

Chapter 1

BACKGROUND



In her memoir, Ilse Davidsohn, a Jewish woman from Berlin, used the mythical image of the German oak to describe the attachment many of her German Jewish friends felt for Germany: like a German oak, they felt themselves to be “rooted endlessly deep in German soil, language, art and German thought.”¹ Nevertheless, faced with mounting discrimination and persecution in National Socialist Germany, many German Jews found it increasingly difficult to avoid considering emigration. Yet, many felt the notion of leaving Germany absurd, as Davidsohn observed: “One cannot just say to a German oak: From today on, you are not a German oak any longer. Pull out your roots from this soil and go away!”² The relationship between Jews and Germany had been a topic of discussion and self-reflection for centuries when the Nazis came to power, and Jews residing in German lands had encountered and reacted to “ever-changing definitions of themselves as public participants” for almost as long.³ However, the violence and determination with which the Nazis—and, subsequently, the majority of the German population—excluded Jews from all spheres of public social life were unprecedented. Both German Jews’ deep attachment to their German home and violent exclusion from German life marked their experience of leaving. Whether they individually framed it as exile, flight, or emigration, it was both psychologically exhausting and extremely difficult to carry out.

Leaving Germany

About 530 thousand Jews from diverse economic, social, political, religious, and cultural milieus lived in Germany during the Weimar Republic. They also

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identified with their Jewishness and Germanness in different ways.⁴ Although anti-Semitism existed to varying degrees and forms in Imperial and Weimar Germany, it was not a constant focus of Jewish consciousness and life as it later became, and “most of Germany’s Jews felt comfortable and safe enough to consider Germany their *Heimat*, or Home.”⁵ The great majority of Jews in Germany viewed themselves as integral to the German nation and culture. While there were smaller groups of secular Zionists and religious Orthodox Jews with very strong religious or cultural Jewish identification, even they saw themselves as Germans by nationality, with various commitments and ties to the Jewish faith, cultural tradition, and heritage.⁶

In the early years of the Weimar Republic, especially, many German Jews felt that they could live as Germans *and* Jews. This was particularly evident in the realms of culture and education, which would play an important role after emigration. *Bildung* (education, intellectual tradition) was crucial to the emancipation of German Jewry in the nineteenth century; education at a *Gymnasium*, a higher German public school with a humanities curriculum, was common for the majority of middle-class Jews, which made up about two-thirds of the Jewish population. They, like the middle class in general—including those who were not Jewish—identified strongly with the German culture of the classical poets, such as Goethe and Schiller, humanist thinkers and writers like Kant and Lessing, and composers of the classical music canon. Jews were also influential producers and consumers in almost every sphere of Weimar cultural life and most especially in the modern arts.⁷

While German Jews admired, immersed themselves in, and created German culture, some also wished to experience a distinct Jewish culture and tradition and aimed to create a “particular Jewish sphere” within the majority non-Jewish German society.⁸ Jewish artists and musicians, for instance, composed works intended to convey a distinct Jewish identity. Also, various new projects of Jewish community building emerged, such as the establishment of Jewish schools, Jewish youth groups, and local Jewish newspapers. While these developments must be understood at least partly as reactions to exclusion from non-Jewish German institutions, particularly when they became more frequent toward the end of the 1920s, they also asserted German Jewish confidence.⁹

The takeover of the Nazis destroyed this atmosphere in which German Jews could mostly be, if they pleased, Germans *and* Jews. Beginning in April 1933, Jewish participation in virtually all areas of public life was gradually eroded by government-sanctioned discrimination and new legislation.¹⁰ By 1935, almost all Jews were either prohibited from or extremely restricted in working in their professions. Jewish businesses were subject to boycotts and “Aryanizations,” the forced transfer of the business into non-Jewish ownership, but some nonetheless managed to continue functioning until a law geared toward “eliminating” Jews from economic life was passed in November 1938.¹¹ Regarding education, some

Jewish students left public high schools and universities even before laws excluded them officially because the anti-Jewish atmosphere made attendance unbearable. This seems to have been particularly true in big cities.¹² The Nuremberg Race Laws of September 1935 intruded further into private life, prohibiting marriages and sexual relations between “Aryans” and Jews. The Reich Citizenship Law deprived Jews of full citizenship status with full political rights, which were from then on only granted to “Aryan Germans.”¹³ Increasingly, Jews had to rely on their own Jewish organizations for social, cultural, and recreational services, as they were excluded from state programs.¹⁴

In this climate of discrimination, Jews hesitantly began to emigrate. Between 1933 and 1938, 140 thousand mostly middle-class Jews left Germany, with many of them heading to neighboring countries.¹⁵ Not only was making this decision difficult, but numerous factors, including obstacles set up by German authorities as well as immigrations restrictions abroad, made carrying it out ever more complicated. Emigration was costly and difficult to organize. If people could find reasons to justify staying, they often did so.¹⁶ Also, as one Jewish woman pointed out, every Jew “knew a decent German,” and many held on to the belief that not all Germans were Nazis.¹⁷ In this vein, many also believed that “the radical Nazi laws would never be carried out because they did not match the moderate character of the German people.”¹⁸

Within families, men and women often had different notions about emigration, which resulted from the different roles they occupied in everyday life.¹⁹ Men, who seem to have been the principal decision makers, were generally more reluctant to leave Germany.²⁰ Especially in the years when Jewish men were still able to somehow make a living, many felt it unwise to leave the relative security of their “beloved homeland,” as one refugee put it, for a foreign place with no work prospects.²¹ For men, losing their job in Germany also meant losing their status, a primary marker of their identity, and a painful experience for many. Most middle-class women did not work, and even when they did, they seemed less attached to their jobs and more focused on how the new situation potentially affected their family’s safety.²² Through their children and their daily interactions outside of Jewish circles, they experienced the changing conditions more intimately. Men increasingly worked in all-Jewish environments, as German businesses would not employ them, and thus did not have as much everyday interaction with the potentially hostile and anti-Semitic world. Thus, many continued to hope that what was and looked very threatening would not ultimately be so bad.²³

The November Pogrom of 1938, known also as the Night of Broken Glass or Kristallnacht, changed this outlook, and more than half of the total Jewish emigration from Germany happened in the two years thereafter.²⁴ During the night of 9 November 1938, violent mobs, orchestrated by National Socialist leaders, destroyed and burned hundreds of synagogues, more than eight thousand Jewish businesses, and murdered about ninety-one Jews across Germany. About thirty

thousand Jewish men were imprisoned in concentration camps.²⁵ Their release was made contingent upon proof of prospective emigration, with the result that women from these families had to try to find ways to leave Germany.

Emigration had become ever more difficult, however. First, it became harder to find a place that would accept refugees. The Evian Conference of July 1938, initiated by Franklin D. Roosevelt with the aim of finding a solution for the growing number of people wanting to leave Germany, had failed, as the thirty-two participating countries proved unable to reach agreements that would help the refugees.²⁶ While the United States and Britain briefly relaxed the rules for Jewish visa applicants in 1938 after Austria's annexation and the Pogrom events, this was insufficient to accommodate the rising tide of emigrants.²⁷ Worse still, by 1938–39, the Nazi regime had built up a whole bureaucracy of rules and restrictions “to harass and humiliate” even Jews who wanted to leave.²⁸ They were required to file documents, appear at various offices, receive clearances and exit visas, and pay increasingly higher taxes before they could emigrate.²⁹ From 1937 on, Jews were allowed to only take ten Reichsmarks with them.

Even when people were able to overcome these obstacles and were lucky enough to obtain foreign visas, they were sometimes unable to depart in the end because the visas turned out to be invalid, or immigration laws or admission requirements were changed, making entry to the destination country impossible.³⁰ The story of Kurt Herrmann from Nordhausen is emblematic. Herrmann wanted to emigrate to the United States. A prerequisite for a visa application to the United States was a so-called affidavit, a written statement from a person in the United States pledging financial support for the incoming refugees so that they would not become a burden to the country. Herrmann had such an affidavit from a relative in New York, but since his quota number was not up yet, he planned to get out of Germany via Cuba, for which he had also been able to obtain papers, and wait there until he was allowed to enter the United States. When he found out that he needed five thousand dollars to enter Cuba—a sum he did not have—he canceled the trip and returned the steamer ticket he had already purchased to the travel agency. The receipt of his trip to Cuba still in his pocket, he was arrested during the November Pogrom and taken to Buchenwald concentration camp. Upon the announcement that people who had papers to emigrate should report to the head of the camp, he presented the ticket receipt and was released. Fortunate to have gotten out, Herrmann now urgently wanted to leave Germany but was faced with the problem that it was almost impossible to get visas to any country at this point. Shanghai was the only place that took German Jews without visas, but Herrmann had set his mind on going to the United States. Together with friends, he made his way illegally into Belgium and eventually managed to get to New York in November 1939.³¹

With the outbreak of the war in Europe on 1 September 1939, many countries closed their borders completely, while the situation for Jews remaining in

Germany once again grew considerably worse. For those who had emigrated to neighboring countries, the situation was soon not much better. When German troops invaded the western European countries in 1940, the German Jews who had initially found refuge in them were once again in harm's way. Finding a place overseas that would take them in was immensely difficult. Most of these German Jews were ultimately deported to concentration camps, and few survived.³² Marianne Barbanell, then Rothstein, and her family were able to escape essentially because they possessed sufficient financial assets. The Rothsteins had left Germany in 1938 for Amsterdam, where they spent three and a half years. When the German army occupied the Netherlands, her mother, certain that they would not survive if they stayed, pressed for action. Through the help of the Brazilian consul who lived in the same apartment building, the family obtained visas for Brazil. By the time the Rothsteins were able to get out of the Netherlands, however, these visas had expired. Because Marianne's father—who had been a banker in Berlin—had the financial means to pay the required sum for the family to enter Cuba, they were saved. The Rothsteins eventually arrived in Los Angeles in December 1941.³³

By that time, Jewish emigration from Germany had virtually ceased. The first deportation train had left Berlin on 18 October 1941, transporting over one thousand Jews to the Lodz ghetto, and on 23 October 1941, the Nazis officially prohibited Jewish emigration from the Reich.³⁴ Of the approximately 530 thousand Jews who had lived in Germany in 1933, three hundred thousand ultimately managed to make their way out, most of them young people aged sixteen to thirty-nine.³⁵ While German-speaking Jews ended up in many different locations around the world, the major centers of refuge between 1933 and 1940 were the United States, with roughly ninety thousand refugees (about 132 thousand at the end of the war), Central and South America with around eighty-four thousand, Palestine with sixty-six thousand, and Shanghai with fifteen to eighteen thousand.³⁶

The United States was a preferred country of refuge for many Jews from Germany, not least because some had relatives there who could supply them with the financial affidavits necessary for the visa application.³⁷ Getting into the United States was extremely difficult, however. In the 1930s, U.S. immigration policy was based on the National Origins Immigration Act of 1924, passed under the Hoover administration as a continuation and revision of earlier immigration restrictions, particularly the 1921 Immigration Act. Its purpose was to preserve a white, Protestant majority in the United States by limiting the number of immigrants from southern and eastern Europe. By restricting the number of Italians and Slavs, it was hoped that the number of Jews would also be reduced. The act limited the number of people allowed to immigrate to two percent of each nationality that had been present in the United States by 1890, a time before many of the undesired immigrant groups had arrived in the United

States, and it completely excluded immigrants from Japan.³⁸ When Franklin D. Roosevelt assumed the presidency in 1933, he upheld the Hoover administration's policy of maintaining low levels of immigration, only slightly lessening the restrictions in 1938 in response to the deteriorating conditions for Jews and others in the German Reich. However, the Roosevelt administration began tightening the restrictions again in the summer of 1939, now ostensibly to quell fears of subversive elements among the immigrants. Nativism and anti-Semitism were widespread among U.S. citizens at this time, partly because of the lingering consequences of the Great Depression. These sentiments, combined with "bureaucratic indifference to moral or humanitarian concerns," resulted in the annual quota for these immigrants from Europe never being filled despite massive demands for visas to the United States.³⁹ By 1941, the war had politically and bureaucratically further complicated this situation, and it had become almost impossible to gain legal entry to the United States.⁴⁰

Settling in the United States

Most of the refugees had acquired their knowledge of the United States prior to arrival from books, sometimes brochures prepared by Jewish organizations in Germany, and mostly from American movies, which had swept through Europe in the 1920s.⁴¹ One student remarked that he had been taught "quite properly about American geography, etc., but in my head there was a curious mixture of skyscrapers, kidnapers, horses, Indians, guns, Broadway and Hollywood."⁴² A contemporary study of the refugees' ideas found that many thought the United States, in contrast to Germany, was a society with no culture and little respect for or interest in the fine arts and music. Instead, many imagined a society driven by business and money, a country dominated by large cities without nature, and criminals and swindlers controlling those cities. More positively, they believed that everything in America was up to the highest technological standards.⁴³

What the refugees encountered in the United States greatly varied according to where they went. Most refugees first encountered New York, as they entered the United States there, and many subsequently settled there as well. New York was a bustling metropolis, populated by people from all corners of the world, including approximately six hundred thousand people of German descent. Over decades, a "German infrastructure" had emerged, including a German-language press, German and German Jewish Clubs, and German Jewish synagogues. For the approximately fifty thousand Jewish refugees who had just fled Nazi Germany, the presence of Germans was simultaneously comforting and disconcerting because, while it offered some comforts of home, some groups within this population had also taken on certain National Socialist ideas.

Thus, the German Jewish refugees did not move into the traditional German neighborhoods, such as Yorkville on Manhattan's Upper East Side, as previous German Jewish immigrants had done. Although the German atmosphere in Yorkville may have been soothing to the refugees in one way, because it had bakeries and restaurants providing familiar goods, it may also have reminded them too much of the Germany they had just fled. In the 1930s, these neighborhoods became increasingly Nazi-friendly, with many residents who were members of the Nazi German-American Bund. Therefore, the refugees tended to stay together by moving in great numbers to Washington Heights and to the Upper West Side, and to a lesser degree to Forrest Hills, Kew Gardens, and Jackson Heights in Queens.

In the heavily German Jewish neighborhoods of Manhattan, refugees opened their own bakeries, kosher butcher shops, service companies, and little businesses. Washington Heights eventually became the most German Jewish neighborhood in the United States, a fact some acknowledged by calling it the "Fourth Reich." Many features made it particularly attractive to refugees, including its large apartments—allowing them to sublet rooms to other refugees—affordable rent, nearby parks, and, increasingly, the presence of other German Jewish refugees. Washington Heights differed from the German and eastern European Jewish neighborhoods in New York City in providing a "traditional Jewish and small-town German atmosphere." Manhattan's Upper West Side, a community where German Jews lived in greater density, by contrast, was where "more 'sophisticated'" refugees created a neighborhood, which "became in some ways an inadequate ersatz extension of Weimar Berlin."⁴⁴ The company of fellow refugees in New York and their creation of a German Jewish refugee infrastructure made the city an attractive place to settle. The city reminded some of Berlin, and they described it as exciting, full of opportunities, and even as "the most beautiful city in the world."⁴⁵

Most refugees established new lives in New York, yet others were not able to secure adequate employment, or found the large city isolating, too expensive, or just plain unlikeable. Rabbi Joachim Prinz, formerly a rabbi in Berlin who settled in Newark, New Jersey, also lamented that many refugees rarely got to see the "real America" because they spent most of their life in a Jewish enclave. Agencies like the National Refugee Service, an aid organization set up to assist European refugees, the American Committee for Christian Refugees, the Committee for Catholic Refugees from Germany, and the American Friends Service Committee took measures to decrease the concentration of European refugees in New York City and improve their American acculturation and employment. As during previous waves of immigration, representatives of these organizations set up resettlement programs and promoted the opportunities and advantages of living outside of New York in lectures they gave at social clubs and synagogues. These programs offered refugees different choices and allowed them to express a preference for a region. In many cases, this decision was made based on the prospective

employment situation. Ultimately, approximately fifteen thousand refugees were resettled through governmental and nongovernmental resettlement programs in communities of various sizes throughout the United States.

Other refugees left New York of their own accord, mostly when relatives or friends told them about good opportunities in the places they had moved to. As a result, refugees settled all across the United States, from rural areas in upstate New York and Georgia to the urban centers on the East Coast, the Midwest, and California. Depending on the time of arrival, they found Jewish communities of varying sizes and various numbers of other refugees. The American West Coast, and particularly Los Angeles, became a preferred destination for refugees, with L.A. becoming the second largest German Jewish refugee community after New York. While the American East and Midwest were places where the refugees, despite all that was foreign to them there, could find scenery, things, and people reminiscent of Germany, Los Angeles seemed fundamentally different from what they were used to.

Those who arrived in Los Angeles before World War II encountered “an idyllic garden city” that stretched across 451 square miles from the mountains to the Pacific. No building in the downtown area was higher than the twenty-six-story city hall, and the rest of the city was “an agglomerate of suburbs, loosely strung together,” in which apartment complexes and bungalows were surrounded by an abundance of green.⁴⁶ Many famous artists who had been forced to leave Germany moved there in the hopes of finding employment in the Hollywood film industry. Some of these famous émigrés were not too enthusiastic about the prospect of living in this city, which was so very different from what they had known in Europe. The writer Bertolt Brecht composed a poem about the “hellish” nature of Los Angeles where “very expensive” water is needed to keep the “flowers as big as trees” from wilting, where “great heaps of fruit . . . neither smell nor taste,” and “houses, built for happy people” stand empty “even when lived in.”⁴⁷ For Brecht and some of the other Weimar intellectuals, the beauty of the landscape, juxtaposed with the realities of persecution, exile, and war, may have “functioned like a Hollywood set that produced alienation because of its apparent perfection.”⁴⁸ Not all of the famous émigrés felt as Brecht did, that Los Angeles was such a dreadful place to live. Writers Thomas Mann and Lion Feuchtwanger, despite their pain at being in exile, came to enjoy their lives in their beautiful houses in the hills of Pacific Palisades, west of Los Angeles, and their regular walks by the ocean.

To be sure, their descriptions of relatively luxurious and idyllic lifestyles were exceptions in the émigré, exile, and refugee experience, but more ordinary refugees in Los Angeles also appreciated California’s pleasant features. Remembering her arrival in Los Angeles in 1939 after a brief stay in New York, Annelise Bunzel, who had come with her husband from Hamburg, remarked, for example, “It was just ideal . . . it was like a resort. The sun was shining, you had the smell of the orange blossoms when you were driving . . . it was really beautiful.”

Ann Ikenberg, who arrived with her husband that same year, also recounted, “Ach, we thought it was all so unbelievably beautiful! On Figueroa Street—real palm trees!”⁴⁹ The young refugee student Heinz Berggruen, writing in Berkeley in 1937, even found that the pleasant environment in Northern California ameliorated the difficulties of the refugee experience:

The beauty of the landscape, which with its harmonic diversity of forests, lakes, the ocean and the mountains often reminds one of the most beautiful parts of northern Italy or Switzerland, and the ideal climate—for nine months it does not rain at all, and at the same time it is never too hot or too dry—make the beginning also easier.⁵⁰

In contrast to New York City, which appealed to many refugees because it offered features reminiscent of home, California represented something less conventional, as it evoked memories and imaginations of exotic places associated with holidays and recreation. In a community newsletter, refugees publicly praised California as a sort of promised land it was a privilege to live in, but they also recommended it privately in letters to family and friends because “the climate and the way of enjoying life have a great influence on everybody” even though “job hunting isn’t an easy business even here.”⁵¹ Unlike New York and cities like Chicago or Cincinnati, Los Angeles had only a small number of previous German Jewish immigrants. German Jews had been the first Jews to settle in Los Angeles in the mid-nineteenth century and were influential in helping to establish urban infrastructures, yet by the 1930s, most of L.A.’s Jewish population was of eastern European descent.⁵² A great number of them lived in Boyle Heights in eastern Los Angeles, to which newly arriving German Jewish refugees generally did not move. They tended to settle in close proximity to one another in the western and northern parts of the city and subsequently also in the San Fernando Valley, a then rural area in northern Los Angeles.⁵³ There was no particular German neighborhood in Los Angeles, though refugees would not have been comfortable moving into one. Even though people of German extraction across the United States were attracted to the Nazi ideology to varying degrees, Los Angeles became a hotbed of the Nazi German American Bund.⁵⁴

New York and Los Angeles were, thus, the two largest communities where German Jewish refugees settled in the United States, yet they were starkly different—in terms of climate and urban structure, as well as socially and culturally. All refugees had to adjust to life in the new country and deal with the loss of the old, as well as the people they had left behind, but their experience could be very different depending on where in the United States they moved. In most places where refugees settled in greater numbers, they founded their own organizations, often initially called German Jewish Clubs. These were often the first local institutions newcomers communicated with after arriving in the United States, which initially assisted in the provision of very basic needs. When the

Bunzels arrived in Los Angeles, for example, they immediately had contact with the German Jewish Club, as was common, according to Annelise. Most German Jews who came to the city heard about the club, she explained, because “whoever you speak [*sic*] or you meet, they mention it.”⁵⁵ In addition, these institutions functioned as community-building spaces that represented the public image of the refugee community, gave voice to it, and actively pursued refugee interests.

The largest organization of this kind was the German Jewish Club in New York City (known as New World Club from 1940), with a membership of about two thousand. The second largest was the German Jewish Club, later the Jewish Club of 1933, Inc., in Los Angeles, but there were numerous others, including, for instance, the Social Club in Baltimore, the Central Club in Philadelphia, the New Home Club in Milwaukee, the Friendship Club in Pittsburgh, the New World Club in Atlanta, the New Life Club in San Diego, and the Jewish Unity Club in Newark. Depending on the size of the refugee community, some cities even had several congregations or social organizations—ranging from political groups to knitting circles and sports clubs, at times even with regional or generational subgroups.⁵⁶

Memoirs written by German Jewish refugees, as well as scholarship on their experiences, testify to their attachment to Germany and the trauma that leaving this country behind constituted for them. Both the memoirs and the scholarship elucidate the struggles and difficulties German Jewish refugees faced in trying to build a new existence, and a new home, in the countries they emigrated to. Most frequently, such literature stresses the persistence of German traditions and habits among them, presenting a story in which the “Beiunskis”—those who earned their name because of their frequent lamentations that “bei uns [meaning at home in Germany] everything was better”—appear to have been the stereotypical representatives of that group.⁵⁷ However, the picture is more diverse. Having strong feelings for their former home and clinging to certain traditions did not mean that the refugees constantly looked back or completely oriented their lives toward Germany. Jewish refugees from Germany discussed, questioned, negotiated, and practiced how to act and represent themselves in the United States.⁵⁸

Notes

1. Benz, ed., *Das Exil der kleinen Leute*, 10.
2. Ibid. Also, this translation borrows from Benz’s English translation of the original German from his “Exile Studies: Development and Trends,” in *German-speaking Exiles in Ireland 1933–1945*, ed. Gisela Holfter, 21–35.
3. Gerson, “In Between States,” 184.

4. For scholarship on this topic, see, for example, Niewyk, *The Jews in Weimar Germany*; Kaplan, *Jewish Daily Life in Germany*; van Rahden, *Jews and Other Germans*; Benz, Paucker, and Pulzer, eds, *Jüdisches Leben in der Weimarer Republik*; Meyer and Brenner, eds, *German-Jewish History in Modern Times*, vols. 1–4; and the *Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook*.
5. Kaplan, “Changing Roles in Jewish Families,” 15. See also Volkov, *Germans, Jews, and Antisemites*; van Rahden, *Jews and Other Germans*.
6. Lowenstein, *Frankfurt on the Hudson*, 35; see also Niewyk, *The Jews in Weimar Germany*; Nicosia, “Introduction,” in *Jewish Life in Nazi Germany*, ed. Nicosia and Scrase, 8.
7. See Niewyk, *The Jews in Weimar Germany*, 33. Some historians state that refugee scholars—Laqueur was one of them—were motivated to write about significant achievements in order to illustrate Jews’ integration in German life; see Hermand, “Juden in der Kultur der Weimarer Republik,” in *Juden in der Weimarer Republik*, ed. Grab and Schoeps, 9. Also see Lowenstein, “Jewish Participation in German Culture,” in *German-Jewish History in Modern Times*, ed. Meyer and Brenner, vol. 3, 305–36; Mendes-Flohr, “Between Germanism and Judaism, Christians and Jews” and “Jews within German Culture,” in *German-Jewish History in Modern Times*, vol. 4, 157–94; Gay, *Weimar Culture*.
8. Brenner, *The Renaissance of Jewish Culture*, 2.
9. See Brenner, *The Renaissance of Jewish Culture*; and Brenner and Penslar, *In Search of Jewish Community*. For a look beyond the bourgeoisie and an exploration of the appeal Jewish themes had to a wider non-Jewish community, see Jelavich, “Popular Entertainment and Mass Media,” in *The German-Jewish Experience Revisited*, ed. Aschheim and Liska, 103–16.
10. In what follows, I merely outline certain steps in this process. For a detailed history, see, for example, Friedländer, *The Years of Persecution*. See also Kaplan, *Between Dignity and Despair*.
11. Nicosia, “Introduction,” 6.
12. Kaplan, “Changing Roles,” 21.
13. There is extensive literature on this process of discrimination and exclusion. For a short list of measures, see Nicosia, “Introduction,” 4–6.
14. Nicosia “Introduction,” 5–6; Strauss, *Jewish Immigrants of the Nazi Period in the U.S.A.*, vol. 6, *Essays on the History, Persecution, and Emigration of German Jews*, 190.
15. Nicosia, “Introduction,” 7.
16. For views on emigration among German Jewry, see Jünger, *Jahre der Ungewissheit*.
17. Theja Sommer, who would eventually emigrate to Los Angeles, said in an interview, for example, “We absolutely did not have hatred of Germans. During the time that we were still in Germany, we had some very good experiences with some Germans who were very nice. I even worried that they might say things that would put them in danger with the Nazis! The problem was Hitler and the group that supported his ideas, not among the regular people. Among the people that we knew in Germany, I don’t know anybody toward who we would have any personal resentment.” In Wolman, *Crossing Over*, 158.
18. Charlotte Hamburger writes this in her memoirs, cited by Kaplan, “Changing Roles,” 29.
19. See Kaplan, “Changing Roles.”
20. Kaplan, “Changing Roles,” 29–30.
21. *Ibid.*, 25–26.
22. *Ibid.*, 27.
23. *Ibid.*, 29.
24. Lavsky, “The Impact of 1938,” in “*Wer bleibt, opfert seine Jahre*,” ed. Heim, Meyer, and Nicosia, 209.
25. Heim, Meyer, and Nicosia, eds, “*Wer bleibt, opfert seine Jahre*,” 11; Kirk, *Nazi Germany*, 184.
26. Heim, Meyer, and Nicosia, eds, “*Wer bleibt, opfert seine Jahre*,” 10.
27. See Lavsky, “The Impact of 1938,” 211.
28. Those are the words of one refugee, Ann Ikenberg, in Wolman, *Crossing Over*, xxiv.

29. Ibid.
30. For details on immigration restrictions for German Jewish refugees, see, for example, Wyman, *Paper Walls*; Wyman, *The Abandonment of the Jews*; Breitman and Kraut, *American Refugee Policy and European Jewry*.
31. Interview Kurt Herrmann.
32. For more detail on the situation in occupied countries, see Caestecker, “Jewish Refugee Aid Organizations,” in “*Wer bleibt, opfert seine Jahre*,” 166–91.
33. Interview Marianne Barbanell.
34. On the first deportations, see Löw, “Die frühen Deportationen,” in “*Wer bleibt, opfert seine Jahre*,” 59–76.
35. Herbert A. Strauss, “Jewish Emigration from Germany-Nazi Policies and Jewish Responses (I),” 318.
36. The numbers include Jews from annexed Austria and Czechoslovakia. Strauss, *Jewish Immigrants of the Nazi Period in the U.S.A.*, vol. 6, 186–244. Jews also ended up, at least temporarily, in more exotic regions of the world, such as India and Iran, but also the Soviet Union. See Grossmann, *Wege in die Fremde*, 44–60; Franz, “*Gateway India*”: *Deutschsprachiges Exil*.
37. For more detail, see Falk, *The German Jews in America*, 63–66.
38. Zucker, “American Immigration Policy in the 1930s,” in *Refugees from Nazi Germany and the Liberal European States*, ed. Caestecker and Moore, 154.
39. Breitman and Kraut, *American Refugee Policy and European Jewry*.
40. This paragraph is cited from my article “German Jewish ‘Enemy Aliens’ in the United States during the Second World War,” *Bulletin of the German Historical Institute* (Spring 2017).
41. Davie, *Refugees in America*, 48.
42. Ibid.
43. Ibid., 49.
44. Grossmann, “German Jews as Provincial Cosmopolitans,” 158, 165.
45. Davie, *Refugees in America*, 49.
46. Bahr, *Weimar on the Pacific*, 10; Kipen and Federal Writers Project of the Works Progress Administration, *Los Angeles in the 1930s*, 4, 6.
47. Bahr, *Weimar on the Pacific*, 79, excerpt from Brecht’s poem.
48. Ibid., 11.
49. Interview Annelise Bunzel; Interview with Ann Ikenberg, in Wolman, *Crossing Over*, 101.
50. Translation mine. H. Berggruen, “Als Student in Kalifornien, Berkeley, Mitte Mai 1937,” in *Heimat und Exil*, 185.
51. Letter from Felix Guggenheim to Frederick A. Praeger (25 August 1941), Felix Guggenheim Papers, Box 32, 3, USC Libraries, cited from Ullmann, “Felix Guggenheim (1904–1976),” in *Immigrant Entrepreneurship*, ed. R. Daniel Wadhvani, <https://www.immigrantentrepreneurship.org/entry.php?rec=114>.
52. Wilson, ed., *Jews in the Los Angeles Mosaic*; Vorspan and Gardner, *History of the Jews of Los Angeles*; Waldinger and Bozorgmehr, eds, *Ethnic Los Angeles*, 52.
53. Interview Annelise Bunzel. For more, see Schenderlein, “German Jewish Refugees in Los Angeles.”
54. See Ross, *Hitler in Los Angeles*.
55. Interview Annelise Bunzel.
56. List of German-Jewish refugee congregations and organizations, Research Foundation for Jewish Immigration, circa 1975, AR 6638 (Leo Baeck Institute (LBI), <http://www.lbi.org/digibaeck/results/?qtype=pid&term=1642195>).
57. Anderson, “Introduction,” in *Hitler’s Exiles*, 5; Gay, “Moritz Fröhlich—Morris Gay,” 8.
58. Gerson, “In Between States,” 184. I concur with Atina Grossmann’s characterizations of the refugees in her article “German Jews as Provincial Cosmopolitans,” 157–68.