

JAZZ AND JUDAISM:
AN EXPLORATION OF THEIR SYNTHESIS
IN DISPLACEMENT CAMP MUSIC

by

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(Under the Direction of Dr. Stephen Valdez)

ABSTRACT

Retaining and rebuilding Jewish identity in German-occupied Poland in the World War II and post-war era was a daunting task. Combining American jazz with European Ashkenazic tradition, Jewish musicians symbolically rebelled during the war, and many wrote displacement camp songs and instrumental pieces immediately following the war. The contextualization and place of these pieces and their jazz influence in the new phase of Ashkenazic culture are explored. Two pieces in particular, The Happy Boys' "We Long For A Home" and related musician Leo Spellman's "Rhapsody 1939-1945," are used as case studies of displacement camp music because they capture the attitude that characterized Jewish life after the Holocaust. Through the incorporation of jazz, Jewish culture, and versatile expression of music, the Jewish identity could be healed and renewed.

INDEX WORDS: Music, Jewish, World War II, Jazz, Ashkenazi, Displacement, Holocaust

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Music has been lauded throughout history for its ability to speak to the human spirit, to move people to a certain feeling, to encapsulate a feeling, or experience and display that feeling. The aesthetics of music have long been a source of discussion especially when a new trend or style in music appears. Jazz was exceptionally rife with discussion about aesthetics from all parties, from musicians to the general public, even the German government. The new, looser rhythms and harmonies of jazz encouraged a widespread discussion of how it affected the body and mind of the listener. Marxist philosopher and musicologist Theodor Adorno was one of the most vocal critics of jazz, writing several essays on musical aesthetics that mention or focus on jazz. One such essay, “Perennial Fashion – Jazz,” describes jazz as possessing an “element of excess, of insubordination”¹ because of what he believed to be manufactured rhythm and harmony² that was readily felt in Europe long after jazz was normalized in America.³ In general, Adorno attacks popular music of the early 20th century, especially jazz, for being simplistic, repetitive, and unoriginal in form. While believing that jazz was a capitalist commodity, he acknowledged that “aesthetic impulses are not simply extinguished by suppression but are rather diverted. Jazz is the preferred medium of such diversion.”⁴

1 Theodor Adorno, “Perennial Fashion – Jazz,” in *Prisms*, trans. Samuel Weber (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1981), 128.

2 Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer, “The Culture Industry: Enlightenment as Mass Deception,” Georgetown University Faculty PDF Uploads, <http://www9.georgetown.edu/faculty/irvinem/theory/Adorno-Horkheimer-Culture-Industry.pdf> (accessed December 11, 2012).

3 Adorno, “Perennial Fashion – Jazz,” 128.

4 *Ibid*, 131.

Adorno's assertion that jazz was a commodity transferred over to real commoditization, particularly with women. Women were viewed as a powerful consumer group in their own right, and many goods revolved around jazz and jazz culture, such as flapper clothes, radios, records, makeup, and instruments. Rather than the traditional approach of appealing solely to the products' ability to attract men, advertisements started showing women on their own with the new style of short hair and minimal clothing.⁵

Charles S. Johnson, a contemporary of the Jazz Age, defended jazz against early opinions such as Adorno's in the editorial for a volume of *Opportunity*.

... Is jazz subsidized? ... Do the popular songs cost more?

If we may believe Carl Van Vechten, "it is only through the trenchant pens of our new composers" (who are utilizing the distinctive features of ragtime and jazz) "that the complicated vigor of American life has been expressed in tone.... It is the only American music which is enjoyed by the nation... it is the only American music which is heard abroad (and it is heard everywhere...)."

The secret of this vogue is that they are the kind of tunes that a large number of persons can easily enjoy, remember, play, and sing and even compose. Attention has been called to the fact that artists as gifted as Rodin and Troubetsky think that Art like true goodness flames, and is unmistakable; that it must leap sheer from the depth of feeling and be at its best understandable even to children. The great crowd is thus in good company in its appreciation of these magic tunes.

.... For apart from the swirl and dash of the civilization of this country, there is, in the words and music of Negro songs, as Gilbert Seldes reminds us, an expression of something which underlies a great deal of America—our independence, our frankness, and gaiety.⁶

Another author, James A. Rogers, asserted that it is "just the epidemic contagiousness of jazz that makes it, like the measles, sweep the block."⁷

5 "Jazz and Women's Liberation," University of Minnesota Duluth, <http://www.d.umn.edu/cla/faculty/tbacig/studproj/is3099/jazzcult/20sjazz/jazzlib.html> (accessed February 17, 2013).

6 Lewis Porter, *Jazz: A Century of Change* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1997), 123-4.

7 Ibid, 124-5.

Jazz had gained a pervasive reputation as a music of rebellion and licentious behavior because of the perception of its origins and aesthetics, yet it gained popularity internationally even in the face of a war against its basic qualities. Those who listened to jazz during its rise to popularity were often trying to rebel from societal norms. The changes in rhythm were only the beginning; the clubs, cabarets, and speakeasies in which jazz was played often had their own atmospheres of disinhibition.⁸ The rise of flappers, illegal alcohol (during US Prohibition), and new forms of dancing to jazz all represented a new aspect of society that rebelled against the old norms. Self-expression also seemed more acceptable in jazz culture, as clothes and language also began to change. Musical improvisation fostered an expressive creative impulse in the performer that was subsumed in other musical performances. Performances were always unique; solos changed from night to night and performer to performer. A performer's solo was intended to be technically accurate as well as evocative. As music of self-expression and rebellion, jazz was perfect for adoption and adaptation by oppressed people. Its history in America, as will be discussed, begins with the oppressed. Its journey to Europe introduced it to the Ashkenazi Jewish population, who used it during the Nazi regime as a form of quiet rebellion and after the war as a means of healing from their psychological wounds. Jazz found a place in Europe and it changed the people who played it there in unfathomable ways.

Need for Study and Methodology

While there are writings about jazz, displacement camp music, and most definitely about Holocaust music in general, the focus on preserving and discussing the music of particularly Jewish artists composing particularly Jewish music is woefully limited. It is important to study, preserve, and frame these works before they and their composers are lost to time. The death of

8 Mark Tucker and Travis A. Jackson, "Jazz," in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.proxy-remote.galib.uga.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/45011> (accessed March 23, 2012).

one composer discussed, Leo Spellman, especially drove this point home, since he died in November 2012 in the midst of my writing process. The fact that there are not any scores available for study in this project also points to the need for preservation and further study. Only two of the four pieces to be mentioned in detail have been recorded, each performed once or twice apiece since their composers left Europe. Many books consulted include a short chapter on Holocaust or displacement camp music, and often these chapters focused on the more publicized and problematic examples such as Theresienstadt, which the Nazis held up as a shining example of their treatment of the Jewish people in order to dispel rumors of murder and maltreatment. With the distance we now have from the Holocaust, and the impending loss of living Holocaust survivors entirely, it is vital that the process of cultural and personal revival in the years immediately following the Holocaust be preserved and understood for how important it truly is. Music was absolutely vital to this process, and the lack of work into uncovering the finer points of music's role in survivor's lives and in broader Holocaust history needs to be rectified before the means to do so are lost.

My approach to displacement camp music is to provide as complete a historical background as possible for the major cultural elements that influenced their composition, followed by case studies of two very different pieces that arise from these contextual elements. A survey of the history and signification of jazz influence and Jewish musical culture will be presented first. Pre-war intersections of jazz and Jewish people in the German sphere of influence begin a lineage to jazz-influenced displacement camp music, and an understanding of the appeal of jazz to Jewish musicians throughout the period is vital to understanding its post-war significance. Yiddish musical culture is also evident in its tradition of song elements and borrowing. Since the displacement camp musicians closely studied in this thesis are entirely of Polish cultural descent, the history of Polish oppression both within and from without Poland are

vital to understanding the total cultural atmosphere, aside from the well-documented Holocaust treatment of the Jewish people. Using sources from a variety of disciplines, including but not limited to musicology, Jewish studies, sociology, psychology, and Polish history, the author intends to form a comprehensive framework for understanding an area of Jewish musical culture that is often overlooked. This framework culminates in case studies of The Happy Boys' displacement camp songs, specifically “We Long For A Home,” and Leo Spellman's instrumental “Rhapsody 1939-1945,” as examples of the broader genre of displacement camp music.

Review of Literature

James Lincoln Collier's *New Grove* article on jazz was obviously a great resource for the early history of the style, and led to many of the sources needed to flesh out the development of jazz in Europe at large. Michael Kater's *Different Drummers: Jazz in the Culture of Nazi Germany* and David Snowball's chapter “Controlling Degenerate Music: Jazz in the Third Reich” (contained in Michael J. Budds' *Jazz and the Germans*) were absolutely vital in giving life and perspective to jazz's reception and development in the German-controlled spheres of Europe between around 1930 and 1950. Each contains a wealth of firsthand information, such as the Nazi rules concerning the performance and consumption of jazz music. They were also influential in inspiring me to think of jazz as a rebellious tool for the Jewish population, an important development in the course of this argument.

In placing Ashkenazi music and history into perspective, no resources could have been more helpful than Abraham Z. Idelsohn's comprehensive *Jewish Music: Its Historical Development*, Józef Garliński's book *Poland in the Second World War*, and Isaac Lewin's *The Jewish Community in Poland: Historical Essays*. Idelsohn is well known as a Jewish musicologist and composer, and his work in this book is among the most thorough elucidations of Ashkenazic musical history available, in spite of its being over ninety years old. Idelsohn's

explanations and categorizations of Yiddish songs was a turning point in my research into the cultural basis for displacement camp songs because it offers a clear musical lineage. Garliński and Lewin offer different aspects of Polish history, exhibiting the historical maltreatment of the Polish at the hands of the Germans, and the historical maltreatment of the Jewish people at the hands of the Polish and their invaders, respectively. Placing the antagonism between the Jewish and Polish peoples and their aggressors in a historical context, these books offer both sides of the story and allow a deeper understanding of the tensions present in the region even before the start of World War II.

Before diving into the music of displacement camps, it is important to discuss the general conditions and insights of the Jewish survivors who spent time there. Jewish philosopher Emil Fackenheim's brief transcription *The Human Condition After Auschwitz: A Jewish Testimony a Generation After* does some of this work, giving insight into the “Jewish optimism” that is present through all of the hardships of the Jewish people throughout history. This small book was incredibly important in framing the music I was trying to interpret in this thesis, as the theme of optimism and hope are constant throughout the pieces. Ruth Gay's book, *Safe Among the Germans: Liberated Jews after World War II*, and Koppel Pinson's article “Jewish Life in Liberated Germany: A Study of the Jewish DP's,” each address the lives of liberated Jews and displacement camp survivors specifically. Many details about the lives of those in displacement camps were gleaned from these works, both of which are adept at painting a picture of the conditions present there. Henry Greenspan's collection of interview narratives, “An Immediate and Violent Impulse': Holocaust Survivor Testimony in the First Years after Liberation,” deepens this perspective with direct quotations from survivors. Hearing firsthand, rather than through a more academic lens, what thoughts and feelings predominated among survivors in these

displacement camps lends a more personal and sympathetic understanding to the literature, art, and music to emerge from them.

Grappling with displacement camp music itself is the final step in the process of this research. Three resources were vitally important to my ability to write about these works: two works by Shirli Gilbert, her book *Music in the Holocaust: Confronting Life in the Nazi Ghettos and Camps* and her chapter in Patt and Berkowitz's *New Approaches to Jewish Displaced Persons in Postwar Germany* "We Long for a Home': Songs and Survival among Jewish Displaced Persons," and the wealth of information available through the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. Gilbert's works deal directly with displacement camp music, with a couple of pages of her chapter directly addressing the titular work by The Happy Boys. This work is also explored briefly by the Holocaust Memorial Museum, and in this thesis, as an example of what displacement camp songs are and could represent in their original context. The Holocaust Memorial Museum is an intense wealth of information concerning all aspects of Jewish life, and was influential in all parts of writing.

CHAPTER 2

JAZZ AND REBELLION IN WORLD WAR II EUROPE

Early Jazz and its Migration to Europe

Jazz is an uniquely American musical idiom. The term “jazz” incorporates many different styles and forms, from the earliest New Orleans cakewalks, ragtimes, and other lively dance music to the long free performance pieces of today.¹ The city of New Orleans was the perfect environment to give birth to jazz because of its blend of African, Caribbean, and European cultures. This blended culture formed a unique style that inspired many to continue to innovate within it and think outside it. While early jazz was often described as a degenerate form of music because of its beginnings in less-than-reputable establishments, with black Americans, and its related perception to “excite the baser instincts,”² jazz quickly gained popularity with a general audience. Beginning in 1917, jazz began to be recorded on 78 RPM discs, allowing it to spread easily beyond the cities where it had gained popularity from the movements of individual musicians and bands.³ Dixieland, New Orleans brass bands, blues, ragtime, hot jazz, sweet jazz, and swing could be disseminated outside of New Orleans or Chicago or the like without a musician having to tour; instead, the music could travel independently thanks to this new recording technology. While the music on recordings was likely quite different from what might

1 Mark Tucker and Travis A. Jackson, “Jazz,” in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.proxy-remote.galib.uga.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/45011> (accessed March 23, 2012).

2 Ibid.

3 Ibid.

have been performed live, the seeds of jazz's innovations could be sown far and quickly with the advent of recording technology.

Jazz spread to Europe during the “Jazz Age” decade of 1920-1930.⁴ The environment in which jazz developed in northwestern Europe is particularly interesting. In much of Europe between World War I and World War II, the socio-cultural differences from and governmental sentiments regarding America did not seem conducive to accepting a distinctly American art, yet jazz flourished all the same. Some of this acceptance came from the addition of social dancing to jazz pre-World War I, primarily through the efforts of bandleader James Reese Europe and dancers Vernon and Irene Castle. Their innovations, such as the foxtrot, changed American attitudes to social dancing and landed Mr. Europe the first major label contract awarded to a black orchestra.⁵ His music and the early swing style thus spread to Europe along with its associated social dances, opening the door for other kinds of jazz and dance.

European culture played a role in the further development of jazz, but Europe artists did not participate much at the start. The hot jazz style that developed in America did export to Europe, however. The westernmost areas of Europe seemed most receptive to the new musical idiom, especially France, England, and Germany.⁶ As early as 1908, the roots of jazz were accepted into the European art music world, as exemplified by Debussy's “Golliwogg's Cake-walk” from the piano suite *Children's Corner*. The foray of more developed jazz into Europe happened in two primary ways. It was first exported in the form of media like radio, published sheet music and arrangements, and the aforementioned 78 RPM recordings. The second wave of

4 Ibid.

5 Reid Badger, “Europe, James Reese,” in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.proxy-remote.galib.uga.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/09083> (accessed February 17, 2013).

6 Michael J. Budds, “The New World Enriches the Old,” in *Jazz and the Germans*, edited by Michael J. Budds (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press, 2002), 5.

influence, and the most effective, came in 1919, when jazz ensembles began to tour Europe.⁷ Strangely, art music was still the great receptor of this early spread of jazz across Europe. The rhythms and harmonic language of jazz were incorporated into or parodied by Milhaud in his *La création du monde* (1923), Hindemith in his *Suite '1922'* (1922), and Krenek in *Jonny spielt auf* (1925).⁸

Minstrel shows and musical revues also expanded the influence of jazz as they toured in both the United States and Europe.⁹ Minstrel shows were particularly important in spreading American culture. As a distinctly American entertainment in which (primarily) white performers used racist stereotypes while in blackface, the minstrel show caricatured the African-American situation and set up the character as a comic foil for the “Yankee.”¹⁰ The minstrel show peaked in popularity after the Civil War, but was still popular into the early twentieth century. While minstrel shows were often performed by whites, Gary Giddins notes an important detail that applied to the development of jazz even as minstrel shows declined: “Though antebellum (minstrel) troupes were white, the form developed in a form of racial collaboration, illustrating the axiom that defines – and continues to define – American music as it developed over the next century and a half: African American innovations metamorphose into American popular culture when white performers learn to mimic black ones.”¹¹ More importantly, the decline of minstrel shows did not spell the decline of blackface, which carried on this tradition of white performers

7 Tucker and Jackson, “Jazz.”

8 Tucker and Jackson, “Jazz.”

9 Ibid.

10 Marc A. Bauch, “Gentlemen, Be Seated!” - *The Rise and the Fall of the Minstrel Show* (Munich: Grin Verlad, 2011), 5-8.

11 Gary Giddins, *Bing Crosby: A Pocketful of Dreams, The Early Years 1903-1940* (New York: Little, Brown & Co., 2001), 78.

mimicking black ones. An excellent well-known example of this connection into jazz is Al Jolson's film *The Jazz Singer*, which shows Jolson's Jewish character dressing in blackface to perform a comedic jazz routine for a white audience.

At first, many performances garnered horrible reviews as the jazz musical idiom did not really seem to be understood by the European audience.¹² The reason for this lack of understanding could be as simple as that the "...historical forces and the democratic nature of American society produced...music-making distinctively non-European: music fashioned by the American experience for which there were no corresponding European models or, at the very least, Continental models once-removed."¹³ In other words, even with European harmonic influence apparent in early jazz music, there was initially enough difference to confuse the typical listener. There was also a deep association in England between jazz and Jewish composers, when the definition was expanded to include Tin Pan Alley songs. While England was not an especially anti-Semitic country, critics there wrote of the "Jewish element in jazz ... the fact that at least ninety per cent of jazz tunes are written by Jews undoubtedly goes far to account for the ... almost masochistic melancholy."¹⁴ This association became even more important when jazz spread to Germany.

While jazz did not necessarily catch on with the populace until big band swing music came to the forefront, musicians and composers finally became more widely enamored with it toward the end of the 1920s. The French and British had their own bands recording around 1927, although they did not reach the level of American jazz virtuosity until around 1930-1932.¹⁵ Other

12 James Lincoln Collier, "Jazz (i)," In *The New Grove Dictionary of Jazz*, 2nd ed., edited by Barry Kernfeld, *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.proxy-remote.galib.uga.edu/subscriber/article/opr/t114/e3532> (accessed March 23, 2012).

13 Budds, "The New World Enriches the Old," 4.

14 Porter, 153-4.

15 Collier, "Jazz (i)."

western European musicians also started to follow the jazz trend through the late 1920s and early 1930s: Belgium's New Stompers followed mostly in the tradition of Red Nichols' dixieland style; the Netherlands' Ramblers recorded with Coleman Hawkins and gained international appeal; Switzerland's The Original Teddies played mostly big-band swing.¹⁶

Among the most influential American musicians in Europe's early jazz life were Red Nichols, Miff Mole, Bix Beiderbecke, Duke Ellington, and Benny Goodman.¹⁷ However, the American stock market crash of 1929 and the beginnings of the Great Depression were problematic for the booming jazz business in America.¹⁸ The prevalence and innovation of many black musicians was curtailed, for while there was a competitive aspect to the business of jazz, white musicians prevailed. Only those black musicians who displayed both great shrewdness in business and genuine virtuosic talent survived the crash,¹⁹ paving the way for the mostly-white genre of big band swing dance bands.

Although the greatest black bands, especially those led by Ellington and Armstrong, continued to have success, big band swing was at its core white jazz for a white audience, and found huge success both in America and a similarly economically depressed and escapist Europe.²⁰ By the mid-1930s, Louis Armstrong, Duke Ellington, Benny Carter, Sidney Bechet, and Coleman Hawkins had all appeared extensively in Europe. The styles of jazz they performed were becoming increasingly better understood by European musicians, although the popular

16 Ibid.

17 Ibid.

18 James Burnett and Jeffrey Dean, "Jazz," in the *Oxford Companion to Music*, edited by Alison Latham, *Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.proxy-remote.galib.uga.edu/subscriber/article/opr/t114/e3532> (accessed March 23, 2012).

19 Ibid.

20 Ibid.

appeal was not what it was in America. There were some excellent players of hot jazz in Europe,²¹ but as in America, swing quickly began to reign supreme. Europe lacked clubs for these hot jazz musicians to play in consistently,²² while swing bands could find a much wider audience as the need for dance music was consistent. Benny Goodman's model,²³ based on his own style and the fusion of jazz and classical techniques, focused on technique and polish rather than virtuosity and improvisation, and allowed a great number of imitating musicians to achieve good standing as big band members.²⁴

Jazz and Germany

The aforementioned Original Teddies of Switzerland, founded by Teddy Stauffer in 1929,²⁵ adopted the big band style in the mid-1930s. They were quite popular in both Switzerland and Germany, rising to the height of popularity in 1936 with performances in Berlin and Leipzig and the release of the recording “Goody Goody.”²⁶ Stauffer even became known as the King of Swing in Berlin in the late 1930s.²⁷ Their popularity in Germany came in spite of a highly complicated political climate. As Teddy Stauffer described in an interview with Wolfgang Stock,

21 Collier, “Jazz (i).”

22 Burnett and Dean, “Jazz.”

23 Benny Goodman, a popular Jewish jazz clarinetist, had performed heavily prior to the 1930s in several bands and led several groups. In the mid-1930s, Goodman formed his own big band with Fletcher Henderson. This band gained phenomenal popularity with young Americans looking for dance music.

24 Burnett and Dean, “Jazz.”

25 “Original Teddies.” In *The New Grove Dictionary of Jazz*, 2nd ed., edited by Barry Kernfeld, *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.proxy-remote.galib.uga.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/J339800> (accessed April 21, 2012).

26 Rainer E. Lotz, “Stauffer, Teddy,” in *The New Grove Dictionary of Jazz*, 2nd ed., edited by Barry Kernfeld, *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.proxy-remote.galib.uga.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/J426700> (accessed April 21, 2012).

27 Wolfgang Stock, “Teddy Stauffer: Der Swingkönig im Paradies,” *StockPress.de: Notizen von unterwegs*, translated by Google Translate, <http://stockpress.de/2010/08/05/teddy-stauffer-der-swingkonig-im-paradies/> (accessed February 20, 2013).

We played in 1936 in Leipzig, in the basement, where hung on the stage and in front of the dance floor there were large posters: “Swing dancing and swing music banned - Reich Chamber of Culture.” Between two pieces of music, the Gestapo suddenly came to the stage and stopped the concert. The Gestapo chief said very formally: “It has been claimed that you are playing swing music.” And I said, “Yes, what is it, swing music?” He could not explain, of course.... “Do you not play any German hits?” the Gestapo man asked harshly. And I said to my musicians, “number 43,” which was *Bei mir bist Du schön*. It sounds beautiful in German, but it is a hundred percent Jewish song. That's what we played, but the Gestapo said it was still American Negro music. Then we played the *Bugle Call Rag*, but in march rhythm. In his solo clarinet Ernst Höllerhagen then the improvised *Horst – Wessel – Lied*, the unofficial Nazi anthem. That was the beginning of my end in Germany.²⁸

Nonetheless, the band continued to tour around Europe until the outbreak of World War II, and was even resurrected by Stauffer in 1939. In 1941, he moved to Acapulco, Mexico, permanently settling there until his death in 1991.²⁹

The Nazi social aesthetic of nationalism and pride in German art and music made this blossoming jazz culture even stranger. With Beethoven and Wagner, universally acknowledged German titans of musical art, it was a “widely held belief in the Fatherland that music was indeed 'the most German' of the arts.”³⁰ The appearance and intervention of a musical idiom that was distinctly not German at a time when the nationalist (and indeed purist) sentiment was most fervent poses quite the dilemma. The musical climate of the German sphere of influence was still quite productive on its own, with artists such as Hindemith creating their own innovations. This broadened innovative nature in European art music, especially in Germany, allowed for jazz to make its impact in spite of being so American.

28 Wolfgang Stock, “Teddy Stauffer und das braune Pack,” StockPunkt.com: Wolfgang Stock über Medien, Sprache und Wirtschaft, translated by Google Translate, <http://stockpunkt.com/2008/06/18/teddy-stauffer-und-das-braune-pack/> (accessed April 21, 2012).

29 Lotz, “Stauffer, Teddy.”

30 Budds, “The New World Enriches the Old,” 7.

The political and social aesthetic intersected here, for while jazz was gaining social approval it was condemned at the higher ranks. As demonstrated especially through the stories of the Original Teddies and the Weintraub Syncopators, “within only a matter of years such gestures of welcome noted above were silenced by a new political framework.... Decrying its pedigree, ideologues in the Nazi Party targetted [sic] this music, along with other modern compositions, as a stain on the German national fabric. Ingrained popularity by the mid-1930s, however, made an effective ban futile.”³¹ Collier briefly explains the complex relationship between jazz and the German political climate of the 1930s: “Jazz was never actually banned by Hitler's regime, but it was severely frowned upon, and by and large musicians had to be cautious in its performance. (During the 1940s, however, the German authorities broadcast arrangements by Lutz Templin of American jazz recordings for propaganda purposes.)”³² A list of rules set forth by the Nationalist Socialist party and recorded by Czech writer Josef Škvořecký was intended to quash swing music.³³ When reviewed with a mind for how big bands and jazz had developed thus far, these ten simple statements exhibit how such music could be nearly banned, or at least permuted into something unrecognizable and undesirable.

1. Pieces in foxtrot rhythm (so-called swing) are not to exceed 20 percent of the repertoires of light orchestras and dance bands;
2. in this so-called jazz type repertoire, preference is to be given to compositions in a major key and to lyrics expressing joy in life rather than Jewishly gloomy lyrics;
3. as to tempo, preference is also to be given to brisk compositions over slow ones (so-called blues), however, the pace must not exceed a certain degree of allegro, commensurate with the Aryan sense of discipline and moderation. On no account will Negroid excesses in tempo (so-called hot jazz) or in solo performances (so-called breaks) be tolerated;

31 Ibid, 13-14.

32 Collier, “Jazz (i).”

33 Budds, “The New World Enriches the Old,” 14-15.

4. so-called jazz compositions may contain at most 10 percent syncopation; the remainder must consist of a natural legato movement devoid of the hysterical rhythmic reverses characteristic of the music of the barbarian races and conducive to dark instincts alien to the German people (so-called riffs);
5. strictly prohibited is the use of instruments alien to the German spirit (so-called cowbells, flexatone, brushes, etc.) as well as all mutes which turn the noble sound of wind and brass instruments into a Jewish-Freemasonic yowl (so-called wawa, hat, etc.);
6. also prohibited are so-called drum breaks longer than half a bar in four-quarter beat (except in stylized military marches);
7. the double bass must be played solely with the bow in so-called jazz compositions;
8. plucking of the strings is prohibited, since it is damaging to the instrument and detrimental to Aryan musicality; if a so-called pizzicato effect is absolutely desirable for the character of the composition, strict care must be taken lest the string be allowed to patter on the sordine [fingerboard?],³⁴ which is henceforth forbidden;
9. musicians are likewise forbidden to make vocal improvisations (so-called scat);
10. all light orchestras and dance bands are advised to restrict the use of saxophones of all keys and to substitute for them the violoncello, the viola or possibly a suitable folk instrument.³⁵

The language of social and racial purity inherently condemns “Negroid” and “Jewish” sounds in music, and therefore condemns most of jazz as it existed in Germany. These rules were considered as having the weight of law, and “Jewish musicians active in Germany ... were made to feel the brutality of these doctrines ... The work of Jewish and 'non-Aryan' musicians past and present which had benefited German cultural life was declared to be 'harmful subversive activity.’”³⁶ Beginning in January 1933 the Nazi regime began this purification of culture, and jazz and Jewish musicians were both affected.

The Nazi response cast jazz even more overtly as “degenerate music.” Hitler saw socio-cultural decline and decay as the issue afflicting the Germans and embraced the power of organization and conformation over innovation and progression, pushing social reform even

34 A sordine is a mute for an instrument, but the rules may mean the bridge with the use of this word.

35 Budds, “The New World Enriches the Old,” 14-15.

36 Arthur Holde, *Jews in Music* (New York: Bloch Publishing Co., 1974), 301-302.

more strongly than any other platform.³⁷ In order to accomplish this, degenerate music was suppressed while acceptable music was supported. Joseph Goebbels' approach was to lift up his ideal of the “essence” of music: highly tuneful, cheerfully light, racially pure, and provably German.³⁸ Jazz was therefore in need of suppression, being “*Entartete*,” or impurely German.³⁹ Organizations and composers that met the criteria were supported with great monetary effort, legal aid, and patronage. Many succumbed to the Nazi rules, being in need of money and afraid to oppose the totalitarian regime.⁴⁰ The reasons for this fear became increasingly apparent as regulations were tightened, as Snowball outlines in the following chronology:

April 1933: new civil service laws banned employment of non-Aryans in opera houses and music conservatories.

November 1933: establishment of the Reichsmusikkammer to oversee music in Germany.

September 1934: use of foreign sounding names by musical performers prohibited.

August 1935: Jews and other non-Aryans forbidden in German orchestras.

October 1935: broadcast of jazz (described as “Jewish cultural Bolshevism”) banned.

November 1936: music criticism banned, largely because critics kept reaching the wrong conclusions.

December 1937: recordings of Jewish or Negro musicians banned.⁴¹

The last edict served to quash the influx of swing music, especially the likes of Benny Goodman and Duke Ellington whose records were banned due to their ethnic heritage.⁴² In spite of these restrictions, jazz clubs thrived in Germany in the pre-war years, some even sanctioned by Hitler

37 David Snowball, “Controlling Degenerate Music: Jazz in the Third Reich,” in *Jazz and the Germans*, edited by Michael J. Budds (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press, 2002)158-9.

38 Ibid, 159-60.

39 Mike Zwerin, *La Tristesse de Saint Louis: Jazz Under the Nazis* (New York: Beech Tree Books, 1985) 32.

40 Snowball, “Controlling Degenerate Music,” 161-2.

41 Ibid, 163-4.

42 Carlo Bohländer, “The Evolution of Jazz Culture in Frankfurt: A Memoir,” in *Jazz and the Germans*, edited by Michael J. Budds (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press, 2002) 169.

himself. Nevertheless, many musicians played there under assumed names in order to not risk their usual careers in case they did not follow the guidelines exactly.⁴³

These political elements and climate are clearly exhibited through the Weintraub Syncopators and associated acts.⁴⁴ A German band, the Weintraub Syncopators was founded in 1924 by Stefan Weintraub and Horst (Ernst) Graff. Friedrich Holländer joined the lineup when Weintraub switched from piano to drums in 1927.⁴⁵ Other later members included Ady Rosner (from 1930-1933)⁴⁶ and Franz Waxman.⁴⁷ The group played hot jazz and had great success with hot dance music⁴⁸ inside and outside Germany⁴⁹ until 1933, when they left to tour outside Germany permanently since the majority of its members by that time were Jewish.⁵⁰ They did some of their most exciting work at this time, touring extensively through Switzerland, Italy, Russia, and Japan, among other countries. They recorded several sessions in Italy, Russia, and Japan between 1933 and 1936⁵¹ (a list of some of these recordings is available in Appendix B).

43 Snowball, "Controlling Degenerate Music," 164.

44 A picture of one incarnation of the Weintraub Syncopators is available in Appendix A.

45 Günther Huesmann, "Weintraub Syncopators," In *The New Grove Dictionary of Jazz*, 2nd ed., edited by Barry Kernfeld, *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.proxy-remote.galib.uga.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/J478000> (accessed April 21, 2012).

46 Rainer E. Lotz, "Rosner, Ady," in *The New Grove Dictionary of Jazz*, 2nd ed., edited by Barry Kernfeld, *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.proxy-remote.galib.uga.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/J387000> (accessed April 21, 2012).

47 Brendan G. Carroll, "Waxman, Franz," in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.proxy-remote.galib.uga.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/29961> (accessed April 21, 2012).

48 Huesmann, "Weintraub Syncopators."

49 H. J. P. Bergmeier, "The Weintraub Story; incorporated [i.e. incorporating], the Ady Rosner Story," *Jazzfreund*, no. 16 (1982): 11-5.

50 Tucker and Dean, "Jazz (i)."

51 Bergmeier, "The Weintraub Syncopators," 33-7.

The Weintraub Syncopators disbanded entirely in 1938 because of the Nazi regime and impending World War II, after completing a tour of Australia.⁵² None returned to Germany until long after the war, although many went on to become well-known musicians. Friedrich Holländer and Franz Waxman both emigrated to the United States to work in film music (Holländer writing primarily for Marlene Dietrich,⁵³ Waxman writing for 144 films).⁵⁴ Weintraub settled with his wife in Sydney, Australia, dying in 1981.⁵⁵ Rosner moved from Germany to the Netherlands, then formed his own band in Kraków, Poland, to tour Europe. Shortly after the German invasion of Poland, he was forced to flee to the USSR, eventually ending up in a labor camp from 1946-1955. He would not return to Berlin until 1973.⁵⁶

Jazz as Rebellion

Several other musicians defied the Nazi attitude on jazz music during the occupations of their homelands. While jazz was never explicitly banned, the above mentioned anecdotes illustrate that anything conceived as related to “American Negro music” could land a musician in a world of trouble. Two influential jazz musicians, Austrian Ernst Landl and Dutch Ernst van 't Hoff, defied the Germans by playing jazz even after occupation, without fleeing abroad.⁵⁷ Landl was a swing pianist who modeled his technique after the style of Art Tatum. He began playing publicly in the early 1930s with Bobby Sax's orchestra when he was still a young teenager. He

52 Huesmann, “Weintraub Syncopators.”

53 Gaynor G. Jones and Thomas L. Gayda, “Hollaender,” in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.proxy-remote.galib.uga.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/53760pg3> (accessed April 23, 2012).

54 Carroll, “Waxman, Franz.”

55 Bergmeier, “The Weintraub Syncopators,” 41.

56 Lotz, “Rosner, Ady.”

57 Tucker and Dean, “Jazz (i).”

had already gained a reputation outside of Austria in the mid and late 1930s, yet the German occupation and subsequent rules concerning jazz did not deter him from performing and recording. In the middle of German occupation he actually performed many underground concerts and even recorded with his quintet in 1943. He continued to work and record with his group, the Hot Club Vienna, until he retired from jazz in the mid-1950s and moved to Sweden.⁵⁸

Ernst van 't Hoff, also a pianist, was commanded to form a big band by the Germans during the occupation of the Netherlands in 1940, after he had become famous playing piano on the radio from 1937-1940. This band primarily performed in Germany, though they also toured in the Netherlands and Belgium. In theory, they were not supposed to play swing in spite of their status as a big band, but they still made several recordings of known American swing hits, such as “Pennsylvania 6-5000” and “In the Mood,” in Berlin in 1941. He continued to play with his massive 36-piece band until 1946, performing exclusively for American troops between 1944 and 1946.⁵⁹ Although van 't Hoff was commanded to play jazz by the Germans, the music he chose to play often defied the rules set forth by the Nazis.

All of this defiance of the Nazi regulations concerning art and music set jazz up as an effective metaphor for freedom and rebellion. Many German officers partook of jazz even after it became illegal, setting up backroom meetings to obtain new recordings or share with other jazz lovers.⁶⁰ Underground jazz clubs served the thousands who wanted to hear jazz and swing, effectively risking their businesses and possibly their lives, depending on which officer walked

58 Klaus Schulz, “Landl, Ernst,” in *The New Grove Dictionary of Jazz*, 2nd ed., edited by Barry Kernfeld, *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/proxy-remote.galib.uga.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/J257700> (accessed April 23, 2012).

59 van Eyle, Wim, “Van 't Hoff, Ernst,” in *The New Grove Dictionary of Jazz*, 2nd ed., edited by Barry Kernfeld, *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/proxy-remote.galib.uga.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/J464400> (accessed April 23, 2012).

60 Zwerin, *La tristesse*, 41-2.

through the door. Jazz became very important to many people just trying to just survive the Nazi regime, allowing them a personal sense of freedom through rebelling against strictures. As Zwerin states,

Hans Bluthner's resistance is essential to our story...: 'I always said that had it not been for jazz, I would have died during the war. It gave me so much happiness and hope. It proved to me that I was not a German but a member of humanity.' Rarely, if ever, has any art affected the lives of 'normal' human beings as directly as jazz in Nazi-occupied Europe. It was daily catharsis, a purifying release from tension. The people who played this music were sure that they were involved in *the* art form of the twentieth century. Its principal element, swing, was symbolic, pertinent and physical. Swing was the popular music of that time and place.... Jazz was packed with drama, it was political dynamite, aesthetically ecological, created with religious fervour, and it was popular. A rare conjunction.⁶¹

The allure of jazz was so strong that many were willing to risk their lives to play in ways the Nazis did not approve. The “catharsis” that jazz provided was the driving force behind Stauffer's, Rosner's, Landl's, and van 't Hoff's work during the war, and behind many others as well.

Some ghettos also harbored rebellious jazz influences. Many jazz-influenced songs in the ghettos protested the *Judenräte*, or Jewish governance councils which were often required by the Germans to enforce anti-Jewish policies. The *Judenräte* were made up of the influential Jewish people of the area and possessed the power to tax and deport others in the ghetto. Therefore, those with money and power could and would treat the masses poorly to protect their own interests.⁶² A Yiddish song of the Warsaw ghetto, “Moes, moes” (“Money, money”), was set to a pre-war American jazz hit⁶³ as several displacement camp pieces to be discussed later would be. “Moes, moes” was a satirical piece about the ghetto environment, exposing the corruption of the wealthy elite that still existed in the ghetto. The song, popularly sung by the masses, criticized

61 Ibid, 44-5.

62 Shirli Gilbert, *Music in the Holocaust: Confronting Life in the Nazi Ghettos and Camps* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 23.

63 The title of this melody could not be discovered after extensive research.

and satirized the German-instated council bitterly, and thus, in its own way, was a quiet personal rebellion. Lyrics and a brief musical quotation are included in Appendix C.

The one area in which jazz was performed comparatively openly was in concentration camps, including Theresienstadt, the camp famed for its bevy of musicians and artists.⁶⁴ Jazz was still officially forbidden, but inside the camps prisoners were still allowed to perform and many SS officers patronized the performances of these musicians.⁶⁵ The musicians' motivations can only be guessed, but their destitution, the fact that they had nothing to lose, appears to have left power with rebellion and catharsis. Even if they were ignored, they were breaking with the demands of the Nazi government, and they were still able to escape from their everyday lives into the world of jazz. When musicians were deported, however, music was not always allowed to be an escape. Some of the crueler SS officers, particularly at Auschwitz and Vilna, would force bands to perform "death duties," to play for those being marched to death or being imported into the camps.⁶⁶ The connotations of jazz in these instances are but a warped visage of the purpose that it seemed to serve to prisoners and to those on the run in other scenarios. The last sounds of many of these prisoners was of something that was otherwise banned or considered dangerous. One can only imagine the effect that this music could have had.

Post War

As jazz continued to flourish outside of German occupation, especially in France with the influential Gypsy jazz musician Django Reinhardt,⁶⁷ the audience for jazz in German-occupied

64 Sarah Nathan-Davis, "Music of the Holocaust," in *Remembering for the Future: Holocaust in an Age of Genocide*, vol. 3, *Memory*, ed. Margot Levy (Houndmills, England: Palgrave, 2001), 807.

65 Ibid.

66 Ibid, 808.

67 Michael James, "Reinhardt, Django," in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.proxy-remote.galib.uga.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/23139> (accessed April 19, 2012).

areas quietly continued to grow. After the war, jazz exploded throughout Europe. Without the overarching fear of the Nazi regime, jazz clubs and jazz musicians were a very vocal and productive segment of the music scene of Europe. The American trends of bop and cool jazz that had evolved during the war became more available in Europe, where swing and hot jazz had long reigned supreme. Jazz sprang up in places where it had been frowned upon, especially Italy, Poland, and then-Czechoslovakia. Although Italy opened its first jazz club in Rome in 1938, it was one of the only available jazz venues under Mussolini. Poland and Czechoslovakia, both severely oppressed during the German regime, did not develop a real jazz culture until the late 1940s – early 1950s, even though Ady Rosner had been popular there between leaving the Original Teddies and fleeing to the USSR.⁶⁸ Poland eventually gave rise to jazz organizations such as the Polskie Stowarzyszenie Jazzowe, or the Polish Jazz Society, which formed from the Federacja Polskich Klubów Jazzowych (Federation of Polish Jazz Clubs), founded in 1956.⁶⁹

The movement of jazz to Europe changed the musical landscape there irrevocably. The lives of thousands of Europeans were bettered because of the release that jazz provided from their everyday lives of oppression under the German regime, and it led to a revolution in culture and music that continued from the mid-1920s through the war and on into the post-war period. Even though the German regime tried to eradicate the more American connotations of jazz, it remained a distinctly American style that populated the dance scene of the western world for decades.

The primarily Jewish jazz musicians and bands discussed in the preceding section are worthy of continued discussion. The history of the Jewish people is rife with strife, and the

68 Collier, “Jazz (i).”

69 “Polskie Stowarzyszenie Jazzowe,” in *The New Grove Dictionary of Jazz*, 2nd ed., edited by Barry Kernfeld, *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.proxy-remote.galib.uga.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/J358300> (accessed April 19, 2012).

culture of Germany and surrounding areas was obviously a continuation of this trend. It is important to understand both the overall history of Ashkenazic Jewish culture and the conditions of the specific wartime and immediate post-war period to discuss the reasons why so many Jewish musicians in particular were attracted to jazz, and to uncover a more distinct musical meaning behind the trend. The Jewish people were put in desperate situations time after time, and in order to survive these situations they needed to find an outlet. Adorno and Horkheimer described those attracted to things like jazz, in their sense of its use as a commodity, thusly:

Society is full of desperate people and therefore prey to rackets ... this trend was as obvious as in the average film and in the devices of jazz. What all these things have in common is the self-derision of man. ... Everyone must show that he wholly identifies himself with the power which is belaboring him. This occurs in the principle of jazz syncopation, which simultaneously derides stumbling and makes it a rule. ... everyone can be happy, if only he will capitulate fully and sacrifice his claim to happiness. ... His defenselessness makes him reliable. Hence tragedy is discarded. Once the opposition of the individual to society was its substance ... The capacity to find refuge to survive one's own ruin, by which tragedy is defeated, is found in the new generation...⁷⁰

While Adorno's tone is extreme, one can agree with his portrait of a people if not his final conclusions. Considering only the portrait of the person attracted to art commodities such as jazz, the Jewish population circa World War II may easily come to mind. Those who played jazz illicitly during the war were in “opposition,” while those who survived the Holocaust were surely desperate and defenseless, trying to reclaim an identity and future. The phrase “to find refuge to survive one's own ruin” certainly strikes a chord, as will be seen in the next section.

The aesthetic uses of jazz, the “cathartic” aspects of it, were especially useful to the Jewish population after the war. Several Jewish jazz orchestras sprang up after occupation. Many existed before the war, causing the Nazis to categorize the music even more strongly as “Jewish,” but during the war, the Jewish population was silenced. Jewish survivors as a whole

⁷⁰ Adorno and Horkheimer, 17-18.

were a psychologically damaged group, rife with distrust, grief, and aggression.⁷¹ Several of the jazz bands that sprang up in Poland and Germany were comprised entirely of Jewish members, continuing the traditions of jazz as a rebellious and emotionally charged music in northern Europe. The most oppressed and repressed people during World War II ended up being some of the most talented jazz musicians of the era.

⁷¹ Mark Wyman, *DPs: Europe's Displaced Persons, 1945-1951* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1998).

CHAPTER 3

JEWISHNESS AND DISPLACEMENT

Pre-War Ashkenazic Culture

The Jewish people have been displaced for nearly their entire history. Even in biblical history, the Jewish people were often enslaved and continually migrating. The Great Diaspora that ended the biblical period and began the Talmudic period lasted from the year after the destruction of the temple until the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948, almost two thousand years.¹ The Sephardic and Ashkenazic traditions developed in the Islamic and Christian spheres of Europe, respectively. While the Ashkenazic population mostly stabilized, the Sephardic Jews were less lucky, and those living in Spain were expelled in 1492.² The Ashkenazic Jews, situated in northern Europe, were solidified by the reign of Charlemagne, who gave them rights as merchants and traders.³ The Jewish population in northern Europe stayed fairly stable, spreading from Germany into Eastern Europe beginning in the Crusades and enjoying protection from charters until the mid-1600s when the Cossack uprising massacred many Jews.⁴ The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries saw a rise in Jewish population, sadly culminating in the massacre of an estimated six million European Jews during World War II.⁵

1 Emanuel Rubin and John H. Baron, *Music in Jewish History and Culture* (Sterling Heights, MI: Harmonie Park Press, 2006), 63-65.

2 David Schiller, "Introduction to the Sephardic Tradition," (lecture, University of Georgia, Athens, GA, August 26, 2011).

3 David Schiller, "Introduction to the Ashkenazic Tradition," (lecture, University of Georgia, Athens, GA, September 12, 2011).

4 Hebrew University of Jerusalem, "Hebrew University Genetic Resource: Ashkenazi Jews," <http://hugr.huji.ac.il/AshkenaziJews.aspx> (accessed September 20, 2011).

5 Ibid.

Jewish culture flourished among the Ashkenazim while they were protected. Many kinds of music developed in the Eastern European population, with synagogue and secular music developing side by side. The secular music of the Eastern European Ashkenazim was primarily focused on varieties of folk song and on instrumental music. Many of the folk songs were written from adopted music, often German, changing aspects of the scalar material or rhythmic material to fit their means. The songs were chosen based on “no other features than sweetness and popularity ... regardless of origin.”⁶ In general, “they are simple and short in form and content, voicing the sentiments of the life of the people at large. ... In the Eastern folk-song the life of the people as a whole is reflected, but nonetheless are the sentiments of the individual voiced.”⁷ Additionally, “those dealing with social problems are for solo – the outpouring of a single soul in solitude and despair.”⁸ These are vital aspects of the folk song culture to keep in mind as we discuss the development of displacement camp songs.

Abraham Idelsohn detailed the major characteristics of Ashkenazic folk music, separating them into four categories: Group A uses biblical and prayer modes, Group B is based on mostly on minor modes, Group C contains songs based on the Ukrainian Dorian mode,⁹ and Group D comprises turn-of-the-twentieth-century songs in major modes.¹⁰ Group B most closely matches the tradition that the displacement camp songs discussed later continue, and are described by

6 Abraham Z. Idelsohn, *Jewish Music: Its Historical Development*, 1929, reprint (New York: Dover Publications, 1992) 383.

7 Ibid, 391.

8 Ibid, 396.

9 Ukrainian Dorian mode varies from Dorian mode because it contains a tritone and variable sixth and seventh scale degrees. For instance, an example beginning on D would run D-E-F-G#-A-B-C-D.

10 Ibid, 396-400.

Idelsohn in great detail:

The bulk of folk-songs, however, is in the minor scale, partly with the minor and partly with the major seventh. ... As a whole, the minor tunes in the Eastern folk-song exceed the tunes in other scales (*Hedjaz* and major) by a great majority ... In the collection of German folk-song of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries published by F. Boehme, out of seven hundred eighty, only nineteen are in minor, all the rest being in major. Considering all these facts we are prompted to accept the opinion that the preference of scale is a racial expression rather than the result of conditions of life. In other words, the folk-psychology is voiced in the scale, not the economic and social conditions, be they miserable or favorable.¹¹

The traits of these Group B songs, especially their minor mode, as well as the common traits of Ashkenazic folk music are prevalent in the displacement camp music that arose following World War II. These commonalities exhibit a continuation and rebuilding of culture, but with new adoptions of material such as jazz. The adoption of jazz in particular adds to the meaning of the music and signals both a preservation of cultural norms and a subtle deviation from them.

In addition to vocal folk song, klezmer music is one of the most important forms of instrumental music developed by the Ashkenazim and possesses aspects that are essential to discussing and understanding displacement camp songs. The early klezmer band characteristically contained a violin, contra-violin, cimbalom, bass, and cello, and occasionally a flute. By the nineteenth century, the clarinet became widely accepted as a lead instrument. By the twentieth century, the ensemble had expanded to ten to fifteen members and incorporated brass and string instruments together. Traditional klezmer music and jazz have some similarities, making an interesting parallel for the post-war Jewish population since many early klezmer bands interspersed improvisational material with dance tunes. They did not accompany vocal music,¹² but the revival of klezmer in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century “lends itself

¹¹ Ibid, 398.

¹² Edwin Seroussi, et al., “Jewish Music,” in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.proxy-remote-galib.uga.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/41322pg4> (accessed December 15, 2012).

to objectification and transformation into musical languages for jazz, classical music, or rock.”¹³

The similarities in instrumentation, performance format, and band size between klezmer and jazz help to unite the two genres while each remains distinct and adaptable. The legacy of klezmer and Ashkenazic folk song paved the way for and influenced the adoption of jazz, thereby giving jazz an easy road into the lives of displacement camp musicians looking to alleviate the anxiety and depression of their post-Holocaust circumstances.

Life in Displacement Camps

The Holocaust had a pervasive psychological effect on the Jewish community. Generally speaking, one could expect that in the wake of so great a blow the survivors would naturally separate along pre-existing cultural or national lines into a familiar environment. This, however, is not the case here. On the one hand, the extermination of a large portion of the world's Jewish population caused great anxiety within the remaining Jewish society; on the other, the remaining Jewish people felt a great connection to each other and a need to protect the remnants of their culture. Those who had been placed in concentration and work camps in northeastern Europe were primarily relocated to Allied Forces displacement camps for repatriation or emigration. The conditions in these displacement camps were far from ideal. One such encampment was at St. Otilien, a Benedictine abbey that had been used as a hospital during the war; two American GIs described conditions as terrible and accused the Allied forces of “continued genocide” and inadvertently “carrying out Hitler's plan of destruction of the Jews.”¹⁴ Although the camps were not initially as well stocked with food, medicine, and equipment as they should have been, the Jews contained within them were no longer being actively murdered or forced to work.

13 Philip V. Bohlman, *Jewish Music and Modernity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 243.

14 Dan Soyer, Multimedia from Boston College Magazine, “*Music of Hope*,” last modified March 2008, <http://at.bc.edu/creatingharmony/> (accessed September 21, 2011).

Conditions gradually improved at camps across Europe after these two GIs wrote letters to President Truman, resorting in the meantime to stealing and buying supplies off the black market to keep the people fed and clothed.¹⁵ While life could be bleak because many were based in former concentration and work camps, these improved conditions seemed to help immensely.¹⁶

The initial purpose of these camps was to await repatriation into their homes, but the Allies found a great number of the survivors unwilling to return out of fear of the antisemitic spirit still prevalent in the area.¹⁷ Instead, many displaced persons stayed in these camps throughout Germany, southern Poland, France, and northern Italy to await emigration out of northern and eastern Europe, sometimes waiting for nearly ten years because of limited opportunities.¹⁸ They were grouped by nationality into camps nearest their homes.¹⁹ In spite of these unifications, survivors may have been expected to splinter in the face of strife and continuing persecution. Ideologically, this was somewhat true. The Zionist movement proved to be a polarizing force in Jewish society, with the Zionists wishing to emigrate to start a new Jewish state in Palestine. The Zionists, driven by a new sense of nationalism arising from their previous lack of autonomy and their persecution, grew in number between the end of the war in 1945 and the illegal immigration of more than a hundred thousand Jews into Palestine in 1948. Many camps, however, formed thriving communities in spite of ideological differences.²⁰

15 Ibid.

16 United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, "Holocaust Encyclopedia: Displaced Persons," <http://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/article.php?ModuleId=10005462> (accessed September 13, 2011).

17 United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, "Holocaust Encyclopedia: The Aftermath of the Holocaust," <http://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/article.php?ModuleId=10005129> (accessed October 22, 2011).

18 United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, "Holocaust Encyclopedia: Displaced Persons."

19 United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, "Research: Displaced Persons," http://www.ushmm.org/research/library/bibliography/?lang=en&content=displaced_persons (accessed November 13, 2011).

20 United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, "Holocaust Encyclopedia: Displaced Persons."

Yeshivot were founded in many camps, attracting teachers from the United States and Israel. Religious holidays became huge social gatherings and cultural and social life began to thrive with the founding of volunteer and occupational organizations.²¹ At the aforementioned camp at St. Ottilien, for example, a “liberation concert” was thrown by a small orchestra of survivors as a community gathering.²²

The Jewish Experience in Poland

Out of all of these displacement communities, the survivors in Poland had the most difficult road to travel. The Polish had suffered terribly at the hands of the Nazis: there was not only a concerted effort to eliminate the Jewish, but also to eliminate essentially the entire Polish population. Thousands of civilians were shot during the war and all Polish men were required to work in forced labor.²³ The Germans have historically believed the Polish culture to be contemptible and used this contempt as a weapon against them after occupation. Along with the murder of 1.9 million non-Jewish Poles, approximately 3 million Jewish Poles were murdered.²⁴

Poland was not historically a stable or safe place for Jewish populations, or indeed for any population. The official establishment of Poland occurred in 966, and while there were very likely Jews living in the territory prior to that, the first catalogued movement of Jews into Poland was during the First Crusade in 1096. The first Jewish privilege was signed into law in 1264, and the first protection was provided by Casimir the Great in the 1300s. In the fifteenth century, the

21 Ibid.

22 Boston College, "Creating Harmony: Miracle at St. Ottilien," (excerpt) produced by Miles Benson (Boston: Multimedia from Boston College Magazine, March 2008) <http://flash.bc.edu/omc/atbc/musicofhope/creatingharmony.flv>.

23 United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, "Holocaust Encyclopedia: Polish Victims," <http://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/article.php?ModuleId=10005473> (accessed November 13, 2011).

24 Ibid.

Jewish population in Poland began to suffer from Catholic legal discrimination and propaganda, but at the beginning of the sixteenth century, they found favor with the kings and began to prosper economically and socially.²⁵ They formed their own central body that functioned until 1764, called the Synod of Four Lands (Vaad Arba Aratzot in Yiddish), which was the first Jewish self-governing body since the Diaspora.²⁶ The Synod was assisted by the state of Poland, but it functioned as an autonomous Jewish government. The Jewish population thrived for much of this time, even codifying a set of laws. However, the massacres of Chmielnicki in 1648 interrupted the prosperity of the Polish Jews.

Chmielnicki and his Tatar followers ransacked and massacred Jewish towns from 1648-1655, and the Synod assumed the burden of distributing refugees to untouched towns and collected special taxation to attempt to pay the ransom of prisoners of war. This was the beginning of a long history of pogroms,²⁷ or anti-Semitic riots and massacres, in Poland.²⁸ One third of the Jewish population of Poland was massacred or captured and a six-year period of mourning was instituted by the Synod, during which time “no one was permitted to put on jewels or luxurious clothes ... Music was banned from weddings, and the number of guests at any such affair was limited to forty or fifty.”²⁹ The Jewish community quickly became impoverished because of the six years of ransom taxes, and money was borrowed from the Polish state, which in turn became impoverished itself and levied extra taxes on the Jews.³⁰

25 Isaac Lewin, *The Jewish Community in Poland: Historical Essays* (New York: Philosophical Libraries, Inc., 1985), 1-2.

26 Ibid, 4-5.

27 Maps covering some more active periods of pogroms are included in Appendix D.

28 Lewin, 8-9.

29 Ibid, 9.

30 Ibid.

The power of nobility and clergy grew as the state weakened, and ritual murder of Jews grew. The kings from Saxony, August II and August III, encouraged these murders, stating the belief that “Jews and heretics are killing Christian children.”³¹ Eventually, the king ordered their expulsion from one town; several areas followed suit.³² The Synod was dissolved; Poland was slowly conquered by Russia, Prussia, and Austria; and a partitioned Poland imposed very harsh duties on the remaining Polish Jews. Two pogroms followed in 1768. Beginning in 1772, with 600,000 Jews remaining in Poland, several measures gained momentum to regulate them: in 1778 ghettos were proposed; in 1782 emancipation by total cultural assimilation gained publicity. In 1793, however, the partition of Poland was complete and the Jewish question was obsolete for the time.³³

Many Jews picked up the fight to reunite Poland, as treatment under the other regimes was even harsher. Measures were finally put into place to control the Jewish population by Empress Maria Teresa of Austria, only allowing one descendant to marry and adding extreme taxes to those that did. The Russians automatically conscripted Jewish youths for twenty-five years, prohibited traditional Jewish robes, and overtaxed kosher meats.³⁴ The development of a common enemy united the Jewish and Polish peoples. After many years of fighting, Poland was reborn in 1918 with over two million Polish Jews in its lands.³⁵ A series of pogroms took place across the country, many reported in newspapers. Warsaw saw pogroms on October 22 and 25, 1918, prompting a Jewish delegation to present a memorandum concerning “pogrom tone”

31 Ibid, 10.

32 Ibid.

33 Ibid, 11.

34 Ibid, 26.

35 Ibid, 29.

propaganda being distributed in Warsaw.³⁶ The pogroms only escalated around Poland, with several very bloody pogroms taking place over the next several months. Two of the worst of many pogroms spanned multiple days and occurred on November 21-23, 1918 in Lvov and April 19-21, 1919 in Vilna.³⁷ A total of 129 Jews were killed in these pogroms, and there were millions of złoty in damage. Even worse, the Polish Army was later proven to have had a hand in the Lvov pogrom.³⁸

The government did not act on the issue of protecting the Jews and their rights for several years, until in January 1923 Premier Sikorski released a statement attacking the Jewish concerns:

The Jewish minority undoubtedly believes that the rights which Poland has voluntarily granted it will be safeguarded by the government. But a note of warning is necessary here, because too often the defense of its justified interests has been turned by the Jewish side into a struggle for a privilege. Many organs of the international press, which are so eager to attack us, label the equality which prevails in Poland “oppression.” There are no rights without responsibilities. The years of existence of independent Poland do not demonstrate that this truth is correctly understood by all Polish citizens.³⁹

Essentially, the Premier insisted that the Jews were requesting a privilege to life and safety without the accompanying responsibility. This began a war of words between Sikorski and a Jewish doctor. Within six months, the Premier was replaced, and in October the new Premier took to the government podium to again attack Jewish concerns, stating: “... I must say that Polish society in general is, in many areas, still a long way from possessing what the Jews in Poland possess.... If the honorable deputy were to review all areas of life ... he would arrive at the conviction that Poland ranks first in Europe in tolerance; it is a country where Jews, above all

36 Ibid, 216.

37 Ibid, 217.

38 Ibid.

39 Ibid, 221.

others, fare best.”⁴⁰ Conditions were so bad, and protestations so ignored, that in June 1925 the Jewish parliamentary members carried out an enormous display of obstruction, forcing the session to be adjourned.

This display led to the proposal and adoption of the Uгода, or Polish-Jewish agreement, on July 4, 1925. It addressed forty-two demands of the Jewish delegates, of which twelve were publicly endorsed by the government:

- (1) Jewish communities had the right to unite organizationally;
- (2) the law that had been adopted by Piłsudski for the Jewish communities in Congress Poland would be broadened to include the eastern border areas;
- (3) the election system for the Jewish communities in Galicia would be made more democratic;
- (4) joint conferences of Jewish communities would be permitted;
- (5) Hebrew and Yiddish could be used at public meetings;
- (6) Jewish students could, to a degree, observe the Sabbath;
- (7) the Jewish hadorim [elementary schools for Hebrew and Torah study] would be given public rights;
- (8) the Jewish trade schools would receive support from the government;
- (9) rights would be granted to a certain number of elementary schools, high schools, and seminars that use Hebrew as their language of instruction;
- (10) all Jewish students in government schools would be excused from writing on Saturday;
- (11) Jewish students in government schools would be given the opportunity to worship on Saturday, inside the school building;
- (12) Jewish soldiers in the army would be given kosher food.⁴¹

Premier Grabski was replaced in November 1925, and tensions again rose between the Polish and Jewish peoples because the aforementioned promises were not carried out in their entirety. The Polish government soon became unstable, as the Premier who was to succeed Grabski in May 1926 failed to form a government and ushered in the May revolution. The government that followed issued several promising statements concerning the anti-Semitic problems in the country but did not immediately follow through on their ideas.⁴² Riots and pogroms (of a

⁴⁰ Ibid, 225.

⁴¹ Ibid, 228-9.

⁴² Ibid, 231-3.

fashion) continued to occur in Warsaw, Vilna, and elsewhere around Poland, but the government merely called them the “regrettable excesses [that] are being committed by some of our young people in Warsaw against citizens of Jewish nationality.”⁴³ By 1938, the Premier gave explicit permission for an economic campaign against the Jews,⁴⁴ while General Stanisław Skwarczyński (the head of “The Camp of National Unity”) detailed the government's approach to the parliament saying that “the Jewish problem can be solved first of all by substantially reducing the number of Jews in Poland.”⁴⁵ What followed were a redoubled effort by those who committed the “excesses” against the Jews. An outbreak of pogroms began in Poland, numbering easily in the hundreds.⁴⁶

Unfortunately, with the push into World War II, the Polish and the Jewish peoples were both targeted. The Polish government accepted the British guarantees over those of Germany and Russia in the years leading up to World War II as a bid for continued independence. Combined with the fact that nearly thirty percent of their population were ethnic minorities, they were an obvious choice to be Germany's first national victim.⁴⁷ The Polish were interned and slowly exterminated during occupation, but the Germans were dissatisfied with the slowness with which Jews were dying. They began killing Jews with machine guns in the woods as they set up extermination camps. The most notorious of German concentration and extermination camps, including Auschwitz and Chelmno, were in Polish occupied lands, and were established to carry

43 Ibid, 234.

44 Ibid, 236.

45 Ibid, 237-8.

46 Ibid, 239.

47 Józef Garliński, *Poland in the Second World War* (London: Macmillan, 1985), xv.

out the German “Final Solution.”⁴⁸ The Germans instituted very strict rules concerning helping Polish Jews, murdering Poles by the thousands for even small offenses.⁴⁹ The already polarized environment between the Polish and the Jewish peoples worsened: while many Poles felt great sympathy for the fate of the Jews, others were so afraid for their own lives that they wanted to live at any cost, and most were resentful of the position in which they lived. Because of these conditions, the pogroms that were encouraged by the Nazis during occupation continued after the war. Conditions like this led to situations like the Kielce Pogrom, which occurred on July 4, 1946, and in which, out of approximately 200 returned Holocaust survivors, forty-two were killed and forty were injured.⁵⁰

These continued pogroms were a driving force in causing Jewish survivors to feel unsafe and seek passage out of postwar Europe, leading to their living in displacement camp communities.⁵¹ Garliński summarizes the post-war numbers of Polish Jews very succinctly, underscoring the true breadth of the catastrophe:

It is estimated that about 700,000 escaped to the Soviet Union and only a few of these were captured by the Germans. As stated 157,000 of them returned to Poland after the war. About 110,000 Polish Jews spent the war in other countries, such as Sweden, Italy and Romania. Taking all these figures into consideration and remembering that before the war 3,113,000 Jews lived in Poland, it should be accepted that fewer than 900,000 survived the war.⁵²

These survivors clung to their Jewish roots over their Polish identities, and their attempts to revive a Jewish identity were crucial to the post-war period.

48 Ibid, 164.

49 Ibid.

50 United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, "The Kielce Pogrom: A Blood Libel Massacre of Holocaust Survivors," <http://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/article.php?ModuleId=10007941> (accessed February 24, 2013).

51 United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, "Holocaust Encyclopedia: Pogroms," <http://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/article.php?ModuleId=10005183> (accessed October 22, 2011).

52 Garliński, 174.

CHAPTER 4

DISPLACEMENT CAMP MUSIC AND CULTURE

Displacement Camp Songs and Cultural Restoration

Out of these Polish survivors came several of the most influential figures in attempting to recapture and preserve the Jewish identity. One of the primary ways that this Jewish identity was sought was music. Some sought to preserve previously existing Yiddish folk music, such as Suwałki-born Ben Stonehill who collected 1,054 songs from refugees in the United States in 1948.¹ Some of these songs were pre-war and concentration camp songs, but Stonehill also collected several songs from displacement camps that related refugees' experiences there.² Many of these songs were similar to a popular displacement camp song like “We Long for a Home,” or “Es bengt zich nach a Hajm,” in Yiddish.³

Displacement camp songs, including “We Long for a Home,” mostly follow the same sort of pattern. Much like the Ashkenazi folk music discussed earlier, “We Long for a Home” was adapted from a pre-war Yiddish tune predating the war written by a man named Stranski.⁴ Henry Baigelman, a Holocaust survivor from Lodz, Poland, wrote the new postwar lyrics (available in both Yiddish and English in Appendix E). This fulfills the assertion that the tune was chosen for

1 United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, "Music of the Holocaust: Highlights of the Collection: Ben Stonehill," <http://www.ushmm.org/museum/exhibit/online/music/detail.php?content=stonehill> (accessed September 13, 2011).

2 Ibid.

3 United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, "Music of the Holocaust: Highlights of the Collection: 'We Long For A Home,'" <http://www.ushmm.org/museum/exhibit/online/music/detail.php?content=home> (accessed September 13, 2011).

4 United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, "Music of the Holocaust: Highlights of the Collection: 'We Long for a Home.'"

“no other features than sweetness and popularity ... regardless of origin.”⁵ The song itself is a scant two minutes and forty-nine seconds when recorded, having only a verse and refrain, making it “simple and short in form and content.”⁶ The lyrics emphasize a universality of the Ashkenazim, the “we” longing for a place in the world, reflecting the “life of the people as a whole.”⁷ Yet in accordance with the standing folk-song tradition of social commentary, the piece is for solo voice, “the outpouring of a single soul in solitude and despair.”⁸

“We Long for a Home” is in a minor mode, as was also typical of Ashkenazic folk song. The only accompaniment on the recording provided by the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum is a solo piano, rather than using the full instrumentation of the band. The piano recalls the rhapsodic jazz sound, playing chords and melody meshed together in a rich thick blanket of sound. The vocal melody does not sound even distinctly Jewish. The Yiddish text and the rhythm that it creates contribute some Jewish aesthetic to the music, but overall it sounds like a very Western, 1940s, jazz rhapsody-inspired song or lament.

“We Long for a Home” sprang from an increased desire for entertainment and a strong psychological need to cope and bond between Jewish survivors in displacement camps. Many displacement camps were not exclusively Jewish; at the beginning, all of the survivors who had fled a certain area for whatever reason were grouped together. Anti-Semitism was not the greatest concern for Allied monitors, so the discrimination against those who were obviously Jewish continued.⁹ Obviously, Jewish survivors of internment and concentration camps required

5 Idelsohn, *Jewish Music*, 383.

6 Ibid, 391.

7 Ibid.

8 Ibid, 396.

9 Ted Gottfried, *Displaced Persons: The Liberation and Abuse of Holocaust Survivors* (Brookfield, Conn.: Twenty-First Century Press, 2001), 26.

a different sort of cultural and psychological coping mechanism than many other survivors due to intense and continuing persecution. The music of “We Long for a Home” offers this distinctly Jewish mechanism.

Henry Baigelman, the adapter and composer of the new lyrics, was an accomplished musician born in 1911¹⁰ into a musical family and was trained on violin and saxophone before the war.¹¹ During occupation, Baigelman performed with the Lodz ghetto orchestra under the direction of his older brother David. The only survivor in his family, Baigelman and two other future members of his band were liberated from a death march on April 23, 1945 and cared for by an American captain. This captain sent to Czechoslovakia for instruments and got them tailor-made suits.¹² Baigelman, along with fellow Lodz survivors Sam Spaismacher, Henry Eisenman, Abraham Mutzman, Edward Silberszac, Itchak Lewin, Abraham Lewin, and Joseph Lewin, formed the swing/jazz/klezmer band The Happy Boys.



Figure 1: Group photo of The Happy Boys. L-R: Sam Spaismacher, Henry Eisen, Abraham Mutzman, Chaim Baigelman, Elek Silberstein, Itchak Lewin, Abraham Lewin, Josef Lewin. USHMM, Photograph #10324A. Audio files and photographic images are courtesy of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Archives.

10 “Paid Notice: Deaths BAIGELMAN, HENRY C.,” *New York Times*, June 6, 2002, national edition.

11 *Ibid.*

12 Ruth Gay, *Safe Among the Germans: Liberated Jews after World War II*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 56-7.

Their instrumentation as seen in the above picture of the band contained keyboard, accordion, clarinet, saxophone, violin, trumpet, and drums. This configuration hearkens to both jazz and klezmer instrumentation, as both often used clarinet or violin as lead instruments. The accordion is clearly imported from the klezmer tradition while the saxophone is imported from jazz. The Happy Boys toured the German camps from 1945 until Baigelman's immigration in 1949,¹³ performing and teaching their songs to those living there.¹⁴ The band left the lyrics with the camps for which they performed, in the form of lyric sheets, and so these songs were dispersed throughout the camps both through performance and written material.

Ruth Gay provides a great short interpretation of Baigelman's lyrics for “We Long for a Home,” the most studied of The Happy Boys' songs, stating that “‘One Longs for Home’... seems to promise a sentimental piece of nostalgia. Instead, one hears a fierce account of how every Jew in the D.P. Camps thought about his situation. In this song, which looks both backward and forward, the text moves gradually away from the past. By the end the future wins.”¹⁵ Baigelman's lyrics show great depth of psychological understanding and need. The survivors, sitting indefinitely in these camps awaiting the chance to find a new homeland, had been forced from their homes and made strangers in their own land. “We Long for a Home” poignantly expresses the desperation that these survivors must have felt in this continual state of limbo, having violently and tragically lost their homes and many of their friends and family. The refrain to the song asks, “we long for a home, where can one find such a place in the world?”¹⁶ The

¹³ Shirli Gilbert, “‘We Long for a Home’: Songs and Survival among Jewish Displaced Persons,” in *“We Are Here”*: *New Approaches to Jewish Displaced Persons in Postwar Germany*, edited by Avinoam J. Patt and Michael Berkowitz, (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2010) 292-3.

¹⁴ Gay, 59.

¹⁵ Ibid, 57.

¹⁶ Gilbert, “‘We Long for a Home’: Songs and Survival,” 296.

psychological scars that were inflicted upon the Jewish people must have made it feel as if there were no such welcoming place, especially in light of the aforementioned pogroms taking place in Poland and the refusal of the British government to allow Zionists into Palestine, the original Jewish homeland.

The refrain continues, “we long for a home, every road is blocked to us. Yet one must keep hoping, it can't be otherwise, then life can be full of beauty, charm, and happiness.”¹⁷ This section suggests the difficulties in place by being Jewish: the still-rampant anti-Semitism in Europe, the unavailability of emigration opportunities to refugees, the conditions in their current situation. And then the lyrics turn around, stating “yet one must keep hoping.” The admirability of this line cannot be stressed enough, especially in its ability to bring together those survivors still waiting to leave five years after liberation. The hope and courage that these survivors possessed as a part of their experience were cautious, but these displacement camp songs tended to attempt entertainment and encouragement with these songs, as if to say, “look what we have already been through and survived; the future ahead can be bright if we just keep up hope.”

This attitude is apparent even in the name that Baigelman's band gave themselves, the Happy Boys. While the primary purpose of the Happy Boys was entertainment, the name suggests a greater purpose. Jewish survivors as a whole were a psychologically damaged group, full of distrust, sadness, grief, and aggression.¹⁸ The Happy Boys moniker on the surface seems strangely juxtaposed to that environment, but in their mission to help both themselves and other survivors deal with the fallout of what happened to them, it also seems strangely apt. Even more touching is the inspiration for the name, apparently an homage to a band that had played in

17 Ibid.

18 Mark Wyman, *DPs: Europe's Displaced Persons, 1945-1951* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1998).

Krakow before the war and had no surviving members, called The Jolly Boys.¹⁹ As a remembrance of Jewish culture, as well as a revitalization of a new age in Jewishness, the Happy Boys seem an appropriate bridge between the two, of hope for new life in spite of great destruction.

The Happy Boys performed many of their own displacement camp songs, two of which are also in the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum archival collection: “Ich Darf Mich Einmal Nur Verlieben” (“I May Fall in Love Only Once”)²⁰ and “Dort Wart Der Tug” (“There Awaits the Day”).²¹ “I May Fall in Love Only Once” has pre-war music by Ilnicki and lyrics by Henry Baigelman;²² “There Awaits the Day” was composed by G. Carminati, with lyrics by Baigelman.²³ While an English translation for the lyrics is currently unavailable (I have provided my own for “I May Fall in Love Only Once,” along with the original song sheet in Appendix F), the parts that the author can understand express the same sort of sentimental hopefulness, sadness, and longing for the future as “We Long for a Home.” The musical content is less easy to parse, as no known recordings exist of these two songs. However, given the similarity of lyrical styles and writing, it can be assumed that they are similar in style to “We Long for a Home,” and

19 Gay, 57.

20 Lyrics (original and translated) and scan of original song sheet available in Appendix F.

21 Scan of original song sheet available in Appendix G.

22 United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, “Song sheet for the German song 'Ich Darf Mich Einmal Nur Verlieben' (I May Fall in Love Only Once) performed by The Happy Boys jazz band, which toured the displaced persons camps throughout Germany from 1945 to 1949. [Photograph #N03184]” http://resources.ushmm.org/inquiry/uia_doc.php/photos/24818?hr=null (accessed December 1, 2011).

23 United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, “Song sheet for the Yiddish song "Dort Wart Der Tug" (There Awaits the Day) performed by The Happy Boys jazz band, which toured the displaced persons camps throughout Germany from 1945 to 1949. [Photograph #N03183],” <http://digitalassets.ushmm.org/photoarchives/detail.aspx?id=1116790&search=HENRY&index=13> (accessed December 1, 2011).

carry the same folk-song links and connotations. These songs follow in the contrafact tradition of jazz, but the original titles and any lyrics of the pieces seem to be lost to history.²⁴

Hope was an expansive theme in the world of displacement camps and postwar Judaism. Indeed, it can be seen as a tenet of Judaism in general but especially after war, as expressed by the Jewish philosopher Emil Fackenheim:

Is Jewish 'optimism' vulgar? Is it blind to the tragic? Must we follow Schopenhauer when he suggests that Jewish and indeed all optimism reflects but a self-congratulatory human 'egoism' which is blind to all except our all-too-frail human goals and aspirations? ...'Jewish optimism' affirms existence while at the same time confronting a Truth which is tragic....'Jewish optimism' is not a 'vulgar' optimism. It is an enigmatic optimism.²⁵

In his article “‘An Immediate and Violent Impulse’: Holocaust Survivor Testimony in the First Years after Liberation,” Henry Greenspan quotes several survivors he interviewed as writing or speaking of hope in the days following liberation. One of the survivors wrote articles for a Yiddish newspaper and said of them: “...hopeful, hopeful letters, hopeful articles, you know what I mean. About the survival ... like, like giving hope, hope, in the survival.”²⁶ This particular survivor spent much of his later life in emotional upheaval but he still believed in the survival of the Jewish people, and Greenspan postulates that in spite of his “present pain” that he speaks as if “recalling a language in which he had once been fluent without being sure that he does still know what it means.”²⁷ Miriam Harel, also a survivor of the Lodz ghetto and Auschwitz, explained the roles that music carried to many Jews thusly: “The Jewish people came to such a

24 Extensive research has not produced the sources of any of these songs before their adaptation by The Happy Boys.

25 Emil L. Fackenheim, *The Human Condition After Auschwitz: A Jewish Testimony a Generation After* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University, 1971), 2.

26 Henry Greenspan, “‘An Immediate and Violent Impulse’: Holocaust Survivor Testimony in the First Years after Liberation,” in *Remembering for the Future: Holocaust in an Age of Genocide*, vol. 3, *Memory*, edited by Margot Levy, (Houndmills, England: Palgrave, 2001), 111.

27 Ibid.

deep state of despair that only singing could help. When one sings, even when he sings a sad song, his loneliness disappears, he listens to his own voice. ... Singing is a manifestation of hope.”²⁸ Remembrance and hope throughout the Ashkenazim took root in writing and music yet was not restricted to works with language: music itself was also used to express these ideas without the aid of language, with great success.

Rhapsody 1939-1945

Leo Spellman (originally Lazar Szpilman)²⁹ played with the Happy Boys³⁰ on a piece he composed, “Rhapsody 1939-1945.”³¹ Spellman, born in Ostrowiec, Poland on April 18, 1913, was trained in music by his famed violinist father from early childhood.³² He played piano for silent pictures from the age of nine, joining traveling bands when talking pictures put him out of work. He did not leave Ostrowiec before it was made into a ghetto and ended up organizing an orchestra there during the war. He gained special favors from one German guard, teaching him accordion in exchange for a tenuous friendship. The guard helped Leo and his wife escape a roundup, and they lived in the forest for months until a Polish student in Ostrowiec took them in and sheltered them for a year and a half. They eventually had to escape the students' apartment as the Soviet army advanced. Directly following the war, Spellman and his wife took shelter with

28 Doris Bergen, “Music and the Holocaust,” in *The Holocaust Introductory Essays*, edited by David Scrase and Wolfgang Mieder (Burlington, VT: Queen City Printers, 1996), 141.

29 United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, “Leo Spellman,” <http://www.ushmm.org/museum/exhibit/focus/pianist/spellman/> (accessed December 13, 2012).

30 Spellman's father and grandfather played in the Szpilman family orchestra in Ostrowiec with Baigelman's father Szymon shortly before their births, according to a picture circa 1905 on the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum website, at <http://www.ushmm.org/museum/exhibit/focus/pianist/> (accessed February 28, 2013).

31 Bret Werb, email message to Kara Stewart, March 23, 2012.

32 Elizabeth Renzetti, “Leo Spellman, creator of Holocaust composition dies at 99,” *The Globe and Mail*, <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/world/leo-spellman-creator-of-holocaust-composition-dies-at-99/article6419565/?page=all> (accessed December 28, 2012).

his sister Chana, but Spellman was shot in the arm by thieves soon after arriving there. It took several months of rehabilitation and practice before he could play piano again.³³

In 1947, Spellman found himself in a displaced persons camp called Furstenfeldbruck, near Munich, where he worked as a pianist in the Officers' Club.³⁴ He began composing “Rhapsody 1939-1945” while he was there.³⁵ The piece consists of three instrumental sections: a very martial section that is meant to reflect the hardships and sounds of war, a quieter and piano-laden section that displays suffering, and a section that sounds more joyous and hopeful. Spellman said of his work, “We are liberated, and we start to sing Jewish life songs. ... I always dreamed that I have to survive the Nazis, Hitler, to tell the world what happened. I always say to myself, 'How did I survive this? I have no answer.’”³⁶

The war, the national mourning, and the rebirth of Jewish culture and Jewish music are all depicted explicitly. The “life songs” invoke hope and the ability to work past pain and suffering and move forward. Spellman did this in his own life, moving to Toronto, Canada with his wife Mania and starting a family. But he did not listen to the piece after its premiere in Germany until the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum commissioned a piece from his cousin Wladyslaw Szpilman, who directed them instead to Spellman as a writer of Jewish music. He took them “Rhapsody 1939-1945,” and it was performed in 2000. It was performed several times in the United States over the next few years with great success,³⁷ and was finally performed

33 Ibid.


34 United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, “Leo Spellman.”

35 Renzetti, “Leo Spellman.”

36 Ibid.

37 Ibid.

in his adopted hometown of Toronto on September 3, 2012, at the Ashkenaz Festival.³⁸ Spellman worked steadily in Canada as a concert pianist, composer, cantorial accompanist, and music director of the Toronto Jewish Theater well into his old age.³⁹ He died on November 24, 2012 in Toronto, just short of his hundredth birthday.⁴⁰

The music of “Rhapsody” is very powerful, as evocative in its own right as the lyrical songs of the Happy Boys. The recording used in writing this paper was performed in 2000 for a United States Holocaust Memorial Museum conference under the oversight of Spellman himself.⁴¹ The original premiere of the piece occurred in 1947 at a German DP concert, featuring the Happy Boys on strings, clarinet, flute, and brass instruments, and Spellman as the pianist.⁴² The ten-minute, eighteen-second piece begins with a loud piano introduction punctuated with brief stings from the wind and string instruments. A dark piano theme with an off-kilter yet solidly march-like beat follows and is quietly doubled by brass instruments, enhancing the martial effect. The piano becomes even more militaristic, following a booming sort of triplet-quarter pattern () mimicked by the violin.⁴³ A short, lushly orchestrated piano solo with a violent rhythm follows, leading smoothly into a repeating descending line from a high violin. Cymbal and drum emphases seem to mimic gunshots. The trumpet enters at the end of this line for an ascending moment, increasing the texture and lending its own military connotations. The

38 Trish Crawford, “Ashkenaz Festival features Leo Spellman's song of survival – and tragedy,” *Toronto Star Online*, August 29, 2012, <http://www.thestar.com/entertainment/music/article/1248632—ashkenaz-festival-features-leo-spellman-s-song-of-survival-and-tragedy> (accessed December 13, 2012).

39 United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, “Leo Spellman.”

40 “Leo SPELLMAN: Obituary,” Toronto Star Obituaries Online.

41 Bret Werb, email message to Kara Stewart, March 23, 2012.

42 Ibid.

43 An interesting note about this pattern is its connection to Beethoven's Fifth Symphony and to the morse code for the letter V, which was often broadcast between Allied forces to announce a victory. It is an especially interesting correlation given its precedence at the end of the war section of the piece.

texture collapses and rebuilds with varied overlapping lines between all of the instruments. The clarinet has a descending chromatic line that turns frenetic, then into a klezmer-inspired solo line connecting the first and second sections.

This clarinet solo spans the range of the instrument and contains many more Jewish-sounding effects than the preceding music. There are several instances where one can hear bent and lipped notes and appoggiaturas, which are more closely associated with the klezmer tradition and lend the transition into the mournful section of the piece a more Jewish than martial sound. The piano takes over the newly sorrowful line, and the violin, clarinet, and muted trumpet join in and solo in turn. The piece here sounds as if in a more Romantic vein, with small groups of instruments each playing solo lines in a chamber style. The violin plays a sad solo line as the clarinet plays a repeating intervallic line. The two then trade very lugubrious solos, before the violin leads slowly into a Yiddish dance tune, echoed by the trumpet. The two solos trade for a time during a transitional section, before a phrase where most of the instruments mimic the same melody. Finally, a peppy klezmer-inspired Jewish dance tune begins, with extensive solos from the clarinet and violin.

The klezmer roots of this concluding section cannot be denied, with the extensive clarinet pitch bends and use of the full range of the instrument. The tone of the clarinet even follows some jazz and many klezmer traditions, using the more closed and shrill tone characteristic of these genres. The overall feel of the piece owes much to jazz; in many ways it echoes the orchestral scoring of “Rhapsody in Blue.” The clarinet lines, rhythmic brass lines, and solo/ensemble scoring between the piano and orchestra in particular recall for the listener the opening of that piece. The overall form of “Rhapsody 1939-1945” is also highly reminiscent of “Rhapsody in Blue,” drawing from a concerto model, featuring extended piano solos, and a variance of mood from highly rhythmic jazz figures to flowing, Romantic-influenced music.

“Rhapsody 1939-1945” is valuable as an instrumental example of the music of displaced persons. While the songs performed solely by the Happy Boys use the Ashkenazic folk-song tradition and jazz to paint an expressive picture of Jewish thoughts and life during and after the war, “Rhapsody” as a sort of song without words exhibits another facet of the DP camp musical culture. Each piece reveals an experience during the Holocaust that is at once intensely personal and widely shared. They are equally expressive and evocative, and their differing approaches both warrant attention as a new age and new approach to Jewish music immediately following the war.

CHAPTER 5

OUTCOMES AND CONCLUSION

The movement of jazz to Europe changed the musical landscape irrevocably. The lives of thousands of Europeans were bettered because of the release that jazz provided from their everyday lives of oppression under the German regime, and it led to a revolution in culture and music that continued from the mid-1920s through the war and on into the post-war period. Even though the German regime tried to eradicate the more American connotations of jazz, it remained a distinctly American style that populated the dance and music scene of the western world for decades. The influence that it had on Jewish musicians particularly was deep and lasting, and the creative works that sprang from that influence during, and especially after, World War II helped pave the way for a new era in Jewish culture.

After all of his success with the Happy Boys, Baigelman and his wife Gita immigrated to the United States and settled in Forest Hills, New York. They built a life there, with Baigelman working successfully in real estate.¹ The Happy Boys reportedly performed casually in the New York area on a rare occasion, but primarily their work occurred in the context of the displacement camps. Any dissemination of the music they created has sprung from a continued love of or need for these songs by survivors. The horrible occurrences of World War II were something that Holocaust survivors dealt with their entire lives, but their success in building communities so soon after the war in such terrible conditions, especially in the organization of a

1 "Paid Notice: Deaths BAIGELMAN, HENRY C."

musical and artistic culture, is entirely remarkable. The Happy Boys are one facet of this special and distinctly Jewish environment of hope and creation in the face of desolation and destruction.

There is still so much work to be done in these particular areas of Jewish music. The Happy Boys and Leo Spellman are the tip of the iceberg of displacement musicians, both those influenced by jazz and those whose influences came from elsewhere. The rekindling of Jewish musical culture took more than just a couple of bands; it took a people. While much research has been done on the work of musicians in camps like Theresienstadt during the war, and on the general conditions of displacement camps after the war, the work of many musicians is still waiting to be discovered. In many cases, including the music covered in this paper, there is no extant archive work of scores. The only archival resources available from the USHMM or YIVO Institute concerning the music of The Happy Boys or Leo Spellman are included here. For the memory of those composers and performers, including Henry Baigelman, the Happy Boys, and Leo Spellman, the work of these musicians must be preserved. The legacy of displacement camp music has only just begun to be explored through the work of these artists and the recent renewal of performances of this music.

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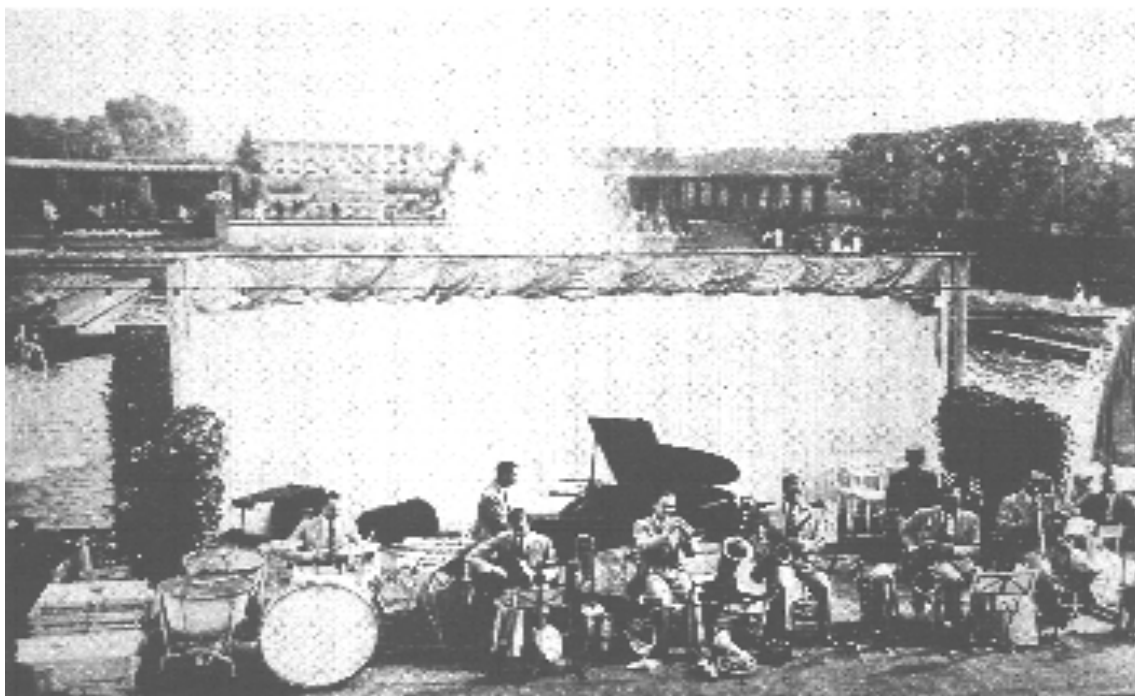
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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A – Weintraub Syncopators Photo



The Weintraub Syncopators, “GRUGA” Exhibition Grounds, July 1932. Stefan Weintraub (drums), Leo Weiss (piano), Cyril Schulvater (guitar), Manny Fischer (trumpet), Freddy Wise (sax), Horst Graff (sax), Kurt Kaiser.

Photo: Collection Lotz, courtesy Otto Flückiger, as found in *The Weintraub Story*

APPENDIX B – Weintraub Syncopators Recordings Abroad

October 1933 - The Weintraubs toured Italy for more than a year; during early 1935 during this period they recorded a number of titles.

<u>I WEINTRAUBS SYNCOPATORS, Orch. Jazz</u>		
Manny Fischer (t/vn), John Kay (tb), Freddy Wise (ts/cl), Horst Graff (as/cl), Leo Weiss (p), Cyril Schulvater (bj/g), Stefan Weintraub (d/xyl/ldr), .?.		
Mori (v)		
<u>Milan; before October 1934</u>		
o	Mille Baci -vM	VdP GW.564
o	Spaggle	-
o	Non Scordar -vM	565
o	Serenata Perduta	-
('Serenata' from the film 'La Danza Delle Luci'.)		
<u>Milan; after October 1934</u>		
o	GW.2543 Nonon	VdP GW.567
o	2544 Nostalgico	-

Weintraub Syncopators Italian Recordings Bergmeier, "The Weintraub Syncopators," 33-5.

from autumn 1935

Returned to Russia for a 12-month tour organised by the Variety Trust.

Opening at the Eremitage Gardens, Moscow.

During this engagement a number of titles were recorded about which at this stage no detail is known.

Manny Fischer (t/vn), John Kay (tb), Freddy Wise (ts/cl), Horst Graff (cl/as), Leo Weiss (p), Cyril Schulvater (bj/g), Stefan Weintraub (d/ldr), plus an unknown number of Russian musicians.		
<u>Moscow; Autumn 1935</u>		

Weintraub Syncopators Russian Information Bergmeier, "The Weintraub Syncopators," 35.

THE WEINTRAUB SYNCOPATORS		
Manny Fischer (t/vn), John Kay (tb), Freddy Wise (ts/cl/v), Horst Graff (as/cl), Leo Weiss (p), Cyril Schulvater (bj/g), Stefan Weintraub (d/ldr).		
Tokyo; late 1936		
0 M.202406-2	Popular Foxtrots (Chinatown, Happy Days, Avalon, Dinah, Goodnight Sweetheart)	Co J.2615
202407	?	29203
o 202408	Wake Ga Arunoyo	29203
o 202409	Ai No Tsubasa	29190
0 202410-3	My Melancholy Baby -FW	J.2634
o 202429	Manshu Omoseba	29190
o 202430	Hakata Yobune	29203
202431	?	
o 202432-1	Waltz Favorites (Falling In Love Again, Ramona, A Paris Dans Chaque Faubourg, Sous Les Toits De Paris)	J.2615
0 202457-3	Honolulu Baby -vFW	J.2634
THE WEINTRAUB SYNCOPATORS		
Personnel as before, with Cyril Schulvater having a go at a Japanese stringed instrument; unknown Japanese (b) and female (v) added.		
Tokyo; early 1937		
o M.202536	Akagi Shigure	Co 29269
202537	?	
o 202538	Manshu Fubuki	29269
o 202545	Isle Of Capri (tango)	J.2685
o 202546	In einer kleinen Konditorei (That Tiny Teashop)	-
o 202641	Aki No Ginza	29302
o 202653	Aki No Ginza	29302
o 202666-2	unknown Japanese title -v	(T)
In addition a number of unnumbered, unlabelled, unissued tests exist, which may fit above gaps.		
Freddy Wise (cl), acc. by Leo Weiss (p).		
0	Clarinet Tickle	Co (T)
Leo Weiss (p-soli).		
	?	-
	?	-
	?	-
Freddy Wise (cl), John Kay (tb), Leo Weiss (p), only.		
	?	Co (T)
Freddy Wise (as), acc. by John Kay (tb), Leo Weiss (p)		
o	Annabella	-

Weintraub Syncopators Japanese Recordings
Bergmeier, "The Weintraub Syncopators," 37-9.

APPENDIX C – “Moes, moes”¹

Moes, moes, moes iz di ershte zakh. Money, money, money is the first thing.
 Hostu nit keyn moes, iz tsu dir a klog, If you have no money, woe to you,
 Gib avek di bone un zog a gutn tog. Give away your ration card and say good day.
 Moes, moes, moes iz di beste zakh. Money, money, money is the best thing.

Moes, moes, moes iz di beste zakh. Money, money, money is the best thing.
 Di yidishe gemine nemt fun undz danine The Jewish Council takes taxes from us
 Un git dokh undz tsu esn broyt mit sakharine.--- Yet it feeds us bread with saccharin.---
 Moes, moes, moes iz di beste zakh. Money, money, money is the best thing.

Moes, moes, moes iz di beste zakh. Money, money, money is the best thing.
 Ale fakhn lign haynt in dr'erd, All trades have had it these days,
 Nor di bakers raytn oyfn ferd.--- Only bakers ride on horses.---
 Moes, moes, moes iz di beste zakh. Money, money, money is the best thing.

Moes, moes, moes iz di beste zakh. Money, money, money is the best thing.
 In der heym hob ikh gegesn pomerantsn, Back home I ate oranges,
 Haynt esn mikh oyf di layz mit di vantsn. Today I am eaten by lice and bedbugs.
 Moes, moes, moes iz di beste zakh. Money, money, money is the best thing.

Moes, moes, moes iz di beste zakh. Money, money, money is the best thing.
 Der yidisher politsyant er iz dokh a lobuz The Jewish policeman is just a scoundrel,
 Zetst aykh oyf der mashine un shikt avek in Puts you on the train and sends you away to a
 'obuz'. camp.
 Moes, moes, moes iz di beste zakh. Money, money, money is the best thing.

Moes, moes, moes iz a gute zakh. Money, money, money is a good thing.
 Hostu nit keyn moes, hob yakh far dir a plan: If you have no money, I have a plan for you:
 Gib avek di bone, un rik sikh in Pinkerts kestele Give away your ration card, and crawl into
 aran... Pinkert's little box...
 Moes, moes, moes iz an eydele zakh. Money, money, money is a fine thing.

Mo - es, mo - es, mo-es iz di er - shte zakh.

Ho - stu nit keyn mo - es, iz tsu dir a klog, Gib a - vek di bo - ne un

zog a gu - tn tog. Mo - es, mo - es, mo-es iz di be - ste zakh.

Ex. 1.1. 'Moes, moes'. Kaczerginski and Leivick, 401

¹ Kaczerginski's collection, edited by H. Leivick, entitled *Lider fun di getos un lagern* (Songs from the ghettos and camps), constitutes the most comprehensive source of Yiddish songs from this period. The word 'moes' comes from the Hebrew 'ma'ot', which literally means coins or small change.

1 Shirli Gilbert, *Music in the Holocaust: Confronting Life in the Nazi Ghettos and Camps* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 21-2.

APPENDIX D – Maps of Pogroms



Communities where Jews were killed by the Gzeyres Takh Vetat, or Cossack Uprising and Tatar attacks of 1648-1649. Image credit: YIVO Encyclopedia.



Russian/Polish/Lithuanian Pogroms, 1871-1906. Especially gruesome to note is Kishinev in 1903 (now capital of Moldova). Image courtesy of the Grossman Project.

APPENDIX E - “Es bengt zich nuch a hajm” lyrics (In Yiddish and English)

A schlechter chulym iz dus besztimt gewejn
 Jejder zejt erszt ject wus es iz geszejn
 Dus beste iz awek, es iz a grojl a szrek, a
 szrek!
 Wi men gejt un sztejt
 wen es zol niszt zajn
 Umetum hert zich dus zelibige gewajjn
 Jejder ajner lilt dem tifen szmerc wus ich,
 wajl...

Es bengt zich a Hajm,
 wi ge'int men zi ojf der welt?
 Es bengt zich a Hajm,
 Jejder weig iz far unc fersztelt
 Holen darf men doch, es ken niszt andersz zajn
 Damuls ken dus leben erszt zajn szejn
 mit chajjn, unt gliklich zejn!
 Es bengt zich nuch a Hajm
 A wareme Hajm wi a muhl
 Es bengt zich nuch a Hajm
 Unser awle muz wejren becuhlt
 Es iz gewejzen schlecht
 Ojl gut hot zich doch gebajt
 Ject darf men lejben
 Wajl es iz di cajt!²

It must have been a bad dream.
 But I know not what has happened.
 The best are gone; it is a horror, a terror, a
 terror!
 How does one continue to walk and talk
 when it shouldn't have happened?
 All around us, one hears the same lament.
 Each one is filled with the same deep hurt as
 me, because...

One longs for home.
 How does one find it on this earth?
 One longs for home.
 Every way is blocked to us.
 But we continue to hope.
 It cannot be otherwise!
 Once again life will become beautiful.
 One longs for home.
 A warm home, the way it once was.
 One longs for home.
 Our mourners must have retribution.
 It was once terrible,
 But it has changed for the better.
 Now one must live
 Because the time has come!³

2 United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, “Music of the Holocaust: Highlights of the Collection: 'We Long for a Home.'”

3 Ruth Gay, *Safe Among the Germans: Liberated Jews after World War II* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 58.

Die Welt ist doch so wunderschön,
 das können alle Menschen sehen,
 leider fehlt mir etwas noch dazu,

ich weiß schon was.

Ich konnte schon oft glücklich sein,
 doch dazu fehlst nur Du allein,
 Je-t weiß ich, dass Du kommst
 und mich in Deine Arme schließt.

Ich bitte Dich komm zu mir u. mach mich einmal
 froh,

komm zu mir ich warte darauf so!

Die Sonne scheint nur für uns zwei
 sonst ist mir alles einerlei.

Tro-dem weiß ich, dass Du kommst zu mir
 und Glück mir schenkst.

Ich darf mich einmal nur verlieben
 und zwar nur in Dich,
 denn mein Herz darf nur Dir gehörn,
 klopfen nur für Dich.

Ich darf mich einmal nur verlieben
 und zwar nur in Dich
 denn Schönes bringen darf die Liebe nicht.

Die Liebe macht oft glücklich und macht
 manchmal keinen Spaß

Du darfst Dich einmal nur verlieben
 und zwar nur in mich
 und dadurch kannst Du glücklich machen Dich.

The world is so beautiful,
 look at all the people,
 Unfortunately I still have something
 unfinished,

I know what.

I could often be happy
 but only to miss you alone,
 I know that you come
 and hold me in your arms.

I pray you come to me and make me happy
 again,

Come to me, I wait so!

The sun is shining just for us two
 everything else is immaterial to me.

Together, I know you come to me
 and give me happiness.

I may just fall in love again
 and only with you,
 because my heart can only belong to you,
 beat only for you.

I may just fall in love again
 and only with you
 Others cannot bring my love.

Love is often happy, and sometimes does not
 take a joke

You yourself must only fall in love again
 and only with me
 and thus you can make yourself happy.

(translation my own)

APPENDIX G - "Dort Wart Der Tug" lyrics (in Yiddish)

DORT WART DER TUG

Musik: G. Carminati

Text: H. Beigelman

Prachtlo! szajn dus wajst doch jejder ajner
 Ich wil a hijn
 Du blajbt ject zicher kajner
 Jeydn ajnems hofnung, iz dus hajlige land
 Dus ho't doch jejder.
 Erec ruft!, Du darfst es niszt fergesn
 Dort wil ich Du zolst zajn majn prinsesn
 Kum mit mir, wajl dort iz unzer glik

REFRAIN

Dort wart der tug
 Der szenster tug far ale Jidn
 Der macht uns gliklich und cufridn
 Nuch pajn zehr fil.
 Der wunsz fun Folk
 Fun unzer Uwojs Awojsejnu
 Iz Erec, wajst a jejder ajner
 Dus iz unzer cijl

N/0576

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APPENDIX H – Happy Boys Photo

Four survivors of the Lodz Ghetto pose in front of “The Happy Boys” truck in a DP camp in Germany.

L-R: Leon Kent, Roman Kent, unknown, unknown.

Photo credit: USHMM, Photograph #27138. Audio files and photographic images are courtesy of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Archives.