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'Jetzt judenfrei.'
Writing Tourism in Nazi-
Occupied Poland

by

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Introduction

I would like to thank Andreas Gestrich for the invitation to join such a distinguished cohort of German and British colleagues who have delivered earlier lectures in this series. I am also delighted to be, I think, only the second female historian to be among this company since 1979, so let's hope this marks the beginning of a trend. It's a particular honour given the indispensability of the German Historical Institute to historians in the UK, and my own admiration of Professor Gestrich's leadership.

Looking back over these Annual Lectures since 1979, I was struck by the predominance of topics in the history of German statecraft and German international relations, and also by the tendency of my predecessors to take a synoptic view of their theme from a pretty lofty perch. There are obviously sound reasons for these choices; but the Annual Lecture presents an opportunity to reflect one's own scholarly interests, and mine have tended to move over the years from a macro and theoretical scope to the more local and even intimate. In tonight's lecture, therefore, I am going to shift scale and perspective considerably, by looking at what I'll call the microhistory of geopolitics. The geopolitical field is Nazi imperialism in Poland, and the microhistory is the tale of a single book. My tale turns on the material status and intellectual biography of this book, and involves a bit of autobiography as well. It offers

a case study in how a programme of bloody conquest and colonization was converted into a more anodyne but no less imperialist project of cultural consumption.

Finding the Baedeker

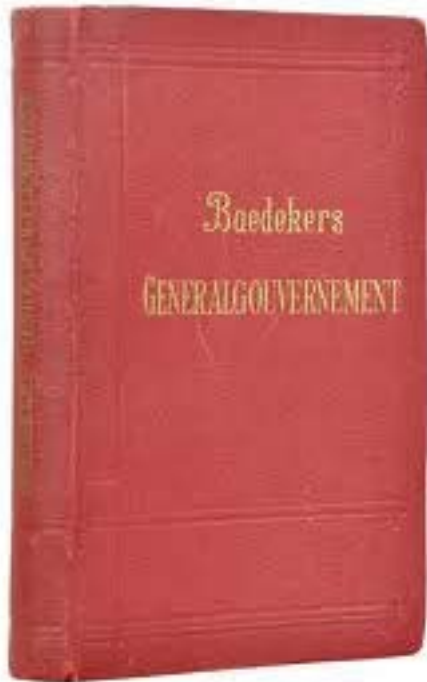


Figure 1: Cover of *Baedekers Generalgouvernement*, 1943. (Reproduced by permission of MairDumont).

A year ago, I went to Poland for the first time in my life. This was not a country I was eager to visit. My family background made me hesitate to set foot in a country that had been the site of terrible events which I have also spent a good deal of my professional life reading far too much about. Probably this should have made me more, rather than less, eager to find out about Poland first-hand – not only as a historian of the Nazi era but as a citizen of the new Europe. I ought to have jumped at the chance to finally see a country that is now so distant in time and circumstances from what it had been during the scant five years of Nazi rule. But my resistance was almost visceral, and in the end I went only because I had been invited to a conference in Warsaw. I don't propose to dwell at any greater length on my motives and hesitations, except to pick up the theme of this talk: I was willing to go as an academic to Warsaw, but I did not want to be a tourist in Poland.

For this reason, I really wanted to leave the country immediately after the conference was over, but I was persuaded by my partner that we must at least stay and visit Cracow, a city famous for the beauty and historic character of its old town, and now of course a major tourist destination. But from my skewed perspective, Cracow was not this charming city, but was first and foremost infamous as the seat of the Nazi occupation regime established in this

region of Poland in October 1939. Nevertheless, despite my misgivings we did go to Cracow and spent two days in this undeniably handsome city.

While I was doing my best not to be a tourist, I went on my usual quest for the second-hand bookshops, and I had the good luck to stumble on a very fine antiquarian bookstore, located on one of the city's main streets. It turned out to house a treasure-trove of Poland's and Cracow's cultural history, and I stayed for ages. Still, fascinating as the collection was, I didn't find anything to buy until, at the very last moment, I went to take a final look at a shelf of old Baedeker tourist guidebooks, which one often finds in stores like this. My eye was suddenly caught by the title on one spine that I had not previously noticed. Tucked in among the familiar volumes on Berlin, the Rhine, Northern France, Italy and so on was *Baedekers Generalgouvernement* (Figure 1). [Figure 1 here]. The book resembled all the other volumes in this famous red-bound series, except that its date of publication was 1943, the middle of the war, and its title was totally unexpected.¹

To a historian of Nazi Germany, the General Government, to give it its English name, has a single overriding association. This was the Polish territory handed over by Hitler to his party crony Hans Frank, immediately after the German conquest of Poland in October 1939. The region was studded with the ghettos and camps whose names

have become the roll-call of the Holocaust: Warsaw, Lublin, Lvov, Belzec, Sobibor, Treblinka, Majdanek. Along with the Warthegau, it was the place where Himmler's wider plans for the racial reconfiguration of eastern Europe had their most disastrous consequences. As Hitler had said in 1933, 'You can't germanize the population of an annexed or conquered territory. Only soil [*Boden*] can be germanized.' The General Government was, in consequence, a place of unbounded imperialism, economic exploitation and mass murder, ruled over by a capricious and corrupt tyrant. My reaction at seeing it made into the subject of a respected tourist guidebook can only be compared to finding an 1898 Fodor's guide to King Leopold's Congo Free State, or a Guide Bleu to the Gulag Archipelago dating from the 1930s.

I soon discovered that although the Baedeker was new to me, it was familiar to historians working on the history of the General Government or on German leisure and tourism. It has attracted some attention, notably in work by Rudy Koshar, Kristin Semmens and Götz Aly and Susanne Heim; the most extended treatment to date is a valuable essay by Nicholas Lane.² But the very existence of this guidebook seemed uncanny to me, and this was also the reaction of those of my colleagues who had not heard of it before. I also found it impossible to ignore the accident of having stumbled upon it in Cracow, the seat

and centre of the region it described. This sense was all the more powerful because the copy I had picked up had itself been the property of the General Government, and I felt this as a kind of magnetic obligation to find out more about it .



Figure 2: Half title, *Baedekers Generalgouvernement*, 1943. (Author's copy; page reproduced by permission of MairDumont)

Shown in Figure 2 is the departmental stamp inside the book recording the budget line for its official purchase. The copy I now own had been bought by the government's Department for Science, Education and Public Instruction, under the State Libraries line.³ It was the second of five copies bought or at least entered into the record on 31 May 1943, shortly after the book's publication. How it had subsequently made its way into the bookshop I do not know.

The questions I am better able to answer than this are the subject of this lecture: How did this book come to be produced? Who was it aimed at and how was it intended to be used? What relationship did its depictions bear to the situation on the ground in 1942 and 1943, the years of its research and publication? And how can we read it in relation to other contemporary publications presenting the General Government to the reading public? This ought to be placed in a wider history of German tourism and the history of the Baedeker firm, but since I do not have time for this in this lecture, I will give just a couple of signposts.

Baedeker and German Tourism

The Baedeker guides were one of Germany's great contributions to modern tourism and travel culture. Karl Baedeker entered the market in the 1830s as the aristocratic grand tour was giving way to the more bourgeois market

through which modern tourism emerged. By the 1860s, this market was expanding rapidly in Germany, and German tourists were being invited to experience their country as a national culture by visiting it. In the words of one historian, 'the Baedeker ... created a tangible image of German nationhood for the national liberal travel culture',⁴ helping bourgeois Bavarians, Hessians, Prussians and so on to understand themselves as 'Germans'.

Baedeker was also becoming the gold standard by which all other travel guidebooks were measured. Its reputation for impartiality, reliability and accurate town maps was unrivalled. As an American writer put it in 1908, Baedeker had 'evolved a precise and utilitarian system ... He put the hotel first and the scenery afterward. He stated distances and times and prices. He blue-penciled many of the flowery descriptions. He sought to give facts rather than impressions. His aim was to make travel more an exact science and less a venture into the unknown.'⁵ By 1900 there were seventy Baedekers in print, and 'Baedeker' had entered the lexicon as a synonym for 'travel guide', just as the brand-name 'Kodak' had cornered the lexical terrain of the camera.⁶

The First World War brought to an end the era of passport-free international travel, and the postwar economic upheavals cramped the expansion of vacations abroad. It has also been argued that the dismembering experience

and landscape of the wartime trenches created a kind of epistemological crisis in the act of seeing. What language would be appropriate to accompany scenes of such recent and profound devastation? Perhaps no longer the measured, cultured objectivity of the pre-war Baedeker, but rather new publications like Michelin's highly successful *Illustrated Guides to the Battle-Fields*.⁷ More prosaically, Baedeker's pre-war success in providing Germans with a means to assimilate their national cultural identity appeared a liability after the First World War, as Europeans turned against this quintessentially German product. In the 1920s therefore Baedeker focussed more on its regional German guides, but the firm suffered from the high production costs of its quality volumes, as well as the unpredictable market of depression-era travel.⁸

In 1933, the Nazi regime appropriated the older nationalizing discourse of travel and tourism and turned it to its own ideological goals. The regime put a new emphasis on mass tourism, in the name of fostering a fulfilled, stable national community unified by common experiences that had previously been beyond the reach of ordinary people. This in turn was part of the Nazi regime's broad-ranging vision of a managed consumer society that would be sufficiently satisfied or distracted to concede the economic priority of rearmament, and eventually war. Baedeker played its part in this remade

German tourist industry after 1933. Their publications included a new guidebook to Madeira coinciding with the first 'Kraft durch Freude' cruise there in 1934, revised guidebooks to Berlin and Germany for the Olympic year 1936, and an English-language *Baedeker's Germany* also for the Olympics.⁹ The incorporation of Austria into Germany in 1938 also affected the guidebooks for what were now treated as German provinces.¹⁰ The government encouraged the firm in 1934 by brokering a loan of 120,000 RM, provided by a consortium of private and public enterprises including Lufthansa, the Reichsbahn, and the Reich Tourism Commission.¹¹

From 1939, the war obviously had a huge impact on the tourist industry, throwing the Baedeker firm into new financial straits. Until 1941, however, domestic leisure travel continued to be treated as a valuable means of relaxation, and now too as a way of helping the nation to keep its nerve.¹² And it also brought what I will call 'occupation tourism', on a Europe-wide scale: the historian Alon Confino has claimed that the Wehrmacht served as 'the biggest travel agency in German history'.¹³ In addition to the military servicemen and police personnel who were launched into so many interesting foreign countries, the occupation of wide swathes of Europe offered surprising scope for members of the German civil administration and Nazi party organizations, businessmen and other civilian

travellers to visit improving cultural monuments, polish their knowledge of European culture, and grasp first-hand the superiority of German achievements. Tourism did not come to an end in 1939; it changed.

Baedeker continued a limited publication schedule until well into the war. As well as the General Government volume, the firm issued, apparently at the instigation of the regime, a new guide to Alsace and the Vosges in 1942 to celebrate the 1940 reunion of Alsace with Germany (its revised text described it as adapted to 'the requirements of our times'), and a new volume for Vienna and the Lower Danube in 1943.¹⁴ In 1943 and 1944 the firm also published a handful of other travel handbooks for Italy and Prague. These were not strictly speaking 'Baedekers', but were targeted at 'front workers' and probably resembled the numerous guides and booklets distributed by the Wehrmacht for its own servicemen.¹⁵ With these publications Baedeker was attempting to battle wartime sales losses that required writing-off its 1934 loan, after a long-drawn-out process, in 1943.¹⁶

Baedeker in the General Government

In October 1939, Poland became the first European country to be conquered by Germany and the site of the Nazi regime's most ambitious experiments in colonial rule. The partition of Poland in August and September 1939

saw its eastern regions handed to the Soviet Union and the westernmost regions annexed to Germany. This left a central region which Hitler placed under the rule of an old comrade, the lawyer Hans Frank, who was made directly answerable to the Führer and given virtually plenary (although not uncontested) administrative powers.¹⁷ The name 'Generalgouvernement' picked up the title given by Tsarist Russia to this administrative area, which the Germans had already adopted once before when they occupied the 'General Government of Warsaw' in the First World War. However, Warsaw was not to be Frank's new capital, because Hitler had expressly forbidden the city's reconstruction after its bombardment.¹⁸ After lobbying unsuccessfully to have the industrial city of Lodz (15 per cent German in 1931) incorporated in his region, Frank decided to settle his government in the historic medieval city of Kraków (c. 0.3 per cent German-speakers), and took over the city's Wawel castle as his official residence and seat of government.

The General Government was a political anomaly. It was not the legal successor to the Polish state and it had no status in international law. It was 'administered' by Germany without being a part of or attached to the Reich, and its political relationship to Germany remained undefined. To designate this fiefdom, Frank coined the term 'Nebenland des Reiches', signifying a territory both

geographically and politically 'alongside' Germany, a euphemism that gestured towards an undeclared future. In parallel, Frank's officials often referred to the German Reich as the 'Kernland', or core territory. As Governor-General, it was Hans Frank's ambition to fill this empty category with a political meaning of his choosing. Officially, he was supposed to implement Hitler's policy of treating Poland primarily as a reservoir of labour and resources to be exploited in Germany's interests. But Frank saw his task as far more than this. He fought a strenuous battle against the forces within and beyond the borders of his zone that were in competition with him, and that initially made his territory into a dumping-ground for 'everyone else's garbage... Jews, the sick, layabouts', as Goebbels put it in 1940.¹⁹ Frank wanted to establish the General Government as a 'model territory' (*Musterland*) – precisely what he had been told not to do.

Frank equipped the General Government with a traditional German administrative structure, giving it a kind of hybrid German and quasi-colonial character.²⁰ He also devoted considerable thought and expenditure to building up its cultural life (not least by grabbing some of Poland's most famous artworks for his own private collection). Among other ventures designed to cultivate or entertain the Germans in Poland, he founded a state orchestra and theatre; opened or restored museums, academies and a

conservatoire; established the Institut für deutsche Ostarbeit as a research unit and nucleus for a future German university in Cracow; and endowed prizes for literature, poetry, music and sports. German publishing firms were founded, along with an official newspaper, the *Krakauer Zeitung*; and over two dozen exhibitions of art, architecture and cultural and social life were mounted in Cracow and elsewhere, usually restricted to German visitors.²¹ At the same time, the government issued or sponsored handbooks of information and research bulletins about the region, as well as more popular magazines. These were targeted at businessmen and other visitors, also soldiers and civilian staff serving in the region and potentially readers in Germany. In an extension of this informational and commercial outreach, the incorporation of Galicia into the General Government in August 1941 coincided with (if it did not prompt) the opening of an official General Government promotional office on Unter den Linden in Berlin, to showcase its products and achievements.²²

Frank's self-importance and sense of mission were limitless; he was known locally as 'King Stanislaus', and Curzio Malaparte has left us a vivid and terrifying description of his 'court' in the Wawel castle, stuffed with poseurs, charlatans, careerists and thugs.²³ In defiance of Hitler's expectations, Frank's activism was all about putting the General Government on the Germans' mental

map as well as the geographical map as a going concern with a bright, Germanic future. This activity was also intended to establish an impressive collective image of 'the Germans' in the face of the actual heterogeneity and fragmented character of the German community in Poland, which was by any reckoning tiny. As the Germans took over, no more than 75,000 of Poland's 17.6 million inhabitants counted as German (1931 census figures). The re-settlement of ethnic German farm families from outside Poland (some of them even replacing local Germans who had already been shipped off to repopulate the Warthegau), the arduous identification of ethnic Germans (*Volksdeutsche*) scattered among the Poles, and the incorporation of Galicia in 1941 increased the proportion of more or less German Germans to about one or two per cent by 1943.²⁴ But most Germans in the General Government during the war were incomers imported from the Reich, and they were disproportionately male – the hallmark of a colony or an occupation regime: soldiers and policemen; employees of the rail and postal services; administrative officials; and trustees of germanized business enterprises.

This was the wider context within which Frank issued his personal commission of the Baedeker, as a public imprimatur on his ambitious political and cultural project.²⁵ The political and cultural value of a Baedeker guide was so important to Frank that he instructed his own propaganda

department to abandon a virtually finished project to issue its own comprehensive work of reference, which had been in hand for some time.²⁶ Secure within its reassuringly familiar and prestigious red binding, the Baedeker was a gesture of normalization, present and future. It would recover and authoritatively record the evidence of the German presence in the past; it would signal the cultural work that Germans had already accomplished; it would create a coherent territorial and cultural map of the General Government. In short, it would imagine and prefigure a future General Government as German territory, for German and international consumption.

In September 1942 Frank met with Oskar Steinheil, Baedeker's representative and a prolific author of guidebooks, to commission 'a handbook to the General Government according to the usual style and format of the world-famous Baedeker volumes'.²⁷ Steinheil planned an extensive information-gathering trip through the territory in October, for which Frank undertook to provide a car and administrative support. But given that the new guide was supposed to be produced by early 1943, it also drew heavily on information already assembled within the General Government itself.²⁸ This included research carried out by H. H. Stallberg, the official in charge of the government's tourism department, and material taken from the comprehensive handbook *Das Generalgouvernement*, edited by

the chief of Frank's propaganda department press office, the Nazi journalist Max du Prel.²⁹ The proposed print run of the book was twenty thousand copies: an astonishing quantity of paper expressly committed by Frank in an increasingly strapped wartime economy. Frank had in fact already fought to secure high levels of paper imports from Germany to supply his existing official publications, a chief weapon in his propaganda war.³⁰ But even with such priorities, this was a profligate commitment of a scarce resource that can be explained only by Frank's imperial style and by his expectations from this venture.

How many of these copies were actually produced, distributed and sold is hard to gauge; the same goes for assessing its intended and actual readership. Although the entries in the guidebook largely follow the standard Baedeker format addressed to the culturally inquisitive and self-propelled tourist, this stands in considerable tension with the information given in the 'Practical Introduction' – let alone, as we shall see, with the situation on the ground.³¹ First, unlike in the case of Alsace, travelling into the General Government was commensurate with entering a foreign country, with deterrent levels of ID, visa and currency regulations which all had to be detailed in the introduction. On top of this, the enumerated categories of travellers conspicuously exclude the casual tourists who were normally the targets of these guides:

they include officials, businessmen, family members of Germans stationed in the region and people visiting military graves – the latter two groups reminding one that the region was still largely a war zone.³² The usual amenities a Baedeker-user might expect were in short supply or non-existent, especially in Galicia. Roads were regularly described as poor, public transport was limited or suspended, accommodation outside the major towns and cities restricted to Nazi Party facilities and the local Deutsches Haus. Tourist information had to be sought from Party offices in most localities, and on remoter roads travellers were advised to carry a weapon.³³ Even though Karl Baedeker had mused about off-the-beaten-track travel in a memo he wrote in 1937, this was ‘savage tourism’ on a different scale.³⁴

There is some evidence of what might be called tourist traffic in this period;³⁵ but facilitating real journeys was not the primary purpose of a guidebook whose inspiration was, as I have suggested, largely political and gestural. Karl Baedeker’s preface to the guide (so different in tone from his prewar volumes) described it as an account of ‘the work of organization and reconstruction’ accomplished or initiated in the three and a half years of German rule; he commended it not only to the elusive tourist, but to ‘everyone who has anything to do with the Vistula region’.³⁶ The guide included a series of unusually extended essays

on different aspects of the region which also declare its intimate entanglement with Frank’s political project. Two of the authors, the geographer Ernst Fugmann and the art historian Erwin Hoff, were staff members at the Institut für deutsche Ostarbeit, and undoubtedly contributed additional information to the guide.³⁷ A short essay on law and government was contributed by Albert Weh, the head of the legislation section of the General Government.³⁸ Finally, a longer essay on art history was the work of an Austrian art historian from the university of Breslau, Dagobert Frey, who had played an infamous role in the German plunder of Polish art-works and had already contributed an essay to Baedeker’s 1938 guide to Silesia.³⁹

Fugmann’s essay ended by quoting Frank in 1942 to the effect that the General Government ‘constitutes an important connecting link between front and homeland’.⁴⁰ This often repeated geopolitical proposition suggests to me how we might read the Baedeker itself historically, if we displace space into time. The Baedeker embodied a parallel act of *temporal* balancing, pivoting on the unresolved status of the region’s present and a future that was as eagerly desired in theory as it was unforeseeable in practice. At the time of its writing and publication in 1942/3, the Nazi project in the General Government stood uneasily between reclamation and colonization: between reclaiming an earlier history of German presence, and re-

invigorating it with new efforts of germanization; between asserting an essential continuity of this German presence, and acknowledging a historic rupture and displacement; in short, between a past which had been German and a future which would once again be German. I will return to this in my conclusion.

It is in this context, I suggest, that we should place the infrequent but for that reason remarkable references to Jews that crop up repeatedly in the Baedeker and that are the focus of this lecture. Typically, references to the arrival of Jews appear in the historical summary preceding the description of a town. The Jews are linked to the prior or simultaneous loss of the town's German population and its decline under the pressure of political and economic processes, as Polish governance took over and Jews flowed in to usurp the Germans' place.⁴¹ The few explicit references to a named locality being 'jetzt judenfrei' (now free of Jews) ignore both the process and the sheer scale of the racial engineering and population transfer undertaken since 1939, and the mass murders under way by 1942.

To my mind, however, the Baedeker's language and its silences are not best seen as now astonishing acts of wilful blindness, nor exactly as returns of guiltily repressed knowledge. And I do not think they are simply the result of an 'editing problem', as suggested by Nicholas Lane, whereby fragments of inappropriate text

lifted from the material already prepared in offices of the General Government were unintentionally left in the guide.⁴² This is certainly plausible at the practical level, given the guide's dependence on existing work and the speed of its publication; but I think it does not do full justice to the potential of textual interpretation to disclose meanings that are not quite explicitly stated. Beyond this, therefore, I would suggest that these scattered phrases can be read as half-submerged gestures pointing to 'the Jews' not only as the agents of the past degradation of the region, but also and paradoxically as the mechanism for its current reclamation by the Germans. Baedeker's potted histories of cities and towns tell a repeated story of how Jews had degraded each place by their opportunistic arrivals which ruined its earlier German character. But, after 1939, the Jews now figure as the opportunity for the territory's restoration to a pre-Jewish past, through acts of vanishing which are only laconically declared (if at all), but which will enable the re-germanization of the land that the guide celebrates.

In the rest of this lecture, I want to address this relationship explicitly in two ways. One of these has not escaped the attention of historians: this is to juxtapose the typical tourist routes and attractive sights described in the Baedeker with what had happened immediately before, or indeed was still taking place in those self-same places:

ghetto clearances, transit camps, killing camps, deportation routes, forest hunts for escaped Jews: the full repertoire of genocide. The effect of doing this is indeed chilling, as I will show with a few examples. But I will then go on to suggest a second context in which to read the guide, which I think enables us to grasp more fully the logic of this extraordinary book's textual economy.

We could begin in Cracow, the seat of Frank's government. Baedeker describes this city as the 'citadel [or heartland] of German creative construction (*Aufbauarbeit*) over many centuries',⁴³ although among its 345,000 inhabitants in 1943, Germans numbered no more than 25,000. Cracow, Baedeker notes, had flourished as a manufacturing and commercial centre under German city law (*Magdeburger Recht*), reaching its apogee in the 15th and early 16th centuries. Here is a city that 'like few others in the eastern settlement region displays so impressively the face of an overwhelmingly German town, where one encounters everywhere testimony to German labour and German culture'. Baedeker's walking tour begins from the recently re-named Adolf-Hitler-Platz, previously the Grand Square, which dated from the 13th century. The visitor's eye is directed particularly to anything associated with the Germans, whether historic buildings or the regime's new administrative offices. Consistent with Frank's own usage, the Wawel castle is referred to only

as 'the castle' (*Burg*), and streets are given their new German names – over 120 of these, mainly in the central and western districts of the city which were reserved for German residents.⁴⁴ Although the guide is by no means silent about Polish historic monuments (its description of the Cathedral mentions the crypt where Polish rulers were buried, for example, as well as the Pilsudski monument), its emphases yield a cumulative impression of a city owing little to the Poles and stamped largely by German culture; this will be the message throughout the guide.

According to Baedeker, the city's decline began in the 16th century, when Cracow began to be polonised, and this was followed by a 'steep increase' in the number of Jews, who 'monopolized the money market and trade'. The city's history in the following centuries is presented as largely one of decline, until its takeover by the Austrians in 1846 (not really Germans, but better than nothing). A subsequent period of fresh development was brought to an end in 1918 by the re-establishment of the Polish state and the new government's deliberate demotion of Cracow in favour of Warsaw. But the German conquest of the city on 5 September 1939 has, the guide explains, 'inaugurated a new chapter in the city's history': a city that already offered 'everywhere evidence of German work and German culture' was now 'once again a focus for Germany's work in the East (*Ostarbeit*)'.⁴⁵

Leaving the centre of the city, the guide takes one southwards to Kazimierz, by then a suburb but originally founded by the Polish king in 1335 as a rival to Cracow. The guidebook notes that the district later became 'the abode of the Jewish population of Cracow' and then notes parenthetically that it is 'jetzt judenfrei' - now free of Jews - and continues on its way.⁴⁶ I have suggested how to read this laconic phrase rhetorically, but what lay behind it historically?

In 1939, some 56,000 Jews lived in Cracow. With Frank keen to make his capital city *judenfrei* as quickly as possible, the population (swollen by refugees from the countryside) began to be thrown out in March 1940. Within a year no more than 15,000 Jews were left in Cracow. At that point, the process of ghettoization began. But it was not the old Jewish district of Kazimierz that was chosen as the site. Instead the ghetto was established in March 1941 in the nearby suburb of Podgórze, identified by Baedeker only as a free city founded by the Austrian emperor Joseph II in 1785.⁴⁷ Not far from Podgórze lived Halina Nelken, a young Jewish girl whose family was among those forced to move into the ghetto on 20 March 1941. Her diary allows us to view the city through rather different eyes from those of Baedeker:

On one side of the street there were huge trucks, wagons, and wheelbarrows loaded with furni-

ture, trunks, carpets, washtubs, pots and pans, odds and ends; on the other side of the street, Poles moved in the opposite direction, because the Poles living in this poor quarter of Podgórze have had to make space for us. To think that all of a sudden Kazimierz, that traditionally Jewish section, is going to be full of Aryans!⁴⁸

Disoriented by the move, Halina forgot her new destination when she returned from work that evening: 'I instinctively turned towards our home... instead of to the ghetto'. A powerful sense of place, and the anguish of her banishment from it, pervades her diary: 'I like to sit [on the unfinished ghetto wall]', she wrote in August, 'and look at the swarm of streets, buildings, tall church spires and at the shining ribbon of the Vistula River.' In October, after her assignment to forced labour in a factory, she wrote:

These people ride in a streetcar through the ghetto and look at us with curiosity and contempt - they, the free people, the Aryans, rush by in trains along the railroad embankment just next to the wall... and they do not know that here, in this cramped, walled-in cage, someone is suffocating and is unable to understand why it is forbidden to walk around the city in which one was born and which one loves so much... I cannot believe

that although I am in Kraków, I will not see the Vistula River or Wawel Castle; that to the end of the war I must walk like an idiot on only these few little streets in the ghetto. Because we are Jewish people, the achievements of culture and civilization are forbidden to us.

As it happens, one of these tram passengers left their ticket as a bookmark in my Baedeker – an uncanny material token of Halina’s experience (Figure 3).



Figure 3: Cracow tram ticket, ca. 1943 (author's possession)

Were we to leave Cracow, this city whose culture and civilization were now denied to Jews and other non-Germans, we would have a choice of itineraries. Baedeker would guide us to Warsaw via Tschechenstochau (Częstochowa), a route that would soon take us through the village of Kressendorf (Krzeszowice) where, as the guide notes, Hans Frank had his private residence in a chateau built

by Count Potocki in the 1850s.⁴⁹ Baedeker recommends the surrounding countryside for its ‘numerous lovely excursions in the heavily wooded and ravined Cracow Jura’. What the guide does not tell us is that Frank was as eager to rid himself of Kressendorf’s 570 Jews as of Cracow’s. He achieved this by July 1942, keeping on two members of the community as cleaners.⁵⁰ No more than twenty-five of the village’s deported Jewish residents survived the war.

This might prompt us to look at the very different route from Cracow that was outlined by Halina Nelken in March 1941, one that took Jews deported from the ghetto by rail to the cities of Rzeszów and Lublin, further east.⁵¹ Baedeker calls Rzeszów by its German name, Reichshof, and tells us that it was ‘an old German city’ of 25,000 inhabitants, with a new hotel, several restaurants, a theatre, a cinema, and a few not particularly important churches and other historic buildings of which we are given thumbnail descriptions.⁵² An important trading city, Rzeszów was, as readers are also told, ‘dominated since the 19th century by numerous Jews, until following the Polish campaign it came once again under German rule’ (an evasive turn of phrase). The guide is of course silent about the fate of the city’s Jews after 1939, when they numbered about 14,000. In fact, a closed ghetto had been established there

in December 1941, and between 1942 and 1943 virtually the entire Jewish population of Rzeszów, swollen with deportees from Cracow and elsewhere, was killed in either Belzec or Auschwitz.⁵³

As for Lublin, the other destination for many of Kraków's deported Jews in 1941, Baedeker describes this as an important industrial town and regional centre of German administration. It was well connected by road and rail, with a wide range of German cultural facilities, several hotels, a recommended restaurant in the Hotel Europa, and several other attractive eating-places including one in the Sachsenpark 'with open-air concerts in the summer'.⁵⁴ As the guide went on to report, 'The well-cared-for attractive streets and squares of the newer city districts already reveal the new work of German reconstruction.'⁵⁵ This included the fact that a city that in 1862 had had a majority of Jewish residents (57 per cent) was now, like Cracow, 'judenfrei'.

What had happened to Lublin's Jewish residents between 1939, when they numbered about 47,000, and 1943, when no more than a few hundred remained in the city? For the historian of the Holocaust, Lublin and its surrounding district occupy an important role, for two reasons. First, Lublin was a centre of both Hasidic and non-Hasidic Judaism, and in 1930 a major rabbinical school was opened there. Ideologically, the town was seen

by Nazi propagandists as a main-spring of the Jewish 'menace'. Even Baedeker described Lublin as 'a stronghold' of Judaism and mentioned the talmudic school and its important library. Destroying this centre of Jewish culture was for the Nazis an aim in itself.

In addition, the Lublin district had been the site of several policy initiatives between 1939 and 1941 as different Nazi authorities wrestled with the problem of what to do with the huge numbers of Jews who had fallen into their hands in Poland.⁵⁶ It is not possible to discuss this intricate history here, but Lublin's SS command was also to play a central role in the development and execution of 'Aktion Reinhardt' in 1942 and 1943. 'Aktion Reinhardt' was the name of the SS killing programme that established purpose-built gassing facilities in Belzec, Sobibor and Treblinka to speed up the scale of the slaughter. Between March 1942 and October 1943, 1.75 million Jews from both Poland and the rest of Europe were murdered in these camps.⁵⁷ These deliberately insignificant sites of mass murder are, unsurprisingly, of no interest to Baedeker, which merely notes the rail connections at Belzec (crucial to its selection as an extermination centre) and that the road to Piaski, a staging-post for Lublin's deported Jews, was in 1942 'mostly unmetalled but in good order'.⁵⁸

In the city of Lublin itself, 34,000 Jews and Roma were crammed into the ghetto established in March 1941, most

of them to be murdered in Belzec a year later. The same fate befell the residents of the numerous small Jewish communities living along the 130-kilometre route between Lublin and Belzec. We might indeed follow this route on pp. 140-142 of the Baedeker, passing through each of these villages in turn, watching out for the sharp curve in the road near Krasnystaw and perhaps stopping to admire the 'interesting bell-tower' in the small town of Tomaszów. We would certainly be well advised to spend more time in the exquisite renaissance town of Zamość. Baedeker tells us that it is 'one of the most attractive small towns in the General Government, a town whose history has been strongly shaped by German influences'.⁵⁹ But of the most recent 'German influences' on the town Baedeker has nothing to say: the ghettoization of its 7000-strong Jewish community in April 1941, and the violent liquidation of this ghetto in 1942, when some of Zamość's lovely streets presented a very different appearance: 'The whole street was covered in Jewish bodies: one still held his bundle, a second had abandoned his, a third was wounded in the breast, a fourth in the head. I walked to New Town and in the streets everything resembled the aftermath of the Jewish Flood.'⁶⁰ Baedeker was likewise silent on the subsequent ethnic cleansing of Poles from this area, cleared out wholesale to make way for the planned germanization of this fertile region.⁶¹

This kind of ironic juxtaposition could be repeated and extended place by place and route by route through the entire guide. But in the time left to me I want to fill out the other side of this balancing act between past, present and future, by offering a different set of juxtapositions that set the Baedeker against literature that had been circulating equally publicly before the book was published: the travelogues and reportage that presented the General Government to a reading public between 1939 and 1943.

This literature, designed for broad public consumption, should be read alongside the ostensibly cultural work of the Baedeker as a more explicitly political contribution to the larger task of rendering the germanization of Poland fit for public consumption. If Baedeker can evade this transition and merely describe its effects in a supposed 'afterwards', these earlier publications represent what I'll call a 'tourism of disgust' that boldly depicts the task at hand in the present and gestures towards its coming mastery.⁶² This is a literature that straddles the genres of war reporting and travelogue, written for commercial publication by officials and journalists who in 1939-42 travelled the same routes that Baedeker was to take. It included the considerable coverage of Jewish matters in the *Krakauer Zeitung* and articles in the illustrated magazine *Das Generalgouvernement*.⁶³ These writers comment on the towns, sights, people and landscapes they encountered

and the challenges of travel in a strange land, but enrich their accounts with precisely the descriptions that Baedeker does not vocalize.

Here I will focus on two accounts of relatively extended tours through the region. The first is by the writer and film-maker Felix Luetzkendorf (a member of the NSDAP and the SS), who published a record of his January 1940 assignment to cover the 'treks' of ethnic German peasants who were being re-settled from their Wolhynian homeland (now under Soviet control) on farms confiscated from their Polish counterparts. Luetzkendorf studs his account with derogatory descriptions of the Poles and Jews and their living conditions (and like most travellers he also reports on the hotels his party is quartered in, from the elegant Bristol in Warsaw to a modest pension in Lublin). He found Lublin a more elegant city than Warsaw (a city he execrated), but perversely because of the number of refugees from Poland's erstwhile capital. The Jewish district struck him as looking very like Salzburg – but only until you heard and smelled it: 'Jews, rich and poor, in unimaginable numbers', wearing their yellow stars 'as a kind of distinction...proudly and openly... They do not go around hunched and timid, as do the Jews in Łódź or Warsaw who try to hide their stars. On the contrary. They act as if Lublin was their city and the star given to them precisely in order to honour them'. For Luetzkendorf,

the 'Jewish problem' had been neglected by the Polish government and allowed to develop into a 'pest hole' (*Seuchenherd*) that only the Germans were willing to attack with the vigour it needed.⁶⁴

A second and longer account in the same genre comes from the pen of Bruno Hans Hirche, a veteran Nazi journalist who became chief reporter for the *Krakauer Zeitung* and a prolific author of travel vignettes. These were collected in 1941 in an elegantly produced book, embellished with attractive high-quality photographs of landscapes, buildings, monuments and a few portraits. Hirche's arrival in Cracow in 1939 provides the occasion for the inevitable contrast: first 'The appalling muck in the station square... the deliberate neglect and Polish filth', but then within minutes he catches sight of the Burg (Wawel) standing 'in the midst of this alien strangeness [as] a *German* greeting and welcome'.⁶⁵ This juxtaposition is invoked repeatedly as he travels on, and is fortified with vicious descriptions of Jewish communities. Rzeszów (as he still calls it), which we met a moment ago in Baedeker, is described as 60 per cent Jewish, and here Hirche notes alongside the rail tracks extensive fallow fields bought up by Jews motivated by their 'inborn addiction to speculation'; but they are soon destined to be ploughed and harvested by the farmer, by which he means re-settled Germans.⁶⁶ While Hirche notes the presence of Jews elsewhere in equally malevolent

language, it is not until he reaches Warsaw that he invests his account with a fully articulated virulence.

Here his contrast starts with the juxtaposition of the marketplace's Germanic character with the

insatiable rapacity with which these [Jewish] parasites... have infected the entire city and made Warsaw into a veritable Jewish metropolis... The filth in which they live is almost indescribable and the number of lice commensurately high... They see typhus as their speciality. Jews are not harmed by [lice], perhaps simply out of gratitude for the useful role they play as busy intermediaries... The Jew fears cleanliness even more than he fears the Nazis.⁶⁷

Reaching Lublin, Hirche again observes that 'This cityscape is a German one', still recognizable under its Polish and Jewish accretions, and goes on to write a lengthy and cruelly demeaning description of the ghetto, with its thick-packed, crooked houses and filthy, deformed, crowding people, living off their retail exploitation of illiterate Polish peasants, hiding their possessions in a labyrinth of cellars whose inhabitants, he writes, 'are no longer human beings'. A relief, then, to escape from this into a pub filled with 'German comradeship...German words, German music, German hospitality'.⁶⁸

Accompanying Hans Frank on his ceremonial tour of triumph in September 1941 to mark Galicia's conquest from the Russians, Hirche, like Baedeker, notes every mark of German cultural identity ('doesn't Lemberg [Lvov] greet us like a familiar old friend?'), but he takes his other impressions further. Tarnopol, described by Baedeker a year later as 'once dominated by numerous Jews', is in 1941 a city that 'seethes with Jews... Here one could easily recognize or for that matter smell "the chosen people" from afar without any armband... it gives the impression of a murky and filthy Jewish nest [which needs] a firm German hand to set it in order' (p. 22). Finally, commenting on Cracow again in 1941, he notes that the blue-and-white star of David armbands were now so infrequent as to be countable, that 'here too German cleansing has been at work', and that this reflected a consistent policy that between 1939 and 1941 had strictly segregated Jews from non-Jews on public transport 'for sanitary reasons'.

The identification of Jews with dirt and disease is, of course, a central and familiar trope in Nazi propaganda, and it is hardly surprising to find it rehearsed repeatedly in this genre of writing. It echoes the wider publicity campaigns linking 'Jews, lice and typhus fever' that rendered 'the Jewish problem' in Poland as a problem of public health, its solution therefore to be found in German measures of public hygiene and urban planning.⁶⁹

When Baedeker later referred to German town planning and public health in Łódź (Litzmannstadt) or to the re-development of Lublin, only the steps leading towards this future were elided.⁷⁰ In only a single case (Kazimierz Dolny, a small tourist town near Lublin) did the Baedeker explicitly mention not only the loss of the town's German population and its alleged replacement by Jews in the 17th century but also the 'Aussiedlung' (re-settlement elsewhere) of its Jewish population after 1939, and the now ongoing reconstruction of the town as a 'pleasant German resort'.⁷¹ This breach of the rule of silence discloses that just as Jews had become the parasitical beneficiaries of departed Germans in the past, so now Germans had everything to gain by sweeping away the Jews in their turn.

Conclusion

There is an inertness in any tourist guide through which, as Roland Barthes has suggested in his short essay on the Blue Guide, 'the human life of a country disappears to the exclusive benefit of its monuments'. 'To select only monuments', Barthes goes on, 'suppresses at one stroke the reality of the land and that of its people, it accounts for nothing of the present, that is, nothing historical... What is to be seen is thus constantly in the process of vanishing.'⁷² The travelogue, by contrast, exists to conjure up precisely the people who are ostensibly excluded from the guide-

book – and in the literature I have been describing there are no inhibitions about enlisting every physical sense in the service of the tourism of disgust: the sight, sound and smell of Jews are repeatedly invoked to populate a panorama of sensational nausea.

Between them, guidebook and travel reportage play with the visible and the invisible, the vanishing or occluded past, the unresolved present and the gestural future that is already known even if it is not yet there. There is, in other words, a complex set of chronologies at work in both the Baedeker as a project and in its mechanics of representation. Barthes alludes to this, and we might also refer it to Koselleck's well-known multiplication of the categories of past, present and future, expanded into all the possible combinations of past, present and future from each of these vantage-points.⁷³ If we set the Baedeker in the wider frame of parallel contemporary descriptions of the General Government, as I have tried to do, we can construct a trajectory of representation which begins in 1939 with depictions of the present state of the region, the scale and enormity of the task ahead, and gestures towards what will at some point be a completed future. But the path from A to B – from the present present to the future present – is never made quite explicit; and it is on this ground of intermediate uncertainty that the Baedeker stands.

To our eyes, looking back at a past whose simultaneities we now know, the guidebook is disingenuously recording the sights of a landscape that was at that very moment the epicentre of the holocaust. As readers in a post-genocidal present we invest its descriptions and omissions with a pathos that is painful, but that also calls for scrutiny. For the Baedeker must not only ignore the catastrophe being enacted on this landscape, but must make its rhetorical stand on stabilizing the future as if it is already the present, while at the same time repressing that unspeakable but not unimaginable intermediate mechanism for making the passage from one to the other. That the passage from past to future still had a long way to go when the Baedeker was being mooted can be judged from a letter written by a Bavarian official describing his first impressions of Cracow, to which he had been seconded in April 1942: 'Desolate, empty, cheerless, the station shot to pieces, filth, stench, rabble, a foreign language, hardly a word of German.'⁷⁴

How very different, then, was Cracow to seem three years later to Halina Nelken, whose bitter expulsion from Cracow's cityscape I cited above. Nelken survived the war and returned to Cracow in 1945 to reclaim her city with her own eyes:

I drank in the sight of the market with its cobblestones, the slender tower of the Gothic church piercing the deep azure sky, the

Renaissance building of Sukiennice. Everything was as it had been, the horse-driven carriages and the flower sellers and the *heijnal* [the bugler on top of St Mary's church steeple] welcomed me home.⁷⁵

Nelken's euphoria is understandable, even if her confidence in being able to recover an unaltered city may not convince. The re-peopling of this land by those evicted in practice by the Nazis and rhetorically by the Baedeker was not to be history's last word. But that would be another book, another lecture.

References

¹ *Das Generalgouvernement. Reisehandbuch von Karl Baedeker* (Leipzig, 1943); hereafter *Das GG*.

² Götz Aly and Susanne Heim, *Vordenker der Vernichtung. Auschwitz und die deutschen Pläne für eine neue europäische Ordnung* (Frankfurt/M., 1993), pp. 188-91; Rudy Koshar, *German Travel Cultures* (Oxford, 2000), pp.153-59; Nicholas Lane, 'Tourism in Nazi-Occupied Poland: Baedeker's General-gouvernement', *East European Jewish Affairs*, vol. 27, no. 1 (1997), pp. 45-56; Peter R. Brenner, 'Schwierige Reisen. Wandlungen des Reiseberichts in Deutschland 1918-1945', in id. (ed.), *Reisekultur in Deutschland: Von der Weimarer Republik zum Dritten Reich* (Tübingen, 1997), pp. 127-76; Kristin Semmens, *Seeing Hitler's Germany. Tourism in the Third Reich* (Houndmills, 2005), pp. 172-73. A forthcoming history of the General Government by Martin Winstone, *The Dark Heart of Hitler's Europe: Nazi Rule in Poland under the General Government* (London, forthcoming 2014), makes extensive use of the Baedeker guide, and I thank the author for discussions and suggestions. I was unable to consult Susanne Müller, *Die Welt des Baedeker. Eine Medienkulturgeschichte des Reiseführers 1830-1945* (Frankfurt/M. and New York, 2012).

³ Bundesarchiv Lichterfelde (BAL), R 2/5035 and 5036 (Reich Finance Ministry budget plans 1940 and 1942). I thank Ramona Bräu for advice about holdings in the Polish archives in Warsaw.

⁴ Koshar, *German Travel Cultures*, p. 17.

⁵ Edwin Asa Dix, quoted in Mark D. Larabee, 'Baedekers as Casualty: Great War Nationalism and the Fate of Travel Writing', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 71/3 (2010), p. 460.

⁶ See Alex Hinrichsen, *Baedeker-Katalog Part I: History of the Firm*; trans. Michael Wild (Holzminden, 1989); Koshar, *German Travel Cultures*; Larabee, 'Baedekers as Casualty'.

⁷ Larabee, 'Baedekers as Casualty', pp. 476-77; in general also Paul Fussell, *Abroad. British Literary Traveling between the Wars* (Oxford, 1980).

⁸ Hinrichsen, *Baedeker-Katalog*, p. 58.

⁹ Karl Baedeker (ed.), *Madeira, Kanarische Inseln, Azoren* (Leipzig, 1934), followed by an English version in 1939; neither mentions the DAF. K. Baedeker (ed.), *Das Deutsche Reich* (Leipzig, 1936), and *Berlin und Potsdam* (Leipzig, 1936); these guides include celebratory summaries of recent German history, and omit references to synagogues etc., although the Berlin guide does mention the Jewish architect Erich Mendelsohn's Columbushaus (p. 10). The English-language *Baedeker's Germany* refers to the new government's 'reawakening of race consciousness, and a corporative organization of classes', and describes the Nuremberg laws as 'new laws dealing with German citizenship' (pp. lx-lxi).

¹⁰ Karl Baedeker (ed.), *Vorarlberg, westliches Salzburg, Hochkärnten* (Leipzig, 1938).

¹¹ Documentation in Bundesarchiv Lichterfelde (BAL) R2/4769.

¹² Semmens, *Seeing Hitler's Germany*, ch.7.

¹³ Rudy Koshar calls this 'savage tourism': Koshar, *German Travel Cultures*, ch. 3; Alan Confino, 'Traveling as a Culture of Remembrance. Traces of National Socialism in West Germany 1945-1960', *History & Memory* 12, 2 (Fall/Winter 2000), p. 108. For other work on wartime tourism, see Bertram M. Gordon, 'Ist Gott französisch? Germans, Tourism, and Occupied France, 1940-1944', *Modern and Contemporary France*, 4/3 (1996), pp. 287-98; id., 'Warfare and Tourism. Paris in World War II', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 25/3 (1998), pp. 616-38; Brenner, 'Schwierige Reisen', pp. 127-76; and the work of Klaus Latzel on the experience of German soldiers in World War Two, e.g. *Deutsche Soldaten – nationalsozialistischer Krieg? Kriegserlebnis – Kriegserfahrung 1939-1945* (Paderborn, 1998); Thomas Williams is currently conducting research into soldier tourism in World War Two, and I thank him for these and other references.

¹⁴ K. Baedeker (ed.), *Das Elsass. Strassburg und die Vogesen. Reisehandbuch von Karl Baedeker* (Leipzig, 1942); K. Baedeker (ed.), *Wien und Niederdonau* (Leipzig, 1943); for Alsace, see Koshar, *German Travel Cultures*, p. 150.

¹⁵ Unwelcome competition came from the mass-membership Italian Touring Club which had the advantage of Italian government backing and basically seems to have pirated Baedeker's Italian guides during the war; see Hinrichsen, *Baedeker-Katalog*, pp. 58-59.

¹⁶ Documentation in BAL R2/4769.

¹⁷ Erlass des Führers und Reichskanzlers über die Verwaltung der besetzten polnischen Gebiete, 12 October 1939 (*Reichsgesetzblatt* vol. I, 1939, p. 2077). Frank's formal authority was constrained by competences assigned to other authorities including the Reich ministry of interior, the Four-Year Plan, and most importantly those held by Himmler as head of the SS and police and Commissar for the Strengthening of the German Race. For details on the administration and Frank's position, see e.g. Czeslaw Madajczyk, *Die Okkupationspolitik Nazideutschlands in Polen 1939-1945* (Berlin, 1987), Bogdan Musial, *Deutsche Zivilverwaltung und Judenverfolgung im Generalgouvernement. Eine Fallstudie zum Distrikt Lublin 1939-1944* (Wiesbaden, 1999), ch. 1, and Dieter Schenk, *Hans Frank. Hitlers Kronjurist und Generalgouverneur* (Frankfurt/M., 2006), Part 2.

¹⁸ Musial, *Deutsche Zivilverwaltung*, pp. 23-24.

¹⁹ Joseph Goebbels, *Tagebücher*, ed. Ralf Georg Reuth, vol. 4: 1940-1942 (Munich, 1999), pp. 1494-95, entry for 5 November 1940.

²⁰ Musial, *Deutsche Zivilverwaltung*, ch. 1.

²¹ Schenk, *Hans Frank*, pp. 193ff; Lars Jockheck, "'Deutsche Leistung im Weichselraum." NS-Ausstellungen im "Generalgouvernement" 1940-1944', in Stefan Dyroff and Markus Krzoska (eds), *Geschichtsbilder und ihre museale Präsentation. Ausgewählte Beiträge zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Polen in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart* (= Polono-Germanica 3, Munich, 2008), pp. 119-140; exhibitions listed pp. 137-40; Lars Jockheck, *Propaganda im*

Generalgouvernement. Die NS-Besatzungspresse für Deutschen und Polen 1939-1945 (Osnabrück, 2006).

²² Dr Luxenberg, 'Die Werbestelle des Generalgouvernements in Berlin', *Das General-Gouvernement*, 1/12 (September 1941), pp. 58-61. The General Government also maintained an official representation in Berlin, led by Wilhelm Heuber, a legal colleague of Frank's.

²³ Schenk, *Hans Frank*, pp. 165-70; Curzio Malaparte, *Kaputt* (New York, 2005), ch. 1V; thanks to Jonathan Steinberg for this reference.

²⁴ Complete figures are hard to compile, and sources are contradictory, with most estimates for 1939 relying on the disputable Polish 1931 census (the Germans carried out a further census in 1943); see Musial, *Deutsche Zivilverwaltung*; Stephan Lehnstaedt, "'Ostnieten" oder Vernichtungsexperten. Die Auswahl deutscher Staatsdiener für den Einsatz im Generalgouvernement Polen 1939-1944', *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft*, 57/9 (2007), pp. 701-21; Schenk, *Hans Frank*, pp. 162ff. and 290; Hans Pottgiesser, *Die Reichsbahn im Ostfeldzug* (Neckarmund, 1960), pp. 18-21; Jockheck, "'Herrenvolk" und "Konjunkturritter"', pp. 107-14.

²⁵ Frank's authority was intermittently shaken after 1941 by gross deficiencies in the character of his rule, corruption scandals, and attacks from his rivals in the Nazi regime; see Musial, *Deutsche Zivilverwaltung*, pp. 30-32; Schenk, *Hans Frank*, pp. 265-77.

²⁶ This was a considerable loss of face in an administration suffused with personal rivalries and institutional Darwinism. It appears that this was later modified to allow Hauptpropaganda-abteilung to produce its own guide, presumably on a lesser scale, as long as it did not compete with the Baedeker; see the partly illegible entry in Hans Frank, 'Tagebuch', 24 September 1942, p. 1036 (BAL R52/II, 196). The department in fact sponsored several guidebooks and informational publications, including Heinrich Kurtz, *Führer durch die Stadt Krakau* (Cracow, 1942); id., *Krakau. Bildnis einer deutschen Stadt im Osten* (Bayreuth, 1944), and Karl Grundmann (ed.), *Führer durch Warschau* (Cracow, 1942).

²⁷ Hans Frank, 'Tagebuch', 19 Sept. 1942, p. 1002 (BAL R52/II, 196).

²⁸ And perhaps also on the relevant sections of the only previous Baedeker that had covered parts of Poland, Österreich-Ungarn nebst Bosnien und der Herzegowina. *Handbuch für Reisende* (Leipzig 1907); I am indebted to Richard Bessel for this suggestion.

²⁹ Two editions exist: Max Freiherr du Prel, *Das Deutsche Generalgouvernement Polen. Ein Überblick über Gebiet, Gestaltung und Geschichte* (Cracow, 1940), and Max Freiherr du Prel, *Das Generalgouvernement. Im Auftrage und mit einem Vorwort des Generalgouverneurs Reichsminister Dr Frank* (Würzburg, 1942). As Frank wrote in his foreword to the latter edition, the work was intended to give 'a cohesive and comprehensive overview of the emergence and progressive development of the General Government'; he also referred to the process of making 'a struc-

ture of order (*Ordnungsgebilde*) in the German sense out of the remnant of the Polish territories' (Frank, 'Zum Geleit', p. vi). These volumes included systematic and detailed data on each town or locality mentioned, as well as information on transport, accommodation, restaurants, chemists etc., of the kind found in guidebooks. The British Library copy of the 1940 edition (which belonged to the Document Centre Austria British Zone) is annotated in what appears to be du Prel's own handwriting with notes on the changes to be adopted in the 1942 edition. For du Prel, see Jockheck, *Propaganda im Generalgouvernement*, pp. 75ff.

³⁰ Jockheck, *Propaganda im Generalgouvernement*, pp. 161-64. Frank ensured, for example, that the official daily *Krakauer Zeitung* maintained a page length that exceeded that allowed to German newspapers during the war.

³¹ *Das GG*, 'Praktische Vorbemerkungen', pp. IX-X.

³² Not mentioned were visitors to the region's spas (from 1943 closed to civilians), which the guide and the government saw as one of the region's main prospective tourist attractions; *Das GG*, pp. XVII-VIII; Semmens, *Seeing Hitler's Germany*, pp. 172-73.

³³ *Das GG*, 'Praktische Vorbemerkungen', pp. IX-XVII; weapons (in the small print), p. XVI; detailed information about local facilities, *passim*.

³⁴ Baedeker's memorandum reprinted in Hinrichsen, *Baedekers Reisehandbücher*, pp. 59-62.

³⁵ Semmens, *Seeing Hitler's Germany*, pp. 172-73.

³⁶ *Das GG*, p. V; and cf. Luxenberg, 'Die Werbestelle', for a flexibly opportunistic definition of 'Fremdenverkehr' in war, p. 61.

³⁷ See their personnel files in BAL R52/IV, Nr. 26 (Fugmann) and 67 (Hoff); for the Institut, Michael Burleigh, *Germany Turns Eastwards. A Study of Ostforschung in the Third Reich* (Cambridge, 1988), chs. 4 and 5; Aly and Heim, *Vordenker der Vernichtung*, *passim*.

³⁸ Cf. Lane, 'Tourism in Nazi-Occupied Poland', p. 12; Weh also contributed an essay on 'Gesetzgebung' to du Prel, *Das Generalgouvernement*, pp. 152-56.

³⁹ Lynn H. Nicholas, *The Rape of Europa* (London, 1995), p. 74. The content of the essays is discussed in more detail in Koshar, *German Travel Cultures*, and Lane, 'Tourism in Nazi-Occupied Poland'. For *Ostarbeit* as a generational choice, see Lehnstaedt, "'Ostnieten" oder Vernichtungsexperten'; Markus Roth, *Herrnmenschen. Die deutsche Kreishauptleute im besetzten Polen - Karrierewege, Herrschaftspraxis und Nachkriegsgeschichte* (Göttingen, 2009); also Aly and Heim, *Vordenker der Vernichtung*; Burleigh, *Germany Turns Eastward*; Michael Wildt, *An Uncompromising Generation. The Nazi Leadership of the Reich Security Main Office* (London, 2009).

⁴⁰ *Das GG*, p. XXXIV, echoing Frank's epigraph to the volume.

⁴¹ Typical turns of phrase include 'previously dominated by numerous Jews' or 'the immigration of numerous Jews led to a decline', and juxtapositions of an era of Jewish domination with subsequent recovery under German administration; examples are too numerous to list, but e.g. Sandomir, p. 122; Lublin, p. 129; Reichshof (Rzeszów), p. 147; Przemysl, p. 150; Jaslo, p. 202; Tarnopol, p. 228; Horodenka, p. 242.

⁴² Lane, 'Tourism in Nazi-Occupied Poland', p. 56.

⁴³ *Das GG*, p. 36.

⁴⁴ *Das GG*, p. 45; list of street names in du Prel, *Das Generalgouvernement*, germanized wholesale by a decree of October 1941. pp. 264-67.

⁴⁵ *Das GG*, p. 38.

⁴⁶ *Das GG*, p. 50.

⁴⁷ *Das GG*, p. 51.

⁴⁸ Halina Nelken, *And Yet, I am Here!* (Amherst, 1999), p. 73.

⁴⁹ *Das GG*, p. 54.

⁵⁰ Schenk, *Hans Frank*, p. 174ff.

⁵¹ Nelken, *And Yet, I am Here!*, p. 71.

⁵² *Das GG*, pp. 146-47.

⁵³ http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/judaica/ejud_0002_0017_0_17208.html (visited 11 July 2013).

⁵⁴ *Das GG*, p. 127ff.

⁵⁵ *Das GG*, p. 129.

⁵⁶ See Dieter Pohl, *Von der 'Judenpolitik' zum Judenmord. Der Distrikt Lublin des Generalgouvernements 1939-1944* (Frankfurt, 1993) and 'Die Stellung des Distrikts Lublin', in Bogdan Musial (ed.), 'Aktion Reinhardt': der Völkermord an den Juden im Generalgouvernement, 1941-1944 (Osnabrück, 2004); Musial, *Deutsche Zivilverwaltung*.

⁵⁷ See Musial (ed.), 'Aktion Reinhardt'; Yitzhak Arad, *Belzec, Sobibor, Treblinka. The Action Reinhardt Death Camps* (Bloomington, 1987).

⁵⁸ *Das GG*, pp. 137, 140. Roads had been improved by Jewish forced labour since 1939; see Musial (ed.), 'Aktion Reinhardt', pp. 123-24.

⁵⁹ *Das GG*, pp. 135-36.

⁶⁰ Moshe Frank, *To Survive and Testify. Holocaust Traumas of a Jewish Child from Zamosc* (Tel Aviv, 1993); cited in *The USHMM Encyclopaedia of Camps and Ghettos*, vol. 11, 'Ghettos in German-Occupied Eastern Europe', Part B (Bloomington 2012) and referenced from <http://www.holocaustresearchproject.org/ghettos/zamosc.html> (visited 11 July 2013).

⁶¹ These included plans to establish some kind of Jewish 'reservation' in which Jews from western Poland would be concentrated, and then the vision of the evil and ambitious Lublin SS/police commander Odilo Globocnik to launch radical new plans to solve 'the Jewish question'; see Czeslaw Madajczyk et al. (eds), *Vom Generalplan Ost zum Generalsiedlungsplan* (Munich, 1994); Bruno Wasser, *Himmlers Raumplanung im Osten. Der Generalplan Ost in Polen 1940-1944* (Basel, 1993); Pohl, *Von der 'Judenpolitik' zum Judenmord*, pp. 153-57; Aly and Heim, *Vordenker der Vernichtung*, pp. 432-37.

⁶² Not discussed here is the academic output of the Institut für Deutsche Ostarbeit, which historians have examined as evidence for racial population planning policies in Poland; see e.g. Burleigh, *Germany Turns Eastwards*; Aly and Heim, *Vordenker der Vernichtung*. This literature is also not quite the same as the contemporary evidence, mostly in unpublished form, showing

the extent to which contemporaries were aware of the genocide and atrocities conducted by German forces in wartime Poland. It might also be contrasted with the recent concept of 'dark tourism' to sites explicitly associated with death and disaster; cf. John Lennon and Malcolm Foley, *Dark Tourism* (London, 2000) and the website of the Institute for Dark Tourism Research, <http://www.dark-tourism.org.uk/>.

⁶³ The *Krakauer Zeitung* had a daily print run that varied between 50,000 and 160,000, bolstered by the Wehrmacht's commitment to subscribe to one copy for every ten members of the armed forces; see Jockheck, *Propaganda im Generalgouvernement*, pp. 111-12; for its coverage of Jewish issues in the General Government, see *ibid.*, pp. 215-32. *Das Generalgouvernement*, launched with some fanfare in Berlin in October 1940, began with a print run of 15,000, later reduced to 3,000; most of its writers also wrote for the *Krakauer Zeitung*. Jockheck judges its readership to have been mainly 'élite', including readers outside the General Government; *ibid.*, p. 96.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 57, 56, 41-42.

⁶⁵ Bruno Hans Hirche, *Erlebtes Generalgouvernement* (Cracow, 1941), p. 12. See also *id.*, 'Galizischer Bilderbogen', *Das Generalgouvernement*, 1/12, September 1941, pp. 19-33; this was a special issue devoted to the newly conquered territory of Galicia. On Hirche, see Jockheck, *Propaganda im Generalgouvernement*, p. 105.

⁶⁶ Hirche, *Erlebtes Generalgouvernement*, p. 22. This is surely indebted to Peter-Heinz Seraphim's 1938 analysis of 'Jewish

urbanization', which was so influential for Ostforschung: Peter-Heinz Seraphim, *Das Judentum im osteuropäischen Raum* (Essen, 1938), ch. 2 especially.

⁶⁷ Hirche, *Erlebtes Generalgouvernement*, p. 72. For similar sentiments, see Friedrich Gollert, *Warschau unter deutscher Herrschaft* (Warsaw, 1941), pp. 68-76; thanks to Thomas Williams for this reference. Baedeker, by contrast, is utterly silent on Warsaw's Jewish population, perhaps strangely at first sight, but I think this was over-determined by the guide's primary obligation to assert German over Polish influences in Poland's capital city.

⁶⁸ Hirche, *Erlebtes Generalgouvernement*, pp. 86-89.

⁶⁹ See e.g. Robert Proctor, *Racial Hygiene. Medicine under the Nazis* (Cambridge/MA, 1988), pp. 194-205; Gordon Horwitz, *Ghettostadt. Lodz and the Making of a Nazi City* (Cambridge/MA, 2008); Wasser, *Hitlers Raumplanung*.

⁷⁰ On Lodz, see *Das GG*, p. 15; Lublin, *Das GG*, p. 129; and see du Prel, *Das Deutsche Generalgouvernement Polen*, p. 141: 'In the holes, dens and lairs and the hidden catacombs of the Lublin ghetto, ingrained with filth, lies the cradle of the Jewish race [Judentums]'; and Josef Sommerfeldt, 'Lublin und die Juden', *Das Generalgouvernement*, 2/1 (1942), pp. 20-25.

⁷¹ *Das GG*, p. 112. A ghetto was established in 1940, and its 3,000 inhabitants deported to Belzec in March 1942.

⁷² Roland Barthes, *Mythologies* (New York, 1972), pp. 74-76. My thanks to Paul Betts for this suggestive reference.

⁷³ Reinhart Koselleck, 'Begriffsgeschichtliche Anmerkungen zur "Zeitgeschichte"', in Victor Conzemius, Martin Greschat and Hermann Kocher (eds), *Die Zeit nach 1945 als Thema kirchlicher Zeitgeschichte* (Göttingen, 1988), pp. 17-31. Koselleck distinguishes between (1) 'a present [gegenwärtige] past, a present future and a present present', and thus similarly (2) 'a past present with its own past past and past future, and (3) 'a future present' with its own future past and future future – i.e. not only the present present, but all conceivable past presents and future presents, each with its own relationship to its own past and its own future, to the already known and the as-yet unknown.

⁷⁴ Landrat H. Doering, quoted in Markus Roth, *Herrenmenschen*, p. 7.

⁷⁵ Nelken, *And Yet, I am Here!*, pp. 263-64.

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