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PHOTOGRAPHY, MIGRATION AND IDENTITY

A German-Jewish-
American Story

Maiken Umbach
Scott Sulzener



Palgrave Studies in Migration History

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Photography, Migration and Identity

A German-Jewish-American Story

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Photo from the Salzmänn family's private album, showing the family in Berlin, at the Olympic Stadium, 1937. Iowa Women's Archive, Iowa City

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Introduction: Picturing Global Threads

Abstract This introductory chapter explores microhistory's potential to illuminate the history of German-Jewish life in, and exile from, Nazi Germany. Creating personal and family archives—consisting of letters, poems, photo albums and family books, as well as official documents—was integral to this experience for many. Creating such archives expressed a desire to give meaning to events, and exercise agency in political contexts predicated on the denial of that very agency. In curating their own histories in this way, German-Jewish families positioned their private selves vis-à-vis resonant public spaces and events. At the same time, they framed their persecution and flight against a long history of German mobility and migration, allowing them to portray the very act of leaving Germany as an integral part of their German identities.

Keywords Migration · Mobility · Jewish diasporas · Global Germans · Colonial imagination · Microhistory · Family archives · Ego-documents

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... even if experiences, the difficult events of recent years, newly adopted ways of life and different languages divide us: inseparable family ties bind us together nonetheless. I experience this every day, when I receive letters from our people from all over the world, many of which ask where so

and so in the family has got to [...] Thus, my dears, let us not sever that connecting thread, which reaches from East Prussia's Amber Coast across the world's oceans to all parts of the globe, let us bear witness to the invincible and indefatigable will to life of our family, and let us create a simple monument to our dead, by whose graves we can no longer assemble as we used to.¹

In 1946 in New York City, Hans Salzman wrote a letter to members of his extended family, which spanned four continents. He invited them to contribute information to a 'family book' about the history and recent lives of the Salzmanns, documenting the family's cohesion across chronological and geographical divides: what, in this extract, he refers to as the 'connecting thread'. Hans and his immediate family had grown up in Germany, and lived in Berlin until 1939, from where, as German Jews, they escaped Nazi persecution through emigration. Hans was a doctor of internal medicine, his wife Käthe a masseuse attached to Hans's practice; they had two daughters, Ruth and Eva, born in 1922 and 1931, respectively. In 1939, Eva and her parents sailed to Cuba, spending several months in an immigrant internment camp before securing American visas and eventually settling in New York City. Ruth had left Germany several weeks earlier on a *Kindertransport* to England; she rejoined her family in New York City in 1940.

The Salzmanns' story was one of hundreds of thousands. Between the 1933 National Socialist seizure of power and their 1941 prohibition on all Jewish emigration, roughly half, or 250,000 of Germany's Jews managed to flee the country. Of this number, around 90,000 found their way to the United States.² A similar, if less compressed, migratory process characterised the experience of German Jews well before 1933.³ Indeed, prior to the surge of Eastern European immigration in the final decades of the nineteenth century, the story of Jews in America was largely a story of German Jews: of the 300,000 Jews in the United States in 1881, 250,000 had come from German-speaking lands.⁴ And yet, this migration was also part of a wider German history. As we shall argue in this book, the Salzmanns, who crossed the Atlantic in the late 1930s, interpreted and narrated their family's flight as part of a longer history of migration and resettlement that was both Jewish and German. While in Germany, they continued to practise, and take pride in, their Jewish religion; once in New York, their social world was defined, at least in part, by Jewish networks, evident, for example, in Hans's relationship

with the publication *Aufbau*, which we shall discuss in Chapter 5. And yet, the Salzmanns were also proud of their German identities, which they constantly referenced in their ego-documents, before, during, and after emigration. As for many others at the receiving end of Nazi persecution, the Salzmanns' decision to leave Germany did not entail leaving their German identity behind. We argue that migration itself, especially trans-Atlantic migration, could be understood as part of an eminently German story, because it had long been part of German history. From the early modern period, German-speakers had moved and settled abroad in large numbers, and, in the course of the nineteenth century, increasingly across the Atlantic. As they migrated, complex webs of local, regional, national, and religious identities travelled with them, and many German-speaking migrants nurtured consciously German cultures in their new homes, albeit ones varying in accordance with their specific social, ethnic, religious, and regional communities.

This mobile sense of Germanness led David Blackbourn to conclude that German emigration from the eighteenth to the twentieth century really was “more a transplanting than an uprooting.”⁵ And yet, historians of Germany have rarely considered German migrants as an integral part of German history: once they left German soil, they became part of other national stories. As Dirk Hoerder noted, while cultures such as Sweden have long viewed migration as an ineluctable part of their nation's heritage, Germany's scholarly and political treatment of the same history had long been marked by an “almost [complete] conspiracy of silence.”⁶ A narrowly state-focused historical paradigm obscures both the strong links between German communities at home and abroad, as well as the transformations of the former as a consequence of the latter.⁷ This was especially true for German Jews, who played a disproportionate part in this history. In the hundred years up to 1914, they constituted between 7 and 8% of European migrants crossing the Atlantic, but only 1–2% of the European population.⁸ Jewish migrants, especially those from Western Europe, typically moved for legal and cultural reasons rather than primarily economic ones; this migration has thus been interpreted by some as a ‘substitute for emancipation.’⁹ Many of them were better educated and more affluent than their non-Jewish counterparts, and often maintained a regular correspondence with family members who had remained in the German Reich, a tendency evident in the Salzmanns own history, as the family archive includes several antebellum letters between the family in Germany and relatives in Cincinnati,

Ohio.¹⁰ In other respects, the Jewish experience of migration was deeply intertwined with that of their Christian neighbours, who came to the new world as political refugees following the failed revolutions of 1848, as frustrated agriculturalists seeking land, and as urban workers and merchants in search of economic opportunity.¹¹ This extended interplay across migratory channels in turn transformed the very nature of German identity.¹² Nazi-era refugees both conformed to and deviated from these migratory scripts in significant ways.¹³ Yet all of them were acutely aware of earlier traditions of migration, and the resulting international networks, which provided them both with practical and symbolic resources for negotiating the experience of flight and resettlement. In this book, we suggest that, unless we conceive of *both* Jewish *and* German identities as inherently mobile, the ways in which individual German-Jewish refugees such as the Salzmanns made sense of their own experience remains unintelligible.

Listening to the words and images created by migrants themselves provides a unique opportunity to glimpse how they understood the different strands of their identities before, during, and after migration. And this approach reveals how these older histories of migration—both the long history of the Jewish diaspora, in itself the result of centuries of persecution and botched attempts at emancipation, and the history of German migration over two centuries—could serve as a template for making sense of and representing the experience of fleeing from Nazi Germany. Our initial extract from Hans’s letter is a case in point. It invokes, first, emphatically Jewish notions of family and ancestry. The Salzmanns referred to here are not just Hans’s immediate family, but a family stretching back many generations; they also encompass the ancestors of his wife Käthe, who, by coincidence, had been born into a family of the same surname. Graves that can “no longer be visited” are described as the spiritual roots of these families’ identities. Assembling by ancestral graves is an image with a powerful set of affective resonances in Jewish culture: reciting the mourners’ Kaddish, donning headcovers, and placing stones on the headstones were all part of performing one’s Jewish religion and sense of belonging to extended family networks. As Hans pointed out, for a Jewish family living as a diaspora, assembling symbolically in and around an illustrated family book was a substitute for assembling in person by the ancestral graves. The sense of Jewish identity is palpable in these lines.

And yet, in the same paragraph, Hans also invoked a very different symbolic point of origin: the Amber Coast of East Prussia. This was not

just a geographical location, it was a highly charged metaphor in German nationalist discourses, and appears to have been deployed as such here. The Amber Coast frequently featured in media representations of East Prussia as an *ur*-German space; the same media tended to highlight the practice of ‘amber fishing’ as an existentially German, character-forming struggle with natural elements, and thus a spiritual point of origin.¹⁴ In reality, none of the Salzmanns actually came from the Amber Coast: Hans’s father was born in 1864 in the provincial town of Eylau, Käthe’s father in 1862 in neighbouring Allenstein. Although both towns were located in East Prussia, neither was on the coast. Moreover, neither Hans nor Käthe ever experienced East Prussia first hand themselves, both growing up in Saxony-Anhalt.¹⁵ And yet, as a symbolic point of origin, the Amber Coast was significant to their sense of identity; as we shall see, they frequently described themselves as “thoroughly Prussian”.

A similar dialectic marks the description of the diaspora itself. As Hans pointed out, like many of their peers, members of the Salzmann families had emigrated from Germany and settled in the United States, Venezuela, Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay, Peru, Shanghai, and North Africa. On the one hand, this diasporic family structure was an archetypal Jewish one.¹⁶ Already in the nineteenth century, German-Jewish immigration to America constituted but one node on a larger map of Jewish life, transatlantic movement only broadening an already expansive and fluid network of global interconnectivity. And it was precisely these established networks that the Salzmanns, like so many other German-Jewish refugees, drew upon in the process of planning, financing, and coordinating their escape from Nazi Europe.

But, in other hands, such diasporic realities assumed nefarious purposes, as in the rootless cosmopolitan trope of Nazi Anti-Semitic propaganda. Jews, numerous publications, images, and films suggested, were engaged in a global conspiracy against Aryan peoples, precisely because their diasporic existence meant they had no loyalty to their home nations, nor the ‘land’ from which, as advocates of ‘Blood and Soil’ suggested, all true virtue derived.¹⁷ And yet, non-Jewish Germans had also formed trans-Atlantic networks, and in doing so, helped shape a political language and imagination that reinvented and reinvigorated nationalist discourse in the age of European imperialism. Well before the acquisition of formal colonies, Germans had seen themselves as colonisers of foreign lands driven by energy, an insatiable appetite for adventure, and a special relationship with natural environments: all in opposition to the

state-driven efforts of their British and French rivals.¹⁸ From the 1890s, this existing imaginary informed and animated both the official language of Wilhelmine ‘Weltpolitik’, and the idea that goods ‘Made in Germany’ would help reshape the globe in the image of the nation’s superior moral characteristics.¹⁹ Hans’s prose echoed such long-standing imaginaries, when he proudly described his family’s reach across “all corners of the globe” and across all “Weltmeere”—a slightly anachronistic term for the oceans, which was frequently used in the political language of German imperialism. Hans also linked this pattern of emigration to specific character traits: the “undefeatable and indefatigable will to life” that he saw at work in his own family mirrors a language that was frequently invoked to frame the German story of global migration as a symptom of the collective vitality of the *Volk*. As Willecke Sadler argued, from the 1900s well into the Nazi years, German “colonialists infused the overseas colonial space with essentializing regenerative qualities that both explained the glories of the colonial past and held the key to reclaiming this greatness for Nazi Germany. [...] As the semantic confusion surrounding the term ‘Kolonie’ demonstrates, space existed for discussion of a variety of German expansions outside the confines of *Ostpolitik*. Colonialists [...] sought to define the meaning of overseas colonialism as an inherently German duty and one through which Germans could cultivate their superior qualities. They also promoted a colonial identity based on the ability to expand *Deutschtum* beyond Germany’s borders.”²⁰ Such discourses, however, were not confined to formal advocates of colonial expansion, nor were they specific to any one particular political milieu. Across period divides, and from many corners of the political spectrum, between the 1890s and the 1930s, Germans invoked the presence of German communities abroad, both as part of and beyond formal colonial settlements, as a natural consequence of the strength, vitality and ‘will to life’ of the German people.²¹

Hans’s letter not only frames his family’s global story in terms of German history: it also signals an important motivation for migrants’ recording and documenting such stories in the first place. The family album, and, in a sense, the whole archive created by the Salzmanns, were to serve, as Hans put it, as a “monument” around which the family could metaphorically assemble, in the same way as, in the old *Heimat*, they would have gathered around the graves of their ancestors. The creation of the archive, in other words, was itself an act of both asserting and defending a German identity and the “connecting thread” that tied the

family to it—whilst also celebrating international mobility and transnational networks. Much of this archive has survived intact. The Salzmanns not only kept careful written records, gathering both official papers and a host of ego-documents, such as diaries, individual reflective essays, and letters. They also took hundreds of photographs and composed many of these into albums, in which images and captions document all stages of their lives, from Hans’s military service in the First World War to Käthe’s visits to family relatives and friends in Latin America in search of her roots in 1964/5. In addition, Hans archived copies of manuscripts, published and unpublished alike, of articles he contributed to the *Aufbau*, a New York-based, German-language journal targeted at a global community of German-speaking Jews, but also other German expatriate groups.²² In this way, the Salzmanns were far from unique among German-Jewish emigre families, many of whom stowed away heirlooms, memorabilia, and the long paper trail of their family’s history in moving containers alongside the furniture and bric-a-brac of their apartments. As such, these collections often went on to form the basis of family archives populating institutions across the globe.²³ In recent years, historians have begun to reassess the value of these scattered collections, recognising in them a testament to the dispersion at the core of Holocaust memory, as well as its formation.²⁴ As scholars increasingly realise, “writing the history of Jewish families in a Berlin district, or even a single street, will force the researcher to travel – if only virtually ... and to take into account the transnational dimension brought about” by the nature of the Jewish diaspora and the mobile consequences of Nazi persecution.²⁵ Incorporating these widely dispersed family archives more fully into the evidentiary database of Holocaust research therefore allows historians to consider, beyond oral testimony and visual culture, the conscious construction, both in the moment and subsequently, of a collective response to the traumas of persecution and flight.

The urge to document these experiences—from the quotidian to the dramatic, in changing geographical and political settings, individually, as part of the family collective, and as part of a wider German expatriate community, and in relation to an imagined line of continuity running through all these departures and new beginnings—generated a unique collection. Creating this archive was itself an integral part of a meaning-making process undertaken in the context of shifting political circumstances and geographical (dis-)locations. The Salzmanns did not just document events that affected them: in depicting and describing

them, they also took charge of them, and exercised a degree of agency in processes in which migrants, and most particularly, German Jews fleeing Nazi persecution, have too often been portrayed as passive victims. While many works detail the process of coming to terms with the breadth and reality of the Nazi threat—thereby describing a genuine, if individualised, psychological agency—they overlook the conscious, outward-facing agency on display in our sources. For example, Marion Kaplan’s interpretation of Jewish responses to persecution offers a gendered reading, claiming that women “usually saw the danger signals first and urged their husbands to flee Germany,” whereas men—on account of the meaning they derived from public and professional status, as well as their idealised conceptions of the ‘possible,’ especially in liberal Germany—initially balked at the thought. However self-deluding, such complacency among men, in this conception, worked to “blunt their sense of impending danger,” rendering the communities and family units for which they were the decision-making figureheads, effectively paralysed.²⁶ This gendered analysis most fully assumes its tragic power when the male response is coded as naïve credulity, or, at worst, inertia, while the female one is only one of ‘escape’.

Our story shows a rather more constructive sense of agency, in thought and action, on the part of both men and women who found themselves at the receiving end of Nazi persecution. In doing so, it speaks to a spectrum of refugee experiences much larger than that of one family. To the degree that our work traces the fraught path of particular individuals, we also take care to project that engagement outward rather than inward. Although too often dismissed as a lay inroad to history, biography occupies an ambiguous place within historiography. In favouring intimacy over context, biographers are, supposedly, engaged in a “suspect enterprise.”²⁷ Individualising causality “obscures the broader picture, which consists of long-term developments and fundamental shifts in the balance of forces in society.”²⁸ Such stereotypes belie the considerable analytical complexity to be found in many works of biography.²⁹ Our study of the Salzmans resembles that straw man vision of biography only on its margins. The more fitting interpretive frame for our close reading of particular aspects of particular historical lives is microhistory, or that median space on the continuum between biography and history qua ‘history’. The difference between biography and microhistory, in Jill Lepore’s reckoning, boils down to purpose. Whereas the outsized significance of individual lives may justify the interest of biographers, microhistorians deploy individual

lives in the service of complex historiographical questions. For us, like the practitioners of micro-history, a “life story ... is merely a means to an end – and that end is always explaining the culture”: in this case, illuminating the ways in which German-Jewish families employed written and photographic languages to ascribe meaning to their experiences both within and beyond National Socialism.³⁰

In the following chapters, we suggest that the documents chronicling the decisions, judgements, and sentiments of the Salzman family shed light on some of the questions animating scholarship on Jewish responses to persecution and forced emigration. We place this history in the context of wider intellectual, cultural, political, and aesthetic trends of the time, in order to better understand the agency exercised by migrants. We focus particularly on the prominent role of a new medium within this archive, and one which has to date largely escaped scholarly attention: personal photography. The Salzmanns’ thousands of photos, the albums they arranged, and the numerous written documents accompanying them, provide, we suggest, new insights into how such migrants exercised agency, and how German Jews negotiated the different layers of their identities across distinct physical, social, and psychological environments: first as active and often enthusiastic participants’ in their home nation’s culture, and then as German settlers in the United States, where they did not just suffer a prescribed fate, but consciously shaped and gave meaning to it. In order to do so, families such as these framed their experience less as ‘exile’ than as ‘migration’, and in doing so, drew on existing global networks and on German imaginaries of a ‘global people’, as well as new technologies and skills, including photography, which they had adopted and rehearsed in the decades prior to departure, in order to forge a new existence in the United States. We begin by considering the technology—real and metaphorical—that sits at the heart of this story: photography, and we explore the distinctive dimensions that a consideration of these photos adds to traditional understandings of Jewish experience in and beyond Nazi Germany. We then examine the way in which the transition from German to American homelands was imagined and made ‘real’ through the act of taking and sharing photos, and trace how visual ‘placements’ in these different locations enabled symbolic acts of taking possession of a country and its culture. Finally, we conclude by considering how this method of inquiry can generate insights that serve as a corrective to several prevailing assumptions about the German-Jewish experience of National Socialism and emigration, and

what all this tells us, more broadly, about how histories of migration and mobile identity politics might be written.

NOTES

1. Hans Salzmann, 'Miscellaneous - 1929, 1972', Box #1. Ruth Salzmann Becker papers, Iowa Women's Archives, The University of Iowa Libraries, Iowa City. All subsequent references to the same archives are abbreviated as IWA. Like many of the sources in this article, this source was written in German: all translations are our own.
2. Herbert A. Strauss, 'Jews in German History: Persecution, Emigration, Acculturation', in *International Biographical Dictionary of Central European Emigres 1933-1945*, vol. 2, part 1, eds Herbert A. Strauss and Werner Röder (New York: K.G. Saur, 1983), pp. XI-XXVI. By the 1950s, following the introduction of more generous immigration regulations, the number of German-Jewish exiles residing in the United States had grown to 125,000.
3. On German-Jewish migration and life within the United States, see: Avraham Barkai, *Branching Out: German-Jewish Immigration to the United States, 1820-1914* (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1994); Naomi W. Cohen, *Encounter with Emancipation: The German Jews in the United States, 1830-1914* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1984); Hasia R. Diner, *A Time for Gathering: The Second Migration, 1820-1880* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992); Annie Polland and Daniel Soyer, *Emerging Metropolis: New York Jews in the Age of Immigration, 1840-1920* (New York: New York University Press, 2012); Tobias Brinkmann, *Sundays at Sinai: A Jewish Congregation in Chicago* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012); and Henry L. Feingold, *A Time for Searching: Entering the Mainstream, 1920-1945* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992).
4. Gerhard Falk, *The German Jews in America: A Minority within a Minority* (Lanham: University Press of America, 2014), p. 2.
5. David Blackbourn, *The Long Nineteenth Century: A History of Germany, 1780-1918* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 197. More detailed studies have since explored the multiple and hybridised identities of German communities across the globe. See, for example, Stefan Manz, *Constructing a German Diaspora: The 'Greater German Empire', 1871-1914* (New York: Routledge, 2014); Stefan Rinke, 'The Reconstruction of National Identity: German Minorities in Latin America during the First World War', in *Immigration and National Identities in Latin America*, eds Nicola Foote and Michael Goebel (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2014), pp. 160-81; and H. Glenn Penny and Stefan

- Rinke, 'Germans Abroad: Respatializing Historical Narrative', *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 41/2 (2015), pp. 173–96.
6. Dirk Hoerder, 'Introduction', in *People in Transit: German Migrations in Comparative Perspective, 1820–1930*, eds idem and Jörg Nagler (Washington, DC: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 14. Important works in the recent upsurge in migration history include: Hans-Heinrich Nolte, ed., *Deutsche Migrationen* (Münster: Lit Verlag, 1996); Klaus Bade, *Population, Labour, and Migration in 19th- and 20th-Century Germany* (Hamburg: Berg Publishers Limited, 1987); Tomas Jaehn, *Germans in the Southwest, 1850–1920* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005); Frank Trommler and Elliott Shore, eds, *The German-American Encounter: Conflict and Cooperation between Two Cultures, 1800–2000* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2001); Bade, ed., *Deutsche im Ausland – Fremde in Deutschland: Migration in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Munich: Verlag C.H. Beck, 1992); and Steve Hochstadt, *Mobility and Modernity: Migration in Germany, 1820–1989* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999). Historians have also begun to study phenomena such as labour, nation-making, and religion through a migratory filter. See, inter alia: Horst Rössler, 'Traveling Workers and the German Labor Movement', in *People in Transit*, pp. 127–46; Giralda Seyfret, 'German Immigration and Brazil's Colonization Policy', in *Mass Migration to Modern Latin America*, eds Samuel L. Baily and Eduardo Jose Miguez (Wilmington: Scholarly Resources, Inc., 2003), pp. 227–44; and Hans Lessing, ed., *The German Protestant Church in Colonial Southern Africa: The Impact of Overseas Work from the Beginnings Until the 1920s* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2012).
 7. For work on these 'translocal' migratory patterns, see: Stanley Nadel, *Little Germany: Ethnicity, Religion, and Class in New York City, 1845–1880* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990); Sabine Heerwart and Claudia Schnurmann, eds, *Atlantic Migrations: Region and Movements in Germany and North America/USA During the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century* (Hamburg: Lit Verlag, 2007); and Michael Just, Agnes Bretting, and Hartmut Bickelmann, eds, *Auswanderung und Schiffahrtsinteressen: 'Little Germanies' in New York: deutschamerikanische Gesellschaften* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1992).
 8. Avraham Barkai, *Hoffnung und Untergang: Studien zur deutsch-jüdischen Geschichte des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts* (Hamburg: Christians, 1998), p. 76.
 9. Barkai, *Hoffnung*, pp. 77–81. Barkai here draws a distinction between the more affluent Jews from countries such as Germany, and the late nineteenth-century migration of poorer and religiously more orthodox Jews from Eastern Europe.

10. 'Correspondence: From relatives in the United States - 1858–1859', Box #3. Ruth Salzmann Becker Papers, IWA.
11. Bertram W. Korn, 'Jewish 48'ers in America', *American Jewish Archives* 2/1 (1949); Rhonda F. Levine, *Class, Networks, and Identity: Replanting Jewish Life from Nazi Germany to Rural New York* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2001); and Ulf Hannerz, 'Ethnicity and Opportunity in Urban America', in *Urban Ethnicity*, ed. Abner Cohen (New York: Routledge, 2007), pp. 37–76.
12. The literature on continuing concern for or engagement with the country of origin is of course voluminous. For several representative examples from Germanophone Europe and beyond, see: Marita Krauss, *Heimkehr in ein fremdes Land: Geschichte der Remigration nach 1945* (Munich: C.H. Beck Verlag, 2001); Dino Cinel, *The National Integration of Italian Return Migration, 1870–1929* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Gavin Wilk, *Transatlantic Defiance: The Militant Irish Republican Movement in America, 1923–1945* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014); Pertti Ahonen, *After the Expulsion: West Germany and Eastern Europe, 1945–1990* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003); and Jutta Faehndrich, *Eine endliche Geschichte: die Heimatbücher der deutschen Vertriebenen* (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 2011).
13. The scholarship on Germanophone, non-Jewish-specific exile from Nazi-era Europe is large. Most often, it is thematized—whether by region, politics, or profession—and just as often focused upon the elite. Relevant examples include: Anthony Heilbut, *Exiled in Paradise: German Refugee Artists and Intellectuals in America from the 1930s to the Present* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997); Erhard Bahr, *Weimar on the Pacific: German Exile Culture in Los Angeles and the Crisis of Modernism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007); Reinhold Brinkmann and Christoph Wolff, eds, *Driven into Paradise: The Musical Migration from Nazi Germany to the United States* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1999); Richard Bodek and Simon Lewis, eds, *The Fruits of Exile: Central European Intellectual Immigration to America in the Age of Fascism* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2010); Jean-Michael Palmier, *Weimar in Exile: The Antifascist Emigration in Europe and America*, trans. David Fernbach (London: Verso, 2006); Steven E. Ascheim, *Beyond the Border: The German-Jewish Legacy Abroad* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007); Herbert E. Tutas, *Nationalsozialismus und Exil: die Politik des Dritten Reiches gegenüber der deutschen politischen Emigration, 1933–1939* (Munich: Carl Hanser Verlag, 1975); and Johannes F. Evelein, *Literary Exiles from Nazi Germany: Exemplarity and the Search for Meaning* (Rochester: Camden House, 2014).

14. An example was the documentary film ‘Bernstein-Fischer schöpfen das Gold des Meeres’, which was first produced in 1929, and reissued, with explicit Nazi symbolism added, in 1936 by the Reichsbahn-Filmstelle in Berlin. This version is available online at <http://www.archiv-akh.de/filme:utf-8=%E2%9C%93&q=rominter#4> (accessed 6/7/2018).
15. The region and its associated products nonetheless loomed large in the family’s imagination even long after Hans’s letter. Ruth later recalled an “automobile trip to Allenstein, East Prussia” in the early 1930s to visit Käthe’s uncle. While “walking the beach of the Baltic Sea”, the family collected pieces of amber, some pieces of which they set into jewellery. It was finding this jewellery years later that triggered Ruth’s memory, for “I still treasure it today after some 70 years.” Ruth Salzmann Becker, ‘Memoir, undated’, Box #6. Ruth Salzmann Becker papers, IWA.
16. The legacy of the Jewish diaspora and global dispersal has often been read, both positively and negatively, through the lens of ‘cosmopolitanism’. For consideration of this theme, especially in nineteenth- and twentieth-century Europe, see: Cathy Gelbin and Sander L. Gilman, *Cosmopolitanism and the Jews* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2017); Natan Sznajder, *Jewish Memory and the Cosmopolitan Order* (Malden: Polity Press, 2011); and Jakob Egholm Feldt, *Transnationalism and the Jews: Culture, History, and Prophecy* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2016).
17. This link has been articulated in a wide variety of ways in academic work on Nazi Anti-Semitism, which can only be hinted at here. Steven Beller, *Antisemitism: A Short History* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007) offers a brief, general overview of key motifs in Anti-Semitism, focusing particularly on the connection between a rejection of modernisation and mobility. Exploring German society under Nazi rule, Michael Wildt suggested that the concept of the ‘people’s community’ as an aspiration and promise for the future was vital to the social practice of Anti-Semitism, and was achieved through the ‘Othering’ of those who were not rooted in this ethnic community: Wildt, ‘Volksgemeinschaft: A Modern Perspective on National Socialist Society’, in *Volksgemeinschaft: Writing the Social History of the Nazi Regime*, eds Martina Steber and Bernhard Gotto (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), pp. 43–59. Looking beyond the German nation-state, Bergen argued that the Nazi attempt to reclaim a geographically scattered German diaspora of ‘ethnic Germans’ and resettle them on German lands, or lands to be Germanised, served further to radicalise the distinction between ‘good’ German and ‘bad’ Jewish diasporas, who were allegedly incapable of nurturing and developing territory: Doris L. Bergen, ‘The Nazi Concept of “Volksdeutsche” and the Exacerbation of Anti-Semitism in Eastern Europe, 1939–45’, *Journal of Contemporary History* 29/4 (1994), pp. 569–82.

18. On the origins of the German imagination of a global, colonising people, see: Susanne Zantop, *Colonial Fantasies: Conquest, Family, and Nation in Precolonial Germany, 1770–1870* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1997); Birthe Kundrus, ed., *Phantasiereiche: Zur Kulturgeschichte des deutschen Kolonialismus* (Frankfurt: Campus Verlag, 2003). German communities abroad in turn mobilised such imaginaries, both inside and outside formal colonial contexts, to articulate their own sense of identity when settling abroad. For an example of how ‘Germanness’ was imagined in America, see Kathleen Neils Conzen, ‘Phantom Landscapes of Colonization: Germans in the Making of a Pluralist America’, in *The German-American Encounter: Conflict and Cooperation between Two Cultures, 1800–2000*, eds Frank Trommler and Elliott Shore (New York: Berghahn Books, 2001), pp. 7–21.
19. On the politics and language of ‘Weltpolitik’ in the later nineteenth century, see: Rüdiger vom Bruch, *Weltpolitik als Kulturmission: Auswärtige Kulturpolitik und Bildungsbürgertum in Deutschland am Vorabend des Ersten Weltkrieges* (Munich: Schöningh, 1982); Geoff Eley and James Retallack, eds, *Wilhelminism and its Legacies: German Modernities, Imperialism and the Meanings of Reform, 1890–1930* (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2003); and Kris Manjapra, *Age of Entanglement: German and Indian Intellectuals across Empire* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2014), especially p. 201. On the idea of objects as carriers of German culture into a global market, see: Maiken Umbach, ‘Made in Germany’, in *Deutsche Erinnerungsorte*, 3 vols., eds Hagen Schulze and Etienne Francois (Munich: C.H. Beck Verlag, 2000–1), ii, pp. 405–38; and Maiken Umbach, *German Cities and Bourgeois Modernism, 1890–1930* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), esp. pp. 142–67.
20. Willeke Sandler, ‘Here, too Lies Our Lebensraum: Colonial Space as German Space’, in *Heimat, Region, and Empire: Spatial Identities under National Socialism*, eds Claus-Chris Szejnmann and Maiken Umbach (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2012), pp. 148–65, quote p. 161.
21. For a general discussion about the mutually constitutive imagination of German local or tribal identities on the one hand, and overseas settlement and colonialism on the other, see also Jens Jaeger, ‘Colony as Heimat? The Formation of Colonial Identity in Germany around 1900’, *German History* 27/4 (2009), pp. 467–89; Krista O’Donnell, Renate Bridenthal, and Nancy Reagin, eds, *The Heimat Abroad: The Boundaries of Germanness* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2005); Frederick C. Luebke, *Germans in the New World: Essays in the History of Immigration* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990); Szejnmann and Umbach, ‘Introduction’, in *Heimat, Region, and Empire*, eds idem,

- pp. 1–22. On Hitler’s vision of the Volk and territorial expansion, see: Roman Töppel, ‘Volk Und Rasse’, *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte* 64/1 (2016), pp. 1–36; and Jost Hermand, *Der alte Traum vom neuen Reich. Völkische Utopien und Nationalsozialismus* (Frankfurt am Main: Athenäum, 1988).
22. The *Aufbau* was founded by the German-Jewish Club in New York City, which was later renamed the New World Club. *Aufbau* originated as a monthly newsletter for the club, featuring information by and for Jewish refugees, but soon reached a much wider constituency, and counted among its contributors many prominent German intellectuals, Jewish and non-Jewish alike, including Hannah Arendt, Albert Einstein, Thomas Mann, and Stefan Zweig. Its contents have recently been digitised by the Leo Baeck Institute, see <http://archive.org/details/aufbau/> (accessed 6/7/2018).
 23. As opposed to Israel, the American East and West coast, and Germany itself, family archives are often housed far from the typical sites of research on Nazi Germany. The circuitousness of the Salzmanns’ papers own route to the American Midwest are one such example of the lesser travelled, if equally important, trajectories of German-Jewish exile. Shortly after starting a teaching position in the College of Nursing at the University of Iowa, Ruth Salzmann met Samuel Becker, eventually Distinguished Professor Emeritus of Communication Studies. The two married in 1953 and spent the remainder of their lives in Iowa City. Ruth Salzmann Becker began donating her family archive to the university’s Iowa Women’s Archives in 1997, a decade before her passing.
 24. See: Atina Grossmann, ‘Versions of Home: German-Jewish Refugee Papers Out of the Closet and into the Archives’, *New German Critique* 90 (2003), pp. 95–122; and the special issue dedicated to Jewish migration and the archive: *Jewish Culture and History* 15/1–2 (2014).
 25. James Jordan, Lisa Leff, and Joachim Schlör, ‘Jewish Migration and the Archive: Introduction’, *Jewish Culture and History* 15/1–2 (2014), pp. 1–5, quote p. 2. Schlör’s own book on the flight of one Jewish family from Heilbronn to Britain—as revealed through documents and letters preserved, in England, by the family’s daughter—puts these realisations into practice, as does Shirli Gilbert’s study of a treasure trove of correspondence stuffed into a wooden trunk in a Johannesburg suburb. Joachim Schlör, *Liesel, it’s time for you to leave.’ Von Heilbronn nach England. Die Flucht der Familie Rosenthal von der nationalsozialistischen Verfolgung* (Heilbronn: Stadtarchiv Heilbronn, 2015); Shirli Gilbert, *From Things Lost: Forgotten Letters and the Legacy of the Holocaust* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2017).
 26. Marion A. Kaplan, *Between Dignity and Despair: Jewish Life in Nazi Germany* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 62–67.

27. Robert I. Rotberg, 'Biography and Historiography: Mutual Evidentiary and Interdisciplinary Considerations', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 40/3 (2010), pp. 305–24, quote p. 317.
28. Roger Lockyer, 'On Writing Historical Biography', *History Today* 34/11 (1984), pp. 46–49, quote p. 46.
29. Notable examples include: Elizabeth Heineman, *Before Porn Was Legal: The Erotica Empire of Beate Uhse* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2011); Margaret Lavinia Anderson, *Windthorst: A Political Biography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981); Jonathan Sperber, *Karl Marx: A Nineteenth-Century Life* (New York: Liveright Publishing Corporation, 2013); and Susan Pedersen, *Eleanor Rathbone and the Politics of Conscience* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004).
30. Jill Lepore, 'Historians Who Love Too Much: Reflections on Microhistory and Biography', *The Journal of American History* 88/1 (2001), pp. 129–44, quote p. 133.



Jewish Identities and Photography

Abstract Much of our knowledge about the German-Jewish experience of National Socialism has been derived from written sources. Private photography provides a novel perspective on this history. In our analysis, documenting personal lives and experiences in photographs—and collating the results into lavish, usually captioned albums—was, first and foremost, a means of staking out a German identity. For the Salzman family, these claims to belonging were grounded in service during the First World War, shifting towards their participation in both traditional and new forms of leisure and conspicuous consumption in the interwar years. Underpinning each series of photos was the aspiration to perform membership in an educated German middle class, or *Bildungsbürgertum*. This habitus was not disrupted by Nazism's rise; if anything, 1933 provided an incentive to intensify this 'performance' of belonging.

Keywords Jewish identity · History of private photography · Travel photography · Bildung · German nationalism · Jewish life in Nazi Germany

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A voluminous historiography has dealt with the Jewish experience of discrimination, flight, and exile during the Nazi years. The bulk of this literature focuses on the official policies of exclusion, which ascribed an

unequivocally ‘Jewish’ identity to all Germans who, according to Nazi racial classifications, belonged to this category, and then gradually deprived these individuals of civil rights, of their property, of their means of income, and eventually, for those who did not escape, of their very lives.¹ Yet the exclusion of Jews from the German communities of which they formed an integral part was anything but a smooth process. As John Grenville showed, the Jewish community of Hamburg was not simply forced into submission, but remained defiant and “robustly asserted [its] rights.”² Similarly, Till van Rahden suggested that German Jews formed a distinctive yet deeply integrated milieu within the city of Breslau, in which categories of ethnicity structured but also enabled social contacts between Jews and other inhabitants of the city.³ Saul Friedländer’s seminal, two-volume study paved the way for understanding the Nazi Holocaust and its antecedents not as a process that was passively experienced by Jews, but one to which they articulated forceful but also hugely variegated responses.⁴ A similar approach informs the multi-volume edition of sources of the ‘Editionsprojekt Judenverfolgung 1933-1945’, which combines official documents, letters to the authorities written by overeager anti-Semites such as school teachers or competing businesspeople, and some responses, albeit mostly institutional ones, from the Jewish communities in Nazi Germany and the occupied territories.⁵ In addition, a number of specialist studies have explored the fate of individual Jews, mostly prominent intellectuals or artists, who, like the Salzmanns, managed to escape their German homeland and make new lives for themselves abroad.⁶ Particularly noteworthy is a recent study by Rebecca Boehling and Uta Larkey, which the authors call a “collective family biography”: through an analysis of about 600 personal letters, this account charts the different experiences of the Nazi terror and, for the younger family members, emigration, of members of the German-Jewish Kaufmann-Steinberg family, who owned a business in the city of Essen, from the 1930s to the 1960s.⁷

These studies rely overwhelmingly on written sources: they cite official policies, and relate these to public and published Jewish reactions and opinions, and, like Boehling and Larkey, to ‘ego-documents’, such as letters and diaries, in which German Jews articulated their experiences of life amongst other Germans. Except to provide occasional illustrations, the practice of private photography has rarely been studied as a part of the Jewish experience before 1933.⁸ In a pioneering article, Leora Auslander interpreted three photo albums of the German-Jewish banking family Wassermann, one from 1912, the other two from the later years

of the Weimar Republic, as demonstrating that Jewish private photos from this period charted the enforced disentanglements of German and Jewish identities that accompanied the rise of Anti-Semitic tendencies in Germany well before the Nazi seizure of power, leading to an increasing separation in these albums of Jewish ‘private’, i.e. domestic, life, and German ‘public’ life, that took place outdoors and at the workplace.⁹

Yet German-Jewish photography did not cease at the end of the Weimar Republic. Nor did it evolve independently of wider German cultures of photography. In the Salzmanns’ archives, photos are more prominent than any other medium in documenting the family’s lives in Germany, especially during the Nazi years. This was not atypical. Private ‘snapshot’ photos constitute one of the most significant genres of ego-documents of the twentieth century, and one that came to particular prominence in Germany at a comparatively early historical moment. In the interwar period, taking private photos was made easier by the arrival of a new type of camera: lightweight, compact, extremely easy to use, and affordable. Iconic German brands were Leica, patented in 1925, and Zeiss Ikon’s Contax, on sale from 1933; countless cheaper versions of the same basic camera type came onto the market in the 1930s and early 1940s.¹⁰ Photography quickly became a favoured pastime for millions of hobbyists. In Germany, Leica alone had sold a quarter of a million cameras by 1939, and an estimated seven million Germans owned a camera.¹¹ In addition, many others used cameras owned by friends or family members. And even those who did not participate in the practice behind the camera became involved in it in front of the camera: being photographed by family members, classmates, friends, work colleagues, and eventually, fellow soldiers, became a normal and regular experience for most Germans in the 1930s and 1940s.

One page from a photo album from the Salzmann archive (Fig. 2.1) illustrates the sophisticated and self-conscious use to which the new technology was put by Germans at the time. Taken on a holiday in Switzerland in 1935, the page is captioned “The Leica duel”. It features Hans and another member of the travelling party taking photographs of the majestic landscapes around them. The images above those of the photographers are scenes that would have been visible from their respective standpoints depicted in the two lower images. The portraits of the photographers in action below celebrate the act of photography itself, and playfully allude to the competitive nature of taking symbolic possession of a space by framing it in an aesthetically meaningful shot.



Fig. 2.1 The Leica Duell, 1935, Iowa Women's Archive, Iowa City

The mentioning of the Leica brand is also highly significant: Leicas were both the first and in many ways the best of the new, handheld, small cameras, and an icon of technologically sophisticated products that propelled goods 'made in Germany' to world fame in the early decades of the twentieth century.¹² Conspicuously embracing the brand was both an act of being a proud German consumer, and an active participant in a technological revolution that transformed how ordinary people could frame their surroundings and their place within it through self-made photography.

As a result of this technological revolution, private photos became a potent vehicle for performing and 'fixing' identities, and mapping these onto changing political circumstances: they appeared simultaneously intimate and objective records of reality; they depicted subjects in an environment, and thereby naturalised their place within it, but they were

also deeply ambiguous, at times enigmatic, about the precise meaning of such ‘placements’. This poses particular interpretive challenges. The ambiguity of photographs continues to restrict their use as sources by historians. There have certainly been plenty of calls to consider photos as historical evidence. As Catherine Clark suggested, “in addition to using images as supplements to textual sources or as illustrations of arguments derived from them, we can [...] turn to them as primary sources, to aid us in determining how the capture, collection, and circulation of photographs helped create the meaning of an event.”¹³ Studies such as Clark’s rely predominantly on professional photos, taken either by journalists or by official agencies. Elizabeth Edwards has drawn attention to the importance of ‘amateur’ photographers, who, from the late nineteenth century, founded countless photographic societies and clubs, to share and discuss their work.¹⁴ She emphasised that, beyond the intentions of the individual photographer, the meaning of an amateur photograph is constituted by the complex webs of social interaction that shapes both the production of a photo—including the roles of those who pose for it—and its subsequent consumption. Much the same applies to personal ‘snapshots’: seemingly composed without any explicit ‘aesthetic’ ambition, but nevertheless highly significant in transforming experience into memories, and thus, as Patricia Holland argued, an attempt to shape and control future memories.¹⁵ Often, the family or social unit for whose consumption such photos were intended influenced when and how they were taken: photos can thus provide clues not just about individual viewpoints, but also interpersonal processes of meaning-making.¹⁶ To date, private photos mostly feature in accounts specifically dedicated to private life, or what is often referred to as *Alltagsgeschichte*, the history of everyday life, and the associated patterns of family life, leisure, and consumption.¹⁷ Yet private photos also position people in public spaces, and vis-à-vis eminently political processes, documenting and performing rituals of political participation or withdrawal.¹⁸ Photography in this period “could forge and sustain private identities [as well as] communicate and reinforce ideologies.”¹⁹ It is this function of photography that is of particular relevance to our exploration of meaning-making in the context of shifting national and religious identities, and processes of migration and relocation.

So how, then, did private and political lives feature in German-Jewish archives like the Salzmanns’? On the surface, their records contain no explicitly ‘Jewish’ photos at all. Instead, their photos chart an eminently

German story, one which closely resembles that of their non-Jewish compatriots. To some extent, this bears out the wider argument made by scholars that ‘Jewishness’ amongst Jews, especially in Western Europe, was largely a matter of domestic conduct, and often associated with women, while public performances of identity adhered to a relatively generic ‘bourgeois’ script.²⁰ Moreover, private photography was a realm in which forcibly ascribed ethnic identities could be transcended with relative ease. As Auslander notes, while for European Jews, “choices of occupation, of conversion, even of a marriage partner are directly subject to realities, or perceptions, of discrimination [... and] barriers of exclusion, [...] particular aesthetic choices [...] often do not address perceptions of discriminations as consciously as do other choices”, thus creating a freer space for imagining identities unencumbered by official restrictions.²¹ It is therefore unsurprising that in their photography, Jewish families like the Salzmanns felt at liberty to create and perform thoroughly German identities.

The earliest surviving photo albums root the family’s experience in their participation in the First World War. For many German-Jewish families, this was a pivotal moment for performing and subsequently commemorating their rootedness in the German nation. As Derek Penslar put it, “the story of German-Jewish soldiers and veterans of World War I illustrates how [...] Jewish suffering in wartime, and with it the forms of collective memory and strategies for commemoration of the dead, could closely parallel, even intersect with, the suffering of Germans as a whole. [...] German-Jewish veterans shared the prevailing fury over war guilt and reparations, and they retained a strong pride in their military service, a pride through which they interpreted the events of 1933–1945.”²² It was thus for the Salzmanns, as seen in the *Familienbuch* page commemorating seven members of the extended family who died during the war. Each name is listed in stylised Germanic script, followed by the year and location of their deaths, all gathered under a curt heading: “FALLEN FOR THEIR HOMELAND” (*Gefallen für die Heimat*).²³ One of the earliest images in their photo archive shows Hans and his older brother Curt in a photo studio in 1912: Curt in military uniform, Hans in the school uniform of the finalists (‘Primaner’) of the Melanchthon-Gymnasium in Wittenberg (Fig. 2.2).

A year later, Curt sent Hans a photo of himself and two of his comrades in uniform, taken at the military barracks in Berlin; the text on the back referred to it as a ‘memento’ of the first half of his ‘challenging’



Fig. 2.2 Curt and Hans, 1912, Iowa Women's Archive, Iowa City

time in the army. Curt, who served as a cavalry officer in the First World War, fell in Belgium in 1914. Hans served in an artillery regiment, but was mostly on medical duty; he was wounded in 1917 near Verdun,

where he received the Iron Cross 2nd Class. During this time, he took a number of photos, and arranged many of them into an album, showing him performing his medical duties, but also picturing the theatres of war in Belgium in France.

Like many German soldiers of the time, Hans had a particular penchant for scenic photographs of medieval churches damaged by the war (Fig. 2.3). Although personal camera ownership was still relatively rare in the First World War, cameras circulated widely between soldiers fighting and living in such close proximity. The resulting body of personal photographs has been the topic of some historical debate. Bodo von Drewitz saw them as evidence of a largely uncritical participation in the imagined community of a nation at war, because many of these shots closely mirrored the imagery produced by official propaganda photographers at the time.²⁴ Barbara Duden's reading of such images, by contrast, pays more attention to their role in 'authenticating' lived experience, and focuses on the intensely personal resonance of images portraying oneself



Fig. 2.3 Church Ruins in France, 1917, Iowa Women's Archive, Iowa City

and one's immediate comrades experiencing life at the front line.²⁵ What both readings have in common, however, is that such photographs established a place within a 'community of fate', both immediate and metaphorical. Certainly, for Hans Salzmänn, these early photos, although relatively few in number compared to later albums, established his story as one firmly rooted in his and his older brother's participation in the German war effort, and its attendant hardships and sacrifices; sacrifices, which, as we shall see, Hans frequently invoked in later writings to underscore their ties to the German ancestral homeland.

The Salzmänn's interwar photo albums likewise resemble many of those made by other Germans in this period. The tone shifted from the existential themes of war to the aspirations and pleasures of peace. The albums now feature the family enjoying, and recording, a lifestyle that embraced a modern *zeitgeist*, focusing on leisure, family outings, and beach holidays. Indoor photos from this period are rare, but as the Salzmänn's older daughter Ruth noted, many of these trips were connected to Hans's desire to 'educate his children' in the German culture he loved. Consequently, as Ruth noted, "all of us trekked to one museum or other every Sunday." It was little coincidence that Ruth, late into her seventies, recalled snippets of Heine, Goethe, and Prussian military songs with ease.²⁶ Occasionally, the family's photos also include the maid whom the Salzmänn now employed. All these attributes seem indicative of the lifestyle of a metropolitan German bourgeoisie, or specifically, the 'Bildungsbürgertum', during the 1920s: a self-confident middle class, who displayed their social status by public performances of classical learning as well as modern habits of leisure and consumption.²⁷ However, while Hans Salzmänn had been educated at a German *Gymnasium*, and was thus immersed in the appropriate classical canon, the family shared neither the wealth nor the political leanings of most members of the German bourgeoisie. The Salzmänn resided in a first-floor apartment in 30 Blücherstrasse in Kreuzberg, a district of Berlin of mixed working-class and petit bourgeois character. Ruth's memory of Hans introducing her to neighbours upon the opening of his practice provides a walking-tour panorama of the neighbourhood's character and the family's place within it: the Larisch's *Hinterhaus* butcher shop; the "Pommeranian dairy [*Meierei*]" on the corner that "kept supplying" the family until their departure, even providing "large amounts of everything required" for Ruth's 1937 confirmation; the shoe store down the street, owned by Frau Wittgenstock, whom young Ruth

quite “disliked”; and the “coal merchant” and Lehmann’s pub on the other side of the street, both of whom had daughters that became Ruth’s “very best friends.”²⁸

Hans and Käthe joined the Social Democratic Party in 1920, Hans on April 1, Käthe on August 5, the exact date of her marriage to Hans, indicating that, perhaps, they saw their political work as central to their new lives together. Both social aspirations and progressive politics were nonetheless rooted in the Salzmanns’ longer family histories. In Allenstein, Hugo Salzmann, Käthe’s father, had bristled against the commercial and liberal commitments of his “reputable” East Prussian family. As pointed out in a 1925 eulogy, a sense of duty nonetheless compelled him to enter business, although “in later years, he would often confess that he was no merchant.” Indeed, he had joined the “still very much proscribed [*noch sehr verfehmt*]” Social Democratic Party as a young man, finding in his study of the “fundamental writings of prominent party leaders” an outlet for rebuffed interests in the law and philosophy. In 1904, Hugo joined his local Freemason lodge, which seemed to offer a vision matching his own “nature’s orientation towards the love of mankind [and] thirst for knowledge.”²⁹ The precise route by which Hugo’s daughter and son-in-law came to share these interests is unclear.³⁰ What is clear, however, is that interest, as seen in the couple’s political affiliations, associational activity, and occasional writings.³¹

Just as they saw no contradiction between cultivating their Jewish and their German or Prussian identities, they also saw no contradiction between progressive politics and an enthusiasm for portraying themselves as affluent German *Bildungsbürger*. This tendency grew even more marked in their photo albums after 1933. Again, this was not atypical of either other Jewish families in Berlin, or of their non-Jewish neighbours.³² Photography provided a powerful incentive for people to try out, and pose with, the trappings of bourgeois aspirations, even if their day-to-day lives mostly took place in less affluent and comfortable surroundings. The Salzmanns continued this habitus well into the Nazi years. A lavish holiday album from 1936 features the family on a tour of Italy, comprising 53 pages, with between one and eight, but typically four, mostly captioned photos per page. The itinerary included Milan, Rome, Naples, Capri, and Paestum; the focus in all but Milan was on the study of Roman and Greek antiquities. In this, the Salzmanns followed an established *bildungsbürgerlich* tradition, which in turn originated in the ‘Grand Tour’ of the eighteenth century, undertaken by young

German, English, and French aristocrats to round off their education by a prolonged encounter with classical civilisation in Italy.³³ In the course of the nineteenth century, this practice evolved into a cornerstone of the bourgeois cultural habitus, fuelled in Germany in particular by the insistence of Wilhelm von Humboldt and other educational reformers that an immersion in the classics was essential both to a complete education and aesthetic and moral ‘character formation’: notions that converged in the German idea of ‘Bildung’.³⁴ In keeping with this tradition, the Salzmans’ Italian photo album was characterised by aesthetically ambitious shots and detailed, serious captions. The first stop was in the city of Milan, or as the caption in the album puts it in Italian: *Milano* (Fig. 2.4). Photos showed the Salzmans—Käthe, her two daughters, and a family friend—in elegant attire riding the tram through shopping streets, metaphorically consuming the cultural and commercial offerings of the city.

In Rome, however, the focus was very much on classical antiquities: alongside the Vatican and some general city views, they are the main focus on 15 album pages, which feature the temples of the *Forum*

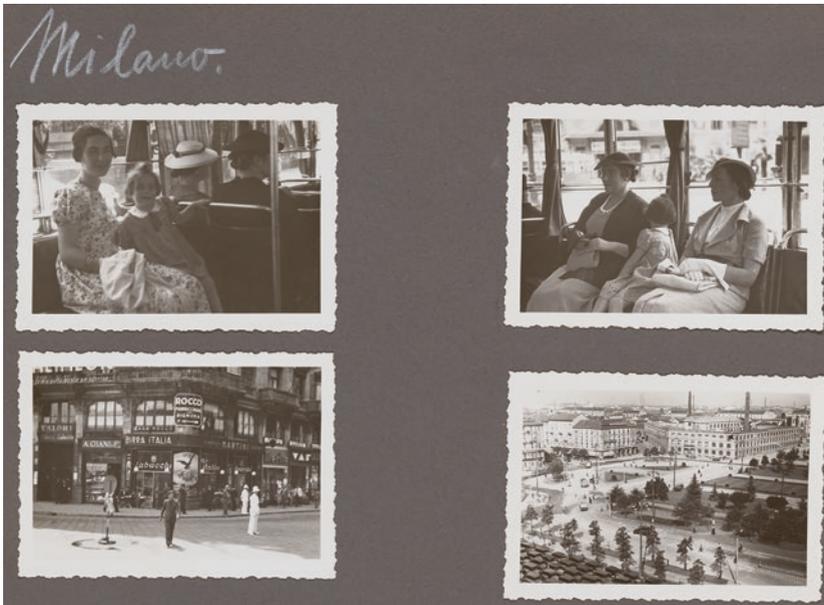


Fig. 2.4 ‘Milano’, 1936, Iowa Women’s Archive, Iowa City

Romanum, Trajan's Column, the Palatine Hill, the Marcellus Theatre, the Pantheon, Hadrian's Mausoleum, various triumphal arches, the Capitoline Hill, as well as classical sites outside the centre of Rome, such as the Appian Way, Roman aqueducts, and the tomb of Caecilia Metella. The captions here are particularly telling. On one album page (Fig. 2.5), the caption for the photo on the top right included not just the obviously visible front porch of the Saturn Temple in the foreground, but also the Column of Phocas ("Phocas-S.", short for Phocas-Saeule) that is barely visible in the same photo (we only see its side poking out from behind the last column on the right of the Saturn Temple). Since the Column of Phocas was an object of great historical and art historical significance, however, its mention in the caption revealed the gaze of the self-consciously educated travellers.³⁵



Fig. 2.5 Roman Forum, 1936, Iowa Women's Archive, Iowa City

After Rome, the Salzmans moved further South to admire the antiquities in and around Naples, including Pompeii and Herculaneum, but also, significantly, the Doric temples of *Magna Graecia* in Paestum, to which they devoted five album pages (Fig. 2.6). Paestum was situated off the beaten tourist track—situated about 80 miles South-East of the city of Naples. It had, however, formed a staple of the itineraries of all serious students of classical civilisation since the days of the Grand Tour, when for many Europeans, including Goethe, it had been the site of their first face-to-face encounter with Greek, rather than Roman, antiquities.³⁶

Another notable feature of this album is the sense of artistic ambition that informed the photography itself. These photos were not simply snapshots: they were documents of an intellectual and aesthetic ambition to capture the encounter with great works of art, and, through the medium of photography, translate these encounters in appropriate visual

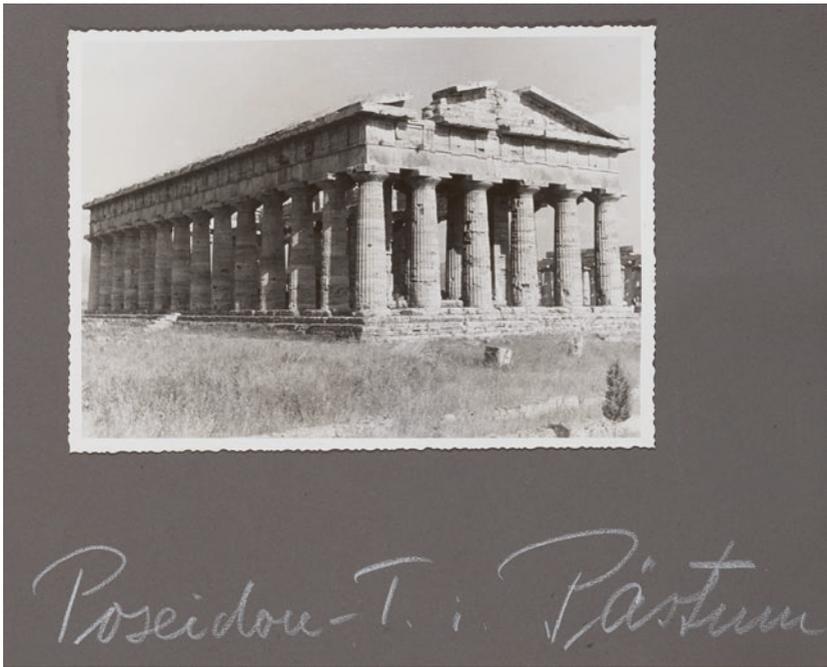


Fig. 2.6 Paestum, 1936, Iowa Women's Archive, Iowa City



Fig. 2.7 Neapolitan Coast, 1936, Iowa Women's Archive, Iowa City

forms. The same aspiration is evident in the accompanying landscape photos, for example, in one album page (Fig. 2.7) with photographs of the Bay of Naples, including Capri, and the monastery and museum San Martino on the Neapolitan coast. The actual motifs are of secondary importance: the photos focus on formal characteristics, emphasising geometrical shapes and patterns created by lampposts, the fence, balustrade, and the semi-circular harbour wall, accentuated by sharp contrasts between sunlight and deep shade. Only one shows a family member, Ruth, yet her face is invisible: her dark silhouette forms a static visual counterpoint to the dynamic diagonal of the balustrade, and together, both shapes create a frame for the pale outline of Mount Vesuvius in the background.

Altogether, the photographic archive of the period up to 1936 showcases the Salzmans' social ambition and a cosmopolitan cultural ease. There is little sense in it of anxiety, social exclusion, and racial marginalisation. One might conjecture that it was the technology of photography itself that mitigated against any explicit expression of the more painful experiences of rising Anti-Semitism during the Weimar period, and the onset of anti-Semitic legislation in the early Nazi years; reflection on this was, perhaps, confined to more silent moments of introspection. Private photography, especially where, as in the case of the Salzman albums, it transcends the confines of domestic spaces, and situates people in the public sphere, almost by definition documents engagement and participation, and focuses on moments of agency and enjoyment. And yet, such photographs do not just capture a reality, however partial: they also provide a powerful prompt for living out such moments, and seeing and experiencing them as constitutive of one's social identity. This identity was configured in and through places, geographical and imaginary alike, situated within a wider cultural, social, and political context. In photographing themselves as consumers of the cultural offerings of interwar Europe, the Salzmans confidently positioned themselves as citizens both of Germany and of a wider European cultural elite, who not only enjoyed, but also made sense of, and thus gave meaning to, the histories and the modern amenities that these spaces had to offer.

NOTES

1. For an overview of recent research on the forcible disentangling of German and Jewish identities, see: Francis R. Nicosia and David Scrase, eds, *Jewish Life in Nazi Germany: Dilemmas and Responses* (Oxford and New York: Berghahn Books, 2010); Marion A. Kaplan, ed., *Jewish Daily Life in Germany, 1618–1945* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005); and the older but still valuable Sanford Ragins, *Jewish Responses to Anti-Semitism in Germany, 1870–1914: A Study in the History of Ideas* (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1980). For a comparative perspective, Joshua D. Zimmerman, ed., *Jews in Italy under Fascist and Nazi Rule, 1922–1945* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Alexander Stille, *Benevolence and Betrayal: Five Italian Jewish Families under Fascism* (London: Vintage, 1993).
2. John Grenville, *The Jews and Germans of Hamburg: The Destruction of a Civilization 1790–1945* (New York: Routledge, 2012), quote p. 112.

3. Till van Rahden, *Juden und andere Breslauer. Die Beziehungen zwischen Juden, Protestanten und Katholiken in einer deutschen Großstadt von 1860 bis 1925* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht Verlag, 2000).
4. Saul Friedländer, *Nazi Germany and the Jews: The Years of Persecution: 1933–1939* (London: Weidenfels & Nicholson, 1997); idem, *Nazi Germany and the Jews: The Years of Extermination, 1939–1945* (New York: HarperCollins, 2007).
5. The documentation *Die Verfolgung und Ermordung der europäischen Juden durch das nationalsozialistische Deutschland 1933–1945* has been published in 14 volumes to date; two additional volumes are in preparation. Each volume reproduces around 300 original documents with a critical commentary. Of particular relevance to our study are volume 1, *Deutsches Reich 1933–1937*, ed. Wolf Gruner (Munich: Oldenbourg-Verlag, 2008); and volume 2, *Deutsches Reich, 1938–August 1939*, ed. Susanne Heim (Munich: Oldenbourg-Verlag, 2009).
6. One telling example is the story of the German-Jewish architects Gerson, who combined emphatically modern and German vernacular elements in their work. See: Wolfgang Voigt, ed., *Hans und Oskar Gerson. Hanseatische Moderne. Bauten in Hamburg und im kalifornischen Exil 1907 bis 1957* (Hamburg: Dölling und Galitz Verlag, 2000). On German-Jewish architects in America, see also Katrin Kessler and Alexander von Kienlin, eds, *Jewish Architecture. New Sources and Approaches* (Petersberg: Michael Imhof Verlag, 2015).
7. Rebecca Boehling and Uta Larkey, *Life and Loss in the Shadow of the Holocaust: A Jewish Family's Untold Story* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).
8. Compare the exhibition catalogue edited by Maren Krüger, *Herbert Sonnenfeld: Ein jüdischer Fotograf in Berlin, 1933–1938: Ausstellung des Berlin Museums Abteilung Jüdisches Museum* (Berlin: Nicolai, 1990); Werner Sulzgruber, *Lebenslinien. Jüdische Familien und ihre Schicksale. Eine biografische Reise in die Vergangenheit von Wiener Neustadt* (Vienna: Berger & Söhne, 2017), which was accompanied by an exhibition 'Familienalbum: Jüdische Familien aus Wiener Neustadt' at the Stadtmuseum Wiener Neustadt in 2013/14, <http://stadtmuseum.wiener-neustadt.at/ausstellungen/familienalbum> (accessed 6/7/2018). Jewish photos from Hessen have been collated and digitised by the Fritz Bauer Institut, <http://vor-dem-holocaust.de> (accessed 6/7/2018). Ulrike Pilarczyk, *Gemeinschaft in Bildern: Jüdische Jugendbewegung und zionistische Erziehungspraxis in Deutschland und Palästina /Israel* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2009), analyses Jewish youth cultures of photography from 1924 to 1938.

9. Leora Auslander, 'Reading German Jewry through Vernacular Photography: From the Kaiserreich to the Third Reich', *Central European History* 48/3 (2015), pp. 300–34. On photography in Jewish identity constructions after emigration and the Holocaust, see also Elke-Vera Kotowski, 'Kulturelle Identität und die Metapher von den gepackten Koffern', in *Das Kulturerbe deutschsprachiger Juden. Eine Spurensuche in den Ursprungs-, Transit- und Emigrationsländern*, ed. idem (Berlin/Boston: de Gruyter, 2015), pp. 593–602.
10. The spread of the cheap cameras accelerated in the 1930s with models like the so-called *Agfa Box* produced by Photo-Porst in Nuremberg, initially for 16 Reichsmark in 1931, then in new version for 4 RM in 1932. See Timm Starl, *Knipser. Die Bildgeschichte der privaten Fotografie in Deutschland und Österreich von 1880 bis 1980* (Munich: Koehler & Amelang, 1995), pp. 95–98.
11. Starl, *Knipser*, p. 98
12. David Head, 'Made in Germany', *The Corporate Identity of a Nation* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1992); Umbach, 'Made in Germany', in Hagen Schulze and Etienne Francois, eds, *Deutsche Erinnerungsorte*, 3 vols (Munich: Beck, 2000–1), ii, pp. 405–38.
13. Catherine E. Clark, 'Capturing the Moment, Picturing History: Photographs of the Liberation of Paris', *American Historical Review* 121/3 (2016), pp. 824–60, quote p. 825.
14. Elizabeth Edwards, *The Camera as Historian: Amateur Photographers and Historical Imagination, 1885–1918* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012).
15. Patricia Holland, 'Introduction: History, Memory and the Family Album', in *Family Snaps: The Meanings of Domestic Photography*, ed. idem and Jo Spence (London: Virago, 1991), pp. 1–13.
16. Elizabeth Edwards, ed., *Anthropology and Photography 1860–1920* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992).
17. Starl, *Knipser*; Marita Krauss, 'Kleine Welten: Alltagsfotografie – die Anschaulichkeit einer privaten Praxis', in *Visual History: Ein Studienbuch*, ed. Gerhard Paul (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006), pp. 57–75; Annelie Ramsbrock, Annette Vowinkel, and Malte Zierenberg, eds, *Fotografien im 20. Jahrhundert. Vermittlung und Verbreitung* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2013); Detlef Hoffmann, 'Auch in der Nazizeit war zwölfmal Spargelzeit', *Fotogeschichte* 17/63 (1997), pp. 57–68; and Sandra Starke, 'Fenster und Spiegel. Private Fotografie zwischen Norm und Individualität', *Historische Anthropologie* 19/3 (2011), pp. 447–74. Tina M. Campt, *Listening to Images* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2017) takes a different approach by positing the everyday in opposition to power, and argues that black vernacular photographs are characterised by the "hum of resistance and subversion" of the official, (neo-) colonial gaze.

18. Gil Pasternak and Marta Ziętkiewicz, 'Beyond the Familial Impulse: Domestic Photography and Sociocultural History in Post-Communist Poland, 1989–1996', *Photography and Culture* 10/1 (July 2017), pp. 121–45, argue that the genre of the 'family album' is problematic, in that it focuses on an ideal type associated with a notion of privacy supposedly exclusive to 'democratic societies', and has thus led to a neglect of private photo albums as a sources for the study of lived experience under totalitarian regimes.
19. Elizabeth Harvey and Maiken Umbach, 'Photography and Twentieth-Century German History', *Central European History* 48/3 (2015), pp. 287–99, quote p. 299. This political dimension of private photography is also the theme of the collaborative research project 'Photography as Political Practice under National Socialism', which explores the ubiquitous practice of personal albums making in Germany between 1933 and 1945; see <https://www.nottingham.ac.uk/humanities/departments/history/research/research-projects/current-projects/photography-as-political-practice/photography-as-political-practice-in-national-socialism.aspx> (accessed 19/3/2018).
20. Marion A. Kaplan, *The Making of the Jewish Middle Class: Women, Family, and Identity in Imperial Germany* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991); Paula E. Hyman, *Gender and Assimilation in Modern Jewish History: The Roles and Representations of Women* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1995).
21. Leora Auslander, 'Jewish Taste? Jews and the Aesthetics of Everyday Life in Paris and Berlin, 1933–1942', in *Histories of Leisure*, ed. Rudy Koshar (Oxford: Berg Press, 2002), pp. 299–318.
22. Derek Penslar, 'The German-Jewish Soldier: From Participant to Victim', *German History* 29/3 (2011), pp. 423–44, quote p. 444.
23. 'Familienbuch (genealogy with photographs)', Box #11. Ruth Salzmann Becker papers, Iowa Women's Archive, University of Iowa [hereafter: IWA].
24. Bodo von Drewitz, 'Schießen oder fotografieren? Über fotografierende Soldaten im Ersten Weltkrieg', *Fotogeschichte* 12 (1992), pp. 49–60.
25. Barbara Duden, 'Der Kodak und der Stellungskrieg. Versuch einer Situierung von Weltkriegsfotografien', *Bios: Zeitschrift für Biographieforschung und Oral History* 7/1 (1994), pp. 64–82.
26. Ruth Salzmann Becker, 'Memoir, undated', Box #6. Ruth Salzmann Becker papers, IWA.
27. The modernity of German bourgeois culture in the Wilhelmine period was first firmly established by David Blackbourn and Geoff Eley, *The Peculiarities of German History: Bourgeois Society and Politics in Nineteenth-Century Germany* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University

- Press, 1984). For more detailed case studies, see: Jennifer Jenkins, *Provincial Modernity: Local Culture and Liberal Politics in Fin-de-Siècle Hamburg* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003); Maiken Umbach, *German Cities and Bourgeois Modernism, 1890–1924* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009). On the role of Jews in German bourgeois culture, see Simone Lässig, *Jüdische Wege ins Bürgertum. Kulturelles Kapital und sozialer Aufstieg im 19. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004).
28. Ruth Salzmänn Becker, 'Memoir, undated', Box #6. Ruth Salzmänn Becker papers, IWA.
 29. 'Eulogy for Hugo Salzmänn - 1925', Box #3. Ruth Salzmänn Becker Papers, IWA.
 30. Note Hans's unpublished article, written in 1919, on the subject of freemasonry and the recent war. Hans Salzmänn, 'Writings: Influence of the Free Masons on World War I - 1919', Box #1. Ruth Salzmänn Becker Papers, IWA.
 31. In making sense of the family's politics, it is worth keeping in mind the big-tent character of the Weimar SPD, and the appeal a centrist, Republic-affirming party might hold for the dually professional and marginalised Salzmänn. Hans's membership in the *Reichsbanner Schwarz-Rot-Gold*—a veterans organisation *cum* paramilitary force founded on the defence of parliamentary democracy against attacks from left and right—speaks to the couples' moderate socialism, as well as commitment to the integrity, if not ideals, of the Weimar Republic.
 32. In a fascinating analysis of records created by Nazi auctions of confiscated Jewish property from Berlin, Auslander shows that most Berlin Jews furnished their homes with antique and historicist furniture that demonstrated wealth as well as refined tastes, with one third also owning objects of an emphatically modernist design: a slightly higher proportion than amongst their Christian neighbours. Auslander, 'Jewish Taste', pp. 311–14.
 33. Geoffrey Trease, *The Grand Tour* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991); Andrew Wilton and Ilaria Bignamini, *Grand Tour: The Lure of Italy in the Eighteenth Century*, Tate Gallery exhibition catalogue, 1996.
 34. See, for example, Rebekka Horlacher, *The Educated Subject and the German Concept of Bildung: A Comparative Cultural History* (New York and Oxford: Routledge, 2017); W. H. Bruford, *The German Tradition of Self-Cultivation: Bildung from Humboldt to Thomas Mann* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1975). On Humboldt, see Dietrich Benner, *Wilhelm von Humboldts Bildungstheorie: eine problemgeschichtliche Studie zum Begründungszusammenhang neuzeitlicher Bildungsreform*, revised edn. (Weinheim: Juventa-Verlag, 2003); Franz-Michael Konrad, *Wilhelm von Humboldt* (Bern: UTB, 2010).

35. The Column of Phocas is a free-standing fluted Corinthian column on the Forum, which was dedicated to the memory of the Eastern Roman Emperor Phocas in 608 AD.
36. Goethe's initial reaction, in 1787, to the austere appearance of Paestum was one of revulsion, but this was soon transformed, in part through further studies of Greek culture in Sicily, into admiration. See Nicholas Boyle, 'Goethe in Paestum: A Higher-Critical Look at the *Italienische Reise*', *Oxford German Studies* 20/1 (1991), pp. 18–31.



Jewish Photography and the Pictorial Culture of Nazi Germany

Abstract The consolidation of Nazi control transformed pictorial culture. Official propaganda, print media, advertising, and film prompted shifts in the representation of ‘Germanness’, with profound effects for private photography. At the same time, the regime also created ‘photogenic’ infrastructures that became popular props for family photos, from spectacular sites like the Olympic Stadiums to modern motorways dotted with picnic spots and hostels. Like many other Germans, German Jews responded to these shifts in their photographic practice, not so much by openly rejecting the new conventions, but by drawing on them as new set of resources for performing their belonging to the German nation, and as a means for resisting the prescribed disentanglement of Jewish and German identities.

Keywords National Socialism · Nazi propaganda · Nazi media · German Anti-Semitism · Reform Judaism · Heimat · Fascist aesthetics · *Volksgemeinschaft*

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For those Germans who were neither explicitly excluded from nor actively opposed to the Nazi vision of a ‘people’s community’, the years between the Nazi seizure of power and the outbreak of the Second World War offered plenty of opportunities to enjoy themselves. In part, this was

because relative levels of affluence allowed many to participate in new leisure and lifestyle offerings that had already become popular during the Weimar years—these continuities were first unearthed by historians of everyday life, who studied families and individuals, peer groups, friendship, and neighbourhood networks at the grass roots.¹ But it has also become clear that this was not just a question of everyday life existing alongside the official political life of the Nazi state. Many Germans had reason to believe that their quest for private pleasures and advantages was endorsed and legitimated by the new regime, which promoted individual self-realisation and the pursuit of private satisfaction as a reward for good citizenship, and as a realisation of the utopian promise of National Socialism.² The ambition to enhance both national leisure opportunities and national consumption had been central to Nazi policies.³ But even beyond official programmes, the ability to enjoy oneself in private was integral to the new ideology. Contrary to an older perception of Nazi rule as an Orwellian ‘totalitarian’ regime that crushed all individual expression, new research has suggested that “the dictatorship [...] made private life and private pleasures all the more prized, and that the regime knowingly channelled and manipulated Germans’ aspirations to a ‘normal private life’.”⁴ In a similar vein, Janosch Steuwer recently argued that “many Germans did not see the Nazi regime, with all its demands for a ‘National Socialist way of life’ and the related attempts to influence the private, as a threat. They saw it instead as an opportunity to realise their own notions of their private lives or themselves.”⁵

Imagery was central to transmitting the Nazi vision of an ideal community of racially pure, politically loyal citizens, but also to portraying the regime as an enticing opportunity for individuals to realise personal aspirations and private desires. Paul Betts dubbed the resulting proliferation of images as a “full-blown audio-visual regime [based on] telegenetic media cultures and the more general visualisation of politics.”⁶ Photojournalism offered seemingly authentic glimpses of the world the Nazi regime hoped to create, documented the many spectacles that were staged for public consumption, and mapped imagined ethnic boundaries.⁷ Travel photography promoted the desire to explore Germany’s manifold sights and landscapes, but also foreign tourism.⁸ And advertising, too, flooded the public imagination with images of new lifestyles, hobbies, and consumer objects.⁹

In this context, most Germans continued to enjoy their private lives, sometimes with renewed vigour and sense of purpose. Those who could

afford it also performed these new lifestyles, real and aspirational, for the camera. Doing so did not always involve overt compliance with official ideological parameters, and yet, the private production and circulation of photos were now increasingly suffused with templates, clichés, and tropes that were derived from, or at least echoed, the published pictorial culture of the time. German Jews were not, or at least not always, an exception from this rule—even though their opportunities for private self-realisation became rarer and more precarious up to 1939. Yet deteriorating economic conditions and increasing political and legal strictures did not inevitably lead to a withdrawal from the public performance of private enjoyments. For some, such as the Salzmanns, they triggered something quite different: a defiant celebration of private pleasures for the camera, as well as, in a bid to underscore their membership in a national community that sought to exclude them, a conspicuous alignment with the dominant written and visual cultures they now inhabited.

This is very evident in their photo albums of 1937. Written documents from the same time provide clues to the motivations behind the shift to a more overtly ‘German’ visual paradigm. On 28 March 1937, Ruth Salzmann, aged 15, celebrated her Confirmation, a ritual admitting her to full membership in the Reform Synagogue. In her address to the community, Ruth spoke of how the ceremony had made her realise what it meant “to be a Jew today,” and cited a poem by Egon Hecht, entitled “Jude Sein” [Being a Jew], as well as another by the non-Jewish Richard Dehmel, in which the lines “I and the Future!!!” console her over all sorrows, and transport her across “space and time.”¹⁰ This was followed by a speech from her father Hans, which addressed the problems of Jewish identity under Nazi rule more explicitly. He said:

We have been advised by well-meaning people not to celebrate in these times. But we were of the opposite view: especially in hard times, moments of celebration, moments of contemplation, and moments of relaxation are essential. When might we gather again in such numbers? [...] We remember those who are no longer with us [...] and also send our greetings to the living, across continents and oceans, into all corners of the world, to loving relatives and friends. And thus, my dear Muppchen [this was Hans’s favourite nickname for Ruth], you have two poles between which your life will unfold: between the German Heimat, in whose soil your ancestors have been resting for generations, and for which 12,000 Jews, including many of your ancestors, sacrificed their lives – and foreign lands. Where the

river of life will carry your own ship, on which beach you will step ashore, that I do not know. But one thing I do know: only those will succeed in the struggle for existence, who prove their worth as humans and as Jews. [...] You know that being a Jew is not plain sailing – but it is a duty and an honour, an honour to belong to a community, which has sacrificed more blood than any other for an idea [...] That shall serve us as a symbol: the banner with the yellow sign may slip from the grasp of one, but you young ones shall pick it up and carry it forward.¹¹

The speech is a collage of seemingly conflicting motifs. First, it represents perhaps the first explicit acknowledgement in the Salzmann archive of the fact that their lives as Jews in Germany had become difficult since 1933. It could also be read as a defiant assertion of their Judaism against the increasingly rampant anti-Semitism of the Nazi regime and German society at large. In a paradoxical twist, however, the very arguments marshalled in this quest to resist the logic of anti-Semitism, were often analogous with, and sometimes directly derived from, contemporaneous German nationalist discourse: there is the reference to the German idea of homeland, or *Heimat*, enhanced by a history of blood sacrifice; there is a sprinkling of Social Darwinist ideas of a heroic struggle for existence, in which only the strong succeed; there is the glorification of ‘community’ and its association with a notion of ‘honour’, and, as its symbol, a banner that is passed on from one fighter to the next.

A similar synthesis of Judaism and German nationalism was a topic of intense debate in German-Jewish organisations such as the *Centralverein* at the time. For many German Jews, these two facets of their identities remained mutually constitutive well into the Nazi years; indeed, according to Barkai, the immediate consequence of the Nazi seizure of power was a strengthening of the German nationalist faction within the *Centralverein*, in what he calls a “defiant Germanness [Trutzdeutschtum].”¹² Barkai also points out that this led to a temporary increase in support for more emphatically right-wing Jewish organisations such as the Jewish veterans’ organisation *Reichsbund Jüdischer Frontsoldaten*, who sought ideological alignment with the NSDAP.¹³

The Salzmanns’ records from 1937 suggest that this was not just a tactical move, nor was it one that was confined to a conservative milieu—the Salzmanns were, after all, members of the Social Democratic Party. Living in an environment marked by increasing social and economic restrictions, their photos show a very different affective dynamic: not

only do they not bear witness to any loss of social confidence or a retreat from conspicuous consumption. If anything, they pivoted to a more active use of the kind of aesthetics propagated by the regime as archetypically ‘German’. The holiday album from July 1937 is a case in point. The captions are now rendered in handwriting mimicking a traditional German typeface. The title page gives the dates of the vacation, and featured a single image of an iconic Alpine landscape (Fig. 3.1). The Alps were widely used in Nazi pictorial culture, not least because Hitler himself had chosen to spend much of his time in his Obersalzberg mountain residence.¹⁴ Of course, the Alps had enjoyed popularity as a tourist destination well before 1933. What was remarkable was thus not so much the fact that the Salzmanns chose to position themselves in and with Alpine landscapes in 1937—as indeed they had in 1935 (Fig. 2.1)—but that this landscape now became a kind of frontispiece to an album that, as we shall see, displayed a marked shift away from the fashionable



Fig. 3.1 Alpine landscape, 1937, Iowa Women’s Archive, Iowa City

cosmopolitanism of the earlier albums, towards ‘national’ themes marked by not just one, but a whole host of landscapes, historical settings, as well as personal attire and poses, that were aligned with an ‘earthy’, occasionally even volkish, German aesthetic.

The Salzmanns’ new-found enthusiasm for German *Heimat* settings did not entail a rejection of symbols of modernity; in this, too, they echoed the official pictorial culture of the time. Technology and movement—in particular, the activity of car driving—were celebrated as a way of accessing, enjoying, and making sense of German landscapes and homelands; ‘Hitler’s motorways’ in particular had become a centre-piece of Nazi visual propaganda.¹⁵ Many images in the 1937 Salzmann album feature the new German motorways (Fig. 3.2). With hindsight, it is ironic that the album was made only one year before the decree cancelling all Jewish licenses and forbidding Jews from using automobiles. In 1937, however, the Salzmanns’ proudly photographed themselves



Fig. 3.2 On the road, 1937, Iowa Women’s Archive, Iowa City

and their car on and beside the new motorways, together with close-ups of German forests as well as majestic views into the distance, over rolling hills dotted with sheep. Visually, these photos are virtually indistinguishable from those in countless albums by non-Jewish German families ostentatiously documenting their enjoyment of these new infrastructures and the opportunities for exploration and relaxation they afforded: a typical example is depicted in our Fig. 3.3, from the 1937 album page of a German family on road trip from Bavaria to Berlin, who labelled these pictures with the nickname of their car and the phrase “driving on the roads of the Führer.”¹⁶ Such photos in turn closely mirrored imagery publicised in illustrated magazines of the same period.¹⁷ One particularly interesting Salzmann photo (Fig. 3.2, bottom left) employs the view in the rear mirror to place Ruth’s face symbolically on a meadow located in front of the car; the diagonal line of the car’s roof, viewed from the inside, forms a triangle shape with the slope of the meadow in front, giving the image a playfully dynamic quality.

The caption accompanying these motorway photos—“En route to ...”—focused the viewers attention on the dynamics of movement, and highlighted the significance of the destination of the Salzmanns’ car journey: the cities of Bamberg and Nuremberg. Bamberg’s main tourist attraction was its medieval cathedral, as photographed enthusiastically in several pages of the Salzmanns’ album (Fig. 3.4), which was home to the famous medieval sculpture, the Bamberg Horseman, which Nazi propaganda had extolled as the very pinnacle of German aesthetic achievement. As Ernst Kantorowicz put it in a radio broadcast of 1935, it was “the true national shrine of the Germans”, and depicted a “Germanic-Mediterranean ideal racial type.”¹⁸ The Bamberg Horseman featured regularly in volkish publications of the Nazi era, for example, on the cover of the July 1940 issue of the periodical *Germanien: Monatshefte für Germanenkunde*, and that of the November 1941 issue of *Junges Volk*, a Hitler Youth magazine published by E. Zieschank in Buenos Aires, Argentina. It was also chosen as the title image for a postcard produced to advertise the *Tag der Deutschen Kunst* [The Day of German Art] of 1938 (Fig. 3.5).¹⁹

From Bamberg, the Salzmanns travelled on to Nuremberg, site of the Nazi Party Rally Grounds, whose grandiose architecture, framed by the ideal high pitched roofs of the late medieval city, had recently been memorialised in Riefenstahl’s propaganda film *Triumph of the Will* of 1935, which had quickly become one of UFA’s most popular



Fig. 3.3 German family on 'Roads of the Führer', 1937, Landesarchiv Berlin

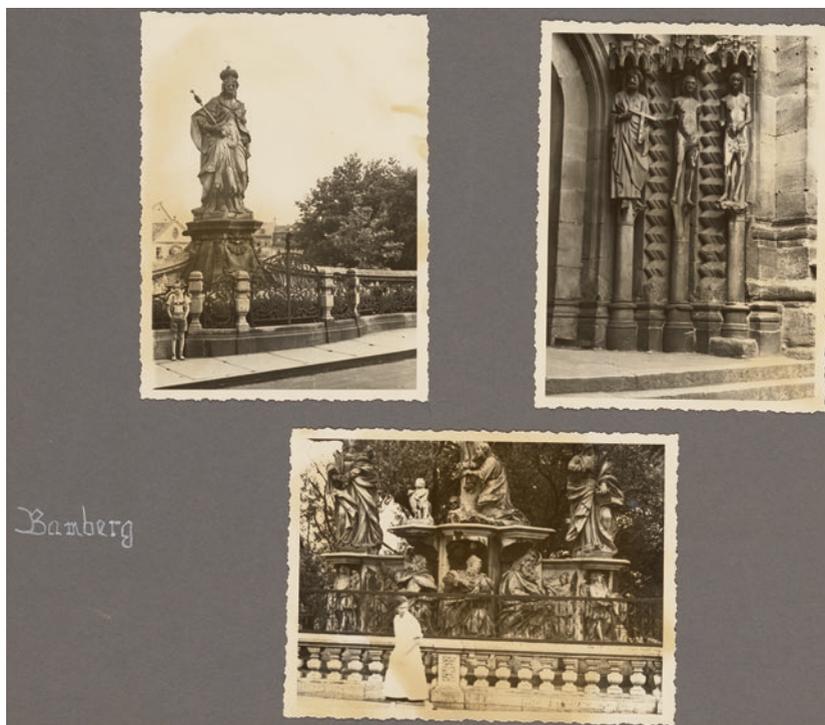


Fig. 3.4 Bamberg, 1937, Iowa Women's Archive, Iowa City

and profitable films.²⁰ *Triumph of the Will* famously opened with aerial view of Nuremberg, as it would have appeared from Hitler's plane circling above it. The Salzmans' album features Nuremberg from similar vantage points (Fig. 3.6), achieved by photographing the city's narrow streets from church spires. And like the film, the sequence of photos then proceeded to show the family in front of picturesque early modern timber-framed houses. The art and architecture of what soon came to be known as the *Dürerzeit*—favoured by the Nazis as a more 'German' period label than the universal term 'Renaissance'—were celebrated as an exemplar of true German culture and spirituality in the 1930s.²¹ Prominent architectural theorists, such as Paul Bonatz, Paul Schmitthenner, and Paul Schultze-Naumburg, elevated Nuremberg's houses to iconic status, contrasting them with the alleged horrors of



Fig. 3.5 Postcard advertisement for the '*Tag der deutschen Kunst*', 1938, public domain



Fig. 3.6 Nuremberg from above, 1937, Iowa Women's Archive, Iowa City

flat-roofed, international Modernism, as exemplified in the famous *Weissenhofsiedlung* of 1927, described as an 'Italian mountain hovel', an 'Arab village', and a 'suburb of Jerusalem'.²² Schultze-Naumburg, whose work was grounded in the conservative wing of the German *Bund Heimatschutz* (Homeland Protection League), modelled his ideas about proper 'German' building on Nuremberg's houses, and prescribed a minimum roof pitch of 35 degrees for the housing colony of *Kochenhof* near Stuttgart, which was completed under the direction of Alfred Rosenberg's *Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur*.²³ Although Schultze-Naumburg was soon to become embroiled in conflict with those among Hitler's artistic advisors such as Albert Speer who favoured a more neoclassical idiom, in 1935, Hitler personally arranged for Schultze-Naumburg to redesign Nuremberg's Opera House.²⁴ It was not, therefore, only the Rally grounds themselves, but also the *Dürerzeit* buildings foregrounded in the Salzmanns' photos that were closely aligned with official discourses on desirable aesthetics.

From Nuremberg, the Salzmanns went on to nearby Ravensburg; what is most striking here is the change in their own appearance: little Eva features in these pictures wearing the traditional Bavarian *Lederhosen* (Fig. 3.7). A few days later, the whole family, now hiking in the Alps, are depicted in emphatically rustic German attire; 16 album pages, out of a total of 42, are devoted to Alpine scenes (Fig. 3.8).

The album ends with the return journey through Germany and back to Berlin, with stopovers at major gothic cathedrals along the way. The penchant for gothic cathedrals was a *leitmotif* we already encountered in the First World War images. It is striking that the emphatically Christian iconography of these monuments did not in any way dampen the Jewish family's enthusiasm for visiting, and posing in front of, medieval cathedrals; German synagogues, by contrast, never feature in these albums.



Fig. 3.7 Ravensburg, 1937, Iowa Women's Archive, Iowa City



Fig. 3.8 Alpine views, 1937, Iowa Women's Archive, Iowa City

As Auslander notes, the same tendency could be observed in the domestic tastes of the German-Jewish bourgeoisie. Analysing inventories of Jewish property confiscated by the Nazi regime in Berlin, she finds that “a surprisingly large number” of Jews inhabited “homes decorated with Christian religious icons.”²⁵ Such items, it seems, were not seen as conflicting with the Jewish faith. Instead, they underscored one’s belonging to the nation, its collective heritage and imagined cultural identity. Thus, the Salzmanns’ enthusiasm for Christian medieval architecture fits into a wider pattern. And yet, it is also worth bearing in mind that Germany’s gothic cathedrals played a particular role in both academic and popular discourses about the origins of a ‘properly German art’ in this period, which carried ideological connotations that were at least partially shaped by the regime’s official view on what it meant to be German. One of the most significant academic chairs of art history at the

time, in Munich, was held by two historians of the gothic: until 1935, by Wilhelm Pinder, author of numerous books on gothic ecclesiastical architecture, including popular studies on the cathedrals of Naumburg, Bamberg, and Cologne. Pinder has been described as “Germany’s most publicly visible art historians” of the Nazi years.²⁶ The chair was then taken over by Hans Jantzen, who, from 1927, published several influential studies about sacred spatiality in gothic architecture. Similarly, in Vienna, Hans Sedlmayr, who had joined the NSDAP as early as 1930, published influential works on the *baldachin*, a ceremonial canopy of stone, as the basic building unit of gothic cathedrals. The obsession with the gothic, however, spread well beyond academic circles, into popular film and print media of the 1930s. This was not so much an instance of simple ‘Nazi propaganda’, but rather, a complex negotiation of an influential aesthetic and spiritual tradition that had emerged in early twentieth-century Germany, and inspired modernist Expressionist artists as well as their ideological adversaries of the *volkish* Right.²⁷

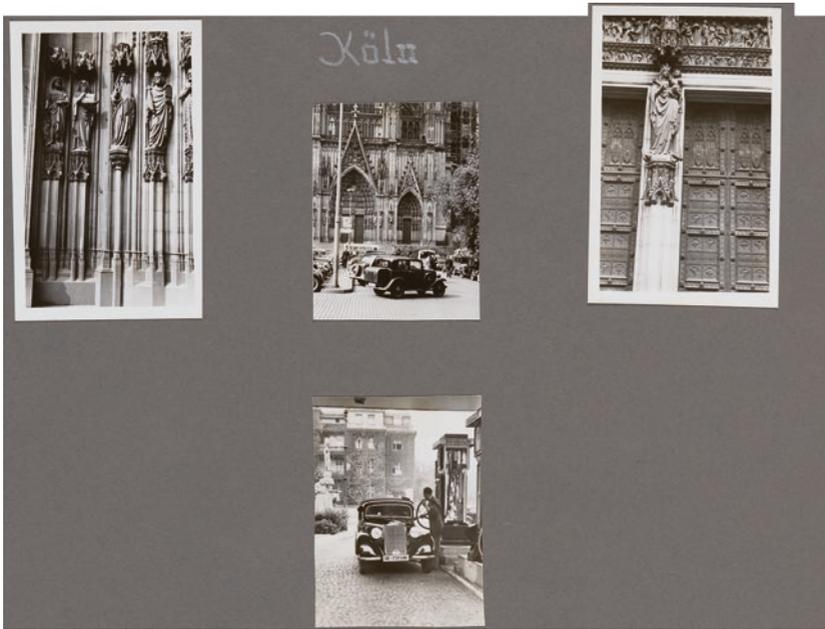


Fig. 3.9 Cologne, 1937, Iowa Women’s Archive, Iowa City

Cologne Cathedral, which featured more prominently in Salzmanns' album than any other (Fig. 3.9, and on several other album pages), was of course not *only* a part of Germany's gothic heritage, although, owing not least to its size (it was the second highest Cathedral in Europe), it was particularly famous. Cologne Cathedral had also assumed a pivotal role in the history of modern German nationalism. In 1842, the 'Kölner Zentraldombauverein' was founded as a voluntary association to promote and finance the completion of the Cathedral through popular subscriptions. In this campaign, the Cathedral of Cologne was cast as a monument to the enduring spiritual strength of German culture, strategically position near the French border on the Rhine.²⁸ Simultaneously, it became an eminently 'Prussian' cathedral: the Prussian state contributed significant funds towards its modern completion, and in 1842, the Protestant Prussian king Friedrich Wilhelm IV laid the foundation stone for this building phase. In 1880, his successor Wilhelm I, now Emperor of Germany, attended the grand ceremony celebrating its completion.

Initiatives such as this symbolically drew upon the prominence of Gothic cathedrals, real and imaginary, in nineteenth-century German patriotic painting, for example, in works of Romantic painter Caspar David Friedrich, who portrayed cathedrals as visionary embodiments of authentic German identity, in juxtaposition to the universal 'classicism' of Greek and Roman architecture and their appropriation by French, neoclassical architects.²⁹ Cologne Cathedral, however, was not just an embodiment of this supposedly German spiritual longing for nationhood and salvation. Because its modern completion was funded by what was, in a sense, a nineteenth-century version of 'crowd-funding', it was also a monument to the co-creation of German national culture by patriotic, middle-class citizens—a feature that, in turn, motivated the Prussian monarchy to put themselves at the spearhead of this initiative, in a bid to enhance their own 'German' credentials. The same participatory spirit was evident in the Salzmanns' photos, frequently featuring the family, and, importantly, the family's car, in front of and next to the Cathedral's entrance portals, *baldachins* and flanking facades (Fig. 3.9), all of which had been built in the nineteenth century, albeit in keeping with surviving medieval plans. At the same time, Cologne's standing as Germany's preeminent 'Prussian' cathedral chimed with the Salzmanns' own narrative about the family's Prussian origins on the Amber Coast.

It is perhaps telling for a Jewish photo album that chronicled the family's participation in a consumption of cultural objects and sites identified



Fig. 3.10 Berlin, Olympic infrastructure, 1937, Iowa Women's Archive, Iowa City

in contemporary propaganda as archetypically 'German' that it should finish with a page depicting the return to the Salzmans' home in the capital city, featuring their much celebrated car first on the motorway (Fig. 3.10, top left), then parked in their own street (Fig. 3.10, bottom right), framed by photos depicting the family posing in front of the Olympic Stadium (bottom left) and its swimming complex (top right). The Stadium had been completed under the direction of Werner March only a year earlier, and was designed according to the personal orders of Adolf Hitler, to host one of the grandest propagandistic spectacles of the Nazi regime—and one which was, once again, memorialised in films by Leni Riefenstahl.³⁰ Visiting it rounded off a pictorial exploration of German heritage and contemporary culture in an album that was, even

when seen through Jewish eyes, replete with ideological resonances of the regime's appropriations of these themes.

Together, the Salzmanns' albums from the interwar period thus paint a paradoxical picture. Much attention was devoted to landscapes and heritage sites, as well as the personal pleasure and poses when consuming both, which closely mirrored the ways in which those Germans included in the Nazi *Volksgemeinschaft* sought to align themselves with the new *zeitgeist*. Jewish religion was not absent, but played a secondary role. Indeed, even when speaking in the synagogue, Hans defined Judaism as an 'idea' rather than a faith—a move not untypical among progressive Jewish intellectuals at the time, who insisted that the specifically Jewish contribution to German culture was located in the realm of philosophy, rather than simply a matter of religiosity.³¹ Of course, in creating a visual culture designed to counter their exclusion from the national culture to which they felt so deeply attached, the Salzmanns had, in a sense, little choice but to take up and reappropriate the very symbols of that culture as it surrounded them—small wonder then, that their repertoire comprised not just German lifestyles and motifs from the pre-Nazi years, but evolved *in tandem* with the pictorial culture that emerged after 1933. We might see this move as little more than political opportunism, or what Lize Kriel, in a different context, has dubbed, less pejoratively, 'occasionalism'. Viewed through this lens, the Salzmanns' deployment of 'Germanness' would represent an example of the circumstantial emphasis of certain traits and identities over others, and their engagement with the aesthetic, literary, and photographic trappings of both 'Germanness' and Nazism an instrument by which the family could define the increasingly tumultuous contours of their identity.³² And yet, the Salzmann archives contain plenty of documents that suggest a genuine and ardently felt attachment to a notion of Germanness—moreover one which, as we shall see in the next chapter, did not come to an end with the actual act of physical emigration.

NOTES

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2. See Andrew Stuart Bergerson, *Ordinary Germans in Extraordinary Times: The Nazi Revolution in Hildesheim* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004); Peter Fritzsche, *Life and Death in the Third Reich* (Cambridge: Belknap Press at Harvard University Press, 2008); and Moritz Föllmer, *Individuality and Modernity in Berlin: Self and Society from Weimar to the Wall* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).
 3. Pamela Swett, Corey Ross, and Fabrice d'Almeida, eds, *Pleasure and Power in Nazi Germany* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2011); Shelley Baranowski, *Strength Through Joy: Consumerism and Mass Tourism in the Third Reich* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Jennifer Jenkins, 'Introduction: Domesticity, Design and the Shaping of the Social', special issue of *German History* 25/4 (2007), pp. 465–89; and Maiken Umbach, 'Made in Germany', in *Deutsche Erinnerungsorte*, 2nd vol., eds Hagen Schulze and Etienne Francois (Munich: Beck, 2003), pp. 405–38.
 4. Elizabeth Harvey, Johannes Hürter, Maiken Umbach, and Andreas Wirsching, 'Introduction: Reconsidering Private Life under the Nazi Dictatorship', in *The Private in Nazi Germany: Concepts and Experiences of Privacy and the Private Sphere*, ed. idem (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming 2019).
 5. Janosch Steuer, 'A Particular Kind of Privacy: Accessing "the Private" in National Socialism', in *The Private in Nazi Germany*. Aspects of this argument are further developed in Janosch Steuer, *"Ein Drittes Reich, wie ich es auffasse": Politik, Gesellschaft und privates Leben in Tagebüchern 1933–1939* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2017); Moritz Föllmer, *Individuality and Modernity*, especially pp. 101–31.
 6. Paul Betts, 'The New Fascination with Fascism: The Case of Nazi Modernism', *Journal of Contemporary History* 37/4 (2002), pp. 541–58, quote p. 542.
 7. Elizabeth Harvey, 'Seeing the World: Photography, Photojournalism and Visual Pleasure in the Third Reich', in *Pleasure and Power*, pp. 177–204.
 8. Kristen Semmens, *Seeing Hitler's Germany: Tourism in the Third Reich* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2005).
 9. Pamela Swett, *Selling under the Swastika: Advertising and Commercial Culture in Nazi Germany* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2013); Jonathan S. Wiesen, *Creating the Nazi Marketplace: Commerce and Consumption in the Third Reich* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

10. Ruth Salzmänn, 'Confirmation - 1937', Box #2. Ruth Salzmänn Becker Papers, Iowa Women's Archive, University of Iowa [hereafter: IWA].
11. Hans Salzmänn, 'Confirmation - 1937', Box #2. Ruth Salzmänn Becker Papers, IWA.
12. On the increasingly heated debate about the role of 'German' (or, in the language of their critics, 'deutschtümlerisch') identity in the *Centralverein deutscher Staatsbürger jüdischen Glaubens*, Germany's largest Jewish voluntary association, see Avraham Barkai, *Hoffnung und Untergang: Studien zur deutsch-jüdischen Geschichte des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts* (Hamburg: Christians, 1998), pp. 120–35, quote p. 128. Three *longue-durée* case studies of the interactions of Jewish and national identities in Europe are explored in Peter Haber, Erik Petry, and Daniel Wildmann, *Jüdische Identität und Nation: Fallbeispiele aus Mitteleuropa* (Vienna, Cologne, Weimar: Böhlau, 2006). For a more concentrated look at the conundrum of specifically German-Jewish identity, see Paul Mendes-Flohr, *German Jews: A Dual Identity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999).
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14. On Hitler's relationship with the Alps, and his life at his Alpine retreat at the Obersalzberg, see Despina Stratigakos, *Hitler at Home* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015). On the role of photography in establishing Hitler's image in relation to landscapes and other iconic settings, see Rudolf Herz, *Hoffmann und Hitler: Fotografie als Medium des Führer-Mythos* (Munich: Fotomuseum im Münchner Stadtmuseum, 1994), esp. pp. 194, 243.
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17. *Ibid.*
18. Ernst Kantorowicz, 'Deutsches Papsttum', first published in *Tumult. Schriften zur Verkehrswissenschaft*, 1935, quoted from Ulrich Raulff, 'Ernst Kantorowicz – Die zwei Werke des Historikers', in *Nationalsozialismus in den Kulturwissenschaften. Leitbegriffe – Deutungsmuster – Paradigmenkämpfe. Erfahrungen und Transformationen im Exil*, eds Hartmut Lehmann and Otto G. Oexle (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004), pp. 451–70, quote p. 467.

19. Hermann Göring had a copy of the Bamberg Horseman installed on the facade of his country residence Carinhall, which was constructed from 1933. See Volker Knopf and Stefan Martens, *Görings Reich: Selbstinszenierungen in Carinhall* (Berlin: Ch. Links Verlag, 1999).
20. On Riefenstahl's film, see Ken Kelman, 'Propaganda as Vision: Triumph of the Will', *Logos: A Journal of Modern Society and Culture* 2/4 (Fall, 2003), pp. 58–64; Linda Deutschmann, *Triumph of the Will: The Image of the Third Reich* (Wakefield: Longwood Academic Press, 1991). On Nuremberg, see Neil Gregor, *Haunted City: Nuremberg and the Nazi Past* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007).
21. Dürer and his influence on the evolution of German art were the theme of a cycle of major museum exhibitions that began in Berlin in 1934. See Timo Saalman, *Kunstpolitik der Berliner Museen 1919–1959* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2014), Sect. 3.4.1.
22. Quoted from Karin Kirsch, 'Die Weissenhofsiedlung: Traditionalismus contra Moderne in Stuttgart', in *Architektur Forum*, special issue 'Von der Moderne zur europäischen Stadt' (2002), pp. 2–8, quote p. 2.
23. On Rosenberg, see: Robert Cecil, *The Myth of the Master Race: Alfred Rosenberg and Nazi Ideology* (London: Batsford, 1972); Reinhard Bollmus, *Das Amt Rosenberg und seine Gegner: Studien zum Machtkampf im NS Herrschaftssystem* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlagsanst, 1970); Frank-Lothar Kroll, 'Alfred Rosenberg. Der Ideologe als Politiker', in *Deutschbalten, Weimarer Republik und Drittes Reich*, ed. Michael Garleff (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 2001), pp. 147–66. On architectural policy under the Nazis, see Dieter Münk, *Die Organisation des Raumes im Nationalsozialismus: Eine soziologische Untersuchung ideologisch fundierter Leitbilder in Architektur, Städtebau und Raumplanung des Dritten Reiches* (Bonn: Pahl-Rugenstein, 1993).
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25. Leora Auslander, 'Jewish Taste? Jews and the Aesthetics of Everyday Life in Paris and Berlin, 1933–1942', in *Histories of Leisure*, ed. Rudy Koshar (Oxford: Berg Press, 2002), pp. 299–318, quote p. 314.
26. Bruno Reudenbach, 'Wilhelm Pinder über Deutsche Dome', in *Mittelalterbilder im Nationalsozialismus*, eds idem and Maïke Steinkamp (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2013), pp. 1–11.
27. Steinkamp and Reudenbach, *Mittelalterbilder*, offer a comprehensive intellectual and cultural history of the reception of medieval culture in the Nazi regime, including its popularisation through film, print media, and contemporary art.

28. Kathrin Pilger, *Der Kölner Zentral-Dombauverein im 19. Jahrhundert. Zur Konstituierung des Bürgertums durch formale Organisation* (Cologne: S.H. Verlag, 2004).
29. Werner Busch, *Caspar David Friedrich. Ästhetik und Religion* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2003); Keith Hartley et al., eds, *The Romantic Spirit in German Art, 1790–1990* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1994); and Cordula Grewe, *Painting the Sacred in the Age of Romanticism* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009).
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31. For a commentary on the marginalisation of Jewish Philosophy from ‘German thought’, see Nils Roemer, ‘New Perspectives on German Jewish Intellectual History’, *German History* 28/2 (June 2010), pp. 219–27. On the commingling of Jewish and German identity discourses, see David Myers, *Resisting History: Historicism and Its Discontents in German-Jewish Thought* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), esp. pp. 160–68.
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Picturing Emigration

Abstract Emigration has been read as a definitive break for German Jews, a point at which the ‘Germanness’ denied them gave way to diasporic or religious identities, or those most easily melded into that of the receiving country. Our sources reveal a different story. In ‘inscribing’ the story of their own exile into a longer history of migration, the Salzmanns used words and photographs to frame their experiences as part of an established trajectory of trans-Atlantic mobility. The family’s emigration photography therefore appears less an anomaly—in which optimism simply ‘masked’ an underlying trauma—than a continuation of earlier practices. In this light, the creation of a personal archive, like the images housed within, served to perform and defend the family’s multiple and hybrid identities.

Keywords Jewish exile · German-Jewish emigration · Refugees · Trans-Atlantic migration · *Kindertransport* · Cuba

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During the pre-war years of the Nazi regime, the process of excluding German Jews from the ‘Volksgemeinschaft’, the Aryan people’s community, proceeded at an uneven pace. Jews living in different locations, working in different professions, and commanding different economic and cultural resources not only interpreted the nature of the threat

they faced differently: their daily lives also took radically different turns. The full, ultimately universal, and inescapable extent of their exclusion, which was to culminate in extermination, did not become clear to many German Jews until the very end of the 1930s.¹ The Salzmans, who lived relatively comfortable lives, and who, as medical professionals, were still able to make a living in Berlin in the mid-1930s, in spite of the loss of many of their civil rights, did not abandon the idea of living in their German homeland until 1938. Up to this point, in the face of five years of invasive strictures that inflicted an escalating series of social, political, and professional indignities upon Jewish families, Hans's medical practice continued to function; and, contrary to the official ban, the Salzmans also intermittently employed, and even depicted in their photographs, non-Jewish German maids and nannies.² Nor did their patients abandon them. As Hans relates in a recollection from the early 1940s, a member of Hitler's 'Leibstandarte' [personal bodyguard] continued visiting Hans's practice—"even in his black uniform"—to treat his tuberculosis, until explicitly forbidden to do so by the party.³ This peculiar situation was not unique. According to Michael Kater's work on physicians in National Socialism, "half-measures" in the early 1930s "still made it possible for too many 'Aryan' patients to go on seeing their trusted Jewish doctors." Quite often, the Jewish doctors treating these patients were still "reimbursed by [government] funds."⁴ The Salzmans' situation was not, therefore, uncommon, at least until the October 1936 law more explicitly forbidding state officials from visiting Jewish doctors.

Almost up to the point of actual emigration in 1939, the Salzmans considered their complete exclusion from the national community simply unimaginable. In Ruth's words, the matter seemed simple: Hans "was a German and he had flawless credentials."⁵ These credentials were showcased in all the family's photo albums—and they were also underscored by frequent references to Hans's and his older brother's military service in the First World War. As Tim Grady has demonstrated, the Salzmans' attitude here resembled that of a great many German-Jewish veterans, who were convinced that this sacrifice for the nation would shield them from mistreatment by the Nazi regime.⁶ Almost from the moment of the Nazi seizure of power, Hans had entered into a sustained, and often frustrated, correspondence with various official bodies to have his war-time service confirmed, registered, and documented.⁷

Nonetheless, the cumulative momentum of anti-Semitic legislation, such as the escalating decrees against Jewish doctors, culminating

in the September 1938 delicensure of all Jewish physicians, may have finally convinced them to make preparations to leave Germany.⁸ The Salzmanns' intentions were nonetheless clear by the middle of that year, as they had declared their desire to emigrate at the American Consulate in mid-August.⁹ The family had therefore been determined to emigrate prior to *Kristallnacht*, a decisively violent turn in the state's oppression of Jews, lending additional credence to the professional explanation for their departure.¹⁰ Although told during the August Consulate visit that their "papers" would not be considered until March of 1939, the family eventually received quota numbers in December of 1938.¹¹ They did not wait for these to be called, however; they had already set in motion contingency plans by the beginning of 1939.¹² Clearing out their Blücherstrasse apartment at the end of March, the Salzmanns decamped for Hamburg to wait out their separate emigrations. On April 18, 1939, Ruth left Germany on board a *Kindertransport* ship, bound for her placement with a young family in Oxford, England; Hans, Käthe, and Eva left Germany for Cuba aboard the SS *Iberia* nine days later.¹³ Although they had always intended to wait out their numbers from Cuba, problems arose even before reaching the island. While still at sea, the Cuban government amended its immigration policies, newly restricting the entrance of non-American foreigners into the country. The Salzmanns, as well as other refugees aboard the ship, were therefore barred from entering the country upon their arrival on May 15. In Eva's memory, it was only after her father and others bribed officials that they could even disembark.¹⁴ What ultimately saved them, however, was timing. Having set sail before the government's May 5 decree, the *Iberia*'s passengers were eventually granted entry. They were, nonetheless, quickly shunted into a nearby immigration camp, interned for several months, and kept waiting for news of further passage to America, with the threat of repatriation hanging over their heads.¹⁵ After more than three months, the Salzmanns were given permission to board with relatives in Havana, where they spent the remainder of their time in Cuba until their departure in early Fall.

While the earlier photo albums documented a degree of alignment with Nazi-propagated notions of German identity, the Salzmanns' photographic record did not cease with their decision to emigrate. The pictorial documentation of this process begins in early 1938, continues with Ruth's departure for Oxford in April of 1939, and ends with the remaining three family members' arrival in Cuba later that year. Gone are the

confident assertions of both cultural and national belonging on display in their previous albums. In alternately candid and composed images, the photographs depict the steps necessary for the family's departure from Germany, including the clandestine trip to Holland to safeguard valuables the family might access once outside Germany (Fig. 4.1). Again, however, the Salzmanns did not just take photographs, but assembled them into an album, too. The English captions suggest that these photos were not initially assembled as an album, as those of 1936 and 1937 had been, but only arranged in this way after the family's arrival in the United States. Nevertheless, the desire to document coherent narratives through album making persisted even through these most tumultuous of months.

Several of these images are harrowing: friends helping smuggle valuables out of the country; Eva sitting alone in a sun-drenched room while an official speaks to her; and Hans, perched on the back of a moving truck (Fig. 4.2) arranging the family's possessions in a large shipping crate, while "customs officers" inspect the scene.¹⁶ Like many Jewish refugees from Nazi Germany, the Salzmanns worried—rightly—about the possible loss of their possessions: modern historians have revealed quite how much of this property was confiscated by the Nazi authorities before it could leave the country.¹⁷ The photos of emigration speak

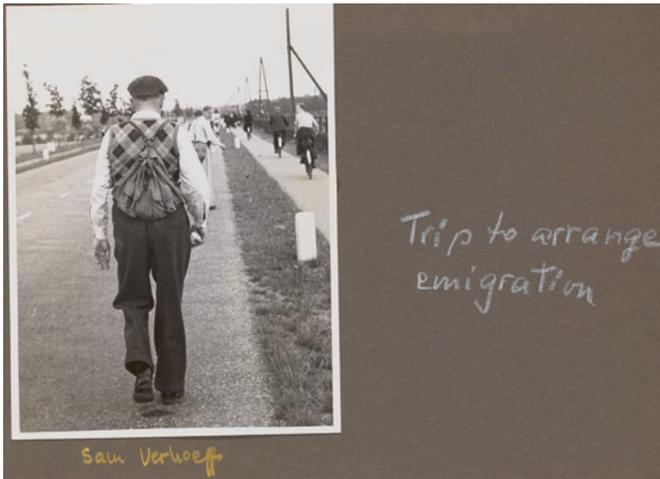


Fig. 4.1 'Trip to Arrange Emigration', 1938, Iowa Women's Archive, Iowa City



Fig. 4.2 Hans Packing Crate, Berlin, 1939, Iowa Women's Archive, Iowa City

to the anxiety imbuing all aspects of daily life for German Jews in Nazi Germany. At the same time, in their artful framing and reflective moods, the Salzmans' photos capture as much anticipation as consternation at the family's impending move. Likewise, this album as well as the first post-emigration album, with their often lighthearted captions,¹⁸ also reinforce a sense of purpose and optimism that is also on display in the photos themselves, speaking to the synthetic interplay between identities occurring at the time of its construction.

One image (Fig. 4.3) shows us a girl sitting on a bed next to a half-packed suitcase. Her head tilts to the right, the start of a sly grin seeming to form. The back of the photo tells us this is Ruth, and that the picture was taken "just before leaving Berlin." In another series, she stands next to her family in their apartment, joined by the family's maid (Fig. 4.4). Only Eva, the youngest, looks unhappy—the fitful defiance of a seven-year-old at picture time. The photo appears to commemorate both the eve of their departure as well as the messy state of the apartment after



Fig. 4.3 Ruth Packing before *Kindertransport*, Berlin, 1939, Iowa Women's Archive, Iowa City

nearly all the family's furniture has been loaded into crates for shipping to New York.

The images from on board the ship carrying Hans, Käthe, and Eva to Cuba convey similarly ambiguous messages. One humorous image features Eva in mid-shriek, having just been kicked off a rocking horse by a boy several years older than her, the whole tableau framed by a chain-link fence, imprinting a uniform pattern on the background (Fig. 4.5). A final photo shows Hans, sporting dark trunks and wet hair, floating on his back in an on-board pool, a serene look on his face (Fig. 4.6).

Flight had clearly not dimmed the Salzmans' passion for documenting their experiences in photos that were aesthetically ambitious, experimental, and at times playful. That is not to say that the Salzmans did not experience genuine hardship and anxiety. Their emigration was anything but serene, as we have seen. Moreover, the *Iberia* arrived in Cuba only days ahead of the more-famous M.S. *St. Louis*, a steamer carrying more than 900 mostly Central-European refugees. Denied entry to Cuba, as well as at ports of call throughout the Americas, the *St. Louis* was ultimately forced to return to Europe. All the same, Eva noted



Fig. 4.4 Departure Preparation, Berlin, 1939, Iowa Women's Archive, Iowa City



Fig. 4.5 Eva at Play on Board the *Iberia*, 1939, Iowa Women's Archive, Iowa City



Fig. 4.6 Hans on Board the *Iberia*, 1939, Iowa Women's Archive, Iowa City

that “throughout the actual move I can never recall being frightened,” whether at sea, which was “lots of fun”—as “we travelled first class and I had a great time at all the children’s’ activities and parties”—or in the camp itself. Eva nonetheless conceded that “this was a horrible experience for the adults, but I loved it!”: a testament to the balancing act of anxiety and levity displayed by the older Salzmanns in their photography.¹⁹

Current perceptions of Jewish refugees, filtered through a twinned recognition of the persecution they experienced and the slaughter they escaped, too often disregards that levity in favour of the anxiety. As such, the Salzmanns’ emigration photos clash with our imagination of the Nazi-era refugee. In a related study, Leo Spitzer grappled with similar ambiguities, namely the “puzzling omissions and curious incongruities” evidenced in the photographic record of his own family’s flight to South America from post-*Anschluss* Austria. In surveying photographs documenting his family’s passage to and initial years in Bolivia, Spitzer wonders at their “smiles, their seemingly relaxed attitude and bearing”, and partially explains them by examining the purpose of photography and album-making.²⁰ For him, these visual documents are themselves a product of the function of refugee memory formation. Refugee photography, in this respect, is necessarily nostalgic, allowing the aggrieved to simultaneously salvage and recreate what they can of lost lives, even

in novel settings.²¹ At the same time, Spitzer locates that “lamentation” outside of the images themselves. In contemporary texts and accompanying inscriptions—detailing grief at the death of loved ones and the loss of homelands—Spitzer finds evidence of the “obverse, hidden, side of the smiling faces.”²² In this conception, image and text assume opposing roles in the exile’s narrative, one calling forth the brave face of migration and the other expressing the deeper strains of dislocation.²³ If Spitzer’s sources reveal discrete sides of a single story, the Salzmanns’ records tell that story rather differently, across both visual and textual media, as seen in their own captions as well as in the lyrical and reflective pieces written even during the war years. In that, they resemble the photos of other urban, bourgeois Jews who migrated to different parts of the globe, such as Atina Grossmann’s parents, whose photos of their exile in Tehran show them and their friends posing by the roadside next to a motorbike with a side-car, performing open-air calisthenics, hiking in the mountains, taking skiing holidays, and shopping.²⁴

The sense of paradox when viewing such images arises in part from the particular migratory categories into which scholars have placed exiles from National Socialism. Smiles on refugee faces are indeed incongruous with the ordeals they have endured, if theirs are only ever imagined as ‘refugee’ faces. By re-framing them as migrants who deployed significant cultural, financial and intellectual resources to make sense of their experience, the Salzmanns offer us a different lens through which to interpret the ambiguity at play in Nazi-era emigration photography. Like other scholars, Spitzer comes close to depicting a near complete chasm, brought upon by the traumas of flight, between life before, and life after emigration. As he argues, refugees mourned their “forced separation from [the] people and places” to which they felt a connection. And this sense of loss did not simply relate to the tangible. For Spitzer, these feelings were “deeply embedded within the refugee identity in general ... affect[ing] *all* refugees personally and profoundly for years to come.”²⁵ He cites the work of Leon and Rebecca Grinberg, psychoanalysts who, in their studies on the effects of migration and exile, concluded that migration, having caused “drastic change”, can “pose threats to the sense of [one’s] identity”. More metaphorically, the Grinbergs compared the immigrant to a child who, separated from the familiar, lacks a “mother’ to allay his anxieties”. In large part, these anxieties arise out of a sense that the “new country is unknown and cannot always offer the containment and support he had hoped for.”²⁶

The Salzmans' records, however, often betray just the opposite. Expectations of American life, as well as the support they could hope to receive as refugees after arriving, were informed long prior to their departure by established familial and diasporic networks. These same lines of communication allowed the family to maintain interest in and knowledge of German affairs, as well as of the lives of German family and friends, well after emigration. The Salzmans appeared neither the archetypal refugee, with the presumed severance between pre- and post-emigration strands of their lives, nor the model migrant evenly straddling homes both old and new.

Yet understanding the coexistence of the promise and peril on display in the Salzmans' photography requires understanding how the family conceived of their own migration. As such, it compels us to consider those points at which refugee and migratory histories converge. As Spitzer concedes, German-speaking Jewish exiles were often loathe to think of themselves as anything but 'emigrants' at the time. According to Spitzer, the development of a refugee consciousness and identity were gradual processes, in part set in motion by the act of migration itself. In this way, Spitzer connects the journey itself, the "collective experience of a passage in-between", to budding feelings among the dispossessed that the "complex constellation of emotions and responses" on display in emigration photography was "what it feels like to be a refugee."²⁷ Such a conception overlooks, however, the salience of these families' contemporary identification with the term 'emigrant'; their association was not simply mis-characterisation, but instead a confident, and deep-seated recognition of the much longer migratory trends into which their lives had now been slotted. National Socialism, without a doubt, changed German-Jewish migratory history; and yet, this harried exodus took place against the backdrop of a century of German, and German-Jewish, transatlantic movement. In capturing the mixture of relief and loss, of elation and unease, undergirding these experiences, their emigration photos speak to the Salzmans' dual position as not only refugees, but also German migrants. There is no agreed-upon point at which marginalisation becomes persecution, no point at which deliberate migration shifts decisively into flight. Such a dichotomy neglects the degree to which refugees such as the Salzmans navigated well-worn pathways and entered established migratory environments upon arrival in the United States. If it is true that the escape of Germany's Jewish population was "never emigration, only ever flight,"²⁸ it is likewise true that the

Salzmans drew upon transnational migratory networks and imaginaries that had been built up decades before the National Socialist assumption of power. And as Ruth wrote in English beside the image of a Dutch friend helping stash their belongings, this was indeed a “trip to arrange emigration.” The flight of the Salzmans, therefore, was a simultaneously singular and contingent experience embedded within a broader history of mobility. Rather than normalising the process of emigration from Nazi Germany, this book recognizes the new uses to which families like the Salzmans put old networks, situating exiles’ flight from the Reich in a broader trajectory of German and German-Jewish transatlantic migration.

Such corollaries are evident in most stages of the family’s migration. While still in Germany, the family needed to secure contacts in the United States to vouch for their professional and financial viability. Ruth was tasked with travelling to Holland, under the guise of a “vacation,” to deposit money with acquaintances in Texas and obtain an affidavit from friends in New York to sponsor their application, thereby assuming responsibility for the family should they become materially dependent.²⁹ Like many German families, the Salzmans had the proverbial “uncle in America” (and several in Havana to match). Upon arrival first in Cuba, then in New York, the family lived with relatives for a few months.³⁰ Their early efforts to re-establish professional lives in New York were buoyed by letters of reference. For example, only a month after their arrival in the city, Dr. Martin Klein wrote that he had “known Mrs. Kate Salzmann of Berlin, Germany ... for the last ten years.” Attesting to both her “good moral character” and “great skill and good experience” as a masseuse, Klein enthusiastically recommended her for any available work.³¹ Numerous clubs and associations—many with strong ‘German’ community connections, such as the New World Club and *Aufbau*, a German-language periodical to which Hans periodically contributed—also eased the Salzmans’ transition into American society. As an extant node on a larger diasporic map for Germany’s Jewish community, New York was an attractive destination for the Salzmans. These connections motivated the sense of hope in the family’s image of that shipping crate stacked upon the truck parked in front of their apartment, “BERLIN - NEW YORK” emblazoned in block letters across its side (Fig. 4.7).

These older migratory networks, primed by decades of use, could be activated under conditions of Anti-Semitic persecution, facilitating escape for those groups privy to the reservoirs of generational knowledge.



Fig. 4.7 Salzmann Shipping Container, Berlin, 1939, Iowa Women's Archive, Iowa City

Ruth's "mission" to Nijmegen serves as a case in point. The need to smuggle money out of Germany prior to emigration arose specifically out of the Nazi seizure of immigrant assets, as well as legislation limiting the transfer of funds abroad from German banks. The Reich Flight Tax (*Reichsfluchtsteuer*) constituted the legal framework for this expropriation. This measure required potential émigrés to pay a property tax before their emigration requests could be processed. By the end of the war, the German government may have added upwards of 900 million marks to their treasury from the proceeds of this tax.³² Like Ruth, Käthe undertook nerve-wracking trips to bypass these obstacles, meeting the same Dutch friends in German border towns and passing over valuables to be stored in Holland and transferred to America following their arrival. These measures, as well as the Salzmanns' improvisatory response to them, demonstrate the novelty of the Nazi threat. At the same time, the need to demonstrate financial independence was

a common occurrence for many potential immigrants to the United States, especially following President Herbert Hoover's strict "interpretation of the clause in immigration law prohibiting admission of those likely to become a public charge."³³ The "law" referenced here is the United States' 1924 Immigration Act, which imposed quotas on sending nations corresponding to decades-old population totals in the United States. Especially onerous for German Jews seeking to flee was the Act's lack of differentiation between those Germans included within and those actively excluded from the legal bounds of the German state.³⁴ Nonetheless, and as Richard Breitman and Allan J. Lichtman have noted, it was largely this clause to the 1924 law that accounted for America's inability to fill even the German quota until the final years of the 1930s.³⁵

'Migration'—as both movement and legal category—thus holds value as a long-term category of analysis through which we might recast the meaning of exile for families such as the Salzmans. The experience of the Salzmans points towards a more holistic vision of group mobility, one in which refugees are defined by continuity as much as dispossession. They drew upon familial resources during their emigration, whether to direct their movements, act as bureaucratic brokers, or ease their transitions into new environments, which provided channels for the simultaneous expression and transformation of their German-Jewish identity. Considering the emigration albums in light of their earlier photographic collections only reinforces the centrality of image-making as meaning-making for the family. These albums themselves were vehicles for creating a narrative about a family identity in transition, allowing the Salzmans both to inhabit and move beyond the traditions and trajectories of 'Germanness' from which the National Socialist regime tried forcefully to evict them.

NOTES

1. On German-Jewish exile during the Nazi years, see, inter alia: Deborah Dwork and Robert Jan van Pelt, *Flight from the Reich: Refugee Jews, 1933–1946* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2009); Rhonda F. Levine, *Class, Networks, and Identity: Replanting Jewish Life from Nazi Germany to Rural New York* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2001); Herbert A. Strauss, ed., *Jewish Immigrants of the Nazi Period in the USA*, 6 Volumes in 8 Books (New York: K. G. Saur, 1992); Britta Eckert, Werner Berthold, and Mechthild Hahner, eds, *Die jüdische Emigration aus Deutschland*,

- 1933–1941: *Die Geschichte einer Austreibung* (Frankfurt am Main: Buchhändler-Vereinigung, 1985); Richard Breitman and Alan M. Kraut, *American Refugee Policy and European Jewry, 1933–1945* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987); and Sibylle Quack, *Zuflucht Amerika: zur Sozialgeschichte der Emigration deutsch-jüdischer Frauen in die USA, 1933–1945* (Bonn: Verlag J.H.W. Dietz Nachfolger, 1995).
2. One of their nannies, Luise, was, in Ruth's recollections, practically "made a member of the family by all of us." Another maid, Viktoria, maintained a correspondence with Ruth long after the Salzmanns had left Germany, a testament to their strength of their relationship. Trips to Germany through the years often included visits with Viktoria and her family, as in a 1977 trip to an academic conference in Berlin. Ruth Salzmann Becker, 'Memoir, undated', Box #6. Ruth Salzmann Becker papers, Iowa Women's Archive, University of Iowa [hereafter: IWA].
 3. Hans Salzmann, 'Writings: "Candles Through the Night" - 1947', Box #1. Ruth Salzmann Becker papers, IWA. The source provides no exact date for the events recounted by Hans.
 4. Michael H. Kater, *Doctors under Hitler* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1989), pp. 189–95.
 5. Ruth Salzmann Becker, 'Memoir, undated', Box #6. Ruth Salzmann Becker papers, IWA.
 6. Tim Grady, 'Fighting a Lost Battle: The *Reichsbund jüdischer Frontsoldaten* and the Rise of National Socialism', *German History* 28/1 (March 2010), pp. 1–20. See also Derek Penslar, 'The German-Jewish Soldier: From Participant to Victim', *German History* 29/3 (2011), pp. 423–44.
 7. 'Military: Attempt to document activity in World War I effort - 1915–1918, 1933', Box#1, Ruth Salzmann Becker papers, IWA.
 8. The removal of all Jewish physicians from membership in supplemental private insurance funds from 1 January 1938 had likely also provoked financial concerns for the family. Indeed, the measure, according to Kater, eventually "deprived 3000 Jewish physicians of their livelihood, close to a thousand of them in the capital." See: Kater, *Doctors under Hitler*, pp. 183–84.
 9. The September 1938 decree was preceded by a July announcement of the coming policy change, so the family would have been aware of its eventuality by the time of their August visit to the American consulate.
 10. *Kristallnacht* made an impression on the family nevertheless; several family members were among those temporarily rounded up during the violence. The family archive includes, as well, a half-charred page from a prayer book, salvaged by Hans outside the burned-out Fassanenstraße Synagogue the morning after.

11. All information on correspondence with American authorities from within Germany comes from Folders ‘General - 1900–1995’, ‘Cuban waiting list and internment camp - 1938–1939’, and ‘From Berlin - 1939’, Box #3. Ruth Salzmann Becker papers, IWA.
12. The only further communication with the American Consulate on record while the family remained in Germany is a tersely worded response to Hans’s pleas for information on April 19, 1939. The American official chides Hans, telling him that “additional messages will reach you in due course, and, in order to save the general consulate unnecessary overwork, you are politely urged to desist from further inquiries into matters concerning your visas.” Hans pressing his luck was understandable; the family sailed from Germany only eight days later. American Consulate General to Hans and Kaethe Salzmann, April 13, 1939. ‘Cuban waiting list and internment camp - 1938–1939,’ Box #3. Ruth Salzmann Becker papers, IWA.
13. The sources do not provide explicit rationale for this bifurcated departure. A number of factors likely influenced their decision, such as Eva’s relatively young age, as well as the family’s familiarity with the *Kindertransport* through the experiences of several girls from Ruth’s age cohort within the Berlin Reform community.
14. Eva Salzmann Vichules, ‘Miscellaneous - 1971–2004’, Box #18. Ruth Salzmann Becker papers, IWA.
15. Zhava Litvac Glaser, ‘Refugees and Relief: The American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee and European Jews in Cuba and Shanghai 1938–1943’ (PhD diss., Graduate Center City University of New York, 2015), p. 101.
16. As Ruth recalls years after, her father was subsequently approached by one of the labourers, who offered to smuggle additional valuables into the crate following the inspection for 100 Reichsmark. Hans paid the bribe, but “non [*sic*] of the things were ever seen by us again.” Ruth Salzmann Becker, ‘Memoir, undated’, Box #6. Ruth Salzmann Becker papers, IWA.
17. On the Nazi-orchestrated theft of the property of emigrating Germans Jews, see: Ralf Banken, ‘Das nationalsozialistische Devisenrecht als Steuerungs- und Diskriminierungsinstrument 1933–1945’, in *Wirtschaftssteuerung durch Recht im Nationalsozialismus. Studien zur Entwicklung des Wirtschaftsrechts im Interventionsstaat des Dritten Reichs*, eds Johannes Bähr, Ralf Banken (Frankfurt am Main: Klostermann, 2006), pp. 125–45; Christoph Franke, ‘Die Rolle der Devisenstellen bei der Enteignung der Juden’, in *Vor der Vernichtung. Die staatliche Enteignung der Juden im Nationalsozialismus*, ed. Katharina Stengel (Frankfurt am Main and New York: Campus Verlag, 2007),

- pp. 80–93; Susanne Meinel and Jutta Zwilling, *Legalisierter Raub. Die Ausplünderung der Juden im Nationalsozialismus durch die Reichsfinanzverwaltung in Hessen* (Frankfurt am Main and New York: Campus Verlag, 2004), especially p. 118.
18. For example, beside a picture of the Salzmanns in Holland, the caption reads “4 Daagsche”, a Dutch nickname for Germans.
 19. Eva Salzmann Vichules, ‘Miscellaneous - 1971–2004’, Box #18. Ruth Salzmann Becker papers, IWA.
 20. Leo Spitzer, *Hotel Bolivia: The Culture of Memory in a Refuge from Nazism* (New York: Hill & Wang, 1998), pp. 49–59. Marianne Hirsch likewise studies the intersections of visual culture, persecution, and emigration. Like Spitzer, Hirsch approaches Nazi-era visual culture and image-making through the analytical prism of memory. Most notably, her work concentrates upon the role of photography in post-emigration memory formation among the descendants of survivors and first-generation migrants, a process Hirsch terms ‘postmemory’. See: Marianne Hirsch, *Family Frames: Photography, Narrative, and Postmemory* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997); Marianne Hirsch, *The Generation of Postmemory: Writing and Visual Culture After the Holocaust* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012).
 21. Spitzer, *Hotel Bolivia*, p. 146.
 22. Spitzer extends this close, often counter-intuitive reading of images away from emigration and to the continent itself, as well. In an article, co-written with Marianne Hirsch, on wartime amateur photography from Eastern Europe, Spitzer likewise considers the hidden narratives at play underneath ‘straightforward’ images, using scenes of seeming ‘normalcy’ to instead challenge conventional trajectories of marginalisation, persecution, and deportation. Marianne Hirsch and Leo Spitzer, ‘Incongruous Images: Before, During, and After the Holocaust’, *History and Theory* 48/4 (2009), pp. 9–25.
 23. Leo Spitzer, ‘The Album and the Crossing’, in *The Familial Gaze*, ed. Marianne Hirsch (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1999), pp. 208–22, quote p. 216.
 24. These photographs from part of an ongoing research project by Atina Grossman about Jewish exile in the Soviet Union and in central Asia. They can be viewed on the powerpoint slides accompanying a recorded public lecture she delivered at the USC Shoah Foundation on 11/4/2016 entitled ‘Remapping Survival: Jewish Refugees and Lost Memories of Displacement, Trauma, and Rescue in the Soviet Union, Iran, and India’, at <https://sfi.usc.edu/news/2016/05/11429-atina-grossmann-lecture-summary> (accessed 6/7/2018). Some of these photos are also analysed in Atina Grossmann, ‘German Jews as Provincial

- Cosmopolitans: Reflections from the Upper West Side', *The Leo Baeck Institute Year Book* 3/1 (2008), pp. 157–68.
25. Spitzer, 'The Album and the Crossing', p. 219.
 26. Leon Grinberg and Rebecca Grinberg, *Psychoanalytic Perspectives on Migration and Exile* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), pp. 129, 137.
 27. Spitzer, 'The Album and the Crossing', pp. 217–18.
 28. Julianne Wetzel, 'Auswanderung aus Deutschland', in *Die Juden in Deutschland, 1933–1945: Leben unter nationalsozialistischer Herrschaft*, ed. Wolfgang Benz (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1988), pp. 413–97, quote p. 413.
 29. Ruth Salzmann Becker, 'Memoir, undated', Box #6. Ruth Salzmann Becker papers, IWA. The Salzmann archive attests to the success of Ruth's efforts, as seen in an 'Affidavit in Support of Application for Immigration Visa', signed off by American citizen Georg Musa, M.D., as well as Hans's own later declaration of intent to become a citizen of the United States, in which he claims a savings account containing \$822.36, held with the State National Bank of El Paso, Texas.
 30. Eva Salzmann Vichules, 'Miscellaneous - 1971–2004', Box #18. Ruth Salzmann Becker papers, IWA.
 31. 'Letter of Reference - 1939', Box #2. Ruth Salzmann Becker papers, IWA.
 32. The *Reichsfluchtsteuer* was not a creation of the Nazi government, however; the tax itself was passed during the late Weimar Republic as a means of disincentivizing general "capital flight." Only in the course of the 1930s did Nazi bureaucrats prioritize Jewish émigrés, exponentially ratcheting up the toll in the process. Marion A. Kaplan, *Between Dignity and Despair: Jewish Life in Nazi Germany* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 70–71.
 33. Richard Breitman and Allan J. Lichtman, *FDR and the Jews* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2013), p. 68.
 34. On account of this categorical rigidity—as well as the specific, anti-immigration incentives to the creation of the law itself—scholars have sometimes interpreted the 1924 Act as America's "first antirefugee act." Deborah Anker, 'U.S. Immigration and Asylum Policy: A Brief Historical Perspective', *In Defense of the Alien* 13 (1990), pp. 74–85, quote p. 76.
 35. Breitman and Lichtman, *FDR and the Jews*, p. 68.



CHAPTER 5

Photography, Identity, and Longing in the United States

Abstract This chapter tracks the Salzmans' progress along established migratory pathways in postwar America. We note the shifting textual and visual expressions of their identity, paying special attention to photography's role in affirming their newfound sense of belonging and reiterating their adherence to ingrained notions of 'German' sociability and aesthetics. As in their Weimar and Nazi-era photography, Salzmann image-making demonstrated the complex working-out of multiple identities. Their American photography therefore deployed familiar tropes—from the Romantic appreciation of the modern sublime on the motorway to the bourgeois admiration of architectural landmarks. In a performance aimed as much at themselves as posterity, the creation of the family's photographic archive represented an assertive, if inevitably German-inflected, declaration of inclusion in their own vision of America.

Keywords Jewish life in the United States · Migrant identities · Cosmopolitanism · New York · Aufbau · Leisure

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Like many German immigrants, the Salzmans were eager to begin new lives in the United States. The passage across the Atlantic, and transitional stops en route, were experienced as an unwelcome interlude delaying immersion in the economic and cultural life of the host

country. For Ruth Salzmann, this interlude was her stay in England, where she had arrived on a *Kindertransport*, but never felt settled; she pleaded with her family to arrange for her to re-join them in the United States without delay. For Hans, Käthe, and Eva, who spent slightly less than five months in Cuba before finally acquiring American visas for the onward journey, this transitional moment was similarly negative; interestingly, hardly any photos document their lives there (although Ruth sent some images from England, depicting her and her British host family, in the family's house and garden). Hans, Käthe, and Eva left Cuba on 12 October 1939, and arrived in New York City three days later. During this same time, Ruth was working to secure her own passage to the United States. As the rest of her family, Ruth appeared to view her initial destination as a necessary, if temporary, refuge on her way to America, with its extant infrastructure and history of migrant support. She soured on her situation quite quickly. She had been placed with a young family in Oxford, frigid and inordinately stingy in her mind—they “would not [even] give me a stamp.” What is more, she felt exploited as free childcare for their young daughter. It was, altogether, an “unpleasant situation,” and she wasted little time arranging her exit.¹ The post-nineteenth-century German-Jewish diasporic imaginary was largely trans-Atlantic; and, as such, Ruth, like her family, viewed New York—and a voyage across the ocean rather than the Channel—as her ultimate fate and destination. She reached the city on a British merchant vessel and part of a wartime convoy, arriving on February 11, 1940—nearly ten months after the family had left Berlin.²

By early 1941, the Salzmanns had settled into their Bloomingdale apartment in New York City. In the same year, Hans received his state certificate to practice as a registered physician in the city. The family rushed to adopt and demonstrate those norms they considered essential to American public life. These encompassed practical aspects of their adaptation, such as language learning. Even while interned in Tiscornia, passengers of the *Iberia*, as well as other refugees on the island, had taken part in English classes, part of Americanization efforts supported by arms of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee.³ These norms also included more foundational ideological constructions, such as an idealised constitutional universalism and sense of civic duty, as seen in Hans's wartime work with the Emergency Medical Service of New York's Citizens Defense Corps, and attempts to secure a medical commission in the Armed Forces.⁴ By the late 1940s, Hans was operating

his own private medical practice, Käthe again working out of their office as an affiliated masseuse, with work and school interrupted by regular family vacations up and down the eastern seaboard.⁵ The years thereafter continued to treat the Salzmanns relatively well. As a 1939 report on the acclimation of German-Jewish refugees to American life pointed out, many recently arrived professionals struggled to come to terms with their newly diminished status. As a consequence, they attempted to live beyond their reduced means, with doctors “wish[ing] to set up their offices on Park Avenue because this may help to attract a good practice,” and families surrendering to the “impulse to find homes on Riverside Drive, overlooking the Hudson.”⁶ The Salzmanns, however, eventually met precisely these aspirational benchmarks, as their practice operated out of a Park Avenue office, and one of their first apartments sat on Riverside Drive. From these stable positions, Hans and Käthe watched their daughters complete their education and start their own families.⁷

In short order, the Salzmanns appeared to have reconstituted the outward contours of their existence in Berlin, albeit now with an emphatically American inflection and sense of destiny. While they enthusiastically immersed themselves in modern American ways of life, the sense of new beginnings continued to be filtered through the Salzmanns’ erstwhile German identity. Reconceptualising the position of German-Jewish families in interwar and wartime America as both migrants and refugees helps make sense of the complex entanglement between aspects of the Salzmanns’ identity. In smoothing the path of their transition to American life, the Salzmanns took advantage of well-established migratory resources: communal arrangements and institutions which, in themselves, reflected an amalgam of German, German-Jewish, and American characteristics. The actual interplay between these three ‘communities’ in major immigrant enclaves, such as New York City’s *Kleind Deutschland*, is difficult to measure precisely at any one time, although it has engendered a lively debate concerning the nature of immigrant identity.⁸ Interwar, Germanophone New York City had nonetheless been indelibly stamped by traits and values shared between the city’s German and German-Jewish community. German Jews, especially, straddled both communities, like Sigmund Kaufmann, who, during the nineteenth century, became president of the city’s *Turnverein*, as well as the German Society of New York.⁹ This multi-polar, mutually recognised identity held ample space for German Jews across the spectrum of nineteenth- and twentieth-century immigrant life in the city, from the German-language press

and theatre to the German-speaking singing clubs and labour movement. Far from contradictions, these dual commitments were understood as equally valid expressions of a broader German-Jewish identity, and likewise emblematic of the community into which families like the Salzmans entered. The influx of European-born, German-speaking Jews into the city between the beginning of the 1930s and the end of the 1940s undoubtedly changed the perception of what it meant to be 'Jewish' in New York; stereotypical images of the accented Freudian and genteel bourgeoisie of Washington Heights' "Fourth Reich" can therefore blind us to older templates for performing and inhabiting one's 'Germanness.' As Stanley Nadel has argued, in America, Germans and German Jews were "bound together in an organic unity which lasted for generations and which must be taken into account for either community to be properly understood."¹⁰ In effect, the resultant lifestyle of German Jews in America, whether migrant or refugee, became the means by which older, German identities were simultaneously transcended and reified. Such identitarian interplay is evident through the documentary record of the Salzmans' visual and aesthetic engagement with their new homeland, a process already in motion only years after their arrival. Tracing the variability of its global diaspora decouples 'Germanness' from the master narratives of its national namesake, in turn allowing historians to paint a more inclusive picture of German history. Diffusion—as the Salzmans, or even the most harassed segments of that community show—is less a terminus in our understanding of Germanness than a tool for broadening our conception of the same.

Alongside the photography, the Salzmans captured these negotiations in writing, and, increasingly, in verse. Hans repeatedly composed poetry to reflect on his and the family's experience; some poems directly accompanied photos. Short ditties, often set to well-known melodies, marked both solemn and light occasions. Two verses commemorate the family's arrival in North America: one, written in 1939 from Cuba; the second written four years later from the family's Manhattan apartment. Considering these pieces together sheds light on shifts in the Salzmans' sense of self, as well as those aspects of their identities transcending the migratory divide. The first piece, titled "Tiscorniasong" [*sic*], after the immigrant centre in which they were held, details the indignities of detention, as well as the initial challenges of adjusting to life outside Germany. Although describing strained circumstances, the tone is jocular throughout, as evidenced in the first couplets:

Are you coming to Havana after a long sea voyage / Don't believe you'll soon be ashore / No, you'll be deposited in Tiscornia / With your further fate unknown / Mrs. Sun burns quite nicely / There are mosquitoes everywhere / You shout for water continuously / But your many efforts are in vain.

Further sections express consternation at the food—"Cuban through and through"—inventing even a hypothetical flag for Tiscornia's inhabitants modelled on "the old Prussian colours": a "white field with a big, black bean." The poem ends with the hope that, "sitting in the hall / In a breezy trap / The day is coming, when we'll be freed / Whether today or tomorrow." The poem concedes no connection to Cuba beyond the transitory. Indeed, from the language of its composition, aversion to native cuisine and fauna, melodic template—the "Preußenlied," a patriotic Prussian anthem of 1830—and insistence on escape, the song lends the distinct impression of a confidently German, indeed Prussian, family momentarily waylaid in transit.

In many respects, the family depicted in the 1943 verse commemorating the fourth anniversary of their arrival in America resembles that of the earlier lyric (Fig. 5.1), although interestingly, this poem was written in English, albeit with a liberal sprinkling of both Spanish and German terms. Animosity towards their Cuban layover still abounds: "To hell Tiscornia / And all muchachas / And all caballeros bonitos." Yet, in contrast to the "Tiscorniasong", this bitterness is now counterbalanced by contentment. The lyric takes the family's newly found sense of belonging as its theme, drawing an explicit contrast between the depredations of their Cuban sojourn—"where we yelled for agua / and chased cucaracha [*cockroach*]"—and their gratitude at being in America: "In the U.S.A., with F.D.R. / Lucky boys, lucky girls." Composed with the same light touch, this verse was to be set to the tune of "Over There", an anthem used to galvanise American morale during wartime.

The lyric sheet included two photographs between the verses, underscoring the disparity being drawn in words between Cuba and the United States. The first image (Fig. 5.1, top) shows a Cuban harbour, dotted with small ships beside a rocky outcrop, overseen by an austere complex of buildings on shore. The effect is one of isolation and hostility. The second image provides a stark visual contrast, depicting the New York City skyline, foregrounded by the Brooklyn Bridge, providing a symbolic entry into the forest of urbanity filling the rest of the frame.

FOURTH ANNIVERSARY
of our landfall in the
AMERICAN CONTINENT

Tiscornia-Cuba, 15 de Mayo de 1939
New York City, *May* 15, 1943

Melody: The Yanks are coming



Over there, over there
Let your mind travel south,
Over there!
Where we yelled for agua
And chased cucaracha
And gulped judias every day.
Says Abram, Gurfincle:
Amigos, despues
Mañana
You will be over,
Yea, coming over
We don't know Europ' or Pa-Panama.



In U.S.A., with F.D.R.,
Lucky boys, lucky girls,
Here we are.
To hell Tiscornia
And all muchachas
And all caballeros benites!
Over us in the sky
Fly the stars, wave the stripes
Proud and brave.
We want to stay here
And we will work here.
Meet girl Cuba on your next vacation trip.

WMS

Fig. 5.1 Arrival Anniversary Poem, 1943, Iowa Women's Archive, Iowa City

Verses such as “Over us in the sky / Fly the stars, wave the stripes / Proud and brave” lend the cityscape a patriotic sheen. The verse positions not just the detention camp, but Cuba itself as a foreign place, as a place separate from America, the new home where “we want to stay” and where “we will work.” The verse’s final line, “meet girl Cuba on your next vacation trip” repositions the Salzmans’ relationship to Cuba as roughly equivalent to that they performed in Italy in the 1930s: an object of curiosity and exploration, but not a ‘destination’. In this process, photography remained a key medium through which the family expressed the *reiselustig* ethos emblematic of an identity consistent in both Europe and the United States. In many ways, the Salzmans re-deployed an aesthetic toolkit born of their specific German social and cultural habitus to make sense of their relationship to this new world.

The performance of leisure and enjoyment were central to both. As in the albums of the early 1930s, using photography to ‘place’ oneself inside a social and cultural context in post-war America was deeply intertwined with the performance of a sense of fun and ‘being at ease’. Spaces and landscapes were symbolically appropriated and inhabited not just by ‘being there’, but by naturalising this presence through the picturesque framing of the self, and the family, as utterly relaxed and ‘at home’ in such environments. This sense runs through all the Salzmans’ American photos of the post-war period, but is perhaps best exemplified by the album pages about a 1947 cruise from New York to Bermuda (Fig. 5.2). The album page combines picturesque seascapes with scenes on deck, Ruth posing with attractive travel companions, reclining in a deckchair, climbing on a ladder and leaning on the ship’s railings while gazing pensively out to sea.

Another continuing theme is that of photography and car travel. The Salzmans’ new Studebaker features prominently in their American photo albums of the 1940s. Again, the choice of brand was telling. Studebakers, founded by an American family of German descent, were not a luxury brand, but they prided themselves on making modern design accessible to ordinary people. The advertising slogan of the 1940s was “First by far with a post-war car”. The innovative design of the trunk, which was as aerodynamic as the front, prompted jokes at the time that “one could not tell if the car was coming or going.”¹¹ This example of one of the Salzmans’ many photos of their new car (Fig. 5.3) is an image taken on a trip that lasted from August to September 1948, by one of the women of the family. It is



Fig. 5.2 American Cruise, 1947, Iowa Women's Archive, Iowa City

strongly reminiscent of the 1937 album. Again, the family car is depicted as a vehicle for leisure and recreational mobility; it is here parked by the side of a country road in northern Vermont, surrounded by pictures on the same page showing the statehouse and crossing Lake Champlain. As before, the emphasis here is very much on the rest stops that allowed for an appreciation of the beauties of the surrounding landscape. In the image, the car door is ajar: the family members have evidently stepped out for a moment to enjoy the scenery and take a breath of fresh air. The open door, however, suggests that this is a temporary break, and that the family are about to continue their scenic drive. Hans is seen in the picture leaning against the opposite side of the car, gazing towards the valley and the lake. What has changed is the attire: while the German albums, as we have seen, depict the Salzmanns first as glamorous *Bildungsbürger* and then as folksy Germans, Hans is now sporting emphatically American-style leisurewear, including a T-shirt, shorts, and sneakers.



Fig. 5.3 On the road, 1947, Iowa Women's Archive, Iowa City

In the course of the 1950s, like many other Germans and Americans, the Salzmanns discovered a new technology for picturing and performing their inhabiting of their new homeland. While they continued to take some traditional photos, Hans in particular now shifted his attention to the medium of colour slides, and the associated ritual of staging slide shows.¹² This might indicate a shift towards a concern with more contemporary audiences. While an album would be passed around the family group and friends, both in the immediate aftermath of its composition and for years, even decades, to come, a slide show was an event that typically involved a larger audience, but also one that constituted a more deliberate and 'special' occasion than the casual leafing through of old albums within the family circle. Indeed, the Salzmanns' slide-shows soon became public events for the whole local community. In January 1962, Hans advertised a slide show in the local 'New World Club' on 89th Street. The advert appeared in an issue of *Aufbau* under the title "Trip to the Most Beautiful Spots in Our 50 States" (Fig. 5.4). For a modest entrance fee, visitors were invited to share the Salzmanns'

A U F B A U

NEW WORLD CLUB

Office: 2121 Broadway, New York 23, N. Y. - TR 3-7400

Alle unsere Veranstaltungen finden im Community Center, 270 West 89th Street (zwischen Broadway und West End Ave.), statt.

"OVER FORTY"

Saturday, January 13, 1962, 8:45 p. m. (Blue Room):
Dr. HANS SALZMANN

Trip to the Most Beautiful Spots of Our 50 States

He will tell you all about them and show you his color slides. Undoubtedly, all of you have often longed to be able to take a trip through the entire United States including Alaska and Hawaii. Here is your best chance to see all this without any effort or expense. We will "visit", among others:

Mount Vernon — Monticello — Yellowstone Park — Yosemite National Park — The Grand Canyon — Bryce Park — Alaska and Hawaii.

Melodies and Songs will accompany Dr. Salzmann's travelogue. Lou Sugarman at the piano.

After the lecture dancing to a well known band.—Refreshments.—Admission: Members of the NWC \$1.25, guests: \$1.75, incl. tax. — Everybody welcome.

Fig. 5.4 'New World Club' Advertisement, 1961, Iowa Women's Archive, Iowa City

travels through the United States—a space they now publicly defined as “ours”.

By the time of Hans's slideshow tour of America, the Salzmanns had spent more than two decades adapting to American linguistic, educational, civic, and professional life. The “lecture” promised, “without any effort or expenses”, to provide a virtual tour of the “most beautiful spots of our 50 states” for those who “have often longed to be able to take [such] a trip.” In this way, Hans positioned himself as both knowledgeable native guide and able interlocutor between his German-speaking refugee audience and their new homeland. Photography, and the particular visual lexicon built up around both the creation, presentation, and mutual engagement with images, represented an ideal space in which the Salzmanns and other refugees might approach and perform

their ‘Americanness’, and where the tensions between this nascent ‘Americanness’ and a resilient ‘Germanness’ could be mediated.¹³ The Salzmanns’ self-positioning as voracious consumers of American spaces and cultures mirrors broader historiographical conceptions of the cosmopolitanism and easy urbanity of German-Jewish refugees.¹⁴ Atina Grossmann, for example, has advocated re-conceiving of exile as “part of a modern cosmopolitan experience that although quite involuntary and certainly shadowed by terror and tragedy was also often zestfully taken ‘on the road’.”¹⁵ For her, the disproportionate ease with which German-Jewish refugees acclimated to American society, while also stubbornly insisting on maintaining older norms, derived from an already ingrained international outlook, enthusiasm for travel, and participation in life-reform movements—a collection of traits that “could be pursued, if not necessarily easily, almost anywhere on the globe.”¹⁶ In this way, Grossmann, like others seeking to understand those ambiguities present in emigration records, challenges more conventional narratives of German-Jewish exile.¹⁷ Whereas Spitzer refers to texts and contexts to read mourning into otherwise silent images, Grossmann argues that the “undeniable excitement about the ‘globe-trotting’ or ‘touristic’ aspects of their flight” sprung from a broader German-Jewish impulse towards cosmopolitanism.¹⁸ Certainly, these are far from zero-sum questions; the diversity of emigration responses were likely as large as the number of families emigrating. Yet such an analysis benefits from adjusting our interpretive viewfinder to consider more fully the causal power of pre-emigration life patterns in Germany to at least partially determine post-emigration outcomes.

Without the multiple threads connecting refugees to the socio-cultural milieu in which that cosmopolitanism was shaped, conceptions of refugee internationalism can verge too closely on the essential. In Grossmann’s conception, the strains of *Weltoffenheit* and *Bildungskultur* run parallel but never seem to touch; thus her use of “provincial cosmopolitanism”, a phrase in conscious contradiction with itself. Refugee identity was stamped by this contradiction, as refugees “were attached to their notions of classical Bildung, but also, very importantly, to the modernist popular culture associated with Americanism that had fascinated (and repelled) Germans between the wars.”¹⁹ This conception, however, ill fits the Salzmann evidence. Their archive depicts a refugee experience characterised by the entanglement of such tendencies, rather than by a “continual and simultaneous oscillation between extremes.”²⁰ The Salzmanns’

visual output, spanning life in Germany and the United States, speaks less to dissonance between their *bildungsbürgerlich* pedigree and embrace of the modern, than it does to the perpetual, mutually reinforcing coincidence of these traits. The juxtaposition of Alpine iconography and automobile imagery in the Nazi-era vacation albums, for example, was not a confused whipsaw between the rooted and the rootless, but a vibrant, valid, and particularly German aesthetic for a family of their background, in which the mountain and the motorway sat beside each other without friction. Rather than existing in spite of each other, the Salzmanns' images suggest that it was in tandem that the impulses gave each other meaning, and in tandem that they said something most complete about the Salzmanns' identity. And, moreover, it was only within a particularly German context that the two could come into contact. What persisted on American shores—in the arrival verses, cruise ship images, and slideshow exhibitions—was not simply an independent identity that could have been pursued anywhere, but was instead the by-product of a particularly German interplay of class, status, and religion.

Hans's advertisement highlights areas of special interest the audience will "visit," including "Mount Vernon—Monticello—Yellowstone Park—Yosemite National Park—[and] The Grand Canyon." While the slides themselves did not survive, the Salzmanns' visit to Monticello is also captured in a surviving post-war album. The parallels to Salzmann trips to noteworthy destinations in Europe only a decade prior are striking, as are the particular methods by which the family commemorated these trips in photo albums. Much like their German albums, the page covering their Monticello visit combined photos depicting the site alongside photos of the Salzmanns engaging with, and posing in front of the building(s): in this case, six images of Thomas Jefferson's famous, neoclassical house, three of which show, alternately, Hans, Kate (as she now called herself), and Ruth standing in front of the portico (Fig. 5.5).

Whether Nuremberg or Monticello, however, the impression is similar. The architectural images acknowledge the solemnity of particular national landmarks, while the peopled images serve as a visual statement of belonging, a declaration of inclusion within the identitarian parameters designated by that particular object or space. The reverence for American touchstones mirrors that earlier reverence for their German antecedents, in the sense that the same emphatically German *bildungsbürgerlich* education teaching the Salzmanns to 'notice' the Column of Phocas has likewise primed them to 'notice' its American equivalents.



Fig. 5.5 Monticello Trip, 1946, Iowa Women's Archive, Iowa City

And, in both instances, it was through photography and the consciously meaning-making act of album construction that the family demonstrated their access to, and participation in, these identity defining rituals.

NOTES

1. Ruth Salzmänn Becker, 'Memoir, undated', Box #6. Ruth Salzmänn Becker papers, Iowa Women's Archive, University of Iowa [hereafter: IWA].
2. Ruth Salzmänn Becker, 'Oaknoll Diary - 1999', Box #6. Ruth Salzmänn Becker papers, IWA.
3. Zhava Litvac Glaser, 'Refugees and Relief: The American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee and European Jews in Cuba and Shanghai

- 1938–1943’ (PhD diss., Graduate Center City University of New York, 2015), pp. 136–38.
4. Regarding the latter, Hans’s attempts were futile, as he did not acquire American citizenship until the final year of the war. ‘Hans Salzman to Selective Service, the War Manpower Commission, and the Office for Emergency Management, 1942–1946’, Box #3. Ruth Salzman Becker papers, IWA.
 5. No small feat for a family of late-arriving physicians, as Michael H. Kater has noted. Although the situation was more dire outside of New York, the obstacles to successful entry into the American medical field were steep even here, especially for those arriving after 1936, when licencing requirements grew more stringent. Stories of physicians, once prominent in Germany, newly reduced to positions beneath their expertise, or even professions completely outside of medicine, abound. See: Michael H. Kater, *Doctors under Hitler* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1989), pp. 211–15.
 6. Ruth Z. Mann, ‘The Adjustment of Refugees in the United States in Relation to Their Background’, *The Jewish Social Service Quarterly* 16 (September 1939), pp. 19–28, quote pp. 22–23.
 7. Ruth, later an instructor of nursing, graduated from Columbia University Teachers College in 1950. Eva got her B.A. from the University of Michigan in 1953.
 8. See, inter alia, Stanley Nadel, ‘Jewish Race and German Soul in Nineteenth-Century America’, in *American Jewish History* 77/1 (September 1987), pp. 6–26; Cornelia Wilhelm, *Deutsche Juden in Amerika: Bürgerliches Selbstbewusstsein und jüdische Identität in den Orden B’nai B’rith und Treue Schwestern, 1843–1914* (Stuttgart: Steiner Verlag, 2007); Eric E. Hirschler, ed., *Jews from Germany in the United States* (New York: Farrar, Straus, Cudahy, 1955); and Lloyd Gartner, ‘Immigration and the Formation of American Jewry, 1840–1925’, *Journal of World History* 11 (1968), pp. 297–304.
 9. Nadel, ‘Jewish Race and German Soul’, p. 16.
 10. *Ibid.*, p. 8.
 11. See http://amhistory.si.edu/onthemove/collection/object_6.html and <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Studebaker> (accessed 7/7/2018).
 12. On the cultural history of the slide show, see Elisabeth Fendl and Klara Löffler, ‘Die Reise im Zeitalter ihrer technischen Reproduzierbarkeit: zum Beispiel Diaabend’, in *Arbeit Freizeit Reisen. Die feinen Unterschiede im Alltag*, ed. Christiane Cantauw (Münster: Waxmann, 1995), pp. 55–68.
 13. Such tensions ranged from the petty—exasperation at gum-chewing teenagers and baseball-loving relatives—to the fundamental, as in broader

disapproval of the widely perceived vulgarity of American culture. The historian Peter Gay—himself, coincidentally, a passenger on board the *Iberia*—recalled his father’s irritation with these so-called “byunskis,” or, as Gay put it, with those who “would confide to one another that ‘byuns’ (i.e. *bei uns*, meaning ‘in our place’ or ‘back home’) in Germany things had been much more civilised.” See: Peter Gay, ‘Reflections on Hitler’s Refugees in the United States’, *The Leo Baeck Institute Year Book* 3/1 (2008), pp. 117–26, quote p. 119.

14. Hans’s broader journalistic oeuvre further validates this point. Beyond his medical articles, the preponderance of Hans’s published output consisted of write-ups of various family trips, presented partially as anthropological field report and partially as blow-by-blow travel diary. Representative titles include: ‘300 Miles North of the Arctic Circle: A Letter from Alaska, the 49th State’ (*300 Meilen nördlich vom Polarkreis: Brief aus Alaska, dem 49. Staat*) and ‘Aole Ko Kekahi Kanaka: No Human Has a Greater Amount of Love’ (*‘Aole Ko Kekahi Kanaka’: Ein grösseres Mass an Liebe hat kein menschliches Wesen*).
15. Atina Grossmann, ‘German Jews as Provincial Cosmopolitans: Reflections from the Upper West Side’, *The Leo Baeck Institute Year Book* 3/1 (2008), pp. 157–68, quote p. 157.
16. Grossmann, ‘Provincial Cosmopolitans’, p. 161.
17. For an attempt to reframe Nazi-era German-Jewish emigration around the methodologies and questions of Travel Studies, see Joachim Schlör, ‘Solange wir auf dem Schiff waren, hatten wir ein Zuhause. Reisen als kulturelle Praxis im Migrationsprozess jüdischer Auswanderer’, *Voyage. Jahrbuch für Reise- und Tourismusforschung* 10 (2014), pp. 226–46.
18. Grossmann, ‘Provincial Cosmopolitans’, p. 164.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 162.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 163.



Exile, Memory, and Irony

Abstract Our conclusion places the Salzmans' post-emigration lives in the context of wider debates around Jewish exile and modern migration. As we have argued, photography and writing proved powerful tools for the Salzmans to reject 'fixed' or singular identity politics in favour of a performative situatedness. Such sources might still obscure as much as they illuminate. To what degree should their subsequent lives and deaths change our perception of sources produced amid persecution? The Salzmann archive suggests that, in both Germany and America, the use of irony was pivotal to negotiating the gap between what was experienced and what was known, at once valorising and calling into question the validity of individual attempts to forge meaning against the backdrop of a historical reality that defied comprehension.

Keywords American exile · Post-memory · Trauma · Holocaust · Eichmann trial · Humour

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Exile, as commonly understood, shatters secure identities.¹ In this book, we have argued that the act of migration is less a barrier separating strands of refugee life than a bridge across which they are kept in communication, building on Stephen Greenblatt's notion that "one of the characteristic powers of a culture is its ability to hide the mobility that is its

enabling condition.”² Such a conceptualization better equips us to interpret the family archives of those who fled Germany in the face of Nazi persecution. Records and photographs such as the Salzmanns’ reveal that, rather than a vestigial holdover, the ‘Germanness’ of German-Jewish migrants to the United States could serve as a platform from which they could approach their new societies. Their relationship with the American German-language periodical *Aufbau* is an example for just such a synthesis. Reading *Aufbau* allowed many German Jews to maintain connection to significant markers of their German identity, such as the trends relevant to those among its diasporic audience sharing the family’s social and educational background. And contributing to *Aufbau* provided the Salzmanns with the opportunity to compose prose and engage with ideas in German, language being a significant, if seemingly banal, means through which identities are expressed and reinforced. In this sense, Hans would have likely concurred with Joseph Maier, one of the journal’s wartime editors, who declared that the purpose of *Aufbau* was to “conserve our German cultural heritage.”³ At the same time, the publication served as much more than simply a refuge for a German culture in exile. For recently arrived refugees, the newspaper often functioned as a practical manual for immigrant acclimatisation, providing tips on navigating American bureaucracy, lessons on English grammar, and listings for work and accommodations.⁴ In both reading and writing for the publication, the German-Jewish refugees became tied ever more concretely to broader, often non-German-speaking, commercial and cultural communities in the city. Their relationship with *Aufbau* therefore worked to simultaneously foster nascent connections to their new homeland, while also providing a platform through which they might preserve older affiliations.

This dual function is evident in a document Hans Salzmann wrote in 1943, a full two years before the family received their American citizenship in July 1945. In two typewritten pages, Hans catalogued, in English, his experiences with friends, neighbours, and strangers during Nazi rule, underscoring the ways in which his family’s migration remained rooted in, and not set apart from, salient aspects of their German identity. He titled this brief recollection “Candles Through the Night”. The first paragraph reads:

It seems to be impossible to a Jew escaped from Central Europe and rescued here on the foot of the Statue of Liberty, with his thoughts by day and by night still with his friends and relatives suffering under the Nazi heels, to think,

sine ira et studio [“without anger or zeal”], of the past in which oneself was a victim of Nazi rules. However, there are candles shining through the darkness, burning with human feelings, tearing with shame, making the remembrance [sic] easier. Among the mutilated bodies of unforgotten friends, among the nazistic devils, rascals, and murderers emerge the grieved features of dear gentile friends, true Christians, decent helpers, bearers of the eternal torch of humanity. Would it be not astonishing if the heritage of the Volk of the Dichter und Denker [“Poets and Philosophers”] were disappeared entirely beneath the dirt and mud of the Third Reich? I think it only fair to give credit to German anti-antisemitic feelings without the glasses of hatred and resentiments [sic] of future revenge.⁵

The text describes an assortment of hostile reactions to Nazi anti-Semitism that Hans witnessed while in Germany. A Professor at the Technische Hochschule Charlottenburg recited Heinrich Heine to a “class full with students partly in brown shirt one spring day [in] 1934.” A teacher kissed Hans’s daughter goodbye on her final day before being removed from public school. Hans told a patient that he had been barred from treating Aryans. Dumbfounded, the woman told him that surely “the Führer does not want that, he is so reasonable after all. That is only the Nazi party.” Likewise, a minor official advised Hans personally to write his “Frontkamerad Hitler” and request the return of his medical license. And on the anecdotes go—from passive and verbal resistance to unthinking conformity and genuine prejudice. In spite of the family’s flight, Hans dedicated a significant proportion of these recollections to expressions of solidarity encountered “among the plain people” of Germany. The text does not so much lay aside exile and consciousness of Nazi atrocity. It acknowledges the discrepancy between small kindnesses and murder, noting that the “above mentioned cases do not mean much measured on the thousands of Jews perished in Europe under Nazi domination.” Hans found space in his active memory-making for those painful recollections to coexist with those elements of his previous identity he has not yet been able to foreswear. In line with his sociocultural milieu, Hans perceived such examples, however small, as demonstrating that the “spirit of Goethe, Schiller, Kant, Herder, Beethoven, Liebknecht etc. is not yet entirely dead.” The “good German” then—or, those, like him, that looked to those luminaries above as models—was not absent, but to be found “in the jails and concentration camps and beneath the surface of this earth.” The text concludes by placing the various threads

of the Salzmans' identity into explicit conversation with each other. It is these people and these memories that "should and will be the little candles to enlighten the German people and to reeducate it towards the ideals as laid down in the preamble of our Declaration of Independence in the words of the unalienable rights for all mankind." In a sense, Hans advised that Germany undertake *en masse* the identitarian evolution that he had taken in miniature, namely a cleansing of the rich, if flawed, German identity through the universalist ideals of the American project.

Along lines laid out by Tobias Brinkmann, our analysis has emphasized the dual forces of migrant identity formation: external imposition and internal construction.⁶ The problem of terminology is a case in point. The Salzmans consistently referred to themselves as migrants, not refugees. On the one hand, the term migrant conveyed a greater sense of agency than that of the refugee. It also signalled a connection with long-standing traditions of *German* migration. At the same time, in choosing it, the Salzmans also followed official bureaucratic terminology, which, in 1939, recognised legitimate 'migrants', but not, until 1948, legitimate 'refugees.'⁷ In keeping with this later shift, writing in *Aufbau* in the 1950s, Hans Salzmann repeatedly used the term 'refugee' when referring to the challenges faced by other German Jews who had come to the United States during the Nazi years. He addressed this issue circuitously, and often in a medical capacity, as in his unpublished article 'Emotional Difficulties of the Refugee.'⁸ Here, Hans connected corporeal problems in his patients to the specific psychological strains of post-war life for refugees. Hans identified neither the experience of persecution nor the flight itself as the culprit; instead, to him, the problems arose out of an inability to reconcile the stresses of the past with the mundanity of modern American life. According to Hans, while a "refugee has the mental strength to survive the Nazi terror, he threatens to collapse under the normal conditions here [in the US]." In keeping with the more confident and assertive tone of the Salzmans' own photographic archive, in his writings, too, Hans never personalised the symptoms of or treatment for this spiritual disturbance. It is nonetheless easy enough to imagine Hans drawing on his own reservoir of personal experience for the litany of refugee difficulties he provided: "the disappointments, the collision of desire and reality, the anxiety especially of those who are the most conscientious, the mental strain of looking for work, the inevitable unease of those, young and old, who live together in confined spaces and in economic difficulties, [and] everything that is new

and different – all these create psychological tensions.” Hans’s authorial voice nonetheless distanced himself from these representative cases; he—and his family, presumably—had adapted, had found a way to still any nagging doubts and transform themselves from “the refugee of yesterday into the citizen of tomorrow.” For Hans, it was not mere coincidence that the “Statue on Bedloe’s Island is set in American soil, but had been built in Europe.” Taking their cue from the Statue of Liberty, the Salzmans felt confident in their ability to piece together an identity and sense of belonging from parts that, although given meaning in an American context, remained indelibly stamped by their European origins. Unlike German migrants, refugees remained, even for the Salzmans, people who could not cope, who did not feel at home in their new country.

For many migrants, however, Germanness and Americanness co-existed in a new, synthetic identity. In actively positioning themselves within as well as between these national belongings, the Salzmans were one among many groups appending various ‘German’ affiliations onto otherwise salient self-identifications in American society. For the Hamburg Lutheran, Bavarian Catholic, or Berlin Jew, ‘Germanness’ variously transcended, complemented, or underwrote more pronounced religio-regional markers. Repositioning these branching identities under a larger identitarian umbrella reveals the latent utility of ‘Germanness’ as a tool for assimilation and differentiation across a spectrum of migrant communities. The Salzmans’ markers of ‘Germanness’, then, were less the baggage of forced exile, to be shed as the price of admission, but the very stuff of assimilation for refugee and voluntary migrant alike. This situation extended across American life, from the cultural to the educational, although an example from the commercial sphere illustrates the point. In discussing the business acumen and artisanal skills of many incoming refugees, a Jewish social worker at the time noted that, “wherever the skill of an individual is transferable, and he has the wish to make it so, the German background seems to be a real asset for employment.”⁹ ‘Germanness’ was, in this sense, a benefit for the Salzmans once in America, operating as an intermediary between old and new commitments, helping to pry open a society itself bracketed by distinct social and cultural identities. The flexibility of *Deutschtum* (the whole of—global—“Germanity”) remained a crucial trope. And it reminds us that ‘German Jews’ are not the single deviation from a baseline ‘German’ identity.

With the benefit of hindsight, of course, such migrant stories appear in a different light. As Allied soldiers, criminal investigators, and later historians unearthed the full extent of the Nazi Holocaust and the widespread institutional networks and societal complicity that made it possible, it became more difficult to see the Salzmanns and the 90,000 or so other German Jews who moved to the United States between 1933 and 1941 as anything but refugees, who were lucky enough to escape the most brutal annihilation of human history. This realisation has, understandably, prompted many later chroniclers of Jewish flight and exile to search for traces of trauma even in stories of seemingly ‘successful’ migrants. Prominent amongst these was the Bavarian-born writer and later professor of German literature in England, Winfried Georg Sebald. In 1992, Sebald published *Die Ausgewanderten*, a novel translated into English in 1996 under the title *The Emigrants*.¹⁰ Although not a work of historical scholarship, Sebald’s lively and moving rendition of the fate of four Jews who had fled Nazi persecution in Germany or German-occupied Europe, has helped shape the modern imagination of Jewish exile.¹¹ Like the Salzmanns, Sebald’s fictional characters establish new lives for themselves abroad, and move on to lead a seemingly normal existence. And yet, Sebald’s account offers the antithesis of a happy ending. *The Emigrants* captures a sense of deeply and irretrievably damaged selfhood, and the impossibility of recovery from the twin traumas of expulsion and knowledge of the Holocaust. This damage does not appear as an openly visible scar, and it does not express itself in a psychological ‘lashing out’ of the kind that was, equally memorably, described in Art Spiegelman’s 1986 graphic novel *Maus*, which chronicles the recollections of a Holocaust survivor in the United States.¹² In Sebald’s account, by contrast, survivors remain mostly silent about their histories, but appear afflicted by a profound melancholy, which, even decades after exile, drives them to suicide.¹³

In many ways, the Salzmanns’ story can serve as a corrective to Sebald’s fictional account, and the influence it has exercised on the historical imagination of Jewish exile. The Salzmanns not only established successful new lives for themselves and their children in the United States; they also used the technology of photography to place themselves, energetically and emphatically, in these new surroundings, making and laying claim to a new *Heimat* abroad, and, through Hans’s public slide shows, in turn using these new photographic ‘placements’ as part

of a public performance of their new identities. Nor did the Salzmanns disown their earlier history in doing so. In relying on photography to negotiate their place in new physical and political territory, they quite consciously drew on a practice that they had developed and refined when staking out their German identities before 1939, and which, in many ways, remained a profoundly German habit for them. In their written accounts, too, they drew on eminently German conceptions of ‘belonging’ to perform their own identities, and, paradoxically, also drew on German stories of trans-Atlantic migration to frame their departure to the United States.

The family unit was decisive in such undertakings. While we hear Hans’s voice more often than Käthe’s, Ruth’s, or Eva’s in the written ego-documents, in the photos, all four of them collaborated in fashioning old and new identities, and hybrids thereof; indeed, while Hans often held the camera, it was, in many ways, the women who posed and performed in front of and for it, and thus shaped the pictorial narrative. We have already observed this co-production in photos from Italy and Germany, from 1936 and 1937 respectively: while most photographs from those trips show Käthe, Ruth, and Eva, and were thus, we can surmise, most likely taken by Hans, it is clear that the women’s agency in posing for the camera had as much, if not more, influence on the eventual appearance of the photograph, and in particular, how the Salzmanns’ positioned themselves in particular environments. This is even more evident in the series of photos of the 1947 cruise from New York to Bermuda (Fig. 5.2), which show the women of the family as protagonists, using the deck, stairs and railings of the ship to pose, sometimes humorously, as if they were glamorous models. From the same year comes a picture, uncaptioned in the album, that shows Käthe, Hans, and six American acquaintances—five of whom were women—walking confidently towards a camera, which this time was presumably held by another friend of the family (Fig. 6.1). The shot itself is photographically unremarkable: what makes it interesting is not the framing of the photographer, but the actions of those who are being photographed, performing relaxation, fun, their elegant summer attire and an easy sense of sociability in their new environment, as they stroll on a boardwalk on Coney Island, a popular leisure destination for New Yorkers.

The confidence on display in such shots, first in Germany, and then in the United States, speaks to a sense of ‘success’ in asserting, defending, and refashioning their German-Jewish, and eventually



Fig. 6.1 Kate and friends, Coney Island, 1946–47, Iowa Women’s Archive, Iowa City

German-Jewish-American identities. But this ‘success’ depended crucially on the family acting in unison. Ruth, in her brief stint as a lone exile in England, and later Käthe, during a brief period as a lonely widow, struggled to achieve a sense of control over their own fates. But when the family was united, both physically, first in Berlin, and later in New York, and metaphorically, through the exchanges of photographs and information in the making of the albums and the ‘family book’, the resulting pictorial and written documents testify to lives which, as far as we can tell, were deeply fulfilled, mixing, as lives do, moments of happiness with those of anxiety, and moments of decisive action with those of waiting and deliberation. What is clear is that the Salzmans never accepted the separation

of Jewish and German identities that Nazi policies after 1933 sought to impose. It is also clear, however, that an emphatically transnational conception of ‘Germanness’, evident from well before the years of their own emigration, allowed the Salzmanns to embrace a new language and habitus in the United States, without experiencing this as a rejection of their former identities.

But does this mean that such migrants did not experience trauma in the same way as refugees do in the modern imagination? The question is difficult to answer on the basis of our evidence. As a medium, photography is ill-suited to capturing those more intimate moments of doubt, disorientation, or even existential angst, all of which, for Sebald, constitute the core of the emigree experience, and which are normally shielded from public view. Even personal letters or ego-documents may not always capture deeper traces of trauma that are less readily narrated than outward events. But there are traces of trauma nonetheless: sometimes glimpsed between the lines, as in Hans’s declaration—in an article otherwise discussing soldiers returning from the Second World War, but potentially applicable to his family’s own experiences—that the “average man tends to forget the unpleasant as soon as is possible.”¹⁴ Another set of hints is contained in a set of letters written by friends of the elderly, widowed Kate Salzmann in 1964 and 1965. These letters directly address feelings of emptiness, melancholy, and depression—though not in ways that make any link between such emotions and recollections of trauma explicit. Hans had died in September 1963, leaving Kate, in her friend’s words, “feeling empty.” To overcome this state, in December 1964, Kate embarked upon a journey through a number of Latin and South American countries, where she reconnected with other friends and relatives of German-Jewish descent, many of whom had reached the continent by travelling upon similar global migratory pathways during the Nazi-era, joining pre-existing Germanophone communities in the process. In her travel journal, she wrote of the many “completely ‘German’ villages [...] and place[s]” she encountered while in Argentina, including a “jiddish village with jiddish [*sic*] as language”, in which one could not buy or serve beer on Monday or Tuesday.¹⁵ Kate made no photo album of this trip, but a single image in the archive shows her with three local girls carrying baskets of flowers (Fig. 6.2). There is no trace in this image of the confident woman posing for the camera, nor, for that matter, any attempt to use the medium of photography to place oneself in a particular environment. The backdrop of the picture is an empty mud brick wall; there are



Fig. 6.2 Kate during South American Trip, 1965, Iowa Women's Archive, Iowa City

no smiles in these pictures, and all except the young girl in the centre of the photo avert their eyes from the camera.

It appears that the trip did not have the desired therapeutic effect. Kate's last entry in the travel diary was dated April 1965. In a letter of May 1965, Senia, the wife of one of Hans's former medical colleagues, suggests that Kate returned from her trip to Latin America "in a definite depressed state"; she was "quiet and stuck mainly to her apartment."¹⁶ The letter discusses various suggestions made by my friends and relatives to support Kate's mental recovery, including invitations to their houses, and volunteer work for Kate. A further letter of May 27 mentions that Kate had developed "suicidal tendencies", and that Dr. Kalinowski had prescribed antidepressants. Kate committed suicide later in the same year.¹⁷

It is of course impossible to tell whether Kate's depression was directly connected to her experiences in Nazi Germany, or difficulties she experienced in exile; neither her own writings nor her friends' letters make

such a connection explicit. There was also no indication of any such emotional difficulties while she was still married to Hans. And yet, Kate's attempt to cure her melancholy by re-connecting, if not with Germany itself, then with other German Jews who had emigrated to the American continent suggests, perhaps, a lingering set of difficult memories that were rooted in the trauma caused by National Socialism and their forced migration. Senia may have hinted at this when she wrote: "The fact of the matter is that we, all her friends and relatives, have not been able to solve these questions for her (as a matter of fact I doubt that we all solved them for ourselves...)." ¹⁸

At the same time, Kate's final attempt to tackle her melancholy through travel is worthy of serious consideration. As we have seen, for the Salzmanns, mobility and its documentation in their numerous pre-war travel albums was closely intertwined with the experience of migration itself, which was, in many ways, framed as yet another trip. All this suggests the need to foreground the category of 'migration' in consideration of those who escaped from and survived the Holocaust. Just as, per Spitzer, the emigrant's evolving sense of refugee identity was tied to their literal movement between nations and between cultures, so too was the subsequent development of a collective memory of trauma and loss constituted in a transnational collaboration between victims and survivors now scattered across the globe. As Daniel Levy and Natan Sznaider have noted, this "cosmopolitization of Holocaust memory" includes both "nation-specific and nation-transcending commonalities," all nonetheless derived from the particular history of movement and dispersal evident in the lives of the Salzmanns and their relatives. ¹⁹ In this way, migration appears essential to understanding not only the ways in which German Jews responded to Nazi persecution in the moment, but also the ways in which they processed, commemorated, and remembered the Holocaust for decades thereafter.

Neither Hans's comments nor Käthe's depression in her final months offer incontrovertible proof of a deeper truth about their sense of victimhood. Other family members articulated it more clearly—but only with the benefit of historical hindsight, and as part of a wider engagement with historical discourses about the Nazi past which transcended personal experience. Another German-Jewish family, the Gruenbergers, notably Linda (formerly Lieselotte) and her husband Henry (formerly Heinz), who was from Leipzig, had left Nazi Germany in 1939, and arrived in New York City in the same year. Lieselotte was the daughter

of Gertrud Salzmann, the sister of Hans and Curt, and therefore cousin of Ruth and Eva. In 1978, Linda wrote the following passage, which engaged with the language of trauma explicitly:

We did not see Holocaust. That is not quite true. I did not see the scene on the first evening where the girl is being gassed with all the feeble-minded people and the crying mother after that. Ronnie [Linda's son] then told me what had happened. From what I have heard and read, this was not even anything much compared with the rest of it. I woke up several times being so upset. All the people who had perished came to mind: Heinz's [Linda's husband] grandmother who died in Theresienstadt, we were told, of natural causes. A sister of my mother-in-law who was picked up on the street in Leipzig. The daughter of another sister who disappeared from Paris. Steffi's mother who had hidden in a different place every night and then gave up running and was shipped to be gassed, surely. Henny Benas and her mother; Tante Martha and Wolfgang; a friend of mine who had married an ardent Zionist who felt he had to stay, etc. etc., they perished in the extermination camps and I would have seen them all in my mind had I watched. – Nobody I know volunteered if they had seen this except Margo Meyer who called us from Jacksonville and told us, among others, that she had to take a pill every night - something she never does. She wanted to see this and had forced herself to. Well I asked one friend who told me that inmates of camps had told her it was exactly that way (the screaming and all). She had not lost any one and, I suppose, in that sense it becomes less personal, if this is the right expression. I am glad the many people who know nothing about it have seen what went on. I read in the paper that the Germans have bought it to be shown in Germany by the end of the year.²⁰

Linda's comments, she herself noted, were spurred on by a viewing of the American television miniseries 'Holocaust'—an experience which prompted many viewers, Jews and non-Jews alike, to reconsider their own experience of the years in question.²¹ As research into the broader formation of post-war Holocaust memory has shown, this was not an unusual pattern. As popular media confronted mass audiences with a detailed account of the Holocaust, not only the political discourse about the Nazi regime, but also the individual memories of those who had experienced, directly or indirectly, the processes of discrimination, exclusion and violence that culminated in genocide, were reevaluated and reshaped in the light of what now became known about the macro-historical picture.²²

Such reflections are understandably absent from the sources created in the years before, during, and immediately after migration. And yet, we might find hints of discussions of the Holocaust between the lines even in some contemporaneous sources. Much hinges on how we understand the use of irony in framing and living out the complex, and increasingly conflicted, hybrid identities of migrants and refugees. Throughout their journey, the Salzmanns' letters, poems and photographs featured elements of humour that sometimes bordered on the surreal: the illustrated poem about the 'Prussians in Cuba' is a case in point. It is easy to assume that such a lighthearted representation of the flight from Germany speaks to a sense of defiance, optimism, and, above all, agency over their own fate, which was grounded in the Salzmanns' considerable skill and agility in drawing on historical narratives as well as ideological templates of the day to give a sense of purpose, meaning, and significance to their own story. In this view, trauma was either not, or at least not consciously, experienced at all—or it was actively repressed by and through the performance of life-affirming joy and enterprise. But one does not necessarily follow from the other. The Salzmanns were all too aware of the terrible fate they narrowly escaped; in the United States, they would also have learnt quickly about the full extent of the mass murder that constituted the Holocaust—not least because the *Aufbau*, which they both read and contributed to, was one of the foremost publications informing its mostly Jewish readership of the fate of family and friends left behind in German and German-occupied Europe as soon as the information became available. The *Aufbau* not only published lists of individuals who were killed or went missing in the Holocaust. After the war, it also devoted much attention to reporting on the prosecution of those who masterminded the killing, covering war crimes trials, and employing authors such as Hannah Arendt to reflect on their significance.

In this context, it is ironic that the advertisements of the Salzmanns' public slide shows of their photographic exploits in the United States were published immediately alongside the *Aufbau's* coverage of Adolf Eichmann's trial in Israel.²³ In combination with other New World Club events in which he was involved, Hans's advertisements ran throughout the early winter of 1961–1962, thereby directly overlapping with more than a month of extensive coverage of the Eichmann trial and verdict. A representative piece from this period, appearing in the December 29th edition, used Eichmann's letters to his family from Israel to reflect

on the “psychology of a mass murderer.” As the article concluded, the correspondence ultimately demonstrated the very same “internal and external petty-bourgeois nature that also made Hitler’s coarse utterances so frightening in their exorbitant self-righteousness.”²⁴ Such a combination of derisive commentary with straightforward reportage could not have escaped the Salzmanns’ notice, with their slideshow advertisements sitting only pages away. Yet the Eichmann trial and its aftermath, such a pervasive spur towards remembrance and meditation, seems quite remote from the focused, present-minded optimism of the advertisement.²⁵ What at first glance appears like repression or denial could also be read as a form of existential irony, or doublespeak, that served to articulate that which transcended straightforward verbal and visual representation. Three examples deserve a closer look.

The first was a sketch, produced in 1935, in connection with the Salzmanns’ assertive photographic performance of their Germanness when hiking through the Swiss Alps, and performing the ‘Leica duel’ depicted in the first illustration in this book. The sketch, seemingly casual, but clearly deemed worthy of inclusion in the family archive, shows four small figures scrambling up the side of a mountain, each clutching a giant fork; on top of the mountain sits an equally oversized, steaming bowl of food, over which hovers the apparition of a face with a large, hooked nose, vaguely resembling an anti-Semitic caricature in the Nazi press. The image could be read as an ironic counterpoint to the confident embrace of an at least partially Nazified iconography of Germanness in the contemporaneous family photos. Did the Salzmanns, through this act of visual sarcasm, seek to preempt or counteract an anti-Semitic reading of their ‘out-of-placeness’ in these settings, by portraying themselves as caricatures of Jews motivated only by greed, unable to enjoy the mountains in their own right, as a ‘thing-in-itself’?

This question is hard to answer with any degree of certainty, but what is clear is that a similar sense of existential irony featured in a Salzmann album page from America. In 1951, the Salzmanns had acquired a holiday cottage, replete with its own “*Schrebergarten* [detached garden allotment]” in Continental Village, a hamlet located in affluent Putnam County, a little over an hour north of the family’s Manhattan apartment.²⁶ An album page featured five photos showing their attempts to turn the bare earth on the newly built estate around the houses into gardens: family members and neighbours with garden forks and spades, sweating in the summer sun. The page’s caption reads: “slave

labour.” This seems astounding for multiple reasons. First, applying this label to such a trivial scene, at a time when the extensive use of Jewish slave labour as an integral part of the Holocaust was already well known, would appear to be a rather lighthearted way of treating such traumatic histories. Second, using this term in the United States, and especially, using it in the English language (the phrase here is not the German “Sklavenarbeit”) also references, in similarly trivialising ways, the American history of black slave labour in the pre-Civil War era. Both, from the perspective of a non-victim, could be seen as arrogant and indeed offensive: from the perspective of those who escaped the same fate only by a hair’s breadth, such ironies underscored the precarious nature of the apparent ‘normality’ of ordinary, post-migration life in America.

A third, even more puzzling example of the use of dark humour to negotiate conflicted identities and memories is a poem that Hans and the two Salzmann daughters wrote, in German, for and about their mother in New York City in 1941. We reproduce it here in full length, because only the complete text conveys a clear sense of the multiple ironies at play in it. While we have translated it for the ease of Anglophone readers, the endnote provides the full German text, in which the moral and political ambiguities of its multiple puns and word plays are more apparent.²⁷

The Fabled Beast

Zoological science

Creates something novel from time to time.
 In the Third Reich the pig became a dog,
 The result was the Nazi-*Schweinehund*.

In this country, they cross breed only in zoos
 Creating ligers and such like.
 But we, in our simple house
 Have come up with something particularly nice:

The paws are those of a hare,
 The back that of a Prussian Trakehner horse,
 Its neck and head it has buried
 In the sand, so as not to be disturbed
 The bottom it holds up into the air
 Quite proudly, so you can see its back passage.

This chimera, this fabled creature,
 trots into New Jersey every morning
 And back to its stable in the evening,
 It gives milk—munges its food—and settles in the hay
 And starts afresh in the morning.
 This Hare-Horse-Ostrich-Beast
 Answers to the name of Huttie.
 It sometimes grumbles, sometimes kicks,
 But generally is quite amenable.

To this Know-it-all we hereby wish
 Bucketloads of health and good fortune for life's journey
 On Chanukah
 from Ruth and Eva and Papa

'Thumbs up', shouts Hans
 'Chin up', says Ruth
 'Cheerio' from Eva-Gerterud

It is, at first glance, difficult to comprehend why a poem written to accompany good wishes on Chanukah for Käthe Salzmänn (who is identified here by her nickname 'Huttie') should represent her as a racial hybrid between a hare, whose paws presumably represent flight, an ostrich with its head in the sand, who hides from rather than faces reality, and a traditional Prussian breed of horse, known for its resilience. The poem was clearly not intended to cause offence to Käthe; instead, it seems more likely that here, too, the Salzmanns chose an ironic mode of expression to tackle issues that they, as a family, continued to struggle with. The opening stanzas of the poem link the idea of racial hybridity, the theme of the poem, explicitly to the Third Reich. While 'Schweinehund' (pig-dog, or bastard) is a generic term of abuse, the poem credits National Socialism with having created the 'Schweinehund', which has a more specific political subtext. It seems likely that, as active SPD members, the Salzmanns' choice of words here referenced a famous speech given by the SPD parliamentarian Kurt Schumacher in February 1932, in which he had defined the essence of Nazism as the appeal to the 'innerer Schweinehund', the inner beast, or base instinct, of the German population.²⁸ In the Salzmanns' poem, this Nazi programme of ideological de-humanisation, which created a nation of pig-dogs, is ironically contrasted with the Salzmanns'

own, metaphorical experiments in creating racial hybrids. Käthe, the mother figure and centre of family life, is described both in terms of a resilience rooted in her Prussian ancestry, but also by the desire to run away or hide from, rather than confront, difficult realities. Perhaps the most enigmatic part of the poem, however, is the reference to Käthe as a Weisenheimer, or 'know-it-all'. The German connotations of the word are more playful and lighthearted than the 'smart aleck' or 'wise-cracker', and could be read as a gentle, familial tease. And yet, the choice of term begs the question whether this tease merely related to Käthe's role within the personal dynamics of the family, or whether it was also an ironic comment on the family's survival strategy as a whole, which deployed their social, cultural and intellectual resources to negotiate pathways through a labyrinth of difficulties and traumas that remained, ultimately, incomprehensible, and beyond their control.

Considering the experiences and the interpretative and performative strategies of Nazi-era refugees in the way in which we have in this book gives us an insight into the agility and assertiveness of migrants, who defined their sense of selfhood and belonging in the in-between spaces created by the powerful ideological fictions of fixed, and exclusive, place-based identity politics. Yet the sources also show us people at the receiving end of macro-political developments that overpowered not only the meaning-making capabilities of individuals, but, in many ways, the very limits of representation. The Salzmanns' archive, pictorial and written, served them well in staking out and defending identities under an existential threat by the Nazi regime. Their photographic practice also helped them negotiate the experience of migration itself, and carve out a new existence and social space for themselves in the United States after 1939. Yet it ultimately failed to make sense of the experience of Nazi anti-Semitism itself, even if its ultimate result, the Holocaust, was present only as that which did *not* happen to the most immediate members of the Salzmann family: acknowledged only circuitously, ironically, and indirectly, it was the one defining event which could not in any way be represented, visually or verbally, in the creation of a personal archive.

And yet, the sense of individual agency remains central to the stories of those who escaped from the Nazi terror, and worthy of serious historical consideration. Reducing the experience of families such as the Salzmanns to one of passive victimhood not only renders a historical disservice to those who played such an active role in defining themselves and their life choices. It also runs the inadvertent risk of reproducing

a central tenet of Nazi ideology, which sought to define Jews as qualitatively different, and separate from, other Germans, their culture, and their highly mobile, and often migratory, histories.

In exploring the Salzmans' own conceptions of their movements—social, political, and geographical—this book also contributes to a broader conversation about the ways we talk and do not talk about refugees. Voluntary migrants are the default analytical category for studies of historical population mobility. Refugees seem a case apart, coercion presumably bending the effects of migration beyond a point at which the equivalence can bear its weight. Words such as ‘refugee’ and ‘migrant’ serve a political purpose, transcending migration’s specific triggers to classify individuals in terms of an externally determined fate. Such terms bypass the ambiguities already built into the notion of ‘voluntary’ migration. Forced migration drives population movement now as much as it ever has. Europe’s current struggles to accommodate the untold thousands of people displaced by war and oppression from Eritrea to Syria serve up daily reminders that these issues are more than terminological. Refugees enter no land in a vacuum; it is not simply war, but a history of movement and adjustment that connects migrants to a new country. For the Damascene family in Erfurt today—like the Salzmans in New York before them—interactions with host societies are refracted through the experiences of extant immigrant communities. Widening our aperture to take in forced and voluntary migrant alike allows us to place the story of refugees in the context of histories that were never contained within national borders, but were intrinsically transnational and mobile.

NOTES

1. Along these lines, the sociologist Judith M. Gerson, in her study of German-Jewish memoirs, has noted how many refugees considered completely disavowing, “erasing or circumscribing their former German national identity” as a necessary precondition for “replacing it with a new American one.” Judith M. Gerson, ‘In between States: National Identity Practices among German Jewish Immigrants’, *Political Psychology* 22/1 (2001), pp. 179–98, quote p. 192.
2. Stephen Greenblatt, ‘A Mobility Studies Manifesto’, in *Cultural Mobility: A Manifesto*, ed. Stephen Greenblatt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 250–53, quote p. 252.

3. Benjamin Lapp, 'The Newspaper *Aufbau*, Its Evolving Politics, and the Problem of German-Jewish Identity, 1939–1955', in *Leo Baeck Institute Year Book* 58/1 (2013), pp. 161–74, quote p. 164.
4. Lapp, 'The Newspaper *Aufbau*', p. 163.
5. Hans Salzmann, 'Writings: "Candles Through the Night" - 1947', Box #1. Ruth Salzmann Becker Papers, Iowa Women's Archive, University of Iowa [hereafter: IWA].
6. Tobias Brinkmann, 'The Dialectics of Ethnic Identity: German Jews in Chicago, 1850–1870', in *German-American Immigration and Ethnicity in Comparative Perspective*, eds Wolfgang Helbich and Walter D. Kamphoefner (Madison: Max Kade Institute for German-American Studies, 2004), pp. 44–68, quote p. 49.
7. 'Refugees' only became a recognised category in American law following the passage of the Displaced Persons Act in the Summer of 1948. See: Gil Loescher and John A. Scanlon, *Calculated Kindness: Refugees and America's Half-Open Door, 1945 to the Present* (New York: The Free Press, 1986), pp. 1–24.
8. Further examples include 'The Last Patient', a reflection, from 1947, connecting his care for a terminally ill girl in Berlin with his concurrent experience of Nazi oppression, as well as a 1962 article in a bi-weekly supplement of *Aufbau* examining the preponderance of arterial disease among concentration camp survivors. With their professional focus, these articles are in line with Hans's Summer 1945 series on the psychological health of returning soldiers. His imaginative reconstruction of the homefront's stresses calls to mind Hans's own wartime experiences. As he wrote, the returning soldier "is confused. His home is no longer that old home ... The girlfriend he dreamed about in the field is not exactly the angel he'd imagined her to be ... Father and mother have become older. His standards have changed since his experiences at the front, since his experience of filth, hunger, death, and destruction." In Hans's estimation, the "veteran returns home not as a stranger, but as someone changed—often wiser, sometimes more stubborn, often more mature, sometimes sensitive, often in control of himself, sometimes more irritable." Hans M. Salzmann, M.D., 'Vom Soldaten zum Zivilisten', *Aufbau*, July 6 (1945), Vol. 11, No. 27.
9. Ruth Z. Mann, 'The Adjustment of Refugees in the United States in Relation to their Background', *The Jewish Social Service Quarterly* 16 (September 1939), pp. 19–28, quote p. 26.
10. W. G. Sebald, *Die Ausgewanderten* (Frankfurt am Main: Eichborn, 1992).
11. On Sebald's novel's reception and influence, see: Mary Cosgrove, 'The Anxiety of German Influence: Affiliation, Rejection and Jewish Identity in W. G. Sebald's Work', in *German Memory Contests: The Quest*

- for *Identity in Literature, Film and Discourse Since 1990*, eds Anne Fuchs, Mary Cosgrove, and Georg Grote (Rochester: Camden House, 2006), pp. 229–52; Gerhard Fischer, ed., *W. G. Sebald: Schreiben Ex Patria=Expatriate Writing* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2009); Stefanie Harris, ‘The Return of the Dead: Memory and Photography in W. G. Sebald’s *Die Ausgewanderten*’, *The German Quarterly* 74/4 (2001), pp. 379–91; and Jonathan J. Long, ‘History, Narrative, and Photography in W. G. Sebald’s *Die Ausgewanderten*’, *Modern Language Review* 98/1 (2003), pp. 117–37.
12. Individual chapters of Spiegelman’s graphic novel appeared in the magazine *Raw* from 1980; the first six were published as *Maus: A Survivor’s Tale. My Father Bleeds History* (New York and Toronto: Pantheon Books, 1986). *Maus* has since been translated into over 30 languages. For Marianne Hirsch, *Family Frames: Photography, Narrative, and Postmemory*, Harvard University Press, 1997, *Maus* is a prime example of ‘post-memory’, documenting the transferred trauma of Holocaust survivors to the second generation.
 13. Spitzer shares this view on the lingering presence of melancholy in the lives of exiles. In his view, mourning was “deeply embedded within the refugee identity in general ... [and] affected *all* [italics in original] refugees personally and profoundly for years to come.” Leo Spitzer, *Hotel Bolivia: The Culture of Memory in a Refuge from Nazism* (New York: Hill & Wang, 1998), pp. 59–60.
 14. Hans M. Salzmann, M.D., ‘Die Sorge um den Arbeitsplatz’, *Aufbau*, July 13, 1945, Vol. 11, No. 28.
 15. Kate Salzmann, ‘Travel diary (South America), c. - 1964’, Box #2. Ruth Salzmann Becker papers, IWA.
 16. Senia Krewer to Eva Salzmann Vichules and Ruth Salzmann Becker, May 27, 1965, ‘Correspondence - 1964–1965’, Box #2. Ruth Salzmann Becker papers, IWA.
 17. *Ibid.*
 18. *Ibid.*
 19. Daniel Levy and Natan Sznajder, *The Holocaust and Memory in the Global Age*, trans. Assenka Oksiloff (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2006), pp. 11–12.
 20. Linda Gruenberger to Ruth Becker, May 8, 1978. ‘General - 1900–1995’, Box #3. Ruth Salzmann Becker papers, IWA.
 21. On the premiere and influence of the film in the United States, see: Jeffrey Shandler, *While America Watches: Televising the Holocaust* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 155–78; Judith Doneson, *The Holocaust in American Film* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2002). For the reception of the series in West Germany, see: Jeffrey

- Herf, 'The "Holocaust" Reception in West Germany: Right, Center, and Left', *New German Critique* 19/1 (Winter 1980), pp. 30–52; Jürgen Wilke, 'Die Fernsehserie "Holocaust" als Medienereignis', *Historische Sozialforschung* 30/4 (2005), pp. 9–17.
22. On the formation of Holocaust memory, see: Peter Novick, *The Holocaust in American Life* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1999); Dominick LaCapra, *History and Memory After Auschwitz* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998); and, for a dialogue highlighting the distinctions between universal and particular national memories, Jeffrey C. Alexander, with Martin Jay, Bernhard Giesen, Michael Rothberg, Robert Manne, Nathan Glazer, and Elihu & Ruth Katz, *Remembering the Holocaust: A Debate* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).
 23. The literature on the trial and its influence on the nature and trajectory of Holocaust memory is extensive. Central to this discourse were, of course, Hannah Arendt's dispatches from the trial, collected in the 1963 book *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil*. The work's paradigm-shaping interpretation of Eichmann, the trial, and the character of Nazi functionaries has been challenged often since its appearance, most recently in Bettina Stangneth's 2011 *Eichmann vor Jerusalem: das unbeabsichtigte Leben eines Massenmörders*. For non-Arendt-centred work on the trial and its reverberations in American, European, and Israeli society, see: Donald Bloxham, *Genocide on Trial: War Crimes Trials and the Formation of Holocaust History and Memory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001); Tom Segev, *The Seventh Million: Israelis and the Holocaust* (New York: Picador Press, 2000); Lawrence Douglas, *The Memory of Judgment: Making Law and History in the Trials of the Holocaust* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001); and Deborah E. Lipstadt, *The Eichmann Trial* (New York: Schocken Books, 2011).
 24. Unknown, 'Was Eichmann nach Hause schrieb: Zur Psychologie eines Massenmörders', *Aufbau*, December 29 (1961), Vol. 27, No. 52.
 25. This juxtaposition of trauma and seeming triviality mirrored Hans's earlier contributions to the newspaper. As an enthusiastic stamp collector, Hans wrote several articles for *Aufbau*'s 'Postage Stamp Corner' during the back half of the 1940s. As such, these contributions inevitably butted up against the constant tick-tock of war and atrocity coverage emblematic of the period. While unapologetically philatelic, Hans's work nonetheless touched upon the family's own experiences in their own ways, as in the articles covering "Immigrants and 'Foreigners' on U.S. Stamps" and Allied wartime stamps emblazoned with anti-fascist slogans.
 26. Ruth Salzmann Becker, 'Memoir, undated', Box #6. Ruth Salzmann Becker papers, IWA.

27. The German original reads thus: “Das Wundertier. Die zoolog’sche Wissenschaft/ Von Zeit zu Zeit was Neues schafft:/ Im Dritten Reich kommt’s Schwein zum Hund,/ Ergebnis: Nazi - Schweinehund./ Hier kreuzt man Tiere nur im Zoo/ Und kriegt dann Tigelons und so./ Auch wir in unsrem schlichten Haus/ Wir brueteten was Nettes aus:/ Die Pfoten sind von einem Hasen, / Der Buckel vom Trakehner Pferd,/ Und Hals und Kopf hat es vergraben/ Im Sande, das man es nicht stoert,/ Den Toches haelt es in die Hoeh,/ Voll Stolz, dass man’s Ploeroeschen seh./ Dies Monstrum, dieses Wunderlein,/ Trabt werktags frueh nach Jersey rein/ Und abends heim kehrt’s in den Stall,/ Gibt Milch, kaut’s Futter, kriecht in’s Heu/ Und startet morgens dann auf’s Neu./ Dies Hasen-Pferde-Straussentier/ Hoert auf den Namen Huttie hier./ Es meckert manchmal, schlaegt mal aus,/ Im Ganzen kommt man mit ihm aus./ Dem Weisenheimer eimerweise/Gesundheit, Glueck zur Lebensreise/Zu CHANNUKAH/Wuenscht Ruth und Eva und Papa./Thumbs up’, ruft Hans/‘Chin up’, die Ruth/‘Cheerio’ die Eva-Gerterud.” 12/20/1941. Hans Salzmann, “Photographs: Hans and Käthe Salzmann,” Box #6. Ruth Salzmann Becker Papers, IWA.
28. Schumacher’s speech, which is widely known by the “Schweinehund” title, can be accessed at the archives of the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, see <https://www.fes.de/fulltext/historiker/00781a20.htm> (accessed 18/6/2018). The speech contributed to Schumacher’s long imprisonment in a Nazi concentration camp from 1934.

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