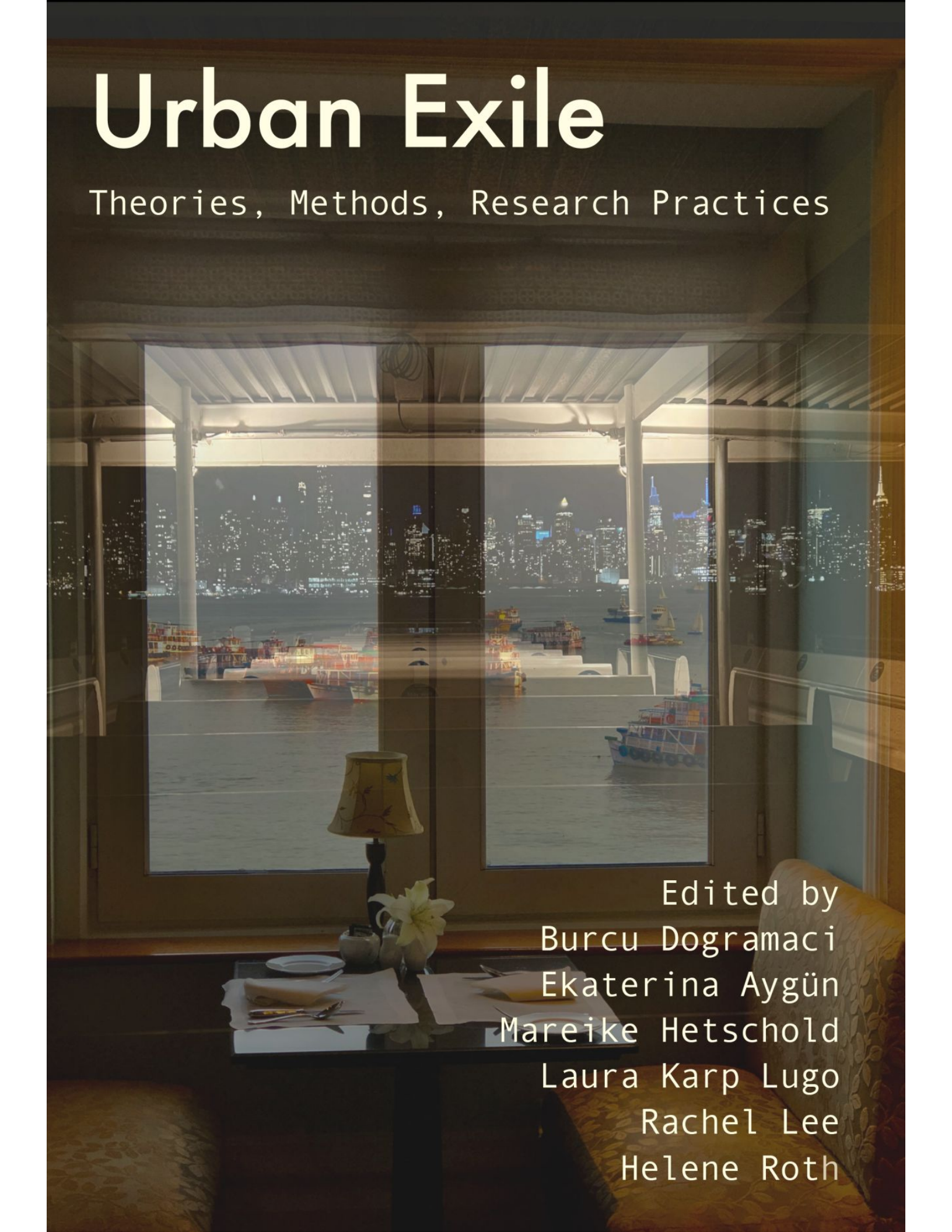


# Urban Exile

Theories, Methods, Research Practices



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# PART V

## PLACE-MAKING/BELONGING

## From Hamburg to Cape Town: The Denizen Photography of Else and Helmuth Hausmann

*Jessica Williams Stark*

On a Friday evening in early 1935, Else and Helmuth Hausmann were walking home after celebrating Shabbat with their family in Hamburg when they heard “noises of breaking glass and some faint shouting” (Hausmann n.d., 89).<sup>1</sup> Tightening their grip on one another, they quickened their pace through the darkening streets toward their apartment, the ground floor of which served as Else’s photography studio. “Coming nearer to our place of residence”, Helmuth later wrote, “we suddenly noticed a big crowd of mainly youngsters, teenagers”, who were busy “throwing heavy stones at our place into our windows” (89). Terrified, they watched as young thugs shattered Else’s display cases, destroyed her large studio camera and defaced their building with Nazi slogans. The following morning, while combing through “the broken shell of [their] once so lovely studio”, the couple began making plans to leave Nazi Germany (90). After being refused asylum in Holland and Palestine, they managed to arrange passage on a ship bound for an “unknown continent which [they] had been told was still roaming with lions and hyenas” (124) and an equally unknown country – South Africa – whose population was also beginning to contend with the rise of white nationalism.

As Helmuth would recall roughly 30 years later, he and Else were shocked when they eventually set foot in Cape Town, a city that to them seemed impossibly cosmopolitan given its distance from Europe’s metropolises. “We just could not believe all that we saw”, he writes, “as we were told overseas that in all probability we [would have] to sleep in tents and close our doors at night for fear of wild animals roaming the streets” (132). However, as he continues, “all we saw and found [when we arrived] were cultured people, well laid out streets and gardens, [and] lovely and stately built homes” (132). Indeed, the Hausmanns were so “impressed by this

growing Metropolis of the South” that they cancelled their plans to continue on to Johannesburg and decided to permanently settle in Cape Town (132). During the first few years in their new city, they sought to assimilate into colonial society as quickly as possible and worked to establish what would become one of South Africa’s most successful commercial photography studios – Photo-Hausmann (fig. 21.1). Over the course of the next four decades, the Hausmanns produced work for the country’s most widely-read newspapers and photographed South Africa’s leading actors, actresses and politicians. They became photojournalists, wedding photographers and portraitists. Above all else, they became denizens.

Although now considered archaic, the term ‘denizen’ was once used in British law to refer to foreign nationals who were refused certain legal rights that had traditionally been reserved by the state for its native-born residents (Benton 2010, 12). Legally considered half or second-class citizens, denizens have long occupied what the 18th-century English judge and politician William Blackstone once described as a precarious “kind of middle state, between an alien and a natural-born subject” (qtd. in Benton 2010, 13). As resident non-citizens in their new countries, denizens are subject to laws they have no say over and subjected to systems they often have little, if any, recourse to. They are, as Meghan Benton has outlined in her theorization of denizenship, “both insiders (territorially) and outsiders (of membership)”, defined as much by their inclusion in their new context as they are by their exclusion from the protection of its laws (2010, 11).



FIGURE 21.1: Photo-Hausmann Advertisement, *Cape Argus*, 11 June 1947, p. 4 (National Library of South Africa).

In recent years, political scientists have contributed to a growing literature on denizens and the challenges their existence poses to our understandings of liberal democracy.<sup>2</sup> While scholars outside of the humanities have begun to critically reexamine denizenship's legal valences, art historians have more recently claimed the figuration as a way to think through the work of exiled or foreign artists whose practices have contributed to more inclusionary and non-hierarchical forms of extra-national belonging. Marsha Meskimmon, for example, has developed in her work the notion of "worldmaking denizenship", describing it not as "a thing or quality [that] one has or attains" but as a process of becoming which "focusses on participation and the continual action of making oneself at home through different collectivities" (2017, 33). In theorizing denizenship as a practice through which "a vastly expanded concept of citizenship" can be created (32), Meskimmon has put forth an incredibly positive understanding of the denizen – one which, as we will see, arguably finds its antithesis in the Hausmanns.

Looking to Helmuth's unpublished memoir, as well as a number of his and Else's extant photographs, this chapter considers how the couple navigated, photographed and wrote their new city as anxious German Jewish refugees, determined parvenus and young denizen photographers.<sup>3</sup> While Else was rather quickly relegated to the feminine confines of their Cape Town photographic studio by a much more conservative society than they had known in Hamburg, Helmuth was almost immediately able to take to the city's streets with his Leica.<sup>4</sup> Shortly after they arrived in South Africa, he began wandering through his new urban context with his camera, frequenting white bourgeois nightclubs and restaurants and creating images which would help to conceptually establish a world that he and his wife hoped to be accepted into. While using the notion of the 'denizen' as an analytical tool affords an opportunity to consider the couple's particular experiences of exile, it also shows how their practice (and the work they produced) enabled them to secure a place in a society that was beginning to model itself after the one they had only recently escaped. In considering how the young couple sought to mitigate their belonging in Cape Town and disclosing how the sense of security they later won was paradoxically done so at the expense of others, this chapter ultimately reveals the need to more fully explore the ways in which exiles have used photography to mediate their relationship to their new homes – not only with critical eyes, as is more often discussed in the literature, but with assimilationist ones.

### *Figuring the Denizen*

When the Hausmanns arrived in Cape Town in October 1936, they joined roughly 2,500 other German-Jewish refugees who had similarly sought asylum from

Hitler's Third Reich in South Africa that same year (Stone 2010, 44). Like many of their exiled contemporaries, their experiences of statelessness had led them to become determined parvenus eager to secure a sense of belonging in what they hoped would become their new homeland. Despite having learned about South Africa's growing Boer Nazi movement while en route from Europe, for example, the couple chose to remain optimistic and attempted to disregard the antisemitic sentiments they had heard were beginning to spread through the streets of their new city (Hausmann n.d., 127–131).<sup>5</sup> In their desire to put the trauma they had experienced in Nazi Germany behind them, they effectively turned a blind eye toward South Africa's burgeoning white nationalism and began working to assimilate as quickly and seamlessly as they could into their new context. In Cape Town, Helmuth writes, he and Else had finally found a place where they "could walk in the streets without fear of being molested for the only reason of being a Jew" (135). It was a city, they were allowing themselves to believe, in which members of all races and religions "lived next to each other in a voluntary segregation, but in the best of harmony" (134).<sup>6</sup>

When Else and Helmuth first arrived in South Africa, they settled into a kosher boarding house near Cape Town's Company Gardens and joined a community of similarly exiled Jewish refugees from Russia, Poland and Lithuania (Hausmann n.d., 132).<sup>7</sup> While Else was able to quickly secure a job retouching and developing prints in the studio of one of Cape Town's more established photographers, Helmuth (who lacked his wife's formal training in photography) set out into the city's streets with their Leica in the hopes of finding work as an itinerant street photographer (135).<sup>8</sup> Unable to afford tickets to ride the city's trolley, he slowly learned to navigate Cape Town on foot, exploring its various residential and urban areas from a ground level (136). Among the first photographs he took in South Africa were those of white children who were being looked after by their Black caretakers in De Waal park, a large public green space situated near the base of Table Mountain. Finding early commercial success in informal children's portraiture of this sort, Helmuth began frequenting Cape Town's affluent parks and gardens, photographing visitors and expanding his repertoire to include outdoor luncheons, wedding parties and other posh social functions. As the months progressed, he became a recurring presence not only on the city's streets, but among its white affluent social circles – a denizen who could always be found at important private and public events with his camera.

Between 1936 and 1939, while the Hausmanns were working to establish themselves in Cape Town and beginning to build up their own photographic studio, fascism continued to spread throughout Europe. As South Africa was drawn nearer to the brink of war, each passing day brought with it reminders of the couple's legal precarity and of how easily they could be expelled from the place they were

trying to make their home. With the passing of the Aliens Act in early 1937, for example, the South African government legally deemed Jews unassimilable and threatened to revoke the residency permits of those whom it had earlier granted asylum.<sup>9</sup> When the country joined the war against Nazi Germany alongside Britain less than two years later, Helmuth writes that he looked up from his work only to learn that internment camps were being opened in South Africa for German nationals and that he and his wife had been declared “enemy aliens” (Hausmann n.d., 165).<sup>10</sup> Afraid that they would be interned because they were German-born and terrified that the South African government might repatriate them to a country that had only recently revoked their citizenship, the young couple grew increasingly uneasy.<sup>11</sup> “For many months we had nothing but worries over our heads”, Helmuth recalled, and “the tempo of our integration into this country of our adoption became so much faster” (165f.).

Given the unstable position the Hausmanns occupied during these years as stateless refugees, the places Helmuth chose to visit in Cape Town and the people he opted to photograph carry a particular significance. Unlike his similarly exiled colleagues – such as Anne Fischer and Etel Mittag-Fodor, who had decided to establish themselves as photographers among the city’s working classes – Helmuth had set his sights on becoming the go-to photographer for, what he refers to as, South Africa’s “high society” (Hausmann n.d., 148). A true parvenu, his decision to spend time among the city’s white bourgeois was not only financially motivated but also aspirational – the more he frequented Cape Town’s elite venues and the more time he spent photographing and socializing with its wealthy white clientele, the stronger his position among their privileged cohort became. From the harrowing stories he relates in his memoir about his and Else’s escape from Nazi Germany, it would seem that Helmuth had unfortunately learned what Hannah Arendt later argued all Jewish refugees eventually came to know, namely “that in this mad world it is much easier to be accepted as a ‘great man’ than as a human being” (Arendt 2007, 270). Until he could achieve the latter status in his new context, Helmuth sought security by surrounding himself with and photographing those who had achieved the former.

Among the innumerable images he took of Cape Town’s white upper class during this period is a now-weathered picture of a man and woman who appear to be enjoying themselves over drinks at Del Monico’s restaurant on Riebeeck Street (fig. 21.2). Leaning back in his chair with his elbows splayed, the now-anonymous man in this image wears a light suit and a dark tie which he has thoughtfully accented with a pocket square. Returning his gaze with a smile, the woman sitting next to him casually poses with two of her fingers set lightly against her temple. As her left hand hovers over the set of furs she has draped around her shoulders, her right rests on her handbag in such a way as to further display her





FIGURE 21.2: Photo-Hausmann, *Untitled (Del Monico's Restaurant, Cape Town)*, c.1936–1950, 13.8 × 8.8 cm<sup>2</sup>, gelatin silver print (Collection of the Author).

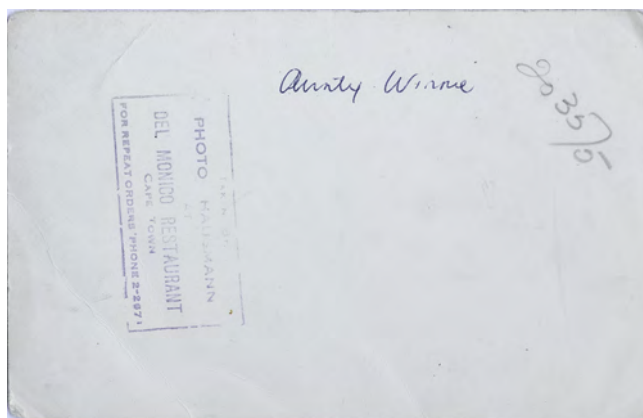


FIGURE 21.3: Photo-Hausmann, *Untitled (Del Monico's Restaurant, Cape Town)*, verso, c.1936–1950, 13.8 × 8.8 cm<sup>2</sup>, gelatin silver print (Collection of the Author).

jewellery. On the print's verso, a cursive inscription in navy blue ink relates that she is someone's “Auntie Winnie” and a slightly faded indigo stamp directs viewers to the Hausmanns’ studio on St. George’s street where, at the time this picture was printed, additional copies of it and other photographs Helmuth had made could be ordered (fig. 21.3).

Taken during the war, Helmuth’s snapshot of this well-dressed couple exemplifies the type of work he produced in South Africa as a young denizen photographer.<sup>12</sup> For years he visited Del Monico’s and other posh venues in Cape Town

where “night after night” he created what must have amounted to thousands of images of the city’s white leisured bourgeois (Hausmann n.d., 149). Although novel, his business model was not necessarily new.<sup>13</sup> Upon arriving at one of Cape Town’s upmarket restaurants, night clubs or hotels, Helmuth would move through its bustling social scene taking photographs of patrons as they drank, danced and dined. Bolstered by both the status of his clients and their seemingly insatiable desire to be seen, this venture into his new cosmopolitan city proved to be incredibly successful – so much so, he writes, that he “could hardly cope with the demand” and was forced to “work often right through the night to develop [his] films and to print the pictures” (149). Over the course of his first few years in South Africa, he boasts, “there was hardly anybody in town who not at one time or other went to [Del Monico’s or the Blue Moon Hotel] and eventually was caught on my camera” (172). With each of his visits to these places, Helmuth either established a new relationship or strengthened an old one, his presence building up like a patina throughout the city and among the upper echelons of its white society.

As his connections with Cape Town’s white elite grew, however, so, too, did his determination to differentiate between South Africa’s increasingly racist policies and those he and his wife had only recently fallen victim to under Germany’s National Socialism. Paradoxically, it would seem that the Hausmanns’ own experiences of racial persecution and dislocation had not made them sympathetic to those in their new surroundings whom they knew were similarly being discriminated against on the basis of race. Indeed, as Lotta M. Stone has noted in her study on German-Jewish refugees and their early experiences of exile in South Africa, the “mixed feelings” of relief that many exiles felt upon learning where they stood in their new country’s racial hierarchy did not often “extend to concern over the position and treatment of [its] non-white residents” (2010, 122). Rather than attempting to challenge South Africa’s discriminatory status quo, she writes, “many of these refugees from persecution and intolerance rapidly adopted the local feelings of superiority over the ‘inferior’ races” (ibid.). As is evinced throughout his memoir, Helmuth was among those who readily welcomed the privileges his designation as ‘European’ afforded him in South Africa and expressed full-throated support for a racially segregated system which, he was beginning to see, could potentially benefit him.<sup>14</sup> Indeed, rather than allowing himself to acknowledge the parallels that existed between his new context and the one he had only recently escaped, the young photographer instead chose to adamantly maintain that “everybody was treated as an equal” in South Africa, despite being repeatedly presented with evidence to the contrary (Hausmann n.d., 133).<sup>15</sup>

In the decade leading up to apartheid, for example, many of the places that Helmuth chose to frequent upheld a social (although not yet legal) colour bar which, he was learning, was exclusionary of those who had been deemed

‘non-white’ and yet did not discriminate against Jews. Establishments like Del Monico’s, for instance, readily welcomed German-Jewish émigrés who had been racialized in Europe, but from all accounts drew a line at admitting “dark-skinned” patrons whom the state had designated as “Non-European” (Stodel 1962, 48).<sup>16</sup> Located across the street from Cape Town’s Alhambra Theatre, the restaurant was a place that boasted performances by Black artists and musicians but which refused to serve them, and whose predominately Coloured staff were nightly policed by a white “gatekeeper” whose job it was to search them for items it was assumed they had pilfered over the course of their shifts (ibid, 103).<sup>17</sup> With cigarettes poised leisurely between their fingers, the man and woman in Helmuth’s image appear notably unconcerned with the structures of inequality that were enabling their evening and remarkably comfortable in a space that had been both created and reserved for them – one to which Helmuth had initially been permitted access to by means of his profession and which his photographic images would, over the years, help to reaffirm.

It is here that my interest in why Helmuth chose to image this particular world necessarily shifts to considering how, in doing so, he and Else also contributed to *producing* it. While many of the pictures the couple made during these years were purchased by their subjects – kept as mementos in private photo albums or passed along to friends and family – others were published and circulated en masse throughout South Africa’s newspapers, magazines and illustrated weeklies.<sup>18</sup> Throughout the Second World War and in the years that followed, photographs by the Hausmanns of the city’s wealthy socialites getting married, giving toasts at state dinners or posing in their studio could be found splayed across the pages of not only Cape Town’s most read newspapers – such as the *Cape Times* and the *Cape Argus* – but the country’s most widely circulated and sought-after pictorial magazines. Among the publications, their photographs appeared in most often was *The Outspan*, a richly illustrated South African weekly that boasted full-page pictorial instalments and frequent photographic competitions. Every week, for example, the magazine’s editors printed spreads with pictures of white South Africans the reader was told he or she “may know”, and almost every week these pages showcased one or more portraits by Photo-Hausmann (fig. 21.4).

In the years leading up to South Africa’s 1948 elections, the Hausmanns’ work not only depicted white members of South Africa’s community but problematically contributed to a growing collective imagining of *this community as white*.<sup>19</sup> The innumerable photographs they produced, in other words, did indeed help to ‘build a world’, but one that was problematically predicated on shifting (and increasingly exclusionary) notions of whiteness. While it is unlikely that the couple could have foreseen the larger ideological role their work would play in helping to redefine what it meant to be South African under National Party rule, by 1948



FIGURE 21.4: “South Africans You May Know.” *The Outspan: South Africa’s Weekly for Everybody*, 18 June 1948, p. 61 (New York Public Library).

they were more than well-versed in the nation’s visual economy and fully aware of the power photographs could have in shaping notions of citizenship. Indeed, their understanding of the importance of images in this matter can perhaps best be seen in their decision to submit a portrait of themselves and their daughter to *The Outspan’s* newly launched “S.A. Family Competition” in what might have

been a last bid for their own belonging in the months immediately leading up to the country's pivotal post-war elections (fig. 21.5). Published in early March 1948, the Hausmanns' appearance in the widely read weekly not only socially qualified their 'South Africanness', but visually signalled their right to be included in the consensus of the nation at this important moment in its history. Just as Helmuth's repeated presence in Cape Town's physical spaces had enabled him to build networks and to establish a sense of belonging in his and Else's new city, their frequent presence in the nation's mass circulated press (both in name and, in this instance, image) helped to affirm their position in its increasingly exclusionary – and notably white – imagined body politic.<sup>20</sup>



FIGURE 21.5: "More Entrants in Our New S.A. Family Competition." *The Outspan: South Africa's Weekly for Everybody*, 12 March 1948, p. 31 (New York Public Library).

In a period in which millions of autochthonous South Africans were denied their rights based not on the place of their birth but on the colour of their skin, examining the conditions of Else and Helmuth's legal and social denizenship raises important questions about how they sought civic security in a new colonial context not with critical eyes, but with assimilationist ones. While the connections they forged and the work they produced over the course of their four-decade long career in Cape Town did ultimately enable them to secure a privileged place in this new city, it also secured their position on a side of history that, for many reasons, remains underexamined. While scholars across the humanities have begun to show how artists and their work can more positively reshape and reconfigure our world, their studies also point to the need to recover examples that can help lay bare its realities. Raised not as a challenge to these more positive figurations but as a provocation, my recovery of Else and Helmuth's archive is done so at a moment in which the world again stands on the precipice of needing to be remade. In the midst of recuperating more inspirational histories of resistance that can help motivate us in this work, the Hausmanns' commitment to their assimilation stands as reminder of not only how exceptional their more left-leaning colleagues' interventions were, but of how easily our own desires for belonging and stability can contribute to the exclusion and oppression of others.

## NOTES

1. I would like to thank Jean Comaroff, Darren Newbury, Sarah Lewis, Mycah Braxton and the METROMOD team for their thoughtful feedback on earlier drafts of this material and for their help in bringing this chapter to its final form.
2. Outside of the humanities, the literature on denizenship, or 'alienage' as it is also called, is vast. Texts that have been key to my thinking on the subject include Hammar (1990), Benhabib (2004), Bosniak (2006), Cohen (2009) and Benton (2010).
3. A copy of Helmuth's unpublished memoir was generously provided to me by his grandson, Joseph Sanzul.
4. Because Else took on the more domestic role of managing their studio while Helmuth sought commissions on the city's streets, the first half of this chapter focusses more specifically on him. For more on Else and how her gendered experiences of exile inflected her photographic practice in Cape Town, see Williams 2020.
5. For a much more thorough discussion of antisemitism in South Africa than can be provided here, see Shain 2015.
6. To claim that Helmuth was simply naive about what was going on around him would be profoundly untrue. Begun in 1960, his memoir is laden with discussions about contemporary political events. In addition to addressing South Africa's role in the Second World War and the events that were unfolding in Europe, Helmuth also discusses the later "chaos"

- that was caused by early decolonization efforts across the African continent, speaks to the world's growing criticism of South Africa's apartheid regime, and voices his concerns about the conflicts between Israel and Palestine (Hausmann n.d., 5f., 246f.).
7. The Hausmanns moved a number of times over the course of their first few years in Cape Town. After a short period in the kosher boarding house on Wesely Street where they had rented a single room, they moved into a small two-bedroom apartment of their own "near the city and center of town" (Hausmann n.d., 146). When Else fell pregnant in late 1937, however, they realized that they would need more space to accommodate their growing family and decided to move again, this time into a slightly larger two-roomed flat on Gordon's street in Gardens which also doubled as their photography studio (152). After being admonished by the Cape Town City Council for operating their business out of their home, the couple was forced to find a separate premise for their studio (153). In what was most likely early 1938, they began renting a shopfront on St. George's street where Photo-Hausmann would be based for the remainder of the war (198).
  8. Helmuth writes that when he first began working as a photographer in Cape Town, he used the "little Leica" he had brought with him from Germany (Hausmann n.d., 135). Lacking any other photographic equipment during this early period, he also notes that he sought permission from Else's then-boss, Mr. Horwitz, to use his darkroom after hours in order to develop his prints (138).
  9. For a much more detailed discussion of South Africa's policies toward German-Jewish refugees during the Second World War than can be given here (particularly with regard to the Quota Act of 1930 and the Aliens Act of 1937) see Cuthbertson (1981), Stone (2010) and Shain (2015).
  10. Articles addressing the government's inability (or unwillingness) to discern between pro-Nazis, German Jews and others who had been deemed dangerous to the war effort in the early war years were particularly prominent in the leftist press. See, for example, "What is Behind Anti-Nazi Internments?" *The Guardian*, November 21, 1940, p. 1 and "Internments... Who's Next? Strong Deputation to Minister." *The Guardian*, December 5, 1940, p. 1.
  11. Helmuth explicitly addresses these fears in his memoir, writing: "We had to ask in ever increasing anxiety what will happen to us? Will we be allowed to carry on, or would we, after all, be sent to the Internment Camps which were recently opened?" (Hausmann n.d., 166).
  12. While this photograph's exact date is unknown, the stamp on its verso holds the phone number for the studio the Hausmanns first opened in 1939 (Hausmann n.d., 198).
  13. In describing how he began this aspect of his work, Helmuth writes: "Then I had another idea, actually it was not new, but certainly new to South Africa, to take pictures with flash-light during the evenings. We had noticed", he continues, "that many South Africans were very fond of dining outside or having parties, *Braivleis* and other entertainments either at their own home or even at certain restaurants [...] The Del Monico was just the place where, at that time, most of the High Society met for their social gatherings" (Hausmann n.d., 148). It is important to note that this style of itinerant 'event' photography was not, as

- Helmuth claims, “new to South Africa”. It had, in fact, been utilized for years by photographers of colour in Cape Town who were unable to afford the luxury of owning their own studios. What was novel about Helmuth’s enterprise was his ability to access these spaces in the city based on his ability to be perceived as white. For more information about other itinerant photographers who worked in South Africa, see O’Connell (2018).
14. In writing about Helmuth’s complicity in this racial system I am not the first to trouble the more well-established narratives about Jews and the complicated roles they played in South African politics during these years. For a more detailed discussion about these histories and what is at stake in not acknowledging them, see Frankental and Shain (1993), Adler (2000) and Braude (2009).
  15. Although Helmuth’s memoir cannot be given the full attention it deserves here, it is important to note how he later mobilized his experiences under National Socialism in order to downplay the National Party’s racial policies. “As a member of the Jewish faith”, he wrote shortly after the Sharpeville massacre in 1960, “[I] know what it means from many years of past experience to be called a second-class citizen, but I challenge the majority of the Europeans if they can compare the situation here in South Africa with any time during the Hitler regime” (Hausmann n.d., 6). Roughly three years later, he argued that South Africa was “the last bulwark of Western civilization” and declared that “it would be a tragic day for all of us, whatever race, color, or denomination we belong to should the government be forced to surrender to the pressure artificially created from a world of people who do not, and who do not want to know better. Let me tell the world at large”, he asserted, “that right here in sunny South Africa we are still living in harmony. Nobody whatever race he or she belongs to is in danger of their lives and every one of us – be they black or be they of white skin – is able to find work and earn a decent living and of course is protected by the laws of the land, and so it shall be, forever” (250).
  16. Discussions about racial categories in South Africa are complex and marked by apartheid-era classification systems which separated the nation’s people into four main groups: Black, Coloured, Indian and White. As understanding the Hausmanns’ position in South Africa is dependent on these categories and how they were understood at the time, I have used them here. For a brief introduction to this history, see Brown (2000).
  17. Helmuth’s own views on South Africa’s Coloured population were similarly condescending and reflective of the National Party’s later racial hierarchy. “I feel that there should be made a difference between [Black South Africans and] these human beings who are after all our own offsprings”, he writes (Hausmann n.d., 6). “The Natives don’t want them and they don’t want the Natives. Most of them feel far more inclined to be absorbed with us Europeans whose obedient servants they have always been. The fact that quite a number of them are still very low grade should not distract any government from taking advantage of their capability to serve and their preparedness to serve under any European government” (6).
  18. The Hausmanns also published photographs in the *South African Jewish Chronicle*, the *South African Jewish Times*, the *Zionist Record* and the *Lady’s Pictorial*. In addition to



- working as wedding and theatre photographers, they became the main photographers for African Consolidated Theatres, the Blue Moon Hotel, the Bohemian Club and Del Monaco's, and would go on to photograph the nation's leading statesmen, including Jan Smuts, D.F. Malan and the so-called 'architect of apartheid', Hendrik Verwoerd.
19. For more on denizenship and Benedict Anderson's notion of "imagined communities," see Meskimmon (2016).
  20. Shortly after the National Party was elected in May 1948, however, this once 'imagined' white body politic became very real. Denying that his party was antisemitic, South Africa's new Prime Minister D.F. Malan decided to count Jews who "had previously been seen as products of mixed race" among "whites who, he believed, would need to unite behind the Afrikaner nationalist banner to ensure the survival of the Afrikaner *volk*" (Braude 2009, 79). "Ironically, then", Claudia Braude writes, "Jewish 'whiteness' was guaranteed with the introduction of apartheid" (ibid.).

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