Cathleen M. Giustino

JULIA AND HER THINGS: RESTITUTION, RACISM, AND CONNECTIONS IN AND BEYOND THE SUDETENLAND*

On two hot summer days during the early Cold War small, little-known gatherings took place within a dusty warehouse in a northern Bohemian town in the Sudetenland.[1] These unlikely meetings in August 1950 happened just outside the city of Liberec, an industrial center known as Reichenberg to the predominantly German-speaking residents who had lived there before the Nazi defeat and most of whom were stripped of citizenship and property before being expelled from Czechoslovakia after the Second World War. The group that was assembled in the warehouse included a mix of Czech locals and Dutch visitors. Inside the storage building, participants in this east-west gathering examined a hastily organized array of hundreds of works of art and antiques.[2]

The 1950 warehouse meetings occurred because one person in the international group – a woman – was claiming ownership of the paintings, sculptures, porcelain, silver, chairs, commodes, rugs, and other decorative objects stored under its roof. While these interior furnishings had limited value in the eyes of national museum

* Beno Hofman and Maarten H. Rijkens in Holland and Inge Schwarz in Germany shared many valuable materials and personal insights with me. Radek Brož and Antonín Rimek at the State District Archive in Liberec and the staff of the National Archive in Prague made available countless boxes of documents over the course of many visits. The families Machač, Sova, Vaněk, and Voráček helped me to appreciate and peek into places in northern Bohemia where Julia lived and spent time. Garth Stauffer cared for our Auburn home while I followed Julia and her things, in addition to supporting me in many other ways. This article was made possible by a grant from Carnegie Corporation of New York. The statements made and views expressed are solely the responsibility of the author. I am deeply grateful to all the people and institutions named here and many more.

1 The Sudetenland refers to territory around the northern, western, and southern borders of Czechoslovakia's western half where concentrations of Germans, known as Sudeten-Germans, lived before the postwar expulsions. Since 1945 Czechs more commonly refer to this area as the borderlands (*pohraničí*). See: *Brenner,* Christiane: Mezi východem a západem. České politické diskurzy, 1945-1948 [Between East and West. Czech Political Discourses, 1945-1948]. Praha 2015, 199-232. – *Glassheim,* Eagle: Cleansing the Czechoslovak Borderlands. Migration, Environment, and Health in the Former Sudetenland. Pittsburgh 2016, 6-8. – An argument about the non-contiguous and plural nature of the "Sudeten lands" is in *Wingfield,* Nancy M.: Flag Wars & Stone Saints. How the Bohemian Lands Became Czech. Cambridge/Mass. 2007, xviii.

2 Národní archiv, Praha, Fond Úřad předsednictva vlády, [National Archive, Prague, Records of the Office of the Prime Minister of the Government; hereafter NA, ÚPV], sig. 44/3, box 17, folder 3, Zpráva o průběhu agnoskačního řízení konaného ve Vratislavicích nad Nisou ve dnech 25.-31. srpna 1950 [Report on the Course of the Identification Proceedings Held in Vratislavice nad Nisou on 25.-31. August 1950].

curators at the time, they had significant meaning for the woman in the warehouse. She maintained that these things had been wrongfully taken from her not once, but twice and she wanted their return. The person seeking the restitution of her possessions was Julia Ginzkey-Culp (1880-1970), a world-renowned singer from a Dutch-Jewish background whose second husband was a wealthy Bohemian-German Catholic industrialist.[3]

The story of Julia Culp and her things speaks to a number of matters important for the study of the past in and beyond the Sudetenland. To begin, it reveals how state-ascribed identity can be very different from the ties, connections, and affiliations that truly motivate people and bring meaning to their lives. Julia did not first and foremost organize her life according to loyalty to any one nation or based on strong devotion to the Jewish religious beliefs of her ancestors; care for her work, family, possessions, and personal safety was of far greater concern to her. Through the tracing of individual biography and material culture, the story of Julia and her art and antiques deepens appreciation of national indifference and identities "from above" in Central European history.[4] It also draws further attention to the potential dark side of modern state efforts to organize and engineer their societies through ascription and categorization.[5]

Further, the highly mobile lives of Julia and her interior furnishings provide views into the intense migration of people and things in and beyond the Sudetenland before, during, and after the devastating Second World War and the deeply dehumanizing Nazi Holocaust. Simultaneously, they reveal possibilities for transnational and transsystemic connections that continued even after the postwar division of Europe into two rival spheres. The Sudetenland and the communities living there were not "islands" lacking ties to other parts of Czechoslovakia, Europe, and the world; this borderland region had an extensive history of migration, industrialization, and cross-border economic and cultural exchange.[6]

---

[3] Little has been published about Julia Culp. A very informative work is *Hofman,* Beno: Julia Culp. Wereldberoemde Groninger zangeres [Julia Culp. World Famous Groningen Singer]. Meppel 2002. – See also *Van Ammers-Küller,* Jo: Twaalf interessante vrouwen. Korte biographieën, geschreven na persoonlijke kennismaking [Twelve Interesting Women. Short Biographies, Based on Personal Interviews]. Amsterdam 1933, 15-36.

[4] Tara Zahra suggests that scholars "consider the history of individuals who stood outside or on the margins of those [imagined] communities" as a way to better understand indifference. See *Zahra,* Tara: Imagined Noncommunities. National Indifference as a Category of Analysis. In: Slavic Review 69 (2010) 1, 93-119, here 97. – For more on indifference see *Bjork,* James: Neither German nor Pole. Catholicism and National Indifference in a Central European Borderland. Ann Arbor 2008. – *Brubaker,* Rogers: Ethnicity without Groups. Cambridge/Mass. 2004. – *Judson,* Pieter M.: Guardians of the Nation. Activists on the Language Frontiers of Imperial Austria. Cambridge/Mass. 2006. – *King,* Jeremy: Budweisers into Czechs and Germans. A Local History of Bohemian Politics, 1848-1948. Princeton 2002. – *Zahra,* Tara: Kidnapped Souls. National Indifference and the Battle for Children in the Bohemian Lands, 1900-1948. Ithaca 2008.

[5] *Brown,* Kate: A Biography of No Place. From Ethnic Borderland to Soviet Heartland. Cambridge/Mass. 2003. – *Scott,* James C.: Seeing Like a State. How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition have Failed. New Haven 1999.

[6] The literature on transnationalism in modern European history is voluminous, with a

The study of Julia and her things also makes a contribution to scholarship on the history of the confiscation and restitution of property, subjects of great importance for many contexts.[7] Confiscations are state-directed, politically driven, forced transfers or seizures of property without any financial compensation to the dispossessed. Restitution involves "the action of restoring or giving back something to its proper owner, or of making reparation to a person for loss or injury previously inflicted."[8]

While available historical sources regarding the story of Julia and her things certainly offer edifying views of the experiences and workings of confiscation in the Bohemian Lands during and after the Second World War,[9] their greater value lies in

---

growing number of studies of cross-border connections related to the Czechoslovak past. See, for example, *Giustino,* Cathleen M.: The Ghetto and the Castle. Modern Urban Design and Knowledge Transfer in Historic Prague before and after 1918. In: *Gantner,* Eszter/*Hein-Kircher*, Heidi/*Hochadel,* Oliver (eds.): Interurban Knowledge Exchange. Emerging Cities in Southern and Eastern Europe 1870-1950. Routledge, forthcoming. – *Koeltzsch,* Ines/ *Konrád,* Ota: From "Islands of Democracy" to "Transnational Border Spaces". State of the Art and Perspectives of the Historiography on the First Czechoslovak Republic since 1989. In: Bohemia 56 (2016) 2, 285-327. – *Konrád:* Nevyvážené vztahy. Československo a Rakousko 1918-1933 [Unbalanced Relations. Czechoslovakia and Austria 1918-1933]. Praha 2012. – *Matějka,* Ondřej: Erziehung zur "Weltbürgerlichkeit". Der Einfluss des YMCA auf die tschechoslowakische Jugend der Zwischenkriegzeit. In: *Brenner,* Christiane/*Braun,* Karl/*Kasper,* Tomáš (eds.): Jugend in der Tschechoslowakei. Konzepte und Lebenswelten (1918-1989). Göttingen 2016 (BWT 36), 153-179. – *Orzoff,* Andrea: Battle for the Castle. The Myth of Czechoslovakia in Europe 1914-1948. Oxford 2009. – *Szobi,* Pavel: Portugalci v "komunistické Ženevě". Praha jako středisko antisalazaristické opozice 1948-1974 [The Portuguese in "Communist Geneva". Prague as a Center of Anti-Salazar Opposition 1948-1974]. In: Soudobé dějiny 21 (2014) 4, 609-634.

[7] A useful discussion of these and related terms is in *Gaudenzi,* Bianca/*Swenson,* Astrid: Looted Art and Restitution in the Twentieth-Century. Towards a Global Perspective. In: Journal of Contemporary History 52 (2017) 3, 491-518, here 498-500. This is the introduction to an excellent special issue devoted to transnational and global histories of looting and restitution. – Throughout this article, I prefer the term confiscation, because it suggests the role of states, rather than private individuals (including acquisitive neighbors), in seizures of private property and the political nature of those seizures.

[8] This is the Oxford English Dictionary definition. Found in: *Gaudenzi/Swenson:* Looted Art and Restitution 498 (cf. fn. 7).

[9] Works treating confiscations in the Bohemian Lands during and after the war include *Gerlach,* David: The Economy of Ethnic Cleansing. The Transformation of German-Czech Borderlands after World War II. Cambridge 2018. – *Giustino,* Cathleen M.: Pretty Things, Ugly Histories. Decorating with Persecuted People's Property in Central Bohemia, 1938-1958. In: *Auslander,* Leora/*Zahra,* Tara (eds.): Objects of War. The Material Culture of Conflict and Displacement. Ithaca 2018, 78-105. – *Kończal,* Kornelia: The Quest for German Property in East Central Europe after 1945. The Semantics of Plunder and the Sense of Reconstruction. In: *Kleinmann,* Yvonne/*Heyde,* Jürgen/*Hüchtker,* Dietlind et al. (eds.): Imaginations and Configurations of Polish Society. From the Middle Ages through the Twentieth Century. Göttingen 2017, 291-312. – *Krejčová,* Helena/*Krejča,* Otomar L.: Jindřich Baudisch a konfiskace uměleckých děl v protektorátu [Jindřich Baudisch and the Confiscation of Art Works in the Protectorate]. Praha 2007. – *Osterloh,* Jörg: Nationalsozialistische Judenverfolgung im Reichsgau Sudetenland 1938-1945. München 2006 (VCC 105). – *Sedláková,* Monika: Die Rolle der so genannten Einsatzstäbe bei der Enteignung jüdischen Vermögens. In: Theresienstädter Studien und Dokumente 10 (2003) 275-305. –

the rich information they provide for examining the highly significant topic of the restitution of Jewish property in postwar Czechoslovakia.[10] Statistics regarding the number of Holocaust survivors in the Bohemian Lands all confirm that far-reaching racial persecution and large-scale murder of Jews occurred between 1938 and 1945.[11]

Uhlíková, Kristina: Národní kulturní komise 1947-1951 [National Cultural Commission 1947-1951]. Praha 2004.

[10] Information on restitution in postwar Czechoslovakia is found in *Burgerová,* Lenka: Mezi asimilací a emigrací. Sociálně-ekonomický pohyb v židovské komunitě v Teplicích, 1938-1960 [Between Assimilation and Emigration. Social-economic Movement in the Jewish Community in Teplice, 1938-1960]. PhD diss., Charles University, Praha 2013, 251-273. URL: https://dspace.cuni.cz/handle/20.500.11956/52902 (accessed July 15, 2019). – *Cichopek-Gajraj,* Anna: Beyond Violence. Jewish Survivors in Poland and Slovakia, 1944-1948. Cambridge 2014, chap. 3. – *Gerlach:* Economy of Ethnic Cleansing 214-222 (cf. fn. 9). – *Hladíková,* Věra/*Kaiser,* Vladimír: Restituce majetku ústecké židovské rodiny Picků, 1945-1961 [The Restitution of Property of the Jewish Pick Family from Ústí, 1945-1961]. In: Ústecký sborník historický 27 (2000) 196-222. – *Krejčová,* Helena/*Vlček,* Mario: Návraty paměti. Deponáty židovského majetku v Uměleckoprůmyslovém museu v Praze [Memories Returned. Deposits of Jewish Property at the Museum of Decorative Arts in Prague]. Praha 2007. – *Kubů,* Eduard/*Kuklík,* Jan: Reluctant Restitution. The Restitution of Jewish Property in the Bohemian Lands after the Second World War. In: *Dean,* Martin/*Goschler,* Constantin/*Ther,* Philipp (eds.): Robbery and Restitution. The Conflict over Jewish Property in Europe. New York 2007, 223-239. – *Jančík,* Drahomír/*Kubů,* Eduard/*Kuklík,* Jan: "Arizace" a restituce židovského majetku v českých zemích, 1939-2000 ["Arization" and Restitution of Jewish Property in the Bohemian Lands, 1939-2000]. Praha 2003. – *Sedlák,* Petr: Jmenuji se Emil Beer aneb pokus o životopisné porozumění [My Name is Emil Beer or an Attempt at Biographical Understanding]. In: *von Arburg,* Adrian/*Dvořák,* Tomáš/*Kovařík,* David et al.: Německy mluvící obyvatelstvo v Československu po roce 1945 [The German-Speaking Population in Czechoslovakia after 1945]. Brno 2010 (Země a kultura ve střední Evropě 15) 352-369. – *Sedlák,* Petr: Poté. Postoj a přístup k Židům v českých zemích po druhé světové válce (1945-1947/1953) [Aftermath. Attitude and Approach to Jews in the Bohemian Lands after the Second World War (1945-1947/1953)]. PhD diss., Masaryk University, Brno 2008, 111-117, 122-129. URL: https://theses.cz/id/cc9voz?furl=%2Fid%2Fcc9voz;so=nx;lang=en (accessed July 15, 2019). – *Spurný,* Matěj: Unerwünschte Rückkehrer. Staatsbürgerschaft und Eigentum deutscher Juden in der Nachkriegstschechoslowakei. In: Naharaim 8 (2014) 1, 120-141. – Umělecké předměty ze židovského majetku v českých zemích 1938-1945. Protiprávní zásahy do majetkových práv, jejich rozsah a nástin následných osudů tohoto majetku [Art Objects from Jewish Property in the Bohemian Lands 1938-1945. Unlawful Encroachments on Property Rights, their Extent and an Outline of the Subsequent Fates of the Property]. Praha 2000. URL: https://lootedart.com/PXWKX7521211 (accessed July 15, 2019). – Conference proceedings edited by Mečislav Borák, which also treat restitution in the post-1989 period, must be mentioned. See, for example: *Borák,* Mečislav (ed.): Ztracené dědictví. Příspěvky z "kulatých stolů" na téma dokumentace, identifikace a restituce kulturních statků obětí II. světové války [Lost Heritage. Contributions of the "Round Tables" on the Topic of Documentation, Identification and Restitution of Cultural Assets of Victims of World War II]. Praha 2006.

[11] Helena Krejčová states that "18,970 surviving Jews represented ten percent of the prewar number." Kateřina Čapková writes "There were only 23,000 Jews in the Bohemian lands after the war, less than a quarter of the area's prewar population." Found in: *Krejčová,* Helena: Židovská očekávání a zklamání po roce 1945 [Jewish Expectation and Disappointment after 1945]. In: Češi a Němci. Ztracené dějiny [The Czechs and the Germans. Lost History]. Praha 1995, 245-253, here 245-246. – *Čapková,* Kateřina: Between Expulsion and

Yet, postwar officials made little – if any – sincere efforts to try to redress the intense humiliation and cruelty that Jews suffered during the Nazi occupation.[12] Evidence of the weakness – even absence – of the Czechoslovak state's interest in restorative justice includes Holocaust survivors being forced to migrate from the country after the war along with expelled Germans and, very importantly for this article, official resistance to and denial of survivors' legally based restitution claims.[13]

A number of publications treating the history of the restitution of Jewish property in postwar Czechoslovakia draw evidence and conclusions from the well-publicized story of Emil Beer, giving his case a seemingly paradigmatic status. Before the Munich Crisis, Beer was an industrialist in the town of Warnsdorf/Varnsdorf in the Sudetenland who self-identified as a Jew. In 1939, under duress, he sold his textile mill to a Reich German for a low price and eventually fled to England. Following the Nazi defeat, Beer returned home and – in accordance with Czechoslovak law – he sought the restitution of his business on the grounds that he had experienced racial persecution during the occupation. By then officials in the restored Czechoslovak state had seized the factory as German property. Despite his efforts, Beer's textile mill was not returned to him either before or after the 1948 communist takeover.[14]

As will be detailed in this article, Julia fled from the Sudetenland in the summer of 1939 and two years later Gestapo agents seized her art and antiques as non-Aryan property. The second confiscation of her things happened after the war, when they were seized as German property. Yet, in contrast to Emil Beer, most of her possessions were restituted, including a total of six freight-train wagons loaded with

---

Rescue. The Transports for German-speaking Jews of Czechoslovakia in 1946. In: Holocaust and Genocide Studies 32 (2018) 1, 66-92, here 68.

12 Works discussing experiences of Jews in postwar Czechoslovakia include: *Bednařík,* Petr: "Vztah židů a české společnosti na stránkách českého tisku v letech 1945-1948 [The Relation of Jews and Czech Society on the Pages of the Czech Press in the Years 1945-1948]." PhD diss., Univerzita Karlova, Praha 2003. – *Brenner:* Mezi východem a západem 168-173 (cf. fn. 1). – *Čapková,* Kateřina: Germans or Jews? German-Speaking Jews in Poland and Czechoslovakia after World War II. In: Kwartalnik Historii Żydów 246 (2013) 348-362. – *Čapková:* Between Expulsion and Rescue (cf. fn. 11). – *Hallama,* Peter: Nationale Helden und jüdische Opfer. Tschechische Repräsentationen des Holocaust. Göttingen 2015 (Schnittstellen. Studien zum östlichen und südöstlichen Europa 1). – *Heumos,* Peter: Rückkehr ins Nichts. Leo Herrmanns Tagebuchaufzeichnungen über seine Reise nach Prag und die Lage der Juden in der Tschechoslowakei im Herbst 1945. In: Bohemia 27 (1986) 2, 269-304. – *Krejčová:* Židovská očekavání a zklamání 245-253 (cf. fn. 11). – *Láníček,* Jan: Czechs, Slovaks and the Jews 1938-1948. Beyond Idealization and Condemnation. Basingstoke 2013. – *Sedlák:* Poté. Postoj a přístup (cf. fn. 10). – *Sedlická,* Magdalena: Němečtí Židé v Československu v letech 1945-1948 [German Jews in Czechoslovakia in the Years 1945-1948]. In: Historie – otázky – problémy 8 (2016) 1, 120-131.

13 Krejčová writes that 3,000 out of 16,000 individual restitution cases were successful before the end of 1947 with fewer favorable decisions after that time. *Krejčová:* Židovská očekavání a zklamání 247 (cf. fn. 11).

14 Carefully considered presentations of Beer's story are in *Sedlák:* Jmenuji se Emil Beer (cf. fn. 10). – *Sedlák:* Poté. Postoj a přístup 122-129 (cf. fn. 10). – For a further sense of the seemingly paradigmatic status given to Beer's restitution case, see also *Gerlach:* Economy of Ethnic Cleansing 218-222 (cf. fn. 9). – *Kubů/Kuklík:* Reluctant Restitution 231-234 (cf. fn. 10). – *Spurný:* Unerwünschte Rückkehrer 135-140 (cf. fn. 10).

interior furnishings that arrived in Amsterdam in early 1951. The favorable fate of Julia's things does not mean that the return of Jewish property in postwar Czechoslovakia was easier to achieve than Beer's famous case suggests. Julia faced numerous obstacles on the hard road to restitution, including unsympathetic disregard for the racism she endured beginning in 1938, lack of interest in restorative justice from influential postwar Czechoslovak authorities, and unreliable state institutions.[15]

So how can the success of Julia's restitution case be explained? The answer lies largely in the support that she received from her birth country. Holland was a foreign government with which Czechoslovak leaders wanted to maintain good trade relations, even after the 1948 communist coup. Furthermore, through her sister's marriage, Julia had connections to influential people in the Dutch government. Her celebrity also helped. Thus, Julia's affiliations and ties extended beyond the borders of Czechoslovakia, entangling her case in national and transnational history. The story of Julia and her things reveals that, both before and after the 1948 communist takeover, state institutions in postwar Czechoslovakia could be capricious with limited legal protection, and that the securement of individual interests, including restitution and rectification of racism, was highly contingent on one's position and connections on playing fields of power at home and abroad.[16]

Introducing the "Dutch Nightingale"

Julia Culp was born in 1880 in the Dutch town of Gronigen (see figure 1). Her younger sister Betsy, with whom she was very close and who was present in the warehouse mentioned above, was born four years later. Julia's parents, Baruch and Sara Culp, came from Jewish families. Her father, like other family members, was a musician. Julia did not devotedly follow the religion of her ancestors, but she did passionately embrace their musical ways.[17] In the years 1901-1919 she became an internationally celebrated singer, a mezzo-soprano whose forte was German *Lieder* or art songs.[18] Her many admirers called her the "Dutch Nightingale." One of Julia's

---

[15] The precariousness of justice in postwar Czechoslovakia is shown, through examination of trials of Nazi collaborators and war criminals, in *Frommer,* Benjamin: National Cleansing. Retribution against Nazi Collaborators in Postwar Czechoslovakia. Cambridge 2005.

[16] My thinking about playing fields of power is partly inspired by *Bourdieu,* Pierre: The Field of Cultural Production. New York 1993.

[17] Jaap Meijer, a Dutch-Jewish scholar of Jewish history who survived Bergen-Belsen, wrote that Julia "came from a milieu 'without any Jewish content.'" – Jo van Ammers-Küller maintained that Julia's mother encouraged her to emancipate in order "to have the possibility to move forward in the world." Quotations found in *Hofman:* Julia Culp 11 (cf. fn. 3).

[18] *Lieder* are arrangements for a solo singer and a pianist that set poems to classical music and demand expressive power and virtuosity from both performers. These art songs grew in popularity in Europe and the United States during the nineteenth century, moving from home parlors to concert halls. Essays treating the history of this genre are in: *Parsons,* James (ed.): The Cambridge Companion to the Lied. Cambridge 2004. – A cultural history of Lieder that mentions Julia is: *Tunbridge,* Laura: Singing in the Age of Anxiety. Lieder Performances in New York and London. Chicago 2018.

first big concerts was in 1903 in the *Neues Palais* in Potsdam. At this or another performance around the same time, the Empress of Germany, Augusta Victoria, was so impressed with Julia's performance that she took a stone-encrusted ring off her royal hand and gave it to the Dutch singer. Julia lived until 1970 and even in her later years she proudly talked about the ring that the Empress had gifted to her.[19]

Before and during the First World War Julia gave hundreds of concerts, including in Paris, London, Moscow, New York, and San Francisco.[20] Sometimes her sister, who was an accomplished pianist, accompanied her. Julia performed at the Imperial courts in the Netherlands, Germany, and Austria-Hungary, in addition to singing in front of President Woodrow Wilson and other dignitaries in the White House. More than once she performed in Carnegie Hall.[21] While the war was raging, Julia and her American manager did worry about hostility from audiences in the Unites States towards German culture. Still, Julia was sometimes billed as a "Liedersinger (sic)." Beethoven, Brahms, Schubert, and Schumann, among others, appeared on her programs, and she performed in German, as well as in English, French, and Dutch.[22]

Phonographs and phonograph records were new inventions during the time of Julia's rise to fame, and she became one of history's early recording stars. Between 1906 and 1926 she made over 90 records with Odeon, Victor, and Electrola.[23] Her career brought her international renown. It also made her a wealthy woman with a sizeable income from concerts and royalties.

Those who visited Julia on the road or at her home observed that she loved surrounding herself with nice things. A news article in *The Evening Sun* in February 1913, entitled "Julia of the Teacups," described how she traveled with her own silver, linens, cups, and saucers (see figure 2).[24] An interview published three months later in *The Oregon Daily Journal*, reported her "liking for collecting household antiques, old furniture, knickknacks, etc."[25] When not travelling before or during

---

[19] Discussion with Maarten H. Rijkens, October 11-12, 2018.

[20] A review providing insight into her singing and why she was so admired is: Julia Culp Representative of Intellectuality in Vocal Art. In: The Pacific Coast Musical Review 31 (1917) 16, 1.

[21] Her U.S. debut was in Carnegie Hall in January 1913. For a review, see: Mme. Julia Culp Appears. A Dutch Lieder Singer's Success in Her Carnegie Hall Recital. In: The New York Times, January 11, 1913.

[22] Some details on what she sang while touring in the United States are in Státní oblastní archiv Most, Fond Ignaz Ginzkey, výroba koberců a přikrývek (III-216) [State Regional Archive Most, Records of Ignaz Ginzkey, Production of Carpets and Blankets (III-216); hereafter SOA Most, Fond Ginzkey], inv. no. 23, box 1, Program koncertů Julie Culp v USA na sezónu 1914-1915 [Program of Concerts by Julia Culp in the USA during the 1914-1915 Season]. – When mentioning Julia, Tunbridge writes that she "doctored her program in recognition of wartime practices, presenting a selection of French, Russian, English, and American numbers, but was said to have excelled when she sang Schubert in German at the exclusive Beethoven Association." See *Tunbridge:* Singing in the Age of Anxiety 182 (cf. fn. 18).

[23] A list of all her recordings is in *Hofman:* Julia Culp 87-92 (cf. fn. 3).

[24] Julia of the Teacups. In: The Evening Sun, February 17, 1913. Reference found in *Hofman:* Julia Culp 48-49 (cf. fn. 3).

[25] Julia Culp is Anxious to See German Home. In: The Oregon Daily Journal, April 23, 1913.

the First World War, she lived in a large house in a wealthy middle-class villa district near Berlin. This well-appointed residence was on Goethe Street in Zehlendorf am Wannsee. Issues of the German women's magazine, *The Lady* (*Die Dame*), featured Julia's house and included photos of its interior decorations. The photos, taken by Waldemar Titzenthaler, provide further evidence of Julia's wealth and her love of things.[26]

Julia lived in Zehlendorf with her first husband, the German civil engineer, Erich Merten, whom she married in 1905. The Civic Code of 1900 (*Bürgerliches Gesetzbuch*) automatically conferred German citizenship on foreign women who married German men.[27] Merten was a Protestant and, according to an expert on her life, Julia "became a member of his denomination."[28] What that meant exactly is unclear. There are questions about her conversion while married to Merten, and the presence of a Passover Seder plate and a hanukiah in a photo of her living room suggests that she felt some connection with the traditions of her ancestors (see figure 3). The marriage had troubles and in 1919 the couple divorced. The divorce decree stipulated that the house in Zehlendorf and many furnishings inside it remained her property. Merten was allowed to reside there for up to five years and when he moved out Julia was required to pay him 200,000 Marks.[29]

State-Ascribed Nationality in the First Czechoslovak Republic

On July 23, 1919 in Vienna, shortly after the finalization of her divorce, Julia married a second time. Her new husband brought her to the recently created multinational country of Czechoslovakia. He was Wilhelm Ginzkey (1856-1934), a very wealthy Bohemian-German industrialist, who was twenty-four years her senior. Wilhelm's friends, family, and Julia called him Willy. He was an heir to the large Ignaz Ginzkey carpet factory, which had humble beginnings around 1845 and became famous in Europe and the United States for its Persian rugs (see figure 4).[30]

The factory, which also made blankets, was located in a small town in a northern Bohemian part of the Sudetenland. Like the nearby city of Reichenberg/Liberec, this

---

[26] Two interior photos are in *Kaufhold,* Enno: Berliner Interieurs. Fotografien von Waldemar Titzenthaler. Berlin 2013, 50-51. Others can be found at URL: https://www.ullsteinbild.de (accessed July 15, 2019).

[27] *Berghahn,* Volker: Imperial Germany, 1871-1918. Economy, Society, Culture, and Politics. New York 2005. – *Evans,* Richard J.: Feminism and Female Emancipation in Germany 1870-1945. Sources, Methods, and Problems of Research. In: Central European History 9 (1976) 4, 323-351.

[28] *Hofman:* Julia Culp 11 (cf. fn. 3).

[29] SOA Most, Fond Ginzkey, inv. no. 24, box 1, No. 348 des Notariatsregisters des Jahres 1919, May 6, 1919.

[30] Information on the early history of the factory and its founder, Ignaz Ginzkey, is in *Hübler,* Franz: Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Industrie Nordböhmens. In: Mittheilungen des Vereines für Geschichte der Deutschen in Böhmen 25 (1886-87) 171-197, 309-324. – A recent discussion about the firm and extant sources on its history is *Královná,* Eliška: Ignaz Ginzkey aneb konec výroby koberců ve Vratislavicích nad Nisou [Ignaz Ginzkey or the End of Carpet Production in Vratislavice nad Nisou]. In: Archivní časopis 66 (2016) 3, 229-242.

much smaller community in the Neisse River Valley had a predominantly German population before the Nazi defeat and the expulsions. Its German residents called their town Maffersdorf, although after the war, when the carpet factory was nationalized and Czechs settled into the homes of expelled Germans, its official name became Vratislavice nad Nisou. In addition to being the home of Julia and Willy, Maffersdorf/Vratislavice was also the birthplace of Konrad Henlein and Ferdinand Porsche, the latter of whom had family members employed at the carpet factory.

Before the First World War, Willy was an astute and influential businessman in Austria-Hungary. He managed his family's business, served as the director of the Bohemian-German Chamber of Commerce in Reichenberg/Liberec, and held a seat in the Upper House of the Austrian parliament in Vienna (the *Herrenhaus*).[31] For many years the Ginzkey carpet company flourished under Willy's management. It had products on display in the Austrian pavilion at the 1900 World's Fair in Paris, including a carpet that Alfons Mucha designed, and at other international exhibitions. While the fighting of the First World War dragged on, Willy hired the Silesian-born Austrian architect, Leopold Bauer, to help expand the factory's size and its energy-producing capacity (figure 5).[32]

During the first decade after the dissolution of Austria-Hungary and the creation of independent Czechoslovakia, the Ginzkey factory produced famously large carpets for the new E. F. Albee Theatre in Brooklyn and New York's Waldorf-Astoria Hotel.[33] Business was not terrible during the 1920s, but it did decline due to the loss of trade advantages that the carpet company had enjoyed within a much larger state before the war.[34] The global economic crisis of the early 1930s caused more profound economic challenges to the Ginzkey firm and to its Bohemian-German workforce, which experienced distressing unemployment in the years before the Nazi occupation of Czechoslovakia.[35]

---

[31] *Pavlata,* Oldřich: Severočeské museum a Willy Ginzkey aneb o výročích trochu jinak [The North Bohemian Museum and Willy Ginzkey or Something Different about Anniversaries]. In: Čtvrtletník Severočeského muzea v Liberci 9 (2013) 8-9.

[32] *Vybíral,* Jindřich: The Industrial Architecture of Leopold Bauer. In: Centropa 7 (2007) 3, 266-277. – *Řeháček,* Marek: O vratislavické kobercárně [On the Vratislavice Carpet Factory]. In: Vratislavický zpravodaj (2012) 2, supplement, 293-296. – The collaboration between Willy and Bauer began when the architect designed carpets for the Ginzkey firm, some of which were displayed in the 1904 World's Fair in St. Louis.

[33] On the Brooklyn carpet see: The New E. F. Albee Theatre. In: Brooklyn Life, January 24, 1925, 19-20. – The E. F. Albee Theatre, Brooklyn, N.Y. In: Architecture and Building 57 (1925) 63-64. – More research is needed on the Waldorf-Astoria carpet, due to conflicting information that probably results from confusing two large Ginzkey pieces made for New York and different versions of the "Wheel of Life" design, including Louis Rigal's art-deco mosaic and a carpet produced at the Mohawk Carpet Mill in Amsterdam/New York.

[34] Großindustrieller Willy Ginzkey beim Präsidenten Masaryk. In: Reichenberger Zeitung, April 21, 1922.

[35] A poem describing one carpet maker's distress during the hard times is *Meisnar,* Hilde: Bei Ginzkey'n. In: *Schwarz,* Inge: Maffersdorf. Gewerbe und Industrie, Part 1. Kempten 1994, 62.

After marrying Willy, Julia largely retired from her demanding singing career and led a much more private life. When the Dutch journalist, Bibeb (Elisabeth Maria Lampe-Soutberg), interviewed her and asked why she made this change, Julia replied, "I was always so unhappy with myself. People who do not take their profession so seriously are much better off, child."[36] She continued to make some recordings until 1926, and on occasion she gave concerts, including in her new home in the Sudetenland and in faraway New York. Julia's parents, sister, and nephew often travelled from Holland to visit her and Willy in Czechoslovakia, helping to maintain strong family connections across national borders (see figure 6).

Willy Ginzkey was a practicing Catholic. He contributed financially to the baroque Church of the Holy Trinity in Maffersdorf/Vratislavice, helping to fund its reconstruction before the First World War and the replacement of its bells which had been requisitioned for matériel during the conflagration. After marrying him, Julia converted to Catholicism and was baptized on June 24, 1922 in Vienna's Schottenpfarre as her baptismal certificate (*Taufschein*) shows.[37] She actively participated in her new community's Catholic activities, including by giving concerts to raise money for local church projects and attending religious celebrations (see figure 7).

Czechoslovak citizenship law expected women to follow the state allegiance of their husbands, and Julia became a citizen of the young country.[38] As a citizen, she had to be registered in the 1930 Czechoslovak census, an official state record of affiliations that went on to be very important for determining the fates of millions of people after the Nazi defeat. The 1930 census did not grant or deny citizenship based on national or religious identity or, stated differently, it did not nationalize or ethnicize citizenship.[39] Still, it was not a politically neutral instrument because it was, in part, designed to demonstrate the prevalence of Slavs compared to other groups in the multinational state, especially Germans.[40]

---

[36] Bibeb in Holland. Utrecht 1958, 88.

[37] Collection of the Rijkens Family, Tauf-Schein (Zeugnis), August 10, 1942 (this is a 1942 confirmation of her 1922 conversion to Catholicism). – Julia could not convert to Catholicism immediately around the time of her and Willy's marriage due to her very recent divorce. Just before their wedding she was baptized in the Evangelical Pauluskirche in Vienna's Third District (Evangelisches Pfarramt Landstraße, Pauluskirche), the Protestant church where the couple also wed.

[38] On the citizenship of married women, including foreigners, in interwar Czechoslovakia see: *Feinberg,* Melissa: Elusive Equality. Gender, Citizenship, and the Limits of Democracy in Czechoslovakia 1918-1950. Pittsburgh 2006, chap. 3.

[39] An insightful discussion of the "nationalization of citizenship" in Czechoslovakia before and after the Second World War, through an examination of property rights, is in *Gosewinkel,* Dieter/*Spurný,* Matěj: Staatsbürgerschaft und Eigentumsentzug in der Tschechoslowakei nach 1918 und 1945. In: *Gosewinkel,* Dieter/*Holec,* Roman/*Řezník,* Miloš (eds.): Eigentumsregime und Eigentumskonflikte im 20. Jahrhundert. Essen 2018 (Veröffentlichungen zur Kultur und Geschichte im östlichen Europa 53) 305-322.

[40] For more on the 1930 census see *Čapková,* Kateřina: Czechs, Germans, Jews? National Identity & the Jews of Bohemia. New York 2015, 41-55. – *Kladiwa,* Pavel: National Classification in the Politics of the State Census. The Bohemian Lands 1880-1930. In: Bohemia

For many respondents, the possible choices on the census would have been more ascribed than truly felt. No one could register as nationally indifferent or as having a mixed affiliation. No answers could be left blank; everyone had to declare a single nationality.[41] Most of the nationalities from which a citizen could choose were based on language of everyday use and did not require strong group enthusiasm. They included, among others, Czechoslovak (for both Czech and Slovak speakers), German, Magyar, and Polish.

In the 1930 census Jewish was also a nationality that could be selected. This category was different from the others, because for it a citizen's language of everyday use did not have to be Hebrew or Yiddish. Citizens simply needed to strongly identify with Judaism. Importantly, though, even if a person spoke Hebrew or Yiddish, held strong Jewish beliefs or had Jewish ancestors, they did not have to select this category. They could choose to identify as a Czech, a German, or another officially listed nationality. Jewish believers or descendants who identified as German in the 1930 census and survived the Holocaust came to have difficult times in postwar Czechoslovakia. So too did individuals who registered as Jews, including Emil Beer mentioned at the start of this article, and Jews who registered as Czechs.[42]

Records show that Julia, who organized her life based on her work, possessions, and personal relations, was one of the people of Jewish descent who was registered as a German in the 1930 census.[43] This ascribed identity made sense for her situation. Dutch was not an option on the census, she lived in a Bohemian-German milieu where she spoke German and had little contact with Czechs, and she had converted to Catholicism, actively participating in the local church community.

Julia, "the Dutch Nightingale" and Willy, "the Bohemian-German king of Persian carpets," shared a very happy life together in the Sudetenland. The childless couple's primary home was in the neoclassical villa that Willy's father Ignaz, the founder of the Ginzkey firm, had built in 1868 very near the carpet factory in Maffersdorf/

---

55 (2015) 1, 67-95. – *Koeltzsch,* Ines: Geteilte Kulturen. Eine Geschichte der tschechisch-jüdisch-deutschen Beziehungen in Prag 1918-1938. München 2012 (VCC 124) 29-87. – The discriminatory potential of state-ascribed identity in the 1930 census was first realized following the Munich Agreement. Residents of the Sudetenland who had identified as Germans could become citizens of the Third Reich (unless they were Jewish or had shown themselves to be opponents of the Reich); those who had identified as Czechs could not. See *Čapková:* Between Expulsion and Rescue 85 (cf. fn. 11).

41 Zahra writes that for the 1930 census "the Czechoslovak State Statistical Office even proposed that citizens be permitted to declare themselves 'without nationality' (*bez národnosti*) or 'nationality unknown' (*národnost neznámá*)," but this idea was rejected. See *Zahra:* Kidnapped Souls 124 (cf. fn. 4).

42 The Waldes family is an example of pro-Czech Jews who faced difficulties in the immediate postwar years, including when they unsuccessfully attempted to secure compensation for their very valuable art collection. See: *Kubů / Kuklík:* Reluctant Restitution 236-237 (cf. fn. 10). – Umělecké předměty ze židovského majetku 134-141 (cf. fn. 10).

43 NA ÚPV, sig. 44/3, box 17, folder 1, Ministerstva vnitra [Ministry of the Interior], odd. VI/4, August 12, 1947.

Vratislavice (see figure 8). Julia decorated the villa with art and antiques transported from her Berlin home and also purchased from her wealth and income following her migration to Czechoslovakia. Preserved photos reveal statues of Catholic religious figures and no Jewish artifacts (see figures 9 and 10). The couple lived in the house in great style and lavishly entertained local and foreign guests. They had a second house in nearby Hammer am See/Hamr na Jezeře. This was a hunting lodge resting in a natural setting on a lake, for which the architect Leopold Bauer made remodeling plans (see figure 11).[44] The couple also had a dairy farm near Krassa/ Chrastná by Oschitz/Osečná where they dedicated a bell to the local Catholic church.[45]

The happy marriage ended when Willy died on April 29, 1934. His last will and testament made apparent that much of his fortune had evaporated during the financial crisis of the early 1930's. After his demise, Julia received pension money from the factory and became the sole proprietor of the lake house and farm. Ownership of the factory and property associated with it, including the neoclassical villa, passed to Willy's four Bohemian-German nephews. They were Heinrich and Alfred Ginzkey, and Alfred and Egon Mallmann.[46] As will be seen below, the most important nephew for the story of Julia and her things was Alfred Mallmann.

Following Willy's death, Julia moved out of the villa and into her lake house, taking some favorite objects with her and adding them to furnishings already there (see figures 12 and 13). An article published in 1938 in the liberal German newspaper, *The Prague Daily News* (*Prager Tagblatt*), described the interior decorations in the lake house. The article called the residence a "little treasure trove" (a *Schatzkästlein*). It read:

> Next to an early Gainsborough a baroque archangel, carved from wood; then a collection of miniatures. Across [from them] a line of costly Bohemian glass. A portrait of a lord (*Fürstenporträt*) by an unknown master. Boxes. Pendulums. Vases of all origins. Delft ovens. And more wooden sculpture: the most beautiful of them, a crowned mother of God, has a place of honor on the grand piano.[47]

Julia did not take all of her things to the house in Hammer/Hamr after Willy died. There was not enough space. Some of her works of art and antiques stayed in the neoclassical villa near the carpet factory in Maffersdorf/Vratislavice. The villa became the home of Alfred Mallmann, one of Willy's nephews, and his Boston-born wife, Rosamand Faye Otis.

---

[44] *Vybíral:* Industrial Architecture of Leopold Bauer 267 (cf. fn. 32). – *Řeháček:* O vratislavické kobercáně 290 (cf. fn. 32).

[45] *Uhlíř,* Jaroslav: Kampanologické památky libereckého okresu [Campanological Monuments in the District of Liberec]. Master's Thesis, Technical University of Liberec 2013. URL: https://dspace.tul.cz/handle/15240/14326 (accessed July 15, 2019).

[46] Rijkens Family Collection, Mein letzter Wille, December 15, 1932.

[47] *Stuckenschmidt,* Hans Heinz: "Haus Herz". Besuch bei Julia Culp mit Clara Viebig. In: Prager Tagblatt, August 28, 1938.

Figure 1. A Portrait-Postcard of Julia Culp, "the Dutch Nightingale," circa 1912.

Figure 2. "Julia of the Teacups" on Concert Tour in the United States, circa 1915.

Figure 3. Julia in Her Home in Zehlendorf am Wannsee near Berlin, circa 1917.

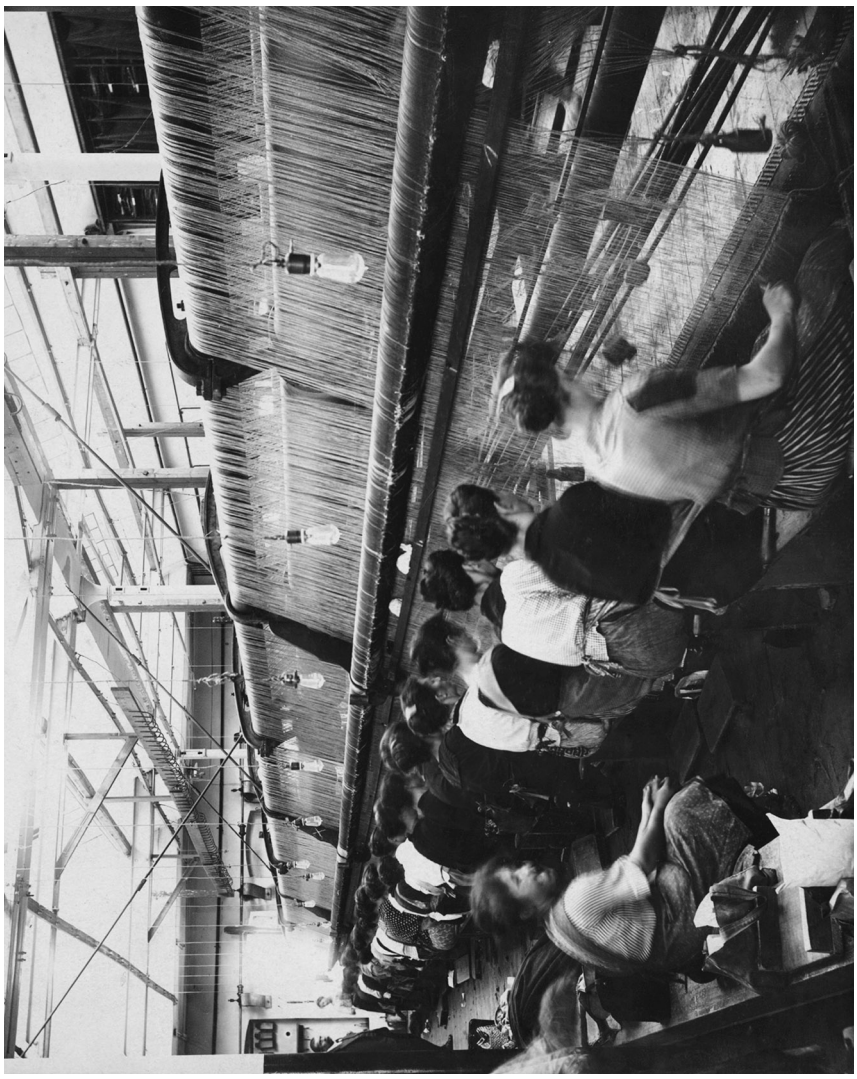

Figure 4. Carpet Making in the Ignaz Ginzkey Factory in Maffersdorf/Vratislavice, 1907.

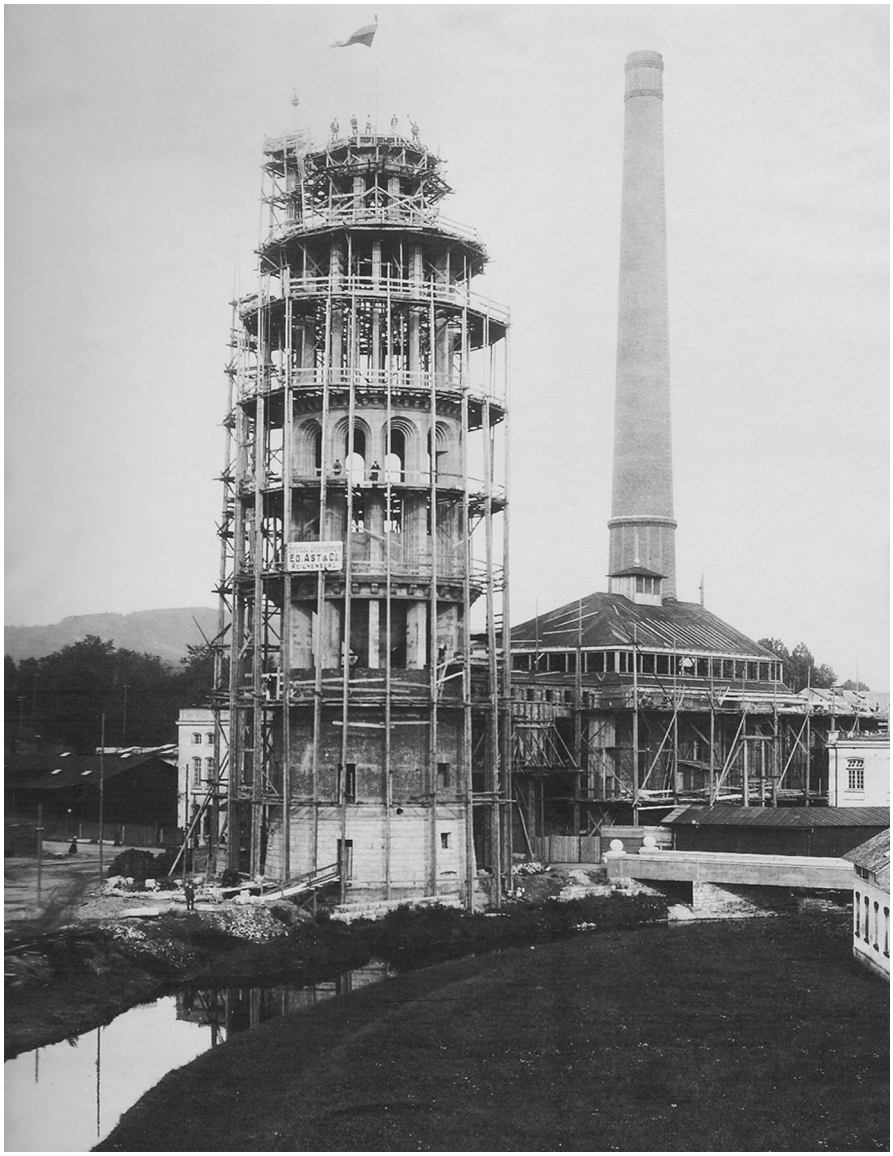

Figure 5. Construction of the New Power Station and Coal and Water Tower for the Ignaz Ginzkey Factory, Based on Plans of Architect Leopold Bauer, 1918.

Figure 6. Julia with Willy and Her Parents in Maffersdorf/Vratislavice and A Car Custom-Designed by Ferdinand Porsche, 1925.

Figure 7. Julia with Willy Dedicating New Bells for the Church of the Holy Trinity in Maffersdorf/Vratislavice, 1925.

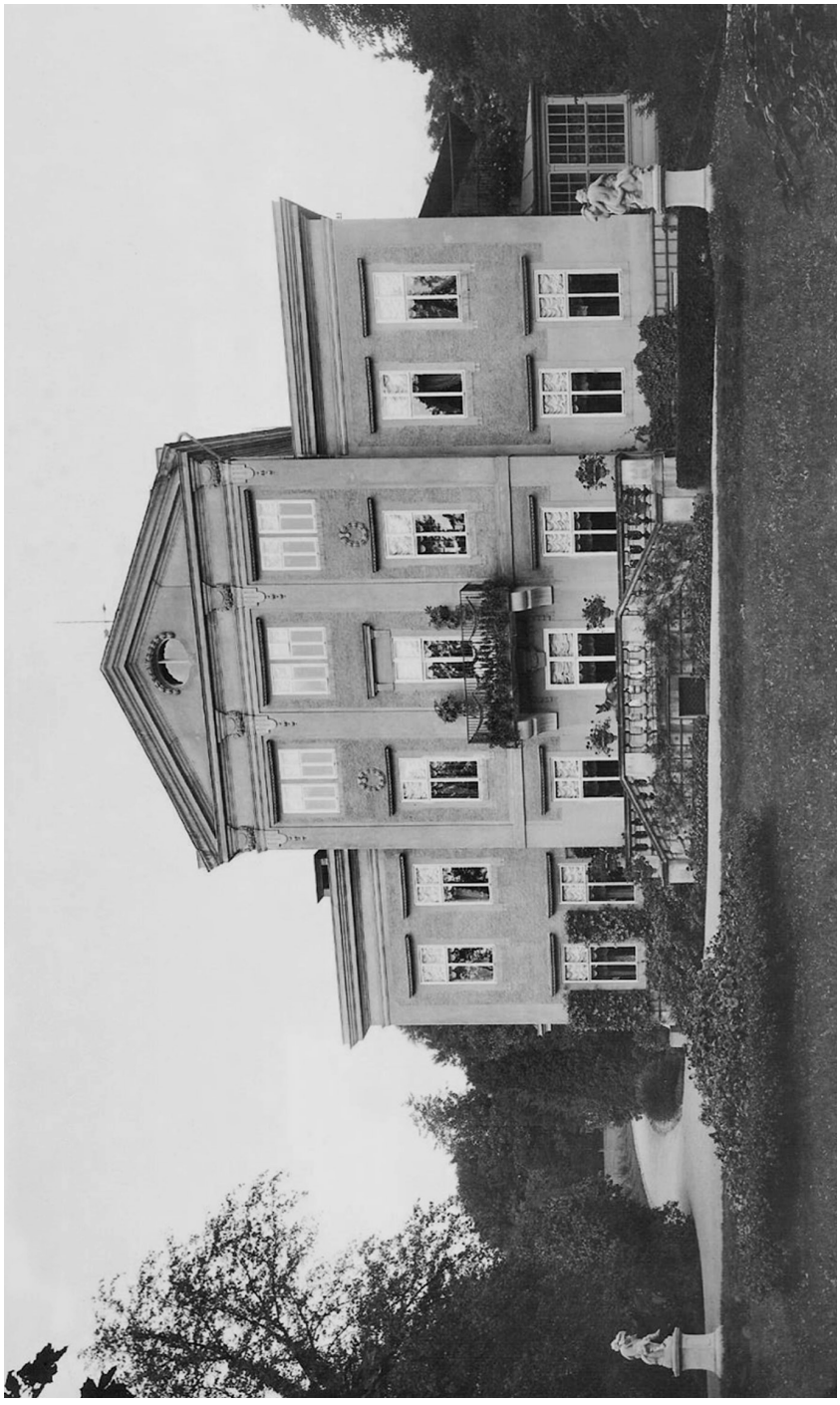

Figure 8. Outside the Neoclassical Villa in Maffersdorf/Vratislavice, 1928.

Figure 9. The Salon in the Neoclassical Villa, 1926.

Figure 10. The Music Room in the Neoclassical Villa, 1926.

Figure 11. Outside the Lake House at Hammer am See/Hamr na Jezeře, circa 1935.

Figure 12. Julia's Piano in the Lake House, circa 1935.

Figure 13. Interior Furnishings in the Lake House, circa 1935.

Figure 14. Some of Julia's Silver on Display in the Frederik Muller & Co. Auction House in Amsterdam, 1951.

Figure 15. Julia and Her Sister Betsy in their Amsterdam Apartment after the Second World War, 1950.

The Nuremberg Race Laws and the First Confiscation of Julia's Things

In 1935, a year after Willy's death, the Nuremberg Race Laws were announced in Nazi Germany. Under their terms, which were derived from the racist argument that Jewishness results from biology, people who had Jewish parents or grandparents were officially categorized as Jewish, regardless of what religious beliefs or views they held.[48] The millions of people forced by the Nazi state into this ascribed identity box had their dignity assaulted in a myriad of ways. They lost their civil rights, occupations, property, freedom and, extremely often, their lives.

Under the Nuremberg Laws, Julia was categorized as a Jew since all her grandparents and both her parents were Jewish. In the eyes of Nazi authorities, it was irrelevant that she had a baptismal certificate from a Catholic church and participated in church activities. If she were to find herself living under a regime that abided by the Nuremberg Laws, then she would lose the rights of citizens and become a subject without legal protection.

It is not known how much Julia knew about or understood the implications of the Nuremberg Laws in 1935. It appears she did not immediately worry about their reach. First, she remained in Bohemia and then in 1937 she moved to Vienna where she had been invited to teach singing at the Academy for Music and Visual Arts. She gave up her teaching position three days after the *Anschluss* in March 1938, when Austria was annexed to the German Reich.[49] That event, which included Jews being forced to endure the humiliation of scrubbing Viennese streets, enhanced her awareness of the intensity of racism in Central Europe and the dangers of the Nuremberg Laws.

In the spring of 1938 Julia returned to her lake house in Hammer/Hamr and then, with urgings from her family in Holland and help from lawyers in Maffersdorf/Vratislavice and Berlin, she began preparations to move to Amsterdam. This included applying to become a Dutch citizen again. No doubt the expansion of Nazi power and aggression influenced her plans. The Munich Agreement and the annexation of the Sudetenland to the German Reich took place that autumn. Those momentous events were followed shortly thereafter by the burning of the synagogue in Reichenberg/Liberec on November 10 during the Night of Broken Glass (*Kristallnacht*) pogrom.[50]

Julia's Dutch citizenship was officially restored on December 30, 1938.[51] Still, she

---

[48] *Burleigh,* Michael/*Wippermann,* Wolfgang: The Racial State. Germany 1933-1945. Cambridge 1991.

[49] *Hofman:* Julia Culp 68 (cf. fn. 3). – Her resignation letter, dated March 15, cited health reasons for her departure (she was not sick). See: URL: http://www.mdw.ac.at/spielmachtraum/artikel/frauen-an-der-mdw-1938-1945 (accessed July 15, 2019).

[50] Several months after the fire, in May 1939, a count indicated that 269 people of Jewish descent remained in the city (compared to 1,392 reported in 1930). See *Karpaš,* Roman et al. (eds.): Kniha o Liberci [Book about Liberec]. Liberec 2004, 365.

[51] Rijkens Family Collection, Staatsblad van het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden. Wet van 30 December 1938 houdende naturalisatie van J.H. Batterink en 21 anderen, No. 1239RR [Official Gazette of the Kingdom of the Netherlands. Law of 30 December 1938 on the Naturalization of J.H. Batterink and 21 Others, No. 1239RR].

stayed in the Sudetenland in order to address matters concerning her property, including an order for people categorized as Jews under the Nuremberg laws to submit a record of assets (*Vermögensverzeichnis*) to Nazi authorities.[52] She hesitated to leave even after the Third Reich's full takeover of Czechoslovakia in March 1939. Finally, on July 8, 1939 Julia fled to Holland. She and her sister Betsy, whose husband had passed away in October 1938, moved into a small apartment in "the skyscraper" (*Wolkenkrabber*), a twelve-story tall, functionalist high-rise apartment in Amsterdam that was quite a change of environment for Julia and is now a national monument due to its architectural history.[53]

Betsy's husband was a non-Jewish physician. His brother was Paul Rijkens (1888-1965), the director of the large Unilever firm from 1937 to 1955 and a person very active in global economic and political affairs during and after the Second World War.[54] Betsy's son and only child was Rein Rijkens (1913-2003), who also worked as a director at Unilever. Both Paul and Rein had connections in the Dutch government, including among diplomats. Those connections proved to be invaluable for Julia both during and after the war, and they contributed to making her local experiences in the Sudetenland part of wider transnational history.

Less than a year after her return to her birth country, Julia's life was again threatenend. In May 1940 Nazi Germany took over Holland and the Nuremberg Laws were applied there, as well. Due to their ancestors, she and her sister were categorized as Jews and required to wear the yellow star. In June 1942 the deportation of Dutch Jews began. Julia and Betsy went into hiding in separate locations. Betsy's son, Rein Rijkens, worked to protect his mother and aunt. On November 16, 1943 Betsy "was freed from wearing the Jewish star" after a medical exam confirmed that the fifty-nine-year-old woman could no longer bear children.[55]

For Julia's case, Rein engaged the lawyer Jan de Pont to secure his aunt's release from the Jewish identity ascribed to her by the Nuremberg Laws. The lawyer made his case based on Julia's fame as a singer of German *Lieder* or art songs. In an appeal sent to German authorities on September 1, 1942, he wrote, "Julia Culp has placed her artistry fully in the service of Germany. […] Her art was dedicated to the *German Lied* [emph. in orig.]." The appeal described how she "deepened the foundation on which the reputation of German art inextinguishably rests in the entire world."[56] This effort to flatter German pride was rejected. Then on June 26, 1944, after her well-connected family recruited the support of pro-German Dutch cultural figures and the German conductor Wilhelm Furtwängler, Nazi officials declared Julia was "to be exempted from all security-police measures against Jews" and she

---

[52] SOA Most, Fond Ignaz Ginzkey, box 1, inv. no. 27, Anleitung zur Ausfüllung des Vermögensverzeichnisses nach dem Stand des Vermögens vom 1.12.1938.

[53] *Hofman:* Julia Culp 69 (cf. fn. 3).

[54] *Wubs,* Ben: International Business and National War Interests. Unilever between Reich and Empire, 1939-45. London 2008.

[55] Die Bertha-Julia Rijkens-Culp, November 16, 1943. Found in *Hofman:* Julia Culp 71 (cf. fn. 3).

[56] An den Herrn Befehlshaber, September 1, 1942. Found in *Hofman:* Julia Culp 69 (cf. fn. 3).

was able to leave hiding and rejoin her sister in the Amsterdam high-rise.[57] Other Culp family members, like millions of people with Jewish ancestors, were not so fortunate.[58]

When Julia left the Sudetenland in July 1939 and returned to her country of birth, she could carry very little with her. She could bring her ring from the Empress of Germany, some other jewelry and a few curios, but it was impossible to transport her large collection of artworks and antiques. Most of her things remained in her house by the lake or in the neoclassical villa in Maffersdorf/Vratislavice, where her husband's nephew Alfred Mallmann now resided. Alfred kept some of Julia's art and antiques in the neoclassical villa where she had lived with Willy. He moved other objects for storage to another family villa, this one the "little castle" (*kleines Schloss*) built in 1897 on a hill above the factory.[59]

With the help of a lawyer in Berlin, whose letterhead was marked with a swastika, Julia strove to complete a loan agreement with Alfred and the other nephews, in which she would lend them the furnishings that she left in Mafferdorf/Vratislavice and, in return, they would insure the objects.[60] This was part of an effort to safeguard her art and antiques from plunder, damage, and state seizure as non-Aryan property. The things in her house in Hammer/Hamr did not have the same protection. On March 25, 1941 Gestapo forces seized the interior furnishings in Julia's lake house as non-Aryan property and had them transported to a storage facility in Reichenberg/Liberec.[61] This was the first confiscation of Julia's things.

During the Second World War, Alfred, like the other heirs to the carpet factory, was in good standing with the occupying authorities. A postwar police report stated that their factory produced textiles for the Third Reich and also manufactured parts for German V1 bombs.[62] Surviving archival records have photos showing unsmiling faces of forced laborers from Russia, Poland and the Ukraine, most of them women, who worked in the Ginzkey factory.[63]

Alfred learned about the Gestapo's seizure of the art and antiques that Julia had left in her lake house and he arranged to buy them at significant cost. On September 2,

---

57 Bescheinigung, June 26, 1944. Found in *Hofman:* Julia Culp 73 (cf. fn. 3).

58 Seventeen percent of Holland's Jewish population survived the Holocaust. *Dreyfus,* Jean-Marc: The Looting of Jewish Property in Occupied Western Europe. A Comparative Study of Belgium, France, and the Netherlands. In: *Dean/Goschler/Ther* (eds.): Robbery and Restitution 54 (cf. fn. 10).

59 Herrenhaus Ginskey (sic) in Maffersdorf (Böhmen). In: Zentralblatt der Bauverwaltung 18 (1898) 2, 253-255. – Villa des Herrn Alfred Ginzkey in Maffersdorf bei Reichenberg. In: Kunst und Handwerk 3 (1900) 262-273.

60 SOA Most, Fond Ginzkey, inv. no. 27, box 1, Letter of Dr. Martin Andree to Herr Dr. Bittner, March 8, 1940.

61 A list of seized objects is in Státní oblastní archiv Liberec, Okresní soud v Liberci [State District Archive Liberec, District Court in Liberec; hereafter SOA Liberec, Okresní soud], Nc III 1064/46, Bedna I [Crate I], no date.

62 NA, ÚPV, sig. 44/3, box 17, folder 1, Letter of Office of National Security in Liberec to Mareček, December 15, 1945.

63 SOA Most, Fond Ginzkey, box 8, inv. no. 66, Osobní karty totálně nasazených dělnic a dělníků, 1942-1945 [Identity Cards of Forced Female and Male Laborers, 1942-1945].

1941 the objects were turned over to him.[64] It is not known here why he made this purchase. Perhaps he felt a fondness for Julia and hoped to help her preserve her things; perhaps he wanted the collection for himself. Regardless of the reason, through his purchase of Julia's things, Alfred contributed to making a connection that crossed enemy lines during wartime and traversed national borders and the east-west divide after May 1945.

Alfred placed some of the interior decorations that he purchased from the Gestapo in the neoclassical villa, where he now lived, and he put the remainder in storage in the factory. There were still other objects belonging to Julia in the "little castle." It was inside these three buildings in Maffersdorf/Vratislavice where Julia's art and antiques were when Nazi Germany was defeated. It was in these three locations, sometimes mixed with Alfred's possessions and those of his American wife, where Julia's things were seized on a second occasion, this time in August 1945 and by officials of the restored Czechoslovak state.

The Presidential Decrees and the Second Confiscation of Julia's Things

Roughly a month after the end of the Nazi occupation and the war in Europe, President Edvard Beneš gave a speech in Lidice, a site where extreme brutality was inflicted on the local Czech population in retaliation for the assassination of Reinhard Heydrich. There in this place now symbolic of the dark depths of Nazi atrocities Beneš said, "I declare the German Volk as a whole to be responsible for National Socialism and for all of its crimes."[65] Those were powerful words hinting at the fate of Czechoslovakia's Germans in the postwar period. It was also a statement suggesting possible concern for some type of justice in the postwar world. As the story of Julia and her things shows, Holocaust survivors became entangled in the postwar experiences of the Germans, including the confiscation of their property and their expulsion from the country, making rectification of the racism they had suffered or restorative justice difficult to pursue.[66]

Even before the war ended a set of Presidential Decrees, popularly known as the Beneš Decrees, were being created.[67] Three of the decrees allowed Czechoslovak authorities to seize property from Germans without any compensation. The decrees contained a new state-ascribed category of identity in postwar Czechoslovakia. After the Nazi occupation, disloyalty to the Czechoslovak state and people was referred to as "unreliability" (*nespolehlivost*). Millions of people, including Holocaust

---

[64] SOA Liberec, Okresní soud, Letter from the National Administration of the Firm of Bedřich Baudiš to Zdeněk Holub, November 17, 1945.

[65] Projev presidenta republiky dr. Beneše v Lidicích. Všichni Němci jsou odpovědni za Lidice [Speech of the President of the Republic Dr. Beneš in Lidice. All Germans are Responsible for Lidice]. In: Svobodné slovo, June 12, 1945.

[66] The need to contextualize the history of Jews in postwar Czechoslovakia within the experiences of other minorities is emphasized in *Láníček,* Jan: What did it Mean to be Loyal? Jewish Survivors in Post-War Czechoslovakia in a Comparative Perspective. In: Australian Journal of Politics and History 60 (2014) 3, 384-404, here 389-390.

[67] *Jech,* Karel/*Kaplan,* Karel (eds.): Dekrety Prezidenta Republiky, 1940-1945. Dokumenty [Decrees of the President of the Republic 1940-1945. Documents]. Vols. 1 and 2. Brno 1995.

survivors, were labelled "unreliable" and with that identity "from above" they lost their citizenship, homes, property, and in some cases their lives. This was another disempowering and dehumanizing construct that challenged individual dignity.

Decree 5 (May 1945) established national committees at the local, district, and provincial levels to seize and administer factories and businesses belonging to people labeled "unreliable for the state" (*státně nespolehlivé*).[68] Decree 12 (June 1945) governed the confiscation of all rural property owned by anyone categorized as "unreliable." Ranging from small peasant farms to large aristocratic estates, and including all moveable objects, this rural property was placed under the jurisdiction of the National Land Fund, under the Ministry of Agriculture.[69] Decree 108 (October 1945) sanctioned the state seizure of all urban property from "unreliables." It affected villas, apartments, and palaces, in addition to associated moveable objects. The Fund for National Renewal (*Fond národní obnovy*), which was under the communist-directed Resettlement Office (*Osidlovací úřad*), managed property confiscated under Decree 108.[70]

In the Sudetenland and elsewhere in Czechoslovakia's western half, Germans constituted the main group marked with the label "unreliable." In this way, citizenship was nationalized in postwar Czechoslovakia.[71] Significantly, the restored state largely relied on the compulsory 1930 census to determine who was a German. After the occupation, people registered as German in the 1930 census were automatically categorized as German, labelled "unreliable," and subject to the loss of their citizenship, the confiscation of their property, and expulsion from the country. Exceptions could be made for those who could prove that they had been anti-fascist resisters. Holocaust survivors who had registered as Germans could also be freed from the label of "unreliability," if they could demonstrate that they were free from charges of disloyalty or "Germanization" (*germanizace*) – something not always easy to achieve.

The term "Germanization" was not clearly defined or consistently applied. The nebulousness of this construct increased opportunities for the instrumentalization of the state-ascribed identity of "unreliability" for political and economic ends in postwar Czechoslovakia; it caused considerable challenges to Jews seeking rectification for racism and contributed to state institutions being capricious and themselves unreliable.[72] The story of Julia and her things, like the story of Emil Beer, illustrates the serious difficulties that Holocaust survivors faced in postwar Czechoslovakia due to these constructs.

Willy's nephews, who owned the Ginzkey carpet factory after his death, had registered as Germans in the 1930 census. Additionally, during the war their business

---

68 *Jech/Kaplan* (eds.): Dekrety Prezidenta Republiky, vol. 1, 216-223 (cf. fn. 67).
69 *Ibid.*
70 *Ibid.*
71 *Gosewinkel/Spurný:* Staatsbürgerschaft und Eigentumsentzug 305-322 (cf. fn. 39).
72 Discussions of the term "Germanization" are in *Gerlach:* Economy of Ethnic Cleansing 217-218 (cf. fn. 9). – *Spurný:* Unerwünschte Rückkehrer 133-134 (cf. fn. 10). – On the wider matter of the Czechoslovak state's construction of loyalty and disloyalty and manipulation of these terms see: *Láníček:* What did it Mean to be Loyal? (cf. fn. 66).

produced textiles and weapon parts for the Third Reich, and it used forced laborers from other occupied territories. In the eyes of postwar Czechoslovak officials, the nephews were all most certainly "unreliables." In May 1945, under the terms of Decree 5, the seizure of the Ginzkey factory began.[73] According to Alfred Mallmann's son, Alfred was initially allowed to stay in the neoclassical villa, but then on July 25 he was told he had to move. Alfred died that night. His son, who was a prisoner-of-war in England from May 1944 to April 1946, reported that Alfred died of a cardiac arrest; authorities recorded that he committed suicide.[74]

In early August 1945 government officials entered the neoclassical villa where Alfred had lived and also places where he had stored furnishings, including things belonging to Julia. The officials packed up hundreds of interior decorations and transported them to Prague. A hastily compiled inventory of the seized objects, which was completed months after the confiscation, included antique furniture, tapestries, paintings, Persian rugs, baroque statues, and much more. What is particularly noteworthy about this inventory is its introductory paragraph. This opening statement divulged who took the furnishings from Alfred's home and the rationale behind this forced transfer of property. Authorities from the Office of the Prime Minister of the Government (*Úřad předsednictva vlády*) carried out the dispossession, the report said. It further stated that they took these things "for the needs of furnishing the representative spaces of the President of the Republic and the Prime Minister of the government."[75] Neither this confiscation nor this use of these interior decorations was sanctioned by Presidential Decrees or laws in effect in August 1945.

It is unclear who precisely authorized the confiscation of moveable property from Alfred's home and places where he stored things. The two officials carrying out the seizure initially reported that it was Klement Gottwald, then a deputy prime minister, who had sent them to gather things for furnishing his new Prague villa.[76] Gottwald protested this assertion and, in response, a memorandum was circulated disavowing his participation in the confiscation and stating that he never received any of the objects.[77] Later evidence showed that the Prague villa of Zdeněk Fierlinger, Prime Minister of Czechoslovakia in August 1945, contained things thought to have been Alfred's property, so perhaps Fierlinger gave the order. Other Czechoslovak officials also had furnishings thought to have belonged to Alfred. So did foreign

---

[73] In September 1945 the factory was placed under national administration and in March 1946 it was absorbed into the state-owned, state-managed national enterprise Carpet and Upholstery Factories (Továrny koberců a nábytkových látek), which consisted of forty-two confiscated and nationalized Bohemian and Moravian firms. *Královná:* Ignaz Ginzkey 235 (cf. fn. 30). – *Řeháček:* O vratislavické kobercáně 290 (cf. fn. 32).

[74] *Schwarz:* Maffersdorf 60-61 (cf. fn. 35).

[75] NA ÚPV, sig. 44/3, box 17, folder 1, Soupis věcí /inventáře/ ve vile Němce Alfréda Mallmanna [A List of Objects /Inventory/ in the Villa of the German Alfred Mallmann], no date.

[76] NA ÚPV, sig. 44/3, box 17, folder 1, Záznam [Record], July 7, 1945.

[77] NA ÚPV, sig. 44/3, box 17, folder 1, Závodní rada firmy Ginzkey [Factory Council of the Ginzkey Firm], July 25, 1945.

representatives, including United States Ambassador Laurence Steinhardt, American diplomat John Bruins, and Soviet General Ivan Konev.

Aside from a small number of silver items listed as the property of Alfred's American wife, the inventory treated everything as Alfred's possessions. The matter of ownership was not so simple, though. This was particularly true of things that Julia had left in the neoclassical villa, and that the Gestapo had seized from her lake house as non-Aryan property and subsequently sold to Alfred. When confiscating objects from Alfred's villa and elsewhere, officials in the Prime Minister's Office did not know that his furnishings were mixed together with Julia's art and antiques. They did not then know the history of Julia and her things. But they were soon to learn it.

The First Restitution Efforts

After the war ended, Julia had no desire to reside again in Czechoslovakia. She did, however, want her art and antiques back. Available sources, which are limited, suggest she was less motivated by sentimental reasons, than by the need to raise income after the war when she was no longer performing in concerts, earning royalties from recordings, or receiving a pension from the now state-controlled Ginzkey firm.[78] She hired Zdeněk Holub, a Czech lawyer with German-language skills, to help her with matters on the Czechoslovak side. Within Holland she received support from the Dutch government, where she had connections through her sister's son Rein Rijkens, a Unilever director who had helped her during the war and continued to assist her.

The Dutch government was interested in Julia's property on account of her connections and celebrity and also due to its leaders' concerns about economic resources needed for rebuilding after the war. It merits noting that, in the immediate postwar period, Dutch officials did not show strong interest in the restitution of Jewish property as a means of rectifying Holocaust injustices.[79] On November 6, 1945 the Dutch Embassy wrote to the Czechoslovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs about the state seizure of "several pieces of furniture and a valuable collection of carpets" belonging to Julia and asking for "the release (*uvolnění*) of this Dutch property." The Ministry asked the Prime Minister's Office to look into the matter.[80]

In March 1946, after examining the situation, authorities in the Prime Minister's Office decided that Julia's case was not in their jurisdiction and turned the matter over to the Fund for National Renewal. This was an interesting shift, because the

---

[78] Discussion with Maarten H. Rijkens, October 11-12, 2018. – No correspondence or other writings in which Julia discussed the restitution process have been found.

[79] For example, in the immediate postwar period the Dutch Finance Minister controlled restitution institutions in Holland, employing them "mainly to pursue the financial interests of the Dutch state in order to reconstruct the economy, even if this policy conflicted with the interests of the dispossessed Jewish community." See *Veraart,* Wouter: Two Rounds of Postwar Restitution and Dignity Restoration in the Netherlands and France. In: Law & Social Inquiry 41 (2016) 4, 956-972, here 961.

[80] NA ÚPV, sig. 44/3, box 17, file 1, Věc. Pí Julia Ginzkey, roz. Culpová, ochrana majetku [Matter. Mrs. Julia Ginzkey, Born Culp, Protection of Property], November 12, 1945.

Fund was a product of Presidential Decree 108 created in late October 1945, that is, nearly three months after officials in the Prime Minister's Office carried away furnishings from Maffersdorf/Vratislavice to be used in the homes and offices of government officials. It speaks to the fact that the Prime Minister's Office did not have firm, well-established legal grounds for the confiscation of property thought to have belonged to Alfred Mallmann. It shows the sometimes *ad hoc* and less than legally valid manner in which decisions were made and carried out in postwar Czechoslovakia. Perhaps this transfer of responsibility to the Fund for National Renewal was made on account of the Dutch Embassy's involvement. When referring to this foreign interest in Julia's case, the Prime Minister's Office said it was necessary "to proceed in the entire matter with absolute correctness and care."[81]

Due to the racial persecution that Julia experienced, it might be anticipated that the return of her things would have been easily accomplished. It might also be expected that, due to the restoration of her Dutch citizenship before the Nazi takeover and start of the war, her case might have been judged based on international law or an international agreement. As she eventually learned, however, for restitution cases Czechoslovak law only recognized foreign citizenship established before September 17, 1938, that is, shortly before the conclusion of the Munich Agreement.[82] Julia's Dutch citizenship was restored in late December 1938, which was more than three months after the cut-off date. Thus, when seeking the return of her things – even though she was a citizen in Holland – she was judged under the terms of Beneš Decrees and Czechoslovak law. Those terms, which were tied to the disempowering label of "unreliability" and the nebulous concept of "Germanization," limited the agency with which she, similar to other Holocaust survivors, could pursue the restitution of property and rectification of racist injustice. Experiences of discrimination and dehumanization extended across May 1945 which, for Jews in the Sudetenland and beyond, was no "zero hour" marking a fresh beginning.

The first legal foundation for restitution in postwar Czechoslovakia rested within Presidential Decree 5, announced in May 1945. In addition to allowing national committees to administer factories and businesses, as was mentioned above, it declared invalid (*neplatná*) those property transactions that "were closed after September 29, 1938 under pressure of the occupation or national, racial, or political persecution." It stipulated that former owners from specified socio-economic backgrounds (the very wealthy were excluded) who were not categorized as "unreliable" could receive back their property if they had lost it "as a result of national, political, or racial persecution." Under the terms of Decree 5 even Germans were eligible for restitution if they were freed from the label of unreliability by demonstrating "that

---

[81] NA ÚPV, sig. 44/3, box 17, file 1, Letter of the Office of the Prime Minister to the Fund for National Renewal, March 20, 1946. – See also a 1947 draft letter to Dutch Ambassador Allard Merens explaining to him that Julia's things were confiscated under Decree 108. Found at NA ÚPV, sig. 44/3, box 17, file 2, J. E. Allard Merens, vyslanec a zplnomocněný ministr [J. E. Allard Merens, Envoy and Authorized Minister], June 1947.

[82] This was as per the terms of the so-called Swiss Protocols. See, for example, NA ÚPV, sig. 44/3, box 17, file 2, Informace pro pana předsedu vlády [Information for the Prime Minister of the Government], July 1, 1947.

they were victims of political or racial persecution and remained true to the democratic-republican state idea of the Czechoslovak Republic."[83]

The second legal foundation for restitution in postwar Czechoslovakia was Law 128/46 passed in parliament in May 1946. It repeated that property transactions "reached after September 29, 1938 under pressure of the occupation or national, racial, or political persecution" were invalid. Without stipulating anything regarding socio-economic background, as Decree 5 had done, this restitution law stated that individuals who were not categorized as "unreliable" were eligible to receive back their property. Law 128/46 also specified that the category of "unreliables" included Germans "*with the exception* [emphasis added] of persons who prove that they remained loyal to the Czechoslovak Republic, never committed an offence against the Czech or Slovak nations, and either actively participated in the struggle for her liberation or suffered under Nazi or fascist terror."[84]

The 1946 restitution law seemed tailored for Julia's situation. She and her lawyer were hopeful that it would enable her to recover her things. Their optimism grew on September 27, 1946 when the Ministry of Finance approved the restitution of the singer's real estate. They returned her lake house and dairy farm to her on the grounds that she was a Dutch citizen and that a local national committee, which was worried about care of the property, had asked for it to be restituted.[85]

Significantly, when returning her real estate, the Ministry of Finance did not look into the history of Julia's citizenship. Its officials did not consider that she had national belonging in Czechoslovakia after the Munich Agreement, only having her Dutch citizenship restored at the very end of 1938, that is, after the official date by which foreign citizenship was recognized in restitution cases. Because of this oversight, they saw no reason to look into her reliability and loyalty. Thus, the return of her lake house and farm was inconsistent and out of keeping with Czechoslovak law. Still, for Julia and her lawyer the return of her immovable property was an encouraging development. From their perspective, whether for genuine or strategic reasons, it was evidence that officials in the Czechoslovak state saw Julia as reliable and loyal, and thereby eligible for the return of her art and antiques under the terms of the 1946 restitution law.

Julia had no plans to move back to Bohemia and she needed money for her lawyer's bills, which likely included payments for bribes. Thus, after receiving back

---

[83] *Jech/Kaplan:* Dekrety Prezidenta Republiky, vol. 1, 216 (cf. fn. 67).

[84] Zákon 128/1946 o neplatnosti některých majetkově-právních jednání z doby nesvobody a o nárocích z této neplatnosti a z jiných zásahů do majetku vzázejících [Law 128/1946 on the Invalidity of Certain Actions Regarding Property Rights from the Time of Oppression and on Claims Based on this Invalidity and Other Violations of Property Rights that are Arising]. In: Sbírka zákonů a nařízení republiky Československé [Collection of Laws and Regulations of the Republic of Czechoslovakia] 46 (June 17, 1946) 963-966. – A useful discussion of the restitution law is in *Sedlák:* Poté. Postoj a přístup 111-117 (cf. fn. 10).

[85] NA, Ministerstvo práce a sociální péče [Ministry of Work and Social Welfare], Praha, box 87, folder Julie Ginzkey, file no. 1594-XIV-agr-1946, Okresní národní výbor v České Lípě Ministerstvu financí [District National Council in Česká Lípa to the Ministry of Finance], September 12, 1946; and insert for file no. 23076/46, V záležitosti žádost Julie Ginzkey-Culpová (sic) [In the Matter of Julia Ginzkey-Culp's Request], September 27, 1946.

her lake house and farm, she sold them. She now had funds for legal fees and the evidence of reliability – or so she thought – needed to fight in court for the return of her art and antiques.

Julia's Case in Court

On November 25, 1946 Julia's lawyer filed a restitution claim for her things in the District Court in Reichenberg/Liberec. The opposing party was the Fund for National Renewal, the state agency responsible for non-rural property confiscated from Germans under the terms of Presidential Decree 108. Julia did not personally attend the hearings, but her voice and story were heard in appeals – written in the first person – that her lawyer, Zdeněk Holub, presented to the court.

In the first appeal to the court, Julia called for the return of her art and antiques on the grounds that they were taken from her due to racial persecution. Julia began with the indisputable fact that the Ministry of Finance had restituted her real estate. She maintained that this decision was clear proof of "her reliability and loyalty."[86] With this opening information, Julia was arguing that the Ministry of Finance's decision was legal evidence that she was eligible, under the terms of the 1946 restitution law, to receive back her things. It was proof, she maintained, that she did not belong in the category of "unreliability" which, according to Czechoslovak law, would have denied her the right to restitution.

After her introduction, Julia moved on to state that her lake house had contained "her own very valuable furnishings, consisting primarily of antique furniture, paintings, carpets, etc." Mentioning specific evidence, she told of how the Gestapo had seized her things in March 1941. Next, and again bringing in specific evidence, she related that the Gestapo had sold her things to Alfred Mallmann in September of that year. She said that Alfred placed the greater part of them in the neoclassical villa and stored the remainder in a factory building. Moving her narrative to the postwar period, she recounted how when Czechoslovak officials confiscated Alfred's things as German property, her things were seized, too, and "apparently transported to Prague for the furnishing of representative rooms of the president of the republic and the prime minister." Alfred was not the true owner of her things, she maintained; his purchase of them was "invalid," because it "happened under the pressure of the occupation and racial and political persecution."[87]

The lawyer representing the opposing party, the Fund for National Renewal, responded about two months later in February 1947. It quickly became clear that he aimed to destroy the grounds for Julia's restitution claims. He made no mention of her Jewish heritage or her experiences of racial persecution. Still, based on the argument he presented, being Jewish and a target of racism would have been insufficient grounds for restitution. Among other objections, the opposing lawyer said she was

---

[86] SOA Liberec, Okresní soud, Nc III 1064/46, Návrh na navrácení majetku dle zákona č. 128/1946 [Proposal for the Return of Property According to Law No. 128/1946], November 25, 1946.

[87] SOA Liberec, Okresní soud, Nc III 1064/46, Návrh na navrácení majetku dle zákona č. 128/1946 (cf. fn. 86).

"not a person falling under paragraph one" of the restitution law. Paragraph one required that a person be "reliable."[88] He argued that the Ministry of Finance's decision to restitute her lake house and farm "did not substitute for testimony" of her reliability. The lawyer representing the Fund for National Renewal concluded by recommending that the court dismiss Julia's case "as groundless."[89]

Despite this discouraging response, the Dutch-Czech team persisted in their efforts to regain the singer's art and antiques through court action. On March 3, 1947 Julia's lawyer presented the court with her reply to the Fund for National Renewal. She again based her restitution claim on the fact that the original seizure of her things happened due to racial persecution. She said, "This house was taken by the former German Reich and registered as their property because, as per the meaning of the occupiers' Nuremberg Laws, I was considered to be a Jew." She again insisted that the Ministry of Finance's return of her real-estate was clear evidence of her reliability and loyalty. Once more she maintained that Alfred Mallmann's purchase of her things was invalid. The purchase was concluded without her participation and the whole transaction "happened under the pressure of the occupation and racial and political persecution."[90] The opposing party's lawyer again rejected her claim, saying that there were no grounds for it to be argued in court.

Julia's contestations in court put the Ministry of Finance in an awkward position. After all, it had restituted her lake house and dairy farm to her without looking more closely at the history of her citizenship. Due to the stance of the Fund for National Renewal, Ministry officials now needed to prove that they had made the correct decision when restituting Julia's real estate. They needed evidence that she was, indeed, reliable and loyal as per Czechoslovak law – evidence they did not have. Thus, Ministry of Finance officials undertook an investigation into Julia's political activities and her attitudes towards Czechoslovakia and Czechoslovaks before her return to Holland. In particular, they sought evidence regarding whether she had been engaged in so-called "Germanization." In July 1947, they sent queries to various administrative and police agencies in northern Bohemia, quickly receiving a number of replies.

On July 22, men managing the confiscated Ginzkey carpet factory responded to the Ministry's queries. They had no information to share either for or against Julia. When answering questions about her political behavior and whether she did harm to Czechoslovakia they wrote simply, "It is not known to us."[91] On July 23 the local National Committee from Krassa/Chrastná by Oschitz/Osečná, where her farm

---

[88] SOA Liberec, Okresní soud, Nc III 1064/46, Návrh na navrácení majetku dle zákona č. 128/1946 (cf. Fn. 86). – Zákon 128/1946 (cf. fn. 84).

[89] SOA Liberec, Okresní soud, Nc III 1064/46, Vyjádření finanční prokuratury v Praze v zastoupení Československého státu a Fondu národní obnovy v Praze [Statement of the Financial Prosecutor in Prague Representing the Czechoslovak State and the Fund for National Renewal in Prague], February 1, 1947.

[90] SOA Liberec, Okresní soud, Nc III 1064/46, Přípravný spis strany navrhující [Brief of the Plaintiff], March 3, 1947.

[91] NA ÚPV, sig. 44/3, box 17, folder 1, Továrny koberců a nábytkových látek [Carpet and Upholstery Factories], July 22, 1947.

was, replied. It described Julia as a 74-year-old person of "unimpeachable [*bezvadný*] behavior" and reported that "under pressure from Germans" she had to leave her home and that "Germans seized [*zabavili*]" her property.[92]

On July 24, 1947 state security officials in Maffersdorf/Vratislavice wrote to the Ministry of Finance, saying that Julia rarely stayed in town, mainly associated with Germans, led a private life, and "with her behavior awoke the impression that she was completely uninterested in political and national controversies." It was "not determined" if she had harmed "the democratic principles" of Czechoslovakia or was guilty of "Germanization."[93] On August 2 the Office of State Security in the town of Wartenberg/Stráž pod Ralskem responded. They wrote that, "from the perspective of the propagation of Nazism, fascism, and other Great German ideas, it was not ascertained whether the named person […] directly or indirectly contributed to this goal."[94] The response from the local National Committee in Maffersdorf/Vratislavice was dated August 7. When addressing the questions about Julia's political behavior and whether she had committed any offense against Czechoslovakia, it simply said, "It is not known to us."[95]

Thus, five replies offered no proof that Julia had contributed to "Germanization" and was "unreliable." A sixth reply – one from the District Office of State Security in Reichenberg/Liberec – was very different. In response to the question about her political behavior, this very negative report stated the following:

> Julia Ginzkeyová [Culp] [sic], although she was Jewish, was completely in harmony with the leadership of the I. Ginzkey firm, which was closely bound together by family relations and purely German and unfriendly towards everything Czech. […] It is possible with a clear conscience to declare that she was guilty to the highest measure of being against the democratic principles of the Czechoslovak Republic just like the other members of the leadership of the I. Ginzkey firm and that she, thus, contributed to the development of German Nazi ideology.[96]

When addressing the question about whether she harmed Czechoslovakia, the Reichenberg/Liberec report stated that Julia "supported the Germanizing efforts of members of her family, socialized only with German society and, like altogether every German capitalist, tried to and helped to oppress the Czech element."[97]

The Ministry of Finance was greatly concerned about the report from Reichenberg/Liberec. Its characterization of Julia was very different from the other reports, and it strongly suggested that the Ministry made a serious mistake by restituting her real estate. Thus, in August 1947 the Ministry sent an official to investigate the veracity of the troubling document. As it turned out, the official obtained no evidence of

---

[92] NA ÚPV, sig. 44/3, box 17, folder 1, Místní národní výbor v Chrastně [Local National Council in Chrastná], July 23, 1947.
[93] NA ÚPV, sig. 44/3, box 17, folder 1, Vratislavice nad Nisou, July 24, 1947.
[94] NA ÚPV, sig. 44/3, box 17, folder 1, Stráž pod Ralském, August 2, 1947.
[95] NA ÚPV, sig. 44/3, box 17, folder 1, Věc: V. Ginzkey a Julie Culpová zjištění [Matter: V. Ginzkey and Julia Culp Findings], August 7, 1947.
[96] NA ÚPV, sig. 44/3, box 17, folder 1, Věc: GINZKEY-Culpová (sic) Julie-restituce-šetření (cf. fn. 95).
[97] NA ÚPV, sig. 44/3, box 17, folder 1, Věc: GINZKEY-Culpová (sic) Julie-restituce-šetření (cf. fn. 95).

the report's truthfulness. No one could provide any proof of its validity and the man who wrote it was unavailable. The official from the Ministry of Finance reported back to his superior, "In all the documents, there did not appear even one concrete fact that could objectively remove doubt about the national and state reliability of Julia Culp."[98] It is possible that the report's author had a strong anti-German or a communist agenda, which led him to negatively characterize anyone associated with the Ginzkey firm, including Julia.

Following this investigation the Ministry of Finance rejected the negative police report and concluded that no good evidence existed to prove that Julia was "unreliable" or a "Germanizer." Still, other government agencies, including the Ministry of Interior and the Fund for National Renewal, were not yet in agreement. Without a firm consensus about her reliability, the District Court in Reichenberg/Liberec was unable to proceed with her case, leaving Julia's restitution claim in limbo for the remainder of 1947.

Transnational Connections

For the next several months little happened with Julia's restitution case. This was despite the fact that in May 1947 Dutch Ambassador Allard Merens had personally discussed the matter with then Prime Minister Klement Gottwald. Merens reported that Gottwald promised to expedite the return of Julia's things.[99] On February 12, 1948 the Dutch Embassy asked for an update on the situation. This was shortly before the communist takeover of Czechoslovakia later that month, a game-changing event that greatly distracted government members, some of whom were purged due to their political affiliations. It was in the summer of 1948 when renewed attention to Julia's case showed signs of stirring. While Czechoslovak officials had not yet unanimously decided to restitute Julia's things, efforts were begun to recover objects of hers found among Alfred Mallmann's possessions and distributed to offices and homes of local and foreign authorities in Prague.

On November 13, 1948 an important meeting about Julia's things took place. In attendance were Czechoslovak officials from the Prime Minister's Office, the Ministry of Interior, the Fund for National Renewal, and the Financial Procurator. By this point in time, they were all leaning towards returning her art and antiques under the terms of the 1946 restitution law, albeit doing so on their own authority and without any court decision. None of their agents had been able to find any solid proof that she was "unreliable." Their efforts to find "clear evidence testifying against the loyalty and behavior" of Julia had been "in vain." They did not, however, quickly move forward with their decision, because they were concerned about

---

[98] NA ÚPV, sig. 44/3, box 17, folder 1, Úřední záznam [Official Record], August 14, 1947.

[99] NA ÚPV, sig. 44/3, box 17, folder 2, Překlad nóty holandského vyslanectví ze dne 25. XI. 1948 [Translation of a Note of the Dutch Embassy from 25. XI. 1948], which stated "Mr. Gottwald […] promised the Dutch ambassador with certainty [*s určitostí slíbil*] at the conclusion of a personal conversation that the matter would be cared for as quickly as possible." – The Dutch ambassador's handwritten note thanking Gottwald for his "friendly interest" in Julia's case after that meeting is NA ÚPV, sig. 44/3, box 17, folder 1, Hochverehrter Herr Präsident, May 19, 1947.

having to pay compensation to Julia for missing or damaged objects. They wanted to pay as little compensation as possible, even suggesting that threats of keeping her things could be used "as pressure [*jako nátlaku*] in talks about compensation for property that would not be returned to J. B. Culp."[100]

In early 1949, after some tense exchanges about Julia's things with the Dutch Embassy,[101] Czechoslovak officials in the Prime Minister's Office, the Ministry of Interior, and the Fund for National Renewal pushed forward with efforts to recover and restitute Julia's art and antiques. Very interestingly, strong impetus for these efforts came from transnational connections crossing not only national borders, but also the new east-west divide. In early 1949 officials in the Czechoslovak and Dutch Ministries of Foreign Affairs had undertaken trade negotiations. Good trade relations with Holland and its soon-to-be former colony of Indonesia were very important to Czechoslovakia, even after the communist takeover and the hardening of the Cold War division of Europe. The report of the Czechoslovak mission to the negotiations made this clear. It stated that, in addition to supplying raw materials and manufactured items to their small landlocked country and having advantageous ports, "Holland was the greatest purchaser of Czechoslovak goods in the West."[102]

Significantly, when making arrangements for the trade negotiations, which were held in the Hague, the Dutch presented the Czechoslovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs with a note concerning the fate of Dutch property in Czechoslovakia after the war. The note stated that the Dutch "expected that it will be possible to discuss and draw up a protocol treating the settlement of the Netherlands' claims for compensation of nationalized and confiscated property at a meeting of experts of both countries before the proposed date of the trade negotiations."[103] While this note did not mention any Dutch property in specific, it certainly had relevance for Julia's things. A protocol was completed before the trade negotiations. It was called "The Final Draft of the Agreement between the Netherlands and Czechoslovakia Concerning Netherlands Interests Affected in Czechoslovakia by Nationalization, Confiscation and National Administration." The protocol required that Czechoslovakia pay compensation to Holland for Dutch property that was not restituted.[104]

---

[100] NA ÚPV, sig. 44/3, box 17, folder 2, Záznam o poradě konané dne 13. listopadu 1948 [Record of a Meeting Held on November 13, 1948].

[101] NA ÚPV, sig. 44/3, box 17, folder 2, Letter of the Ministry of the Interior to the Office of the Prime Minister of the Government, January 18, 1948.

[102] Archiv Ministerstva zahraničních věcí, Praha [Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Prague; hereafter AMZV], Fond Teritoriální odbory: Nizozemí, 1945-59 [Records of the Territorial Departments: Netherlands, 1945-59], box 6, folder Nizozemí: Obchodní jednání [Netherlands: Trade Negotiations], Zpráva o výsledcích jednání o novou obchodní dohodu s Nizozemskem [Report on the Results of Negotiations for a New Trade Agreement with the Netherlands], May 17, 1949.

[103] AMZV, Fond Teritoriální odbory: Nizozemí, 1945-59, box 6, folder Nizozemí: Obchodní jednání, Note from Royal Netherlands Legation to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs at (sic) Prague, February 17, 1949.

[104] AMZV, Fond Teritoriální odbory: Nizozemí, 1945-59, box 6, folder Nizozemí: Obchodní jednání, The Head of the Dutch Delegation (C. W. Insinger) to the Head of the Czechoslovak Delegration (František Hrubiš), July 7, 1949.

Again, officials in the Prime Minister's Office and elsewhere in Prague did not want to have to pay compensation to Julia for property not returned to her. Thus, throughout much of 1949, they intensified efforts to recover all the interior decorations seized from Mafferdorf/Vratislavice and then lent to various Czechoslovak leaders and foreign dignitaries. They went through inventories of objects on loan and contacted individuals or their agents about transporting those things to a storage facility of the Fund for National Renewal. Most things were turned over to the Fund, including furnishings lent to the Office of the President in the Prague Castle.[105] Some objects, however, were not surrendered.

Fierlinger, who was a deputy prime minister from 1948-1953, resisted returning things lent to him from objects thought to have been Alfred Mallmann's property. A list, dated December 29, 1950, indicated that he still had numerous furnishings that could have belonged to Julia. Many were useful for entertaining, including sixteen dining-room chairs upholstered with deer hide, fourteen Nymphenburg dinner plates, twenty-four cut-glass champagne glasses, twenty-five white-wine glasses, thirty-five goblets for red wine, and over fifty liqueur glasses.[106] He and his wife were willing to return some interior decorations lent to him for his villa, if appropriate replacement objects were provided. Other objects they simply wanted to keep. Czechoslovak officials did not feel that they could push Fierlinger, a powerful figure, to return everything. Earlier they had contacted Julia's lawyer about compensation payments, although none were ever made.[107]

Soviet Marshal Konev still had objects decorating his villa, including twenty-four pictures, some of them oil paintings.[108] The Office of the Prime Minister was of the view that they could not ask for the return of these things, because they had been "gifted by the state."[109] The Americans, in contrast, had not received gifts from the state, but it proved impossible to get back everything that had been lent to them from property thought to have belonged to Alfred Mallmann. Ambassador Steinhardt was asked to return all interior decorations loaned to him for furnishing his residence, but records reveal that as late as the start of 1951 he had not fully done so.[110] Securing the return of furnishings lent to American diplomat John Bruins was

---

105 NA ÚPV, sig. 44/3, box 17, folder 2, no. 400.067/50, Odevzdání restitučního majetku po Alfrédu Mallmannovi Fondu národní obnovy [Handover of Restitution Property from Alfred Mallmann to the Fund for National Renewal], January 16, 1950.

106 NA ÚPV, sig. 44/3, box 17, folder 2, Seznam předmětů z konfiskovaného majetku po Němci Alfréda Mallmannovi […] ve služební vile p. náměstka předsedy vlády Z. Fierlingera v Praze XIX. Na Zátorce 20 [List of Objects from the Confiscated Property of the German Alfred Mallmann […] in the Service Villa of Deputy Prime Minister of the Government Z. Fierlinger in Prague XIX. Na Zátorce 20], December 29, 1950.

107 NA ÚPV, sig. 44/3, box 17, folder 2, Záznam [Record], January 30, 1950.

108 NA ÚPV, sig. 44/3, box 17, folder 2, Seznam věcí dodaných úřadem předsednictva vlády z konfiskovaného majetku po Němci Alfrédu Mallmannnovi […] do vily maršala Koněva v Praze XIX. Pod Hradbami 7 [List of Objects Delivered by the Office of the Prime Minister of the Government from the Confiscated Property of the German Alfred Mallmann […] to the Villa of Marshal Konev in Prague XIX. Pod Hradbami 7], December 30, 1949.

109 NA ÚPV, sig. 44/3, box 17, folder 2, Záznam [Record], January 30, 1950.

110 NA ÚPV, sig. 44/3, box 17, folder 2, Vyjádření hospodářské správy [Statement of the

also a problem. When the Prime Minister's Office sought to retrieve those objects, Bruins reported that he had bought them from the Fund for National Renewal and maintained "that by virtue of the foregoing purchase and payment I have acquired good and valid title to these items."[111] On February 22 officials from the Prime Minister's Office sent Gottwald a report stating that, to the best of their knowledge, Julia's lawyer knew nothing about missing things that had been lent to the Americans. They appeared to have wanted to keep this information from him.[112]

Returns

In the summer of 1950, in preparation for the restitution of her art and antiques, Julia was granted a visa that allowed her to cross the new Cold War divide and return to Czechoslovakia for the purpose of identifying her things. Her sister Betsy and nephew Rein joined her as witnesses. They had stayed with her on numerous occasions before the war and could help prove which objects were hers. Previously, Julia had also provided Czechoslovak authorities with a photo album containing pictures of some of her possessions.[113] She had no receipts to use as proof of ownership.

This returns the story of Julia and her things back to the dusty warehouse in a northern Bohemian town in the Sudetenland mentioned at the start of this article. Julia and her family members went through hundreds of works of art and antiques in the storage building, identifying objects that were hers.[114] From there the Dutch group travelled to Prague, where they went through another warehouse. A list of all the things she was claiming was compiled and a contract for their restitution was drawn up.[115]

Economic Administration], January 23, 1950. – For the list of things that Steinhardt had not returned see: NA ÚPV, sig. 44/3, box 17, folder 2, Seznam mobiliárních předmětů zapůjčených úřadem předsednictva vlády roku 1945 p. americkému velvyslanci Laurence S.E. Steinhardtovi z konfiskovaného majetku po Němci Alfrédu Mallmannovi [List of Moveable Objects Loaned by the Office of Government in 1945 to the American Ambassador Laurence S.E. Steinhardt from the Confiscated Property of the German Alfred Mallmann], December 29, 1949. – For more on Steinhardt, including his postwar arrangements for the U.S. government's purchase of the Petschek Villa in Prague, see *Lukes,* Igor: On the Edge of the Cold War. American Diplomats and Spies in Postwar Prague. Oxford 2012. – *Eisen,* Norman: The Last Palace. Europe's Turbulent Century in Five Lives and One Legendary House. New York 2018.

111 Bruins' original letter is in: AMZV, Generální sekretariát A, 1945-54, box 39, John H. Bruins to Dr. Vilem Cerny (sic), July 9, 1948. – See also: ÚPV NA, sig. 44/3, box 17, folder 2, Úřad předsednictva vlády do rukou Dr. Kokoše [Office of the Prime Minister of the Government to the Hand of Dr. Kokoš], January 10, 1950.

112 NA ÚPV, sig. 44/3, box 17, folder 3, Informace pro pana předsedu vlády ve věci restituce majetku holandské příslušnice J. Culpové-Ginzkeyové (sic) [Information for the Prime Minister in the Matter of the Restitution of the Property of the Dutch National J. Culp-Ginzkey], February 22, 1950.

113 NA ÚPV, sig. 44/3, box 17, folder 2, Záznam o poradě konané dne 13. listopadu 1948 [Record on the Meeting Held 13. November 1948].

114 NA ÚPV, sig. 44/3, box 17, folder 3, Zpráva o průběhu agnoskačního řízení konaného ve Vratislavicích nad Nisou ve dnech 25.-31. srpna 1950 [Report on the Course of the Identification Proceedings Held in Vratislavice nad Nisou on 25.-31. August 1950].

115 The list, sixty-six pages long, is ÚPV NA, sig. 44/3, box 17, folder 3, Seznam A [List A], no date.

The contract, signed November 24, 1950, stated that everything Julia and her witnesses had identified as her property would be returned to her under the terms of the 1946 restitution law, with some exceptions. The exceptions included several hundred pieces of sheet music for the National Library in Prague and a small number of interior decorations, all of which had been selected for preservation as Czech heritage.[116] The contract stated that Julia would not be charged any duty fees for exporting objects from Czechoslovakia. Countering that seemingly generous provision was the requirement that she pay the sizeable sum of 100,000 Czech Crowns to the Fund for National Renewal before her things would be released. This amount was to compensate the Czechoslovak state for "the enormous effort" expended when gathering and storing her possessions.[117] Julia signed the contract and paid the money. She received no compensation for numerous missing and damaged objects, including a valuable tapestry.

In February 1951 the interior furnishings restituted to Julia arrived in Amsterdam. Among the roughly 1 500 works of art and antiques returned to her were large pieces of furniture and smaller decorative objects. They filled a total of six freight-train wagons. Czechoslovak newspapers, then under Communist Party control, were silent about these deliveries. In contrast, the Dutch public could read about them in the daily press.[118]

Julia was unable to keep most of the things that were returned to her, especially the large furnishings. She was living in the small apartment in the Amsterdam high-rise with her sister. Further, she needed money to pay bills related to the restitution, including her lawyer's fees and the transport costs. She also hoped to secure money for a comfortable life during her remaining years and not be a burden on her family. Thus, with assistance from her nephew Rein, she arranged for much of her hard-won cargo from Czechoslovakia to be sold, among another woman's possessions, at Frederik Muller & Co., an auction house in Amsterdam, between July 3-10, 1951 (see figure 14).[119]

---

116 Zdeněk Wirth, director of the National Cultural Commission, was allowed to go through art and antiques in the warehouses containing Julia's things and select objects to stay in Czechoslovakia and be preserved as national property. – The National Library in Prague requested that the sheet music be selected. See NA ÚPV, sig. 44/3, box 17, folder 3, Záznam [Record], September 8, 1950; and Seznam B [List B], no date. – For information on the claiming and use of confiscated property as national heritage see *Giustino,* Cathleen M.: Ein Roman als Ausstellungsparcours in der sozialistischen Tschechoslowakei. Fiktion, Wirklichkeit und Interieurs im Großmuttertal. In: *Nierhaus,* Irene/*Nierhaus,* Andreas (eds.): Wohnen Zeigen. Modelle und Akteure des Wohnens in Architektur und visueller Kultur. Bielefeld 2014, 287-302. – *Giustino:* Pretty Things, Ugly Histories (cf. fn. 9). – *Uhlíková:* Národní kulturní komise (cf. fn. 9).

117 NA ÚPV, sig. 44/3, box 17, folder 3, Restituční dohoda [Restitution Agreement], November 24, 1950.

118 For example, see Rechtsherstel voor Julia Culp. Roerende goederen uit Tsjecho-Slowakije naar Nederland gebracht [Restoration of Rights for Julia Culp. Movable Goods from Czechoslovakia Brought to the Netherlands]. In: Nieuwsblad van het Noorden, June 22, 1951. Found in *Hofman:* Julia Culp 74 (cf. fn. 3).

119 Catalogue des Tableaux – Antiquités – Objets D'Art. Provenant de Diverses Collections et Successions, E. A.: Mme Julia Culp, Amsterdam. De la Maison de Mme Thérèse van Duijll

Julia's things were not judged to have great worth and following the war people had little money to spend. Thus, her art and antiques sold for relatively low prices. Still, she raised enough money to pay her restitution costs and had sufficient funds leftover to stay in the apartment in the Amsterdam high-rise, which she decorated with some of her paintings, smaller furnishings, and antiques (see figure 15). A family member who knew her well inherited some of the things that she did not sell, including portraits, silverware, her favorite chair, her breakfast table, and the ring that the Empress of Germany gifted to her before the First World War. This family member recalls that she showed no bitterness about her past, living contentedly until her death shortly after her ninetieth birthday in 1970.[120] Perhaps, though, Julia's memory – like that of other Holocaust survivors – underwent what historian Michael Geyer refers to as "the smoothing effect of making a life notwithstanding the devil lurking within it."[121] Returns can be difficult and even impossible.

Conclusion: Unreliability in an Unreliable State

The confiscations that Julia and millions of others experienced during and after the Second World War cannot be viewed only in material terms. They were political acts that devastated and destroyed persecuted people's abilities to care for themselves and their families. For this reason, the human and emotional dimensions of the confiscations must also be considered.

Legal scholar Bernadette Atuahene uses the term "dignity takings" to advance appreciation of the multifaceted harm that confiscations cause. For her, "A dignity taking occurs when a state directly or indirectly destroys or confiscates property rights from owners or occupiers and the intentional or unintentional outcome is dehumanization or infantilization."[122] Certainly, more than material property was seized in and beyond the Sudetenland during and after the Second World War; the dispossessed faced extreme losses of rights, certainty, autonomy, and agency, as well.

Schwartze, Amsterdam. Amsterdam, 1951. – A history of the auction house is *Bruyns,* Willem Mörzer: Frederik Muller & Co and Anton Mensing. The First International Art Auction House in Amsterdam, and Its Director. In: Quaerendo 34 (2004) 3-4, 211-239. – Numerous newspaper articles about the sale were published in the Netherlands, including: Beroemde vrouw gaat inboedel verkopen. Julia Culp mocht in Praag al haar eigendommen aanwijzen [Famous Woman Will Sell Furniture. Julia Culp Allowed to Identify All Her Possessions in Prague]. In: Het Parool, June 22, 1951.

120 Discussion with Maarten H. Rijkens, October 11-12, 2018. – See also a published postwar interview with Julia, in which she said, "Everything can be taken away from you. Happy memory not." Found in: Bibeb in Holland 88 (cf. fn. 36).

121 *Geyer,* Michael: Die Bratus. Sketch for a Minor German History. In: *Meng,* Michael / *Seipp,* Adam R.: Modern Germany in Transatlantic Perspective. New York 2017, 245-283, here 273.

122 *Atuahene,* Bernadette: Dignity Takings and Dignity Restoration. Creating a New Theoretical Framework for Understanding Involuntary Property Loss and the Remedies Required. In: Law & Social Inquiry 41 (2016) 4, 796-823, here 817. This article appears in an excellent special issue that aims to build a global theory of restitution through comparison of case studies from different contexts.

Atuahene also writes about "dignity restoration." This she defines as "a remedy that seeks to provide dispossessed individuals and communities with material compensation through processes that affirm their humanity and reinforce their agency."[123] At first glance it might appear that the 1946 restitution law offered Julia and other Holocaust survivors, including Emil Beer mentioned at the start of this article, some opportunity for agency restoration. It gave them a chance to appeal to officials and courts and argue for the validity of their cases. Through these opportunities the postwar state ostensibly accorded them with some personal power to strive for the rectification of the racism that they had endured.

Still, the stipulations in the restitution law regarding "unreliability" tremendously undermined – perhaps even nullified – the empowering, agency-restoring potential of the restitution law. As the story of Julia and her things shows, "unreliability," including disloyalty to Czechoslovakia and participation in "Germanization," could be subject to interpretation and manipulation. The nebulousness of these terms and the ease with which they could be used against Holocaust survivors allowed state officials to make capricious decisions, thereby disempowering Jews seeking the restitution of their property and the concomitant restoration of their agency and dignity. No branch of the government showed the desire or will to insist on the creation of a fair, consistently applied standard of reliability with allowances for Holocaust survivors. The state itself was unreliable.

Thus, the story of Julia and her things helps to show that in postwar Czechoslovakia, both before and after the 1948 communist takeover, rectification of racism and dignity restoration mattered little, if at all, to state officials, unless political exigencies pushed them to be interested. Additionally, it provides insight into the uncertainties and inconsistencies of legal institutions in postwar Czechoslovakia. The securement of individual interests depended more on where a person stood on playing fields of power and who one could call on for support than on reliable legal norms and procedures. Certainly, this reality is not unique to postwar Czechoslovakia. Julia's restitution case was largely successful, because of connections she had in her birth country of Holland – a state with which Czechoslovak leaders wanted good relations during the time her claims were being made. Further study of other restitution cases can shed more light on possibilities for individual agency and the power of connections in the pursuit of restorative justice in postwar Czechoslovakia and elsewhere.

---

[123] *Ibid.* 818.

List of Figures

Figure 1. A Portrait-Postcard of Julia Culp, "the Dutch Nightingale," circa 1912. Verlag Hermann Leiser in Berlin. Photographer Unknown (Perhaps Madame D'Ora [Dora Philippine Kallmus]). Used with Permission of the Wienbibliothek, Vienna Austria.

Figure 2. "Julia of the Teacups" on Concert Tour in the United States, circa 1915. Photographer George Grantham Bain. In the Public Domain and Held in the Library of Congress, Washington D.C., USA.

Figure 3. Julia in Her Home in Zehlendorf am Wannsee near Berlin, circa 1917. Photographer Waldemar Titzenthaler. Used with Permission of Ullstein Publishers, Berlin Germany.

Figure 4. Carpet Making in the Ignaz Ginzkey Factory in Maffersdorf/Vratislavice, 1907. Photographer Unknown (Perhaps Emil Matzig). Used with Permission of the State District Archive in Liberec, Czech Republic.

Figure 5. Construction of the New Power Station and Coal and Water Tower for the Ignaz Ginzkey Factory, Based on Plans of Architect Leopold Bauer, 1918. Photographer Emil Matzig. Used with Permission of the Isergebirgs Museum in Neugablonz, Germany.

Figure 6. Julia with Willy and Her Parents in Maffersdorf/Vratislavice and A Car Custom-Designed by Ferdinand Porsche, 1925. Photographer Emil Matzig. Used with Permission of the Isergebirgs Museum in Neugablonz, Germany.

Figure 7. Julia with Willy Dedicating New Bells for the Church of the Holy Trinity in Maffersdorf/Vratislavice, 1925. Photographer Unknown (Perhaps Emil Matzig). Used with Permission of the State District Archive in Liberec, Czech Republic.

Figure 8. Outside the Neoclassical Villa in Maffersdorf/Vratislavice, 1928. Photographer Emil Matzig. Used with Permission of the Isergebirgs Museum in Neugablonz, Germany.

Figure 9. The Salon in the Neoclassical Villa, 1926. Photographer Emil Matzig. Used with Permission of the Isergebirgs Museum in Neugablonz, Germany.

Figure 10. The Music Room in the Neoclassical Villa, 1926. Photographer Emil Matzig. Used with Permission of the Isergebirgs Museum in Neugablonz, Germany.

Figure 11. Outside the Lake House at Hammer am See/Hamr na Jezeře, circa 1935. Photographer Rein Rijkens. Used with Permission of the Rijkens Family Collection, Holland.

Figure 12. Julia's Piano in the Lake House, circa 1935. Photographer Rein Rijkens. Used with Permission of the Rijkens Family Collection, Holland.

Figure 13. Interior Furnishings in the Lake House, circa 1935. Photographer Rein Rijkens. Used with Permission of the Rijkens Family Collection, Holland.

Figure 14. Some of Julia's Silver on Display in the Frederik Muller & Co. Auction House in Amsterdam, 1951. Photographer Unknown. Used with Permission of the Rijkens Family Collection, Holland.

Figure 15. Julia and Her Sister Betsy in their Amsterdam Apartment after the Second World War, 1950. Photographer Rein Rijkens. Used with Permission from the Rijkens Family Collection, Holland.