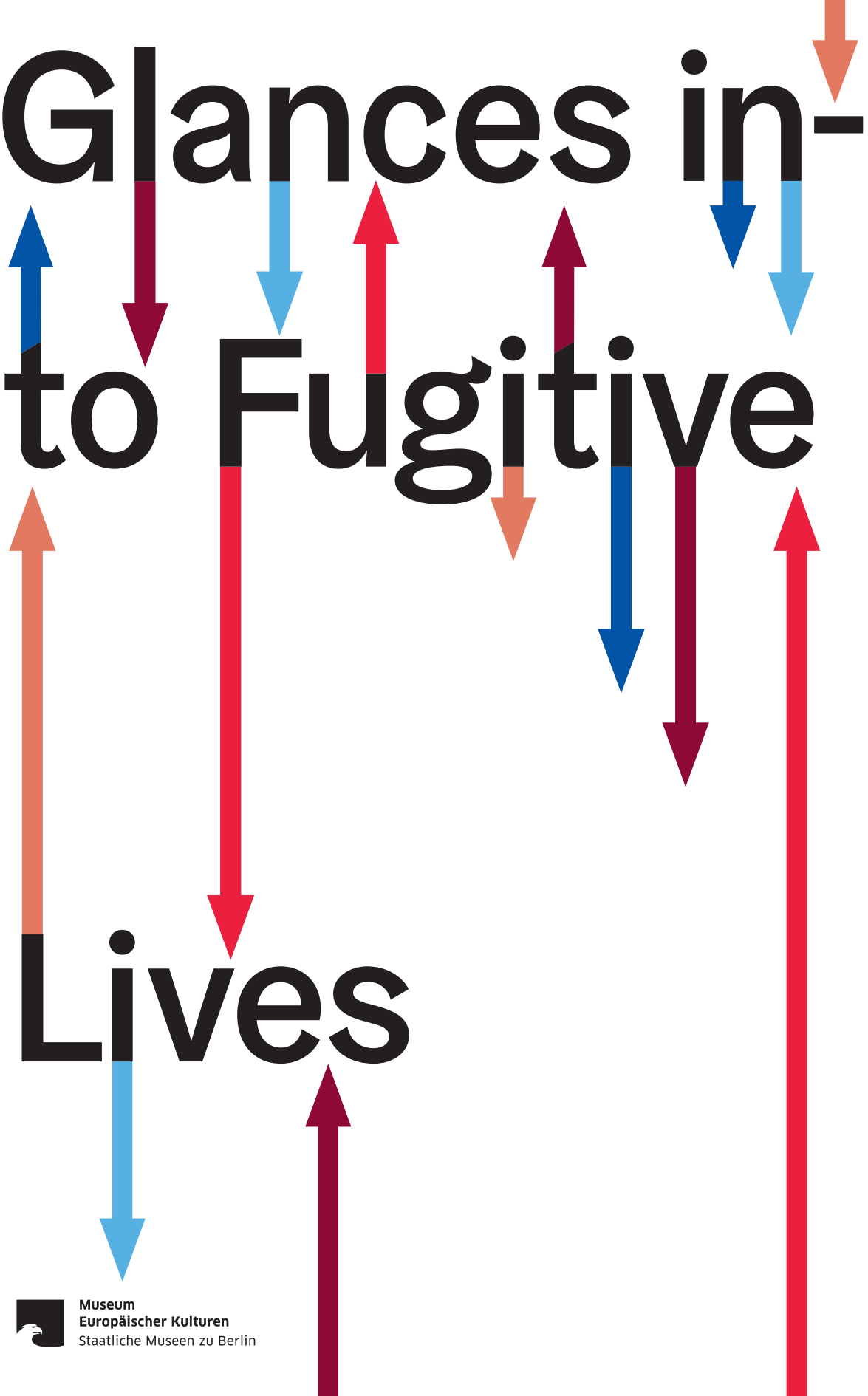
Glances into Fugitive Lives



Museum
Europäischer Kulturen
Staatliche Museen zu Berlin

Glances into Fugitive Lives

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Europäischer Kulturen
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Edited by Elisabeth Tietmeyer

Why this book?

Elisabeth Tietmeyer director
Dagmar Neuland-Kitzerow curator
Museum Europäischer Kulturen – Staatliche Museen zu Berlin

Residents of a hostel for asylum-seekers in Berlin-Spandau and KUNSTASYL, an initiative by artists, creatives and asylum-seekers, have taken over the exhibition rooms of the Museum Europäischer Kulturen on March 4th, 2016, where they documented the experiences, wishes, perspectives and lifestyles of refugees by artistic means. The presentation *daHEIM: Glances into Fugitive Lives* (until July 2nd, 2017) was thus realized in a workshop-type process that visitors were able to follow and discuss with the protagonists at the museum.

In connection with the personal histories of the current protagonists, biographies from the 19th and 20th century serve to convey that flight-related immigration is not a new phenomenon. It is a form of migration that has always existed.

This is one of the things this book is about, without differentiating why people flee or migrate, respectively. They can leave their home and group for various reasons, for example because of a dire economic situation, oppression, natural disasters, war and conquest, expulsion, or on account of political persecution, overpopulation, or for personal reasons. Migrants are always seeking a better life that their families, who mostly remain behind, are meant to share in as well.

This is the Earth the German historian Karl Schlögel has referred to as the "planet of nomads", shaped by migration movements since the dawn of humanity. Overlooking a time span of two million years, people have been less sedentary than on the move. Europe was no exception – particularly the last two centuries have been marked by major internal migrations as a consequence of war or in search of work. Many regions and towns in Europe witnessed emigration to America in the 19th century, mostly due to economic problems, famines and overpopulation. The 20th century was characterized by dictatorships and two world wars, leading to forced migrations such as escapes, deportations and expulsions. This is also what this book is about. The descriptions of the personal experiences of men and women who migrated or fled within, to or from Europe lends a human face to an issue that is so often associated with a "fear of the masses". The parallels with the experiences of today's fleeing immigrants are unmistakeable.

The Biographical Fates section therefore starts with the memories of **Dachil Sado** (KUNSTASYL project team and art student, Berlin, Germany) of his escape route from Iraq to Germany in 2014. His experiences of war, destruction and mortal danger and descriptions of the everyday reality of other protection-seekers serve him to reflect on political decision-making processes, and on how they determine the future plans of individuals.

The contribution by **Dagmar Neuland-Kitzerow** (Museum Europäischer Kulturen, Berlin) details a student's escape from Hungary in 1956. Political persecution by the communists caused many regime critics to flee to "western" countries.

The essay by **Elisabeth Fendl** (Institut für Volkskunde der Deutschen des östlichen Europa, Freiburg i. B., Germany) treats of displacements after the Second World War, tracing the repeatedly disrupted life trajectories of a man from Bohemia

and his family, embedded in events associated with the political post war orders in Czechoslovakia and the Federal Republic of Germany.

Taking the life of her great-grandmother as an example in her contribution, **Alina Helwig** (Museum Europäischer Kulturen, Berlin) looks at the deportation and migration of Soviet citizens with German backgrounds – and a time span of nearly 100 years.

Helga Neumann (Akademie der Künste, Berlin) describes the experiences of flight and exile triggered by the Second World War as illustrated by the life of a German author who fled to Mexico with her family via France, and dealt with her experiences in her work.

In her essay, **Kristina Heizmann** (Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin) looks at a migration within Europe that was triggered by the First World War. Taking the escape of a single mother and her two daughters from Belgium to England as an example, she highlights the regimentations the new lives of these women were attended by.

Driven by hunger and poverty, over a million Swedes emigrated to America in the second half of the 19th century. This was one of the largest outflows Sweden had ever witnessed. Many emigrants settled down there and some came back, as described by **Lennart Johansson and Håkan Nordmark** (Kulturparken Småland, Växjö, Sweden) based on the example of a single woman from Småland in southern Sweden.

The introduced essays are all focused on the migration and life experience of individual persons. But although the information is presented against the background of the respective political or economic situation, the interconnections will only become apparent if migration is placed in a Historical Context. That and how Europe needs to be seen in a global context to this end is mediated in the essay by **Jochen Oltmer** (Institut für Migrationsforschung und Interkulturelle Studien, Osnabrück, Germany) for this section.

A historic research of migration issues can only be based on *Institutional Remembrances* that are generally provided by museums and archives for information and reflection. How and why institutions deal with the experiences and facts of migration is paradigmatically illustrated by three essays in the last section.

Juliana Monteiro and her colleagues (Museu da Imigração, São Paulo, Brazil) describe the state-sponsored immigration of Italians in Brazil at the end of the 19th century, and their lives in the new location. The information is based on documents, objects and on interviews they conducted with the migrants' descendants.

A similar function is served by the Association for Researching and Archiving the Armenian Memory in Marseille, whose objectives, activities and proposals are outlined by **Myriame Morel-Deledalle** (Musée des Civilisations de la France et de la Méditerranée, Marseilles, France). The centenary remembrance of the flight of thousands of Armenians to France from the genocide in the Ottoman Empire in 1915 was also served by exhibitions in the year 2015.

Emigration from Europe to the USA reached its peak between the end of the 19th and middle of the 20th century. Millions of people from various European origins passed through the reception camp on Ellis Island in New York. This has been converted into a museum, and ever since devoted itself to researching and mediating the immigration issue. How it does this is described by **Diana Pardue** (Statue of Liberty NM and Ellis Island, New York, USA).

The commitment to thematizing and remembering migration and its repercussions is also shared by the Museum Europäischer Kulturen. Ever since its inception in 1999, the museum has been dedicating itself to aspects of past and present lifeworlds, and the forms and consequences of cultural encounters in and with Europe, in its exploration of current issues. This is aimed at drawing attention to differences and commonalities in society to engender respect for people from different cultures. The protagonists are meanwhile not only speaking for themselves, but also (co-)deciding about the contents of the exhibition – they participate, while the museum provides the platform – as has already been the case in exhibitions such as *Heimat Berlin?* (2002), *Migration(Hi)story in Berlin* (2003), *Crossing Borders: Migrants in Europe* (2004), *Generation "Adefra": 20 Years of the Black Women's Movement in Germany* (2006), *Döner, Delivery and Design, Entrepreneurs in Berlin* (2009/10), or *Realizable Dreams? Italian Women in Berlin* (2016/17). The *European Cultural Days* event series (since 2000) has also returned to the topics of 'cultural contacts', 'social diversity' and 'identities' in Europe again and again. Last but not least *daHEIM: Glances into Fugitive Lives* (2016/2017): In this presentation, the Museum Europäischer Kulturen has taken its participatory bent even one step further. How this came about will be sketched out by the artist **barbara caveng** in the following contribution.

We owe her a particular debt of gratitude because it was she, after all, who initiated and developed the KUNSTASYL project and realized it with the (former) residents of the hostel in Berlin-Spandau and the team at the Museum Europäischer Kulturen. Over and beyond this, our sincerest thanks go to all the authors and everyone who helped bring this book to a successful conclusion.

“I am a human.” From READY NOW to KUNSTASYL – A chronicle

barbara caveng Artist and Initiator of KUNSTASYL

"They were accommodated in homes anyway, more or less isolated from real living conditions, with neither a flat nor a perspective to call their own."–This was not said about the 100 residents of the home for asylum seekers on Staakener Strasse in Berlin-Spandau, and not about the entirety of the approximately 43,000 people in Berlin who are still forced to live in "refugee homes", sports halls or containers in the spring of 2016 either. The statement refers to the treatment of "strangers" from Vietnam, Mozambique, Angola and Cuba, who were hired in the 1960s and after by the GDR as "contract workers" under restrictive conditions. The quote is by Dagmar Neuland–Kitzerow, curator of the Museum Europäischer Kulturen. On September 10th, 2003, she was seated amongst a group of people from Brazil, the USA, Peru, Iran and Germany at a table in a 30 square metres studio at Berlin Prenzlauer Berg, busy knotting a postcard-sized section of the READY NOW carpet, 11 square metres in total, at whose innermost centre, the *mirhab*, floats the US-American aircraft carrier Abraham Lincoln.

In September 2003, the war waged against Saddam Hussein by the USA with the "coalition of the willing" was already being celebrated as "won". Iraq was destroyed. Parallel to hostilities and post-war events, the READY NOW project had developed from May to November. 246 people from 54 native countries knotted the READY NOW carpet, while verifying their own selves in relation to others in a dialogue. They revealed themselves, located their origins with a pin in a world map on the wall, reflected background and history, looked for things they had in common, the familiar in the strange. "Perhaps it helps to feel safe and secure if one supposedly knows where one belongs."

Fig. 1 Project kick-off and friendly takeover of the exhibition rooms by KUNSTASYL
| Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Museum Europäischer Kulturen / Ute Franz-Scarciglia

The country Dagmar Neuland-Kitzerow used to live in had disappeared. In 1989, in her East Berlin living room, she saw on television how the Berlin wall–the monument of the German division–was overcome. It had touched her "that history forms like that, within the life of one person–when one becomes part of history like that oneself."

"I can find my home anywhere." With its star and red-green border, the carpet section knotted by Lina from Syria was reminiscent of her country's flag. Whenever the social worker, 46 at the time, spoke about Damascus, the room filled up with the heavy scent of Jasmine. Her pride seduced me. I wanted to see and smell this country for myself that she was so decidedly committed to.
Dagmar Neuland-Kitzerow knotted a piece of sea spray splashing up the airplane carrier's prow in the READY NOW carpet. The waves that are now–13 years later–flooding the exhibition rooms of the Museum Europäischer Kulturen are the expression of a political development that has been decisively accelerated by the Second Iraq War.
Hence, the long history of the *daHEIM: Glances into Fugitive Lives* project, jointly realized by KUNSTASYL and the Museum Europäischer Kulturen, goes back to the year 2003.
In 2011, when my dream to travel to Syria became true, only 23 of the 180 seats in the Airbus to Damascus were occupied. Syria was no longer a travel destination, but an area of conflict. My return flight after four weeks–hence sooner than expected–was accompanied by the parting words of Nesrin, a Syrian artist: "If there is a war, we will all be refugees–and who in the world will want us then?"
Her question hangs over the concept of KUNSTASYL.
I met Dagmar again at a bistro table in the museum cafe in 2014. At that time the number of people trying to flee to Europe had already grown beyond comprehension. "The security needed, to locate one's self somewhere" had been lost by them all. One of them stood at the Syrian-Turkish border and shouted into a reporter's microphone: "I AM A HUMAN BEING."
Europe put up a defence. Those who had survived the perils of the sea or successfully overcome the approximately 2,500 kilometres of the Balkan route would now drown namelessly in the mass of similar fates as a "refugee".
One of the homes where people that are looking for protection find shelter in Berlin is a former health authority building in Spandau. It is located right next to an industrial area, "isolated from actual living conditions, disconnected from any individual search for perspectives". It is a place without room for sorrow, mourning, let alone hope. The Mounem family spent more than a year in the few square meters of two rooms as well. We could have run into each other in Damascus. Our flats were only 200 meters apart.
In February 2015, the home for asylum seekers started turning into an enclave where people with and without homes, artists, creative minds and asylum-seekers asked themselves the same questions as KUNSTASYL. Questions that had

Fig. 2 Waterglas symphony "Ode to Joy – Placing Hope in Europe" amongst others with Dachil Sado, Ina Sado, Aymen Montasser, and Diwali Haskan | Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Museum Europäischer Kulturen / Ute Franz-Scarciglia

already been mulled over in 2003 at the knotting table of READY NOW: "Who am I in relation to the other and who owns space?" All through summer we sat on DIY-furniture in the wasteland, and when the sun went down at 9 p.m., even the home's ugly front would give in to our Utopia and light up in pink. We shared time and space while practicing the overcoming of borders–borders of belonging, mental walls, own barricades.

The group that assembled at the tables in the home's common room in December 2015 was large. People from Bosnia, Albania, Kosovo, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Syria and Iraq met with the executive team of the Museum Europäischer Kulturen. The deprived space of a shelter for asylum-seekers witnessed the forging of a cooperation in which the museum mapped out a counter-image to a defensive Europe: access was not refused, but ventured.

Since March 2016, mounted on the facade and visible from afar, the flags of the Museum Europäischer Kulturen und KUNSTASYL have been jointly welcoming visitors. The museum renounced its claim to representation: instead of a paternalistic gesture of participation, it granted autonomy. What started in a home (*Heim*) became possible in the museum: *Heim* became daHEIM (at home)–a fragile construct of glances into fugitive lives.

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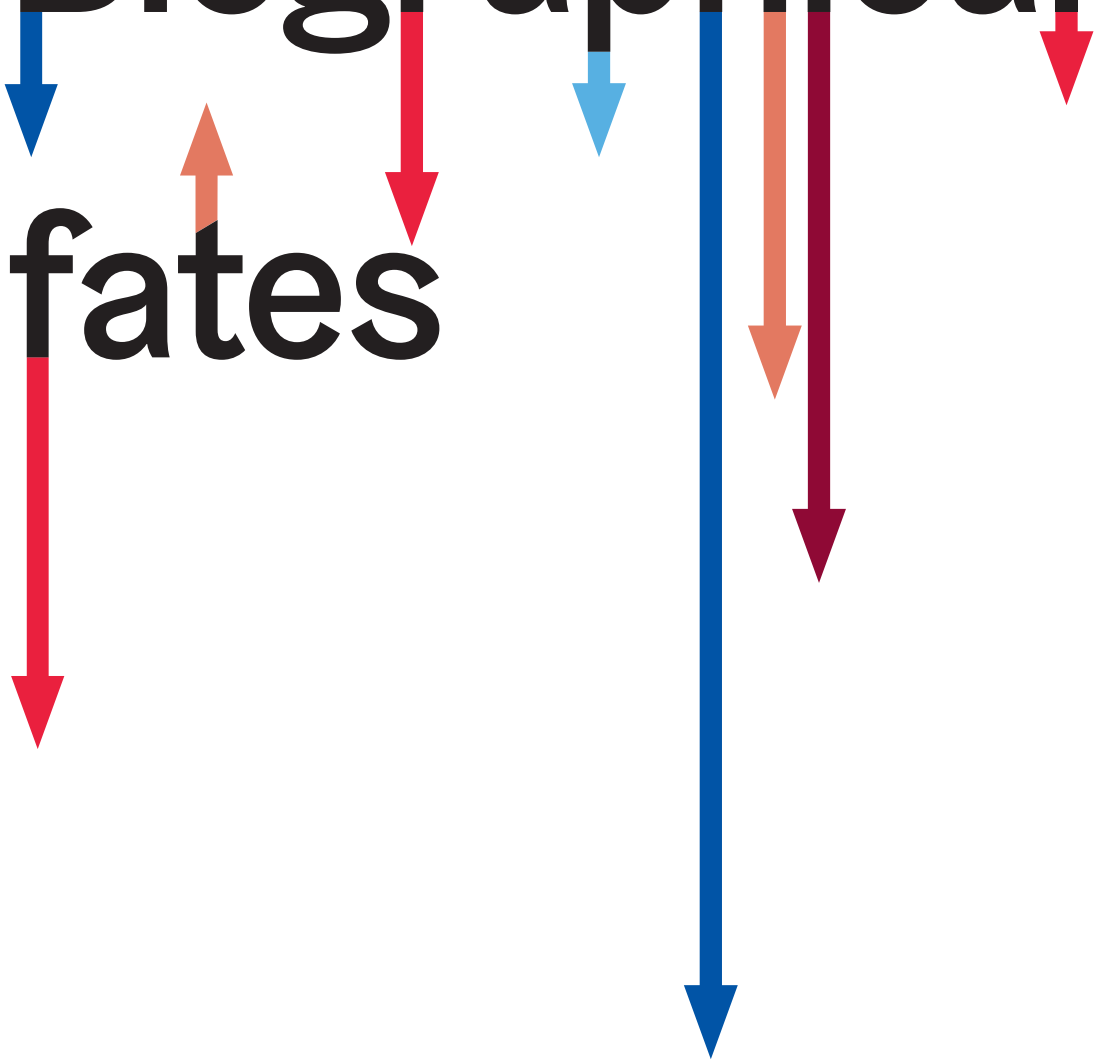
Biographical fates



Dachil Sado

Myth of Gilgamesh seeking Europa

Edited by Mary Okonkwo

After Gilgamesh, the King of Uruk, lost the plant of immortality, he heard about the legend of Europa. He was told stories and descriptions of her looks. The stories came to his imagination and dreams for a long time; Gilgamesh recognized that the real immortality was to have his dream of life. He dreamed of the beauty which no god could describe; he wanted to start his journey to meet the most beautiful woman in the universe, Europa. He wanted to risk his divine power and face death to get her.

Gilgamesh started his search walking through Anatolia toward the forest of Bulgaria. In the forest, Gilgamesh had to face the refugee hunter.[1] He had to creep through the forest and withstand the icy wind. Gilgamesh was climbing the mountains while his feet were immersed in the mud. The space was covered by the voices of the monsters trying to stop him getting his precious dream.

▸ **Fig. 1**

At the end of the last valley of the Bulgarian mountains, a monster with double heads[2] surprised Gilgamesh and broke through the borders to leave a deadly sting on his neck, thus sending him back to the starting point in Anatolia.

"The vision that I saw was wholly awesome! / The heavens shrieked, the earth boomed! / Though daylight was dawning, darkness came. / Lightning flashed, a flame shot up. / The clouds swelled, it rained death! / Then the glow vanished; the fire went out.

And all that had fallen was turned to ashes"[3], said Gilgamesh to his Goddess mother Ninsun. With a waterfall of tears falling from his eyes, he begged her and

Fig. 1 Drawing by Dachil Sado, no title, 29.5 cm × 20.9 cm | Dachil Sado

Fig. 2 Mohammed sitting on a rock at Sahara | Hiba Serwan

asked her help to show him the way to Europa.

"Ride the grey boat, traverse Sahara where the sand storms, cross the sea of death, reach the gate of Lampedusa", said Ninsun.

Gilgamesh rode his cart, which was driven by divine power, and headed toward Lampedusa. He dove through the sandstorms like a fish swimming in sweet water, he flew over the sea of death, and passed through the Lampedusa underworld which was full of bones and bodies of the ones who tried to pass before him. ▸ Fig. 2

At the rise of the sun, Gilgamesh arrived at the border of the Bavaria Empire. At the border gate appeared Alkahina, the guardian of the Empire who was under the curse of an evil god. Al-kahina was sitting behind her musical instrument, waiting to face Gilgamesh and control his divine power with her symphony curse. Gilgamesh swirled up like a tornado and chirped like a nightingale; he sent a wave of emotions and released her from the insensitive curse[4] and said:

"In my city man dies; oppressed is my heart. / Man perishes; / Heavy is my heart ... / Man, the tallest, cannot stretch to heaven; / Man, the widest, cannot cover the earth."[5] / The queen stood on her legs and contained the quest of Gilgamesh into a flask and answered: / "You, the King of Uruk, brave as a lion. / You, the seeker of immortality, found the dream. / You, the one faced difficulties, reached Europa."

Features of comfort appeared on the face of Gilgamesh; he passed into Bavaria with feelings of liberation from fighting the monsters. The Sumerian King of Uruk felt the dissolution of the restrictions that forced him to confront all the difficulties that he had gone through.

Gilgamesh walked toward the light of Europa and raised his hand to touch her skin, when suddenly Yousif[6] woke up in his bed. He opened his eyes to see the ceiling of Room 209.

"Room of 16 square meters, lit by two glowing and radiant lights, narrow passage between the two beds blocked with a bone table, surrounded by lockers. Behind my head during sleeping there is the shelf of a collection of electricity switches in red and white with a small TV on it and looks like the room of intensive care."[7]

Yousif felt sorry and drew a smile on his face, wondering about how the world changed that the descendant of Babylon civilization builders is now seeking asylum. Yousif closed his eyes in the abandoned room to fly back to his dream. "I believe in everything until it's disproved. So I believe in fairies, the myths, dragons. It all exists, even if it's in your mind. Who's to say that dreams and nightmares aren't as real as the here and now?"[8] ▸ Fig. 3

Fig. 3 Yousif wears an amulet of protection around his neck: the five-legged Lamassu incorporates the swiftness of the eagle with the strength of the lion. The divine hybrid-being's body originates from a whale, the goddess strides with the legs of a Taurus, and her head is human. The Assyrian considers himself as a proud descendant of Babylonian civilization.[9] | barbara caveng

What it means to be a refugee!

A refugee is a person who had to flee his home for different reasons. A refugee is a person who is covered by a tent or put on a bed. A refugee is a person who has to be part of a group called refugees. A refugee is someone who has to follow every person in the world and dream about being the last one and just being at least a part of the societal range.[10] A refugee is the one whose voice cannot rise more than asking for bread. A refugee is at a point when your humanity is quietly erased. When a person loses his identity by being called a refugee, this is one of the hardest points a human being can stand at.

In March 1992, in Shingal, Iraq, I was born exactly one year after the Gulf War stopped. I grew up as a normal child with a dream of being a scientist and an inventor. Albert Einstein and Leonardo da Vinci became my idols when I was ten years old. I heard a lot of stories and songs about what we Ezidi people had suf-

fered through 72 genocides. It was told that the attacks were mainly by people who were close to us or from surrounding areas. The Shingal community was not isolating any of the people in its city; people from different beliefs and unbelievers were living together. In August 2007, there was an attack on my city by a multiple car bombing in Al-Adnaniah and Al-Qahtaniyah; some 500 Yazidis were killed and 1,500 wounded. It was the fourth deadliest terrorist strike in the world. I was a lecturer in computer courses for young and illiterate people in my city. In August 2009, at least 20 people were killed and 30 wounded in a double suicide bombing, three meters away from our course place.

I didn't give up studying and working. I worked at my family's factory as an electrician, and also I worked as a security specialist policeman in the Domiz Camp (in Iraqi-Kurdistan) for Syrian people who had to flee. Shortly after I had opened a shisha bar in June 2014, the "Islamic State" attacked our city. The Iraqi and Kurdish forces left the city in August 2014 causing genocide. The UN declared that more than 5,000 Yazidis were killed, and between 5,000 and 7,000 Yazidi women were abducted. I had to flee through Syria to survive; my uncle and my cousin were beheaded and two friends were killed by the "Islamic State". Even if we are, as Yazidis, hopeful and peaceful in our beliefs – this attack didn't leave any more hope for us to stay in a part of the world where we had been through 73 genocides. "Hope is a waking dream" (Aristotle).

I gave up the life of having no simple human rights neither in the Iraqi nor Kurdish parts. I chose to continue my trip to Germany. I chose Germany to continue my life as a normal human being.

On the 17th of January 2015, I arrived in Berlin. After one month, I met barbara caveng[11], the initiator of KUNSTASYL[12], a participatory art project. This project gave me a chance to build up myself again; I found several ways to express myself through art. I studied one semester of Civil Engineering at Technical University of Berlin. I was the best of 250 students for Mathematics, chemistry and physics in my high school. After having some experiences in visual art and feeling the power of art, I decided to study art, and I was accepted in the preparation course at Kunsthochschule Weißensee in Berlin. My first piece of art is a person with a finger print on his back, and it is expressing every person in the situation of Hameed.

I shared, for several months, a room in a building for asylum seekers with Hameed and another person from Pakistan. When I was in Iraq, other people and I thought that people who were from Afghanistan were always bad; I was even afraid to tell Hameed my real name.

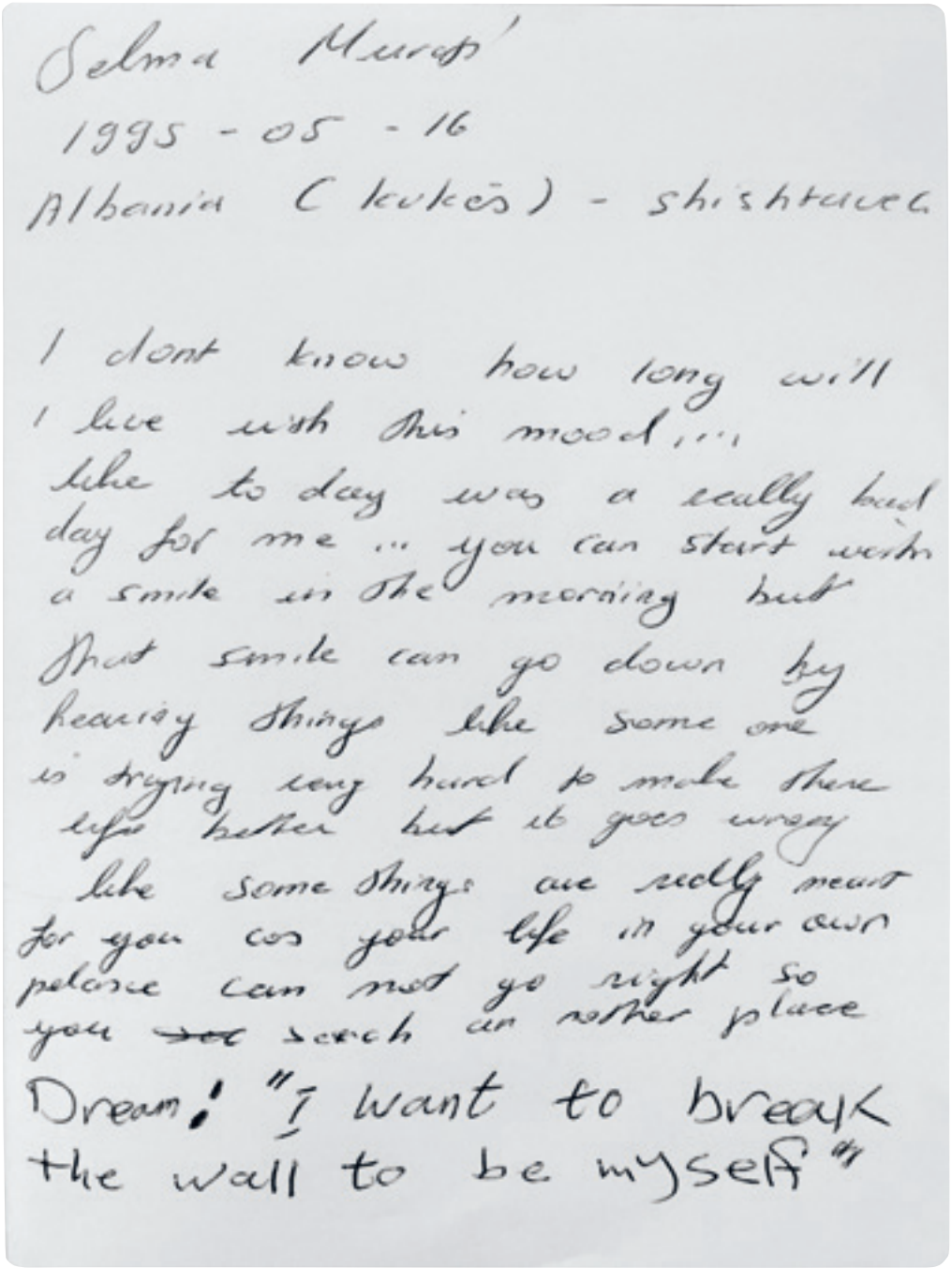
Hameed is one of the few people I know, with the most innocent dreams. He is a person who doesn't want more than having a job and a wife; he just wants to live a life without being close to conflicts and war. After becoming friends with Hameed and getting to know him, I felt sorry for my earlier way of thinking. I was embarrassed to have had the idea of judging some people without knowing anything about them.

Fig. 4 Hameed in his room | Till Rimmele

Hameed started school at the age of seven and finished high school, but didn't apply for university because of economical problems. Directly after stopping his studies, he started working to support his family. Hameed is the oldest of his two brothers and three sisters; his father was a farmer, before being kidnapped in November 2013 by an unknown group; his mother is living together with his brothers and sisters. His family lives unstably between Kabul and Kunduz, due to the threats they get because of Hameed's job as a translator for the USA Army. His sisters cannot go to school because of the danger from groups killing women who go to school.

Hameed worked two and half years as an assistant at a human resources office in Afghanistan. One time he was the employee of the month, and he was proud of this and took a photo with his colleagues at the company. He put his photo in his house in the village. One visitor saw Hameed's photo and informed a group of Taliban fighters about it. Hameed hurt his right knee when he had to jump from the first floor and flee after an attack from this group. As most mothers of people who had to flee, Hameed's mother asked him not to come back to the country because of being panicked about losing her oldest son.

Hameed started his travel to Europe, but he got arrested on the Bulgarian borders, and (as he claims) was hit by the Bulgarian border police on his injured knee. Hameed said that the police forced him to give fingerprints and apply for asylum in Sofia, Bulgaria. Hameed did not want to stay in Bulgaria, so he continued his way until he stopped in Berlin. Hameed experienced one and half years lack of sleep and discomfort because of being put through the process of the Dublin Regulation[13] and facing the daily possibility of being deported to


Selma Murati
1995 - 05 - 16
Albania (Kukës) - shishtavec

I dont know how long will
I live with this mood,,,,
like to day was a really bad
day for me ... you can start with
a smile in the morning but
that smile can go down by
hearing things like some one
is trying very hard to make there
life better but it goes wrong
like some things are really meant
for you as your life in your own
palace can not go right so
you ~~not~~ search an nother place
Dream! "I want to break
the wall to be myself"

Fig. 5 Vita Nova, writing by Selma in my notebook | Dachil Sado

Bulgaria. After one and half years of applying for asylum, Hameed got a letter that his case has been reopened. ▸ Fig. 4

Not knowing which decision will be taken is the point of being put in a circle of depression for everyone who had to flee. The incapability of living in a normal way and being helpless is the exact definition of pain.

"Everything was shaking, even the lights; it looked like everything is going to fall down. It was like an earthquake every single second." Those words were the expression of Selma Murati[14] describing the place where she lived with her family, the first week of being in Berlin. Selma is an attractive young woman who comes from Kukes, Albania. When Selma was a child she went to the United Kingdom with her family, on a plastic boat; due to her fear of water, they put a plastic bag on her head so she would not see the sea. One morning, Selma and her family were awoken and picked up by the police and deported to Albania, after five years of being in Leeds, England. The travel of the Murati family started again in 2015, and they arrived in Germany in the same year.

Selma clarified that in Albania politicians are not letting the Albanian people live and have their freedom, especially women. She said that in Albania a main duty for women is to get married and have kids. "I am in Europe; I am in Germany, but still no freedom, I want to break the wall and be myself!" Selma said those words, shouting as a freedom fighter. The emotions were torn inside her heart as the earth crumbled beneath her feet; she just wanted to stay and have a new life, and then she said that Albania is not Europe–it's just the door beside. "Each human has the right to live wherever, whenever and however he wants."[15]

Selma and her family got what is called "white paper" (Deportation Letter). Asylum seekers coming from the Balkans are the ones who came from so called safe countries, the decision is taken and their asylum case is rejected and closed.[16] ▸ Fig. 5

Gilgamesh rested / in blessed sleep, the best of friends at the worst of times. / But by the moon's half way course, he rose / and then began to speak: / "Brother, if you made no noise, what sound woke me? / If you didn't jostle me, what shook my body? / There was no god nearby, so why am I so stunned? / Brother, I've had a third vision in sleep / and I am deeply frightened to recall it all. / Sky screamed. And Mother Earth moaned. / Sun went out of light and blackest night / enveloped the heavens. / Then came flashes of lightning, source of fire. / Storm clouds raced nearby and swept all life away / from out of the sky above our heads. / Brightness dissolved, light evaporated; / cinders turned to ash. / When we leave the mountain, this is what we will remember."[17]

1 Refugee hunters are vigilante groups of volunteers who patrol Bulgaria's border with Turkey and hunt people who try to come to Europe. A video of their work was published on AJ+ an online news and current events channel (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NwJSGy3-PDM - accessed on 06/08/2016) run by Al Jazeera Media Network (see https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Al_Jazeera_Media_Network - accessed on 31/05/2016).

2 The EU-Turkey Agreement dates March 18th, 2016 to close the borders and stop migration.
3 Epic of Gilgamesh, http://www.bibliotecapleyades.net/serpents_dragons/gilgamesh.htm (accessed on 30/05/2016).
4 Al-kahina, the Amazigh queen, was a religious and military leader. She was born in the early 7th century C.E. and was beheaded by Uqba ibn Nafi around the end of the 7th century in modern-day Algeria (see https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dihya_(Berber_Queen) - accessed on 30/05/2016). Al-kahina and the text here are representing the decision of asylum cases and the Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge (German Federal Office for Migration and Refugees).
5 Epic of Gilgamesh, see note 3.
6 Yousif left Iraq in 2002; he lived and worked in Greece for twelve years. The economical crisis destroyed his living existence, so he fled again and since 2015 has lived in Germany.
7 Quote from me about Room 102 in a home for asylum seekers in Berlin-Spandau. I lived in this room for about five months.
8 John Lennon, http://www.goodreads.com/author/show/19968.John_Lennon (accessed on 31/05/2016).
9 http://kunstasyl.net/en/2-og/209 (accessed on 31/05/2016).
10 Asylum seekers who arrive in a new country far from their own are being mainly isolated in the new society.
11 Visual artist, living in Berlin.
12 KUNSTASYL is an initiative of artists, creative minds and asylum seekers (see http://kunstasyl.net/en/ - accessed on 31/05/2016).
13 See https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dublin_Regulation (accessed on 31/05/2016)
14 Selma is a 21 year old woman living with her parents and two brothers in an unstable situation, searching for asylum. They stayed in Berlin for one year, and then they got the letter of deportation back to Albania from the German Federal Office for Migration and Refugees, and their case of asylum is closed since May 2016.
15 Aymen Montasser, pianist and architect from Tunisia.
16 According to European Asylum Support Office, "... a series of measures has been taken by (EU Member States and Associated Countries) MSACs to reduce both push and pull factors. With regard to pull factors, according to the possibilities provided by their national law to deal with the substantial numbers of claims for international protection that they receive from (Western Balkans) WB nationals, MSACs have, inter alia: used accelerated procedures, prioritised the WB case-load or shortened the duration of the normal asylum procedure (from application to final decision and return); reorganised their processing and resources to deal with peak flows; reduced cash benefits provided during the procedure; and strengthened voluntary or forced return programmes." (https://www.easo.europa.eu/sites/default/files/public/BZ0213708ENC.pdf (p. 73, No. 5: Conclusion) - accessed on 06/06/2016).
17 Epic of Gilgamesh: Column IV, http://www.piney.com/Gil05.html (accessed on 31/05/2016).

Dagmar Neuland-Kitzerow

“I never felt like a complete stranger.” Stations of a flight from Hungary in autumn 1956

Events at the time

"More refugees from Hungary" ran the headline of the daily Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (FAZ) at the end of October 1956 in Germany, referring to the mostly young people who had been escaping to Austria since a week. The subtitle commented: "Austria grants every help-seeker asylum" (FAZ, 31/10/1956, 4).

The European dailies devoted many pages to the political developments in Hungary these last days of October in 1956. Headlines like "Russians quell Hungarian rebellion" and "Hungarian tragedy" (FAZ, 25/10/1956, 1) or "Hungarian army joins the revolution" (FAZ, 27/10/1956, 1) aimed, on the one hand, at mapping political explanations and comments concerning the protests and demonstrations of the population in Hungary. On the other hand, the paramount headlines beside them reflected the fact that the political events in Hungary were only one element of a volatile global political situation.

The political order in post-war Europe and the Middle East and the resulting power structures still harboured various smouldering hot spots. The world's political interest was focussed on the Suez crisis at the time. Great Britain and France had prepared to occupy the Suez Canal in secret collusion with Israel. They had even kept this secret from the USA, their political ally. As a consequence of this constellation the USA and Soviet Union, although anything but on friendly terms, were now jointly searching for diplomatic ways of resolving the conflict around the Suez region based on the stipulations of the United Nations General Assembly, and were highly averse to kindling new conflicts. "America wants to help without intervening" commented the dailies, and reported that assistance was being provided by the Red Cross, as well as food, and that a Third World War needed to be avoided, although "Washington's sympathies are clearly with … the Hungarian struggle for independence" (FAZ, 29/10/1956). This approach highlights how fragile the political alliances were at that time, even among the Western Allies. At least on the part of the USA and the Soviet Union, there was no direct political interest in challenging the post-war order of central Europe by military means, at this point in time.

This meant that although the Hungarian government's appeals for political support to the Western powers were registered, the latter had little interest in intervening and thereby provoking a militarily dangerous confrontation with the Soviet Union. Diplomatic protest notes were exchanged and many observers described their impressions to the world press, but military support from the Western nations was not forthcoming. This underlying political constellation had a significant effect on the events in Hungary and their consequences in the years to follow.

References to the attendant outpouring of thousands of refugees, most of all young Hungarians, to the West, were another integral element of this public perception. Austria was initially one of the main destinations where the refugees sought shelter. The reason was that the shared green border in western Hungary, which ultimately also marked a divide between Western and Eastern Europe in those years, still permitted their escape. What had happened in Hungary and

sparked this massive flow of refugees to the West? A great many publications by historians, authors and contemporary photographers have delved into the events in Hungary and their repercussions (see Lendvai 1999; Konrád 2006).

This is where the account of an individual fate comes in, based on an interview[1] with a Berlin resident from Hungary (I.N.) who has left his home country because of the political conditions and expectable reprisals.

"Well, the 1956 story actually started earlier, everything began in March 1956 in Szeged in the south of Hungary", as Mr. N. explains. He has studied the political conditions and events attending his own escape from Hungary in the autumn of 1956, and recounts that students from Szeged established the "Working Committee 15 March" in 1956 to commemorate the Hungarian people's struggle for freedom in 1848/49, and to align themselves with it. Although the Hungarians had been vanquished by the Austrians and Russians, their allies in these years of revolution, Hungarian elites would continue to entertain the ideal of national independence right into the 20th century.

This idea of political independence had initially started flaring up again in the first half of the 1950s. The political order in Europe after the Second World War led to a clear division into eastern and western alliances. Hungary was part of the socialist camp at the time, which was determined by the Soviets. This meant that Soviet troops were stationed in Hungary and that the political mentality and ideology were still largely informed by Stalinist ideas. With freedom of opinion deemed undesirable, all efforts of an economic, military and cultural-ideological nature were to be subordinated to the cohesion of the politically aligned socialist countries instead. This is also why Hungary was a member of the Warsaw Pact, a militarily determined defence treaty of socialist countries, the formal counterpart to NATO.

However, the reform plans for a politically independent Hungary, that had now found their first organized expression in Szeged, fell on fertile ground in the Hungarian population as a whole. Many Hungarian citizens wanted an independent, neutral status for their country, and hoped for political and personal liberties on that basis, as well as more say.

The spring of 1956 had witnessed first signals for a political departure, for example, the rehabilitation of leading Hungarian politicians who had been convicted in show trials as recently as 1948 (Steiniger 2006). "... there was a great turnout in town in the beginning of October 1956 when important politicians were reinterred as a result of their rehabilitation."[2] Newspapers could even be published uncensored for a short period of time, such as the Monday paper(s) in October 1956. Particularly the young people, many of whom were students, were very open to these new and democratic ideas, and willing to champion them. As the autumn of 1956 progressed, discussion forums sprang up at several universities, that later gave rise to the student protests.

As Mr. N. recalls: "... then these students from Szeged also came to Budapest, to the Technical University, where I studied at the time. ... And in the evening

Fig. 1 Insurgents taking down a "Lenin Street" sign in Magyaróvár, October 1956
| bpk / Benno Wundshammer

there was a great student meeting in the assembly hall. The guests described what they wanted to do in Budapest. … the plans also included a student march to the memorial for General Bem, a symbolic figure from the Hungarian struggle for freedom in 1848. … Voices from the Communist Party, the university's party secretary amongst them, were shown the door. … we had also been promised that cadets from the military academy would join us".

"On the march, one could already see the first flags amongst the students in the procession where the emblem of the communist party had been cut out. The cortege led across Margaret Bridge to the parliament … and there we stood until evening. … At the same time … part of the demonstration had gone to the radio building to make their demands known with greater effect … later on, the news said that people had already been shot in front of the radio building. … I left the demonstration around 9:30 p.m., back to my student hostel … and the very same night soldiers came and searched everything at our place, even the beds, for hidden weapons … that was the night from the 23rd to the 24th of October 1956"[3] (see also Konrád 2006, 112). ▸ Fig. 1

Mr. N. describes this large demonstration, still recounted in history books today, from his own experience. He had taken a stand as one of many to support the demands for more democracy and greater freedom of opinion. But he quickly came to realize the ambivalence in the positions of the political elites. The protests by the largely young demonstrators found many different forms of expression. Most of all emblematic insignia of the Communist Party and Soviet presence in Hungary were demolished, taken down, painted over, etc.

"On the day after next, I wanted to go to the other side of town, … and was careless enough to take the route passing by the front of the parliament. Shots were just being fired from the roofs of the buildings … at the demonstrators; we tried to hide in the front entrances … then trucks came and took away many dead bodies … I turned around and wanted to return to the student hostel and only 100 m down the road I was arrested. … then I was brought to a basement – that was the secret police – … and waited for what would happen now."

Mr. N. was questioned. As he sums it up today, his quick release was only attributable to a stroke of luck. By chance, the officer discovered in Mr. N.'s wallet that both of them were taking Italian language courses at the Italian embassy. This shared interest appears to have kindled a certain sympathy for the young student N. "… Then I went back to the student hostel." On the Saturday to follow, October 27th, 1956, Mr. N. and some of his fellow students who were also from western Hungary decided to leave the city, "and go home" to keep out of further harm's way.

Escape routes – experience of displacement

"But there were no trains. So we set out on foot along the tracks … railwaymen had told us 'there and there you need to watch out because the Russians are in

these villages already'." Up to 200,000 Soviet soldiers were stationed in Hungary at the time, approximately. This military presence was based on the self-understanding of the Soviet Union's and entire Eastern Block's alliance. Which is why "it was important to be careful. … The villagers helped us; they told us which way we could take. We walked all the way to Bicske, circa 40 kilometres from Budapest. There we stood in front of the church; it was around seven in the evening and mass was being held. … Later the villagers each took one (of us) home and gave us food and shelter". For Mr. N. and his friends, this was their first experience of spontaneous solidarity and help from the populace.

In the following days, the students managed to continue on their way west by train and hitch-hiking. They spent the nights at stations and with acquaintances. "I clearly realized after the experiences in Budapest that I must get out. I wanted to go to France because I spoke good French. On November 17, I went to Győr, where they already had normal train schedules again … (but) it was already obvious by then that nothing will come of it."

A pro-Soviet government had been formed in Budapest, soon after the Soviet troops marched in on November 4th, 1956. As a consequence, most of those who supported reforms for national independence and neutrality were imprisoned, interned, or convicted and even executed. Approximately 200,000 Hun-

Dienstag, 30. Oktober 1956 / Nr. 254 FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG

Wien Zentrum der Opferbereitschaft für Ungarn

Geld in Kisten / Flugzeuge direkt nach Budapest / Mehr als dreißig Staaten helfen

Eigene Berichte unserer Korrespondenten

Ka. Wien, 29. Oktober. Die tragischen Ereignisse in Ungarn haben eine Welle der Hilfsbereitschaft ausgelöst. Der ungarische Ministerrat hatte sich am Montag entschlossen, Angebote materieller Hilfe aus den Vereinigten Staaten, der Sowjetunion, den westeuropäischen Ländern und den Ostblockstaaten anzunehmen. Gegenwärtig beteiligen sich mehr als 30 Staaten an der Hilfe.

Wien ist seit Freitag zu einem Zentrum der Nächstenliebe, Menschlichkeit und Opferbereitschaft geworden. Die beiden Grenzübergänge zwischen Oesterreich und Ungarn in Nickelsdorf und Klingenbach gleichen einem Meeting der Roten Kreuzes: auf der einen Seite die kleinen cremefarbenen Rot-Kreuz-Wagen der Oesterreicher, von denen pausenlos Hunderte auf der Strecke Wien—Grenze im Einsatz stehen, und viele private Personenwagen, die unentwegt Spenden für die Ungarn heranbringen, auf der andern Seite die dunkelolivbraunen Militärlastwagen und gelben Sanitätsautos der Ungarn, die hier für ihre vielen Schwerverwundeten lebensrettende Medikamente, Blutkonserven und anderes Verbandszeug, aber auch Nahrungsmittel, Decken, warme Kleidung und Südfrüchte übernehmen und sie dann so rasch wie möglich zu den Spitälern im Innern des Landes weiterbefördern. Waren es in den ersten Tagen nur die in Westungarn gelegenen Städte und Dörfer, in die der Spendenstrom floß, so machten es die Kampfpausen und die langsame Normalisierung der Verhältnisse in den ungarischen Landgebieten nun möglich, daß auch weiter entfernt gelegene Gegenden versorgt werden können.

Der ungarische Freiheitssender Raab hat Montag früh einen Aufruf an die Oesterreicher gerichtet, daß nun auch der Weg bis in die große Stadt im Südosten des Landes, Debrecen, frei sei, wo ebenfalls harte Kämpfe stattgefunden hätten. „Bitte, helft uns!" schloß der Appell, der wenige Minuten später schon über den österreichischen Rundfunk weiterverbreitet wurde. In den Sammelstellen des Wiener Roten Kreuzes herrscht ein solcher Andrang, daß man am Montag das Bürgertheater für die Annahme der Spenden zurückräumen mußte, weil alle anderen Räume zu klein geworden waren. Die Direktion des Theaters hat ihr ganzes Haus zur Verfügung gestellt. Hier wird tatsächlich gespeist. Es ist so viel Geld eingegangen, daß es in Kisten gesammelt werden muß. Kinder kommen scharenweise mit Sparschweinchen. Männer und Frauen leeren ihre Geldbörsen aus und geben alles, was sie haben. Aerzte brachten ihre Hausapotheken, Krankenhäuser ihre eisernen Reserven.

Lebensmittelnot

Der Freiheitssender Raab gab inzwischen bekannt, daß in verschiedenen ungarischen Städten eine furchtbare Lebensmittelnot herrsche und dringend Brot gebraucht werde. Drei Stunden danach kam der erste Hilfstransport mit 20 000 Kilogramm Brot aus ungarischen Schlagbasen an. 4000 volle Benzinkanister waren abgeliefert worden.

Das eindrucksvollste Beispiel der Nächstenliebe aber brachte der einzigartige Erfolg der Blutspendeaktion. Mehr als 10 000 Wiener haben sich am Sonntag in den Krankenhäusern gemeldet. Dann reichten in ganz Oesterreich die Gefäße nicht mehr aus.

Die Verteilung wird überwacht

Aus Belgien, Norwegen, der Schweiz, Schweden, Holland und Italien ist inzwischen eine ganze Anzahl von Flugzeugen mit Blutplasma, dem dringend verlangten Albumin und Penicillinpräparaten auf dem Wiener Flugplatz gelandet. Von hier wurde die Fracht sofort mit Autos an die Grenze weitertransportiert. Sonntag abend waren auch die ersten beiden Flugzeuge direkt aus Budapest eingetroffen, um Medikamente für die Hauptstadt abzuholen. Die Piloten berichteten, daß sich der schlauhe Kilometer außerhalb der Stadt gelegene Budapester Flugplatz in den Händen der Aufständischen befinde, einer Gruppe allerdings, die mit der Regierung Imre Nagy sympathisiere. Von den Kämpfen wußten sie nichts zu berichten, denn sie hatten nur den Kampflärm gehört. Auch am Montag fingen weitere Maschinen von Wien nach Budapest, um den Tausenden von Verwundeten dort Hilfe zu bringen. Diese Sanitätsflugzeuge werden von Beamten des Internationalen Roten Kreuzes begleitet, die dort die Verteilung der Spenden überwachen.

Der deutsche Lazarettzug

Auch vom Deutschen Roten Kreuz ist am Montagabend ein Spendenzug mit schwerem Lastkraftwagen eingetroffen, der 53 Begleiter hat, darunter zwei Aerzte, zehn Schwestern, und ein kompletten Lazarettzug mit 220 Betten mit sich führt. Er wird an die Grenze weitergeleitet und möglicherweise in Westungarn eingesetzt werden.

Hilfe der Bundesregierung

B. Bonn, 29. Oktober. Das Bundeskabinett wird am Dienstagnachmittag über die Hilfe der Bundesregierung für Ungarn im Rahmen der Aktion des Deutschen Roten Kreuzes beraten. Der Bundeskanzler besprach sich über diese Frage am Montag mit dem Bundesinnenminister.

Ein Regierungssprecher erklärte vor der Presse am Montag, man werde die Frage von Gesprächen mit den neuen Regierungen in Polen und Ungarn beraten, wenn die Ruhe in Ungarn wiederhergestellt sei und wenn sich die Weiterentwicklung in diesen Ländern übersehen lasse.

Ost-Berlin will keine Unabhängigkeit

Fig. 2 "Vienna: centre of the readiness to make sacrifices for Hungary" | FAZ, 30/10/1956

garians left the country, as a result, with only around 80,000 returning anytime soon. For most of them, temporary asylum became their permanent place of residence.

But Mr. N. continued his way to the west anyway. "... we travelled to Nagycenk, where we got off and our numbers grew and grew ... we marched towards Austria, three kilometres on foot to the green Austrian border ... we then continued with a border official to the village of Deutschkreutz, where we were served tea and sandwiches. The people were gathered in the school building and buses came in the morning and brought us to Oberpullendorf; we only stayed there one night, and then continued to Eisenstadt with motorbuses." "In the meantime, the ... Austrians had made preparations for accepting a larger number of refugees", as the press put it. One comment ran: "The riflemen's barracks in the capital of the Burgenland, Eisenstadt, are ready to accommodate up to one thousand people ..." (FAZ, 25/10/2016).

Mr. N. experiences this support as reflected in the press very directly. "I spent a number of days in Eisenstadt. There was a sudden announcement that students who want to continue their studies ... and go to Vienna should assemble outside in front of the barrack." The barrack he mentions had been used by Soviet soldiers up to their withdrawal from Austria in the year 1955. "... I went outside too, several buses were standing there, and I boarded one but ... the wrong one ... because it didn't go to Vienna, but to the south towards Carinthia ... via Klagenfurt, Villach, Spittal. ... at some point we arrived in the middle of the night in Steinfeld in the Drautal valley, where we stayed for several weeks until December 22nd, 1956. Around half were girls." The refugees were provided with food and accommodation there, but what would come next was still up in the air. ▸ Fig. 2

"Good-hearted souls came by every day and brought some kind of donation, everything they didn't urgently need." Only then did the journey continue. Those who wanted to go to France "were bussed to Vienna. After spending the night in a youth hostel, we were able to continue ... (and were) conveyed to Strasbourg on a train". The way there led through southern Germany: "... what happened was that the train never stopped anywhere along the entire route, the doors were locked ... the French secret police had already boarded in Vienna and then all the people were questioned one by one. An interpreter helped if anyone didn't speak French." This procedure, in whose regard the interview also confirms the historic descriptions in the press[4], demonstrates how the western nations were involved in handling the events in Hungary. They never directly intervened politically or even militarily, but did help the many refugees. ▸ Fig. 3

Mr. N.'s recollections highlight the extent of the Austrian peoples' solidarity with the transients. "They never asked for our papers; that I had studied and taken my A-levels before that, they took one's word for it, without papers", as he recalls, adding "one could have also not presented them." Upon their arrival in Strasbourg they were brought to the campus of the university and "we slept there, I

think, for two nights, we never saw anything of (the town)". The next stop was Combloux, very close to Mégève. "They waited for us at the station. The chalet, a kind of hotel, was only three kilometres away and we stayed there until January 25th, 1957, or so. And from there we were distributed with the initial question: 'What do you want to study?', In which case you can go here and there." Having already attended one in Budapest, Mr. N. said that a technical college would be perfect. "And so I came to Grenoble and was first of all given a provisional *carte d'identité* as a refugee pass … later a normal identity card. One was provided with the identification documents without presenting a birth certificate."[5] This liberal approach lacking strict controls created good conditions for the young

Mehr Flüchtlinge aus Ungarn

Oesterreich gewährt jedem Hilfesuchenden Asyl

Eigener Bericht unseres Korrespondenten

Ko. Wien, 30. Oktober. Seit Beginn dieser Woche ist die Zahl der aus Ungarn nach Oesterreich kommenden Flüchtlinge stark angewachsen. Allerdings kann man noch nicht von einem Flüchtlingsstrom sprechen. Die Leute stammen aus allen Teilen Ungarns, auch aus Budapest. In den letzten 36 Stunden wurden in der burgenländischen Hauptstadt Eisenstadt 115 ungarische Flüchtlinge von den österreichischen Behörden registriert und nach Ausstellung provisorischer Papiere ins Landesinnere, zumeist nach Oberösterreich, in Lager weiterverwiesen. Die österreichischen Behörden halten sich streng an den Grundsatz, jedem Hilfesuchenden Asyl zu gewähren, ganz gleich, aus welchen Gründen er kommt. So werden im Augenblick auch Leute aufgenommen, bei denen man vermutet, daß sie Mitglieder der geheimen Staatspolizei in Ungarn waren und jetzt aus Angst vor der Rache der Freiheitskämpfer geflohen sind. Jeder Flüchtling wird jedoch im Lager einem genauen Ueberprüfungsverfahren unterzogen, und sollte es sich hierbei herausstellen, daß er kriminelle Verbrechen begangen hat, so werden ihn die Oesterreicher an die ungarische Grenze zurückschicken. Viele wollen nur so lange in Oesterreich bleiben, bis sich die Verhältnisse in Ungarn normalisiert haben. Es ist bezeichnend für die äußerst gespannte Stimmung und unübersichtliche Entwicklung, die in Ungarn und besonders in Budapest herrschen, daß diese Menschen meist erst am Sonntag und Montag, nachdem die erste Welle der Kämpfe bereits verebbt war, geflüchtet sind, weil, wie sie erzählen, die ungarische Bevölkerung die Ueberzeugung habe, daß der blutige Bürgerkrieg noch längst nicht zu Ende sei.

In einem Gespräch an der Grenze bei Oedenburg (Sopron) im südlichen Burgenland mit einigen Studenten der dortigen Technischen Hochschule, die in diesem Gebiet zusammen mit einer Gruppe von Jungarbeitern die Macht in der Hand halten, äußerten sich die jungen Ungarn sehr besorgt über die mögliche zukünftige Entwicklung. Gerade Sopron ist eines der Beispiele dafür, wie sehr es den Freiheitskämpfern an geschulten Leuten mangelt, weil die antikommunistisch eingestellte Intelligenz entweder ausgerottet wurde oder aber so eingeschüchtert ist, daß sie es nicht wagt, sich bei der derzeitig ungeklärten Situation schon zu exponieren. So führt ein 21 Jahre alter Student heute das ganze Kommitat Sopron. Drei Hochschulprofessoren sitzen an der Grenze und übernehmen die aus Oesterreich eintreffenden Hilfelieferungen zum weiteren Transport ins Landesinnere und zur Verteilung in Sopron selbst.

Von der freien Welt verlassen?

Die Studenten erkennen zwar die große karitative Hilfsaktion Oesterreichs und der europäischen Staaten für Ungarn dankbar an, sind aber bitter enttäuscht, daß der Westen ihnen nicht auch in anderer Form, vor allem durch die Lieferung von Waffen, unter die Arme greift. Durch die jahrelange Abgeschiedenheit vom westlichen Ausland machen sie sich völlig illusionistische Vorstellungen über die Hilfsmöglichkeiten des Westens. Vor allem haben sie auf die Vereinten Nationen vertraut und geglaubt, daß ihr Generalsekretär ebenso wie bei Konflikten im Nahen Osten nun auch in Ungarn sofort eine Vermittlerrolle übernehmen würde. Weil dies nicht geschehen ist, fühlen sie sich von der freien Welt verlassen.

Tanger-Erklärung unterzeichnet

Madrid, 30. Oktober (dpa). In Tanger ist am Montagabend die Schlußerklärung und außerdem ein Protokoll der internationalen Konferenz unterzeichnet worden, die zwei Wochen lang den zukünftigen Status der Stadt beraten hat. In der Erklärung werden sämtliche bisher bestehenden Verträge oder Abkommen über Tanger als ungültig bezeichnet. Der Sultan allein als Repräsentant der marokkanischen Souveränität besitzt fortan das Recht, der Stadt Sonderrechte wirtschaftlicher und finanzieller Art zu geben. Darüber soll in den nächsten Tagen weiter verhandelt werden.

Fig. 3 "More refugees from Hungary" | FAZ, 03/10/1956

people. The acceptance of their "refugee status" and the consistent offer to continue their education, including extensive financial assistance, facilitated personal perspectives for those seeking refuge.

Mr. N. was able to continue his studies and polish his language skills, not only in French. This concrete support secured his personal and professional advancement. Asked how he coped with the language-related challenges, he said that he had already spoken good French in his school days, which proved a great advantage under the conditions of his escape.

His later journey through life also led him to the Netherlands and Germany. His life experience, moulded by the escape in his youth, but also his self-assertion in the new terrain, have turned him into a self-confident man with a critical awareness. His extensive language skills in French, Dutch, German and Hungarian, naturally, have enabled him to amass an extensive knowledge of the literature from these countries. He is still observing the political constellations and developments in Europe and beyond with great interest to this day.

Countless Hungarians left their country at the time to go to Western Europe and Yugoslavia. Many of them returned to Hungary again after a relatively short period of time. But most of them have established and integrated themselves in other countries. Mr. N married in Germany in 1962 and became a German citizen in 1966. Not until 1967 would he return to Hungary to visit his family, with whom he had stayed in touch by mail. He lives in Berlin to this day.

1 The author interviewed Mr. I. N. on 03/02/2016 in Berlin.
2 Interview excerpts.
3 Ibid.
4 The headline "More refugees from Hungary" was followed by a description of the help afforded young people after their flight from Hungary. They were provided with provisional papers upon registration and then sent on to other regions of Austria. "The Austrian authorities are strictly observing the principle of offering every help-seeker asylum" (FAZ, 31/10/1956, 3).
5 Interview excerpt.

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Elisabeth Fendl

Having to go – the moved history of a family from the Bohemian “Erzgebirge”

Three pieces of a coffee set lettered “Kaffee Schütz”, an enamel door plate, a watercolour showing the parental home in Bergstadt Platten / Horní Blatná – these are the main objects that the son of Josef Schütz, a native of the Bohemian “Erzgebirge” (Ore Mountains), handed over to the *Sudetendeutsches Museum München* (Sudeten German Museum Munich) in June 2014, along with numerous biographical documents and photographs. The keepsakes had been taken along to Bavaria in his escape luggage in 1946. This gave them a great sentimental value for the family in the years to follow, and to this very day they continue to symbolize the involuntary departure that would not only mould the lives of the “expelled generation”. ▸ **Fig. 1**

Germans in the Lands of the Bohemian Crown

According to a 1910 census, the population of the Lands of the Bohemian Crown included over 3 million Germans whose ancestors had partly lived there since the 12th and 13th century, most of all in the peripheries of Bohemia and Moravia. While the accord between German and Czech cultural elements had still been characteristic of the Lands of the Bohemian Crown in the first decades of the 19th century, national self-awareness grew on both sides in the time to follow. The late 19th century was marked by escalating conflicts between nationalities. Following the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk declared Czechoslovakia an independent state on 18 October 1918 in Philadelphia (USA). Many Germans felt unable to identify with this new state. On March 4, 1919, various Bohemian and Moravian towns witnessed demonstrations by Germans for self-determination and against their exclusion from the

Fig. 1 Porcelain from Kaffee Schütz in Bergstadt Platten saved in the escape luggage, 1930s | Sudetendeutsche Stiftung – Sudetendeutsches Museum, Munich[1]

elections for the German-Austrian National Assembly. These were crushed by the Czech military.

German activism involving the *Deutsche Christlich-Soziale Partei* (German Christian Social Party), the *Sozialdemokratische Partei* (Social Democratic Party) and the *Bund der Landwirte* (Agrarian League), started up in the mid-1920s. Most "Sudeten Germans" supported it because it promised to represent their interests in Parliament.

After Adolf Hitler's appointment as *Reichskanzler* (Reich Chancellor) in January 1933, National Socialist propaganda also gained heft in the Lands of the Bohemian Crown. The global economic crisis had a particularly strong impact on the border regions. Radical parties such as the *Deutsche Nationalsozialistische Arbeiterpartei* (DNSAP) (German National Socialist Workers' Party) were gaining influence. Konrad Henlein, director of the *Deutscher Turnverband* (Gymnastics Federation) in Czechoslovakia since 1931, established the *Sudetendeutsche Heimatfront* (SHF) (Sudeten German Home Front) in Eger / Cheb, initially assuring the Czechoslovakian state of his loyalty. The SHF was renamed *Sudetendeutsche Partei* (SdP) (Sudeten German Party) and permitted to stand for election on May 19th, 1935. Its elaborate election campaign, co-financed by the *Reich*, made an impact. The SdP emerged from the elections with the greatest number of votes.

Faced with the threats emanating from the "Third Reich", large parts of the Jewish population took flight in the late 1930s. Many Czech and Sudeten German anti-fascists also left the country. Driven by ever greater national demands and fuelled by Goebbels' National Socialist propaganda machine, the tensions continued to rise until September 1938. The Western Powers were increasing the pressure on Czechoslovakia to agree to a surrender of the "Sudeten German" regions. On September 29th, 1938, Germany, Italy (Mussolini), France (Daladier) and Great Britain (Chamberlain) signed the Munich Agreement. In this treaty, the Allied Forces gave in to Adolf Hitler's demand that the German-speaking "Sudetenland" be surrendered to the neighbouring German Reich. The invading Wehrmacht was enthusiastically welcomed by the Germans in October 1938. There were attacks on local Jews, Czechs and active opponents of National Socialism. Jewish property was "aryanized", important Czech banks and major companies came under German ownership.

The *Wehrmacht* took Prague in March 1939. Breaking his promises in the Munich Agreement, Adolf Hitler enforced the establishment of the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, which was autonomously governed by a president and its own government under strict supervision by the Reich Protector. Karl Hermann Frank became Secretary of State in the Protectorate. In 1940 he drafted a memorandum concerning its Germanization.

At the Potsdam Conference held at Cecilienhof Palace from July 17th to August 2nd, 1945, the heads of state of the three victorious allies, the Soviet Union, USA and Great Britain, negotiated about the reorganization of Europe and Germany's future fate. This is where Josef Stalin, Harry S. Truman and Winston Churchill

decided on the denazification, democratization, demilitarization and decentralization of Germany. To solve the problem posed by the German minorities in East-Central Europe, it was agreed to "transfer" the German populations from Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary in "an orderly and humane manner"[2].

The Germans were exposed to various reprisals immediately after the end of the war. Many were transported to camps and / or forced labour camps. Many places witnessed retaliatory acts against Germans, starting with the Prague Uprising in May 1945. Die *Wilde Vertreibung* (Rampant expulsion) concerned around 600,000 Germans from the former Czechoslovakia's regions. These acts were not uncommonly attended by massive abuses, such as in the Brno death march, which began on May 30th, 1945. Germans and Hungarians were expropriated by a decree dated May 19th, 1945.

Constitutional Decrees of the President of the Republic (*the Beneš decrees*) served to strip "persons of German and Magyar nationality" of their citizenship in Czechoslovakia and to prepare their expulsion. This *Zwangsaussiedlung* (forced migration) took place over the years 1946 and 1947 in railroad cars under the aegis of the power occupying the respective destination territory. Recognised anti-fascist Germans were resettled under special conditions and for example allowed to take more luggage with them. Skilled German workers were initially retained. Around 200,000 Germans still lived in Czechoslovakia in 1947 (see also: Seibt 1995; Prinz 2002; Brandes 2005; Beer 2012).

Homeland: Bergstadt Platten / Horní Blatná

In the second half of the 15th century, the discovery of large ore deposits had sparked a major settlement movement to the western Erzgebirge (Ore Mountains), most of all from Saxony. A whole string of mining towns came into being. Joachimsthal / Jáchymov (1517), Abertham / Abertamy (1525) and Bärringen / Pernink (1532) on the Bohemian side, and Schneeberg (1470), Annaberg (1492), Marienberg (1521) and Platten (1532) on the Saxon side.[3] Platten had fallen to the Bohemian crown in 1556 as a consequence of the Schmalkaldic War, and had been attached to St. Joachimsthal in mining terms. But the yields of tin, silver and cobalt already started to dwindle at the end of the 16th century. Mining was in a crisis, also as a consequence of the Thirty Years' War, and virtually ground to a halt in the 19th century. The town of Platten, situated at the foot of the 1,040 m Plattenberg Mountain, became impoverished. Its connection to the Karlsbad–Johanngeorgenstadt railway line brought a slight recovery. Another improvement of the economic conditions was accomplished by the development of a small-scale metal ware industry and the professionalisation of home industries (bobbin lace and gloves). But the town and region tumbled into another crisis in the 1930s. By the end of 1931, the community had 306 people out of work already.[4] An effort to attract tourism to the town on any larger scale also failed.

According to the census of April 1911, Platten had 2,748 residents at the time, 2 percent of whom were Czechs. Of the 1,288 male and 1,460 female Platteners, 2,680 were of the Roman Catholic faith and 68 were Protestants.[5] In its quatercentenary year 1932 the town, renamed Bergstadt Platten since 1918, numbered 2,341 residents, 2,311 of them German and 29 (1.2 percent) Czechoslovakian, with 2,242 Roman Catholics, 83 Protestants and 16 irreligious.
In the parliamentary elections on October 27th, 1929, far more than a third of the 1,308 voters (548) voted for the *Deutsche Sozialdemokratische Arbeiterpartei* (German Social Democratic Workers Party), 280 for the *Christlichsoziale und Gewerbepartei* (Christian Social and Tradesmen's Party), 148 for the *Bund der Landwirte* (Agrarian League), and 116 for the *Nationalpartei* (National Party). The National Socialists were only able to win 49 votes. The distribution was similar in the senate elections held the same day.[6] Only six years later, the political circumstances had drastically changed, amongst other factors also owing to the abovementioned economic situation. 1,486 voters were registered for the elections on May 5th, 1935. The strongest party now was the Sudetendeutsche Partei (Sudeten German Party) led by Konrad Henlein with 739, i.e. half the votes, followed by the Sozialdemokraten (Social Democrats) with 424 and the Christlichsoziale Partei (Christian Social Party) with 97 votes.[7]
Approximately 85 percent of the German population were expelled from Bergstadt Platten after the Second World War. Horní Blatná has circa 400 residents today. More than a hundred buildings of the original Renaissance town have been pulled down. The place is waiting for another upturn to this day.

The example of the Schütz family

In September 1931, Franz Schütz (*1883) and his wife Anna bought the Bergstadt Platten property no. 14 from his parents, while also taking over his father's bakery already in existence there. The patisserie of their son Josef Schütz (*1911) was also accommodated in the building, in 1934. After finishing school in Platten and Neudek / Nejdek, the latter served his apprenticeship as a confectioner and passed his journeyman's examination in Karlsbad / Karlovy Vary, in June 1930. He gained initial practical experience as an assistant confectioner and waiter at the Atlantis Hotel in Franzensbad / Františkový Lázně during the bathing season of 1930. Afterwards he started his apprenticeship as a baker (black & white bread) at his father's business, in Bergstadt Platten in August 1931, in addition to his training as a confectioner. ▸ Fig. 2
Franz and Josef Schütz had been trying to get a license for "dispensing coffee, cocoa, chocolate, tea and other non-alcoholic beverages" since the end of the 1920s[8]. While the application by the father who, as a well-known skier, put great effort into boosting local tourism, had still been turned down in 1930, his son Josef Schütz was issued with this licence by the Czech district authority at the beginning of August 1938. The district authority in Neudek / Nejdek had enquired

Gesellen-Prüfungszeugnis

...e gefertigte Prüfungskommission der obigen Genossenschaft bestätigt hiermit, daß Josef Schütz am 3. Juni 1930. die Gesellenprüfung für das Konditorei Gewerbe mit sehr gutem Erfolge abgelegt hat, womit derselbe als befähigter Geselle anerkannt wird.

Karlsbad, am 3. Juni 1930.

Die Prüfungskommission:

Der Vorsitzende:

Franz Wondrak

Fig. 2 Journeyman's certificate for Josef Schütz, issued in Karlsbad on June 3rd, 1930 | Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Sudetendeutsches Archiv[9]

about him at the police in Bergstadt Platten before that, however. This showed that Josef Schütz, although a member of the Sudeten German Party which had exhibited "Greater-German" leanings, could not be proven to have engaged in any anti-Czechoslovakian activities or employed dangerous persons, or to entertain suspicious contacts abroad.[10] The decision could never be put into practice, alas, because the political circumstances had changed in the meantime. In another application dated December 7th, 1938, the confectioner asked the now German local authority in Neudek to confirm the licence already issued by the Czech side.[11]

Josef and Franz Schütz were only able to run their cafe in Bergstadt Platten for a few years. The latter, now referred to as František Schütz in the employment record, was expropriated after the end of the war and compelled to work for the "*Osvobození konsumní, výrobní a úsporné družstvo Karlovy Vary*" (the Consumption, Production and Economizing Cooperative "Liberation") as a labourer, as was the case with his daughter-in-law, Theresia Schütz.[12]

Having to go

The lists for transport no. 33193 setting out from the collection point in Neudek / Nejdek on June 24th, 1946 to deport 1,204 "Sudetogermans" – 380 men, 691 women and 133 children – across the border to Bavaria also included three members of Josef Schütz's family: his wife Theresia Schütz and his parents Franz and Anna Schütz. The report documenting the transport describes the physical

condition of the passengers as "dobrý" ("in good order") and confirms that every person was permitted to take 50 kg of luggage and three days' worth of provisions along. The train left Neudek at 10 p.m. under the command of the Czech officer Antonín Konopásek – so the report tells us – and arrived in Eger / Cheb at 4:20 a.m. the next day. It was headed for the Wiesau border transit camp in the Oberpfalz (Upper Palatinate).[13]

Josef Schütz is not to be found on the lists. He was a prisoner of war in Russia at the time. Like many men, he found himself unable to return to his home town after the war. He had been drafted in April 1940. At first he was stationed with the 72nd Infantry Division at Karlsbad-Meierhöfen / Karlovy Vary-Dvory for five months. On August 29th, 1940 he married Theresia Entian, born in Bergstadt Platten (June 16th, 1912) and raised in Vienna. She moved back to Bergstadt Platten in September 1940 to support her parents-in-law in the bakery and patisserie there.[14]

Knowing what Germans had to expect, Theresia Schütz contacted the Austrian Federal Ministry for Home Affairs after the expropriation in 1945 with a request "for conferral and / or re-conferral of Austrian citizenship".[15] She wrote: "As a German-speaker, I must not remain in Bergstadt Platten any longer, but I am compelled to leave the town and Czech territory in general. … I would like to already request an entry permit for joining my parents [in Vienna, E.F.] now because I am currently without livelihood and employment opportunity in Bergstadt Platten and will need to leave it as soon as possible."[16] As the transport lists show, this wish was not granted.

Separation

Josef Schütz remained in Russian captivity from May 10th, 1945 to the beginning of December 1949, which he experienced in various camps in Russia and the Ukraine. To reunite with his family is recurring wish in the cards that he sent to his wife and his mother. He knew about his family's situation in his home town and the path they had taken. On January 2nd, 1949, he wrote to his wife from the Jarzewo camp: "… No smaller is my wish that we will be reunited again soon, because I, too, suffer great commiseration, as I know what we had and what we own now, and what the parents in particular were forced to give up in heritable and saved-up belongings. It is also hard on us two, that we should be separated for such a long time. … I am quite unable to put the great wishes and questions and yearning to paper as I am forced to endure it all in body and soul, with heavy labour every day. And when comes the hour of freedom with a return to you?"[17]

A letter to his mother from July 10th, 1949 contains the passage: "So you are together and I hope that yours and father's health will hold up for a long time, yet until I will also be able to meet up with you again. … But don't worry too much about your Pep, he's been away from father and mother for long enough now and has seen the great wide world! I have, therefore, already suffered all evils

and weathered everything reasonably well so far! Have grown a few days older, to be sure, the humour a bit less, but otherwise still the same old Pep!! And once I have regained everything after years of doing without your good cooking, I will make every effort to bring you nothing but joy, as before …"[18]

What comes across from Josef Schütz's postcards and letters besides the wish for his eagerly awaited release from Russian captivity and the worry that his parents might no longer be alive by then, is the longing for his wife and anxiety that the long separation could prove too much for her. He usually hints only at his own condition, perhaps to spare his relatives the worry.

Tangible and intangible luggage

On July 10th, 1947, Josef Schütz wrote to his mother from Voroshilovgrad in the Ukraine: "Dear mother. Luck and happiness on your name day. You, father, stay alive, so that we children also live. Greet Annl. Resi recipes? References at your's? Pepi."[19]

What we can recognize in these few lines on the one hand is his above mentioned worry about his parents – he wishes his ill father the strength to recuperate – and on the other that about his future existence as a confectioner. Particularly as enquiries about the survival of recipes and references, the foundations of his career, are not only included in this card, but turn up again and again, highlighting the importance of the intangible escape luggage. Josef Schütz could only imagine his life after captivity as that of a baker / confectioner – for which he required his references and recipes, besides his skills.

Reunited

Having been separated from her husband for almost five years, Theresia / Resi Schütz received a long-awaited telegram on December 6th, 1949. It was sent from Frankfurt / Oder and contained the following four words: "Reunion / telegram follows / Peppi."[20] The telegram had been written by Josef Schütz on the day of his release from a Heimkehrer (homecomer) camp in Gronenfelde,[21] near Frankfurt / Oder, to the transit camp in Hof-Moschendorf.[22] He stayed in this Upper Franconian transit camp for four days. A health pass issued there attests to his being "free from contagious diseases and vermin"[23]. Equipped with a modest release benefit and the most essential pieces of clothing[24], he arrived in Deiningen near Nördlingen, the town where his wife and parents were living, on December 10th, 1949. "The native hosts of his relatives … gave the Heimkehrer a warm and loving welcome"[25], as a newspaper put it. As a former prisoner of war, Schütz benefitted from the "Heimkehrer Amnesty". A notification from the tribunal / main chamber in Munich, dated December 28th, 1949, reads: "Based on the information in your registration form, you do not come under the Law for Liberation from National Socialism and Militarism dated March 5th, 1945."[26]

Fig. 3 Image commemorating the parental home in Bergstadt Platten/Horní Blatná. Watercolour, 1955/60 | Sudetendeutsche Stiftung – Sudetendeutsches Museum, Munich[29]

Fig. 4 Josef Schütz posing as an Erzgebirge singer in front of a relief portrait of Anton Günther (these homeland mementos were produced by a displaced person from the Erzgebirge in Gersthofen and advertised in the "Neudeker Heimatbrief", a publication for former natives now living in Germany, 1980s | Sudetendeutsche Stiftung – Sudetendeutsches Museum, Munich

In 1950, Josef Schütz and his wife moved to Ichenhausen in the Günzburg district. In the beginning, the only job he could find was as a factory worker (labourer); not until 1956 would he be able to work in his chosen profession again and to lease a patisserie. He took his master's examination before the Augsburg Chamber of Trade in November 1961. A year later he found a job in the patisserie of Arthur Michl.

The lines he had written to his wife from the Voroshilovgrad camp in the Donets basin on January 13th, 1949, had become a reality: "... And joy will one day come to us with the great reunion when we can fall into each other's arms. Then we want to start a new life!"[27]

Homesickness

Included with Franz Schütz's "application for assessment of displacement losses" at the *Lastenausgleichsarchiv* (archive for the equalisation of burdens) in Bayreuth is a photo-postcard showing the family home of Josef Schütz. It was sent on May 12th, 1954, by "A. Behr / Stara Rohle [Altrohlau near Karlsbad, E.F.]" to "Rosie Schütz, Ichenhausen, Mühlgasse 8, U.S.A [sic] Zone Allemagne". The text provides information about the miserable situation of the Germans to remain in Czechoslovakia: "Dear Rosie! First of all, how are you all doing? Let the new home be home. I would breathe deeply if Bayreuth were my home. What's your son and heir doing? We were on the Platt over Easter. Your grounds. / Closing now with best regards ..."[28]

Josef Schütz never forgot the Erzgebirge (Ore Mountains), for as long as he lived. Photographs show his apartment as a kind of private shrine to his homeland. Mementos of this former home filled walls and cupboards. One picture, in

particular, sticks out. A watercolour, created by Walter Heinz from Zwickau in Bohemia, shows the Bergstadt Platten property no. 14 that several generations of the Schütz family had called their home. Three people are shown conversing in front of the two-storey building, which, as a sign informs us, houses a "Patisserie Cafe Bakery". The picture is captioned "Here I lived / here I worked – / Here is my homeland / Here I'm at home!", illustrating Josef Schütz's concept of "home" in the Erzgebirge-dialect. The house of his parents was as much his home as was his work. ▸ **Fig. 3**

His adoration for Anton Günther, a folk singer from the Erzgebirge, was shared by many of his compatriots. But Josef Schütz also was a musical talent and made music at home from an early age on. Having been a member of the Lyra music society and of a large brass band in his "old" hometown, he now became involved with the "Ichenhausen Town Orchestra" in his "new" hometown. In the late 1980s, Josef Schütz established the "Erzgebirge" singing group, which is one of the reasons why he was awarded an honorary medal "for special contributions to keeping homeland remembrance alive" (Herold 1986, 8) in 1997 at the 16th Homeland Day of the "Glück auf" homelands society in Augsburg. As cultural advisor of the Sudeten-German Association in Ichenhausen, he sought to promote the culture of his home region in the Erzgebirge. His private *Erzgebirgs*-style living room attests to this dedication, which can also be interpreted as a strategy for coping with the loss of his home and for fighting his homesickness. ▸ **Fig. 4**, ▸ **Fig. 5**

Fig. 5 View of the private *Erzgebirgs-style* parlour in the apartment of Josef and Theresia Schütz in Ichenhausen, 1991 | Sudetendeutsche Stiftung – Sudetendeutsches Museum, Munich

In May 1985, Josef Schütz added a supplement to his CV written some years before. It is not without bitterness that he writes: "My time as a soldier on all fronts and the five years of heavy captivity in Russia have heedlessly robbed me of my formative and teenage years, while I also lost my parental home and, hence, my livelihood from my own cafe-patisserie-wine tavern business as a consequence of being driven from my homeland."[30] The fact that he was nonetheless able to work as a confectioner again, after his belated examination for the master's certificate, may have helped him to take this loss more lightly. But the loss of his independence, as symbolized by the saved porcelain from the cafe, would never cease to disturb him for the rest of his life.

1 Inv. Nr. 3587/1–4.
2 Final Protocol of the Potsdam Conference, quoted from: http://www.documentarchiv.de/in/1945/potsdamer-abkommen/ (accessed on 07/06/2016).
3 For more information on the history of Platten: Mikšíček 2006; Bahlcke et al. 1998; Pohl 1956; Thiel 1953.
4 Chronik 3, 63r.
5 Chronik 3, 42r.
6 Chronik 3, 59v.
7 Chronik 3, 74v.
8 BayHStA, SDA, Kleinstnachlässe 396: Letter by Franz Schütz to Neudek District Authority, 10/11/1929.
9 Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv München (hereafter BayHStA), Sudetendeutsches Archiv (hereafter SDA), Kleinstnachlässe 396.
10 BayHStA, SDA, Kleinstnachlässe 396: Reply by Bergstadt Platten police dated 03/07/1938 to an enquiry by Neudek District Authority.
11 BayHStA, SDA, Kleinstnachlässe 396: Josef Schütz to the local authority in Neudek, 07/12/1938.
12 BayHStA, SDA, Kleinstnachlässe 396: Replacement card for the employment record HB/374.
13 The transport lists are mostly made out in Czech and English and record the name, age, gender, nationality, address and occupation of the persons to be resettled, adding a consecutive number and a column with the cynical comment "Kam by si přál / Desires to go to / Wünscht zu gehen nach". Every transport is accompanied by a Protokol / Receipt / Protokoll. – The lists quoted here were viewed at the *Sudetendeutsche Institut* in Munich in the form of copies of the originals kept in various archives in Prague. – The refugee and immigrant transit camp Wiesau featured 54 wooden barracks and was built in 1946. It served to receive trains from Czechoslovakia and distribute their passengers from 25/02/1946 to 30/10/1946. A sum total of 587,000 displaced persons passed through the camp. See also Busl 2015.
14 BayHStA, SDA, Kleinstnachlässe 397: Letter by Theresia Schütz to the Austrian Federal Ministry for Home Affairs, Vienna. – Josef Schütz was given leave from military service from 08/10/1940 to 11/11/1941 because of his business.
15 ibid.
16 ibid.
17 BayHStA, SDA, Kleinstnachlässe 397: Postcard by Josef Schütz from Jarzewo camp to Theresia Schütz, 02/01/1949.
18 BayHStA, SDA, Kleinstnachlässe 397: Letter by Josef Schütz to his mother, no location information, 10/07/1949.
19 BayHStA, SDA, Kleinstnachlässe 397: Postcard by Josef Schütz from Voroshilovgrad camp to his mother, 10/07/1947.
20 BayHStA, SDA, Kleinstnachlässe 397: Telegram by Josef Schütz to Theresia Schütz.
21 1,125,508 POWs from the "East" passed through the Gronenfelde homecomer camp between 27/07/1946 and 03/05/1950. See also Hirthe 1998.
22 Hof-Moschendorf featured Bavaria's largest transit camp, originally built as a satellite of the Dachau and Flossenbürg concentration camps. It was turned into a transit camp for expellees and returning soldiers after the war and continued to exist until April 1957. See also Menke / Kastner 2014.
23 BayHStA, SDA, Kleinstnachlässe 397: Health pass by the border official for refugees in Hof-Bavaria.
24 BayHStA, SDA, Kleinstnachlässe 397: Care pass no. 41634.
25 BayHStA, SDA, Kleinstnachlässe 397: Newspaper clipping, no location or date information
26 BayHStA, SDA, Kleinstnachlässe 397: Notification from the tribunal / main chamber in Munich dated 28/12/1949. – The Bavarian *Heimkehrer* Amnesty passed on 20/04/1948 only benefitted men not classed as *Hauptschuldige* [main culprits] or *Belastete* [charged].
27 BayHStA, SDA, Kleinstnachlässe 397: Postcard by Josef Schütz from Voroshilovgrad

camp to Theresia Schütz, 13/01/1949.

28 Bundesarchiv–Lastenausgleichsarchiv: Application by Franz Schütz in Deiningen Nr. 69 for assessment of displacement losses based on the assessment law dated 21 April 1952.

29 Inv. no. 3590.

30 BayHStA, SDA, Kleinstnachlässe 395: Supplement to the curriculum vitae of Josef Schütz, May 1985.

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Alina Helwig

Between the Crimea, Kazakhstan and Germany – Magdalena Schweiger on the search for home

August 2016 marked the 75th anniversary of the deportation and expulsion of the German population to the eastern territories of the former Soviet Union. Immediately after the German army's attack on the Soviet Union in June 1941, nearly two thirds of the approximately one million Germans living in the European areas of the USSR were deported to its Asian parts, mainly Siberia, Kazakhstan and the Urals, by the Soviet regime (see Fleischhauer 1982, 318). Faced with the rapid advance of German troops, the USSR's Presidium of the Supreme Soviet justified the ethnically motivated and already ongoing deportation activities in a decree dated 28 August 1941 with the charge that the German population was covering up for "thousands and tens of thousands of diversionists [saboteurs] and spies" (Maurach 1955, 348ff.) in its midst. Although the right to self-determination had been established in the meantime in the form of territorial autonomy (Volga German Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic), the events of 1941 marked a tragic high point of the "germanophobic policies" (Krieger 2015, 10). These had set in at the end of the 19th century with ethnically and economically motivated discrimination, expulsion and the withdrawal of privileges, and would culminate in expropriation during Stalin's forced collectivisation drive and ethnic cleansing campaigns (see Neutatz 1992, 81; Krieger 2015, 9ff.). As victims of two totalitarian regimes seeking territorial expansion – with Stalin's ideological nationality-based policy on the one side and the eastward expansion of the National Socialists on the other – flight, expulsion and persecution number amongst the formative collective experiences of the so-called *Russlanddeutsche* (see Krieger 2013, 5). They are the descendants of colonists who had heeded the calls since Catherine II's in the 1760s to settle in the thinly populated territories of her great realm. Sought-for at the time were farmers, tradesmen and merchants who were initially meant to predominantly settle in the lower Volga river area and southern Ukraine. The emigrants mostly came from small states in the German south-west such as Württemberg, Baden, Palatinate, Alsace and Lorraine, where military and confessional conflicts prevailed at the time, along with a difficult economic situation that made many people decamp. Farming land, tax reliefs, self-government, freedom of worship and unlimited exemption from military service were also decisive migration factors (see Eisfeld 1999, 16f.). The colonists from Germany were able to attain considerable prosperity not long after their arrival and built up large farming operations, established trade guilds, also played a decisive part in the manufacture of farming equipment, founded churches and developed their own school system.[1] An initial phase of cultural and economic growth was repeatedly followed by nationality-based public hostilities and discriminations that flared up again and again. A policy aimed at the russification of the German population resulted in a cultural orientation towards Germany. But this never jeopardised the performance of duties and loyalty vis-a-vis the respective Russian regime (see Neutatz 1992, 94). This was not least of all demonstrated in the First World War when up to 60 percent of all draftable men of German origin from the Black Sea region fought in the Russian army.[2] A

new, region-based self-understanding successively established itself – with the immigrants viewing themselves as Volga Germans, Black Sea Germans, Caucasus Germans or Crimea Germans (see Krieger 2015, 7).

The settlement of the Crimean Peninsula by German emigrants then ultimately also set in from 1804 after it had finally fallen to the Tsarist Empire with the end of the Russian-Turkish wars in 1783. In all likelihood, these colonists from Germany's southern regions also included the ancestors of my great-grandmother Magdalena Schweiger. They established a settlement called Rosental, were my great-great-grandparents were born between 1874 and 1882, as oral tradition has it.

Crimea – the lost homeland

Magdalena Schweiger[3] was born on the Ukrainian Crimean Peninsula on 6 April 1915 as the youngest of the eleven children of spouses Kenefefa German (née Eisenbraun) and Ignat German. The family owned a small farm building and a piece of land that secured their livelihood and permitted feed cultivation for animal husbandry. Magdalena worked at the farm of her parents, while other siblings moved to other villages when they married or had jobs in the surrounding towns. Magdalena never came to know many of her brothers and sisters in the first place, however, because they had died at an early age from diseases such as pneumonia. Only five of them reached adult age. When the Tsarist Empire fell in 1917, the Crimea witnessed frequent changes of government until 1920 and was the site of a Russian civil war between the so-called Red and White Armies, accompanied by attacks on the German colonies perpetrated by a number of itinerant gangs, and by massive food levies from the Bolsheviks (see Eisfeld 1999, 91). Young men of a draftable age were pressed into military service on both sides. When the soldiers came to the home village of Magdalena's family once again in their search for young men, one of her older brothers hid in a granary to evade conscription. He tragically suffocated in an attempt to dig himself into the mountain of grains. This would not remain the only fateful event the family of Magdalena Schweiger had to endure in the interwar years. ▸ Fig. 1

The forced collectivisation campaigns and reorganisation of farming at the end of the 1920s also affected Magdalena's family as farmers. They lost the land they owned, which was incorporated in collective farms. As early as 1930, 75 percent of the Crimean farmers were coerced into giving up their farms and joining the state's new cooperatives by threats of resettlement and of physical and psychological violence[4] (see Eisfeld 1999, 109). When Magdalena was around 17 years old, the Ukraine suffered a catastrophic famine in 1932 and 1933 that can now, in retrospect, be identified as a direct consequence of the rush into forced collectivisation (see Krieger 2013, 3). Millions of people perished while thousands upon thousands fled to the Crimea from the starvation in the northern Ukraine. Refugees also sought help from Magdalena and her family. Her father, Ignat

Fig. 1 Magdalena Schweiger (top right) with two of her elder sisters and her parents a few years before their deportation to Kazakhstan, ca. 1935 Crimea | Privately owned / photographer unknown

German, took pity on them and shared the food he had, although his own family was threatened by hunger as well. The stories told by the family's acquaintances painted a horrific picture. Most of all seniors, children and the infirm were starving to death. Mr. and Mrs. German passed away in the mid-1930s and Magdalena met the driver Nikolai Schweiger. They married and soon had two children – Alexander in 1938 and Alina in 1940. The situation of the Germans in the Soviet Union continued to deteriorate at the very same time. First arrests and deportations of so-called unreliable elements amongst the collective farmers had already taken place in 1935. Two years later, Stalin prepared a resolution by the Central Committee's Politburo ordering the arrest of "Imperial Germans" in arms factories (see Krieger 2009, 153f.). The rights to autonomous self-government were withdrawn and teaching of the native language was prohibited. The fate of the Crimea Germans was finally sealed by the decree of August 1941 and subsequent deportation to Siberia and Kazakhstan.[5] The systematic nature of the process and organised deportation of hundreds of thousands of Germans from the European part of the Soviet Union suggest that this idea had not been born in response to the German army's attack on the USSR at all, but planned long before that. Witnesses have reported that lists of all Germans currently living in the Soviet Union were drawn up as early as 1934. These preparations for the banishment of a national minority were also linked with the National Socialists' rise to power in Germany and with the Soviet Union's redoubled foreign policy efforts aimed at improved preparations for a possible military attack by Germany (see Fleischhauer 1982, 318ff.).

In some places, people only had a few hours between the announcement and their deportation. Under the pretence of being taken to the hinterland for their own protection from the acts of war, the people concerned were told to lock their doors and hand the keys to those responsible. Their farms and animals would be looked after until they returned, which would only be a matter of months, anyway. So the people just packed a little clothing and food, lacking the time for more. But the deported would never see their old homes again, there would be no compensation for the properties they had left behind, and they would even be forced to provide written waivers for them later on. They covered the distance

in horse-drawn carts, crossed the Caspian Sea by boat, and then travelled on by rail in livestock wagons. Especially seniors and the sick would often not survive this journey of several weeks, particularly in the cold winter months. The dead were left lying by the wayside or thrown overboard into the water. Nobody knew where they were being conveyed to or what would happen to them. Dressed in nylon stockings and summer shoes because of the warm Crimean climate, they arrived in what felt like nowhere, up to their hips in snow. Others had shown greater presence of mind in this exceptional situation and put on as many garments as possible to swap them for food at stops along the transport route. Once they arrived at their destinations, they often found that these still lacked barrack facilities for the German "special settlers", so that they had to spend the first months living in damp and cold burrows which they had to dig for themselves. Magdalena was deported to Kazakhstan with her husband and two children in August, and allocated to an already existing kolkhoz in the Semiosjornoje district in the north of the country in November of the same year.

Despite their settlement in Kazakhstan – and particularly because of these traumatizing historic events – the generation who had been put through all this considered the Crimea their home and often looked back on it wistfully after the deportation, linked with the hope to be able to return to their original settlement areas one day. The loss of their home was immanent and played a decisive part for the identity of the generation who had personally experienced the deportation. Magdalena, too, would always – even after coming to the Federal Republic of Germany in 1993 as a so-called late emigrant – refer to the Crimea as her home for as long as she lived, even if she had spent half a century of that life in Kazakhstan. This and the fact that she understood Germany as a kind of second home and / or home of her ancestors also tallies with the findings of a 1999 study in Siberia concerning "ethnic identity and settlement strategies of Russian Germans" (see Schönhuth 2006).

Kazakhstan – the imposed home

The resettlement of many national minorities, amongst whom the Germans were the largest group, from the Soviet Union's crisis areas to Kazakhstan was no coincidence. After the failure of an attempt to recolonise Kazakhstan in the 1930s, over half a million deportees were now meant to cover the higher demand for labour arising from the war-related relocation of many industrial operations to that republic. They were a significant economic factor[6] (see Eisfeld 1999, 128). ▸ Fig. 2

Years of sacrifice awaited the new arrivals in the vast landscape of Kazakhstan once they had reached their barrack settlements. The accommodations lacked everything in the way of clothing, heating and food. Day after day was characterised by hard physical labour. From as early as October 1941, male German settlers would be conscripted to the so-called labour army, later on also childless women and mothers who no longer needed to look after small infants. While

Magdalena had to work as a milkmaid in a collective farm, her husband was forced to become a driver at an industrial location near Chelyabinsk north of Kazakhstan from January 1942. Visits were only rarely possible. Even if the lives these labour camps offered differed in terms of the work performed and the composition of the workforce – deportees, prisoners, POWs, political dissidents – they still had one thing in common: they resembled prisons. Those concerned saw themselves faced with the strictest surveillance, harassment, continuous defamation as fascist, and inadequate food rations.

This is the world my grandmother Ekaterina was born into as Magdalena and Nikolai's third child in 1943. She can still vividly remember what it was like to grow up in a barrack settlement of this nature as a child. Hunger was a frequent companion and one needed to be able to fend for oneself. As a milkmaid, her mother Magdalena was also responsible for feeding the calves. If the supervisor was nowhere to be seen, she would shout an agreed signal word for the children to secretly sneak into the stable and quickly drink some of the fresh cow's milk. Looking back now, Ekaterina can even chuckle about it when she remembers hiding amongst the calves with her siblings, on all fours to avoid detection. For my great-grandmother Magdalena, however, this must have been the most difficult time of her life, not least of all because of her husband's death in October 1945. He had lost his life in a car accident at the labour camp. Tens of thousands lost their lives in industrial accidents of this kind (see Eisfeld 1999, 133). Magdalena found out about it from a plain postcard and has never been able to visit his grave. Just 30 years old, Magdalena had been widowed and become the lone mother of three children. Not completely alone, though, luckily. Her older sister Philippina, who remained unmarried and childless, lived with Magdalena up to the end of her life in the 1980s and helped her raise the children.

Fig. 2 Magdalena Schweiger working as a milkmaid in the stable of a collective farm, Kazakhstan, ca. 1965 | Privately owned / photographer unknown

▸ **Fig. 3**

After the end of the war in 1945, the Germans continued to be overseen by the commandant offices of the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs as "persons of unequal legal status"[8] without a right to move freely or choose where they live. Several years of forced labour threatened whoever left their allocated place without permission (see Eisfeld 1999, 136). Only Stalin's death in 1953 paved the way for an incremental improvement of their situation. The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet's decree of December 13th, 1955 finally

Fig. 3 Postcard dated November 22nd, 1945: Front, text on back: "Good day Schweiger Magdalena, I have recently received your letter dated 15/10/45. When you wrote this letter you were not yet aware that your husband Schweiger Nikolai lost his life in a car accident on 12/10/45. He died at 6:30 pm. I buried him on 13/10/45 at 5 p.m. A friend attended and has written to you about it. I will be sending you 630 roubles in the coming days. Let me know what I am supposed to do with his things. If I am meant to sell them and send you the money, just let me know. With kind regards, Iosif Schlee."[7]

ordered that the Germans and their relatives were to be released from the so-called special settlements, but were not entitled to return to their original settlement areas, or to a compensation for their seized assets. Corresponding opportunities having been limited under the command of the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs, particularly where university places are concerned, the German population's general level of education was significantly lower than that of the Russians and Kazakhs also living in Kazakhstan. As a national minority without territory in the realm of the USSR, the Germans were in a less favourable position than nationalities with their own union republics, and had to make do with German as a foreign language in school (see Dietz / Hilkes 1992, 36ff.). So while Magdalena herself had still attended a German School in the Crimea where all the subjects were taught in German, her children and grandchildren learned it as a second foreign language besides English, and only rarely as a native language subject. Despite the decree of August 29th, 1964, which assured the support of the union republics for the economic and cultural development of the German population, attempts to establish German-language cultural institutions and media remained rather timid, even if positive tendencies were to be detected (see Jahn 1969). The latter for example included the availability of a four-page German-language newspaper in a rather isolated northern Kazakh village such as Semiosjornoje, and the broadcasting of short German-language shows on the radio. Massive assimilation to the dominant Russian society in cultural and language terms became observable amongst the German community from the 1970s, at the latest. The traumatizing historic experiences of the expelled generation and fear of being stigmatized as fascist even in the post-war generations meant that the use and teaching of the German language were mostly restricted to one's own four walls. German descent was often disowned, even in official documents, by assuming the nationality of the respective non-German parent. Most of all worries about possible discrimination in the labour market led the younger generation to bank on learning Russian and nothing but. It is therefore no surprise that the language skills declined over time, from one generation to the next (see Dietz / Hilkes 1992, 48ff.). Even Magdalena, as a member of the older generation who preferred German to Russian in everyday life, faced the problem of being hardly able to write in the language any longer when she emigrated to Germany, not least of all because she spoke a dialect. She therefore attended a German language course with her daughter Ekaterina in preparation for their departure and most of all practiced writing her own name, what with all the applications to be signed.

Germany – the new homeland?

What could have persuaded 77-year-old Magdalena Schweiger to leave her current life behind and start from scratch in a new place once again, after all her experiences of displacement, deportation, expropriation and uprooting? Was

it the wish "to live amongst Germans … as a German" (quoted from Schönhuth 2006, 372), attributable to a feeling of homelessness ever since the deportation? Or were it more pragmatic reasons given the break-up of the Soviet Union, attendant economic decline and growing ethnic tensions? And why opt for the Federal Republic of Germany, when it would have also been possible to emigrate to Russia or the Ukraine, and hence the former homelands, after all?[9]

The fight for national minority rights and struggle for territorial rehabilitation by restoring the former Volga Republic had already set in during the post-Stalin area of the 1960s. This wish was to remain unfulfilled, not least of all because the population living in the concerned area now opposed it – and that despite the USSR Presidential Decree of 1990, which recognised and rehabilitated the Germans in the Soviet Union as victims of politically motivated retribution measures, and despite the 1991 Law of the Russian Federation about the Rehabilitation of Repressed Peoples, which promised comprehensive compensation. The disappointment about this was great indeed amongst the Germans, who also felt increasingly threatened by the policies of the former Soviet Union's still young successor states as a highly marginalized group compared to other ethnicities (see Krieger 2015a, 14). One of the first legal changes in the newly established Kazakhstan was the introduction of Kazakh as the primary official language and linking of leadership positions to ethnic origin. Knowledge of the Kazakh language now also became a requirement for any promising integration in the Kazakh labour market, which put the German population at a particular disadvantage in comparison with ethnic Kazakhs. Even the teaching in schools was to be in Kazakh only within a short period of time. What motivated the expelled generation to emigrate to Germany on the basis of the Federal Expellee Law as so-called late repatriates was therefore also their concern about the future of their children and grandchildren. One expected a better future for oneself here than in the successor states of Russia and Ukraine, which were also beset by economic problems. Another reason was the fact that the repatriation and immigration policy in Germany was becoming more restrictive since the end of the 1980s, triggering a "now or never" mentality amongst the Germans willing to emigrate.[10] It is hence no coincidence that the number of German repatriates from Kazakhstan peaked in 1994 – the year after a migration policy programme had come into force that introduced so-called contingents.[11]

Magdalena Schweiger relocated to Germany with her daughter Ekaterina on March 31, 1993. In contrast to the 1941 deportation, also referred to as a resettlement in official Soviet parlance, this step was taken of her own volition. As an already retired member of the expelled generation, she "… no longer needed to assert herself in the German meritocracy, fight for her place in competition with the natives, and most of all no longer had to fear another expulsion. At the end of her journey, she (has) arrived in the – even if often bewildering – homeland" (Schönhuth 2006, 373). Magdalena Schweiger died in October 2003 in Oldenburg, Lower Saxony, where she had continually lived after her arrival in Germany.

1 See Eisfeld 2003, 8f. http://lmdr.de/wp-content/uploads/2012/04/blacksee.pdf (accessed on 25/06/2016).
2 Id., 11. http://lmdr.de/wp-content/uploads/2012/04/blacksee.pdf (accessed on 25/06/2016).
3 If not indicated otherwise, all the information on the life of Magdalena Schweiger and background on the historical context is taken from the interview with her daughter Ekaterina O. dated May 06th 2016.
4 See Eisfeld 2003, 14. http://lmdr.de/wp-content/uploads/2012/04/blacksee.pdf (accessed on 25/06/2016).
5 The fate of the Black Sea Germans from the remaining parts of the Ukraine was different, depending on when the advancing German troops reached them after the attack on the Soviet Union in June 1941. The Dnieper River became a dividing line in this. The areas west of it were occupied so quickly by the Wehrmacht and Romanian troops that the German population could initially remain there, but was also evacuated westward later as the front moved in. The further east they were from the Dnieper River, the more systematic and complete would the deportation of the German population by the Soviets be (see Eisfeld 1999, 120).
6 See Krieger 2015b. http://ome-lexikon.uni-oldenburg.de/laender/kasachstan/ (accessed on 25/06/2016).
7 Translation of the back of the pictured postcard from Russian.
8 Krieger 2015b. http://ome-lexikon.uni-oldenburg.de/laender/kasachstan/ (accessed on 25/06/2016).
9 See Eisfeld 2003, 15f. http://lmdr.de/wp-content/uploads/2012/04/blacksee.pdf (accessed on 25/06/2016).
10 See Panagiotidis 2015. http://ome-lexikon.uni-oldenburg.de/begriffe/aussiedlerspaetaussiedler/ (accessed on 25/06/2016).
11 See Krieger 2015b. http://ome-lexikon.uni-oldenburg.de/laender/kasachstan/ (accessed on 25/06/2016).

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Helga Neumann

“This visa issue is the most important issue in our lives right now.” One of many: Anna Seghers in exile, 1933–1947

Those leaving their homelands to find prosperity or good fortune someplace else will not even be immune to homesickness if everything they wish for in their new life comes true. But those forced to escape to save their very lives without even being certain of finding shelter will never forget this existential threat.

The National Socialist regime established itself in Germany in early 1933 following Hitler's appointment as Chancellor of the Reich on 30th of January, the arson attack on the Reichstag parliament building on 27th of February, the Reichstag elections on 5th of March and the Enabling Act of 23rd of March. The risk for anyone who failed to fit in with this new view of the world grew from year to year: for people of Jewish origin, communists and socialists, for homosexuals, Sinti and Roma, Jehovah's Witnesses and many others. A first exodus had set in after the 27th of February. Ever new groups of refugees would embark on the perilous journey in the following years – also as a consequence of the German Reich's geographical expansion. The preferred countries of exile were Czechoslovakia, France and the Soviet Union initially, later also the UK and US. The number of people who saw themselves forced to get out in the German-speaking region is estimated at around 500,000 – most of them emigrants of Jewish origin, approximately 30,000 people who fled "exclusively or primarily for reasons of political persecution", and a number of persons whom Claus-Dieter Krohn refers to as "cultural dissidents" (Krohn 1998, 1) that is hard to estimate. An exact quantification is complicated by overlaps between these roughly defined groups and the fact that refugee movements extended over longer periods of time and across large geographical distances.[1]

What follows here is meant to sketch out the lives and travels of Anna Seghers and her family: in many respects typical for political exiles after 1933, or situations of exile in general, but of course also very unique fates – as every life is.[2] Anna Seghers left no autobiography and, apart from a short period predating 1925, never kept a diary. In her letters she exercises great restraint, especially when it comes to private circumstances and hardships. The correspondence during her period of exile nonetheless makes her situation in life accessible, and she reflects upon her experience of it in her literary texts.

"Aren't you thoroughly fed up with such thrilling stories? Aren't you sick of all these suspenseful tales about people surviving mortal danger by a hair, about breathtaking escapes? Me, I'm sick and tired of them. If something still thrills me today, then maybe it's an old worker's yarn about how many feet of wire he's drawn in the course of his long life and what tools he used, or the glow of the lamplight by which a few children are doing their homework." (Seghers 2013, 4).

This is said by the narrator of the novel *Transit,* sitting in a pizzeria in Marseilles, a meeting place for people engaged in a frantic search for visas and travel options, just as Anna Seghers had been there in 1941. By birth, the unstable world of the refugees was as alien to her as the proletarian world of workers: Anna Seghers, née Netty Reiling, was born on November 19th, 1900 as the daughter of a wealthy art and antiques dealer in Mainz. She met the Hungarian sociologist

Fig. 1 Anna Seghers with her family in France, ca. mid-1930s | Akademie der Künste, Berlin, Anna Seghers Archive, no. 3759

and economist Laszlo Radvanyi (1900–1978) during her studies in Heidelberg. After their wedding in 1925, the couple moved to Berlin, the children Peter and Ruth were born in 1926 and 1928. 1928 is also the year Seghers was awarded the Kleist Prize, one of the most important literary awards of the Weimar Republic, for her novella *Grubetsch,* published in the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, and for her first published book, *Revolt of the Fishermen of St. Barbara,* which made her more widely known. And 1928 is also when she joined the Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands (KPD, Communist Party) and the Association of Proletarian-Revolutionary Authors, and additionally involved herself in the Marxist Workers' School run by her husband under his alias of Johann Schmidt. ▸ **Fig. 1**

After the Reichstag fire on February 27th, 1933, Seghers was questioned, but not arrested – this relatively lenient approach probably being explicable by the Hungarian citizenship she had acquired by marriage (Zehl Romero 2000, 268). Seghers still decamped as quickly as possible, first to Switzerland, where her husband was already staying, and then to Paris. Son Peter was recuperating from scarlet fever at a children's home in the Black Forest, and daughter Ruth was currently staying with the grandparents, who delivered both children to their parents at the French border in June 1933 (see Seghers 1938 [1984]).

In Paris, the family settled in the suburb of Meudon, somewhat better off than many other exiles thanks to the support from Anna Seghers' parents, but it was still always a struggle to make ends meet. Amongst other institutions, Laszlo Radvanyi also taught at the Free German University established by exiles in 1935 (see Vormeier 1998, 229), his activities under his party name of Johann Schmidt attracted the interest of the Gestapo. In Berlin, the Office of the Secret State Police enquired about "Dr. Johann Schmidt" at the Foreign Office on November 23rd, 1937 because the *Pariser Tageszeitung* of November 7th, 1937 had announced a presentation by Schmidt at a book exhibition held by the Society for the Protection of German Authors. The German embassy in Paris was only able to report, however, that Schmidt had taught at the Free German University and, the source for this also being the press, had already delivered a talk on the subject of "Ideologies and their Role in History" in 1936.[3]

Seghers was actively involved in the "Society for the Protection of German Authors Abroad" established in 1933, spoke at many events, including the 1935

"First International Writers' Conference for the Defence of Culture" in Paris, where artists from a broad political spectrum took a joint stand against Nazi Germany in the sense of a people's front *(front populaire).* Political trench warfare was just as familiar to the communist and social-democrat groupings in exile, however, as it had been in Germany previously and would also be in Mexico later. Despite the political activities and adverse circumstances, Seghers' literary output was extensive: Besides many other smaller contributions, her novels *A Price on His Head* (1933) and *The Rescue* (1937) were brought out by publishing houses-in-exile. In the autumn of 1939 she completed the novel *The Seventh Cross,* whose first edition appeared in 1942 in Boston and English. She took refuge in her artistic work, wherein Seghers dealt with the political events, sometimes almost up to the minute, as is the case with her novel *The Way Through February,* which treats of the 1934 February Uprising in Austria and was published in Paris in 1935. Despite the political interests, she never sacrificed her artistic ambitions. When Johannes R. Becher[4] accused her of lacking dedication to the political work, she wrote to him, probably in December 1933: "I find most of all these small things being done there incredibly bad and hence superfluous – oh God, it is so uncontrolled. … I admit that I am a little extravagant and obsessive in all things artistic, but am convinced that one cannot be obsessed enough." (Seghers 2008, 18). And the "obsessive" artist Seghers also created completely "unpolitical" texts such as her novella *The Finest Legends of Robber Woynok,* which appeared in 1938 in the exile newspaper *Das Wort,* published in Moscow: The story of the solitary, mysterious robber Woynok and his lonely death. Seghers wrote to the publisher Fritz Erpenbeck about this in March 1938: "I am now sending you a story tomorrow. I think it appropriate to preface the story with a motto. Because the story is unpolitical, it is a kind of fairy tale." (Seghers 2008, 44). The motto is: "And don't you have dreams, say, wild and gentle ones, in your sleep between two hard days? And do you know perhaps why an old fairy tale, a little song, yes even only the metre of a song occasionally pierces the hearts we're knocking our fists bloody on, without any effort at all? Yes, effortlessly is how the whistle of a bird touches upon the bottom of the heart and thereby also upon the roots of the deeds." (Seghers 1938, 22).

The situation in Europe continued to deteriorate: March 1938 saw Austria's "annexation" by the German Reich, September 1938 the Munich Agreement, whereby Great Britain and France, amongst others, tolerated the annexation of the "Sudetenland". In August 1939, the German Reich and the Soviet Union signed a non-aggression pact that caused a stir amongst left-wing exiles and served to further distance some who already felt alienated by the politics of the Soviet Union and Communist Party anyway, for example the author Gustav Regler. After the beginning of the war in September 1939, exiles also had to fear an attack by the German Reich in France. Their status changed inside France, too, because the presence of foreigners, and especially communists, was perceived as a threat there, even if they were declared enemies of Nazi Germany. In the spring

of 1940, Laszlo Radvanyi was interned at Camp Vernet in southern France as an "undesirable alien", along with many others (Radvanyi 2005, 38). On May 9th, 1940, Anna Seghers wrote to Wieland Herzfelde in New York: "As you know, there are always plenty of news here and I only tend to relieve half the mess by writing, the other half I keep to myself so as not to drive our friends to utter distraction. Just the other day, for example, I became aware of the bagatelle that my mother was to be forced to go to Shanghai from where she is now after the death of my father because a quota was free there by happenstance – I am still busy cracking that strange nut. You know about my husband." (Seghers 2008, 72f.).

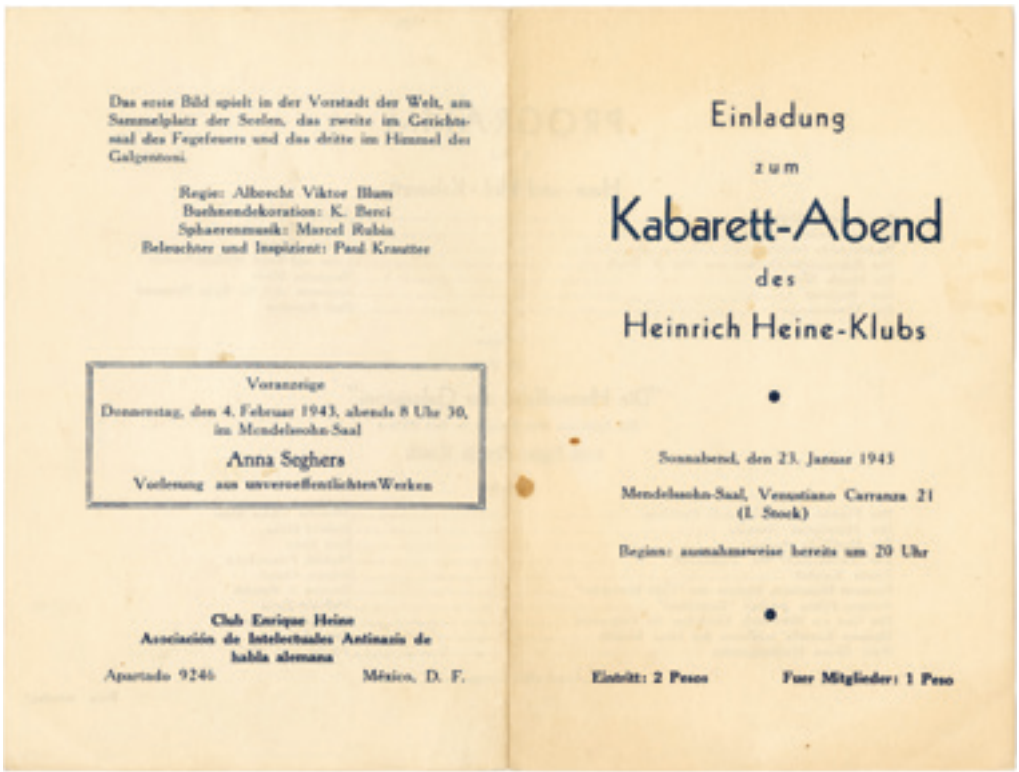
Following the occupation of Paris by German troops in June 1940, Seghers and her children managed to reach the unoccupied part of France – after one failed attempt – but the safety it offered was limited. Article 19 of the Armistice of Compiègne required France to extradite all German citizens named by the German Reich from where they lived on French territory. Although Anna Seghers was not a German national (which is also why her name is not found in the expatriation lists of the German Reich), the Gestapo was still looking for her, and her situation was not only desperate in financial terms: While she had Mexican visa for herself and the children, her husband did not, and was unable to leave the internment camp without. Her visa had moreover been made out in her pen name and not the real name shown in the passport. Seghers was one of 20 persons to be provided with entry visas by direct order of Mexico's president, Lázaro Cárdenas. The publication of this list in Mexican dailies was reported back to Berlin on August 12th, 1940 by the German ambassador Ruedt von Collenberg.[5] As early as March 15th, 1940, Seghers had already asked the author Franz Carl Weiskopf in New York: "But we know very well that it is incredibly difficult to get entry visa for the United States. I therefore entreat you to move heaven and earth to get the visa for Mexico for me, my husband and my children. … This visa issue is the most important issue in our lives right now." (Seghers 2008, 438, French in the original). Seghers also emphasizes in other places that she would have preferred to take shelter in the USA, but getting US visa was becoming ever more difficult, especially for communists, which only left the way to Mexico, a country that was particularly ready to welcome prospective exiles who leaned to the left, offering them a work permit and good living conditions. Like many others, Seghers depended on help, help getting visa, transit visa, boat tickets. She lived in Pamiers, close to Camp Vernet. There were consulates and aid agency offices in Marseilles, the only still possible port of departure.

"We are still here in Marseilles and waiting for our transit visas. I don't know if I will get them. This life here – half a life, half a reality – would be unbearable if I hadn't started to do some serious work. Serious, but also something very light, very delicate." (Seghers 2008, 466, French in the original). This is how Anna Seghers described her situation on March 3rd, 1941. Uncertain whether and when she and her family would be able to leave, she started to work on the novel *Transit,* where she thematizes the situation of the refugees in Marseilles.

The family finally departed on March 24th, 1941, reaching Veracruz at the end of June after stopovers in Martinique, San Domingo and Ellis Island / New York, and Mexico City offered a new home. This is where Seghers completed the novel *Transit,* contributed to the journal *Freies Deutschland*, and presided over the "Heinrich Heine Club", which offered a German-language cultural programme until 1946. ▸ **Fig. 2**

Her husband could work as a scientist. The income was meagre, but the financial situation improved considerably in 1943: *The Seventh Cross* enjoyed great success in the US-American book market and the sale of the movie rights to Hollywood paid off handsomely – the movie with Spencer Tracy in the lead under the direction of Fred Zinnemann came out in 1944.

As early as September 1st, 1942, Seghers had already summed up her situation as follows in a letter to Johannes R. Becher and Michail Jurjewitsch Apletin in Moscow: "It goes like this with our lives: There is certainly an unbelievable wealth of things to see and learn here. The country, the people, the Indian question, all these living conditions that resemble nothing we have ever known, all this must be great for an author. Only that I, that we all, more or less have a feeling of being too far away from the focus, from what is most important, …" (Seghers 2008, 137f.).



Das erste Bild spielt in der Vorstadt der Welt, am Sammelplatz der Seelen, das zweite im Gerichtssaal des Fegefeuers und das dritte im Himmel des Galgentods.

Regie: Albrecht Viktor Blum
Bühnendekoration: K. Berci
Sphaerenmusik: Marcel Rubin
Beleuchter und Inspizient: Paul Krautter

Voranzeige
Donnerstag, den 4. Februar 1943, abends 8 Uhr 30, im Mendelssohn-Saal
Anna Seghers
Vorlesung aus unveroeffentlichten Werken

Club Enrique Heine
Asociación de Intelectuales Antinazis de habla alemana
Apartado 9246 México, D. F.

Einladung
zum
Kabarett-Abend
des
Heinrich Heine-Klubs

Sonnabend, den 23. Januar 1943
Mendelssohn-Saal, Venustiano Carranza 21 (I. Stock)
Beginn: ausnahmsweise bereits um 20 Uhr

Eintritt: 2 Pesos Fuer Mitglieder: 1 Peso

Fig. 2 Programme for a "Cabaret Evening" at the Heinrich Heine Club on January 23rd, 1943 featuring Steffie Spira, Egon Erwin Kisch and Brigitte Chatel (actually Brigitte Alexander), amongst others, with the announcement of a reading by Anna Seghers | Akademie der Künste, Berlin, Kurt and Jeanne Stern Archive, no. 158

Fig. 3 Asociación Checoslovaco-Mexicana: Gran Mitin Contra la Barbarie Nazi, 06/07/1943, Mexico D. F. | Akademie der Künste, Berlin, Lenka-Reinerová-Archiv, unsigned

Seghers' eyes are turned to Europe, and not only hers. The feeling of being unable to do anything against the war and political upheavals governed the lives of those who had not emigrated to settle somewhere else but were expatriates who wanted to fight what had caused them to flee, and return. They could do little from afar, but did try to send signals. ▸ Fig. 3

On July 7th, 1943, the Palacio de Bellas Artes in Mexico City hosted an event to commemorate the village of Lidice, destroyed by the National Socialists in June 1942 in retribution for the assassination of Reinhard Heydrich, and its murdered population: organized by the Asociación Checoslovaco-Mexicana, with speakers including the journalist and author Lenka Reinerová, a speech by Jan Masaryk, the foreign minister of the Czechoslovakian government in exile, broadcast from London, a performance of Bedřich Smetana's *Má vlast* (My Homeland) directed by Carl Alvin (Karl Alwin), former conductor at the Vienna State Opera. According to an article in the August issue of *Freies Deutschland*, this was also attended by the Soviet ambassador, Konstantin Alexandrowitsch Umanskij. Whereas Anna Seghers was not in the audience: She had been hit by a car on June 24th, 1943 and suffered a severe head injury. After falling into a coma for several days, it took her a long time to overcome the subsequent amnesia. Immediately after her recuperation she wrote the novella *The Excursion of the Dead Girls* – the only one of her literary texts with autobiographic references. Then she worked on the novel *The Dead Stay Young*, which illustrates the history of Germany from 1918 to 1945 in a richly populated panorama and was published in the German Democratic Republic (GDR) in 1949. She would only turn to her impressions from Latin America later, for example in the novellas *Crisanta* (1951) and *Benito's Blue* (1967), or in the novel *Crossing: A Love Story* (1971). Seghers retained her orientation to Europe for as long as she lived in Mexico, which was almost six years, no less, in her work and also in her concern for friends and most of all her mother, whose emigration she failed to secure in spite of all effort. Seghers' father had died in 1941, her mother was deported to the Piaski camp in 1942 and murdered, her date of death unknown.

With travel opportunities limited immediately after the end of the war, Seghers did not return to Berlin until April 1947. She never saw Mexico again. The destroyed Berlin was so alien to her at first that she missed a "Mexican sector" (Seghers 2008, 219). On December 16th, 1947, she reported in a letter to Katharina Schulz, Peter and Ruth Radvanyi's nanny in Berlin and Paris: "The return to Germany (I don't know how long I will stay) is also not all that easy for me. The people are different from the people in Romanic countries and even more so from the Indians. It will not be that easy for me to get through many things. The many and abrupt adjustments are not straightforward for me either. It is not simply forgetfulness, or inertia, when I am much to shattered sometimes to write. Especially as I have done in this letter, what I have on my mind. I don't even believe that the mouth runneth over when the heart is full. The lips will be sealed even more then, occasionally. We have experienced a lot of sorrow, a lot

of despair (in which we are not alone), a lot of stupidity and a lot of viciousness from this country, also many wonderful things. My friend Philipp Schaeffer, whom you knew, I believe, could not be found here. He was guillotined. So he existed here in this country, and those who did that to him. I am not even talking about my mother. Neither am I talking of the barbary of fascism alone, which will be cruel and savage in any country." (Seghers 2008, 265f.).

Seghers lived in West Berlin; she had a Mexican passport that offered her a certain freedom to travel, for example to Paris, where her children were studying. In the GDR "emigrants from the West" were generally suspected of being less reliable in political terms than the comrades who had gone to the Soviet Union after 1933. Seghers gave up her Mexican citizenship under pressure from the *Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands* (SED) (Socialist Party) in 1950, and moved her place of residence to East Berlin.[6] Her husband only returned in 1952 and was awarded a professorship at Humboldt University. Seghers did not take on any party posts, but presided over the writers' guild from 1952 to 1978 and always remained a communist and a loyal citizen of the GDR. In 1947 she was awarded the Büchner Prize by the City of Darmstadt, followed by many accolades in the GDR and USSR. The reception of her works was only hesitant in the Federal Republic, often one-sided in the GDR. Here as there, she was usually reduced to *The Seventh Cross* and the party author – neither of which does justice to the complexity of her work. In 1981 she was made an honorary citizen of her home town Mainz, in June 1983 she died in Berlin.

She retained her Mainz-ian inflection all her life, harboured sympathies for France, and also for Latin America, remained loyal to the party she had opted for as a young woman, and lived in Berlin for many years. Where she felt at home must remain unanswered. "Not the residents of a street, but those who cut across it in passing will savour its peace most profoundly." (Seghers 1938 [1984], 9).

1 The number of publications about exile in 1933–1945 being vast, only a few references here: On places of exile, institutions and other general information, see Krohn et al. (1998), on exile in France, see Vormeier (1998), Roussel/Winckler (2012), in Mexico Patka (2002), Pohle (1986), Aktives Museum (2012).

2 My biography of Seghers is based on Zehl Romero (2000/2003), Wagner et al. (1994), and the recollections of her son see Radvanyi (2005); for more about the exile, with documents from the FBI archive, see Stephan (1993) and also *Argonautenschiff*, the yearbook of the Seghers Society, published since 1992.

3 PA AA, R 99588.

4 Johannes R. Becher (1891–1958), author, exiled from 1933 in Austria, Prague, Paris, from 1935 in the Soviet Union, from June 1945 back in Berlin, culture minister of the German Democratic Republic 1954–1958, member of the SED's Central Committee.

5 PA AA; R 99600.

6 On the political and cultural situation in the early GDR, see Brockmann (2015), who also takes a detailed look at the discussion around Seghers' novel *The Dead Stay Young*.

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Kristina Heizmann

“Guests of the nation” or “guest workers”? Belgian refugees in Great Britain, 1914–1918

The First World War sundered a Europe that had already been heaving under the tensions between its monarchies before. Once Austria-Hungary had declared war on Serbia, Russia, France and Germany joined the hostilities in quick succession. On August 4th, 1914, German troops marched into Belgium (see Lloyd 2002, 51ff.) – a decision that was to trigger a population movement of unimagined dimensions. The acts of war, sieges and bombardments already drove the people from their home towns to the coast before the month was out. Tens of thousands were stranded in Antwerp without fixed abodes or supplies. In view of the hopeless situation, Great Britain – Belgium's ally who had entered the war after the German invasion there – agreed to evacuate some of the refugees to its realm. A ship connection set up in September had already conveyed 10,000 people to Great Britain in its very first month. The taking of Antwerp in October finally triggered a true exodus, with nearly one million people seeking refuge in the Netherlands. As the space on the British ships was no longer anywhere near enough to transport all those eager to emigrate, additional connections had to be established (see Holmes 1988, 87; Amara 2004, 6ff.). Between September 20th and October 24th, alone, over 35,000 Belgians arrived in Great Britain by way of Folkestone. The number of refugees then grew to 210,000 in the course of 1915 (see Amara 2004, 15).[1] The evacuation of these people was without precedent in the history of Europe.[2]

In Great Britain, the Belgian refugees were classed as "alien friends" (as opposed to "alien enemies") by the 1914 Aliens Restrictions Act (see Holmes 1988, 94).[3] Besides proving that one was not a citizen of an enemy nation, one first of all needed to have lost one's home because of the war, secondly needed to be "of good character"[4], and thirdly had to pass a medical check-up, i.e. not pose a health risk for the British population.[5] If all three criteria were met, one would be accepted on the island as a "Belgian refugee".

On the station platforms in London these refugees, arriving from the coastal towns in overcrowded trains, were enthusiastically welcomed by relief organizations and throngs of people in the summer and autumn of 1914. They came to symbolize the brutality and ruthlessness of the enemy, Germany. Reports about the refugees were full of sympathy, but also not without a slight shudder – encountering, as one did, the reality of a war that had not yet reached Great Britain herself. "… one saw people who had been days under fire and in cellars, others having had no food for days, one woman having exchanged her wedding ring for a crust of bread for her children."[6] These stories, told and heard directly on the platform, became part of the war propaganda which, after 1914, quickly integrated the case for the alliance as well as the flow of refugees in its narration of the relationships between European states. Great Britain therein stylized herself as Belgium's "historical protectress"[7], casting the refugees both as heroes and victims of the Great War. Constantly recurring elements of this heroic tale were the "gallant opposition" by those Belgians who had staged a resistance to the German invasion, the terror spread amongst the civilian population by the German

troops, and the escape of the resistance fighters, "driven from every refuge by the fear inspired by the enemy's method of warfare"[8].

The solidarity with these refugees and the government's and people's willingness to help were closely linked with the role of the Belgian resistance against the German army. The refugees became a symbol for the suffering of "little Belgium", who had sacrificed herself to keep the German army from marching through. "Bravo Belgium!" ran a Punch headline in August 1914, celebrating the heroic but hardly promising struggle of the Belgian troops as a triumph of culture over German savagery.[9] The "gallant opposition"[10] mounted by Belgium became a heroic yet doomed attempt to stop the German army in the name of Western Civilization, and established Great Britain's moral obligation to accept the refugees. As early as September 1914, the Times almost routinely wrote about "German atrocities", and the Belgians as "victims of German barbarity".[11] In the context of these reports, everyone was now able to come up with their very own contribution to the war effort on the "Home Front", for example by engagement in aid organizations, but first and foremost by welcoming Belgian refugees in one's own home. Whoever helped in this manner could simultaneously distance him- or herself from the "barbarity" of Germany.[12] The refugees were declared "guests of the nation" who had a rightful claim to the hospitality of the British populace.[13] To look after them became "(the) country's obligation of honour"[14] in the summer of 1914.

One of those who packed their lives in as little luggage as possible and set out for Great Britain in the winter of 1914/15 was the remarkable Laure Vanderstichele. Born 1871 in Terwagne in the Province of Liège,[15] she was one of the first Belgian women to have visited a university.[16] When the war broke out she lived in Brussels, freshly divorced from her husband,[17] with her elder daughters Paule and Madeleine enrolled at university in Ghent.[18] News were spread secretly on paper shopping bags in German-occupied Brussels. This is where Laure found the information that Bedford College for Women at the University of London offered free study courses for refugees. Unable to tell if this was actually the case – a letter smuggled to London had remained unanswered – she took the future of her daughters into her own hands so that neither the war nor the Germans would determine it. She told the German occupation authorities that she urgently needed to join her husband in Amsterdam, who was supposedly dying, was issued with a travel permit under the proviso to return, and set out with her daughters and minimal luggage – some clothing, but also needle, thread, scissors and leftover bits of fabric. ▸ Fig. 1

In a letter to her parents, Laure described the view of her war-torn country, which she initially crossed by boat on the way to Antwerp, of the great number of wooden crosses marking hastily dug graves, of destroyed palaces and estates, blown-up bridges and bombed-out cities. In the also destroyed Antwerp, she was forced to discover that there was no longer a direct boat to the interim stop of Flushing,[19] but found one that took her to Hansweert, halfway there. From here, Laure, Paule and Madeleine reached the seaport by train, hoping to cross to Great

Fig. 1 The devastation of war in Mechelen after the German army's invasion, September 1914 | Royal Museum of the Army and of Military History, Brussels; Nr Inv KLM-MRA: B-1-282-9

Britain. Despite dwindling funds, Laure booked first class cabins wherever possible because, as she wrote to her parents, one had not quite sacrificed one's standards yet.[20] She cheerfully told them about the good company the journey proceeded in, but also did not omit the thorough searches she and her daughters were apparently subjected to by German soldiers repeatedly – and writes of the deadly silence that came over everyone as they realized that their small boat was navigating between floating mines.

In Flushing she managed to jump queues of several hundred would-be emigrants before the Belgian and British consulates and book cabins for herself and her daughters in time. The conditions on the sea journey in a very small ship with strong winds, sub-zero temperatures and the risk of armed mines made her heart race in fear. But for her daughters she hid her worry behind a laugh – or at least until seasickness also took a hold of her. ▸ Fig. 2

They reached Great Britain via Folkestone, where the obligatory medical check-up had to be passed,[21] and then took a train to London.[22] Volunteer committees welcomed the small group of travellers at the station along with other arrivals from Belgium for further "distribution". Here, where the tension of the voyage could be shed, initial euphoria was followed by disillusionment: In London they were no more than three amongst tens of thousands looking for accommodation – and their money was also gone, apart from a reserve for emergencies. London

Fig. 2 Jostling for places on a boat from Ostend to Great Britain, October 1914 | Royal Museum of the Army and of Military History, Brussels; Nr Inv KLM-MRA: 201271754

appeared dark and forbidding. Their first abode was a community hall, packed with provisional beds, almost all of them occupied by women and children. Conversations with earlier arrivals, who reported about the helplessness of aid organizations that were only able to do very little for the refugees as private accommodation had become scarce, strengthened Laure's resolve to find a livelihood for herself as quickly as possible. But she continued to nurture the hope that her stay would only be brief.[23] So she once more set out for London with her daughters, with references and the remaining thirty shillings and five Belgian francs in her pocket: to the Bedford College for Women, from which she had expected so much for her children. In vain, as it initially appeared – because the rumours about free university places had indeed only been rumours.[24] She still found pragmatic and unbureaucratic help: The director and her team assisted the family, organized accommodation for Laure with a wealthy spinster in Hampstead, while Paule and Madeleine found shelter with a doctor in Devonshire Place. The daughters actually managed to learn English in the space of six months – a prerequisite for enrolling at the college after all.[25] ▸ **Fig. 3**

As Laure Vanderstichele's story already suggests, the initial enthusiasm, the spirited private help for the "guests of the nation" (tens of thousands of Belgians had been taken in by families and singles) began to wane as the war dragged on, also in view of own losses and needs. That the heroes of the resistance against "German barbarity" turned out to be quite ordinary people, who in no way lived up

to the heroic images conveyed by war propaganda, disappointed the helpers. One expected the Belgians also to express gratefulness for their accommodation by adjusting to the cultural givens.[26] Instead, the hosts complained about the inadequate adaptability of their guests, for example an alleged lack of hygiene: The Belgian refugees were said to entertain other sanitary concepts than the British, and not uncommonly be quite unclean.[27] An excerpt from a diary summarizes the growing reservations about the "guests of the nation": "... the Belgians were not grateful. They won't do a stroke of work, and grumble at everything, and their morals ... ! It may be true enough that Belgium saved Europe, but ... save us from the Belgians! As far as I am concerned, Belgianitis has quite abated."[28]

The private offers of help and accommodation, still received in vast numbers in the beginning of the war, already started to ebb away drastically by late autumn of 1914. Prime Minister Herbert Henry Asquith, who had hesitated to involve the state in the assistance for the "absolutely destitute refugees" and passed that responsibility on to the War Refugees Committee[29] (WRC),[30] now had to admit that the latter had reached its limits as a private philanthropic organization, despite the selfless labours of its many unpaid helpers.[31] The Local Government Board (LGB) took over the entire complex of admitting and registering the refugees.[32] It was responsible for their initial reception and provided immediate support for the particularly needy. The LGB ensured their supply with food and clothing in large reception camps.[33] It was most of all to keep these reception camps working that the government felt compelled to invest ever greater funds in refugee

Fig. 3 Laure Vanderstichele's registration card where the picture has been obviously inserted later. All relocations had to be reported to the police and / or Aliens Registration Office and were noted in the card.
| Imperial War Museum, London

relief by way of the LGB. Especially because more and more refugees returned to these camps, instead of leaving them, as the war progressed and private offers of help diminished in number.[34]

The government hence resolved as early as October 1914 to rely on refugees for covering the demand for labour that was becoming increasingly tangible by then. The Belgians were to be provided with opportunities to work without putting them in competition with native workers. This was most easily achieved in the understaffed arms industry.[35] Belgians willing to take a job were only to be hired, however, as long as no British worker could be found for it.[36] The arms industry started employing Belgian refugees in ammunition factories on this basis from the beginning of 1915. Faced with the dogged trench warfare at the western front and great consumption of ammunition and grenades, the search for additional armaments workers became a matter of the "gravest urgency"[37]. The potentials provided by the recruitment of refugees who were already in the country were quickly exhausted. The reason was that many Belgian men who were fit to bear arms were called back to the front by the Belgian government at the same time. The Home Office and Board of Trade therefore tried to fight the labour shortage by recruiting additional Belgian workers on the continent. The transport of Belgian refugees from the Netherlands to Great Britain started at the end of 1914. Notions of charity and humanitarian refugee work gave way to the view that the Belgians' employment was an economic necessity in the war economy. The refugees were still written and spoken of as "guests of the nation", to be sure. But their role in the wartime economy had long since changed: They had been invested with an economic usefulness and turned into an important factor for the war. By July 1917, hardly any Belgian workers were left unemployed in Great Britain, and only wounded soldiers, and old men and women were out of work.[38] Over half of the 57,000 Belgians registered as "employed" in England in 1918 were working in the arms industry.[39] The guests of the nation had turned into guest workers.

The problems weren't long in coming. The integration of the refugees in their new work environment proved difficult, given the large number of recruitments. Many employers feared that the alleged bad habits of the Belgians could catch on in England, for example their cigarette breaks, which were considered particularly unproductive. Unionists in turn accused the Belgians of working too fast, which was seen to jeopardize the achievements of their unions. The course of the war ultimately helped to solve such problems: As the great demand rendered even the opening of new factories profitable, it was only consistent in view of the integration problems to concentrate the Belgians in groups and staff entire plants with Belgian personnel. They were a symbol of Belgian self-help in times of war, demonstrated productive involvement in it, and enabled the problem of integrating a large number of "foreign" workers to be solved. [40]

The "guests of the nation"-rhetoric did also not keep the government from starting to plan the return of Belgian refugees from as early as 1916. A committee for preparing this repatriation was set up in 1917. The objective resided in sending the

Fig. 4 Laure Vanderstichele's 1940 passport, issued by the South African Union | Imperial War Museum, London

refugees back immediately after the liberation of Belgium, even if the hostilities in Europe should not have come to an end by then. The government feared that refugees could turn into "undesirable aliens" after the war, who would only be a financial burden for the state.[41] The repatriation of approximately 170,000 Belgians was never seen as problematic. The work of the government and charities was thought to enable them to establish new livelihoods in their accustomed homelands with the savings accumulated in Great Britain.[42] Between December 1918 and May 1919, British authorities financed the repatriation of over 65,000 "guests of the nation", while others had returned at their own expense. Two months later, almost all Belgians had left the island, according to the Home Office.[43] ▸ **Fig. 4**

And Laure Vanderstichele? She remained in London after the war and had her youngest daughter Luce join her there in 1919. She managed to establish herself in the clothing industry – the needles, thread and fabrics she had salvaged in her travel luggage from Belgium to England became the cornerstones of her career: Many major London stores bought her designs, and she employed twelve seamstresses in the workshop studio in Clapham she rented in addition to her apartment. In 1939 she fled from the war again, this time to another continent, and lived in the South African Union with her daughter Paule for almost 20 years, where she started to paint, had successful exhibitions and where she sold her works. It was not until the mid-50s, as the tensions in South Africa continued to grow, that Laure had to set out once again for another country that promised greater safety and more of a future, due to her links with Nelson Mandela and the political developments in connection with the 1956 Treason Trial (her daughter Paule had lost her professorship at the university):[44] She returned to Great Britain, where she passed away in London in 1967, presumably aged 95.[45]

1 The Public Record Office (PRO), HO 45/10882/344019, Repatriation Committee Interim Report dated 04/07/1917 counted 172,298 Belgian refugees in Great Britain. Remigration and onward migration to France then caused their numbers to fall to 170,000 in the subsequent years of the war.

2 Over 1.5 million Belgians left their country in the summer of 1914, seeking asylum in the Netherlands, France and Great Britain. More than 600,000 of them would remain in their countries of refuge for the entire war (see Amara 2004, 7).

3 As long as they actually were Belgians and not possibly German "spies" with an interest in state secrets. See Hansard, HC Deb. vol. 65, 05/08/1914, col. 1986, col.1989.

4 Meaning that they were meant to be able to provide proof of their integrity.

5 First Report of the Departmental Committee ..., Cd. 7750, 1914, p. 4.

6 IWM 86/48/1, diary Alice Essington-Nelson. Essington-Nelson, born 1877, helped to "distribute" the new arrivals from the station to the reception centres and camps in London as a member of the Catholic Women's League (CWL).

7 See Powell 1920, 9.This always also served to underscore the necessity of Great Britain's entry into the war.

8 First Report of the Departmental Committee ..., Cd. 7750, 1914, p. 4.

9 See The Punch, 12/08/1914 and The Punch, 26/08/1914.

10 See amongst others in the First Report of the Departmental Committee, Cd. 7750, 1914, p. 4.

11 The talk of "German atrocities" and "victims of German barbarity" became a much-quoted topos of the war reporting (see The Times, 07/09/1914). These charges were denied on the German side (see Horne/Kramer 2001).

12 In December 1914, the Asquith government established a committee to investigate German war crimes under Lord Bryce (see Report of the Committee on Alleged German Outrages, Cd. 7894 of Session 1914-1915, 1915, p. 60f.).

13 See Herbert Samuel's speech on 09/09/1914: Herbert Samuel, Hansard, HC Deb. vol. 66, 09/09/1914 col. 558.

14 The Times, 14/09/1914.

15 Date of birth as in the documents at the Imperial War Museum. Laure Vanderstichele's granddaughter Shirley Hinkly says her grandmother was born in 1869.

16 She was enrolled in natural science, but no proof of her graduation could be found (see Simon-Van der Mersch, 1982).

17 These and other personal details about Laure are taken from a report written by her granddaughter Shirley Hinkly in 1995. Shirley was the daughter of Laure's youngest daughter Luce, who was also brought to Great Britain after the war (IWM, documents 06/1181, Shirley Hinkly, Freedom for a Family).

18 Another daughter, described as "Baby Luce" in Laure's letter to her parents, must have been around 7 years old at the time of the escape, according to Shirley Hinkly (IWM, documents 06/1181, letter by Laure van der Stichele to her parents, 14/02/1915).

19 A small harbour town at the mouth of the Westerschelde river, point of departure for boats to Great Britain.

20 IWM, documents 06/1181, letter by Laure van der Stichele to her parents, 14/02/1915.

21 The medical check-up was one of the requirements of the 1914 Aliens Act, as was the registration of every refugee with the police authorities, who also needed to be informed if refugees moved to another town or flat (see Holmes 1988; Torpey 2001, 258f.).

22 In a compartment that was allegedly locked for their own safety, with the shutters closed as a safeguard against possible attacks by German zeppelins (IWM, documents 06/1181, letter by Laure van der Stichele to her parents, 14/02/1915).

23 "So here we are, in England – but for how long. They seem certain here that it will all be over by the spring." IWM, documents 06/1181, letter by Laure van der Stichele to her parents, 14/02/1915.

24 A corresponding letter sent to the college by Laure has been lost in the turmoil of war in Belgium.

25 Madeleine graduated in 1918 while her sister Paule took her Bachelor of Science in 1917, but stayed at the university for her Master in 1922. University of London, Graduates List, Graduates until December 1926 (http://www.senatehouselibrary.ac.uk/our-collections/special-collections/archives-manuscripts/university-of-london-students-1836-1934 - accessed on 27/05/2016.

26 First Report of the Departmental Committee appointed by the President of the Local Government Board to consider and report on questions arising in connection with the reception and employment of the Belgian refugees in this country. Cd. 7750, 1914, p. 43: "How Belgians should acknowledge British hospitality".

27 46046 Viscount Gladstone Pa-,pers, vol. 62, Correspondence of Lord Gladstone with other Members of his Family, 1875–1927, Helen Gladstone to Gladstone, 13 October 1914. Initial exalted romanticism quickly gave way to xenophobic anti-

Belgian tendencies. The claims were largely from the same hostile stock-in-trade as the charges against other "aliens": concerns of a hygienic nature, loose sexual morals, laziness, dishonesty and politically questionable attitudes that were all explained with underlying cultural, national or racist assumptions.

28 IWM, 97/25/1, diary Miss Mary Coules.

29 The WRC established in August 1914 was the largest private charity to look after these "absolutely destitute refugees" from Belgium and elsewhere, and pooled the assistance offered by local committees (see Cahalan 1982, 20; Purseigle 2007, 437).

30 "We all have the greatest sympathy with these destitute refugees from Belgium for which we feel as much as we do at this moment, but there is a certain number of funds which are being raised by private actions for the purpose, and I would rather wait and see how that works out …", H. H. Asquith, Hansard, HC Deb. vol. 66, 31/08/1914, H. H. col. 367.

31 See Herbert Samuel, Hansard, HC Deb. Vol. 66, 09/09/1914, col. 558.

32 The Local Government Board established in 1871 was an administrative body that took over the previous tasks of the Home Office and Privy Council in healthcare and local government, as well as all the functions of the Poor Law Board, which was abolished at the same time (see Harris 2004, 47ff.).

33 IWM, BEL 1 2/4, WRC: Notes on arrangement between LGB and Refugees Committee, 09/09/1914.

34 The largest of these camps were at Alexandra Palace (see Harris 2005) and Earl's Court (see Powell 1920). The building and grounds of Alexandra Palace, built in 1873 as a public leisure and entertainment centre in North London, were used to accommodate and feed refugees. The building complex of the former Earl's Court Exhibition Center similarly offered many Belgians their first accommodation as "Earl's Court Camp". The LB also rented entire hotels, and all larger vacant buildings were reviewed to determine their suitability for accommodating refugees. Unused ice rinks and similar premises were rented to ensure their initial reception.

35 Public Record Office (PRO), HO 45/10738/261921/698, Memorandum: Belgian Refugees: General Arrangements in the United Kingdom, July 1917.

36 And not even at worse conditions or lower wages than generally customary (First Report of the Departmental…, Cd. 7750, 1914, p. 9: Conditions for the Employment of Refugees).

37 Dt. Public Record Office (PRO), HO 45/10738/261921/394, Local Government Board and Under Secretary of State, Home Office, 11/03/1915.

38 Public Record Office (PRO), HO 45/10738/261921/698, Memorandum: Belgian Refugees: General Arrangements in the United Kingdom, July 1917, p. 4.

39 PRO, HO 45/10809/311425/81, S. Clarke (M.I.5), Lists of aliens approved for munitions work up to 31 January 1918 and during January 1918; IWM BEL 7/1, Files on employment of Belgian refugees supplied by Ministry of Labour, 12/04/1918.

40 There were several of these Belgian factories on British soil, most of them established by Belgian entrepreneurs, for example the "Pelabon Works" in Twickenham or the "Kryn and Lahy Factories" in Letchworth. In the view of the unions, the resulting segregation of British and Belgian workers also helped to eliminate social tensions in the production process, without which the individual groups were thought to be able to work much more productively and efficiently (see Cahalan 1982, 267).

41 Public Record Office (PRO), HO 45/10882/344019/7, Report of Repatriation Committee, November 1918.

42 Public Record Office (PRO), HO 45/10882/344019, Repatriation Committee, Interim Report, 04/07/1917. Remigration was nowhere near as easy as the British government thought, however. Large parts of Belgium, for example in the region of Flanders, had been devastated by the war and left uninhabitable. In the winter of 1919/20, the region around Ypres, Diksmuide, Nieuport and Dinant only featured as few as 25,000 habitable buildings for 45,000 returning families. The former "Belgian refugees" partly lived in the trenches and built provisional accommodations from the debris left behind by the armies (see Smets 1985, 169ff.).

43 As opposed to France, were many former exiles settled permanently after the war because of the heavy war losses and the underpopulation resulting from the lower population growth (see Amara 2004, 32).

44 IWM, documents 06/1181, Shirley Hinkly, Freedom for a Family.

45 Excerpt from the City of London's Register of Deaths, accessible at http://www.freebmd.org.uk/cgi/search.pl, (accessed on 27/05/2016). According to her granddaughter she would have even been 97 years old.

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Lennart Johansson and
Håkan Nordmark

Emigration from Sweden to America: the example of Signe Karlsdotter

Fig. 1 Two unidentified small farmers outside a timber hut in Idaho. It's an American saying that the Swedes introduced the log cabin | The Swedish Emigrant Institute, Albin Widén Collection

Mass emigration from Sweden to America began after the 1860s, in the wake of an agricultural crisis, in which crops failed and the growing size of families caused even greater poverty. Improved agricultural tools, vaccines and potatoes led to a population growth that made the countryside overpopulated. Urbanization did not stop the emigration, since conditions in the cities were poor. Between 1840 and 1930 about 1.3 million Swedes emigrated, one fifth of the entire population. Out of the European countries, only Great Britain and Norway surpassed Sweden's emigration in proportion to the population of the home country. One out of 25 Americans living today has Swedish ancestors (see Beijbom 2003).

After overcoming severe hardships, the immigrants adapted well to their new environment. A Swedish-American culture developed in the United States. This culture merged with the already hybrid culture of the United States. The Swedes contributed to the development of the new nation. The emigration led to mutual benefits and understanding, for both the emigrants and the people that stayed, for both the United States and Sweden.

The immigrants had to overcome great efforts before becoming successful in America. This meant commitment and a strong intention to work hard and adapt instead of repulse the new country and culture. The journey to America was not easy; it could take weeks or months at sea. When they finally landed, only half the route was completed, and the trip continued westwards. The vast majority of Swedish immigrants had to start from the bottom level of American society.

Even skilled artisans met severe difficulties, because they could not speak English. In Chicago, the men were hired as labourers while the girls became maids or seamstresses.

The reality of the early immigrant's life was not as utopian as advertisements or letters that were sent back to Sweden claimed. Their first homes were simple and primitive cabins. The prairie was entirely different from the landscapes of Sweden. ▸ Fig. 1

A Swedish-American culture began to form. The immigrants' language and customs were different from those of America. Densely populated settlements, large Swedish dominated areas, mainly in Chicago and Minnesota, became the birthplace of the Swedish-American culture. There were Swedish churches, clubs, schools and newspapers. In the 1860s it was virtually possible to live in these areas without knowing any English at all. Chicago got its own Swede Town.

Swedes helped building the United States' fundamental infrastructure, like the railroad transportation system. President Lincoln's Homestead Act of 1862, which gave people free land, as well as the expanding industries of the North, were important "pull" factors. The Homestead Act designated immigrants to Minnesota, which became the "Swede State of America". Swedish settlements also grew up around the new railroads, for example Rockford, Illinois. The labour market of the big city had more to offer to the poor immigrants, than the farm regions. A great number of them worked in the building industry. There is a saying that "the Swedes built Chicago" (Beijbom 1971).

1.3 million Swedes emigrated to America, but approximately 300,000 came back to Sweden after several years there. One of them was Signe Karlsdotter.

Signe Karlsdotter was born on January 31st, 1897, in the Swedish province Småland, in the village Brunamåla, Långasjö parish, Kronoberg County. Her parents, Helena Svensdotter and Karl-Oscar Gustavsson, were 34 and 44 years old at that time, and already had two children, Edla 11 years and Karl-Erik 6 years. Even though Signe's parents had their own farm, it was not an easy life. The farm was very small and sometimes it was hard to get food on the table.

During her first years Signe experienced how many people in her parish left Sweden to go abroad, mainly to the USA and Canada. It was not strange or uncommon to go to America and get at job there. In Långasjö alone, over 1,400 people left in the years between 1850 and 1930 – some hundreds returned during the same period. In 1908, Signe's family sold the farm in Brunamåla. At this time, almost 15 young men and women left Signe's village Brunamåla, with the intent to travel to America.

We do not know why Signe's parents sold the farm, perhaps they wanted to forget the tragic death of their son Karl-Erikin 1903. The same year, Signe got a little sister, Nanny, born the 17th of July. When the family moved to Älmeboda – a parish nearby – in spring 1908, it consisted of Signe, her parents, one older and one younger sister. In Älmeboda, Signe attended Källebacken elementary School, and in Älmeboda Church she was educated by the parish vicar and confirmed

her Christian faith, like most of the children in those days.

In the year 1911, Signe's older sister, Edla, married and moved back to Långasjö and Ingemundebo, a village next to Brunamåla. Four years later, Signe's mother Helena died, due to a heart attack. The rest of the family – Karl-Oskar, Signe and Nanny – moved back to Långasjö in 1917, and settled down with Edla and her husband Ernst Carlsson. Almost immediately, Signe went to the town Karlskrona for training in how to prepare and manage the Cold buffet – one of the most important parts of the well-known Swedish Smörgåsbord. After training she worked at a hotel in Växjö for a while, managing the Cold buffet there.

Fig. 2 Signe's letter of recommendation 1926 | The Smålands Museum Archives, Signe Karlsdotter Collection

In the fall of 1919, Signe decided to leave Sweden and on the 18th of November she boarded a ship in Gothenburg, bound for New York. She had relatives there to guide her, namely her sister Edla's sister in law Charlotta. Signe soon got hired as kitchen maid and worked, mostly for wealthier families. Probably her training to prepare the cold buffet was a success, and she seems to have been very well liked. One of her letters of recommendation from a Doctor's family, in which she served for almost five years, tells us: "Signe Karlsson is honest, sober, respectable, competent, neat and clean. She has given thorough satisfaction." (The Smålands Museum Archives, no. M 48575). ▸ **Fig. 2**

In the USA, her last name was changed to Karlson – they probably saw Karlsdotter as strange patronymic form and were more used to Scandinavian names to end with "-son" instead of actually being someone's son or daughter. Signe got her name Karlsdotter simply since she was Karl's daughter.

The letter of recommendation above was written in June 1926 and the year after Signe returned to Sweden and Långasjö, but she was not alone to return. Already in 1923, when she was 20 years old, Signe's little sister Nanny had left Sweden for the USA, and it is likely that Signe took care of her when she arrived to New York. What we do know is that the two sisters returned to Sweden in autumn of 1927. As far as we know Nanny stayed in Sweden for the rest of her life, but Signe only stayed for nine months, and left for New York in September 1928.

Signe kept working as a kitchen maid for ten years and maybe also did some work as a seamstress, facts remain a bit unclear. Since 1939, and during the war, it was hard to keep in touch for Signe and the family in Sweden. Letters took a very long time to be sent over the Atlantic, and sometimes they went

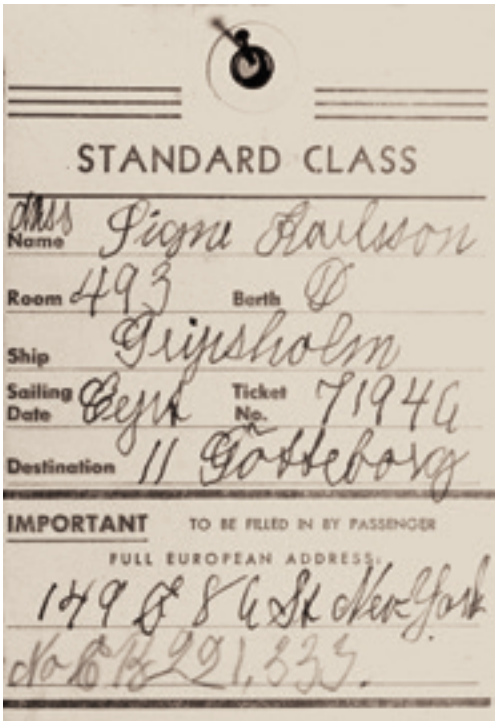

Fig. 3 The badge from Signe's trunk during the Atlantic crossing in 1946 | The Smålands Museum Archives, Signe Karlsdotter Collection

down with a ship. One day in October 1946, Signe arrived with a fairly big trunk, knocked on her sister Edla's door in Ingemundebo in Långasjö, and simply said: "I'm home". After this, she never left Sweden again. The trunk was stowed away in a barn and Signe got on with her life, helping her sister, and her sister's grown up children with housekeeping. ▸ **Fig. 3**

Signe spent her last years in a Nursing home in Emmaboda. She died in 1981, and it was not until then – after 35 years – that her relatives opened the trunk that was stowed away in 1946, and a small part of Signe Karlsdotter's life in the USA came to light. She had never talked much about it. Maybe she saw it as many Swedes and Europeans did: "It was just a job, like any other job I had during my life – but it happened to take place in the USA." ▸ **Fig. 4**

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Fig. 4 Signe Karlsdotter in Långasjö, between 1960 and 1970s | The Smålands Museum Archives, Signe Karlsdotter Collection

2.


Historical
context

Jochen Oltmer

Migration as a historic normality: Europe in global migration processes

Migration has been a central element of social change since the beginning of human existence. This is why it is a myth to think that movements of populations – also over great distances – only came about with the modern period, or even in present times. Neither are global migrations of massive dimension only observable in connection with the development of our modern means of mass transportation. People of the pre-modern period were essentially no more sedentary, than those of the modern era. Another myth is the notion that past migrations were a linear process – with the permanent exodus from one space leading to permanent immigration in another: Local, regional and global migration patterns have been characterized by remigrations, forms of circularity and fluctuations in the past, as they are in the present. Migrants neither went to a completely unknown, alien world in former times, nor do they do so today, as relocation within networks is a key element of migrations' past and present. Their basic conditions and forms hardly changed over the centuries (see Oltmer 2016).

Global migration to a greater extent is only visible since the beginning of Europe's political, territorial, economic and cultural expansion around the world in the 15th century. Although the number of Europeans who emigrated to other territories remained moderate from the 16th to the early 19th century, it still wrought far-reaching changes in the constitution of populations. This was most notable in the Americas and the South Pacific region, but also in parts of Africa and Asia, in the early 20th century. The end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century, as the high point of European emigration, also marked the beginning of Europe's history as destination for immigrants.

The following outline concerns the conditions, forms and consequences of population movements originating in Europe since the 16th century. It also explores the background of Europe's transformation into a destination for immigrants. The contribution is, thus, intended to highlight Europe's importance for the global migration processes of modern times, while it also shows that extensive and long-distance migrations have been common throughout history.

Foundations: migration as a historical phenomenon

The term migration refers to the geographical movement of people. It indicates patterns of regional mobility that had far-reaching consequences for the life trajectories of the migrants and led to changes in social institutions. Migration can refer to the crossing of political or territorial borders with the consequence of being excluded from one polity and / or included in another. But geographical relocations within a political or territorial formation can be understood as migrations, too. They require migrants to deal with (markedly) different economic givens and arrangements, cultural patterns, social standards and structures while gaining or accomplishing inclusion in the various functional areas of society. The geographical movements attending urbanization, for example, particularly since the late 18th century, mostly concerned relocations within a territory or

Fig. 1 The apprentice's farewell (journeyman's journey); lithography by August von Wille, 1853 | bpk

state. But they led to far-reaching challenges for the migrants concerning their integration in other economic segments and sectors (industrial or service sector instead of farming), and also served to change their lifestyles (urban instead of rural), attitudes and orientations. ▸ **Fig. 1**

Migration could mean unidirectional movement from one location to another, but frequently also involved intermediate destinations or stages that often served to generate the means to continue on one's way. Since the migration

process was essentially open-ended, permanent settlement someplace else was only one of the possible outcomes of migration movements: In the Federal Republic of Germany, the amount of labour force immigrating from abroad grew from 550,000 in 1961 to around 2.6 million in 1973, when the recruitment of "Guest workers" was stopped. A considerable migration volume was involved: Between the end of the 1950s and 1973, roughly 14 million foreign workers came to Germany, while circa 11 million, i.e. nearly 80 percent, returned back home again (see Münz et al. 1997, 35–42).

Migrants often strove to improve their income, housing or educational options by settling somewhere else, temporarily or forever, or to benefit from new opportunities. In such cases, geographical movement was meant to further their agency. Migration was very frequently linked to biographical or career-related turning points and landmark decisions such as choosing a partner or starting a family, entry into a profession or selection of a job, training position or place to study, with adolescents and / or young adults consequently making up the overwhelming majority of migrants. This migratory grasping of opportunities was conditioned by specific, socially relevant characteristics, attributes and resources of the individuals and / or members of collectives (families, households, groups, populations) involved: most of all their gender, age and position in the family cycle, their habitus, qualifications and skills, social (estate, class) and occupational standing, as well as their attribution to "ethnic groups", "castes", "races" or "nationalities", not uncommonly linked with privileges and (birth) rights.

Given their diverse endowment with economic, cultural, social, juridical and symbolic capital, the extent of the autonomy enjoyed by migrants as individuals or in networks and collectives tended to vary. Realized migration projects were often the result of a negotiation process within families, family economies, households or networks that was marked by conflict or cooperation. The agency of those who actually migrated could be quite limited as relocations motivated by a desire to benefit from or enjoy opportunities were by no means always aimed at stabilizing or improving the life situation of the migrants themselves. Families or other native collectives often sent out members to consolidate or improve their own economic or social situation by means of "remittances" or other forms of money transfer from afar. A central condition for these translocal economic strategies to function is the maintenance of social ties over partly long periods and great distances.

If, and to what extent, migration, be it temporary, circular or aimed at a longer stay in another location, would be understood as an individual or collective opportunity was essentially determined by the knowledge available about migration destinations, routes and options. Continuous and reliable information about the destination area was necessary for labour-, training- and settlement-related migrations to reach a certain scope and permanence. A central element was the verbal or written communication of knowledge about employment, training

or settlement opportunities, or the prospects of getting married, by previously emigrated (pioneering) migrants whose messages were accorded high informational value because of family ties or acquaintanceships. They established migration chains through which migrants would follow relatives or acquaintances that had already left.

The places migrants came from and went to were, hence, usually linked by networks, i.e. communication systems that were kept together by kinship, acquaintanceships and communities of origin. Loyalty and trust were the central binding forces of such networks. The importance of the information transfer by way of family- or acquaintance-based networks cannot be overestimated: At least 100 million private letters were sent by emigrants from the USA to Germany between 1820 and 1914, and then circulated amongst relatives and acquaintances in their areas of origin (see Helbich et al. 1991).

Potential migrants were often only able to draw on enough trustworthy information for making and realizing a migration decision with respect to a single destination, individual, locally limited settlement opportunities or specific areas of employment, so that realistic choices between different destinations were ruled out. While this, on the one hand, served to restrict the migratory agency of the individual, the destination area featured extensive kinship- or acquaintance-based networks that would minimize risks and offer opportunities, on the other: 94 percent of all Europeans arriving in North America around 1900, for example, first of all stayed with relatives and acquaintances (see Hoerder et al. 2011, XX), thus reducing their vulnerability and bolstering their agency there.

On the one hand, migrant networks offered translocal knowledge about the risks and opportunities of emigrating and / or immigrating, about safe travel routes and the psychological, physical and financial challenges of the journey. And on the other, they guaranteed protection and orientation in the alien environment of the destination, helped to find jobs and accommodation there, but also assisted in contacts with authorities, governmental and municipal institutions. The more extensive these networks were, and the more intensive the social relationships within them, the greater were the economic and social opportunities they could provide – the attractiveness of a migration destination was determined by the size of the network that migrants could rely upon at the destination, and by the intensity of the social relationships maintained within this kinship- or acquaintance-based network. Migrant networks, thus, not only increased the likelihood of further migration, but also constituted migration traditions, affecting the durability of migration movements that could persist for long periods of time, and partly over generations.

These migrant networks were not only maintained by communication and a reciprocal exchange of services, but also especially propagated by marriage (not uncommonly arranged between locations and even continents), by the establishment of societies and associations, by a specific culture of sociability, but also by joint economic activities. The protection and opportunities afforded by

migrant networks were invariably also tied to social dictates and obligations for the individual. Maintaining the network, which could be of existential importance in a migration context, called for loyalty and the acceptance of collective responsibility where one good turn deserves another. Migrants were obliged to share specific standards, rationales and objectives while a network's members would be under intensive social surveillance, even over a distance of thousands of kilometres, because of the close-knit nature of the family ties or acquaintance-based relationships. Trust was enforced, and there was a manner of potential sanctions with many nuances: The loss of face caused by compromised trustworthiness, a withdrawal of services, social isolation and exclusion, all of which would considerably sharpen the social vulnerability and risks in a migration context, and minimize the grasping of opportunities by geographical movement.

In a secondment context as a specific form of migration, the kinship- or acquaintance-based network was replaced by the framework of the organization or institution (for example retail branches or multinational companies, the diplomatic service, armed forces) that initiated the relocation, organized it, and offered inclusion at the destination. Secondments were usually restricted to stays of a limited duration at another location for employment in company branches, subsidiaries or outside companies. They were an expression of long-term corporate strategies aimed at the constant presence of specialists at various company locations, and framed the stay at the new location with specific infrastructures they established or at least supported (schools, clubs, associations, societies).

While the agency of the individual in realizing a migration project was very high in such a context, the same held much less true for other constellations because migration was also a possible response to crisis situations, for example where emigration was the consequence of environmental destruction or acute economic and social hardship. In addition to this, the regulatory and control efforts of institutional (governmental) actors were also able to restrict the agency of individuals or collectives, and hence their liberty and freedom of movement, to such an extent that forms of violent and forced migration (flight, expulsion, deportation) overshadowed their mobility. Violent and forced migration was caused by coercion to emigrate that left no realistic alternatives. It could concern an escape from violence that directly or expectably threatened life and liberty, mostly on political, ethnic, nationalist, racist or religious grounds. But forced migration could also mean violent expulsion, deportation or resettlement, often extending to entire population groups.

European expansion and global migration from the 16th to the 19th century

The Spanish and Portuguese conquest of the Americas since the late 15th / early 16th century initially only involved the relocation of a relatively small number of Europeans. The Portuguese and Spanish rulers did not regard their new territo-

ries as areas to settle in, but as colonies for economic exploitation. One prerequisite for the "valorisation" thus necessitated in the overseas territories by prospecting for and mining natural resources, or by producing agricultural goods, was a great number of labourers. These were in short supply, however, because the conquests had led to an immense decline in native populations. The high mortality rates in the battles between natives and conquistadores were one reason for this. But the impact of another factor was much more important: Africa, Asia and Europe had maintained their links, also epidemiologically, over the millennia by way of peregrinations, the flow of trade and travel, but not so Australia and the Americas, so that their indigenous populations were decimated by epidemics upon the Europeans' arrival in the "New World". Many bacteria and viruses that the conquerors brought along and were immune to had a deadly effect on the natives. It is estimated that Spanish South and Central America's total pre-Columbian population of perhaps 40 million had declined to around nine million by 1570, and to no more than four million by 1620.

The context only roughly sketched out here formed a central background for global migration movements from the late 15th through to the early 19th century. Rough calculations have established that circa 10 million people relocated to the Americas in the more than three centuries between Columbus' arrival in the Caribbean in 1492 and the year 1820. Approximately 2 million of them came from Europe, and around 8 million from Africa as slaves (see Boogaart / Emmer 1986, 3). Besides the soldiers and civil servants that were required to establish and maintain governance, those to leave Europe also included a great number of missionaries. Merchants, plantation owners and plantation operators were European, too, along with urban tradesmen, farmers and perhaps a third of the labourers to have come to the double continent as serfs. Although Europeans maintained approximately 500 to 600 trading posts, administrations and military bases outside the Americas in Africa, Oceania and Asia (outside Siberia) around 1800, these only included four long-term settlements of more than 2,000 Europeans each: Portuguese Goa at the west coast of the Indian subcontinent, Spanish Manila on Luzon, the main island of the Philippines, the Dutch settlement of Batavia (now Jakarta) on the Indonesian island of Java, and Cape Town at the southern tip of Africa (see Schmitt 2009, 19f.).

Labour and settlement migrations in the accelerated globalization of the late 19th and early 20th century

The number of people turning their backs on Europe grew rapidly from the early 19th century. A high point was then reached in the phase of accelerated colonial expansion around the world and economic globalization over the last thirty or forty years leading up to the First World War. The smaller part of the European intercontinental migrants took land routes and primarily settled in the Asian territories of the Tsarist Empire. A majority crossed the maritime borders of the

continent: Of the 55 to 60 million Europeans moving overseas between 1815 and 1930, more than two thirds went to North America, where the USA clearly predominated over Canada with six times the number of immigrants. Roughly a fifth emigrated to South America, around seven percent reached Australia and New Zealand. As European settlement areas, North America, Australia, New Zealand, southern South America and Siberia were turned into "Neo-Europe" (data source here and below: see Bade 2003, 81–117).

The settlement of these "Neo Europe" meant displacing native populations into peripheral territories, and was not uncommon to show genocidal tendencies. It led to a far-reaching marginalization, or even complete elimination, of traditional economic and social systems, power structures and cultural patterns. The central impetus for the growing immigration of Europeans during the 19th century was unfailingly provided by the accelerated inclusion of their settlement areas in the world market. The European demand for resources and victuals, as well as the investment drive triggered by the capital exported from Europe, created a high demand for labour in some parts of the world, thus providing new migration destinations for Europeans. Their immigration, in turn, led to the establishment of mass markets for finished European goods there, which further intensified the economic interdependencies. One important prerequisite for the rise in European emigration overseas were the migratory networks already in existence between Europe and the overseas destinations for decades or centuries: Pioneering migrants provided information about the opportunities, routes and risks of emigrating overseas. Long-distance migration was also eased by a considerable improvement of the transport situation within Europe, to overseas territories and at the destination areas in the wake of industrialization – space was densified. This not only reduced the time required for a journey. The costs also came down considerably.

A drastic rise in European immigration to the USA had already set in during the 1820s, when around 152,000 Europeans reached the United States, growing to circa 600,000 by the 1830s already. The period from the 1840s to the 1880s then saw a peak phase of immigration with around 15 million Europeans overall, most of whom came from the continent's western, northern and central areas: Over four million Germans, three million Irish, three million English, Scottish and Welsh people as well as over a million Scandinavians reached the USA, whose population grew from 17 million to 63 in the course of these 50 years. ▸ Fig. 2

Despite the strong and increasing influx and great population growth, North America was not beset by the discrepancy between growing populations and employment opportunities that marked the situation in Europe, as described above – quite the contrary: The demand for labour continued to grow. This was based on an agricultural and industrial boom. The economic growth was closely correlated with the permanent territorial expansion over and beyond the original thirteen states of the USA, whose territory quintupled in the space of just a few decades. In 1820, nearly three quarters of the USA's total population still lived

Fig. 2 Global labour and settlement migrations in the "long" 19th century (political-territorial situation of the year 2000) | Christoph Reichel, Institut für Geographie, Universität Osnabrück (model: Segal 1993, 17, 23)

in the states along the East Coast, and only a quarter west of the Appalachian Mountains. By 1860, intercontinental immigration and interregional migration within the USA had already ensured that half the US-American population was to be found west of them. This westward migration of millions of people of European origin into the newly accessible spaces of North America can be subsumed under the concept of "settler colonialism". This came to an end in the last two decades of the 19th century, leading over into a phase of expansionist policy in the overseas colonization by the United States.

The colonial expansion of the USA, Japan and most of all the European nations reached its peak during the era of New Imperialism in the three to four decades before the First World War. The informal political, economic and military control over Asian, Pacific, African or Latin American territories mostly preferred by the large European empires gave rise to a situation marked by increasing imperialist competition in the progressive densification of formal colonial rule. This phase of intensified colonial expansion was simultaneously also a period of accelerated international economic networking that wrought far-reaching economic transformations. The transport and communication revolution of the "long" 19th century already mentioned earlier led to a further and considerable reduction of conveyance costs, especially at the turn of the 20th century. More and more people and goods bridged ever greater distances. Communication links were quickly expanded (regular postal traffic, telegraphy, telephone from 1878). Newspapers developed into a cheap source of news for everybody as their numbers and print runs rapidly grew. This also multiplied the information options about settlement or employment opportunities elsewhere. In addition to this, the accelerated development of transport and communication links also eased the formation of markets in the area of migration itself: To fill their steamships with migrants, globally engaged and competing shipping companies from Europe and North America opened up ever more regions for outward migration with the aid of cutting-edge advertising methods and a highly sophisticated system of agents. ▸ Fig. 3

The phase of accelerated worldwide colonial expansion and economic globalization in the last thirty to forty years before the outbreak of the Great War was the high point of global long-distance migration by Europeans in the "long" 19th century. At the beginning of the 19th century, every year had seen 50,000 people leave Europe by sea, on average. The 1840s brought a turning point: From 1846 to 1850, the average annual number of transatlantic migrants had already grown to 250,000, 80 percent of whom went to the USA, and 16 percent to Canada. This figure then rose to 340,000 between 1851 and 1855, i.e. seven times the annual average in the 19th century's first decades. The USA still continued to dominate as the most important destination with 77 percent, while nine percent turned to Canada and four percent to Brazil. Although the immigration of Europeans to the USA markedly declined during the global economic crisis of the late 1850s and American Civil War in 1861–1865, it immediately exceeded the levels of the early 1850s again, once the latter had ended, only to ebb away

Fig. 3 Advertisement by British shipping company Cunard, active in the emigration business, poster by Odin Rosenvinge, 1920 | bpk / Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kunstbibliothek / Knud Petersen

once more in the global economic crisis of the 1870s. The high points of European overseas migration then followed from the 1880s. In the second half of that decade, European overseas migration embraced almost 800,000 people a year, on average, the greater part of whom still went to the USA. It reached its peak volumes in the one-and-a-half decades before the outbreak of the First World War, when over 1.3 million Europeans left the "Old World" on average every year.

It is often overlooked that the transatlantic migration of Europeans was never a one-way street: The more the long-dominant migration of families for agricultural settlement declined in importance in the 19th century and the individual labour migration for industrial employment grew, the greater would the remigration become. Four million people returned to Europe from the USA between 1880 and 1930, with huge differences between individual groups: Only 5 percent of the Jewish transatlantic migrants returned, but 89 percent of the Bulgarians and Serbians. The average for Central, North and West Europeans was 22 percent. Most of all the outward migration by sea from Eastern, East-Central and Southern Europe which had dominated since the turn of the 20th century would ever more rarely involve an emigration for good, and ever more often mean return and circular migration. Half the Italians reaching North and South American shores between 1905 and 1915, for example, returned to Italy.

Other "Neo-Europes" gained importance besides North America, most of all including Australia, Brazil and Argentina, but also New Zealand, Uruguay or Chile. Before 1850, the USA welcomed circa four fifths of all European migrants, in the second half of the 19th century around three quarters, and only around half after the turn of the century. The growing importance of destinations outside North America largely resulted from the availability of expansive new settlement zones for European farmers and the discovery of mineral resources whose exploitation required many labourers.

The settlement of Europeans in colonial territories concurred with the diverse and extensive migrations undertaken by Africans and Asians, in particular, as a direct or indirect result of Europe's political and territorial expansion around the globe and the economic globalization emanating from it: As escapes, expulsions and resettlements, they were a consequence of the establishment and assertion of colonial rule. As deportations, they resulted from the enforced cultivation of market-oriented produce practiced in many colonial territories, or from the extensive establishment of plantation economies that would continue to depend on a great number of (forced) labourers for the longer term. As labour migrations, they were the result of changed economic structures, particularly the exploration and rapid exploitation of important natural resources for the industrialization of Europe, the agricultural switch to commercial crops, the growth of urban economies, or the infrastructural developments (railroads, canal and harbour construction). And as agricultural settlement migrations, they finally arose from the expansion into new settlement zones, for example by way of cultivation activities, or by the provision of new settlement areas through conquest or acquisition. ▸ Fig. 4

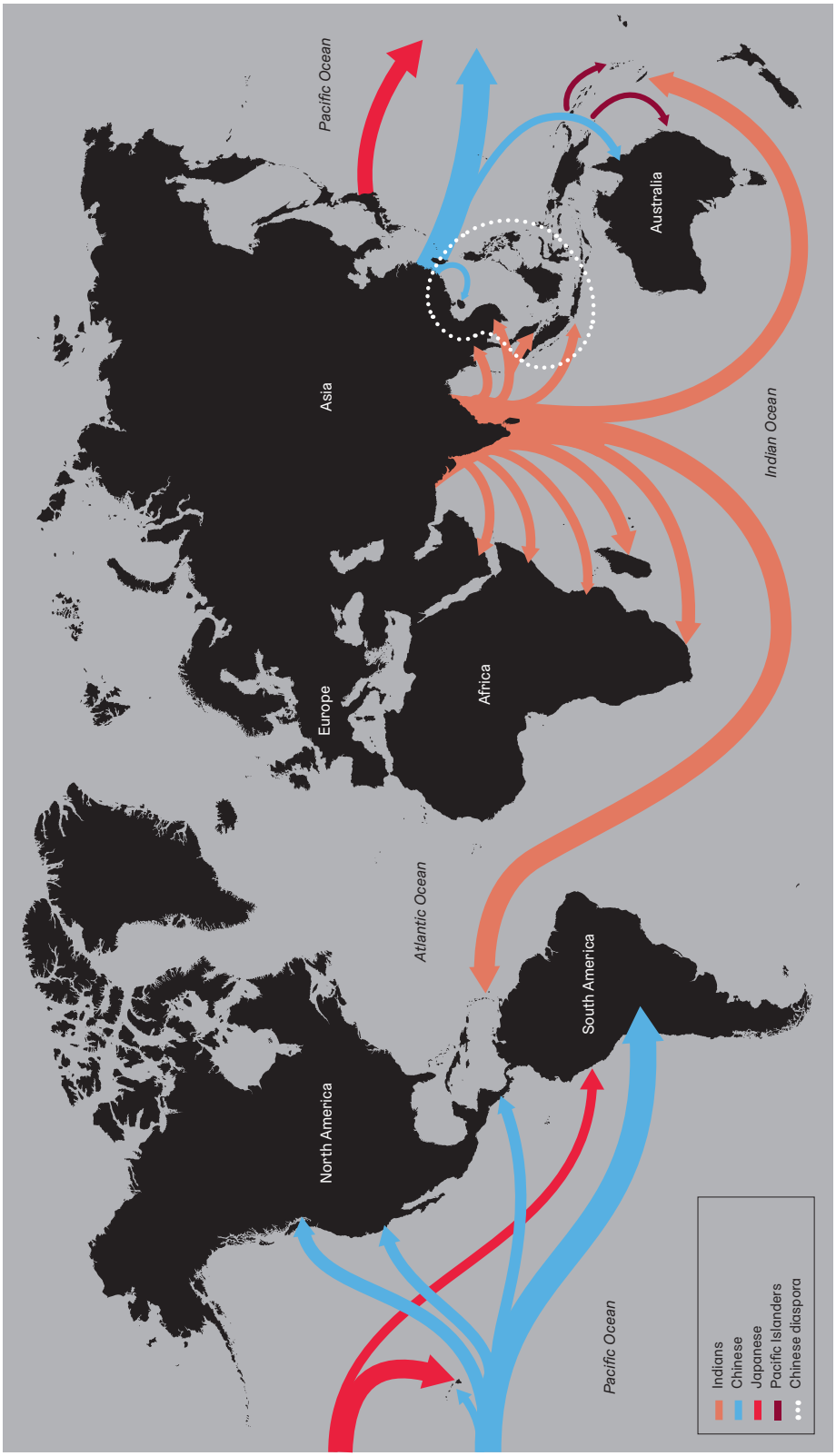

Fig. 4 Asian overseas emigration from the 1830s to World War I | Christoph Reichel, Institut für Geographie, Universität Osnabrück (model: Hoerder 2002, 368)

Europe as an immigration destination since the late 19th century

The European transatlantic migration that had characterized the global migration situation of the "long" 19th century would die away as a mass phenomenon in the second third of the 20th century. In the 1920s, European migration overseas had reached no more than half the average annual figures of the pre-war decade. The figures declined even further in the 1930s in view of the global economic crisis: Only a mere 1.2 million overseas migrants were still registered throughout Europe between 1931 and 1940. The average of 120,000 people a year formed the lowest value of the entire preceding century. The start of the Second World War then put a complete stop to transatlantic migration.

Although the 1950s witnessed an upswing in European transatlantic migration after the war, it would no longer even reach the scope of the 1920s, much less the peak levels of the late 19th and early 20th century: States that had long been important countries of origin for outward migration from Europe, like Great Britain, the Netherlands or (West) Germany, now mostly registered higher immigration than emigration figures. And the migration flows from other countries such as Italy, Spain, Portugal or Greece that had formerly fuelled transatlantic migration were now largely directed at the expanding labour markets of industrialized nations in Northern, Western and Central Europe.

As the main colonial expansionist and main exporter of people to America, Africa, Asia and the South Pacific region, Europe itself had only rarely been the destination of intercontinental migration for a long time. Great Britain, the centre of the world's largest empire, had indeed witnessed an increase in the number of residents of African and Asian origin in the course of its expansion from the 17th to the 19th century. But this remained relatively small. 10,000 people from the sub-Saharan region have been documented in Great Britain for 1770, for example, half of them in London. Considerably fewer immigrants from outside the continent used to live in other European locations. This slowly changed in the last two decades before the First World War, when the population of non-European origin showed a stronger growth in numbers. In contrast to what is often assumed, this involved by no means only members of the colonialized lower orders.

A central gate of entry for pioneering migrants to Europe was instead provided by the acquisition of academic qualifications within the context of colonialism: The workings of colonial rule depended on an extensive apparatus of native administrators, an army of collaborators that had drastically grown with the former's increasing densification since the late 19th century. In the interwar period, more and more native civil servants and officers who had not infrequently received their education in a European metropolis reached top positions in the colonial administrations. And not nearly all education migrants from the colonies went back to their countries of origin, by a wide margin.

The decolonisation after the Second World War did anything but bring an end to these movements in space motivated by education policy: Many former colo-

nial powers regarded the education-related migration from the now formally independent states as an opportunity for tying future leading cadres to the former colonial power and continuing to influence the politics, economy, society and culture of the new states with their aid. The education of colonial collaborators thus not only provided a central gate of entry to Europe; instead specific education-related migration patterns developed around the world that continue to have an effect to this day, and that led to permanent stays in Europe again and again. In 1949/50, for example, France had 2,000 students from the sub-Saharan colonies, whose numbers doubled three years later, and then doubled again to circa 8,000 by the end of the decade. Around a tenth of all higher education students from these regions are said to have continued the education in France in the 1950s. In a continuation of this tradition, French universities counted around 30,000 students from sub-Saharan Africa alone in the 2000/2001 academic year, making up roughly a fifth of all foreign students.

Apart from this, seafaring provided another early gate of entry for immigration from outside Europe. The European merchant navies experienced rapid growth in the course of globalisation and, starting from the end of the 19th century, increasingly tended to recruit Asian and African men for the physically taxing and health-damaging work below deck. These reached the European ports, where initial small settlement nuclei of Africans and Asians developed before and after the First World War (see Amenda 2009). Seamen from the West African ethnic group of the Kru, for example, became part of the populations of Liverpool, London or Cardiff since the late 19th century, and retained their links with seafaring right through to the 1970s. The merchant navy had been recruiting stokers in British India since the 1880s, several hundred of whom soon worked in British ports or earned a living in the low-wage sectors of the textile industry. Chinese seamen came to London, Hamburg or Rotterdam and continued to work in the transport sector there, or established the first Chinese bars and restaurants. Another and hence third group of Asians, Africans or West Indians from which pioneering migrants to Europe were to emerge was provided by the soldiers recruited by the colonial powers for the European battlefields of the First and Second World War, several thousand of whom stayed on in Europe after the end of the hostilities (see Koller 2008). ▸ Fig. 5

True mass immigration to the European continent only set in after the end of the Second World War, however, and was most of all driven by the process of decolonisation: The dissolution of the European colonial empires after the Second World War led to a massive remigration of European settlers back to Europe. Added to them were colonial collaborators who had supported colonial rule as administration officials, soldiers or police, or those who were regarded by the natives as symbols of the extreme (political) inequity in colonial societies, and permitted to immigrate to the former mother countries in the decolonisation process. Especially the demise of the global empires of the Netherlands (in the late 1940s), France (in the 1950s and early 60s) and Portugal (beginning of the

Fig. 5 Seamen on land: Chinese stokers in Hamburg, 1912 | bpk / Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin

1970s) was attended by extensive movements of refugees and displaced persons. 5 to 7 million Europeans appear to have come to the European continent from (former) colonial territories in a decolonisation context between the end of the Second World War and 1980, including many who had been neither born in Europe nor ever lived there (for this and the following, see the contributions in: Smith 2003).

After the end of colonial rule in Indonesia and the start of the Algerian War of Independence in 1954, France, for example, absorbed 1.8 million people within a decade who had been uprooted in the wake of decolonisation conflicts. The immigration attending the decolonisation process for Portugal turned out to be even more extensive in relation to the mother country's population: Starting from autumn 1973, almost half a million retornados arrived from the former Portuguese domains in Africa (Mozambique, Angola, Cabo Verde, Guinea-Bissau, São Tomé and Príncipe) over the space of just one year. Angola dominated as a country of origin. By the mid-70s, retornados accounted for no less than just below 6 percent of the Portuguese population. The extensive migration attending the dissolution of European colonial dominions gave rise to a paradox in the history of European expansion: Europe's colonial empires were never more present in its metropolitan centres than during and after their decolonisation.

What emerged in addition to this was an extensive post-colonial immigration of the formerly colonised to Europe, where a partial continuation of the close links established between the former colonial powers and newly independent states

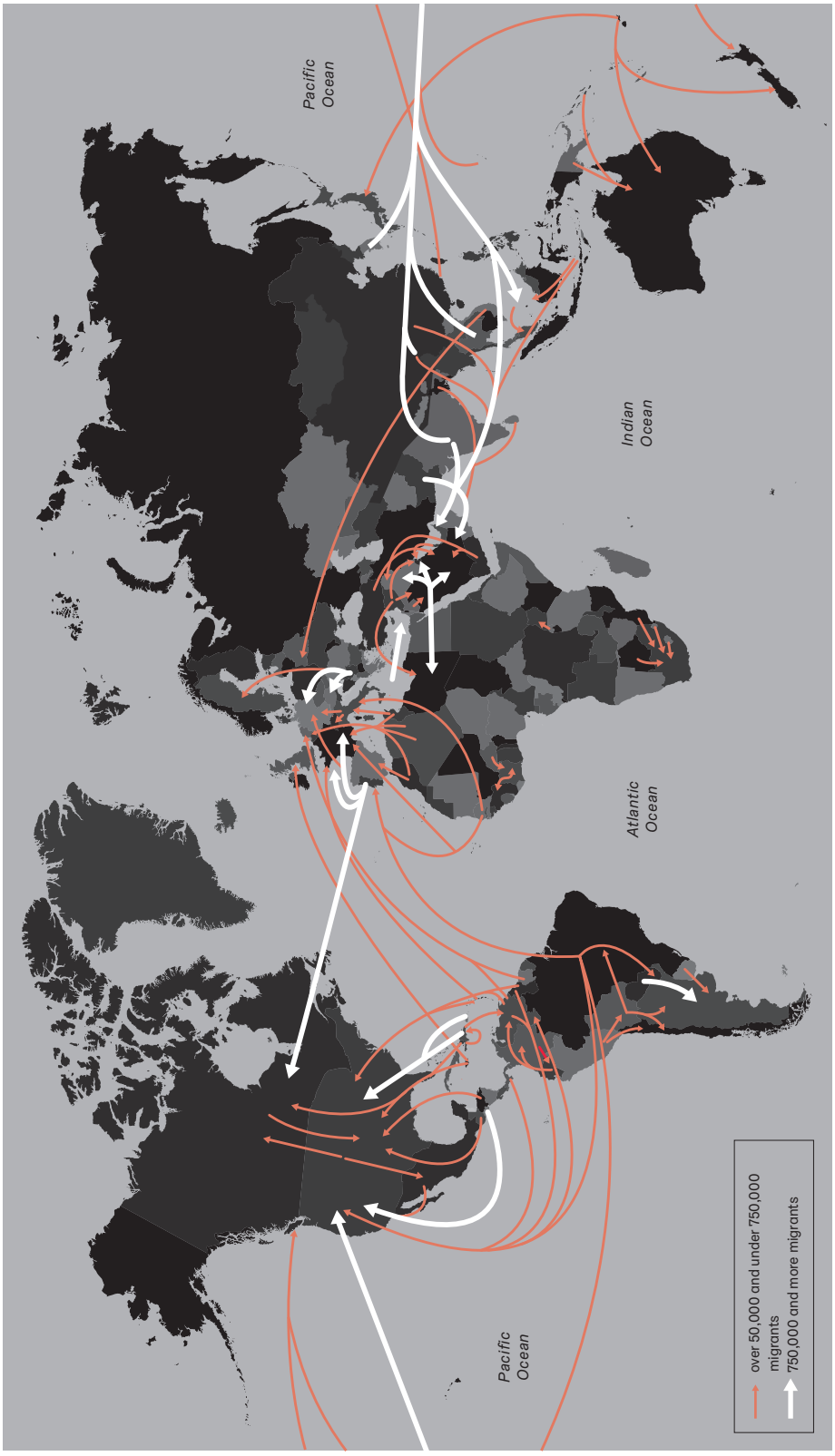

Fig. 6 Global migration at the end of the 20th / beginning of the 21st century
| Christoph Reichel, Institut für Geographie, Universität Osnabrück (model: Segal 1993, 17, 23)

provided for privileged gates of entry. Amongst the European countries experiencing major immigration, this was particularly true for France and Great Britain, but also the Netherlands and Belgium: Ever since the 1948 British Nationality Act, Great Britain offered all residents of the colonies and / or Commonwealth equal citizenship, as well as free entry to and commencement of work in her realm. This liberal regulation was only rescinded incrementally from the 1960s (see Schönwälder 2001, 367-495).

In the economically leading European nations, the number of immigrants from other parts of Europe had already sharply increased in the era of high industrialisation and agricultural modernisation during the late 19th and early 20th century. With its high economic growth rates and drastically expanding labour markets, the period of economic reconstruction during the first three decades to follow World War II again witnessed cross-border fluctuations of labour, and to a much greater extent, within the framework of a specific migration regime. Western, Central and Northern Europe served as the destinations of immigrants who mostly came from the countries bordering the Mediterranean Sea. ▸ **Fig. 6**

Conclusion

As a densifier of social interactions and networks between people, societies, economies and cultural systems, globalisation has fundamentally transformed the world over the last 500 years. What emerges is that spaces, in which particularly dynamic global networking processes are discernible, can very often also be described as centres of pronounced immigration; as an element and hallmark of the densification of social interactions, migration is a prerequisite and integral part of the networking between individuals and collectives. Over and beyond that, migrations contribute to the transformation processes arising from globalisation – they have changed the compositions of populations, modified economic and social structures, religious practices, or the forms of artistic expression. Migration has been and remains a central element of globalisation in centuries past, present and future, expectably.

The notion that most of all particularly poor and needy people usually turned to migration in past centuries is a myth. Financial resources have actually not only become an essential requirement for developing individual migration projects in our times: Departure and entry formalities were also chargeable in the past, considerable travel and transport costs came on top of this, agents or mediators generally demanded (expensive) payment. One could moreover never be certain that the arrival in the destination country would be immediately attended by the commencement of gainful employment, initial investments would partly turn out to be necessary, savings were spent, and money had to be borrowed. For the poorest of the poor, the realisation of such a migration project has always been illusory. Countless studies confirm: Poverty also used to drastically restrict mobility in the past.

It is often said that the volume of global migration movements has grown significantly in recent years and decades against a background of accelerated globalisation – and will continue to do so in future. This assumption cannot be confirmed. As the Vienna Institute of Demography found out in an elaborate study of individual immigration and emigration rates in 196 countries around the world, no significant volume changes are observable in the global migration movements over the last five decades and even further back: The share of migrants in the global population has remained relatively stable at 0.6 percent, as measured in five-year intervals since 1960. Just to quote one example in absolute figures for the period from 2005 to 2010: 41.5 million cross-border migrations against a global population of around 7 billion. Only in the period from 1990 to 1995 did the share of migrants reach a slightly higher value with 0.75 percent, largely explicable by the migratory consequences of the fall of the Iron Curtain and the far-reaching transformations entailed by the collapse of the Soviet Union and other political systems, most of all in Eastern Europe.

What is striking about these figures is not only the relatively low level of interstate migration and their pronounced stability over decades. They also show that the overwhelming majority of these movements take place in world regions such as West Africa, South America or East Asia, while migration across the borders of continents are of hardly any consequence. Even a country like the Federal Republic of Germany, which has been witnessing strong inward and outward fluctuations since 2010, has mostly registered movements from Europe and that by a wide margin: Three quarters of the immigrants in recent years came from other European countries. It can also be noted that the immigration flow from the poorer southern parts of the world to the richer North has been small in recent decades and is also not set to significantly increase in the coming years, according to forecasts by the United Nations – a finding completely at odds with the idea of a putative threat posed to "western" societies by mass immigration from less developed regions of the world. In 2014, for example, only around 75,000 immigrants reached the Federal Republic of Germany from African countries (including many Germans who had lived in Africa temporarily), while 27,000 emigrated to Africa.

Three aspects are largely responsible for the relatively low level of global south-to-north migration: poverty, a lack of networks, and restrictive migration policies. As mentioned earlier, financial resources are an essential requirement for realising individual migration projects. It is also for this reason that a large part of the – partly irregular – immigrants currently reaching Europe from Africa come from a comparably prosperous financial background, have enjoyed solid training and / or attained a relatively high level of education.

Financial resources are not the only thing lacking, however. Given the relatively low level of global south-to-north migration in recent years, the number of pioneering migrants, extent of intercontinental family- or acquaintance-based networks, and reliable knowledge about the potential options available in the

developed nations all tend to be very small amongst the majority of the world's poorer populations. These factors also keep the numbers of south-to-north migrants down.

The borders of the developed nations are essentially only (relatively) open for skilled and / or highly qualified persons who mostly come from other developed countries. The ongoing debates about the future of ageing societies in the prosperous North make clear that this orientation towards qualified or highly qualified immigrants cannot be expected to change much in the coming years and decades: Neither the challenges besetting ageing societies in the shape of a declining economic productivity and power to innovate, nor the recruitment of nurses and medical personnel for populations whose average age is continually on the rise and wherein age-related illnesses will inexorably escalate can be tackled by the immigration of unqualified or low-skilled workers.

If one disregards the displacements within the continent in connection with the breakup of the "Eastern Bloc" and in particular the migratory consequences of the Yugoslav Wars in the 1990s, European nations have only rarely served as a destination in the last quarter century when it comes to refugee movements. This is the result of specific patterns in the flight from violence across the world's various war and crisis zones: Larger distances are rare because the required financial resources are lacking and because transit and / or destination countries thwart migration. Most refugees furthermore want to remigrate as quickly as possible. It is for these two reasons that they are generally found near their regions of origin, most of them in the global South. 95 percent of all refugees from Afghanistan (2015: 2.6 million) now live in the neighbouring states of Pakistan and Iran. The situation is similar with Syria, where a civil war has been raging since 2011: The majority of the refugees from there, around 4.8 million, have come to the neighbouring countries of Turkey (2016: 2.7 million), Jordan (640,000), Iraq (246,000) and Lebanon (1.1 million). Even greater than this is the number of people who have fled within Syria, the internally displaced, at 7.6 million. It is therefore not that surprising to discover that the states of the global South accommodated no less than 86 percent of all refugees registered around the world in 2015 – in a trend that has evidently been growing for years in comparison with the global North, given that the share of the world's poorer countries only amounted to 70 percent in 2003. It is therefore the global South, especially, that has been affected by the growing numbers of refugees and internally displaced persons since the beginning of this decade. Even if the number of people seeking refuge in Europe from the violence in the world's war and crisis zones has also increased, the European contribution to dealing with global "refugee issues" turns out to be rather small.

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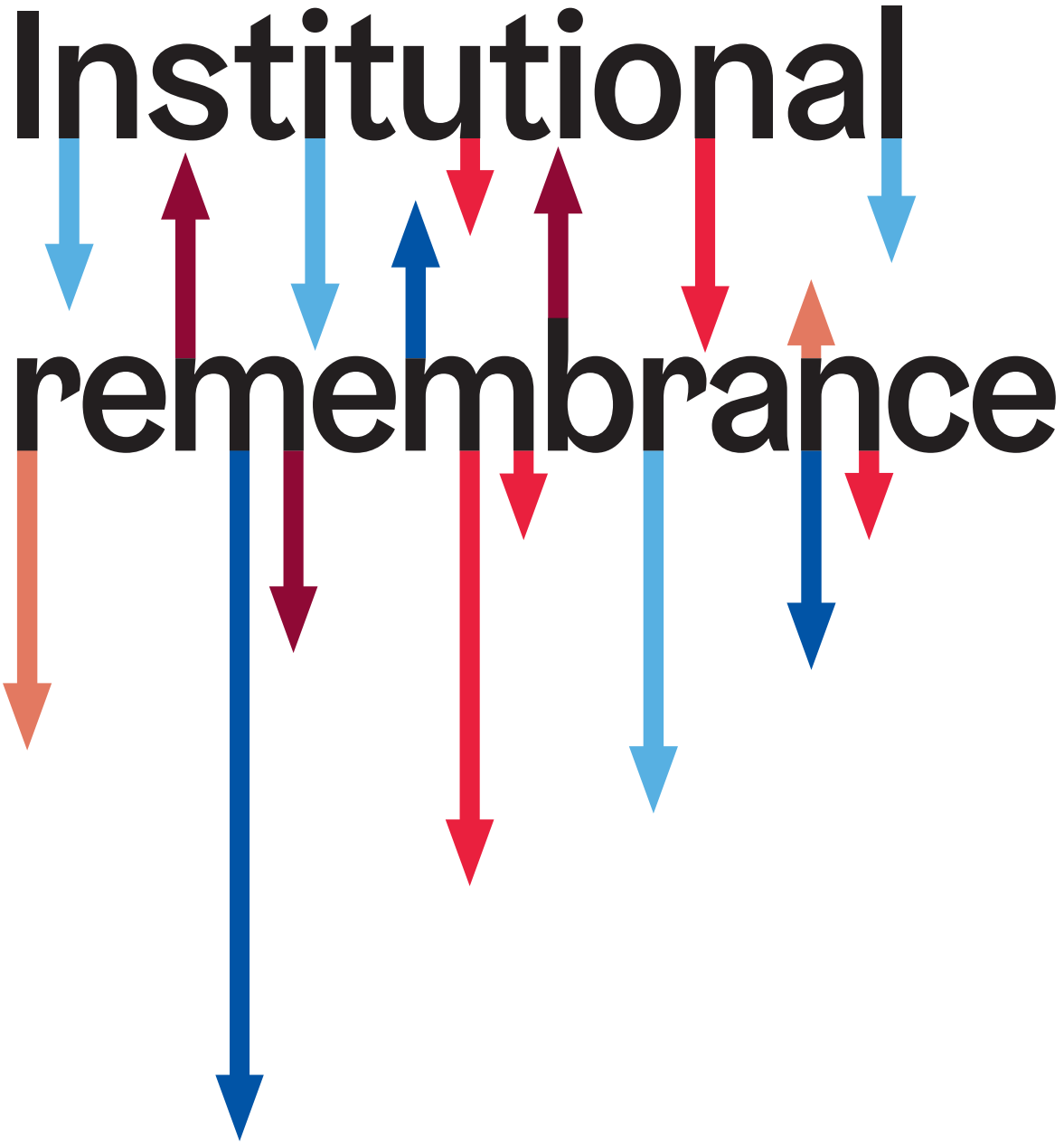
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remembrance

Museu da Imigração

Ways and lives of Italian migrants in Brazil at the end of the 19th century

Juliana Monteiro, Maria Angélica Beghini Morales,
Letícia Brito de Sá, Luciane Santesso,
Henrique Trindade Abreu, Tatiana Chang Waldman

Introduction

The so-called "great immigration" was a process that took place from Europe to America between 1880 and 1915 (see Vaifas 2000, 161). Brazil came fourth amongst the destinations in the New World, after the USA, Argentina and Canada. At that time, the immigration of Italians was the most significant in this country and virtually restricted to a single territory in the hinterlands of the Federal State of São Paulo – the coffee plantations. Further colonial settlements sprang up in other states in the south and south-east. This generally subsidised immigration intensified in the years from 1889 to 1902.[1] It not only promoted the growth of São Paulo, but also instilled the Brazilians with specific notions about Italy (see Carneiro et al. 2010; Lesser 2015).

Herbert S. Klein sees a combination of three factors leading to the increasing Italian immigration in Brazil during the 19th century: "The first factor was access to land and hence food; the second were the various yields of the Brazilian croplands; and the third the number of family members needing to be fed" (Klein 1999, 14). According to this author, the "population growth (put) enormous pressure on the country's agrarian sector at the time. The traditional leasing, farming and production methods were beginning to change to meet the food cultivation requirements." (Klein 1999, 15). In other words, many farmers were losing their land rights at the very same time as the European industrialization and introduction of new technologies led to unemployment in farming. In this context, many rural families viewed migration as an opportunity for improving their lives. Brazil was one of the destination countries and welcomed many Italian immigrants, most of whom came from the Veneto region (see Klein 1999; Alvim 1999, 387). The country of Brazil was in turn undergoing a period where the arrival of foreign labour, mostly from Europe, stimulated the cultivation in the large coffee plantations. The main reason for this was the abolition of slavery. But such an initiative and the search for workers "were additionally warranted by other reasons such as a 'bleaching of races' and the necessity of building a 'more civilised' country where the still prevailing, slavery-based social structure was to be dismantled by promoting smallholders." (Alvim 1999, 384).

Italian immigrants in the Brás Immigrant Hostelry and the current Immigration Museum of São Paulo

Their moment of arrival in Brazil, for example by way of the Brás Immigrant Hostelry (Hospedaria de Imigrantes do Brás), must have surely been impressive for the immigrants. Santos, the port of their disembarkation, was not only a place of arrival, but also a meeting place: This is where all migrants, most of them Italians, came into their first direct contact with people from Brazil, with their customs, their language, and their food. This experience was generally as striking as the boat passage, particularly for the adults.

Fig. 1 Museu da Imigração of the district São Paulo, São Paulo José | Pedro Viviani, CC BY-SA 4.0[2]

The Brás Immigrant Hostelry in São Paulo was strategically placed between two main railway lines crossing the federal state of São Paulo: The São Paulo Railway (1867) and the Estrada de Ferro Central do Brasil (1875). The premises of this Hostelry provided accommodation for a sum total of circa 2.5 million immigrants and even up to 8,000 people in a day. After disembarking in the harbour of Santos, they were transported to the trains and then accommodated in the Hostelry, where they would stay for a brief period. As soon as they had been provided with a job, they got on another train to the interior. This on-site support for their integration in the labour market, for example by employment in the coffee plantations, was provided by an institution working on the shelter's premises: the official authority for placement and employment was responsible for helping the immigrants with employment contracts.

After being listed as a historic, archaeological, artistic and touristic heritage by the Council for Monument Conservation (CONDEPHAAT), the building of the former Hostelry was repurposed and has since accommodated the Immigration Museum of São Paulo (Museu da Imigração do Estado de São Paulo), to this day. ▸ **Fig. 1**

This museum owns an oral history collection of 17 interviews with Italian immigrants coming from the provinces of Padua, Potenza, Salerno and Benevento, amongst others. These interviews help to understand how immigrant families or individuals adjusted to life in Brazil. Some persons recount successful cases in the countryside where immigrants managed to adjust to the various seasonal ways of life and establish themselves in diverse towns, even if that was linked with difficulties. But they also report cases where the adjustment was unsuccessful,

so that the immigrants returned to the "big city", São Paulo, to start a small business there, or to benefit from its successful industrial development.

A topic that all interviews have in common is the immigrants' concerns about maintaining the cultural practices and dialects of their families and homelands. In several cases, religious festivals and the establishment of cultural societies provided an opportunity for bringing a piece of Italy – if only imaginary or newly invented – along to their new home. Where the language is concerned, one can understand that such strategies were seen as an opportunity for building a bridge between the two countries and for creating a network of solidarity.

The anxiousness of the Italian immigrants to preserve such memories is not only reflected in the wish to have these life stories documented. The concerns of the Italian immigrants are also confirmed by the museum collection, which includes items donated as a sign of the wish to preserve personal and collective memories. As Ulpiano Teixeira Bezerra de Menezes emphasises, donations reflect the self-image of the donors. But he also adds that they often have a meaning that is not even known to the museum. Such an attribute would suffice, however, to render the use of objects as documents in a museum institution obsolete. And that this could indeed happen in practice where the institution is unable to document the historic, social and cultural environment on even a minimal level.

The Immigration Museum of São Paulo has listed 328 items as coming from "Italy". These include a wide range of objects such as men's hats, ties, caps, gloves, typical dancing costumes, white children's garments, Italian brochures, vinyl records with Italian music, tablecloths, medals, coins, various household objects, toys, books, travel chests, accordions, carpentry tools, etc. It is a universe of everyday things that enables us to reflect on the various interpretations of these peoples' lives and the reasons why these objects were donated to the museum.

Italian settlement in the federal state of São Paulo

The Italians were the first group of immigrants to settle, mostly in the state of São Paulo, as substitute for slave labour in the coffee plantations. Although they arrived as farm labourers – even if unqualified[3] – they still managed to buy a piece of land with the money they had saved in a short period, thus accomplishing a considerable social mobility (see Klein 1999, 28).

The employment contracts were based on a family labour model that was in the interest of the big landowners as much as that of the Italians who were trying to support their families. These contracts changed after the coffee cultivation period as the immigrants were allowed to grow corn and beans between the coffee plants for their own consumption (see Alvim 1999, 397–398). With their various activities, they created a "little Italy" in the federal state of São Paulo, one that consisted of smallholders, revolved around coffee cultivation and that was linked with industry as well as urban construction, albeit to a lesser extent (see Alvim 1999).

The massive influx of labour for the expanding agricultural sector and bad working conditions left many immigrants unsatisfied with the circumstances of their lives, so that great numbers of them migrated to the cities at the end of their annual contracts[4] (see Hall 2010). For this reason, the history of the development of an urban and industrial proletariat in São Paulo is most of all linked with the Italian immigration.

Perspectives on identity

Some researchers are debating the idea that the Italians who had been forced to emigrate to Brazil entertained no great feelings of loyalty to the Italian Peninsula. The class divide and dispersal of the immigrants to various regions of Brazil are only two of the factors that hampered the development of a true Italian identity. Michael Hall, who regards ethnicity as a social construct that is based on its historic context, maintains:

"It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the rapid assimilation and social advancement of a considerable part of the immigrants further weakened these institutions – which had never been very robust. They may have strengthened the relationships between the Italians and contributed to the development of a network of social relationships that created a feeling of belonging to the same ethnic group. Without structures for maintaining a collective community, the ethnic group will hardly be more than a political fiction." (Hall 2010, 62).

The Italian language was thus very quickly adopted in São Paulo in the space of a few generations, albeit unevenly and often in a complex manner. Oswaldo Truzzi on the other hand maintains that the feeling of an Italian identity in Brazil, i.e. of belonging to the same ethnic and cultural group, arose from the migration experience and the experiences in São Paulo. He sees the reason for this in the recent unification of Italy, that happened shortly before these immigrants had left their country, with many regions of the peninsula experiencing great socio-economic, cultural and political divides. They therefore tended to understand themselves as specific regional groups, rather than an "Italian nation".

This is why they developed their identity in a "relational fashion", i.e. by differentiation from other groups (see Truzzi 2016, 124). This cultural experience consisted of family experiences where traditions would be kept alive and continued with respect to food, religion, etc., but counted for very little in the social and political lives of these people. The sociologist Herbert Gans refers to this state of affairs as a "symbolic ethnicity (entity)" (Gans quoted after Truzzi 2016, 126).

Researching in the collections of the Immigration Museum of São Paulo, the authors of this essay came upon two cases that can render the Italian integration processes in the Federal State of São Paulo a little more understandable: ▸ Fig. 2

The first case involves Luigi Torezan (whose surname was later adapted to "Torrezani"). Luigi was born in 1864 in the Italian municipality of San Giorgi in Bosco in the province of Padua. He worked as a carpenter there. To evade the compulsory

military service of three years, he decided to emigrate to Brazil, where he started a new life with a number of obstacles. He arrived in Brazil on February 8th, 1889, aged 25, with the ship Cachar, and entered the former Brás Immigration Hostelry immediately.[5] He had brought little luggage, but one object is remarkable: his wooden chest with carpentry tools, guaranteeing his pursuit of the carpentry trade in foreign countries. He was sent to work on a coffee plantation in the municipality of Descalvado in the border area between the federal states of São Paulo and Minas Gerais. As he was skilled in a trade and knew nothing about living and working in the countryside, the foreman allowed him to stay at the estate for a few days. Shortly thereafter, when it turned out that Luigi really was unsuitable, he was sent back to the city of São Paulo. He settled down in the Cambuci neighbourhood, where he lived in a small rented room and worked freelance in housing construction, most of all the production of wooden roofs and window frames. He later started working for a stonemason, where he also met his future wife, Elisa, also Italian and the daughter of his boss. After their wedding, Luigi became a partner of his father in law and moved to the Mooca neighbourhood in the east of the city. ▸ **Fig. 3**

Fig. 2 Luigi Torrezani in his 50s, 1914 | Torrezani family, São Paulo

There, he continued to work in the construction business, started a family and set up his life around the carpentry profession. He also worked in the production of wooden looms for the textile manufacturer Crespi whose owner, Rodolfo Crespi, was an Italian, too. In the course of his life he visited places that were connected with immigrants from Italy at the time, such as the São José do Belém church in the Belém district. At home he tried to talk Italian with his children and grandchildren, and wanted to stick to certain routines with his wife, such as making their own wine and preparing items of food like bread and polenta, for example, because they reminded him of home. But Luigi Torrezani

Fig. 3 Scratch gauge: tool of the carpenter Luigi Torrezani, before 1889 | Museu da Imigração do Estado de São Paulo, São Paulo; photo: Conrado Secassi

never voiced the wish of returning to Italy to his family, and was able to see himself as a Brazilian. The wooden box he had brought along when he entered the country and whose utensils he used in the course of his life was passed on from one generation to the next, until it was donated to the Museu da Imigração. A number of the exhibited objects are linked to the memories of Italian immigrants. ▸ Fig. 4

Another case worth mentioning is that of Gregório Rombolá,[6] whose life in Brazil started earlier than hoped for. Thanks to the current immigration policy it started with his assimilation to the world of coffee plantations. Gregório was born in 1873 in the southern Italian province of Catanzaro in Calabria. He embarked on his journey to America in the year 1888, Buenos Aires being his first destination. He arrived in Brazil on 28 August 1890 with the ship Napoli, only 18 years old and alone. He stayed at the Brás Immigration Hostelry, was identified as a "farmer" and sent to work at a coffee plantation in São Carlos do Pinhal, where he stayed for 30 days. Then he went to the municipality of Araraquara and later to Jaboticabal, where he settled down and married the Brazilian Virgilina Ferreira da Silva in the year 1897, with whom he had 13 children. ▸ Fig. 5

Gregório spent a long period working at several country estates, as was customary at the time. The Rombolá family also donated objects to the Museu da Imigração that belonged to him, including a logbook which contains much of the information related here, as well as the photograph taken in the year 1936.

Fig. 4 Diary of Gregorio Rombola | Museu da Imigração do Estado de São Paulo, São Paulo; photo: Rodrigo Antonio

Fig. 5 Gregório Rombola, 65, and his wife, 57, with their children, 1936, Jaboticabal in the state of São Paulo | Museu da Imigração do Estado de São Paulo, São Paulo

As already mentioned, biographies of this kind can help us understand the different experiences of the Italian immigrants as they arrived in Brazil. From the perspective of the Immigration Museum of São Paulo, such experiences also serve to address questions and issues of identity. The research into the cultural possessions of these people in the museum's holdings is helpful for this in many cases.

Nowadays, the Immigration Museum of São Paulo assumes the responsibility for the selection of cultural assets and the attendant research, cognisant of the importance of maintaining a critical stance in this respect. The search for other–historical, social, cultural–perspectives on what is known as the "great immigration" in Brazil is based on the institution's wish to problematise notions of identity and thereby reach its main objective: discussing the diversity of migration experiences and the memories they are tied to.

1 Interestingly enough, Italy prohibited the Brazil-sponsored emigration of Italians in the 1902 Prinetti decree because of the bad living conditions of the immigrants in São Paulo (see Bassanezi 1995, 5–6).

2 https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=48574949.

3 The fact that the European workers were praeferred over the existing workforce of "black slaves" despite being unskilled, affirmed the calls of the Brazilian elite for a policy of "white labour" (see Schwarcz 2015).

4 In 1896, Italians accounted for 35 % of the population of the state of São Paulo's capital (see Hall 2010, 53).

5 Interview with Angelo Torrezani and Egydio Torrezani on 10/03/1997 (Museu da Imigração; documentation: oral history no. 102).

6 Story of the Virgilina Aparecida Rombolá Fonseca family

(object donation SC 122441/2009) and registration date of Gregório Rombolá at the Hospedaria do Brás (see http://museudaimigracao.org.br/acervodigital/livrodetalhe.php?livro=021&pagina=015&familia=00198 – accessed on 25/05/2016).

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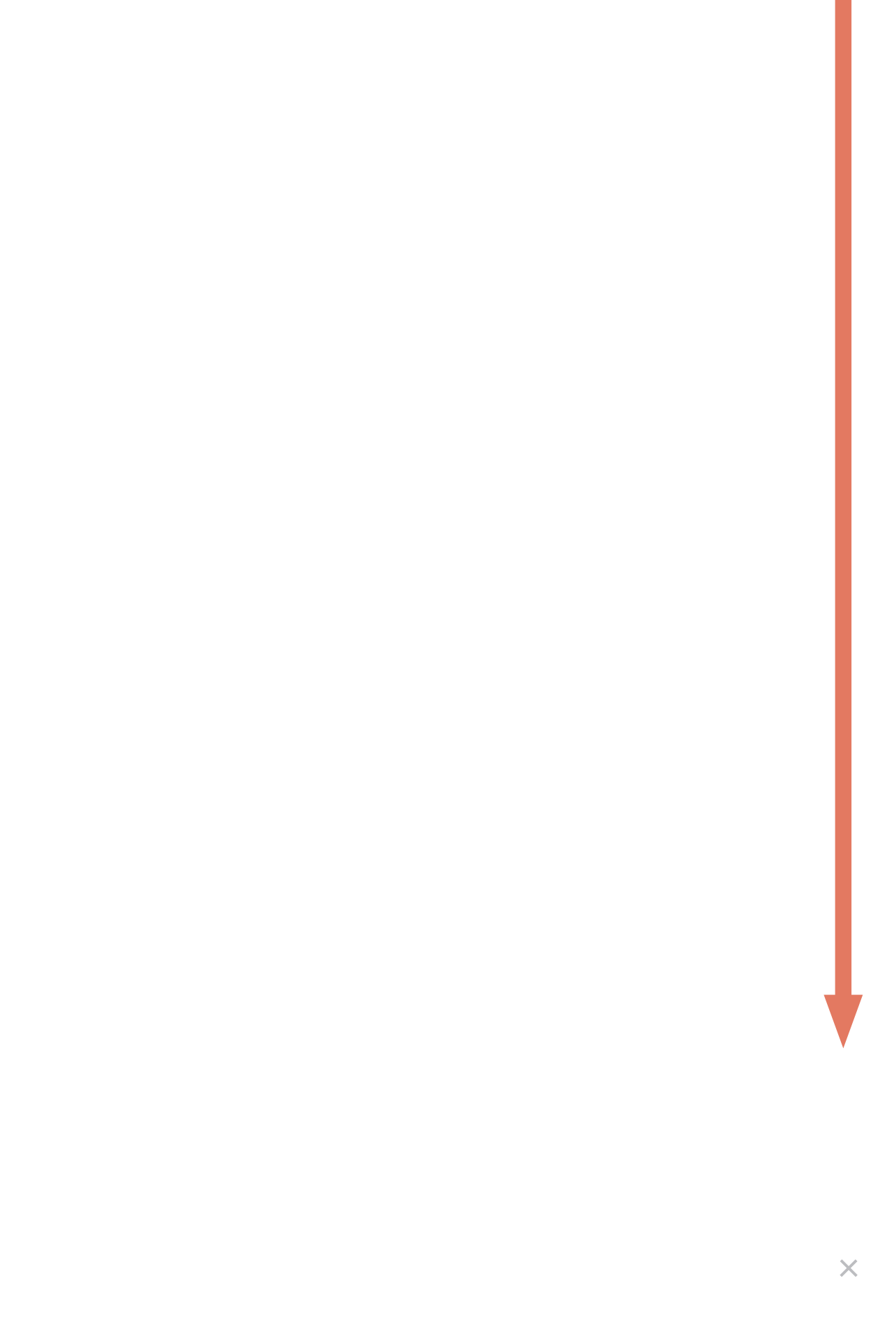

Myriame Morel-Deledalle

Armenians in Marseilles

To mark the Year of Armenia in France (2007), the Musée d'Histoire de Marseilles and Musée des Civilisations de l'Europe et de la Méditerranée (MuCEM) jointly organized an exhibition under the main heading of *Far from Mount Ararat* (Loin de l'Ararat). While MuCEM highlighted *Lesser Armenia in Europe and the Mediterranean* (Petites Arménies d'Europe et Méditerranée)[1] in a virtual show, the Musée d'Histoire de Marseilles dedicated a special exhibition to the *Armenians in Marseilles* (Arméniens de Marseille) (see Morel-Deledalle et al. 2007).[2]

The Armenian community of Marseilles numbers amongst the most important in France. Over the years, but especially in recent times, its influence has grown so strong that responsible politicians in Marseilles could not do otherwise but listen to it and take its opinions into consideration. This is why MPs were continually asking the museum to accommodate ready-made exhibitions about the Armenian question, the genocide or the demands for its recognition, amongst other aspects. As curators of the Musée d'Histoire de Marseille, we had always refused to accept such a "prefab" exhibition, however, on the one hand owing to their propagandistic bias, and, on the other, for lack of reference to the Armenian community in Marseilles.

For the Year of Armenia, we had hence decided to organise a show about the Armenians in Marseilles, an unexplored topic at that point in time. This called for a downright research effort on our part wherein we needed to tap the sources and establish personal contact with Armenians in Marseilles, offering an opportunity to develop more intensive relationships with the city's Armenian community, and to collect relevant testimonies with its help, especially via the association ARAM (Association pour la Recherche et l'Archivage de la Mémoire armenienne)[3]. We needed to base our research on unpublished, authentic documents.

The credit for preserving and handing down this history in Marseilles should meanwhile go to a unique personality whom I would like to honour at this juncture: Garbis Artin. As he was not the only one interested in passing on the memory of the Armenians in Marseilles, but one of many who devoted all their powers to finding a way of or place for preserving this history, he established the ARAM association in his residential district Saint-Jérôme, the 13th arrondissement of Marseilles, in 1997. A very wise move!

Facing the loss of his own, unimparted history, Garbis had vowed to create such a place, by all and for all, where the testimonies of the families in whatever form would be gathered and where one could come for free advice from unpaid volunteers. In small steps, he began to collect keepsakes of the family, books and photographs, recording eyewitness reports and sensitizing his closer environment, in the course of which he intuitively realized the significance of his efforts, and the pressing need to put them in the hands of professional structures. Aware of the Armenian community's trust in him and also of his responsibility as their spokesman, he consequently established the ARAM association.

Smart and well-disposed as he was, Garbis – and his children with him and after him – felt a pressing need to create the right conditions for maintaining and

preserving this memory, driven by his two-fold ambition of lending his project a strictly scientific framework while simultaneously maintaining and preserving the memory and its tangible testimonies at the heart of the community. This circumstance indeed furnished the actors of the community with a fundamental security in Garbis' project.

He was doubtlessly the guarantor for this maintenance and preservation because he had successfully prevented a decentralised storage of the documents – for example in the city's or department's archives – and he had done that for understandable reasons: he wanted to ensure that the testimonies would be stored and scanned with due conservational care and thus made accessible to the public at a central location. They were not meant to disappear in an inaccessible depot that is only reserved for experts. Such an archive had to stay alive or come to life – and that by way of the words which explained the objects, images, photographs, etc.

To create the right conditions for the safekeeping and preservation of the treasures entrusted to him, and ultimately realise both, Garbis proceeded like a trained historian or anthropologist. He adopted methods for inventorying, cataloguing, etc. and applied them to the collection of testimonies to render the provided documents accessible, and hence enrich their content.

It is thanks to the intuitive, systematic work of Garbis, as well as his trust and generosity, that we, a small team at the Musée d'Histoire, have been able to access this archive, and thus unpublished, documented sources, for our studies and publication. Based on these historic sources, we have tried to tell a story of the Armenians and about Marseilles.

Armenians could be found in Marseilles since the Middle Ages, or even earlier, as merchants and traders. The large medieval harbour maintained contacts to all other ports and received goods from the entire Mediterranean and beyond for onward sale in the town's markets.

Characterised by cultural heterogeneity since the 6th century BC, Marseilles is the "daughter" of an immigrant from Phocaea and Ligurian natives. The port took in people from other countries who alighted on its shores to engage in commerce, seek refuge or dare a new beginning. This is the manner in which Italian, Swiss, Greek, Algerian-French, Corsican, Indochinese or Vietnamese and Comorian communities have come to form Marseilles in all its entirety and variety.

The new Armenian population arriving in Marseilles since 1922 had a different background. These were people who had fled from their villages in the wake of political upheavals in the Middle East. Between the end of the 19th century and the 1920s, over 60,000 Armenians sought refuge in Marseilles (see Les Arméniens 2015). ▸ Fig. 1

The sources collected by ARAM largely relate to the persons themselves, and that in a highly descriptive type of document: identification papers, "Nansen passports"[4], photographs with the names of fathers, mothers, and cousins scrawled on them, along with various comments rendered deeply upsetting by

Fig. 1 So-called Nansen passport, 1924 | ARAM

their humanity. The large, official entry register of Marseilles' own reception centre, Oddo, surprisingly well-preserved with its writing of fine and thick lines, meanwhile pays a great homage to the refugees by virtue of its exactitude.

The new arrivals, however, were poor and destitute, were met with a bad reception, and blamed for all evil, every sickness, etc. They were crammed into camps and told to move on as soon as possible; the city's superannuated authorities did not want these migrants, whom they distrusted. Marseilles was a port of arrival, to be sure, but one hoped to be able to make them relocate to other towns and countries, or to America. Most of them stayed nonetheless.

With no preparation for the arrival of the refugees, the reality was grim: Between October 10th and 30th 1923, more than 3,000 people disembarked in Marseilles. They were herded together in inhospitable, run-down military camps. Camp Oddo, which had the greatest reception capacities, had to face the arrival of over 2,000 migrants between September and November 1923. ▸ **Fig. 2**

One of the most extraordinary documents in ARAM's possession is the already mentioned register of Camp Oddo, which accepted Armenian refugees from 1922 to 1927. This handwritten register lists the new arrivals with great precision, providing information about them in twelve columns including their last name, first names, degrees of kinship, age, place of birth, gender, marital status, arrival date at the camp with month and year, occupation, release date from the camp, and finally a rubric for "Observations". A review of this document has shown that a large part of the migrants came from rural areas. The others were tradesmen,

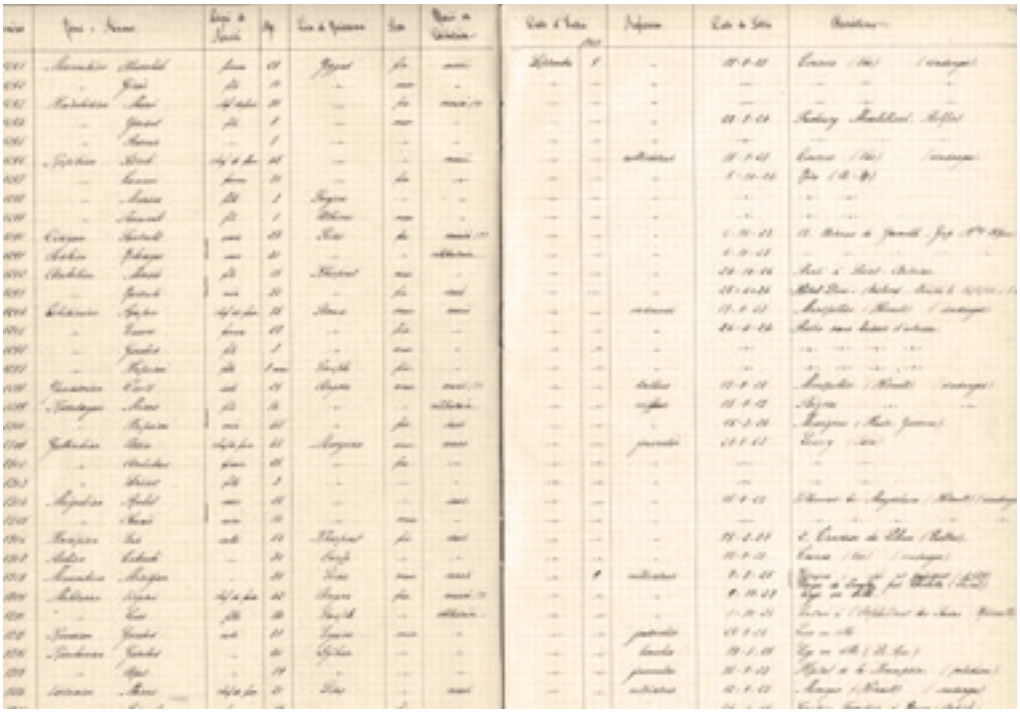

Fig. 2 List of registered refugees at Camp Oddo, Marseilles | ARAM

including shoemakers, blacksmiths, carpenters and tailors. Garbis Artin was able to find his father's last name in the entry register. He had been born in 1889 and came from the village of Kantaros, near Sivas, the ancient Sebaste at the centre of Anatolia. His last name was Keusseyan, his first name Artin, turned into his surname when the French authorities prepared the official integration documents. Garbis' father had fled from his village at the age of 16. He had roamed around in Baghdad, where he apparently also got married, as a surviving photograph shows. Then he had found a ship in Aleppo that took him all the way to Marseilles. Although he and his brother Garabed were the only survivors out of a family of 50, he never told Garbis much about his escape from Anatolia, the hard times, or his parents, if anything at all.

The reception camps in Marseilles, only meant to be temporary, were organized in a manner that sought to improve the social coexistence under these dramatic conditions: A structure was created for dealing with administrative, financial and social matters, with a French-Armenian school being established as a consequence. One should note in this regard that the Armenians managed the entire operation themselves. This included the provision of accommodation in furnished apartments where several families would be penned up in a single room, sometimes with the aid of Armenians who had settled there earlier and came to help their fellow countrymen. ▸ Fig. 3

Paradoxically, the pooling together of the population in camps generated greater optimism amongst those concerned, and promoted the development of an

undeniable mutual support that became a cornerstone of the refugees' survival. As the migrants were already grouped in the camps, by their family roots, neighbourhoods and origins, the fact that they had pulled through these difficult times together created intensive bonds between families and individuals.

It is, therefore, understandable that these groups, upon leaving the camp, would stay together as they settled in the surrounding districts of Marseilles, in order to re-establish their own villages once more. Their choices led the Armenians near places where they started out as simple labourers in industrial enterprises such as soap factories, shipyards, brickworks and sugar refineries. The groups have spread to several quarters of Marseilles: to Saint-Antoine with families from Sivas, to Saint-Loup with families from Cilicia and Adana, to Beaumont with those from Van, to Saint-Jérôme, Vallon des Tuves, Verduron and Aygalades with those from Caesarea.

In comparison to other population groups, some things were different about the way the Armenians settled in Marseilles: They built new districts with their church at the centre, recognisable to all who belonged, but also from a number of constructional features that weren't really "architectural characteristics" in the proper meaning of the word, but referred to as such. This is the case in Saint-Jérôme, the 13th district of Marseilles, where one asks oneself if this is a typical Armenian village. It certainly is not, to anyone looking for classic identification marks. Instead, one would need to see with the eyes of our friend Garbis to open one's own eyes and be able to understand the attendant history.

Certainly no Armenian village per se, this is still a village where the Armenians are amongst themselves. Indeed, one has the feeling of being somewhere else,

Fig. 3 Armenian school at Camp Oddo, 1925 | ARAM

but without knowing where, as Garbis put it. Only those, who originate from there, know their roots. They have learned over time to preserve this knowledge for the future, even if they come from a country that is no longer the same as the one their ancestors left, at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century.

This is probably what is so special about the Armenian community: It has created a history in Marseilles that is no more than a memory, a history that is kept alive in this way by virtue of a number of everyday objects (a traditional coffee grinder here, a photograph there), and, most of all, by one or several narratives. The people perpetuate their "being Armenian" through their concerted and individual actions, by handing down their language, culture and memory from one family to the next, in the thick of life in the quarter.

After Garbis' passing in 2012 and the death of his son Christian in 2015, they are now followed by his daughter Astrid, who, with the support of the entire association, continues their efforts and is even stepping them up to expand the collection, and number and circulate the sources as they grow ever more extensive and multi-faceted.

Although the arrival of the first Armenians is receding ever further into the past – and although the last survivor, who was born in Abadazar in 1907 and arrived in Marseilles in 1928, has died in 2015, aged 106 – historic testimonies still keep emerging from this collection of memories.

1 See http://www.armeniens.culture.fr/ (accessed on 19/08/2016)

2 The exhibition catalogue created for the Year of Armenia in France bears the title Armenia, my friend (Arménie mon amie).

3 Translation: "Association for Researching and Archiving the Armenian Memory" (see http://webaram.com/-accessed on 03/06/2016).

4 Named after Fridtjof Nansen, the League of Nation's first High Commissioner for Refugees. In 1922, he introduced the so-called Nansen passport that could serve refugees as a first internationally recognized document (see http://www.unhcr.de/unhcr/events/nansen-fluechtlingspreis/fridtjof-nansen.html – accessed on 18/08/2016).

Source

UNHCR. The UN refugee agency: *Fridtjof Nansen* http://www.unhcr.de/unhcr/events/nansen-fluechtlingspreis/fridtjof-nansen.html.

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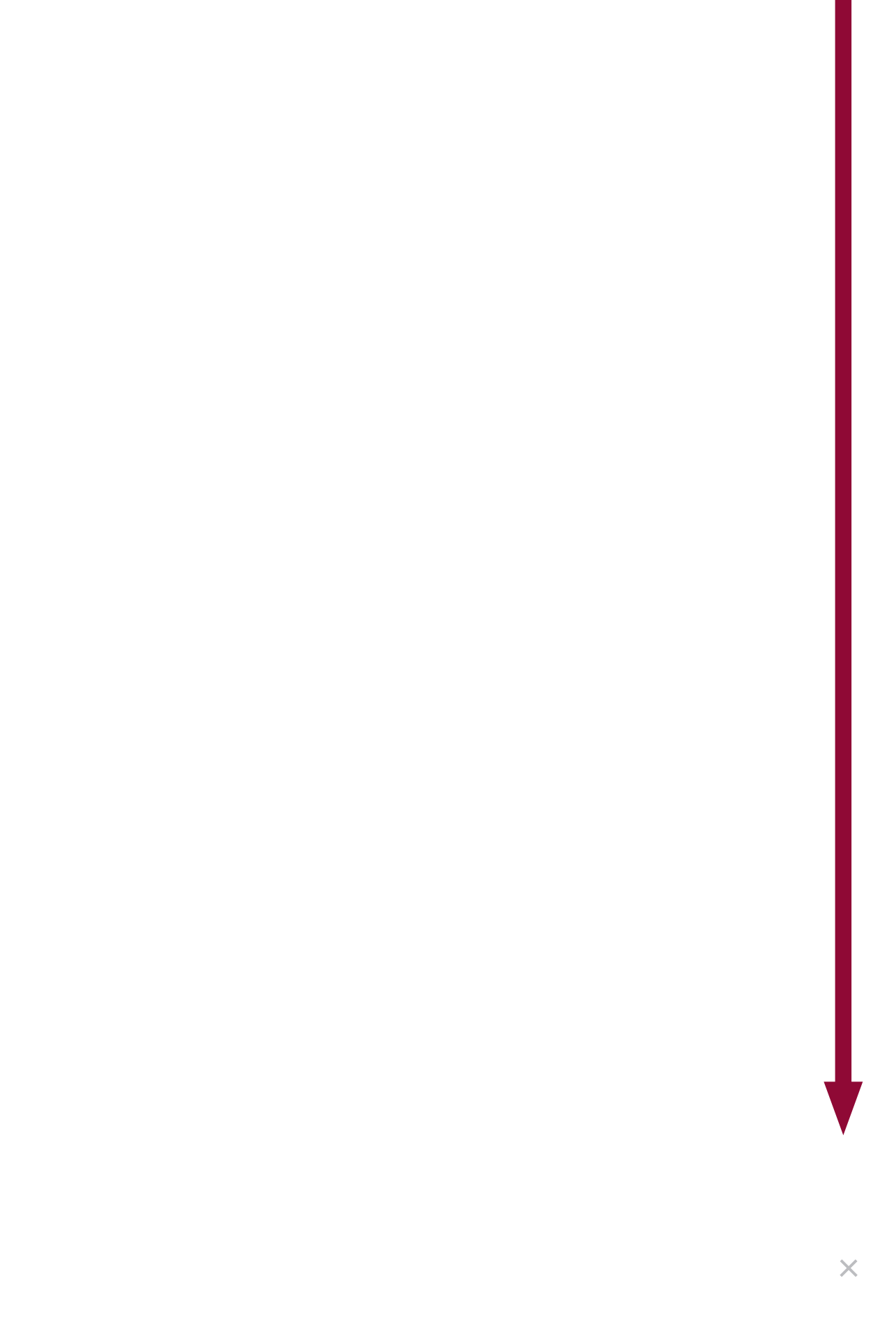

Diana Pardue

Ellis Island: Gateway to the United States

Ellis Island, a 27.5-acre island in the shadow of the Statue of Liberty, is located in Upper New York Harbor. During its turbulent lifespan as a United States immigration station (1892–1954), approximately 12 million immigrants were processed through its doors. While a "Portal of Hope and Freedom" for many immigrants, it was also an "Island of Tears" for the 2 percent who were turned away when they failed to meet the requirements of the various United States immigration laws and regulations. ▸ **Fig. 1**

Prior to the Immigration Act of 1891 the United States administered federal immigration regulations through a system of state immigration centres in its port cities. This new legislation established total federal control of immigration through the creation of the Bureau of Immigration within the Treasury Department. A study of New York Harbor was done to determine the best location for a federal immigration station replacing Castle Garden, on the Battery at the southern tip of Manhattan. Ellis Island, the location of a federal naval powder magazine, was selected and the island was improved for a federal immigration station. On January 1, 1892 the new immigration station was formally opened to process steerage passengers; first and second cabin class passengers were processed on the ship and disembarked directly in Manhattan. By June 15, 1897 when most of the buildings on the island were destroyed by fire, some 1,500,000 immigrants had passed through Ellis Island to the United States. These immigrants represented a shift from northern and western Europeans to southern

Fig. 1 Aerial shot of Ellis Island with Immigration Museum
| DOI / NPS / Statue of Liberty NM and Ellis Island, New York

and eastern Europeans. Immigration was temporarily moved to the Barge Office in Manhattan while a new immigration station was constructed on the island.

The new immigration station was designed by the New York firm of Boring and Tilton, the first important government building to be designed by private architects under competition. This immigration station opened on December 17, 1900 with 2,251 immigrants processed on that first day. It was estimated that 5,000 immigrants could be processed daily through the new building which featured the French Renaissance style brick laid in Flemish bond with limestone trim. It included a large registry room on the second floor along with offices and a special board of inquiry; dormitories to sleep 600 persons on the third floor and a baggage room and large railroad waiting area on the first floor. Adjoining the main building was a large kitchen and laundry building, a power house and the beginnings of a hospital complex on the second island, created by landfill.

When Theodore Roosevelt became President in 1901 he began to clean up the Ellis Island operation after the exposure of several scandals. He appointed William Williams as the new Commissioner of Immigration in 1902. Williams immediately instituted procedures to maintain efficient, honest, courteous and sanitary treatment of the immigrants. During his two terms and the one term of Robert Watchorn, the immigration station operated at peak capacity. Europeans migrated to the United States in record numbers during the years prior to the First World War. In 1903, 12,600 immigrants arrived on one day, requiring almost half of them to remain in steerage on the steamships for a few days because of congested facilities. By 1905, 821,169 immigrants had been processed at Ellis Island, creating logistical problems with many immigrants required to stay on the island for a few days or more. The peak year of immigration came in 1907 when 1,004,756 immigrants were received; the peak day that year was April 17 when 11,747 immigrants were processed in one day. ▸ Fig. 2

The First World War brought a sharp decline in immigration, decreasing to 28,867 people in 1918. In 1916, explosions by German saboteurs at a nearby wharf in New Jersey severely damaged some of the Ellis Island buildings. The most notable repairs were the installation of the new Gustavino arched tile ceiling over the registry room and the red tile floor in that room replacing the old worn asphalt surface. When the United States entered the war in 1917, some of the Ellis Island facilities were used to hold German merchant ship crews as well as other suspected enemy aliens throughout the United States that were rounded up and brought to Ellis Island for incarceration. Most of the buildings were taken over by the United States Army and Navy to treat returning sick and wounded American soldiers. The end of the war brought the “Red Scare” when anti-foreign fears were transferred from German-Americans to suspected communists, anarchists, socialists and radicals. Hundreds of suspected foreign radicals were held on Ellis Island and many of them were deported, the most famous was Emma Goldman on the SS Buford, known as the “Soviet Ark”, December 31, 1919. ▸ Fig. 3

Postwar immigration revived quickly in 1920 with 560,971 immigrants processed

Fig. 2 Aliens boarding transfer steamer for departure. | DOI / NPS / Statue of Liberty NM and Ellis Island, New York; photo: Augustus Sherman

in 1921. The first quota law was passed in 1921. The total number of immigrants admitted each year under the new system was set at approximately 358,000 with numerous classes exempt from the quota system. The Immigration Act of 1924 had more of a significant impact on the Ellis Island operation, reducing the annual quota to approximately 164,000 and moving the examination of immigrants to their country of origin with inspections being done by the United States consulate staffs. At that time, the principle function of Ellis Island changed from a primary immigration examination station to a centre for the assembly, detention and deportation of aliens who entered the United States illegally or violated the terms of their admittance. Few new immigrants were sent to Ellis Island, only those immigrants with legal questions about their entry documents or those who required medical treatment. After the stock market crash of 1929, immigration sharply reduced because of lack of economic opportunity. During this time, Edward Corsi, an Italian immigrant who passed through Ellis Island in 1907, became Commissioner of Immigration in 1931 and spent his administration humanising the conditions of the deportees on the island and softened the harsher aspects of the previous deportation policy.

In 1933 a nonpartisan committee of prominent citizens was set up by President Franklin Roosevelt's Secretary of Labor, Frances Perkins to undertake a complete

Fig.3 Immigrants buying railroad tickets, 1920's | DOI / NPS / Statue of Liberty NM and Ellis Island, New York; photo: Augustus Sherman

analysis of Ellis Island operations and to make recommendations for improvements. These recommendations resulted in the addition of recreation grounds by the main building, including new playgrounds and gardens. Other activities included building a new recreation hall and shelter to the hospital complex, adding sun porches to some of the contagious disease wards, improving quarters for the medical staff, building a new ferry building with waiting rooms and lunch counters, and building a new immigration building behind the new ferry building with recreation space on both sides (intended as a place for immigrants to be segregated from deportees) with new passageways connecting the various sections of the island.

When the Second World War broke out in Europe in 1939, the US Coast Guard occupied several of the Ellis Island buildings to house and train recruits to patrol the harbor. In 1940 the Immigration and Naturalization Service was transferred to the Department of Justice from the Department of Labor, symbolising the changing perception of immigrants to potential threats to national security. When the United States entered the war in 1941, Ellis Island once again was used as a detention centre for suspected enemy aliens (primarily Germans, Italians and Japanese noncitizens) and as a military hospital for returning wounded servicemen.

After the war the island continued to be used primarily as a detention centre for immigrants whose legal status was questioned. The passage of the Internal Security Act of 1950 caused a flurry of activity as it excluded immigrants who were members of Communist and Fascist organizations. At one point the detainees on the island numbered as many as 1500 people. In 1951 the US Public Health Service closed the hospital complex on the island. The Immigration and Naturalization Act of 1952 resulted in a liberalised detention policy and the number of deportees dropped to fewer than 30 immigrants. Finally, the Ellis Island facility that now included some forty structures closed down in November 1954 and was declared excess government property.

The physical and social history of Ellis Island reflects important transitions in attitudes toward immigration in the United States. Mass immigration peaked in 1907; it declined sharply during the First World War, revived after the war, and then altered dramatically with the passage of the quota laws in the 1920's. These quota laws, which placed a lower ceiling on the numbers of immigrants who were allowed in the United States annually and established a system that favoured primarily Northern and Western Europe, also changed the inspection of immigrants to United States consular officials in the immigrant's country of origin. Thereafter, only the immigrants whose papers were not in order or those who required medical treatment at the Public Health Service hospital facility were sent to Ellis Island. The facilities were increasingly used for the assembly and deportation of immigrants who had entered the United States illegally, or who had violated the terms of their admittance. While the early history of Ellis Island reflected the liberal attitudes of the United States toward immigration, the latter half of its life was shaped by a restrictionist policy that succeeded in narrowing the open door to the United States. These quota laws remained in effect until President Lyndon Johnson signed a new immigration law in 1965. This new immigration law was a radical break with the previous quota policy that had become intolerable. It opened the immigration system equally to all countries, giving each country the same number of visas to the United States each year, and established the family-based immigration system. This new system allowed significantly larger immigration from non-European countries and is believed to be one of the primary reasons that the United States population became so diverse and multicultural in the latter half of the 20th century.

Ellis Island was added to the Statue of Liberty National Monument, National Park Service in 1965 by President Lyndon Johnson, shortly after he signed this new immigration law at the foot of the symbolically powerful Statue of Liberty. Ellis Island symbolised then (as it does today) the story of United States immigration with its cultural richness and it commemorates the millions of people who passed through Ellis Island into the United States, whose contributions to American society made the United States the world leader it became in the 20th century and the ongoing debate about immigration policy. The intent was to preserve the original immigration and hospital buildings, and create the Ellis Island

Immigration Museum. The museum, opening in 1990, preserved much of the historic character of the main immigration building and through this physical preservation and the use of oral history interviews and historic photographs, captured the experiences and impressions of the profound human drama that unfolded there. In recent years the museum has expanded the immigration story beyond the Ellis Island years to present a more comprehensive story of people migrating to the United States during its entire history within the broader context of global migration. The purpose of the newer Peopling of America exhibits is to make the museum more welcoming and inclusive to all visitors, reaching out to families that did not migrate through Ellis Island, and clearly showing that migration is a continuing, worldwide process, not simply an isolated historic event.

The museum, through its exhibits and programs, reveals the diverse reasons and ways that people became part of the United States during the process of peopling the North American continent. Exhibits and public programs explore the mass immigrant experience rather than highlighting successful individuals and the ongoing persistence of ethnic cultures despite the "pressures of Americanisation". The museum challenges visitors to question their own assumptions of immigration, past and present, and explore complex issues from diverse perspectives. It actively encourages visitors to picture themselves as part of the worldwide migration movement.

The museum includes a rich collection, including donated personal items from former immigrants who brought these items with them through Ellis Island from many different countries, an audio oral history collection and historic photograph collections relating to the operations of the Ellis Island immigration station.

Ellis Island Oral History Program

Since 1973, the Ellis Island Oral History Program has been dedicated to preserving the first-hand recollections of immigrants who passed through the Ellis Island immigration station between 1892 and 1954 as well as the people who worked on the island in various capacities. The audio interviews with immigrants include a description of everyday life in the country of origin, family history, reasons for emigration, journey to New York, arrival and processing at Ellis Island, and adjustment to life in the United States. Over the years, the collection has grown to approximately 2,000 interviews. These interviews represent immigrants from many countries, former Immigration and Public Health Service employees, military personnel stationed at Ellis Island and the Statue of Liberty as well as people detained at Ellis Island during the Second World War until it closed in 1954. Some quotes from these interviews are included by topic:

Packing to leave home for the US

Emma and William Greiner, immigrated from Italy
in 1925 at age 11 and 12

EMMA: Yes, yes. It was very disrupting, you know, to pack and break up your home. Oh, we took, of course, our clothing and some pieces of like china that were very, very special. And maybe a blanket or two also that were real good wool, that we felt maybe we may not be able to get here in the United States.
WILLIAM: Of course, there was pressure to leave things there but they accommodated us kids. And I brought a lot of things that (he laughs) I now wonder why I was so attached, for instance, to greeting cards. They were very, very romantic in those days and they were through the years birthdays and so on. And a few toys. My tin soldiers. I don't remember whether I brought anything about my small railroad, um.
WILLIAM: Oh, yes, yes. And then I had, uh, what we called a "Magic Lantern." It was a ... Projector. Very, very primitive, (he laughs) compared to today's.
EMMA: And I was hoping he wouldn't bring those soldiers because when we played together at home, you see I was German and he was French, you know, and he would always decimate all my soldiers, kill them all off, so we had quite a different set in our lives (she laughs).

The steamship

Morris Abraham Schneider, immigrated
from Poland in 1920 at age 10

When we got on the "Rotterdam", we had a field day. One, I was never on ship before and it was absolutely, I was awed by it. It was overwhelming. All the people and boarding the ship, it was all a brand new experience. We left Rotterdam, we set sail and about a half hour after the ship started my sister got very sea sick. It took us fourteen days to cross the Atlantic and in the entire crossing, she was in steerage, and the only time she came up for a breath of fresh air was just about a half hour before we saw the Statue of Liberty. Now the experience of the ship, being young was an adventure in that particular situation, because we were on the lowest level of the ship. We couldn't go aboard. Some kids were more adventurous. My brother and I, we would sneak aboard, we were always chased. And we saw some people who traveled maybe in first or second class and we looked upon them as royalty, but we were confined primarily to steerage. **S**teerage was one huge place. It was the lowest deck. The stench, it was the summer, in August, the humidity, the heat, having no air conditioning, having cooling facilities, it was very hot, compounded by the fact that there must have been anywhere from two to three hundred people in that huge cavernous area. The body smells, the body odors, the lack of sanitation, the lack of any kind of

facilities, washing, there was no such thing as washing or bathing. The stench, the vermin, it was rat infested. But, being children, I guess, had its advantages, in this case because we always tried to get out of there. We tried to go, get out of the steerage, get out of the babble of voices, get out of the heat and the stench and get on the main deck. We all were permitted to stay there for a little while but we were constantly chased. But the crossing went for us, for me in particular, went very quickly.

Statue of Liberty

Angelo Vacca, immigrated from Italy
in 1909 at age 11

And then somebody came over, he says, "We're going over to," Oh, I think they used to call it The Battery, at that time, in New York. He said, "We're going to The Battery." He said, "We've got to go on a boat." Oh, my mother was, started to get sick when she heard the name boat again, she started to get sick. And that was, well, what I know now was like a ferry boat, you know, and we were all over there. And it was a trip from New York to The Battery. It was a wonderful trip for me. I looked all over the place. And that's when I saw the Statue of Liberty. Well, I had seen a picture of it, pictures of it in different books. I thought it was a beautiful, a beautiful monument, and it still is.

Ellis Island

Jack Giacomo Mario Lorenzo Ubaldi, immigrated
from the port of Genoa, Italy in 1918 at age 7

Well, they expected my father to be here, to claim us. And he wasn't. Nobody came to claim us. So we were all brought here on this island. And my mother was frightened because he wasn't here. My sisters it was the same way. I couldn't figure it out, anything anyway. So the communication between friends here in New York and my father seemed, or from here, I don't know how it worked, it didn't work out until almost six days later that he was able to come here. He was waiting for us in Scranton, we were waiting here. So the communication was, you know, really snafued there.

Well, we went through physicals. Doctor checked us all over. Here was the first day that I came here when they fed us that I got big glasses of milk and white bread, which to me, I never felt bread, that soft bread. It was, you know, like manna from Heaven. And I was treated very nicely here. And, (he pauses) but, you live on rumors. People are being sent back. People for one reason or for another. And you never know what is happening, what is going on. And so my mother was crying her heart out, and my sisters were worried also, and they cried. Because the

trip coming over wasn't a cruise. And to go back and go through the same thing, or being blown up, you know, it was a horrible thought for that. So, those are the six days that came by, they went by like that.

Reunion with family members

Anna Klarich, immigrated from Yugoslavia
in 1920 at age 18

Oh. It was so beautiful to see her. Ten years I didn't see her. I mean, she looked different, and I was so grown up. I was only eight years old when she left and then I was eighteen. I was a young lady. Well, I came and she was hugging me. We both cry. We all cry, you know. Then we said, we went to the dining room and they served us. I don't know what they serve us, the main meal, but the French bread and butter was so delicious because we didn't have much on the boat, you know. It was so good. And my aunt say, "You want some more," and I was ashamed to take another slice, but I said, "I like it." She said, "Just eat because," she said, "I know you didn't have that on the boat", so we did. So it was nice. And then I came in my mother's apartment and she had lace curtains. We didn't have that in Europe. And I was just admiring these lace curtains. They were so beautiful, you know. And my mother said, "There are cookies in the kitchen. When you want, you just go and help yourself, you know." And then I said, "Oh, tomorrow morning when I'm going to get up I'm going to get those cookies." I got up six o'clock in the morning and she gave me her night gown, big night gown. I put it on, and then I went in the kitchen and I got myself four big cookies and I put them on my lap and I'm admiring the pictures on my mother's wall and those curtains just, they just fascinate me. And I'm eating my cookies and admiring, and my mother peeked in my bedroom and she said, "Oh, my God!" And I was so embarrassed that I had these cookies in my lap and eating that she told me to do it. She said, "Don't be embarrassed. Just eat it and eat all you want."

Changing names in the US

Gertrude (Gudrun) Hildebrandt Moller, immigrated
from Germany in 1929 at age 9

I was born Gudrun Hildebrandt and married Moller, Mr. Moller, who was from Denmark. He immigrated here many years later and we met in New York. However when I started school in Chicago, where I grew up, needless to say, first of all, I couldn't speak a word of English, and I was the only child in the school that couldn't speak English. And (she laughs) it wasn't too happy the first couple of years but my mama said "Take heart because some day you're going to be able to speak two languages and all the ones that were teasing you will speak only

Fig. 4 From Bavaria, Germany
Fig. 5 From Finland
Fig. 6 From southeastern Europe
Fig. 7 From the Netherlands
| DOI / NPS / Statue of Liberty NM and Ellis Island, New York; photos: Augustus Sherman

Fig. 8 From Italy **Fig. 9** From Hungary **Fig. 10** From Albania **Fig. 11** From Russia
| DOI / NPS / Statue of Liberty NM and Ellis Island, New York; photos: Augustus Sherman

one". And it was true. She was always right. So, my teacher suggested, since none of the children could pronounce Gudrun, which is an old Germanic-Scandinavian name, and a very beautiful name (I hear), she gave me a list of girls' names to choose from. So that all the kids could converse, you know, know what to call me. So I picked the name starting with a g, as with my name, and it was Gertrude. I'm not very happy with it, but it has stuck with me all of these years.

Augustus Sherman Photograph Collection

One of the more significant groups of photographs in the collection belonged to Augustus Sherman, former clerk at the Ellis Island immigration station. His status as clerk gave him access to the immigrants that a regular inspector would not have had and resulted in an incredible collection of immigrant portraits, documenting that period of mass immigration. ▸ Fig. 4–11

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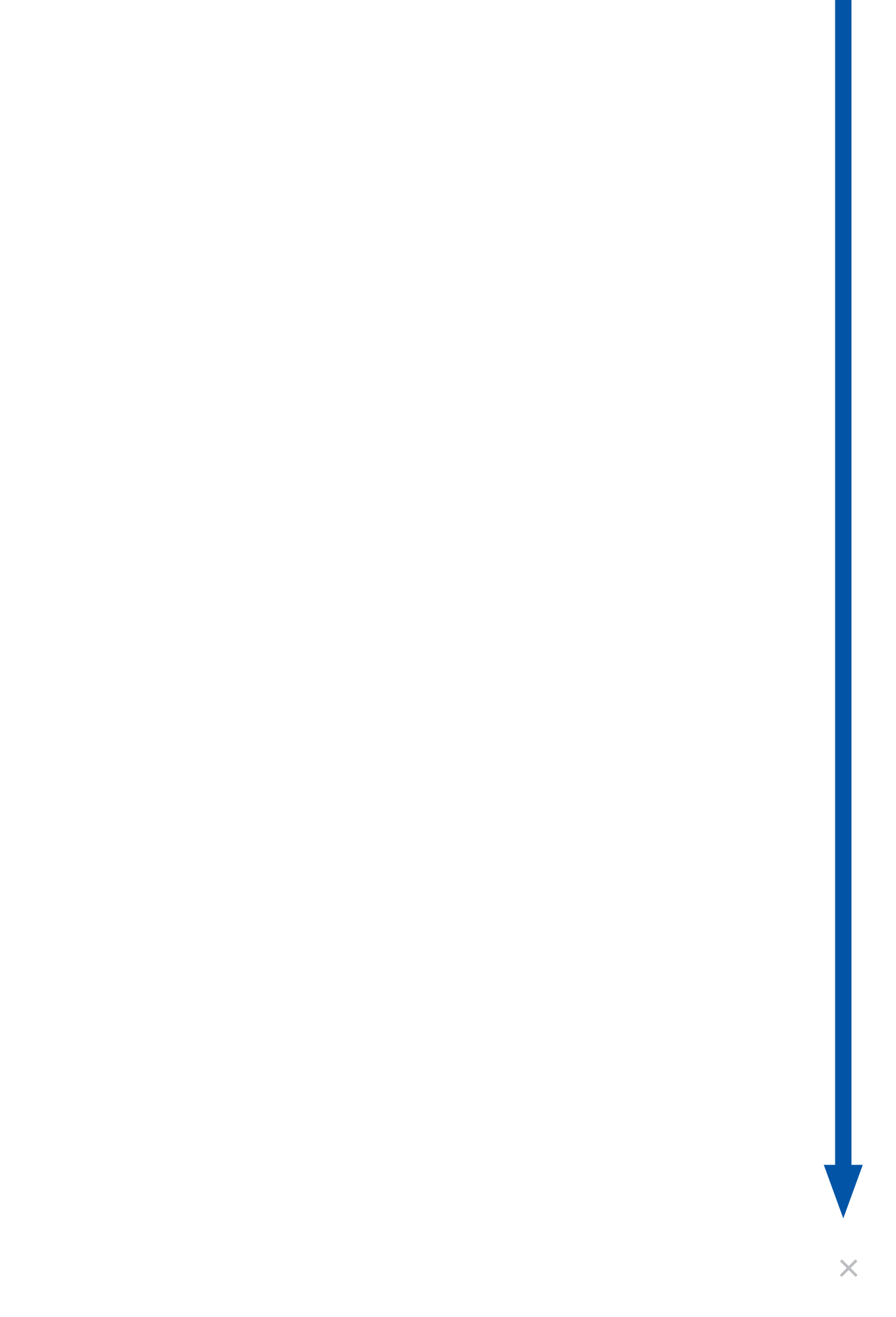

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Alina Helwig, Léontine Meijer-van Mensch,
Dagmar Neuland-Kitzerow, Elisabeth Tietmeyer

Editors:
Elisabeth Tietmeyer, Alina Helwig,
Charlotte Piepenbrock, Lisa Richert

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The starting point of this publication is the presentation *daHEIM: Glances into Fugitive Lives* realized in Berlin by the Museum Europäischer Kulturen with the artist barbara caveng and the initiative KUNSTASYL in 2016/17. Against the background of the situation of immigrants fleeing to Europe since 2015, it highlights the experiences and dreams of its protagonists from a residential hostel in the Berlin district of Spandau. Biographical examples of people who have migrated within, to and from Europe in the last two centuries are brought into comparison with current fates. This demonstrates that flight is not a new phenomenon, but has always been with us – at various times and in various places. Eleven authors from Europe, North and South America describe individual migration experiences, looking back as far as the 19th century from 2016. Over and beyond this, European migration movements are placed in global contexts, and forms of institutional migration remembrance presented.

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