

## CHAPTER 7

# PHOTOGRAPHING BYSTANDERS

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**F**or discussing the concept of “bystanders,” photos appear to be an ideal source.<sup>1</sup> After all, there are people who are neither “perpetrators” nor “victims” in many pictures taken—especially in the early phases of the persecution of Jews in Germany. Frozen in time, these onlookers are there on paper or on the screen. We can magnify, frame, and scrutinize them, searching for concrete evidence of those who passed by or looked on at a certain incident. Yet, what on first glance might seem obvious might not hold up to a second viewing. Can photos really help us understand more about the fleeting relationship between “perpetrators,” “victims,” and “bystanders?” Can they help us to grasp what the role of the people not actively involved in persecution was? What is the role of the camera? Why do onlookers or passersby smile? Do they like what they see? Or are they just glad to be having their photograph taken? Is there any way of telling what the people thought and felt—what they mumbled, said, or shouted?<sup>2</sup> Taking these questions as a starting point, this chapter aims to discuss these interwoven layers of photographing “bystanders” by analyzing a series of pictures taken on 10 November 1938 in Baden-Baden.

Like any other source, photos need to be contextualized. Thus, in a first step it will be discussed where and under which circumstances the November pogrom, still sometimes referred to as *crystal night*, was photographed. In a second step, the course that the pogrom in Baden-Baden took will be sketched. What happened in the town? Who took the initiative, and who took the pictures? In a last step, three photos of the series will be analyzed in depth to explore what we can learn about (the concept of) “bystanders” by looking at them.

### Photographing the Pogrom

On 11 November 1938, the *New York Times* published the first two pictures of the pogrom that did not yet have a name. Flown from Berlin (via Amsterdam) to London and transferred from there by radio photo across the Atlantic, one pixelated image portrayed a burning synagogue in Berlin, while the other one showed the broken window panes of a lamp shop on the capital’s fashionable boulevard, Kurfürstendamm (fig. 7.1).<sup>3</sup> Even though it has been reproduced so often, it has become almost iconic;<sup>4</sup> the most striking fact about the image is what is missing: visible violence.

The photo does not show the act of the destruction itself, the smashing of the windows and the looting of the shop. It only portrays shards,



**Figure 7.1.** Photo by an unknown press photographer, 10 November 1938, *New York Times*, 11 November 1938. (AP Images/Hollandse Hoogte.)

broken and empty shop windows—that is, the results of the violence against things—and some passersby. Violence against people is left out of the picture, even though it was massive and an unknown—but high—number of people were killed in the pogrom.<sup>5</sup> Therefore, the photo epitomizes what is actually evoked semantically by the phrase “crystal night”: the citizens wake up after a good night’s sleep and are surprised by the shards. Other, more evocative photos (and other, more evocative labels for the pogrom) were suppressed by the Nazi regime. This reflects the regime’s anxiety that these photos could be sent abroad and used by the international press in the same vain as, for example, the photograph of the inmates of an early concentration camp in Berlin had been used.<sup>6</sup> Even though neither the Gestapo nor the Reich Ministry of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda (RMVP) actually banned taking photos in November 1938, spreading negative news about the regime could lead to a serious retribution according to the Treachery Act of 1934.<sup>7</sup> The *Manchester Guardian* reported on 10 November 1938, “photographers who tried to take pictures of the wrecking operation were stopped by the police and one American photographer was arrested but later released.”<sup>8</sup> Even the ambassador of Colombia was stopped and (briefly) detained by the police for taking pictures, causing a serious diplomatic incident.<sup>9</sup> Apart from the police—busy arresting Jewish citizens on 10 November—ordinary Germans felt compelled to watch out, too. When the accountant Rudolf Neubauer tried to photograph the destroyed shop underneath his apartment in Berlin Schöneberg around midday on 10 November 1938, he was stopped by passersby and taken to the nearest police precinct. There, his camera and two films were “confiscated.”<sup>10</sup> Moreover, the press photographers in Germany knew—and took into account—that photos shedding an all too negative light on the regime would not be printed in Germany or allowed to leave the country anyway. Günter Beukert, one of the four photographers working for the Associated Press in the first night of the pogrom in Berlin, recalled after the war that out of the thirty-four pictures he presented to the RMVP, only a few got clearance for publication.<sup>11</sup> Furthermore, taking photos of SA (*Sturmabteilung*) or SS (*Schutzstaffel*) “in action” was a dangerous endeavor, as the perpetrators often were drunk and/or in a state of hysteria and therefore prone to attack those who stood nearby. Even during the blockade of April Fool’s Day in 1933, which was staged for the (international) press in a well-organized, disciplined manner, a film operator filming the scene in Berlin for a German newsreel was attacked by an SA man.<sup>12</sup> Strikingly, today’s public archives only contain around two dozen pictures of ransacked Jewish businesses in Berlin—all but one taken after the perpetrators had left.<sup>13</sup> As it was even more difficult and

dangerous for them to take photos, none of these was taken by a Jew. As with other crimes scenes from the Holocaust, the view of the persecuted is missing in the visual evidence of the pogrom.<sup>14</sup>

While motifs were restricted in Berlin, non-Jews were usually allowed to take photos more freely in the provinces of the Reich. For their comparative study *Vor aller Augen* (In plain view), Klaus Hesse and Philipp Springer have collected photographs of the pogrom from twenty-four towns—all but two (Essen and Düsseldorf) in the backwaters of Germany where there was no foreign consulate nearby.<sup>15</sup> It is a telling fact that these images mainly depict ransacked shops and the destruction of synagogues. Apart from the photos of that “event” collected by Hesse and Springer, even two 8mm films (from Bielefeld and Bühl) have survived, showing the flames and the reaction of nearby citizens to fires.<sup>16</sup> In contrast, the—rather frequent—acts of humiliation of citizens before their deportation to one of the three main concentration camps for men (Buchenwald, Dachau, and Sachsenhausen) were photographed less often. Hesse and Springer only list seven places. Baden-Baden was one of them.<sup>17</sup>

### The Pogrom in Baden-Baden

From 7 November 1938, the day that Herschel Grynszpan shot the German ambassadorial legate Ernst vom Rath in Paris, a deluge of violence and destruction swept over the Reich. With Hitler's consent, this deluge was turned into a full-scale pogrom after Rath died on the evening of Wednesday, 9 November 1938 by the RMVP and head of the Nazi Party in Berlin, Joseph Goebbels. During the following night, SS, SA, Nazi Party officials, sympathizers, and soldiers of fortune committed horrible acts of violence in nearly all the cities, towns, and villages of Germany (including Austria) where Jews were still living.<sup>18</sup>

In contrast, things stayed calm in Baden-Baden, a well-known spa in southwest Germany with approximately thirty-three thousand inhabitants, where Fyodor Dostoyevsky had set his famous novella *The Gambler*. Why nothing happened remains unclear. Baden-Baden was regarded by the Jewish weekly *Der Israelit* as early as 1930 as a “hotbed for the most horrible agitation against Jews.”<sup>19</sup> However, after a series of incidents, public protest formed in the summer of 1930, and the new Nazi mayor agreed to a kind of a truce in 1933 with the influential lobby of hotel and sanatoria owners. As business was running low after the Great Depression, it was agreed to prevent attacks or molestations of Jewish guests and citizens in order not to further weaken the

spa business. The relative quiet in Baden-Baden led to a clear rise of Jewish residents—from 310 in 1933 to 385 in 1937. When business was back to normal again in 1937, the policy was changed, and signs reading “Forbidden for Jews” were put up all over the town.<sup>20</sup>

In the early hours of Thursday, 10 November 1938, SS and police forces started arresting Jewish men using lists that the Gestapo had assembled. Eighty men were taken to the precinct. There, they were registered and had to wait for hours. The former high school teacher Arthur Flehinger, who was among the arrested, stated in a report to the Wiener Library in 1955 that he had the impression that they had to wait until the crowd outside was large enough.<sup>21</sup> At about 11 a.m., the Jews were ordered to take off their hats and were led through the streets of the town. On long stretches of the march, the men had to walk through a corridor of people. When they finally reached the synagogue, built in 1899 on a little hill off the road, a crowd had gathered there, too. While being abused, the Jews had to walk up the stairs to the synagogue one by one. They had to enter their place of worship without covering their heads, and Flehinger—who, as a teacher, was harassed even more than the other Jews—was forced to read a passage from Hitler's *Mein Kampf*. When he did not read loud enough, he was beaten by the SS. Subsequently, all bareheaded men were forced to sing the Nazi Party anthem, “Horst-Wessel-Lied.”

At about 2 p.m., the men were taken to the nearby Hotel Central, which was (still) owned by a Jew. The group was led by two men carrying a sign in the form of a Star of David onto which was written, “God does not forgive us.” After their arrival, those who were ill or over the age of sixty were released, while the others were officially taken into “protective custody” (*Schutzhaft*). Meanwhile, the synagogue was plundered and set afire, and the three remaining businesses in town owned by Jews were ransacked. In the afternoon, fifty-two men were taken to the railway station, put on a fright carriage, and taken to the concentration camp Dachau.<sup>22</sup> Because of the inhumane conditions there, one of them—the fifty-eight-year-old Alfred Kaufmann—died. The others returned home after some very exhausting and disturbing weeks. Most of them emigrated. Many of those who stayed behind were deported to France in October 1940, put into the internment camp Gurs, and ultimately taken from there to Auschwitz Birkenau.<sup>23</sup>

The photos discussed here are part of a series of at least two dozen pictures taken by Josef Friedrich Coepicus, the owner of a photo studio in Baden-Baden. His daughter told a local newspaper in 1998 that her father had been an opponent of the Nazi regime and had therefore been banned from his profession in 1939.<sup>24</sup> Whether this holds true is difficult

to ascertain. There is certainly no membership card of the Nazi Party in the files of the former Berlin Document Center in the German Federal Archives (Bundesarchiv) in Berlin. Therefore, we can assume he was not a member of the party, let alone part of the local Nazi Party inner circle. Yet, he was most certainly not an outspoken critic of the regime. Otherwise, he could not have taken the photos the way he did. The pictures taken inside the synagogue in particular indicate that the photographer was known to and accepted by the local police and SS forces.

In 1965, Coeppicus sold the main body of the picture series to the town museum of Baden-Baden. These pictures are archived on postcard paper in the municipal archive.<sup>25</sup> Whether Coeppicus had made these special prints before or after 1945 is unclear. If he developed his images on postcard paper before 1945, he most probably did so in order to sell them. That would not have been unusual. In the little town of Norden, the local drugstore owner took photos of a public humiliation of so-called race defilers and sold these as postcards, too.<sup>26</sup> Still, it remains unclear whether Coeppicus took the photos to do business with them or just for himself—for documentation. As early as 1950, one of the photos (fig. 7.4) was published in a special half-century edition of the then popular German magazine *Quick*—albeit in context of an article about the effects of the Nuremberg Laws.<sup>27</sup> Since then, this picture has been shown so many times that it has become iconic, even though it has often been presented with contradictory information as to the specific location and events it showed.<sup>28</sup>

### Photographing the Pogrom in Baden-Baden

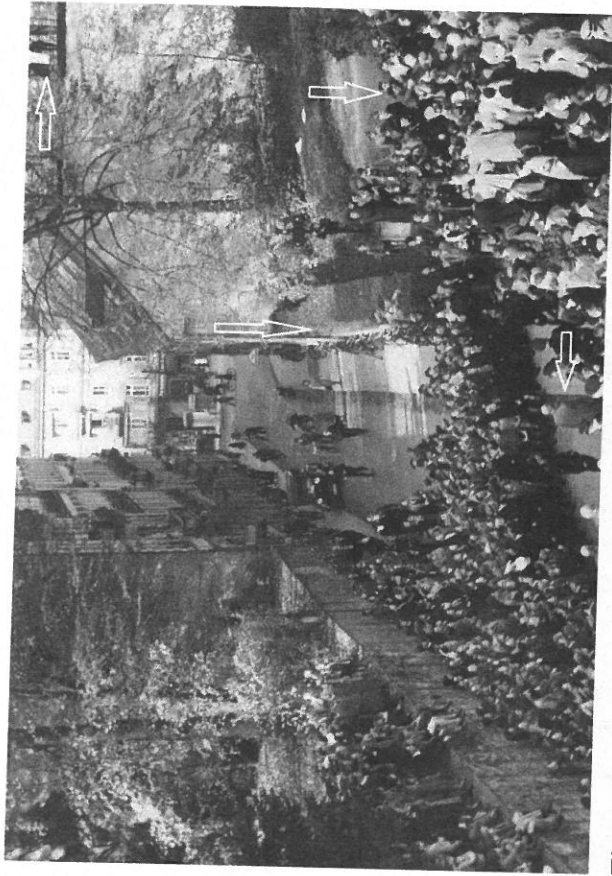
One of the first photos of the series was taken from a balcony of the house opposite the precinct (fig. 7.2). *Polizeihauptwache* can be read over the main entrance. The picture shows the last of the Jewish men—men above middle age, well dressed, with ties and in winter coats, at least two even carrying an umbrella—walking in rows of three just after they had left the precinct. Two of them are still wearing hats; a third one is about to take his off. The men are closely surrounded by twelve SS and five police officers wearing their distinct black leather helmets. The SS apparently had just “reminded” the men of the order to walk bareheaded. On the right side of the column—between SS and the onlookers—there is a group of men with coats and hats. Since they obviously have an official function but do not wear uniforms, they are most probably Gestapo agents. Around them, the onlookers stand in two dense lines up to seven ranks deep, forming a corridor. While what



**Figure 7.2.** Photo by Josef Friedrich Coeppicus, Baden-Baden, 10 November 1938. (Stadtmuseum/-archiv Baden-Baden.)

seems to be a class of schoolchildren to the right are passively watching from the front row, someone in the back row is making an aggressive gesture, pointing his right hand at the Jews. It looks as if he is shouting. To the left, the line of people is thinner—only three ranks deep. That leaves enough space for people passing through. Several people are sitting on the window ledges of the building from which Coeppicus took the picture, watching relaxed. One, judging from the cap he is wearing, might be a hotel boy, and it looks as if he is preparing to take a photo himself momentarily.

The next photo depicts the events after the march had reached the synagogue (fig. 7.3). One by one, the Jews had to walk up the stairs to the temple—through a corridor formed by (at least) one police officer, some SS men, and the onlookers. While one victim is already near the top, another is waiting at the bottom of the stairs for the signal to move. At the bottom of the picture, the heads of the following victims come into sight. Flehinger remembers swear words being shouted and described the ascent as “running the gauntlet.”<sup>29</sup> Looking carefully, one can indeed see a boy or young man leaning forward between two SS men and trying to hit or actually hitting the bald man who is high up

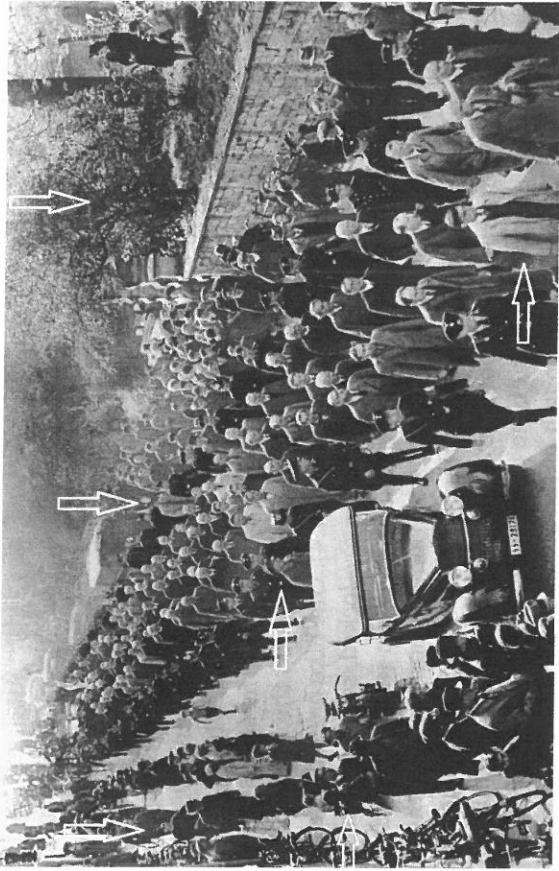


**Figure 7.3.** Photo by Josef Friedrich Coeppicus, Baden-Baden, 10 November 1938. (Stadtmuseum/-archiv Baden-Baden.)

the stairs. The SS men do not seem to mind; at least in the moment the picture was taken they do not move to interfere.

Again, many onlookers do their very best to get a good view of the scene. Some boys are clutching to the lamppost, while others have mounted the wall of a little park to the left. Others had even gone to the rooftop of the building in the back. The photographer Coeppicus had found an excellent vantage point as well by managing to enter an adjoining house. At the decisive moment, he was even able to get into the synagogue and take pictures of the humiliations as well as the fire-raising.

After taking one photo of the men being led out, capturing another photographer running down the stairs to get a good shot, Coeppicus took the next photo at about 2 p.m. (fig. 7.4). For this photo, Coeppicus positioned himself on the top of the wall, cutting off the synagogue grounds from the little street (marked with an arrow on fig. 7.3). On this third photo of the series—following a near classical composition of the diagonal leading into the picture—the second part of the humiliation march is depicted (fig. 7.4). Unsurprisingly, the older of the Jewish men in particular are looking much more tired and distressed. Hour-long humiliation, fear, and physical exhaustion had already taken their toll. Compared to the other two photos, the number of onlookers has somewhat shrunk; for example, there are now no more than a dozen schoolchildren to be



**Figure 7.4.** Photo by Josef Friedrich Coeppicus, Baden-Baden, 10 November 1938. (Bundesarchiv.)

seen. Maybe they got bored and went home for dinner or to do their homework.<sup>30</sup> Yet, the remaining approximately eighty adults continue to form a sort of corridor through which the Jews have to walk—even though the symmetry is disturbed by an SS car parking in the curb and some onlookers seem to be moving along. A young boy, too, is following the march right in the space between the SS and the onlookers. On top of the wall, across from Coeppicus, another man is taking a photograph. He too can do so in plain view and—assuming my analysis of the man on the window ledge on the first photo of the series is right—is the fourth photographer of the event. The SS man in the bush to the left of him does not seem to mind and does not move.<sup>31</sup> Just below the SS man, at the entrance of the side street, there are a couple of men smoking. Opposite them, on the other side of the marching group, there are five men in white dresses: painters or glaziers. Behind them is a postman with his bicycle. He very likely has delivered the mail to quite a few of the humiliated men in the past years. It is an interesting fact that one of the Gestapo men to be seen in an earlier scene (fig. 7.2) “reappears” on this photo. On the far left of the cordon of SS and police officers, he is seen wearing a light coat and a dark hat with a very characteristic white hatband. Two more agents stand near him in the column. It is quite obvious that the other agents had not withdrawn from the scene either. They were still around, watching the scene—observing the onlookers.

## Bystanders?

Considering that 10 November was a Thursday, a normal workday, it is striking that there are so many onlookers in the photos Coeppicus took. In 1938, there were hardly any unemployed in Germany. Did the people take a day or some time off their work to watch? Whatever the case, those who were there had made an effort to be at the scene. Quite a few took their bikes: they can be seen leaning against the wall on the last photo of the series presented here (fig. 7.4). One bike has a briefcase still strapped to its rack. None of the bikes are locked, so their owners must be nearby. In his 1955 report about the pogrom in Baden-Baden, Flehinger stated: "The decent citizens refrained from showing themselves on the street. The onlookers that were to be seen were mob."<sup>32</sup> Fair enough, there are only about three hundred men, women, and children—that is, about 1 percent of the population of Baden-Baden—seen standing near or around the march of the Jews. In addition, all photos depict people who are keeping a distance to the scene of the humiliation march or just pass by. Especially in the background of the second photo, there are quite a few citizens on the street not moving toward the scene, while there are two women (quite possibly mother and daughter) walking between the house and the line on the first picture of the series (fig. 7.2) and a mail carrier on duty or an elderly lady pushing a pram on the third (fig. 7.4). But these people are a minority—in the pictures. We see, of course, neither the people who decided to stay at home or in their offices or shops, nor those who just watched from behind their window curtains. Yet, we also do not see possible onlookers in the dead angle of the camera. Nonetheless, there is a certain bias—or wishful thinking—in Flehinger's statement. In contrast to what the teachers stated seventeen years after the pogrom, the streets are full of what appears to be fairly ordinary citizens and not an uncontrolled and uncontrollable mob.

Even though there are a few workers—that is, the men dressed in white—men wearing suits, ties, and hats dominate the scene. That workers are underrepresented has probably nothing to do with the (rather romantic) notion that workers opposed the Nazi regime more than the middle class did. Rather, the self-employed and white-collar workers worked in the town's center—where the humiliations took place. In addition, the fact that Baden-Baden was a spa and did not have a large industry certainly played a role. Apart from suits and hats, short trousers can actually be seen very often. If there really is a whole school class in the first photo, the teacher, probably in cooperation with the

Hitler Youth, must have organized the visit to the scene of humiliation as an "outing" or at least granted a special leave. As discipline was strict and penalties were severe, it seems very unlikely that so many pupils simply bunked off.

It is remarkable that some onlookers made a real effort to look, clutching to lampposts, craning their necks, or running toward the scene. They behave as if they are watching a spectacle, a parade, or a carnival procession.<sup>33</sup> Those who sit on the walls and window ledges would have come early, securing a good spot. Most of the onlookers are indeed just looking. Some keep their hands in their pockets; others fold their arms. It is difficult to ascertain what they think as we see some excited and some smiling faces. Yet the majority is rather expressionless and the camera too far away to offer a clearer picture. However, there is one man (fig. 7.4) carrying a child on his arm. He obviously wanted the child to see; apparently, the man did not at all mind what he saw.

Even though only a few people were actually stepping out of the line to shout at or beat the humiliated men, it is obvious that most of the onlookers formed the corridor through which the Jews had to walk. In so doing, they blocked possible escape routes, which in turn made the guarding much easier. In this regard, the onlookers involuntarily became part of the persecution process.<sup>34</sup> Based on eyewitness accounts recorded during a postwar trial against twenty-three citizens accused of actively taking part in the pogrom, Angelika Schindler even goes a step further. In her study on the history of the Jews in Baden-Baden, she argues that the high number of onlookers in front of the synagogue led to a delay of the humiliation march, which in turn led to even more violence against the Jews waiting at the bottom of the stairs.<sup>35</sup>

The perpetrators did not use the direct route from the precinct to the synagogue but instead marched the Jews in a detour through large parts of the town. The march thus aimed to expose the Jewish men to as many onlookers as possible. The humiliation of the men was a public matter. It had to be public because otherwise it simply would not have worked as such.<sup>36</sup> After all, the pillory, too, was a very public space. If the Jews were to be shamed and feel their legal and social exclusion, other members of society needed to be present.<sup>37</sup> Flehinger's notion that the perpetrators waited until a crowd had gathered to watch supports this argument. So does the fact that the Jewish men were forced to walk bareheaded—gravely adding to their humiliation. The predominantly male onlookers, even those who really just watched, were addressed. Willingly or not, they became an audience and thus part of the humiliation procedure. Here, the nexus between ex- and inclusion processes and practices becomes strikingly clear.

The fact that the onlookers were in turn watched by the Gestapo mixing with the crowd reminds us that the audience was under scrutiny, too, and takes the argument into another direction. The borders between onlookers and perpetrators were not as clear-cut as they might seem at first glance. Also, a citizen may or may have not entered the scene of humiliation, but those who came and stopped to watch knew they had to behave, at least act inconspicuously. Any open act of resistance or ostentatious gesture of discontent might have had consequences that were difficult to predict and assess. Still, in the third photo (fig. 7.4), there is one man with a worker's cap behind the car who behaves in an odd way, approaching the formation of the march. Why he did so, alas, we do not know. Still, there is no report of any disruption of the march by onlookers.

What about the pictures and their maker? Was Coeppicus a passive onlooker, a "bystander" himself, or a witness? Since we do not know why he took the photos, this is difficult to ascertain. He seems to have taken most of his photos in a rather detached mode, with a "cold eye."<sup>38</sup> Yet, one cannot deny that taking so many photos of humiliated men—especially those inside the synagogue—also reveals a certain voyeuristic trait. Even worse, within the context of persecution, cameras can become weapons. To come back to the photos taken in Norden, it is clear that the humiliated did not want to be photographed. One woman turned her head down, while the other held her hand in front of her face.<sup>39</sup> A similar reaction cannot be seen in the photos in Baden—simply because the photos were taken from a certain distance and because the (other) onlookers deflected the attention or blocked the view. Most likely, the men did not know that they were photographed. Had they known, this would have undoubtedly added gravely to their humiliation.

To open the concept of "bystanders," we need to consider the different perspectives on the incident. The SS, the Gestapo, and the police addressed the onlookers. As an audience, the onlookers were essential to the process of humiliating the Jews. Even though the crowd could not be completely trusted and was therefore under observation, the silence of the onlookers could be read as consent, legitimizing the perpetrators' deeds. In that—and in blocking possible escape routes—the onlookers and perpetrators became partners in crime. Excluding the Jews was one of the vital elements of the envisioned German *Volksgemeinschaft* (people's community).<sup>40</sup> In its reporting about the events of 10 November 1938, the local Nazi paper even went a step further and portrayed the onlookers as the real perpetrators, claiming that the police and the SS had to stop a nameless crowd from assaulting the synagogue.<sup>41</sup> The individual onlookers, in turn, knew that they were being monitored, too—by the Gestapo and other members of the crowd. Still, just by being

there, they saw a final unbridgeable rift opening up between them and their (former) neighbors. To the victims, walking through the streets of their hometown bareheaded, the onlookers functioned as a wall defining the borders of the path they had to walk amplifying the feeling of humiliation. For some, the crowd would have looked like a threatening posture one had to expect to be attacked by. Others knew the audience would protect them to a certain degree. As long as there were onlookers, murder was unlikely to be committed, because the onlookers would have to be regarded as potential witnesses.

By and large, analyzing the photos from the pogrom in Baden-Baden highlights that "bystander" is a rather one-dimensional term. The dividing line between "perpetrators" and "bystanders" was not at all as clear-cut as the concept indicates. The groups were linked in more than one way and their social functions tended to overlap. Yet, we should keep in mind that the term "victim" can be equally unfitting. Hans Hauser, once a Jewish citizen of Baden-Baden who can be seen wearing a light trench coat in the forefront of the third picture (fig. 7.4), was able to emigrate to the United States in time and fought his way back into Germany as a GI. When Hauser visited his hometown at the end of the war, some people of Baden-Baden immediately offered him the post of mayor. He declined.<sup>42</sup>

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## Notes

1. For a general discussion of the importance of photos of the Holocaust see Sybil Milton, "Photography as Evidence of the Holocaust," *History of Photography* 23, no. 4 (1999): 303-312.
2. Cf. Michael Wildt, *Volksgemeinschaft als Selbstermächtigung: Gewalt gegen Juden in der deutschen Provinz 1919 bis 1939* (Hamburg, 2007), 9-10.
3. "Jews Are Ordered to Leave Munich," *New York Times*, 11 November 1938. The *New York Times* published three additional Associated Press photos on 18 November

1938. See "Britain Questions Colonies on Jews," *New York Times*, 18 November 1938. The shop on the photo is the Beleuchtungshaus des Westens run by Wilhelm Philippi at Kurfürstendamm 206. After the pogrom, Philippi sold the business to the non-Jew and emigrated to Argentina. Cf. Christoph Kreuztmüller, *Final Sale in Berlin: The Destruction of Jewish Commercial Activity, 1930–1945* (New York, 2017 [2015]), 196.
4. For a discussion of the concept of "icons," see Cornelia Brink, *Ikonen der Vernichtung: Öffentlicher Gebrauch von Fotografien aus Nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslagern* (Berlin, 1998).
5. Raphael Gross, *November 1938: Die Katastrophe vor der Katastrophe* (Munich, 2013), 122.
6. Irene von Götz and Christoph Kreuztmüller, "Spiegel des frühen NS-Terrors: Zwei Foto-Ikone und ihre Geschichte," *Fotogeschichte: Beiträge zur Geschichte und Ästhetik der Fotografie* 34, no. 131 (2014): 73–75.
7. Bernhard Dörner, "Heimtücke": *Das Gesetz als Waffe—Kontrolle, Abschreckung und Verfolgung in Deutschland 1933–1945* (Paderborn, 1998).
8. "Photographer Arrested," *Manchester Guardian*, 10 November 1938.
9. Hermann Simon, "Man hatte das Gefühl, dass sich hier ein ganzes Volk schämte": Der Novemberpogrom im Spiegel diplomatischer Berichte aus Berlin," in *Es brennt! Antijüdischer Terror im November 1938*, ed. Andreas Nachama, Uwe Neumärker, and Hermann Simon (Berlin, 2008), 123–124; Christian Dirks and Hermann Simon, eds., *From the Inside to the Outside: The 1938 November Pogrom in Diplomatic Reports from Germany* (Berlin, 2014), 78–79.
10. Landesarchiv Berlin, A Pr. Br. Rep. 030, tit. 95, 21620 (Berichte über politische Vorfälle in Berlin, Bd. 5, 1938–1939).
11. Günter Beukert, "Als Bildjournalist in der 'Reichskristallnacht,'" in *Die Gleichschaltung der Bilder: Zur Geschichte der Pressefotografie 1930–36*, ed. Diethart Kerbs, Walter Uka, Brigitte Walz-Richter (Berlin, 1983), 191–193; Klaus Hesse, "Vorläufig keine Bilder bringen": Zur bildlichen Überlieferung des Novemberpogroms," in Nachama et al., *Es brennt!* 138–139.
12. Christoph Kreuztmüller, Hermann Simon, and Elisabeth Weber, *Ein Pogrom im Juni: Fotos antisemitischer Schmierreisen in Berlin 1938* (Berlin, 2013), 14.
13. See Christoph Kreuztmüller and Bjoern Weigel, *Kristallnacht? Bilder der Novemberpogrome 1938 in Berlin* (Berlin, 2013).
14. Christoph Kreuztmüller and Julia Werner, *Fixiert: Fotografische Quellen zur Verfolgung und Ermordung der Juden in Europa—Eine pädagogische Handreichung*, 2nd ed. (Bonn, 2016), 11. One of the few exceptions is a small series of photos Henry Bauer took of the destruction of his family home in Mannheim. See Museum of Jewish Heritage, New York, Id no. 1901.90. I would like to thank my colleague Aubrey Pomerance, Berlin, for this information.
15. Klaus Hesse and Philipp Springer, "Vor aller Augen": *Fotodokumente des nationalsozialistischen Terrors in der Provinz* (Essen, 2002), 89–116. Cf. Hesse, "Vorläufig keine Bilder bringen." An exception is Munich, where the city administration and Hitler's personal photographer Heinrich Hoffmann took photographs. Cf. Andreas Heusler and Tobias Weger, "Kristallnacht": *Gewalt gegen die Münchener Juden im November 1938* (Munich, 1998), 55–64.
16. See Dieter Klose, ed., *9.11.1938: Reichspogromnacht in Ostwestfalen-Lippe* (Detmold, 2007).
17. Hesse and Springer, "Vor aller Augen," 110–116. Cf. Hesse, "Vorläufig keine Bilder bringen."
18. Gross, *November 1938*, 41–56.
19. "Gegen die Überhandnehmende Judenhetze in Baden-Baden," *Der Israelit*, 31 July 1930.
20. Angelika Schindler, *Der verbrannte Traum: Jüdische Bürger und Gäste in Baden-Baden* (Baden-Baden, 1992), 115–127.
21. Report by Arthur Flehinger, 21 May 1955, in Wiener Library London, 048-EA-0559.
22. Schindler, *Der verbrannte Traum*, 128–144.
23. German Federal Archives, "The Memorial Book of the Federal Archives for the Victims of the Persecution of Jews in Germany (1933–1945)," last updated 2 May 2018, <https://www.bundesarchiv.de/gedenkbuch/index.html.en>. For a detailed analysis of the photographs of the deportation, see Andreas Nachama and Klaus Hesse, eds., *Vor aller Augen: Die Deportation der Juden und die Verstärkung ihres Eigentums—Fotografien aus Lörrach, 1940* (Berlin, 2011).
24. "Ein Gegner des Regimes," *Badener Tagblatt*, 19 November 1998. Cf. Hesse and Springer, "Vor aller Augen," 113.
25. Kreuztmüller and Werner, *Fixiert*, 28–35.
26. *Ibid.*, 20. Cf. Wildt, *Volksgemeinschaft*, 234–239; Astrid Parisius and Bernhard Parisius, "Rassenschande in Norden: Zur Geschichte von zwei Fotos, die das Bild jugendlicher von der NS-Zeit prägen," in *Ostfreesland 2004: Kalender für Jedermann* (Norden, 2008), 129–137.
27. Quick, "50 Jahre Weltgeschehen: Sonderheft zur Halbjahrhundertwende 1900–1950," (1950), 68–69.
28. Gerd Kühling, "Fotografien der Novemberpogrome und die Geschichte eines jahrzehntelangen Irrtums," *Aktives Museum Faschismus und Widerstand: Mitgliederrundbrief* 70 (2014): 6–9.
29. Report by Flehinger, 21 May 1955.
30. German schools in Nazi Germany usually ended around midday. Cf. Wolfgang Keim, *Erziehung unter der Nazi-Diktatur: Antidemokratische Potentiale, Machtantritt und Machtdurchsetzung* (Darmstadt, 1995).
31. For a detailed analysis of the perpetrators, see Kreuztmüller and Werner, *Fixiert*, 33–34.
32. Report by Flehinger, 21 May 1955.
33. Cf. Linda Conze, Ulrich Prehn, and Michael Wildt, "Sitzen, baden, durch die Straßen laufen: Überlegungen zu fotografischen Repräsentationen von 'Alltäglichem' und 'Unalltäglichem' im Nationalsozialismus," in *Fotografien im 20. Jahrhundert: Verbreitung und Vermittlung*, ed. Annelie Ramsbrock, Annette Vohwinckel, and Malte Zierenberg (Göttingen, 2013), 270–298.
34. Wildt, *Volksgemeinschaft*, 176.
35. Schindler, *Der verbrannte Traum*, 137.
36. Wildt, *Volksgemeinschaft*, 9–14.
37. Cf. Mark Roseman, *Barbarians from Our "Kulturkreis": German Jewish Perceptions of Nazi Perpetrators* (Göttingen, 2016), 29.
38. Dieter Reifarth and Viktoria Schmidt-Linsenhoff, "Die Kamera der Täter," in *Vernichtungskrieg: Verbrechen der Wehrmacht 1941–1944—Ausstellungskatalog*, ed. Bernd Boll (Hamburg, 1996), 475–503.
39. Kreuztmüller and Werner, *Fixiert*, 22–25.
40. For a discussion on the concept of the folk community, see Frank Bajohr and Michael Wildt, *Volksgemeinschaft: Neue Forschungen zur Gesellschaft des Nationalsozialismus* (Frankfurt, 2009).
41. "Aktion gegen die Juden," *Neues Badener Tageblatt*, 11 November 1938, reprinted in Schindler, *Der verbrannte Traum*, 143.



42. "Hans Hauser: 'Was sollte ich als Deutscher in Amerika?'—Stolperstein in der Vincenzstraße 26." *SWR*, 9 October 2014, <http://www.swr.de/swr2/stolpersteine/7596/1lqumiz/index.html>.

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