

The Fate of the Internationaler
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Numerous accounts of the history and development of the Internationaler Psychoanalytischer Verlag (hereinafter 'Verlag') have been given by authoritative persons. None of these individuals, however, while narrating events at first hand, was in a position to witness personally or be fully informed about all the developments in the two decades in which the Verlag was active. More recent scholarship, based largely on these personal recollections – first and foremost those of Ernest Jones – has tended to misread, misinterpret, and even to present factual inaccuracies.¹ I would like here to clear up some of these misconceptions, by drawing on archival material consulted now for the first time, and to add a certain historical perspective hitherto lacking.²

The founding of the Verlag

In the course of its twenty-year history the Verlag was in many regards unique in the Austrian publishing landscape. The words 'mushroom atmosphere' have been used to describe the active scene in Austria following the proclamation of the First Republic in November 1918. What distinguished the Verlag from the dozens of newly established publishing houses in Austria was its longevity, as well as the fact that it was, in essence, a non-profit organization and that it offered a limited, specialized programme. Most of the firms which – some with almost no capital at all, others with a great deal of it – set out to repatriate Austrian literature, or at least to reap the benefits of relatively low domestic production and labour costs compared with neighbouring Germany, were gone again by the mid-1920s at the latest.³ The Verlag itself at times only eked out an existence.

Another feature, at least for an historian, is the openness of the Verlag, which almost continually wrote its own history. Members of the International Psycho-Analytical Association and general readers were, as a rule, kept abreast of developments in and the fortunes of the Verlag. While it was unique also in that it specialized in the publication and distribution of psychoanalytical writings, the Verlag could not, any more than the other houses, withstand the pressures of the book market and general economic developments. At the risk of oversimplification, we may say that its major difficulties up until 1933 were economic, while those after the watershed 1933 were po-

¹ See esp. Hans-Martin Lohmann and Lutz Rosenkötter, 'Psychoanalyse in Hitlerdeutschland. Wie war es wirklich?', in *Psychoanalyse und Nationalsozialismus. Beiträge zur Bearbeitung eines unbewältigten Traumas*, ed. Hans-Martin Lohmann (Frankfurt/Main 1984), 54-66; and Elis. Brainin and Isidor J. Kaminer, 'Psychoanalyse und Nationalsozialismus', *ibid.*, 86-105.

² This archival material includes files in the Archiv, Österreichisches Buchgewerbehaus, Vienna; Vienna Booksellers Guild, Österr. Staatsarchiv: Allg. Verwaltungsarchiv and Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Handelsgericht Wien.

³ For further details see Murray G. Hall, *Österreichische Verlagsgeschichte 1918-1938*, 2 vols. (Vienna 1985).

litical with economic overtones.

Before describing the events in the 1930s leading up to the demise of the Verlag in 1938, a word about its founding in 1919. As Freud related in the *Internationale Zeitschrift für ärztliche Psychoanalyse* in 1919, the financial backing for the Verlag came from a charitable fund in Budapest. The considerable sum of money was to be used to further the aims of the psychoanalytical movement.⁴ For a number of reasons, the two journals published by the Association at the time had lost subscribers during the war, and it seemed inevitable that the publisher and bookseller Hugo Heller would decide to cease publication for lack of financial viability. The aim then was, by taking the journals out of the hands of a commercially oriented publisher, to secure regular publication and create a reliable system for distribution of both journals. Furthermore the Verlag planned to publish books and brochures on subjects from the field of medical and applied psychoanalysis. This laudable undertaking achieved its goal and published several hundred works which make up the corpus of psychoanalytical literature, despite the precarious financial situation at the end of the 1920s and in the 1930s.

The thick file once kept in Vienna by the Handelsgericht, a court regulating commercial enterprises, contains its share of dry, uninteresting material.⁵ But it also contains a curious tale not told until now, namely the attempt by the Verlag to gain official legal recognition after having drawn up its statutes in mid-January 1919. Obtaining a place in the official trade register proved to be a problem in itself, but entirely within the parameters of Austrian bureaucracy. Indeed the process took about two and a half years. The Chamber of Trade, Commerce and Industry, just one of the many authorities whose voice had to be heard in such cases, was totally against the use of the word 'international' in the company's name. In June 1921 the Chamber declared the use of the word to be 'unjustified'. The description could, it was argued, only be used for businesses which had considerable capital at their disposal and close ties with firms outside the boundaries of the former monarchy, or at least in cases where there were immediate prospects of such business connections.

This ruling prompted a five-page legal appeal on the part of the Verlag, one tantamount to a self-portrait at this early stage. It was pointed out that the operations were 'international' in the truest sense of the word, the name of the firm being taken from the International Psycho-Analytical Association, in existence since 1908, with branches in England, America, Holland, Switzerland, Germany, Hungary and Vienna. The name was based not on any fleeting trade relations, but on the 'internationality of science', something which had not suffered under the destructive influence of the war. As far as finances were concerned, the individual branches of the organization had foreign currency reserves far exceeding those which local companies could ever hope to amass. Besides, it was argued, the company at hand was primarily a non-profit organization serving the aims of science and in particular the needs of members of the Austrian branch, who could not afford to purchase books from abroad with the weak Austrian currency. Among the arguments in the lengthy appeal was a note of patriotism: the Verlag would be able to export and make known Austria's reputation and

⁴ S. Freud, 'Internationaler Psychoanalytischer Verlag und Preiszuteilungen für psychoanalytische Arbeiten', *Int'l Z Psych*, V (1919), 137-8. And see *ibid.*, VI (1920), 381f.

⁵ Handelsgericht Wien Reg. C 55, 223. The file is kept in the Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv.

Austrian scholarship abroad. In late July 1921, the Chamber of Trade changed its mind and now found the word 'international' justified. The next day the Verlag was entered in the trade register. And during the following decade it did indeed gain an international reputation.

By 1931 the Verlag was by no means the only Austrian or German publishing company in financial trouble. Martin Freud took over the management of the Verlag in that year, and endeavoured to placate anxious creditors – with some success for the time being. The financial gap was bridged by obliging each member to subscribe the equivalent of \$3 monthly. Later, individuals made private donations to keep the business going. As Ernest Jones relates, matters were so desperate in March 1933 that Freud conceived the idea of helping the firm by writing a new series of his *Introductory Lectures*.⁶ Needless to say, the sale of his works had provided the financial backbone for its operation, but now the market was about to change.

Austrian writers, publishers and booksellers were traditionally over-dependent on the German book market and the Verlag was no exception. According to a survey made by the Austrian Booksellers Association in 1935, at the height of a German book-dumping campaign, domestic sales made up only 16.8 per cent of the turnover of the Verlag, as opposed to 26.5 per cent in Germany and 56.7 per cent elsewhere.⁷ Here it is important to note that although Verlag publications bore the imprint 'Vienna-Leipzig', only the distributor, the wholesale agent for the firm, was located in Leipzig. Thus although more than 80 per cent of its output was sold via Leipzig, the books were not actually produced there. The imprint has led most scholars, including Jones, to draw completely false conclusions as to what part of the Verlag's operation was where.

Political pressures in the 1930s

The financial difficulties besetting the Verlag were compounded by political – one might even say 'racial' – ones following Hitler's rise to power in the spring of 1933. The desire to 'purify' the book market of purportedly destructive, non-German elements found its most stunning, although merely symbolic, manifestation in the book burnings of 10 May. Freud's works were fourth in the sequence to be thrown on the bonfire, while the herald of Nazi ideology solemnly proclaimed: 'Against the soul-destroying overvaluation of sexual life! For the nobility of the human soul! I consign to the flames the writings of Sigmund Freud'.⁸

The Nazi policy of burning and banning books has been depicted by historians in what tend to be simplistic terms. It is true that the publishing trade was abruptly divided into 'German-Aryan' firms on the one hand and 'undesirable' (usually Jewish) enterprises on the other. But in practice the policy towards undesirable firms or au-

⁶ E. Jones, *The Life and Work of Sigmund Freud*, 1 vol. edn., ed. and abridged Lionel Trilling and Steven Marcus (repr. London 1984), 613.

⁷ Archiv, Österreichisches Buchgewerbehaus, Vienna. Verein 1935, file 423.2.

⁸ 'Vierter Rufer: Gegen seelenerzetzende Überschätzung des Trieblebens! Für den Adel der menschlichen Seele! Ich übergebe dem Feuer die Schriften von Sigmund Freud.' Quoted in *'Das war ein Vorspiel nur...': Bücherverbrennung Deutschland 1933: Voraussetzungen und Folgen*, exhibition catalogue (Berlin: Akademie der Künste 1983), 212 f.

thors was by no means consistent. Nazi policy *vis-a-vis* the book trade was a mixture of chaos, cunning and contradiction. Thus despite the spectacular casting of Freud's books on to the bonfire, there appears to be no evidence that the publications of the Verlag were prevented after 1933 from being exported to Germany and sold through Leipzig. Prior to March 1936 they were certainly not banned on political grounds. A further incongruity can be noted in the fact that the Verlag, like other foreign-owned publishers (even those classified as 'Jewish'), was permitted still to advertise in the all-important *Börsenblatt*, the official publication of the book trade. Even at the end of December 1934 the Verlag was able to place a full-page ad in that journal for the *Almanach der Psychoanalyse* for 1935.⁹ And until the Anschluss in 1938, Austrian publishers, especially those classified as 'Jewish', appear to have enjoyed certain privileges in Germany, since the Nazi government wanted to avoid the international complications that would have resulted from a ban.

The new state of affairs in Germany after 1933 did of course have adverse consequences for the Verlag. Publication of the journal *Psychoanalytische Bewegung* ceased in December 1933, and a 'special offer' enabled subscribers to purchase back issues. The reasons given for the suspension were that the overwhelming majority of subscribers were in Germany, and that the economic situation was worsening. The journal *Zeitschrift für psychoanalytische Pädagogik* suffered a similar fate, as here again most subscribers were in Germany. The reason given this time was somewhat more explicit: 'On account of the turnabout in the domestic political situation in Germany we have lost our entire readership'.

By January 1936 sales in Germany of books and journals published by the Verlag had been reduced to a quarter of their previous levels.¹⁰ Martin Freud was optimistic that the market would not fall below that figure. But a short time later that market had to be written off altogether. An unpleasant surprise marked the turning-point in the Verlag's fortunes.¹¹ On 24 March 1936 Martin Freud was informed by his distributor, the wholesale bookseller Volckmar, in Leipzig that by order of the police chief there the Gestapo had been around and carted off 7,679 copies of the titles he listed. Martin Freud was later told that the entire stock of Verlag publications had been confiscated. The writings of Sigmund Freud featured particularly prominently in the list of works confiscated.

Rumours that the books were all to be destroyed, or indeed had already been destroyed, proved however to have no basis in fact. Martin Freud hastened to point out that the rumours were not spread from Vienna. The 'culprit' was Freud's other son, Ernst, in London, who told reporters his father's books had been confiscated or burned. This story, including news of a later intervention by Ernest Jones, was carried by the *News Chronicle* in London, with the headline: 'NAZIS BURN WORKS OF FREUD / LEIPZIG FACTORY LOOTED'. The story was picked up by the *Neues Wiener Journal* in Vienna, which appears to have been the only local paper to men-

⁹ *Börsenblatt*, vol.101, no.285 (7 Dec 1934), p. 5786.

¹⁰ *Int'l Z Psych*, XXIII, no. 1 (1937), 189.

¹¹ The account which follows is based on correspondence between Martin Freud, the Booksellers Association in Vienna and the Ministry for External Affairs in Vienna, in the Archiv, Österreichisches Buchgewerbehaus, Vienna, Verein 1936, file 433, and Österr. Staatsarchiv, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, N.P.A., Kt. 123 ('Beschlagnahme von Büchern des Internationalen Psychoanalytischen Verlages in Leipzig').

tion the Gestapo swoop.¹² The cloak-and-dagger operation remained completely unknown even to people in the German book trade, who went on ordering Verlag publications as if nothing had happened.

A possible explanation for the obvious deliberate harassment, coming three years after the book bonfires and several months before publication of the first official list of literature 'undesirable' in Nazi Germany, can be derived from a parallel case. Only days before the seizure of the Verlag stocks in Leipzig, the police chief had ordered the Gestapo to raid the same distributor, Volckmar, and to confiscate every book by Stefan Zweig on the premises, and all the other stock belonging to Zweig's publisher, Herbert Reichner of Vienna. Neither Reichner nor Martin Freud was officially informed of the police action. Nor were the reasons for it immediately apparent. There was no specific legislation in Germany banning either psychoanalysis as such or works on the subject, its teaching or practice. Psychoanalysis may well have been considered a 'Jewish' aberration, but it turns out that the Nazis had a different pretext for seizing the property of the Verlag – and an allegedly legal one at that. A decree of 28 February 1933, suspending numerous freedoms in the German constitution until further notice, had a first paragraph which read as follows: 'Printed works whose contents are liable to endanger public safety and order can be confiscated and withdrawn by police'.¹³ The decree proved to be a blank cheque. Of course Freud's books no more endangered state security than did those of Stefan Zweig, but both authors became the victims of this general decree.

The day after receiving the news of the confiscation, Martin Freud sent a letter to the police chief in Leipzig requesting the release of the books, so that they could be transported back to Vienna. He waited three weeks for the terse reply: his application had been passed on to the ministry responsible and he would be informed in due course of the ministerial decision. Meanwhile, the Leipzig distributor and agent for the Verlag informed Martin Freud that he was severing business ties at the end of April. This was a potentially more disastrous blow than the various blacklistings.

Martin Freud had sent August Beranek to Leipzig and then to Berlin to plead his case before the Reichsschrifttumskammer, but Beranek returned to Vienna empty-handed after officials in Berlin intimated that if the Austrian government hadn't launched a diplomatic offensive in the meantime the books could have been released on the spot. Martin Freud got in touch immediately both with the Booksellers Association in Vienna and the Foreign Ministry, which intervened on his behalf through the Austrian Embassy in Berlin. Victimized publishing colleagues met to discuss the confiscations in Leipzig.

¹² *News Chronicle*, 7 Apr 1936, p.13: '[... Mr Ernst Freud said: "I was amazed to learn of the wholesale destruction of my father's works. I knew that his books were regarded with disfavour by the Nazi authorities but having regard to their international importance I never thought such action would be taken.[...]"'. The author would like to thank Dr Edward Timms for his assistance in obtaining a copy of this article. The Vienna report appeared in the *Neues Wiener Journal*, no.15.228 (10 Apr 1936), p.6.

¹³ 'Verordnung des Reichspräsidenten zum Schutze vom Volk und Staat', *Reichsgesetzblatt*, Teil I, Nr. 17/1933. Ausgegeben zu Berlin, den 28. Februar 1933. For details of the Stefan Zweig affair, see Murray G. Hall, 'Literatur- und Verlagspolitik der dreißiger Jahre in Österreich. Am Beispiel Stefan Zweigs und seines Wiener Verlegers Herbert Reichner', in Stefan Zweig 1881/1981. Aufsätze und Dokumente. Herausgegeben von der Dokumentationsstelle für neuere österreichische Literatur in Zusammenarbeit mit dem Salzburger Literaturarchiv (Vienna, Oct 1981), 113-36.

Martin Freud had a number of arguments in his favour. The Verlag – while branded as 'Jewish' and foreign-owned – was a member of a number of supra-national organizations, among them the Börsenverein für den Deutschen Buchhandel, whose non-German members were not subject to domestic German legislation and restrictions. Hence the apparently privileged position enjoyed by so-called 'Jewish' Austrian publishers in Germany itself, at least until the Anschluss. As Martin Freud pointed out in his correspondence with the Foreign Ministry and the Booksellers Association, part of the property seized belonged to foreigners and was thus a different class of 'booty'. This facilitated diplomatic interventions on the part of Britain, France and the United States.

Let me return briefly to Martin Freud's letter of 25 March 1936, addressed to the police chief in Leipzig. Both its condescending tone and subtle irony are worth quoting:

Our company has its base in Vienna, we are a strictly scientific publisher whose authors are for the most part of Aryan descent and foreign nationals (Americans, Britons, Dutch, French and Hungarians). We only distribute our books in Germany through our Leipzig commission agent on a relatively small scale and distribute them primarily to the Nordic countries and overseas, including Japan, South Africa and New Zealand. Of course we could have made these shipments directly from Austria, but we preferred to have our Leipzig agent, the F. Volckmar Company, take care of all distribution abroad on account of our confidence in German organizing talent, German precision and reliability, and German bookselling expertise.¹⁴

To cut a long story short, the problem was solved roughly four months later, during which period the Verlag was unable to sell its wares via Leipzig. Martin Freud was given permission to transport the confiscated property from Leipzig back to Vienna at his own expense. This information had been passed on through diplomatic channels several days in advance. In a letter of 14 July 1936 from the Austrian Embassy in Berlin to the External Affairs department of the Federal Chancellery in Vienna the envoy wrote:

As concerns the intervention undertaken in the above-mentioned matter, the German Foreign Office has informed the [Austrian] Embassy in Berlin that the President of the Reichsschrifttumskammer has ordered the release of the confiscated books belonging to the above-mentioned publishing house. In addition, the wholesale agent has been given permission to continue to sell the works in question abroad.

The claim that the Verlag was 'seized and liquidated by the Gestapo' in Leipzig in 1936, which one finds even in the work of recent historians, is thus very misleading. Even Jones's contention that the Verlag had to continue in Vienna as 'a gravely mutilated torso' is also not entirely correct. Nor does Jones say that the authorities did eventually release all the property.¹⁵

¹⁴ Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Abt. Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, N.P.A., Kt. 123, Zahl 40.488-13/36.

¹⁵ Cf. Lohmann and Rosenkötter in *Psychoanalyse und Nationalsozialismus*: 'Am 28. März 1936 wurde der Internationale Psychoanalytische Verlag in Leipzig von der Gestapo beschlagnahmt und liquidiert'. Jones III. 201,

In a letter dated 17 July 1936, addressed to the legal counsel of the Booksellers Association in Vienna, Martin Freud revealed that the Germans were more generous than has hitherto been supposed. For as we have seen, he was allowed to leave part of the stock of books with Volckmar and to continue to sell books abroad from Leipzig. The same concession was made to Stefan Zweig's publisher. To what extent the release was a propaganda move on the part of the Germans, coming on the eve of the signing of the so-called 'July Agreement' between Hitler and the Austrian Chancellor, Kurt Schuschnigg, is difficult to say with certainty. The books of Stefan Zweig, seized just before Freud's, were later released, then confiscated once again, and then again released only days before the July Agreement was signed. There are numerous other examples of these German antics.

How was a German-language Jewish publisher to survive under such adverse circumstances? A further, rather unexpected answer is provided by newly discovered material which reveals that Martin Freud was seriously considering an alternative field of publication to keep the Verlag alive. A year after the seizure in Leipzig, in late March 1937, Martin Freud wrote again to the legal counsel of the Vienna Booksellers Association, to air an interesting proposition:

I have just gone over my company's balance sheet for the year just passed, 1936, and have come to the sad conclusion that I will not be in a position to continue operations on the previous basis or at all. Psychoanalysis has to all intents and purposes been banned from Germany. We only have the distribution rights for the German-language editions of most works of Prof. Freud, and it is apparent that because of the far too restricted markets brought about by the loss of Germany new psychoanalytical literature will no longer be able to be sold in sufficient quantities for it to be worthwhile for us or the authors.

Thus the Verlag had reached the end of the line financially a year before its politically enforced closure after the Anschluss.

Under the terms of its legal registration the Verlag was only permitted to publish works pertaining to psychoanalysis. In 1937 Martin Freud's only hope of staying in business was to expand the scope of his publishing and become active outside the confines of psychoanalysis. He came up with a modest plan to rescue the Verlag. What he had in mind was producing some five or at the most ten books a year with 'as neutral a content as possible' ('möglichst neutralen Inhalt'). That way, as he explained, he could meet overhead expenses not covered by the sales of the traditional fare. In order to ensure continuity, the company's name would have to be retained as publisher of the journals. On the other hand, he wrote, he would have to be able to publish the non-psychoanalytical works under a neutral name, 'because it would certainly appear ridiculous and dubious if a book on gardening or actuarial medicine came out under the banner of the Psychoanalytical Press'. Martin Freud emphasized that it was 'a question of survival' ('eine Existenzfrage') and hoped that the legal counsel would bring his influence to bear in broadening the field of operation of the Verlag. The firm was free from debt, but losses could be expected if the Verlag continued with works restricted

to psychoanalysis. The only alternative, he concluded, was to liquidate the firm.¹⁶ The counsel's reply is not on file, but it is clear that this scheme could not in any case have been implemented in the short time that remained before the Nazis marched into Austria.

Anton Sauerwald and the crisis of 1938

The consequences for psychoanalysis of the Nazi occupation of Austria have been described again and again from different points of view, notably by contemporaries of Freud like Ernest Jones, Richard F. Sterba, Max Schur and others. August Beranek's account, written in the 1960s, is in part factually inaccurate, while Wolfgang Huber's dissertation of 1977 is still the most reliable documentation we have.¹⁷ Rather than review the contents of the various published recollections, I would like instead to present part of the hitherto unknown story of the man who, as Schur is one of the few to acknowledge, played an important role in Freud's fate, namely the chemist Anton Sauerwald. Sauerwald was only thirty-five when, on 16 March 1938, he was put in charge of liquidating the Psycho-Analytical Association, the outpatients clinic or 'Ambulatorium', and the Verlag in the Berggasse. At this point he was one of the 20,000 to 30,000 appointed or selfappointed so-called 'wild' commissars who took charge of Jewish businesses in the city. Sauerwald was not officially appointed until late May 1938. The fact that the Verlag was not named among the 'Jewish firms still to be dealt with' in the list compiled by the new men calling the shots at the Booksellers Association, seems to suggest that its fate was a foregone conclusion, decided upon elsewhere. Indeed it was, for there could be no conceivable interest in allowing the business to continue.

Anton Sauerwald had studied science, medicine and law at the University of Vienna and graduated in 1929. In the early 1930s he went into business for himself, establishing a chemical laboratory in the 17th district. His special field was the making of explosive devices. Press reports after the war link him with the Nazi terrorist attacks in Vienna in 1933.¹⁸ His lab was kept under police surveillance. Despite his youth, he was an authority in his own field.

Politically speaking, he seems to have been a typical Austrian, keeping all his options open. While wearing the membership pin of the Fatherland Front on one lapel, he had the swastika under the other. Sauerwald may well have been 'fervently antisemitic', as Jones infers – and his membership in the fraternity 'Germania' would support that argument. But when he began work at the Berggasse, he could not formally claim the status of 'illegal Nazi' – that is, of someone who had worked 'underground' for the Nazis prior to the Anschluss and who could thus expect special rewards from the new regime. It was only after March 1938 that he applied for membership in the Nazi party

¹⁶ Letter of 24 Mar 1937 in the archives of the Österreichisches Buchgewerbehaus, Vienna, File V 1937.

¹⁷ R.F. Sterba, *Erinnerungen eines Wiener Psychoanalytikers* (Frankfurt/Main 1985); originally pub. in English as *Reminiscences of a Viennese Psychoanalyst*, Detroit 1982); M. Schur, *Sigmund Freud. Leben und Sterben* (Frankfurt/Main 1977); A. Beranek, 'Wie die Nazis den Internationalen Psychoanalytischen Verlag zerstörten', *Pinkus Katalog* 118 (Zürich, May 1969); W. Huber, 'Psychoanalyse in Österreich seit 1933' (D. Phil. diss., Salzburg 1977).

¹⁸ *Neues Österreich*, no.152 (18 Oct 1945), p.3.

and was put on the waiting list. After the Anschluss the recruitment of party members was halted, and applicants frequently became so-called 'aspirants' ('Parteienwärter'). The actual awarding of official NSDAP membership often took place completely unbeknownst to the applicant, sometime during the war. Beranek, who himself appears to have been an 'illegal Nazi', even makes Sauerwald into an 'SA-Mann', a member of the Nazi Storm Troopers. In fact, Sauerwald was one of hundreds of thousands of Austrians who could claim, at least after the war, to have been 'sort of, but not really' Nazis.

Between 1939 and 1945 he served as a major in the Luftwaffe and was taken prisoner by the Americans. Upon his release he returned to Vienna on foot. The advice given in Austria in those days to anyone with real or imagined skeletons in his closet was 'Go west, young man'. Sauerwald left for the Tyrol to join his wife, who had fled the city just before the dreaded Russians arrived. About this time a number of Viennese papers began to dredge up details from Sauerwald's sordid past. These largely erroneous reports appear to have been instigated by Freud's ill-informed nephew Harry, who was in Vienna as an officer in the US army. In a long article based on hearsay, half-truth and fantasy, Sauerwald was tried and convicted by the press in October 1945. The headline in the *Neues Österreich* read: 'SIGMUND FREUD'S BROWN MISERY. NAZI BOMBER DR SAUERWALD. Among the salient passages were: 'Sauerwald plundered Sigmund Freud lock, stock and barrel' and 'the only possible verdict is: a beast without a soul'.¹⁹ Sauerwald was placed on the wanted list, arrested in April 1947 and kept in custody for three and a half months.

He had to stand trial before a People's Court (Volksgericht) not once – as Schur suggests – but twice. On both occasions he was acquitted. The first trial found him not guilty of war crimes in connection with his role as commissar in charge of the Verlag, the Psycho-Analytical Association and the clinic. The second trial related to whether Sauerwald had actually been an 'illegal Nazi' prior to 1938. It turned out that he, like thousands of others after the Anschluss, had falsely claimed the coveted 'illegal' status in order to gain credit in the eyes of the new Nazi regime. The fact that his claims in 1938 proved to have been fraudulent was the basis for his acquittal in 1947. The People's Court found him not guilty of having been an illegal Nazi, and also acquitted him of the charge that he had committed fraud in his post-1945 registration documents by failing to mention his Nazi past.²⁰ Sauerwald was also involved at the time in another civil action to recover property rights of which he had been deprived.²¹

It is against this background that we must assess the impact of the events of 1938 on Freud and the Verlag. Anyone who studies existing accounts of what happened to Freud's personal effects, on the one hand, and the assets and property of the Verlag on the other, is bound to be thoroughly confused, so abundant are the contradictions and

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Landesgericht für Strafsachen Wien. Vg 8f Vr 2083/47 and Vg Ia Vr 2876/47. The author received special permission to consult the court records, which are not generally accessible. Complete details of the liquidation process carried out by Sauerwald can be found in the following files at the Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv in Vienna: Vermögensverkehrsstelle, Kommissare und Treuhänder 6717 and Handel 4874/VI.

²¹ Sauerwald was forced to take legal action to obtain the release of his personal effects and library from his apartment in Vienna, which was given after the war to an 'anti-fascist'. See 'Der Vernichter der Freud-Bibliothek auf freiem Fuß', *Österreichische Volksstimme*, 20 Aug. 1947, p.3.

inconsistencies. I would like to clear up certain points and also to present Sauerwald's side of the story, based on his pre-trial testimony and his defence in court.

He built his defence on the one hand on his behaviour towards Freud and his family, and on his official actions as commissar on the other. By special order of the main office (Hauptamt) of the Nazi Security Service (Sicherheitsdienst or SD) in Berlin – which to my knowledge was seldom involved at this early a date in company closures – the Verlag was to be liquidated immediately, and further book sales strictly forbidden. The premises in the Berggasse, which had recently been renovated, were, according to a report from Sauerwald of mid-July 1938, to be turned into a new 'Race Institute'. Eventually the premises and furnishings were donated to the University of Vienna, which used them for an Institute of Oriental Studies. The Psycho-Analytical Association's cash assets, totalling 20,000 to 30,000 Austrian Schillings, were confiscated and transferred to a special account. The same was true of the assets of the outpatients clinic, the Ambulatorium.

Speaking in his own defence, Sauerwald says he made every effort to ensure that Freud and his family were not pestered by any Nazi authorities. After the war, both Anna Freud and Marie Bonaparte were willing and able to vouch for this, as will be seen from a letter of July 1947 from Anna Freud to Sauerwald's wife, among the court records, on which I shall later draw. Sauerwald rightly points out that in his 'legal capacity' as commissar he was in no way obliged to assist Freud and his family in personal matters. He goes on to describe the tremendous difficulties and obstacles he had to overcome in arranging the transport from Vienna of Freud's furniture, and especially his extensive library and the valuable collection of antiquities. The latter, he says, proved to be particularly difficult, for the authorities demanded 'Gutachter' approving their transport out of the country. Sauerwald says he intervened to make sure these special reports were in Freud's favour. The belongings could then be loaded on to three freight coaches and transported to London. The defendant also gives himself credit for obtaining permission for the two Austrian housemaids to leave with the family in June 1938. There has been speculation as to Sauerwald's motives for so obviously going beyond the call of duty. He himself said, after the war, that he acted of his own free will, completely unselfishly and out of respect for Freud.

In his biography of Freud Schur wrote that no one really knows why Sauerwald turned up in London in 1939. Sauerwald himself provides the answer. He says that after Freud emigrated, he travelled to London at Freud's request to discuss with him various business matters pertaining to the publishing company and its authors as well as bank dealings. During the visit Freud, who had not got to know Sauerwald personally, asked him to arrange for his doctor, Professor Pichler, to come to see him from Vienna, since Freud needed an examination and advice on further medical treatment. Sauerwald says he carried out this request, calling on Pichler personally to explain the situation. As Jones relates, Pichler did then journey to London for the sole purpose of examining his patient. Sauerwald's comment: 'Professor Freud was understandably pleased'. He then tells how he managed personally to enter Pichler's bills under 'moving expenses' and thus to spare Freud an extra payment.

What about the fate of the stocks of books belonging to the Verlag? Here again Sauerwald gives us detailed, authoritative information. Contrary to what one often reads,

not everything was destroyed, despite the Gestapo order to that effect. A seemingly odd but clear distinction was made by the Nazis between works 'belonging to' ('zugehörig') – which apparently means 'written by' – Austrian nationals and those 'belonging to' foreigners. As a rule, every effort was made to avoid international complications. In fact, the settling of royalty and copyright claims outside the country proved to be an obstacle in carrying out the policy of ridding business life of Jews as quickly as possible. Some Jewish publishing firms in Austria continued to exist at least on paper until well into 1944.

The Internationaler Psychoanalytischer Verlag itself continued to exist after Sauerwald was called up for military service. Although he filed his final report in September 1940 – and it had taken that long to tie up loose ends with foreign debtors and creditors – it wasn't until the spring of 1941 that the company legally ceased to exist. Sauerwald managed to save various quantities of books, including those 'belonging to' foreigners, using various means. He relates, for example, in his own self-defence that he expressly welcomed an offer by Marie Bonaparte to purchase and thus save the Verlag, and even tried to push the deal through with the help of the influential Nazi psychologist Professor Göring. The proposition was turned down, however, by the headquarters of the Security Service in Berlin and the Gestapo in Vienna, despite the prospect of foreign currency income. Sauerwald had worked out an arrangement with Marie Bonaparte (Princess George of Greece) by which the confiscated property would be saved by transferring it to the basement of the Greek Embassy in Vienna; but the plan fell through when that Embassy's 'extraterritorial' status was removed and it was reduced to a consulate. (Beranek, however, tells a different story. He claims he signed an agreement with Marie Bonaparte for the sale and says that the transfer of the books was foiled the very next day. A freight train carrying what he incorrectly calls 'the whole stock of books' ['das ganze Bücherlager'] never reached the paper mill in Styria it was heading for.)

Sauerwald also gives himself credit for having seen to it that, as he writes, 'almost all universities and institutes in Germany and Austria were given literature on psychoanalysis from the Verlag's stocks'. To this, according to Sauerwald, the Security Service gave its approval on condition the books were kept in storage and inaccessible. Some accounts speak of this as involving 45 crates of books, others of between 60 and 80 crates. Sauerwald then records his greatest achievement. He says that he personally struck a deal with the new Nazi director of the Austrian National Library, Paul Heigl, to have the library store a large number of crates, containing several copies of each book the Verlag had published. Most were said to be rare volumes. To prove his point, he presented the court with a list of the books which were then released after the war and returned to the Freud family via Amsterdam. 'I might add', he says, 'that these books will now provide the basis for the reconstruction of a new Psychoanalytical Press in Vienna'.

Another witness, Freud's lawyer Alfred Indira, testified that Sauerwald often took great risks by claiming to have the approval of the Security Service for some action when in fact he did not. In his first appearance before the People's Court, Sauerwald was able to refute the charges against him that he had used his position as commissar of the three organizations, including the Verlag, for personal gain.

The best summary of Sauerwald's role in this complex story is provided by the letter I have mentioned, written to his wife by Anna Freud on 22 July 1947. It shows that Sauerwald deserves more credit than he has hitherto received for shielding the Freud family from the Nazi authorities and facilitating their move to London:

20 Maresfield Gardens

London, N.W.3.

22 July 1947.

Dear Mrs Sauerwald,

I am replying to your letter in lieu of my mother. I am the person who was always in direct contact with your husband in matters concerning my father.

My parents and I have in no way forgotten that we had every reason to be very grateful to your husband in a number of regards. We were in a very precarious situation at the time and there wasn't any doubt that your husband used his office as our appointed commissar in such a manner as to protect my father. In his dealings with him he always showed great respect and great consideration and did his utmost to prevent other functionaries of the regime from bothering him and as I well know he kept documents which could have endangered our lives hidden in his desk for quite some time. My brother and almost all our friends had already left Vienna by then and that meant there was no one to help me arrange my parents' and my own departure. He accompanied me at the time to various authorities in order to spare me inconvenience. I was especially grateful to him for the great effort he made in securing medical attendance on the journey. After all, my father was 82 at the time and seriously ill with cancer.

After we left the country Dr Sauerwald saw to it that we really had all our furniture and in particular the collection of antiquities which my father so loved sent on to us.

Last year we heard rumours that Dr Sauerwald had been arrested. I sent off at the time a letter in his favour to the authorities who I assumed were concerned with the case. Princess George of Greece, a friend of ours who was with us in Vienna in 1938 and who is equally grateful to Dr Sauerwald for protecting my father, did likewise. We were then told the rumour was unfounded.

I'm sure Princess George of Greece would be willing to repeat the statement she made in his favour now. If you would kindly tell me the name of the authority concerned, I will ask the Princess to send such a letter to them. Or to you, if you prefer.

It is my wish for you and your husband that the current problem will be resolved without any harm to him.

Yours,

ANNA FREUD²²

²² Because of the relative inaccessibility of Anna Freud's letter of 22 July 1947, the original German text is also put on record here:

Sehr geehrte Frau Sauerwald,

Ich beantworte an Stelle meiner Mutter Ihren Brief. Ich bin auch diejenige, die in den Angelegenheiten meines Vaters immer direkt mit Ihrem Mann zu tun hatte.

Meine Eltern und ich haben nie daran vergessen, daß wir Grund hatten, Ihrem Mann in verschiedener Beziehung sehr dankbar zu sein. Wir waren damals in sehr gefährdeter Lage und es war kein Zweifel darüber, daß Ihr Mann sein Amt als unser bestellter Kommissar benützt hat, um eine schützende Hand über meinen Vater zu halten. Er ist ihm selbst immer mit großem Respekt und großer Rücksicht begegnet, hat möglichst vermieden, an-

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dere Funktionäre des Regimes in seine Nähe kommen zu lassen und hat, wie ich weiß, längere Zeit Schriftstücke in seinem Schreibtisch verborgen gehalten, die uns hätten gefährlich werden können. Mein Bruder und fast alle unsere Freunde hatten damals Wien schon verlassen, so daß ich ohne Hilfe war, um die Ausreise meiner Eltern und meine eigene zu betreiben. Er hat mich damals zu verschiedenen Ämtern begleitet, um mit Unannehmlichkeiten zu ersparen. Besonders dankbar war ich dafür, daß er sich die größte Mühe gegeben hat, meinem Vater ärztliche Begleitung für die Reise zu sichern. Mein Vater war damals ja schon 82 Jahre alt und schwer krebsskrank.

Dr. Sauerwald hat dann nach unserer Auswanderung dafür gesorgt, daß wir wirklich alle unsere Möbel und vor allem die Sammlung von Antiquitäten, die der liebste Besitz meines Vaters war, nachgeschickt bekommen haben.

Im vorigen Jahr ist einmal das Gerücht zu uns gedrungen, daß Dr. Sauerwald verhaftet ist. Ich habe damals einen Brief zu seinen Gunsten an die Behörde geschickt, die mir die zuständige schien. Das gleiche tat Frau Prinzessin Georg von Griechenland, eine Freundin unseres Hauses, die 1938 bei uns in Wien war und Dr. Sauerwald in gleicher Weise dafür dankbar, daß er meinen Vater beschützt hat. Wir bekamen aber damals die Antwort, daß das Gerücht auf einem Irrtum beruht haben muß.

Prinzessin Georg von Griechenland wäre sicher bereit, ihre Fürsprache von damals jetzt zu wiederholen. Wenn Sie mir die zuständige Behörde angeben wollen, so will ich die Prinzessin bitten, einen Brief dorthin zu richten. Oder an Sie, wenn Ihnen das besser erscheint.

Ich wünsche Ihnen und Ihrem Mann, daß die jetzige Sorge ohne schwere Schädigung für ihn vorübergeht.

Ihre

ANNA FREUD

The letter is in the court records in Vienna: Landesgericht für Strafsachen Wien, Vg 8f Vr 2876/47.