops compounded by stories of actual atrocities committed, and the informed retrospective viewpoint of a socially committed democrat. Pausewang and her sister, hidden in the attic because of fears of rape, are astonished when the first Russian to approach the house simply takes her mother's watch. NSDAP propaganda had characterised the Russians as sub-human, a memory which causes a sudden switch in narrative perspective to the next generation: 'Dass mein Sohn einmal einen russischen Brieffreund haben wird, mit dem er sich grossartig versteht - ich hätte mir's damals nicht vorstellen können.' (I could never have imagined in those days that my son will one day have a Russian pen-friend he gets on really well with, p.43). The use of the future and present tenses in place of the future conditional reflects a slight awkwardness in this switch: the adult is writing of certainties in her own life rather than maintaining a focus on the adolescent who cannot know what the future has in store. It is, however, important to the adult to make this point about future family connections with Russians, particularly as the next incident recounted is that of the rape of a large number of women and young girls in the local town. Throughout the novel the narrator is careful to remind the reader of the atrocities committed by German troops in the Soviet Union in order to elicit an understanding of the behaviour of the Red Army which she describes.

Once Pausewang's mother, who fears for her family's safety and anticipates the expulsion of Germans from territory retrieved by the Czechs, makes the courageous decision to set off towards Hamburg with a hand-cart and her six children, seventeen-year-old Gudrun has to fill the role left vacant after her father's death. As the oldest child she becomes her mother's confidante and partner in all decisions, so that she no longer belongs with her brothers and sisters. This loss of childhood caused by the expedient shift in family relationships is expressed in the language used by Gudrun and her mother when discussing the family. They refer to "die Kinder" (the children, p.66), thereby excluding Gudrun from childhood. Although seventeen, she describes herself as 'noch sehr ein Kind' (still very much a child, p.30), an observation confirmed by the photograph⁸ of herself with plaits and a frock almost identical with that worn by her younger sisters. The adult narrator comments that the burden of responsibility carried at this time was undoubtedly sometimes too heavy for a young girl. This burden is at its greatest during the moments of complete impasse on the journey - for instance when the family is refused permission to cross a border between occupied zones after weeks on the road - when Gudrun is the only one to witness her mother's tears and both have to hide their despair from the younger children.

In addition to the change in role within the family, there is another aspect of the accelerated passage from childhood to adulthood which has consequences for Pausewang's changing self-concept: she is forced to begin to come to terms with her own sexuality, albeit in negative circumstances. The fear and threat of rape are present throughout the novel, so that Gudrun and her older sisters frequently have to hide or deny their age. Gudrun herself is caught between the demands of adult responsibility made by her family, the expectation by Red Army soldiers that she may have reached the age of puberty, and her own naiveté coupled with the necessary maintenance of the outward appearance of a child. A turning point which marks a loss of innocence is identified by Pausewang when a group of three women refugees from Silesia arrive at Rosinka meadow together with their children. All three have been raped by Red Army soldiers, as has the oldest child, a sixteen-year-old girl. Despite orders not to shelter

⁸ See Appendix 4, figure 1.

refugees, Pausewang's mother allows the women to wash their blood-stained clothes and offers them food, which they are in fact unable to eat. The emotion experienced by the young Gudrun is allowed to surface in a scene described entirely through her eyes. Her sense of shock at an event which had taken place only two kilometres away is expressed in brief sentences as the silent scene unfolds. The terror in the women's faces is transmitted to Gudrun and her sisters who cling to their card game, pretending to see and hear nothing: 'Nur nicht diesen Blicken begegnen müssen!' (Anything to avoid looking at those faces! p.58). At the close of this key scene the narrative voice again switches to a retrospective assessment, as Pausewang links card-playing in the face of suffering to the desensitizing process which is to take place during the westward trek. The realisation that an inhuman act could take place in the vicinity of her previously secure home and that a girl of her age could be raped has brought her childhood to a close: 'Der Anblick dieser Frauen war es, der mich in das Erwachsenenensein hinausschleuderte.' (It was the sight of these women that catapulted me into adulthood, p.59). There are in fact several occasions when Gudrun, her sisters or their occasional female travelling companions are threatened with rape or when fear leads them to misinterpret soldiers' intentions, so that they are constantly made aware of their vulnerability as women in the circumstances of war.

Despite these negative experiences, Gudrun's attitude to her lost childhood is ambivalent. There are indeed moments when she mourns its passing, longing at one point of optimism on the journey for a settled, uneventful future where she could return to school: 'Wieder ein Kind sein können! (To be a child again! p.119). This nostalgia is part of a wider picture, however: an emotional and spiritual numbness which is acknowledged when the family enters an undamaged medieval town. Here Gudrun realises that her pleasures on the journey so far have been purely functional; an aesthetic response to the town's architecture is a reminder of what had been missing from her life: 'Und ich fühlte mich so, als sei ich jetzt wieder zu mir gekommen.' (And I felt that now I was myself again, p.129). It is not simply the move from childhood to adulthood which has affected the adolescent's self-concept; a whole range of responses has been denied. Yet there are

compensations: the sadness of the departure from the Rosinka meadow is outweighed by eager anticipation: 'eine erwartungsvolle Bereitschaft zum Aufbruch in Unbekanntes, in einen mit aufregenden Ereignissen erfüllten neuen Lebensabschnitt.' (a willingness to set off into the unknown in the expectation of a new life filled with exciting events', p.69). Even though the journey hardly fulfils these expectations, it is Gudrun who speaks against her mother's proposed return to the Rosinka meadow when the family meets an impasse at a border crossing in north Germany. She argues - surely with the benefit of the adult narrator's hindsight - that she wants to escape a restricted future, to cross the border into West Germany and freedom. Her mother's capitulation is a further indication of the power Gudrun has achieved; she is genuinely treated as an equal partner. Youthful National Socialist ideals and the dependence and innocence of childhood may have been replaced by hardship and anxiety, but there is also the opportunity afforded by wartime conditions to control her own destiny.

Gudrun Pausewang's novel offers multiple perspectives on childhood in the Third Reich and its aftermath. The disillusioned adolescent is already distancing herself during the course of the novel from the child who worshipped Hitler, while the adult narrator's understanding and evaluation of historical processes enables her to critique the events and responses of her younger self. Identity and self-image shift according to circumstance and the precipitation of the natural process of initiation into adult responsibility. The primacy of the family in the development of a stable identity is reflected in the reassessment of the roles of both parents which takes place here and in Geliebte Rosinkawiese (1990). It is interesting to note that part-way through the text of Fern von der Rosinkawiese, Pausewang acknowledges the debt her account of the family's trek owes to the diaries kept by her mother, supporting zur Nieden's (1993) thesis that women needed to write at the times of greatest stress in the closing stages of the war. Disenchantment with her beloved father's ideology is matched by a growing recognition of her mother's fortitude and resourcefulness, a shift in perspective reminiscent of Judith Kerr's re-evaluation of her mother's role in providing the family's financial support. These reassessments take place over a number of years as the wartime theme is revisited in fictional and autobiographical texts.

The lasting effects of the collapse of the Third Reich, the loss of a much-loved home and father, and the nomadic state of exile are reflected in the number of times Pausewang has revisited these themes. Even in the two novels detailing life after a nuclear holocaust for which she is most famous, Pausewang makes direct reference to post-war refugees in her description of scavenging refugees (1983, 1987). In the novel *Die Verräterin* (1995) promoted as the book to mark fifty years since the end of the war in publicity material ⁹, Pausewang returns to the setting of the Sudetenland at the close of the war to describe the moral dilemma of a young girl who discovers an escaped Russian prisoner of war. Further indications of the minor and major repercussions of the past are woven into the narrative of Pausewang's most direct representation of the period, *Fern von der Rosinkawiese*. The adult narrator admits, for example, to a continuing inability to stay in a house without ascertaining the whereabouts of the back door: an escape route was always essential from whichever barn or empty dwelling the family made its night quarters. Manifestations of the fear of rape include a recurring dream featuring the insect-ridden cow's skull which had been Gudrun's companion while crouching outside a kitchen window, hiding from the Russian or Polish soldiers assessing the ages of the women inside. An allergy to the word 'schleichen' originates in a similar incident when a Russian soldier finds the family sleeping in a pigsty and tries to persuade Pausewang's mother to go with him, insisting that the children are asleep: he mistakenly uses the word 'schleichen' (to creep, p.126) instead of 'schlafen' (to sleep). The emotive power of that word has not diminished for Pausewang; the construction of a narrative allows for its expression in the public arena. The whole gamut of emotions experienced can be recognised and named in the text by an author whose life has been shaped by them: 'Es waren Tage voller seelischer Wechselbäder: Angst und Hoffnung, Trostlosigkeit und Staunen, Schrecken, Wut und Trauer folgten einander in atemberaubendem Tempo, Schock reihte sich an Schock.' (Those days were full of emotional contrast: fear and hope, despair and astonishment, terror, anger and sadness followed each other at breathless speed; one shock was succeeded by another. p.51). The narrative reflects both the personal need to confront these emotions, and the desire to express a current political ideology, the

⁹ Illustrated catalogue issued by the publisher Otto Maier in 1995.

development of which is attributed by the writer to the instability of her youth. The family's political, social and economic powerlessness in the post-war period has resulted in the adult's support for the democratic ideal: 'Ich weiss es zu schätzen, dass ich jetzt als Staatsbürger mit verbrieften Rechten in einem funktionierenden demokratischen System leben darf.' (I know how to respect the privilege of citizenship with legal rights in a fully functioning democratic system, p.104).

The underlying seriousness of Pausewang's didactic intention in a narrative carefully qualified by the adult narrator contrasts markedly with the episodic structure and humour of Nöstlinger's account, although here too the lasting emotional effect of domestic disruption and wider historical questions are not ignored. In neither of these novels - despite the difference in narrative perspective - is the childhood self presented as victim. Nöstlinger's Christel has apparently successfully adapted to wartime conditions, while Pausewang's current ideology would not allow her to regard herself as a passive victim and ignore German - and to some extent her own - responsibility for the hardships suffered by her family. It is this positioning of the childhood and adult selves in the narrative which reveals the consequences of a 'lost' childhood arising from the states of exile experienced by these two authors and the Jewish writers discussed in this chapter. The judgement of history plays its part here, particularly in the German texts where identity and self-concept are inseparable from the guilt and blame attached to the Third Reich. Werner Brettschneider (1982), in his historical survey of autobiographical German children's literature, poses the question as to why authors have chosen a literary form in reviewing the past. He argues that literature comes closer to the truth than sociology or psychology, and that the quest for a developmental history of the self can be equated with: 'die Frage nach der deutschen Geschichte, wie sie uns in diesem Jahrhundert der beiden Weltkriege überwältigt hat und wie sie sich heute dem Lebenden als Aufgabe stellt' (the question of the history of Germany which has overwhelmed us in this century of two world wars, and which is the responsibility of the living, p.5). Narratives of exile which feature the trauma and compensations of lost childhood reflect in the voice of the adult narrator not only a moral and psychological review of childhood

behaviour, but also an assessment of the historical period itself. History as the inescapable responsibility and duty of the living: discussion will now focus on how this concept compares with the British view of wartime childhood represented in autobiographical texts.

5 Wartime Childhood in Britain: A Comparison

Just as an interrogation of national history has become the responsibility of Germans writing autobiographies of their wartime childhoods in the shadow of the Third Reich, so the position of British writers is inevitably conditioned by the prevailing sense of national pride reflected in the VE celebrations of May 1995. A significant indication of this difference in perspective on the past lies in the imbalance between the numbers of autobiographical accounts published in English and German in the last twenty-five years. To write about childhood in the Third Reich is necessarily problematic and open to criticism, yet the volume of autobiographical writing testifies to the compulsion to do so, whether the impulse is therapeutic, didactic or a combination of the two. British writers whose national legacy of the war years is predominantly and officially a positive one, do not appear to experience the same degree of urgency to write retrospective accounts for children. Although many of the texts written in English discussed so far have been accounts of the wartime childhoods of Jewish writers, the focus in this chapter will be exclusively on the British experience, the nature of the events recounted and the writers' choice of narrative technique.

It is clear from these British texts that the writer's own experience is often taken as a starting point or framework for fiction: with few exceptions (Nicholas Fisk's Pig Ignorant 1992, published in a series of 'Teenage Memoirs' or Roald Dahl's Going Solo 1986) these are novels with autobiographical strands rather than direct accounts of the past. The Second World War novels of Nina Bawden (1973, 1987) and Robert Westall (1975, 1979b, 1989a and b, 1990a and b, 1994) - which could be compared to those of Gudrun Pausewang in the recurring preoccupation with personal wartime experience in a series of publications - do not include a detailed reconstruction of actual events equivalent to that presented in Fern von der Rosinkawiese. Westall's brief representation of his own wartime childhood in some of the 'Boy, Tyneside' sections of Children of the Blitz (1995, first published in 1985) and Bawden's account of her evacuation to Wales in a section of her autobiography (1994) do offer a limited opportunity for comparison between memoir and fiction, yet neither author has written a

sustained, directly autobiographical account for a child audience. British authors are not confronted by the legacy of the holocaust with every page they write: the theme of wartime childhood can be approached several decades later in a light-hearted vein (Foreman, Dahl) or taken as the basis for fiction (Bawden, Cooper, Westall). The confessional and therapeutic purpose in novels on the British experience may not be so apparent - there is little evidence of the controlling, didactic and judgemental adult narrator.

Fictionalisation of experience or direct autobiographical account; these choices are largely governed by accepted views of the past at the moment of writing and affect the selective function of memory. The relevance of current attitudes to the war years for the writer's reconstruction of a past identity cannot be overestimated: German national guilt is not matched by any British national soul-searching about, say, the bombing of Dresden. Self-esteem at a national level has repercussions for individual writers, even when they choose to write against the grain by displacing responsibility at points within the narrative (Schwarz, Fuchs) or rejecting national pride (Fisk). Parallels can be drawn between developments in the individual's psyche and historical events which throw some light on British and German approaches to the autobiographical process. Lacan (1968) identifies the dialectic of shame and success as fundamental to the developmental history of an individual's identity as it is reflected in that individual's relations with the social world. The individual's history, including early instinctual development, consists of a series of 'turning points' which are then censored and organised according to 'contemporary historization of the facts'. Each key event is: 'a historical scar: a page of shame that is forgotten or undone, or a page of glory which compels' (Lacan, p.23). Lacan's metaphor taken from the world of literacy is particularly apt in this context: whether an individual is engaged in repressing or 'undoing' shame or celebrating glory 'on the page', or whether there exists a process of interaction between these two poles, autobiographical writing represents a moment in the continuity of identity formation conditioned by current interpretations of the past. The dialectic of shame and success takes place at both individual and national levels and is reflected in each individual's reconstruction of childhood.

The degree of fictionalisation in British texts must, then, bear some relation to national perceptions of past 'glory'; the relationship between national pride and the representation of individual experience will be discussed in relation to selected novels. Since there have been comparatively few autobiographical texts based on the British experience published for children since 1970, thematic generalisations based on large numbers of illustrative texts cannot be made. It would therefore not be appropriate to take novels and accounts reflecting different aspects of exile as a unifying theme as was the case in the previous chapter. Although evacuation took place in both Britain and Germany and anxiety at perceived threats to domestic security is an undercurrent in almost all British novels just as it is in German accounts, there are of course radical differences in the nature of the British and German or Jewish experience. Some British children were evacuated overseas, yet their circumstances were quite unlike those of exiled Jewish children who had suffered varying degrees of persecution before leaving their native country. Any political opposition to the wartime government within British families - the experience of conscientious objectors for example - did not carry the life-threatening danger of 'inner exile' from the NSDAP regime or family tensions caused by parents' unease at their children's membership of NSDAP youth movements; nor did the post-war period encompass a total social collapse and mass migration comparable with the scenario in post-war Germany and central Europe. It is worth noting at this point that a number of novels by British writers set in the war years take as their theme the range of 'states of exile' discussed in the previous chapter which were experienced by children on the European continent. These include Ian Serrailler's early The Silver Sword (1956) which traces the search of refugee Polish children for their parents; Joan Lingard's novels based on her husband's childhood experience as a Latvian refugee¹, and Christa Laird's novel and its sequel set in the Warsaw ghetto². British children's fiction reflects an awareness of the extremities of childhood experience outside the British Isles, and it is against this background that the small number of autobiographical accounts of the British experience should be considered.

¹ Tug of War, 1989 and Between Two Worlds, 1991.

² Shadow of the Wall, 1989, and But Can the Phoenix Sing?, 1993.

The British writers to be discussed in this chapter take widely differing approaches to their own wartime childhoods, although they do share the emphasis on family life and the representation of the current national historical perspective. A consideration of writers' approaches to wartime childhood and changes in family relationships will focus on evacuation (Bawden) - the state of exile British children did experience - and the reflection of threats to domestic security in the work of individual authors (Cooper, Foreman and Westall). At the same time, the liberating effects and excitement of war as represented in the work of these authors will be analysed and related to the empowerment of children already observed in the novels of Christine Nöstlinger and Gudrun Pausewang. Throughout the chapter comparisons will be made with German texts previously discussed and, when relevant, with those written in English by exiled Jewish writers. The experiences of British, German or Jewish children may have been traumatic or liberating for different individuals at particular moments in their wartime experience, but it is the differences in historical circumstance together with developments in past and current ideologies which shape the reconstruction of wartime childhood in literature.

Evacuation and exile: Nina Bawden and Gudrun Pausewang

As O'Sullivan (1990) has pointed out, evacuation is the most important theme of British children's fiction on the Second World War. Cadogan and Craig (1978) in their account of the fiction (adult and juvenile) of the First and Second World Wars also conclude that it was evacuation which had the most profound effect on children's lives during the second conflict.

Evacuation took place on a massive scale. There were three phases to the official evacuation programme with intermittent returns to the cities affecting the numbers evacuated at any one time: 1,473,500 people, including 66,000 children in school parties, left the cities in September 1939, and 1,250,000 from August 1940 onwards, with a total of 125,000 unaccompanied children. The final flight from the 'flying bombs' in 1944 affected over a million people from the London area, among them 101,000 unaccompanied children

(Inglis, 1989). In addition, a private, largely middle-class exodus accounted for an estimated two million evacuees (Titmuss, cited in Inglis, 1989). The organised evacuation of children was to country communities, where children were billeted with families after an often distressing impromptu selection process had taken place. Children were sent alone or with siblings to unknown families, rather than to the 'homes' or camps set up as part of the German evacuation programme (Kinderlandverschickung - 'the evacuation of children to the countryside'). As described in Ilse Koehn's (1977) autobiographical account, children continued their Hitler Youth activities in these camps as a group, whereas British children were more isolated and had to adapt to the cultural expectations of a new family. They were often faced with the hostile reception of local children, an unfamiliar dialect or the rhythms and demands of country life. The fact that evacuation is the theme of many children's novels written since the war³ testifies to the impact of these experiences on the national psyche. A sense of belonging to a community - the family in the first instance - is essential to the development of a stable identity which Erikson (1980) identifies as a psychosocial process. Establishing a role in a new cultural and social setting can therefore result in both insecurity and a degree of empowerment in breaking family ties and a reappraisal of one's identity. This theme is reflected in the continuing publication of evacuation novels set within the British Isles during the nineteen-seventies and eighties: notable examples falling within the time-span of this study are Michael Morpurgo's *Friend or Foe* (1977) and Michelle Magorian's *Goodnight Mr. Tom* (1981).

Autobiographical novels on evacuation which have received critical acclaim include those of Nina Bawden, selected here as appropriate for comparison with Gudrun Pausewang's accounts of her childhood 'state of exile'. Both writers have experienced - for different reasons - a compulsion to return to the theme of childhood exile as a turning point in their lives. Bawden has fictionalised her experience of evacuation: the denial that *Carrie's War* (1973) is her own story, her acknowledgement of the autobiographical 'truth' of *Keeping Henry* (1988), and the fictional representation of personal guilt in

³ For an overview of evacuation novels and their identification as a sub-genre of children's Second World War fiction, see chapter three in Egan, Carmel (1985) *Children's Second World War Novels*, unpublished MA Thesis in Librarianship, University of London.

Carrie's War have already been discussed in chapter two in relation to the complex interaction between memory and the reconstruction of the childhood self. A closer analysis here of the affective consequences of exile from home will provide points of comparison with Pausewang's work. The representation of family separation, the passage from childhood to adulthood and the aftermath of evacuation in these novels and in Bawden's autobiography will also further illuminate differences in the nature of the therapeutic process involved in autobiographical writing. Since Bawden's own experience has become a strand in fictional narratives, it is important first to establish links between her directly autobiographical and fictional accounts of the evacuation experience.

The acknowledgement by Nina Bawden, cited in the afterword to the 1993 Puffin edition of Carrie's War, that Carrie's 'feelings' at being away from home are ones she remembers, is significant in considering the possible therapeutic impulse behind her return to this period of her life in three novels: Anna Apparent (1972), written for adults; Carrie's War (1973) and Keeping Henry (1983). There were two phases to Bawden's evacuation: the time she spent billeted with local families in Suffolk and Wales when her entire school was evacuated, and the period of her family's voluntary evacuation from Ilford to a Welsh farm where she joined them for the school holidays. The ambivalence of Bawden's emotional response to this varied experience of evacuation as recorded in her autobiography In My Own Time (1994) offers evidence for a therapeutic purpose to her fiction, as freedom from family constraints and the excited anticipation of adulthood are balanced by the need for affection.

The response to this loss of home and family security as recorded in Bawden's autobiography is one of excitement at a potential new beginning, and a timely separation from her mother in whose eyes she was becoming 'difficult' (Bawden, 1994, p.37). In her first billet she admits to being lonely, but 'not for my family' (p.38): it is her best friend Jean whose presence is missed. Indeed, Bawden dismisses in scathing terms a 'tear-jerking piece about the sadness of a wartime child torn from her loving family' (Bawden, 1994, p.37) which she wrote at the time and which was published in the local

paper. Parents and family life seemed to belong to another world, and the lack of attention paid to Bawden and Jean by one set of foster parents is recalled as an exhilarating experience: 'the sense of not being watched, *brooded over* by concerned adults, whether they were our own parents, or foster parents wistfully looking for a loving intimacy, was an amazing liberation' (p.54). Liberation did not take quite the form Bawden had anticipated before she left home, however: 'deep down, the prospect thrilled me. A dazzling future beckoned. I saw myself living in a big house in the country with rich and educated and even titled people' (p.37). In fact her situation was the reverse of the commonplace of 'slum children' evacuated to middle-class homes (p.44); she and her friends found themselves in homes with no books and outside lavatories. Naive material expectations were disappointed, but the anticipation of an escape from family pressure was not.

The sense of liberation experienced by the young Bawden finds qualified expression in her novel, Carrie's War (1973). Carrie both is and is not the young Nina Bawden: Bawden denies categorically that Carrie's story is hers in her autobiography (p.40), yet, as has been pointed out, she acknowledges the 'feelings' represented in the novel as her own. Specific features of Bawden's own wartime experience are also included in the novel: Carrie's absent father is at sea with the Royal Navy just as Bawden's father was, and minor details have been worked into both characterisation and plot. The house-proud 'auntie' who only allows Nina and Jean upstairs twice a day in order not to wear out the carpet, is the source of the 'drugget' which protects the Evans' stairs, the first indication for Carrie and Nick of Mr. Evans' tyrannical meanness. Details taken from life are not as significant, however, as the emotional undercurrents which flow through the novel and tug gently at the reader's sympathies. This mind-set is created in the opening pages of the novel by the retrospective narrative framework where Carrie's troubled response to a nostalgic visit is reflected in her son's consciousness. Bawden has recreated in fiction a situation common to several of the autobiographical accounts in this study: the retelling of wartime events for the writer's own children who have reached the age the author was at the time. The apprehension aroused by these opening pages

lingers in the reader's mind throughout the story itself, a story told by the adult from the point-of-view of her younger self. The use of the third rather than the first person narrative emphasises the distance between adult and child while authenticating comments on Carrie's responses to events and occasional interior monologues: the reader is privy to her thoughts and feelings at every point. The adult Carrie is an omniscient narrator who nevertheless allows us to share the younger Carrie's misinterpretations and understand her behaviour.

Although Bawden dismisses her juvenile 'tear-jerking' piece about the trauma of evacuation and admits that she was ready for a separation from her mother, there are indications of distress at family separation in her fiction. Carrie almost cries at the thought of her mother during the journey to Wales, and her hugging of her homesick brother Nick on their first night at the Evans' house is intended 'to comfort them both' (Bawden, 1973, p.25). It is Hepzibah Green who later provides the physical comfort the children lack. Nick's accurate assessment of Carrie's jealousy when Hepzibah takes him on to her lap aids the young reader's interpretation of the scene, an interpretation confirmed when Carrie, despite her age, enjoys a similar consoling cuddle later in the novel. Hepzibah - a mother earth figure - offers the children a chance to revert to infancy, rocking and cradling the troubled Carrie who mistakenly regards herself as responsible for Hepzibah's eviction. This replacement 'mothering' signals the emotional needs unfulfilled while the children are far from parents and home. Such indications of stress within the narrative are reinforced at a symbolic level by the legend of the 'screaming skull' found in the Gotobed house. The repercussions of family separation for all evacuees and exiles are concentrated in the image of this skull and the story of an exiled African boy attached to it. According to Hepzibah's story, the boy was brought into the wealthy Gotobed family at a time when black page-boys were fashionable; he cried 'as any child might cry, taken from his mother' (p.59), could not be consoled, and died of a fever during his first winter. Nick's deep sigh at the end of this story indicates how profoundly he has been affected, while Bawden allows us to glimpse Carrie's ambivalent response: she 'secretly' finds it comforting that the story might not be true while commenting aloud

on its sadness in 'a sentimental voice' (p.60). The use of 'sentimental' implies insincerity - a subtle irony which may be lost on the child reader - yet the implication is clear in the preceding lines that Carrie is torn between identifying with the African boy's suffering and denying it. Carrie has no intention of sharing the African boy's fate, enjoying as she does her new independence (when minding the Evans' shop by herself, for example). Carrie's war with her own feelings is not a series of continuous triumphs, however: even Nick could sense her envy of his uninhibited request for comfort from Hepzibah.

Carrie eventually adapts to her new life in the Evans' household and the local community to such an extent that she is reluctant to leave, caught between joining her mother in Scotland and the new, complex set of relationships with the Evans family, Albert Sandwich and Hepzibah. Bawden indicates her own affection for different foster families in her autobiography, crying when she leaves her first Welsh billet: 'as I hadn't cried leaving my mother and brothers in London' (Bawden, 1994, p.41). The emotional distance from her own family is reiterated here, while affection is transferred to substitute parents in a manner reminiscent of the long-term and more complete displacement of affection characteristic of Jewish hidden children. In the novel, Carrie has become part of a community to the extent that she has adopted features of the local dialect, telling her visiting mother that she and Nick do not mind their cold room - they are not '*nesh*'. The attachment to her new life is part of a developmental process in learning to understand human behaviour, when Carrie realises that adults' motivation can be misinterpreted and allows herself to be manipulated by the two parties in a family quarrel. The resulting guilt and anxiety have continued to haunt Carrie into adulthood: her complicity in events only half understood is, as discussed in chapter two, a fictionalisation of the guilt Bawden herself experienced at unwittingly causing grief to two foster families as a result of casual complaints. Both the displacement of family affection and the sense of guilt are drawn from Bawden's own experience, and I would argue that there is undoubtedly at some level a therapeutic purpose to the writing of the novel.

In Keeping Henry (1983) - described by Bawden in her dedication as 'this true story of Henry' (p.5) - the unnamed first-person narrator, a persona representing the young Nina Bawden, develops a similar attachment to the farming community which becomes her new extended family after she, her mother and brothers are 'tipped out' (p.15) of their London home. Once again a brief introduction sets the scene for a retrospective account, with the older narrator qualifying what is to follow as her version of events. Having introduced herself as an 'unreliable narrator' (Booth, 1987) - a reminder of Jung's (1963) dictum that in the autobiographical process all that matters is that the story is '*my fable, my truth*' (p.17) - the young girl tells her story in a straightforward manner, relating events and her own feelings directly. The brooding presence of the older and wiser adult in Carrie's War is not to be found here: indeed in this novel the adult self does not reappear at the end of the novel. Psychological complexities are revealed in the characters' actions and words: it is the adopted squirrel Henry which becomes the focal point of the family's emotional needs, in particular those of the mother and the youngest child, Charlie. The narrator is represented as being well aware of the need indicated in the novel's title to hold on to Henry. James - the older brother - tentatively suggests freeing him. This move is resisted by the mother, ostensibly because it would upset Charlie, when it is far more likely that caring for the squirrel provides her with an emotional focus in the absence of her husband. The narrator herself leads the reader to this conclusion when considering Henry's needs: 'What's the best thing for *him* ? but it's all kind of muddled up with what we feel as well' (p.85). Henry is often referred to as 'one of our *family*' (p.101), a family which is emotionally incomplete because of the father's absence. There is a far greater emphasis in this novel than in Carrie's War on the missing father. Charlie, for example, seeks a replacement by attaching himself first to Bill, a farm-hand, and then to Mario, an Italian prisoner-of-war. There is, too, a more direct expression of anger at the narrator's exclusion from the life of the family and community when she is sent away to school, than is to be found in Carrie's War. The situation is in any case emotionally different: the mother and younger boys remain together in their new 'home'. On her return, the narrator finds that Abel, the farmer's son she had secretly grown fond of, is to go away to work for his uncle. She is furious that she has not been told: 'I'm packed off out of

the way, *banished*, sent into *exile* like criminals were sent off to Australia years ago, and no one bothers to send me real news from home.' (p.60)

This emotional outburst is both an expression of her unacknowledged feelings for Abel and a response to separation from the family: the narrator has not been completely settled at school ('Although I wasn't happy, I wasn't unhappy either', p.52).

Bawden's attention to the psychological consequences of family separation and the enforced self-reliance of the evacuated child in her novels is never heavy-handed. Children's complex - sometimes contradictory - responses form an essential part of a carefully constructed narrative which engages the reader. Writing about Carrie's War in a chapter entitled 'Inner implications of extended traumas', Rustin and Rustin (1987) take a psychoanalytical approach to the effects of wartime separation considered in the novel, pointing to the many facets and expressions of Carrie's loss. It is the lingering trauma of the evacuation outlined in her autobiography which is represented in Bawden's fiction, with a change of emphasis in each novel so that new stories are woven from significant memories and new selves created. Personal experience is reconstructed at the affective level in stories which include entirely fictional elements. Indeed, Bawden has spoken of the tendency for fiction to dominate memory, in that Lou and Mr. Evans from Carrie's War have now become more real to her than the people she actually knew in Wales: 'so in a way you've lost your life because you've put it in a story' (Interview broadcast on the Middle English programme, Thames Television, Spring 1989). Bawden goes on to say in this interview that the story she told has 'taken over' from what really happened, a comment which reminds us of the fictional element in all reconstructions of the past through language. The stories we tell about ourselves always succeed other stories in the process of creating a new identity, an image of the self with a clear developmental history.

Gudrun Pausewang also - at least initially - fictionalised her experience as a refugee in the final days of the war in her early novel Auf einem langen Weg (1978); the children undertaking the trek across Germany are unaccompanied boys. Her novel, however, is a chronological account of a

particular wartime experience rather than a multi-layered narrative with the complexities of plot and characterisation to be found in Bawden's novels. The comparison between the work of Bawden and Pausewang is appropriate for two reasons. For both writers the childhood or adolescent experience of evacuation and migration represented a turning point in their lives, and for both the reworking of the past for a child audience moves closer to their actual experience in successive autobiographical texts - although it is only Pausewang who attempts a direct retelling addressed to the young in Fern von der Rosinkawiese (1989). The fact that for both writers the critical developmental phase of adolescence coincided with the domestic upheaval of wartime circumstances is reflected in the empowerment they experienced. Pausewang's naive excitement at the possibilities of a journey into the unknown is matched by Bawden's unrealistic dream of a sophisticated artistic existence. The freedom from stifling parental pressure indicated in Bawden's autobiography and reflected to some extent in the character of Carrie is, however, quite different from the assumption of the position of parent which characterises Pausewang's transition from child to adult. The emotional burden of adult responsibility in situations where survival of the family hangs in the balance causes her occasionally to long for a return to the insouciance of childhood. Pausewang's confrontation with her own identity as a sexual being is also a more brutal awakening than the developments recorded in Bawden's fiction: an awareness of changing physical shape, Carrie's friendship with Albert Sandwich or the narrator's incipient flirtation with Abel in Keeping Henry. The circumstances in which these two writers reached adolescence determine the nature of responses recorded or fictionalised. The significance of the comparison for this study lies in the therapeutic or didactic impetus to write for the young underlying the decision to record the past, whether in fictional form or as straight autobiography.

The retrospective narrative frameworks of Bawden's novels and Pausewang's autobiographical account Fern von der Rosinkawiese offer some clues concerning the nature of this impetus. The adult Carrie is troubled by a personal guilt echoing the betrayal of her foster parents which the young Bawden felt to be 'the cruellest thing that I had ever done'

(Bawden, 1994, p.51). Keeping Henry (1983) also opens - albeit on a lighter note - with a reference to guilt: a comment on the continued attachment of blame to the narrator by her brothers for allowing the squirrel Henry to escape. These are references to a personal, private guilt which colours Bawden's representation of the past. Carrie's fictional return to the scene of a private and imagined transgression is a fictional representation of the guilt which forms one important strand - resting on personal experience - in a narrative in which personal loss and misinterpretations of adult behaviour are played out against a wartime background. Pausewang's introductory and concluding letters to her son in Fern von der Rosinkawiese, on the other hand, acknowledge an ultimate German national responsibility for the events she describes. She cherishes the hope that her son's generation will not make the same mistakes, and explains some of her own mental attitudes which are the legacy of a period when life itself and self-respect hung in the balance. War is not simply a backdrop to Pausewang's account. Hardship and liberation caused directly by war are the subjects of a narrative tightly controlled by the adult narrator who is fully conscious of a wider, national guilt and the part she herself played in her enthusiastic support of the Third Reich. It is no doubt for these reasons that, once he reached an appropriate age, Pausewang's son became the initial addressee - the representative of the implied reader - of a direct account of personal experience: the young must know what really happened if they are to learn from the past. Pausewang's account both demands an understanding of personal suffering and represents the starting point for an act of atonement and reconciliation which continues in the story of the friendship with the Czech owners of the Rosinkawiese in Geliebte Rosinkawiese (1990).

Pausewang's social conscience and the responsibility for German history which Brettschneider (1982) has detected in autobiographical texts are reflected in her acknowledgement of the reasons for the occasionally brutal behaviour of the Red Army, or her references to the holocaust.

Pausewang's guilt is part of a greater national responsibility. In the novels of Christine Nöstlinger, too, there is an ironic voice in the chapter headings, an emphasis on the humour of human fallibility and references to the fate of Jews which point to the absurdity and inhumanity of war. Nöstlinger's

underlying personal concern, her relationship with her father, does not rule out the impulse to convey this message. Pausewang and Nöstlinger encountered the terrible aftermath of war at first hand, of course; Bawden was far away from any such direct experience. All three female writers share a concern with family relationships in their novels; a key difference in Bawden's work lies in the absence of any attempt to come to terms with history. For German-speaking writers historical issues inevitably become personal ones: the Third Reich is an inescapable part of their own history and development. Although it is the reason for the initial family separation, the war itself hardly intrudes into the narratives of Carrie's War and Keeping Henry; it is happening far away, and there are very few references to its development. When the young Carrie as narrator first mentions the war, it is in a fit of pique at her mother's relentless cheerfulness in telling Carrie and Nick how much they would love the country. Carrie's irritation at this remark is expressed in an interior monologue, since she does not wish to contradict her mother: 'As if Hitler had arranged this old war for their benefit' (Bawden, 1973, p.13). This repressed comment indicates Carrie's uneasy relationship with her mother, one of the battles in her own personal war of independence: the war and Hitler's role in 'arranging' it are only cited in a personal context.

By the end of the novel Carrie has begun to gain a more compassionate understanding of the complexities of human behaviour and to extend her sympathies beyond her own personal horizon. The day before leaving Wales she reflects with a new maturity on the consequences of war for those far from the haven of a Welsh valley: 'Carrie thought of bombs falling, of the war going on all this year they'd been safe in the valley; going on over their heads like grown-up conversation when she'd been too small to listen' (p.143). At the crucial emotional moment when Carrie decides to take the skull and put its curse into operation, this thought is extended to a vision of crumbling houses, an image which both horrifies and excites her. Such insights into Carrie's psyche are a reminder of the adventure and - in the eyes of adults - perverse pleasure war could offer children: the image of Nöstlinger's Christel poking about in the rubble of her family home in utter fascination is brought to mind. However, despite some developments in Carrie's understanding of the consequences of war, there is no historical

perspective to the narrative. Bawden offers a telling insight into the psychology of a child's response to war in a novel in which war and its consequences are not the primary focus.

The sense of regret for a lost childhood which permeates the work of many of the German and Jewish writers discussed in the previous chapter is not detectable in Bawden's autobiography In My Own Time (1994), or in her two novels for children, despite the domestic upheaval caused by wartime evacuation. The states of exile discussed in the previous chapter which resulted in such a perspective on the past are of two kinds: the family separation and physical exile caused by the anti-semitic policies of the Third Reich, bombing raids or post-war mass migration; and the inner exile of families engaged in resistance. In addition, childhood is regarded as 'lost' by German writers who experience alienation from a period spent in the thrall of the Hitler Youth and the ideology of the Third Reich. The consequent repression and guilt lead to a view of childhood as irretrievably polluted, a view which is not, of course, represented in British texts. That British children suffered anxiety and physical hardship is not in doubt; any element of retrospective guilt, however - as in Carrie's War - is personal rather than national. Childhood trauma or alienation do not dominate British narratives; indeed in the texts to be discussed in this chapter there is an initial emphasis on the excitement and adventure of war, tempered in the more complex narratives by an exploration of the potentially traumatic consequences of war for the lives of child protagonists (in Westall's The Machine-gunners, 1975 and A Time of Fire, 1994, Michael Foreman's War Boy, 1989, or Cooper's Dawn of Fear, 1970). One British novel, however is exceptional in echoing the national guilt permeating many German accounts, and therefore provides an illuminating introduction to the comparative case studies in this chapter.

The shame of persecution: Joan Lingard's 'The File on Fraulein Berg'

Joan Lingard's The File on Fraulein Berg (1980) is a novel based on her own experience as a schoolgirl in Belfast during the war years. In a speech delivered at the Federation of Children's Book Groups in Edinburgh on

March 24th.1994, Lingard stated that she herself was one of the three girls in the novel who followed their German teacher round Belfast believing her to be a spy - she was in fact a Jewish refugee. The novel, Lingard explained, had been written many years later as a kind of apology to the teacher she and her friends had misjudged. The confessional nature of the narrative is reflected in the prologue, although there is no indication either here or throughout the text that the story is Lingard's own. The timing of her atonement through writing is once again revealing: several decades had elapsed between the events related and the composition of the novel.

Lingard's novel is retrospective; she chooses to frame the narrative with a prologue and epilogue, in which Kate, the narrator, meets her two schoolfriends in London twenty years after the war. In the prologue one of the girls, Sally, mentions a chance meeting with Fräulein Berg, their German-Jewish teacher. Kate instantly becomes uneasy; she can think of no reason to smile at this surprise and is offended by the light-heartedness of Sally's comment that the girls gave Fraulein Berg 'a hard time': ' " We persecuted her", I said very quietly, to myself more than to Sally' (Lingard, 1980, p. 5). The narrative perspective of the novel is established in this inward confession of personal shame. Kate, who later admits that as a child she was 'prone to feel guilty about all sorts of things' (p.19) - whereas Sally, she claims, was not - is the adult narrator retrospectively judging her childhood behaviour, quite aware that this process is problematic: 'Retelling the past is always tricky, and no doubt each of the three of us would have a different tale to tell' (p.11). It is Kate's tale, however, that we read, and it is in this confessional aspect to the narrative that there are echoes of the act of atonement represented in the accounts by German writers discussed in chapter two (Finckh, 1979; Pausewang, 1989). By the end of Lingard's novel there are indications that, for Kate, narrating her story has had a therapeutic effect. As the three friends part in the epilogue, Lingard adds a closing sentence: 'At long last the file on Fraulein Berg could be closed' (p.159). Standing as a paragraph on its own, this statement can be taken to refer to the entire narrative rather than just the brief discussion between the three women. The file can be closed, the narrator is absolved and an apology has been implicitly offered.

The permeation of the thought and language of the young by wartime propaganda explored in relation to German youth in chapter three are evident in Lingard's novel, too, in Sally's recognition in the epilogue that the propaganda the girls were subjected to was largely responsible for their feverish spy hunt (Lingard, 1980, p.158). There is an implicit warning here against prejudice and the misuse of public channels of communication. Lingard's decision to address her confessional novel to a child audience reflects her commitment to writing about international political and social issues for children. Lingard's 'Kevin and Sadie'⁴ quintet of novels set in Ireland, for example, and the two novels based on her husband's experience as a Latvian refugee in the immediate post-war period (Tug of War, 1989, and Between Two Worlds, 1991), also have a didactic purpose in alerting children to the dangers of prejudice and the consequences of war. The File on Fraulein Berg surely has the same implicit purpose, and in this respect links can be made with the writing of Gudrun Pausewang whose warning voice permeates the Rosinka trilogy.

The excitement of war: childhood threatened or enhanced?

Joan Lingard's novel is exceptional amongst British autobiographical novels and accounts of wartime childhoods in its underlying theme - the persecution of an individual within the British Isles as a result of wartime propaganda. However, while Lingard may sustain a wider political aim in her writing to warn against prejudice, the guilt underlying the novel remains personal and attached to a single instance rather than forming part of a greater national shame, nor is it implied in the novel that Kate's childhood has been irretrievably damaged by national policy. In addition, the tracking of Fräulein Berg takes place against a secure family background. For British children immediate threats to family security consisted of the absence of fathers, evacuation and the psychological impact of sustained bombing campaigns. Bombing raids brought both excitement and fear to German, Jewish and British children. Ilse Koehn's (1977) and Christine Nöstlinger's (1973)

⁴ The Twelfth Day of July (1970), Across the Barricades (1972), Into Exile (1973), A Proper Place (1975), and Hostages to Fortune (1976), all originally published by Hamish Hamilton.

accounts of sheltering from the relentless bombing of Berlin and Vienna in the final days of the war parallel those of the raids on Tyneside, Lowestoft and Buckinghamshire in the autobiographical writing of Robert Westall, Michael Foreman and Susan Cooper. These three British writers (although Susan Cooper has lived for many years in the USA, it is her childhood in wartime Britain on which the novel Dawn of Fear , 1970, is based) take the excitement and adventure of war as a starting point for autobiographical texts. War is approached from a child's - and in particular a male child's - perspective as, on one level, a welcome diversion from daily routine, a game to be re-enacted in a range of play situations. The narrative perspective is not at first sight that of regret for a lost childhood. On the contrary, childhood appears at times to be enhanced by the opportunities for play and the acting out of military scenarios.

While there is not space in this study to undertake a detailed comparison of male and female approaches to autobiographical children's literature on the war years, there is nevertheless a link to be made between Lacan's dialectic of shame and success and the degree to which male writers feel compelled to project an image of strength and deny self-doubt. Parallels with the recent trend towards a critical appraisal of male behaviour in autobiographies written by men (Jackson, 1990) can be detected in the representation of a youthful enthusiasm for Third Reich policies in the work of several German writers (von der Grün, 1979; Richter, 1962,1976) , and in some limited aspects of the British novels to be discussed. The emphasis on drama, adventure and the equipment and superiority of the British forces is, however, a powerful strand in autobiographies by male British writers, and is adopted by Susan Cooper in the first part of her novel. The compulsion to turn a face of strength to the world and inscribe a 'page of glory' is exemplified in the second part of Roald Dahl's autobiography written for children, Going Solo (1986). Dahl's account of the period he spent as a fighter pilot in the Second World War is that of an intrepid young man engaged in many aerial dog-fights. Jackson (1990) chooses Dahl's autobiography as an instance of self-concealment , questioning the lack of 'any deep sense of the person that these things happened to' (Jackson, 1990, p.18). Dahl's account is extreme in this respect; in the

autobiographical writing of Susan Cooper, Michael Foreman and Robert Westall a more differentiated male perspective is adopted. Texts by these three writers have been selected for more detailed discussion because the adult narrator's perspective on the past offers significant points of comparison with the work of German or Jewish writers. In each case adventure and nostalgia are tempered to a greater or lesser degree by underlying fears for personal safety, threats to family stability or a reassessment of wartime ideology in the structure of the narratives or the use of particular stylistic effects.

Taking on a male identity: Susan Cooper's 'Dawn of Fear'

Susan Cooper's Dawn of Fear (1970) is identified by Nettell (1993) in the preamble to an interview with Cooper as 'a straight autobiographical novel except that, curiously, she turned herself into a little boy' (p.16). How 'straight' the autobiographical element in Dawn of Fear might be is, as always, open to question, and the choice of a male central character is significant in considering the nature of the representation of the childhood self. The setting and bombing raids are drawn directly from Cooper's own experience; she lived as a child close to a railway line which was a prime target for bombing raids, and - as in the novel - there was an anti-aircraft emplacement at the end of her street (Nettell, 1993). Cooper has memories of fleeing to the garden air-raid shelter: 'bombs falling on our heads sort of thing' (p.16) and of the overwhelming sense of fear experienced at a very young age (she was only four when the war began):

I think I know a lot about fear. I was very fearful as a child - perhaps something to do with the war, with the black-out and bombings. I was part of a warm and close family, yet there was always a Nazi paratrooper in the wardrobe at night. (p.16)

These are Cooper's chosen themes in the novel; the counterpoint between a secure family existence and and the fear and danger caused by a war which it is difficult for a young child to comprehend: it becomes the stuff of the imagination, of play and nightmares.

In her novel Cooper transposes her own experience into a narrative which centres on the friendship of three boys whose building of a 'fortified' camp and stalking of a local gang drive the narrative forward. It becomes clear as the novel develops that, of the trio of friends, Derek is the focalizing character. Derek shares his friends' fascination for military technology and appreciation of the war as a thrilling adventure, but his gradual realisation that his family and friends are in real danger and that war has unleashed powerful negative forces determines the reader's perception of events. It is possible that this change of outlook played a major part in the choice of a male central character, in that the contrast between outer bravado and the inner 'dawning' of fear is more extreme than might have been the case with a girl less interested in military hardware. As the novel opens, Derek, Peter and Geoff are the last to enter the air-raid shelter in their school playground, unable to leave the compelling sight of German bombers and the pursuing RAF planes. They argue about whether the German planes are Junkers or Dormiers; Derek hops 'in delight' (Cooper, 1970, p.11) as the anti-aircraft guns begin to fire. Later he comments in a passage of interior monologue that despite many bombing raids: 'it was only a shame that nothing so exciting as a fire ever happened really near home' (p.24).

Derek's naiveté rests on the foundation of a cosy, comfortable family life which is emphasised throughout the novel. The first intimation of a change in his attitude to bombing is introduced in the domestic setting, after his mother's goodnight kiss and his younger brother's sleepy 'Good night, Derry' (p.48). Derek first silently asks God to look after the newly made camp, although he is aware that this sounds a little odd. After his brother stirs and speaks, Derek extends the prayer: 'And please God don't let there be a raid tonight' (p.48). This awareness of the preciousness of his family and potential threats to its wellbeing is intensified when there is a raid that night and Derek is roughly manhandled by his normally gentle father into the air-raid shelter. At this turning point in the narrative there is a passage of reflection where Derek reassesses his obliviousness to the dangers of air-raids. Later in the novel he is alerted by an older boy, Tom, to the wider political implications of the war, while the fight between Tom as the

champion of Derek and his friends and Johnny Wiggs of the White Road gang makes all spectators aware of the negative forces at work on the world stage. The novel's anti-historical perspective is made explicit in Derek's response:

Derek knew that each of the watching boys, both friend and enemy, felt as he did himself: caught up in a great unmanageable fear at the sight and sound of a fighting that was not like their own kind of fighting at all, but something much older and bigger and with emotions behind it of a kind they did not know. (p.117)

The fight is stopped by an air-raid siren which causes Derek to flinch in fear for the first time - to recognise a fear he had not known before. The fight and its aftermath, described as: 'the huge and awful strangeness of the mood that still hung over them all' (p.120) reflects Cooper's own childhood fear, a fear which she claims also influenced the terrifying set-pieces in The Dark is Rising sequence of novels (Nettel, 1993, p.16). Faced with an unarticulated terror, Derek immediately seeks the solace of his home, where he spends the rest of the day indoors building castles for his small brother: 'It was a comfort, a proof that whatever might be prowling outside, his own world and the people closest within it were still secure' (p.122). The use of 'prowling' and the earlier phrase 'huge and awful strangeness' suggest an existential fear at the powerlessness of humankind in the face of an animalistic and superhuman potential for evil. Derek's fear is, of course, confirmed the night after the fight in a particularly severe raid in which his friend Peter is killed, so that the novel closes as Derek succumbs to his grief.

Susan Cooper's intention in fictionalising her own wartime experience becomes apparent in the title of her novel; fear and the threat to domestic security, the dominant emotions of the time for her, enter the life of Derek in a carefully plotted narrative. The anxiety which is Cooper's personal legacy from a wartime childhood finds expression in the novel. It is only in this very limited sense that the novel could be called therapeutic; unlike many autobiographical German novels representing children's experience of bombing raids there is no retrospective narrative framework or direct link made in the text with the author's childhood self. Indeed, the change of gender distances personal experience in the same way that Gudrun

Pausewang initially transposed elements of her own post-war life as a refugee in Auf einem langen Weg (1978), a novel in which the central characters are two young brothers. Nor is there any indication in the introductory notes on Cooper or on the book jacket of Dawn of Fear that the content is autobiographical. These external features are significant: Cooper has created fiction which just happens to be partly autobiographical - it is not considered necessary to alert the reader to this fact. As has been pointed out in previous chapters, German novels often make explicit the autobiographical element in the inclusion of additional, factual material (maps, chronologies etc.) and - most importantly - in the adult narrator's voice commenting on both the younger self and the wider implications of the policies of the Third Reich. Wartime propaganda plays a part in Cooper's novel - the three friends refer to a member of the opposing gang as 'a Nazi' (p.33) - yet there is no evidence in the text of a need to reassess the ideology of the period. Indeed, Susan Cooper speaks of the sense of 'Us and Them' she has inherited from the war years: 'the good side (one's own of course) against the bad.' (Nettell, 1993) Cooper's novel is not in any sense political: the climax of the novel lies in Derek's recognition of an existential fear which he is too young to attribute to historical events and political forces, and which the narrator does not attempt to explain in these terms.

Images of nostalgia or ambivalence: Michael Foreman and Tomi Ungerer

In the story of Michael Foreman's wartime childhood in Lowestoft, War Boy (1989), we have - in contrast to the two British novels already discussed - a narrative which is openly and directly autobiographical. Foreman was, of course, very young during the war, only reaching the age of seven by its close. The security of the domestic setting he depicts and the clear-cut separation between the kindly, brave British soldier and the evil German enemy are viewed by a child who has certainly not yet experienced Cooper's 'dawn of fear'. Play, which dominates the first part of Cooper's novel, is a major theme throughout this humorous and nostalgic account. In representing his childhood self, Foreman takes us into the realm of what Lacan termed the Imaginary, where acting out adult roles or the fascination

with the symbolic representation of these roles in military hardware and insignia reflect the identification of the young with powerful members of the social order. Susan Cooper's trio of friends in Dawn of Fear play war games and enjoy plane-spotting during bombing raids; Michael Foreman relates similar exploits of his own ranging from the 'bombing' of wastepaper bins in the school playground to his adoption - complete with miniature uniform - as a mascot of the King's Own Scottish Borderers. A keen interest in military technology is a male prerogative in these texts; Foreman, like the boys in Susan Cooper's novel, can recognise 'Junkers' and 'Dormiers' as well as the 'Fokker Wulfes' which attack Lowestoft, a key naval base. He and his friends know all the badges of the regiments which pass through the town and are thrilled by the barrage balloons: 'the arrival of barrage balloons had all the excitement of the arrival of the circus big top' (Foreman, 1989, p.32). This is the only line of text in a double page spread where Foreman represents in his illustration of these balloons their overwhelming vastness and close resemblance to circus elephants. There is a similar sense of exhilaration in his account of the fearful 'doodlebugs' which were usually hit by the coastal guns. The reader is invited to share young Foreman's perception of the 'spectacular show' (p.84) which local people viewed from the cliff top: 'A direct hit would result in a tremendous orange flash, a bang and a shower of shrapnel, hopefully over the sea' (p.84).

This carnival atmosphere raises the question of narrative perspective in this text - what is the prevailing mood of illustrations and narrative, and how does the adult narrator's view of the past differ from the child's? There is an immediacy and directness in this first-person narrative where events are related in the matter-of-fact manner of the child without the qualifications of psychological response or the adult's retrospective comment. The opening line: 'I woke up when the bomb came through the roof' (p.7) takes the reader straight to the heart of the Foreman family's moment of greatest danger, with brief sentences offering information or explanation for a child audience at a rapid pace, leaving the reader to speculate on the danger of this episode: 'It was an incendiary. A fire-bomb' (p.7). The only element of fear lies in a tiny detail of the accompanying illustration. The mother's face is seen in profile as she runs, carrying Foreman himself, to the nearest shelter; her eyebrow

is raised and the pupil lowered to convey her terror and anxiety. The narrative continues as a straightforward, episodic report, contextualising the events viewed from the child's point-of-view with passages of information supported by statistics - numbers of children evacuated (p.22) or of air-raid alarms on the east coast (p.53). Foreman as adult narrator and illustrator represents childhood adventure with minimal comment on the negative consequences or wider political implications of war. There are references to the unknown fate of the soldiers passing through the town, to local casualties in air-raids or the havoc caused by the doodlebug, yet these do not affect the general air of nostalgia.

The poignant, humorous tone of this account is only possible because there is no therapeutic need to dwell on a lost childhood or necessity to confess a national or personal guilt. Foreman's childhood recollections - as reflected in the subtitle 'A country childhood' - form part of the 'pastoral idyll' tradition of British childhood autobiography epitomised by Laurie Lee's Cider with Rosie (1959), and represented here primarily in the illustrations. Foreman's childhood games and enthusiasms are represented in superb artwork which ranges from the exactness of technical drawings copied from original sources, to the luminous watercolour washes evoking summer idylls in marshland countryside (pp74-5). A mood of innocent nostalgia predominates in these scenes, as Foreman's wartime adventures take place in the context of a loving and secure family base. The many soldiers passing through the village were welcomed into the combined home and sweetshop run by Foreman's mother and her sister: we see their happy faces round the table on Christmas Eve 1942 in the warm hazy glow of the decorated room, looking out of the picture (in the reader's direction) at 'the little boy they had just kissed goodnight' (p.36) - this is of course Foreman himself.

Childhood is not lost but savoured by Foreman, as domestic security parallels a world view conditioned by the ideology of the war years. As in Susan Cooper's novel, there is no doubt as to who the 'goodies' and 'baddies' are. Foreman's childhood 'cowboys and Indians' games easily become 'British and Germans', except that 'no-one would "be" the Germans' (p.50). Foreman as narrator does not distance himself from this simplistic

morality; his account closes on a celebratory note with the burning on bonfires of effigies of Hitler, Himmler and Goebbels on VE day and 'a lot of yellow guys with big teeth and glasses' (p.92) on VJ day. Here we have a clear example of the child's view expressed in a phrase which could cause offence to a current audience⁵ but which Foreman, writing of a key event still regarded nationally as a 'page of glory', sees no need to qualify. The final paragraphs of the narrative summarise this 'glory'; there is a poignant reflection on childhood games and the soldiers who passed through the village, preceded by a passage which uses the text of a popular song to express public sentiment:

So it was true, all the things the grown-ups had said during the dark days. Now the war was over everything would be all right, there'll be blue birds over the white cliffs, not barrage balloons. And men with rainbows on their chests would, like my kite, come home. (p.95).

The language of wartime propaganda - of which popular songs form a significant part - has been woven into a paen to the British wartime spirit. The phrase: 'it was true, all the things the grown-ups had said' reminds the reader of the child's perspective and contrasts with the total disillusionment of German youth with what adults had 'said' - the often agonised reassessment of the propaganda, ideology and language of the Third Reich. In this passage Foreman presents as a child's perspective the prevailing British view of the war years. The re-creation of the childhood self is conditioned by this positive, sentimental view which is more likely to appeal to an adult audience enjoying a nostalgic visit to the past. The book has undoubtedly been bought and enjoyed by adults and is now supported by a sequel, After the War Was Over (1995), which - unlike other sequels discussed in this study written for therapeutic reasons - continues Foreman's story into the post-war years with the same tone of humour and delight.

Foreman's autobiographical account has not been prompted by an urge to confess or a personal therapeutic need to recount childhood suffering. Any fear or distress the child may have experienced as a result of wartime experience has been avoided in an account where child and adult narrator

⁵ A Japanese student studying for the Children's Literature MA at Roehampton Institute in 1995 was indeed offended by the description and illustration of these figures on the bonfire in War Boy.

do not appear to diverge in their perspective on events. A revealing comparison can be made with another illustrated account of wartime childhood by a picture book artist - that of Tomi Ungerer, Die Gedanken sind frei: Meine Kindheit im Elsass (literally: Thoughts are free: My childhood in Alsace, 1993). Ungerer's book has an interesting history in itself which reflects both the geographical and historical position of Alsace, caught between German and French spheres of influence, and that of Ungerer as a child. At the age of nine Ungerer had to change his language and even his name (from Jean Thomas to Hans Thomas) when the Germans invaded Alsace in 1940. According to an afterword by Ungerer, these childhood memoirs were first published in French, but during work on the German edition new material was added so that a completely new book emerged (p.144). This German edition shares with Foreman's account an uncertainty as to audience - a reviewer from Le Monde quoted on the back cover concludes that this is a book about childhood for all ages. Both Foreman and Ungerer are primarily artists. The need to represent visual memories of the war years either as a celebration of the past or, in Ungerer's case, with a qualifying commentary, leads them to use a mixture of the picture book and illustrated information book forms, both of which are usually associated with a child audience.

The difference in approach to wartime childhood between the two books becomes immediately apparent, however, in the reference to Auschwitz in Ungerer's preface. He recognises that in relation to the misery, violence and torture suffered by others his childhood view of the war years as a great adventure might seem insulting and has to be explained: 'Aber wenn ich über diese Epoche spreche, als seien es die grossen Ferien gewesen, so deshalb, weil ich als Junge mit der Unbefangenheit des Kindes alles wie ein grosses Schauspiel empfunden habe' (I talk about this period as one long holiday because I experienced everything with the innocence of a child as a great spectacle, p.8).⁹ Here Ungerer appears to address an adult audience, setting the tone of the adult narrator's voice which pauses at points throughout the narrative to reflect on the childhood self. An additional point of contrast with Foreman's picture book lies in the illustrations themselves. Both use original source material (cigarette cards, posters or official notices),

but Ungerer's impressively detailed and witty drawings are those he completed at the time, between the ages of nine and fourteen. There is a separation between the child's visual record of the era and the adult's retrospective commentary; childhood is not reconstructed according to a current ideology by means of the illustrations as in Foreman's nostalgic watercolours. The complexity of the circumstances of Ungerer's wartime experience in an enemy occupied area as compared to that of Foreman - despite the secure family background and stability of the home which both enjoyed - is reflected in both childhood drawings and the text which accompanies them. The identity of Alsace and of the child as French or German is the underlying theme of this account, in the same way that a change of country and language shapes the reconstruction of the childhood self in the narratives of exiled Jewish writers (Judith Kerr and Charles Hannam).

Although, like Foreman, Ungerer uses the written text to inform the reader about Alsace in wartime - statistics here include the 479, 589 pairs of socks collected for the war effort in Alsace in 1942 - there is a focus early in the narrative on language. We are told that Ungerer's mother, although by preference a French speaker, grew up during a period when Alsace was a German possession, and that she had written poetry in German. After the German invasion of 1940 brought with it the prohibition of the French language, the Ungerer family continued to speak French at home and young Tomi wrote a diary in broken French. The language of school was, of course, changed to German, and back again to French in the post-war years. Ungerer writes of this process as a 'trauma' (p.134), since in the grammar school he was forbidden to speak the Alsatian dialect of German, just as he had been forbidden to speak French during the German occupation. The element of personal need to tell his story surfaces here, although the adult narrator feels compelled to confess to a degree of exaggeration in his own previous accounts of the period. Nevertheless, there is a confusion of linguistic and national identity accompanied by a shifting perspective on the past by the adult narrator which cannot be detected in the unified vision of child and narrator represented in War Boy.

As his preface indicates, Ungerer as a boy also regarded the war years as a big adventure. He narrates amusing accounts of attempts made with friends to alarm the Germans by shouting air-raid warnings, or to stop German convoys by covering their expected route with broken glass. In addition to the prefatory apology for this view, however, there is an implicit confessional element in Ungerer's retrospective account of his successful adaptation to circumstance. He describes being caught up in the nazification process: 'Wir waren im Räderwerk dieser riesigen Uhr gefangen' (We were trapped in the mechanism of this gigantic clock, p.54). As a consequence of the introduction of NSDAP ideology into schools, one of Ungerer's first pieces of homework under the new regime was to draw a Jew. He sketched a caricature based on his mother's description which is reproduced in the book ⁶ with the adult narrator's comments on its unreality. Ungerer goes on to explain his position as an undoubted opponent of the Germans - as reflected in his satirical portraits of German military types on a set of playing cards (pp.68-9) - who was nevertheless able to adapt to the system: 'zu Hause Franzose, in der Schule Deutscher, mit meinen Kameraden Elsässer' (a French boy at home, a German at school and an Alsace lad with my friends', p.57). Ungerer attributes to this period his 'chameleon' (p.57) qualities, a description which implies a degree of moral flexibility. This moral self-examination continues by implication in the closing pages of his account when Ungerer confronts the issue of the holocaust in an account of the concentration camp Struthof in the neighbouring Vosges hills. He includes a drawing completed in 1948 of a bleeding camp inmate with the caption: 'Dachau Buchenwald Auschwitz' which the reader inevitably compares with the caricature of a Jew drawn seven years before. There is undoubtedly an aspect of atonement for the younger child's lack of awareness in the later image of intense suffering. Ungerer's preoccupation with this aspect of the war years has continued; he writes that he often visits the site of the camp, a place which affects him profoundly.

These references to the terrible consequences of fascism so close to home highlight the differences between Ungerer's perspective on the past and the nostalgia which colours - often literally - Foreman's account, a nostalgia which reflects an ideological vision of the war years that remains consistent

⁶ See Appendix 4, figure 2.

for child and adult. Throughout Die Gedanken sind frei Ungerer is a self-conscious narrator who condemns the exaggeration of his own earlier accounts of linguistic confusion. He also confesses to the invention of stories that he had been forced to dig trenches on the German front line, stories designed to impress and arouse sympathy (p.115). He claims to mistrust 'Kindheitserinnerungen' (memoirs of childhood, p.82) and asserts his intention in this account to avoid sentimentality (p.115). These caveats testify to the changing representation of the past and the childhood self according to the needs of the adult in relation to the social world - the reinvention of the social self through language according to Lacan. Ungerer closes his account of a turbulent, exciting period of his life with a reference to his sister's wedding in Normandy where he saw the sea for the first time and was overwhelmed by its grandness and purity: 'eine vibrierende, klare Heiterkeit ohne Pflaster und ohne Lügen' (a vibrating, luminous brightness without pavements and without lies, p.140). In contrast to Foreman's closing words on the end of war as a reinforcement of the 'truth' spoken by adults, for Ungerer the sea is free of any sign of human existence and therefore free of lies. Reversals in cultural heritage and political ideology during his formative years have made the narrator wary and self-conscious in his review of wartime adventures; this part-German writer shares the problematic narrative perspective of many German authors discussed in this study.

Nostalgia, realism and an equivocal view of the past: the Second World War novels of Robert Westall

The nostalgic view of wartime childhood which colours Foreman's War Boy can also be traced in the work of the late Robert Westall. In his novels set in the war years, we return to the fictionalisation of childhood experience, where anxiety at a possible invasion and occupation by German forces of the north-east coast is matched by the terror and excitement inspired by the central experience of the war for the young Westall: the bombing of Tynemouth. As I have already argued, the therapeutic process of re-evaluating wartime childhood has resulted in the continuation of the histories of many of the writers in this study into sequels, while some - Westall, Nina

Bawden and Gudrun Pausewang - are compelled for the same reasons to rework their own experience in different genres over a number of years. Westall's personal experience of the Second World War and his preoccupation with the period feature in the novel The Machine-gunners (1975) and its sequel Fathom Five (1979b); the collection of stories Echoes of War (1989a) and the novel Blitzcat (1989b) published in the same year; the collection of memoirs edited by Westall and first published in 1985, Children of the Blitz; the novels The Kingdom by the Sea (1990a) and The Promise (1990b) and , finally, two posthumously published works: the novel A Time of Fire (1994) and the collection of stories Blitz (1995). In many of these novels and stories the central character is a boy of about Westall's age during the war years: Chas McGill, the hero of The Machine-gunners (1975), continues his adventures in Fathom Five (1979b), and is followed chronologically by Harry in The Kingdom by the Sea (1990) and Sonny in A Time of Fire (1994). Throughout Westall's retrospective imaginative development of aspects of his own childhood during the last twenty years, two underlying themes are significant in comparing his work with that of German writers: the fear or possible consequences of wartime bombing for family security, and the reinterpretation of the seductive ideology of the war years in a complex narrative approach to the past. These concerns are most clearly exemplified in The Machine-gunners (1975), the first novel in the series, where Westall's writing - like that of Susan Cooper in Dawn of Fear - draws on memories of both fear and adventure.

Westall's assessments of the past made beyond the boundaries of his fiction throw some light on the relationship between childhood experience and its fictionalisation. Westall has spoken in an interview reprinted in The Guardian (March 28th 1991) of the lingering effects of the bombing he witnessed as a child:

For a ten-year old to be lightly bombed - we're talking of five bombers a night - is enormous fun. I've never had an adventure like it, which is perhaps why I tend to return to it. (p.32)

Westall's descriptions of bombing as 'enormous fun' and 'an adventure' correspond to the mood in the first section of Susan Cooper's novel, where

the excitement of the trio of friends watching approaching enemy bombers overcomes any fear for their own safety. This positive view of the past also characterises the passages attributed to 'Boy, Tyneside' in the collection of memoirs edited by Westall, Children of the Blitz: Memories of wartime childhood (1995)⁷. Here we have access to Westall's own memories⁸ without the cloak of fiction - links between the novels and these soundbites of memory can be clearly established, although there is some ambiguity in the presentation of these extracts. Most, including those by Westall, are written retrospectively, yet the simple signature of the child's age, name and wartime home ('Boy, aged nine, Tyneside', p.46) supports the illusion - despite the use of the past tense - that it is the child who is addressing the reader. Nevertheless, one has to assume that specific details which appear both in the memoirs and novels are genuine memories which Westall has used to authenticate his re-creation of the past in both genres. The flattened bullets resembling silver mushrooms, for example, which were found by Westall (Westall, 1995, P.81), are avidly collected by both Chas McGill in Machine-gunners (1975) and Sonny in A Time of Fire (1994); and the comparison between the sound of approaching planes and the noise made by a 'boy running a stick along a set of iron railings' (Westall, 1995, p.80) features in both Blitzcat (1989b) and A Time of Fire (1994).

These details contribute to the air of excitement, danger and adventure which typifies both Westall's fiction and memoirs. In his notes on contributors to Children of the Blitz, Westall comments that 'boys were after adventure' (Westall, 1995, p.6), admitting in the foreword to his own 'insatiable hunger for weapons' (p15). In keeping with this mood of excitement at out-of-the ordinary events and in the interests of appealing to his audience, Westall adopts an adventure story format in The Machine-gunners. The plot of the novel includes many features of the classic war and boys' adventure story: the capture by a group of boys and one plucky girl of an enemy pilot; the setting-up of a fortress complete with stolen machine gun and the sub-plot of a series of fights between the central character, Chas

⁷ This collection of children's memoirs was first published by Penguin in 1985, and reissued in a revised edition by Macmillan in 1995 to coincide with the fiftieth anniversary of VE Day. Page references are those of the 1995 edition.

⁸ In his notes on contributors, Westall describes the spy fever of one 'Boy, Tyneside', Aidan Harrison, then adds 'I'll leave you to guess who the other 'Boy, Tyneside' was....' (Westall, 1995, p.7)

McGill, and his rival in collecting war souvenirs, Boddser Brown. Westall adapts these genres, however, in allowing the intrusion into the narrative of personal fear during air-raids in passages of interior monologue, where the reader has access to thoughts that Chas McGill would not share with his family, let alone his friends. One memory of fear recorded in Children of the Blitz which brings the young Westall's fear during air-raids into sharp focus, is that of picking of pieces of cork from the walls of the communal Anderson shelter, an activity which 'stopped me from screaming while the bombs were dropping' (Westall, 1995, p.70). These cork pieces, set in the wet paint of the walls to absorb condensation, appear in The Machine-gunners (1975, p.53)⁹, where the terrified Chas McGill invents a ritualistic game. He begins to count in his head to twenty; when he reaches that number he will either be dead, or he will have survived to see pieces of cork dislodged from the wall by the shock wave of a nearby bomb. Personal fear is accompanied by the fears for family security which are a key theme of so many of the autobiographical accounts in this study. In The Machine-gunners Chas McGill walks anxiously to his grandparents' home after a heavy raid, finding it : 'harder and harder to breathe' (Westall, 1975, p.58). There is an imaginative realisation of such fears in later novels: Harry in The Kingdom by the Sea (1990a) believes that his parents have been killed in an air-raid and embarks on a lone refugee existence, while Sonny in A Time of Fire (1994) loses both parents in enemy action.

Fear and anger are never far from the surface as the children in The Machine-gunners stage their own version of the war; Westall was acutely aware that children's play did not simply reduce war to the status of a game. Children were both able to act out adult roles in play, and to acknowledge a more deep-seated desire to overcome their fears and powerlessness in a situation created by adults. Resentment at adult management of the war is reflected in Westall's fascination with a press cutting reproduced in the foreword to Children of the Blitz relating the story of a trio of boys who actually did steal rifles and keep a platoon of marines at bay for two days in the Welsh mountains. The same response dominates the closing pages of The Machine-gunners where all adults who seek to end the children's adventure by entering their fortress and removing their weapons are

⁹ Page references are those of the 1977 edition published by Penguin under the Puffin imprint.

regarded as enemies. Responsibility is attributed to adults for both the confused local situation at the end of the novel, and the wider scenario of chaos and destruction.

Westall's adaptation of his chosen genre in The Machine-gunners indicates a commitment to realism as well as entertainment in his writing for children. His defence of realism in the article 'How Real do You Want Your Realism?' (1979a) introduces the question of the realistic representation of childhood for a child audience, which in The Machine-gunners is pivotal in constraining the adult narrator's reinterpretation of the past. Westall cites a passage from Laurie Lee's Cider with Rosie (1959) - already mentioned in this study as an example of the British pastoral, Romantic tradition of childhood autobiography - in which Lee vividly describes the sensations of a child overwhelmed by the sights and sounds of the countryside in the language of 'a highly sophisticated adult' (Westall, 1979a, p.34). Westall has found that children are unmoved when he reads this description to them; they do not appreciate Lee's humour at the expense of the child. Westall attacks amusing accounts of childhood written with an adult audience in mind - the kind of approach taken in Foreman's War Boy (1989). In Westall's view: 'Nostalgia is the enemy of children's realism' (p35). It is realism, he argues, which appeals directly to the child reader, and which can perhaps only be created with a particular child in mind:

...the child-within-the-author turns to the real child and says, "Come away with me and I will show you a place you otherwise will never see, because it is buried under thirty, or three hundred or three thousand years of time" (p.36)

The positions of the child and adult selves within the narrative are, then, crucial to Westall's approach to writing for the young - especially when his own childhood is the starting point for fiction. Westall has chosen to reconstruct a wartime childhood buried under thirty years of time in The Machine-gunners, representing himself in the third person narrative as a fictional character, Chas McGill, with his own twelve-year-old son in mind: 'To tell him how it felt to be me, when I was twelve' (p.37). Westall describes

the process of reading out the novel chapter by chapter to his son as it developed, with the conviction that : 'Twelve spoke to twelve, without interruption' (p.37). It is, as we have seen, precisely this assumed direct representation of experience which Westall seeks to create in the sustained illusion of the child addressing the reader in Children of the Blitz. In reverting to childhood as he writes, Westall seeks to adopt the unsentimental realism of the child; yet the implication that the adult has disappeared from sight is open to question. We are reminded once again of Jacqueline Rose's thesis (Rose, 1984) that the relationship between adult writer and child reader is a highly artificial one; it is impossible ever totally to discard the mantle of the adult self and re-enter the child's world. The *adult's* 'childhood' is itself a creation, an altered story. Twelve cannot speak to twelve: there *is* an 'interruption' in the form of the adult's shaping and ordering consciousness, as is demonstrated in all the autobiographical accounts and novels in this study. Realism enables Westall to break formal boundaries - to include detailed descriptions of fear and anxiety in a wartime adventure, for example - and to maintain authenticity primarily through the incorporation of the language of the era into the narrative and the representation of contemporary ideology. Westall has chosen to create the *illusion* of authenticity; difficulties then arise in incorporating any reinterpretation of the past into the narrative. Contrary to Westall's pronouncement that realism and nostalgia are in conflict, it is precisely the realistic representation of the language and the values of the period which creates a mood of nostalgia for a lost era of apparent moral certainties.

Westall's realism transports the reader back to the war years through the use of the language of the time. Language and its institutionalisation in the form of slogans and directives during wartime was the subject of chapter three, where the direct indoctrination of German children through youth organisations and the affective power of Hitler's speeches was a focus of the separation between child and adult narrator in autobiographical texts. The 'pollution' of the German language and its aftermath has no equivalent in British texts; the awed repetition by Sonny of Churchill's famous 'We shall fight them on the beaches....' speech in Westall's A Time of Fire (1994, p.70), does not have the alienating effect on both reader and adult narrator

that is automatically achieved by the inclusion of Nazi rhetoric in German texts (Hannsmann, 1982; Pausewang, 1990). British wartime speeches remain acceptable today and continue to stir patriotic sentiment. Westall combines such popularised versions of wartime propaganda with dialect and period slang to create a realistic representation of wartime childhood.

The social setting of The Machine-gunners is what Westall calls the 'Artisan working class' (Nettall, 1991, p.32) of Tyneside, where dialect is a feature of dialogue, for example the frequent use of 'Aye' and 'nowt' (Westall, 1975, p.8). However, it is the incorporation of the slang of the period into passages of dialogue which both amuses and aligns the reader with Chas McGill and his friends in their scurrilous use of language. 'Tripe' is frequently used to dismiss an opinion, policemen are 'bobbies' (p.45), or 'rozzers' whose 'beetle-crushers' (p.38) have carved a pathway through a local wood in their search for the missing machine gun. In addition to the vernacular spoken by children and their parents, language typical of the period determines narrative point-of-view. When Chas and Cem spot a police car outside the McGills' house, Cem agrees that he will keep quiet about the gun: ' "Right!" said Cem, like a bulldog getting its teeth into a Nazi's shin' (p.42). The narrator appears to be expressing the boys' attitudes in this simile which could have been taken directly from war comics or stories, a type of narrative with which the boys are likely to be familiar. Language allows the child reader to engage with the ideology of the period as it was presented to children; the representation of the German language in passages of interior monologue by Rudi, the German prisoner, is also characteristic of the comics or war stories of the era and the post-war years. Words and phrases such as 'Dumkopf' (p.116) and 'Hande hoch' (p.117) were part of the language of most British schoolboys at the time, often inaccurately spelled as they are here (an 'm' is missing from 'Dummkopf' and an umlaut from 'Hände'). The misunderstanding of German syntax whereby Rudi inappropriately places the verb at the end the sentence when speaking English is another cliché in the work of writers with no knowledge of German: 'I quite prepared to build a bog am' (p.133). In this instance the verb would not be relegated to the end of the sentence in German, let alone in English. It can only be assumed that Westall has deliberately chosen to

retain in Rudi aspects of the stereotypical comic-strip German, so that his subversion of this image as the plot develops should be all the more pointed.

Comic-strip language and imagery form a part of Westall's intention to recreate for the child reader the language, thoughts and experiences of a childhood 'buried under thirty...years of time'. The ideology of the period is also represented in the attitudes of adults and the perspectives of children who become focalizing characters: the essential messages of propaganda campaigns and public opinion reached children via the media or in their conversations with adults. In The Machine-gunners, Chas McGill's fears of an enemy invasion focus on images of German troops in newsreels, enhanced no doubt by the language of the accompanying commentary: 'All his childhood they had stormed through the cinema newsreels, jackbooting triumphantly through Vienna, Prague, Warsaw, Paris. Now they would jackboot through Garmouth' (p.153). The association of the 'jackboot' with tyranny and evil is an abiding wartime image; Chas also attributes responsibility for this evil to the demonised figure of Hitler. Just as some German writers attempt retrospectively to disassociate themselves from the policies of the Third Reich in their autobiographical writing (Fuchs, 1979; Schwarz, 1981), Chas McGill is convinced that the removal of Hitler would end the war: 'Why didn't God get Hitler for what he was doing? Why didn't he send a thunderbolt on Berchtesgarden?' (p.56). In this passage McGill is struggling to understand the destruction of a local church: why does God not intervene when Hitler is evil and the British have right on their side? The British, after all, are represented as unwaveringly fair and just. After hitting Boddser Brown with his gasmask, Chas McGill is told by his father that 'British boys fight with their fists' (p.67), a phrase which is echoed by the headteacher as he canes the boy. The concept Chas has developed of British courage extends to his foolhardy decision to remain standing as a German plane approaches: 'He was a Britisher! He didn't jump into holes like a rabbit for no German' (p.74). Here the war in the guise of a German pilot represents almost a personal affront as Chas plays his part in the battle between 'goodies and 'baddies', a battle also re-enacted in the games of children in Susan Cooper's Dawn of Fear (1970) and Michael Foreman's War Boy (1989). Boddser Brown - the local bully and Chas McGill's worst

enemy - does, after all, have 'cropped hair like a German' (Westall, 1975, p.31).

The channelling of wartime propaganda into personal vendetta is most vividly represented in the grandparents - the generation which had also lived through the First World War - in both The Machine-gunners and A Time of Fire. Chas McGill's tough and uncompromising 'Nana' rages against the bomb damage caused by 'Hitler and his Jarmans' (p.58). The narrator comments that she regarded Hitler - a 'snotty-nosed gyet' (p.59) - with the contempt she would reserve for a sneaky neighbour who tipped rubbish into her garden. In A Time of Fire Sonny's 'Nana' dismisses the French, too, claiming that they could not be expected to defeat the Germans when they are a 'dirty lot' with no flush toilets (Westall, 1994, p63). These salt-of-the-earth Geordies are regarded with affectionate humour, however, since the reader sees them from the child's point-of-view as representing family stability and a source of spirited strength. Questionable sentiments are mouthed by positive characters: the grandfather's remark in A Time of Fire that 'only dagoes' (p.28) would draw a knife in a fight parallels the racist attitudes to the Maltese displayed by Chas Mc Gill and his friends in Fathom Five (1979b), the sequel to The Machine-gunners.

These prejudices and the faith in national superiority which dominate the perception of the war by characters in Westall's novels and the childhood memoirs recorded in Children of the Blitz, echo wartime propaganda and, indeed, the legacy of colonialism. While there was no promotion of a pseudo-science of racial purity in Britain comparable with that institutionalised in the Third Reich, a belief in national superiority was nevertheless shared by British and German youth. German writers discussed in previous chapters have attempted to explain, confess, or deny responsibility for their acceptance of state ideology - could Westall be said to adopt a critical position to aspects of the ideology which shaped his childhood within his narratives? Westall's commitment to realism makes this a difficult question to answer, although there are some aspects of plot and narrative viewpoint which indicate shifts in his views. It could be argued, for example, that the narrator's comparison between the grandmother's

vendetta against Hitler and her likely attitude towards an anti-social neighbour in The Machine-gunners (p.59) points to the absurdity of her opinions and signals to the reader that they should not be taken seriously. It is not certain, however, that a young reader would interpret the scene in this way; more effective in causing a child audience to reassess a character's stated views are the tears shed by Sonny's 'Nana' in A Time of Fire when she sees the body of a German pilot shot down over the sea. She shouts at her husband: ' "They were all some mother's sons. some woman had the pain of bearing them..." ' (Westall, 1994, p.82). Fear for the safety of her own son who has joined the RAF leads her to regard this particular German in human terms.

It is the sympathetic portrayal of another German pilot, Rudi in The Machine-gunners , which best illustrates Westall's dilemma in sustaining the narrative style demanded by his own brand of realism, while at the same time introducing a figure designed to initiate reflection on the ideology of the period. In an examination of the representation of evil in his own writing, Westall (1981) states his intention in creating Rudi to demystify the propagandistic vision of the Nazis as the incarnation of evil, by allowing his child characters close contact with the 'fallible human goodness' (p.8) of one German. Rudi's English syntax and his snatches of German may mirror the language of the war story or comic-strip - Westall seems determined to keep his audience by not straying from expected conventions - yet extensive passages of interior monologue recorded in third person narrative allow the reader access to Rudi's thoughts. We share his fears of a public lynching fuelled by scenes of the ill-treatment of British pilots shot down over Berlin; his hopes of being sent to a 'nice, safe prison camp' (p.117) when he stumbles into the children's fortress, and his mistrust of the Hitler Youth: 'those little pigs of Hitler Youth who swaggered everywhere in their swastika armbands, and would report you for getting drunk in uniform' (p.123). Rudi is not, after all, the stereotypical German of the war story; this is apparent to the children from their first sighting of him when propaganda images are challenged:

"He's no sae like a proper Nazi," said Clogger dubiously.
And indeed the tattered wretch before them was not much like those

black shiny-booted stormtroopers who goose-stepped nightly through their dreams.

"He ain't got no swastikas!"

"He's not a blond beast!" (p.117).

The children, whose responses the reader is invited to share and who have thus far represented anti-German views, begin to rethink their position. Rudi becomes their friend and co-builder of the fortress, while his own loyalties become blurred. Ultimately he decides not to attempt an escape since he has no desire to become a dead hero: 'His patriotism towards the Fatherland was dead' (p.140). Despite earlier doubts about the Hitler Youth, Rudi's change of heart is rather abrupt. He effectively agrees to become a traitor out of weakness; offering to repair the machine gun in return for access to a rowing boat as another means of escape from both the British and the invading Germans:

These hordes descending on the Blyth beaches, were they friends or foes? These children, preparing to try to kill them, were they foes or friends? Rudi no longer knew; he was muddled. Too weak and muddled to resist the oily cloth thrust at him (p.165).

This pusillanimity sits uneasily with the clearly drawn adult characters in the rest of the novel, as does the inclusion in an adventure story of passages of psychological insight. Westall's intention to create a balance between the ideology of his own wartime childhood and an alternative perspective results in a character who is not entirely convincing. As O'Sullivan (1990) argues, Rudi has no real developmental or cultural history precisely because he has been introduced into the novel to counter the children's images of stereotypical Germans: '*he exists only in contrast to them*' (p.286, author's emphasis). Westall's realism collapses when he attempts to create a character he does not know from experience.

Rudi fulfils a function in Westall's fictional recreation of the past: in representing the sympathetic German he influences the children's re-evaluation of the concept of national enmity. Rudi's confused loyalties parallel those of the children. He no longer believes in the Fatherland, while they have lost faith in adults: they swear to take care of the orphaned Nicky in a ceremony whereby their fortress becomes a 'nation': 'And the Germans

ceased to be the only enemies. All the adults were a kind of enemy now' (p.94). This shift in ideology from the view of the Germans as the only enemy and embodiment of evil began early for Westall; his own political perspective on the war had changed radically by the time he reached his teens. In Children of the Blitz (1995, pp.186-7) Westall refers to the part he played in a sixth-form debate which ended with the passing of a motion to have Truman, Roosevelt, Churchill and 'Bomber' Harris condemned as war criminals - already there is a refusal to attribute blame for wartime atrocities solely to the Germans. In creating Rudi, Westall is atoning for the view of Germany and the Germans which dominated his own childhood by allowing the child reader to recognise that not all Germans were convinced Nazis. In this respect he shares with many German writers both a confessional and a didactic purpose, although for German writers didacticism is linked to the urgency of warning the young against a repetition of their own national history and the re-emergence of racial persecution, rather than a reconciliation with the former enemy.

It could not be argued, however, that guilt - either personal or national - dominates Westall's narrative as it does those of Finckh, Hannsmann and Pausewang, or Max von der Grün's autobiographical history of the Third Reich. It is the mood of excitement which prevails and contrasts with the tone of German narratives. It is impossible to imagine a German account of childhood in the Third Reich written within the last twenty-five years where the adoption of an adventure story format and a realistic narrative style could convey to the reader the exhilaration of, say, aspects of life in the Hitler Youth: the distancing narrator's voice is always present in a variety of forms. In his wartime fiction Westall treads a fine line between a continuing enthusiasm for a period of excitement and clearly defined value systems in his own life, and a questioning of those values. That Westall's view of the era remained a positive one is apparent in the Foreword to the second edition of Children of the Blitz written in 1992. This is not the kind of disavowal to be found in the framing remarks to many German texts - on the contrary, Westall reaffirms his belief that children 'found the war was the best game for kids ever invented' (p.14). He extols the scrupulous honesty of the wartime generation of children; stresses their pride in being British: 'British

children *pitied* all foreigners' (p.13) and claims that children who were top of the class - or, even better, 'good at games' (p.13) - were respected by their friends. This hymn of praise to wartime youth appears to be addressed to children, since Westall assumes that these paragons 'became your grandparents' (p.14). It is difficult to detect any irony in this passage; heavy-handed irony of this kind would in any case not be appropriate for a young audience. Westall has given full expression to the romantic view of an era shortly to be lost to human memory, a view which colours all his wartime narratives.

Westall is not mourning a childhood regarded as lost as a result of evacuation, exile or the disruption of family security experienced by the German and Jewish writers discussed in the previous chapter. He is therefore able to subordinate any didactic and therapeutic purpose to the desire to tell a good story with direct appeal for a child audience. The fact that The Machine-gunners was originally written for Westall's son and not intended for publication (Westall, 1979a, p.37), at first sight invites a comparison between the surface emphasis on adventure and entertainment in the novel, and the accounts written by Gudrun Pausewang (1989) or Johanna Reiss (1979) for their children. The primary intention of both these writers is to inform, educate and warn the young through telling their own - often harrowing - stories as part of a therapeutic process, so that a genre intended to entertain would not be an appropriate choice. Westall, on the other hand, has transformed his own story into a compelling wartime adventure. In terms of the autobiographical process, nostalgia for and a questioning of wartime values jostle for position in the dialogue between the 'enquiring' and the 'answering' selves in the interrogation of the past discussed in earlier chapters. Lacan's dialectic of 'shame and success' is played out in a series of narratives, a dialogic process which Westall himself has drawn attention to: 'Everyone's life is a play they are writing inside their own head, with its own heroes and villains; based on what was done to them when they were small and helpless' (Westall, 1993).

Conclusions

Reassessing the 'heroes' and the 'villains' of childhood is one aspect of the developmental history of the self revealed in autobiographical texts. The Second World War as it was experienced in Britain forms the backdrop to and catalyst for a re-interpretation of adult behaviour in Nina Bawden's Carrie's War, while Joan Lingard's The File on Fraulein Berg represents an extended apology to a woman the writer had thought to be a 'villain'. The novels of Susan Cooper and Robert Westall, and Michael Foreman's War Boy, all make reference to the unshakeable moral convictions of the writers' own wartime childhoods - 'goodies' and 'baddies' were clearly designated in their view of the world. It is in the re-evaluation of these convictions in the introduction of a sinister element into a fight between British boys in Cooper's Dawn of Fear, or the sympathetic German in Westall's The Machine-gunners, that occasional parallels can be drawn with the work of German writers whose experience of a far more radical and sudden shift in ideology set preconditions for autobiographical writing on the Third Reich. Texts written in German and English also, of course, share common themes at the affective level; fear for personal safety and the paramount importance of family security characterise the autobiographical writing of British, German and Jewish writers.

In summarising the major differences between the representations of the war years in the autobiographical texts of British and German writers for children, it is evident that there is a far greater tendency in the work of British writers to present the war years as a time of extraordinary events which broke the monotony of daily life, of a heady mixture of fear and excitement which marked a high point in their lives. The predominantly male perspective on the excitement of war and the opportunities it offers for play are key themes in Foreman's War Boy, Westall's The Machine-gunners and Fathom Five and the first section of Cooper's Dawn of Fear, where the writer even transposes her own childhood experience to boy characters. From Foreman's nostalgic and often humorous backward glance in the romantic tradition to the allegiance of Westall and Dahl to the adventure or war story tradition, male British writers are able to focus on what were for them the

positive aspects of war. Anxiety and a questioning of wartime values are present in the work of Westall, but hardly impinge on the accounts by Foreman and Dahl. Although the Third Reich and the war years doubtless had their moments of adventure for German children, it would be impossible for a German writer to channel his or her experience into a nostalgic account of the Third Reich or an adventure story format. This difference in approach is evident even in the work of the part-German Tomi Ungerer, who is compelled to relate his account to the atrocities carried out during the German occupation. Only the Austrian writer Christine Nöstlinger in Maikäfer flieg comes close to a positive view of wartime childhood. The ruins of post-war Vienna offer Christel Göth a vast playground where she can delve into piles of rubble and befriend Russian troops. However, adults and their concerns are viewed ironically, and it is independence and the opportunities for personal development which are important to her rather than the 'game' of war itself.

The adoption of military hardware and wartime propaganda into children's games in British texts leads to the second key point of comparison on which the first - the choice of approach and genre - depends, namely the influence of contemporary perspectives on the recreation of the past. British writers have lived since childhood with a positive national perspective on the war years; they are at liberty to couch personal concerns in the framework of a popular narrative form, an aesthetically satisfying narrative or nostalgic visual images. In contrast to the directly autobiographical German accounts, personal history has often been woven into a fictional narrative. It could not be said, for example, that Chas McGill is Robert Westall in the same way that - despite changes of name - Anna represents Judith Kerr (1971) or Julia is the young Ursula Fuchs (1979). The novels by British writers which make no claims within the text to be autobiographical include the work of female writers who have not adopted war story formats: the title of Susan Cooper's novel indicates the major theme - the dawn of fear - for which the play scenes are a preparation; Lingard and Bawden explore personal guilt and family relationships. Neither autobiographical strands nor national ideologies are made explicit.

The compulsion to return to childhood wartime experience in Britain in narrative form nevertheless testifies to the significance of the period in psychological terms, and to the therapeutic potential of narrating past anxieties and ambivalence towards childhood behaviour. The therapeutic purpose in the work of British writers differs in nature and scale, however, from that of their German contemporaries, as discussion of British texts in this chapter has revealed. Individual German and British writers are situated between the extremes of glory or shame evoked at a national level by the memory of the war years. Changes in the political climate and potential audience response in both countries since the war have played their part in shaping the content and narrative perspective of autobiographical accounts. The post-war progress of a faltering acceptance of national guilt has determined the approach taken in German texts. For German writers - to return to Brettschneider (1982) - writing about the past becomes both a responsibility and a duty. They do not have the opportunity to adapt autobiographical material in order to entertain or reminisce, nor can their re-examination of the past ever have a purely private focus. The 'page of shame' (Lacan, 1968) on which German writers compose their accounts affects the potential response of young readers, as well as the attitudes of adult members of the community towards such texts and the role they are expected to fulfil. The audience and purpose of German language texts and the timing of their publication are the subject of the concluding chapter.

6 The Timing, Audience and Purpose of Autobiographical Writing for Children Set in the Third Reich and the Second World War

And these children who were so brave and crazy, these grandparents, are starting to die off. There is not much time left, if the truth is to be known.

-- Robert Westall, 1992¹

Shortly before his own death in 1993, Robert Westall reminded us that the Second World War would soon cease to be part of living memory. There is, indeed, little time left for the generation of wartime children to add to the body of recorded personal history addressed to the young which has developed since 1945. It was the timing of recent autobiographies of wartime childhood which first initiated this study, and which provides the framework for the drawing together of the questions and arguments which sustained and guided my research and analysis. The first point for consideration in analysing the autobiographical impulse is the timing of publications in relation to political and historical events, followed by insights into critical reception, audience response and cross-cultural influences. In children's literature on the Second World War and the Third Reich it is the triangular relationship between the perceived requirements of a young audience, ideological pressures and personal psychological need which shapes writers' intentions and their narratives, an intentional dynamic which is most clearly exposed in the work of German writers. The halting process of accepting and passing on the inheritance of the Third Reich through the medium of autobiographical children's literature will therefore be offered as a case study. As indicated in the introduction, there has been a shift of emphasis during this study towards the German texts, so that it has not been possible to examine the British socio-political context into which texts are received in any detail. The developing political context in post-war Britain and its effects on the reception of children's Second World War fiction - including autobiography - are areas for further research.

Since the formation of an author's identity in the course of writing an

¹ From the preface to the second edition of *Children of the Blitz*, 1995.

autobiographical narrative is the central concern of this study, the writer's choice of audience and the critical demands made on texts by interested adults will be considered rather than children's own voices; a detailed survey of actual child responses is in any case beyond the scope of this study. Writing for a child audience will primarily be related to the concerns and intentions of the adult authors and their critics. As a large body of autobiographical writing for children serving a range of adult purposes, retrospective literature on the Third Reich - including the work of Jewish authors - is a phenomenon without equal in world children's literature. The relatively small corpus of British fictionalised representations of wartime childhood is not accompanied by a similar wealth of critical literature, although cross-cultural references will serve to illustrate revealing contrasts.

Timing and historical context

An examination of the critical climate in which texts are received necessitates a return to the significance of the timing and context of autobiographical writing on the war years. There are certain key historical moments² and cultural developments in Germany's post-war history leading to the anniversary in May 1995 of the cessation of hostilities which extend an understanding of the motivation for texts. Germany's troubled national conscience has a fragmented history of public recognition. Denazification and youth re-education programmes initiated by the occupying powers during the immediate post-war period were curtailed or rendered ineffectual by the repression of national guilt necessary to facilitate the drive to rebuild a collapsed economy and a devastated infrastructure. The 1950s became the period of the so-called 'economic miracle', an era when children's literature - despite the continuing trials of war criminals - failed to concern itself with the fate of the Jews, focussing instead on the refugee existence of German children (Otto, 1981)³. Repression - discussed in detail by the Mitscherlichs (1980) - was followed by intermittent outbreaks in 1959/60 of swastika graffiti

² For an overview of the 'symbiotic relationship between past and present in modern Germany' see Kershaw (1992) Germany's Present, Germany's Past: the 1992 Bithell Memorial Lecture. London: University of London Institute of Germanic Studies.

³ For a more detailed breakdown of the developments in children's literature on the Third Reich and parallels with historical developments see Otto (1981), Cloer (1983, p.15) and Sannes-Müller (1988).

and the desecration of Jewish graves. It was at this time that publications for children representing the persecution of the Jews first began to appear; Hans-Peter Richter's autobiographical Damals war es Friedrich (1961) has remained a landmark in its attempt to alert the young to the gradual undermining of the social and moral fabric of the nation by anti-semitic activity, to which even the young hero of the novel succumbs. The publication of autobiographical writing for children steadily increased during the 1970s as texts by Jewish writers translated into German (Kerr, 1978 and Hannam, 1979) were published, while in the same period the television broadcast of the American Holocaust (1979) series contributed to and inspired the so-called 'Hitler-Welle' (wave of interest in Hitler) in the field of adult publishing and the media. The icon of Chancellor Willy Brandt kneeling on the ground, head bowed, on the site of Auschwitz concentration camp was symbolic of the public expression of atonement desired by some sections of German society in this period of renewed interest in the past.

In the 1980s events leading to key anniversaries and the reunification of the two German republics were accompanied by an increasing differentiation in autobiographical writing. The speech made on the fortieth anniversary of the end of the Third Reich on 8 May 1985 by the President of the Federal Republic, Richard von Weizsäcker, represented a public recognition of both German responsibility and the unique position of the holocaust in human history⁴. The unparalleled status of crimes against humanity committed during the Third Reich was questioned shortly afterwards during the 'Historikerstreit'⁵ (historians' debate) which burst upon the German intellectual scene in 1986. The German historian Ernst Nolte began the debate by arguing that the crimes of the Third Reich were not incomparable in historical terms, and that young Germans had a right to a national identity which had positive as well as negative attributes. The philosopher Jürgen Habermas attacked Nolte's position, reaffirming the national consensus that the German state must continue to accept responsibility and: 'to keep alive, without distortion, and not only in an intellectual form, the memory of the sufferings of those who were murdered by German hands' (cited in

⁴ Cited in the introduction to Cloer's collection of analyses of children's books on the Third Reich (Cloer, 1988, p.8).

⁵ Documentation of this debate can be found in Forever in the Shadow of Hitler: Documents of the Historikerstreit (1993). Trans. James Knowlton and Janet Cotes. London: Humanities Press.

Rabinbach, 1996, p.23). The question of national identity was, of course, foregrounded in the period following German reunification in 1989, when a holistic approach to the state and its responsibilities could be taken for the first time in almost fifty years. At the same time, the re-emergence of right-wing radicalism - the spectre which periodically haunts German social and political life - reached its terrible climax in the former German Democratic Republic in response to liberal asylum laws in the form of arson attacks on hostels housing foreign workers. In the knowledge that these attacks and the accompanying anti-foreigner riots (in Rostock and the Saxon town of Hoyerswerda in 1992, for example) are perpetrated largely by adolescents and young adults - not without the tacit approval of large sections of the adult population - didactic approaches to the reception of children's literature on the Third Reich have been linked with current fascist episodes. The relevance of the state recognition of past crimes and arguments of historical relativism to children's literature lies in the insistence that the legacy of national responsibility should be passed on to the young, and the adoption of literature as a means of anti-fascist education⁶.

The national soul-searching which underpins the writing and reception of German autobiographical texts can be contrasted with the process of recording the past for Jewish writers which is a more personal, private and immensely painful one. The time delay of several decades between lived experience and its translation into text is movingly described by Janina Bauman (1986) in the preface to her record of life in the Warsaw ghetto entitled 'Why? And why now?' Bauman points out that she did not talk about the past at a conscious level, keeping the 'full horrors' from her family and hardly ever allowing herself to think about them. Images of the past did, however, return in dreams, until finally she succumbed to the repeated suggestions of a friend to write about the period. She admits that : 'it took me about 40 years to feel ready to write this book' (p.vii). The delayed recording of experience and the reception of texts by Jewish writers has played an important role in British as well as German responses to the period. From Anne Frank's diary through to the American Holocaust

⁶ The work of Jella Lepman in setting up an exhibition of children's books in 1946/7 (and subsequently the International Children's Library in Munich) as an early step towards international reconciliation is also significant in this context.

television series and the film Schindler's List screened in Britain, public interest in the wartime fate of European Jews has been met by publications for adults and children. Hella Pick, reviewing a play exploring the phenomenon of the transportation of Jewish children to Britain during the 1930s, writes of the 'small cottage industry of books and articles about these child refugees and their after-life' (The Guardian, 14 April, 1993). This development has gained momentum since the 1970s as writing becomes possible and the impetus to record memoirs is sharpened by the steady decline in the number of witnesses to the Jewish experience.

Links between the timing of British autobiographical writing and a developing historical evaluation of the war years cannot be so easily established when only a limited number of texts has been published, and when these texts are highly differentiated in form, approach and thematic content. However, the personal need for time to elapse before writing can commence is also a feature of British children's fiction (Bawden 1973, 1987; Lingard 1980). Evacuation - the starting-point of Nina Bawden's autobiographical novels - can, for example be identified as one key theme which features extensively in children's fiction set in the war years and parallels a lasting preoccupation with this phenomenon represented in historical accounts (Johnson, 1968, Inglis, 1989), exhibitions (Imperial War Museum 14 March to 27 October 1996), and plays (a recent example is Rosie's Blitz by Richard Pinner produced at the Wimbledon Polka Theatre for children in 1995). The theme of evacuation and instances of the re-evaluation of past attitudes which can be traced in autobiography based on the British experience (Cooper, Westall) are not, however, set against a background of sustained ideological pressure. Children's literature is not necessarily expected to reflect the sporadic examinations of the national conscience in historical analyses or newspaper columns in relation to the loss of life inflicted by the Allied Powers during intensive bombing raids. Nor does evidence of anti-semitic activity in Britain or racist attacks on ethnic minorities inevitably carry the resonance of past national crimes as it does in Germany.

Further insights drawn from British cultural life illustrate the lingering post-

war view of the Germans as a 'pariah people' (Rabinbach, 1996, p.18), an attitude which resurfaces from time to time in the public domain and ultimately has some effect on the German desire to create an acceptable national image. The ambivalent images of Germans in British children's fiction which O'Sullivan (1990) traces back to the 1870s have developed into the stereotyped 'Nazis' reflecting the unease with which the former enemy continues to be regarded in this country. It is the reductive portrayal of Germans - to be found at its most extreme in boys' war comics - which Robert Westall (1975) and other writers of fiction for children, notably Jan Needle in Albeson and the Germans (1981), have attempted to counteract. An underlying suspicion of the Germans operates at all levels of social life, gaining ground since the reunification of Germany and the domination of the political agenda by the issue of a united Europe. In 1990 the then Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher, assembled a group of experts on the history of Germany to discuss the German national character, an undertaking born of mistrust and anxiety at the political power of the newly united nation. Shortly afterwards a government minister, Nicholas Ridley, made the remarks about the German desire to dominate the European Community which resulted in his resignation (Roberts, 1995). Such wariness of the Germans extends throughout British society: the 1992 edition of the magazine dedicated to new writing, Granta, is entitled Krauts! and carries the following blurb on the back cover: 'What is it about the German people that produces a nation so - what? So ugly. So dangerous. So predictable.' In an era of 'political correctness' it is difficult to imagine that the editor of a literary journal would contemplate the condemnation of any other nationality in such emotive terms. Anti-German sentiment finds expression on the street, too; pupils at the German school in Richmond regularly suffer taunts - largely concerned with the war - from British schoolchildren, while German adults in this country encounter a surprising degree of prejudice (Sweeney, 1995). The continuation of mistrust amongst the young in particular affects thematic choices made by British writers for children, as well as the reception of both British and translated German texts in this country. The reverberations within Germany itself of the legacy of suspicion and resentment in Britain and former German-occupied Europe is part of the wider historical context which, in addition to internal debates about the past, has a bearing on the timing,

content and reception of German autobiographical writing on the Third Reich.

Questions of audience

The moment at which a writer decides to write about significant childhood events during the Third Reich and the Second World War rests on the dialectical relationship between socio-historical processes and personal psychological development. The struggle to establish continuity, identity and a coherent self-image through language - a process analysed in all its fallibility and self-deception by Lacan - is determined by the individual's overwhelming need at a particular point in time for a 'final' version of the life story. That finality is compromised to some extent by the decision to write for a child audience, since writers may decide that it is inappropriate to make their current ideological positions explicit to the child reader. Their life story has to end with childhood, while its significance for the adult's life may not be a subject to engage a child's interest. Why, then, have authors chosen - at least ostensibly - to write for children? There are, of course, writers who had already established themselves as children's authors and for whom a child readership was a natural one - for example Nina Bawden (1973, 1987), although she does also write for adults, and Christine Nöstlinger (1973, 1981) - while others cite their own children as the primary audience. Robert Westall initially wrote The Machine-gunners (1975) to entertain his own son; Johanna Reiss (1972) has explained in an interview reprinted in the 1991 Longman edition of The Upstairs Room that she wrote the book for her own children, and only considered publication on the advice of friends (pp.6-7). In an interview with Michael Rosen (Treasure Islands BBC Radio 4, May 1993), Judith Kerr traces the origin of the impulse to write When Hitler Stole Pink Rabbit (1971) to a family outing to see the film The Sound of Music. When one of her children then claimed to understand what life was like when her mother was young, Kerr felt that 'something had to be done'. Gudrun Pausewang makes her intentions more explicit by addressing the account of her family's refugee trek across Czechoslovakia and Germany to her son in the letter which frames the narrative of Fern von der

Rosinkawiese (1989).

These indications of a specific audience are part of a complex constellation of personal and didactic motivation. The ages of the children concerned are of some significance: Judith Kerr's child was 'seven or eight' (Rosen interview, May 1993) at the time of the film outing; Kerr's alter ego Anna is nine at the beginning of When Hitler Stole Pink Rabbit. Johanna Reiss qualifies the decision to write for her children by adding that: 'They were at the same ages as when these experiences happened. It's the contrast, I think, with the life I led when I was a kid' (Reiss, 1991, p.6). Gudrun Pausewang refers several times in her introductory letter to Fern von der Rosinkawiese to her son's age - almost seventeen - as the right time for him to hear the full story of what took place at the end of the war. Although attention is not drawn to the age link in the letter, Pausewang was herself seventeen at the time. The conclusion can be drawn from such instances that these writers have engaged in a renewed confrontation with wartime childhood experience through their own children. The aura of wartime events was such that in one sense time stood still: a particular phase of childhood has become a benchmark for life-changing experience. As their children reach an age which was so emotionally charged for the parent - and are no longer too young to comprehend past events - the desire emerges to return to childhood and write for the child within. Robert Westall encapsulates the return to childhood in his conviction that 'twelve spoke to twelve' (Westall, 1979a, p.37) as he began to read passages from The Machine-gunners to his son. Writing for one's own children - and by extension for a child audience - is a means to relive past excitement, to rediscover and comfort that 'small person far away', or to evaluate childhood value systems. However illusory the attempt to slough off the adult self may prove to be - indeed the adult voice always finds its place within the narrative structure - writing for a child audience eases the return to the child's ways of thinking, observing and responding.

In providing a focus for the return to childhood, writing for children serves the implicit therapeutic purpose of the adult writer. Analysis in previous chapters has confirmed the didactic purpose of many texts, especially those written in

German. The position of the child audience within the writer's intentions is nevertheless open to question in the more confessional texts and those where the traumas of persecution and exile are relived. This accounts for the ambivalence noted many times in this study on the part of authors and publishers as to the appropriate audience for accounts of the war period and its aftermath. The shift from a child to an adult audience as sequels follow the child protagonist into adulthood (Kerr, 1971, 1975, 1978), the marketing for adults of texts intended for a teenage audience (Hannam 1977 and 1979) and the switch from adult to teenage audience and back again in Gudrun Pausewang's Rosinka trilogy (1980, 1989, 1990), point to both an adult need to speak at some stage to those who lived through similar childhoods, and the existence of an interested adult audience. In the afterword to the 1995 edition of Sonderappell (1979), the account of the time she spent as a young conscripted farm labourer during the Third Reich, Sybil Gräfin von Schönfeldt describes the many letters she has received from adults who shared her experience, and from those attempting to come to terms with their parents' support of the NSDAP (von Schönfeldt, 1995, p.249). Although the book was written for teenagers, it has touched a sensitive chord in an adult audience - just as a delight in reminiscence undoubtedly accounts to a large extent for the success of Foreman's War Boy (1989) in this country.

There is also ambivalence in the writer's mode of address to the implied child or adolescent reader. The slippage in focus on the child reader is clearly exemplified in the closing paragraph of Lena Recheis' account (1990) of her village childhood after Austria's annexation to the Third Reich. The origins of this 'prequel' to Recheis' earlier novel Geh' heim und vergiss alles (literally: Go home and forget everything, 1980, first published in 1964 as Das Schattennetz) are significant in a consideration of audience and reception. According to Egan (1985, p.54), Das Schattennetz (literally: The net of shadows) was heavily criticised for describing the sympathy of one girl for released concentration camp prisoners, without the contextualisation of preceding events. In Lena (1990), Recheis returns to the earlier phase of her childhood during the Third Reich in a retrospective narrative which addresses some of the criticisms of her earlier novel. Both the adult audience which responded critically and Recheis' contemporaries make

their presence felt when the first person narrator returns to the present - and therefore to her adult self - to comment on the repaired village church, implying that there remain no physical traces of war damage:

Die Kinder, die jetzt geboren werden, kennen den Krieg und die Diktatur nur noch aus den Geschichten, die wir ihnen erzählen. Und vielleicht werden sie nie ganz begreifen, was Friede und Freiheit damals für uns bedeuteten.

Children coming into the world today only know about war and dictatorship from the the stories we tell them. And perhaps they will never really understand what peace and freedom meant to us then.

(Recheis, 1990, p.333)

The use of the present tense with reference to 'children', and of the first person plural pronoun 'we', imply an alignment of the narrator with an adult audience which does have some knowledge of war, in other words the generation which is able to tell the stories. Despite the child's point-of-view throughout the preceding narrative, Recheis cannot resist distancing herself from her young audience at this point, raising doubts as to the effectiveness of the story she has just told in enabling the young to fully understand the past. The book has been marketed for an adolescent audience: it was reissued in 1993 under the 'pocket' imprint of the dtv Verlag, a series for 'Jugendliche, die mitdenken wollen' (young people who want to think). Yet in these final lines, doubt is cast upon the capacity of post-war generations to understand the period, an alienating conclusion for the young reader. The shift from a young, uninformed implied reader belonging to the narrator's age group (Lena is ten years old at the beginning of the novel and seventeen by its close), to an adult who can share a retrospective view and a sense of regret at the essentially uncommunicable nature of wartime childhood experience, arises from the adult's needs and points once again to a therapeutic purpose underlying autobiographical writing. Not only is there in Recheis' novel the possible discrepancy between implied reader and actual reader also demonstrated in the reception of von Schönfeldt's Sonderappell and other texts - there is also an apparent change of addressee inscribed in the text .

Recheis' switch of perspective highlights the dilemma inherent in the relationship between adult writer or children's literature critic and child audience which Rose (1994), Wall (1991) and Lesnik-Oberstein (1994) have recently examined in detail. The emphasis Rose places on the 'impossible' relationship between adult writer and child reader, and her insistence that the writer should maintain a barrier between adult and child 'and stay in his or her proper place' (Rose, 1994, p.70), becomes problematic in autobiographical writing, where the author is making a direct attempt to reach his or her own childhood self. Autobiographical writing denies its own artifice when claiming to be a 'true story', so that the exigencies of a formal separation between the writer and his or her creation cannot be met - the writer's self-interest is all-powerful. The distinction between narrator and characters becomes blurred, since narrator and protagonist are one: even when there is a hiatus between childhood and adult selves the narrator is striving to create unity. The recreation of childhood presupposes a desired adult addressee in addition to the child audience. Recheis allows this adult to intrude into the child's perspective with some finality; the close of her novel embodies what Wall (1991) defines in her developmental survey of the narrative voice in children's literature as 'double address - an adult narrative voice exhibiting a strong consciousness of the presence of adult readers' (p.9). Thus the implied child reader is surrounded by shadowy adult companions, a concept which I would argue is crucial to an appreciation of the purpose and audience of the autobiographical texts under discussion. Whether reminiscing, warning or confessing, writers never lose sight of the adults with whom they are able to share experience, nor can they ignore the expectations of those responsible for children - particularly when the subject is childhood during the Third Reich.

The child as implied reader

Although questions will continue to be posed throughout this chapter as to the actual or appropriate audience for autobiographical texts, the primary choice of a child readership makes specific demands on the writer's approach to the past. One way in which the child's realisation of the text

differs from an adult's is in the amount of historical knowledge which can be assumed. How much can the child reader be expected to deduce from the story as it unfolds, and in how far is it the narrator's duty to explain or comment on historical events? Writers select historical background material and strategies for conveying it to the young reader who is then informed and guided by the dominant narrative voice, either that of the childhood or the adult self. Gudrun Pausewang (1989) draws the adolescent reader into the evaluating perspective of the enlightened adult, whereas in texts adopting the child's point-of-view, the child narrator's misunderstandings and ignorance of contemporary events may parallel those of the reader. It has been argued - particularly in relation to German texts - that problematic issues are evaded as a result. Historical information has to be provided outside the narrative in the form of chronologies or prefatory comment (Fuchs, 1979, Schwarz, 1981). Christine Nöstlinger makes occasional use of footnotes for the same purpose, aware that even in the early 1970s it could not be assumed that all German children knew that 'Führer' was an epithet applied to Adolf Hitler (Nöstlinger, 1973, p. 20). These items of historical information serve a didactic purpose; their selection and presentation guides and situates the reader ideologically. The informative preface in Schwarz (1981) presents a one-sided view of 'discrimination' (p.6) against the Germans at the end of a war 'started by Hitler'; Ursula Fuchs uses the questions of her confused childhood self to raise political issues, questions which the apparently reliable and sympathetic adult characters answer by, for example, attributing anti-semitism to Hitler alone (Fuchs, 1979, p. 95). In a first person narrative there is an inevitable alignment with this child narrator, so that young readers of both Fuchs and Schwarz are likely to adopt the questionable position of the trusted adults within the text or that exemplified in editorial comment.

Misunderstandings shared by the child narrator and child reader and the ideological content of explanations offered by adult characters raise the issue of the child's potential response to writing which is often both emotionally charged and politically sensitive. Iser's (1974, 1978) investigation into the means by which a text creates an implied reader has informed our understanding of narrative strategies which determine the

processes of speculation, comparison and synthesis taking place in the reader's mind. The 'virtual dimension', which Iser defines as the product of the interaction of the text with the reader's imagination (Iser, 1974, p.279), depends on the writer's ability to engage and challenge the reader and on the reader's initial interest and expectations. There is, however, a dilemma for those writers who are seeking to elicit a sympathetic response towards positive and negative aspects of their own childhood experience, while at the same time encouraging a critical stance towards that experience and its historical background. The 'virtual dimension' is then occupied by questions and speculation as the tension generated by this dilemma makes sophisticated demands on the young reader.

The ambiguity of narrative perspective reflects these tensions in a variety of forms: the combination of child narrator and commenting adult self (Pausewang, 1989), or the almost complete withdrawal of the author in Richter's early autobiographical account of his membership of the Hitler Youth (1962). Pausewang provides guidance in her narrative framework; young readers of Richter's Wir waren dabei (1962, published in English as I was there, 1987) are expected to provide their own commentary - with the assistance of factual explanatory notes and a chronology - to Richter's terse narrative. Robert Westall (1975), a writer for whom immediate appeal to his audience is of prime importance, challenges preconceptions in the changing attitudes of his focalizing characters towards the German enemy - personified in Rudi - within a compelling adventure story in The Machine-gunners. There is, however, a difference in scale between the British and German texts in the invitation to the implied reader to question past ideologies: by introducing Rudi, Westall attempts to throw into question previously exhibited prejudices, whereas Richter's entire narrative and the political system on which it is predicated invite the reader's critical attention. Narratives with a confessional motive presuppose a critical stance throughout, a stance which it is not easy for a young reader to maintain. It is almost impossible for those writing about childhood in the Third Reich to compose a compelling narrative when the distancing of the reader is a prerequisite of their didactic purpose: Von der Grün's (1980) presentation of documentary evidence and Richter's spare tale do not immediately attract

the child reader as Westall's story undoubtedly does. The response of the reader to German texts has to be seen in context: as part of a process of national self-examination and education which addresses the needs of the older generation and the questions of the young.

Children's natural interest in the lives of their own family during an era which appears to them to have been charged with danger, excitement or repressed trauma motivates writers at the personal level. Once they have entered the public domain, however, stories of wartime childhood become part of a wider psycho-social purpose in fulfilling the perceived needs of the young.

German writers in particular have been confronted with a heritage of unanswered or even unposed questions. The first generation of post-war adolescents often met resistance to questions about their parents' or grandparents' complicity during the Third Reich; tension between generations was fuelled by mistrust of adults who could have allowed such atrocities as the concentration camps to happen - a mistrust which played its part in the radical political movements and left-wing terrorism of the 1970s in Germany. The analysis and questioning of parents' political stance and lifestyle naturally becomes acute during adolescence, so that autobiographical texts written in the post war period by those who were children or adolescents during the Third Reich primarily address a teenage audience. It is revealing to note that a number of the texts written for children on the Third Reich take questions as their titles: Barbara Gehrts' Nie wieder ein Wort davon? (literally: Never say another word about it? 1975), Horst Burger's Warum warst Du in der Hitler Jugend? (literally: Why were you in the Hitler Youth?, 1978 - first published under the equally pertinent title Vier Fragen an meinen Vater Four questions for my father, 1976) and Max von der Grün's Wie war das eigentlich? (literally: What was it really like? 1979) point to the taboo placed on discussion about the past, the demands of the young audience and the questions adults anticipated and no doubt feared. These children became the adults mentioned by Sybil Gräfin Schönfeldt (1995) who have written to her in more recent times, still haunted by their parents' role during the Third Reich.

Not all German adolescents of the post-war period were posing awkward

questions, however, and even those who did were not always enlightened by the answers. Anxiety at what their probing might reveal no doubt restrained some children from asking about the past; suppression of the unspoken, troubling questions generated by haphazard discoveries about the period was preferable to the association of their parents or grandparents with the atrocities of the Third Reich. Repression at personal and national levels has resulted in a continued lack of knowledge about the National Socialist era amongst the young which has for some time been the subject of comment and pedagogical attention. Theodor Adorno argued in his highly influential radio lecture 'Erziehung nach Auschwitz' (Education after Auschwitz, 1977) for the social re-education of the German people, starting with the very young, since: 'Jede Debatte über Erziehungsideale ist nichtig und gleichgültig diesem gegenüber, dass Auschwitz nicht sich wiederhole'. (Any debate on the ideals of education is pointless and irrelevant compared to the aim that Auschwitz should never happen again, Adorno, 1977, p.674). Despite Adorno's warning, education programmes focussing specifically on the National Socialist era do not appear to have been uniformly implemented or successful. Heine, Klika and Prüsse in Cloer (1983) cite the terrifying ('erschreckende' Cloer, 1983, p.400) ignorance about the Third Reich among the young uncovered in the late 1970s by Bossmann (1977), as well as in a survey undertaken in connection with the 'Holocaust' television series (1979)⁷. This alarmed response echoes the concern of many educators that Germany's young must be taught to understand the National Socialist period in order to guard against its recurrence in another form. The compulsion to confront this issue has created a pedagogical function for autobiographical texts. While it is impossible to quantify the effects of this demand and a personal awareness of the misunderstandings of the young on writers' motivation, there is a direct acknowledgment of the origins of didactic intent in some instances. Barbara Gehrts relates in an afterword to Nie wieder ein Wort davon? (1975) the incident which inspired her to write an account of her family's experiences. Some years previously - no doubt at the height of the radical student movement - she had witnessed a debate between a young liberal university professor and a student. The

⁷ Sannes-Müller (1988, p.46) cites additional surveys by Bayer (1979) and Kempowski (1979); the timing of these surveys reflects reflects anxieties raised by so-called 'Hitler-Welle' during the 1970s (see p.3)

student took issue with the professor's concept of freedom: 'Was Sie unter Freiheit verstehen, ist ja nur Abwesenheit von Gewalt' (What you understand by freedom is simply the absence of violence, Gehrts, 1975, p.158). That a young person could so readily take for granted the absence of violence from daily life so shocked Gehrts, that she undertook an account of the violence perpetrated against her own family: the execution of her father as a member of the German resistance and the death of her brother in the German army. Here the target audience has been instrumental in the creation of the text.

The sophisticated demands made on the child reader by texts underpinned by an adult perception of children's needs may not, therefore, reflect the starting-point of children's interest and knowledge - or lack of it. The distinction drawn by Iser between the theory of response which is rooted in the strategies employed by the writer within the text, and the theory of reception which is based on readers' judgments and even changes in attitude and behaviour, is a pertinent one here. There may be a mismatch between the implied reader created within the text in accordance with the writer's intentions, and personal needs and the concerns and reading choices of actual children. Readers' judgments include decisions not to read particular texts. Inevitably, children's own curiosity about the Third Reich becomes less keen as the era recedes into the past and there are no direct links with wartime experience via parents or grandparents. Wild (1990), in his history of German children's literature, suggests that by the 1980s the Third Reich 'kein Thema ist, das die potentiellen Leserinnen und Leser unmittelbar interessiert' (is a theme of no real interest to potential readers, Wild, 1990, p. 361). Born (1990, Part 1), in an article with the significant title Das Erbe des Dritten Reiches - Schuld ohne Ende? (literally: The legacy of the Third Reich - will the guilt ever end?) stresses the dilemma inherent in arousing children's interest in the period while guiding them towards adopting a critical stance, maintaining that autobiographical texts are the most likely to appeal to a young audience.

The issue of children's initial interest in the period deserves more attention than is possible here; one contrast, however, can be taken as an illustration of the possible interaction between audience expectation and authorial and

pedagogical intention. On the one hand there exists the adult investment in alerting the young to the dangers of fascism and the human suffering caused by war, and on the other the continued and predominantly male interest in war stories depicting heroism, danger and military cunning in action-filled narratives. This need was addressed in Germany in the post-war era from 1953 by the publication of the 'Landserhefte' ('Landser' is a colloquial term for an ordinary soldier - a private) set in the Second World War and read by both young and old. In her survey of 'Landserhefte' which focus on the Russian campaign, Hofmann (1974) points to the emphasis on comradeship, integrity, duty and the courage of the ordinary soldier who finds himself in a tight corner. She also notes the predominance of the technical aspects of warfare in those editions not set on the Russian front, and is critical of the ahistorical nature of these publications and the absence of any mention of the policies of the Third Reich. During the same period the publication of war stories and comics in Britain was surveyed by Tucker who concluded that the British appear to win almost every engagement, retaining their 'boyishness, courage, valiance and cool daring' (Tucker, 1976, p. 101). He cites the snatches of imitated German reproduced in these comics and refers to his own earlier research which suggested that children who read them 'acquire attitudes to nations which correspond to the alliances of the Second World War' (Tucker, 1976, p.101). The popularity of the Biggles series by Captain W.E. Johns testifies to the endurance of the polarised image of the heroic British and sinister or devious enemy: read eagerly by boys of my generation during the nineteen fifties and sixties, twelve titles were still stocked by public libraries in the London borough of Westminster in July 1996.

Autobiographical texts which acknowledge these starting points are more likely to attract a male readership. Westall's acknowledgment of comic stereotypes in the attitudes of his child protagonists in The Machine-gunners (1975) has already been discussed, and an interest in military equipment and hardware is woven into the narratives of Cooper (1970), Westall (1975) and Foreman (1989). Weber points to similar trends in the German context (1980, pp.23-4). He refers to a classroom experience where children who were allowed a free choice of themes in a curriculum module on the Third

Reich gave enthusiastic presentations of pictures and technical data of tanks and aeroplanes. The identification with the aggressive purposes of military machinery demonstrated by these pupils should, Weber argues, be related to the fate of the victims of war and National Socialist policies of mass murder in children's literature, a position which echoes that taken as early as 1960 by the conference of Ministers of Culture of the Federal Republic.⁸ There is a strict separation between the content of the popular literature represented by the 'Landserhefte' and the German autobiographical texts in this study, where an enthusiasm for wartime technology rarely intrudes into narratives dominated by personal need and didactic purposes. These novels and accounts are intended not to entertain, but to release and resolve repressed emotion as well as to enlighten and to teach.

Didactic purpose and pedagogical expectations

It is not acceptable to many responsible for the education of the German young that they should remain uninformed about the nation's recent past; the adoption of autobiographical narratives as the means to a didactic end has become institutionalised in the publication of booklists and pedagogical initiatives. Didacticism has a long history within children's literature; historical novels in particular promote the writer's considered ideological position towards the events described or, in the case of histories of the self, towards personal experience. Toll (1986) traces the patronising stance inherent in the pedagogical impulse in the history of German children's literature in a case study of children's books on National Socialism. She identifies a conflict between aesthetic principles and pedagogy in literature which has become 'geschichtlicher Nachhilfeunterricht' (historical remediation, Toll, 1986, p. 25), and is critical of the superficial, anecdotal representation of the past and absence of retrospective adult comment in texts selected for discussion. While evidence in previous chapters of this study challenges this conclusion, Toll's argument that the pedagogical principle determines the form of the text is an important one. It is in fact

⁸ The statement issued by the Ministers recommended that little attention should be paid to military matters and that the social, economic and psychological consequences - especially the suffering of the persecuted - of the era should be in the foreground. A revision of school books was also advised. (Steinlein, 1995, p.66)

precisely this principle which leads to a multi-layered narrative perspective in the work of the most challenging authors. The author's didactic purpose is then supported and extended by the adoption of what Iser calls a 'functionalist model of the literary text' (Iser, 1978, p.53) in its reception. Concern centres less on the literary qualities of a text, than on what effect it might have in developing children's knowledge and understanding of the Third Reich and countering tendencies towards fascism. Whether or not writers are successful in inviting a young audience to share their ideological perspectives or even in attracting a readership in the first instance, desired didactic effects can be achieved in the introduction of selected texts into the school curriculum and their mediation by educators. This aspect of reception in turn must have some influence on writers' intentions: the awareness of an adult as well as a child audience may include the expectation that teachers and other adults will guide children's responses. Recheis' (1990) conclusion that children may never understand the past appears to be an appeal for such mediation.

The didactic expectations created by historical developments outlined in the first section of this chapter has given rise to a history of pedagogical approaches to the Third Reich in Germany in which autobiographical literature has played a key role. Hans-Peter Richter's ground-breaking autobiographical novel Damals war es Friedrich (1961) has for many years been recommended reading in schools (Steinlein, 1996, p.91). By 1985 the novel had reached its twenty-first edition and sold 686,000 copies (Sannes-Müller, 1988, p.45). In 1989 the novel was awarded the 'Golden Paperback' for achieving a sales figure of one million⁹; it has to be assumed that adults - parents, teachers, librarians and booksellers - played a major role in the achievement of these exceptionally high sales figures. Translations of the wartime experience of Jewish children have also been required reading in German schools, and will be discussed in greater detail in relation to cross-cultural influences. Publishers, too, are keenly aware of the didactic purpose of children's literature on the subject. The Rowohlt publishing house issued a pedagogical commentary to Horst Burger's Warum warst du in der Hitler-Jugend? (1978), and reference has already been made to the dtv 'pocket'

⁹ Information obtained from the summer 1996 edition of the publicity magazine for the dtv junior imprint: München: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag.

series addressed to socially aware young people which includes several titles on the Third Reich.

The history of the reception of German autobiographical writing is dominated by ideological, historical and moral perspectives which often lead to a subordination of aesthetic considerations. Although Hopster (1994) argues for a synthesis of historical and interpretative responses to children's literature on the Third Reich, texts are required to fulfil purposes far beyond those of literary appreciation. Weber (1980), in his examination of the polarity of repression and enlightenment in the representation of fascism in German children's books, sets out detailed expectations against which texts are to be measured. In summary these are: multiple points-of-view (from Nazi sympathiser to victim and member of the resistance); the demonstration of the effects of a totalitarian state on everyday life; a consideration of the ideological and economic origins of National Socialism, and the implications for the current political situation (Weber, 1980, pp.24-6). Although Weber accepts that there may be objections to the application of these requirements to writing which does not claim to be scientific, he believes that they are legitimate in a context where it cannot be assumed that children meet this historical material in any other form. The desire to develop children's political and historical understanding also characterises Cloer's (1983 and 1988) two volumes of analyses of children's literature on the Third Reich, which were designed to aid parents, teachers, librarians and booksellers to select appropriate texts from the large numbers published. In the introduction to the second volume, Cloer cites the importance of Dahrendorf's prescriptive framework for Third Reich literature in formulating his own list of criteria for the evaluation of texts:

An eine Literatur, die sich den Nationalsozialismus zum Thema setzt, ist die Frage zu stellen, welches Bild sie von ihm entwirft, wie angemessen komplex dieses ausfällt, ob es auf die Ursachen eingeht, welche implizite Faschismustheorie ihm zugrundeliegt.'

Literature on the theme of National Socialism should be interrogated as to the nature and complexity of its representation, whether there is any investigation of its causes and which implicit theory of fascism it embraces.

(Dahrendorf in Cloer, 1988, p.12)

These criteria are complemented by more immediate demands: children's literature on National Socialism is regarded as fulfilling a function in raising awareness of the consequences of the right-wing radicalism which has resurfaced among the young in recent years. Two of the essays which contextualise the annotations to individual texts in Cloer make detailed reference to this development (Seyfarth-Stubenrauch and Hümme in Cloer, 1983, pp.418-42). Attention was also drawn to the link between children's literature on the Third Reich and current racist and fascist tendencies in the sub-theme 'neo-fascism' in the 1995 Berlin exhibition of children's literature on National Socialism¹⁰. Literature, it has been argued, can address a basic cause of the rise of right-wing radicalism: the lack of a German national identity in the post-war era.

The didactic burden placed upon the largely autobiographical texts on childhood in the Third Reich contributes to a climate of expectation which plays its part in determining the ideological position writers adopt, and the quantity of texts produced. The differentiation in approach to the didactic function of their autobiographical writing by German writers already revealed in previous chapters - from Max von der Grün's (1979) blend of documentary evidence with personal memory to Pausewang's (1989) personal address to her own child - does not reflect conformity to a prescriptive set of requirements. Indeed, Pausewang's account of her family's expulsion from the former Sudetenland has attracted criticism (Kaminski in Runge, 1991, pp.80-83) because of the association of such stories with the reactionary position adopted by those refugees who continue to regard Czechoslovakia as their legitimate homeland. While accepting that Pausewang's perspective on the past is not a retaliatory one, Kaminski (1991) expresses his disappointment at the lack of historical context in the novel: 'Warum fragt Gudrun Pausewang - sie schreibt das Buch heute - nicht, was in Deutschland hätte geschehen müssen und zu welchem Zeitpunkt, damit es gar nicht erst zum NS-Regime hätte kommen können?' (Why does Gudrun Pausewang, writing today, not ask at what point in Germany's past and in

¹⁰ See 'Spurensuche/Neofaschistische Tendenzen' in Steinlein et al (1995) Ehe alles Legende wird catalogue of the Berlin exhibition pp. 149-63.

what way the Nazi regime could have been avoided? Kaminski, 1991, p.81). Pausewang (1991) has answered this point by citing her political reputation and the interests of her audience (pp.84-7); fulfilling Kaminski's demands may well satisfy critics at the expense of alienating the young reader. In addition, she argues that Fern von der Rosinkawiese (1989) was in any case an interim stage in her autobiographical work which, when completed in a third volume, she intends to dedicate to reconciliation. Geliebte Rosinkawiese (1990), the final volume in the trilogy, was therefore written in the knowledge of Kaminski's critical position: one which touches a sensitive nerve in any author reflecting on the inheritance of childhood in the Third Reich. The interplay of the pedagogical expectations of an adult audience, the demands of the young reader and personal need underpin the autobiographical process and affect the continuing dialogue with the past. Just as Pausewang's work has undoubtedly been influenced by critical attention, so Günter Saalman's concern with a possible re-emergence of fascism is evident on two levels: in his autobiographical account of the effectiveness of National Socialist ideology on young minds in Mops Eisenfaust (literally: Mops, fist of iron, 1991), and in his response to the prejudice and violence of young fascists in the 1990s in the novel published two years later, (Zu keinem ein Wort ; literally: Don't tell anyone, 1993).

Didacticism conditions all German writing for children on the Third Reich; even writers denying any guilt on the part of their families indicate to readers where responsibility lies. It is instructive at this point to consider the contrasting situation of British writing: there is no comparable body of critical literature in which British writers are positioned according to ideological expectations of their accounts of childhood in the Second World War. This is not to say that ideological perspectives represented in British Second World War children's fiction remain unchanged since the nineteen-fifties, or that British novels lack any didactic intent: Cooper (1970), Lingard (1980) and Westall (1975) take a moral approach to the evil unleashed by war and the nature of prejudice. These instances do not, however, represent aspects of a unified national preoccupation with atonement for the past and lessons for the future. The incorporation of children's literature into the school curriculum may well include analysis of the Allied record and the rise of

fascism, but the approaches of enlightened teachers are not part of a coherent national compulsion. The reading of texts by Jewish writers in British schools, for example - whether in translation (The Diary of Anne Frank, 1954) or the original English (When Hitler Stole Pink Rabbit, 1971) - may be used to inform historical discussion on the causes and consequences of the Second World War, without raising disturbing questions of inherited responsibility and the undermining of national identity.

Cross-cultural influences

Children's experience in the Second World War is reflected in literature across Europe. To gain a more complete understanding of the children's literature on the subject of any one country or language, it is important to examine cross-cultural influences. Utopian claims have long been made for the internationalism of children's literature (Hazard, 1944); it has even been regarded - in the aims of the 1946/7 international exhibition of children's books in Munich organised by Jella Lepman - as a channel for post-war reconciliation and co-operation¹¹. Kinnell (1987), cited in Hunt (1992, pp.110-11), contrasts these idealistic, speculative aims with the examination of actual influences between specific cultures, admitting that they are not always easily documented: 'the part they [comparative studies] play in developing more clearly focussed insights at the 'micro' level of national literatures is however perhaps more contentious' (p.111). Kinnell is right to offer this warning, in that direct, specific instances of cross-cultural influence are rare. Nevertheless, it is insights at the 'micro' level into the reception of translations between the German and English languages which, when reasonable assumptions can be made on the basis of evidence, are indicative of national perspectives on the the war years. The comparison of approaches to a common theme is a central feature of the methodology of comparative studies: when that theme embraces conflict and persecution between the nations and cultures involved, comparison takes on an affective dimension which, in the case of autobiographical literature, is linked to the therapeutic purpose of the writing itself. A number of key areas highlight the

¹¹ For a history of comparative approaches to children's literature see O'Sullivan (1996, pp.285-314).

personal and national therapeutic function of German texts and the burden of expectation placed upon them. Analysis will focus on evidence of the impact of the translation into German of autobiographical texts by Jewish writers; the imbalance in the numbers of translations between German and English, and the critical attack on German children's literature on the Third Reich by a prominent Israeli scholar.

The reception in Germany of translated autobiographies by Jewish writers

The first and possibly most significant instance of cross-cultural influence in terms of this study, is the translation into German of the memoirs of Jewish writers who suffered the consequences of the anti-semitic policies of the Third Reich as children or young adults. Publication figures and instances of reception history are indicative of the importance of these translations - including accounts written for adults - in German post-war cultural history. The publication in German of Anne Frank's diary in 1949 was the first notable example in a series of translations which date from the early post-war years. The first retrospective account written specifically for children to make an impact was Clara Asscher-Pinkhof's Sternkinder (literally: Children of the star, 1961), which Asscher-Pinkhof details her experiences in Bergen-Belsen and selection for transport to Israel. After some disagreement within the jury (Steinlein, 1995, p.11) the book was awarded the German Jugendbuchpreis in 1962; publication figures obtained by Sannes-Müller (1988) for the years 1971-84 are 62,000 copies. Erich Kästner's foreword to the first edition of Sternkinder situates reception of the book firmly in the early stages of didacticism as an approach to national catharsis:

Und auch die Schulkinder, wenigstens die älteren, sollten erfahren, wie damals Kindern mitgespielt wurde. Sie werden fragen stellen und von Eltern und Lehrern Auskunft erwarten. Die Aufgabe ist schwer, aber unabwendbar. Den Abgrund der Vergangenheit zu verdecken, hiesse den Weg in die Zukunft gefährden.

And schoolchildren - the older ones anyway - should know what was done to children in those days. They will ask questions and expect answers from parents and teachers. The task we face is a difficult but unavoidable one. To conceal the abyss of the past would be to create dangers on the road to the future. (Kästner, 1961, p.22)

The role of translated autobiographical children's literature in a process of national atonement is clearly summarised in this indictment of past denial.

Sternkinder did not in fact appear in German translation until fifteen years after its first publication in Holland in 1946. The timing of the German edition coincides with the first signs of a shift in emphasis from literature on the expulsion of Germans from the east to the fate of the Jews in the Third Reich, as revealed in Otto's (1981) thematic analysis of children's literature on National Socialism. The continuation of this trend can be traced at least in part to the translations of autobiographical writing by Jewish writers which became an essential element in the didactic approach to the Third Reich. In the snapshot of 'bestseller' children's books on the Third Reich taken by Sannes-Müller in 1985 (1988, p.61), three of the six 'bestsellers' in 1985 were translated autobiographies by Jewish writers (Asscher-Pinkhof, 1961; Kerr, 1973; and Koehn 1979). Indeed, almost all the accounts by Jewish writers discussed in this study which were first written in English have been translated into German. The first volume of Charles Hannam's memoirs, for example, appeared in Germany two years after its first publication in England (...und dann musste ich gehen, 1979); Judith Kerr's trilogy - to be discussed below - has been highly successful in German translation. Ilse Koehn's Mischling zweiten Grades (1979) was also published in Germany just two years after publication in the USA, and had sold 50,000 copies in Germany by 1984 (Sannes-Müller, 1988). These translations played their part in the gradual easing of repression and the emergence of the fate of the Jews as an acceptable subject in children's literature. Their influence on the ideological stance towards the past adopted by German children's authors can be traced in the confessional tone or the displacement of responsibility analysed in earlier chapters of this study in the accounts of childhood in the Third Reich published in the 1970s and 1980s.

The critical reception of texts by Jewish writers in Germany has not been unproblematic, however. The political contentiousness of any evaluation or personal history of the Third Reich is at the forefront of critical attention in Germany, so that translated texts by Jewish writers are also scrutinised from an ideological standpoint. The first volume of Judith Kerr's trilogy, Als Hitler

das rosarote Kaninchen stahl (1973), was a commercial success: sales figures of the paperback edition in German-speaking countries reached 200,000 copies between 1975 and 1985 (Sannes-Müller, 1988, p.61). Awarded the German Jugendbuchpreis in 1974, the novel was televised in 1978 and has been designated a set book in schools¹². Nevertheless, there has been considerable criticism of its content; Müller, in Cloer's (1983 pp.157-162) collection of annotations, points to the absence of political and historical information and attributes Kerr's apolitical stance to her educated, upper middle-class family history. Müller does not recommend the book for discussion in the upper secondary school, since he regards its content as not sufficiently challenging in historical terms. Müller's position is echoed by Liebs (1995), who regrets the emphasis on lost bourgeois privileges in the novel and proposes an analysis of its 'suspicious' ('verdächtig', p.192) success. The implication here is that the exceptionally high sales figures can be attributed to the lack of historical analysis or the minimal reference to the fate of the majority of German Jews. Heinz-Jürgen Kliewer in Wild (1990, p.336) extends the accusation of untypicality to what he considers to be a more serious issue: the demonisation of the 'Nazis'. These examples of some of the negative critical attention Kerr's novel has received in Germany reflect the concern that literature for children should offer a coherent political analysis of the Third Reich from an anti-fascist standpoint : it is not therefore surprising that criticism of Kerr's work in the former DDR was particularly pointed (Kliewer in Wild, 1990, p.335).

The ideological perspective against which texts are measured comes into conflict with the autobiographical impulse in that for Kerr - unlike those German writers who take a range of approaches to the acceptance or repression of the historical past - retrospective explanation and atonement are not motivating forces in the reconstruction of childhood. Her concern lies with personal history, family relationships and the formation of a new identity in exile; it could be argued that the legitimate moral and political expectations applied to German authors are misplaced in the case of a Jewish writer. However, the Israeli academic Zohar Shavit , whose general criticism of German children's literature on the Third Reich is to be discussed

¹² The novel was, for example, still included in the curriculum of Berlin primary schools in 1995 (Steinlein, 1995, p.112).

later in this chapter, is also critical of the lack of information on concentration camps in When Hitler Stole Pink Rabbit (Shavit, 1995, p.13). This tension between personal need and didactic evaluation of autobiographical texts central to any discussion of audience and purpose is also at issue in the reception of translated texts in Germany.

Translations between the German and English languages

Cross-cultural influences between Britain and Germany - apart from those of the translation into German of the work of Jewish authors originally published in English - are not easily detected. The disparity in numbers of translations between the two languages published is attributable to general trends as much as to specific indication of levels of interest in this subject; the history of the translation of children's literature between the German and English languages is that of a predominantly one-way process. Of the British autobiographical texts discussed in this study, the novels of Joan Lingard (1980) and Robert Westall (1975) which include autobiographical strands, and the account of wartime childhood and young adulthood by Michael Foreman (1989) have been published in German. Only a limited choice of the extensive German body of texts is available in Britain, although a far wider range of titles has been translated into the English language for publication in the USA¹³. The work of two authors of autobiographical literature on the Third Reich and the war years written in German has been translated and published in this country: Hans-Peter Richter's three autobiographical accounts Friedrich (1987), I was there (1987) and The Time of the Young Soldiers (1978)¹⁴ appeared in the USA before publication in Britain in the 1970s ; and Christine Nöstlinger's Fly Away Home was first published in Britain in 1976. Although this represents a fraction of the German texts, the subject is in fact well represented when the overall paucity of translated children's literature published in the UK is taken into account.

¹³ These titles include such key texts as Don't Say a Word by Barbara Gehrts (1986) and Howl Like the Wolves (1980) by Max von der Grün which offer some insight into German resistance to the NSDAP and, in von der Grün's account, a wealth of documentary evidence.

¹⁴ Dates in this instance are those of editions obtained for this study; titles are listed in chronological order of publication in Germany and the USA.

Despite the limited numbers of translations available, some general observations can be made on the place of literature translated between the two languages in the didactic process. Texts on the British experience are peripheral to the German preoccupation with their National Socialist inheritance, and are therefore not included in German publications on didactic approaches to the period. None of the texts translated from English which focus on the British experience feature, for example, in Cloer's (1983, 1988) and Dahrendorf's (1990,1994) annotated lists on the Third Reich and National Socialism. Translations of British autobiographical novels set in the Second World War are not of relevance to the German process of self-examination, and do not appear to impinge on it. Indeed, the British enemy is rarely mentioned in German texts: even those set in the post-war period feature American and Russian occupying forces rather than the British (Nöstlinger, 1973; Pausewang, 1989). Turning to German texts translated into English, there are some parallels with German didactic approaches in the reception of at least one translated autobiographical novel. The result of the limited choice of German texts available in translation in Britain has been a pedagogical focus on Hans-Peter Richter's Friedrich (1987). In the teacher's notes to the 1984 Thames Television programme on Friedrich, directed by Peter Griffiths and broadcast in the English Programme series, a direct comparison is made between the story of Friedrich and prejudice encountered at first hand by pupils: 'prejudice against people because of their race, their skin colour, their class, their sex, their beliefs' (Goldenberg and Griffiths, 1984, p.21¹⁵). The role of texts on the Third Reich in combatting the re-emergence of fascism in Germany is echoed in the reading of Friedrich in the primary and secondary sector in the London area¹⁶ during the 1980s, when children's response to anti-semitism was discussed in relation to racism within the school and community. The functional model of reception so prominent in the response to German texts is evident in the context of the anti-racist educational initiatives of the period in Britain.

The reception of translations and traceable influences on the production of

¹⁵ A footnote (Goldberg and Griffiths, 1984, p.17) also informs us that Hans-Peter Richter 'felt unable to take part in the programme, as he did not want "public exposure" .'

¹⁶ Interviews with Sandy Pepperell, former London primary teacher, and Philippa Hunt, former Inner London Education Authority advisory teacher, May 1996.

autobiographical texts are, then, dependent on the ideologies implicit in attitudes to the past. Translations continue to play an important role in Germany: of thirty-eight titles published between 1989/1990 and 1995 and listed by the BISMAS database under the key concept 'Weltkrieg 1939-45' (World War 1939-45), nineteen are translations from a range of European languages as well as Hebrew and Japanese. For German readers interest in texts by Jewish writers or non-Jewish authors narrating their experience of life under German occupation is inevitably and intimately connected with national responsibility¹⁷.

Criticism of German children's literature on the Third Reich: Zohar Shavit

Finally, one instance of the cross-cultural reception of German children's literature on the Third Reich indicative of the sensitive and pivotal position it occupies in the process of national catharsis, is the survey of German texts by Zohar Shavit. Shavit, who is currently engaged in a research project on historical consciousness and national discourse in post-1945 Germany at Tel Aviv University¹⁸, has written in a highly critical vein about the representation of the holocaust and national perspectives on the Third Reich and its aftermath in German children's literature (Shavit, 1988, 1995). Shavit takes as the starting point of her 1988 essay the role of children's literature in shaping the historical consciousness of any group or society. According to this functional and didactic model of reception, texts are expected to be representative: 'Das entscheidende Kriterium hinsichtlich der Glaubwürdigkeit ist, wie sehr ein Ereignis für die Geschichte typisch ist' (when considering plausibility, the key question is whether an event is historically typical, Shavit, 1988, p.15). Shavit is therefore critical of the lack of historical context in German texts which focus on the exceptional: resistance to the NSDAP or the German citizens who assisted Jews. Furthermore, Shavit identifies evidence of repression and the avoidance of national responsibility in the preoccupation with the post-war period, philosemitism (with particular reference to Hans-Peter Richter's Damals war

¹⁷ A notable recent publication is the translation into German of Isabella Leitner's harrowing account of life in Auschwitz, Isabella: Fragmente ihrer Erinnerungen an Auschwitz (1993).

¹⁸ Given the subject of the research project, it is important to note that it is funded by the German Bertelsmann Stiftung.

es Friedrich, 1961), and the emphasis on individual suicides rather than the concentration camp death which was the fate of the majority of European Jews. She summarises her survey of German children's literature on the Third Reich with the polemical statement: 'Wenn man ein Buch liest, hat man alle Bücher gelesen' (When you have read one book you have read them all', Shavit, 1988, p.22).

This essay provoked an exchange of letters between Shavit and the co-editor of the volume in which it appeared, Malte Dahrendorf (Shavit/Dahrendorf, 1988). Dahrendorf points in his letter to the historical position he and Shavit occupy as representatives of oppressor and oppressed; he argues, for example, that from a German perspective philosemitism is a manifestation of guilt and should not therefore be completely dismissed. Dahrendorf accepts Shavit's thesis that Germany still has not fully recognised or atoned for the crimes of the Third Reich, making reference to his own critical contributions on this subject in relation to children's literature. He does not agree, however, that writing for children is undifferentiated, or that details of the gas chambers are necessarily appropriate for a child reader.

Dahrendorf's argument that neither he nor Shavit can take an objective point-of-view in this debate is a necessary reminder of the personal and national therapeutic purpose of autobiography for many German writers. It reinforces the point that both within and outside Germany, children's literature on the Third Reich is regarded as a seismograph of national historical consciousness. While there are certainly texts discussed in this study which attempt to displace the responsibility of the German people and are therefore legitimately subject to moral questioning, Shavit's criticism of texts disregards the personal need motivating the writer as well as the shifting ideological perspectives on the past analysed globally by Otto (1981) and reflected in the case studies discussed in previous chapters. It must be remembered that texts on childhood in the Third Reich are predominantly autobiographical, including most of those cited by Shavit to support her case (Richter, Gehrts, Fuchs, Schönfeldt, von Staden, and Nöstlinger). The only valid approach to the past for many German writers is through their own life

stories, which differ both in content and narrative perspective. The choice of theme - the subject's own life - is not an open one. It is for this reason that Shavit's criticism of the similarity of all German children's literature on the Third Reich is questionable: autobiographical writing is by definition differentiated, and ideological shifts can be traced even in the writing produced in the last twenty-five years. The trauma of migration during the post-war period in Germany, for example, demands the kind of contextualisation undertaken by Pausewang (1989) which was lacking in earlier post-war accounts and some recent ones (Heyne, 1989). Shavit's contention that this choice of theme is: 'das Leichteste....wenn man die peinlichen Themen umgehen will' (the simplest way of avoiding painful subjects, Shavit, 1988, p.21) ignores both the psychological pain of the refugee existence and the therapeutic purpose of autobiographical writing: the definition of the self through the relation of significant personal history.

In extending her criticism to the work of a Jewish writer, Judith Kerr, Shavit takes no account of the question of identity at the heart of the novel. Judith Kerr, she asserts, is one of the Jewish writers who were 'deutscher als die Deutschen' (more German than the Germans, Dahrendorf/Shavit, 1988, p.154) - there appears to be no question for Shavit of the cultural ambivalence evident in the novel. Anna's privileged social situation and intellectual agility in learning new languages in When Hitler Stole Pink Rabbit (1971) are compared by Shavit to the positive view of Friedrich and his family in Damals war es Friedrich (1961) (Shavit, 1995, pp.20-21). There is no discussion of Kerr's position as a Jewish writer and the obvious differences in ideological and psychological motivation for the philosemitism detected in each novel.

Shavit's repetition of her critical attack on German perspectives on the past in a paper presented at a symposium on children's literature on the Third Reich held in Berlin in the anniversary year of 1995, and the deeply felt perplexity of the German response¹⁹, pinpoint the continuing sensitivity in the reception of German texts. In her study of two 'narrations of youthful

¹⁹ In an unpublished statement Dahrendorf (1995) describes the shocked response of German participants at the symposium and their unsuccessful attempts to persuade Zohar Shavit to qualify her criticism.

experience in Nazi Germany', Bosmajian (1991) emphasises the 'grids of memory and repression' (p.76) which constrain personal narrative and its reception at all levels: 'We complete, as always, the act of reading with interpretation, asking ourselves how text, author and reader are constituted - and , finally, how the critic is constituted.' (p.75). The critic, too, is ideologically motivated, especially when representing a particular interest, as Dahrendorf points out. Rarely have Bosmajian's questions been more pertinent than in the recent reception history of German children's literature on the Third Reich, where so much is at stake, namely the attempted recreation of a national identity through a renegotiation of the past. Aesthetic and literary criteria are secondary to a didactic purpose where the concerns of the unreliable child reader - whose initial interest in the war years may not extend to the kinds of texts recommended in booklists on the Third Reich at all - are redirected by adults. These adults - teachers, parents, librarians - add a further axis of historically constituted interpretation to Bosmajian's constellation of text, author, reader and critic.

The impossible legacy

The didactic intention of adults, as represented in the socio-political interpretation of autobiographical texts on the Third Reich written for children, raises once again the spectre of the adult standing at the child reader's shoulder. The adult addressee as co-participant in wartime experience exemplified in Recheis (1990) has an equivalent in the reception history of many texts in the adult as instructive interpreter. In returning to the question of the implicit addressee in autobiographical writing, therapeutic purpose emerges as the dominant note in the orchestration of personal and didactic motivation in texts discussed in this study. Renza, in Olney's (1980) collection of theoretical essays on autobiography, notes that autobiographies are often addressed to family members or - as in Wordsworth's The Prelude - to a "friend" (p.293). Such a choice of audience, reflected in this study in texts addressed to the authors' own children, suggests a primarily personal interest. In contrast to the memoirs of public figures, personal life histories presuppose an intimate addressee, who cannot always be clearly specified.

Felman (1993) notes this uncertainty in women's autobiographies: 'We do not always know who is *the real addressee* of the text of our desire and the writing of our life' (p.132). For some writers in this study a child audience may be a means of overcoming this uncertainty by providing a convenient channel for the expression of personal need, a motivation which Rose (1984) attributes to children's literature in general: 'When we think about childhood, it is above all our investment in doing so which counts.' (p.12). Zohar Shavit also considers this opportunism to be a feature of children's books, as one of two extreme solutions to their ambivalent status. One is to reject adults altogether (typical, she argues, of popular novels such as those of Enid Blyton), the other to appeal primarily to adults using the child as an excuse rather than the 'real addressee' (Shavit, 1986, p.63). This accords with Wild's (1990) argument that accounts of childhood in the Third Reich do not have an immediate interest for many children in the 1980s, and that their motivation lies in the authors' complex relationship with the past (p.361). The work of many German writers addressing an adult audience adds weight to this theory: Günter Grass, for example, who experienced the Third Reich at first hand during childhood and adolescence, has returned to that era throughout his writing career; Ein weites Feld (*A Wide Field*, 1995) is the most recent in a series of novels reassessing recent German history. In autobiographical children's literature the concept of the uncertain addressee or the child as pretext both support the conclusion that authors of autobiographies are writing for themselves in the first instance.

My conclusion that personal need is the dominant, if not exclusive, impulse underpinning the act of recreating wartime childhood rests on such uncertainty as to the appropriate audience for texts as well as on the evidence of previous chapters. It has been the purpose of this study to identify the nature and function of German and English language autobiographical accounts of childhood during the Second World War and the Third Reich both by examining broad themes - the autobiographical urge, writing as therapy and the role of language in reconstructing the past - and by undertaking a comparative analysis of texts in case studies. The role of autobiography in identity formation, and the constant reshaping of the self in relation to a dynamic ideological context, are reflected both in the work of

individual authors and in more general patterns of response arising from the various historical events which affected children during the war years. Affective experiences shared by British, German and Jewish writers are represented in accounts which differ in purpose and tone and in the narrative strategies employed. The work of British writers has been examined both in its own right as evidence of a highly individualistic response on a limited scale, and as a point of comparison with the German perspective. In British autobiographical writing prejudices are questioned and individual childhoods carry the affective legacy of the trauma of family separation or personal danger, yet there is potential for the inclusion of excitement and humour in texts which do not bear the load of a concerted national socio-political purpose.

Childhood's joys are rarely celebrated in German texts; there is a retrospective perception of childhood as lost in many narratives. The relationship between individual and national identity colours the writing of authors unable to take any pride in the past. In this sense childhood in the Third Reich represents an impossible legacy, the inherited 'burden of being German' identified by the German-Jewish writer Ralph Giordano (1990) in his indictment of the post-war denial of national responsibility for the Third Reich. All attempts to reconstruct the childhood self are ultimately judged against the magnitude of the holocaust. The justified criticism of texts denying the culpability of the ordinary German people is complemented by expectations dictating content and function which may cut across the autobiographical urge to relate experience as it was lived. It will probably never be possible for a German writer to integrate personal need with ideological expectations in a manner which would fully satisfy critical attention, since the weight of historical shame sets unachievable standards. This problematic development in the genre of autobiographical writing for children - that it has become the avenue for a socially and psychologically restorative representation of history - is nonetheless a necessary one. Recognition of the impossibility of the task does not imply that it is pointless; indeed, the steady increase in the number of autobiographical accounts of the era reflects the challenge it represents and the urgency of the enterprise. The need to make a statement about the past in the interests of constructing

an ideologically acceptable personal and family history applies to all the German texts in this study, whether complicity with the ideology of the Third Reich is acknowledged or not. The legacy of a Nazi childhood is indeed inescapable; Hitler's prediction in his 1938 speech that children of the Third Reich would never again be free resonates through the pages of German autobiographical texts.

An impossible legacy of a different order - the almost inexpressible suffering of persecution and attempted genocide - is responsible for the delay in recording wartime experience for a child audience in the case of Jewish writers. The children of Jewish families often remained ignorant of the exact nature of the suffering which their parents wished to forget, or considered too distressing for those close to them. Delays in speaking or writing about the past arise from the 'terrible silence of children who are forced to endure the unendurable' (Bettelheim, 1992, p.214). This silence has been overcome late in life by some of those who were hidden children or survived the concentration camps in order to offer in accounts written for children both a lesson for the future and a memorial to the dead. The setting of the concentration camp is a late development in children's literature; Kimmel (1977) was unable to trace in the late 1970s a children's book which faced 'the ultimate tragedy' (p.90). In Germany the novel by Carlo Ross based on his own memories of life in Theresienstadt - a sequel to his account of the intensifying persecution of the Jews in the town of Hagen (1987) - first appeared in 1991. The time lapse occasioned by the pain of revisiting the horror of childhood experience is accompanied by the questioning of beliefs about the appropriateness of the subject of mass murder for children's literature (Kimmel, 1977; Dahrendorf, 1988). However, Shavit (1988, p.156) cites her own ability to live with stories about the holocaust as a child, and Zack (1991) offers evidence that children are able to learn about the final fate of the Jews through literature, albeit with the support and guidance of a teacher. These debates, and the tragically inevitable scarcity of autobiographical writing on the concentration camps, set the context for accounts by Jewish refugees. Such accounts have also been found wanting in their omission of the holocaust (Shavit, 1988, 1991), yet the exploration of the rift in the evolving concept of the self caused by exile reflects the

complexity of a legacy touched by the guilt of the survivor.

In surveying both primary texts and secondary literature on children's books on the holocaust and Third Reich, it has become clear that the relatively recent branch of children's literature represented by the recording of childhood wartime experience for a child audience has reached a critical point. The dynamic of therapeutic process and didactic purpose has produced a body of literature which has yet to establish its true audience and - with the exception of novels written by recognised children's authors - secure its position as historical documentation or work of literary quality. Much remains to be discovered. Our understanding of the renegotiation in texts for children of the events which took place fifty years ago would be consolidated and extended by research into children's actual responses to texts, both as life stories or as a means of political and historical education; by a detailed historical analysis of cross cultural influences, and by an exploration of the contrasting ideological perspectives represented in autobiographical texts published in the Federal and former Democratic Republics of Germany. And, as Robert Westall observed, there is not much time left for 'these children who were so brave and crazy'. It remains to be seen what position the legacy of the Third Reich and the Second World War will occupy in German and English language children's literature when the immediacy and therapeutic urgency of autobiographical writing is no longer a possibility.

Appendices

Appendix 1

A table representing the hierarchy of Hitler Youth organisations taken from the English translation of Hans-Peter Richter's autobiographical novel I was there (Richter, 1987, p.187).

HITLER YOUTH ORGANIZATIONS

AGES 10—14		AGES 14—18		EXPLANATION
Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	
Jungvolk (Young Folk)	Jungmädels (Young Maidens)	Hitlerjugend (Hitler Youth)	Bund Deutscher Mädel (League of German Maidens)	Title of Organization
Reichsjugendführer*	Reichsjugendführer	Reichsjugendführer	Reichsjugendführer	Reich Youth Leader (B. von Schirach)
Jungbann (sometimes called Oberjungstamm)	Jungmädelerntergau	Bann	Untergau	highest regional subdivision: approx. 3000-3600 people
Jungstamm	Jungmädelerntergau	Stamm	Mädelerntergau	2nd largest subdivision: approx. 500-600 people
Fähnlein	Jungmädelerntergau	Gefolgschaft	Mädelerntergau	detachment of approx. 100-150 people
Jungzug	Jungmädelerntergau	Schar	Mädelerntergau	equivalent of a platoon: approx. 30-45 people
Jungenschaft	Jungmädelerntergau	Kameradschaft	Mädelerntergau	squad of approx. 10-15 people

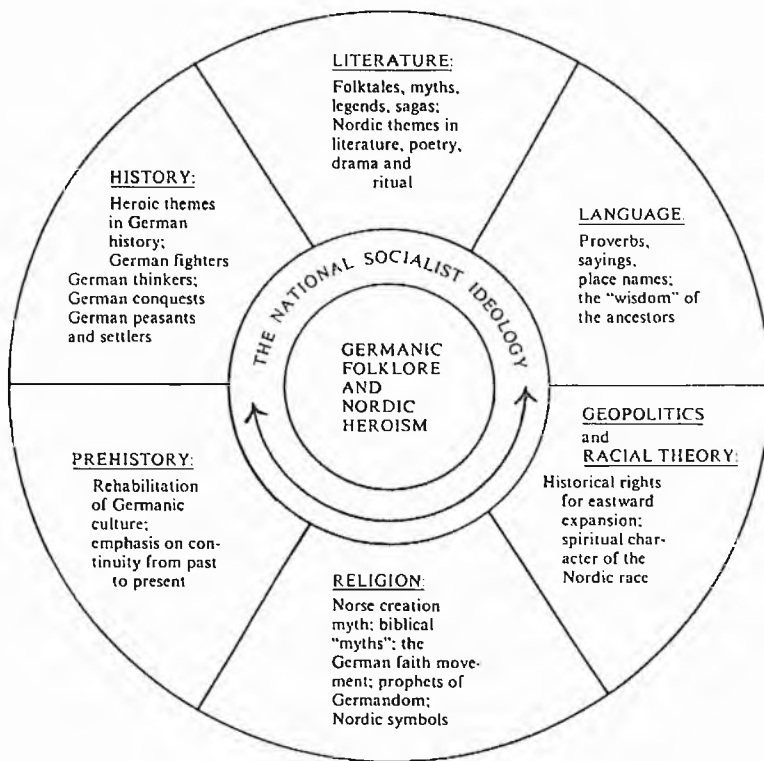
* N.B. The leaders of the various detachments were named simply by adding the word "führer" after the name of the particular group, i.e. *Fähnleinführer*, *Jungstammführer*, or "führerin" in the case of girls.

Appendix 2

A diagram representing the German Minister for Science, Education and Folk Culture Bernhard Rust's concept of interdisciplinary studies in the reformed school curriculum of the Third Reich. (Kamenetsky, 1984, p.250).

**THE REFORMED SCHOOL CURRICULUM:
RUST'S CONCEPT OF INTERDISCIPLINARY STUDIES**

THE GOAL:
NATIONAL SOCIALIST INDOCTRINATION



SUBJECTS ONLY INDIRECTLY
AFFECTED BY THE FOLKLORE EMPHASIS:

- Physical Education
- Biology
- Geography
- Art
- Crafts
- Music
- (Physics, chemistry and foreign languages lay outside of this scheme.)

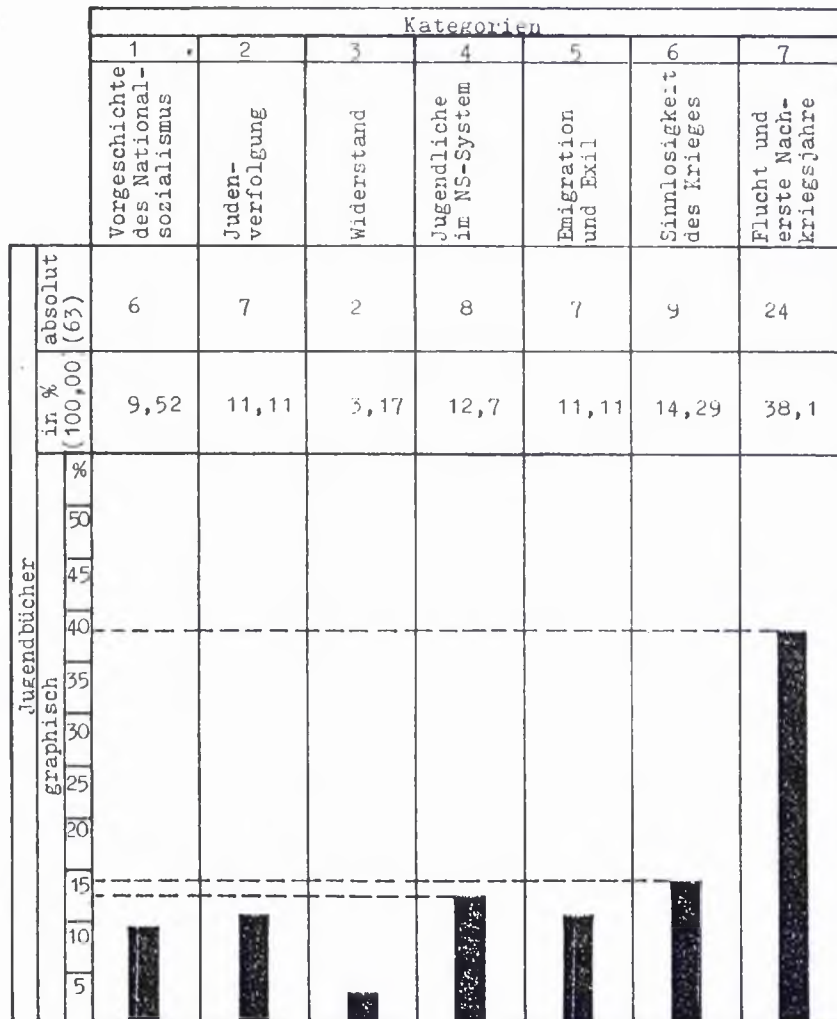
Source: Compiled by Author

Appendix 3

A) A tabular representation of Otto's seven thematic categories in German children's literature on the Third Reich in print in 1978 (Otto, 1981, p.38). The categories are:

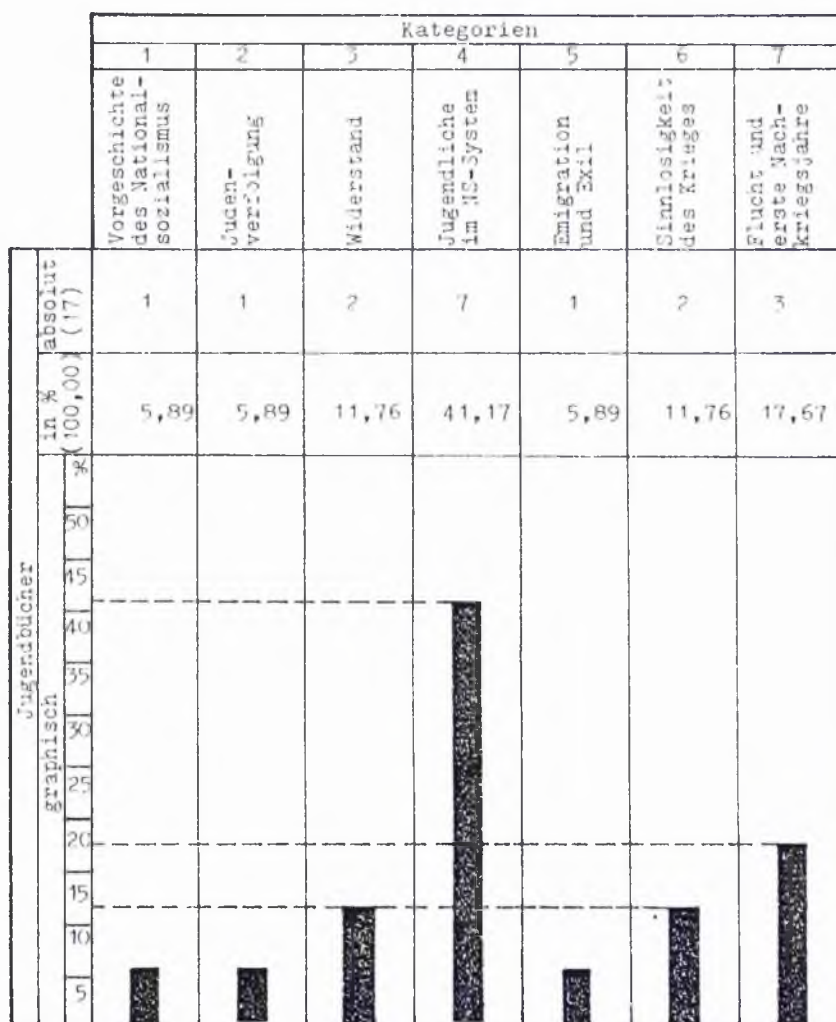
1. The prehistory of National Socialism.
2. The persecution of the Jews.
3. Resistance.
4. Childhood and youth in the National Socialist system.
5. Emigration and exile.
6. The pointlessness of the war.
7. Migration and the early post-war years.

Tabelle 2 / Einteilung der erfaßten Jugendbücher, die
 Graphik 3 : 1978 auf dem Buchmarkt der Bundesrepublik
 Deutschland waren, nach Kategorien



- B) A breakdown into the same thematic categories of new titles published in 1979, indicating a shift towards the examination of childhood and youth in the Third Reich (Otto, 1981, p.41).

Tabelle 3 / Einteilung der erfaßten Jugendbücher, die
Graphik 5 : 1979 auf dem Buchmarkt der Bundesrepublik
Deutschland neu erschienen, nach Kategorien



Appendix 4

Figure 1: Gudrun Pausewang (in the centre) with her sisters Sieglinde and Freya, summer 1944. From: Fern von der Rosinkawiese , 1989, p.30.



Figure 2: Tomi Ungerer's childhood sketch fulfilling a homework requirement to draw a Jew during the German occupation of the Alsace (Ungerer, 1993, p.46).



Skizze zu der Hausaufgabe, einen Juden zu zeichnen

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